

The Republican Party and its Future

PubPol 590S-09, Spring of 2016

Hart Leadership Program, Sanford School of Public Policy

Duke University

Tuesday/Thursday 1:25 - 2:40 pm

Terry Sanford Building, Room 150

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Office Hours: By appointment

Overview: The many governments within the United States, from local precincts to Capitol Hill, are supported by the two-party system. Historically, the parties have worked against each other, attempting to put their own candidates into office in order to gain power over public policy. The cooperation within each party structure is often loose and self-serving. This course looks at the Republican Party, its policies and the often surprising politics behind those policies.

Most political leaders, certainly at the highest levels, have one foot in politics and one in policy.

Whether a student wants to become directly involved in politics or not, whether one considers himself/herself a Republican or not, an understanding of *what is going on* within the Republican Party will help any civic minded person make better decisions in his or her public life.

Students will get hands on experience crafting policy - while experiencing the effects that political pressure has on policy-making. I encourage students to take an active role in our public policy debates. Stories will provide insight on the challenges of maintaining the balance between adhering to party principles and compromising on issues when necessary.

This class will take a critical look at the Republican Party. During a period of sustained high unemployment and underemployment why wasn't the Republican Party able to defeat President Obama? Why can't the Republican House and Senate Leadership act in a unified, coordinated effort? On the other hand, why hasn't the re-elected President Obama been able to garner more than very limited Republican support on issues like the Budget, Immigration, Gun Control, Free Trade Agreements, the Iranian Nuclear Agreement or Tax Reform?

After having spent 35 years in Republican policy/politics, the instructor's intent is to give the students an unvarnished view of today's Republican Party. **Working together**, this class has an objective of mapping out an appropriate and constructive role for the GOP to play in the future of American politics.

It is the instructor's hope that many of his students, after taking this class, will see themselves as candidates for high office - in the not so distant future.

Course Structure: Regular class meetings are primarily in seminar format, with a strong emphasis on class discussion. Current events will sometimes be used to kick off many class discussions.

Grades:

- 30% Class contribution (class discussion)
- 10% Policy Memo and Brief
- 10% Benchmark Poll
- 10% Direct Mail Letter
- 10% TV Commercial
- 10% Joint Editorial (What should GOP stand for and do?)
- 20% Individual analysis of group editorial

Course Materials: All reading material will be made available online through Sakai or handed out in class.

Course Requirements:

*Punctual attendance to all classes is expected.

*Please finish each reading assignment prior to class. Please show up to each class ready for a vigorous discussion.

***Come to each class ready to offer one question related to the readings or a current event that you feel the class should discuss.**

*Turn in the assignments on time.

*The use of personal electronic devices during class is prohibited, unless the instructor gives his approval during that particular class. (See below)

*All written assignment shall be turned in via hard copy. PLEASE staple all pages together.

Academic Integrity: Student are expected to adhere to the Duke Community Standard.

Course Outline:

Class 1 - January 14th, **Introduction:** Welcome, introduction, overview of the course and review the syllabus.

Class 2 - January 19th, **History of the Parties and Citizens United:** *The Logic of American Politics*, Chapter 12, pp. 525 to 574; *National Journal Daily*, "The Declining Relevance of Parties, one page; *Facts and Procedural History*, "Summary of Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission," two pages. *Get your group and candidate to review the GOP Presidential field on the 21st, the next class.*

Class 3 - January 21st, **2016 GOP Candidate Review:** *Financial Times*, "The Conservative Heart by Arthur Brooks, by Edward Luce, 8-2-15; *Politico*, "The GOP is Dying Off. Literally, by Daniel McGraw, 5-17-15; *Dan Balz*, Pew Study: What divides the GOP coalition. *Politico*. "Days of Desperation" by Michael Lind, 11-5-15.

Class 4 - January 26th, **Outside Groups 1:** *Financial Times*, "Million-dollar donors show elite's role in 2016 US race," by Megan Murphy, 7-31-15; *Yahoo*, "The Koch brothers and the Republican Party go to war - with each other," by Jon Ward, 6-11-15; *Politico*, "Democrats recount labor's pressure tactics," by Edward Dove, 5-27-15; *CQ Weekly*, "The Deregulated Campaign," by E. Carney, 9-19-11; *Politico*, "Karl Rove and the Modern Money Machine," by K Vogel, July/August 2014; *Politico*, "Three Cheers for Citizens United," by Jack Shafer, 8-25-15.

