

September 26, 2019

## **Leading Institutional Reforms to Promote Civility and Collaboration in Congress**

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Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee for holding a hearing on this critical topic at this crucial time.

Most of us—Democrats, Republicans, and Independents, Members of Congress and American citizens—understand that Congress is less effective at conducting the people’s business when relations are strained, and our discourse is bitter. Despite our recognition, the challenge of promoting greater civility and collaboration seems to grow by the day. Just when we think our politics can descend no lower, we find a new bottom.

The importance of engaging our differences productively is even clearer when we consider what the Founders believed to be the gravest threat to an enduring American republic. Throughout their writings, the Founders observed that the “Spirit of Party” had been the downfall of every attempt at self-government over the preceding 3,000 years. In 2019, as we anticipate an impeachment inquiry and a contentious election, the echo of their warnings is ominous.

Today’s divisions play themselves out within a constitutional structure designed to make the American republic robust to these challenges. The Founders erected stout defensive barriers to either party imposing its will on everyone else. This was the driving consideration that led the Founders to take separation of powers further than anyone ever had.

The Founders’ stout defenses create an affirmative imperative that we seek measures wise enough to attract bipartisan support. By design, nothing else will work in our system. Engaging our differences with respect and civility is essential for Congress to find and champion broadly support decisions.

Congressional stalemate due to partisan contention not only limits Congress in fulfilling its constitutional responsibilities. It also places increasing strain on the other branches. The Constitution makes Congress the first of the three branches of government, charged with the primary responsibility for making policy. Because bitter partisan fighting has limited the ability of Congress to fulfill this central role, the executive and judicial branches have increasingly stepped into the breach, taking on for themselves roles for which they are ill-suited.

Convened amidst historic levels of division, this hearing aims to investigate how Congress can foster more collaborative relations. Some may wonder about talk of civility in times like these. I can’t think of a more important topic at this critical moment in our history.

My objective is to suggest the most promising reforms to foster engaging differences in more civil and productive ways.

I'll start by noting the excellent recommendations the Committee has already made in this regard. I believe that the recommendations to offer new-Member orientation in a nonpartisan way and to promote civility during that orientation are wise and promising.

To identify additional promising reforms, we at the National Institute for Civil Discourse (NICD) conducted a review of the best work done in recent years to develop such reforms. We then asked more than a dozen experts to rate how promising each was on a five-point scale, ranging from "1" for "not promising" to "5" for "extremely promising." We defined promising as the best combination of meaningful and achievable.

We undertook this review not only for purposes of this hearing but for a new program we have launched. Through [CommonSense American](#), we bring everyday Americans together digitally to identify and champion solutions wise enough to attract broad bipartisan support. Our members just finished picking the first three issues to work on out of the eight options we gave them. One of the three they chose is the congressional reforms we're discussing today.

In this moment of challenging divisions, we hope you'll find it encouraging that everyday Americans care enough about the topic of today's hearing to have chosen it to work on. We hope you'll also find it encouraging how many have made the commitment to engage with each other for this bipartisan, collaborative purpose. More than 5,500 Americans from across the country and political spectrum have joined CommonSense American since we started inviting them in mid-January.

The result of our review of congressional reforms is a "Top 12" list. One-third of our members will spend 90 minutes reviewing a brief on these reforms. Our members have committed to contacting their Members of Congress to share their views on any reforms that attract two-thirds support.

We also our Top 12 to the Committee for its consideration. I'll first review the most important themes in these reforms. I'll then review the specific reforms in order of their average rating.

## **Themes in the Reform Work**

### **Providing Members with Opportunities to Get to Know Each Other**

Whether former Members of Congress, scholars, or leaders of respected think tanks, virtually all who have thoughtfully considered reforms to foster collaboration and civil engagement across differences have emphasized one central theme. A strong consensus exists that the most important objective with these reforms is simply to give Members of Congress greater opportunities to get to know each other. We all engage others with greater civility and respect if we recognize in them all that we share as human beings and fellow Americans. When we engage each other as the stereotypes of political views we oppose, incivility and rancor rise, eroding our ability to make sound decisions.

Virtually every recommendation on this list has as a central aim of creating more positive opportunities for Members of Congress to get to know each other. Many of the reforms recognize that the structures and processes of Congress increasingly contrive to amplify the divisions that already exist. In some

sense, the proposed reforms simply aim to provide Members with the opportunity to exercise their natural ability that all humans possess to develop a warm affinity for each other.

### The Limits of Congressional Reforms

All of the thinkers who developed reforms we reviewed, and all of the experts who rated those reforms, are sober about the magnitude of the challenge. They all understand that the existing institutional arrangements in Congress did not alone create the current challenges and can't alone solve them. We all recognize that divisions within the citizenry, and the incentives and barriers created by our electoral system, make contentious relations an enduring challenge.

### The Promise of Congressional Reforms

Nevertheless, our experts' ratings reflect an optimism that each of the leading reforms Congress could undertake could make a meaningful difference. Each of the twelve reforms received average ratings that they were at least modestly promising. All of them are worthy of the Committee's consideration.

There also is a clear consensus that the whole effect of implementing several of these reforms would be greater than the sum of the parts. Many of the reforms will work to complement and multiply each other's impact.

