

BOWDOIN COLLEGE
GOVERNMENT 2005
THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY

Fall 2019

Professor Andrew Rudalevige

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Office Hours: Monday 2:30-4:00; Thursday 11:30-1:00; or by appointment

This course analyzes the development and modern practice of presidential leadership in the United States. We will examine the creation and evolution of the presidential office, the process of presidential selection, and presidential decision making in various policy arenas -- emphasizing the interplay between individual presidents and the presidency as an ongoing institution, as well as presidents' interaction with other political actors. Those include the other branches of government but also the president's own staff, an array of organized interests, the media, and the wider public. Throughout, the stress is on the president's need to maneuver within what Richard Neustadt called a system of "separated institutions sharing powers."

Many of the required readings will come from the books below, available through Bowdoin's on-line textbook service or other booksellers -- where, honesty compels me to note, they may be substantially cheaper. They may also be found on reserve at H-L Library. Other readings are on-line, normally through links on the course's Blackboard page.

You are responsible for completing all assigned readings, even (in fact especially) those we do not have time to cover fully in class discussion. But no static reading list can keep up with events -- the presidency, as a central focus of American political life, is in many ways a moving target, now more than ever. So you should be sure to keep up to date with news and political events. Bowdoin provides free on-line access to the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, and other newspapers; and of course, many news outlets provide comprehensive coverage of the White House and Washington happenings as they resonate around the globe. Either way, stay current: it *will* matter.

Required books:

- Richard Ellis, *The Development of the American Presidency*, 3rd ed. (Routledge, 2018)
ISBN 978-1138039247 [paperback]
- Major Garrett, *Mr Trump's Wild Ride* (St. Martin's/All Points Press, 2018)
ISBN 978-1250185914 [trade hardback]
- Richard E. Neustadt, *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents* (Free Press, 1990)
ISBN: 978-0029227961 [paperback]
- John Sides, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck, *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America* (Princeton University Press, 2018)
ISBN: 978-0691196435 [paperback]

Course requirements. *Grades will be based on:*

- *Short review assignment* (10% of your final grade): **due in class October 10.**
- *Take-home midterm exam* (25%): distributed November 11 and **due November 13.**
- *Policy case study* (25% total): a project that will result in an 8-10 page paper on a president's decision-making process and involvement in a legislative initiative of interest: **due December 10.**
- *Final Exam* (30%): **December 21 (1:30 p.m.)** Yes, it's a Saturday and very late in the exam period to boot. This date is set by the College well in advance and *cannot* be changed by the instructor (i.e., me). To avoid heartache for all concerned, please do NOT make travel plans that conflict with this date.
- *Course attendance and participation* will also factor into your final grade (10%). Beyond regular attendance and in-class participation (the latter, obviously, cannot happen without the former), each of you will also be responsible for researching one past president and giving a *brief in-class presentation* on his administration and legacy, which makes up half this grade. There will be prizes! Remember that 'talking' is not equivalent to 'participation.' Active listening is a key part of deliberative conversation and engaged learning.

And keep in mind...

If you are taking this course on a Credit/D/Fail basis, a 'credit' grade requires completion of all work for the course (exams, papers, etc.).

Late papers or other assignments will *not* receive full credit unless an extension has been granted, which can occur only in advance and in exigent circumstances.

Recent research universally holds that the use of computers as notetaking devices is counterproductive: the physical act of writing enables far more recall than does typing, and foregoing a computer (and internet link) provides far fewer potential distractions to yourself and others sitting near you. Further, my Powerpoint slides are made available to the class at regular intervals during the semester. **Thus I ask you not to use electronic devices of any kind during class.** Obviously there may be valid reasons for exceptions to this rule (for instance, see the next paragraph) and you should certainly approach me if you feel one is warranted.

Students requiring learning or testing accommodations need to be in contact with Lesley Levy in the Student Accessibility Office within the Office of Dean of Student Affairs. You are encouraged to address any special needs or special accommodations with me at the beginning of the semester or as soon as you become aware of your needs.

I expect all students to be aware of and abide by the Bowdoin Academic Honor Code. It goes without saying – and yet I will say it! – that you are responsible for your own work. This means following the most stringent rules of quotation and citation in your written assignments. In this course we will use *footnotes* (not bibliographic references) in the Chicago Manual of Style format, unless otherwise specified -- see http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html).

