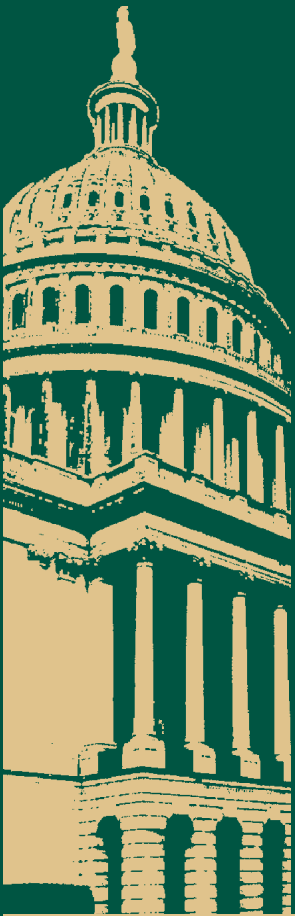


Jeffrey R. Biggs

A CONGRESS OF FELLOWS



Fifty Years of the
American Political
Science Association
Congressional
Fellowship Program

1953-2003

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Congressional Fellowship Program, 1953–2003**

Jeffrey R. Biggs

A Congress of Fellows¹

1. From the Latin congressus, the act or action of coming together; a meeting esp. of persons or minds (Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged, 1981).

To APSA Congressional Fellows, past, present, and
future.

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Foreword

Somewhere in the labyrinth of the George Washington University's Gelman Library lies the official "Walter Beach APSA Archives," from which I might have pieced together this history of the American Political Science Association's Congressional Fellowship Program. Yet, one suspects that the boxes of paper are but a pale surrogate for Walter Beach the man, whose memory and oral history represent the real repository of the Association's history. That fact, and a lack of time, constitute my rationale for letting Walter, along with Cathy Rudder, Fred Holborn, Tom Mann, and Norm Ornstein, review and contribute to the draft. As a group, these former Fellows and great friends of the program represent nearly all of the years of the CFP, which celebrates its 50th anniversary in 2003. Acknowledgements would not be complete without thanks to *PS: Political Science & Politics'* Assistant Editor Steve Yoder for his masterful editing of the text as well as shepherding it through layout and printing; fellowship Program Assistant Sarah Dougherty—she kept the CFP steaming up the river when I was foraging the streams and eddies; and APSA Executive Director Michael Brintnall whose support and understanding continue to be much appreciated.

It is only because a 50th anniversary somehow calls for some reflection that I even embarked upon this venture, and my suspicion is that, for its flaws, this project is not likely to be revisited for another 50 years. Yet, a written account of the fellowship is appropriate for another reason. With rare exceptions, most past Fellows regard their experiences on Capitol Hill as pivotal to their ongoing careers. This is a sentiment shared by this year's class of 2002–2003 Fellows as well, and a program with such an impact on individual lives deserves a bit of history.

There is no index. This violates the reading lifestyle of Washington where visitors to Capitol Hill's Trover's Bookstore first turn to the back of books to see if their name is listed. For the alumni, you might well find yourself in these pages if anyone ever placed a press release about you in a local newspaper, if you ever wrote anything for the Association's journal, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, or if Walter Beach ever sent me a clipping

FOREWORD

about you. In reality, each of the former Fellows should have been featured in this history. For those of the 1,900-plus former Congressional Fellows whose name does not appear, my apologies, but I hope you can nonetheless relive your own experiences through this decade-by-decade chronology.

I find the rewards of being a Foreign Affairs Fellow in 1984–1985 are exceeded only by the experience of directing the program. My mother once asked me what this new job was. Having been raised in a university faculty family, I described it as akin to being a full professor in an endowed chair at a pretty good university, but with a teaching load of one seminar where you had a hand in picking all the students. “That’s better than any faculty job your father or I ever encountered,” she replied. And so it is. For the last five years, I have witnessed each new class of 40 faces arrive as strangers and, 10 months later, depart as good friends.

The real inspiration for this chronicle is the new generations of APSA Congressional Fellows who will begin this adventure long after I’ve moved on. I hope it might help enlarge their appreciation of the honored group which they are joining. More importantly, I hope future classes continue to do honor to the institution of Congress, to the fellowship that makes that institution more understandable, and to that wider audience to which they will translate their personal experience and, in the process, help educate about our First Branch of Government.

Jeffrey R. Biggs, Director
APSA Congressional Fellowship Program
July 2003

A CONGRESS OF FELLOWS

The Decade of the 1950s:
The Fellowship in its Infancy

As reported in the *New York Times* on May 4, and the *Washington Post* on June 22, 1953 the American Political Science Association “announced a plan today to educate the people on the affairs of Congress. Its idea is to pick five outstanding young political scientists each year for training as ‘Congressional interns.’ Their services will be available to Congress free of charge, and the association will pay their way in the form of \$3,600 to \$4,000 scholarships intended to enable the participants to work in Washington, D.C. starting September 1. Dr. Edward H. Litchfield, executive director of the 50-year-old association, sees the program as the start of a new effort to create interest in what Congress does and why.” As described by Litchfield, the participants would spend the first two months at the Library of Congress intensively studying congressional organization. This would be followed by assignment to a committee staff in November and assignment to a personal staff in the House or Senate after Congress reconvened in January.

“As the interns return to their local communities to teach in universities and participate in public affairs,” Litchfield was quoted, “they will spread the knowledge they have gained to others.” Over a period of ten months, the five participants were expected to spend two months at the Library of Congress “studying the entire field of Congressional organization.” Each would work four months “as an active member of the staff of a Senator or a Representative” and “another four months as an active, working member of the staff of a Congressional committee.” It was noted that selections would give “preference to applicants 25 to 30 years old” and that “the association is looking for applicants who have received a doctorate in political science, completed two years of graduate work in political science and one year of experience in politics, teaching or public administration, or who have received a Master’s degree in political science and a law degree.”

A nonpartisan advisory committee was chaired by Dr. Ernest S. Griffith, Director of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress. Senator Irving M. Ives, Republican of New York, and Representative Richard Bolling, Democrat of Missouri, were members of the committee along with Merlo J. Pusey, associate editor of the *Washington Post*, and Professor Stephen K. Bailey of Wesleyan University.

CFP's First Class

Five political scientists and one journalist were selected for the program's inaugural year from a pool of 150 applicants: Mrs. Marie S. Carl of St. Augustine, Florida, a graduate of the University of Michigan and the Yale School of Law; Dr. Abraham Holtzan of Los Angeles, California, an instructor in government at Dartmouth College; Dr. Mavis A. Mann of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, an assistant professor of government at West Virginia University; Harry H. Ransom of Sewanee, Tennessee, a former political science instructor at Vassar College now working on his Ph.D. at Princeton; Ben F. Reeves, a political reporter on the *Louisville* [Kentucky] *Courier-Journal*; and Dr. H. Bradford Westerfield, an instructor in government at Yale.

A November 1953 article in the now defunct *New York Herald-Tribune* noted that Wellesley, Colgate, and several other colleges had for some time been sending political science students to Washington, D.C. to get practical experience in Capitol offices. But, according to Kenneth W. Hechler, associate director of the APSA, "the new program is different in that the interns are farther advanced in their schooling. Also," he added, "the interns will be more on the 'inside' than the college students. They have been promised admission to executive sessions of committees and access to data which the public doesn't see."

The new APSA program was made possible by a grant from the Edgar Stern family of New Orleans, which represented radio and television interests in that city. The Sterns reportedly felt there was too much emphasis in political science on the executive and administrative side of government, and too little on Congress and political parties. The Association launched its program by asking the political science departments of 350 universities and colleges to submit the names of their best students or graduates. The resulting 150 applications were whittled down to 35, then cut by regional interviewing panels to 12. Finally, an advisory committee headed by Ernest S. Griffith, head of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, decided which six would "get the nod." The program was sure to grow; Hechler announced he had received letters from 30 members of the House and Senate requesting interns.

At the conclusion of the first year, the *Washington Post* ("Hill 'Interns' Find It's a Busy Grind," August 1, 1954) reported that "the

folks most in demand on Capitol Hill these days aren't presidential assistants who might have Federal jobs to hand out or newspapermen who can get your congressman's name in the paper. They're half a dozen bright young men and women who were given a rare opportunity to learn Congress' innermost secrets. And, while they learned, they worked for members of Congress—at no salary.”

The *Post* tracked down the six “congressional interns”—“a housewife with a law degree, a newspaperman, and four college professors—for an assessment. Thirty-one-year-old Ben Reeves, a general-assignment reporter specializing in politics for the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, said his experience had been invaluable. He had started out his year working on Tennessee Senator Estes Kefauver's staff and concluded with Rep. Don Magnuson, of Washington. “But it leaves me with some strong impressions on congressional coverage by press and radio. You usually find the Senate on page one, but most of the time the House lands on the back pages. Why is that? After all, the two houses are supposed to be equal.”

Vassar professor of political science Harry Ransom was impressed by the quality of the full-time congressional staff. “A senator,” he observed, “will have from six to 16 staff members and he needs every one of them. A member can be so rushed; sometimes he doesn't even know what's in the letter he's signing.” One time, a Congressman was signing some staff-written replies to a batch of letters from constituents and noted the letter in front of him was from an old acquaintance. “Give my regards to your wife, Mary,” he added, in a flash of inspiration. He was saved by an alert staff member who pointed out the letter was a note of condolence on the death of the constituent's spouse. “Sometimes I think,” said one intern, “that if all the members of Congress suddenly vanished, their work could be carried on pretty well by their staffs.”

Dartmouth political science instructor Dr. Abraham Holtzman worked with Rep. Richard Bolling, of Missouri, and Sen. Wayne Morse, of Oregon. Almost forecasting the internal reforms initiated by the large new class of 1974 Democrats 20 years later, Holtzman was reportedly surprised at how loosely the House Democrats were organized. “It's a result, of course, of the big split on the states' rights issue. But it seems to me more caucuses would be very helpful both for party strategy and so the younger members could be recognized.



The first class of Fellows (1953–1954) meeting with President Harry S. Truman. (L to R): Hon. Ken Hechler, Harry Howe Ransom, H. Bradford Westerfield, Marie Carl, President Truman, Mavis Mann Reeves, Abraham Holtzman, Benjamin F. Reeves.

The older Democrats don't have enough young men they know well enough to count on. What will happen to them when [Sam] Rayburn [of Texas] leaves? Boy, that's the question."

"You know, people asked us so often whether we thought there was a lot of shady dealing in Congress, we almost began to expect it," said Marie Carl the housewife and only lawyer in the group. "But we've found, on the whole, the members try their best to do their best. Of course," she added, "there are some of those Tuesday-to-Thursday Congressmen who are just using Congress as a step to a judgeship or something. They spend more time at home than they do here."

The *Washington Post* reported that the interns came away with one predominating feeling: "The American Government, they're convinced, really is responsive to the individual. Even in this day of H-bombs and crises in Indochina, congressmen are brought back continually to the day-to-day needs of their constituents, when they get letters like one that came in not long ago: 'Now it's time Congress stopped worrying about hydrogen bombs and got down to solving some of our really serious problems. Like, when are you going to pass

a law to do something about poison ivy and ragweed?”

Two years after the founding of the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program, in an April 10, 1955 article “Capitol Interns Dissect Politics: Bold Scholars Are Probing What Is a Congressman and, if So, Why?,” the *New York Times*’ Russell Baker wrote:

‘Pitchfork Ben’ Tillman would have howled, ‘Uncle Joe’ Cannon might have goggled. Even some modern Congressional exponents of knock-heads politics wonder what Capitol Hill is coming to. Quietly, without fanfare, the place is being infiltrated by scholars. At present there are ten working out ‘political internships’ designed to give them first-hand practicing knowledge of Capitol politics. What is astonishing is that they are not the ivory-tower variety that sits in the galleries boldly classifying Congressional flora and fauna under the lens of detached, if mighty, intellects. Congress has managed for years to ignore that breed. These are something new. They work at a Senator’s right hand. They prepare briefs, greet constituents, sit in on secret policy discussions and even roam the House and Senate floors.

From the viewpoint of the old school politician, the most startling of the ten would be Marvin Harder [1954–1955 Congressional Fellow], a gaunt and studious 33-year-old from Wichita, Kansas. For Mr. Harder also holds that most practical of all practical political jobs. He is the Democratic State Chairman of Kansas. . . . Why should a practical politician find it necessary to go back to ‘school’ in Washington? The fact is—and this would also confound the cigar and cuspidor school of politics—that Mr. Harder also is a professor of political science. He is currently associated with the University of Wichita. And, if Columbia University approves of a dissertation he now has in the works, he will soon be a Ph.D. to be thenceforth addressed by the pork-barrel elite as ‘Doctor.’

Like the other nine ‘interns,’ Mr. Harder works for Congress. The program under which he works is sponsored by the American Political Science Association with a grant from the Edgar B. Stern family fund of New Orleans. Its aim is to give practical Washington political experience to promising young men who some day might be candidates or whose work requires them to interpret government. Four others of the ten

are political scientists and five are newspaper men. Mr. Harder is an assistant to Senator Walter F. George, the Georgia patriarch of the Democratic Party and the voice of Congress in foreign affairs. . . . Like most newcomers to Washington, he [Harder] finds Congressmen much harder to resent, suspect or dislike, in the flesh than they were in the abstract.

Once, Mr. Harder said, he had tended to view the doctrine of the separation of powers critically, 'as something we have been trying to get over for 150 years.' Actual experience with Washington has given him 'a great deal more respect for it now,' he added. . . . The interns are not Capitol Hill dilettantes. They work. Mr. Harder, for example, has just completed a first draft of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's staff study of revisions for the United Nations Charter. Another intern has been working with a special subcommittee on privileges and elections, helping to draft revisions in election laws. Another is an assistant to Senator Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois. . . . Mr. Harder has formed at least one conclusion that will startle those who hold Congressmen are spongers on the public payroll. 'There is no one around here who is so situated that he has enough leisure time to think about the broader aspects of American affairs,' he said. 'They have no time for any reflective thinking.' This, he concluded, is not necessarily healthy for the country. Nor for the Congressmen. But the politicians have gained a friend, anyway. 'You find when you meet them,' Mr. Harder conceded, 'that even those whose ideas you dislike are pretty good guys.'

Successive Pioneers: Fellows Opinions on Congress

Ten "congressional interns" were selected for the third, 1955–1956 class, including: Dr. Gary P. Brazier, political science instructor at Ohio University; Dr. McAlister Brown, political science instructor at Dartmouth College; Jay H. Cerf, research fellow at Yale University; Charles L. Clapp, teaching assistant and graduate student at the University of California; R. Gene Geisler, political science instructor at the Gary Center of the University of Indiana. The journalists included Robert P. Dorang, reporter for the *Buffalo Evening News*; L.

Boyd Finch, assistant city editor of the *Ventura County* [California] *Star-Free Press*; Francis J. Kelley, reporter-photographer for the *Hutchinson* [Kansas] *News-Herald*; Richard L. Milliman, reporter for the *Lansing* [Michigan] *State Journal*; and Miss Teresa A. Polychronis, an employee of the American Broadcasting Co. in New York.

Among the four alternates was Frederick L. Holborn, a teaching fellow and tutor of government at Harvard University. A number of years later, after working on the staff of Senator John F. Kennedy and later in the White House as a special assistant, Fred Holborn joined the faculty of the Johns Hopkins' School of Advanced International Studies, directed the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program's "Foreign Affairs Seminar" for more than three decades, and became one of a handful of "Honorary Congressional Fellows" along with Speaker Rayburn aide D. B. Hardeman, former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), and former Representative Lee Hamilton (D-Indiana) who hosted more than 30 Fellows during his tenure in the House. At the Fellowship's 50th anniversary celebration at the 2003 APSA Annual Meeting in Philadelphia, *Washington Post* columnist and political reporter David Broder became an Honorary Congressional Fellow.

The class of 1956–1957 was feted by top-drawer names during their orientation to Congress. And, no longer were the participants referred to as "interns"; they were now "Congressional Fellows." As the late International News Service journalist Fellow David W. Secrest wrote in the January 25, 1957 issue of the *Guild Reporter*, among the 35 "big names" they discussed off-the-record politics with included "Democratic Party Chairman Paul Butler, Defense Mobilization Director Arthur Flemming, congressional textbook author Dr. George Galloway, several senators and representatives, congressional parliamentarians, *Washington Post* managing editor Al Friendly, *New York Times* Washington Bureau staffers, Justice William O. Douglas, and an assortment of similar people who were able to give us both the big picture and the little picture." Describing his work on the Hill, Secrest wrote that

as congressional aides we help draft legislation, write speeches to go with bills our 'bosses' introduce, get out press releases, occasionally expedite a constituent request that involves browbeating a 'downtown' agency, and do a little lobbying on behalf of bills our congressmen are trying to get through. . . . In the

short period we have been in congressional offices most of us have already changed our minds somewhat about the affairs of Capitol Hill. For one thing, we have found that at least nine out of ten congressmen are hard-working guys who are trying to do the right thing. For another, we have begun to temper some of our ideas about the evils of foreign junkets, the seniority system, or even the filibuster. By the time we return to journalism or teaching next fall, the combination of academics, practical reporting, and actual participation in the labyrinthine processes of congress should give us new insight into the question of how our government works—and why it does or doesn't.

Speaking on behalf of the six journalists, Secret described the fellowship as “the experience of a lifetime this winter in the ‘inner sanctum’ of [C]ongress. After reporting political affairs on the state and local level, they are now finding out how it works on the national level, from the inside out. . . . I can speak for the group when I say, ‘This even beats a Nieman!’”

A year later (1957–1958), 29-year-old *Louisville Times* political reporter Howard Bray echoed similar sentiments in his January 1959 article in *The Quill*: “His Classroom Was Capitol Hill.”

I put my press card in mothballs a year ago. I am not sorry I did. I left behind five deadlines a day on the Louisville Times to spend ten months finding out how the wheels of Congress turn. My classrooms were the offices of a Senator and Representative whose staffs I joined. My teachers were the best—the lawmakers themselves, veteran Washington correspondents, and many of the sizable corps of knowledgeable people who cluster around the nation's capital. This rich experience stemmed from the American Political Science Association's Congressional Fellowship program. Nearly a score of working newspaper, radio and television reporters have received fellowships since the program began in 1953. Graduate students and college teachers of political science also share in the program which has reaped high praise on Capitol Hill.

Aside from the fact that my pay came from the Fellowship stipend, perhaps their own backgrounds as reporters induced Representative Melvin Price, Illinois Democrat, and Senator



Fellow Betty Trotter (1957–1958) with Congresswoman Leonor K. Sullivan.

Clinton P. Anderson, New Mexico Democrat, to welcome me. . . . If I had taken a holiday from deadlines, a vacation from hard work was not meant for me. Price immediately had me digest lengthy reports on the nation's scientific standing in preparation for two weeks of hearings he was to conduct on basic atomic research in the months after the launching of Sputnik I.

Besides learning something about the politics of the nation I came back to Louisville with diminished faith in some of the generalities about government, an appreciation of the forces which exert themselves in the legislative struggle, and, I hope, an understanding of what is significant and what is chaff inside the game of politics.

A member of Bray's 1957–1958 class of Congressional Fellows, Betty Trotter, with more than a decade's experience as a reporter, wrote in the November 1958 issue of *California Monthly* about her arrival in the company of three other alumni or graduate students from the University of California-Berkeley campus—a group which

included Jack Howard, a 1948 alumnus working as a labor reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle*; Dean Mann, a 1951 Phi Beta Kappa undergraduate alumnus working on a Ph.D. in water resource administration; and Joyce McLeod, a Berkeley Ph.D. student. The 1950s was an era in which the Congressional Fellowship Program was one of a kind, and the program's access is clear when Trotter describes the orientation program. "To acquaint us with the men and women who run the government and to fill in our Washington background, William Gibbons, associate director of the association and a former Fellow [Gibbons, a Ph.D. political scientist graduate of Princeton, was in the second fellowship class, 1954–1955], took us on a round of interviews of key Washington figures that lasted until Christmas. We meet political scientists, Congressmen and Senators with their staff members and committee personnel, men like Carl Albert, the House Democratic whip; and Joe Martin, the minority leader; lobbyists; and members of Congress representing every view."

In these leaner congressional staff years, this group of Congressional Fellows found themselves writing legislation on juvenile delinquency for Senator Estes Kefauver, working on military pay raises for Senator Stuart Symington, opening up legislative information for a broader public on Representative John Moss' Subcommittee on Government Information, and following Columbia River development for Senator Henry Jackson of Washington. Betty Trotter arrived on Capitol Hill interested in women's participation in politics and was delighted to be on the staff of Congresswoman Leonor K. Sullivan, working on legislation of interest to women, and Katie Louchheim, Vice Chairman and Director of Women's Activities for the Democratic National Committee.

At the end of the decade, the class of 1958–1959, now adamantly referring to themselves no longer as interns but as Congressional Fellows, showed the signs of change. The orientation had been reduced; the program began in November, as it has for the subsequent four decades. It was also the first international class. The Asia Foundation began its near continuous sponsorship of the program (only a brief hiatus from 1995–1998 has interrupted its support). Women and racial minorities continued to stand out in the class make-up for their scarcity, a trend also true of major universities. Ten years later, the [Chicago] *Sun Times* noted that the University of Chicago has become one of the few major colleges "with a Negro in a top administrative

Fellow Joseph P. Ford

In an autobiographical essay on his own experience, Harvard University political scientist Joseph P. Ford wrote that:

one evening last February a group of young men sat quietly in the living room of Dean Acheson's Georgetown home. They listened for three hours while the former Secretary of State related his experiences in peace and war. He spoke completely off the record, holding the group spell-bound with his personal comments on such famous names as Vandenberg, Taft, and Truman, and with his recollections of a colorful era that is now history. From time to time, members of the group asked questions, and later, a mutual discussion took place on the problems of higher education in the United States. Several weeks afterward, the same group was gathered in the Capitol office of House Speaker Sam Rayburn. For an hour and a half, they heard the Speaker reminisce of days now gone to modern memory, days of struggle and glory, in which the high point of drama was Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. Mr. Rayburn spoke of the Founding Fathers and representative government, of farming along the Red River, and of the marble memorial he has built to house his books and belongings. His manner was kind and gentle, and the young men present sensed his link with living history, and they would remember him sitting there, an old man with the heart of a boy and the strength of a pioneer race. . . .

Ford described his experience on the Hill as a "balancing act," which continues to the present, as he referred to "the real heart of the program" as beginning in January:

when the Fellows trek to Capitol Hill for their work in the Congressional offices." "The nature of the work varies with each office," wrote Ford, "but ideally the Fellow will attempt to establish a relationship based on the concept of 'participant-observation.' He will attempt, in other words, to become a working aide to his Congressman, while at the same time maintaining an objective status of 'observer'. . . . As a 'participant,' the Fellow will find himself engaged in a number of tasks, from answering letters to drafting speeches and news releases. Sometimes he will be asked to work on a special case requiring equity, such as an immigrant whose visa has expired, or an elderly couple who, through some technicality, have been denied retirement benefits. On other occasions, he may be reduced to more mundane chores, such as addressing envelopes or getting a box of Number 3 pencils from the stationery room, but in either event he is learning the routine which helps move the gigantic wheels of government.

As an 'observer,' the Fellow will occasionally leave his office to attend committee hearings or perhaps sit through a debate in the House or Senate galleries. If his office has a friendly Administrative Assistant, the Fellow will be invited to attend many of the informal discussions groups which exist on the Hill, where he can meet some of the hundreds of staff members whose labor and skill go largely unnoticed by the public. He will observe, through these informal contacts, the extent to which personal relationships penetrate the fabric of government, giving it color and flexibility. The Congressional Fellowships represent a unique experiment in political education, and for those who have participated in the program, there can be little doubt that the months on Capitol Hill will remain the highpoint of their lives.



Fellow Jack Howard with Government Operations staffer Sam Archibald.

role. He is Eddie Williams, newly named assistant vice president in charge of public affairs. Williams is now reunited with Chuck Daly, University of Chicago vice president. Some 10 years ago, each was a congressional fellow in the American Political Science Association program, Daly working for Sen. John Kennedy and Williams for Sen. Hubert Humphrey” (*Sun Times*, September 26, 1968). Among that same class of Fellows was Stanford political scientist Steve Horn, who would later return to the House of Representatives as Representative Horn of the 38th Congressional District of California.

In other respects, the 1958–1959 class of 17 Fellows still represented a relatively unique group of staffers on Capitol Hill and helped contribute to the “folklore” with which later decades would find it impossible to compete.

During his 1958–1959 fellowship years, *Cincinnati Enquirer* political reporter Michael J. Maloney wrote regular Washington-date-lined legislative stories which noted “Mr. Maloney is in Washington on a fellowship from the American Political Science Association” or “Michael Maloney, *Enquirer* political writer, is in Washington this winter on a congressional fellowship from the American Political Science Association.” A number of the articles reflected his own experience on the Hill and today might appear to be very rudimentary in their

descriptions. The difference was that in 1960 few Americans would have witnessed what he described. “Drop into the House of Representatives on a day when there is no legislation scheduled and you’ll see a study in seeming confusion and disorder that will lead you to wonder how in the world anything ever gets done” (*Cincinnati, Ohio Enquirer*, March 6, 1960). Maloney’s active reporting, while a Fellow, would not be permitted in the current fellowship as it would court conflict-of-interest concerns in an institution which places a high premium on confidentiality.

In that same class was Harry W. Ernst of the *West Virginia Charleston Gazette* whose byline noted that “the writer recently returned from a year in Washington as a Congressional Fellow, studying Congress on a grant from the American Political Science Assn. His impressions of Congress follow.” Writing in the years prior to the reforms of the 1970s, Ernst observed that “somewhere between the slap-stick caricatures of cartoonist Al Capp and the mystical worship of columnist William S. White lies the complex truth about the Congress of these United States. Its paternalistic leaders rule a cozy roost in which party labels mean little. Its rules are worshiped by the majority as divinely inspired. They are stretched, ignored and overcome only when the leadership, re-interpreting dogma for a new generation, puts in the fix.”

“Denied too long,” Ernst wrote about a decade before the actual event, “the rank and file may revolt. But this has happened rarely in American history. The leadership, after all, controls the committee assignments which shape Congressional careers. Few dare look a gift horse in the mouth.” Ernst was particularly tough on the southern Dixiecrat.

In the ornate halls of the U.S. Capitol where Congress assembles to act upon the decisions of the committee room, there is no meaningful two-party system. . . . Seniority and the committee system promote the Congressional careers of Dixiecrats because they seldom face any real opposition for re-election in the one-party South. As a result, they rapidly accrue the uninterrupted years of service which make them committee chairmen. If the majority of Democrats in Congress were to deny the Dixiecrat minority the sanctity of their political home on the grounds of ideological incompatibility, then the Southerners would lose



Fellow (1957–1958) Joyce McLeod and Congressman Chet Holifield.

their positions of power from which, working with conservative Republicans, they usually are able to dominate Congress.

The class of 1958–1959 might have had one additional Fellow, political scientist David Welborn, but it was discovered after his acceptance that he was under the 25-year-old age limit. His following year's acceptance ran afoul of a lack of funds. As he describes the situation, "I was in D.C. working on my dissertation, about to be married, and without a job. When a position at Indiana University came along, I took it. It turned out that funding did come in later, but it was too late for me." In 1960, he received an APSA letter from Mrs. Jean Walen noting that Welborn had not applied for that year and hoping that "the unfortunate circumstances which surrounded your application the past two years has not discouraged you from applying again." He did reapply as a political scientist from Indiana University and became part of the 1961–1962 class of Congressional Fellows. Years later he was back in D.C. with the University of Tennessee in Knoxville collecting oral history biographic material on former Senator, and current U.S. Ambassador to Japan, Howard Baker. Tenacity has probably always been a characteristic of Fellows, but Welborn set a high standard.

Asia Foundation Fellows

Before the 1950s concluded, the Asia Foundation added an international aspect to the fellowship, sponsoring 122 Asia Fellows between 1958 and 1995. Asia Fellows came from such diverse working environments as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in China (1958–1959), the Kuomintang Central Committee (1962–1963) and the *Straits-Times of Malaysia* (1960–1961) to the Legislative Assembly of India (1963–1964) and to a graduate student at Howard University who was also vice president of the Indonesian Students Association in the United States. Following a brief hiatus between 1995 and 1998, the Asia Foundation once again began sponsoring Fellows.

The Decade of the 1960s:
Gaining Reputation, Increasing Diversity

A 1964 Department of State News Letter (page 18) pictured 16 Federal Congressional Fellows at the White House. It was noteworthy in a number of respects. They were all white men, all wore dark suits and white shirts, and 11 wore black horn-rimmed glasses. The group of Fellows was there at the invitation of President Lyndon B. Johnson who was pictured addressing them. As outlined in the article, the Congressional Fellows Program was sponsored jointly by the American Political Science Association and the U.S. Civil Service Commission. It included a six-week orientation period followed by “four months’ service in an activity of the Senate and equal time in an activity of the House.” The president told the Fellows that “the year’s experience you just received in the Congressional Fellowship Program represents an invaluable addition to your careers. No high Government official can be completely effective if he does not understand the role of Congress in our Democracy. . . . your task now is to pass them on to the Federal executives and managers with whom you work.” At that same meeting, the president, after looking over the group, reportedly asked “where are the women?” Since Federal Fellows had first entered the program in the 1960–1961 class, the participants had been entirely male. To add some credence to the story, the class following the meeting with President Johnson included three women among the 17 Federal Fellows.

Academics on the Hill, the Hill in the Classroom

During the decade of the 1960s, the political scientist Fellows seemed well on their way to a sustained overhaul of how the discipline was taught in U.S. universities. The 1967–1968 class of Congressional Fellows, for example, included assistant professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts, David R. Mayhew. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Amherst College with a Ph.D. from Harvard University, Mayhew’s doctoral dissertation, “Party Loyalty Among Congressmen: The Difference Between Democrats and Republicans, 1947–1962,” had recently been published by Harvard University Press. In his review of the book, *Washington Post* national politics reporter David S. Broder noted that Mayhew’s study was based on some 300 House roll call votes from 1947 through 1962 on issues of special significance to farmers, urban dwellers, workers, and Westerners. The author’s purpose was to determine the degree to which partisanship served as



President Johnson addresses a somewhat homogenous group of Fellows.

a unifying force among Republicans and Democrats from districts that were “interested” in or “indifferent” to the particular policy question. Noting the book’s relevance to President Johnson’s legislative agenda and the 90th Congress, Broder pointed to the conclusion that Democrats could pass a farm program with 230 members on their side of the aisle but that defections on urban and labor programs, such as raising the minimum wage, could require above 280 votes. “With 248 Democrats in the 90th Congress,” observed Broder, “President Johnson apparently has his work cut out for him” (“Capital Reading: Gravy Is the Glue Binding Democrats,” December 17, 1968, *Washington Post*).

Had Mayhew already passed the need for spending time on the Hill? “It’s like studying about New Zealand,” he observed in the March 10, 1967 issues of the *Springfield* [Massachusetts] *Union*, “you can learn a great deal about a country—or Congress—from books, but you can’t be sure what it’s like until you’ve been there.”

He soon became an example of an academic fully engaged in the world of civic education and practical politics as his December 26, 1967 Letter to the Editor of the *Washington Post* suggested. Mayhew took issue with a *Post* December 17 Gallup poll article which had been picked up by *Newsweek*, *U.S. News*, and the *New York Times*. The poll gave candidate preferences of Republican county chairmen across the country with just over half of them supporting Richard M. Nixon. “It may be time to blow the whistle on the whole enterprise,” wrote Mayhew.

Fellow Joan Claybrook

One of the women in the 1965–1966 class of Fellows was a 28-year-old GS-12 working for the Social Security Administration in Baltimore, Joan Claybrook. For her House congressional staff position she signed on with Representative James MacKay, a Southern liberal Democrat from Atlanta, who asked her to work on auto safety. Joan reportedly told MacKay she'd just read an amazing book, *Unsafe at Any Speed*, by Ralph Nader. When MacKay decided to introduce an auto safety bill, he asked Claybrook to draft it. It was the first regulatory bill for the auto industry. After finishing her fellowship in the Senate with Senator Walter Mondale, Claybrook moved to the newly-created National Traffic Safety Bureau where she became assistant to the director. She stayed there until 1970 when she joined Nader. In 1973, she founded and directed *Congress Watch*, *Public Citizen's* congressional lobbying group, and completed her Georgetown University law degree. In 1977, Claybrook left *Congress Watch* when President Jimmy Carter asked her to head the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. Whether they always agreed with her or not, people who worked for Claybrook there remember her as aggressive, hard-working, and agenda-driven.

Following her service in the Carter Administration, Joan Claybrook moved back to become president of *Public Citizen* where she took on almost any issue she saw as affecting the public good from health care to insurance, from legal rights to banking, from nuclear energy to privacy and access to public documents. From the beginning, however, there were two issues which captured her fiercest energies—automobile safety and campaign finance. In the mid-1990s, a *Washington Post* article described the woman whose life had been substantially changed through being an APSA Congressional Fellow:

The tall, bespectacled woman at a make-shift lectern in a Capitol Hill hearing room doesn't look particularly fierce. Her face is scrubbed, her shoes sturdy, her smile ready. In a brightly colored suit and pearls, she looks like an aging version of the Junior Leaguer she once was. But make no mistake, consumer advocate Joan Claybrook is no pussycat. A high-profile public interest lobbyist, she has earned adversaries all over the map. The automobile industry calls her 'the Dragon Lady.' Hill staffers wonder aloud where she's stashed her broom. Practically anywhere you look in Washington, there are corporate honchos, government officials and Members of Congress who go positively ballistic at the sound of her name.

If some viewed her as an adversary, others saw her as a public treasure. "If you have just one person on your side," noted Senator John Kerry (D-Mass.), "you would want it to be Joan. Not only is she so good that you could win on the merits, but she's also so respected that she brings forces with her." "In victory or defeat," the *Washington Post* article concluded, "Claybrook watchers are continually impressed with her ability to pick up the pieces and move on. 'You have to be an optimist to be doing something this long. You have to recognize there are a whole series of problems you can't solve in the next year. But you have to have a vision that says, 'We're going to make incremental changes and build power for long-range victories in the future.' You have to believe it matters. And Claybrook does."



Fellow Joan Claybrook (right) attends the 2001 Advisory Committee dinner seated next to Senator Richard Lugar.

The problem is that, if counted equally, county chairmen represent cows more accurately than Republicans. Georgia has more counties than New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania added together. South Dakota has more than California. Nebraska has 93 counties; Connecticut, with twice Nebraska's population has only eight. The effect of the poll is to over-represent systematically the views of Republicans in the South and rural Midwest, and to under-represent the views of Republicans in the Northeast, the Pacific states and in cities and suburbs everywhere. . . . The results of this poll ought to be weighted for population, or else the poll should be abandoned as irrelevant and misleading.

From scholarly studies to public statements, the political science Fellows had a sense that students in university classrooms were missing the essence of politics. As reported in the *Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman* of March 17, 1961, a member of the 1960–1961 class of Fellows, Patrick J. Conklin, a 33-year-old Tulsa University professor

working in the office of Oklahoma's Representative and House Democratic Whip Carl Albert, concluded that "college students are receiving 'appalling' instruction in political science. Each day he watches the ins and outs and backstage gyrations of the legislative process. He hopes to carry back to the campus a fund of knowledge that isn't in the textbooks." "Conklin," the article noted, "said that textbooks and news media do not reflect the difficulty of the job of being a lawmaker and the amount of work involved. Also lacking, he said, is a spotlight on the fact that a good member of Congress does not attempt to 'take the politics out of politics.' The executive branch of the government tends to get more than its just share of publicity. One reason is that [C]ongress is not in session the year around. 'The public tends to be less than favorable to the legislative branch.'"

That said, the selection process for the fellowship throughout the 1960s continued to reflect the program's high esteem among the top levels of the government and press. For the 1963–1964 class of Fellows, for example, the Advisory Committee included Senators Leverett Saltonstall (R-Massachusetts) and Lee Metcalf (D-Montana), Representatives Thomas B. Curtis (R-Missouri) and Morris K. Udall (D-Arizona), Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman, John W. Macy, Jr., chairman of the Civil Service Commission; Arthur Barriault of *NBC-TV News*, Richard Kirkpatrick of *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, Elmer Plischke, chairman of the Government Department at the University of Maryland and A. Robert Smith, Washington correspondent of the *Pacific Northwest Newspapers (Morning Sentinel, Waterville, Maine, February 25, 1963 announcing that Marvin G. Weinbaum, instructor in government at Colby College, was one of 16 winners in the national competition for the 1963–1964 Congressional Fellowship awards).*

Bringing Congress to the World: Journalist Fellows on the Hill

The Fellows' impact on the public was not limited to the classroom. In 1967, James F. Hoge, Jr., 31, was named managing editor of the *Chicago Sun Times*. City editor of the paper since 1965, the announcement noted that in 1962 Hoge had received an American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship, one of eight journalists, and spent 10 months studying government operations in Washington (*Arkansas Gazette*, Tuesday, April 4, 1967). From its inception in 1953 the journalists in the fellowship has been almost exclusive-

ly from the print media. A March 14, 1964 *Editor & Publisher* article by Caryl Rivers, “Reporters Acclaim Capitol Experience,” quoted William G. Kagler of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, one of seven journalists in the 1963–1964 class. “When you’ve been part of the system, you’re more sensitive to why it may or may not work,” said Kagler who was working in the office of Senator Abraham Ribicoff (R-New York). “So much of what goes across an editor’s desk today involves the federal government—even in the ‘boondocks.’ As an editor you are a lot more equipped to provide leadership if you understand the workings of the government. More and more papers are going into intensive reporting in the area of government.” Kagler reportedly found that after coming to Washington, he had to make a “mental switch from the objectivity of a newsman to the necessity for being subjective. ‘He felt the fellowship was a good opportunity ‘to find out if I can function in a government climate or if I was born to be a newsman.’”

