出國報告（出國類別：短期進修）

美國喬治城大學政府事務中心 之「美國國會生態介紹與實務操作」課程

服務機關：外交部

姓名職稱：施組長怡如

派赴國家/地區：美國華盛頓特區

出國期間：108年9月9日至12日

報告日期：108年12月16日

摘要：

　　職奉派於本(108)年9月9日至12日赴美國華府參加喬治城大學政府事務中心(The Government Affairs Institute)的「美國國會生態介紹與實務操作」(Congressional Operations Seminar)課程。

　　該課程由美國退休國會議員、現任國會議員之幕僚長、委員會工作人員、記者、報社編輯及學者授課，提供各面向的國會實務工作經驗。主題包括「國會立法審議流程」、「預算撥款過程」、「美國政黨政治特色」及「國會議員幕僚工作經驗談」等。另亦安排參訓人員於議場旁聽，並經由學員參與討論與實地旁聽議程方式，增進對於當前美國國會情勢及挑戰之瞭解。

　　本期參訓人員共計55名，其中逾九成為來自各不同聯邦政府部門的資深官員，除職外之參訓人員均為美國籍，多數由政府機關選派參訓，亦有少數於私部門從事研究者自費參加。

　　參訓心得包括整體評估、本課程理論與實務並重與前國會議員經驗分享，建議鼓勵本部更多同仁參加本課程、研議與該機構就我國國會外交模式與發展設計客製化課程與積極發展我立法部門之研究諮詢專業幕僚單位。

目次：

附件一、課表與師資介紹

前言

一、 喬治城大學是美國首都華盛頓特區聲譽頂尖的綜合性私立大學,其法律、國際關係、政府公共事務及商業領域評價甚高。該校政府事務中心(The Government Affairs Institute,以下簡稱GAI)成立於西元1965年,當時係設置於美國聯邦政府人事管理局(Office of Personnel management)下的研究機構,其後民營化,並自西元1997年起隸屬喬治城大學。其宗旨主要係提供國會運作與立法政策相關的教育訓練,盼行政部門與其他相關領域人員未來在處理國會事務時能更有效率。

二、 GAI開設「美國國會生態介紹與實務操作」(Congressional Operations Seminar)課程,係瞭解美國國會運作的基礎課程,每年召開次數頗為密集(每隔1-2個月),職本次選修時程為本(108)年9月9日至12日,上課地點為國會眾議院Rayburn大樓,主題包括國會立法審議、預算撥款過程、美國政黨政治的特色議員、個人辦公室團隊與委員會幕僚的工作性質差異、國會媒體工作樣貌等,另亦安排參訓人員於議場旁聽。

三、 該課程由現任GAI資深學人Josh Huder博士主持與規劃,延攬美國前聯邦眾議員William Hilleary(R-TN)、現任聯邦眾議員Suzanne Bonamici(D-OR)之幕僚長Rachel Bornstein及前眾議院程序委員會幕僚長Hugh Halpern等人,另亦有相關媒體工作者及學者授課,並經由學員參與討論與實地旁聽議程方式,增進對於當前美國國會情勢及挑戰之瞭解。

四、 本期參訓人員共計55名,其中包括美國務院、國防部、能源部、商務部、印太司令部、退輔會、總務署、國家航空暨太空總署、國稅局及食品藥物管理局等文職官員及研究安全議題學術單位與管理顧問公司之資深研究員。多由其代表之政府單位選派參訓,亦有少數自費參加。

壹、 課程簡介與概要

一、 課程為期4天，開訓前數週由即提供指定閱讀教材與相關注意事項。課程內容安排緊湊充實，授課講師均有非常豐厚的國會實務經驗，藉由講師授課及與來自不同領域之學員交流討論、經驗分享，增進對於當前美國國會運作情形之瞭解。

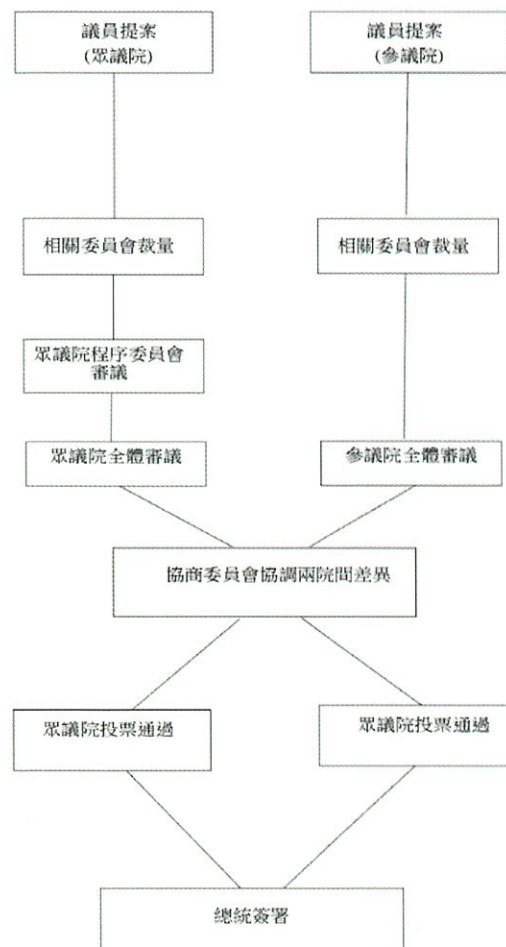二、 課程根據目前全球安全局勢與重要議題規劃，結合理論與實務，並涵蓋領導統御、決策能力及談判與溝通技巧課程，可區分為「美國國會立法程序」、「美國國會預算審議制度」、「美國政黨政治特性」等主題，茲將重點分述如下：

