
WILLIAM F. CONNELLY JR.

John K. Boardman Politics Professor Emeritus

Williams School of Commerce, Economics, and Politics
Washington and Lee University
Lexington, VA 24450

Education

Ph.D. 1983, American Government, University of Virginia

M.A. 1975, Political Science, Boston College

B.A. 1973, Political Science, Assumption College

Awards and Honors

Virginia Council of Higher Education Outstanding Faculty Award — 2007

John K. Boardman Endowed Professorship — 1999-2020

Congressional Fellow, American Political Science Association — 1985-86

Junior Fellow, Society of Fellows, University of Virginia — 1982-83

**Omicron Delta Kappa, National Leadership Honor Society, Tapped for W&L Alpha Circle — January 17,
2008**

Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center Grant — 1991-92; 2002-03

Bradley Foundation Grant — Summer 1988

Glenn Grant Summer Research Award, Washington and Lee University — 1987, 1991, 2002

National Endowment for the Humanities Constitutional Summer Stipend — 1985

Provost Research Award, Clemson University — Fall 1985

Teaching Fellow, University of Virginia — 1981-82, 1980-81, 1979-80

President, Political Philosophy Association, University of Virginia — 1979-80

Research Fellow, University of Virginia — 1978-7

Lassen Fellow, University of Virginia — 1978-79

Professional Experience

2007

Virginia Council on Higher Education Outstanding Faculty Award

1999 – 2020

John K. Boardman Professor of Politics, **Washington and Lee University.**

Courses Taught

Politics 100	American National Government
Politics 111	Political Philosophy
Politics 229	Parties, Interest Groups, and the Media
Politics 290	Seminar in Politics, Literature and the Arts
Politics 330	Congress and the Legislative Process
Politics 335	The Presidency
Politics 370	Seminar on James Madison's America
Politics 396	Tocqueville's Democracy in America

1996 – 1999	Professor of Politics, Washington and Lee University . <u>Courses Taught</u> Politics 100 American National Government Politics 111 Political Philosophy Politics 229 Parties, Interest Groups, and the Media Politics 330 Congress and the Legislative Process Politics 335 The Presidency Politics 396 Tocqueville's Democracy in America
1987 – 2020	Director, Washington Term Program, Washington and Lee University . Created Internship Program in the Nation's Capital, 1987.
1991 – 1992	Guest Scholar, The Brookings Institute .
1990 – 1996	Associate Professor, Washington and Lee University .
1988 – 1991	Visiting Associate Professor, George Washington University . <u>Courses Taught</u> PSC 218, The Legislative Process, Master's Program in Legislative Affairs, Summer
Fall, 1988, 1994, Spring, 2000	Visiting Associate Professor, University of Virginia . <u>Courses Taught</u> GFAP 435 and GFAP 825, The American Congress
1986 – 1990	Associate Professor, Washington and Lee University .
1985 – 1986	Congressional Fellow, American Political Science Association Legislative Assistant, Congressman Dick Cheney (WY) Legislative Assistant, Senator Richard Lugar (IN)
Spring, 1987	Co-Editor, <i>Journal of Political Science</i>
1984 – 1985	Assistant Professor, Clemson University .
June, 1985	Director, Thurmond Institute Summer Seminar , Two Party Politics in American, Washington DC
Summer/Fall, 1984	Senior Research Associate, National Academy of Public Administration , Washington DC
1983 – 1984	Assistant Professor ad interim, Catholic University of America
1982 – 1983	Acting Assistant Professor, University of Virginia . <u>Courses Taught</u> GFAP 322 President and Congress GFAP 327 Public Opinion and the Political Press
1979 – 1982	Teaching Assistant, University of Virginia
1979	Research Assistant, Presidential Rhetoric Project, Miller Center of Public Affairs , Charlottesville, VA
1977 – 1978	Legislative Assistant, Government Administration and Policy Committee, Connecticut General Assembly , Hartford. Major Focus: State Government Executive Reorganization.