If you have any questions or concerns about this, please consult me and/or a reference librarian. **Plagiarism is *never* acceptable** within a community of scholars (or, frankly, anywhere else); it is grounds not only for a failing grade on a given assignment or in the course but also, potentially, for dismissal from the College.

GOVERNMENT 2005, Fall 2019: Schedule of Topics and Readings

(*) indicates on-line reading available on Blackboard. Schedule and assignments are subject to change, with notice.

I. The Individual and the Office

- *Welcome, Introductions, and Course Themes* (September 5)
- *Creating the Presidency* (September 10)
 - (*) Forrest McDonald, *The American Presidency*, pp. 160-81
 - (*) The Constitution of the United States of America, as amended
 - (*) *Federalist Papers*, #69-73
 - (*) "Cato," letter #4
 - Ellis, *Development of the American Presidency* [DAP], pp. 1-8
- *The Evolution of the Office* (September 12, 17)
 - Ellis, DAP, pp. 8-23, Ch. 10
 - Neustadt, *Presidential Power* [PP], Ch. 1
 - (*) Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, "Pacificus-Helvidius letters" (excerpts)
 - (*) Theodore Roosevelt, *Autobiography* (excerpt)
 - (*) William Howard Taft, *Our Chief Magistrate and His Powers* (excerpt)
 - (*) Jeffrey Tulis, "The Two Constitutional Presidencies" (2018)
 - (*) John Dickerson, "The Impossible Presidency," *The Atlantic* (May 2018)
 - (*) Elizabeth Goitein, "The Alarming Scope of the President's Emergency Powers," *The Atlantic* (January/February 2019)
 - (*) Charles Kesler, "So What if Trump Breaks Norms?" *NY Times* (August 27, 2018)

Note: There will be no class on September 19: an outside event featuring a visiting speaker will substitute. Stay tuned.

- *Studying the President: Presidents as People* (September 24)
 - Major Garrett, *Mr. Trump's Wild Ride*, prologue
 - Neustadt, Ch. 7
 - (*) John F. Kennedy, "Excerpts from Dinner Party Conversation, January 1960"
 - (*) Fred Greenstein, from *The Presidential Difference* (2009)
 - (*) Michael Nelson, "The Psychological Presidency" (2018)
- *Studying the President: The Power to Persuade?* (September 26)
 - Neustadt, PP, Ch. 2-6, skim Ch. 10
 - (*) Matthew Dickinson, "The Politics of Persuasion" (2008)

- *Studying the Presidency: Institutions > Individuals?* (October 1)
 - (*) Terry Moe, "Presidents, Institutions, and Theory" (1993)
 - (*) Stephen Skowronek, "Presidential Leadership and Political Time" (2005)
 - Major Garrett, *Mr. Trump's Wild Ride*, Ch. 1
 - (*) Stephen Skowronek, "What's New in the Political Leadership of Donald Trump?" (2019)

II. Presidents and the Public

- *Presidential Selection* (October 3, 8)
 - Ellis, DAP, Ch. 2 (start to p. 62)
 - (*) James Bryce, "Why Great Men Are Not Chosen President" (1888)
 - (*) Jill Lepore, "How to Steal an Election," *New Yorker* (July 4, 2016)
 - Sides, Tesler and Vavreck, *Identity Crisis*, Ch. 1-6
- *Presidential Election* (October 10, 17)
 - Ellis, DAP, Ch. 2 (pp. 62-end)
 - (*) *Federalist* #68
 - Garrett, *Mr. Trump's Wild Ride*, Ch. 2
 - (*) Rick Hasen, "Coming Reckoning over the Electoral College," *Slate* (September 4, 2019)
 - (*) Andrew Rudalevige, "The Meaning of the 2016 Election" (2017)
 - Sides, Tesler and Vavreck, *Identity Crisis*, Ch. 7-9

Note: There is no class October 15 (enjoy fall vacation!)

