

JAMES I. WALLNER

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Clemson University, 2021-Present.

Professorial Lecturer, Department of Government, American University, 2018-2021.

Adjunct Professor, Department of Politics, Catholic University of America, 2012-2020.

Lecturer, Department of Politics, Catholic University of America, 2010-2012.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Governance Project Senior Fellow, R Street Institute, 2017-Present.

Group Vice President for Research, Heritage Foundation, 2016-2017.

Executive Director, Senate Steering Committee, 2012-2016.

Legislative Director, Senator Pat Toomey, 2011-2012.

Legislative Director, Senator Jeff Sessions, 2008-2011.

Legislative Assistant, Senator Jeff Sessions, 2007-2008.

Legislative Assistant, Congressman Terry Everett, 2005-2007.

OTHER EXPERIENCE & FELLOWSHIPS

OTHER EXPERIENCE

Editor-in-Chief, *Legislative Procedure*, 2018-Present.

Host, *Politics In Question*, 2019-Present.

Contributor, *Law and Liberty*, 2017-Present.

Contributor, *Washington Examiner*, 2017-Present.

Contributor, *Daily Caller*, 2020-Present.

Contributor, *Reason*, 2021-Present.

Member, Task Force on the Judicial Nomination and Confirmation Process, The Constitution Project and the Project on Government Oversight, 2019-2021.

FELLOWSHIPS

Kluge Fellow, John W. Kluge Center, Library of Congress, 2019-2020 (conducted research for forthcoming manuscript, *American Socrates: James Madison and the Virtue of Political Conflict*).

Fellow, Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, American University, 2018-2021.

Senior Visiting Fellow, Center for the Study of Statesmanship, Catholic University of America, 2019-2020.

Julia Araiza and James Rosenthal Fellow, Claremont Institute, 2017.

EDUCATION

Ph.D. Politics, Catholic University of America, awarded with Distinction, 2012.

M.A. Politics, Catholic University of America, awarded with Distinction, 2009.

M.Sc. International and European Politics, University of Edinburgh, 2005.

B.A. Political Science, University of Georgia, 2003.

PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

American Socrates: James Madison and the Virtue of Political Conflict (forthcoming, 2022).

A Question of Order: An Insider's Guide to Legislative Procedure (forthcoming, 2021). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

The Death of Deliberation: Gridlock and the Politics of Effort in the United States Senate (2020). Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

On Parliamentary War: Partisan Conflict and Procedural Change in the U.S. Senate (2017; released in paperback in 2019). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

The Death of Deliberation: Partisanship & Polarization in the United States Senate (2013; released in paperback in 2015). Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

ARTICLES

“The Foundations of Advice & Consent: Original Intent & the Judicial Filibuster.” *Journal of Law and Politics*: Vol. XXXI, no. 3 (2016): 297-331.

“The Problem of Credible Commitment in Congressional Budgeting.” *Journal of Policy History*: Vol. 27, no. 2 (2015): 382-403.

“Deliberative No Longer: The Eclipse of the Intended Role of the U.S. Senate.” *Humanitas*: Vol. XXVII, no. 1 (2014): 5-35.

“Parliamentary Rule: The U.S. Senate Parliamentarian and Institutional Constraints on Legislator Behavior.” *Journal of Legislative Studies*: Volume 20(3) (2014): 380-405.

“Unified Budget Accounting in the United States Congress: The Persistence of Government Deficits & Debt, 1967-2010,” *The Forum: A Journal of Applied Research in Contemporary Politics*: Vol. 9: Iss. 4 (2011).

CHAPTERS

“A Dynamic Relationship: How Congress and the President Shape Foreign Policy,” in *Congress and Foreign Affairs: Reasserting the Power of the First Branch*, Kevin Kosar, ed. (2020). Washington, D.C.: R Street Governance Series.