The comment illustrated an interesting contrast between political scientists and journalists as Congressional Fellows. One could argue that the discipline of political science found no essential conflict between moving from an outside observer to an inside operator. The academic study of the Congress could probably always benefit from experiencing the operations that one taught. The recruitment of professors as Fellows had encountered few obstacles in the past and there was no foreseeable reason that recruitment would not continue into the future. For the press, however, there were inherent limitations. The first was, would newspapers or the other media always find it useful to have a member of the staff conversant with the inside operations of the legislative branch as suggested by the 1960s? Secondly, Kagler had indicated an inherent philosophic conflict which most journalist Fellows had to resolve.

The theme for these journalists, ranging in age from mid-20s to mid-30s with two to 10 years experience in the newspaper field, was the program's recruitment audience according to fellowship director Donald G. Tacheron, himself a 1961–1962 journalist Fellow from the *Eugene [Oregon] Register-Guard*. Steve Leshner of the *Winston-Salem [North Carolina] Journal*, who decided to work for Democratic Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana because “I wanted a bright, young, liberal Democrat,” indicated that “the problem for a newsman-fellow is that you have to decide whether you want to be a Scotty Reston and believe that ‘the truth shall set you free’ or whether you want to put up with

the facade and nonsense that politics requires but where you are in a position to do things.”

Journalist Fellow Richard P. Conlon of the *Minneapolis* [Minnesota] *Tribune* ended up preferring a position where he could “do things.” While working for Representative Frank Thompson he helped coordinate the Democratic whip system in the House during the vote on the Civil Rights bill. Conlon went on to be the highly respected, by Members and staff alike, Staff Director of the House Democratic Study Group.

Roger Blobaum of the Associated Press said, “I came here very concerned about freedom of information in government. I have found that in Congress this problem is not as important as I thought. There is a great deal of off-the-record briefing here. I also didn’t like the idea of holding executive sessions, but when I see how complex these bills are and the importance of compromise, I’ve become convinced that these sessions are necessary.” John Heritage of the *Atlanta Constitution* suggested that

my whole idea of the kind of people in D.C. has changed. I have discovered that most people in responsible positions here are sincere, articulate and sophisticated about most subjects. Many are political experts as well as vote getters. When you are looking in from outside, much of what you read about Congress is critical. When you get close and see the problems Congressmen have in time and the amount of information they have to absorb, you can see how Congress has a hard time running smoothly sometimes.

“As a newspaperman,” added Neal Gregory of the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, “you like to seize on a lead. But there are very few yes and no values or black and white issues—but many areas of grey. I think the main problem is that much reporting is lacking in depth. I don’t think that this is always the reporter’s fault. Most newspapers don’t have enough space to cover Washington adequately.”

For the journalist Fellows’ sponsoring organizations, the 1960s was something of a high-water mark for the program. “The newspapers whose reporters win the fellowships are unusually enthusiastic,” commented fellowship director Donald Tacheron. A number

of papers were not only giving leaves of absence but granting stipend supplements as well. *The New York Times* Fund, the *Louisville Courier Journal* Fund, *Time* Inc., and Nelson Poynter, publisher of the *St. Petersburg Times* and the *Congressional Quarterly*, were among the contributors to the program.

The stipend for the 1961–1962 Fellows was \$4,500 plus traveling expenses. An October 8, 1960, article in the *State Journal* of Lansing, Michigan, highlighted the Federal Fellows whom President Johnson had addressed and noted that fellowships were available to political journalists, political scientists, and members of law school faculties between the ages of 23 and 35 and that:

after national competition and a process of regional interviews, final selection of at least 17 winners is made by an advisory committee composed of members of both parties in Congress, Washington journalists and political scientists. About a hundred Fellows have been in Washington under the Fellowship program the past eight years.

Yale University 1961–1962 political science Fellow Alton Frye, in an article for the *Atlantic Monthly*, described as growing “out of his recent tenure as Congressional Fellow of the American Political Science Association,” looked at the Kennedy Administration’s Fiscal 1964 budget skirmishes and the space program. Possibly reflecting his Council on Foreign Relations ambience, Frye wrote that “it may be that in order to protect American satellites from Soviet anti-satellite operations, which seem only too probable in the case of American, reconnaissance satellites, the United States must also possess satellite interceptors with which to threaten reprisals against Soviet satellites. Only by making sure that the dangers of hostile use of space are mutual can we be confident of ensuring reciprocal restraint in the deployment of space weapons and of preserving a stable strategic balance on earth.”

During the same era, the only high school teacher participant in the fellowship, 1962–1963 Fellow Daniel B. Fleming of Marietta High School wrote a series of Washington-dated articles in the *Marietta Ohio Times*. In the pre C-SPAN television days, Fleming described the rare televised congressional event of the swearing-in of the

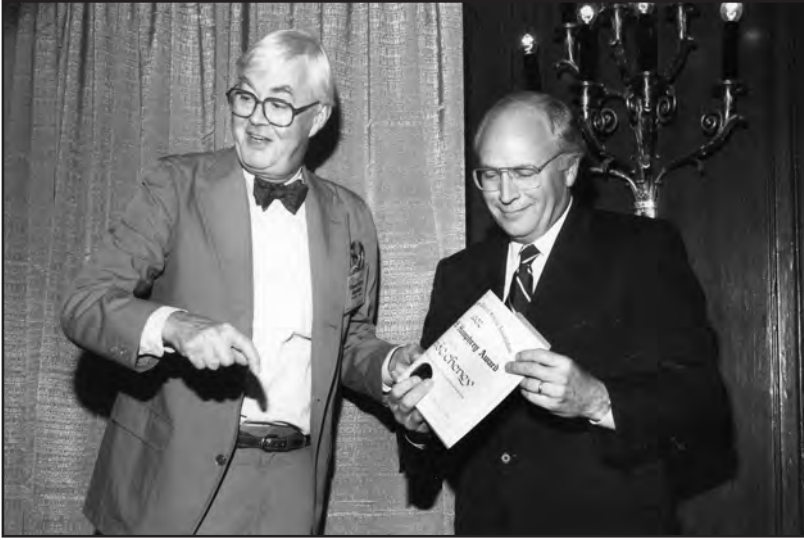
88th Congress from the floor of the House of Representatives. “The TV cameras are set up in the gallery opposite the speaker’s chair and occasionally bright flood lights are turned on. The House under former Speaker Rayburn frowned upon TV and still does not allow much use of it at all in contrast with the Senate” (January 15, 1963, *Marietta Ohio Times*).

Making Friends in High Places: The CFP Legend Grows

As Hubert Humphrey moved into the vice president’s office in 1965, the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program moved with him. He had been a stalwart supporter of the fellowship since his election to the Senate in 1948, served on the program’s Advisory Committee and, as rumor had it, was routinely given his choice of a Fellow from among succeeding classes. As a former aide was reported to have said, “Humphrey has always liked generalists on his staff, he wants any individual at any given moment to be able to write a speech, greet his great-aunt Tilly from Hibbing, have a discussion with a cabinet member about a pending political decision, regardless of the staff member’s assigned role.” Congressional Fellows seemed well suited to his job description.

In an Ann Terry article in the *St. Paul* [Minnesota] *Pioneer* (“Eager, Young Staff Reflects Humphrey Personality”), Humphrey’s key staff were profiled including John Stewart, a 29-year-old political science Fellow from the University of Chicago, who prepared position papers on the vice president’s staff in such areas as employment and anti-poverty. Stewart would be in charge of program development, talent scouting, and general research while in the Fellowship, before later going on to become director of the Fellowship (1961–1962) and assistant director of APSA.

He also will head a four-man civil rights coordinating committee, an area he is already familiar with as he was Humphrey’s chief assistant during the Senate battle over the civil rights legislation last summer. Stewart, a tall New Yorker who made his first trip to Minnesota last summer, has worked for Humphrey since September 1962. He was graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Colgate University and received a Ph.D. degree in political science from the University of Chicago. Just prior



Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan with Fellow (1968–1969) Richard Cheney, recipient of APSA's 1992 Hubert H. Humphrey Award.

Fellow Richard Cheney

As the fellowship moved on, it was inevitable that it would begin to accumulate lists of “illustrious” alumni. One of those standard bearers was Richard Cheney, the Joseph E. Davies political science Fellow from the University of Wisconsin in the 1968–1969 class. Cheney would go on to become the At-Large Representative from Wyoming, host to a succession of Congressional Fellows and a member of the fellowship Advisory Committee, assistant to former Representative Donald H. Rumsfeld at both the Office of Economic Opportunity and the White House, chief of staff to President Gerald Ford, secretary of defense, and vice president to the 2000 presidential election victor George W. Bush. In his May 14, 2003 *Washington Times* piece, John McCaslin provided some early history on Congressional Fellow Dick Cheney. McCaslin noted that the vice president had attended the Hudson Institute presentation of the James Doolittle Award to his former boss, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld. As McCaslin told the story:

"The true story . . . is that I flunked my first interview," Mr. Cheney said of his 1968 meeting with Mr. Rumsfeld, then a Republican member of the House from Illinois.

Mr. Cheney was a young Congressional Fellow, working on his doctoral dissertation, with plans to return to the University of Wisconsin to teach. As part of his fellowship, he was to negotiate an employment arrangement, working for free, with the lawmaker of his choice.

Mr. Rumsfeld had spoken to the group of Fellows, "and I was impressed, so I made an appointment to go see him," Mr. Cheney said. "And the interview lasted about 15 minutes, and I found myself back out in the hallway. And it was clear that we hadn't hit it off.

"He thought I was some kind of airhead academic, and I thought he was rather an arrogant young member of Congress," Mr. Cheney said. "Probably we were both right."

A short time later, Mr. Rumsfeld was tapped by President Nixon to be director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Mr. Cheney, working for free for another congressman [Representative William A. Steiger, R-Wisconsin], "sat down one night, unsolicited, and wrote a 12-page memo suggesting to [Mr. Rumsfeld] how he should handle himself in his confirmation hearings and giving him some sterling advice on what he ought to do with the department once he got confirmed."

Weeks went by. Then, the day after Mr. Rumsfeld was sworn in, Mr. Cheney received a phone call asking him to meet with the new director. After Mr. Cheney was led into the office, Mr. Rumsfeld had little to say, except: "You, you're congressional relations. Now get out of here."

"And that's how I was hired," Mr. Cheney said.



Fellow Hugh McDonald with his boss,
Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

to working for Humphrey, he was the director of the American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship Program.

As the decade of the 1960s neared its end, the stipend had been raised to \$6,000 plus travel expenses and the dimensions of the APSA Congressional Fellowship had been substantially enlarged with the inclusion in the 1965–1966 class of a much larger number of U.S. Government employees. With the encouragement of President Lyndon B. Johnson, who had been impressed with the program while in the Senate, the U.S. Civil Service Commission, a co-sponsor with APSA, indicated that “a primary objective of the program is to provide an opportunity for promising young Federal executives to acquire a thorough understanding of congressional operations. Such knowledge is expected to be valuable to them and to the programs in which they will serve as they progress to positions of greater responsibility in the executive branch.”

From fellowship classes averaging about a dozen-and-a-half, the average class now numbered near 40, with 18–20 of the Fellows sponsored by executive branch departments and agencies. While there was probably always a nagging concern in executive personnel of-

ices that their sponsored Fellow might be lured away to the legislative branch, at least their employees were accustomed to the “Potomac fever” which had an impact on most non-D.C. residents. A case in point was Richard J. Moose in the 1965–1966 class. Moose had arrived as a Foreign Service Officer most recently assigned in Cameroon. By February 1968, he was one of “LBJ’s Young Men Who Make the White House Tick” as covered in *U.S. News & World Report* (February 5, 1968). “A ‘junior brain trust’ is now emerging at the White House,” observed the magazine. “These are the young men, in their 20s and 30s, who have the ear of the President—and growing influence in national affairs.” Speaking at the White House, President Johnson noted that “you may not have heard of any of them,” but every American has “felt their influence.” Included in the group was Moose, 35, from Heber Springs, Arkansas. His current duties included handling liaison between the White House press office and the Departments of State and Defense.

Fellows and the Run for Office

Susceptibility to D.C.’s special political air was probably greater for newcomers to the Capital—notably the political scientists and journalists. As *Newsweek* reported about the fellowship toward the end of the decade (August 5, 1968), Fellows “are assigned to everything from answering mail to writing speeches and drafting legislation in the hope that they will return to their old jobs with a better understanding of how Washington really works. In this hectic—and violent—election year, a few fellows have landed squarely into history.”

Among those Fellows featured were 30-year-old Hugh McDonald who became a Congressional Fellow following extensive journalist experience in Michigan with *United Press International*, the *Lansing State Journal*, and the *Detroit Free Press*, he had covered the state legislature for Booth Newspapers, Inc., and served as education editor of the *Grand Rapids Press*. He had then moved on to the staff of Long Island’s *Newsday* and, as a Fellow, had secured a position as a press assistant in Senator Robert Kennedy (D-NY)’s office. Although at the time he secured the position, there had been no announcement of Senator Kennedy’s presidential bid, by April 1968 the *New York Times* noted that “spokesmen for Senators Robert F. Kennedy and Edward M. Kennedy acknowledged today that about 20 of their publicly paid

Senatorial staff members were working in Kennedy-for-President headquarters. They said there was nothing new in the practice. But the Senate Democratic leader, Mike Mansfield of Montana, raised an eyebrow when asked about the dual assignments.” Hugh McDonald, now assistant press secretary for the presidential candidate, was quoted as saying that all the staffers were “working longer hours—at least 12 hours a day” to fill both jobs.” (*New York Times*, April 17, 1968). “Last year,” he said, “I was covering town meetings in Smithtown, Long Island. This year, the experts were calling me to ask what I thought the senator’s next move would be.” *Newsweek* noted that McDonald “had campaigned with Kennedy from the day he helped set up the news conference in which RFK announced he would run for President to the night when McDonald tore off his coat and folded it as a pillow for the dying senator’s head.”

It is worth noting that the issue of congressional staff participating in campaign activities was not unique to McDonald’s era. As the biweekly congressional newspaper *The Hill* noted on its front page of Wednesday, October 30, 2002 (Alexander Bolton, “Staffers Blue Line between Official Duties and Campaigns”), “with the election a mere six days away, a large number of congressional aides are working around the country to help their bosses win reelection or help their parties win control of Congress. Many of these aides continue to receive federal paychecks, either on a part-time basis or while they are on paid vacation, at the same time maintaining their congressional retirement and medical benefits.” The article referred to the House of Representatives “Ethics Manual” which states: “House employees are compensated from funds of the Treasury for regular performance of official duties. They are not paid to do campaign work.” The manual goes on to note that employees are allowed to engage in campaign activities on their own time, as volunteers or for pay, as long as they do not do so in congressional offices or use official resources. The article pointed out that “these exceptions allow lawmakers to pay for campaign manpower through their federal office while sticking to the letter—if not the spirit—of congressional ethics rules.”

Jeffrey H. Antevil, another journalist in the 1967–1968 class from *The Miami Herald*, continued after the fellowship to handle press relations for Vice President Hubert Humphrey.



Humphrey with some of the lucky former Fellows who served with him. (L-R): Timothy M. Barnickle (1972–1973), James A. Thurber (1973–1974), John G. Stewart (1960–1961), Wendy S. Ross, Senator Humphrey, Cynthia F. Carrington (1971–1972), Charles P. Henry (1972–1973), Mark A. Siegel (1971–1972), and Robert L. Healy (1970–1971).

Stepping Stone: The Fellowship as Career Change and Big Break

As these few journalist Fellows' vignettes suggest, it had become next to impossible to forecast what Congressional Fellows would discover about themselves and their career paths during the course of the fellowship. The philosophic base had traditionally been that Fellows would take new insights back to whence they came and translate the rather arcane world of Washington, D.C. politics to a larger audience which would itself be better able to interpret national policy. That path was becoming somewhat circuitous. A case in point was a member of the 1968–1969 class of Congressional Fellows. Thomas W. Pew, Jr., one of eight journalists, entered the program as the Editor and Associate Publisher of the *Troy (Ohio) Daily News*. Speaking at a convention of the Hoosier State Press Association, portions of which

were later reprinted in *Publishers' Auxiliary* ("Under-30 Editor Twits Over-30 Publishers"), Pew said "It's fortunate for publishers and editors that newspaper work is like a narcotic, because if it weren't there wouldn't be a talented person left in the business. In the American Political Science program in which I am currently participating, out of the eight newspapermen with Congressional Fellowships, only myself and one other are certain that they are going to return to the Business. The others are looking for something better. It's not difficult for good newsmen to find something better."

Pew pointed to two glaring shortcomings in the "establishment" newspaper business: "First, newspapers don't pay reporters (and sometimes editors) a fair day's wage for a fair day's work; and second, they indulge in restrictive business practices whenever they can get away with them." He suggested it had taken an outsider, Ralph Nader, to show newspapers what they should be doing. Nader had been described by the *New York Times* as "making a career of opposing those centers of power—corporations, unions, government or whatever—he believes are infringing upon the public interest. Now," Pew continued, "if that's not a description of what newspapering is all about I don't know what is. Yet Nader is not a product of newspapers and it's doubtful that most newspapers still have enough sense of direction to understand what it means to the business when a single man arrives in the nation's capital and starts writing some of the most important news stories of this generation, all the while surrounded by the stars of the newspaper business who are, for the most part, grinding out the same old hand-out rewrites." Pew's remarks to the conference amounted to a plea for more investigative journalism.

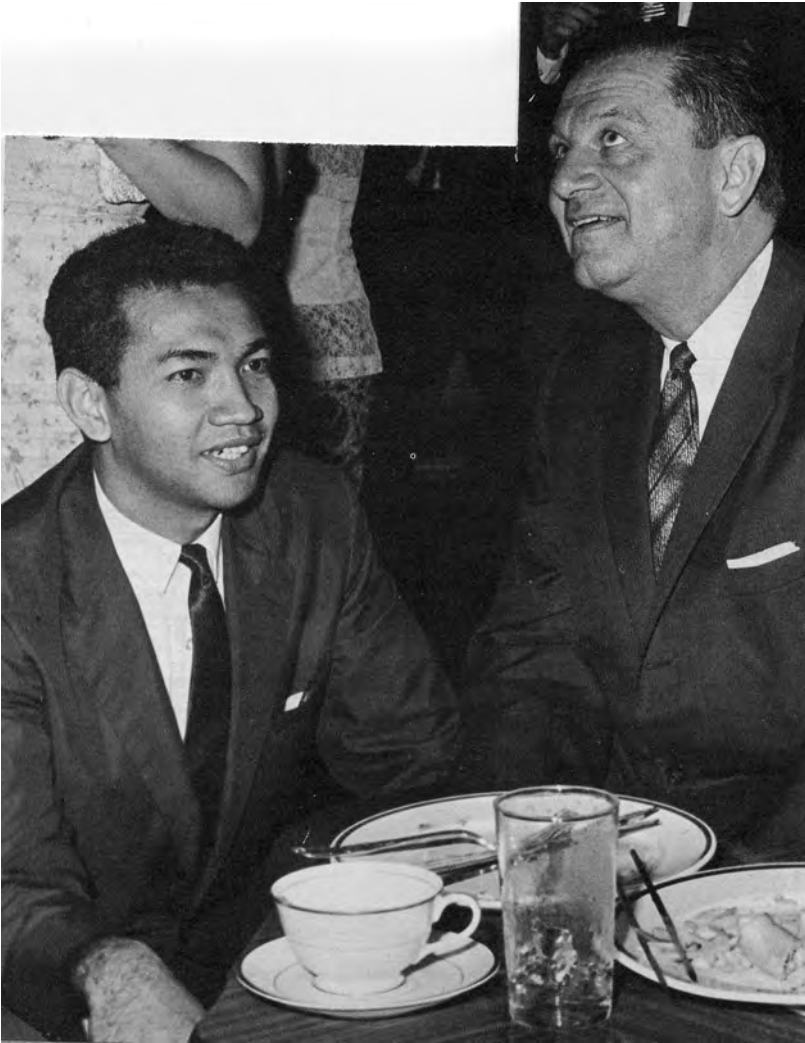
It was not an abstraction for Pew. As reported in a September 6, 1969 issue of *Publishers' Auxiliary*, in May, 1968, Kermit Vandivier, a part-time columnist for the *Dayton (Ohio) Daily News*, was working at the B. F. Goodrich Company plant in Troy, Ohio as a technical writer. Vandivier was reportedly asked by superiors to issue a false report, purporting to show that Goodrich-made brakes for the A7D aircraft had been manufactured and tested to military requirements, when in fact, they had not, a fact later borne out by the U.S. Air Force and the General Accounting Office. Vandivier at first refused, but under direct orders to write the report, he finally did so. In October, Vandivier resigned from Goodrich, after first warning BFG officials he was going to publicize his part in the A7D report. He went to work the following



Thomas W. Pew, Jr. served a brief stint as a journalist in Vietnam a year before becoming a Fellow (1968–1969).

day as a full-time staff writer with Pew's paper, the *Troy Daily News*. Releasing the story, however, remained a rocky road. The *Troy Daily News'* attorneys said that even though the story was documented by reams of evidence and corroborated by the engineer who had helped design the defective brake, the risk was too great. The paper might eventually win any libel suit, but the cost of defending such a suit would be prohibitive. Similar interest with the same cautionary conclusion was the result at *Look Magazine* and *The Nation*.

At this point, Pew, on leave from his paper, entered his first Congressional Fellowship assignment with Representative Frank Thompson (D-New Jersey). From his staff position, Pew attempted to find congressional interest with the House Commerce Committee and the Economy in Government Subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee, but issues of jurisdiction stymied action. Determined to get the story publicized, Pew sent a copy to Ralph Nader, who recommended several Senators he felt would be willing to expose the story. Pew applied for a staff position with Senator William Proxmire (D-Wisconsin), who was interested and hired Pew. Committee jurisdiction questions were eventually side-stepped by referral to the General Accounting Office (GAO), which fast-tracked its own investigation. The results, as stated by a Pew editorial in the *Troy Daily News*, included: a resignation at the Goodrich plant in Troy, an FBI investigation, a Senate hearing in which the GAO and Air Force engineers backed up testimony of a Goodrich design engineer that the testing practices on



Fellow (1961–1962) Dewanto Danusubroto, President of the Indonesia Students Association of the United States, meets with Senator Howard W. Cannon.

four-rotor brakes for the A7D light attack aircraft scheduled for use in Vietnam “were not adequate to insure the delivery of a qualified brake to the Air Force.” In the end, it was Tom Pew’s position as a Congressional Fellow that allowed him to play the role he expected of journalism and journalists.

The Fellowship’s Increasing Diversity



Lee Hamilton, left, confers with Fellow (1968–1969) Werner Peters.

Before the end of the 1960s, the fellowship's international Fellows added a world-wide dimension to the journalistic base. Between 1964 and 1982 the Congressional Fellowship annually had one or two Harkness Fellows in the program. The Commonwealth Fund grant provided an allowance for 21 months of travel, work, and study in the U.S. While Harkness Fellows most frequently sought an affiliation with a U.S. university, those participants with an interest in the U.S. legislative process were provided the opportunity of spending part of the time as Congressional Fellows. Over those years, Harkness Fellows came into the program from the *Yorkshire Post* (UK), Oxford University, the Center National Recherche Scientifique in Paris, the University of Paris, *Advertiser Newspapers, Ltd. of South Australia*, the *Sunday Times of London*, the Rome Bureau of the *New York Times*, the *British Broadcasting Corporation*, the *London Times Higher Education Supplement*, the

Pendle District Council of England, and the Office of the Minister of State of the British Parliament.

One non-journalist Harkness Fellow in the 1968–1969 class of Congressional Fellows was 27-year-old Werner Peters of Germany. He arrived with a doctorate in classical languages from Bonn University but, as he described himself, “my main interests are politics, politicians and politicking itself” (*Courier-Journal & Times*, Louisville, Kentucky, March 23, 1969, Jim Renneisen, “German Scholar Likes Job As ‘Substitute Hoosier’”). “His Greek and Latin studies were concentrated heavily on the political theorists of the classical period, and his free hours while attending the university were devoted to pamphleteering for the Christian Democrats in the recent West German elections.” Peters, his wife, Gisella, and their young son, had already spent several months touring the U.S. and he had completed two terms of post-doctoral work in political science at Harvard University.

Peters’ 1968–1969 Congressional Fellow colleagues included nine print journalists, four Asia Foundation Fellows from Pakistan, Ceylon, and Korea, 24 Federal Fellows, another Harkness Fellow from the University of Paris, and eight political scientists including Richard Cheney from the University of Wisconsin at Madison who would go on to his own congressional career, a cabinet position as Secretary of Defense, and later become the vice president of the United States in 2001. With the other Fellows, Peters interviewed to secure a congressional staff position and found a spot with Representative Lee Hamilton (D-Indiana) who just happened to speak some German himself. Peters found the man and the rolling hills and broad river valleys of his Southern Indiana congressional district very much to his liking. It reminded him of the Rhine valley around his native Dusseldorf. Peters was fascinated by Hamilton’s personal contacts with citizens in the small cities such as Oldenburg or Batesville. He was most impressed by the aspect of American government in which a congressman “considers himself a kind of ombudsman for all of his people—an advocate for the citizen when he feels injured or is perplexed by his government.” Peters noted that a German deputy in the Bundestag “generally votes in the interest of his political party and is not much swayed by the sectional interests of the people of the district he represents. In contrast, the German Bundestag deputy now finds it all but impossible to do the things an American congressman can do for his constituents because of the lack of a paid professional staff.” He hoped to infuse

some of his new insight as a political science professor in Germany. There he hoped his new outlook would become a “foothold” to active engagement in the Germany parliamentary system.

The Decade of the 1970s:
The Fellowship as Institution

As the APSA Congressional Fellowship neared its 20th anniversary in 1973, the fellowship's first two decades were a self-described success. The Program's brochure stated:

Independent evaluations indicate that virtually all past Congressional Fellows view their experience in the Program as highly positive and instrumental in their personal and career development. Alumni of the Program include university presidents, vice presidents, deans, department chairpersons and professors; newspaper and magazine editors, columnists and reporters; federal bureaucrats, a number at super grade and assistant secretary levels; congressional committee and office staff; and foundation and business executives. Well over 300 books and articles, as well as countless newspaper items, have been produced largely as a result of the fellowship experience.

Financially, the fellowship's funding represented an impressive list of corporate sponsorship. Funded initially by the Edgar Stern Family Fund of New Orleans, subsequent support came from the Ford Foundation; the fellowship awards in political science and journalism were assisted by grants from IBM, EXXON, Andreas Foundation, Johnson Wax Fund, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the New York Times Foundation and Merck. Participation of Fellows from other categories was then, as it continues to be, dependent on an administrative fee for each sponsored Fellow provided by a federal agency or department, the Asia Foundation, or the Commonwealth Fund.

Canadian Parliamentary Exchange

As the program ushered in the decades of the 1970s, it added a new element to the fellowship—the Canadian Parliamentary Exchange with the Canadian Parliamentary Internship Program sponsored by the Canadian Political Science Association. The Program was designed to allow Canadian university graduates the opportunity to gain practical, first hand knowledge of the day to day operation of the Canadian Parliament and the daily work of M.Ps. It was composed of 10 college graduates selected from throughout Canada from fields such political science and history. The program was directed by James

Ross Hurley of the University of Ottawa, who later became a highly respected senior advisor to the Canadian Privy Council.

The Canadian Parliamentary Exchange has remained for its subsequent 30-plus years a highlight for all participating Congressional Fellows. Its outline has remained essentially the same since its inception. To match the 10 Canadian Interns, the Department of External Affairs (now the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, DFAIT) provided funding for 10 Congressional Fellows and the director which amounted to air fare plus \$10 per day for those Fellows billeted with Interns, or \$25 per day for those staying in hotels. The U.S. contingent was comprised of four political scientists, three journalists, four Federal Fellows (several of whom got funding from their sponsoring agencies), and three Asian Fellows.

Then, as now, the funding was rather “iffy” until the last moment for both legs of the exchange. More recently, the exchange got a financial “shot-in-the-arm” when 1965–1966 alumnus and Professor Emeritus from SUNY-Albany, Stephen L. Wasby, made a multi-year pledge of support. Participating Interns and Congressional Fellows made all the arrangements to host each other in their respective capitals. For the April 25–30, 1972, program in Ottawa, the Fellows received a briefing on the Canadian political system and constitution, a discussion with the Clerk of the House of Commons, a tour of Parliament buildings, sessions of the House of Commons Question Period from both the Opposition and the Government or Speaker’s Gallery, briefings at the Canadian Department of External Affairs and U.S. Embassy on the bilateral relationship, attendance at several Parliamentary Committee hearings, a discussion with Canadian journalists, a meeting with a staff member of the Office of the Prime Minister on executive-parliamentary relations, a discussion with what was termed the “Canadian equivalent of a lobbyist,” a briefing by the Minister of Health and Welfare, a Saturday morning devoted to a tour of Ottawa historical sites, and two cocktail parties hosted by Canadian Intern Program Director James Hurley and the U.S. Embassy.

Over the span of this exchange, there have been 300-plus young Canadians from their highly selective program and 450-plus U.S. counterparts who have been introduced to each other’s respective legislative systems. The Canadian Parliamentary Exchange continues to represent a significant investment in an important bilateral relationship. By 2003, the exchange had attracted the attention of the European

Parliament staff, several of whom were slated to participate in that year's Canadian visit to Washington, D.C. as a preliminary step to a full-fledged exchange with Europe.

Competition and Reform: No Longer the “Only Game in Town”

In Congressional scholarly literature, the 1970s is seen as a watershed; studies of Congress are frequently referred to as pre- and post-reform. Although the most studied aspects of the internal House of Representatives reforms have concentrated on the redistribution of powers among committee chairs and the leadership, the election of chairs by secret ballot, the expansion of subcommittees, and the opening up of the legislative process to the press and public, one development in particular had a direct impact on the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program. As described by former Congressional Fellow Barbara Sinclair in one of her many scholarly studies of congressional leadership, *Legislators, Leaders, and Lawmaking: The U.S. House of Representatives in the Postreform Era*, “the supply of resources—most importantly, staff—available to Congress and its members was expanded and distributed much more broadly among members.” The staff of the congressional research arm, the Legislative Reference, now Congressional Research, Service was also substantially increased.

While the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program had, up to the mid-1970s, represented a cost-free source of extra staff with experience and mature judgement, that premium became a bit less precious with the legislated increase in congressional staff. In the years that followed, the Congressional Fellowship Program became the model for competing organizations such as the Office of Personnel Management, the Brookings Institution's “Legis Fellows,” the Georgetown Governmental Affairs Institute fellows, American Association for the Advancement of Science fellows, the White House Fellows program, and a host of “Washington Semester” programs from major universities, all of which began offering their own cost-free extra staff talent to congressional offices. Not only was the Congressional Fellowship Program no longer “the only game in town” when it came to offering a structured introduction to a “hands on” congressional experience, but the 1970s congressional reforms also opened up the legislative process to a far broader audience, whether on site at congressional hearings or on television through C-SPAN. The expansion of what

had once been an almost private domain for Congressional Fellows can best be seen in the relatively higher demand for Congressional Fellows in the years leading up to the mid-1970s. There were always far more congressional requests than there were Fellows; the demand was such that the program could insist that each Fellow had experience in both chambers.

For the 48 Congressional Fellows in the 1971–1972 class, for example, there were 59 written requests for Fellows from members of the House of Representatives and 34 from the Senate, nearly two for each Fellow. The policy at the time was for the Fellows to divide their time between the two chambers with four months service in the House and four in the Senate. In these earlier years, many congressional offices built the expectation of having a Congressional Fellow into the staffing pattern. Recognizing the real differences between the two bodies made sense and continues to be part of the fellowship mantra, but by the late 1980s very few congressional offices were willing to accept such a limited tenure. “Why should we take the time to bring someone up to speed and then have someone else benefit?”

The offers were not limited to the rank-and-file membership, but included such names of consequence from the House as Jonathan Bingham (D-New York), Hale Boggs (D-Louisiana), John J. Conyers (D-Michigan), John D. Culver (D-Iowa), Ronald V. Dellums (D-California), Gerald R. Ford (R-Michigan), Donald M. Fraser (D-Minnesota), Edith Green (D-Oregon), Abner Mikva (D-Illinois), David Obey (D-Wisconsin), James G. O’Hara (D-Michigan), Charles B. Rangel (D-New York), William A. Steiger (R-Wisconsin), Frank Thompson (D-New Jersey), and Morris K. Udall (D-Arizona).

From the Senate, the offers included Lloyd Bentsen (D-Texas), William E. Brock (R-Tennessee), Frank Church (D-Idaho), Alan Cranston (D-California), Barry Goldwater (R-Arizona), Fred R. Harris (D-Oklahoma), Philip A. Hart (D-Michigan), Mark O. Hatfield (R-Oregon), Henry M. Jackson (D-Washington), Charles McC. Mathias (R-Maryland), George McGovern (D-South Dakota), Lee Metcalf (D-Montana), Robert W. Packwood (R-Oregon), Charles H. Percy (R-Illinois), Hugh Scott (R-Pennsylvania), Ted Stevens (R-Alaska), Stuart Symington (D-Missouri), Robert Taft, Jr. (R-Ohio), Strom Thurmond (R-South Carolina), and William W. Proxmire (D-Wisconsin).

Fellows' Report Card: Fellows' Assignment Evaluations

For two decades, the core of the fellowship had been described as a participant-observer experience in congressional offices. Detailed reports by the Fellows of their congressional office working experience have been kept at the APSA offices since the program's founding and continue to serve as a discriminating factor in the selection of an office. Disguised examples of three Fellows' evaluations from this period in the early 1970s read as follows:

The Fellow in this office is assigned certain legislative areas and follows the same procedures as the LAs [Legislative Assistants]. I was given two major items on which to concentrate—welfare reform with particular reference to HR 1, and revenue sharing. I read a great deal about these subjects, worked closely with Library of Congress staff and people in NEW [Department of Health, Education and Welfare] and the Treasury Department, prepared summaries for briefing purposes, discussed them with him, and drafted speeches for use in Wisconsin on these subjects. In addition I briefed him on other legislative items such as the Emergency Employment Act, the NSF [National Science Foundation] authorization and appropriation bills, portions of the HEW and USDA [U.S. Department of Agriculture] appropriations, and child care legislation. I prepared four newsletters—two on the Emergency Employment Act, one on welfare reform, and one on other Social Security provisions contained in HR 1. Occasionally, I also handled correspondence in these areas. Most of the constituent mail concerning legislative matters is very efficiently answered by _____, while _____ takes care of all case work.

One of my main assignments while in the office was in connection with the hearings being conducted by the Appropriations Subcommittee on the District of Columbia. When _____ went on vacation, I took over responsibility for briefing _____ on the D.C. budget and continued

to do so after her return. During this period of about five weeks, the Subcommittee held hearings three or four days out of five. I kept in touch with the committee staff on the scheduling of witnesses, poured over the huge volumes that comprise the budget—summarizing, preparing questions for each day's hearings, attaching back-up evidence such as newspaper items, statements by lobbyists who talked to me, and other information I picked up. I learned more about the District in that five weeks than I have in over 10 years' residence here.

My activities ran the gamut. I prepared bills (one on the State Technical Services Program was a major undertaking), received constituents, worked with people in the district on local problems, prepared insertions for the [Congressional] Record, attended meetings in place of the Congressman and accompanied him to others. I wrote speeches and drafted letters to government officials from the president down. I did press releases and organized a press conference and a meeting of the [state congressional] delegation.

These evaluations are not far off the mark from what a job evaluation in the decade of 2000 would sound like, although the more limited number of available congressional office staff in the early 1970s probably provided the Fellows with more involvement in the actual drafting of legislation. The relative diminution of substantive engagement would also be reflected in the district visit, which in today's world tends to be more about observation than participation. The following description of an early 1970s Fellow's district visit would be atypical today. One suspects that this visit was the serendipitous conclusion of a multi-month project the Fellow had been working on during the assignment in the senator's office.

*I was in Detroit four days in connection with a Jobs for Veterans Conference and Luncheon hosted by Senator _____
_____. The conference, which I planned and organized, involved some 550 top industrialists in the Metropolitan Detroit area. Purpose was to interest Michigan industry in hiring some of that state's 79,000 unemployed veterans and to*

announce formation of the Senator's 40-man Task Force for Veterans headed by Henry Ford II, James Roche, Chairman of the Board of General Motors, and Lynn Townsend, Chairman of the Board, Chrysler Corporation.

I wrote the speech, drafted veterans legislation sponsored by the Senator and announced at the luncheon, and organized the year-long program in Detroit to assist returning servicemen. While in Detroit, I worked with the Greater Detroit Chamber of Commerce, the Governor's Office, the Mayor's Office, and the police department in organizing the conference.

Clearly, the services of Congressional Fellows were sought by major legislative players. In these early years, many members of Congress, most notably Senators Humphrey (D-Minnesota) and Proxmire (D-Wisconsin), did their own interviewing for Fellows. In the House, the Fellows actually sat at desks in the same office as Representatives William Steiger (R-Wisconsin) and Jonathan Bingham (D-New York). One Fellow working in the Steiger office noted that he was asked to leave the office only once, and that was when Richard M. Nixon called Mr. Steiger on the phone.

The Wheat from the Chaff: The Fellowship's Application Process

It is probably not surprising then that securing a fellowship was a highly competitive affair, as the annual funding Report to the Ford Foundation, which provided the \$6,500 to \$8,000 stipend for the journalists and political scientists, made clear. At this period, it was vastly more elaborate, involved far more people, and was a considerably more expensive selection procedure than is currently pursued by drawing on selection panels from Washington, D.C. alumni. The selection process admittedly had the benefit of the Ford Foundation grant, which no longer exists, but does not seem inappropriate in light of the reported 200 applications received for 16 available fellowships. This is substantially beyond the current rate of applications.