Fields of Specialization

American Politics, Congress, the Presidency
Interest Groups, Political Parties, and the Media
Alexis de Tocqueville's Democracy In America

Professional Activities

Publications, Books

- Is Congress Broken? The Virtues and Defects of Partisanship and Gridlock*
Ed. With Gary Schmitt and Jack Pitney (May 2017)
- James Madison Rules America: The Constitutional Origins of Congressional Partisanship* (May 2010)
- Congress' Permanent Minority? Republicans in the U.S. House*, with John J. Pitney, Jr. (May 1994).
- The Formation and Development of Public Interest Groups*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Readers: James W. Ceaser and Henry J. Abraham.

Articles, Book Chapters, and Essays

- "A Return to Madisonian Republicanism: Strengthening the Nation's Most Representative Institution,"** in *Is Congress Broken? The Virtues and Defects of Partisanship and Gridlock*
(May 2017)
- "Bring Back the Party Bosses," *THE HILL*, March 2017
- "The Impact of Progressivism on Congress," presentation at Jack Miller Center Conference
A Century of Progressivism: An Evaluation, May 20-23, 2015, Philadelphia, PA
- "A Return to Madisonian Republicanism," paper presentation at AEI Conference Congress, the Constitution and Contemporary Politics, October 15-16, Washington, DC.
- Berkeley Online FORUM **"American Politics: Broken Since 1885,"**
<https://www.degruyter.com/view/journals/for/13/3/article-p507.xml>
- "Does James Madison Still Rule America?" *EXTENSIONS*, Carl Albert Center Journal, Summer 2014,
What Would James Madison Think?
<http://www.ou.edu/content/dam/carlalbertcenter/extentions/summer2014.pdf>
- "Partisan, Polarized, Yet Not Dysfunctional?" chapter six in *The State of the Parties*, (Rowman and Littlefield, 2014) edited by Green, Coffey, and Cohen.
- "The GOP Strategic Advantage, Sabato's Crystal Ball invited blog posting:
<http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/wfc2010121601/>
- "James Madison and the Origins of Partisanship," *Cato Policy Report*, January/February 2011. "Gingrich Must First Govern Himself," *Roanoke Times*, January 9, 2012
- "Is Our Constitutional System Broken?" *Woodrow Wilson Center*, Smithsonian, Washington, D.C.
September 17, 2010
http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1412&fuseaction=topics.event_summary&event_id=631219
- "Taking Madison Seriously," *Washington and Lee University Political Review*, Winter 2010
- "President Obama's Inaugural Address," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, January 23, 2009
- "The Politics of Constraint: House Republicans in Retrospect and Prospect," *The Forum*: Vol. 6: Issue. 3, Article 2
with John J. Pitney, Jr.
Available at: <http://www.bepress.com/forum/vol6/iss3/art2>
- "There Is No End in Sight," *Richmond Times Dispatch*, October 28, 2008.
- "The Real Barometers of Congressional Success," *Ripon Forum* (December 2007)