Class 5 - January 28th, **Outside Groups 2:** No reading assignment - in class research assignment.

Class 6 - February 2nd, **Outside Groups 3:** No reading assignment - in class student presentations.

Class 7 - February 4th, **Lobbyist and Interest Groups:** possible guest speaker, reading: *The Logic of American Politics*, Chapter 13, pp. 576 to 614; *Politico*, "Arms race goes hypersonic," by Philip Ewing, 8-11-15.

MONDAY February 8th Class Dinner location to be determined. This is not mandatory - just for fun. Please let me know by February 2nd whether you can attend.

Class 8 - February 9th, **Direct Mail:** Please read before this class: *Direct Mail in the Digital Age*, pp. 59 to 70 and pp. 79 to 81; *The Political Campaign Desk Reference*, pp. 85 to 99 and pp. 159 to 165 and pp. 69 to 70. Reference: *Jim Inhofe* November 8, 2013 letter to Pam Morris; *Politico*, "Democrats use impeachment talk to gin up donations, by B. Tau, 7-11-14; *Politico*, "An unlikely survivor in the digital age: Direct Mail, by T. Parti, 8-3-14. *Your Direct Mail assignment will be gone over in class and you can see more detail below. Possible guest speaker.

Class 9 - February 11th, **Taxes and the Budget:** Please read before class: *The New York Times*, 3-31-13, "A Sustainable Budget Should Endure Any Storm," by Gregory Mankiw, appx. 2 pages; *Essentials of Economics*, "The Laffer Curve and Supply-Side Economics," by Mankiw, pp. 170 to 171; *US Economy: The productivity puzzle*, by Robin Harding, June 29th 2014, "The

Financial Times, 5 pages; *CBO: Dark skies head for deficits?* by Brian Faler, July 15, 2014, "Politico;" ****Free to Choose*, by Milton and Rose Friedman, Introduction, pp. 1 to 7; *Motley Fool*, "Is the United States the Worlds Most Indebted Country? Not Even Close," by A. Planes, 3-15-14; *The American Spectator*, "America at an Ominous Crossroads," by G. Melloan, 7-22-15; *Mises Institute*, "Global Economy Taxes and Spending," by D. Stockman, 6-9-15.

Class 10 - February 16th, **The Constitution:** Please read before class: *The Party is Over*, Chapters 2; *Constitutional Conservatism*, by Peter Berkowitz, Preface pp. vii to xii and Chapter 5, pp. 113 to 121; *The Washington Times*, 5-9-13, "Why we should mistrust the government," by Andrew Napolitano, appx. two pages; *Politico*, 10-26-13, "Leading the fight for states' rights."

Class 11 - February 18th, **Pizza; Extremes - Huey Long & Ayn Rand:** In this class you will receive a short overview on how to start a restaurant in North Carolina. We will have Pizza delivered for the class to enjoy during our meeting. We will watch a short video of Ayn Rand explaining her philosophy, but first we will also be entertained by Huey Long and his famous "Share the Wealth" speech. Before class please read: *Wikipedia's summary of "Atlas Shrugged"*, by Ayn Rand the first 5 pages; *The Ayn Rand Institute*, "A Brief Biography of Ayn Rand," 3 pages; *Wall Street Journal*, 7-22-13, "A CEO's-Eye View of ObamaCare," one page; *The Herald-Sun, Durham, North Carolina*, "Will fast-food protests spur higher wages?," by Sharon Cohen of AP, 8-6-13; *USA Today*, 11-15-13, by Fredreka Schouten, "Democrats wage war on wage level;" *Politico*, "The Second Job You Don't Know You Have," by C. Lambert, May 19, 2015.

River Road Pizza Balance Sheet -- bring to class!

Class 12 - February 23rd, **The News Media:** Probable guest speaker, reading TBA. Direct Mail assignment is due today.