“Congress and the Capacity to Act: Overcoming Gridlock in the Senate’s Amendment Process,” in *Congress Overwhelmed: The Decline in Congressional Capacity and Prospects for Reform*, eds. Tim LaPira, Lee Drutman, and Kevin Kosar. (2020). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

“Intraparty Caucus Formation in the United States Congress,” in *Party and Procedure in the United States Congress, 2nd edition*, eds. Jacob R. Straus and Matthew Glassman. (2016). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

“The Death of Deliberation: Party and Procedure in the Modern United States Senate,” in *Party and Procedure in the United States Congress*, ed. Jacob R. Straus. (2012). Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Human Condition by Hannah Arendt (1958 [2019]; University of Chicago Press) in *Law and Liberty* (26 May 2020).

The People Themselves: Popular Constitutionalism and Judicial Review by Larry D. Kramer (2004; Oxford University Press) in *Legbranch.org* (22 October 2019).

Choosing the Leader: Leadership Elections in the U.S. House of Representatives by Matthew N. Green and Douglas B. Harris (2019; Yale University Press) in *Law and Liberty* (25 June 2019).

The Field of Blood: Violence in Congress and the Road to Civil War by Joanne B. Freeman (2018; Farrar, Straus and Giroux) in *Law and Liberty* (9 January 2019).

Exceptions to the Rule: The Politics of Filibuster Reform in the Senate by Molly Reynolds (2017; Brookings Institution Press) in *Legbranch.org*.

Is Congress Broken? The Virtues and Defects of Partisanship and Gridlock, edited by William F. Connelly Jr., John J. Pitney Jr., and Gary J. Schmitt. In *Congress and the Presidency* Vol. 44, No. 3, (2017).

WHITE PAPERS

“Francis Lieber and the Scientific Study of Politics: A Collection of Essays.” *R Street*, November (2020).

“A Dynamic Relationship: How Congress and the President Shape Foreign Policy.” *R Street Policy Study* No. 186, October (2019).

“Post-Cloture Debate Time For Presidential Nominations.” *R Street R Sheet Series*. March (2019).

“Section 232 Reform” (with Philip Wallach). *R Street R Sheet Series*. February (2019).

“Forcing Votes.” *R Street R Sheet Series*. November (2018).

“Anticipating Trouble: Congressional Primaries and Incumbent Behavior” (with Elaine C. Kamarck). *R Street Policy Study* and *Brookings Institution Report*. October (2018).

“A beginner’s guide to the Senate’s rules.” *R Street Policy Study* No. 107, September (2017).

“Historical Development of the Senate’s Amendment Process.” *R Street Policy Study* No. 111, September (2017).

“A Parliamentary Guide to Enforcing the Byrd Rule in the Reconciliation Process.” *Heritage Foundation Backgrounder* No. 3206, 23 March (2017).

“A Rules-Based Strategy for Overcoming Minority Obstruction of a Supreme Court Nomination (with Ed Corrigan). *Heritage Foundation Backgrounder* No. 3187, 23 January (2017).

“The Implications of Regular Lame-Duck Sessions in Congress for Representative Government” (with Paul Winfree). *Heritage Foundation Backgrounder* No. 3154, 6 September (2016).

CURRENT RESEARCH & WORKING PAPERS

High Crimes: Late Impeachment, Group Think, and the Limits of Constitutional Government (manuscript in progress).

A Crucible of Conflict: Congress in American Life (manuscript in progress)

“The Craft of Leadership: Lyndon Johnson and Mike Mansfield in the Senate’s Golden Age” (white paper forthcoming)

“A City Upon A Hill: The Theoretical Foundation of American Exceptionalism” (article in progress)

“The Contours of Politics: The *Federalist*, Space, and the Practice of American Self-Government” (article in progress)

“Politics: A Phenomenological Understanding” (article in progress)

CONFERENCE PAPERS

“Legislative Gridlock and the Politics of Effort.” Paper presented at the Congress and History Conference at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 2019.

“The Broken Branch: A Madisonian Perspective.” Paper presented at the fourth annual Montpelier Roundtable on James Madison and the American Constitution, June 2018.

