

## **PSC 216.LH3 - The American Presidency**

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The George Washington University  
Master's in Legislative Affairs Program  
Fall Semester 2008

Tuesdays 6PM - 8PM  
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This course will examine the constitutional, institutional, and personal aspects of the modern presidency. Emphasis will be placed on presidential decision making and leadership related to domestic policy.

### Requirements:

Attend each class. (If you have to miss a class, email the instructor no later than 2PM the day of the class.) Class will begin promptly at 6PM.

Complete all readings before each class and be prepared to participate in class discussion based on the readings.

Be prepared to present an assigned reading to the class.

Hand in (and keep a copy), at the beginning of each class, two recommended questions for discussion in class based on the readings for the class.

For each class, be prepared to present a current news or opinion item related to the subject of the class from a newspaper or news magazine.

Original research on an approved subject that is directly related to this course. An oral presentation to the class (15 minutes) based on the research. Prepare an annotated bibliography for the research to be distributed at the oral presentation. For each item in the bibliography, one sentence description and one sentence analysis. Note the most useful items.

Two analytical papers on assigned topics. (Papers will require multiple cites to readings and class discussions.)

## Research and oral presentation:

Please hand in at the beginning of class:

Proposed research topic (a question that you propose to answer): September 30

Research outline (two pages): October 21

Oral presentations of research will be in class on November 18, 25, and December 2

Weighting of requirements for grade: first paper - 20 percent; class participation, including questions for each class, presentation of assigned readings and articles, and participation in class discussion - 20 percent; research, annotated bibliography, and oral presentation - 30 percent; and second paper - 30 percent.

## University Statement on Academic Integrity

In this class, we are guided by the principle that academic integrity is essential in the pursuit of knowledge. The University, this graduate program, your professor, and your classmates will not tolerate cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting your own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and with appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information. Please refer to the GW Student Guide to Rights and Responsibilities for further elaboration on academic dishonesty and student conduct.

In addition, each of the papers should be completed under the same conditions as if it was being written in class, completely independently.

## **Reading List**

All Required (Please note: There will be additional handouts throughout the course; all are required.)

### Books (All ordered at the GW Bookstore)

Aberbach, Joel D. and Peterson, Mark A., Editors, *The Executive Branch* [Oxford University Press, paperback 2005]

Abshire, David, Editor, *Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Presidency* [Praeger Publishers, paperback 2001]

Cooper, Phillip J., *By Order of the President The Use and Abuse of Executive Direct Action* [University Press of Kansas, paperback 2002]

Patterson, Jr., Bradley H., *The White House Staff, Inside the West Wing and Beyond* [Brookings Institution Press, paperback 2001]

Pfiffner, James P., *The Managerial Presidency*, [Texas A&M University Press, Second edition, paperback, 1999]

The Constitution

The following readings will be provided as handouts

Allen, Mike and Weisman Jonathan, "Steel Tariffs Appear to Have Backfired on Bush" [The Washington Post, September 19, 2003]

Bumiller, Elisabeth, "An Invisible Aide Leaves Fingerprints" [The New York Times, January 6, 2003]

Bumiller, Elisabeth, "Keepers of Bush Image Lift Stagecraft to New Heights" [The New York Times, May 16, 2003]

Bumiller, Elisabeth, "For President, Final Say on a Bill Sometimes Comes After the Signing" [The New York Times, January 16, 2006]

Dellinger, Walter, "A Slip of the Pen" [The New York Times, Op-Ed, July 31, 2006]

Fletcher, Michael A., "Bush Is Keeping Cabinet Secretaries Close to Home" [The Washington Post, March 31, 2005]

Lindsey, Lawrence B., "The Value of Loyalty" [The Wall Street Journal, January 14, 2004]

Max, D.T., "The Making of the Speech" [The New York Times Magazine, October 7, 2001]

Moe, Richard, "The Making of the Modern Vice Presidency: A Personal Reflection" [Presidential Studies Quarterly, Volume 38, Number 3, September 2008]

Mycoff, Jason D. and Pika, Joseph A., "Bush and Congress: Cases In Presidential Strategies and Tactics, 2001-2006", paper presented at the annual conference of the American Political Science Association, September 2, 2006

Pious, Richard M., "The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Limits of Crisis Management" [Political Science Quarterly, Volume 116, Number 1 2001]

Porter, Roger B., "Economic Advice to the President: From Eisenhower to Reagan" [Political Science Quarterly, Fall 1983]