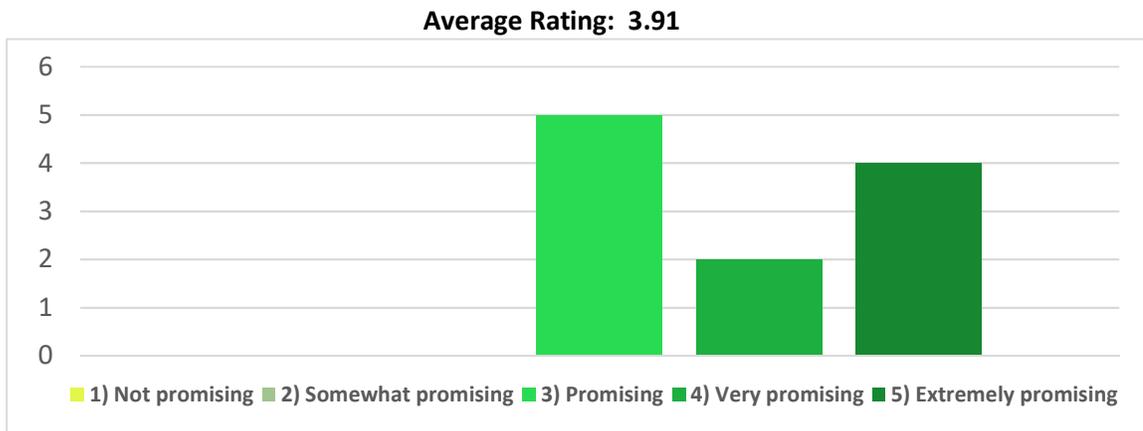
## The Top 12 Reforms

### 1. Frequent Joint Leadership Agenda Setting Meetings

#### Recommendation

The leadership of both parties should meet regularly to discuss pressing issues of the day for the purpose of finding agreement on at least one piece of legislation that should be pursued on a bipartisan basis. It should occur at least monthly and be held off-the-record. Depending on the topics, the meeting should frequently include committee chairmen and ranking members.

#### Ratings



## **The Case For**

Although we have a system the Founders purposely designed to require broad support to pass bills into law, little in today's congressional structure and processes provides an opportunity to develop such measures on a collaborative, bipartisan basis. Supporters argue that for Congress to discharge its constitutionally mandated functions more effectively, it is essential that leadership spend time together identifying measures sufficiently wise to attract support from both parties. Regular leadership meetings explicitly dedicated to that purpose, they argue, are the most straightforward way to do that.

## **The Case Against**

Behind-closed-doors meetings with only leadership making critical decisions is at odds, opponents of this reform argue, with a system by, for, and of the people, in which the full House of Representatives is seen as the body that is the most representative of the people. The public and interest groups should have an opportunity to weigh in early enough in the process to make a difference. A handful of leaders should not be deciding policy for the whole country, they argue.

## **Variation and Enhancement**

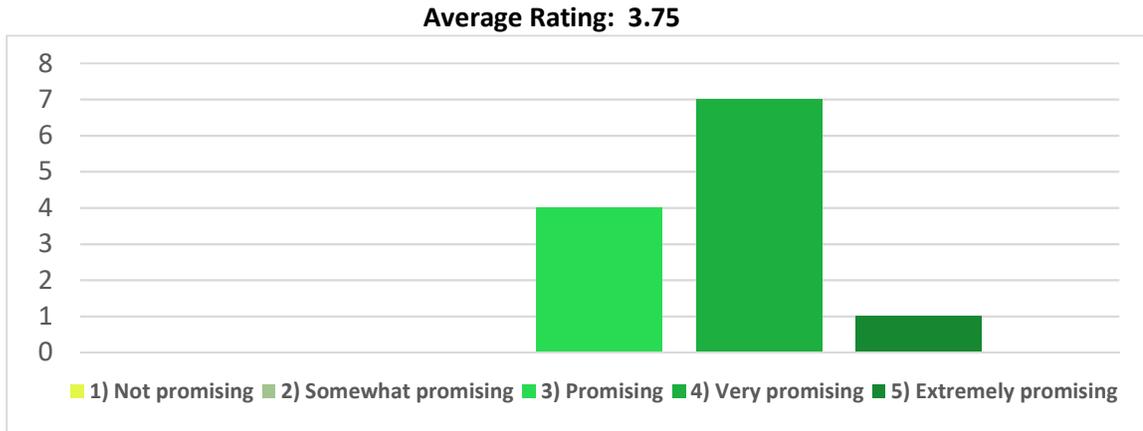
A commitment to using regular order on promising areas for bipartisan collaboration identified by leadership could address concerns about transparency and the opportunity for the full membership, the public, and interest groups to weigh in. Hearings by the germane committee to investigate and develop the legislative details associated with any promising areas would be particularly helpful.

## **2. Biennial Committee Retreats**

### **Recommendation**

Committee members should gather off-site to socialize, to identify guidelines and measures aimed at promoting productive engagement with each other in and out of committee meetings to improve bipartisan relations, and to identify areas for bipartisan legislative cooperation. The gatherings should be off-the-record and occur at least every two years at the beginning of a new Congress. The design for these meetings should draw on the model proposed by the Working Group for a Working Congress led by Representative Cleaver and Representative Granger with the support of NICD.

## Ratings



## The Case For

When committee members come to see each other as fellow human beings, committed to our country, with common personal interests, hopes and challenges, it becomes easier to treat each other with respect and civility. The greater rapport, in turn, facilitates productive engagement of substantive differences in the service of sound, collaborative decision making.

Doing this at a committee level makes sense for two reasons. First, committees provide a small, intimate and manageable opportunity for relationship building. Second, good bipartisan relations among committee members are especially consequential because they are charged by the body with making good decisions about possible legislation on topics germane to the committee.

Beyond the benefit of getting to know each other better, this retreat would provide an opportunity for the committee to develop concrete measures for itself to promote collaborative relations. For example, they could adopt seating for committee meeting that could alternate Republican and Democrat rather than being divided by the “aisle.” The state legislature in Maine, with whom NICD has worked, has recently adopted this seating pattern. The early reports from this experience are quite positive. As one Legislator told me, “It’s easier to work across the aisle when there is not aisle.”

The beginning of a new Congress is an especially opportune time because the composition of the committee will likely have changed and may include a new Chairman and/or new Ranking Member. However, to get this practice started, it would be wise not to wait until the next Congress.