(一)美國國會立法程序:

1. <u>立法權依據</u>:美國憲法第1條規定所有立法權屬於國會，並在第 1 條第 8 款詳列立法權力範圍，例如與外國規範商業活動、宣戰、徵稅、鑄造貨幣及規定度量衡等，並賦予國會有權制定一切必要的與適當的法律。

2. <u>兩院制(bicameral)</u>:美國國會兩院為參議院和眾議院，所有立法均需經參、眾兩院通過，並由總統簽字方可生效。

3. <u>立法過程</u>:每位國會議員均可提立法提案，國會每年的立法提案不計其數，但真正成為法律的比例相當低，依據本屆第116屆美國國會本年1月開議迄今，提案成為法律的總數僅計有78案，占總提案1%。故立法過程十分嚴謹，以下簡述一項立法提案從起草到最後成為法律所需經的程序：

    (1) <u>始於議員提案(introduction of a Bill)</u>:自國會議員提案開始，但提案來源除國會議員本身，亦包含行政機構、政治利益團體、選民或其他私人機構等。法案可以是由一位參議員或眾議員起草提出，嗣起草人將在議員間尋求共同提案人，以增加提案的重要性。立法草案在參議院或眾議院提出後將被編號。

    (2) <u>委員會或附屬委員會裁量(committee consideration)</u>:參議院或眾議院的程序官員(parliamentarian)分配提案至負責相關事務的委員會，委員會主席可以進一步將其分到最相關的小組委員會(subcommittee)，委員會主席及和小組委員會主席對如何處理提案有很大的置喙空間。倘未獲主席認同，該提案則遭擱置並無下文。獲主席認同後之提案大致分為聽證(hearing)、審定(markup)與投票(vote)等3步驟。首先，為了解該項提案，委員會可以針對提案舉行聽證會，邀請產官學人士作證，甚至明星藝人，以豐富其可看性，引起大眾興趣。此外，委員會的主席在選擇證人上也有較多的決定權。之後委員會可能舉行審定會(markup)，對提案草案提出意見或修改，再來則投票決定是否將提案提交送交全體參議員或全體眾議員審議。

    (3) <u>送全體參、眾議員審議(floor action)</u>:參議院或眾議院的全體議員可以

就提案展開辯論。提案可再被修改，也可被重新送回委員會，或直接表決。提案在參、眾兩院中的一院獲得過半通過後，將被送交另一院。兩院相關委員會和小組委員會均有機會就提案舉行聽證和作出修改。

(4) **協調兩院間差異(resolve difference)**:參、眾議院提案版本倘存在差異，兩院間的協商委員會(Conference Committee)則負責居間協調兩院間的版本。若協商委員會終獲兩院間共識，該提案將送回參、眾兩院接受投票表決，但不得再調整。倘獲參、眾兩院投票通過，則該提案將被送交總統簽字。

(5) **總統簽字(President Action)**:該提案被送交總統後，總統有10天期限可決定是否簽字使其成為法律，抑或否決。然而總統對提案行使否決權時，國會可予以撤銷(veto President's veto)，但前提是參、眾兩院各三分之二議員須投票支持。實務上，國會議員成功撤銷被總統否決後提案的機率甚低。以上美國立法程序主要如下圖:

圖一: 美國立法程序圖

4. **委員會(committee)的重要性**:委員會在美國國會立法程序扮演舉足輕重的角色,由於國會需審議的法案多如牛毛,參議院和眾議院依專業將不同性質的工作分屬相關的委員會(committee)與其下的小組(subcommittee)處理。任何新議案在送交全院表決前均須經過相關委員會的審議。眾、參議院有各自的委員會系統,但有些功能重疊,原則上分為常設委員會(standing committee)、特別委員會(select or special Committee) 、聯合委員會(joint committee)與協商委員會(conference committee)等 4 大類。其中以常設委員會最為重要,因具有立法許可權限,其中權力與影響力最大應屬管轄支出撥款委員會(appropriation committee)與眾議院掌握法案通過的程序委員會(rules committee)。

(二)美國國會預算審議制度:

1. **預算權依據**:美國憲法第 1 條第 9 項第 7 款明文規定,除依法律規定之經費外,不得自國庫支應。換句話說,除非國會參、眾兩院制定相關撥款法律,並通過撥款程序,否則政府不可任意自國庫中取得經費,使得政府動支經費情形完全受到國會監督,且係參眾兩院共同享有的財政權。
2. **會計年度**:美國會計年度是採 10 月制,自當年度的 10 月 1 日開始至次年的 9 月 30 日止。
3. **預算分類**:聯邦政府總支出分為強制性支出（mandatory spending）與權衡性支出（discretionary spending）兩大類。權衡性支出必須通過國會通過之年度政府歲出預算案（annual appropriation bill）方具效力,大多國防、教育及交通運輸支出均屬此項,權衡性支出係國會每年審核年度預算之核心與主要範圍。另強制性支出不需每年經過國會授權,並已於特別法中規範支付標準與程序,例如:社會安全計畫、聯邦政府員工退休金與老年醫療補助等。
4. **審預算時程**:
    (1) **總統提案(2 月份第一個星期一前)**:總統提案應在 2 月份的第一個星期一前提交次年度之預算及相關資料給國會。國會預算辦公室提供分析告(2 月 15 日前):國會預算辦公室(congressional budget office) 係為跨黨派且專責預算的技術性事務機構,總統所提預算案至國會後,該室進行分析嗣依限內(2 月 15 日前)向國會預算委員會(budget committee) 提 交 經 濟 和 預 算 展 望 分 析 報 告 。 參眾議院通過預算共同決議案(4 月 15 日前):為瞭解預算編列情形,參眾兩院預算委員會進行聽證會,邀請各相關行政部門官員、學界及業界人士出席說明,參眾兩院預算委員會在彙整各方資料後,分別草擬參眾兩院之預算決議案,各自向參眾議院提出報告並進行投
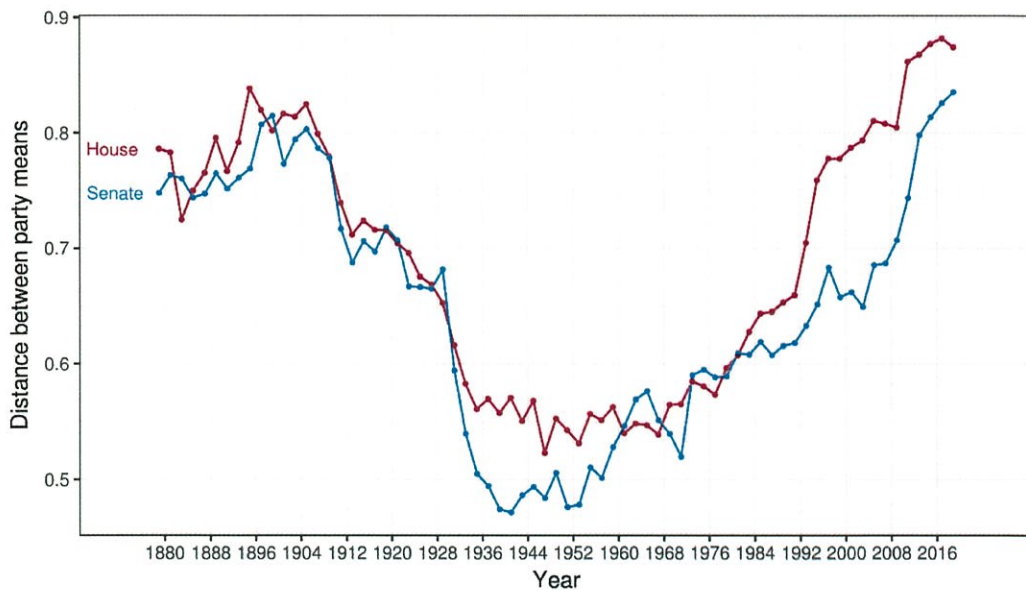
票表決，最後需於 4 月 15 日前協商出一個獲兩院通過之共同決議案。

(2) **撥款法案通過(6 月 30 日前)**:參眾兩院撥款委員會(appropriation committee)依權責及內容，將兩院通過之預算決議案送其 12 個小組委員會作更細部審查，為求審慎，過程可能舉行更多場之聽證會，嗣將結果提交所屬之撥款委員會進行投票表決，通過後再由其向參眾議院提案。倘兩院意見不一致，由兩院之協商委員會（Conference Committee）進行溝通以達共識，國會應在 6 月 15 日前通過協商後之預算案（Reconciliation Bill），眾議院則須於 6 月 30 日前通過所有撥款案。

(3) **總統簽署(10 月 1 日前)**:總統倘擬反對國會通過之撥款法案，可於 7 月 15 日前向國會提出預算案之調整，總統最遲應於會計年度開始前(10 月 1 日)完成簽署。

(4) **政府停擺(shutdown)**:倘總統於期限內仍否決國會所提出之預算案，國會可通過持續決議案（continuing resolution）對相關聯邦政府預算進行授權，提供聯邦政府短期臨時預算。倘預算案遲遲未獲總統簽署或未獲國會通過持續決議案，此時聯邦政府將遭致停擺(shutdown)。美國迄今政府停擺次數達 20 次，其中以 2018 年 12 月 22 日為歷史上最長的美國政府停擺，長達 34 天。主要係因川普總統拒簽，理由係國會未通過總統擬用於美墨邊界築牆之 57 億美元臨時預算案。

(三) 美國政黨政治:

1. **政黨政治的發展:**自美國建國開始，制憲者與擁憲者對「政黨(party)」一詞戒慎恐懼，主因係認為當時國家剛成立需凝聚共識，而政黨易造成分裂，爰美國憲法內容未提及政黨。但隨著政黨發展及選舉制度確立與擴張，取得選舉權的族群增加，政黨視選民為獲得權力的手段，政黨也逐漸趨向制度化，故美國政黨政治發展是伴隨著民主化的浪潮，且依歷史的脈絡來看，政黨組合往往係因每個階段不同的利益衝突所致，每一次民主化的進程往往體現了決策權的分散，而非朝某一黨更集中化，也使得美國自立國起，政黨演變而來的是共和及民主兩黨輪替主導著美國的政治進程。

2. **政黨極化(party polarization):**美國自1950年代以來，因受政黨間政治菁英彼此意識型態不同之影響，民主、共和兩黨的立場隔閡亦隨之加深，民主黨逐漸走向「自由」（liberalism）與「進步」（progressivism），共和黨則是邁向「保守」（conservatism）與「傳統」(orthodox)一端，使得涉及強烈意識型態的議題，例如：墮胎、同性婚姻、增加稅收及槍枝管控等，將

