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Course Description

This course is best described as an introduction to applied theory. The objective is to evaluate theories of the modern presidency (post-World War II) in the American constitutional system and apply them systematically to the institution and the individuals who have occupied the Oval Office. The course begins with an overview of formal and informal presidential power, followed by theories covering presidential elections, the growth of the presidency as an institution, public approval, presidential relations with the media, the legislative presidency and relations with Congress, judicial appointments, and domestic and foreign policy, as well as a discussion of presidential power and greatness. We will also explore competing ideological approaches and understandings of what the presidency should be. In the latter third of the course we will then apply these theories to individual presidents spanning Truman – Obama, using case studies and empirical evidence to evaluate select topics of modern presidents’ leadership with a particular emphasis on domestic policy. The course requires a well-written, analytical research paper due at the end of the semester totaling 10-14 pp., excluding references. Additional literature and guidance on how to write a successful research paper is another topic covered comprehensively in the course.
Books/Articles:


Select journal articles available electronically from Library West.

*Tophat* web program access.

Readings average between 75-125 pp. per week. This is scarcely unreasonable for an upper-level political science course at the State’s flagship university. If you disagree and are unwilling to put the time into reading, please do not enroll in the course.

**Determinants of Final Grade**

- Attendance: .................................................................10%
- In-class Participation: ......................................................10%
- Weekly Course Blog Participation: ....................................10%
- Mid-Term (take-home, distributed Thursday, 16 October/due 30 October): 20%
- Research Paper draft outline/thesis/annotated bibliography (16 October): 15%
- Research Paper (due 9 December in class): 35%
- Extra Credit (Tophat quiz competition): possible 5%

**Important Dates**

1. **Wednesdays, 11:59 p.m.** (23:59h): Weekly blog posting due.
2. **Thursday, 16 October:** Thesis statement/draft outline/annotated bibliography for research paper due in class; Mid-term take home exam distributed.
3. **Thursday, 30 October:** Mid-term take-home exam due in class.
4. **Tuesday, 9 December:** Final research paper due in class.
Grade Structure:

Neither individual assignments nor final grades in this course will be subject to a “curve.” Letter grades for the final grade in the course will be assigned per the following schedule:

A  90+
A- 87-89
B+ 84-86
B  80-83
B- 77-79
C+ 74-76
C  70-73
C- 67-69
D+ 64-66
D  60-63
D- 57-59
E < 56 (failing)

Attendance/Participation/Conduct in the Classroom:

Attendance for this course is mandatory. This means that you expected to come to class on time each meeting and to have read the assigned material in advance. This is a 3-unit course that meets for 100 minutes on Tuesdays and 50 minutes on Thursdays. If you cannot commit to being in class on a regular basis, you should not enroll in this course.

Attendance will be taken in each session of the course beginning at the close of add/drop. Tuesdays count double. You determine your attendance grade: The number of times you attend will be divided by the number of course meetings.

Students will be allowed two (2) unexcused absences over the course of the semester. I follow the guidelines on excused absences straightforwardly and explicitly from the Office of the University Registrar. Information on what constitutes excused absences is available at http://www.registrar.ufl.edu/catalog/policies/regulationattendance.html

All excused absences, notwithstanding documented medical emergencies or legal obligations, require notification to me no later than 11:00 a.m. of the day of the absence by email or by phone. Documentation for medical and other absences will be required post facto. No exceptions will be made in terms of the documentation requirement. Please see the Registrar’s web site for policies.

If you are late to class, you will be marked absent. Tardies count as unexcused absences. Please, no excuses. Simply be in class on time.

The use of laptop computers or other electronic devices is prohibited in the classroom, notwithstanding a need based on a handicap or disability.

Do NOT bring cell phones, palm pilots, beepers, I-Pods, MP3 players, or any other gadgets to class and expect to have cell phones ring, answer calls, listen to music, text message, etc. The use of these devices is prohibited in the classroom. After one initial warning, students who continue to engage such tomfoolery during class time will be asked to leave, and will receive a penalty in the equivalent of 5% of the FINAL GRADE, regardless of prior physical absences from the course. Please take
this rule very seriously. Further, the use of any such device during a quiz will result in a failing grade for the course and referral to the Dean of Students Office for cheating.

