



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, WASHINGTON CENTER

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# **Influencing Congress: Scandals, Rules, Ethics, Politics**

**Friday, April 28, 2006**

UC Washington Center  
1608 Rhode Island Ave., NW  
Washington, D.C.

Sponsored by:

The University of California Washington Center, UC Berkeley's Institute of  
Governmental Studies, The Election Law Journal and UCLA

## **PROGRAM**

### **9:00 Welcome**

Bruce E. Cain, *Director, UC Washington Center*, Daniel Lowenstein, *Professor, School of Law, UCLA*

### **9:15 Keynote: Congressman David Price (D-NC04)**

### **10:15 Panel 1: Rules and Reform**

#### **Chair: Daniel Lowenstein**

- Don DeArmon, *Senior Vice President, Cavarocchi, Ruscio, Dennis Associates*
- Anne Joseph, *Assistant Professor, University of California at Berkeley, Boalt Hall*
- Andrew Stark, *Professor, University of Toronto Law School*
- Barbara Sinclair, *Professor, Political Science Department, UCLA*

### **11:45-1:00 Lunch**

### **1:00 Panel II: Lobbying and Campaign Finance Reform**

#### **Chair: Barbara Sinclair**

- Ray LaRaja, *Assistant Professor, Political Science Department, University of Massachusetts*
- Trevor Potter, *Attorney, Caplin and Drysdale*
- Rick Hasen, *Professor, Loyola School of Law*
- Michael Malbin, *Executive Director, Campaign Finance Institute, George Washington University*

### **2:45 Panel III: Interest Groups, Congressional Decision Making and Ethics,**

#### **Chair: Susan Rasky**

- Andy Sabl, *Professor, School of Public Affairs, UCLA*
- Jeff Birnbaum, *Columnist, Washington Post*
- Daniel Lowenstein, *Professor, School of Law, UCLA*
- Billy Pitts, *President, Government Affairs, Notification Technologies Inc.*

## KEYNOTE

### **The Honorable David Price** 4<sup>th</sup> Congressional District of North Carolina

Congressman Price was elected to Congress in 1986 and represents the 4<sup>th</sup> district of North Carolina. He received his undergraduate degree at UNC Chapel Hill and then went on to Yale University for a Bachelor of Divinity Degree and a Ph.D. in Political Science. Before becoming a Representative, David Price was a professor of Political Science and Public Policy at Duke University.

The Congressman currently serves on the House Appropriations Committee, including two of its subcommittees: Homeland Security and Military Quality of Life/Veterans Affairs. Price serves the House Democratic Caucus as Assistant Whip. He co-chairs the Democratic Budget Group, a forum on national fiscal priorities and policies, as well as the Democratic Caucus Faith Working Group.

Price has been outspoken in calling for better foreign policy, especially in relation to the war in Iraq. His constituents know him as a strong supporter of education, accessible health care, affordable housing, clean air and water, and improved transportation alternatives.

## **PARTICIPANTS**

**Jeff Birnbaum** is an award-winning author, television commentator, and a columnist for *The Washington Post*. He joined the Post in March 2004. Prior to that he spent seven years as the chief of *Fortune* magazine's Washington bureau and two years as a senior political correspondent for *Fortune's* sister publication,

*Time*. Before joining *Time* in 1995, Birnbaum worked for *The Wall Street Journal* for 16 years. His last job at the Journal was as White House correspondent. On television he is a political analyst for Fox News Channel and is a regular panelist on *Washington Week*. Birnbaum is the author of four books. His latest, *The Money Men*, examines campaign fund-raising and was published in 2000.

**Bruce E. Cain** is a Robson Professor of Political Science; Director of the Institute of Governmental Studies, UC Berkeley; and the UC, Washington Center. He came to UC Berkeley in 1989 from the California Institute of Technology, where he taught from 1976 to 1989. A *summa cum laude* graduate of Bowdoin College (1970), he studied as a Rhodes Scholar (1970-1972) at Trinity College, Oxford. In 1976 he received his Ph.D. in political science from Harvard University. His writings include *The Reapportionment Puzzle* (1984), *The Personal Vote* (1987), written with John Forejohn and Morris Fiorina, and *Congressional Redistricting* (1991), with David Butler. Professor Cain has served as a redistricting consultant on many projects and as a political commentator for numerous radio and television stations in Los Angeles and the Bay Area. He received the Zale Award for Outstanding Achievement in Policy Research and Public Service in March, 2000, and was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in April, 2000.