引起兩黨間的爭論與衝突，並漸而影響一般民眾的態度，隨著參與公共事務的民眾人數提高，民眾在意識型態上的對立也將加深，各自朝光譜的兩個極端移動，意味著持中間立場的民眾比例開始逐漸減少。極化(polarization)程度可從下圖二觀之。
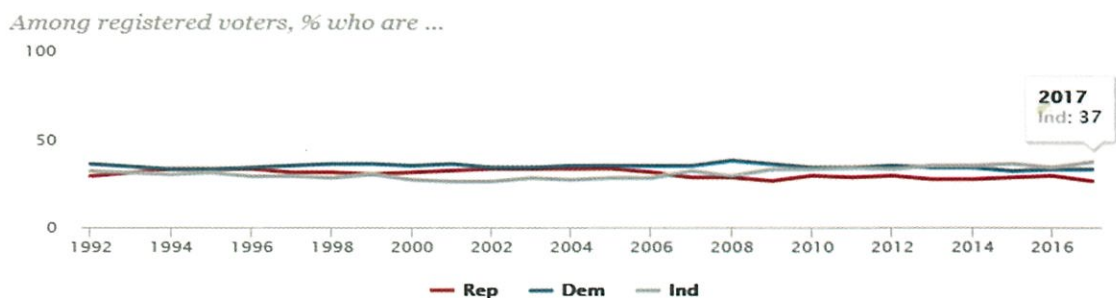
圖二: 美國參、眾議院不同黨派投票結果的差異性
(政黨極化程度1879年至2017年)

(圖片來源自voteview.com)

3. **負面黨性(negative partisanship)**:有越來越多美國民眾自認是不屬任何政黨的獨立選民(independent voters)，不公開表態支持某一黨派，這些獨立選民的社經背景與特定支持政黨者無顯著區別，渠等亦非對政黨毫無喜好的差別，而是這類獨立選民對敵對政黨厭惡程度，大於對自身陣營的忠誠，這種特質被稱為「負面黨性」(negative partisanship)。是類獨立選民在現今美國社會特別值得留意，主因其在選舉中扮演決定勝負的關鍵族群。獨立選民增加情勢請詳下圖三:

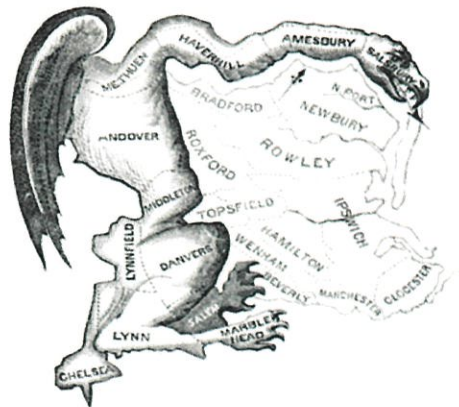**圖三:美國1992年至2017年共和、民主黨與獨立選民政黨認同情形**

(圖片來源自Pew Research Center)

4. <u>執政黨如何利用選區重劃操縱選舉(gerrymandering)</u>：
   (1) <u>選區劃分依據</u>:美國聯邦最高法院於1964年判決中指出，聯邦眾議院和各州議會之選區劃分須依據每十年調整的人口普查為之，以確實反應人口數，亦即選區每十年即需進行重劃，也可能影響各州政黨席次的增減。美國下一次的人口普查為2020年的一月，重新劃定後之選區勢必影響總統大選。
   (2) <u>選區劃分權責機關</u>:該項工作由州政府負責，並由州議會擬議，執政黨可將敵對黨的鐵票區稀釋成數個選區，或將對手局部支持者劃入自己的鐵票區，分散原選區原支持者選票，增加自己勝選機率。這種執政黨利用優勢對選區做利己之不公平劃分被稱為「傑利蠑螈」(gerrymandering)。美國聯邦最高法院本年6月裁定，帶有黨派偏見的傑利蠑螈問題是一個政治議題，必須由選舉產生的政府部門來解決，並非由司法機構解決的法律問題。
   (3) <u>傑利蠑螈(gerrymandering)由來</u>:西元1812年美國麻薩諸塞州的州長Elbridge Gerry因進行失衡的選區劃分，使在野黨州議員的鐵票選區被劃分割打散，猶如蠑螈（salamander），而有助於執政黨州議員增加席次，被詬病為該舉只顧謀求政黨私利，不顧選民本意。在結合G州長的姓氏(Gerry)及蠑螈之字根(-mandering)而成的「傑利蠑螈」（gerrymandering），也成了批評不公平選區劃分的政治術語。相關圖形請詳下圖四：

圖四: 1812年美國麻州州長Elbridge Gerry重劃選區後所致的傑利蠑螈(gerrymandering)

(圖片來源:boston.com)

參、參訓心得

一、 <u>整體觀感</u>：

本課程主以介紹美國國會生態與運作，挑選授課的講師均有在國會工作的

實務經驗，除含括前眾議院議員本身外，亦有議員個人辦公室幕僚長、前程序委員會幕僚長、記者、報社編輯、律師、說客與研究學者等，渠等分享的第一線工作經驗面向甚廣，對議題的觀察也有助瞭解美國當代政治的發展。參訓學員來自各不同聯邦政府單位負責與國會聯絡相關事務之官員，課堂發問踴躍，學員與講師互動密切。講師幽默風趣及不依賴投影片的授課方式，循序漸進地引導學員學習如此嚴謹複雜的立法系統與國會運作，氣氛活潑友善。此外，部分講師為特定政黨支持者，其觀點代表隸屬的國會議員或政黨，與行政部門採不分黨派(bipartisanship)的態度有所不同，但其所提供的第一手實務經驗體現了當前美國國會的實際運作模式，對服務於行政部門的官員十分具參考價值。

二、個人經驗:

職現職於台灣美國事務委員會與駐紐約辦事處之工作經驗對於相關課程內容之吸收與瞭解甚有助益，亦曾與學員交流我國推展國會外交的歷程，並分享美國對台灣不分黨派之支持與緊密友好的關係。此間來自美國印太司令部(US Indo-Pacific Command)學員正面回應，因渠先前曾於國會擔任議員幕僚，即多次接獲我駐美國代表處國會組同仁多次洽邀訪台，雖當時不克前往，但對我國外交人員不畏艱難拓展對外關係的精神感到欽佩，顯見我國國會外交工作根基紮實與富有正面效益。