Class 13 - February 25th, **Polling:** During this class you will be get the assignment of writing your own Benchmark poll due on March 8th. Please read before class: *Political Polling*, by J. Stonecash, Ch 4 pages 27 to 59 plus pages 162 to 165; *Politico*, "British polling flop prompts global reassessments," by Shepard and Topaz, 5-8-15.

Class 14 - March 1st, **Jobs:** In most campaigns the instructor was involved with, the number one policy issue of the campaign turned on who would be best at creating jobs. For this class please read: *New York Times*, "Need A Job? Invent It," by Thomas Friedman; *The Wall Street Journal*, "College Grads May Be Stuck in Low-Skill Jobs," by Ben Casselman, 3-26-13; *The Washington Post*, "The post-industrial myths," 4-8-13, by Robert J Samuelson; *The Wall Street Journal*, "Meet Generation Jobbed," 5-9-13, by Daniel Henninger; *The Washington Post*, "America's opportunity," by Petraeus and O'Hanlon, 4-8-13; *The Washington Post*, "Bring back the apprentice," by Eizenstat and Lerman, 5-5-13; *New York Times*, "Where Have All the Jobs Gone?" by Jared Bernstein 5-4-13; *The Economist*, 3-16-13, page 13; *The Wall Street Journal*, "The Positive Economics of 'Leaning In,'" by David Wessel, 4-4-13; *The Wall Street Journal*, "Find a Man Today, Graduate Tomorrow," By Emily Esfahani Smith, 4-5-13; *The Washington Post*, "Eroding the economic heft of men," by Robert Samuelson, 4-15-13; *Financial Times*, "Career Counsel: How to hire the best young talent," by J. Conboye, 5-28-15; *Financial Times*,

"A Cambrian robotic explosion," by I. Kaminska, 7-31-15. Note that jobs often make a very compelling subject for TV Commercials.

Class 15 - March 3rd, **Guns:** *Before Class log on to "Polling report.com" and go to the latest "gun" section and note how Republicans and Democrats feel about the various gun questions.* This might also help your thinking as you formulate your questions for your polling assignment due on March 8th. Please read the following before class: *USAToday*, "Georgia town not alone in using gun law as 'deterrent,'" by Larry Copeland; *New York Times*, "Upstart Group Pushes Harder Than NRA," by Jennifer Steinhauer, 4-4-13; *The Wall Street Journal*, "Obama's Gun-Control Misfire," by Kimberley Strassel, 4-5-13; *The Economist*, "America's gun lobby is beating back a post-Newtown push for gun controls," 3-16-13; *The Wall Street Journal*, "The President Gives Hollywood a Pass on Violence," by Campbell Brown, 4-4-13; *New York Times*, "Rewrite The Second Amendment," by Zachary Elkins, 4-5-13; *Financial Times*, "US companies caught in crossfire on right to carry guns in stores," by E. Paton, 7-6-14; *The Conservative Manifesto* by Charles C. W. Cooke, Chapter 6 pp. 121 to 150 (Guns: A study in Success) 2015.

Class 16 - March 8th, **Genetics:** One very big issue the parties will need to deal with this decade is genetic modification. Natalie Ritchie will lead the class. Reading TBA

Your Benchmark poll is due today.

Class 17 - March 10th, **NO CLASS**

Class 18 - March 22nd, **TV Commercials:** This class session will be devoted to showing you how to write a script. I will then ask you to write scripts for a TV spot for yourself (you are the candidate). The scripts will be presented by each student in class on April 12th and turned in for grading at the end of that class. For more assignment details, see below. Before this class meets please read: *The Political Campaign Desk Reference*, by Michael McNamara, pp. 99 to 102 and pp. 175 to 182; *The Washington Post*, 6-20-13, by Farhan Manjoo, "Tuning viewers into a new way to watch," appx. two pages; *Politico*, "The television election," by S. Shepard, 7-27-15; *Politico*, "Can Congressmen Change Your Mind?" by Lazer and Neblo, 4-19-15.

Class 19 - March 24th, **Energy:** Neil Brown has been invited to teach this class. Reading TBA.

Class 20 - March 29th, **The End of Power? Mitch McConnell!:** Before class please read from *The End of Power*, by Moises Naim, pp. 76 to 106 and 239 to 244. *The Politico Mag Profile*, by Jason Zengerle, November 2013, "Get Mitch;" *New Republic*, by Julia Loffe, 11-24-13, "A 31-Year-Old Is Tearing Apart the Heritage Foundation."