Participation in the course is inextricably linked to attendance. In other words, you cannot participate in the classroom discussions if you are not in attendance. Since much of our time in the course will involve discussion and interaction concerning assigned readings, you are expected to come to class having read the materials, ready to ask questions, and prepared to engage in critical analysis. If you cannot commit to this requirement, you should not enroll in this course.

Students will be assigned chapters/readings individually and in group on a regular basis to help start our seminar discussions.

**Quizzes**

I reserve the right to give in-class quizzes if students fail to complete the readings per the syllabus. Such quizzes will count toward the participation grade in the course; students who are absent will not be allowed make-ups, notwithstanding a valid excuse (see section on attendance).

**Mid-Term**

The Mid-Term Exam will be a take-home essay. The exam will be 5-7 pp. in length, excluding citations. Essays with fewer than 5 full typewritten pages will receive sharply lower grades.

**Blog Participation**

The course blog will be on Tophat (instructions given in class). Prior to each week’s readings, a debate question will be posted on the blog. Students are expected to draw from the reading material in their answers. Posts that do not demonstrate an understanding of the material, fail to reference the substance of the readings, etc., will not receive full credit. Posts are due no later than Wednesday at 11:59 pm (23:59h) before the Thursday meeting for each week. Late posts will not receive credit. Please be respectful of one another in your debates. Ad hominem remarks, deprecating comments, foul or obscene language, racial slurs or epithets, etc., will not be tolerated. Students who violate this rule will have their postings removed and will not receive credit for that week’s postings. Students who repeatedly engage in this type of behavior will be blocked from blog participation.

**A Note on Films in the Course:**

In the last third of the class, we will see a number of films on individual presidents. The objective of these films is to complement the course readings. The films are not “optional” in terms of attendance and may be the subject of quizzes. The films come from Professor Conley’s personal collection and are not available for viewing outside the classroom. I do not loan them out, and Smathers Library does not hold the collection.

**Written Assignments**

Due dates for the assignments are fixed. Late papers will not be accepted. Emailing papers to Professor Conley is not acceptable, nor is turning the papers in to office staff in the Political Science Department. Never leave assignments under Professor Conley’s door; anything left under my office door will be discarded.
All written work should be double-spaced and completed in standard, 12-point font. Proper citations are always required. Proper use of English is also expected; assignments with spelling/grammatical/syntactical errors will be marked lower.

Final Research Paper

Instructions for the final research paper are in Appendix 1 to this syllabus.

General Criteria for Grading

*Students who get top grades (A, B+) generally:*
--Turn in high-quality written work which reflects careful research, good planning, well-conceived arguments, originality, clarity of thought, and integration of course material, where appropriate. They stay within stated page limits. Their bibliographies are solid and their footnotes carefully used. Their final product is typed and readable. Written work submitted is in nearly flawless English grammar and spelling.
--Complete all assigned readings on time, and reflect this in their exams, written work, and class participation. They review carefully and productively.
--Attend class regularly.
--Participate actively and enthusiastically in class discussions. They ask questions on a regular basis, and their ideas are original and stimulating. They challenge the conventional wisdom. They summarize each author’s principal argument and their reaction to it when discussing the course material.

*Students who get middle grades (B, C+) generally:*
--Turn in acceptable written work with no serious deficiencies in writing. They meet deadlines generally. Their work is readable and typed.
--Attend class, complete the assigned readings and participate in class discussions, asking occasional questions.

*Students who get low and failing grades (C, D, E) generally:*
--Do not turn in their assigned work, or turn it in late with penalty. Their work is of poor quality and shows inadequate research, documentation, thought, and originality. It is poorly presented (untidy and/or handwritten rather than typed).
--Complete only part of the required readings. --Do not attend class and avoid participation. When called upon, they are obviously not familiar with the material. They ask no questions and accept new ideas and opinions without challenging them.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

Plagiarism (using someone else’s ideas without giving him proper credit) is a serious offense. Students are expected to comply with the University of Florida’s Student Code of Conduct. Questions should be directed to the Dean of Students Office, Judicial Affairs.

The written assignments for this class are to be your own work. Discussing your ideas or general approach with me, other students or faculty, revising your work in response to a colleague’s criticism, or using words or ideas from a text or another source with proper attribution or referencing is acceptable, and is, in fact, an important aspect of intellectual discourse. Plagiarism
and other forms of dishonesty, including cutting/pasting material and the failure to cite proper
references, are unacceptable at all times.