“The Politics of Effort: Overcoming Gridlock in a Polarized Senate.” Paper presented at the 2018 Congressional Rules and Procedures Conference at the University of Georgia, May 2018.

“Parliamentary Procedure and Congressional Capacity.” Paper presented at the State of Congressional Capacity Conference, March 2018.

“Unprecedented: Informal Rules and Leader Power in the United States Senate.” Paper presented at the Congress & History Conference at the University of Oklahoma, June 2016.

- “Making Sense of the Senate: Current & Past Debates over the Nation’s Upper Chamber.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2014.
- “Budgeting for Disaster: The Implications of the Congressional Budget Process in the Age of Deficits.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2013.
- “Negative Agenda Control and the Consequences of Party Effects in the U.S. Senate.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2013.
- “Where’s the Gridlock? Conflict Resolution in the U.S. Senate.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, August-September 2012.
- “Parliamentary Rule: The Origins, Development, and Role of the Senate Parliamentarian in the Legislative Process.” Presented at the Congress & History Conference, June 2011.
- “Distinguished Gentlemen? Liberal Democrats, Conservative Republicans, and the Evolution of Senate Decision-Making.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the New England Political Science Association, April 2011.
- “Filibustering the Opposition: Majoritarian Obstructionism in the United States Senate.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, January 2011.
- “Framing the Senate: The Intellectual Origins of a Deliberative Assembly.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, January 2011.
- “Cooking the Books: The Politics of Deficit Spending & the Congressional Budget Process since 1974.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Northeastern Political Science Association, November 2010.
- “Partisan Restraint: American Political Development and the Consequences for Policy in the Modern United States Senate.” Presented at the Biannual Meeting of the Policy History Conference, June 2010.
- “The Death of Deliberation: Popular Opinion, Party, and Policy in the Modern United States Senate.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2010.

CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY & INVITED PRESENTATIONS

CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

“The Constitutional Framework for Congress’s Ability to Uphold Standards of Member Conduct.” Testimony given. Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties, House Committee on the Judiciary, Washington, DC, March 11, 2021.

“Examining ‘Backdoor’ Spending By Federal Agencies.” Testimony given. Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Affairs, House Committee on Oversight and Government Affairs, Washington, DC, December 11, 2018.

INVITED PRESENTATIONS

[Speak regularly on Congress for the Government Affairs Institute at Georgetown University.]

“How to Use Majority Power with Adam Jentleson and James Wallner.” Panel Discussion, Patriotic Millionaires, Washington, DC, March 10, 2021.

“The Senate in Theory and Reality.” Lecture, George Washington University, Washington, DC, February 3, 2021.

“The Budget Reconciliation Process.” Lecture, Pentagon Budget Campaign, Washington, DC, January 28, 2021.

“The Policymaking Process.” Lecture, Northwestern University, Washington, DC, January 6, 2021.

“How Congress works.” Lecture, American Political Science Association training for APSA fellows, November 18, 2020.

“The Policy-Making Process in Congress.” Lecture, Capitol.net training for the Department of Health and Human Services, October 27, 2020.

“The Supreme Court and the Senate.” Panel Discussion, Legislative Branch Capacity Working Group, Washington, DC, October 6, 2020.

“The Policy-Making Process in Congress.” Lecture, Capitol.net training for the Federal Aviation Administration, September 16, 2020.

“The Senate Filibuster.” Panel Discussion, Legislative Branch Capacity Working Group, September 4, 2020.

“The Post-Filibuster Senate.” Panel Discussion, American Enterprise Institute, August 14, 2020.

“Congress and the Courts.” Debate with Ilya Shapiro and John Malcolm, Freedom Works, July 29, 2020.