## The Case Against

Few substantive arguments are made against more frequent informal and educational events aimed at building collaborative relations. The case against is mostly limited to those who really believe the other side is not worthy of respect and civility.

### Variation and Enhancement

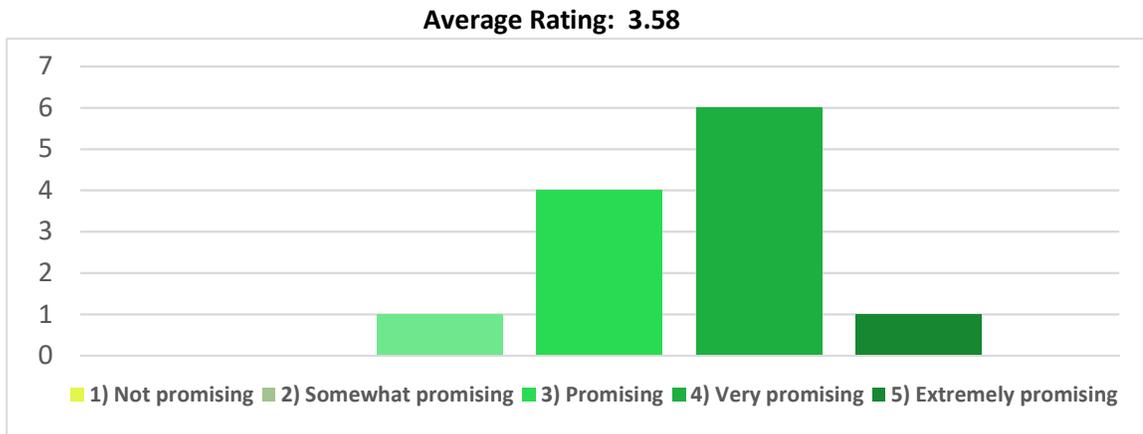
Time for committee members to share with each other an experience or person who shaped their values could make the biennial committee retreats more effective in developing productive relations. NICD has used this exercise in the workshops it has conducted with for state legislatures. The approach has proven to be remarkably effective with the 16 state legislatures and 1,000 individual legislators with we have done it.

### 3. Periodic Informal Committee Gatherings

#### Recommendation

The members of congressional committees should meet periodically for informal gatherings that could include a focus on a general topic of mutual interest. The meetings could include talks and panels by experts. The topics need not be strictly related to legislative topics. To provide maximum opportunities for bipartisan relationship building, the meetings should be off-the-record and occur at least quarterly, if not monthly.

#### Ratings



#### The Case For

The case for informal committee gatherings is similar to the case for biennial committee retreats. The periodic informal gatherings would be useful supplements that would allow for deeper dives on particular topics of interest and more frequent informal interactions than every two years.

#### The Case Against

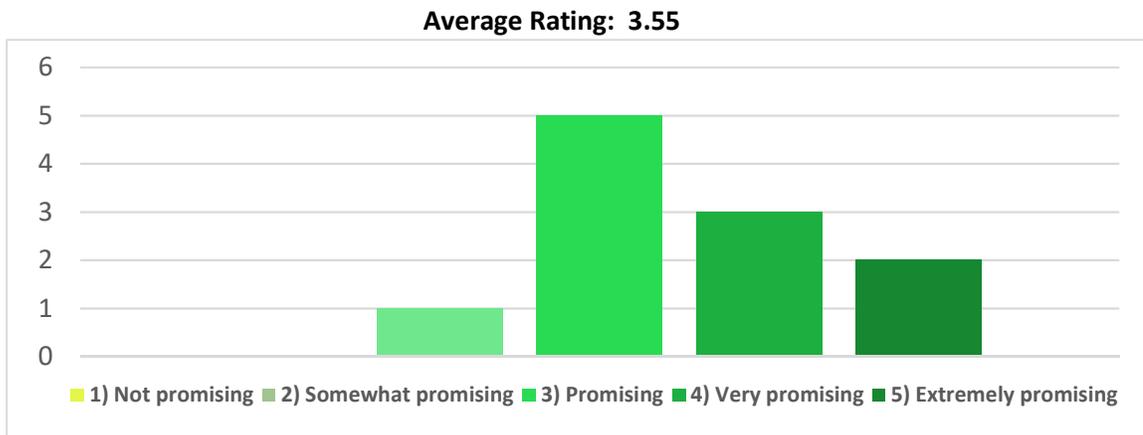
Few substantive arguments are made against more frequent informal and educational bipartisan events. The case against is mostly limited to those who really believe the other side is not worthy to engage with respect and civility.

#### 4. Biennial Joint Party Caucus “Hershey” Style Retreats

##### Recommendation

Congress should hold biennial retreats for all Members at the beginning of each new Congress. The retreats should draw from the best of the “Hershey” model (so named because the first few were held in Hershey, PA) originally led by Representatives LaHood and Skaggs that occurred at the beginning of each new Congress from 1997—2003. Members should spend several days offsite, within several hours of Washington, with family members invited. The program should include speakers, opportunities to socialize, and working sessions to make recommendations for improving bipartisan relations. The retreat should be planned by a bipartisan committee appointed by Congressional leadership.

##### Ratings



##### The Case For

The case for Congressional retreats is similar to the case for committee retreats. The several-day length facilitates more interaction for a much larger group. The offsite location limits the distractions. The inclusion of family significantly deepens the connections that are made. As Members meet each other’s family, and as Members’ families interact and become friends during the family activities, they will find it easier to recognize all that they share.