Class 21 - March 31st, **Republican Foreign Policy:** Dan Diller former Director of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee will lead this class. Reading TBA.

Class 22 - April 5th, **Defense:** For this class please read: *The Washington Post*, 3-10-13, "Too Big To Bail" about 6 pages; *Ike's Bluff*, by Evan Thomas, pp. 394 to 416; *Financial Times*, "The era of American drone supremacy is fading," by Edward Luce, June 29, 2014; *The Nation*, "Beyond Bayonets and Battleships," by Alfred McCoy, 9-8-12; *Politico*, "The Middle East Is Falling Apart," by Gordon, 6-4-15; *Politico*, "Saudi Arabia's Widening War," by G Sick, 6-4-15; **read again** - *Politico*, "Arms race goes hypersonic," by Philip Ewing, 8-11-15.

Class 23 - April 7th, **Religion and Abortion:** Please read the following before class and as you do so think about how the many outside groups would react to the issues before you: *The Party is Over*, Chapter 8, pp. 128 to 143; *The Logic of American Politics*, pp. 233 to 235; *The GOP's Moron Factor*, by Jonathan Tobin, 2 pages; *Washington Times*, 6-27-13, by Michael Taube, "How to make more room in the GOP tent," appx 2 pages; *Wall Street Journal*, 4-1-13, by Louise Radnofsky, "States Harden Views Over Laws Governing Abortion," appx. 2 pages; *Associated Press*, 5-13-13, "Ginsburg: Roe gave abortion enemies a target," one page; *Politico*, 9-20-13, by Scott Faulkner and Jonathan Riehl, "The GOP's body snatchers;" *The Week*, "The South's influence on the U.S.," by Michael Lind 7-17-15. Finally look up the phrase: **American exceptionalism** -- come to class prepared to answer the question, is America exceptional?

Class 24 - April 12th, No reading Assignment. **TV presentations:** Your TV Script is due today for 10% of your grade. Please come prepared to share your thinking on your scripts with the class. Part of your grade will be on how you make this presentation to others - sell it. Please bring a **Hard Copy** of both your scripts for the whole class and myself. **Staple** them together if more than one page!!

Class 25 - April 14th, **No egg heads, but time to start thinking?:** Please read before class: *Time to Start Thinking*, by Edward Luce, Chapter 5, pp. 176 to 213 and pp. 275 to 281; *The Party is Over*, Chapter 9, pp. 144 to 164; *The Washington Post*, 10-14-13, by Robert J. Samuelson, "Witnessing a turning point," one page; *Financial Times*, "An alpha-male fantasy that trumps reality," 8-13-15.

Class 26 - April 19th, **Compromise -- please:** Please read before class: *The Spirit of Compromise*, by Gutmann and Thompson, pp. 1 to 24; *New York Times*, "The Hunger Games," by Paul Krugman, 7-15-13; *Senator Richard Lugar*, Address to the Seventh Circuit Bar Association 5-6-13; *New York Times*, "The Quality of Fear," David Brooks, 10-21-14; *Senator Richard Lugar*, Speech to the 2015 Edgar Fellows Program, 8-4-15; *Politico*, "The House of Jim Wright," by J. Barry, 5-7-15.

Class 27 - April 21st, **Millennial Generation and Civility:** *Marty Morris will give books to each student earlier in the year - these books will be discussed during the class as outlined when Marty presents you with your book.* Please also read before class: *Fast Future*, by David Burstein, pp. ix to xii and pp. 125 to 152; A two page note from Mayor Blair Milo of Laporte, Indiana that was published in the *Howey Politics Indiana*; *Wall Street Journal*, "Summer Jobs for the Guilty Generation," by Andy Kessler, 7-9-13; *The Selfie Vote*, by Kristen Anderson, pp. 211 to 222.

Class 28 - April 26th, **Final Class at Devine's: Turn in your final papers and enjoy lunch.**

More detail on the Class Assignments: Each assignment will also be gone over in detail in class.