三、理論與實務並重:

喬治城大學為世界知名學府，學術聲譽卓越。本課程不少講師講授國會議題亦搭配理論，藉由學術理論之推導，結合實務工作之本質，並佐以國會內部諮詢研究單位或智庫提供予以量化，結合實務工作之本質，對於已離開校園從事實務工作之學員助益甚多，此外，實際安排學員至議場旁聽，一窺美國國會舉行聽證會及開議的現況，深刻體認美國國會議事流程的複雜與彈性，同時也見識了國會所涉及議題之廣，其幕僚不管在內政與外交領域上所展現出之專業性與國際化均令人印象深刻。

四、前國會議員經驗分享:

本課程安排前國會議員William V. Hilleary(R-TN)現身說法，渠於1995-2002期間擔任田納西州共和黨第四選區的眾議院議員，嗣曾角逐州長失利，此間於華府公關公司擔任顧問，自本年起擔任田納西州共和黨第六選區的眾議院議員John Rose的幕僚長。H幕僚長分享議員工作之趣味談與競選任壓力，說明領導、決策與談判能力，也侃侃而談自身從前國會議員身分轉換擔任幕僚長的心態調適。此外，渠也不諱言的表示擔任國會議員最大的額外福利(perk)是可接受外國政府邀請的出國訪察，這呼應了我國長期透過與具民意基礎的國會議員間往來，以更靈巧的方式來發展邦交與非邦交國的外交關係，間接通過友我政策決議，突破外交困境。

肆、參訓建議

一、 <u>鼓勵本部更多同仁參加本課程：</u>

本課程內容闡述當前美國政治發展與未來趨勢，並提供最前線的國會工作相關實務經驗，對於我刻從事國會外交同仁與推展政務同仁，在工作業務聯繫上與撰寫政情與選情分析上當有事半功倍的正面效果。也因國際政經情勢瞬息萬變，透過專業學術機構所提供的教育課程，應有助同仁在短時間有效提高情蒐能力，並提供具參考價值的報告供參。鑒於喬治城大學附屬的政府事務中心提供多門國會初階至進階的課程，且為期大多在一周內，方便我派駐美國的同仁於在職期間短期的訓練，同時在業務代理上產生的衝擊亦較小。倘未來本部出國進修訓練相關經費之適用對象可擴及駐外同仁，職十分推薦安排駐外同仁從事國會工作相關者來此進行短期訓練，鼓勵更多本部同仁參與。

二、 <u>就我國國會外交模式與發展設計客製化課程：</u>

有鑒於對美國會外交業務扮演我對外關係舉足輕重的角色，係突破我外交困境的重要管道顯著，符合我國家利益，迄今雖有不少具體成效，但考量議員更迭頻繁，往往過去投入時間經營的人脈管道，也常因選舉結果而畫下句點。從事國會外交工作同仁常需重新花時間與精力建立新的人際網路，可預測性低無疑地加深難度。為使我國從事國會外交工作者有效掌握消息與提升效率，建議可與該校合作客製化符合推展我國會外交需求的相關課程，以期更有組織地拓展人脈與掌握當地政情。

三、 <u>發展我立法部門之研究諮詢專業幕僚單位:</u>

查美國參、眾兩院均設有大批法律諮詢人員、立法顧問、議事專家、各委員會助理、各國會議員助理等幕僚協助法案之研究、諮詢與通過。其中另設有分黨派的專業幕僚單位，例如國會研究服務處(Congressional Research Service)、國會預算局(Congressional Budget Office)及國會圖書館(Library of Congress)等。此舉除提高立法過程的嚴謹性與專業性外，是類研究諮詢單位除就美國國會運行制度做完整的介紹外，亦定期於網站上發表文章並提供研析報告，有效增進公民參與公共事務。鑒於立法者日理萬機，就不同議題的立法法案須仰賴專家與幕僚縝密研議，方能提升立法品質。在我國邁向民主化的進程上，強化立法院專業研究諮詢單位及與提升專業幕僚的質與量，係未來需積極培養的目標。

Congressional Operations Seminar

September 9 - 12, 2019

Conducted by
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The Government Affairs Institute
at Georgetown University
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Joshua C. Huder, Ph.D., joined the Government Affairs Institute as a Senior Fellow in 2013. He has taught courses on American government, advanced legislative process, and other American politics courses. He has provided political analysis to several news outlets, including the Washington Post, Congressional Quarterly, Newsweek, Bloomberg News, CNN, the Washington Examiner, U.S. News, Al-Jazeera, Yahoo News, and is a regular contributor for the Christian Science Monitor.

Prior to joining GAI, Josh worked on the Hill as an American Political Science Association (APSA) Congressional Fellow. His portfolio included legislative procedure, government affairs, financial services, voting rights, campaign finance, trade, small business, and other issues. He is currently writing a book on the history of congressional procedure and politics since 1879.