##### The Case Against

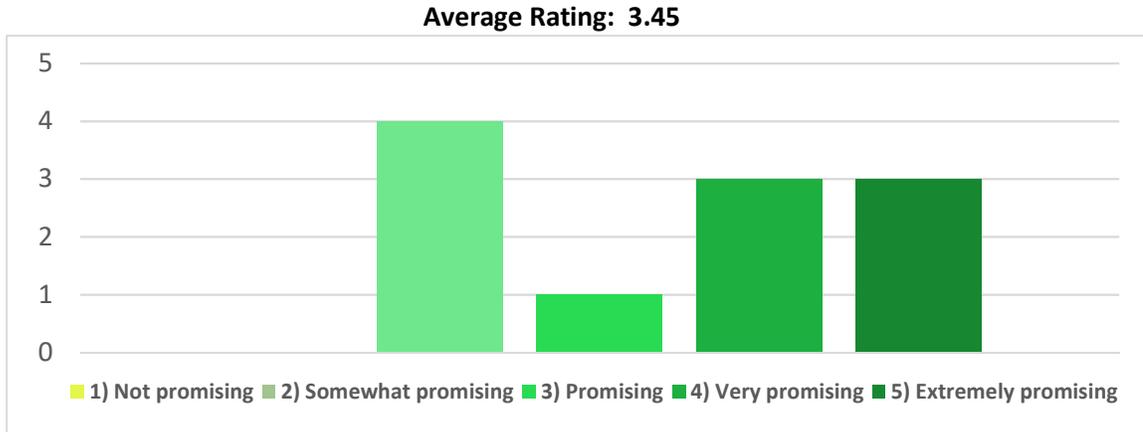
The political optics of Members of Congress socializing at an attractive retreat location concerns some. Such a retreat for hundreds of people is expensive and would require finding, as the Hershey retreats did, outside funding. Even many supporters agree that it would be inappropriate to use taxpayer dollars. Perhaps the biggest critique of this approach is that it was already tried. Participants and funders did not see a meaningful improvement in bipartisan relations and civility, the stated goal of the retreats, when they were conducted before. They did not continue because participation and support waned over time and both are required to sustain such an ambitious gathering.

## 5. Schedule

### Recommendation

The congressional calendar should move to a full five-day work week that starts Monday morning and concludes Friday afternoon. The calendar should also schedule two consecutive five-day weeks in session, followed by one full week not in session.

### Ratings



### The Case For

Experts recommend this schedule change for three main reasons. First, two consecutive five-day weeks would provide significantly more opportunity for Members to engage with each other and forge better relations. Under the current schedule, much of the Members' time is consumed with formal committee meetings, floor votes, and meetings with interest groups and constituents. The proposed schedule would provide more time to engage each other informally, essential to building healthy relationships and effective problem solving. Many Members who served decades ago point out that they had many more informal social events, including weekend gatherings with family, when work weeks were longer and more Members moved with their families to Washington DC. The result, they argue, was more civil and productive engagement of differences and more collaborative decision making for the country.

Second, supporters of the schedule change observe that less than three days per week is simply insufficient time to make sound policy on the most pressing legislative questions facing a country of over 300 million people.

Third, advocates point to the efficiency gains that could be realized by significantly cutting the time Members spend traveling back and forth from their Congressional District each week. As seen in rows 8 and 10 of Table 1, because the third-week in the rotation is not in session and Members are already in their Congressional District, every Member saves one round trip in the three-week cycle, a 33% reduction in travel time. If a Member stayed in Washington over the weekend in between the two consecutive five-day weeks in session, that Member would save an additional round trip, for a total reduction in travel time of 67% (see rows 2 and 4 of Table 1).

**Table 1:  
Travel Time Savings for Reform Schedule Over Three-Week Cycle**

	<b>Today's Schedule</b>	<b>Reform Schedule, If Spend All Weekends in CD</b>	<b>Reform Schedule, If Spend 2 of 3 Weekends in CD</b>
1	Week 1: In session	Week 1: In session	Week 1: In session
2	1 <sup>st</sup> one-way trip: Travel to CD	1 <sup>st</sup> one-way trip: Travel to CD	<b>No travel</b>
3	Weekend 1: In CD	Weekend 1: In CD	Weekend 1: In DC
4	2 <sup>nd</sup> one-way trip: Travel to DC	2 <sup>nd</sup> one-way trip: Travel to DC	<b>No travel</b>
5	Week 2: In session	Week 2: In session	Week 2: In session
6	3 <sup>rd</sup> one-way trip: Travel to CD	3 <sup>rd</sup> one-way trip: Travel to CD	1 <sup>st</sup> one-way trip: Travel to CD
7	Weekend 2: In CD	Weekend 2: In CD	Weekend 2: In CD
8	4 <sup>th</sup> one-way trip: Travel to DC	<b>No travel</b>	<b>No travel</b>
9	Week 3: In session	Week 3: Not in session, in CD	Week 3: Not in session, in CD
10	5 <sup>th</sup> one-way trip: Travel to CD	<b>No travel</b>	<b>No travel</b>
11	Weekend 3: In CD	Weekend 3: In CD	Weekend 3: In CD
12	6 <sup>th</sup> one-way trip: Travel to DC	4 <sup>th</sup> one-way trip: Travel to DC	2 <sup>nd</sup> one-way trip: Travel to DC
13	<b>Total Trips: 6 one-way/3 round</b>	<b>Total Trips: 4 one-way/2 round</b>	<b>Total Trips: 2 one-way/1 round</b>
14	<b>Total Travel Hours: 18</b> (if 3-hour one-way trip)	<b>Total Travel Hours: 12</b> (if 3-hour one-way trip)	<b>Total Travel Hours: 6</b> (if 3-hour one-way trip)
15		<b>Total travel hours saved: 6</b> (if 3-hour one-way trip)	<b>Total travel hours saved: 12</b> (if 3-hour one-way trip)
16		<b>% Travel Time Saved: 33%</b>	<b>% Travel Time Saved: 67%</b>

