

The Presidency
Political Science 312

Spring 2005

Dr. Susan Roberts

“Yes, Haven, most of us enjoy preaching, and I’ve got such a bully pulpit!”

- President Theodore Roosevelt, reply to George Haven Putnam

“A new tell-all book paints President Bush as a disengaged president who didn’t encourage debate either at Cabinet meetings or in one-on-one conversations with his top staff. He was like a ‘blind man in a roomful of deaf people,” said former Treasury Secretary Paul O’Neill, pushed out of the Cabinet 13 months ago for not being a team player.”

- Associated Press, January 10, 2004

“A curious product of our presidential system is that while the electorate casts its vote for only two individuals, it in effect chooses hundreds of individuals to govern.”

- Stephen Hess, The Brookings Institution
September 18, 2000

“All the president is, is a glorified public relations man who spends all his time flattering, kissing and kicking people to get them to do what they are supposed to do anyway.”

- Harry S. Truman, letter to sister
November 14, 1947

Following the 2004 presidential elections, the pundits and the public are all anticipating the course of the next four years of the Bush presidency. With the Election of 2004, voters had to make a choice against the backdrop of a war in Iraq in particular and a war on terrorism in general. Robust campaigning and increased attention of the so-called “undecided voter” saw appreciable increases in voter turnout and new voter registration. We will examine this history of both selecting our nominees as well as that of electing our president.

In January of 2005 we are witnessing the presidential transition of an incumbent president. Several issues come to our attention during this period of change, shift and status quo. For instance, how do we analyze presidential staffing and the confirmation processes for new Cabinet members and

appointees? Do these appointments representative new directions for governing?

January 2005 also asks that we evaluate Election 2004, especially in light of the much popularized “culture wars”/Red-Blue Divide. How will any of this effect presidential governance and separation of powers?

To a certain extent, the presidency has been studied in the simple terms of the individuals who occupy the nation’s highest office. More important, however, is an understanding of the long - term impact each occupant has on the office of the presidency. Pundits and political scientists examined in detail not merely the contemporary circumstances of the Clinton impeachment but the historical foundations of the process. Just as in the Watergate scandal of the Nixon administration, observers of the nation’s premier political institution pondered over what the fallout would be from such a scandal.

We will pay particular attention to the presidency and the unfortunate question of engaging in armed conflicts and wars. What are the challenges of presidential – congressional policymaking in foreign affairs? How can the administration reconcile the demands for monies for both Social Security and an aggressive foreign policy? What are the executive demands for leadership in national security policy? The realities of terrorism and the establishment of a Homeland Security agency have completely reshaped the political agenda from the agenda prior to September 11 of 2001. Discussion of these many national security issues has not abated with the re-election of George Bush.

Much discussion is inevitably center around “all the president’s men [sic],” and as such we will investigate staffing, policymaking and leadership. We will investigate the role of persons who advise the president as well as those who implement presidential policies.

The executive branch serves as well as the fulcrum for domestic policymaking as well. Analyzing the State of the Union addresses, we will see how presidents have set and pursued their ideas in domestic policies and the size and shape of our federal government.

Obviously each president faces certain constraints as well as opportunities given one’s predecessors in the Oval Office. We will, therefore, study the growth of presidential power, the impact of individuals on the office itself, and the evolution of the administrative presidency. The founder’s design of the office of the presidency is essential to any understanding of the contemporary presidency.

Course Requirements:

Midterm Examination

= 30% of final grade

Semester Paper	= 30% of final grade
Discussion/ “5 Good Minutes”/ Pop Quizzes	= 10 % of final grade
Final (cumulative) Examination	= 30 % of final grade

Both the midterm and the final examinations are essay in format, with some questions being short essay and the majority of the questions being long essay. A review sheet will be given out approximately one week prior to the examinations. Students are encouraged to work in study groups in preparation for these examinations. This is in no way a violation of the Honor Code.

Several events will require student attention outside of class hours: State of Union Address, viewing assorted confirmation hearings, and a Presidential “Film Festival”(with details to be announced later).

Semester Paper:

There will be one major paper in this class. It demands both research and analysis of concepts discussed in class.

- This papers should be approximately 20 pages in length (reasonable font, double-spaced, executive summary (abstract) included).
- Footnotes (both documentation and explanatory) are required.
- A bibliography is mandatory.
- The bibliography and the executive summary are not included in the page limit.
- The paper is expected to have substantial research, an explicit thesis and independent analysis.
- Effective writing is expected, and problems with writing will be reflected in the grade of the paper.
- The topic must be cleared with me.

This paper will integrate both the institution of the presidency and the particular administration of an individual president.

The following guidelines will constitute the description of the assignment. You will receive no further descriptions of the assignment.