Applications for the program during the early 1970s were first reviewed by a Screening Committee in Washington. In the case of one

of the reports to the Ford Foundation, the Committee was composed of: Dr. William J. Keefe, University of Pittsburgh, chairman; Dr. John Bibby, director of research, House Republican Conference and department of political science, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; and four former fellows: Augustus A. Adair, department of political science, Morgan State College; John M. Berry, *McGraw Publications*; Dr. James Murphy, department of political science, Wesleyan University; and John Torinus, Jr., the *West Bend News*.

After review by this committee, 45 applicants were invited to appear before the regional interviewing boards. Those interviewed included 21 political scientists, 23 journalists and one law professor (law professors/students are no longer an eligible category for the fellowship). The eight regional interviewing boards (New York City; Chicago; Berkeley; Madison, Wisconsin; Washington, D.C.; New Orleans; Boca Raton, Florida; Boston) were composed of three members plus the director of the Program, represented both political science and journalism, and each interviewed an average of six candidates.

The regional boards submitted reports on all interviews to the screening committee, which again reviewed the applications, then drafted a recommended list of fellowship winners and alternates. The Congressional Fellowship Program Advisory Committee made the final selection on the basis of this report. As listed in the annual *Report to the Ford Foundation*, members of the 1970–1971 Committee were: William J. Keefe (Chair), Pittsburgh; Richard N. Billings, *Congressional Quarterly*; David S. Broder, *Washington Post*; Charles L. Clapp, The White House; Senator Peter H. Dominick (R-Colorado); Charles O. Jones, Pittsburgh; Robert E. Hampton, U.S. Civil Service Commission; Ralph K. Huitt, National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges; Donald R. Matthews, Brookings Institution; Senator Walter F. Mondale (D-Minnesota); Nelson W. Polsby, Berkeley; Randall B. Ripley, Ohio State; Donald Rumsfeld, Office of Economic Opportunity; Representative William A. Steiger (R-Wisconsin); and Representative Morris K. Udall (D-Arizona).

The selection of Federal Fellows, in their ninth year of participation in the Fellowship, was administered by the “Internship in Congressional Operations Program of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. The 18 Fellows in the 1970–1971 class were selected from a pool of 50 candidates nominated by their agencies and departments and chosen by an interviewing committee composed of an American Political

Science Association representative, the director of the Congressional Fellowship Program, personnel from the Civil Service Commission's Bureau of Training, and former Congressional Fellows. The winners, then as now, were paid their regular salaries by their agencies during the fellowship year.

Fellowship under Attack

Anecdotally at least, the fellowship seemed to be on the right track. And yet, in the summer of 1970, APSA member Sanford Levinson submitted a proposal for consideration by the Association which read: "Resolved, that the Congressional Fellowship Program be terminated at the earliest possible date consistent with fulfilling currently existing legal obligations (*PS: Political Science & Politics*, Vol. III, No. 3, summer 1970, p. 420). The resolution appeared to be offered because some felt the fellowship was inconsistent with APSA purposes, not because it had failed or was mismanaged. The accompanying Statement read:

The Congressional Fellowship Program, financed by the Ford Foundation and administered by the American Political Association, is dubious for two, analytically separate, kinds of reasons. The first is both more obvious and less important, dealing with the political implications of the Program. That is, as in any "internship" program, the Fellow is not simply an observer, but rather an aide to the Representative or Senator to which he is attached. By what criteria are Senators and Representatives entitled to the presumably valuable assistance of professional political scientists? If the answer be that participation is necessary in order to understand the functioning of Congress, then why does not the Association sponsor (and secure financing for) similar kinds of participant-observation in other political organizations ranging from the Black Panthers to the American Legion? Surely we should recognize that applying free help to Congressmen is no more "value-free" than would be the provision of interns to the above organizations. If we are going to continue to have internship programs, then at least let us debate what organizations we wish to supply aid to, and why.

The above, however, is only a secondary reason to oppose the Program. Much more important is the recognition of the role of the Program in encouraging the study of certain kinds of political activity through the provision of special incentives and benefits. To be blunt, I would argue that the Program encourages ever more study of an institution—Congress—about which we have sufficient knowledge relative to other kinds of unexamined political activity. Such activity includes not only recognized political groups like those mentioned in the first paragraph, but also the vast “private governments” which play such an important role in our political life. General Motors, for example, has a Gross Corporate Product which would place it high in the realm of the world’s major powers if GM were formally recognized as a state; indeed, it has more overseas employees than does the United States State Department. Yet we have almost no serious studies of the politics of General Motors, either of the internal struggles for power or of the external consequences of corporate decisions.

The marginal utility of the next study of Congress, I submit, is much less than the utility of a study of the politics of General Motors or, indeed, of the Ford Foundation itself which so generously finances the Congressional Fellow Program. It is simply inertia at best, or ideological blindness at worst, which keeps us injecting ever more resources into the study of Congress. The American Political Science Association, then, should recognize that, whatever good may have been served in the past by the Program, in the present its continuation would be a grave mis-allocation of scarce resources and that it should be terminated.

Although some Association members concurred with the effort to change or abolish the Congressional Fellowship Program, a clear majority expressed support for its continuation. In an Association-wide vote, the Resolution was defeated 5,282 to 1,183. However, an assessment of the fellowship was in the air, and the Advisory Committee, under the chairmanship of Professor William J. Keefe, undertook to update a 1965 evaluation by Everett Cataldo (“An Appraisal of the Congressional Fellowship Program,” paper prepared for a Conference on Political Internship, Las Croabas, Puerto Rico, April 1965).

Fellowship in the Mirror: The 1970 Daly-Williams Survey

An exhaustive Ford Foundation-commissioned study was undertaken by two former journalist Fellows, 1958–1959 Eddie N. Williams and 1959–1960 Charles U. “Chuck” Daly, who had been reunited at the University of Chicago as director of public affairs and vice president. In August of 1970, Walter E. Beach, director of the Congressional Fellowship Program, sent a letter to 420 alumni of the then 435 for whom there were addresses, alerting them to an up-coming survey to be conducted by Ron Hedlund. It was an ambitious, but ultimately rewarding, undertaking. A total of 296, or some 70%, of the questionnaires, were returned. Among the characteristics of the general profile that emerged was that the journalists and political scientists ranged in age between 23 and 35, and the Federal Fellows, added in the mid-1960s, ranged between the late twenties and early forties. The youngest Fellow selected by the program had been 21 and the oldest 52.

Fellows invariably had at minimum a Bachelor’s degree. Only the political scientists were required to have an advanced degree and the survey noted that of the Fellows from 1953–1961, 90% had completed their degrees before starting the program, in subsequent years, only 50% entered the Fellowship year with their doctorate completed. At least a year of classroom teaching experience had been a constant among academic Fellows, a standard that continued. The report did note that selection committees during this later period were less insistent on completion and that there were now more competing alternatives for new Ph.D.s. The universities of affiliation for political science Fellows had also seen a shift away from the early days of an east coast, Ivy League dominance to the inclusion of more Big Ten schools and state universities in general. Almost as an aside, the report indicated that “long-time Program observers” did not see this greater regional diversity as having “eroded the quality of Fellows.”

Among these nearly 300 alumni respondents, there were interesting contrasts in the various career tracks and in the amount of previous political activity prior to becoming a Fellow. One in five respondents reported prior participation in an intern or participant observer program. Civil servants and academics had the highest rates of prior involvement, about one in four, while the rate among journalists was about one in 30. These differences did not, however, appear to

have any impact on the work assignments or the levels of satisfaction that Fellows got from their legislative jobs.

One fellowship staff concern present in 1970, and present to this day, was the impact of prior internship or legislative involvement on a Fellow's desire to remain in Washington after the Fellowship. Fellows' post-program behavior reinforces the belief that the Congressional Fellowship Program should not become a means for recruiting candidates into governmental or D.C.-based positions. These early CFP studies concluded that prior political involvement did not appear to have a significant, independent effect upon a desire to remain in D.C. among either the federal or political science Fellows, but it did among the journalists. Most federal Fellows plot a career which likely leads to their remaining in government and in Washington, D.C. For the political scientists, one reason initially given for establishing the fellowship was the need to stimulate more academic research on Congress and legislative behavior. The study noted that many recognized congressional scholars served as Fellows and encouraged their students to apply. During this 15-year period, and to some extent because of the Congressional Fellowship Program, the study of legislative behavior and Congress became one of the most popular political science sub-fields.

Among the political scientists, the study noted that three out of every five academic participants considered themselves students rather than faculty. Although no formal statement giving selection preference to graduate students had ever been made, an increasingly larger proportion of the academic participants were graduate students. Since 1965, the study continued, almost half of all political scientists had a significant amount of work to complete their Ph.D.s, suggesting that the fellowship staff viewed the program as more appropriate for political scientists after significant graduate training but prior to the assumption of a tenured faculty position. The 1970 survey suggested some pragmatic reasons for this, including "the abundance of attractive teaching positions available to graduate students and new Ph.D.s which made post-doctoral programs like the CFP less attractive."

The study did note some fellowship downsides, particularly minority representation. From 1953–1970, African Americans had represented 3% of the participants and women 6%—both figures well below the group rates in the overall U.S. population. The report noted that in APSA's *1968 Biographical Directory*, women represented 7% in the

discipline. Both groups were reportedly sought in recruitment for the fellowship. In an era before routine use of the fax, and certainly before email, the amount of correspondence in recruitment was impressive. In seeking applicants for the 1969–1970 class of Fellows, letters announcing the program were sent to over 900 political science department chairs, over 300 newspaper editors, 135 journalism school deans, 83 sections of the American Newspaper Guild, 41 editors of predominantly African American newspapers, and 160 law school deans.

Recruitment of Federal Fellows was handled primarily by the Federal Civil Service Commission, albeit with APSA representation. Nominee qualifications included employees in the grade range of GS-13 to GS-16 in managerial or executive positions. Since the beginning of federal employee inclusion in the fellowship, the Departments of Agriculture, State, Commerce, Interior, Defense, and Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) had tended to supply the greater number of successful applicants. The survey indicated that about half of the Federal Fellows had applied to the fellowship after seeing a formal announcement, but more than 50% of the political scientists and journalists applied due to personal contact with a former Fellow or someone acquainted with the program.

In looking at Fellows' subsequent careers, it was not surprising that the majority of Federal Fellows continued in government. A trend evident in the 1970s, and continuing throughout the history of the fellowship, was that journalists were the category least likely to continue in the field. Some journalists reported then, as they would almost uniformly do today, that they had been required to resign from their positions in order to participate in the Program. This was not the experience of either the civil servants or political scientists. For journalists, then, the fellowship frequently represented a significant career change. Their experiences in Washington, D.C., led some 80% of the journalist Fellows to express a desire to remain in the Capital. As one respondent indicated, "It sure beats Mississippi." Regardless of whether a Fellow remained in Washington, D.C., however, more than 95% of the 1970 survey respondents indicated that they continued to maintain contact with the congressional staff and others they had encountered during the fellowship. Long-term networking seemed virtually universal among the Fellows.

Not surprisingly for an academically sponsored fellowship, the research benefits of being a Congressional Fellow represented another

factor in the survey and tended to reflect the prevailing methodology of the early 1970s. “Increased knowledge such as that gained through a participant observer experience,” noted the survey report (page 35), “is likely to provide one with a better basis for interpreting congressional activity and describing its implications.” As one of the respondents noted, the experience on the Hill “encourages different perspectives on subject, offers opportunity to explore new research subjects, encourages innovative methodology, and provides opportunity to test (crudely) current theories or hypotheses on legislative behavior and processes.” To support this conclusion, the 1970 report included nearly 100 books which had been authored by fellowship alumni, including C. L. Clapp, *The Congressman* (Brookings Institution, 1963); Eugene Eidenburg, *An Act of Congress* (Norton, 1969); L. A. Froman, *Congressmen and their Constituents* (Rand McNally, 1963); A. Frye, *Nazi Germany and the American* (Yale, 1967); R. G. Gilpin, co-author, *Scientists and National Policy* (Columbia, 1964); Stephen Horn, *Unused Power* (Brookings Institute, 1970); J. F. Manley, *The Politics of Finance* (Little Brown, 1970); D. R. Mayhew, *Party Loyalty Among Congressmen* (Harvard, 1967); H. D. Price, *Metropolis and its Problems*; J. A. Robinson, *House Rules Committee* (Bobbs-Merrill, 1963); A. Rosencranz, *Congress and the Public Trust* (Athenium, 1970); R. Rosenzweig, co-author, *Federal Interest in Higher Education* (McGraw, 1962); C. N. Stone, *City Manager and Responsible Government* (Emory University); and R. E. Wolfinger, *The Politics of Progress* (Yale, 1969). Also included were additional lists of journal articles, monographs, government publications, and a category titled “major newspaper articles.”

When asked in the survey whether academic research was a key rationale for the fellowship, opinion was obviously divided between academic and non-academic Fellows. One Federal Fellow, for example, wrote that “This is not the place! To approach [it] from the academic [research] side is a disservice to those who take the Fellowship unless special and specific arrangements are made in advance with that office.” “I personally believe the Program ‘flies’ without reference to research,” wrote another. “The reputation the CFP has on the Hill could never have been achieved had ‘academic research’ been the prime motivator.” Political science Fellows were, understandably, more supportive. “My project required extensive interviews with Senators,” wrote one, “many of whom aren’t anxious to grant them. After my working there for a time, my boss was of inestimable help (through his

contacts) in getting the interviews done.”

There were several responses which underscored the APSA effort to discourage active research on the job in today’s fellowship. Wrote one political scientist:

The major problem I had as a Fellow was getting integrated into a meaningful role in the offices. Accordingly, conducting my own research detracted from or slowed down my integration and the amount I learned by doing. Research reduces your usefulness to the Member, leads to very narrow experiences and closes off other learning opportunities which can be very important. Few offices are interested in (academic) research—the Hill is swamped with researchers.

That said, when the 1970 survey asked former Congressional Fellows to categorize their work in congressional offices among broad categories of legislative assistant type work (following or working on legislation, policy research, constituent issues, press work, or clerical), some 75% of the Fellows’ time appeared to have been divided among legislative tracking, research, and constituent work. The most cited reasons for favorable ratings in the assignment were the attitudes of their Member of Congress and his or her staff, and the working relationships established. Assignments to Members of the House were most likely to result in Fellows feeling “close” to the principal. Discontent seemed most likely to arise because of poor access to the office and the routine nature of the work.

Fellows in leadership or committee offices consistently felt more isolated both physically and psychologically from the Member of Congress and other staff. They also tended to do different kinds of work and, according to the survey, generally did not acquire a “feel” for Congress. According to one responding Fellow, “the personal experience of working in (the right) congressional office should be given top priority. If the office is a good one, the experience will be worthwhile—whatever the work consists of. If the office is a bad one—no work assignment will be really worthwhile.”

This tended to underscore the general consensus among survey respondents that the best feature of the fellowship was its flexibility; each Fellow was required to find his or her own office assignment rather than being arbitrarily assigned by the APSA or Civil

Service Commission. When asked about the fellowship's weakest areas, the respondents indicated the poor interaction among various types of Fellows and the lengthy orientation period. "Surprisingly," the survey authors noted, "that aspect of the program most criticized in recent years—the large number of Federal Fellows—was not as salient as these other features." About one out of every five respondents requested more APSA staff guidance and assistance in the job search—a long-time unique aspect of the Congressional Fellowship Program in which each Fellow seeks his/her own match in finding a legislative staff position. Overall, however, when asked if the program lived up to their expectations, over 90% responded "Yes, entirely," or "Yes, mostly." The attitude of the Member of Congress and the office staff toward the Fellow seemed to be a critical factor in determining whether the assignment was deemed to be "good." The survey concluded that Fellows not already committed to a special policy area might consider carefully this criterion in selecting an office assignment.

As the foregoing observations suggest, the survey highlighted a number of fellowship issues which have continued to the present. For the political science Fellows, particularly in light of the 1970 American Political Science Association referendum on termination of the program, the survey concluded that "in a period when scholars and professional associations are urged to be relevant and involved, termination of a program that provides academics with a means to relate effectively to the political process and to learn more about its operation would seem to run counter to these goals." Potential "conflict of interest" situations for the Fellows, however, were seen as "vexing" in the early 1970s and continue to require a focus with each current class. The "classic case" offered in 1971 was of an Interior Department participant doing conservation research or a Pentagon participant working for a Member of Congress on the Armed Services Committee. Formalizing restrictions was seen as creating more problems than they would solve. "For example, some Members of Congress are likely to find a Fellow who shares areas of expertise more beneficial than one who does not." It was viewed then, as it is today, as an important discussion point for the orientation.

Never before or since has the Congressional Fellowship Program been assessed as exhaustively as the Daly-Williams survey. The overall sense was that the APSA Congressional Fellowship's success was virtually unassailable, whether measured by number of applica-

Fellow George Kundanis

Over the years, what some called “Potomac fever” attracted some Fellows who remained to pursue careers on the Hill. Few alumni could rival the tenure of 1976–1977 political science Fellow George Kundanis who arrived from the University of Wisconsin-Madison then remained with then-Democratic caucus chair Thomas S. Foley (D-Washington). Following Speaker Foley’s 1994 re-election defeat, Kundanis went on to work for then-Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Missouri) for eight years before joining current Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi (D-California). He remains the only staffer to have served the last three House Democratic top leaders. Kundanis was “old school” in his belief that staffers should be neither seen nor heard and should never have their names in the paper, so it was not surprising that he refused to contribute to Hans Nichols’ June 4, 2003 profile in *The Hill*: “Pelosi Aide Knows Where All the Bodies are Buried.” Despite George’s reluctance, Nichols wrote that “there’s no shortage of lawmakers, staffers, and Washington power brokers who are quite willing to offer warm insights into a staff “who’s simply the best,” as ABC News anchor and onetime Gephardt aide George Stephanopoulos put it. “As floor assistant,” noted Stephanopoulos, “he’s part traffic cop, part political strategist, part political guru, part aide-de-camp and hallway companion. He’s the institutional memory of Democrats in the House. From leader to leader to leader, George has been there.”

Former House Democratic Whip Tony Coelho (D-California) evinced no surprise that Kundanis had not joined the 2004 Gephardt presidential campaign. “He’s a professor. His thing is the House. That’s his bag.” He did regard George as particularly adept at bridge building with other leadership offices, “so if tempers do flare among each other, he’s there to smooth things over.” The profile author then went on to illustrate the point with a 1983 anecdote:



Both Fellow (1976–1977) George Kundanis and Professor Trudi Miller, of the University of North Carolina, were part of the APSA study of non-academic jobs in the discipline.

Then-Speaker Tip O'Neill (D-Massachusetts) was in then-Majority Whip Foley's office. It was a custom for Foley—a hearty eater at the time—to offer a spread of the fattiest and greasiest victuals. O'Neill, according to someone who was there, was eating a jelly doughnut when Foley's dog [a Belgian shepherd named "Alice"] snatched it from the Speaker's hand, sending him into a rage. 'Tip was so pissed off, we didn't think he'd talk to Foley for months,' said the observer. It fell to Kundanis to repair relations, and 'faster than anyone would have expected, Kundanis and O'Neill's counsel Kirk O'Donnell . . . [had] them talking again. Leave it to Representative Barney Frank (D-Massachusetts) to recall a time when Kundanis got the rules wrong. 'He did the infield-fly rule wrong back in the '80s,' said Frank. The occasion was a close softball game between Frank's team and one from Foley's office staff. The infield-fly dispute wasn't settled to Frank's satisfaction, so he had then-baseball Commissioner Marty Cohen write Kundanis a letter explaining, in so many words, that Frank had the rules right and Kundanis was wrong.

tions (in the early 1970s there were 10 applications from journalists and political scientists for each available slot), receptivity by congressional offices, alumni testimonial that the experience was pivotal in their on-going careers, number of requests by other organizations to become affiliated with the program, or access to outside funding support. One irony was that the study was sufficiently persuasive in documenting the fellowship's on-going success that the Ford Foundation felt comfortable in ending its financial support on the assumption that the program could now make it on its own. The termination of those large grants ended the program's "salad days" and for the next decade it became an annual exercise to find sufficient operating capital.

Foreign Affairs Seminar

One innovation in the fellowship, the "Foreign Affairs Seminar," was introduced in 1972 and has continued to the present. As recounted by Professor Fred Holborn, the one and only coordinator of the seminar until his retirement after three decades, the idea was born over a lunch between the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies' dean, Francis Wilcox, and progressive Republican Representative Brad Morse of Massachusetts. Both men had an abiding interest in foreign affairs and the Congressional Fellowship Program which, prior to the State Department Pearson [Republican Senator James Pearson of Kansas] fellowships or Brookings "Legis" fellows, was the only vehicle then introducing Foreign Service Officers to the Hill. Wilcox has been a former chief of staff for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and went on to become Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations. Morse, after leaving Congress, went on to become president of the Salzburg Seminar. Both men felt FSOs need both a better "political touch" and firmer grounding in the legislative role in foreign policy formulation. At this point in time, Foreign Service Officers tended to serve as long as 10 years overseas before a Washington, D.C., assignment and a certain amount of "re-Americanization" of returning FSOs would be an added benefit. Wilcox and Morse approached the APSA and forged an agreement for the creation of a two-month seminar at SAIS geared to entering Congressional Fellows from the broader foreign affairs community. Professor Holborn was the clear consensus choice to direct the seminar and in September 1972 he began with eight Fellows (five from the

Department of State, one from the United States Information Agency, and two from the Central Intelligence Agency).

Up until the mid-1980s, there was a more progressive attitude in government agencies and departments with respect to mid-career training, and the fellowship received a regular cadre of highly talented foreign affairs fellows. They were strong Fellows who moved on to strong careers. And, in just about any year from the mid-80s on there were a dozen-or-so sitting ambassadors who were former Congressional Fellows. An undated 1990s APSA list of former Fellows who were currently, or who had served as, U.S. ambassadors included: James Cheek (Argentina), Roger McGuire (Guinea Bissau), Don Steinberg (Angola), Peter Tomsen (Armenia), Kenneth Yalowitz (Belarus), Donna Hrinak (Dominican Republic), Robert Houdek (Eritrea), Larry Happer (Latvia), William Milan (Liberia), Vicki Huddleston (Madagascar), Mark Johnson (Senegal), Peter Burleigh (United Nations), Stanley Escudero (Azerbaijani), Genta Hawkins (Australia), Jeff Davidow (Assistant Secretary for Western Hemisphere), James Larocco (Kuwait), and John C. Holzman (Pakistan).

From the beginning, there were two audiences for the seminar—the foreign affairs Congressional Fellows and a handful of SAIS graduate students. Over the years, the fellowship began to attract highly competitive military fellows from the Department of Defense and, in 2001, gained an additional source of international fellows when the program's first senior Fulbright scholars, from Mexico, New Zealand, and Sweden, joined the class. After 30 years at the helm, honorary Congressional Fellow Fred Holborn retired. He was succeeded by Charles Stevenson, Harvard Ph.D., veteran of some 20 years working on Senate national security and foreign affairs issues, and member of the National War College faculty.

The Fellowship at 20 Years

Challenges and questions aside, the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program celebrated its 20th anniversary in 1973 with some modest fanfare including late-July *Congressional Record* testimonials from 13 Senators and 21 Representatives. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minnesota), an ardent and sustained supporter of the fellowship, noted that “on the basis of their experiences in the program, Congressional Fellows have contributed in very important ways to the public

understanding of Congress . . . [and] I wish to express thanks and appreciation—in which I know many Senators join—to the 44 Congressional Fellows who are just now completing their year in the Congress and to the American Political Science Association for sponsoring this outstanding program in education and public affairs.” Senator William Brock (R-Tennessee) noted that he was proud to associate himself with the program “both by having Fellows work in my office and by sitting on the Program’s Advisory Committee.” Senator Kennedy (D-Massachusetts) went to the heart of the program’s philosophic base when he spoke of the importance of expanding the understanding of the public policymaking process in a democratic society and that “the Congressional Fellowship Program, by enabling individuals to acquire that understanding fulfills a valuable public service in addition to the value that the fellowship program provides to the individuals participating in it.”

Representative Bella Abzug (D-New York) commented that “one of the outstanding features of this program is its conscious effort to attract minority groups: women, Blacks, American Indians, and Chicanos. In this way, the program not only extends its benefits to all segments of our society, but it also gains the variety of perspectives which these different representatives bring to the Program.” Representative Ronald Dellums (D-California) endorsed the fellowship’s efforts to include minorities and noted that “the Congressional Fellowship is the only fellowship program associated with the Congress. Its contributions are also unique. Much of the political research on the national legislative process has been done by former Fellows. I salute the American Political Science Association for its administration of the program.” Representative J. J. Pickle (D-Texas) noted that the Congressional Fellowship Program had been replicated elsewhere and that “having fellows and interns assist officials elected to lawmaking bodies is now being practiced in Canada, Great Britain, and several other countries.”

Representative William A. Steiger (R-Wisconsin), for whom successive fellowship selection panels have accorded the honor of being the “The Steiger Fellow” to the most promising political scientist in each class, said that:

while the focus is to provide a learning experience for the Fellow and a better understanding of the legislative process, all of the

Fellows in my office have undertaken substantive assignments on legislative and constituent matters. The variety of assignments undertaken is staggering. They research legislation for members, help develop legislation, write reports, brief members on committee and floor activities, respond to constituent mail, arrange hearings, meet with lobbyists, serve as aides in trips to the district or in international conferences and represent the member at meetings and conferences. The value of the Program is beyond question. Members, Fellows, and outside observers all attest the value of the experience for not only Members and Fellows, but for the Congress as a whole and for the agencies and groups with whom the Fellows have contact after the program.

At this point in the fellowship's history, funding for the political scientist and journalist stipends, as well as the administrative costs of running the program, depended upon a sustained drive throughout the year for financial support. The program had been funded for its first 20 years by a number of foundations including the Edgar Stern Family Fund, the Ford Foundation, the Asia Foundation, the Commonwealth Fund (for the Harkness Fellows), the Poynter Fund, the Joseph E. Davies Foundation, the Revlon Foundation, and the *New York Times* Foundation. Career civil servants were funded under provisions of the Government Employees Training Act. A major portion of the foundation support was intended as "seed money" and it was recognized that the support would disappear over time.

The Robert Wood Johnson Fellows

The demographics of a typical class of Congressional Fellows changed markedly in 1974–1975 with the addition of the Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows. The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation was established as a national philanthropy in 1972 and remains the largest U.S. foundation devoted exclusively to health and health care; in 2002 the Foundation awarded 1,150 grants and contracts totaling \$556.02 million including grants of \$148,000 over three years to each of the seven Health Policy Fellows plus a one-year grant of \$698,188 to the Institute of Medicine to administer the program. The director and early motivator of the RWJ Health Policy link to the APSA was Dick Seggel, whose formulation has continued to the present. From

then to the present, there would normally be six to eight exceptional mid-career health professionals (from 2000 onward this category included behavioral and social scientists with an interest in health) who also sought legislative positions on the Hill. Conducted by the Institute of Medicine (IOM) of the National Academy of Sciences, the fellowship sought individuals who had the capacity and leadership skills to contribute to U.S. health policy development through active involvement in the policymaking process; could bring knowledge of health issues and offer a fresh, informed perspective on important and perplexing questions that face health policymakers; and possess both the skills and the commitment to apply lessons learned at the national level to improve health, health care, and health policy at national, state, or local levels.

The September-to-August Washington-based program began with an orientation arranged by the Institute of Medicine. Fellows met with key executive branch officials responsible for health activities, members of Congress and their staffs, and representatives of health interest groups. Also included in the orientation period were seminars on health economics, major federal health and health research programs, the congressional budget process, background on the major current issues in federal health policy, and the politics and process of federal decision-making.

In November, the RWJ Health Policy Fellows joined the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program for a more focused political orientation featuring congressional staff, Members of Congress, journalists, policy analysts, and other experts on the national political and governmental process including specially tailored seminars organized by the Library of Congress' Congressional Research Service (CRS). During this stage, the RWJ Fellows arranged interviews with congressional, or occasionally executive branch, offices involved in health issues and negotiated their working assignments. Their work assignments also began in January and ended in August, although from the beginning they had the opportunity of extending their assignment through the end of the legislative term which typically ended in October or early November.

How well did the "politics" of the Congressional Fellows orientation mix with the "health" of the RWJ Fellows? In light of the very eclectic mix of fellows, the RWJ Fellows' comments may have been something of a mixed bag but, over the years, both groups ap-

pear to have benefited from the other. Drawing anonymously from a recent class of RWJ Fellows' evaluations finds the following observations:

The APSA orientation was interesting, but more so about political science and policy making, areas that I had little prior knowledge.

I was ambivalent about the APSA orientation. It did provide an opportunity to meet fellows from outside of the health arena and to be introduced to a broader range of topics.

The November meetings were enjoyable, informative, and a nice change of pace for the RWJ fellow. The talks on House and Senate procedures were very helpful/essential.

The APSA orientation was delightful in two ways. First, the fellows were interesting and had many unique and specialized talents. Second, the orientation was a quick review of 'What's hot in DC.' It made me more sensitive to competing interests on the hill.

Both components were essential in making the fellowship experience a success. The IOM [Institute of Medicine] experience was specific to health policy with the APSA providing a broader view of the policy and political landscape. Both components provided a rich network of connections.

A main leadership development activity for me was the APSA trip to Canada. This was a very valuable experience. I obtained a new perspective on the history and government of Canada which, with my year in DC, provided insight into a different, and in some ways, better way to govern. It also provided me an opportunity to learn more about and from the other APSA Fellows. I would urge all Fellows to take advantage of this opportunity.

These professional and institutional contacts set the stage for understanding the structural and contextual arena in which

health policy and programs are designed and implemented. Linkages to other decision makers, advisors and other fellows allowed exploration of process and issues during the orientation and after.

The orientation phase of the program was a wonderful learning experience. Meeting and conversing with leaders, academics, policy makers and those who influence them was a fundamental component shaping my fellowship experience.

Through the decades of the 1980s and 90s the director of the program was highly respected health care professional Marian Ein Lewin, who laid the groundwork for the fellowship. After a one-year stint by Dr. Robert Cook-Deegan, the reins passed to former RWJ Fellow (1984–1985) Dr. Marie E. Michnich in 2002, with Kari McFarland as associate director. Following her fellowship, Marie, with and M.A. and a Ph.D. in health services from UCLA, worked as a legislative assistant for health policy for U.S. Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kansas). At that point there were 170 alumni across the U.S. Over the years, the Health Policy Fellows tended to focus on key committee leadership in both congressional chambers. But, other than a handful of members in the House (Representatives John Dingell, Richard Gephardt, Edward Madigan, Andrew Maguire, Fortney “Pete” Stark, and Henry Waxman), the Senate exhibited a stronger gravitational pull with a number of members hosting more than half-a-dozen Fellows over three decades (Senators Bill Bradley, Thomas Daschle, Robert Dole, David Durenberger, Bill Frist, Orrin Hatch, Edward Kennedy, and John Rockefeller IV). As did the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program, the RWJ Health Policy Fellowship drew upon its alumni for recruitment, candidate selection panels, Washington, D.C., mentoring, and service on its Program Advisory Board. In 2002, there were four former Fellows on the board: Richard L. Bucciarelli, M.D., Assistant Vice President for Health Affairs for External Relations at the University of Florida; Benjamin K. Chu, M.D., M.P.H., F.A.C.P., President of the New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation; John C. LaRosa, M.D., President of the SUNY Health Science Center at Brooklyn; and Charles L. Rice, M.D., Senior Associate Dean and Vice Chancellor for Health Affairs at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

American Anthropological Fellows

In addition to the Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows, the fellowship added one other new dimension in the class of 1977–1978 with the addition of two American Anthropological Association (AAA) Fellows. Over the following 16 years until the relationship ended in 1992–1993, some 20 anthropologists served as APSA/AAA Congressional Fellows on the Hill. Most came into the program from academic settings at schools such as the University of Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins, Virginia, Temple, Texas, Stanford, Illinois, Maryland, and Harvard, but a few added particularly unique perspectives to their classes from the University of California, San Francisco School of Medicine and the Centro del Studio de la Realidad Economica y Social, Bolivia.

Covering her own 1990–1991 experience as a AAA Congressional Fellow in the May 1992 *Anthropology Newsletter*, Mary Margaret Overbey noted that she had to overcome a certain amount of “stones and bones” and “monkeys” stereotypes in her initial interviews seeking a legislative assignment before she landed a position with Senator Albert Gore, then chair of the Science, Technology, and Space Subcommittee. She felt comfortable with a senator who was regarded by many as the “national scientist” due to the publication of his well-reviewed book, *Earth in the Balance* (1992). During her first day on the job, she was told that Gore needed a speech on science by noon the next day.

“What area of science?” I asked, “I don’t know. It’s at the National Academy of Sciences on Monday morning, and the press secretary needs it well in advance,” the legislative assistant responded. “You might call the American Association for the Advancement of Science. They’re organizing it,” she added. I called AAAS, and was told that Gore was to respond to a report by their President-elect. I asked what the report was about and if I could get a copy. I was told, “It’s on academic morale. I don’t know any more than that, and we have no more copies of the report left.” As a researcher myself, I assumed academic morale has to be low, and started writing. Luckily, I was right.

As she reflected on her congressional experience, Dr. Overbey identified the skills that anthropologists possess that would make them especially useful to Congress, beginning with writing skills. Second, anthropologists possess analytical skills which serve them well in researching policy issues. Third, they can be creative, “a real asset in congressional policymaking.” Finally, anthropologists’ greatest strength lies in a holistic perspective—a systems viewpoint. They can view the big picture: the relationships both internal and external that affect issues. “A holistic perspective, both static and processual, can aid Congress in assessing the repercussions of policies, in the present and the future.”

There is no readily available documentary evidence as to why anthropologists left the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program, but their legacy remains in the person of one alumna of the 1981–1982 class of Fellows—Wanda Minge (Baucus) of Harvard University who retained her connections on the Hill as the wife of Montana Senator Max S. Baucus. The fellowship can claim no official credit, as Wanda Minge had worked for Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas on the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

The Decade of the 1980s:
Fellowship in Transition

The decade of the 1980s began as a period of transition for the fellowship as well as one of more active engagement by political science in the real work of politics. On the APSA and fellowship staff front, Walter Beach, after 15 years (1966 to 1981) on the staff of the American Political Science Association, most of it as assistant director and editor of the quarterly journal *PS: Political Science and Politics* and, in the late 1960s as director of the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program, Walter E. Beach resigned to become a member of the senior staff of the Advanced Study Program of the Brookings Institution. Known by colleagues as the “great facilitator” who did most of the tedious day-to-day work that preserved and expanded the Association, he was a member of at least 12 professional organizations concerned with the study of politics and political science.

As *PS* announced in its fall 1980 issue, after more than a decade (1970–1981) as director of the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program, Thomas E. Mann, a former Congressional Fellow, stepped down from that position to become the Association's executive director in July, 1981, filling the shoes of Dr. Evron Maurice Kirkpatrick, who had directed the Association for a quarter-of-a-century. In recognition of Kirkpatrick's service, the 1980 Awards Committee, composed of Donald G. Herzberg of Georgetown University, Richard B. Cheney of the U.S. House of Representatives, and Donna Shalala of Hunter College, awarded him the 1980 Charles E. Merriam Award intended for persons “whose published work and career represent a significant contribution to the art of government through the application of social science research.”

Then-APSA President Warren Miller noted that, along with Hubert Humphrey, Orville Freeman, Arthur Naftalin, and others, Kirkpatrick, while a professor at the University of Minnesota, had founded Minnesota's Democratic Farmer-Labor Party. Following some seven years at the Department of State, where he founded and headed the External Research Staff, Kirkpatrick moved to the American Political Science Association where, among his contributions over the next 25 years, he had been:

the main force behind several Association programs intended to improve the understanding of teachers and journalists of how government operates and public officials' understanding



Former Fellowship Director and APSA Executive Director Thomas E. Mann.

of the contribution scholars can make to effective government operations. The Congressional Fellowship Program introduced hundreds of young political scientists to the national legislative process and, equally important, has shown hundreds of congressmen the usefulness of social science analytical skills in posts that in the past had been filled exclusively by lawyers and press officers.

In the summer of 1981, Catherine E. Rudder, a 1974–1975 Congressional Fellow and later Chief of Staff to Democratic Representative Wyche Fowler, Jr. of Georgia, was appointed assistant director of the Association with responsibilities as editor of *PS* and director of the Congressional Fellowship Program. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Emory University, she had received her Ph.D. in political science from Ohio State University, and had taught political science at the University of Georgia, written articles on congressional tax legislation and taught on public policy for Smith College interns in Washington, D.C.

Honorary Fellow "DB" Hardeman

A singular blow befell the Congressional Fellowship Program with the heart attack death on December 3, 1981 of 67-year-old D. B. Hardeman. As noted in the *Washington Post*, "DB" Hardeman "became a legend as a mentor in the education of reporters, staff members and political scientists interested in the workings of Capitol Hill." Along with Dean Acheson and Hubert H. Humphrey, Hardeman was one of three honorary Congressional Fellows. Tom Mann recalled that when they weren't meeting on the Hill with the Fellows, "DB" used to come down to the APSA offices to discuss the fellowship. Afterwards, "DB" and the Fellows would adjourn to nearby "Stephanie's" where they would dine with the aide and confidant to Speaker Sam Rayburn on Hardeman's favorite dish of Dover sole with a glass of wine.

In a tribute by University of Rochester's Professor Richard Fenno on April 25, 1980, in accepting the D. B. Hardeman Prize for his book *Home Style: House Members in Their Districts*, Fenno noted that for those academics going to "the Hill," Hardeman had

provided a warm and wise buffer against the strangeness of the institution, and of the town. In a place where most people find academics a bother, DB took us seriously. Wherever scholars gathered, DB was there sharing his experience with us, giving us a feel for the institution—its history, its inner workings, its personalities. Wherever he was, there we were, testing out theories against his wisdom and his anecdotes—a kind of movable seminar. 'What do you make of that? We'll have to ask DB'.

