

The American Presidency

COLBY COLLEGE
GOVERNMENT 211
FALL 2019

Nicholas Jacobs

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Tuesdays and Thursdays

Diamond Hall 122

1:00 – 2:15 p.m.

Overview and Aims

This course interrogates the constitutionalizing of executive power in American political development. We will examine what power presidents have gained and lost in the country's 230-plus years of constitutional history, and we will pay particular attention to the expectations and problems confronting modern presidents. This course will attempt to understand those issues as ones that arose from a history of institutional change and political contestation. We will also consider how constitutional obligations and popular expectations of the office conflict with others ideals of democratic government, including American federalism, separation of powers, and the expansion of national administrative power during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Only by studying the institution's origins and development can we begin to understand the American presidency's possibilities and limitations. It is this broader understanding of the presidency that will inform our consideration of contemporary events and the current administration.

First, this is an intensive study of a single political institution, but it is not one that we will treat in isolation. Students will learn to think historically (or temporally) about presidential politics, and the presidency's relationship to other governing institutions. We will explore some of the leading contemporary works that place the presidency in historical context and consider what an historical perspective adds to our study, or conversation, about the current president. Additionally, we will expand our sense of "political imagination," by reading some of the classical tracts of American political science that helped to transform the institution, making the president a more public, and potentially divisive figure. Such works not only point to the institutional logic of the modern presidency, but help to reveal if and where potential correctives are needed. This class will require you to learn about specific actions presidents took, but we will stress the theoretical, or generalizable logic that explains the causes and consequences of those actions. Students will develop papers that critique these theories and evaluate their usefulness for explaining presidential behavior today.

Course Requirements and Grade Distribution

Note: To pass this course, students must complete or submit all of the following:

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|---|-----|
| - Attendance and Participation in Class | 10% |
| - Reading Presentations | 10% |
| - Three Response Papers | 20% |
| - Final Paper (Monday, December 9) | 20% |
| - Midterm Exam (Thursday, October 24) | 20% |
| - Final Exam (Saturday, December 14) | 20% |

There are six components to the final grade:

Attendance and Participation: Your final grade is a reflection of this commitment to have completed all the readings for the class meetings and to participate willingly in class discussion. I believe that good discussion requires consistent reference back to the text, so it is also necessary for you to have the reading material with you either electronically, or hard copy. Laptops and tablets in class are acceptable, but please note that I reserve the right to change this policy.

Consider “participation” broadly. Coming to each class and raising a question or two at the beginning is an effective way to start a discussion. I expect that most of this material is new to you, and for many of the texts there are different ways of interpreting the argument. Of course, there are many readings which you might actually disagree with and if so, we all benefit by hearing your criticism. Asking questions during presentations, or responding to a peer’s summary of the readings is also a good way to motivate the conversation. Reading each other’s work at the end of the semester and providing constructive comments is a must. In sum, showing up having read the material is probably not sufficient for most students; write down your questions, concerns, or points as you read. Prepare to talk.

Reading Presentations: At least two times during the term, each student will provide a short introduction for that day’s class. At the start of class students will deliver a brief (7 minute max) introduction to that day’s reading that:

- a) summarizes, in part, the major arguments of the reading
- b) introduces some form of criticism or praise (an argument)
- c) raises 2-3 substantive questions that you have about the reading

Students will sign up for their presentation-days at the start of the semester. The goal here is two-fold. First, I want to talk about what you find interesting. You have a particular world view, and I want our discussion to focus on the political problems you find intriguing. Second, you should feel free to raise questions about what you found difficult or confusing. Your intellectual candor will no doubt help your fellow classmates and help to make our class meeting productive.

Examinations: All students will sit for a midterm and final examination. The midterm will be an open-book exercise that you will complete the week following the fall recess. The midterm will assess basic competencies and ideas introduced during the first half of the semester. Per the College Registrar the final exam is scheduled for Saturday December 14th. The final exam will be an open-book exercise that you must complete by the end of the registrar's final exam slot: 12:00 p.m. The final is cumulative. All exams are subject to the College's Affirmation of Integrity.