- The first section of the paper should research, discuss, and analyze a power/feature of the presidency/executive branch.
- You will then apply/analyze that power/feature to a particular president.
- The second major section of your paper discusses this presidency as reflected in two memoirs of figures/assistants/campaign consultants/Cabinet members of this president.
- You should include a description of these individuals as well as discuss/analyze their “recollections.”
- You may include some (limited) analysis by secondary sources for this section. While you need to analyze these memoirs with some regard to the “aspect” of the presidency you have chosen, your analysis must not

be limited to that aspect. Indeed, you may not find exhaustive discussion of the “aspect” in these memoirs.

- You should analyze/compare/contrast these two memoirs, particularly with an eye as to how two individuals may give different interpretations of the same event.
- Your concluding section should round out your analysis of a particular power of the presidency, how a particular president is situated within this power/feature, the contrasting memoirs of “insiders” in this administration, and the intersections of all of the above.

You should begin to work on this paper **EARLY** in the semester even though it due later in the term. I advise that you do so, given that books may be difficult to locate, and you will more than likely have to get books on inter-library loan or other means. Again, the selection of the president and the memoirs you select must be cleared by me to avoid significant duplication by other members of the class. You will need to incorporate themes and theories developed in class, but you can select your books early and read these prior to the discussion of the theories relevant to your books.

Late work is subject to penalties. One half-letter grade will be deducted from the paper for every day the written assignment is delayed. This will be strictly enforced. No exceptions will be made without express and written permission from the Dean of Students Office.

The professor reserves the right to extend the deadline for the class. Students with special exceptions and extraordinary circumstances may be granted some leeway, but this is highly unlikely.

Should the professor extend the deadline, this will not delay any testing dates or the deadlines.

Class Participation:

This is a mandatory element of the class. Students are expected to have read the materials before class and to be prepared to discuss and ask questions of the material. Discussion is expected throughout the class period. In addition to regular class expectations of discussions, we will try a “Crossfire / Pardon the Interruption” format to allow for and to encourage discussion and debate. Specifically, we will employ a feature termed “five good minutes.” We will make every effort to devote the last five minutes of each class to a discussion of current presidential politics and policies, controversies relating to past presidents and the current topics on the syllabus, or to other politics and issues relevant to the presidency.

Every student cannot participate in every “five good minutes” or every class, but you are expected to make an effort to “talk” during the semester. Students who

never participate may anticipate a “D” or a “65” averaged into their final grade. If you feel uncomfortable discussing in class or intimidated by students who appear to a greater command of political opinion or information, I suggest you read The New York Times more closely. You might also investigate other political columnists on line or news periodicals.

Civility is expected in all discussions.

Should I conclude that students do not seem adequately prepared for class, I reserve the right to give “pop quizzes.” Students not present the day of the pop quiz will receive a “D” grade on the quiz.

Attendance:

Attendance also figures into your participation grade. Attendance will be monitored and tallied. Students are expected to attend class regularly. Students missing in excess of **SEVEN (7) classes** will have one half of a letter grade deducted from their final average. I will grant no excuses. You must produce an excuse from the Dean of Students office for any emergency. You will receive one warning if you seem trending toward an excessive number of absences. After that, you are on your own baby. Attendance at functions or lectures outside of the class hour is strongly encouraged and expected but not required.

Office Hours and Consultations:

Office	2040 Chambers
Office Hours	10:30 – 11:15 MWF 2:00 – 3:00 M Thursdays and other days by appointment Other days and times by appointment as well
Office Telephone	2458
Home Telephone	704.892.9874 (no calls after 9pm)
Electronic Mail	suroberts@davidson.edu

Students are welcome to drop by my office at other hours, but I may not be able to accommodate you at that time. I will be available for discussions over lunch and coffee, either individually or in small groups. Planning in advance is preferable.

Students will be on a distribution list for electronic communication, and you are expected to check regularly for updates and other assignment specifics. Do not expect quick response from the e-mail you send to me.

Textbooks:

Arnold

Making The Managerial Presidency

Pika, Maltese, Thomas	<u>Politics of The Presidency</u> 6 th ed
Nelson	<u>The Evolving Presidency</u> Current
Thomas	<u>Election 2004 : How Bush Won</u>
Thurber, ed	<u>Rivals For Power</u> (2 nd ed)
Conley	<u>Transforming The American Polity: ..Bush and the War on Terrorism</u>
Preston	<u>The President And His Inner Circle</u>
<u>The New York Times</u>	Required. Available by subscription in bookstore

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

I. Introduction: Presidential Culture

M Jan 10	Introductory Remarks
W Jan 12	Lecture on Evaluating Presidency
F Jan 14	Lecture/Discussion on Inaugural and State of Union Addresses and presidential rhetoric Nelson: #4 – Washington’s Inaugural Address #5 – Washington’s Farewell Address
M Jan 17	no class: Martin Luther King celebration
W Jan 19	Conley <u>Bush & War On Terrorism</u> Introduction Ch 1: Transformation of Bush Presidency Ch 2: Americans’ Beliefs About Themselves, ...9/11

II. Presidential Transitions

F Jan 21	Brief Discussion of Inaugural
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Discussion of “White House Transition Project”