Education: PhD, University of Florida; MA, University of Florida; BA, Rutgers University

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Congressional Operations Seminar

Agenda

Monday, September 9, 2019

Room 2060
Rayburn House Office Building

8:00 - 8:30 am	**Continental Breakfast**
8:30 - 9:15 am	**Introduction** Joshua C. Huder, Ph.D Senior Fellow Government Affairs Institute at Georgetown University
9:15 - 9:30 am	**Break**
9:30 - 10:45 am	**The Nature of Congress** Matt Glassman, Ph.D. Senior Fellow Government Affairs Institute at Georgetown University
10:45 - 11:00 am	**Break**
11:00 - 12:00 pm	**Leadership and Organization in the 116th Congress** Laura Blessing, Ph.D. Senior Fellow Government Affairs Institute at Georgetown University
12:00 - 12:45 pm	**Lunch**
12:45 - 2:00 pm	**Key Stages in the Legislative Process** Josh Huder, Ph.D.
2:00 - 2:15 pm	**Break**
2:15 - 3:30 pm	**Staffing a Member's Personal Office** Rachael Bornstein Chief of Staff Congresswoman Suzanne Bonamici, Oregon's 1st District United States House of Representatives
3:30 - 4:00 pm	**Obtain Gallery Passes from Member Offices**

8:00 - 8:30 am	**Continental Breakfast**
8:30 - 9:00 am	**A Member's Perspective on Serving in the 116th Congress** The Honorable Justin Amash *[INVITED]* Representative State of Michigan - District 3 U.S. House of Representatives
9:00 - 9:30 am	**Briefing on Observing Committee Hearings and Floor Action** Josh Huder, Ph.D.
9:30 - 12:00 pm	**Attend House and Senate Committee Hearings**
12:00 - 12:30 pm	**Lunch**
12:30 - 1:30 pm	**Congress and the Media** Matthew Fuller Congressional Reporter Huffington Post
1:30 - 1:45 pm	**Break**
1:45 - 2:45 pm	**The Electoral Dimension** David Wasserman House Editor The Cook Political Report
2:45 - 3:00 pm	**Break**
3:00 - 4:00 pm	**Partisanship in Congress: Has It Always Been This Bad?** Josh Huder, Ph.D.

8:00 - 8:30 am	**Continental Breakfast**
8:30 - 9:30 am	**The Budget Dilemma** Mark Harkins Senior Fellow Government Affairs Institute at Georgetown University
9:30 - 9:45 am	**Break**
9:45 - 10:45 am	**The Congressional Appropriations Process** Ben Nicholson Former Staff Director Subcommittee on Homeland Security Committee on Appropriations U. S. House of Representatives
10:45 - 11:00 am	**Break**
11:00 - 12:00 pm	**Leadership in the House of Representatives** Timothy J. Alberta Chief Political Correspondent Politico
12:00 - 12:45 pm	**Lunch**
12:45 - 1:45 pm	**The Unique Nature of the Senate** David Schiappa Partner Duberstein Group, Inc. and Former Republican Secretary United States Senate
1:45 - 4:00 pm	**Observe Floor Action in the House and Senate**

8:00 - 8:30 am	**Continental Breakfast**
8:30 - 9:30 am	**Roundtable Discussion** Josh Huder, Ph.D.
9:30 - 9:45 am	**Break**
9:45 - 10:45 am	**The Role of Congressional Committee Staff** Hugh Halpern House Floor Director Office of the Speaker of the House Speaker Paul Ryan and Former Staff Director Committee on Rules U.S. House of Representatives
10:45 - 11:00 am	**Break**
11:00 - 12:00 pm	**A Former Member's Perspective on the Congress** The Honorable William V. Hilleary (R) Chief of Staff Office of The Honorable John W. Rose State of Tennessee -- 6th District U.S. House of Representatives and Former Representative State of Tennessee--4th District U.S. House of Representatives
12:00 - 12:45 pm	**Lunch**
12:45 - 1:45 pm	**The Trump Administration and Congress** Alexis Simendinger National Political Correspondent The Hill
1:45 - 2:00 pm	**Break**
2:00 - 3:30 pm	**Wrap-up and Evaluation**

Speaker Bios

Matt Glassman, Ph.D.

Matt Glassman, Ph.D., joined the Government Affairs Institute as a Senior Fellow in 2017. He has taught courses on and off the Hill on American government, congressional process, congressional-presidential relations, and congressional leadership.

Prior to joining GAI, Matt worked on the Hill at the Congressional Research Service (CRS) for ten years. His portfolio included congressional operations, separation of powers, appropriations, judicial administration, agency design, and congressional history. He was detailed to the House Committee on Appropriations as professional staff for the Legislative Branch Subcommittee in FY2010 and FY2011.

Laura Blessing, Ph.D.

Laura Blessing, Ph.D. joined the Government Affairs Institute as a Senior Fellow in 2015. Prior to coming to GAI, she earned her PhD from the University of Virginia, where she was also a Miller Center National Fellow and a fellow for the Bankard Fund for Political Economy. Her dissertation covers the politics and development of tax policy; her interests include policy, institutions, and political parties. While at UVA she also taught courses on Congress, the Presidency, and Media and Politics for students at both UVA and Sweet Briar College. After defending her dissertation she worked on the Hill as an American Political Science Association (APSA) Congressional Fellow. She served as the legislative assistant for tax policy for Lloyd Doggett (D, TX), a senior member of the Ways and Means Committee. She is currently working on a book on the politics of tax policy from the midcentury period to today.

Education: PhD, University of Virginia; MA, University of Virginia; MAT, Johns Hopkins University; BA, George Washington University.

Rachael Bornstein

Rachael Bornstein serves as Chief of Staff to Congresswoman Suzanne Bonamici (D-OR), the ranking member of the Environment Subcommittee and vice-ranking member of the Education and Workforce Committee. Since beginning with Congresswoman Bonamici in March 2012, she has overseen all aspects of the Congresswoman's agenda, including the development of political, policy, and communications strategies, and has been instrumental in helping Congresswoman Bonamici establish leadership roles in issues related to education, the environment, and consumer protections. Congresswoman Bonamici was elected in a special election in January 2012 to represent the First Congressional District of Oregon and is currently serving in her fourth term.