**Key**

In Washington DC (DC)	
In Congressional District (CD)	
Travel Time	

For some Members whose Congressional District is close to Washington, DC, the travel is not particularly burdensome. For the vast majority, weekly trips home mean that they lose a significant amount of time to travel. If they need to fly, Members will typically lose at least three hours when one includes getting to the airport, going through security and getting picked up from the airport. For Members from districts in the Mid-West or West and/or without major airports, a one-way trip can easily consume more than five hours. With a conservative average of a three-hour one-way trip, under the current practice of weekly returns to the district, the average Member is losing 18 hours to travel over the three-week cycle, or an average of 6 hours per week. Under the reform schedule, even if a Member still spent each weekend at home, they would enjoy a 6 hours savings (again assuming a 3-hour one-way trip) over the three-week cycle. If a Member chose to spend the weekend in between the two weeks in session in Washington, they would enjoy a total savings of 12 hours in travel time. Those hours saved from traveling are then freed up for their work *both* in their Congressional District and in Washington, not to mention experiencing less wear-and-tear from travel.

An additional benefit for Members choosing to stay in Washington the weekend in between the two weeks in session is more opportunities to build relationships with each other.

## **The Case Against**

Two main arguments are made against this schedule change. First, many argue that the work back in their district is equally important to their work in Congress. Members of the House have the title Representative because they are supposed to represent the interest of the citizens in their district. To do that effectively, many argue, they need to be back in their districts engaging with constituents and maintaining a close feel for how policies in Washington affect Americans in their day-to-day lives. By reducing the amount of time in the district, they argue, this proposal makes it harder, not easier, to do the job they were elected to do.

Second, many argue that this creates a hardship on Members' family lives. Under the current schedule, service in the Congress is already an enormous hardship for families. This would make it significantly harder, which might also affect representation. Fewer people with children at home, a significant and important portion of the citizenry, might choose not to serve. The negative effect on families is even greater if it results in many choosing to stay in DC over the weekend that falls between the consecutive weeks in session.

## **Variations and Enhancements**

Several variations on the theme of five-day weeks in session have been discussed. A few of the most influential early proposals suggested three consecutive five-day weeks for every week back in the home district. This version obviously multiplies the advantages of the proposal. Because it also multiplies the disadvantages, and thus the opposition, it seems unlikely that a three-weeks in session, one week out of session could pass.

Another obvious variation is one week in session, one week out. Some proponents of schedule change believe that this version would still realize a meaningful degree of the advantages and decrease the disadvantages. Because it's likely easier to pass, they believe it's worthy of consideration. Others who support two or three consecutive five-day weeks oppose one week in session and one week out. They argue that it's very difficult to sustain the momentum needed to finish and pass legislation with such long interruptions every other week.

A modified version of the two weeks in session, one week out, may well be the best alternative. In this version, the first week in session wouldn't start until Monday afternoon or Tuesday morning and the second week in session would conclude on Thursday afternoon or Friday morning. That would mean that instead of having about eight days at home around the week out of session, Members would have about 11 days.

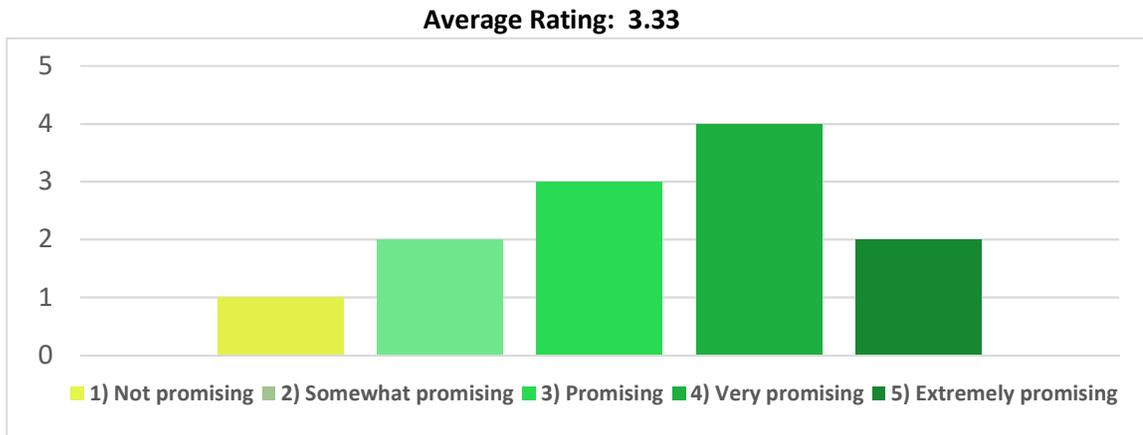
Many advocates of moving to consecutive five-day weeks in the House point out that much of the advantage of being able to accomplish the significant workload is greatly enhanced if the House and Senate calendar is synchronized and much of it lost if it is not synchronized.

## 6. Bipartisan Trips

### Recommendation

More support should be provided for bipartisan fact-finding trips to increase the frequency with which Members have these opportunities to engage each other deeply. Support should include increased funding and modification of the rules so that they still prevent abuse while more readily facilitating appropriate trips.

### Ratings



### The Case For

Descriptions of how useful a joint trip was in developing their trust and rapport are a strong theme in accounts of Members' most important and productive bipartisan relations. These trips provide opportunities for sustained, deep engagement with each other that includes a productive mix of joint engagement on substantive topics as well as opportunities for more personal interaction.