Response Papers: At least three times during the semester, students will write a short paper (no more than 5 pages), on a topic of their choosing. Students must submit *at least* one response paper prior to the midterm examination. Ideally, these papers will help students prepare to write their final paper, and they might choose to select a similar topic so that they can receive feedback on their work. Anything written for a response paper may be used for the final paper.

The goal of the response paper is not to summarize the work, but to react to it: what did you find satisfactory or unsatisfactory? How is the work related to problems in our present-day world?

Did the work increase your understanding of a particular issue? Did it change your perspective in any way? What other questions did it raise, and how might you go about finding an answer to those questions? How does the work relate to other articles/books you have read in this class or across disciplines?

Good response papers draw connections between works assigned in this class and others you may have encountered in both scholarly and popular outlets. Superior response papers make me - the instructor -- reconsider something about the book, chapter, or article. Bring your personal set of experiences and worldviews into your reaction, but keep the style and prose elevated. I assign most of these readings because I think it will challenge your perspective on an issue. If it does, great; tell me why and how. If it does not, great; tell me what the author fails to recognize. I will weight your *best* response paper more heavily in the final grade calculation, presuming that you will show improvement in your ability to construct these types of arguments.

Final Paper: Finally, students will write *one* of three final papers (no more than 15 pages), which we will discuss during the first class meeting:

- 1) Research Design – considers a major political issue of the student’s choosing, briefly reviews the relevant literature, outlines a hypothesis and a detailed plan for addressing those hypotheses, and explains the study’s significance.
- 2) Critical Review – selects a major theme or argument presented in class and traces its presentation throughout at least three works. Must make an argument as to what we learn by reading and thinking about these texts together as a collection.
- 3) Extended Response – takes one of the discussion questions from the class and develops an extended response that incorporates new “data.” May add to, refute, or slightly adjust the argument presented in the text or an answer we worked out in class.

You are strongly encouraged to speak with me about your papers throughout the semester. I will happily assist you in developing your ideas and in identifying additional resources that might help you. I want you to walk away from this class with a solid piece of writing that could develop into a senior thesis, or a potential writing sample for future employment. I will also encourage you to attend our voluntary peer-review workshop at the end of the semester (Date: December 5 at 4:00 p.m.), and will offer additional credit for your participation.

Readings, Absences, and Participation

This course will rely almost exclusively on secondary readings, contemporary articles, and other “primary documents” related to our studies of the American presidency. There are two books available for purchase at the bookstore, selections from which will *not* be posted on-line.

James W. Ceaser. 1979. *Presidential Selection: Theory and Development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
[ISBN: 978-0691021881](#)

Stephen Skowronek. 2011. *Presidential Leadership in Political Time: Reprise and Reappraisal Second Edition, Revised and Expanded*. Lawrence, KN: University of Kansas Press.
[ISBN: 978-0700617623](#)

All other readings are posted online for you to download. *NB: The syllabus available online and available for download is “clickable” and will direct you to PDF copies of each week’s online*

readings. The syllabus also denotes a set of recommended readings for each week, which will help those focusing on that topic in the final papers.

Other Policies

Grading: Questions and concerns about a grade do arise. If this is the case, feel free to contact me, but no sooner than 24 hours after you receive a grade. After that time, we will schedule an appointment to meet in person that is convenient for both of us. I will ask you to bring the original assignment as well as a typed explanation as to why your assignment should have received a better grade. I do this only to ensure that our conversation will be productive. My obligation back to you is that I will provide an exemplar assignment, which you can reference and consider. I do not accept late papers. But, if you need an extension on a paper, for any reason, just ask. Requests for extensions on papers must be received in writing, by email at least one week prior to the deadline. *NB:* The final paper has a hard-submission deadline set, in part, by the University's requirements.