Riggs, Fred W., "Presidentialism versus Parliamentarism: Implications for Representativeness and Legitimacy" [International Political Science Review (1997) Vol.18 No.3, 253-278]

Stolberg, Sheryl, "Bush's Record: One Veto, Many No's" [The New York Times, July 23, 2006]

Memorandum on Legislative Coordination and Clearance, February 2001

Memorandum on Child Safety Lock Devices for Handguns

Excerpt on The White House Staff from the Brownlow Commission, 1937

Executive Order 11030, Executive Orders, 1962, as amended

Executive Order 12335, National Commission on Social Security Reform, 1981

President Bush's Address to a Joint Session of Congress, September 20, 2001

Memorandum to the Counsel to the President, The Legal Significance of Presidential Signing Statements, November 1993  
Memorandum to the Counsel to the President, Presidential Authority to Decline to Execute Unconstitutional Statutes, November 1994  
Signing Statement on the Defense Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Bill, December 20, 2005  
Signing Statement on the "Farm Security and Rural Investment Act" May 13, 2002  
Signing Statement on the "Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act" March 27, 2002  
Signing Statement on the "Balanced Budget Act of 1997" August 5, 1997  
Statement on Signing the "America COMPETES Act" August 9, 2007  
Veto Message on the "Nuclear Waste Policy Amendments Act" April 25, 2000  
Veto Message on H.R. 2631, Disapproving Cancellations Under the Line Item Veto Act, November 13, 1997  
Veto Message on H.R. 810, "Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act of 2005" July 19, 2006

The following readings should be printed from the Internet (Noted with \* in reading list)

(Executive Orders - available at:

[www.archives.gov/federal-register/executive-orders/disposition.html](http://www.archives.gov/federal-register/executive-orders/disposition.html))

Executive Order 12835, Establishing the National Economic Council, 1993  
Executive Order 12866, Regulatory Planning and Review, 1993  
Executive Order 13210, President's Commission to Strengthen Social Security, 2001  
Executive Order 13283, Establishing the Office of Global Communications, 2003  
Executive Order 13410, Promoting Quality and Efficient Health Care in Federal Government Administered or Sponsored Health Care Programs, 2006

National Security Presidential Directive 1

(available at: [www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/nspd-1.htm](http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/nspd-1.htm))

## **Syllabus**

September 2. Introduction and Overview

September 9. Fundamentals of the U.S. Government

The Constitution, Articles I, II, and III

Aberbach, Chapter 3. Giving Direction to Government in Comparative Perspective (Richard Rose)

Riggs, Presidentialism versus Parliamentarism

Aberbach, Chapter 4. Presidential Elections and American Democracy (Stephen J. Wayne)

## September 16. The President and the Congress

Aberbach, Chapter 13. The Executive Branch and the Legislative Process (Andrew Rudalevige)

Memorandum on Legislative Coordination and Clearance

Pfiffner, Chapter 8. OMB and Neutral Competence (Hugh Heclo)

Pfiffner, Chapter 9. The Politicized Presidency (Terry M. Moe)

Mycoff and Pika, Bush and Congress: Cases in Presidential Strategies and Tactics

Select 3 of the following Abshire readings:

Abshire, p. 62. Civil Rights Act of 1964

Abshire, p. 64. Tax Reform Act of 1986

Abshire, p. 66. President Clinton's First Budget

Abshire, p. 69. President Clinton's Health Care Reform Proposals of 1994

Abshire, p. 71. Balanced Budget Act of 1997

Abshire, p. 80. Federal Highway Act of 1956

## September 23. The White House Staff and the Vice President

Aberbach, Chapter 5. The Executive Office of the President: The Paradox of Politicization (Matthew J. Dickinson)

Aberbach, Chapter 7. The Person of the President, Leadership, and Greatness (Fred I. Greenstein)

Pfiffner, Chapter 1. Can the President Manage the Government? (Pfiffner)

Pfiffner, Chapter 2. The Changing Presidential Office (Hugh Heclo)

Pfiffner, Chapter 3. The Evolution of the White House Staff (Samuel Kernell)

Pfiffner, Chapter 4. Memorandum on Staffing the President-Elect (Richard E. Neustadt)  
Excerpt on The White House Staff from the Brownlow Commission Report

## September 30. The White House Staff and the Vice President

Patterson, Part One: Outside and Inside the White House

Patterson, Chapter 1. Outside the Gates

Patterson, Chapter 2. Inside the Gates

Patterson, pages 44 to 46. Organization Chart

Patterson, Chapter 6. The Counsel to the President

Patterson, Chapter 7. Legislative Affairs

Patterson, pages 344 to 356. The Chief of Staff

Patterson, Chapter 19. The Vice President

Patterson, Chapter 15. Office of Presidential Personnel

Patterson, pages 339 to 341. The Staff Secretary

Fletcher, "Bush Is Keeping Cabinet Secretaries Close to Home"

Moe, "The Making of the Modern Vice Presidency"

## October 7. Executive Orders

Cooper, Preface.

