

PLAP 3310: The American Presidency

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Gibson S195

Office Hours: By Appointment

Summer 2018: July 16 – August 8

Mon-Fri, 10:30 – 12:45 p.m.

New Cabell Hall 287

<https://collab.itc.virginia.edu/>

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.

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 (local, state, and national). 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. Such works not only point to the institutional logic of the modern presidency, but help to reveal if and where potential correctives are needed.

Course Requirements and Grade Distribution

Note: Failure to complete or submit any of the following will result in a grade of “F” for the course:

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| - Attendance and Participation in Class | 25% |
| - Discussion Leader Role (2x) | 25% |
| - Short Paper (Monday, July 24 th) | 15% |
| - Final Paper (Saturday, August 11 th) | 35% |

There are four components to the final grade. First, as we meet every day for three and a half weeks, attendance and participation is absolutely necessary at every class meeting. 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.

At least three times during the term, students will act as “discussion leader” for that day’s class. As discussion leader, students will have prepared a short introduction (1-2 pages) 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: what you liked/didn't like)
- c) raises 2-3 substantive questions that will begin the day's discussion

By the middle of the semester, students will write one short paper (no more than 5 pages), on a topic of their choosing. Ideally, this 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 this paper may be used for the final paper. Ideally, you will use this first paper to motivate/draft the final assignment.

Finally, students will write *one* of three final papers (no more than 15 pages), which we will discuss during the first class meeting. Students must inform me of which option they are writing no later than July 20th:

- 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 from an historical perspective in addressing this conceptual problem.
- 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.

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 on Collab 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 non-textbook readings.* The syllabus also denotes a set of recommended readings for each week, which will help those focusing on that temporal or methodological topic in the final papers.

As mentioned, participation and attendance at every class meeting is expected. 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.

Laptops and tablets in class are acceptable for accessing the readings and taking notes during class, but please note that I reserve the right to change this policy over the course of the semester.

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. The final paper has a hard-submission deadline set, in part, by the University's requirements. I will not accept late papers. If you need an extension on the first paper, just ask.

Academic Honesty: You are assumed to be familiar with the university's policies on cheating and plagiarism and the potential penalties involved (a link to those policies is on the section website or you can find it at <http://www.virginia.edu/honor/> under the "resources" tab). 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 community and University of Virginia resources available. The **Office of the Dean of Students**: 434-924-7133 (or after-hours and weekends: 434-924-7166 for the University Police Department, ask them to refer the issue to the Dean on Call). **Sexual Assault Resources Agency (SARA) hotline**: 434-977-7273 (24/7). **Shelter for Help in Emergency (SHE) hotline**: 434-293-8509 (24/7). And the **UVA Women's Center**: 435-982- 2361. If you prefer to speak anonymously and confidentially over the phone to UVA student volunteers, you may call **Madison House's HELP Line** (24/7): 434-295-8255. More information about reporting options and available resources can be found at www.virginia.edu/sexualviolence .

As an 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 you instructor, I am a responsible employee, which means that I am required by University 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 Association Dean, who can help you balance your school work and whatever issues you may face throughout the semester.

Lecture Schedule and Concept Outline

Monday, July 16th

Topic: **Introduction to the American Presidency**

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

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.

Tuesday, July 17th

Topic: **The “Executive Power”**

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

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

Recommended: Harvey C. Mansfield Jr. 1989. *Taming the Prince: The Ambivalence of Modern Executive Power*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

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

Joseph M. Bessette and Jeffrey K. Tulis (eds.). 2009. *The Constitutional Presidency*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

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

Wednesday, July 18th

Topic: **The Constitutional Presidency**

Readings: James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay, *The Federalist*.
No. 2 & Nos. 68-73

Cato, "Letter No. 4," in John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, *Cato's Letters, or Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious, and Other Important Subjects*. Four volumes in Two, edited and annotated by Ronald Hamowy. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1995.

George Washington. April 30, 1789. "First Inaugural." Available from the National Archives: https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/american_originals/inaugtxt.html.

Alexander Hamilton. 1793. "Defense of the President's Neutrality Proclamation," in Morton J. Frisch (ed.), *The Pacificus-Helvidius Debates of 1793-1794: Toward the Completion of the American Founding*. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2007.

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*. New York, NY: 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.

Wolin, Sheldon S. 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.

Thursday, July 19th

Topic: **Presidential Selection I**

Readings: James W. Ceaser. 1979. *Presidential Selection: Theory and Development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Chapter 1 & 3.

Recommended: Sidney M. Milkis. 1999. *Political Parties and Constitutional Government: Remaking American Democracy*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

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.

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

Friday, July 20th

Topic: Leadership and Statesmanship in the American Presidency

Readings: Richard Hofstadter. 1989. "Abraham Lincoln and the Self-Made Myth," *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

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.

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

Recommended: 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 TWO

Monday, July 23rd

Topic: The Progressive Presidency

Readings: Woodrow Wilson. 1908. *Constitutional Government in the United States*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press. Chapters 1 & 3.