The Faculty at Colby College has agreed to use the following scale in assessing student performance. More information about these standards is [available here](#).

A -- Excellent work in meeting the goals of the course, in mastering the course material, in critical analysis, in written and oral communication, or in other forms of creative expression, within the context of the course expectations. (The grade of A+ is awarded only in very rare instances when a student exceeds the highest reasonable expectations for undergraduates.)

B -- Very Good to Good work in meeting the goals of the course, in mastering the course material, in critical analysis, in written and oral communication, or in other forms of creative expression, within the context of the course expectations.

C -- Satisfactory work in meeting the goals of the course, in mastering the course material, in critical analysis, in written and oral communication, or in other forms of creative expression, within the context of the course expectations.

D -- Minimally acceptable work in meeting the goals of the course, in mastering the course material, in critical analysis, in written and oral communication, or in other forms of creative expression, within the context of the course expectations.

F -- Seriously deficient work that is not acceptable. No credit is awarded. F may also indicate abandonment of a course without formal withdrawal.

Academic Honesty: You are assumed to be familiar with the university's policies on cheating and plagiarism, and the potential penalties: <http://www.colby.edu/academicintegrity/>. If, in the course of writing an assignment, you have any questions about whether you have violated an academic integrity standard just ask; there is no penalty for being cautious.

Your Well-Being: If you or someone you know is struggling with gender, sexual, domestic, or other forms of power-based personal violence, there are many resources available through the *Office of the Dean of Students*: 207-859-4250.

As your instructor, and as a person, know that I care about you and your well-being and stand ready to provide support and resources as I can. As your instructor, I am a responsible employee,

which means that I am required by College policy and federal law to report what you tell me about power-based personal violence to the University's Title IX Coordinator, who will ensure that you receive the resources and support you need, while also reviewing the information presented to determine whether further action is necessary to ensure survivor safety and the safety of the University community. More generally, if you are facing any other problem that affects your performance in class, informing me immediately can help us resolve potential problems before they interfere with your work. In addition, you should contact your Class Dean, who can help you balance your work and whatever issues you may face throughout the semester.

Reading Schedule and Concept Outline

Week of September 5th

Introduction to the American Presidency

Thursday: Stephen Skowronek. 2011. "Chapter One: The Presidency in American Political Development." *Presidential Leadership in Political Time*, Lawrence, KN: University of Kansas Press

[Marc Landy and Sidney M. Milkis. 2013. "The President in History: Leading from the Eye of the Storm." in Michael Nelson \(ed.\) *The Presidency and the Political System*, 10th edition.](#)

Recommended: Michael E. Nelson (ed.). 2013. *The Presidency and the Political System*, 10th Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

Fred I. Greenstein. 2009. *The Presidential Difference: Leadership Style from FDR to Barack Obama*, Third Edition. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Stephen Skowronek. 1997. *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton*, Revised Edition. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Daniel J. Galvin. 2014. "Presidents as Agents of Change." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 44 (1): 95–119.

Week of September 10th

The "Executive Power" and Presidential Leadership

Tuesday: [Harvey C. Mansfield Jr. 1989. *Taming the Prince: The Ambivalence of Modern Executive Power*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, Chapter 1.](#)

[Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr. 1981. "The Ambivalence of Executive Power." In Joseph M. Bessette and Jeffrey K. Tulis \(eds.\), *The Constitutional Presidency*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.](#)

Thursday: Stephen Skowronek. 2011. "Chapter Two: Presidential Leadership in Political Time." *Presidential Leadership in Political Time*, Lawrence, KN: University of Kansas Press.

Recommended: Harvey C. Mansfield Jr. 1992. "Executive Power and the Passion for Virtue," *Studies in American Political Development* 6 (Spring): 217-221

Wolin, Sheldon S. 1992. "Executive Liberation: Review of Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr. Taming the Prince," *Studies in American Political Development* 6 1): 211-216

Clinton Rossiter. 1948. *Constitutional Dictatorship: Crisis Government in the Modern Democracies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Benjamin A. Kleinerman. 2009. *The Discretionary President: The Promise and Peril of Executive Power*. Lawrence, KN: University Press of Kansas.