30% Class Contribution. Obviously this class is a seminar (S) and will be graded as such. Grades will include initiating and joining in class discussion. Come to each class ready to offer *one question* related to the readings or current events that you feel the class should discuss. Though grading class *contribution* must be subjective, this instructor will to some degree use the following rubric in class: the number of times you contributed (spoke) in class, the relevance of the comments, if a sound argument is being made, if you respect differing points of view and if and how you respond to the position of other students. If you presented a question of some merit for the class, that will also earn credit. *I would appreciate your finding a seat you like in the first few classes and then sticking with it - that makes grading class contribution easier for the instructor, thank you.*

10% On January 26, you will be assigned one "outside group," that is now among those dominating the Republican Party - for example, the NRA. I will play the role of a big city mayor who is planning a run for the US Senate. The "Mayor" is going to Washington to meet with your group - it is already on the schedule and he (I) cannot back out of the meeting without embarrassment. The "Mayor" knows very little about most of the groups assigned to the class. You should come to class understanding the general thrust of what the group does, example: the NRA very proactively protects the rights of gun ownership. On January 28, you may probe the "Mayor" to find out where he personally stands on the issues your group is interested in and the questions you think he will be asked when meeting with your assigned "outside group." As in an actual Mayor's office, this meeting is critical for your (a new staffer's) understanding of where your principal (boss) stands on the issues so that you can prepare a memo. Obviously, in order to know what questions to ask the "Mayor" you should search the web page of the group or read articles about the group before January 28. Finally, on February 2, you will hand the "Mayor" a half page memo on what this group is about. In this memo address the following: 1. What the candidate should be aware of, 2. What questions the "Mayor" might encounter, and 3. How he should answer those questions taking into account his expressed positions. You will have 3 minutes to highlight your points - the "Mayor" is a busy man and values your ability to be very succinct. Pay special attention to trying to keep your boss out of trouble and to have him ready - you are "paid" to do this. Also pay attention to positive opportunities to advance your boss's prospects of winning a Senate seat. For the most part, I will not assign groups that I (Marty Morris) have not had experience with - alas sometimes negative meetings - but that will make it easier for me to judge your advice.

10% I will talk often about the effect Direct Mail has on politics/policy. February 9 will be devoted to digging into direct mail. Due on February 23, you are to write a direct mail piece with a response document; you are the candidate this time. Your piece does not need to be a final draft as far as design goes -- colors, pictures etc., but you need to clearly show your design as you would for a professional printer who would follow your instructions. The text turned in will, however, need to be final copy, ready to go to a printer. Your assigned reading and our class work on 2-9-16 will help clarify these points. For the purpose of this letter assume you are an American citizen, 25 years or older and are running for US Congress. You may run as a Republican, Democrat or Independent. You may run in any district in the United States. The

seat can be open - meaning no incumbent, if you choose. You must introduce yourself to these potential givers to your campaign. You may not be negative toward another human, but you may be negative toward issues. As you will learn on February 9, the length is up to you. The objective is to use the mailing to raise money for the candidate - that is you. I will want to see some substance on issues, but make sure to present issues so that an average giver will understand and be compelled to get out his or her checkbook for you. You obviously will want to be personally compelling - emotion plays an oversized part in this art. Remember as your design gets more complex the cost of the mailing goes up and your net profit possibly down. Your grade will depend on my judgment as to the net profit of 5,000 letters going to the average giver within the party selected (R D or I). Note: Many of us got into higher politics through direct mail -- Karl Rove for one.

10% Polling Assignment given 2-25-16 due 3-6-16

Assume you are a challenger for your home town's United States House of Representative seat. Or get permission from me to use another district.

Whoever occupies that seat - now - is your opponent. Even if he/she is retiring. So, if you are a Republican and he/she is a Democrat -- then you are running in a general election. If you are in the same party as the incumbent then you are running (and for the purpose of this assignment - polling) in a primary election. If you are an Independent then you are polling for a General Election.

You will be taking a "benchmark" poll. Benchmark polls provide the information for creating a campaign plan, they are very expensive. Usually the high cost comes from a combination of the time it takes the caller to ask the questions and the total number of questions in the survey. For the purpose of this poll you may ask 30 question. If one of your numbered question requires more than one answer - EACH answer is counted toward your *limit of 30*.