**Don DeArmon** is the Senior Vice President for Cavarocchi, Ruscio, Dennis and Associates. He is a 28-year veteran of Capitol Hill, spending most of that time serving members of the House Appropriations Committee. Most recently, he was legislative director for Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard. Prior to joining Rep. Roybal-Allard, Mr. DeArmon was legislative director to former Democratic Caucus chair Rep. Vic Fazio where he specialized in agriculture and energy and water projects. He also spent four years as an appropriations aide to Rep. David Price, where his portfolio included health, small business and commerce, trade, justice, and the Food and Drug Administration. A native of Maryland, DeArmon is a graduate of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

**Rick Hasen** is a William H. Hannon Distinguished Professor of Law. After graduating from UCLA Law School, Richard Hasen clerked for the Honorable David R. Thompson of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, and then worked as a civil appellate lawyer at the Encino firm of Horvitz and Levy. He received his Ph.D. from UCLA and joined Loyola's faculty in 1997 as a visiting professor and became a member of the full-time faculty in fall 1998. Hasen is a nationally-recognized expert in election law and campaign finance regulation, is co-author of a leading casebook on election law and co-editor of the quarterly peer-reviewed publication, *Election Law Journal*. He is also a member of the advisory board of the Campaign Legal Center. In 2002, Hasen was named one of the 20 top lawyers in California under age 40 by the Los Angeles (and San

Francisco) *Daily Journal*. Hasen also writes the widely read "Election law blog." His most recent book, *The Supreme Court and Election Law: Judging Equality from Baker v. Carr to Bush v. Gore*, was published by NYU Press in 2003.

**Anne Joseph** joined the Boalt faculty in July 2004 and teaches Administrative Law and Civil Procedure. After graduating from Yale Law School in 2000, Anne Joseph clerked for Judge Stephen F. Williams of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit. From 2001 to 2003, she worked as a trial attorney for the Federal Programs Branch of the U.S. Department of Justice's Civil Division. She then clerked for Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg of the U.S. Supreme Court the following year. Joseph's research interests include administrative law, economics and politics of regulation, and science and the law. In 2002 she received a doctorate from Harvard University in Political Economy and Government, an interdisciplinary program between the Economics and Government Departments.

**Ray J. LaRaja** is an Assistant Professor in Political Science at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, as well as an editor of *The Forum*, an electronic journal of applied research in contemporary politics. His research on American political parties, interest groups, and consequences of electoral reforms has appeared in numerous journals and edited volumes. He serves on the Academic Advisory Board of the Campaign Finance Institute in Washington, DC. He is currently completing a book on the history of campaign finance reform and its consequences for the political parties.

**Daniel H. Lowenstein** is a professor of law at UCLA. After graduating from Yale College in 1964 and Harvard Law School in 1967, he was a staff attorney at California Rural Legal Assistance. From 1971-75 he served as Deputy Secretary of State of California under Jerry Brown. He served as the first chairman of the California Fair Political Practices Commission until 1979, when he joined the UCLA faculty. He has published articles on many aspects of election law and, in 1995, edited *Election Law*, the first law school textbook on the subject (now in its third edition and co-edited with Richard L. Hasen). He has also published on law and literature, and serves as chairman of the board of directors of the Interact Theatre Company, North Hollywood, California.