Cheating on examinations and plagiarism are violations of the academic honesty standards of the
University of Florida, will have a serious effect upon your grade in this course, and will be
referred to the appropriate University authorities for disciplinary action to the full extent provided for
under the University’s regulations.

Students with Handicaps or Special Needs

If there is any reason why you require special physical accommodation for the examinations or
during our time in class, please see me in confidence as soon as possible at the beginning of the
course. Every effort will be made to accommodate your needs within the guidelines set forth by
the University.

Creating a Dynamic and Rewarding Classroom Atmosphere

Much of our class time will be spent in discussion. It is therefore important that you bring your
ideas and questions to class with you and share them with others. I will strive for an atmosphere
in which every student participates and receives constructive and respectful response of me and
other students. Through this interaction, you will strengthen your critical skills and heighten your
enjoyment of the literature and we will learn from each other.

Office Hours

I keep regular office hours to ensure that I am available to assist you. I encourage you to consult
with me on course readings, assignments, or any problems you may be having with the course.
You may also reach me via email or by leaving a message on my office phone.

READINGS AND LECTURE SCHEDULE

WEEK 1 – Introduction

*Tuesday, 26 August*
  ► Course syllabus and schedule

*Thursday, 28 August*
  ► Introduction to Research and Using Smathers Library

WEEK 2 – The Bases of Presidential Power

*Tuesday, 2 September*
  ► Pika and Maltese, Chapter 1: The Changing Presidency
  ► Genovese, *Contending Approaches*, Introduction.

*Thursday, 4 September*
  ► Genovese, Belt and Lammers, Chapter 1.
WEEK 3 – Elections & Campaigns

Tuesday, 9 September
► Pika & Maltese, Chapter 2: Election Politics
► Genovese, *Contending Approaches*, Chapter 1 (Conservatives and the Presidency).
► Baglione, Chapter 1 (So You Have to Write a Research Paper)
► Films, Campaign Commercials, 1952–.

Thursday, 11 September
► Films, Campaign Commercials, 1952–.

WEEK 4 – The Public Presidency & Presidential Character

Tuesday, 16 September
► Pika and Maltese, Chapter 3: Public Politics.
► Genovese, *Contending Approaches*, Chapter 2 (Moderates on the American Presidency)
► Baglione, Chapter 2 (Getting Started: Finding a Research Question)

Thursday, 18 September
► Pika and Maltese, Chapter 4: Presidential Character.

WEEK 5 – Legislative Politics

Tuesday, 23 September
► Pika and Maltese, Chapter 5: Legislative Politics.
► Baglione, Chapter 3 (Learning Proper Citation Forms, Finding the Scholarly Debate, and Summarizing and Classifying Arguments: The Annotated Bibliography)

Thursday, 25 September
► Genovese, *Contending Approaches*, Chapter 3 (Liberals and the Presidency)

WEEK 6 – The Institutional Presidency / Judicial Politics

Tuesday, 30 September
► Pika and Maltese, Chapter 6: Executive Politics.
► Genovese, *Contending Approaches*, Chapter 5 (The Unitary Executive)
► Baglione, Chapter 4 (Making Sense of the Scholarly Answers to Your Research Question)

Thursday, 2 October
► Pika and Maltese, Chapter 7: Judicial Politics.

WEEK 7 – Domestic/Economic Policy

Tuesday, 7 October
► Pika and Maltese, Chapter 8 (domestic policy)
► Genovese, *Contending Approaches*, Chapter 4 (Towards a Constitutional Presidency)
► Baglione, Chapter 5 (Effectively Distilling Your Argument: The Thesis, Model and Hypothesis)

Thursday, 9 October
► Pika and Maltese, Chapter 9 (economic policy)

WEEK 8 – Foreign Policy

Tuesday, 14 October
► Pika and Maltese, Chapter 10: The Politics of National Security Policy.
► Genovese, *Contending Approaches*, Chapter 6 (Libertarians and the Presidency)
► Baglione, Chapter 6 (Revising and Editing Your Work)
Thursday, 16 October
► Draft research paper thesis/outline/annotated bibliography due – general discussion