- "Wall vs. Wave? The 2006 Midterm Elections" *The Forum*, Vol 4: Iss. 3, Article 3, December 2006.
Available at: <http://www.bepress.com/forum/vol4/iss3/art3/>
- "House Republicans: Then and Now," *Extensions*, APSA, March 11, 2005.
- "The Backseat Boys," *APSA Legislative Studies Section*, January 2004, Vol. 27, No. 1, with Jack Pitney, Jr.
- "Mock Convention: Political Science in Action," *Washington and Lee Political Review*, Winter 2004.
Introduction to *Woodrow Wilson's Congressional Government*, Transaction Publishers, May 2002.
- "Congressional Government and Separation of Powers (2000)," in *Readings in American Government*, 6th edition, eds. Mary P. Nichols and David K. Nichols (Kendall/Hunt, 2001), pp. 233-239.
- "The Un-Candidate: Dick Cheney Doesn't Feel Everyone's Pain," *The Washington Times*, October 6, 2000.
- "Newt Who?" *Extensions*, Fall 2000.
- "Newt Gingrich: Professor and Politician," *Southeastern Political Review*, Spring 1999.
- "The House Republicans: Lessons for Political Science," in *The Impact of the New Majority: Republican Control of Congress* ed. Nicol C. Rae and Colton C. Campbell. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Spring 1999, with John J. Pitney, Jr.
- "Calibrating Divided Rule," *The Providence Journal-Bulletin*, December 5, 1998, with John J. Pitney, Jr.
- "Leadership Rift: Jazzy Vision, Steady Beat," *The Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 1998, with John J. Pitney Jr. Syndicated.
- "The House GOP: Civil War," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 30 (December 1997), with John J. Pitney, Jr.
- "Odd Man Out: Dems Recall Frustrated GOP Minority Under Reagan," *Roll Call*, May 12, 1997, with John J. Pitney, Jr.
- "Newt, The Anti-Federalist," *The Weekly Standard*, December 2, 1996.
- "State GOP's Right Wing Is Out Of Touch," *Roanoke Times and World News*, June 24, 1996, A7, with Mark Rush.
- "'Permanent Minority' No More: House Republicans in 1994," Chapter in *MidTerm: The Elections of 1994 In Context*, edited by Phillip A. Klinkner (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996) with John J. Pitney, Jr.
- "Pat Buchanan's House Intellectual," *In Principle*, John M. Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs, December, 1995.
- "The Truman Strategy and the Politics of 1996," with John K. Pitney, Jr., *Commonsense*, Spring 1995.
- "They're the New Anti-Federalists," with Robert A. Strong. *Roll Call*, January 26, 1995. "Newt's a Healer, Not Just a Hollerer," with John J. Pitney, Jr., *Sunday Los Angeles Times*, December 18, 1994.
- "Congress: Representation and Deliberation," in *The American Experience: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Liberty*, Peter Lawler and Robert Schaefer, March 1994.

- "The Speaker: A Republican Perspective," with John J. Pitney, Jr. in *The Speakership of the US House*, edited by Ronald M. Peters, Jr., Carl Albert Center (CQ Press, December, 1994).
- "The Future of the House Republicans," with John J. Pitney, Jr., *Political Science Quarterly*, Fall 1994.
- "Incumbency: A double-edged sword," with John J. Pitney, Jr., in *The Hill*, September 21, 1994, p. 30.
- "The Dearth of Scholarship on Republicans," with John J. Pitney, Jr., *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 7, 1994, A76.
- "The Changing of the Guard," with John J. Pitney, Jr. in *The Chicago Sun-Times*, August 27, 1994, 16.
- "A House Divided," with John J. Pitney, Jr., *In Principle*, John M. Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs, Summer 1994.
- "The Party Government School of Thought in Action," in *Separation of Powers and Good Government*, edited by Bradford P. Wilson and Peter W. Schramm (Rowman and Littlefield, 1994).
- "Will This Democratic President Turn Out Like the Last One?" with Robert A. Strong, *Roanoke Times and World News*, April 18, 1993.
- "Writing To Learn Politics," *Writing in the Disciplines*, W&L University Writing Program Newsletter, May 1993.
- "What GOP Needs to Do to Regain Control of House," with John J. Pitney, Jr., *Roll Call*, April 23, 1992.
- "In Defense of Congress," in *Readings in American Government*, 4th Ed., Mary P. Nichols (Kendall/Hunt, January 1991, Updated for 5th Edition, 1996).
- "Congressman Dick Cheney," *Biographical sketch for the Encyclopedia of American Political Parties and Elections*, June 1990.
- "Boyscout View of Congress," *Washington and Lee Political Review*, Spring 1988.
- "Does the Constitution Govern?" with William Lasser, *Journal of Political Science*, Spring 1987.
<https://digitalcommons.coastal.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1144&context=jops>
- "Interest Groups," chapter in *American Government: Origins, Institutions, and Public Policy*, James W. Ceaser, et. Al. (McGraw-Hill, Spring 1984).