Prior to joining Congresswoman Bonamici's staff, Rachael served as Legislative Director for Congressman Jim Langevin (D-RI), managing his legislative portfolio with a focus on energy, environment, transportation, and appropriations issues. Rachael was the Health Policy Advisor to Congressman Patrick Kennedy (D-RI) until July 2008, working extensively on substance use policy and helping to establish the Addiction, Treatment, and Recovery Caucus. She also worked on the successful effort to pass mental health parity legislation into law, requiring mental illness and substance use disorders treatment to be covered equally by health insurers. Rachael joined Congressman Kennedy's office in 2001 as a Staff Assistant.

A resident of Washington, D.C., Rachael is a graduate of the University of Maryland and has a B.A. in Government and Politics, as well as a citation in Public Leadership.

Justin Amash

Representative Justin Amash (pronounced uh-MOSH) represents Michigan's Third District in the 116th United States Congress. He was elected to his first term on November 2, 2010.

Justin was born in Grand Rapids, Michigan. He received his bachelor's degree with High Honors in economics from the University of Michigan and his juris doctor from the University of Michigan Law School. He worked for his family's business, as a business lawyer, and as a Michigan state representative before his election to Congress.

Justin leads the incorporation of Facebook and other social media into his work as an elected official by posting explanations of his votes online, and he has set new standards for transparency and accountability.

Justin believes government overspending is one of the biggest threats to our economic health and national security, and he has introduced an innovative balanced budget amendment—the Business Cycle Balanced Budget Amendment—to control government spending and reduce the national debt. He supports a fair and simple tax code and a regulatory environment that promotes economic prosperity.

As an ardent defender of Americans' civil liberties, Justin has been a leading critic of the unconstitutional suspicionless mass collection of all Americans' phone records, the indefinite

detention provisions in the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA), and the Cyber Intelligence Sharing and Protection Act (CISPA).

When asked by a New York Times reporter to describe his voting methodology, Justin explained: "I follow a set of principles, I follow the Constitution. And that's what I base my votes on. Limited government, economic freedom, and individual liberty."

Justin chairs the House Liberty Caucus. He lives in Cascade Charter Township with his wife Kara, a graduate of Calvin College and a former elementary school teacher. Justin and Kara have three children.

Matthew Fuller

Matt Fuller covers Congress for The Huffington Post. Prior to his current position, he was the House beat writer for Roll Call. He previously covered defense, veterans affairs, energy and agriculture for CQ, as well as the House and Senate floor. He came to CQ Roll Call as a legislative information researcher in August 2010 and was previously an intern for Roll Call's GalleryWatch team.

Hailing from the seacoast area of New Hampshire, Matt graduated from Saint Anselm College in 2010. During his college days, he founded a joke newspaper and served as a member of student government.

David Wasserman

David Wasserman is House Editor of The Cook Political Report, a non-partisan publication that provides analysis of the Presidential, U.S. Senate, House and gubernatorial races for its subscribers. David is responsible for handicapping and analyzing U.S. House races.

He served as an analyst for the NBC News Election Night Decision Desk in 2008 and 2010, and has appeared on NBC Nightly News, ABC World News, C-SPAN Washington Journal, CNN, and NPR. His commentary on House races has been cited in numerous print and online publications including Politico, The New York Times, The Washington Post, USA Today, The Wall Street Journal, U.S. News & World Report, The Economist, Pollster.com, RealClearPolitics.com, and FiveThirtyEight.com. He also serves as an Associate Editor of National Journal magazine.

In April 2011, David authored "Better Know a District," The Cook Political Report's comprehensive 2012 redistricting outlook. Prior to joining The Cook Political Report in June 2007, David served for three years as House Editor of Sabato's Crystal Ball, a widely respected political analysis newsletter and website founded by renowned Prof. Larry J. Sabato, Director of the University of Virginia's Center for Politics. In that role, David led the publication to correctly predict Democrats would score a gain of 29 House seats in November 2006. He also served as an off-air analyst for BBC America's Election Night coverage of the 2006 midterm races.

David has also worked on numerous political campaigns, including competitive races in Iowa, South Dakota, and Virginia. A native of New Jersey, he holds a B.A. in Government with distinction from the University of Virginia.

Mark Harkins

Mark B. Harkins joined the Government Affairs Institute as a Senior Fellow in 2013. Prior to joining GAI, Mark was a senior public policy advisor at a number of law firms where he focused on the representation of corporate, nonprofit and government clients before Congress and the Executive Branch. He has extensive experience with the federal appropriations and budgeting process, as well as issues handled by the Financial Services, Science, Ways and Means, and Homeland Security Committees.

Mark came to the Hill in 1989 and worked for two Members of Congress and one Committee before taking the position of Senior Legislative Assistant to Representative David Price (D-NC), where his portfolio included appropriations. His next assignment was as Legislative Director for the Democrats to the House Science Committee. Ultimately he served as Chief of Staff for Brad Miller (D-NC).

Prior to working on Capitol Hill, he worked as Sports Information Director at Swarthmore College where he also received his BA Degree in Economics. He was once a co-owner of one of the largest fantasy sports statistics service in the United States.

Ben Nicholson

Ben Nicholson served as Vice President of Government Relations with L-3 Communications between 2014 and 2018. Prior to that, he spent 12 years on the staff of the House Appropriations Committee. He originally came to the committee as a Coast Guard Fellow. He served a total of 13 years in the Coast Guard. Ben became lead staffer for the minority on the Homeland Security subcommittee in 2008, and was serving as Majority Staff Director of the subcommittee when he left the committee in late 2014. Ben is a graduate of U.S. Coast Guard Academy and has two Master's degrees from the University of Michigan.