- “How Congress Works.” Lecture, Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University, June 26, 2020.
- “How the Senate Works.” Lecture, The College of William & Mary, April 21, 2020.
- “Conservatism, the Judiciary, and the Law.” Panel Discussion, Philadelphia Society Spring Meeting, St. Louis, Mo., March 29, 2020.
- “Irregular Order: How Congress Really Works and How You Can Influence It.” Public Lecture, University of Georgia. February 25, 2020.
- “Between Past and Present: How History Can Help Us Understand Our Present Political Dysfunction.” American Political Development Lecture, University of Georgia. Athens, Georgia. February 25, 2020.
- “A Deliberative Senate: Federalist 62 and 63.” Lecture, Assumption College. Worcester, Mass., February 12, 2020.
- “Making Sense of the Senate.” Lecture, Assumption College. Worcester, Mass., February 12, 2020.
- “The Role of Congress in American Politics.” Keynote Address, JSA Northeast and Southeast Winter Congress, Washington, DC, February 7, 2020.
- “Introduction to Congress and the Senate’s Amendment Process.” Lecture, Project on Government Oversight and TechCongress Fellows Orientation, Washington, DC, January 13 & 15, 2020.
- “How Congress Works.” Lecture, Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University, Washington, DC, January 8, 2020.
- “Rethinking Congress.” Public Lecture. University of Georgia. October 17, 2019.
- “An Interdisciplinary Approach to Understanding Politics.” Keynote Address. Philosophy, Politics, and Economics Workshop. Center for Public Choice and Market Process at the College of Charleston. Charleston, S.C., October 5, 2019.
- “Is Congress Still in Decline? Assessing the 116th Congress.” Panel Discussion. American Political Science Association Annual Meeting. Washington, D.C., August 30, 2019. (National Television Broadcast on CSPAN)
- “Partisanship in American Politics.” Lecture. Hertog Foundation. Washington, D.C., July 31, 2019.

- “The Constitution’s First Branch: Rediscovering the Legislative Power.” Panel Discussion. C. Boyden Gray Center for the Study of the Administrative State, Antonin Scalia Law School, George Mason University. May 2, 2019.
- “Making Congress Work Again.” Panel Discussion. American Enterprise Institute. March 15, 2019.
- “Congress: Crucible of Conflict or Partisan Production Factory.” Public Lecture. Swarthmore College. February 27, 2019.
- “Keynote Address.” Thurgood Marshall College Fund Presidents and Chancellors HBCU Fly-In.” Washington, D.C., February 7, 2019.
- “What to expect in the 116th Congress?” Panel Discussion, James Madison University, Washington, DC, November 30, 2018.
- “Congressional oversight of federal spending.” Briefing, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Washington, DC, November 28, 2018.
- “Irregular Order: How Congress Really Works.” Panel discussion, Washington Post, ProPublica, and the New York Public Library. New York, N.Y., November 13, 2018.
- “Congress and the Separation of Powers: Audacious Vision, Uneven History, and Uncertain Future.” Panel discussion, Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies (American University), the U.S. Capitol Historical Society, and the U.S. Capitol Visitor Center. United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., September 25, 2018.
- “An Insider’s Perspective on the United States Congress.” Presentation. NSPAA and Thurgood Marshall College Fund, Technical Assistance Workshop Series. New Orleans, Louisiana, June 5, 2018.
- “Introduction to the United States Senate.” Lecture, Defense Acquisition University, Dayton, Ohio, April 12, 2018.
- “Article I Initiative Conference: Senate Reform Proposals.” Panel discussion, The Federalist Society, United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., March 22, 2018.
- “The Senate at war with itself.” Book discussion of *On Parliamentary War*, Legislative Branch Capacity Working Group, United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., March 9, 2018.
- “The Senate in the 115th Congress.” Harvard Law School’s Semester in Washington program. Washington, DC, February 6, 2018.
- “Introduction to Congress and the Budget Process.” Lecture, Project on Government Oversight and TechCongress Fellows Orientation, Washington, DC, January 11 & 18, 2018.