- *The Public Presidency* (October 22, 24)
 - Ellis, DAP, Ch. 3
 - (*) D.T. Max, "The Making of the Speech," *NY Times Magazine* (October 7, 2001)
 - (*) "The President's Very Talkative, Very Televised, Week," *NY Times* (October 13, 2018)
 - (*) Susan Glasser, "Letter from Washington," *New Yorker* (September 3, 2019)
 - Garrett, *Mr. Trump's Wild Ride*, Ch. 10
 - (*) B. Dan Wood, "Trump's Approval Ratings," APSA working paper (2019)

III. Separate Institutions Sharing Powers

- *The Executive Branch: Advising the President* (October 29, 31)
 - Ellis, DAP, Ch. 7
 - Garrett, *Mr. Trump's Wild Ride*, Ch. 3
 - (*) Roger Porter, *Presidential Decision Making*, pp. 229-252
 - (*) James Fallows, "Blind into Baghdad," *The Atlantic* (January/February 2004)
 - Neustadt, PP, Ch. 11-13
 - (*) Charles Walcott and Karen Hult, "White House Structure and Decision-Making: Elaborating the Standard Model," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (2005)
 - (*) Nick Miroff and Josh Dawsey, "The Adviser Who Scripts Trump's Immigration Policy," *Washington Post* (August 17, 2019)

- *The Executive Branch: Controlling the Bureaucracy* (November 5, 7)
Ellis, DAP, Ch. 6, 8
(*) "Stephen Miller Pressed Hard to Limit Green Cards," *Politico* (August 2, 2019)

Garrett, Mr. *Trump's Wild Ride*, Ch. 5-6, 12
(*) Executive Order 13880, "Collecting Information About Citizenship Status in Connection With the Decennial Census" (July 11, 2019)
(*) Justin Fox, "About that Big Regulatory Rollback," *Washington Post* (February 28, 2019)
(*) "Trump's Rollback of Auto Pollution Rules Shows Signs of Disarray," *NY Times* (August 20, 2019)

[Note: Midterm exam distributed November 11; due 48 hours later on November 13, 5 p.m.]

- *President and Congress: Legislation* (November 12, 14)
Ellis, DAP, Ch. 4
(*) Andrew Rudalevige, "The Executive Branch and the Legislative Process" (2005)

(*) Robert Caro, "EOB 274," from *The Passage of Power*
(*) Frances Lee, from *Beyond Ideology* (2009)
Garrett, Mr. *Trump's Wild Ride*, Ch. 9, 13

- *The President and the Courts* (November 19, 21)
Ellis, DAP, Ch. 9
Garrett, Mr. *Trump's Wild Ride*, Ch. 4

Excerpts from:

- (*) *Youngstown Sheet & Tube v. Sawyer* (1952)
- (*) *U.S. v. Nixon* (1974)
- (*) *Clinton v. Jones* (1997)
- (*) *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld* (2006)
- (*) *NLRB v. Noel Canning* (2014)
- (*) *Trump v. Hawaii* (2018)

- *President and Congress: War Powers* (November 26)
Ellis, DAP, Ch. 4
Garrett, Mr. *Trump's Wild Ride*, Ch. 8, 11
(*) James Goldgeier and Elizabeth Saunders, "Trump's Unconstrained Presidency," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2018)
(*) Authorization for the Use of Military Force (2001)
(*) Department of Justice, "Re: Military Interrogation of Alien Unlawful Combatants Held Outside the United States," March 14, 2003 (pp. 1-10, 13)

Note: There is no class on November 28 (Happy Thanksgiving!)

- *President and Congress: Investigation and Oversight* (December 3)
(*) *Federalist* 65
(*) Andrew Rudalevige, "The Broken Places," from 42: *The Clinton Presidency*
(*) Eric Schickler and Douglas Kriner, from *Investigating the President*

IV. Conclusions

- *Rating the Presidents* (December 5)
 - Neustadt, prefaces to the 1990 edition (and re-read Ch. 1)
 - Ellis, DAP, Ch. 11
 - (*) Russell Riley, "The Non-sense of Power," APSA working paper (2019)
- *Reforming the Presidency?* (December 10)
 - (*) David Orentlicher, from *Two Presidents are Better Than One*
 - (*) William Howell and Terry Moe, from *Relic*

[Note: Policymaking case study papers due December 10 in class.]

Final exam: December 21, 1:30 p.m. (room and review session TBA)