I recall sitting in his living room at 2500 Q Street—literally sitting at his feet (we always gave DB the chair!) Talking about Congress, Congress, Congress, far into the night. And DB has been known to talk! There, we imbibed his contagious enthusiasm for the subject, our subject. His books—now your books—were everywhere, a kind of a visible link between us – us with our book learning, DB with his love of books. He was a great friend and a great teacher.



Honorary Fellow D. B. Hardeman shown here receiving an award from Stephen Horn, president of Long Beach State University.

He was every bit as extraordinary a man as his mentor, Sam Rayburn. In DB's 'Board of Education' he brought together the scholarship of politics and the practice of politics. He nurtured a generation of us—like Randall Ripley, Steven Horn, Douglas Price, Nelson Polsby, Robert Peabody, John Manley, Eugene Eidenberg, Charles Jones, Lewis Froman, and Richard Fenno.

A lot of books and articles on Congress from that group; a lot of D. B. Hardeman there! If "Home Style" shows any kind of feel for Congress, then undeniably there is something of D. B. Hardeman in it. In that spirit—as one who has learned from D. B. Hardeman and has been lucky enough to live to tell the tale—I accept his prize.

Richard F. Fenno, Jr.



Fellow (1974–1975) and former Executive Director of the APSA Catherine E. Rudder.

At the Association’s New York City annual meeting in the fall of 1981, the APSA Council undertook a concerted effort to assist political scientists in the systematic search for positions in the government and private sector. A new Committee of Nonacademic Political Scientists was created “to develop ways of making the Association more responsive to the needs and interests of political scientists who work outside a university setting.” Up to this point, the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program was one of the Association’s most representative efforts to bridge the work of academe and applied politics in the Congress.

A Thousand Fellows and Growing

From its first class of Fellows in 1953 to the summer of 1981, fellowship alumni numbered 927, including 188 political scientists, 151 journalists, 428 federal executives, 42 medical health policy fellows, and 118 other scholars including international participants. The Congressional Fellowship Program Advisory Committee continued to illustrate the fellowship’s high-profile support. For 1980–1981, the Committee was chaired by Nelson Polsby of the University of California at Berkeley and included Robert E. Bates, Jr. of Mobile Oil Corporation; John F. Biddy of the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee; David S. Broder of the *Washington Post*; Representative Richard B. Cheney (R-

Wyoming); Charles L. Clapp of the Interstate Commerce Commission; Dick Clark of the Aspen Institute; Senator Pete V. Domenici (R-New Mexico); Elizabeth Drew of the *New Yorker*; Eugene Eidenberg of the Democratic National Committee; Al Hunt of the *Wall Street Journal*; Wayne Kelley of *Congressional Quarterly*; David R. Mayhew of Yale University; Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-New York); Representative David R. Obey (D-Wisconsin); Robert L. Peabody of Johns Hopkins University; and Mark A. Siegel of Siegel and Associates.

In 1982, the fellowship was nearing 1,000 former Fellows most often characterized as “university presidents, deans and professors; newspaper and magazine publishers, editors and reporters; high-ranking executives in the federal bureaucracy; and congressmen and congressional staff aides.” At the 1982 APSA annual meeting in Denver, those panels dealing broadly with Congress reflected the impact of the fellowship on the discipline. The panels in which political science Fellows presented recent research included a panel on “Congressional Committees” with Charles S. Bullock III of the University of Georgia, Steven S. Smith of George Washington University, and Bruce Oppenheimer of the University of Houston; “Federalism in the 1980s: New Themes—Old Legacies” with Clarence N. Stone of the University of Maryland; “Legislator Orientations, Careers, Goals” with Burdett A. Loomis of the University of Kansas; “The State of the Discipline in the Study of Voting Behavior” with Raymond E. Wolfinger of the University of California at Berkeley; “The Gender Variable in Politics” with David Paletz of Duke University; “Congress and Institutional Structure” with Lawrence C. Dodd of Indiana University and Barbara Sinclair of the University of California at Riverside; “The State of the Discipline: American Political Parties” with David R. Mayhew of Yale University; “Congressional Voting: The Presidential Connection” with Jon R. Bond of Texas A & M University; a Plenary Session on “The Reagan Presidency and the 1982 Elections” with Thomas E. Mann of APSA; “Legislative Oversight” with Carl E. Van Horn of Rutgers University; and “Issue Voting” with James E. Campbell of the University of Georgia.

Bridging the Political Science Discipline

It seemed that inherent in the discipline of political science existed an uneasy balance between those who teach about politics,

those who write about politics, and those who work in politics. The Congressional Fellowship Program had been one bridge connecting these groups; in the 1980s the Association initiated its own new course. Under then-APSA President Seymour Martin Lipset, the Association created a new Committee on Non-Academic Political Scientists. Chair Trudi Miller, director of the National Science Foundation's Decision and Management Science Program, emphasized (*PS*, summer 1982) that "the committee's goal should be to help bring together people who think analytically and rigorously about politics, who have been trained as political scientists, but who may not now or in the future be employed by a college or university." The committee was developing two short courses to be held in conjunction with the 1983 annual meeting, one to help graduate students plan their graduate programs in order to prepare for non-academic jobs, and the other to help political scientists obtain non-academic employment. Included in the four-member committee was former Congressional Fellow George Kundanis, a political scientist doctorate from the University of Wisconsin, who had switched careers to work for Representative and then-House Democratic Whip Thomas S. Foley (D-WA).

By the fall of 1982 (*PS*, fall 1982), the Association hired a new staff member to help oversee the effort. Robert J-P. Hauck, a University of Chicago Ph.D. and research associate at Vanderbilt's Institute for Public Policy Studies, joined the staff as a staff associate with responsibilities including staffing the Committee on Non-Academic Political Scientists.

We the People

There were indications that the 1980s would represent a decade of growing interest in the Congress within the discipline of political science. In 1981, Washington's WETA-TV launched "The Lawmakers," a weekly half-hour public television series on Congress. Former Fellow Norman J. Ornstein of Catholic University and the American Enterprise Institute acted as political editor and the show featured Paul Duke as senior correspondent and Linda Wertheimer and Cokie Roberts of National Public Radio's "All Things Considered." The success of the program was followed in the spring of 1983 (*PS*, spring 1983) by the Association, which, with the support of a grant from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting/Annenberg

School of Communications Project, outlined its preparations for an undergraduate telecourse, "Congress: We the People" to be produced by Washington, D.C.'s public television station WETA and broadcast in fall 1984. The series was designed as a two-year project and most segments would be taped on location in Congress. Videotapes of congressional hearings and interviews with Senators, Representatives, and staff would be combined with analysis and commentary by leading political scientists.

The series would consist of 26 one-half hour programs: Week 1: "A Freshman Comes to Washington" and "The Two Houses of Congress;" Week 2: "Who Serves in Congress" and "A Variety of Voices;" Week 3: "Congressional Elections" and ". . . And If Elected;" Week 4: "Congress in Committee" and "Compromise in Congress;" Week 5: "Who Runs Congress?" and "Varieties of Leadership;" Week 6: "Procedures, Process, and Policy" and "The Congressional Establishment;" Week 7: "The House Floor: A Day in the Life" and "Yeas and Nays;" Week 8: "A Congress of Communities" and "Home Style;" Week 9: "Lobbying Congress" and "Influence and Interests;" Week 10: "Congress and the President" and "Both Ends of the Avenue;" Week 11: "Congress and the Bureaucracy" and "Congress and the Courts;" Week 12: "Congress and the Media" and "Congressional Ethics;" and Week 13: "The Power of the Purse" and "An Assessment of Congress." Under APSA staff direction of Dr. Sheilah Mann, a guide to the programs and their accompanying reading assignments were prepared for students who would be taking the telecourse for credit.

It came as no great surprise for alumni and supporters of the Congressional Fellowship Program that alumnus Norman Ornstein of Catholic University was the principal investigator and series editor. NBC correspondent Edwin Newman was the series host and announcer, and a Study Guide was written by Samuel Kernell of the University of California at San Diego. The series Advisory Board included fellowship alumni Stephen Horn, president, California State University at Long Beach; Thomas E. Mann, executive director of the American Political Science Association; Alan Rosenthal, director, the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University; and Robert M. Rosenzweig, president, Association of American Universities. Consultants for the project included alumni and current or former members of the fellowship's Advisory Committee: Charles S. Bullock, III, University of Georgia; Charles O. Jones, University of Virginia; Richard F. Fenno,

University of Rochester; David R. Mayhew, Yale University; Bruce I. Oppenheimer, University of Houston; Nelson W. Polsby, University of California at Berkeley; and Barbara Sinclair, University of California at Riverside.

Although not part of the “Congress: We the People” project, one long-time member of the fellowship’s Advisory Committee honored at the 1983 APSA annual meeting was David Broder, *Washington Post* columnist and reporter, who received the Carey McWilliams Award presented “to honor a major journalistic contribution to our understanding of politics.” The award citation stated that Dave Broder:

has been a major source of information about and analysis of all aspects of the American political system. His judgments and syntheses are lucid and penetrating. . . . He has become a guardian of the integrity of the major political institutions of this land. . . . He is part of our community. We read his work and know that we can trust it. He reads our work and uses it with skill and sophistication. In short, David Broder provides us with invaluable knowledge and, at the same time, helps to distill and disseminate what we have learned.

Interest in the legislative process found organizational expression within the Association when a fall 1982 meeting of the APSA Council approved a set of guidelines for the organization and operation of sections. The 1982–1983 Report of the APSA Executive Director noted that henceforth groups of APSA members who shared an interest in a particular subfield of the discipline would have an opportunity to organize meetings and coordinate communications under Association auspices and to receive logistical support from the APSA national office in collecting dues and maintaining membership lists. Legislative Studies was among the first handful of groups which petitioned for section status along with Administration, Organizations and Executive; Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations; and Law, Courts and Judicial Behavior.



The Lawmakers. From upper left, Paul Duke and Norman J. Ornstein; from lower left, Linda Wertheimer and Cokie Roberts.

The Fellowship at 30

At the 1983 APSA annual meeting, the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program celebrated its 30th anniversary with a reception honoring former Congressman and then Judge Abner Mikva. Under fellowship alumna and then-section chair Barbara Sinclair, the Legislative Studies Section was well represented with 12 panels and some 80 scholars. Reportedly, the largest turnout at the meeting was for an “all-star” panel on “Studying the Senate: A Roundtable in Honor of Ralph K. Huitt” chaired by Roger H. Davidson of the Congressional Research Service with Richard Fenno, University of Rochester and president-elect of the Association, Donald Matthews, University of Washington, Norm Ornstein, Catholic University, and Robert Peabody, Johns Hopkins University.

To date, most of the 30-year focus of the Congressional Fellowship Program had been on its contributions to scholarly study of Congress. Little attention had been paid to the impact of that scholarship on the institution itself. Unique among the panels at the 1983 annual meeting was one chaired by Brookings Institution’s James

Sunquist on “Has Studying Congress Changed It?” Participating in the roundtable were four scholars—two former Fellows, and two Advisory Committee members, who focused on their personal experience with or research on one or more major efforts at Congressional study or reform. Catherine Rudder, alumna and director of the fellowship, spoke about the work of the Galloway Committee of the APSA which led to the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act; Joseph Cooper of Rice University discussed the Obey Commission of which he was staff director; Roger H. Davidson of the Congressional Research Service examined both the Bolling and Stevenson Commissions which he assisted; and fellowship alumnus Norman Ornstein of Catholic University focused on the work of the Stevenson Commission which he advised.

Fellowship Reaps the Wealth of Nations: The Expansion of International Fellows

The 1980s was also noteworthy for an expansion of the international participation in the fellowship. Five years into the fellowship, the Asia Foundation had sponsored three Fellows in the 1958–1959 class: Kingsward Kuo of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, China; Ahmad Roose, Ministry of Natural Resources and Local Government, Malaysia; and Mitsuru Uchida, Waseda University, Japan. In the 1983 winter issue of *PS*, it was announced that under a grant from the German Marshall Fund, two West German scholars, Eberhard Barg, a political science graduate student at the Free University of Berlin, and Bernd Kubbig, a doctoral graduate from the University of Frankfurt, had been awarded Congressional Fellowships. In addition to their scholarly attainments, both had been active in German politics. Barg was a member of the Social Democratic Party at the local level, while Kubbig was active in the new environmental and peace movement Greens party. The new initiative was spearheaded by political scientist Stephen F. Szabo of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. Szabo indicated his hope that, after the one-year pilot project, funding would be found for future years. The hope became a reality when the German Marshall Fund of the United States continued to sponsor two Germans and an occasional French Congressional Fellow into the new millennium. By the fellowship’s 50th anniversary in 2003, there had been 46 GMFUS Congressional Fellows.

German Marshall Fund U.S. Fellows

The 1984–1985 class of Congressional Fellows also marked the second year of participation by the German Marshall Fund of United States Fellows. The two Fellows offered an international assessment of the experience. Dr. Werner Jann from the Postgraduate School of Administrative Sciences in Speyer and Armgard von Reden, Ph.D. candidate from the Georg August Universitat in Goettingen, contributed articles for the fall 1984 issue of *PS: Political Science & Politics* contrasting their U.S. and German parliamentary experiences. Werner Jann, whose main interest was in comparative public policy, wrote about some differences in the policy-making process within Congress and the Bundestag, and Armgard von Reden, whose doctoral thesis was on the Democratic Party, wrote about differences in political campaigns and campaign financing. A few brief excerpts give the flavor of experiences that their German successors have continued to have as APSA Congressional Fellows. “This is not a thorough analysis of the two systems,” the authors wrote in a short introduction. “It is rather a personal report about what impressed and confused us most. We offer observations, not explanations.”

The biggest surprise when visiting Congress for the first time is the openness and informality which seems to prevail everywhere. Compared with the Bundestag, Congress is an admirably open institution (even after the implementation of those new, in my view highly questionable security measures following the infamous bomb in the Capitol). Open doors to all offices and most meetings and the buzzing activities in the hallways of the office buildings symbolize this openness. In Bonn very few people bother to come and see their member of parliament, interests are expressed through the parties, not individually towards members. If people come to Bonn they usually have an appointment, they must be able to present their ID at all kinds of gates, and in most cases somebody has to accompany them while walking around, because not everybody is allowed to wander on his own in those holy halls of power.

In a typical parliamentary system, the government and the majority party (or parties) control the substance of public policy-making, but not the process. In Congress the

opposite seems to be true. In Germany, for example, the opposition parties have elaborate rights to influence the work of the Bundestag. The office of the Speaker is supposed to be impartial, deputy speakers come from all parties, seats and even chairmen of committees are assigned after party strength (thus giving each party control of committees), and the agenda of the Bundestag and its committees is usually decided in a very consensual and bipartisan way. In Congress the majority party has considerable difficulties to control or even to predict the voting in important policy matters, but it certainly tries to control the agenda of every single subcommittee, committee, and the whole House. A lot of Congress' procedures are amazingly inefficient but have high symbolic value. Think of the double-work in all the offices, the time wasted in running over to the House or the Senate chamber to cast unimportant votes and all that time spent on those bills everybody agrees 'will go nowhere.' Thus also here remains a strange paradox: Congress is at the same time much more market-like than any West European parliament, but it is also much more traditionally controlled than most of them.

As part of her fellowship experience, Armgard von Reden accompanied the senator for whom she worked on a campaign trip. On the first day, she and the senator attended nine meetings in two towns, made fundraising calls for almost two hours and the senator gave a telephone interview to a journalist for 45 minutes. "On the next morning," wrote von Reden, "his media consultants prepared him in a taped pseudo debate for the first debate with his primary opponents. Having analyzed his answers, he was left after three hours with two pieces of advice: first, give short answers for tough questions. Save the long answers for easy ones. Second, there is only one rule for debates, that is: there is no rule. This profound advice is extremely expensive!"

After a half-hour lunch we drove to one of the innumerable fundraisers in a private home. Whoever pays \$25 to have lunch with the candidate is also more likely to vote for him. Therefore, these small fundraisers are seldom time or cost efficient but important for getting votes. We went by plane to three other meetings in three other towns. Back at the hotel at 11 p.m. the

senator reviewed the notes from the practice debate. The next morning at 7:30 he took off for a fundraiser in New Orleans, at the other end of the U.S. I knew that candidates get out-of-state contributions; what I did not know was that they can't run a campaign without them and must travel all over the country to attend such fund raisers. I also did not know that media consultants and TV ads take the biggest piece out of the campaign financing pie. I took part in the campaign's special TV fund raiser. About 1,000 people attended a \$125-a-plate dinner to have chicken (the official fundraiser bird of the U.S.) and thereby paid for the TV campaign in the nation's second most expensive media market. In Chicago one 30-second spot during prime time costs \$5,000. For the last three weeks before the primary election, the costs for TV ads added up to \$220,000. [The senator], like most other candidates, could probably not have run the campaign without the help of political action committees (PACs). If money is the milk of politics, then PACs are the cows and the candidates have quickly learned to milk them. To my mind this makes it more difficult to implement a national policy, and PACs have therefore contributed to the fragmentation of the political process.

Needless to say, in the West-German parliamentary system the political parties control access to the Bundestag by controlling the nominating process. Half the members of the Bundestag are elected directly on the district level. The other half are elected from the state party list. The district candidate is nominated by an assembly of party officials and members. The state party assembly determines who is on this list and in which position. They decide who is likely to be elected to the Bundestag, by giving him or her a safe place on the list. Although the national party has little influence on this decision, the local and state parties make sure that the national leaders will be reelected and that only those who have worked their way up the party ranks, held many public offices and are loyal members of their party, will be granted a safe place. The advantage of this 'no experiments, experience please' policy is that parties send experienced politicians to the Bundestag. . . . Not only do the parties control who is running, they also organize the campaign and distribute the funds. The taxpayers provide the

campaign money through the public campaign fund.

The question of which campaign system—that of the U.S. or Germany—is better or more democratic would lead to an endless discussion about democratic theory. I am still inclined to argue in favor of a parliamentary system. The campaigns are shorter and less expensive, and candidates do not chase around the nation acting like noble beggars. The influence of single-interest groups and single-interest votes is smaller. What has impressed me most about the American campaign financing system, however, is that it is more open to public inspection than in any other country. What has impressed me most about the American political system overall is its ability to develop any national policy at all given the dependence of members of Congress on campaign contributions, especially from PACs, given the constant pressure from myriad special interest groups and constituents, and given the size and diversity of the country. How they do it is fascinating to watch.

German Marshall Fund Armgard von Reden's observations about the U.S. campaign system in the mid-1980s were shared by a number of her fellow U.S. colleagues. Gary J. Andres, a 1982–1983 political science fellow from the University of Chicago, Chicago Circle, had moved out of academe to Prudential-Bache Securities, and provided a different vantage point, but similar theme, on PACs in the spring 1985 issue of *PS*.

When Justin Dart, Chairman of Dart Industries, said in 1978, 'talking with politicians is a fine thing, but with a little money they hear you better,' his colleagues apparently concurred. Subsequent to several congressional, Federal Election Commission and Supreme Court decisions which clarified some ambiguity concerning their legality, the surge in corporate PAC growth [1972–1980 percent of Fortune 500 companies with PACs] was extremely impressive. Gone are those days when the so-called 'corporate bag-men' would pass out envelopes filled with cash on the 17th green of some exclusive country club. Today, computerized records of congressmen's roll-call votes and list of potential PAC contributors have replaced the nine iron

as an effective corporate political tool. True, corporations have always been involved in lobbying and campaign finance, but their style of involvement has fundamentally changed.

While von Reden and Andres had both been Congressional Fellows focusing on the same aspect of legislative politics, Andres was an American specialist while von Reden used the experience for a comparative U.S.-German perspective.

The value of the fellowship for international participants was no longer in doubt. In fact, its appeal was growing. In both the 1985–1986 and 1986–1987 classes of 45 Fellows there were six international fellows from the Philippines, Indonesia, and Pakistan sponsored by the Asia Foundation, two German fellows, the first of what would be an occasional fellow from the French Senate sponsored by the German Marshall Fund of the United States, and, in 1986, a Ford Foundation Fellow from Beijing, China. Yi Zhang, from the American Government and Politics Section of the Institute of American Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, represented an effort to develop a U.S. legislative specialist for the Ford Foundation investment in American Studies. It was an investment to be repeated a decade later when Ford sponsored an Egyptian doctoral candidate from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies who returned after his fellowship to teach U.S. foreign policy and Congress at the American Studies Center at the University of Cairo in Egypt.

The Eclectic Nature of the Fellowship

While the rationale obviously varied from one sponsor to the next, the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program had become a vehicle for very specific interests in the legislative process whether it was for an American Anthropology Fellow, Harkness Fellow, Ford Foundation Fellow or, 20 years later, an American Sociological Association or Native American Hatfield Fellow sponsored by the Grand Ronde Tribes of Oregon. The eclectic composition of the average fellowship class, including traditional political scientists and journalists, but now also including domestic and foreign policy specialists from the U.S. Government, the Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows, and the international fellows, suggested that there was “no size fits all” requirement. A variety of different career tracks could feel comfortable in

such a variegated fellowship group.

From its beginnings, a major goal of the Congressional Fellowship Program had been to provide political scientists and journalists in the early stages of their careers with an exposure to Congress through serving as personal or committee staff legislative assistants. At the conclusion of the fellowship, they were expected to return to their careers and be in a better position to explain the federal legislative process to a wider public. Although the trend had no direct impact on the number of academic applicants, the fact remained that in the mid-1980s, the number of graduate students enrolled in Ph.D. programs in political science continued to decline. In the 1983–1984 academic year, 4,171 graduate students were enrolled in Ph.D. programs. This marked a 35% decline from a decade earlier (1973–1974). Since 1977, the APSA had conducted an annual survey of departments on the number of faculty leaving academia to pursue non-academic careers. According to the winter 1984 issue of *PS: Political Science & Politics*, over the six years since that survey began, an annual average of 173 political science faculty members left their appointments for careers outside the academy.

Since its inception, a total of 1,071 Fellows had participated in the program, including 200 political scientists, 160 journalists, 510 federal executives, 54 health policy specialists, and 147 other fellows including international. One-third of the alumni represented the original core political science and journalism constituencies. The average fellowship class had grown from its initial six to a dozen in the 1950s, and from 22 in 1960 to an average number in the mid-40s from 1966 onward. The largest class had been 50 Fellows in 1981–1982. Throughout, most classes had five to six political scientists, although by the mid-1980s, they represented an earlier stage in their careers, with most being a blend of Ph.D. candidates and assistant professors. With a handful of exceptions, they were “Americanists” expecting to specialize in the legislative branch of government.

The average class now had fewer journalists; from an earlier average of half-a-dozen in the 1960s and 1970s the number moved to two or three. Foreign Affairs Fellows, representing the Foreign Service and intelligence communities, averaged 10–12 per year and were more-or-less balanced by the 12–15 U.S. Government domestic policy specialists per year. Every class since 1974–1975 had included six Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows who came predominantly

from university teaching hospitals (e.g. Medical College of Virginia Commonwealth University, Yale University School of Medicine, University of California, Los Angeles, University of Kentucky College of Medicine, SUNY Binghamton, Stanford University Medical Center). The “others” category included the Asia Foundation Fellows who continued to come from academic or government sectors, a University of Oklahoma Carl Albert doctoral dissertation fellow (the Center began sending a participant with the 1982–1983 class of Congressional Fellows), two German Marshall Fund fellows and, from 1977 through 1993, an American Anthropology fellow.

At this, the 30th anniversary mark of the fellowship, the orientation had taken on what was to become its permanent three-week duration as well as its heavy reliance on the generosity of time and insight by former Fellows or members of the Advisory Committee including Norman J. Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute, Eddie Williams of the Joint Center for Political Studies, Frederick Holborn of Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Charles O. Jones of the University of Virginia, Roger H. Davidson of the Congressional Research Service, Catherine E. Rudder of APSA, Austin Ranney of the American Enterprise Institute, Albert R. Hunt of the *Wall Street Journal*, David Broder of the *Washington Post*, Charles E. Walker of Walker Associates, Gary Hymel of Gray & Co., Mary Siegel of Mark A. Siegel & Associates, Senate staffer Eve Lubalin, Rep. Richard Cheney (R-Wyoming), and George Kundanis of the Office of the House Majority Whip. An orientation to the Library of Congress’ Congressional Research Service had already become an essential part of the orientation as were the stable of experts, including Judy Schneider, Walter Oleszek, former fellow Stan Bach, and Paul Rundquist, who continue to enlighten Congressional Fellows to this day.

As the dimensions of the orientation had become relatively fixed, the traditional stellar character of the Advisory Committee continued with Chair Nelson W. Polsby of the University of California at Berkeley, David S. Broder of the *Washington Post*, the Honorable Richard B. Cheney of the U.S. House of Representatives, Peter B. Clark of the Evening News Association, the Honorable Christopher Dodd of the U.S. Senate, the Honorable Pete V. Domenici of the U.S. Senate, Elizabeth Drew of the *New Yorker*, Eugene Eidenberg of MCI Communications Corporation, the Honorable Thomas S. Foley of the U.S. House of Representatives, David Gergen of the White House,



The 1982–1983 Foreign Affairs Fellows with Professor Fred Holborn (second row, far right). Just one of the many diverse groups drawn under the Fellowship umbrella.

Albert R. Hunt of the *Wall Street Journal*, Wayne Kelley of *Congressional Quarterly*, David R. Mayhew of Yale University, Philip Meyer of the University of North Carolina, Richardson Preyer of Greensboro, North Carolina, Mark A. Siegel of Siegel & Associates, and Charls E. Walter of Walter Associates, Inc.

As a final ingredient, by its 30th anniversary in 1983, the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program had moved out of its uniquely favored position of being the one fellowship available to augment what in the decades of the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s had been leanly staffed legislative offices. The congressional reforms of the 1970s had increased both personal staff and the Congressional Research Office, which put a somewhat lower premium on the services of a non-salaried Congressional Fellow. Nonetheless, to look back at the mid-1980s is to be struck by the extremely high caliber assignments Congressional Fellows managed to secure: in the Senate with Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-New York), Paul Tsongas (D-Massachusetts), John Glenn (D-Ohio), Dale Bumpers (D-Arkansas), Dan Quayle (R-Indiana), George Mitchell (D-Maine), Robert Dole (R-Kansas), William Proxmire (D-Wisconsin), Bill Bradley (D-New Jersey), and in the House with Thomas Foley (D-Washington), Albert Gore (D-Tennessee), Ed-

ward Madigan (D-Illinois), Gillis Long (D-Louisiana), Claude Pepper (D-Florida), Newt Gingrich (R-Georgia), Lee Hamilton (D-Indiana), Patricia Schroeder (D-Colorado), and Beverly Byron (D-Maryland).

The Fellowship Experience Bears Scholastic Fruit

How rewarding the fellowship proved was, however, dependent on more than the stature of the Member of Congress. Relations among the staff with whom the Fellow could have a sustained relationship, a senior staffer who could serve in a mentoring role in the early stages of an assignment, legislative attention to the issues for which a Fellow was responsible, and a variety of other intangibles, all tended to have the bigger impact on how rewarding an assignment was. Readers of the winter 1986 issue of *PS* got a chance to see Congress through the eyes of five recent Congressional Fellows: three political scientists from the 1984–1985 class (Christopher J. Deering of George Washington University, Carl E. Van Horn of Rutgers University, and Timothy E. Cook of Williams), a journalist from the same class (Larry Warren of KUTV in Salt Lake City), and a political scientist from the 1983–1984 class (John F. Hoadley of Duke University). This brief *précis* of the articles borrows from *PS* Editor, and former fellowship alumna, Catherine Rudder's summary in her Editor's Introduction. All of these essays followed the seminal participant observation work of former Fellow David Mayhew (*Congress: The Electoral Connection*, 1974) and of former Advisory Committee Chair (1975–1980) Richard Fenno (*Home Style*, 1978).

In his piece on the electoral connection, Tim Cook attempted to reconcile the revival of partisanship and parties in the House with the apparent decline of partisan identification in the electorate and showed how members' electoral concerns surprisingly accounted for the reemergence of parties on Capitol Hill.

The electoral connection in Congress, at least in how members perceive its importance is as alive as ever, even if it expresses itself differently from the way it did when Mayhew and Fenno wrote their works. Certainly, some may celebrate the attentiveness of members in both chambers to their constituents and their views; and, undoubtedly, many (if not most) legislators use

reelection as a means to another end, such as good public policy. However, the current ascendancy of reelection provides even fewer incentives than in the 1970s to legislate responsibly in the collective national interest. Insofar as the preoccupation with reelection is one source of the increasing unmanageability of the Senate and directs the revival of partisanship in the House, the new effects are no more beneficial than before.

Carl Van Horn and John Hoadley both looked at economic policymaking on the Hill but from different perspectives. Van Horn focused on the defensive strategy of Democrats who worried that they might lose their majority in the House, and he warned against the tendency to “out-Republican the Republicans.”

For now, the Republicans have captured a simple and compelling theme—less government is better. As long as that idea is perceived to work and the economy is robust, Republicans will enjoy continued or increased public support. In the meantime, the Democrats’ instinct for political survival has drawn them closer to the Republican diagnosis for managing the economy. Democrats agree that deficits are bad, but argue that their budgets will distribute the pain more fairly. Democrats agree that tax rates should be lowered to stimulate economic growth, but claim that they can construct a fairer tax system; one that makes corporations pay more. Democrats think that economic growth should be the nation’s first priority, but prefer a little more equity in the distribution of benefits.

Hoadley, on the other hand, concluded that procedures had broken down in the 99th Congress. The passage of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction plan “represents a remarkable transformation of the legislation process.” The plan, which Representative Charles Schumer (D-NY) had labeled “self-inflicted fiscal terrorism,” was enacted on a fast track which meant bypassing normal legislative procedures. The process increasingly typified the route for large redistributive bills.

From the point of view of the legislative process, we are watching dramatic changes occur in subtle ways. The traditional

process is reserved for a handful of standard legislation (reauthorizations, appropriations) together with a few bills that are sufficiently popular or have leadership support to earn a spot on the schedule. But 'serious' legislation is reserved for those few legislative vehicles that can take advantage of streamlined procedures; other opportunities for serious consideration simply do not exist, especially in domestic policy domains. In the new legislative obstacle course, the major difficulty is finding the right fast-tracked vehicle for your rider.

While Hoadley highlighted “speed and the circumvention of deliberative processes, Chris Deering featured the slow pace of the Senate, marked by quorum calls, unrestrained activism, hostage politics and fixation on the budget.” He examined how these phenomena affected leadership strategy, but came to conclusions not unlike those of John Hoadley. The unpredictable action of the Senate was highly frustrating to its members and a good deal of legislative work took place in negotiations held in back rooms off the floor of the Senate—thus circumventing committees and the public

Larry Warren shifted the tone of the discussion, but his observations also meshed well with those of his colleagues. In a good-natured examination of politicians’ use of the press, particularly the broadcast media, he laid bare what could be described as the “shallow, manipulated and unsystematic coverage of the Hill by television newscasters in particular.”

I found politicians pretty much as I'd always seen them. I leave Washington for the hinterlands with a greater respect for the institutions of the House and Senate, and the members and staffs that have to tap dance around all the special interests. I watch TV news coverage of the Congress fully realizing that it is only giving me a quick scan of one topic a day, if that. I read the papers knowing they offer more depth, but still offer that depth on only a handful of issues a day. . . . I can see how politics can be addictive, how Potomac Fever can spread, but for this Fellow, once is enough!

PS Editor Cathy Rudder summarized the overall impact of the essays:

Each of these articles sharpens our perceptions of Congress and advances our knowledge of it. While certain aspects — such as the obsession of senators with reelection, the breakdown of the legislative process, the success of show-horse strategies of members in their dealings with the press, the apparent divergence of good politics and good policy — may be troubling, others are not. The strengthening of parties in the House, for example, has long been advocated by political scientists. Moreover, the bypassing of normal legislative routines may indicate that Congress is innovative and flexible in the face of seemingly intractable policy problems. In any case, these pieces will give you a feel for how Congress is operating these days and how some Congressional Fellows evaluate it.

In some respects, as these Fellows writing in 1986 found familiar themes from a decade or so earlier by Mayhew and Fenno, a political scientist in 2003 could see most of these patterns replayed today. Or, as Fenno would have observed, observers need to be attuned to the importance of “context and sequence” in appreciating the political process.

It was no accident that Fenno’s name kept cropping up. The heart of the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program was essentially that of the participant observer where the Fellow is a political scientist, journalist, or one of the other career categories. In some cases the experience lasted throughout the Fellow’s career. Such was the case of Alan Rosenthal, a political scientist who came from Princeton to the 1958–1959 class. Nearly 30 years later, having worked with legislatures in two-thirds of the states, and now as director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, Rosenthal authored a fall 1986 PS article entitled “Soaking, Poking, and Just Wallowing in It.” Rosenthal emphasized an important nuance:

While Fenno remained an outsider, maintaining scholarly objectivity; I became an insider, sharing as much as possible in legislative life. If Fenno’s aim was to stay detached (to avoid

“going native”), my aim was to become immersed. He tiptoed through it, I wallowed in it. In following legislators, I tried to put myself in their shoes—in order to see what they saw, hear what they heard, and, in so far as possible, feel what they felt. That was my way (surely not the only way) to get a sense of things. When the legislative process is seen from some distance . . . its blemishes are less apparent. The closer you get, the more obvious the imperfections. As a human institution that deals in competing interests and values, it must be so. To come close is a risk, but it is one that is well worth running.

At the conclusion of the APSA's 1987 annual meeting it was announced that Executive Director Thomas E. Mann would be leaving the Association to become senior fellow and director of the Governmental Studies Program at the Brookings Institution. Having come to Washington in 1969 as a Congressional Fellow, he had spent most of the next 17 years at APSA in a variety of positions including 11 years as director of the Congressional Fellowship Program and, since 1981, as the Association's executive director. He had also served as co-director of the Congress Project at the American Enterprise Institute, had been an adjunct professor at several Washington universities, and had authored and edited a number of books and articles on congressional themes.

Association President Samuel P. Huntington announced that the Search Committee's unanimous choice to succeed Mann as associate director of APSA, was Catherine E. Rudder who, since 1981, had served as director of the Congressional Fellowship Program and editor of *PS*.

There was a symbiotic relationship between the Congressional Fellowship Program and the Senators and Representatives for whom they served, and a major strength of the program was that both parties felt amply rewarded in the experience. The program did, however, receive important support from other sources where the fellowship was only one feature in a far broader galaxy of responsibilities. The 1987 fall issue of *PS* listed two such important supporters. The Hubert H. Humphrey Award that year went to Max M. Kampelman who had served a number of years as a member and chair of the Congressional Fellowship Program's Advisory Committee. His contributions were, however, far more national in scope, and a list of his major awards

covered more than a single-typed page. There were more than 40 organizations to which he had given time, guidance, funds, or, more likely, all three. He had been appointed by President Jimmy Carter, and reappointed by President Ronald Reagan, to serve as ambassador and head of the U.S. Delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He was currently serving as head of the U.S. Delegation for Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms. The citation noted the appropriateness of the recipient who “amply fulfills the award’s established criteria of notable public service by a political scientist,” but added that Kampelman’s “long-standing professional and personal relationship with Hubert Humphrey [another strong fellowship supporter] particularly distinguishes him as a candidate for the honor.”

During the same 83rd APSA annual meeting, the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* received the Carey McWilliams Award honoring a major journalistic contribution to the understanding of politics. Previous winners, beginning in 1982, had included Richard Strout of the *Christian Science Monitor*, David S. Broder of the *Washington Post*, Murray Kempton of *Newsday*, Jim Lehrer and Robert MacNeil of the *MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour*, and Neal R. Peirce of the *Washington Post* Writers Group.

CQ was then, and would continue to be, a major fellowship benefactor in maintaining an authoritative national interest in Congress, in providing the Fellows during their tenure with free subscriptions, and, somewhat later under then President and Publisher Robert W. Merry, helping fund the annual journalist CQ Fellow. *CQ* also helped groom some journalists with the best eye on Congress, including Advisory Committee Member David Broder and former Fellows Ron Elving (1984–1985), currently senior Washington editor for NPR, Jeffrey Katz (1984–1985), now an editor of NPR’s “Morning Edition,” and Dan Parks (1997–1998), currently deputy economics and finance editor at *CQ*.

As the 1980s wound down, a new director of the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program was announced in the winter 1988 issue of *PS*. J. Brinton Rowdybush would direct the fellowship and Kay Sterling was named associate director. A 1983 Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley, Rowdybush had been assistant professor at the Troy State University European campus and program coordinator for the Washington International Center prior to joining the APSA Staff. After a year (March 1989) he accepted an appointment to the Foreign Service and it was announced that Kay Sterling would be



Kay Sterling, first associate director then director of the Fellowship (front row, third from left), with the 1989–1990 class of Fellows.

coordinator of the Congressional Fellowship Program. In the December 1989 issue of *PS* it was announced that 1984–1985 Congressional Fellow Christopher Deering of George Washington University had been appointed director of Academic Program and Planning for the fellowship. The overall direction of the fellowship now fell under the aegis of the APSA Executive Director, Cathy Rudder, herself a former Fellow and director of the fellowship.

Fellows a Prolific Bunch

Direction of the fellowship aside, the alumni continued writing. Two former fellows authored articles *PS* that year, and another the following year. “Candidates, the Need to Know and the Press” (spring 1988) was authored by 1984–1985 Fellow Ronald D. Elving. Elving subsequently served on the legislative staff of Senator Gary Hart (D-Colorado) and as the Washington office director for Hart’s 1988 presidential campaign until his withdrawal from the race in May. He wrote his *PS* article from his position as a political reporter for *Congressional Quarterly* from where he moved on to become *CQ* political editor, a political writer at *USA Today*, and, since the late 1990s, the Washington

Editor for *National Public Radio*. Elving began his article on political candidates and the press by relating a conversation between a German baron in 1807 in which Thomas Jefferson remarked that, “when a man assumes a public trust, he should consider himself a public property.” Elving went on to note the increasingly pivotal and, from the view of some politicians, intrusive role the press plays in defining politicians:

But no one will ever succeed in arguing that the rights of politicians, to define themselves in their own terms, take precedence over voters’ interests. The media will remain the means by which voters can apprehend the candidates on terms other than the candidates’ own. Jefferson’s famous conclusion about the aims and values of government and the press was that it would be better to have a free press and no government at all than to have a government without a free press. But, one still wonders what Jefferson would have said about the peculiar interaction of politics and media that influences national affairs in our time. He could not have foreseen instantaneous, national media that practically controlled politicians’ access to the electorate. And he could not have foreseen how vulnerable this would make the already fragile life of a candidacy.