WEEK 9 – Truman and Eisenhower

Tuesday, 21 October – Films: Truman and Eisenhower
► Genovese, Belt and Lammers, Chapters 6 and 7 (Truman and Eisenhower)

Thursday, 23 October
► Baglione, Chapter 7 (Making Your Plan and Protecting Yourself from Criticism)

WEEK 10 – Kennedy and Johnson

Tuesday, 28 October – Films: Kennedy and Johnson
► Genovese, Belt and Lammers, Chapters 8 and 3 (Kennedy and Johnson)

Thursday, 30 October
► Baglione, Chapter 8 (Evaluating the Argument)
► Strunk and White, Chapter 1 (Elementary Rules of Usage)

WEEK 11 – Nixon

Tuesday, 4 November – Film: Nixon
► Genovese, Belt and Lammers, Chapter 10 (Nixon)

Thursday, 6 November
► Baglione, Chapter 9 (Bringing Your Paper Together in Three Essential Ways)
► Strunk and White, Chapter 2 (A Few Matters of Form)

WEEK 12 – Carter and Reagan

Tuesday, 11 November – NO CLASS/VETERANS DAY

Thursday, 13 November Film—Reagan
► Genovese, Belt and Lammers, Chapters 11 and 4 (Carter and Reagan)
► Strunk and White, Chapter 3 (A Few Matters of Form)

WEEK 13 – H.W. Bush and Clinton

Tuesday, 18 November – Films—Bush and Clinton
► Genovese, Belt and Lammers, Chapters 12 and 13 (Bush and Clinton)

Thursday, 20 November
► Paul Brace and Barbara Hinckley, “George Bush and the Costs of High Popularity: A General Model


► Strunk and White, Chapter 4 (Words and Expressions Commonly Misused)

**WEEK 14 – G.W. Bush and Obama**

*Tuesday, 25 November*

► Genovese, Belt and Lammers, Chapters 5 and 9 (Bush and Obama)


► Strunk and White, Chapter 5 (An Approach to Style)

*Thursday, 27 November – NO CLASS/THANKSGIVING*

**WEEK 15 – Epilogue**

*Tuesday, 2 December*

► Genovese, Belt and Lammers, Chapter 14

(Opportunities, Challenges, and Skills: Comparing the Presidents)

*Thursday, 4 December – PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH PAPERS*

**WEEK 16 – PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH PAPERS**

*Tuesday, 9 December – PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH PAPERS*

► COURSE RESEARCH PAPERS DUE IN CLASS
Appendix 1
Research Paper Guidelines and Source Material

Thesis Statement/Draft Outline/Annotated Bibliography (due 16 October).

This assignment has three parts: 1) a thesis statement; 2) a draft outline; and, 3) an annotated bibliography. All told, you should produce 3-5 pp. (typewritten) proposal for your research paper.

A. Thesis Statement

The thesis statement lays out the argument of your paper, the model/hypothesis you are developing, and should be followed by a statement that conveys how you will organize your analysis. See Baglione, Chapter 5 (Effectively Distilling Your Argument) for further details. Here is one example:

“In this essay, I argue that President Reagan’s deft, direct communication style with the American people propelled his first-year agenda to stunning victory. He utilized a strategy of “going public” to rally grassroots support for his legislative proposals to cut government spending and taxes, all the while negotiating behind the scenes with both Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill to surmount the obstacles of opposition party control of the House of Representatives. However, just several years later liberal Democrats’ successful efforts to impede the influence of conservative southerners in their party—who were key to Reagan’s 1981 legislative coup—stifled the president’s agenda thereafter. Reagan nonetheless remained the “great communicator,” using the bully pulpit to challenge communism, save his administration from the fallout of the Iran-Contra scandal, and to console the American people after the Space Shuttle Challenger accident. On balance, Reagan’s communication strategy was employed on several different levels to achieve diverse objectives.

The following section of this essay details Reagan’s rhetorical style by reviewing briefly the scholarly literature. The second section provides brief case studies of Reagan’s use of the bully pulpit, including his strategy for his 1981 agenda, his varied approach to rhetoric on communism and the Soviet Union, his mea culpa on the Iran-Contra affair, and his ability to act as “healer-in-chief” after the Challenger disaster. The concluding section considers whether Reagan’s rhetorical style in light of changes in the media environment and the electorate that have arguably had significant implications for his successors’ use of the rhetorical presidency.”