- “Conflict and Congress.” UCLA’s Chancellor’s Annual Campus Trip to Washington, DC. December 18, 2018.
- "Divided under Unified Government? Congress and the White House in Trump's Washington." Panel Discussion, James Madison University, Washington, DC, October 20, 2017.
- “The Senate Filibuster: Tool of mass obstruction or key to deliberation?” Panel Discussion, The American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, September 28, 2017.
- “Why We Need More Conflict in Congress.” Speech, Vox Conversations Unconference Series, Washington, D.C., April 27, 2017.
- “What’s Next for Health Care?” Panel Discussion, The American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., December 16, 2016. (National Television Broadcast on CSPAN)
- “A Reform Agenda for the Federal Budget Process.” Panel Discussion, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., November 30, 2016. (National Television Broadcast on CSPAN)
- “Deliberation in the 21st Century Senate.” Department of Political Science Visiting Practitioner Program, University of Georgia, Athens, GA. October 2016.
- “Amendments and the State of the 21st Century Senate.” Paper Presentation, Legislative Branch Capacity Working Group, United States Capitol, Washington, D.C., September 2016.
- “Party and Procedures in the United States Congress: A View in 2016.” Roundtable Discussion, Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2016.
- “Congress: The Broken Branch.” Colloquium Discussion, The CATO Institute and Liberty Fund, Inc. Colloquium, The CATO Institute, Washington D.C., January 2016.
- “The Fourth Branch: The Federal Reserve and Good Government.” Colloquium Discussion, The CATO Institute and Liberty Fund, Inc. Colloquium, The CATO Institute, Washington D.C., April 2015.
- “Liberty and Executive Power in the United States Constitution.” Colloquium Discussion, The CATO Institute and Liberty Fund, Inc. Colloquium, The CATO Institute, Washington D.C., January 2015.
- “Party Power and Senate Procedure.” Panel Discussion, Congress & History Conference, University of Maryland, College Park, June 2014.
- “American Civil Religion and the Rise of Majoritarian Democracy.” Panel Discussion, Annual Meeting of the Academy of Philosophy and Letters, June 2014.

“The Death of Deliberation: Partisanship & Polarization in the United States Senate.” Book Event, The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., May 28, 2014.

“The Nuclear Option: The Filibuster ‘Power Grab’ in the Senate.” Panel Discussion, The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., July 12, 2013. (National Television Broadcast on CSPAN)

“Filibuster Reform or Power Grab? A Panel Discussion of the Senate’s Rules.” Panel Discussion, The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., November 30, 2012. (National Television Broadcast on CSPAN)

“The Federal Budget: Addressing the Programmatic Needs of the American Public under Budget Constraints.” Panel Discussion at the American University’s School of Public Affairs Annual Conference, Policy in a Recovering Economy, Washington, D.C. March 2012.

“The Filibuster: A Unique Parliamentary Tool of the Senate.” Panel Discussion, The Heritage Foundation, Washington D.C., January 2011. (National Television Broadcast on CSPAN)

TEACHING

CLEMSON UNIVERSITY

POSC 1010	American National Government
POSC 4030	The US Congress
POSC 4380	American Constitutional Law: Powers & Structures

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

GOVT 322	American Political Parties
GOVT 445	Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Lobbying (undergraduate)
GOVT 620	Applied Politics and American Public Policy
GOVT 645	Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Lobbying (graduate)

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

POL 316	Congress
POL 407	U.S. Political Leadership to 1912 (undergraduate)
POL 408	Congressional Leadership
POL 617	U.S. Political Leadership to 1912 (graduate)
CPOL 531	Congressional Budget
CPOL 577	Political Theory of the American Framing
CPOL 614	Institutional Development of the Senate
CPOL 615	American Political Development
CPOL 675	Interest Groups & Congressional Lobbying

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Manuscript Reviewer: *Party Politics*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*; *American Politics Research*; *Congress & The Presidency*; *University of Michigan Press*

Discussant, Big-Picture Trends, the State of Congressional Capacity Conference, March 2018.

Chair, Roll Call Voting in Congressional Politics, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2014.

Chair, Tax Policy Panel, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2013

Chair, U.S. Senate Panel, Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2013

Member, American Political Science Association, Sections: Public Administration; Public Policy; Legislative Studies; Political Organizations and Parties; Law & Courts; Foundations of Political Theory; Politics and History.