Example: Q3. I am going to give you a list of 5 people. Please tell me on a scale of 1 to 10, 10 being excellent and 1 being poor how you rate the job they are doing - or did do - while a public office holder. If you don't have an opinion please just say no opinion.

- A. Bill Smith
- B. Sally Jones
- C. Hillary Clinton
- D. Rex Early

This example is 5 questions not 1!

As you know from your reading in class the *sequence* of your questions is very important. Your poll should help you tailor your overall campaign. Local issues in your District

might be the key to your race in that you are probably unknown to most of the 600,000+ people who you wish to represent in Washington.

Carefully choose your demographic questions -- *we will assume your callers will have access to the voter rolls -- so you do NOT need to ask questions about -- 1. Party affiliation 2. Age 3. Sex 4. Address You have that information.* What other demographics you want are almost always determined by where you are running.

As you know from your reading, "informed" questions will help you decide what issues work when you write your TV and Radio commercials. But be careful not to write confusing "informed" questions. The public on the other end of the phone usually has little sympathy for complexities. Also don't waste your money informing the person being polled about possibilities that you cannot produce.

Example: Q25-How much more likely would you be to vote for a candidate that had landed on the Moon on a scale of 1 to 10. With 10 being absolutely and 1 being absolutely not?

This question is poorly written and makes no difference since I cannot get to the moon before the election.

Think about a job you have had that the public might think more of you for working through. Athletics sometimes fit with certain districts. The best way to find out is to poll on it before you spend the money on a TV commercial.

The same works in reverse. Most activities of your opponent are unknown to the public. In this poll you can find which ones do not represent them well by writing informed questions.

I have always found writing polls to be an enjoyable process, I hope you do too.

10% On March 22 we will discuss writing TV commercials and how this art obviously has an enormous effect on the Republican Party. You will be shown how, on paper, to design a 30 second TV commercial (script) and a 60 second Radio commercial (script). Though we are not going to do a radio spot with your assignment. You are to write two 30 second TV Commercials scripts. You will present your 2 TV scripts in class on April 12. Please pay special attention to the time limit: 30 seconds! You will be shown in class on March 22 how to account for music, voices, and video with the TV commercial. Campaigns, even in the age of the internet, still spend the great majority of their money putting on commercials. These commercials have an enormous impact on policy. For the most part, the people who create them are surprisingly untalented, especially along the line of adding a positive contribution to the national dialogue. Again, like with your direct mail piece, you will create commercials about yourself and hopefully issues you wish to push. Again, no negatives about another human, please. Since you are doing 2 TV spots, explain in class how they interrelate and what your objectives are, and which one runs first etc. I will be judging your 2 spots first for their technical viability and

second for the overall impact they will have on voters. I have personally written scores of commercials and hope you find the exercise enlightening and enjoyable.

30% Your "final" is due on the last day of class. It has two parts. **Part one:** One will be a group effort for 10% of the grade. We will determine your groups after classes start. As a group, you are to write an editorial for *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, or *The Washington Post*. 550 words is maximum length that would be considered acceptable for print by most newsrooms. Your group will simply tell the American people what you want the Republican Party to stand for and do. **Part two:** You will also submit an individual analysis of how you got there; this analysis can be *up to* 2,000 words. You might want to refine arguments made in the joint editorial or you may even disagree with some conclusions. This will account for the other 20% of your grade.

I suggest, from day one in class, that you jot your ideas down on how the GOP should change or stay as it is -- what ideas might the Party adopt or discard. I am sure that you and your fellow students will produce a powerful piece for America. To submit the piece for a grade, it must be agreed to by all. Finding common ground is a tool political *leaders* must have. Compromise, as we will talk about in class, is a highly valued skill --but campaign (political) principals might keep one from agreement. If you have gridlock in your group and one or more of you cannot sign on to the editorial - you may opt out by simply submitting to me your own 550 words or fewer editorial on what the GOP should stand for and do. Additionally, (also graded) submit to me, in up to 2,000 words, an analysis of how you got to your positions AND why you could not come to an agreement with your group. I will be reviewing these pieces for workable solutions for the GOP, both in how The Republican Party can become a majority party and how it appeals to the rising (your) generation. It will be up to you whether you actually submit your work for publication outside of class - I hope you will consider doing