In the summer 1988 issue of *PS*, then-Associate Professor of political science David B. Magleby, a 1986–1987 Fellow at Brigham Young University, wrote “Taking the Initiative: Direct Legislation and Direct Democracy in the 1980s” which was drawn from his book *Direct Legislation: Voting on Ballot Propositions in the United States*. He noted that the 1980s had seen a resurgence in interest in three direct democracy devices—the initiative, the popular referendum and the recall—and in California alone, it cost between \$1.254 and \$5.00 per signature for a group to use professional signature circulators.

The September 1989 issue of *PS: Political Science & Politics* included an article by Gary J. Andres, 1982–1983 public policy doctorate Fellow from the University of Illinois-Chicago. Andres was serving as a special assistant to President George H. W. Bush for legislative affairs. He co-authored an article about a debate which seemed then, and now, inherent in the discipline of political science. In “Applied Political Science: Bridging the Gap or a Bridge Too Far?” Andres suggested that:

political scientists must begin to rethink the relationship between theory and practice if we want the discipline to grow and expand, and if we want greater recognition for the work we do and the work we are capable of doing both within and without colleges and universities. Those of you with a theoretical bent might be thinking at this point, 'Please, not another call for us to come out of our 'ivory towers' and get our hands dirty in real world politics. Not another call for relevance. Not another call to take to the streets, to the wards, or the smoke-filled rooms.' No, as a matter of fact, stay right where you are. We need you there and we need your theories. But we need more political scientists in academic and applied settings who think of themselves as political scientists—experts in describing, explaining and predicting political phenomena. If confined only to academic settings, doing only non-predictive research, the discipline will become a social science cocker spaniel—overly inbred and increasingly unpopular. Conversely, members of the discipline in applied settings must keep abreast of their academic counterparts, lest they lose the scholarly touch.

Alumni Gatherings

It was also during the late 1980s that the Congressional Fellowship Program organized an alumni association as a result of the tireless efforts of 1976–1977 foreign affairs fellow Leonard Parkinson. Having entered the fellowship from the intelligence community, Parkinson went on to work for Atlantic Research Corporation and to serve on the CFP Advisory Committee. Unlike the 1990s and beyond, when the APSA held its meetings in various sites around the country, during those years the Association held every other annual meeting in Washington, D.C. which served as a venue for an almost annual “CFP Caucus Dinner.” The third such event was held September 1, 1988, and, based on votes of the alumni, selected then House Majority Whip Thomas S. Foley (D-Washington) as the “Outstanding Legislator of the 100th Congress” and Professor Fred Holborn of Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, long-time director of the fellowship’s “Foreign Affairs Seminar,” as “Outstanding Friend of the Program.”



Fred Holborn accepts a Fellowship Program Award from alumni association president Leonard Parkinson (1976–1977).

Alumni get-togethers were not limited to the U.S. In June 1989, former APSA Congressional Fellows from the Federal Republic of Germany held a reunion at the University Club of the Free University of Berlin. As 1986–1987 German Marshall Fund Fellow Claus Gramckow wrote in the December *PS*, 14 former Fellows attended the reunion organized by Eberhard Barg (1983–1984) and Stefan van Senger (1987–1988). “Reviewing the time spent in the Congressional Fellowship program,” observed Gramckow, “the former Fellows agreed that the program provided them with a unique look into the American legislative process, politics in Washington, as well as the overall function of the American government. The program provided the Fellows with work experience they could apply to their current jobs or research activities.” Three were in academe (Dr. Bernd Kubbig, 1982–1983, and Dr. Jurgen Wilzewski, 1984–1985, were research assistants in the Hessische Stiftung for Friedens und Konfliktforschung and the University of Frankfurt ; Dr. Peter Rudolf (1985–1986) was a research fellow at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik; four were completing their dissertations (Stefan von Senger, 1987–1988, in Berlin; Thorsten Hutter, 1987–1988, in Bonn; Claus Gramckow, 1986–1987, and Stefan Richter, 1986–1987, in Washington, D.C.); Dr. Joerg Boltersdorf worked in the international credit department of the Berliner Bank; Dr. Armgard von Reden, 1983–1984, was a special assistant to a director of IBM-Germany; Eberhard Barg, 1982–1983,

was in the Information Office of the German-American Exchange Programs in Berlin; Klaus Frankenberger, 1984–1985, was a journalist for the Frankfurter *Allgemeine Zeitung*; and Dr. Werner Jann, 1983–1984, served as a special advisor for the Governor of the State of Schleswig-Holstein.

The Decade of the 1990s:
Financing the Fellowship

The financing of Harvard graduate programs had long followed the dictum “every ship has to float its own bottom.” The Congressional Fellowship Program’s relationship to the American Political Science Association was far less stark, but there were similarities as illustrated by the demographics of the fellowship as it entered the 1990s. The administrative fee provided by Federal departments and agencies sponsorship of Fellows helped reimburse the Association for salaries and overhead costs. The payment of each participant’s stipend required outside support and nearly every Fellow was somehow designated. There continued to be American Anthropology Fellows, Asia Foundation Fellows, Carl Albert Fellows, German Marshall Fund and French Fellows, and a Kellogg Fellow. Those who had helped fund political scientists and journalists over the years included the Knight Foundation, Knight Ritter, Incorporated, International Business Machines, the Mary Norris Preyer Fund, the New York Times Foundation, the William A. Steiger Fund, the Poynter Fund and Congressional Quarterly, Inc.

The Steiger Fellowship honors the memory of the late William Steiger, a Republican who represented the Sixth Congressional District of Wisconsin from 1966 until his untimely death in 1978. During his service in Congress, Representative Steiger was dedicated to the Congressional Fellowship Program, was an active member of the program’s Advisory Committee, and, over the years, welcomed numerous Fellows to his staff. The Fellowship continues to be awarded annually to a political scientist who best exemplifies Representative Steiger’s values and interests.

The Poynter Fund contribution was designated to support a promising Fellow in print journalism and continued through the 1994–1995 class. The Fund was the charitable foundation of the Times Publishing Company, whose publications included *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report* and the associated publications of Congressional Quarterly, Inc., as well as the *St. Petersburg Times*. The first Poynter Fellow was Celia Cohen (1985–1986), staff reporter for the Wilmington, *Delaware News-Journal*. Andrew Pollack, City Hall reporter for the *Democrat and Chronicle Newspapers*, Rochester, New York, was the 1986–1987 recipient. William D. Zaferos, political reporter for the *Appleton Post-Crescent*, Appleton, Wisconsin, was named the Poynter Fellow for 1987–1988. The 1988–1989 Poynter Fellow was Kenton Bird, editorial page editor, *Idahoian/Palouse Empire Daily News*, Moscow, Idaho,

and Pullman, Washington. Kristen Huckshorn, reporter for the *San Jose Mercury News*, California, was selected to be the 1989–1990 Poynter Fellow. While there is no longer a Poynter Fellow, Congressional Quarterly, Inc. has sustained the spirit to the present. There continues to be a CQ Fellow and every new class of Congressional Fellows receives a year's subscription to *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*.

From 1986 to 1995, the Walter and Phyllis Shorenstein Family provided funding for a fellowship in the name of their daughter, Joan Shorenstein Barone. Joan was a well-known and highly respected producer for CBS News who died in 1985 at a tragically early age. The Joan Shorenstein Barone Fellowship was inaugurated with a fellowship to 1986–1987 broadcast journalist Jean Powell of KEZI-TV in Eugene, Oregon. The 1987–1988 recipient was Jay A. Kohn, capitol bureau chief, Montana Television Network, Helena. William Lewis Graf, state capitol reporter, WISC-TV, Madison, Wisconsin, was the recipient for 1988–1989, and Philip L. Ingrassia, assistant news director and legislative reporter for KDLT-TV in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, was the recipient for 1989–1990.

Alumni Successes

Going into the 1990s, the Association News section of *PS: Political Science & Politics* continued to serve the membership by highlighting awards, promotions, authorship of books, and other personal news. In the process, it also documented the professional advancement within the discipline of the ever-growing number of political science alumni of the Congressional Fellowship Program. In the December 1990 issue, for example, it noted that Loch K. Johnson, a 1969-1970 Fellow from the University of California at Davis, had been named regents professor at the University of Georgia and had also won the 1990 Creative Research Medal awarded by the University. Clarence Stone, a 1966–1967 political science Fellow from Emory University and now at the University of Maryland, had received the Ralph J. Bunche Award for the best scholarly work in political science exploring the phenomenon of ethnic and cultural pluralism for *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta 1946–1988* (University Press of Kansas). And David Price, former professor of political science at Duke University, current member of the fellowship's Advisory Committee and member of the U.S. House of Representatives from North Carolina where he

mentored Fellows, was awarded the Hubert H. Humphrey Award in recognition of notable public service by a political scientist. These alumni were emblematic of the strong foothold Congressional Fellows had already established within the discipline and the Association.

That same foothold extended beyond the university campus, as the roster of orientation speakers increasingly reflected. The three-week program for the class of 1990–1991 featured, among other alumni, William I. Bacchus, a 1969–1970 political science Fellow from Yale and now with the Department of State, speaking on “Congressional Liaison in a Time of Troubles: The State Department’s Relationship with the 101st Congress”; Joan B. Claybrook, a 1965–1966 Federal Fellow from the Social Security Administration and now the president of Public Citizen, speaking on “Protecting the Public Interest;” Charles W. Maynes, a 1970–1971 Foreign Affairs Fellow from the Department of State and now editor of *Foreign Policy*, speaking on “Who Makes Foreign Policy?” and George Kundanis, a 1976–1977 political science Fellow from the University of Wisconsin at Madison and now lead congressional staffer with the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, speaking on “Leadership in the House.” Decades after their own fellowships, these alumni continued to enrich succeeding classes of Fellows.

Political science honorary Pi Sigma Alpha also drew on fellowship alumni to inaugurate an annual lecture at the APSA annual meetings which would feature a leading public official. The first such lecture at the 1991 meeting drew on a University of Wisconsin political science Congressional Fellow alumnus, then Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney (1968–1969 Fellow) who spoke to an overflow audience.

MCI Endowment

In the history of the Congressional Fellowship Program, few events could rival the announcement in the September 1991 *PS* issue that the MCI Communications Corporation had endowed the fellowship in the amount of \$5 million. Under the terms of the grant agreement, the endowment could annually fund a total of eight Congressional Fellows, six in traditional political science and journalism categories and two other scholars or journalists with a demonstrated interest in the overlapping policy issues between political science and journalism,

including telecommunications. It was one more instance of a former Congressional Fellow coming to the program's support decades after his experience. Eugene Eidenberg had been a Northwestern political scientist in the 1964–1965 class and in the early 1990s was executive vice president of MCI. Before coming to MCI, Gene Eidenberg had served as secretary to the Cabinet and assistant to the president for Intergovernmental Affairs under President Carter. He was appointed Director of the Democratic National Committee in 1981. Dr. Eidenberg had previously taught political science at the University of Minnesota and served as administrative deputy to the Mayor of Minneapolis and vice chancellor of the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle.

The careful collaboration of Gene Eidenberg and APSA Executive Director Cathy Rudder on the endowment put the fellowship on unprecedented sound financial footing into the next century. While the endowment fell on some hard times as it entered the new century, the early to mid-1990s proved a real boon. During fiscal year 1991–1992, for example, overall earnings on the APSA endowments approached 20% and the Congressional Fellowships had \$300,000 of new funding thanks, in large part, to the MCI endowment.

In the earlier years, the Congressional Fellowship Program seemed to attract ever-increasing numbers of applicants and could focus primarily on getting the best quality participant. During the decades of the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s, the CFP represented a singular opportunity to gain an “insider’s” view of an institution with which the broader public had only a general understanding. By the decades of the 1980s and 90s, however, congressional internships and fellowships were beginning to look like a cottage industry, and there was a new focus on the recruitment of a sizeable enough pool of applicants to maintain the historic quality of Fellows.

In 1991, *PS: Political Science & Politics*, under the editorship of Dr. Rob Hauck, began a regular series edited by the Association’s Director of Education, Dr. Sheilah Mann, entitled “The Teacher” which was a reincarnation of a heretofore separate publication which had been distributed to members for two decades. Throughout the 1990s, the new section raised a number of issues within the discipline of political science which had been central to the philosophy and direction of the Association’s Congressional Fellowship Program.

Congress, the Fellowship, and Public Opinion

As the fellowship entered the 1990s, it also shared with the Association a more concentrated focus on the diversity represented by the typical class of Fellows. A degree of overall diversity was all but insured through the Federal Fellows but far less so among the journalists and political scientists. As reported in the June 1992 issue of *PS*, minorities represented 3% of the overall APSA membership. The Congressional Fellowship Program became a major beneficiary as the APSA sought to broaden its political science base. Among the 1992 recipients of the APSA Latino Graduate Fellows were Lisa Maria Garcia, an undergraduate political scientist at the University of California at Berkeley, and David L. Leal at Stanford. Six years later, Lisa Garcia Bedolla completed her doctorate in political science at Yale and David Leal at Harvard, and both entered the 1998–1999 class of Congressional Fellows. APSA efforts to identify and recruit minorities at an earlier stage in their careers did not provide a panacea for the fellowship's concerns about diversity, but it represented a natural progression. In addition to diversity, the recruitment of a sufficiently large pool of candidates became something of an issue. The number of political scientists and journalists in each class had decreased. In the 1969–1970 class of Congressional Fellows, there were 12 political scientists and five journalists; in the 1989–1990 class there were four political scientists and four journalists. Among the reasons accounting for the drop could well have been the growing public cynicism for the institution of Congress.

While there are long-term patterns in the institution, Congress is not static. From a Fellow's vantage point, each session offers an array of unique atmospheric challenges. The 1990s ushered in a palpable mood change in public opinion about Congress and consequently in the working environment Fellows found on the Hill. In the December 1992 issue of *PS*, David E. Price, former professor of political science and now Democratic Representative from North Carolina, characterized the atmosphere in "Our Political Condition."

The current mode of criticism, with its withering cynicism about all things congressional, encourages a defensive detachment from the institution on the part of members, an expose mentality on the part of the press, and increasing public

distrust and alienation. What tends to get crowded out is any serious attempt to understand how Congress actually works, and the sorts of proposals for change that could improve institutional performance. The excesses of Congress-bashing do not gainsay the need to mitigate the endless scramble for campaign funds, to prevent abuse of the resources of incumbency, and to eliminate members' dependence on interest groups for their personal incomes. Thus, recent measures to ensure that public officials are compensated from public funds (banning 'honoraria' and restricting other outside income), to prohibit converting campaign funds to personal use, to control the frequency and the content of franked mailings, and to clarify the limits of appropriate advocacy on behalf of constituents before regulatory bodies represent moves in the right direction, in some cases considerably overdue.

If the institution of Congress was in need of some remedies for popularly-viewed problems, there were some who took issue with whether the discipline of political science was prepared to offer applied solutions. Since the heart of the APSA Congressional Fellowship had always included a nucleus of political scientists exposed to wrestling with policy issues in an applied setting, the debate between theoretical and applied research represented a real issue. In a September 1992 issue of *PS*, Richard W. Waterman and B. Dan Wood ("What Do We Do with Applied Research?") suggested that "the criticism that social science theory operates only for its own sake is pernicious, but understandable, given the present attitudes toward publishing applied research in mainstream social science journals." Based on a 40-year review of the literature, the authors concluded that "while theory often provides a basis for practical solutions to important governmental and societal problems, these research solutions are seldom presented in these professional outlets. The maturation of social science requires that we be as committed to propagating 'usable knowledge' as to continuing the intellectual discourse. Otherwise, we undervalue the true worth of social science theory building."

The Fellowship and Learning: Inside and Out of the Classroom

A related theme within the discipline dealt with balancing the professorial tasks of research versus teaching. Over the years, the Congressional Fellowship Program seemed far more productive in providing material for lectures than actual on-the-job research. This was hardly surprising when congressional offices viewed confidentiality and trust as prime requisites for a staffer. During any typical orientation program, all Fellows, but particularly the political scientists and journalists, were enjoined against documenting their congressional assignment office discussions in press or journal articles until well after the end of the fellowship, and even then with extreme caution so as not to violate any trusts and thus jeopardize future fellowship classes. The best that could be accomplished was the development of a future research agenda leavened by the practical realities they had experienced as Fellows. During the 1990s, this injunction required increasing discussion with the recent doctoral political science fellows. In that context, the June 1993 *PS* carried an executive summary of a 1992 Association of American Colleges monograph entitled “The Next Generation: Preparing Graduate Students for the Professional Responsibilities of College Teachers,” by James Slevin. The study had been initiated in part because “most doctoral candidates are socialized to think of research as the most important work they can do: that achievement of a position where research is the focus—and teaching is not—is the very definition of success in an academic career. Too often,” the report indicated, “graduate school experiences impart to new Ph.D.s the notion that teaching is an inconvenient necessity in academic life; something to be avoided or at least minimized, if possible.”

The importance of the teaching role was underscored by a *Times Mirror* survey summarized in a December 1993 *PS* article by Stan Luger of the University of Northern Colorado and William Scheuerman of the State University of New York at Oswego (“Teaching American Government”). “Teachers of the introductory course in American Government and Politics have pondered the question of what to teach for many years,” the authors wrote. “Today the problem is becoming more complex as increasing numbers of students enter college, in the words of the *Times Mirror* survey, ‘knowing less and caring less about politics than any other previous generation.’”

Another theme emerged from political science discussions in

the 1990s and bore a relationship to the genesis of the Congressional Fellowship Program: the idea of service learning. From its inception, and relatively unique until various other fellowship clones emerged in the late 1970s and 1980s, the philosophy of the CFP was that the Fellows service in Congress was mutually beneficial to the Fellow and the congressional office. It was certainly expected that at the conclusion of their fellowship, the political scientist and journalist Fellows would be in a better position to interpret or translate their individual experience to a broader audience and that, over time, a better informed and educated public would be the consequence. Another benefit of the fellowship was that the Fellows' experience and judgment would contribute something to the institution of Congress. The thinking was something akin to the more contemporary discussions of civic engagement. In another 1990s *PS* article, Benjamin R. Barber and Richard Battistoni ("A Season of Service: Introducing Service Learning into the Liberal Arts Curriculum," June 1993) spelled out the political science obligation.

We live in times when rights and obligations have become uncoupled. Individuals regard themselves almost exclusively as private persons with responsibilities only to family and job, yet possessing endless rights against a distant and alien state in relationship to which they think of themselves, at best, as watchdogs and clients and, at worst, as adversaries and victims . . . since its founding at the turn of the century, the American Political Science Association has had as one of its primary aims the making of better citizens and promoting a dynamic civic education in American schools. It is no coincidence that political scientists are at the forefront in the movement to connect public and community service to a revitalized curriculum of civic education.

Charles O. Jones, University of Wisconsin political science professor, was elected president of the APSA in 1993. He had been a member of the Congressional Fellowship Program's Advisory Committee and his scholarship was representative of many of the themes inherent in the fellowship. As chronicled by Ohio State University's Samuel C. Patterson in the December 1993 issue of *PS*, "from the beginning, Jones's interest lay in political institutions—how they are

ordered, how their processes work, what decisions are made within them, how public policies are shaped by them. His contributions to political science fall rather neatly into three classes: congressional politics, public policy, and the presidency.” Although Jones at this point had moved into a greater focus on the presidency, Congress was never forgotten. In *The Presidency in a Separated System*, Jones wrote that “our system is one of diffused responsibility, mixed representation, and institutional competition. Political actors at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue adjust their behavior accordingly in order to make the system work.” It was an observation with which most Congressional Fellows working on the Hill in the decade of the 1990s would have readily agreed.

In “The Teacher” section of the September 1994 issue of *PS*, a soon-to-be Congressional Fellow, Andrew J. Taylor (CFP class of 1999–2000 from North Carolina State University), a doctoral candidate at the University of Connecticut, entered the discussion with “Teaching Politics Panoramicly: American Government and the Case Method.”

Perhaps the most demanding aspect of teaching political science during my first years in this profession,” Taylor wrote, “has been to bridge the gap between the needs to divide information into understandable units and to portray political reality to my students. As teachers, we split up and categorize the subjects we teach into a variety of topics and subtopics that are each allotted a different set of readings and a different week in the semester. Unfortunately, however, presenting material in this fashion often gives undergraduates an extremely skewed understanding of what really goes on in Washington. Effective pedagogy and political reality seem to be constantly at odds.

Taylor went on to argue for the case method in teaching the introductory course.

Five years later, evaluating his House experience as a Legislative Assistant and Congressional Fellow, Taylor noted that he had come to Washington “interested in just soaking up the process” and learning more about fiscal policy. After interviewing in some 20 personal and committee offices, he finally selected the personal staff of

a moderate Republican which had experience with previous Congressional Fellows and “seemed willing to let me ‘float’ around from issue to issue” including help with Budget Committee work. Taylor’s job consisted of four basic responsibilities.

First, all Legislative Assistants were expected to write constituent mail. This came in all issue types and varying degrees of difficulty. Second, I was charged with following a variety of bills and issues including a bill too provide a tax break to employers who reimbursed employees for the use of public transportation and a bill to make Congressional Research Service products available to the public on the Internet and a bill to expedite the procedures by which the spouses and minor children of residents can obtain green cards. The third responsibility was to work on major Budget Committee issues, and finally miscellaneous projects involving more research, and briefing the Representative on suspension bills coming to the floor of the House.

One thing I’ve found is that you have to decide early on what type of Fellow you want to be. I chose to distance myself a little from the staff so that I could manufacture a number of opportunities for myself around the Hill. A deleterious by-product of this is that you are not viewed so much as a team player and it is harder for you to have influence in the office. The other way is to work as if you were a conventional Legislative Assistant and just another member of the staff. If you want power and real responsibility, you should go this route.

I wanted this to be an experience in immersion. I was looking for breadth instead of a deep knowledge in a particular issue area. I feel that these expectations have been fulfilled. It has already helped me generate some ideas for research projects. It will also help greatly with teaching. I have some great case studies and anecdotes for my students. In addition, I think I now have even more credibility with my students; I have first hand experience of many of the things I teach about.

Annual Receptions and Awards

During the early 1990s, the Congressional Fellowship Alumni Association continued to have an annual reception at which it polled former Fellows in selecting the year's "Outstanding Legislator." At a July 12, 1994 reception in the Capitol, they chose Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-New York) for the 103rd Congress. It was no surprise that in the selection of Senator Moynihan, along with his predecessors Representative Morris Udall (D-Arizona) for the 96th Congress, Senator Robert Dole (R-Kansas) for the 99th, Representative Thomas Foley (D-Washington) for the 100th, and Senator Richard Lugar (R-Indiana) for the 102nd, the former Fellows were selecting those Members of Congress who had served on the fellowship's Advisory Committee and had sustained records of very successfully hosting APSA Congressional Fellows in their offices.

This annual reception to honor that year's departing Congressional Fellows had become a long-standing event attracting alumni, congressional staff who had served as mentors for the Fellows, and the Representatives and Senators for whom they had worked. With the good offices of Senator Richard Lugar over recent years, the reception has been held in one of the finest rooms in the Capitol, the Mansfield Room named for the former Democratic Senate Majority Leader from Montana. At the July 1996 reception, for example, moderated by the newly named chair of the Advisory Committee, Norm Ornstein, among the guests were Senators Richard Lugar and Chuck Robb, Representatives Robert Ehrlich, Nancy Johnson, Fred Upton and J. C. Watts, Jr., then editor, publisher, and president of Congressional Quarterly Inc., Neil Skene, and former Speaker of the House Thomas Foley who had served a number of years on the Advisory Committee.

"Bonding" among alumni seemed to be very much in fashion in the 1990s, at least for those within reasonable proximity such as the Americans and Germans; the Asia Foundation-sponsored former Fellows were more numerous but spread across a vast expanse of countries. On December 16–17, 1994, 16 German Congressional Fellows met in Bonn for their second reunion.

As a credit to the initial structure, the changes in the fellowship over the decades tended to be at the margins. A glance at the program's Advisory Committee in the mid-1990s would have revealed members who have supported a succession of Fellows over the years

including Michael Barone of *U.S. News & World Report*, David Broder of the *Washington Post*, Senator Robert Dole, Majority Leader of the Senate, Senator Richard Lugar, Representative and former Fellow Steve Horn, alumnus Leonard Parkinson of Atlantic Research Corporation, Professor David Price of Duke University, Cokie Roberts of National Public Radio and ABC News, and alumna and Professor Barbara Sinclair of the University of California-Riverside. Changes in the Committee were more by addition than replacement and new names included Federal Trade Commission Chair Janet D. Steiger, former Representative Vin Weber now with Empower America, *National Journal's* congressional correspondent Richard E. Cohen, and the new chair and former Fellow Norman Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute who succeeded his colleague from the same 1969–1970 class, Tom Mann of Brookings.

Fellows Publish, Laugh at Perishing

The names of former Fellows continued to appear in the pages of APSA journals. The September 1996 issue of *PS* included a forum on “Vote For Me: Politics in America” which addressed the degree to which the American public had “tuned-out” and “turned-off” to politics as well as the unintended consequences of electoral reforms over the past few decades. Of the 11 contributors, five were former Congressional Fellows: 1978–1979 political scientist Barbara Sinclair, “An Effective Congress and Effective Members: What Does It Take?”; 1984–1985 journalist Ronald D. Elving, “Accentuate the Negative”—Contemporary Congressional Campaigns”; 1966–1967 political scientist Clarence N. Stone, “Urban Politics Machines: Taking Stock”; 1971–1972 political scientist Charles S. Bullock, III, “The South and the 1996 Elections”; and 1983–1984 political scientist Matthew Moen, “Evolving Politics of the Christian Right.” Five contributors out of 11 might not have appeared an overwhelming number, but those five were members of a cohort of 243 political scientists since the inception of the fellowship in 1953; APSA in 1996 had 7,349 professional members. It seemed to make a healthy comment on the fellowship alumni’s sense of civic engagement.

Maybe of equal importance was a quality essential to good politics—a sense of humor. In a short December 1996 issue of *PS*, 1994–1995 George Washington University political science Fellow

Forrest Maltzman, Lee Sigelman of George Washington, and Sarah Binder of the Brookings Institution unearthed some fascinating details in their article “Leaving Office Feet First: Death in Congress.” “Since the first session of Congress, the roll of members who have died in office numbers 1,084,” wrote the authors. “Thus, of the approximately 11,500 individuals who have served in Congress, almost one-in-ten has succumbed to the ultimate term limit—more than have forsaken the House for the Senate, resigned, been expelled, or been appointed to higher office.” After looking at the various implications of this markedly dangerous life style, they concluded: “More generally, we have established that it is possible to forecast with considerable accuracy how many members of Congress will die in office. Although it may strike some as ghoulish, the next logical step is to begin developing and testing predictive models of which members will die. An answer to this grave question will require much digging.”

Not to be outdone, future Congressional Fellows Thomas Brunell (1998–1999) and William Koetzle (1997–1998), describing themselves in the March 1997 *PS* as “innocent (but very well-trained) political science graduate students at University of California-Irvine,” contributed “Death, Where Is Thy Sting? The Senate as a Ponce (de Leon) Scheme.” The authors began by recognizing the Maltzman, Sigelman, and Binder 1996 study as a “monumental work” having “reinvigorated the study of death in office.” They did, however, take issue with the earlier study’s insufficient attention to the Senate and felt their reappraisal “may offer the solution to mankind’s oldest quest, the fountain of youth.”

In 1996, after serving as Coordinator of the Congressional Fellowship Program since 1986, Kay Sterling retired from the APSA staff. She had come to the Association from the American Enterprise Institute and, in addition to the CFP, had worked at APSA with Organized Sections and Minority Programs. Kay was succeeded as Program Director of the fellowship by Lisa Pullen Foust. A 1989–1990 journalist Fellow alumna, Lisa had worked as a political reporter for one of the most respected regional newspapers in the country, the *Charlotte Observer*, following graduation from the University of North Carolina with a dual major in English and political science. She arrived at APSA from her position as assistant public affairs director at the Brookings Institution where she co-authored, edited, and produced the Brookings annual report. Lisa was assisted in directing the fellowship by James

McCartin and 1984–1985 political science Fellow Chris Deering of George Washington University, who continued as academic director of the program, a part-time role in which he had served since 1986.

It took Lisa about a year to recognize that shepherding 40-plus Congressional Fellows took too high a toll on her responsibilities of mothering her own children and planning a career move back to the South. Prior to her departure, however, she hosted the traditional annual congressional reception honoring that year's Fellows in the historic Caucus Room of the Russell Senate Office Building which had been the site of the Teapot-Dome, Watergate, and Iran-Contra scandals, and the Clarence Thomas nomination hearings. She also coordinated "day in the life" profiles of two 1996–1997 Congressional Fellows: Kirsten Gerstner, a German Marshall Fund Fellow from the Free University of Berlin, and Daniel Palazzolo, a political science Fellow from the University of Richmond, Virginia, both of which appeared in the September 1997 issue of *PS* with Palazzolo's piece also appearing in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*.

In the Longworth House Office Building, Dan Palazzolo leaned back in his chair in the Cannon House Office Building suite of Maryland Republican Representative Robert L. Ehrlich, Jr. Earlier that morning, on a radio talk show, Mr. Ehrlich's predecessor, Helen D. Bentley, had criticized a bill to reform U.S. patent law, which Ehrlich supported. According to Bentley, the bill would have, among other things, put the federal Patent and Trademark Office in private hands, hurting independent inventors and small businesses and giving foreign inventors an edge over Americans. Within 15 minutes of her comments, constituents concerned about the bill's ramifications had jammed the phones and fax machines in Ehrlich's offices on the Hill and in his Maryland congressional district office.

Steven Krescki, the Congressman's Legislative Director, huddled with Congressional Fellow Palazzolo. "We've got to talk about this now, nail down some talking points for Bob." As part of his portfolio of issues, Palazzolo was the office's point man for patent reform. As an associate professor of political science at the University of Richmond, the budget process had been one of Palazzolo's specialties and his expertise on such a visible issue might have garnered him a more prestigious assignment with a more seasoned lawmaker or a prominent committee, but Dan had chosen to work on second-term Representative Ehrlich's staff "because he knew he would be needed."

His days were spent doing research on issues, writing position papers, attending hearings, and talking with constituents and lobbyists—work he believes will enhance his teaching about the legislative process. “I’ll ask students to think a little differently about policy analysis,” he said. “I’ll talk more about staff, about money.” But for this day, patent reform ruled the day.

At 11:45, an inventor from Congressman Ehrlich’s district showed up, agitated about the patent bill. For half an hour, Dan Palazzolo tried, but failed, to win him over. Still, Palazzolo respected the constituent’s grasp of the issues. Informed critics are the exception he noted. “The level of analysis, from other members, from lobbyists, and from constituents, is often superficial. As soon as somebody makes a policy statement, everybody and their brother faxes you their opinion, without having given the policy statement much thought. I’m thinking: ‘God, has anyone stopped to give this issue any real thought.’”

In September 1997, another former Fellow was recruited to replace Lisa Foust as director of the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program. Jeffrey R. Biggs, a foreign affairs Fellow in Chris Deering’s 1984–1985 class, came to the position following 21 years as a Foreign Service Officer in Washington, D.C., Brazil, Portugal, and Bolivia and seven years as press secretary to former Speaker of the House Thomas S. Foley (D-Washington). Following the Democratic majority defeat in the off-year elections of 1994, Biggs served as an advisor to the President’s Office of National Drug Control policy; was a visiting fellow with the Freedom Forum, a nonprofit organization which focuses on First Amendment rights, and completed a co-authored book with Foley on the Speaker’s political life: *Honor in the House: Speaker Tom Foley* (Washington State University Press, 1999). Biggs received his B.A. degree with honors from Harvard, an M.A. on a Fulbright to Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand, and a Ph.D. from George Washington University.

The years Biggs worked for Speaker Foley had been years of some turbulence including the “House Bank” scandal, the repercussions of which were felt even into the 1994 elections. More specifically, however, the scandal triggered one of the periodic occasions of internal, and external, dissatisfactions with the structure and procedures of the House of Representatives. These recurring times of turbulent transition frequently produced legislative reform movements when members sought to modernize the House or to redistribute internal

power, as was the case of the 1970s Hose reform. At times, these “reform movements” ran the danger of violating what Speaker Foley once referred to as the first rule of the political Hippocratic Oath: “First, do no harm.”

Among the most unsung heroines of the fellowship have been the program assistants who have backstopped the CFP over the years and for whom APSA served as a important way station in the search for a meaningful long-term career. Most recently, that group has included Dartmouth’s Riqueza Feaster, who went on to graduate from American University’s School of Law and now works in a Wall Street firm; Mount Vernon University’s Titilayo Ellis, who went on to become advertising manager of *Education Week*; Colgate’s Alison MacDonald, who absorbed politics in great gulps and went on to be considered the best field operative in her native New Hampshire in the unsuccessful Shaheen gubernatorial race and is now manager of a D.C. grassroots organization supporting a robust foreign assistance program in the U.S.; and current Program Assistant Sarah Dougherty from William and Mary. While she contemplates a possible legal career, she has become indispensable to the fellowship. In addition to her impressive organizational skills and drive to update the fellowship’s alumni directory, she has bonded with each of the Fellows and has become a valued confidant and counselor. Within a relatively small APSA staff, these program assistants have given back ten-fold for every ounce of mentoring they received.

Fellows Branch out as Republicans Sweep Congress

It was in this spirit that two very good friends of the fellowship, 1991–1992 political science Fellow C. Lawrence Evans of the College of William and Mary, and senior specialist in the legislative process at the Congressional Research Service, Walter J. Oleszek, offered up “If It Ain’t Broke Bad, Don’t Fix It A Lot” in the March 1998 pages of *PS*. It was a particularly appropriate article, as it dealt with the major mid-1990s change in Congress as the Republicans reclaimed a majority in the House, an advantage which they had not had for 40 years. “Change and reform,” wrote the authors, “are common phenomena on Capitol Hill.”

Worth noting is the difference between the two terms. Reform is a 'plan to do things differently, often so as to embody change; change is the result of new developments' The electoral earthquake of November 1994 certainly produced a 'change' in the majority composition of the House. This new development also triggered action on a purposeful plan to 'reform' the structures (committee, subcommittee, and committee staff reductions, for instance) and procedures (more authority lodged in the Speakership for example) of the House.

Arguing that legislative reforms should at least try to fix something in House operations that is plainly broken, Evans and Oleszek first dismissed such "semi-radical" reform ideas as instituting proportional representation for the House, enlarging its size from 435 to 650,

Fellow Kirsten Gerstner

Kirsten Gerstner spent her fellowship year in the Office of Representative Jim McDermott (D-Washington), where her primary issue was helping to assemble the McDermott-chaired Congressional Task Force on International HIV/AIDS. Having done most of the legwork involved in recruiting the 52-member Task Force, Gerstner spent much of her time learning the intricacies of AIDS policy and preparing briefings on a variety of issues raised by the Task Force members. When she arrived on the Hill, Kirsten was no stranger to the complexity of congressional politics. Her 1996 Master's thesis treated negotiations between the White House and Congress regarding trade with China. Gerstner's thesis offered a comparative analysis of the 1993 decision to link China's most favored nation status to its human rights record and the 1994 decision to separate the debates on trade and human rights.

"Even though I studied Congress and the politics in-

or increasing the term of representatives from two to four years. They then moved on to assess five re-organizational reforms with potential: strengthen deliberation, promote civility, adjust the committee system, reduce the workload, and increase public understanding of the House. In the course of their analysis, the authors spoke of supporting reforms likely “to work in the real world of Capitol Hill politics and policymaking. In matters of House reform, said Rep. John Dingell (D-Michigan), the great and wise counsel of the shade tree mechanic needs to be observed: ‘If it ain’t broke, don’t fix it.’”

volved in making a deal, what I didn’t really know before I got here was how personal politics can be,” she said. “If a staffer in another office doesn’t personally like you or your member, they can make it difficult to work together and get things done. That’s the downside of working here. People can get too wrapped up in the power of their positions,” Kirsten observed. “The good side of it is that if you’re committed and you’re working with good people, you really can get things done.”

A highlight of her assignment in McDermott’s office was a district visit to Seattle.

Seeing what goes on in the district office really gives you a perspective that you don’t get working in Washington. I think a lot of times the people who work here don’t have an appreciation of what goes on in the offices back home. It’s really important work that they’re doing there, listening to constituents and addressing their problems. It takes a lot of time and understanding. Unfortunately, people here [Washington, D.C.] see the legislative side of things as the place of real importance and take the constituent side for granted, but if they had more opportunity to get in touch with the people that vote, they might think differently.

Among the many implications of the post-1995 Congress was the need for the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program to introduce its Fellows to a host of new members, particularly Republicans, who, over the course of the fellowship's history, had not routinely hosted Fellows. For the 45th class of Fellows in the 1997–1998 cycle a number of members and committees accepted Fellows for the first time: Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Mississippi), the Senate Budget Committee chaired by Senator Pete Domenici (R-New Mexico), Senators John McCain (R-Arizona) and Olympia Snowe (R-Maine), Representatives Doug Bereuter (R-Nebraska), Corrine Brown (D-Florida), Michael Castle (R-Delaware), J. Dennis Hastert (R-Illinois), and Christopher Shays (R-Connecticut).

