

A conference free and open to the public

# JUDGING BUSH

November 22, 2008,  
Villanova University's Connelly Center

Sponsored by the University of Arkansas,  
the University of Southern Mississippi,  
and Villanova University



"They pick a president, and then for four years they pick on him."  
Adlai Stevenson

Paradoxically, George W. Bush entered national politics as one of the most popular Texas governors in history, but exits the White House "a divider, not a uniter," as Gary Jacobson put it. Yet, leaders judged failures by their contemporaries often rise in stature over time. To examine the Bush presidency as objectively as possible, this conference brings together prominent social scientists and practitioners representing diverse views of this most controversial administration.

9:00 am WELCOMING REMARKS by Jack Johannes, Vice President for Academic Affairs, Villanova University

---

9:10 am SESSION I: THE SETTING

---

## **Presidential Greatness Reconsidered**

Neil Reedy, FBI

Jeremy Johnson, Brown University

Tom Lansford, University of Southern Mississippi

Robert Maranto, University of Arkansas

## **Bush's Brain (No, Not Karl Rove): How Bush's psyche affects his decision-making.**

Robert Maranto, University of Arkansas

Richard E. Redding, Chapman University

9:40 am Q&A: moderated by Al Felzenberg, University of Pennsylvania

---

10:15 a.m. SESSION II: INSTITUTIONS

---

**The Bush White House and Bureaucracy**

David B. Cohen, University of Akron

Karen Hult, Virginia Tech

Charles Walcott, Virginia Tech

**The Cheneyization of the Bush Administration**

Shirley Anne Warshaw, Gettysburg College

**President Bush and the Use of Executive Power**

James P. Pfiffner, George Mason University

**A Realignment in the Judiciary?**

Lori Johnson, Mercer University

Michael Moreland, Villanova University

11:15 Q&A: moderated by Jeremy Johnson

---

**11:45 a.m. LUNCH** *can be purchased in the Connelly Center cafeteria.*

---

**12:30 p.m. KEYNOTE ADDRESS: Mayberry Machiavellis After All?**

**Why Judging George W. Bush's Presidency Is Never So Easy as It Seems**

John J. DiIulio, University of Pennsylvania

---

1:30 p.m. SESSION III: DOMESTIC POLICIES

---

**Reactionary Ideologues and Uneasy Partisans: Bush and Party Realignment.**

Lara Brown, Villanova University

**Bush's Great Society: No Child Left Behind**

Frederick Hess, American Enterprise Institute

Patrick McGuinn, Drew University

**Hurricane Katrina and the Failure of Homeland Security**

Anne Khademian, Virginia Tech

2:15 p.m. Q&A: moderated by Robert Maranto

---

2:45 p.m. COFFEE BREAK

---

3:15 p.m. SESSION IV: CRUSADE: BUSH FOREIGN POLICIES

---

**Forging an American Empire**

Lawrence Korb and Laura Conley, Center for American Progress

**Fighting Two Wars**

Jack Covarrubias, University of Southern Mississippi

Tom Lansford, University of Southern Mississippi

3:45 p.m. Q&A: moderated by David Barrett

---

4:15 p.m. SESSION V: JUDGING GEORGE W BUSH

---

**Missed Opportunities: Conflict and Polarization in the Bush Years**

William Galston, Brookings Institution and University of Maryland

**Comments** by Al Felzenberg, University of Pennsylvania

4:45 p.m. Final Q&A moderated by Catherine Warrick, Villanova University; Robert Maranto, University of Arkansas.

---

5:30 p.m. CLOSING RECEPTION IN THE PRESIDENTS LOUNGE

---

7:30 p.m. Dinner (for participants and invited guests only) at Cassis in Radnor.

---

## Participants

### Conference Directors

**Robert Maranto** is the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Chair in Leadership in the Department of Education Reform at the University of Arkansas, and with others has produced numerous scholarly works so boring his own mother refused to read them. These include *Beyond a Government of Strangers: How Career Executives and Political Appointees Can Turn Conflict to Cooperation* (Lexington, 2005); *The Second Term of George W. Bush* (Palgrave, 2006), *A Guide to Charter Schools* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2006), and *The Politically Correct University* (AEI, 2009). His op-eds have appeared in newspapers including the *Washington Post*, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Philadelphia Daily News*, and *Baltimore Sun*.