Week of September 17th

The Constitutional Presidency

Tuesday: [James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist*, No. 2 & Nos. 68-73.](#)

[Cato, "Letter No. 4," in Herbert Storing \(ed.\), *The Complete Anti-Federalist*, volume 3. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1981.](#)

[David Gray Adler. 2012. "The Framers and Executive Prerogative: A Constitutional and Historical Rebuke." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 42 \(2\): 376-389.](#)

Thursday: [Marcy Landy and Sidney Milkis. 2000. "Thomas Jefferson: Making the Executive Safe for Democracy." *Presidential Greatness*. Lawrence, KN: University of Kansas Press.](#)

[Thomas Jefferson. 1801. "First Inaugural Address." *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, volume 33. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.](#)

Recommended: James Ceaser. 2011. "Fame and *The Federalist*: The American Founders and the Recovery of Political Science," *Designing a Polity: America's Constitution in Theory and Practice*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Herbert Storing. 1981. *What the Anti-Federalists Were For: The Political Thought of the Opponents of the Constitution*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Sheldon S. Wolin. 1989. "Montesquieu and Publius: The Crisis of Reason and The Federalist Papers," in ed. Sheldon Wolin *The Presence of the Past: Essays on the State and the Constitution*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Richard J. Ellis (ed.). 1999. *Founding the American Presidency*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Week of September 24th

Presidential Leadership and Statesmanship

Tuesday: James W. Ceaser. 1979. "Chapter Three: Martin Van Buren and the Case for Electoral Constraint." *Presidential Selection: Theory and Development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Thursday: [Richard Hofstadter. 1948. "Abraham Lincoln and the Self-Made Myth," *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.](#)

[Lincoln. Letter to Hodges.](#)

[Nicole Mellow and Jeffrey Tulis. 2007. "Andrew Johnson and the Politics of Failure," in Stephen Skowronek and Matthew Glassman \(eds.\), *Formative Acts: American Politics in the Making*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.](#)

Recommended: Wilson Carey McWilliams. 1980. "Democracy and Citizen: Community, Dignity, and the Crisis of Contemporary Politics," in Robert A. Goldwin and William A. Schambra (eds.), *How Democratic is the Constitution?* Washington D.C.: American Enterprise Institute.

Gary Wills. 1993. "Revolution in Thought," *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

J. David Greenstone, *The Lincoln Persuasion: Remaking American Liberalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Alan C. Guelzo. 1999. *Abraham Lincoln: Redeemer President*. Grand Rapids, MI.: William B. Erdmans.

James MacGregor Burns. 1978. *Leadership*. New York, NY: Harper Books.

Week of October 1st

The Making of the Modern Presidency

Tuesday: James W. Ceaser. 1979. "Chapter Four: Woodrow Wilson and the Origin of the Modern View of Presidential Selection." *Presidential Selection: Theory and Development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

[John Milton Cooper Jr. 2017. "Few and Mostly Far Between: Reflections on Intellectuals as Presidents." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 47 \(4\): 789-802.](#)

Thursday: [Sidney M. Milkis. 1985. "Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Transcendence of Partisan Politics." *Political Science Quarterly* 100 \(3\): 479-504.](#)

[Peri E. Arnold. 2007. "The Brownlow Committee, Regulation, and the Presidency: Seventy Years Later." *Public Administration Review* \(December\): 1030-1040.](#)

Recommended: Sidney Milkis. 2009. *Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive Party, and the Transformation of American Democracy*. Lawrence, KN: University of Kansas Press.