B. Annotated Bibliography

The annotated bibliography first gives the full, proper citation for a journal article, book, or book chapter. Following the citation, you generally have 3-7 sentences that indicate what the major arguments and thrust of the scholarly work entail. Here is an example:

Conley, Richard S. 2003. “President Reagan, White House Lobbying, and Key Votes: A Reassessment.” White House Studies 3: 133-55. The author uses archival research in addition to data from prior presidencies to develop a statistical model of presidential influence in Congress. The author argues that Reagan did better on his early agenda not only because of southern Democrats’ support, but also particularly because congressional Republicans were more unified behind the president than they had been for Reagan’s predecessors. The article covers the 1981 Economic Recovery and Tax Act (ERTA) lobbying effort closely, and details the Reagan White House’s strategy. The article gives emphasis to economic votes in Congress in the early Reagan presidency, which the White House believed were key to Reagan’s agenda.

The purpose of the annotated bibliographical entries is to provide yourself with a concise overview of the work so that as you prepare to write your manuscript, you can “remind” yourself of the focus and then go to work to cite appropriate quotations, cite general concepts/theories/themes, etc., with much greater ease.
C. Draft Outline

In the draft outline, which should follow the thesis statement and annotated bibliography, you develop a more detailed layout of your paper. The major headings should follow your “organizational statement” that follows the thesis in Section A. Then there should be subheadings. *There is no single, correct way to develop a draft outline.* However, a bulleted, numbered, or most preferentially, a multi-level list (available in MS Word) works well. And there should be a high level of attention to detail, which underscores that you have thought through the most important elements of your paper—and this will pay off once you begin to actually write (of course, as you write, other citations may be added, information may be moved around, etc. You are not in a straightjacket. The outline is a heuristic). Here is a possible draft outline for this hypothetical research paper on Reagan and rhetoric:

1) **Introduction (1-2 pp.)**
   a) Paragraph introducing the theme of the paper – why it is important to consider Reagan’s rhetorical skills. Find a good quote from journalistic/academic source(s) to solidify.
   b) Thesis statement
   c) Organizational statement

2) **Literature Review – Why Was Reagan Considered the “Great Communicator”? (1-2 pp)**
   a) Reagan’s pre-presidential career
      i) Actor
      ii) Head of Hollywood’s Screen Actors’ Guild & McCarthy “red scare”
      iii) Time at the “General Electric Theater” and promotion of the company’s conservative views
      iv) Transformation from Democrat to Republican
         (1) Speech for Barry Goldwater: “A Time for Choosing”
      v) Governor of California
   b) 1980 Campaign
      i) Simple themes
         (1) Lower taxes, less government, cuts to entitlements
         (2) Increased military strength
         (3) Loss of US prestige abroad under Carter
      ii) Selective public appeals & willingness to bargain with Congress
         (1) Brace and Hinckley article, “Presidential Activities from Truman Through Reagan.”
         (2) Sloan article, “Meeting the leadership challenges of the modern presidency: The political skills and leadership of Ronald Reagan.”
         (3) Barrett article, “Gone Public The Impact of Going Public on Presidential Legislative Success.”
         (4) Collier article, “Writing for the Great Communicators: Writing rhetoric with Roosevelt and Reagan
   c) General strategy as president
      i) Few press conferences to avoid overexposure
         (2) Book by Hertsgaard, On Bended Knee.
      ii) Selective public appeals & willingness to bargain with Congress
         (1) Brace and Hinckley article, “Presidential Activities from Truman Through Reagan.”
         (2) Sloan article, “Meeting the leadership challenges of the modern presidency: The political skills and leadership of Ronald Reagan.”
         (3) Barrett article, “Gone Public The Impact of Going Public on Presidential Legislative Success.”
         (4) Collier article, “Writing for the Great Communicators: Writing rhetoric with Roosevelt and Reagan