<http://www.whitehouse2001.org/>

“Lessons from Past Transitions” – Burke

M Jan 24

<http://www.whitehouse2001.org/>

“Tales of Transition” – Burke

“Meeting Freight Train Head On” - Kumar

W Jan 26

Paper Appointments

F Jan 28

Paper Appointments

III. Executive Branch: Confirmations and Management

M Jan 31

Pika et al – Ch 6 – Executive Politics

Nelson:

#26 – Report of Brownlow Committee

#39 – United States v. Nixon

#40 – The “Smoking Gun” Watergate Tapes

#41 – Ford’s Pardon of Nixon

W Feb 2

Arnold Making The Managerial Presidency

F Feb 4

Arnold continued
Discussion of Bush

M Feb 7

Arnold continued

W Feb 9

Catch Up

IV. Origins, Creation & Constitutional Framework

F Feb 11

Pika et al – Ch 1 – The Changing Presidency

Assignment of Federalist Papers

On Line: address tba

M Feb 14

Nelson:

#1 – Constitution Provisions

2 – Letters of Cato

#3 – Federalist Papers 69, 70

- W Feb 16 Nelson:
 #8 – Jefferson’s First Inaugural
 #9 – Jefferson’s Letter
 #10 – The Monroe Doctrine
 #12 – Jackson’s First Message to Congress
 #13 – Jackson’s Veto of Bank Bill
 #14 – Lincoln’s Letter to Hodges
 #15 - The Gettysburg Address
 #16 - Lincoln’s Second Inaugural
- F Feb 18 Continued

V. Presidential Selection & Election

- M Feb 21 Pika et al – Ch 2 – Election Politics
 Conley Bush & War On Terrorism
 Ch 3: National Security & Midterm
 Elections of 2002
- W Feb 23 Thomas Election 2004
 Roundtable
- F Feb 25 Thomas Election 2004
 Roundtable

VI. Presidents, Personalities & External Constituencies

February 28 through March 6 = Spring Break

- M Mar 7 Pika et al – Ch 3: Public Politics
 Nelson:
 #30 – Kennedy’s Inaugural Address
 #42 – Carter’s “Crisis of Confidence”
 Speech
 #43 – Reagan’s First Inaugural Address
- W Mar 9 **MIDTERM EXAMINATION**
- F Mar 11 Pika et al Ch 4 – Presidential Character &
 Performance

VII. Presidents & Congress: United? Divided? Undecided?

M Mar 14	Conley <u>Bush & War On Terrorism</u> Ch 7: Patriotism ..Congressional Response to 9/11 Thurber: 1 – Introduction 2 – Structural Sources of Conflict 3 – Presidential Leadership – Functional & Institutional History
W Mar 16	Thurber: 4 - Presidency & Congressional Leadership 5 – Campaigns on Relations 6 – Presidential Influence: New Solutions 7 – Herding Cats
F Mar 18	Politics of Impeachment Nelson: #18 – Articles Against Andrew Johnson #38 - Proposed Articles – Nixon #48 – Articles Against Clinton
M Mar 21	Continued

VII. “Homemaking” - Presidential Domestic Policymaking

W Mar 23	Pika et al – Ch 8 – Domestic Policy Nelson: ##29 – Eisenhower’s Little Rock Order #32 – Kennedy’s Civil Rights Speech #33 – Johnson’s “Great Society” Speech #46 – Clinton’s State of Union Address continued
F Mar 25	continued
M Mar 28	No Class : Easter
W Mar 30	Pika et al – Ch 9 – Economic Policy Roundtable

VIII. Judicial Appointments & Politics

F Apr 1	Pika et al – Ch 7 – Judicial Politics
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F Apr 8

Continued

Nelson:

#26 – FDR’s Courtpacking Address

****PAPER DUE****

IX. Foreign Policymaking and the Post 9/11 Presidency

M Apr 11

Pika et al – Ch 10- Politics of National Security

Nelson:

#25 – United States v. Curtiss-Wright

#28 – Youngstown Sheet & Tube v.

Sawyer

#31 – The Cuban Missile Crisis

#35 – Nixon’s China Trip Announcement

#37 – The War Powers Resolution

W Apr 13

Preston The Presidency & His Inner Circle

Introduction

Chapters 1- 3

F Apr 15

Preston

Chapters 4 & 5

M Apr 18

Pika et al : Chapter 11: Bush of a Wartime President

W Apr 20

Preston

Chapter 6, 7, 8

F Apr 22

Conley Bush & War On Terrorism

Ch 4: Ideological Conflict In The President’s Cabinet

Ch 5: National Security Policymaking & Bush War Cabinet

M Apr 25

Conley

Ch 6: Challenges to Civil Liberties In A Time At War

Ch 8: Presidential and Congressional Struggles ...Department of Homeland Security

Ch 9: Entrapped In The Narrative of War

W Apr 27

Continued and Conclusion

Thursday April 28 through Wednesday May 4 = classes at professor's option.

*TBA, but I do not plan on scheduling for optional classes.

Th May 5 = Reading Day

Friday May 6 through mid-day Wednesday May 11 = final examinations