Cooper, Chapter 1. The Tools of Presidential Direct Administration

Cooper, Chapter 2. Executive Orders: Directing the Executive Branch

Cooper, Chapter 3. Strategies, Tactics, and Political Realities of Executive Orders

Executive Order 11030, as amended, on Executive Orders, 1962

## October 14. Domestic and Economic Policy Making

Porter, Economic Advice to the President: From Eisenhower to Reagan

Patterson, Chapter 4. The Domestic Policy Staff

Bumiller, An Invisible Aide Leaves Fingerprints

Cooper, pages 52 to 55.

Abshire, p. 129. The Greenspan Commission and Social Security Reform, 1983

Executive Order 12335, National Commission on Social Security Reform, 1981

\*Executive Order 13210, President's Commission to Strengthen Social Security

\*Executive Order 13410, Promoting Quality and Efficient Federal Health Care

## October 21. Domestic and Economic Policy Making

Patterson, Chapter 5. The National Economic Council

Abshire, p. 140. The National Economic Council and Economic Policy Board

\*Executive Order 12835, Establishing the National Economic Council

\*Executive Order 12866, Regulatory Planning and Review

Lindsey, The Value of Loyalty

Allen and Weisman, Steel Tariffs

Abshire, p. 115. The Office of the Special Trade Representative

Abshire, p. 270. Mobilizing for Y2K

Abshire, p. 273. Technology Policy in the First Clinton Administration

Discussion of research topics

## October 28. Presidential Directives

Cooper, Chapter 4. Presidential Memoranda

Memorandum on Child Safety Lock Devices for Handguns, March 5, 1997

Cooper, Chapter 5. Presidential Proclamations

Cooper, Chapter 8. Presidential Direct Action and Washington Rules

## November 4. Conveying the President's Message

Patterson, Chapter 8. The Press Secretary

Patterson, Chapter 9. The Office of Communications

Patterson, Chapter 10. The Speechwriting Office

President Bush's Address of September 20, 2001  
Max, The Making of the Speech  
Bumiller, Keepers of Bush Image . . .  
Abshire, p. 154. How America Communicates With Others  
\*Executive Order 13283, Establishing the Office of Global Communications

November 11. National Security Assistance

Patterson, Chapter 3. The Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs  
Cooper, Chapter 6. National Security Directives  
\*National Security Presidential Directive 1  
Abshire, p. 152. President Eisenhower Establishes His National Security Process  
Abshire, p. 182. Bay of Pigs Invasion  
Abshire, p. 184. Cuban Missile Crisis  
Pious, The Cuban Missile Crisis and the Limits of Crisis Management  
Abshire, p. 187. Vietnam War  
Select 3 of the following Abshire readings:  
Abshire, p. 170. Enlargement of NATO, 1994 - 1999  
Abshire, p. 173. Clinton and NATO Enlargement  
Abshire, p. 178. Miscalculations Leading to Conflict  
Abshire, p. 195. Nixon's Opening to China  
Abshire, p. 197. Lessons From Carter's Camp David Summit  
Abshire, p. 208. Reagan and Gorbachev

November 18. Speeches, Signing Statements, and Veto Messages

Memorandum to the Counsel to the President, The Legal Significance of Presidential  
Signing Statements  
Memorandum to the Counsel to the President, Presidential Authority to Decline to  
Execute Unconstitutional Statutes  
Cooper, Chapter 7. Presidential Signing Statements  
Signing Statement on the Defense Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Bill  
Signing Statement on the "Farm Security and Rural Investment Act"  
Signing Statement on the "Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act"  
Signing Statement on the "Balanced Budget Act of 1997"  
Statement on Signing the "America COMPETES Act"  
Bumiller, For President, Final Say on a Bill Sometimes Comes After the Signing  
Stolberg, Bush's Record: One Veto, Many No's  
Dellinger, A Slip of the Pen  
Veto Message on the "Nuclear Waste Policy Amendments Act"  
Veto Message on H.R. 2631  
Veto Message on H.R. 810

Presentations of research

November 25.

Presentations of research

December 2.

Presentations of research