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. Chapter. 1.

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

Tuesday, July 24th

Topic: **Presidential Selection II**

Readings: James W. Ceaser. 1979. *Presidential Selection: Theory and Development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Chapter 3-4.

Recommended: Theodore Lowi. 1985. *The Personal President: Power Invested, Promise Unfulfilled*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1-3.

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

David Truman. 1985. "Party Reform, Party Atrophy, and Constitutional Change: Some Reflections." *Political Science Quarterly* 99 (4): 638.

Wednesday, July 25th

Topic: **The President and the Parties**

Readings: 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 (ed.) *The New Deal and the Triumph of Liberalism*, Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

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

Sidney M. Milkis and Nicholas F. Jacobs. 2017. "'I Alone Can Fix It': Donald Trump, the Administrative Presidency, and Hazards of Executive-Centered Partisanship," *The Forum* 15 (3): 583-613.

Recommended: Milkis, Sidney M. 1993. *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System Since the New Deal*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mellow, Nicole. 2008. "The Rhetorical Presidency and the Partisan Echo Chamber." *Critical Review* 19 (Spring) 367-378.

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

Thursday, July 26th

Topic: **The President and the Congress**

Readings: Paul Light. 1999. *The President's Agenda: Domestic Policy Choice from Kennedy to Clinton*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter One, "Presidents and Resources."

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

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*, 9th Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 367-401

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.

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.

Friday, July 27th

Topic: **The President and the Courts**

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

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

Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer, 343 U.S. 579 (1952)

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

Recommended: R. Shep Melnick. 1994. *Between the Lines: Interpreting Welfare Rights*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, p. 283.

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.

William Howell. 2003. *Power without Persuasion: The Politics of Direct Presidential Action*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapter Six, "The Institutional Foundations of Judicial Deference."

WEEK THREE

Monday, July 30th

Reading Day
Papers Due at 5:00 p.m.

Tuesday, July 31st

Topic: **The President and the States**

Readings: William A. Galston and Geoffrey L. Tibbetts. 1994. "Reinventing Federalism: The Clinton/Gore Program for a New Partnership Among the Federal, State, Local, and Tribal Governments." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 24 (3): 23-48.

Martha Derthick. 2006. "Presidency." In Joseph R. Marbach (ed.) *Federalism in America: An Encyclopedia*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Timothy Conlan, and Paul Posner. 2011. "Inflection Point? Federalism and the Obama Administration." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 41 (3): 421-446.

Recommended: Jessica Bulman-Pozen. 2016. "Executive Federalism Comes to America." *Virginia Law Review* 102 (Summer): 953-1030.

Michael Greve. 2016. "Our Polarized, Presidential Federalism," in Zachary Courser, Eric Helland, and Kenneth Miller (eds.), *Parchment Barriers: Political Polarization and the Limits of the Constitutional Order*. Forthcoming. George Mason Legal Studies Research Paper No. LS 16-37. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2885932>.

Gais, Thomas and James Fossett. 2006. "Federalism and the Executive Branch." in *Institutions of American Democracy: The Executive Branch*, In Joel D. Aberbach and Mark A. Peterson (eds.). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Wednesday, August 1st

Topic: **The President and the World**

Readings: Polsky, Andrew J. 2010. "The Presidency At War: Unchecked Power, Uncertain Leadership," in Michael Nelson (ed.), *The Presidency and the Political System*, 9th Edition. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 489-509.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thursday, August 2nd

Topic: **The President and the Press**

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

James W. Ceaser. 2017. "The Presidency and the New 'Bully Pulpit.'" in Gary J. Schmitt, Joseph M. Bessette, and Andrew E. Busch (eds.) *The Imperial Presidency and the Constitution*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Brendan J. Doherty. 2012. *The Rise of the President's Permanent Campaign*. Lawrence, KN: University Press of Kansas. Chapter 5, "The Evolving Role of White House Staff in Electoral Decision-Making."

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

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

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

Friday, August 3rd

Topic: **The President and Social Movements**

Readings: 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.

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.

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

Charles Tilly. 1984. "Social Movements and National Politics," in Charles Bright and Susan Harding (ed.) *State-making and Social Movements: Essays in History and Theory*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

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

WEEK FOUR

Monday, August 6th

Topic: **Presidential "Greatness"**

Readings: 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.

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

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

Recommended: Suzanne Mettler. 2005. *Soldiers to Citizens: The GI Bill and the Making of the Greatest Generation*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Hugh Helco. 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*. University Press of Kansas.

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

Tuesday, August 7th

Topic: **Re-evaluating the Modern Presidency**

Readings: 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 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.

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

Wednesday, August 8th

Topic: **Reforming the Presidency**

Readings: 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, August 9th

*****Optional Paper Workshop*****

*****FINAL PAPERS DUE SATURDAY, AUGUST 11th at 1:00 p.m.*****