Timothy J. Alberta

Tim Alberta is Chief Political Correspondent for Politico, a job he took in January 2017. Previously, he was Chief Political Correspondent for National Review, a position he took in October of 2015. Just prior to taking that position, he was Senior Political Correspondent for National Journal. He formerly served as leadership reporter and senior editor of National Journal Hotline, where he edited the publication's popular tip-sheets and directed its coverage of the 2012 Republican presidential race.

A native of Michigan, Alberta was an award-winning reporter on state government while studying journalism and political science at Michigan State University. He moved to D.C. in January 2008 to cover Congress while interning with the Wall Street Journal. Shortly thereafter, Alberta joined Politico, where he worked as an assistant editor and web producer while also reporting on the 2010 midterm elections. Recently, Tim has been hard at work finishing up his book: American Carnage: On the Front Lines of the Republican Civil War and the Rise of President Trump, due out in July of 2019.

David Schiappa

David Schiappa, Partner, joined the Duberstein Group after retiring in 2013 from the United States Senate after almost 29 years of service. David served under Republican Leaders Bob Dole, Trent Lott, Bill Frist, and the current Majority Leader, Mitch McConnell. From 2001 until his retirement, Schiappa served as Republican Secretary, and held the titles of Secretary for the Minority and Secretary for the Majority, depending on party control of the Senate. During his tenure in the Senate, Schiappa also served as the Assistant Secretary for the Majority and as the Republican Floor Assistant.

Schiappa's role as the Secretary for the Majority (or Minority), was to assist the Republican Leader and all Republican Senators on their legislative agenda. As part of his responsibilities on the Senate floor, Schiappa served as a liaison between the Republican Leader and the Democrat leadership in negotiating agreements on legislative and executive matters. He also provided parliamentary advice and counsel to all Republican Senators regarding floor strategy during consideration of all pending matters on the Senate floor.

Schiappa assisted each Republican Leader with their weekly leadership meetings. During those meetings David provided counsel to the entire Republican leadership team on legislative strategy and the status of any negotiations with the Democrat leadership. His role also required a close collaboration with the Chairman and Ranking Member of each committee, as well as their staff directors.

In addition to assisting every Senator in the Republican Conference with their legislative priorities, Schiappa met each week with their Chiefs of Staff to keep them apprised of the legislative calendar and progress.

As an officer of the Senate, Schiappa participated in many official and ceremonial functions, including participating in Joint Sessions of Congress, Republican National Conventions, Presidential Inaugural activities, as well as accompanying Senators abroad for official Congressional Delegations.

Schiappa was included for over a decade on Roll Call's Fabulous 50, which showcases Capitol Hill's leading staffers and the people behind the scenes who wield the power and drive their party's message.

Hugh Halpern

Until his retirement in January of 2019, Hugh Halpern served as the Director of Floor Operations in the Office of the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives. In that role, he was the highest-ranking floor staffer in the House and served as Speaker Paul Ryan's chief advisor on all legislative matters. He also oversaw the daily operation of the floor of the House of Representatives, served as the liaison to the floor operations of all other Republican and Democratic leadership offices, and oversaw the legislative interactions between the House, Senate, and White House. In 2018, he was also the recipient of the McCormack Award of Excellence for Congressional Employees, a recognition of a lifetime of bipartisan service to the House and the highest award given to congressional staff.

Prior to joining the Speaker's office, he was the staff director of the Committee on Rules for 11 years, and served in various roles on the Financial Services Committee, the Energy and Commerce Committee, and the Public Works and Transportation Committee since he started with the House in 1987.

William V. Hilleary

The Honorable Van Hilleary is the former Representative from the 4th District of Tennessee ('95 - '02). He recently took the position of Chief of Staff to Representative John Rose, a Republican representing the 6th District of Tennessee. A native of Tennessee, Van helped start and run the family textile company. He graduated from the University of Tennessee, served in the Air Force, went to law school, and then volunteered for duty in the Persian Gulf War. He flew 24 missions in a C-130. He ran for Congress on the Republican ticket in 1994 and was elected with 57% of the vote. He was re-elected 3 more times, each time with a greater percentage of the vote. He served on the Armed Services Committee, the Budget Committee, and the Committee on Education and the Workforce.

He left the Congress in 2002 to run for Governor, but lost in a close race, 51-48%.. A longtime favorite speaker on our programs, Congressman Hilleary was elected to serve on GAI's Board of Directors in 2013.

Alexis Simendinger

Alexis Simendinger is an award-winning journalist who has covered the White House, Congress, national affairs and presidential politics for respected, nonpartisan news outlets in Washington since 1986, reporting on five presidents, including Donald Trump.

Before joining The Hill in 2017 as national political correspondent, Alexis covered the White House and President Obama for RealClearPolitics and was on the trail to report on the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections.

In 2017, she was inducted into the Society of Professional Journalists' "Hall of Fame" in Washington, along with ABC News' Martha Raddatz and Washington Post columnist Gene Weingarten, saluted for her more than two decades of excellence in reporting about the nation's capital.

For National Journal magazine, Alexis covered Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush as White House correspondent, and also reported on the Senate and national politics. She won the esteemed Aldo Beckman Memorial Award in 2008, administered by the White House Correspondents' Association, for sustained excellence in coverage of the presidency.

Early in her career, she reported for The Tampa Tribune in Florida, and covered the White House and Congress for BNA Inc.

Alexis earned a master's degree in journalism from the University of Missouri-Columbia, and her B.A. from New College in Sarasota, FL.