**Tom Lansford** is the Assistant Dean of the College of Arts and Letters and Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Southern Mississippi, a member of the governing board of the National Social Science Association. He is the author or coauthor of a number of books, including *The Lords of Foggy Bottom: The American Secretaries of State and the World They Shaped* (2001), *All for One: NATO, Terrorism and the United States* (2002), *A Bitter Harvest: U.S. Foreign Policy and Afghanistan* (2003) and *Strategic Preemption: US Foreign Policy and the Second War in Iraq* (2004), and coeditor of several collections *George W. Bush: A Political and Ethical Assessment at Midterm* (2004), and *The Second Term of George W. Bush*.

**Jeremy Johnson** is a doctoral candidate in political science at Brown University. His research interests include American Political Development, the presidency, public policy, and the welfare state. He has published in *White House Studies*, the *International Journal of Public Administration*, and in *The Second Term of George W. Bush* (2006).

**Dirk C. van Raemdonck** (Ph.D. University of Georgia) is Graduate Coordinator for the Department of Education Reform at the University of Arkansas. He has written on topics of European unification and political development, security policy, international conflict, political parties, and education systems. Publications include book chapters and articles in scholarly journals such as *Global Policy*, *Journal of Peace Research*, and *Southeastern Political Review*.

**Nathan Fortner** is a graduate student in the Political Science program at Villanova University.

### Presenters and Co-Authors

**Lara M. Brown** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Villanova University. Her research interests include presidential aspirants, political parties, congressional incumbents, and national elections. She has published articles in the *Journal of Political Marketing*, *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, and she has an article forthcoming in *Congress and the Presidency*.

**Laura Conley** is a graduate of Wesleyan University. She currently researches defense and military affairs for the Center for American Progress. Prior to joining the Center, she worked as a presidential campaign field organizer in Iowa. She has published in the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Boston Globe*, and *Innovations: Technology, Governance, Globalization* (forthcoming).

**Jack Covarrubias** is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Southern Mississippi. He is also a member of the governing board of the National Social Science Association. He has published works in the field of Security Studies and American Foreign Policy most recently including a co-authored book *To Protect and Defend: Homeland Security Policy* (2006) and the edited volume *Strategic Interests in the Middle East: Opposition or Support for US Foreign Policy* (2007)

**David B. Cohen** is an associate professor of political science and fellow in the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics at The University of Akron. His research on executive politics and other topics has been published in a number of scholarly journals and book chapters. He is coeditor of *American National Security and Civil Liberties in an Era of Terrorism* (Palgrave 2004) and *The Final Arbiter: The Long Term Consequences of Bush v Gore in Law and Politics* (SUNY 2005). His primary areas of research and teaching interest are the American presidency, particularly White House organization, Congress, and U.S. homeland security policy.

**John J. DiIulio, Jr.** is the Frederic Fox Leadership Professor of Politics, Religion, and Civil Society at the University of Pennsylvania. He has directed public policy research centers at Princeton University, the Brookings Institution, the Manhattan Institute, and Public/Private Ventures. In 2001 he served as Assistant to the President and first director of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. His most recent book is *Godly Republic: A Centrist Blueprint for America's Faith-Based Future* (University of California Press, 2007).

**Alvin S. Felzenberg** was the principal spokesman for the 9/11 Commission. He has been an adviser to the U.S. Departments of Defense and State and held several senior staff positions at the U.S. House of Representatives and New Jersey state government. He obtained his Ph.D. in Politics from Princeton University, and currently teaches at the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania and the Elliott School of International Affairs at the George Washington University. He has authored numerous works including *The Leaders We Deserved and a Few We Didn't: Rethinking the Presidential Rating Game* (Basic Books, 2008) and *Governor Tom Kean: From the New Jersey Statehouse to the 9-11 Commission* (Rutgers University Press, 2006).

**William A. Galston** holds the Ezra Zilkha Chair in Governance Studies at The Brookings Institution and is also College Park Professor at the University of Maryland. He is the author of eight books and more than one hundred articles in political theory, American politics, and public policy.