3) **Case Studies (6-8 pp.)**
   a) 1981 Legislative Agenda
      i) Divided government
      ii) Reagan’s electoral strength among conservative, southern Democrats
      iii) Impact of assassination attempt by Hinckley (?)
      iv) Public appeals and private bargaining
         (1) Conley article, “President Reagan, White House Lobbying, and Key Votes: A Reassessment.”
         *White House Studies.*
         (2) Collier article, “Behind the Bully Pulpit: The Reagan Administration and Congress.”
   v) Sum up what the case study demonstrates about Reagan’s leadership/style
b) Iran-Contra
   i) Brief introduction to scandal
   ii) Reagan’s televised speech
      (1) Benoit et al. article, “President Reagan's defensive discourse on the Iran-Contra affair.”
   iii) Establishment of Tower Commission – probably saved his presidency
   iv) Public support – why was Reagan “forgiven”? 
      (1) Brody article, “Policy failure and public support: The Iran-Contra affair and public assessment of President Reagan.”
   v) Sum up what the case study demonstrates about Reagan’s leadership/style

c) Communism and the Soviet Union
   i) Metaphorical use
      (1) Evil Empire
      (2) Hantz article, “Ideology, Pragmatism, and Ronald Reagan's World View: Full of Sound and Fury, Signifying...?”
   ii) Hard line against Brezhnev
   iii) More conciliatory tone at times with Gorbachev
      (1) Trip to Berlin: “Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.”
   iv) Sum up what the case study demonstrates about Reagan’s leadership/style

d) Challenger Disaster
   i) Speechwriting of Peggy Noonan
   ii) Reactions/Interpretations
      (1) Middlebury College article, “A Tale of Two Speeches.”
         http://sites.middlebury.edu/presidentialpower/2011/01/23/a-tale-of-two-speeches/
      (2) New York Times article, “Presidential Speeches at Times of Tragedy.”
      (3) New York Times article, “The Shuttle Explosion: President as Healer.”
   iii) Sum up what the case study demonstrates about Reagan’s leadership/style

4) Conclusions (2-4 pp.)
   a) Paradox: Reagan heightened institutional partisanship but often transcended partisanship in the electorate
   b) One big year legislatively
   c) Essentials of what he wanted to accomplish largely finished in 1981 – holding the line thereafter
   d) Got himself out of a potentially impeachable offense with Iran-Contra
   e) Memorable rhetoric on communism and Soviets
      i) But could not convince Americans about communist threat in Central America
   f) Grandfatherly figure after the Challenger accident
      i) Speech is recalled as one of the most touching of the modern presidency
   g) Have Reagan’s successors followed suit?
      i) Momentary occasions, depending on the context
         (1) H.W. Bush – successful on Gulf War
         (2) H.W. Bush – unsuccessful in rallying public on the 1990 budget; huge disaster as public opinion turned against him and the ‘deal’
         (3) Clinton and Oklahoma City bombing: consolation yet resolve
         (4) Clinton and Lewinsky: lies, and coming clean
         (5) W. Bush and 9/11: consolation yet resolve
      ii) Obama and his inaugural speech – transcendent?
         (1) Failure to convince many Americans on the right about his agenda
            (a) Cite George Edwards, *On Deaf Ears*. Limits to the bully pulpit.
**Final Research Paper (due 9 December)**

The final research paper should be approximately 10-14 pages, *excluding* citations. Essays that have fewer than 10 double-spaced, typewritten pages (using normal margins and 12 point font) will be graded significantly lower.

How many citations should you have? There is no hard and fast rule. The answer is: “as many as you need to present a well-crafted analysis that is buttressed by the scholarly literature.” A minimum of 7-10 references is a good place to start, but excellent essays will likely have more.

Students must turn in a hard copy of the research paper in class on the due date.

**SOURCE MATERIAL**

One of the best ways to begin your project is to consult one of the Historical Dictionaries published by Scarecrow Press. The standard layout of these books includes a detailed chronology of each president’s term(s). The entries to the dictionaries comprise the people, events, etc. of each presidency. But most importantly, the Historical Dictionaries include a *detailed and comprehensive bibliography* of scholarly books and articles that are categorized by subject.

You should also research your subject in the following journals: *Congress & the Presidency, Presidential Studies Quarterly*, and *White House Studies* (all are available online through the library page at [http://web.uflib.ufl.edu](http://web.uflib.ufl.edu)). You should also conduct a search in JSTOR for other journals (including history) that are pertinent to your subject.

**Historical Dictionaries and Online Guides, by President (chronological), Truman – Obama**