Richard E. Neustadt. 1990. *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents: The Politics of Leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan*, rev. ed. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Peri Arnold. 2009. *Remaking the Presidency: Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson, 1901-1916*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Jeffrey Tulis. 1988. *The Rhetorical Presidency*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Saladin M. Ambar. 2012. *How Governors Built the Modern American Presidency*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Week of October 8th

The Political Presidency: Congress and Party Government

Tuesday: [Richard E. Neustadt. 1956. "The Presidency at Mid-Century." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 21 \(4\): 609-645.](#)

[Robert A. Dahl. 1990. "Myth of the Presidential Mandate." *Political Science Quarterly* 105 \(Autumn\): 355-372](#)

Thursday: [Nicholas F. Jacobs and Sidney Milkis. Forthcoming. "Our 'Undivided Support': Donald Trump, the Republican Party, and Executive-Centered Partisanship." In Eric Patashnik and Wendy Schiller \(eds.\), *Donald Trump and American Politics* \[tentative title\]. Lawrence, KN: University of Kansas Press.](#)

Recommended: Theodore Lowi. 1985. *The Personal President: Power Invested, Promise Unfulfilled*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Byron Shafer. 1983. *Quiet Revolution: The Struggle for the Democratic Party and the Shaping of Post-Reform Politics*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Marc Landy. 2002. "Presidential Party Leadership and Party Realignment: FDR and the Making of the New Deal Democratic Party," in Sidney Milkis and Jerome Mileur (eds.) *The New Deal and the Triumph of Liberalism*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Paul Light. 1999. *The President's Agenda: Domestic Policy Choice from Kennedy to Clinton*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Week of October 15th

The Administrative Presidency: Bureaucracy and the Courts

Tuesday: [David E. Lewis and Terry M. Moe. 2010. "The Presidency and the Bureaucracy: The Levers of Political Control," in Michael Nelson ed., *The Presidency and the Political System*, 10th Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 367-401.](#)

[Timothy Conlan, and Paul Posner. 2016. "Inflection Point? Federalism and the Obama Administration." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 41 \(3\): 421-446.](#)

Thursday: [William Howell. 2003. "The Institutional Foundations of Judicial Deference." *Power without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.](#)

[Louis Fisher. 2016. "The State Secrets Privilege: From Bush II to Obama." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 46 \(1\): 173-193.](#)

Recommended: Christopher S. Kelley and Bryan W. Marshall. 2008. "The Last Word: Presidential Power and the Role of Signing Statements." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 38 (June): 248-267.

Richard Nathan. 1983. *The Administrative Presidency*. New York: Wiley.

Charlie Savage. 2008. *Takeover: The Return of the Imperial Presidency and the Subversion of American Democracy*. New York: Back Bay Books.

James L. Sundquist. 1968. *Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Charles O. Jones. 1994. *The Presidency in a Separated System*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Scott C. James. 2000. *Presidents, Parties, and the State: A Party System Perspective on Regulatory Choice, 1884-1936*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Louis Fisher. 2017. *Supreme Court Expansion of Presidential Power: Unconstitutional Leanings*. Lawrence, KN: University Press of Kansas.

Kermit L. Hall (ed.). 2000. *The Least Dangerous Branch: Separation of Powers and Court Packing*. New York, NY: Garland Publishing.

Week of October 24th

*****Midterm Examination*****

****Exams Due via Email by Friday, October 25th at 5:00 p.m.****

Week of October 29th

The Rhetorical Presidency: The Press and Public Engagement

Tuesday: [Jeffrey E. Cohen. 2015. "Presidential Representation and Public Opinion." *Presidential Leadership in Public Opinion: Causes and Consequences*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.](#)

[George C. Edwards and B. Dan Wood. 1999. "Who Influences Whom? The President, Congress, and the Media." *American Political Science Review* 93 \(2\): 327-344.](#)

Thursday: [Brendan J. Doherty. 2012. "The Evolving Role of White House Staff in Electoral Decision-Making." *The Rise of the President's Permanent Campaign*. Lawrence, KN: University Press of Kansas.](#)