**Frederick M. Hess** is Director of Education Policy Studies at the American Enterprise Institute and Executive Editor of *Education Next*. His many books include *When Research Matters* (Harvard Education Press 2008), *No Remedy Left Behind* (AEI 2007), *No Child Left Behind: A Primer* (Peter Lang 2006), *Revolution at the Margins* (Brookings Institution 2002), and *Spinning Wheels* (Brookings Institution 1998). He holds an M.Ed. in Teaching and Curriculum and an M.A. and Ph.D. in Government from Harvard University. Prior to joining AEI, Dr. Hess taught high school in Louisiana and was a professor of education and politics at the University of Virginia.

**Lori A. Johnson** is an Assistant Professor in the Political Science Department at Mercer University in Macon, Georgia. She has published on comparative regulation, court rule-making and co-authored a chapter on the federal courts in *The Second Term of George W. Bush* (Palgrave, 2006). She won the American Political Science Association's Corwin Award for her dissertation on policymaking for the federal courts, which she is currently revising for publication. (Ph.D. University of California, Berkeley; J.D. University of Virginia)

**Anne M. Khademian** is an Associate Professor with Virginia Tech's Center for Public Administration and Policy, Alexandria Center. She is the author of *The SEC and Capital Market Regulation: The Politics of Expertise* (1992), *Checking on Banks: Autonomy and Accountability in Three Federal Agencies* (1996), and *Working with Culture: How the Job Gets Done in Public Programs* (2002), as well as numerous articles in public policy and public management.

**Lawrence J. Korb** is a Senior Fellow at American Progress and a Senior Advisor to the Center for Defense Information. Prior to joining the Center, he was a Senior Fellow and Director of National Security Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. From July 1998 to October 2002, he was Council Vice President, Director of Studies, and holder of the Maurice Greenberg Chair. Dr. Korb served as Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower, Reserve Affairs, Installations and Logistics) from 1981 through 1985.

**Patrick McGuinn** is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Drew University. His research interests are in national politics and institutions, education and social welfare policy, American political development, federalism, and the policymaking process. His first book, *No Child Left Behind and the Transformation of Federal Education Policy, 1965-2005*, was published by the University Press of Kansas in June of 2006 and was honored as a Choice Outstanding Academic Title.

**Michael Moreland** is Assistant Professor of Law at Villanova University. Before joining the Villanova faculty, he was Associate Director for Domestic Policy at the White House, where he was responsible for coordinating policy development on a range of legal issues, including immigration, crime, civil rights, and tort reform. He has published and spoken on tort law, law and religion, and bioethics.

**James P. Pfiffner** is University Professor in the School of Public Policy at George Mason University. He has written or edited twelve books on the presidency and American national government, including *The Strategic Presidency: Hitting the Ground Running* (2nd edition, 1996), *The Modern Presidency* (4th edition, 2004), *The Character Factor: How We Judge Our Presidents*, (2004), and *Power Play: The Bush Administration and the Constitution* (Brookings, 2008).

**Richard E. Redding**, J.D., Ph.D., is Professor of Law at Chapman University Law School. He has produced numerous scholarly works, including *Juvenile Delinquency: Assessment, Prevention, and Intervention* (Oxford University Press, 2005) and *The Politically Correct University* (AEI, 2008).

**Neil Reedy** holds Bachelor's degrees in History and Political Science and a Master's degree in Political Science from Villanova University where he authored the paper *Judging the Presidency: Foreign Policy as the Dominant Criteria*. He is currently an Intelligence Analyst for the US Government and lives in Falls Church, VA.

**Charles E. Walcott** is professor of political science at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. His primary research interest is studying the U.S. presidency as an institution. Among his recent publications are *Empowering the White House: Governance under Nixon, Ford and Carter* (co-authored with Karen M. Hult) and articles on the White House chief of staff and the Office of Management and Administration written as part of the White House 2001 transition project. He is co-editor of *Congress and the Presidency* and currently serves as president of the American Political Science Association's Presidency Research Group.

**Shirley Anne Warshaw** is Professor of Political Science at Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Her books include *The Clinton Years* (2004), *The Keys to Power: Managing the Presidency* (2004 second edition, 1999 first edition), *The Domestic Presidency: Decision Making in the White House* (1997), *Powersharing: White House-Cabinet Relations in the Modern Presidency* (1996), *Reexamining the Eisenhower Presidency* (1994), and *The Eisenhower Legacy* (1992). She is currently writing a book entitled *The Copresidency of George W. Bush and Dick Cheney* (Stanford University Press 2009). Her research focuses on organizational decision structures for presidential decision making.