Book Reviews

- "Nerve Center: Lessons in Governing from the White House Chiefs of Staff," by Terry Sullivan. *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, June 10, 2005.
- "The Republican South: Democratization and Partisan Change," by David Lubin. *Political Science Quarterly*, April 26, 2005
- "The Perfect Tie," by James W. Ceaser and Andrew E. Busch, www.virginia institute.org.
- "Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process," by Walter J. Oleszek, 4th Ed *The Journal of Legislative Studies* (Winter 1996).
- "Remaking Congress: Change and Stability In The 1990s," edited by James A. Thurber and Roger H. Davidson. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, (Winter, 1996).

"Congressional Reform: The Changing Modern Congress," by Leroy N. Rieselbach, 1994, CA Press) in the *National Political Science Review*, vol. VII, 95-96.

"In Defense of Congress," by Fred R. Harris (1995, St. Martin's Press) in the *National Political Science Review*, vol. VII, 95-96.

"Turning Right In The Sixties: The Conservative Capture of the GOP," by Mary C. Brennan, in *The American Political Science Review*, APSR-90, Sept. 1996.

"Parties and Leaders in the Post-Reform House," by David W. Rohde's, *Political Science Quarterly*, Winter 1992-93.

Video Review: "Overview of Senate Procedure," *The APSA Political Science Teacher*, Fall 1990.

"Political Innovation in America: The Politics of Policy Initiation," by Nelson W. Polsby's *Benchmark*, May-August 1986.

Conference Papers

"Madison vs. Wilson, On Congress Today," Woodrow Wilson Center, Woodrow Wilson's Congressional Government: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow November 14, 2005.

Legislative Party Strategy and the Separation of Powers: House Democrats - the New 'Permanent Minority'?" presented at the Southern Political Science Association meeting, January 5 - 8, 2005

"The House Republicans: Lessons for Political Science," presented at "The Impact of the New Majority: Republican Control of Congress Conference," Florida International University, Miami, January 31, 1998, with John J. Pitney, Jr.

"Newt Gingrich As Educator and Intellectual," presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 1996.

"The Future of the House Republicans," with John J. Pitney, Jr., presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, City, September 1994.

"House Republican Responses to Permanent Minority Status," with John J. Pitney, Jr., a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, November 1992.

"Republican Factionalism in the House of Representatives," paper presented with John J. Pitney, Jr. at the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September, 1992.

"The Party Government School of Thought in Action," paper presented at the Ashbrook Center Conference on the Separation of Powers, November, 1991.

"Party Policy Committees in Congress," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Western Political Science Association, Seattle, March 1991.

"The House Republican Policy Committee: Then and Now," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1988.

"The Separation of Powers and Interest Group Activity," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., September 1984.

"Contemporary Public Interest Groups and the Anti-Federalists," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September, 1983.

Lectures, Panels, & Roundtables

CATO Institute/Liberty Fund Conference, "The Broken Branch?" Washington, D.C., December 15-16, 2011

Federalist Society lecture, Washington and Lee Law School, "Partisan Polarization," February 3, 2011.

Tom Wolfe Seminar lecture "David Brooks: Modern Day Alexis De Tocqueville?" April 1, 2011.

Constitution Day Lecture, "The Constitutional Origins of Congressional Partisanship," Baylor University, Texas, September 17, 2011.

"James Madison Rules America," CATO Institute, Book Forum, October 14, 2010.
<http://www.cato.org/event.php?eventid=7496>

"How the Right Recovers – Transatlantic Lessons and Parallels," British Politics Group, American Political Science Association conference, September 1, 2010, Washington, D.C.

"Why James Madison Still Rules America," Keynote Address, Joint Brookings/Center For The Constitution Conference, *The Madisonian System in Modern America: Is it Broken and Can we Fix It?* Montpelier, Virginia, October 21, 2009,
<http://center.montpelier.org/brookings/madisonian>

Homecoming Elections Panel, October 3, Lee Chapel. Panel, sponsored by the Alumni Office, along with former Governor Linwood Holton, Brian Richardson, and Mark Rush.