[Aniko Bodroghkozy. 2014. "The Media," in Marc Selverstone \(ed.\) *A Companion to John F. Kennedy*. New York, NY: Wiley Blackwell.](#)

Recommended: Samuel Kernell. 2005. *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

George C. Edwards III. 2003. *On Deaf Ears: The Limits of the Bully Pulpit*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Brandice Canes-Wrone. 2005. *Who Leads Whom? Presidents, Policy, and the Public*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Terri Bimes and Stephen Skowronek. 1996. "Woodrow Wilson's Critique of Popular Leadership: Reassessing the Modern-Traditional Divide in Presidential History." *Polity* 29 (1): 27-63.

Week of November 5th

The Global Presidency: Military and Foreign Powers

Tuesday: [Andrew Polsky, Jr. 2010. "The Presidency At War: Unchecked Power, Uncertain Leadership," in Michael Nelson \(ed.\), *The Presidency and the Political System*, 10th Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 489-509.](#)

[Gary J. Schmitt. 2017. "Going to War: The Constitutional and Strategic Roots of the Imperial Presidency." In Gary J. Schmitt, Joseph M. Bessette, and Andrew E. Busch \(eds.\) *The Imperial Presidency and the Constitution*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.](#)

Thursday: Stephen Skowronek. 2011. "Chapter Five: The Imperial Presidency Thesis Revisited: George W. Bush at the Point of No Return." *Presidential Leadership in Political Time*, Lawrence, KN: University of Kansas Press.

[Robert Jackson's Concurring Opinion, in *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579 \(1952\).](#)

Recommended: Eric A. Posner and Adrian Vermeule. 2010. *The Executive Unbound: After the Madisonian Republic*. New York: Oxford University Press

Aaron Wildavsky. 1966. "The Two Presidencies." *Trans-Action* 4 (December): 162-173.

John Yoo. 2004. "War, Responsibility and the Age of Terror," *Stanford Law Review* 57 (December): 793-823

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. 1973. *The Imperial Presidency*. New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin.

Neal Kumar Katyal. 2006. "Internal Separation of Powers: Checking Today's Most Dangerous Branch from Within," *Yale Law Journal* 115 (October): 2314-2349.

Andrew J. Polsky. 2012. *Elusive Victories: The American Presidency at War*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Saikrishna Prakash. 2015. *Imperial from the Beginning: The Constitution of the Original Executive*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Week of November 12th

Presidential Greatness

Tuesday: [Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. 1960. "On Heroic Leadership." In *The Politics of Hope and the Bitter Heritage: American Liberalism in the 1960s*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.](#)

[Thomas E. Cronin. 2009. "Chapter Two: The Symbolic and Shamanistic Functions of the American Presidency." *On the Presidency*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.](#)

Thursday: [Sidney M. Milkis and Daniel Tichenor. 2018. "Joining the Revolution: Lyndon Johnson and the Civil Rights Movement." *Rivalry and Reform*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.](#)

[Hugh Heclo. 2003. "Ronald Reagan and the American Public Philosophy," in W. Elliot Brownlee and Hugh Davis Graham, eds. *The Reagan Presidency: Pragmatic Conservatism and Its Legacies*. Lawrence, KN: University Press of Kansas.](#)

Recommended: Elmer B. Cornwell. 1965. *Presidential Leadership and Public Opinion*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Bruce Miroff, "Presidential Leverage Over Social Movements: The Johnson White House and Civil Rights," *Journal of Politics* 43 (1981): 2-23.

Megan Ming Francis. 2014. *Civil Rights and the Making of the Modern American State*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Elizabeth Sanders. 2007. "Presidents and Social Movements: A Logic and Preliminary Results," in Stephen Skowronek and Matthew Glassman, *Formative Acts: American Politics in the Making*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

James P. Pfiffner. 2000. "Ranking the Presidents: Continuity and Volatility," Presented at the Conference on Presidential Ranking, Hofstra University, October 12.