As new Fellows were breaking new ground in congressional offices, former Fellows continued to be represented in the APSA journals. A June 1998 issue of *PS* hosted a six-person forum on “A Slate of Candidates, a Recession of Economists, an Advice of Consultants;” no less than four were alumni: James A. Thurber, Robin Kolodny, David B. Magleby, and Candice Nelson.

Over the years, among the enrichment opportunities the fellowship had generally offered Fellows was the opportunity to discuss the legislative process with individuals with whom they would not likely come in contact during a regular office assignment. In the past, the venue for these discussions was dependent on available space in the House or Senate. Unfortunately, such space now came at a higher premium and the fellowship was frequently at the bottom of the pecking order. In 1998, Dr. Prosser Gifford, director of the Library of Congress' Office of Scholarly Programs, generously offered the Woodrow Wilson Seminar Room in the Jefferson Building as a site for what was now called the Wilson Seminar Series. Speakers that year included Adam Clymer, Washington Editor for the *New York Times*, who discussed the changing relationship between Congress and the media; Stanley Grimm of the Legislative Counsel's Office in the House of Representatives, who described how legislation is drafted, with a focus on tax law; House Parliamentarian Charles Johnson, who discussed legislative procedure with the Fellows on the floor of the House; and Clyde Mark and Kenneth Katzman, Congressional Research Service specialists in Middle East Affairs, who spoke about the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and U.S. policy on Iraq. The bi-weekly seminar ran from February through July.

THE DECADE OF THE 1990s

The expanded diversity of the participants led to continuing innovations in the program's format in order to encompass the eclectic character of a typical class of Fellows. The dissertation topics of the seven political scientists in the 1997–1998 class (Lauren Cohen and John Meiers, Carl Albert Fellows from the University of Oklahoma; Diana Dwyre, Steiger Fellow from California State University, Chico; Josef J. Braml, German Marshall Fund Fellow from the University of Passau; Victoria A. Farrar-Myers of the University of Texas, Arlington;



In a now-traditional class photo setting, the 1997–1998 Fellows congress on the Capitol's east front steps.

John Haskell of Drake University; and William Koetzle of the University of California, Irvine) gave a sense of a class's intellectual range: *Warring Factions: Senators, Interest Groups, and Nominees in the Senate Confirmation Process* (Cohen); *Capturing the House: Minority Party Strategy and Legislative Process in the 1990s* (Meiers); *Congressional Campaign Committees and the Nature of U.S. Political Parties* (Dwyre); *The Politics of Shared Authority: The Institutionalization of the American Presidency, 1881-1920* (Farrar-Myers); *Fundamentally Flawed: Understanding and Reforming Presidential Primaries* (Haskell); and *The U.S. Congress: The Impact of Constituency on Electoral and Legislative Behavior* (Koetzle).

It is more than a footnote that two years later, after their 1997–1998 experience as Congressional Fellows working on campaign finance reform, Diana Dwyre and Victoria A. Farrar-Myers authored the Congressional Quarterly Press 2000 publication of *Legislative Labyrinth: Congress and Campaign Finance Reform* (Congressional Quarterly Press, 2000) and that Anthony Corrado's *Campaign Finance Reform: Beyond the Basics* noted the extent to which political scientists, such as Dwyre and Farrar-Myers, had contributed to the 107th Congress' passage of major reform.

Academics in the 'Real' World

Rigorous scholarship was foreign to none of the political science Fellows, but life in academe had proven far different than life on the Hill. "Every single thing I do is different from life on the college campus," observed Bill Koetzle. "You don't control your environment. Job requirements have short-term deadlines. You're required to become an 'expert' on an issue very quickly, and you're not doing all your own work. You have to work with and through other people." It was a lesson Koetzle obviously learned well as, following his fellowship, he went on to become legislative director for Speaker of the House J. Dennis Hastert.

On the eve of attending an Aspen Institute retreat on the perennial issue of campaign finance reform, Representative Sander Levin (D-Minnesota)'s Congressional Fellow Diana Dwyre observed that "some things, strategic-political considerations, for example, seem to matter a lot more in the political world than they do in the scholarly world. There's a real sense of being very cautious about what you say and do on sensitive issues." A participant in the same retreat, Victoria

Farrar-Myers noted that even though she'd spent years studying the legislative process, "figuring out how to build coalitions and determining what information is relevant, and sitting down with the staff of the Office of the House Legislative Counsel to discover how to take care of other Members' objections" is a new experience.

The political scientists would also discover the all-pervasive influence of the press in Congress. "The extraordinary efforts to groom media skills, pursue media coverage, and tailor messages for media consumption," noted John Meiers of Representative Robert Ehrlich Jr. (R-Maryland)'s staff

has been a real eye-opener for me. During my short tenure, I have helped draft an op-ed piece on Iraq, seen how a Member gets profiled in the Washington Post, witnessed the production of the Congressman's local cable television show, and seen my Member of Congress gain statewide and national exposure as a potential future Senate candidate. The power of the media (and the lengths to which members seek positive media exposure) to make or break a member of Congress will influence my teaching and research for many years to come.

According to Bill Koetzle, the political science Fellows found Congress to be "a good mine" for research. "The amount of information and type of people you have access to, not only the staff, but with the leadership, is incredible. You also have access to experts at the Congressional Research Service which we'd never be able to get off the Hill." "You can't do this and not come out of it with a research idea every five minutes," seconded Diana Dwyre. "You'd have to go through the experience blindfolded to avoid it. It doesn't mean that all the ideas are practical, but I already know a lot more about campaign finance reform than I did as a scholar." "It's really true," emphasized Lauren Cohen who spent her fellowship working for Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Massachusetts) on the Senate Judiciary Committee, "that access to Members, to staff, and to outside authorities makes doing research on Congress a hundred times easier."

Many of the lessons that Fellows learn benefit their teaching as well as their research. "One of the things you can learn [from] as a

scholar is the legislative efforts that don't pass," noted Victoria Farrar-Myers who spent her fellowship working on the staff of Representative Christopher Shays (R-Connecticut).

The legislative process chart in introductory texts has suddenly come to life for me. I would teach that in an entirely different way in the future. A case as pedestrian as the environmental impact of low-flow toilets has dozens of new implications for the policy process. Everybody grumbles about doing constituent mail, but you can learn an enormous amount every day about real people with real problems that can be addressed. Students in introductory 101 classes are often cynical about politics. One of the things I'm hoping to do is explain how constituents are relevant and can have an impact on the legislative process.

Canadian Parliamentary Exchange

As their predecessors for three decades had done, in addition to fulfilling their responsibilities on the Hill, Fellows organized and hosted a week's orientation for the Canadian Parliamentary Interns in Washington, D.C., in April. The Canadians returned the favor in Ottawa, in the annual exchange that dated back to 1973. "For a week in May," observed 1997–1998 journalist Congressional Fellow David Li, who worked on the Senate Labor Committee for Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Massachusetts),

Fellows toured the halls of Ottawa's Parliament Hill and enjoyed a close look at the inner workings of Canadian government. The access to key Canadian decision-makers was considerable. Members of parliament, policy advisers, journalists, and agency heads freely gave of their time to open a wide window for Fellows to observe the intricacies of Canadian-style parliamentary democracy. From the public political brawl of Question Time to intimate talks with separatist 'Quebecers,' to a tour of Supreme Court chambers, there was virtually no aspect of Canadian government shut off to Fellows. The culture—its form of government, food, language—of some 30 million North Americans is a mystery to too many U.S. citizens. But APSA



A group of 1998–1999 Fellows stand in front of the Canadian Parliament buildings in Ottawa. Back row (L-R): Rick Roberts, Deirdre Foley, Dan Lipinski, David Salazar, Michael Keuhlen, Art Menna, David Leal. Front Row (L-R): Donna Counterman, Patricia Jones, Susan Rzemien, Kate Kaufer, Darcia Bowman, Delia Donatelli, Natalia Feduschak, and CFP Director Jeffrey Biggs.

Congressional Fellows enjoyed front-row exposure to this giant northern neighbor.

A highlight of the fellowship, David Li's description would continue to be replicated by future Fellows such as 1999–2000 *Congressional Quarterly* journalist Fellow Darcia Bowman. In her September 1999 *PS* article on the experience in Ottawa, Canada, she wrote:

As the saying goes, Americans are benevolently ignorant about Canada, while Canadians are malevolently well-informed about the United States. APSA Congressional Fellows are given a rare opportunity each year to fully explore and, I think, to appreciate these differences between the United States and Canada. Time has proven there is an undeniable value to allowing young journalists working for newspapers and television stations outside of Washington, political scientists who often return to teaching jobs at colleges across the country, and other professionals on both sides of the beltway to gain an insider's understanding of the congressional process. It only stands to reason these same individuals are better off for participating in a comparative study of two widely replicated models for governing, and for taking the time to view the United States from the perspective of a neighbor which it has enjoyed the dubious privilege of being taking for granted.

For some two decades, the Fellows, at the invitation of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County's Maryland Institute for Policy Analysis and Research, have spent a day in Annapolis observing the workings of a state legislature. Under the orchestration of the Institute's leadership (Director Don Norris and Associate Director Linda Brown), the Fellows sit in wing-back chairs in the Senate Lounge and engage in discussions with majority and minority state assembly party members, senior public servants, academics, and journalists.

Congeniality is not a characteristic limited to the discipline of political science, but the political science Fellows seemed to put the fellowship atmosphere into print more frequently. "People who have already been a Fellow are an automatic connection for us," Bill Koetzle said. "Our group has been good about sitting down and collaborating on ideas such as the use of technology in congressional offices. Several of us are thinking about a joint project on the role of congressional

leadership.” The 1997–1998 group of political science Fellows, as had their predecessors, continued to benefit from an international comparative flavor with the inclusion of Marcus Pindur, a former Fulbright Fellow at Tulane University and an M.A. graduate from the Free University of Berlin. Pindur entered APSA’s Congressional Fellowship Program as a political journalist for German Public Television and Radio Network (ARD). “From the job interviewing process,” Pindur noted, “it was fascinating to see how every office has its own flavor. Members of the U.S. Congress are much more individual political entrepreneurs, and much less shaped by party politics than they would be in Germany, or for that matter, in Europe.”

As the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program prepared to welcome the 46th class of Congressional Fellows for 1998–1999, it did so with more than the usual imponderables of an off-year congressional election cycle and the uncertainties of whether the incumbent members with whom the Fellows interviewed would return for the 106th Congress. 1998 saw the added ingredient of the report of the independent counsel and a U.S. House of Representatives consideration of presidential impeachment. Despite the obstacles, all eight political science Fellows seemed to secure a good “match” between their career goals and congressional office needs. David P. Auerswald of George Washington University realized his goal of gaining hands-on international relations experience by landing a minority staff position with Senator Joseph Biden (D-Delaware) on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Similarly, Lisa Garcia Bedolla was able to supplement her doctoral research at Yale University on Latino/a politics with the practical knowledge she would gain working for Representative Javier Becerra (D-California), chair of the Hispanic Caucus.

Thomas Brunell, a visiting professor at the University of California, Irvine, turned his summer job with the House Subcommittee on the Census into a year-long fellowship assignment dealing with the highly controversial issue of using sampling to supplement headcount. Colton Campbell, an assistant professor at Florida International University, secured a staff position with Senator Bob Graham (D-Florida), and Eric Heberlig of Ohio State University found a position with Ohio Republican Representative Tom Sawyer.

Steiger Fellow David Leal, assistant professor at the State University of New York, Buffalo, parlayed his experience on Senator and perennial-potential presidential candidate John Kerry’s (D-Mas-

sachusetts) campaign staff into a position on the office staff. Benjamin Highton of the University of California, Berkeley, spent his year in the office of Senator Paul Wellstone (D-Minnesota). APSA-MCI Congressional Fellow Daniel Lipinski decided to make maximal use of his Duke University doctoral research on congressional communication with the public by securing a position with the Democratic “message group” chaired by House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Missouri).

Native American Hatfield Fellow

The 1998–1999 class of Congressional Fellows inaugurated a new member—the Native American Hatfield Fellow named after former Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Oregon)—and put in place a tradition which continues to the present. As they described themselves:

the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Community of Oregon are the Native American tribes who inhabited the western valleys of Oregon for centuries. After being forced to cede their lands and relocate to a reservation in the Coast Range in 1856, the Grand Ronde Tribe reached its low point in 1954 when the federal government terminated it and sold off the Grand Ronde Reservation. The Tribe's spirit never went out, though, and, after years of struggle, the Grand Ronde people were restored to tribal status in 1983. Since then, the Tribe has taken control of its own future and gradually turned things around. Revenue from Spirit Mountain Casino has helped the Grand Ronde Tribe pursue its dream of achieving self-sufficiency for itself. Thanks to Spirit Mountain, the Grand Ronde Tribe has started programs in such areas as education, housing, health care, medical insurance coverage, and benefits for Tribal Elders.

One of the beneficiaries of the Spirit Mountain Community Fund was the “Hatfield Fellow” which was created to serve the Oregon, and more broadly Northwest, Congressional Delegation as a counselor on Native American issues. In a letter to the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program, Senator Hatfield had written that:

in order to insure that the Hatfield fellows acquire a good operating knowledge of Congress, I hope that you will allow the Tribe to participate in APSA's orientation program for your own Congressional Fellows. Not only will the background provided be of great value to our fellow, but the opportunity to meet other fellows in Washington will create a natural network benefiting all involved. I greatly appreciate your consideration of this unique opportunity. Ultimately, our mutual goal of advancing knowledge of the science of politics will be well served by practitioners who have a good foundation on which to build.

The Hatfield Fellow would serve alternately in the Senate and the House as well alternating between the delegation's Democratic and Republican members.

The first APSA Congressional Fellowship Program Hatfield Fellow was Pete Wakefield of the Oregon Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde community of Oregon, whose training as a forester and expertise in land-use management would serve him well as he worked in the office of Senator Ron Wyden (D-Oregon) and served as a resource person for the northwest congressional delegations. Of equal importance, the Hatfield Fellow would help ensure that the concerns of thousands of the region's Native Americans would be represented in legislative policy discussions in Washington, D.C.

Evaluating the Program's Rationale and Success

As the fellowship neared the end of the 20th century, the Pew Research Center's April 1996 polling research on young Americans' interest in public affairs provided some sobering data for a program whose rationale, particularly for its political scientists and journalists, was based on helping stimulate a better informed public. In a September 1998 *PS* article, Stephen Earl Bennett ("Young Americans' Indifference to Media Coverage of Public Affairs") wrote that 31% of persons under 30 claimed to have read a newspaper the day before they were interviewed (compared with 76% of individuals over 30), 45% of young people said they had watched a TV news show yesterday (as did 86% of persons over 30), and 37% of the young had listened to the news on radio yesterday (versus 56% of people over 30).

“Should we be concerned if sizable portions of young Americans eschew exposure and attention to media coverage of politics and, as a result, are mostly innocent of basic facts about political life?” asked Bennett.

We should if we believe that democracy depends upon an informed citizenry and that being knowledgeable about public affairs is a key ingredient of democratic citizenship. Greater exposure to higher education among today's young has not produced a birth cohort very interested in public affairs or inclined to expose themselves to political media. As a result, today's youth are poorly informed about political affairs at home and abroad. We return, therefore, to the concern raised by Ben Stein in the early 1980s [Benjamin J. Stein, "Valley Girls View the World," Public Opinion 6(4): 18–19]: 'Are young Americans so 'turned off' and tuned out'—to borrow a phrase from another time—that they do not appreciate why their society is worth keeping?

Whether the now close to 1,400 Congressional Fellow alumni would make a dent on this indifference is beyond the scope of this chronicle, but the original rationale for the fellowship in 1953 seemed even more pressing. Aspects of the challenge were addressed by the William Steiger Fellow for 1998–1999, David Leal, in the March 2000 issue of *PS*.

The experience certainly helps Fellow's teaching and, perhaps, their student evaluations. The more cynical Fellows may think this will not factor into their future. I am not so sure. More universities are considering post-tenure review and weighing teaching evaluations more heavily in promotion decisions. Professors who understand the people, issues, and processes of everyday politics and can explain them well may become more prized than those who can only refer to textbook descriptions. Serving a fellowship may even renew one's faith in democracy. Cynicism is everywhere today. We hear it from students, relatives, TV commentators, and polls. Working in Congress shows that democracy not only lives but prospers. It may be messy, one's side may sometimes (of often) lose, but we have a political system in which ideas matter and the public is usually heard. I was impressed by the dedication and competence of

most of the staff, the seriousness of most members, and I grew to better appreciate our democratic keystone.

Improvement and Progress in the CFP

One challenge for APSA staff directing the fellowship was to adapt and fine-tune the program without derailing a train which had acquired, over the years, an enviable reputation, whose alumni and other friends of the program were enormously generous with their time and support, and which continued to find excellent congressional placements despite the increased competition.

While the Asia Foundation and German Marshall Fund of the United States had provided international participation for many years, they were somewhat limited in geographic scope. Many of the policy issues the Fellows faced in Congress had an ever-expanding global scope. One of the strengths of the fellowship had always been the diversity of its participants. An example of “tinkering on the edges” was to augment that eclectic quality even further by inviting Senior Fulbright Scholars visiting the Washington metropolitan area to participate in the regular Wilson Seminar series. Along with the 1998–1999 Fellows, the seminar discussions benefited from guest participants such as Professor Vladimir Zefirov from Russia who was studying at Georgetown University’s McDonough School of Business; Professor Kuen-Huei from China and the Virginia Military Institute; and visiting Japanese Professors Hideo Otake from Kyoto University and Fumiaki Kubo from Keio University, who were at the University of Maryland’s Department of Government and Politics and Georgetown University’s Department of Government. It would be an understatement to say that the discussion of the AFL-CIO’s policy on international trade, including steel imports, was more spirited due to the presence of the Japanese scholars.

It was also symbolic of the new global complexion of the fellowship that, beginning in the late 1990s, the federal executive fellow selection panel would occasionally have to interview candidates via satellite teleconferencing as it did for the 1997–1998 class USIA Foreign Service candidate Ken Moskowitz at the U.S. Embassy in Vienna.

In 1999, the program got a very welcome infusion of new funds through a \$360,000, three-year grant from the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation which would fund three additional journal-

ist Fellows for the succeeding three years. Some of the inspiration undoubtedly came from then Foundation president Hodding Carter, an influential journalist who had also served as spokesman for the State Department during the Iran hostage crisis and knew Washington very well. The grant provided more than funding. President and CEO Emeritus of the Knight Foundation, Creed Black, became a new member of the fellowship's Advisory Committee and brought an extremely impressive acquaintance with the world of journalism to the program. In addition, the fellowship was now included in the Foundation's premier list of mid-career university-based journalism programs (e.g. the Neiman Fellowship at Harvard, a program for science-focused journalists at MIT, law-focused journalists at Yale, business-focused journalists at Columbia, and comparably tailored programs at Michigan, Stanford, and Maryland) and would benefit from the advertising, outreach, and research infrastructure of the Knight staff of professionals. The first three Knight Congressional Fellows augmented the range of journalism represented in the fellowship with political reporter Tanya Ballard of Nashville's the *Tennessean*; Jennifer Chaney, City/Special Reporter, for the *Gazette Newspapers* of Gaithersburg, Maryland; and Hazel Trice Edney from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard and the *Richmond (Virginia) Afro-American*.

The Decade of 2000:
Looking and Thinking Ahead, The Fellowship at 50

The first class to welcome in the new millennium continued the tradition of diversity—a managing editor for a chain of 22 small Pennsylvania weekly newspapers, a journalism professor from the Texas panhandle, a Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellow from Santa Fe who coordinated a network of health facilities throughout northern New Mexico, a staff officer from the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, an administrative appeals judge for the Social Security Administration, and a doctoral graduate from the former East Germany’s Humboldt University in Berlin who specialized in cross-border comparisons between Germany/Poland and Mexico/U.S. As diverse as most university campuses are today, it is unlikely that most political scientists will make such a diverse collection of close friends in the course of a single year.

Honored at the fellowship’s 2000 reception was a former Fellow who had taken up the funding baton for the Canadian Parliamentary Exchange. SUNY-Albany Professor Stephen Wasby, a 1965–1966 Congressional Fellow and an authority on the federal court system, was determined not to let the parliamentary exchange remain in jeopardy. Speaking to Lee Hamilton and the reception attendees, Wasby noted that:

the Congressional Fellowship Program was an important part of my professional career, a year on which I look back with great pleasure. An important part of that program, as it now exists, is the exchange between the Congressional Fellows and the Canadian Parliamentary Interns—a program that has attracted my support because of the separate opportunity I have had to teach on two occasions in Canada. I would like to see the exchange continue and flourish. Because of my Congressional Fellowship experience, I am making a gift of securities—\$2,500 this year and an equal amount in each of the next three years—to the American Political Science Association to be used as part of a challenge to others to make contributions for the parliamentary exchange. May the Congressional Fellowship Program long prosper.

The 2000 Presidential Election in Fellow's Scholarship

In introducing the March 2001 issue of *PS: Political Science & Politics*' coverage of the 2000 presidential election, Editor Rob Hauck reminded readers that among the ancient Chinese, to hope that some one lived in "interesting times" was not to wish them well, for interesting times were often troubled times, periods of history when the unexpected became routine and the unanticipated acquired a disturbingly familiar face. The election was definitely such an interesting time for the 2000–2001 class of Congressional Fellows as they sought office assignments. The difficulties were compounded later in the session when Republican Senator Jim Jeffords of Vermont switched to Independent and caucused with the Democrats. Some of the Fellows who had been working on issues such as health care from a majority vantage point suddenly found their roles and issues reversed, as the Senator's committee assignments also switched under the new majority.

The occasion also prompted analysis by former Fellows, including Professor James E. Campbell of the University at Buffalo, SUNY (CFP class of 1979–1980), who critiqued the pre-election forecasting in "The Referendum that Didn't Happen: The Forecasts of the 2000 Presidential Election." "In conclusion," he wrote, "and to set the forecasting errors in perspective, we should all remember that this election has not been easy for anyone. Some of the polls were wildly erratic. The networks on election night called Florida for everybody except Ralph Nader. So why should presidential election forecasters have had it any easier? The answer is, we didn't." It is worth noting that his own model predicted that Al Gore would receive 52.8% of the national two-party popular vote and in the actual returns, Gore received 50.3%. The 2.5 percentage point difference may have been a bit more than usual, but the mean out-of-sample error from 1948 to 1966 for the model has been 1.5 percentage points.

In the same issue, Professor Barbara Sinclair of UCLA (class of 1978–1979) contributed "Bipartisan Governing: Possible, Yes; Likely No," giving herself a bit more leeway in the prediction. "For the next several years, federal politics may remain quite similar to what they were during the second half of the 1990s. Feigned bipartisanship—especially in rhetoric—will be pervasive, but the real thing will be rarer. Legislative accomplishments, while not completely ab-

Fellowship Mentor Lee Hamilton

A major task for the fellowship staff has always been giving ample recognition and thanks for the myriad who have contributed to the program. Every once in awhile you get it right, as at the 2000 American Political Science Association annual meeting in Washington, D.C. Following his packed-room Pi Sigma Alpha Guest Lecture, "What I Wish Political Scientists Would Teach about Congress," former member of the House of Representatives (1964–1998) and current director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Lee Hamilton moved on to another standing-room audience. It had become traditional for Congressional Fellowship Program alumni to gather when the APSA annual meeting was held in Washington, D.C. That year, some 120 former Fellows, including political scientists from all fields, practicing journalists, government-employed domestic and foreign affairs specialists, Robert Wood Johnson health policy fellows, and various international scholars came to honor Lee Hamilton at a Pi Sigma Alpha-CFP reception. During his 34 years in Congress, Hamilton served as a mentor for 30 APSA Congressional Fellows. For many Fellows, it had been another CFP mentor, the long-valued director of the Foreign Affairs Seminar and Johns Hopkins SAIS professor, Fred Holborn, whose quiet, but firm, suggestion that a Fellow try Hamilton's office led to a placement.

As one former Fellow at the reception recalled, "In Lee Hamilton's office there was no hand-holding. A Fellow was regarded as a professional and expected to carry out the work with a minimum of guidance. He made a point of including the Congressional Fellow in office staff meetings and political strategy sessions, and frequently invited staff to join him for lunch in the House restaurant." Another Fellow from the 1970s recounted a whirlwind Indiana district



From right to left, Fellowship Director and former Fellow (1984–1985) Jeff Biggs presents Pi Sigma Alpha and CFP mugs to Lee Hamilton and Stephen Wasby (left).

visit with Hamilton: "In 48 hours, we visited two county fairs, a poor people's caucus, a VJ-Day parade, a wine festival, an electrical cooperative meeting, a Catholic school fair, and two Democratic rallies." The week for a Fellow in Hamilton's office began every Monday with a personal office staff meeting at 9:00 a.m. and an International Relations Committee staff meeting at 9:30. Substantive interaction with Lee Hamilton usually began with a short, one-page memo in bullet form. In many cases, the memo came back within a few hours with "Talk to me" scribbled on the margin. At a committee staff party not long before Hamilton retired, some staffers put on a little spoof titled "Talk to Me": Or How Congress Makes Foreign Policy." Lee Hamilton seemed to laugh the hardest.

sent, will be sparse and many in both parties will again look to the next election to settle the country's direction."

Raymond E. Wolfinger (1959–1960), University of California, Berkeley, also contributed a co-authored piece updating the effectiveness of the 1993 National Voter Registration (NVRA), or "motor voter" bill ("Registering and Voting with Motor Voter"). The article concluded that critics of the NVRA were correct in predicting class and racial disparities in the use of motor voter with black and Latino new registrants who were less likely than their white counterparts to take advantage of the NVRA. It also noted that turnout of motor voter registrants was lower than that of other new registrants. "In other words, while registration may be the greatest cost of voting, it is not the only hurdle that must be surmounted."

The Ascendance of the Pragmatic Fellow

As the 38 Congressional Fellows in the 2000–2001 class began scouring the Hill for the right legislative assignment, it became clear, once again, that the fellowship could no longer rely as heavily as it had in the past on Members with a long history of hosting Fellows. Senators Lugar, Wellstone, Jeffords, Kennedy, Lieberman, Bingaman, Hatch, Graham, and Harkin, as well as Representatives Crowley, Rangel, Castle, Coyne, and Spratt, continued to add a Fellow to their staffing, but many Fellows had to break new ground in an institution whose membership had undergone a substantial amount of change over the previous few years. It was also true that the newer classes of Fellows had a more specific issue agenda to pursue. Journalists, for example, were less satisfied with gaining an overall grasp of the legislative process in general. Journalist Tina Flint, managing editor of the 22 Montgomery Newspapers weeklies in suburban Philadelphia, had studied the economic issues facing the area of her readership and concluded that transportation would be a key factor over the next decade. After a very focused search, she concluded that Representative Bob Clement (D-Tennessee)'s key position on the House Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure and Subcommittee on Highways and Transit, was the ideal environment for her to pursue her interests.

Some of the political science Fellows who found positions with Members who had not previously hosted Fellows included: Arthur Burriss from California State University, Hayward, who worked

with the minority staff of the House Budget Committee; Brian Posler from Milliken chose the office of Representative Rod Blagojevich (D-Illinois); Carl Albert Fellow Jocelyn Jones found a spot with Representative J. C. Watts, Jr. (R-Oklahoma) and the House Republican Conference; Journalist Austin Jenkins, a reporter from KTVB-TV7 in Portland, Oregon found a position with the House Democratic Policy Committee; Hatfield Fellow Alyssa Macy, a prosecutor in Warm Springs, Oregon, got a spot with Representative Darlene Hooley (D-Oregon); Federal Fellow Benjamin Brown of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation secured a position with Representative Michael Oxley (R-Ohio), chair of the newly created House Committee on Financial Services; and Scott Easterly of the National Security Agency worked with Senator Michael Crapo (R-Idaho). Even the Robert Wood Johnson health policy fellows ventured into new territory as Patience White, Chair of the Division of Pediatric Rheumatology at George Washington University Medical Center, worked in the office of Senator and Finance Committee Chair Charles E. Grassley (R-Iowa).

For journalists, the evolving focus of the new classes of Congressional Fellows reflected in part the job market they would reenter at the conclusion of the fellowship. Their assessment was that there was less focus in “the heartland” on news from the nation’s Capitol; that much of their public was “turned off” by politics from Washington, D.C. unless it was presented as relevant to local or regional concerns. As a consequence, a much reduced market existed for a journalist with congressional expertise unless it was tied to specific substantive familiarity.

Similar changes were seen in the focus of the Robert Wood Johnson health policy fellowship participants, who increasingly came, not from the traditional research-oriented university medical schools, but from a broader spectrum of health-providing organizations with more regional than strictly national policy concerns. An example from the 2000–2001 class of Fellows was Mario Pacheco, a Staff Physician from La Familia Medical Center in New Mexico, who chose to work with one of his own state senators, Jeff Bingaman (D-New Mexico), because he felt the Capitol Hill networking would be more useful as he pursued his medical career in New Mexico after the fellowship.

A similar brand of pragmatism frequently guided the political science Fellows. Brian Posler of Milliken University felt it would be far more valuable to have gained legislative experience with Representative

Blagojevich (D-Illinois), who was fashioning what ultimately became a successful Illinois gubernatorial bid. The experience would expose him to the primarily Illinois issues, figures, and politics with which his classes were more familiar and would have a greater interest. German Marshall Fund Fellow, and political scientist at Humbolt University in Berlin, Andrea Witt had done her doctoral dissertation work on cross-border cooperation in a comparative study of German-Polish and U.S.-Mexican regions. After lengthy discussions with a number of Washington, D.C. think tanks, her very specific focus on U.S. immigration, refugee, and asylum policies found the ideal venue with Senator Bob Graham (D-Florida), who was a leading member of the Senate when it came to reform of current U.S. immigration law. “I developed an expertise in American immigration politics that will very much help me with any future employment,” she said. “Since I am set on continuing to work on related issues, the first-hand learning-experience will definitely benefit me.” There might have appeared to be a new calculating approach to finding an office assignment relative to previous decades, but it was more of a nuance on the fellowship experience that their predecessors had discovered.

Fellows Commentaries on Seminal Works

Whether a political science Fellow’s major objective was to enhance teaching, develop networking for a future research agenda, or some combination of the two, the experience in 2000 for a Brian Posler or Andrea Witt had a common thread with the experience a generation earlier for a David Mayhew in 1967–1968. The June 2001 issue of *PS* featured Mayhew in “Observations on *Congress: The Electoral Connection* A Quarter Century After Writing It.” The conventional wisdom within the discipline of political science was that *Congress: The Electoral Connection* was an important book when it appeared in 1974, and continued to be 25 years later. As another former political science Fellow, Jon R. Bond (1987–1988) of Texas A&M University noted in the same issue of *PS*, “the mark of a classic work of scholarship is an enduring lesson: Does the work teach a lesson that remains important and informative decades after it is written? David Mayhew’s *Congress: The Electoral Connection* (1974) certainly satisfies this requirement. It is one of a handful of books published in the last half-century that contains insights and lessons that students of American politics still cite



David Mayhew, shown here giving APSA's 2002 James Madison Lecture.

in their research and teach in their classes.” Congressional Fellowship alumnus Lawrence C. Dodd (1974–1975) of the University of Florida wrote, “I cannot imagine my work on the U.S. Congress without David Mayhew’s little book. When I discovered it in Trevor’s bookstore in the fall of 1974, I was a 27-year-old newly minted Ph.D. who had just spent two years ‘teaching Congress’ at the University of Texas and was on Capitol Hill working as an APSA Congressional Fellow.”

The importance of the book for a discussion of the Congressional Fellowship was the source of Mayhew’s inspiration. “I derived the book empirically as well as theoretically. Absent my experience as an APSA Congressional Fellow in 1967–1968, there is not the slightest chance I would have conceived or written *The Electoral Connection*. Before that year, I knew the relevant literature but I did not know the congressional context or possess the confidence to write about it. The book is largely a sketch of what I thought I saw on Capitol Hill. In general, I believe that seeing is a good preface or accompaniment to

theorizing” Mayhew’s career continues to motivate political science Fellows. The standard he set was particularly high.

It was in a similar spirit that the American Political Science Association and the Congressional Fellowship Program honored fellowship Advisory Board member and long-time friend of the program, Representative David Price (D-North Carolina), in celebration of the publication of the latest edition of his book, *The Congressional Experience* (Westview Press 2000). Some 75 political scientists, former and current Congressional Fellows, and friends of David Price filled the APSA conference room on March 29, 2001 to toast the book, which explains how Price came to run for Congress after teaching political science at Duke University; how he won re-election; and how life as a Member of Congress differed from life as an academic.

The Fellowship and the Fulbright

In 2001, the Congressional Fellowship Program took a significant step toward internationalizing its scope. The Council on International Exchange of Scholars (CIES) and the Department of State’s Board of Foreign Scholarships created a new Fulbright grant category for the Fulbright Senior Scholar Program. The three-year pilot project, beginning with the 2001–2002 academic year, would give three Fulbright scholars from abroad the opportunity to examine the U.S. government directly by joining the legislative branch as a legislative assistant under the auspices of the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program.

Candidates for the pilot year, affiliated with an educational institution in their own country, would be renewed by the usual Fulbright selection process. For this initial year, the three scholars were from Mexico, New Zealand, and Sweden. Professor Rae Nicholl from Victoria University in Wellington, New Zealand had her academic affiliation with American University. Interested in the political empowerment of women, she spent September and October working out of Professor Karen O’Connor’s Women and Politics Institute at American. During that same period, Hans Erik Anderson of the Swedish National Defense College and Servando Ortoll of the Universidad de Colima, Mexico, became the first two international fellows to participate in the two-month Foreign Affairs Seminar directed by Professor Fred Holborn of the Johns Hopkins University Nitze School of



David Price at the March 29, 2001 reception in the honor of the Congressman and the revised edition of this book *The Congressional Experience*. 2000–2001 Fellows (standing left to right): John Q. Adams, Andrea Witt, and Benjamin Brown.

Advanced International Studies. The two Fulbright scholars joined foreign affairs Congressional Fellows from the State Department, Central Intelligence Agency, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, National Reconnaissance Office, National Security Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, and a small group of SAIS graduate students in the seminar which preceded the November orientation.

For the 2002–2003 class, all three Fulbright scholars from Chile, Poland, and the Philippines participated in the Foreign Affairs Seminar, this time under the direction of Professor of National Security Charles Stevenson of the National War College faculty. During 1999–2000, Stevenson served as a member of the Secretary of State's Policy Planning Staff, working on use of force issues and long-range planning. Prior to joining the NWD faculty, he served 22 years as a staff member to four different Senators, working primarily on defense and foreign policy issues.

Stevenson succeeded Professor Fred Holborn of the Johns Hopkins Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, who had directed and mentored foreign affairs Congressional Fellows for more than three decades. At the fellowship's September 12, 2002 Advisory Committee dinner and annual meeting, Fred was honored by APSA,

the fellowship, and the committee with a framed photo of the Capitol and a brass plaque inscription. Joining him that evening were long-time Advisory Committee members including Chair Norm Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute, Senator Richard Lugar, Representative David Price, Robert Merry, CEO and publisher of *Congressional Quarterly Inc.*, *Washington Post* journalist and columnist David Broder, Eugene Eidenberg of Granite Ventures, Richard Cohen of the *National Journal*, Federal Trade Commission Chair Emeritus Janet Steiger, and Leonard Parkinson of the Atlantic Research Corporation.

The other guests included newly-appointed members of the Advisory Committee: Charles Cook of the *Cook Political Report* and the *National Journal*; fellowship alumna Joan Claybrook (1965–1966), president of Public Citizen; alumnus Ronald Elving (1984–1985), Washington editor of National Public Radio; Vic Fazio, former Democratic Member of the House from California, now with Clark & Weinstock; William Frenzel, former Republican Member of the House from Minnesota, of the Brookings Institution; Lee Hamilton, former Democratic Member of the House from Indiana, now president of the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars; and Gary Hymel, long-time key staff member for former Democratic Speaker of the House “Tip” O’Neill, now senior vice president of Hill & Knowlton.

Internationally, the three Fulbright Congressional Fellows joined three Asia Foundation-sponsored Fellows from Indonesia and Korea and two German Marshall Fund of the United States Fellows. Beyond the international fellows, it was hoped that the fellowship would become more attractive to political scientists from the international relations field, in addition to the traditional specialists in U.S. legislative studies.

On the Horizon: European Parliamentary Exchange?

One new international development on the horizon was the possibility of an exchange with the European Parliament. Steve Clark, a senior staffer in the Office of the Secretary General, had participated with the Canadian Parliamentary Interns’ 2003 orientation to Congress in Washington, D.C. and left enthusiastic about the prospect of an exchange for the 2003–2004 class of Congressional Fellows. The premise was that there would be mutual benefit from such an exchange as it would add a new, currently lacking, “European” dimension to the



Foreign Affairs Fellowship mentor and director Fred Holborn, front right. Front left, Leonard Parkinson (1976–1977), back left APSSA Executive Director Michael Brintnall, middle with back to camera Rep. David Price and former Rep. Bill Frenzel.

Congressional Fellowship Program and would provide an opportunity for E.P. officials to develop their knowledge and understanding of Congress in particular, the U.S. system more generally, and the political situation in the U.S. with a focus on E.U.-U.S. relations. In its formative stage, the proposed E.U. target group would be multi-national, mid-career administrators with good prospects of progression which might also include officials from the European Commission and Council. Unlike the Canadian Parliamentary Exchange, this would be structured around the notion of a year-long partnership between the two groups on a collective and/or one-to-one basis. The basic idea would be that the participants should be involved in a two-way exchange of information, ideas, and political analysis ahead of and following the visits. This work, in addition to its inherent value, would serve as preparation for the visits and add to their value. It would also help create a personal familiarity between the participants.