### The Case Against

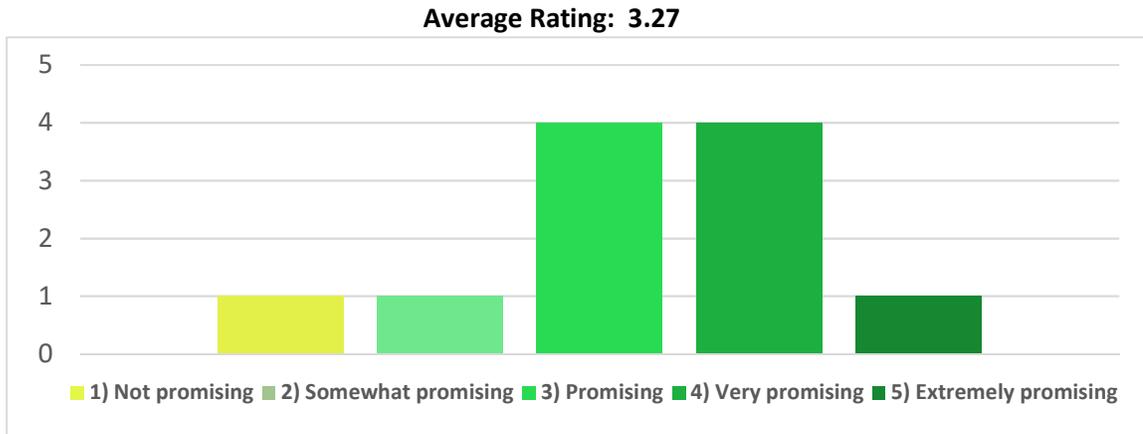
Existing limits in terms of funding and rules were implemented in response to real and perceived abuse. The stereotypical "junket," with images of Members enjoying the high life on the taxpayers' dime are understandably concerning to citizens. Increased support that translated into more real or perceived abuse would further erode public confidence in Congress.

## 7. Periodic Joint Party Caucus Informal Topical Gatherings

### Recommendation

The two caucuses should meet periodically to focus on a general theme of mutual interest. Like the committee version, the meeting of all Representatives should include talks and panels by experts on the topic. To provide maximum opportunities for bipartisan relationship building, the meetings should be informal, occur at least three to six times per year, if not monthly, and should, at least sometimes, be held off-site. The topics need not be strictly related to legislative topics.

## Ratings



### The Case For

Like the biennial retreats, this reform, supporters argue, would address the limited opportunities for social engagement across the aisle for the whole House. Because they are smaller in scope, supporters observe, they will be easier for Members to participate in. With greater participation and with less required financial and other support, they promise to be more effective than the biennial retreats held in Hershey.

### The Case Against

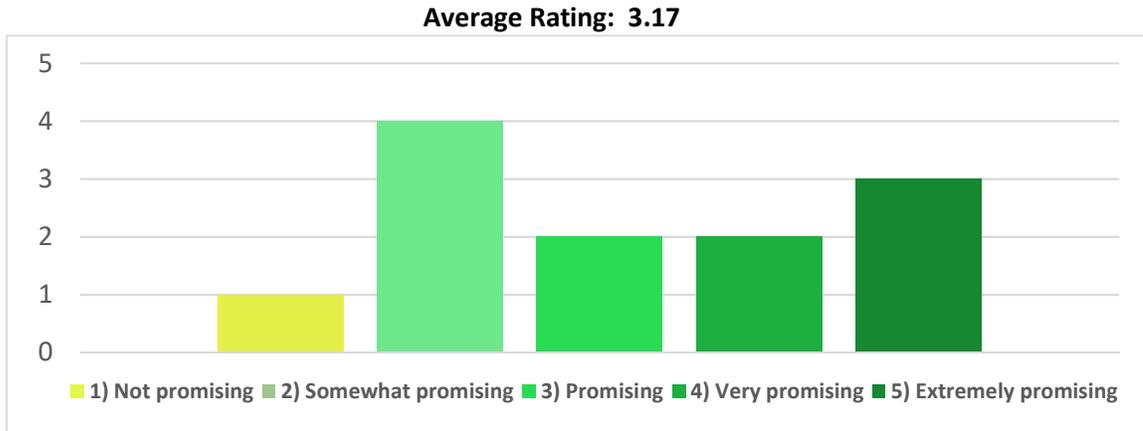
Few substantive arguments are made against more frequent informal and educational bipartisan events. The case against is mostly limited to those who really believe the other side is not worthy to engage with respect and civility.

## 8. Frequent Joint Party Caucus Agenda Setting Meetings

### Recommendation

Joint party caucus meetings should be held regularly to discuss pressing issues of the day for the purpose of finding agreement on at least one piece of legislation that should be pursued on a bipartisan basis. It should occur at least monthly and be held off-the-record.

## Ratings



### The Case For

The case for all Representatives to meet to seek agreement on promising bipartisan legislation is similar for the case for the leadership of both parties to meet for that purpose. Since the House is the most representative body in our system of popular government, it's appropriate and useful, supporters argue, for the full House to have such meetings.

### The Case Against

Some argue that a meeting for a couple of hours of 435 Members once a month, even if off-the-record, is too large and unwieldy to find agreement on complicated issues in an era of polarization.

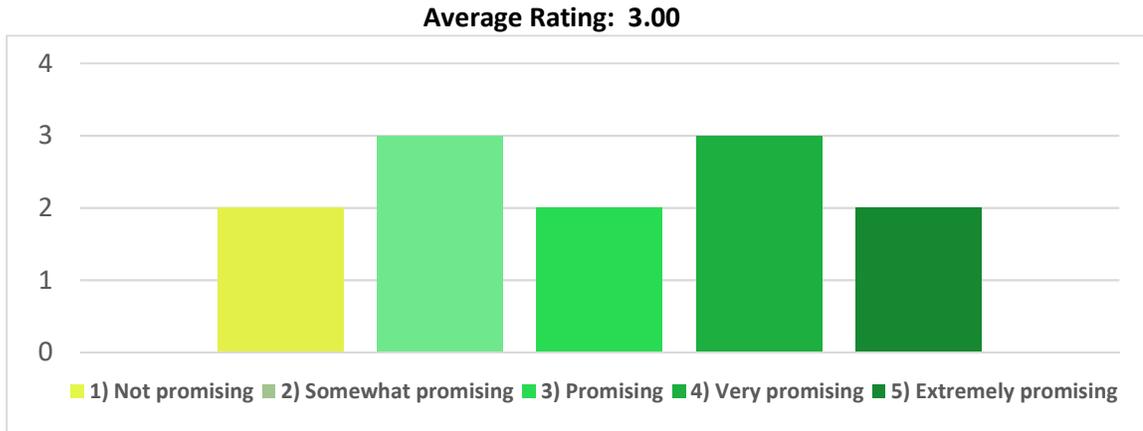
Some also argue that this kind of back room decision making outside of the public's view is an inappropriate way to conduct the people's business.