**Michael J. Malbin** is Executive Director of the Campaign Finance Institute at GWU and Professor of Political Science at the State University of New York at Albany and runs its Washington Semester Program. Before joining SUNY in 1990, he worked for Vice President Richard B. Cheney in the House of Representatives and in the Pentagon. He also has been a reporter for *National Journal* and resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. Mr. Malbin has written numerous books and articles on money in politics since he covered *Buckley v. Valeo* as a reporter in 1975. A sample includes the recent CFI book, *Life*

*After Reform: When the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act Meets Politics* (Malbin, Editor); *Vital Statistics on Congress, 1999-2000* (co-authored by Norman J. Ornstein and Thomas E. Mann); and *The Day After Reform: Sobering Campaign Finance Lessons from the American States* (co-authored by Thomas L. Gais).

**Billy Pitts** is the President of Government Affairs for Notification Technologies where he develops and executes business strategies and represents NTI before federal and state governments. Before joining the corporate sector, Mr. Pitts worked in a variety of pivotal government positions, including Staff Director of the House Committee on Rules and Chief of Staff and Floor Assistant to House Republican Leader, Robert H. Michel. Mr. Pitts has served as Commissioner of The President's Commission on the Federal Appointment Process, on the Board of Directors of the United States Capitol Historical Society, and as a member of the FCC's Independent Panel reviewing the impact of Hurricane Katrina on Communication Networks.

**Trevor Potter** is a member in Caplin & Drysdale's Washington, D.C. office. He is one of the country's best-known and most experienced campaign and election lawyers, and is a former Commissioner and Chairman of the Federal Election Commission. He has worked with a number of political campaigns, including serving as General Counsel of the McCain 2000 campaign and Deputy General Counsel of the Bush 1988 campaign. He is General Counsel of the Campaign Legal Center and of the Reform Institute, both non-profits based in Washington, D.C. Mr. Potter is currently Co-Chair of the American Bar Association's Election Law Committee and a Member of the ABA Standing Committee on Election Law. He is a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution and Editor of the Brookings Campaign Finance web site.

**Susan Rasky** is a professor at UC Berkeley's Journalism school. Before joining the Berkeley faculty in 1991, Susan Rasky reported for the New York Times, serving as chief congressional correspondent in the Washington, DC bureau, and shared the 1990 George Polk Award for National Reporting for her coverage of the Federal budget battles. With a bachelor's degree in history from UC Berkeley and a master's degree in economic history from the London School of Economics, Professor Rasky began her career in Washington covering tax, budget, and economic policy for the Bureau of National Affairs, later reporting for Reuters from Capitol Hill and the White House. While teaching, Professor Rasky also established and supervises the J-School's California News Service, a permanent news service that gives students experience covering state government and politics while offering coverage to news organizations throughout California.

**Andrew Sabl** is an Associate Professor of Public Policy and Political Science at UCLA, where he teaches political theory and political ethics. He received his undergraduate and doctoral degrees from Harvard University. He is the author

of many articles in top scholarly journals and of the book *Ruling Passions: Political Offices and Democratic Ethics*, published by Princeton University Press in 2002.

**Barbara Sinclair** is Marvin Hoffenberg Professor of American Politics at UCLA. Her publications on the U.S. Congress include articles in the *American Political Science Review*, the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *Journal of Politics*, and *Legislative Studies Quarterly* and the following books: *Congressional Realignment* (1982), *Majority Leadership in the U.S. House* (1983), *The Transformation of the U.S. Senate* (1989), *Legislators, Leaders and Lawmaking: The U.S. House of Representatives in the Postreform Era* (1995), *Unorthodox Lawmaking: New Legislative Processes in the U. S. Congress* (1997, 2000) and *Party Wars: Polarization and the politics of National Policy Making* (2006). She has served as chair of the Legislative Studies Section of the American Political Science Association, President of the Western Political Science Association, and Vice-President of the American Political Science Association.

**Andrew Stark** is an Associate Professor of Strategic Management and Political Science at the University of Toronto. After receiving his PhD from Harvard University in 1985 Professor Stark served as the Policy Advisor to the Prime Minister of Canada. He has been a guest scholar at The Brookings Institution, a Woodrow Wilson Fellow and joined the University of Toronto in 1992. He is the author of *Conflict of Interest in American Public Life* and editor, with Michael Davis, of *Conflict of Interest in the Professions*.