Reflections on September 11th

For the second year running, the fellowship's orientation program was fortunate to be hosted by Professor James Thurber, a 1973–1974 alumnus and Director of American University's Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, for a day of panels featuring local university, Library of Congress, think-tank, and lobbying experts assessing the political impact of September 11. The topics included: "Comity, Civility and Bipartisanship: Will it Last?" "Is Gridlock Dead?" "Governance in Times of Crisis," "The Permanent Campaign and Presidential-Congressional Relations Post 9/11," and "Women in Congress." The speakers included former Fellow and APSA Executive Director Catherine Rudder, now serving as director of George Mason University's Master's Program in Public Policy, and Thomas Mann, former Fellow and APSA executive director, currently serving as the Brookings Institution's W. Averell Harriman Chair.

A restructured orientation program also reflected the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and their continuing impact on politics. Virtually every speaker, including Congressional Fellowship Program Advisory Committee Chair Norm Ornstein, felt it necessary to contrast the pre- and post-September 11 political landscape and congressional agenda. Robert Wood Johnson Congressional Fellow alumnus Dr. Lawrence Kerr gave the Fellows the perspective of executive branch efforts at coordinating homeland defense from the vantage point of the White House Office of Science and Technology, and National War College Professor Kori Schake assessed the changes in U.S. defense policy. Even the traditional foreign policy *tour d'horizon* could no longer be handled by a single speaker and the program drew on three senior former Fellows: Council on Foreign Relations Vice President Alton Frye (1961–1962), Eurasia Foundation President Charles Maynes (1970–1971), and Stimson Foundation Senior Associate Alan Romberg (1974–1975). An added dimension to September 11 was the anthrax scare on Capitol Hill which meant that the entire Hart Senate Office Building was vacated for an extended period of time, vastly complicating the Fellows attempts to arrange interviews.



Standing, Barbara Teraji (2001–2002) recounts experiences as a Fellow at the annual Advisor Committee meeting. In foreground, APSA Executive Director Michael Brintnall, (left to right) Deborah Wolf (2001–2002), former Rep. Bill Frenzel, Eugene Eidenberg (1964–1965), and Catherine Rudder (1974–1975).

The More Things Change . . .

As the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program entered its 50th year, there remained many constants with its founding in 1953. Although an average class now included a greater number of international Fellows, a newly added Fellow representing the American Sociological Association, the annual Native American Hatfield Fellow, the Robert Wood Johnson health policy fellows, and the domestic and foreign policy specialists from the government, political scientists and journalists continued to represent the core constituency. The newest addition to the list was a participant from the one-year pilot project with the U.S.-Thailand Interparliamentary Forum for the 2003–2004 class of Congressional Fellows.

The MCI endowment and the benefits from a number of good stock market years insured that the fellowship could continue to offer stipends matching the going rate in Washington, D.C. And, the



David Broder addresses an enthralled room of Fellows.

three-week orientation continued to begin in November with the fellowship concluding August 15th.

The roundtables organized for the 50th anniversary meeting of the Association in Philadelphia were intended to be reflective of the fellowship's history. "From Congress to the Classroom: Five Decades of the Congressional Fellowship Program in Academia" was co-moderated by two generations of superb political scientists, Raymond E. Wolfinger (1959–1960) of the University of California, Berkeley and Ben Highton (1998–1999) of the University of California, Davis. The participants included David Mayhew (1967–1968) of Yale University; David Rohde (1972–1973) of Michigan State University; Barbara Sinclair (1978–1979) of the University of California, Los Angeles; Forrest Maltzman (1994–1995) of George Washington University; Lisa Garcia Bedolla (1998–1999) of the University of California, Irvine; and Frances Lee (2002–2003) of Case Western Reserve University.

The second roundtable, "The Congressional Fellowship Program: Shaping Public Policy, the Media and Academia for Fifty Years," was more multi-career tracked but equally multi-generational. Moderated by James A. Thurber (1973–1974) of American University's Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, the participants included

Eddie N. Williams (1958–1959) of Washington, D.C.’s Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies; Joan Claybrook (1965–1966) of Public Citizen; Norman J. Ornstein (1969–1970) of the American Enterprise Institute; Thomas E. Mann (1969–1970) of the Brookings Institution; Marilyn Thompson of the *Washington Post*; Ronald D. Elving (1984–1985) of National Public Radio; and Bill Koetzle of The Speaker’s Office, U.S. House of Representatives.

If there was a highlight amidst the nostalgia at the Union League Club reception in Philadelphia, there would be no rival to the long overdue act of conferring on the *Washington Post*’s David Broder the title of “Honorary Congressional Fellow.” Beginning in 1968 when he wrote a review of David Mayhew’s recently published doctoral dissertation, Broder has been an unstinting supporter of the fellowship. He has served continuously on the Advisory Committee since 1970 and, in 1983, was the second winner of the prestigious Carey McWilliams award for journalists. David Broder had “become a guardian of the integrity of the major political institutions of this land,” the citation read. “He is a part of our community. We read his work and know that we can trust it. He reads our work and uses it with skill and sophistication.” For the APSA Congressional Fellowship Program, David Broder has been a pillar of strength who grows only stronger with the passage of time.

If there is one constant which continues to sustain the fellowship, it is the generosity of its alumni and friends who give of their time and talents regardless of how busy their schedules might be. It could almost be summed up by Gary Hymel’s response to a rather intrusive question at the orientation meeting at Hill & Knowlton: “How much do you charge as a lobbyist?” Hymel was asked. “\$350 an hour or an APSA Congressional Fellowship Program coffee mug,” was the response.

A Congress of Fellows

Appendix: A Roll Call of Fellows

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1953–1954 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Marie S. Carl, Yale Law School
Abraham Holtzman, Dartmouth College
Harry H. Ransom, Princeton University
Mavis M. Reeves, West Virginia University
H.B. Westerfield, Harvard University

Print Journalist Fellows

Ben F. Reeves, Louisville Courier-Journal

1954–1955 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

John T. Dempsey, University of Detroit
William C. Gibbons, Princeton University
Marvin A. Harder, University of Wichita
W. Astor Kirk, Huston-Tillotson College

Broadcast Journalist Fellows

Daniel B. Jacobs, Lowell Institute Cooperative Broadcasting Council
Richard T. Mittauer, Station WOW, Omaha, Nebraska

Print Journalist Fellows

Darrell Coover, Bozeman Daily Chronicle (MT)
Louis B. Fleming, Pasadena Star-News
William L. Rivers, Baton Rouge State-Times

Other

Eli Rapaich, Yale Law School

1955–1956 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

G. Robert Blackburn, University of Rochester
MacAlister Brown, Dartmouth College
Jay H. Cerf, Yale University
Charles L. Clapp, University of California, Berkeley
R. Gene Geisler, University of Chicago

Broadcast Journalist Fellows

Robert P. Dorang, Buffalo Evening News

Print Journalist Fellows

Frank J. Kelley, Hutchinson News-Herald (KS)
L. Boyd Finch, Ventura Star-Free Press
Richard L. Milliman, Lansing State Journal

A Congress of Fellows

1956–1957 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Science Fellows

Charles R. Foster, Indiana University*
Gerald J. Grady, University of Maine
James B. Harrison, University of Nebraska
H. Douglas Price, Harvard University

Broadcast Journalist Fellows

Bert Ivry, National Broadcasting Company

Print Journalist Fellows

John W. Anderson, Reading Times (PA)
Ralph H. Johnson, Mesabi Daily News
Serge E. Logan, Racine Journal-Times
Jason Rouby, Arkansas Gazette
David W. Secrest, International News Service

Other

Rulon R. Garfield, Mount Fort High School

1957–1958 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Charles H. Backstrom, Eastern Michigan University
Alan Fiellin, New York University
Dean Mann, University of Arizona
Robert S. McMahon, Ohio State University
Joyce M. Mitchell, University of California, Los Angeles*
William C. Mitchell, Harvard University
Philip M. Phibbs, University of Chicago
David H. Provost, Pepperdine College
James A. Robinson, Northwestern University
Robert M. Rosenzweig, Amherst College

Print Journalist Fellows

Howard Bray, Louisville Times
Norman Gelman, St. Petersburg Times
Jack Howard, San Francisco Chronicle
Betty W. Trotter, Ventura Star-Free Press
Ralph R. Widner, New York Times

1958–1959 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Mark F. Ferber, University of California, Los Angeles
Joseph P. Ford, Harvard University
William P. Gerberding, University of Chicago
Don Hadwiger, Southwest Missouri State College*

Appendix: A Roll Call of Fellows

Stephen Horn, Stanford University
Charles A. Joiner, University of Illinois
Howard R. Swearer, Harvard University
Charles E. Young, University of California, Los Angeles

Broadcast Journalist Fellows

Arthur D. Underwood, United Press International

Print Journalist Fellows

ArDee Ames, Providence Journal
A. James Reichley, Pottsville Republican (PA)
Eddie N. Williams, Atlanta Daily World
Thomas H. Wilson, Denver Post
Wardell V. Winslow, Palo Alto Times

Asia Foundation Fellows

Kingsward Kuo, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, China
Ahmad Roose, Ministry of Natural Resources and Local Government, Malaysia
Mitsuru Uchida, Waseda University, Japan

1959–1960 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Daniel M. Berman, Washington College
Robert Gilpin, University of California, Berkeley
James R. Klonoski, St. Olaf College
Richard H. Kosaki, University of Hawaii
Gerald Rigby, University of California, Los Angeles
Alan Rosenthal, Princeton University
C. Dale Story, Southern Methodist University
Raymond E. Wolfinger, Yale University

Print Journalist Fellows

Forest W. Amsden, Coos Bay World (OR)
Charles U. Daly, Columbia University
Harry W. Ernst, Charleston Gazette (WV)
Ron M. Linton, Louisville Courier-Journal
Michael J. Maloney, Cincinnati Enquirer
Daniel D. McCrary, Wall Street Journal
Roy Parker Jr., Raleigh News and Observer

Asia Foundation Fellows

Dilok Apaivongse, South East Asia Treaty Organization, Bangkok
Reginaldo Arceo, University of the Philippines
Ernesto Pereira, Hong Kong Standard
Kideo Uchiyama, Keio University, Tokyo
M. Aslam Zafar, Minister of Food and Agriculture, Pakistan

A Congress of Fellows

1960–1961 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Lee F. Anderson, University of Illinois
Avard W. Brinton, Harvard University
Patrick J. Conklin, University of Tulsa
Samuel Halperin, Wayne State University
Ronald H. McDonald, University of California, Los Angeles
David M. Olson, University of California, Berkeley

Print Journalist Fellows

Luther J. Carter, Virginian-Pilot
Lorraine Geittman, South Bay Daily Breeze (CA)
Daniel S. Greenberg, Washington Post
Ivan N. Kaye, United Press International
Eugene Lichtenstein, *Esquire*
William R. MacKaye, Minneapolis Star
Robert A. Popa, Detroit News

Other

Arthur E. Ryman, Cumberland University

American Anthropology Fellow

John D. Scarlett, Wake Forest College

Asia Foundation Fellows

Shariff Ahmad, Government Radio, Kuala Lumpur
Abdullah Ahmed, The Straits-Times, Malaysia
Dong-Suh Park, Seoul National University
Kimiko Okamura, House of Councilors, Tokyo
Abdul Kadir Shaikh, Assistant Advocate General, Pakistan

Federal Executive Fellows

David Askegaard, Department of Agriculture
John W. Kizler, Peace Corps Headquarters
Michael Kollinchak, Department of Justice
Herbert G. Persil, Department of Agriculture
Alfred S. Rhode, Federal Aviation Agency

1961–1962 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

James H. Chubbuck, Louisiana State University
Alton Frye, Yale University
Frederick P. Jellison, University of Michigan
James Kerr, Stanford University
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Frank J. Tyson, Fullerton Junior College
David Welborn, Indiana University

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Edmund B. Lambeth, Milwaukee Journal
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Donald G. Tacheron, Eugene Register-Guard
Richard D. Warden, Great Falls Tribune
Wesley Willoughby, San Francisco News Call Bulletin

Other

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Asia Foundation Fellows

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Edward Sinaga, Press and Public Relations, Embassy of Indonesia
Sung-Chiu Tsu, Kuomintang Central Committee, China

1962–1963 Congressional Fellowship Program

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Jerald Blizin, St. Petersburg Times
Jerry Friedheim, Columbia Missourian
James F. Hoge Jr., Chicago Sun-Times
John T. Morgan, Appleton Post-Crescent (WI)
Ronald L. Steel, Scholastic Magazine
Bruce B. van Dusen, Providence Journal-Bulletin
Eric Wentworth, Portland Oregonian

Other

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Coit Johnson, Columbia University

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Richard H. Melton, Department of State

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Richard P. Conlon, Minneapolis Tribune

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Stephen Leshner, Winston-Salem Journal

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Wayne G. Granquist, National Aeronautics & Space Administration

Wallace E. Hutton, Federal Communications Commission

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Lyle L. Miller, Central Intelligence Agency*
John N. Shouligan, Department of Labor*

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John M. Cornman, West Chester Daily Local News
Henry L. Feuerzeig, Madison Capital Times
Frederic J. Johnson, Minot Daily News (ND)
Bruce Ladd, Paddock Publications
Garrett W. Ray, Littleton Independent & Arapahoe Herald

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1965–1966 Congressional Fellowship Program

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Conrad Christiano, Rochester Democrat & Chronicle
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Dale D. Pullen, Hollywood Sun-Tattler (FL)
Donald W. Robinson, Eugene Register-Guard
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A.K.M. Faiz, National Assembly of Pakistan
Subhash Kashyap, Parliament of India
Manmohan C. Kumbhat, University of Rajasthan, India
Sadayoshi Okubo, Mainichi Shimbun, Tokyo
Ho-sun Yoo, National Assembly, Seoul, South Korea

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Richard P. Floyd, National Security Agency
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Roger Summers, Fort Worth Star-Telegram
Harrison Ullmann, Indianapolis Star

Other

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Bertram S. B. Tittawella, Supreme Court of Ceylon

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Walter T. Lloyd, Executive Branch

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John Whitelaw Jr., Smithsonian Institution

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John K Iglehart, Associated Press, Chicago
David M. McNeely, Houston Chronicle
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Gerald D. Sturges, Oakland Tribune
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Bertram G. Waters, Boston Globe
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Jerry C. Edgerton, *Newsday*
Mark L. Schneider, United Press International
Charles W. Turbyville, Tucson Daily Citizen
Curtis C. Wilkie, Jr., Clarksdale Press Register (MS)

Other

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Jong-heup Park, South Korean National Assembly
Young-Moo Park, South Korean National Assembly

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Nellie J. Gray, Department of Labor
Alfred R. Greenwood, Department of the Army
Jerry D. Griffith, Department of the Army
Hume A. Horan, Department of State
John C. Houston, Department of Transportation
Peter B. Johnson, Department of State
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Karl C. Lemp, Central Intelligence Agency
Donald R. Lesh, National Security Council
Lance Marston, National Aeronautics and Space Administration
Donald E. Percival, Department of Agriculture
Donald E. Rellins, Department of Defense
Carla L. Rethmeyer, Central Intelligence Agency
Henry S. Rodriguez, Department of Agriculture
Stephen R. Weidman, Internal Revenue Service
David N. Weinman, Office of Economic Opportunity
David M. Wilson, U.S. Information Agency

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Vernon M. Goetcheus, Columbia University
Robert L. Healy, University of Pittsburgh
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John C. Pierce, Tulane University

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Anne Getz, Detroit News

Cragg Hines, United Press International

Samuel C. Martino, Minneapolis Tribune

Joseph H. Nicholson Jr., Associated Press

Stephen E. Ponder, United Press International

Edward J. Walsh, Houston Chronicle

Timothy J. Wyngaard, Green Bay Press Gazette and Appleton Post-Crescent

Other

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Jawadul Karim, Associated Press of Pakistan

Hafizullah Khan, University Law College, Pakistan*

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Alexander L. Estrin, Department of Labor

F. Bernard Forand, Department of Commerce

Alfred C. Franklin, National Security Agency

Chester Roy Julian, Department of Transportation

Charles W. Maynes, Department of State

Arthur T. McNeill, Central Intelligence Agency

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Jerome H. Ross, Federal Mediation & Conciliation Service

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Paul R. Swan, National Aeronautics and Space Administration

Bonnie Smith Whyte, Department of Agriculture

William E. Wright, U.S. Tariff Commission

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Michael J. Bennett, Boston Record-American
Lance Brisson, Freelance Investigative Reporter
Ben Burns, Miami Herald
Mikel K. Miller, United Press International
Edward D. Murnane, Paddock Publications
JoAnne Omang, United Press International
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Parada Buranasiri, Secretariat Thailand National Assembly*
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Sally A Ehrle, Department of Labor
Carol McInerney Fay, Social Security Administration
Edward Gottfried, Department of Commerce
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Clay E. Peters, Department of the Interior
Lyle Ryter, Department of Housing & Urban Development
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Madeleine G. Schneider, Department of the Treasury
Charles A. Schuler, General Accounting Office
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Peggy Louise Wireman, Department of Health, Education, & Welfare

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Charles P. Henry, University of Chicago
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Arthur Reiger, New York Urban Coalition
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Kenneth R. Lamke, Milwaukee Sentinel
Mary Ellen Perry, Berkeley Post

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Abdul Roaf, Parliamentary Relations, Afghanistan

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Carl F. Bogar, General Accounting Office
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Robert Z. Callaham, Department of Agriculture
Don Cook, Environmental Protection Agency
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Kenneth H. Crumbly, National Aeronautics and Space Administration
Hazel E. Elbert, Department of the Interior
Augustine J. Fredrich, Department of the Army

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Harry M. Freeman, Environmental Protection Agency
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Howard J. Hickman, General Services Administration
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Wendy (Ross) Eichler, U.S. Information Agency
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Anthony G. Freeman, Department of State
Dean R. Hewitt, ACTION
George M. Humphrey, Department of State
Peter A. Sutherland, Department of State
Patricia M. Taylor, Central Intelligence Agency
George A. Trail III, Department of State

1973–1974 Congressional Fellowship Program

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George C. Shipley, University of Texas
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Samuel A. Jacobs, Miami Herald
James R. Lewis, Sacramento Union
Clifford A. Miller, Appleton Post-Crescent (WI)
Robert W. Steyer, Patriot News Company (PA)
Jan K. Stucker, The State (SC)

Other

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Khondoker Abdul Haque, Bangladesh Parliament

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John E. Harman, Department of Transportation
Marshall A. Isler III, Department of Commerce
Barbara Desdin Kernan, Department of Health, Education, & Welfare
John P. Liberty, Internal Revenue Service
Tyrone K. Levi, Atomic Energy Commission
William L. Oakley, Atomic Energy Commission
Desdie C. Prince, Department of the Navy
Donald C. Pullen, General Accounting Services
Grady W. Smithey, Jr., Department of Agriculture
Donald A. Speer, National Science Foundation
Peggy Taylor, Department of Labor

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Ronald E. Engel, Environmental Protection Agency
Anne W. Henshaw, U.S. Agency for International Development
James G. Hudec, National Security Agency
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Stephen R. Lyne, Department of State
John F. Ritchotte, U.S. Information Agency
John H. Rouse, Jr. Department of State
Arlene M. Witmer, National Security Agency

1974–1975 Congressional Fellowship Program

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Eve Lubalin, Johns Hopkins Univeristy
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Catherine Rudder, University of Georgia
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Alan F. Gordon, Patriot-Ledger, Quincy, Massachusetts
Rochelle Jones, Palm Beach Post
Maureen L. Santini, Wisconsin State Journal
Kathleen Tobin, Jersey Journal, NJ

Other

Appendix: A Roll Call of Fellows

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Sally K. Horn, Department of Defense

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Alan L. Rothenberg, Atomic Energy Commission*

Deirdre Ryan, U.S. Information Agency*

Carl Taylor, Department of State

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Corey Rosen, Ripon College
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Saeed Osman Malick, Government College, Pakistan
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Eugene Kinlow, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
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George Kundanis, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Harris N. Miller, Yale University
Sidney Waldman, Haverford College
Robert P. Weber, St. John's University

Print Journalist Fellows

Kristen M. Kelch, Christian Science Monitor
Clark L. Reid, The Knoxville Journal
Susan Sachs, The State Journal Register

Asia Foundation Fellows

Shahidul Alam Chowdhury, Government of Bangladesh
A. Bari Rahi, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Afghanistan

Harkness Fellow

James Talbot, BBC

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

Marion Isaacs D'Lugoff, Boston University
Peter E. Dans, University of Colorado Medical Center
Daniel B. Green, Virginia Commonwealth University
Samuel P. Korper, Yale University
Roger D. Platt, Yeshiva University
Carl J. Schramm, Johns Hopkins University

Federal Executive Fellows

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Frederic B. Clarke, National Bureau of Standards
Elliot Fiedler, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
John A. Gwynn, Environmental Protection Agency
Gene F. Hammel, General Accounting Office
John Clare Hendee, Department of Agriculture
George M. Kingman, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Carol Lancaster, Office of Management and Budget
David W. Moody, Department of the Interior
Robert Nichols, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

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Margaret R. Richardson, Department of Labor
Martha P. Rogers, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Edmond A. Schiffers, Department of the Army
Francis J. Turpin, Department of Transportation
William K. Waldem, Department of the Navy
Frank R. Wilbourne, Social Security Administration

Federal Executive Foreign Affairs Fellows

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James E. Dietel, Central Intelligence Agency
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Edward G. Lanpher, Department of State
Dwight N. Mason, Department of State
Leonard Parkinson, Central Intelligence Agency
Samuel R. Raskin, National Security Agency
Harlan Rosacker, U.S. Information Agency
Howard R. Sharlach, U.S. Agency for International Development
Henry A. Shockley, Department of Defense

1977–1978 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Jeffrey Carl Apfel, SUNY Albany
Frederic A. Bergerson, Whittier College
Murray P. Dry, Middlebury College
Nancy Gad, Brandeis University
Harvey L. Schantz, Florida Atlantic University
Terry Sullivan, University of Texas, Austin

Print Journalist Fellows

Russell Garland, Burlington Free Press
Sylvia Ann Spencer, United Press International

American Anthropology Fellows

Evelyn (Jacob) Holt, University of Pennsylvania
John H. Peterson Jr., Mississippi State University

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

Thomas L. Delbanco, Harvard Medical School
Rosemary Donley, University of Pittsburgh School of Nursing
Andrew W. Nichols, University of Arizona Medical Center
Frederick M. Parkins, University of Iowa College of Dentistry
Robert J. Rubin, Tufts University School of Medicine
Edgar E. Smith, University of Massachusetts, Worcester

Asia Foundation Fellows

Abdul Karim Kundi, Government of Pakistan
Kuppasamy Mohanan, New Straits Times, Malaysia

Appendix: A Roll Call of Fellows

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John C. Belshe, Department of Defense
Rozalid Brack, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Wayland Coe, Department of Labor
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Donald S. Girton, Department of Agriculture
Thomas M. Jones, Department of Transportation
Robert Kapsch, Department of Commerce
Robert Miller, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Charles D. Nelson, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Pamela P. Quinn, Environmental Protection Agency
Sam W.P. Rea Jr., Department of Transportation
Jerry L. Reed, Department of the Navy
Eugene Rouleau, Civil Service Commission
Edwin G. Sapp, National Security Agency
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Sandra D. Toye, National Science Foundation
Robert A. Walkington, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Jo Anne Wilson, Civil Service Commission

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Ronald F. Gibbs, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Genta Hawkins Holmes, Department of State
Edward V. Nef, Department of State
Ronald H. Reimann, Central Intelligence Agency
James A. Stout, Energy Research and Development Administration
A. Stephen Telkins, U.S. Information Agency
John L. Washburn, Department of State

1978–1979 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Jo Freeman, Brookings Institution
Barbara Sinclair, University of California, Riverside
Floyd E. Stoner, Marquette University
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Print Journalist Fellows

Lance W. Dickie, The Oregon Statesman
Jerelyn Eddings, United Press International
Frederick P. Grey Jr., Greensboro Daily News
Jean Peters, Akron Beacon Journal

American Anthropology Fellows

Jeanne Guillemin, Boston College
David Howell, University of Virginia

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Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

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Gerald Charles, Veterans Administration Hospital
Donald O. Nutter, Emory University School of Medicine
David I. Rosenstein, University of Oregon School of Dentistry
William D. Stanhope, University of Oklahoma
Donald F. Taylor, Boston University School of Medicine*

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Harkness Fellow

Mark David Damazer, Harvard University

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Virginia Ann Chupp, Department of Labor
Rodolfo Cruz, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Kathleen Ellis, Department of Agriculture
John W. Finch, Department of Housing and Urban Development
Harriet L. Frank, Department of Housing and Urban Development
Charlesetta H. Griffin, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Russlyn L. Gurtz, Internal Revenue Service
Willard M. Holmes, Department of the Army
William K. Krist, Department of Commerce
Michael H. Levin, Department of Labor
Douglas M. MacMillan, Environmental Protection Agency
L. Kent Mays, Department of Agriculture
Stewart B. Nelson, Department of the Navy
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Lawrence J. Wodarski, Small Business Administration
Nobert Y. Zucker, Department of Transportation

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Jeffrey S. Davidow, Department of State
Don J. Donchi, Department of State
Carl W. Ford Jr., Central Intelligence Agency
Richard G. Frederick, Department of the Treasury
Samuel C. Fromowitz, Department of State
Beth L. Gilman, Department of the Navy
Bruce N. Gregory, International Communication Agency (USIA)
Paul S. Magid, ACTION
James H. Morton, Department of State
Mark N. Silverman, Department of Energy

1979–1980 Congressional Fellowship Program

Appendix: A Roll Call of Fellows

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James E. Campbell, Syracuse University
Gary Copeland, University of Iowa
Martin Machowsky, Washington University St Louis

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Eric Black, Minneapolis Tribune
Geneva Overholser, Freelance, Paris

American Anthropology Fellow

Alex Stepick, University of Texas

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

Jo Ivey Boufford, Albert Einstein College of Medicine
John W. Burnside, The Milton S. Hershey Medical Center
Ezra C. Davidson Jr., Martin Luther King, Jr. General Hospital
Martin G. Dillard, Howard University College of Medicine
John E. Hoopes, Johns Hopkins School of Medicine
Christopher D. Saudek, Cornell University Medical College

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Chull Kim, The Dong-A Iibo, Seoul, South Korea

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Lorraine Chang, Environmental Protection Agency
Alan A. Cole, Department of the Interior
Steven P. Collier, National Security Agency
Wayne B. Cook, General Services Administration
Josephine S. Cooper, General Services Administration
Kathleen Davis, Office of Personnel Management
Joseph J. Faley, General Accounting Office
Stephen M. Goldberg, Department of Energy
Jill D. Khadduri, Department of Housing and Urban Development
Michael R. Kirby, Internal Revenue Service
James Lee, Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation
Kenneth G. Lutterman, Department of Health and Human Services
Stephen F. Mihans, Department of Agriculture
John Murphy, Department of Labor
Patricia M. Owens, Social Security Administration
Judith G. Parsons, Department of Health and Human Services
Mary H. Smith, Department of Defense
R. Lawrence Vandenberg, Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Federal Executive Foreign Affairs Fellows

Charles O. Cecil, Department of State
John E. Clark, Department of State
Diane Dillard, Department of State

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Ronald Goodard, Department of State
James Allen Holt, National Science Foundation
Joe B. Johnson, International Communications Agency (USIA)
Jerome S. Morse, Department of Commerce
Frederick C. Randall, Central Intelligence Agency
Patricia Schlueter, Office of Management and Budget
Robin F. Schreiber, Central Intelligence Agency
Donald Westmore, Department of State

1980–1981 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Bruce A. Ray, Northern Illinois University
Steven S. Smith, George Washington University

Print Journalist Fellows

Carol Marian Matlack, Arkansas Gazette
Deborah Cline Ryerson, The Evening Sentinel (PA)
Joan Verdon, The Grand Rapids Press
Douglas C. Waller, The Charlotte News

American Anthropology Fellows

Donald Bilingsley, Johns Hopkins University
Marsha E. Renwanz, Stanford University

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

Johanna T. Dwyer, New England Medical Center Hospital
Dan C. English, Michigan State University
M. Alton Hodges, University of Texas Health Science Center
Richard D. Krugman, University of Colorado Medical Center
Warren E. Levinson, University of California, San Francisco School of Medicine
Robert R. McMeekin, Uniformed Services University of Health Sciences

Asia Foundation Fellows

Mohammad Ashraf Azim, Pakistan Television Corporation, Pakistan
Picheth Kitisin, Secretariat of the Thai National Assembly, Bangkok
Javid Zafar, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad
Syed Mohammad Zakaria, Bangladesh Parliament, Dacca

Federal Executive Fellows

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Kathleen R. Johnson, Department of Energy
Edward J. Kelty, Department of Health and Human Services
Judith A. Kennedy, Department of Housing & Urban Development
Herbert E. Nicholls Jr., Social Security Administration
John R. Percy, Social Security Administration
Margaret J. Qualters, Social Security Administration
Robert G. Stanley, Department of Transportation

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Gail E. Stephens, National Security Agency
William Frederick Thompson, Office of Personnel Management
Thomas R. Whittleton, Department of Housing & Urban Development

Federal Executive Foreign Affairs Fellows

Bruce Benton, Department of the Treasury
Victoria R. Cordova, International Communications Agency (USIA)
Charles L. Daris, Department of State
Stanley T. Escudero, Department of State
Mark Johnson, Department of State
Karl K. Kindel, Department of Commerce
Ain H. Kivimae, U.S. Agency for International Development
Roger A. McGuire, Department of State
Robert M. Perito, Department of State
Anthony R. Williams, Central Intelligence Agency

1981–1982 Congressional Fellowship Program

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Guy C. Colarulli, University of Hartford
Beth C. Fuchs, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
James R. Horney, Northwestern University
David Kozak, U.S. Air Force Academy

Print Journalist Fellows

Marsha E. Ackermann, Buffalo Courier-Express
Donald I. Hammonds Jr., Globe-Democrat St. Louis
Kirk Stone, Journal Gazette (IN)
Marilyn W. Thompson, The Columbia Record (SC)

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Dianne O. McGivern, University of Pennsylvania School of Nursing
Jay Noren, University of Wisconsin
David L. Rabin, Georgetown University School of Medicine
Ames F. Tryon, University of Mississippi School of Dentistry
Peter G. Tuteur, Washington University School of Medicine

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Kuang-ming Cheng, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan
Clara Joewono, Center for Strategic & International Studies, Indonesia
Yong-yil Park, Attorney, Seoul, Korea
Daya John Srikantha Pelpola, Advocate Supreme Court, Sri Lanka
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Harkness Fellow

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F. Faye Johnson, National Security Agency
W. Scott Kingsley, National Security Agency
Robert C. Logan, Department of Health & Human Services
Mitchell A. Luxenberg, Environmental Protection Agency
Linda L. Pagelsen, Department of Justice
G. Gregory Raab, Department of Health & Human Services
Peter F. Riehm, Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Henry R. Smith, Department of the Interior
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Dennis C. Vierra, Department of Transportation
Robert W. Williams, Department of Agriculture

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Robert K. Griffith, Department of the Army
David C. Halsted, Department of State
Robert F. Hopper, Department of State
Donna J. Hrinak, Department of State
G. Eugene Martin, Department of State
Thomas E. Murray, Department of Commerce
Robert A. Rebelo, Central Intelligence Agency
Timothy A. Samolej, Defense Intelligence Agency
Douglas B. Wilson, International Communication Agency (USIA)

1982–1983 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Eugene J. Alpert, Texas Christian University
Gary J. Andres, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle
Paul Light, University of Virginia

Carl Albert Center Fellow

Frank J. Smist Jr., University of Oklahoma

Broadcast Journalist Fellows

William J. Skane, KQED TV, San Francisco

Print Journalist Fellows

Rebecca Nappi, The News Journal (DE)
Barbara A. Vobejda, The Honolulu Advertiser

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American Anthropology Fellow

Leslie E. Wildesen, Wildesen Associates

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Myron Genel, Yale University School of Medicine

Jay A. Gershen, University of California, Los Angeles

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Lawrence Tremonti, SUNY Binghamton, New York

Lewis Wexler, Stanford University Medical Center

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Chandresekera Bogollagama, Attorney General's Office, Sri Lanka

Ho Kin Chai, National Echo Press, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Ijaz Hussain, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan

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Renee L. Anderson, Department of Defense

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Donald E. Gillis, Department of the Navy

Michael Hardin, Defense Intelligence Agency

Patricia R. Lawson, Social Security Administration

John J. Madison, National Aeronautics and Space Administration

Susan McAndrew, Department of Agriculture

Patrick A. Mulloy, Department of Justice

Ronald Overmann, National Science Foundation

Gilbert R. Reed, Department of the Navy

Janis Kerrigan Roberts, Social Security Administration

Timothy K. Sanders, Department of the Army

Grayson Snurr, Social Security Administration

Cynthia J. Taylor, National Security Agency

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Roger L. Dankert, Department of State

Stephen J. Gallogly, Department of State

Helen Grayson, Department of Commerce

John P. Harrod, International Communication Agency (USIA)

F. Lynn Holec, Department of Commerce

Carl J. Leininger, Department of the Army

J. Patrick Maher, Central Intelligence Agency

Steven E. Meyer, Central Intelligence Agency

A Congress of Fellows

William W. Millan, Department of State
William S. Shepard, Department of State
William J. Wright, Department of the Army

1983–1984 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

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John F. Hoadley, Duke University
Mary Rose Musca, Harvard University
John J. Pitney Jr., Yale University
Hanes Walton Jr., Savannah State College

Carl Albert Center Fellows

Ronald J. Grimes, University of Oklahoma
Matthew C. Moen, University of Oklahoma

Broadcast Journalist Fellow

Kenneth L. Verdoia, KUED TV, Salt Lake City, UT

Print Journalist Fellow

Patrice Mitchell, Times-Union (Rochester NY)

American Anthropology Fellow

Susan Carol Rogers, University of Illinois

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

William R. Ayers, Georgetown University School of Medicine
A.Sue Brown, University of Medicine & Dentistry of New Jersey
Lewis H. Kuller, University of Pittsburgh
Elizabeth Ann Kutza, University of Chicago School of Social Service Medicine
Richard M. Levinson, Emory University School of Medicine
Kenneth J. Roozen, University of Alabama

Asia Foundation Fellows

Mobashshara Nighat Bajwa, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Pakistan
Surin Pitsuwan, Thammasat University, Bangkok, Thailand

German Marshall Fund Fellows

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Armgard Von Reden, Georg August University Gottingen, Germany

Federal Executive Fellows

Stanford M. Bastacky, Department of Health and Human Services
Donna L. Ber, National Security Agency
Judith Brotman, Department of Health and Human Services
Gerald Lee Everett, National Security Agency

Appendix: A Roll Call of Fellows

Lois L. Fu, Department of Labor
Harriett J. Harper, Department of Labor
Robert H. Kline, Veterans Administration
Jennifer P. Marks, Department of Commerce
William B. Menczer, Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Marjorie S. Nordlinger, Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Robert J. Penland, Department of Justice
Gray F. Reynolds, Department of Agriculture
Jane Lewis Ross, Social Security Administration
R. Stephen Scott, Nuclear Regulatory Commission
William O. Steward, Department of Interior

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M. Jon Beard, U.S. Information Agency
Gwen C. Clare, Department of State
Virginia Loo Farris, U.S. Information Agency
Charles B. Griffith, Central Intelligence Agency
James A. Larocco, Department of State
Richard Miles, Department of State
Larry C. Napper, Department of State
Rebecca D. Paulk, Department of the Army
Glenn R. Price, Defense Intelligence Agency
Peter Reilly, Department of the Army
Kathryn Dee Robinson, Department of State

1984–1985 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

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Christopher J. Deering, George Washington University
Shirley M. Geiger, University of South Carolina
Carl E. Van Horn, Rutgers University

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J. Michael Sharp, University of Oklahoma
William A. Syers, University of Oklahoma

Broadcast Journalist Fellow

Larry J. Warren, KUTV, Salt Lake City, Utah

Print Journalist Fellows

Ronald D. Elving, The Milwaukee Journal
Jeffrey Katz, The Commercial Appeal (TN)

American Anthropology Fellow

Allen W. Batteau, Committee on Institutional Cooperation

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

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Marie E. Michnich, University of Washington
Mary O'Neil Munding, Columbia School of Nursing
Frederick K. Orkin, Hahnemann University School of Medicine
Michael E. Whitcomb, Ohio State University

Asia Foundation Fellows

Young-shim Dho Lee, National Assembly of the Republic of South Korea
Ong Ming Seing, Foreign Editor of the The Straights Times
Boonlert Vongpibul, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bangkok, Thailand

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Claire-Emmanuel Longuet, Senate of France

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Peter Rudolf, Peace Research Institute

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Louis A. Baer, National Security Agency
G. Maxine Bowman, Central Intelligence Agency
Paul W. Dennett, Department of Health and Human Services
Arlene L. Dietz, U.S Army Corp of Engineers
Kenneth T. Eccleston, U.S Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Eric Erdheim, Department of Commerce
JoAnn E. Grube, National Security Agency
Mark J. Herbst, Naval Research Laboratory
Kathleen S. Holcombe, National Institutes of Health
Joseph D. Kilgallon, Social Security Administration
Patricia Mackey, Department of Health and Human Services
Benesta McMillan, Social Security Administration
Janice E. Rasgus, U.S Army Corp of Engineers

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John W. Blaney, Department of State
Steve Charnovitz, Department of Labor
Francis P. Kennedy, Defense Intelligence Agency
Robert Mihalik, Central Intelligence Agency
Peter A. Ryan, Department of Commerce*
Eugene D. Schmiel, Department of State
Brenda S. Sprague, Department of State
Candice C. Vessella, Defense Intelligence Agency
Kenneth S. Yalowitz, Department of State
Thomas F. Young, Department of the Army

Appendix: A Roll Call of Fellows

1985–1986 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

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William F. Connelly Jr., Clemson University

Edward Thompson III, University of Louisville

Joan Hulse Thompson, Luther College

Ford Foundation Fellow

Zhang Yi, Institute of American Studies

Print Journalist Fellows

Celia F. Cohen, News Journal (Wilmington, DE)