## 9. Training on Importance and Skills of Civility and Bipartisan Relations in Our System

### Recommendation

Members should be given opportunities to gain a deeper understanding of why the Founders' believed that engaging differences with civility and respect was so essential for the success of the unique American system. The opportunity should include review of excerpts from key papers from the *Federalist* (e.g. #10 and #51) and George Washington's Farewell Address. Members should also be given opportunities to develop the skills of civil discourse and collaborative problem solving. Those opportunities should be provided in Freshman Orientation, in a Congressional Leadership Academy (SCOMC Recommendation #10, 8/25), and/or in informal joint party caucus or committee gatherings.

## Ratings



### The Case For

Many Members of Congress are unfamiliar with how focused the Founders were on crafting a system robust to the age-old infirmity of republics being torn apart by factional infighting. It's useful for Members to understand the imperative this purposely created that they work collaboratively to find measures that attract broad, bipartisan support. It's also critical, supporters argue, that once Members understand this imperative, they be given the opportunities to develop the collaborative skills it requires.

### The Case Against

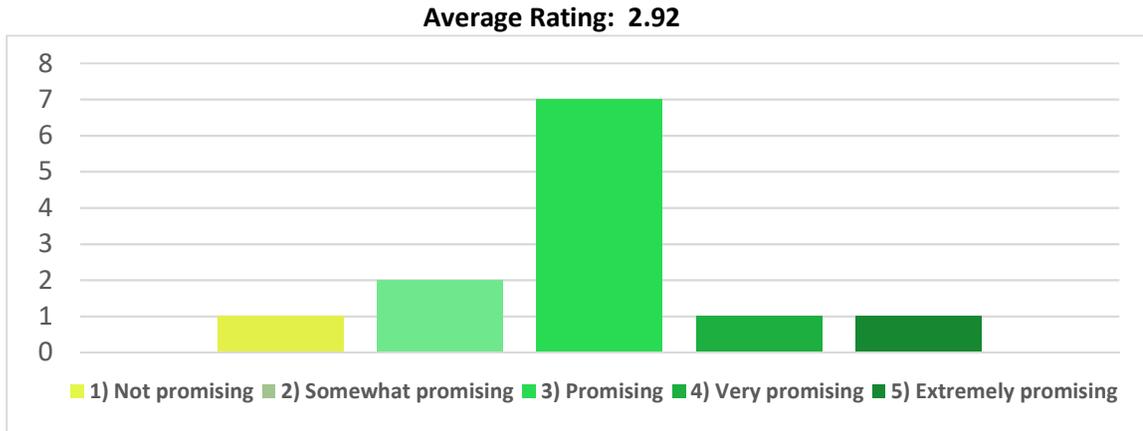
Few substantive arguments are made against this kind of education. The case against is mostly limited to those who really believe the other side is not worthy to engage with respect and civility.

## **10. Support for Bipartisan Caucuses**

### Recommendation

Increased support should be given bipartisan caucuses because they create opportunities to build trust and rapport across the aisle. That support should include funding, such as giving each Member an annual caucus budget or the ability to devote a portion of their MRAs to bipartisan caucuses, and room in the calendar.

## Ratings



## The Case For

Bipartisan caucuses are one of the primary means by which bipartisan relations are currently developed. Since Members are clearly interested and willing to engage in this way, supporting these efforts is a natural way to further promote civility and collaborative relations. Caucuses are also a primary way that knowledge is generated in a less adversarial way.

## The Case Against

Some argue that more participation in caucuses could contribute to a less coherent and accountable Congress because they have no formal authority or reporting structure.

## Variations and Enhancements

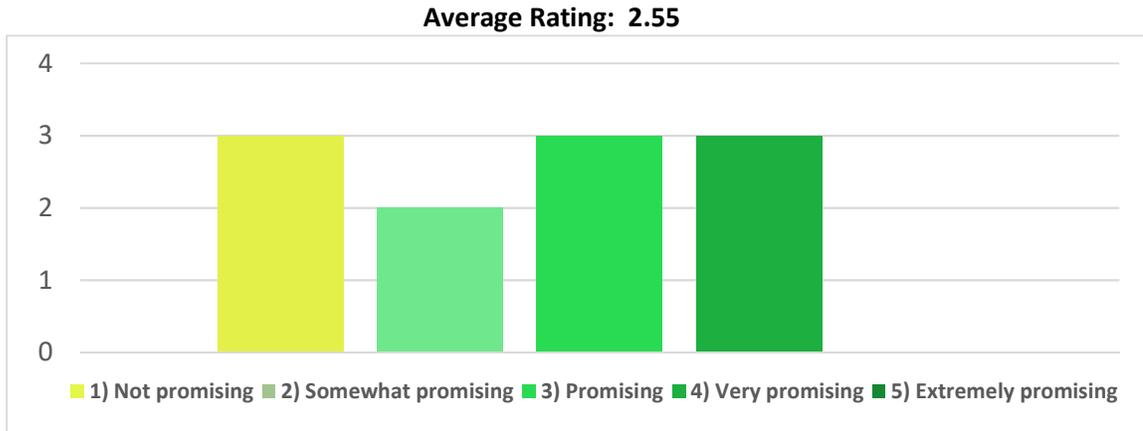
The support could directly encourage bipartisanship by allocating additional funding for caucuses if they are sufficiently bipartisan. For example, if the membership is no more than 60% from one party, the caucus would get an additional bonus in funding.