“Uncivil Wars: What’s So Bad About Partisan Politics?” Reynolds Symposium, National Press Club, May 2008.

“Ethical Campaigns and the Public Perception of Politics,” American Association of Political Consultants, November 2007.

“Madison vs. Wilson,” Woodrow Wilson Center Conference, *Woodrow Wilson’s Congressional Government: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, November 14, 2005.

“Have Republicans Changed Congress?” panel participant and paper presentation, American Political Science Association meeting, September 1-3, 2005.

“Congress,” lecture presented to Washington & Lee Summer Scholars Program, 2005-8.

“Dueling Branches: Congressional-Executive Relations in a Partisan Era,” panel presentation at the Southern Political Science Association meeting, January 5-8, 2005.

“The Legacy of the Gingrich Speakership,” Roundtable presentation, Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, November 2000.

“Change in Congress: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives,” Panel Chair, Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, November 2000.

“The American Founding,” three-part lecture series, USIA Institute for Training and Development Summer Institute, Washington, D.C., July 1998, 1999, 2000.

“Impeachment,” Roundtable presentation, Southern Political Science Association Meeting, November 1999.

“Good Housekeeping: Can Republicans Govern Congress?” Featured speaker, The Heritage Foundation, February 18, 1998.

“Election 1998,” Roundtable presentation and chair, Virginia Political Science Association annual meeting, Lexington, VA, December 1998.

“Protecting Freedom in the American Constitutional System,” Liberty Fund Conference, Charleston, S.C., March, 1998.

“Majority and Minority Legislative and Electoral Strategies,” Heritage Foundation panel presentation, February 1998, Washington, D.C.

“Reassessing the Republican Revolution,” Roundtable Presentation, Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Norfolk, VA, November, 1997.

“Campaign Finance Reform” lecture to W&L Young Democrats, November, 1997.

“Leadership in the Media Age,” Southern Political Science Association Annual Conference, Tampa, Florida, November, 1995.

“Gingrich, Clinton, and the House Republican Revolution,” Richmond W&L Alumni, November 20, 1995.

“Newt Gingrich and the House Republican Revolution,” Miller Center for Public Affairs, University of Virginia, August 18, 1995.

“Politics and Economics,” W&L Alumni College, June, 1995.

“House Republicans and the Anti-Federalists,” W&L Law School Federalist Society, February, 1995.

“Issues ‘96,” Mock Convention Spring Term Forum with Congressman Bob Goodlatte and Lance Tarrance, Lee Chapel, 1995.

Guest Speaker, House Republican Inner Circle, May 1992.

Brookings Institution Research-in-Progress Seminar presentation, April 1992.

Guest Speaker, Washington, D.C., Washington & Lee University Alumni Lunch, April, 1992.

Guest Speaker on “Divided Government,” U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, March, 1992.

University of Virginia, Roundtable on Congressional Leadership participant, December 1988.

Chair, Panel on “American Politics in the Bicentennial Year,” Virginia Political Science Association, Lexington, VA, October 1987.

Guest Lecturer, “Congressional Leadership,” U.S. Office of Personnel Management, May 1986, August 1985.

Guest Lecturer, “The Reagan Presidency and American Political Thought,” Assumption College, April 1985.

Chair, Panel on “Separation of Powers and American Political Behavior,” A.P.S.A. Convention, Washington, D.C., September 1984.

Book Manuscript and Journal Manuscript Reviews

Book manuscript review, "The Miserable Minority: Political Powerlessness and Disengagement from Electoral Politics," Jacob F. H. Smith, The University of Michigan Press.

Journal Manuscript Review, "Assessing the Effects of Personal Characteristics and Context on US House Speaker's Leadership Styles," Owens, Schraufnagel, Li, SAGE Open. April 22, 2016

Book manuscript review, "Leading Congress: The Agency of Leaders in the Politics and Development of the U.S. House of Representatives," October 18, 2005.