Philip J. Garcia, San Diego Union Tribune

American Anthropology Fellow

Judith Justice, University of California San Francisco School of Medicine

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Charles M. Helms, University of Iowa College of Medicine

Jerome A. Paulson, Case Western Reserve University Hospital

Richard E. Rieselbach, University of Wisconsin Medical School

Kenneth W. Rowe Jr., University of Cincinnati Medical Center

Thomas G. Rundall, University of California, Berkeley

Asia Foundation Fellows

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Hertomo Reksodiputro, Department of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia

Mohammad Waseem, Department of International Relations, Pakistan

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Lawrence Brenner, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission

James Burridge, National Security Agency

Gordon L. Claucherty, Department of Labor

Richard A. DuChateau, Defense Intelligence Agency

Keith E. Evans, Department of Agriculture

Paul F. Goldberg, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission

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Cornelia H. Moore, Department of Labor

Ronald L. Nunnery, Department of Agriculture

James P. Rausch, U.S. Army Corp of Engineers

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Peter C. Toland, Department of Health and Human Services

Martin C. Yerg Jr., Department of Commerce

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Shelia A. Austrian, U.S. Information Agency

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Gary R. Edquist, U.S Information Agency
Thomas V. Flores, Department of the Army
Thomas N. Harvey, Department of the Army
Robert M. Hathaway, Central Intelligence Agency
John C. Holzman, Department of State
Keith P. McCormick, Department of State
Joseph C. Wilson IV, Department of State

1986–1987 Congressional Fellowship Program

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Jeanne C. Clancy, Wheaton College
David B. Magleby, Brigham Young University
James M. McCormick, Iowa State University
Candice J. Nelson, Georgetown University

Carl Albert Center Fellow

Arturo Vega, University of Oklahoma

Broadcast Journalist Fellow

Jean Powell, KEZI-TV (OR)

Print Journalist Fellows

James Alexander Jr., The Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Paul J. Furiga, The Cincinnati Enquirer
Andrew Pollack, Democrat and Chronicle News

American Anthropology Fellow

Alaka Wali, University of Maryland, College Park

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

K. Danner Clouser, Pennsylvania State University
Lynn A. Drake, Emory University School Medicine
William H. Eaglstein, University of Miami School of Medicine
Hurdis Griffith, University of Texas, Austin
Max Michael III, University of Alabama, Birmingham
L. Gregory Pawlson, George Washington University Medical Center

Asia Foundation Fellows

Pisan Manawat, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Thailand
Jai-chang Park, Sookmyung Women's University, South Korea
Socorro L. Reyes, American Studies Program, La Salle University, Philippines

French Fellow

Camille Mangin, Senate of France

German Marshall Fund Fellows

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Claus Gramckow, University of Hamburg, Germany
Stephen G. Richter, George Washington University

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Susan J.M. Adams, Department of Labor
William L. Clements, U.S Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Thomas R. Combs, U.S Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Ken Heath, National Security Agency
Robert L. Jones, Department of Labor
David H. Munson, Department of Justice
David Podoff, Department of Health and Human Services
James R. Shillinger, Department of Labor
Harriet Knight Sopher, Department of Commerce
Elisa D. Tunanidas, Department of Health and Human Services
Gene N. Washburn, U.S. Army Corp of Engineers
Barbara Weber, Department of Agriculture

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Robert W. Fitts, Department of State
Peter T. Higgins, Central Intelligence Agency
James M. Landrum, Department of the Army
Dana M. Marshall, Department of State
Christopher J. McMullen, Defense Intelligence Agency
George E. Spaeth Jr., Defense Intelligence Agency
Donald K. Steinberg, Department of State
Jack Trotter, Department of the Army
Michael A. Turner, Central Intelligence Agency
Dean Welty, Department of State

1987–1988 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Jon R. Bond, Texas A&M University
Richard L. Hall, University of Michigan
Thomas Kazee, Davidson College

Carl Albert Center Fellows

Lori D. Lester, University of Oklahoma
James Tony Litherland, University of Oklahoma

Broadcast Journalist Fellow

Jay A. Kohn, Montana Television Network

Print Journalist Fellows

Robert B. Alexander, Pensacola News Journal
Lawrence M. Hojo Jr., Indiana Gazette, PA
William D. Zaferos, Appleton Post-Crescent

A Congress of Fellows

American Anthropology Fellows

Linda K. Girdner, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Carole P. Jennings, Catholic University

Kellogg Fellow

Patricia Yarbrough, American Physical Therapy Association

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

Virginia T. Betts, Vanderbilt University
Robert A. Crittenden, University of Washington
Nancy E. Gary, University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey
Allen I. Hyman, Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center
M. Elaine Neenen, University of Texas Health Science Center
Loren P. Petersen, University of South Dakota School of Medicine

Asia Foundation Fellows

Mohammad Azam, Government of Pakistan
Hidayat Karta Hadimadja, Department of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia
Heidi M. Pascual, House of Representatives, Quezon City, Philippines
Wiboon Shamsheum, Ministry of Commerce, Bangladesh
Kyoung-min Shin, Munhwa Broadcasting Company, South Korea

French Fellow

Patrick Chamorel, Ministry of Industry, Postal Services, Telecommunications
and Tourism, Paris

Federal Executive Fellows

Richard L. Anderson, Department of the Navy
Leo T. Bull, Department of Labor
David A. Erickson, Department of Defense
Lawrence A. Finfer, Department of the Interior
David A. Hatch, National Security Agency
Sally Katt, Department of Agriculture
Alice M. Litwinowicz, Department of Health and Human Services
Jonathan E. Miller, National Security Agency
Milton G. Parsons, Department of Agriculture
Ronald G. Rinaldo, Department of Commerce

Federal Executive Foreign Affairs Fellows

Robert W. Ash, Department of the Army
Nan P. Bell, U.S Information Agency
James D. Bindenagel, Department of State
Joseph C. Flynn, Central Intelligence Agency
Thomas R. Hanson, Department of State
Alan M. MacDougall, Defense Intelligence Agency
Thomas N. Meriwether, Department of the Army
Desiree A. Millikan, Department of State
Joyce E. Pratt, Central Intelligence Agency
Barbara B. Rosenfeld, Federal Trade Commission

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Keith L. Skidmore, Department of the Army
Mary E. Van Heuven, Department of Commerce

1988–1989 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Donald C. Baumer, Smith College
Ardith L. Maney, Iowa State University
Robert A. Strong, Tulane University

Broadcast Journalist Fellow

William L. Graf, WISC-TV, State Capitol Report

Print Journalist Fellows

R. Kenton Bird, Idahoian/Palouse Empire Daily
Daniel R. Popkey, The Idaho Statesman

Kellogg Fellow

Louise Little, University of Delaware

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

Ann B. Flood, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
Barbara E. Langner, University of Kansas Medical Center
Joel S. Levine, University of Colorado Health Sciences
Joseph A. Lieberman III, University of Medicine & Dentistry of New Jersey
Rodrigue Mortel, Pennsylvania State University
Anthony Schwartz, Tufts University School of Veterinary Medicine

Asia Foundation Fellows

Armin Effendi Bin Abdul Rahman, Institute of Strategic & International
Studies, Malaysia
Liu Linfel, Visiting Scholar Johns Hopkins University
Chirachai Punkrasin, Government of Thailand

French Fellow

Marie-Pascale Boutry, Senate of France

German Marshall Fund Fellows

Hans-Joachim Christe, University of Tübingen, Germany
Reinhard Kowalewsky, University of Cologne, Germany

Federal Executive Fellows

William J. Andahazy, Department of the Navy
Thomas J. Bond, Department of the Interior*
Elizabeth Louise Doolittle, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission
James H. Edgar Jr., Department of the Air Force
Nancy F. Green, Department of Agriculture
Anthony T. Hawkins, Veterans Administration
Richard O. Miller, Department of the Interior

A Congress of Fellows

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Ralph C. Rosacker, Department of the Navy, USMC
David Ames Rutherford, Department of Labor
June C. Schaeffer, Veterans Administration
Kenneth L. Sichel, National Security Agency
Charles P. Weber, Department of Labor

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Randy D. Ferryman, Central Intelligence Agency
Douglas Hengel, Department of State
Christopher R. Hill, Department of State
Vicki Huddleston, Department of State
William B. Loper, Department of the Army
Timothy Aleck Peterson, Department of the Army
Gary Duane Smith, U.S. Information Agency
Charles F. Turgeon, Central Intelligence Agency
Charles J. Wells, Defense Intelligence Agency
Howard C. Weiner III, Department of State

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Political Scientist Fellows

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Paul S. Herrnson, University of Massachusetts
Janet M. Martin, Bowdoin College

Broadcast Journalist Fellow

Stephen P. Ward, Michigan Public Radio Network

Joan Shorenstein Barone Fellow

Philip Ingrassia, KDLT-TV

Print Journalist Fellows

Lisa Pullen Foust, The Charlotte Observer
Kristin Huckshorn, San Jose Mercury News

American Anthropology Fellows

Lesley Gill, Centro del Studio de la Realidad Economica y Social, Bolivia
Jo Anne Schneider, Temple University

Kellogg Fellow

Marcia K. Brand, Thomas Jefferson University

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

Benjamin Chu, Kings County Hospital, Brooklyn
Philip H. Goodman, University of Nevada
Melvin D. Shipp, University of Alabama, Birmingham
Danny Wedding, Marshall University School of Medicine

Appendix: A Roll Call of Fellows

Earnestine Willis, University of Chicago
Edward Wimberley, University of Texas, Galveston

Asia Foundation Fellows

Chang-su Kim, South Korea Institute for Defense Analysis
Raja A. Nazrin, Malaysian Foreign Ministry
Samita Notosusanto, University of Indonesia
Mohammad Ziauddin, Government of Bangladesh

French Fellow

Emmanuele D'Achon, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

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Charles David Gustafon, Pension Benefit Guaranty Organization
Marjorie W. Holmes, Central Intelligence Agency
Bruce E. Kasold, Department of the Army
Janice Dunn Lee, U.S Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Denise Leger-Lee, Department of Agriculture
Aubrey D. McElhaney, Department of Commerce
Mary Rubin, Department of Labor
John B. Snowden, National Security Agency
Michael E. Talbert, Department of Labor
Barry Zalchman, U.S Nuclear Regulatory Commission

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Janey Cole, U.S Information Agency
Jerry A. DeMoney, Department of the Army
David P. Fichtner, Central Intelligence Agency
Bruce Gray, Department of State
Leslie Starr Hart, Department of the Interior
John F. Johnson Jr., Department of the Army
Eric Lief, Department of State
Raymond J. Pardon, Department of State
Stephen J. Tomchik, Department of State
Kaarn Jayne Weaver, Department of State

1990–1991 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

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Mark A. Peterson, Harvard University

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Lyn Ragsdale, University of Arizona

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Print Journalist Fellow

Sophia Byrd, The Herald (Washington)

Poynter Fellow

Joseph Beck, Wisconsin State Journal

Joan Shorenstein Barone Fellow

Nick Beres, KTVL-TV, Medford, Oregon

American Anthropology Fellow

Peggy Overbey, University of Florida

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

Richard L. Bucciarelli, University of Florida College of Medicine

Louis H. Diamond, Georgetown University School of Medicine

Susan Bartlett Foote, University of California, Berkeley

Barbara Ross-Lee, Michigan State University

Joan Venes, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Steffie Woolhandler, Harvard University Medical School

Asia Foundation Fellows

Dona Malkanthi Abeyratne, University of Colombo, Sri Lanka

Dewi Fortuna Anwar, Indonesian Institute of Science

Frank C.W. Lee, Coordination Council for North American Affairs, Taiwan

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Norman Arseneault, Department of Agriculture

Deborah G. Barger, Defense Intelligence Agency

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Daniel O. Cline, Department of Defense

Carolyn Cocotas, Department of Health & Human Services

Michael Garrety, Department of Labor

Terry Lord, Department of Justice

Ellen Meltzer, Department of Justice

Thomas J. O'Donnell, Department of the Army

Pamela L. Stephens, National Science Foundation

Martynas A. Ycas, Department of Health & Human Services

David Roy Zinzer, Department of Interior

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Katya D. Bowers, Central Intelligence Agency

Deirdre M. Bumbera, Defense Intelligence Agency

Philip Neil Caster, Central Intelligence Agency

Chantal B. Dalton, U.S. Information Agency

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Timothy Dunn, Department of State
Michael Jaye Gilbreath, Department of the Army
Karen Henderson, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Donald V. Hester, Department of State
Jo-Anne A. Jackson, Department of Commerce
Douglas E. Paradis, Department of State
Donald Yamamoto, Department of State

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Kelly D. Patterson, Franklin & Marshall
Cheryl D. Young, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

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Joan Shorenstein Barone Fellow

Heather Greenfield, WCIV-TV, Charleston, South Carolina

Print Journalist Fellows

Adam Gelb, Atlanta Journal-Constitution
Kimberly Shearin, New Haven Register

Poynter Fellow

Claude Marx, Arkansas Democrat

American Anthropology Fellow

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Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

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Robert G. Frank, University of Missouri School of Medicine
Jay Himmelstein, University of Massachusetts Medical Center
Philip Hofschire, University of Nebraska Medical Center, Omaha
Charles Rice, University of Washington School of Medicine
Steven Ringel, University of Colorado Health Sciences Center

Asia Foundation Fellows

Jackson Ke-Cheng Chang, Legislative Yuan, Taiwan
Hashbatyn Hulan, Standing Committee on Social Policy, Mongolia
Thanong Khanthong, Assistant Business Editor, *The Nation*, Thailand
Maria Lourdes Tiqua, Congressional Research and Training Service, Philippines

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Joel Delofsky, Department of Labor
Claudia Dulmage, Department of Justice

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Larry L. Hudson, Department of Agriculture
Kay C. Keely, Department of the Interior
Thomas Klabunde, Department of Agriculture
Sandra Kindsay, Department of Health & Human Services
Timothy Parsons, National Security Agency
Rosemary Ramsey, Department of Health & Human Services
Myron Sagall, National Security Agency
Deborah M. Smith, Department of Justice
Michael A. Till, Department of the Navy
Theodore Van Hintum, Department of Veterans Affairs
Karen Wilson, Department of Justice

Federal Executive Foreign Affairs Fellows

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Carey Cavanaugh, Department of State
Claudia Deverall, Central Intelligence Agency
Jessica Lecroy, Department of State
Malachy Todd Minnies, Department of State
Frank Prindle, Department of the Army
Stephen Scroggs, Department of the Army
Lisa Tuite, Central Intelligence Agency
Gregory Vuksich, Department of the Army
Scott White, Central Intelligence Agency

1992–1993 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Denise L. Baer, University of Akron
David J. Webber, University of Missouri, Columbia

William A. Steiger Fellow

Craig A. Rimmerman, Hobart & William Smith College

Joan Shorenstein Barone Fellow

Mark Curtis, WEAR-TV, Senior News Reporter

APSA-MCI Fellow

Shannon Fioravanti, Westinghouse Broadcasting

Print Journalist Fellows

Howard Isenstein, The New Haven Register
Peter Rosegg, The Honolulu Advertiser

Poynter Fellow

Maureen Groppe, South Bend Tribune

American Anthropology Fellow

Gregory Button, Brandeis University

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William B. Clark, University of Florida College of Dentistry*

J. Kevin Eckert, University of Maryland Graduate School

Arnold M. Epstein, Harvard University

Keith R. Powell, University of Rochester Medical Center

Julie Sochalski, Columbia University School of Nursing

Asia Foundation Fellows

Fardah Assegaf, National News Agency of Indonesia

Manohar Bhattarai, His Majesty's Government of Nepal

Chakorn Pichaiwongse, Kanung & Partners Law Office, Bangkok, Thailand

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Matthew Bronick, Department of Justice

Charles Casto, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Carolyn Conlan, National Security Agency

Herbert Ford, Central Intelligence Agency

Melanie Galloway, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Gerald Kifer, Department of Veterans' Affairs

Raymond Miller, Department of the Army

Joan Shaw, Department of the Interior

Steven Thompson, National Security Agency

Constance Wynn, Department of Justice

Mark Wynn, Department of Health & Human Services

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James Bean, Department of State

Michael Boyle, U.S. Information Agency

Arnold Chacon, Department of State

Stephen Fox, Department of State

Archibald Galloway, Department of the Army

Dawn Scalici, Central Intelligence Agency

Charles Taylor, Defense Intelligence Agency

Ralph Tildon, Central Intelligence Agency

Louis W. Weber, Department of the Army

Barry A. Zulauf, Department of the Navy

1993–1994 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Anne Marie Cammisa, University of New Hampshire

Sean Q. Kelly, East Carolina University

Christopher Weare, University of California, Berkeley

Daniel J. Wirls, University of California, Santa Cruz

William A. Steiger Fellow

Ronald G. Shaiko, American University

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Allen Kay, WPOP, Connecticut State Network

Joan Shorenstein Barone Fellow

Carol Buckland, CNN, Atlanta

Print Journalist Fellows

Barbara Warner, Topeka Capital-Journal

Poynter Fellow

David Corvette, Atlanta Journal-Constitution

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

Oliver Fein, Columbia University, College of Physics
Jeffrey Geller, University of Massachusetts Medical Center
Karen Hein, Albert Einstein College of Medicine
David Michaels, CUNY Medical School, Sophie Davis School of Biomedical Education
Howard Rabinowitz, Thomas Jefferson University Medical College
Sally Satel, Yale University School of Medicine

Asia Foundation Fellow

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Federal Executive Fellows

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Colleen E. Bruton, Department of Labor
Nancy DeLew, Department of Health & Human Services
Deborah Johnson, Central Intelligence Agency
Mark Kalber, National Guard Bureau
Maureen Teresa Koetz, Department of Air Force
Maureen McBrien, Department of Agriculture
Herbert Nelson, Department of the Navy
Stephen Oppermann, Department of the Interior
Joe Sanchez Jr., Department of the Air Force
Harriett A. Schneider, National Security Agency
Paul Seligman, Department of Health & Human Services

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Lois Ceasarini, Department of State
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Ronald G. Houle, Department of the Army
Debra Lynn Shelton, Defense Intelligence Agency
Richard Stark Jr., Department of the Army

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1994–1995 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Robin A. Kolodny, Temple University
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Stephen D. McDowell, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada
Cheryl M. Miller, University of Maryland, Baltimore County
William A. Steiger Fellow
Timothy S. Prinz, University of Virginia

Broadcast Journalist Fellows

David Eskola, The Greenville News

Joan Shorenstein Barone Fellow

Douglas Johnson, Michigan Public Radio Network

Poynter Fellow

Lori Nitschke, Grand Forks Herald, North Dakota

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

Cindy Haddock, University of Alabama, Birmingham
Philip Marion, Howard University School of Medicine
Allen Nissenson, University of California, Los Angeles School of Medicine
James Wade, University of Maryland, Baltimore County Cancer Center
Debra Wirth, Primary Children's Medical Center, Salt Lake City, Utah
Nelda Wray, Houston Center/Quality Care

Asia Foundation Fellows

Dahl-sub Chung, National Assembly, Republic of South Korea
Sheila Espine, Congressional Research and Training Service, Philippines
Moinuddin Naser, *The Independent*, Dhaka, Bangladesh

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Thomas Chesno, National Security Agency
Howard Dobson, Department of Labor
Roy Fairchild, Central Intelligence Agency
Kim Hildred, Social Security Administration
Milton Hill, Department of the Interior
Joanne Ouillette, Department of the Navy
Patricia Palmer, National Security Agency
Debra Purvis, Department of Interior
Cynthia Shirk, Department of Health & Human Services
George Stickles, Department of Agriculture

Federal Executive Foreign Affairs Fellows

Charles Barclay, U.S. Information Agency
Timothy Dwight, National Guard Bureau

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Philip Remler, Department of State
Patricia Saulsbery, Department of the Army
Ellen Shimko, Central Intelligence Agency
Peter Simoncini, Department of the Army
Yvette Wooley, Defense Intelligence Agency

1995–1996 Congressional Fellowship Program

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Jessica Korn, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Nicol C. Rac, Florida International University
Daniel D. Stid, Wabash College

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Frederick Carl Walton, University of Georgia, Athens

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William J. Drake, University of California, San Diego
Diana M. Owen, Georgetown University

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Robert A. Franklin, WESM-FM, University of Maryland, Eastern Shore

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Dimitra Kessenides, Athens, Greece
Rebekah Young, CNN

Congressional Quarterly Fellow

Lauren Lazarovici, California Journal, Sacramento

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

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Diane M. Becker, Johns Hopkins School of Medicine
P. Pearl O'Rourke, University of Washington School of Medicine
Jonelle C. Rowe, University of Connecticut School of Medicine
David P. Stevens, Case Western Reserve University
Wendy B. Young, University of Illinois, Chicago

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Judith K. Benderson, Department of Justice
Robert J. Hardos, Department of Justice
Logan A. Lee, Department of Agriculture
Glenn C. Leuschner, National Security Agency
James G. Leuhman, Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Michael S. Miller, National Guard Bureau
Malka Pattison, Department of Interior

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John Pettit, Department of the Air Force
Debra Rubin, National Security Agency
Ninette Sadusky, Department of the Air Force
Marianne Clifford Upton, Department of Health & Human Services

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Theodore Andrews, Department of State
Barbara A. Bade, Central Intelligence Agency
Angela G. Clark, Central Intelligence Agency
Mary Sue Conaway, Department of State
Michael W. DeYoung, Department of the Army
Janet M. Harrington, National Guard Bureau
David S. Henderson Jr., Department of the Army
Mark E. Hyman, Department of the Navy
Brian P. Levengood, Defense Intelligence Agency
Michael Pelletier, U.S. Information Agency
Christina B. Rocca, Central Intelligence Agency
James Walker, Department of the Army

1996–1997 Congressional Fellowship Program

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Richard Forgette, Miami University, Ohio
Daniel Palazzolo, University of Richmond, Virginia
Patrick Sellers, Indiana University

Broadcast Journalist Fellows

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Ali Velshi, CFTO-TV News, Toronto, Canada

Joan Shorenstein Barone Fellow

Katherine Spring, Oregon Public Broadcasting

Congressional Quarterly Fellow

Anjetta McQueen, The Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio

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Burton Edelstein, Harvard University School of Medicine
Clyde Evans, Harvard University Medical School
Karen Guice, Duke University Medical Center
Lisa Kaplowitz, Virginia Commonwealth University
Robert H. Miller, Tulane University School of Medicine

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Sean Donohue, Department of Health & Human Services
Rebecca Harris, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

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Anne M. Parsons, National Security Agency
Richard Ponder, National Security Agency
J. David Todd, Defense Intelligence Agency

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Mark J. Davidson, U.S. Information Agency
Jay Dutcher, Department of Defense
Robin Gaul, Central Intelligence Agency
Michael Gayle, Department of the Army
Eugene Hayunga, Department of Health & Human Services
Brian Hufker, Defense Intelligence Agency
Christopher Perkins, Department of the Army
Mike Prendergast, Department of the Army
Barbara Ramey, Central Intelligence Agency
Michael J. Witbeck, Central Intelligence Agency

1997–1998 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Victoria A. Farrar-Myers, University of Texas at Arlington
John Haskell, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa
William Koetzle, University of California, Irvine

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Carl Albert Center Fellows

Lauren Cohen, University of Oklahoma
John Meiers, University of Oklahoma

Joan Shorenstein Barone Fellow

Heather Cabot, WFSB-TV, Hartford, Connecticut

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David Li, The New York Post
Dan Parks, Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel

Congressional Quarterly Fellow

Kim Trent, The Toledo Blade

Robert Wood Johnson Health Policy Fellows

E. Andrew Balas, Columbia School of Medicine, University of Missouri
K. Lynn Cates, Case Western Reserve School of Medicine
James Fasules, University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences
Peter Hasselbacher, University of Louisville
Celia Maxwell, Howard University
Marlon Priest, University of Alabama at Birmingham

Appendix: A Roll Call of Fellows

German Marshall Fund Fellows

Philippe Ardanaz, Ambassade de France en Argentine
Josef Braml, University of Passau
Marcus Pindur, German Public Television and Radio (*ARD*), Berlin
Abigail Schirman, Ecole Supérieure de Commerce de Paris

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Micki Aronson, Social Security Administration
Alison Bolt, National Security Agency
Deanna Caldwell, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
Susan Castro, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Edward Cole, USDA Forest Service
Jerome Furlow, Air National Guard
Bruce Hopkins, USDA Natural Resources Conservation Service
Robert Hunsinger, Jr., Defense Intelligence Agency
Ann McCormick, Department of Health and Human Services
Katherine Schneider, National Reconnaissance Office
Tina Spann, Department of the Navy
Isabelle Thabault, Department of Justice
Laurie Zastrow, Social Security Administration

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JoAnn Eberle, Department of the Army
Naomi Freeman, Department of Commerce
Kevin Johnson, Department of State
David Lessard, Defense Intelligence Agency
Linda Luisi, Central Intelligence Agency
Christopher Midura, U.S. Information Agency
Charles Moseley, Department of the Navy
Steven Peterson, Department of the Army
Mark Tauber, Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe
Terrence Williams, Central Intelligence Agency

1998–1999 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

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Lisa García Bedolla, Yale University
Thomas Brunell, University of California, Irvine
Colton Campbell, Florida International University
Eric Heberlig, Ohio State University
Benjamin Highton, University of California, Berkeley

William A. Steiger Fellow

David Leal, State University of New York - Buffalo

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APSA-MCI Fellows

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Andrew Souvall, Producer, KUTV Channel 2 News, Salt Lake City

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Congressional Quarterly Fellow

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Marc Hahn, Director, Penn State Geisinger Health System

Lawrence D. Kerr, Vanderbilt University

Mary Beth Mazanec, Case Western Reserve University

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Thomas B. Valuck, University of Kansas Medical Center

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Michael Kühlen, Münster, Germany

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Deirdre Foley, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

Christine Jackson, Department of Education

Patricia Jones, National Security Agency

Arthur Menna, National Security Agency

Carol Rest-Minberg, Department of Health and Human Services

Stacey Rosenberg, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission

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Anne Alexander, Defense Intelligence Agency

Christopher Datta, U.S. Information Agency

Delia Donatelli, Department of the Air Force

John McNamara, Department of State

Rick Roberts, U.S. Information Agency

Susan Rzemien, Department of the Treasury

David Salazar, Department of State

Joseph Stager, Central Intelligence Agency

Daniel Stewart, National Reconnaissance Office

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Karen Walter, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

1999–2000 Congressional Fellowship Program

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Robert G. Boatright, University of Chicago

Daniel Kaufman, University of California, San Diego

William A. Steiger Fellow

Andrew Taylor, North Carolina State University

Ford Foundation Fellow

Mohamed Kamal, Johns Hopkins SAIS and Cairo University, Cairo, Egypt

Carl Albert Center Fellows

Leslie McCollum, University of Oklahoma

Craig Williams, University of Oklahoma

APSA - MCI Fellows

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James Snider, Northwestern University

Broadcast Journalist Fellow

Kim Wellman, KKPR AM-FM, Kearney, Nebraska

Congressional Quarterly Fellow

Lynne Weil, Catholic News Service, Rome

Knight Foundation Fellows

Tanya Ballard, The Tennessean, Nashville

Jennifer Chaney, Gazette Newspapers

Hazel Trice Edney, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Hatfield Fellow

Direlle R. Calica, Warm Springs, Oregon

Asia Foundation Fellow

Chung Youl Lee, Tripartite Commission, Seoul, South Korea

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Michael Kolkmann, University of Potsdam, Berlin

Simone Stemmler, Munich University, Munich

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Health Policy Fellows

Charleta Guillory, Baylor College of Medicine

Sally Phillips, University of Colorado School of Nursing

Mark M. Rasenick, University of Illinois

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David A. Russell, Tufts University School of Dental Medicine
Jeff K. Shornick, University of Washington
Karen Edison Zanol, University of Missouri, Columbia

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Gloria Anthony, National Security Agency
Erastace N. Fields, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Hannah Patricia Marter, National Reconnaissance Office
Glen Sauer, National Security Agency
Cynthia Taylor, National Imagery and Mapping Agency

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John Abbatiello, Defense Intelligence Agency
Kel Jacobs Britvec, Defense Intelligence Agency
R. Wesley Carrington, U.S. Information Agency
Laban L. Coblentz, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission
Kim Cornwell, Central Intelligence Agency
David Dorman, National Security Agency
Carter Edgeworth, Central Intelligence Agency
Katherine Hadda, Department of State
Abigail Morales, U.S. Information Agency
Ken Moskowitz, U.S. Information Agency
John Underriner, Department of State

2000–2001 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Amy Black, Franklin and Marshall College
Arthur Burris, California State University, Hayward
Brian Posler, Millikin University

William A. Steiger Fellow

Jay Barth, Hendrix College

Carl Albert Center Fellow

Jocelyn Jones, University of Oklahoma

Knight Foundation Fellows

Austin Jenkins, Reporter, KTVB-TV7 (NBC)
Kevin Lenihan, Assistant Managing Editor, Courier-Observer
Maria Purdy, Reporter, WAFB-TV (CBS)

Congressional Quarterly Fellow

Christina Flint, Managing Editor, Montgomery Newspapers

APSA - MCI Fellow

Susan Leonard, Texas Tech University

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Mark O. Hatfield Fellow

Alyssa Macy, Victims of Crime, Warm Springs, Oregon

Robert Wood Johnson Fellows

Edward J. Dunn, Harvard School of Public Health

Anne Ekedahl, Oak Orchard Community Health Center

Kristofer Hagglund, University of Missouri-Columbia School of Medicine

Angela Mattie, Anthem Blue Cross and Blue Shield

Mario F. Pacheco, La Familia Medical Center, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Patience H. White, George Washington University Medical Center

German Marshall Fund Fellows

Bertram Welker, Aspen Institute, Berlin

Andrea Witt, Humboldt University, Berlin

Federal Executive Fellows

Carolyn P. Boyd, Department of Health and Human Services

Benjamin Brown, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

Scott Esterly, National Security Agency

Brian Harvey, Department of Health and Human Services

Elizabeth Hatfield, National Security Agency

Jill S. Hood, National Security Agency

Linda B. Kalet, Social Security Administration

Bryan Rhoades, National Imagery and Mapping Agency

Eric Weinstein, Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Sally Zeller, Social Security Administration

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John Q. Adams, Department of State

Michael J. Carman, Defense Intelligence Agency

Judith K. Demulling, Defense Intelligence Agency

Marjorie G. Fitton, National Reconnaissance Office

Russell P. Ingraham, Department of State

Jodi B. Lieberman, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Indra Niles, National Reconnaissance Office

Jinnett M. Rona, Central Intelligence Agency

Tonya P. Wilkerson, Central Intelligence Agency

2001–2002 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Randall Adkins, University of Nebraska at Omaha

David Dulio, American University

Elizabeth Oldmixon, University of Florida

Neil Pinney, Western Michigan University

Tracy Roof, University of Georgia

Keesha Middlemass, University of Georgia

William A. Steiger Fellow

A Congress of Fellows

Fiona Wright, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

APSA-MCI Fellow

Jonathan Morris, Purdue University

Knight Foundation Fellow

Melica Johnson, Reporter, KTRV TV, Nampa, Idaho

Mark O. Hatfield Fellow

Bodie Shaw, Natural Resources and Extension, Madras, Oregon

American Sociological Association Fellow

Joyce Miller Iutcovich, Keystone University Research Corporation

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Doug Campos-Outcalt, University of Arizona School of Medicine

Howard Forman, Yale University School of Medicine

Suzanne Bennett Johnson, University of Florida Health Science Center

Louis A. Kazal, Navajo Health Foundation, Sage Memorial Hospital

Drew Kumpuris, Office of Drew Kumpuris, M.D., Little Rock, Arkansas

Scott S. Young, Utah Healthcare Institute

Asia Foundation Fellows

Rahimah Abdulrahim, The Habibie Center, Jakarta, Indonesia

Sun-kyoo Park, Reporter, Korean Broadcasting System

Ani Widyani Soetjipto, University of Indonesia

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Geertje Hündorf, University of Leipzig

Anna Kruse, Free University of Berlin

Senior Fulbright Scholar Fellows

Hans Erik Andersson, Swedish National Defence College, Stockholm

Rae Nicholl, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

Servando Ortoll, Universidad de Colima, Mexico

Federal Executive Fellows

Michael Anzick, Social Security Administration

Marie Bocchino, Social Security Administration

Claire Buckles, National Reconnaissance Office

Steven Hanft, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

Christopher Jackson, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Nancy Lyons, USDA Food and Nutrition Service

Wanda Meyer-Price, Central Intelligence Agency

Serena Owens, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

Leslie Tourigny, Defense Intelligence Agency

Deborah Wolf, Food and Drug Administration

Appendix: A Roll Call of Fellows

Federal Executive Foreign Affairs Fellows

Melvin Ang, Department of State
John Clarkson, Department of State
Paul Dufresne, Central Intelligence Agency
Charles Hunter, Department of State
Robert Minehart, National Reconnaissance Office
Barbara Teraji, National Security Agency
Amy Reed, Central Intelligence Agency
Jacqueline Russell, Defense Intelligence Agency
2002–2003 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Joseph Bowersox, Willamette University
Thad Kousser, University of California, Berkeley
Artemus Ward, California State University, Chico

William A. Steiger Fellow

Frances Lee, Case Western Reserve University

Carl Albert Center Fellow

M. Lynsey Morris, University of Oklahoma

APSA-MCI Fellow

Joshua Handler, Princeton University

Print Journalist Fellows

Elbert Garcia, New York Times Digital
Susan Herold, University of San Diego Magazine
Matthew Hicks, eWEEK, San Francisco

Knight Foundation Fellow

Jennifer Crowe, Reno Gazette-Journal

Congressional Quarterly Fellow

Michelle Phipps-Evans, The Washington Afro-American Newspapers

Mark O. Hatfield Fellow

Kevin Simmons, Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde

American Sociological Association Fellow

Susan Dimock, University of California at San Diego

Robert Wood Johnson Fellows

Mark D. Carlson, University Hospitals of Cleveland
Daniel Crimmins, Westchester Institute for Human Development
Michele Curtis, University of Texas Health Center
Thomas N. Denny, University of Medicine & Dentistry of New Jersey
Susan L. Goelzer, University of Wisconsin Hospital and Clinics
Julianne R. Howell, University of California, San Diego

A Congress of Fellows

Patrick J. Johnson, HealthInsight

Asia Foundation Fellows

Bara Krishna Hasibuan, Pruri Consulting, Indonesia

Retno Shanti Ruwyastuti, Metro TV, Indonesia

Duck Weon Suh, National Assembly, Seoul, South Korea

German Marshall Fund Fellows

Lars Berger, Friedrich-Schiller-University of Jena

Marcus Menzel, University of Koblenz-Landau

Senior Fulbright Scholar Fellows

Mariana George-Nacimiento Avendaño, Chilean Senate

Beata Plonka, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland

Elizabeth Soriano, Xavier University, Mindanao, Philippines

Federal Executive Fellows

Margaret Connelly, USDA Forest Service

Rem Hawes, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management

Andrea Lee, U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Ellen Louise Lohans, Social Security Administration

Nancy Schoenberg, Social Security Administration

Federal Executive Foreign Affairs Fellows

William Buhrow, Defense Intelligence Agency

Zelda Cook, Central Intelligence Agency

Peter Gadzinski, Department of State

Edward Garrant, National Security Agency

Stephen Haaga, Defense Intelligence Agency

Mark Hanna, Central Intelligence Agency

2003–2004 Congressional Fellowship Program

Political Scientist Fellows

Marian Currinder, The College of Charleston

Aubrey Jewett, University of Central Florida

Paul Martin, University of Oklahoma

Eric McGhee, University of California-Berkeley

Vincent Moscardelli, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

George Serra, Bridgewater State College

Broadcast Journalist Fellows

Ari Ben Goldberg, KDBC TV-4 (CBS), El Paso

Lee Ross, B.S.J., WMBD (CBS), Peoria

Print Journalist Fellows

Bridgette Blair, The Federal Times

Mark Grabowski, Calkins Newspapers

Matthew Grimison, Daytona Beach News-Journal

Appendix: A Roll Call of Fellows

APSA-MCI Fellow

Rick Rockwell, American University

American Sociological Association Fellow

Maud Schaafsma, Northwestern University

Robert Wood Johnson Fellows

Pamela Bataillon, Visiting Nurse Association of the Midlands

Susan Scavo Gallagher, Education Development Center, Inc., Newton, MA

Debra Haire-Joshu, University School of Public Health, St. Louis, MO

Vipul Mankad, University of Kentucky Department of Pediatrics

Michael Painter, Seattle Indian Health Board

Rita Redberg, University of California Medical Center, San Francisco

Ellen-Marie Whelan, Johns Hopkins University School of Nursing and Urban Health Institute

Asia Foundation Fellows

TBA

German Marshall Fund Fellows

Nina Luttmmer, University of Heidelberg

Miriam Hippchen, Friedrich-Wilhelms University-Bonn

Senior Fulbright Scholar Fellows

Maria Florencia Baron, Center for the Implementation of Public Policies

Promoting Equity and Growth, Buenos Aires, Argentina

Leany Barreiro de Sousa Lemos, Office of Senator Ana Julia Carepa, Brasilia, Brazil

Ezzat Ibrahim Mikhail Yousseff, Al Ahram Newspaper, Cairo, Egypt

US-Thailand Interparliamentary Forum Fellow

TBA

Federal Executive Fellows

Raeann Shane, Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Keith Morgan, Central Intelligence Agency

Federal Executive Foreign Affairs Fellows

Faye Cobb, National Reconnaissance Office

Chris Povak, National Reconnaissance Office

Marrie Y. Schaefer, Department of State

David H.L. Van Cleve, Department of State

Eliaser Chaparro, Social Security Administration

Nicole Pierce, Central Intelligence Agency

*** Deceased according to APSA/CFP records**