Week of November 19th

Presidential Power and its Limits

Tuesday: Stephen Skowronek. 2011. "Chapter Three: The Politics of Leadership at the End of the Twentieth Century." *Presidential Leadership in Political Time*, Lawrence, KN: University of Kansas Press.

[Andrew Rudalevige. 2016. "The Broken Places: The Clinton Impeachment and American Politics," in Michael Nelson, Barbara Perry and Russell Riley \(eds.\), 42: *Inside the Clinton White House*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.](#)

Jack Pitney. 2017. "Back to the Nixon Future?" Liberty and Law Forum, January 17, <http://www.libertylawsite.org/liberty-forum/back-to-the-nixon-future/>

Thursday: [Stephen Skowronek. 2016. "Barack Obama and the Promise of Transformative Leadership," Presented at conference on Obama's Legacy: Tensions and Reconfigurations after the Presidential Elections, Paris, France, December 12.](#)

[Andrew Reeves and Jon C. Rogowski. 2018. "The Public Cost of Unilateral Action." *American Journal of Political Science* 62 \(2\): 424-440.](#)

Recommended: Eric Posner and Adrian Vermeule. 2010. *The Executive Unbound: After the Madisonian Republic*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Kenneth R. Mayer. 2002. *With the Stroke of a Pen: Executive Orders and Presidential Power*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Matthew Crenson and Benjamin Ginsberg. 2007. *Presidential Power: Unchecked and Unbalanced*. New York, NY: Norton.

Bruce Miroff. 2016. *Presidents on Political Ground: Leaders in Action and What They Face*. Lawrence, KN: University Press of Kansas.

Week of November 26th

Impeachment

Tuesday: [Alexander Hamilton, *The Federalist*, Numbers 65-66.](#)

[Jeffrey K. Tulis. 2009. "Impeachment in the Constitutional Order." In Joseph M. Bessette and Jeffrey K. Tulis \(eds.\), *The Constitutional Presidency*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.](#)

[Mark Nevin. 2017. "Nixon Loyalists, Barry Goldwater, and Republican Support for President Nixon during Watergate." *Journal of Policy History* 29 \(3\): 403-430.](#)

Recommended: Lawrence Tribe and Joshua Matz. 2018. *To End a Presidency: The Power of Impeachment*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

James T. Patterson. 2005. *Restless Giant: The United States from Watergate to Bush v. Gore: The Oxford History of the United States*. New York, NY Oxford University Press.

Beverly Gage. 2012. "Deep Throat, Watergate, and the Bureaucratic Politics of the FBI." *Journal of Policy History* 24 (2): 157-183.

Paul F. Kress. 1978. "Of Action & Virtue: Notes on the Presidency, Watergate, & Liberal Society." *Polity* 10 (4): 510-523.

*** THANKSGIVING BREAK ***
* NO CLASS THURSDAY *

Week of December 3rd
Reforming the Presidency

Tuesday: [William G. Howell and Terry Moe. 2016. "The Promise of Presidential Leadership," *Relic: How Our Constitution Undermines Effective Government*, New York, NY: Basic Books.](#)

[Theodore Lowi. 1985. "The Performance of Plebiscitary Presidents: A Cost-Benefit Analysis," *The Personal President: Power Invested, Promise Unfulfilled*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.](#)

Thursday: Nicholas Jacobs and Sidney Milkis. Forthcoming. "Conclusion." *What Happened to the Vital Center? The Transformation of American Partisanship Since the 1960s*.

James W. Ceaser. 1979. "Chapter Six: Modern Party Reform." *Presidential Selection: Theory and Development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

* Optional Paper Workshop, December 5th at 4:00 p.m. *

FINAL PAPERS DUE MONDAY, DECEMBER 9th at 1:00 p.m.

FINAL EXAMS DUE SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14th at 12:00 p.m.