"Confrontation or Accommodation? The 1989 Gingrich-Madigan Whip Race," American Politics Research, April 29, 2005

Book manuscript review, "Classics in Congressional Politics," Weisberg, Hebering and Campoli for Longman Press.

Book manuscript review for Westview Press (reader on American opinion leaders).

Advisor for University of Virginia Law student Charles E. Caldwell's thesis on informal groups in Congress, "Government by Caucus: Informal Legislative Groups in an Era of Congressional Reform," published Spring 1989 in *The Journal of Law and Politics*.

Book manuscript review, *The Election of Discontent: The 1994 U.S. Senate Race in Virginia*, Semiatin and Shaiko, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, September, 1995.

Book manuscript review, *Fulfilling the Contract: The First 100 Days*, James G. Gimpel for Allyn and Bacon.

Book consultation and manuscript review, *Kings of The Hill*, 2nd Ed., Dick and Lynne Cheney for Continuum Press.

Book consultation and manuscript review, *Checks and Balances*, Lance Tarrence and Walt Devries, Eerdmans Publisher.

Essay manuscript reviews for *Legislative Studies Quarterly*.

Other Professional Activities

Hollins University Wheeler Professorship Selection Committee, 2005

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of Political Science Selection Committee member for the Q. Whitfield Ayres Graduate Fellowship for the Study of Liberty and Markets, 2005 – present.

"New Leadership" on *PBS Jim Lehrer News Hour Online*, November 25, 1998, with John J. Pitney, Jr.

"Fair Game: Can Congress Investigate The Clinton Administration Fairly?" *PBS Jim Lehrer News Hour On-Line Forum*, May 19, 1998.

Congressional Quarterly Seminar, "The 1996 Election," (Washington, D.C., November, 1996). "The Grand Old Party: A House Divided?" *MacNeil/Lehrer News Hour On-Line Forum*, May 14, 1996.

Virginia Board of Education Curriculum Review Conference, June 6, 1995.

Cheney for President Campaign, Summer, 1994.

Lugar for President Campaign, Summer, 1995.

American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship Program, New Fellows Selection Panel, 1995-96.

Joint Brookings Institution/American Enterprise Institute Conference on "Renewing Congress" participant, prepared advisory memorandum, July 1992.

Congressional Fellowship Program, American Political Science Association, foreign fellows mentor, 1991.

Congressional Quarterly Seminar, "The Legislative Process." (Washington, D.C., May 1989). Congressional Quarterly Seminar, "Congressional Rules and Procedures." (Washington, D.C., August 1988)

Congressional Fellowship Program, American Political Science Association, panel presentation, July 1988; July 1989.

Judge for National Bicentennial Competition on the Constitution, Center for Civic Education, Washington, D.C., April 1988.

Honors Examiner, University of Virginia, Department of Government and Foreign Affairs Honors Program, May 1985.

Director, Thurmond Institute Summer Seminar, Two Party Politics in America, Washington, D.C., June 1985.

Co-editor with William Lasser, *Journal of Political Science*, 1985-86.

Congressional Campaign Staff, "Patricia Hendel for Congress," New London, Connecticut,

Summers 1979 and 1980; Adviser, delegate work and fundraising; Chair, Fundraising Committee.

Mock Convention Advisor, Washington and Lee University, 1988 - Present.

Leadership America campus representative.

Grant panel reviewer for Commission on the Bicentennial of the Constitution, January 1988 and June 1988.

Commentator for *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, *Roll Call*, *The Hill*, *National Journal*, *Boston Globe*, *Reuters News Service*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *New York Times*, *L.A. Times*, *USA Today*, *Washington Post*, *Associated Press*, *Defense News*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Florida Sun Sentinel*, *Dallas Morning News*, *National Public Radio*, *Business Week*, *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, *International Herald Tribune*, *ABC News Productions*, and various media outlets.