## 11. Increase Time on Floor

### Recommendation

More time should be scheduled on the floor so that Members of the whole body have more time to interact with each other. Those opportunities should be increased by having more open rule and longer vote series debates (without MTR debate).

## Ratings



## The Case For

Time spent on the floor is one of the only opportunities Members of the whole body have to interact with each other. Increasing the time on the floor, supporters argue, would naturally lead to more collaborative relationships being built.

## The Case Against

This reform produced some of the widest range in ratings. Those less supportive and those who oppose more time on the floor outright observe that both parties can and have used floor time to advance partisan interests in ways that increase tensions and decrease trust and cooperation. One-minute speeches, MTR, amendments, have all been used in this fashion. Consequently, there's little certainty, they argue, that more floor time will enhance rather than erode bipartisan relations.

## Variations and Enhancements

While floor time can be used in ways that increase partisan tension, much of that could be avoided by operating under rules negotiated on a bipartisan basis to avoid those outcomes. Having longer votes series debates without MTR debate is one example.

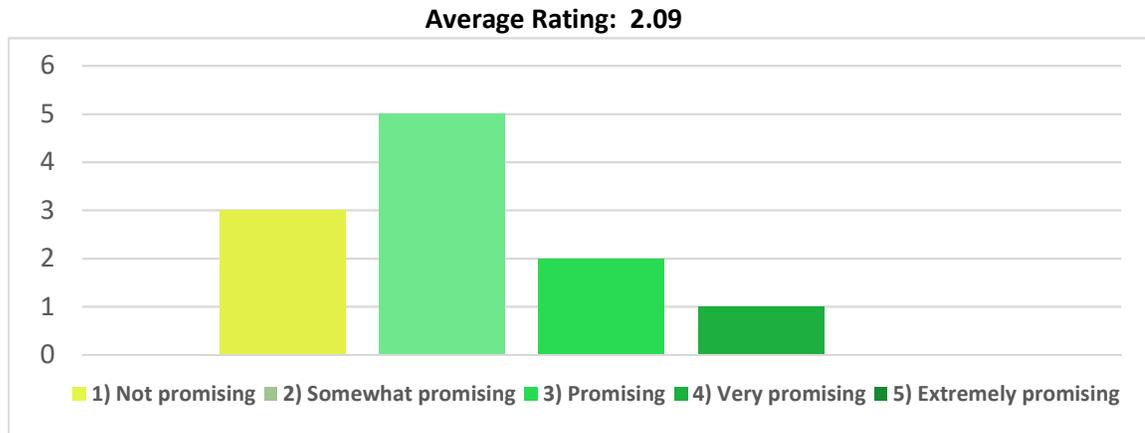
Modifications in how the physical space is used could also reduce the partisan tension and increase bipartisan relationship building that could occur with time on the floor. Both parties could encourage Members of the other party to visit their cloakroom. Seating could alternate Republican and Democrat rather than being divided by the "aisle." Members have done this on their own on some occasions such as the State of the Union. The state legislature in Maine, with whom NICD has worked, has recently adopted seating that alternates Republicans and Democrats. The early reports from this experience are quite positive. As one Legislator told me, "It's easier to work across the aisle when there is not aisle."

## 12. Restore House Tradition of Annual Reading of George Washington’s Farewell Address

### Recommendation

The House should restore its tradition of reading George Washington’s Farewell Address on the floor in commemoration of President’s Day.

### Ratings



### The Case For

The House initiated the annual tradition in 1889 of having a Representative read Washington’s final advice to his country to remind itself of his emphasis on the need to work constructively across party lines in the American constitutional system. The House continued the tradition until 1979 when partisan tensions began to escalate. This would be a simple way for the House to again emphasize its recognition that constructive bipartisan relations help Congress fulfill its constitutional purposes.

### The Case Against

The practice was ended because attendance and attention to the reading of the *Farewell Address* had become minimal. If renewed, opponents argue, the same thing will happen and it will have little effect.

### Variations and Enhancements

This could be another opportunity for time when Members attend and sit as bipartisan pairs. By engaging the various caucuses dedicated to bipartisan relations and civility, an enhanced tradition could be established for broad participation on a bipartisan basis.

A Republican and Democratic pair could be asked to do the reading, alternating between sections, rather than having one Member do the reading.

Since the Farewell Address is fairly long, the reading could be limited to the most relevant excerpts.

## Expert Raters

**Keith Allred:** Executive Director, National Institute for Civil Discourse (NICD); former Associate Professor, Harvard Kennedy School; Founder, CommonSense American

**Rob Boatright:** Research Director, NICD; Professor and Political Science Department Chair, Clark University

**Tom Daschle:** Former Senate Majority Leader; Co-Chair NICD; Co-Chair Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC)

**Dan Glickman:** Former Secretary of Agriculture; Former US Representative; NICD Board Member; Executive Director, Aspen Institute Congressional Program; Co-Chair, BPC Commission on Political Reform

**Lee Hamilton:** Former US Representative; Former Vice Chairman, 9/11 Commission; Former Co-Chair Iraq Study Group

**Betsy Hawkings:** Former Chief of Staff, Congressman Christopher Shays; Former Executive, Democracy Fund

**Nancy Jacobson:** Founder and CEO, No Labels

**Kathleen Hall Jamieson:** Professor and Director, Annenberg Public Policy Center, University of Pennsylvania; Advisor to the Biennial “Hershey” Congressional Retreats

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