

PRESIDENCY RESEARCH

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EDITOR'S COMMENTS:

This is my first issue of the Newsletter as editor. I hope to maintain the quality of the product left to me by my predecessors, while also finding new ways to improve it. At a minimum, I promise that future issues will be delivered closer to the intended publication date.

The Newsletter seeks to facilitate communication among members of the Presidency Research Group (PRG). This means publishing information about upcoming conferences, reports on past conferences, recent publications of books and articles on the presidency, offers and requests of particular relevance to presidency scholars, and 'think pieces' by PRG members.

Ultimately, the Newsletter is only as good as the material that you provide. Thus, if you know about or are participating in a special conference that deals with some aspect of the presidency, let me know so that it can be publicized in the Newsletter. Erwin Hargrove, as President of the PRG, has suggested that we make a special effort to solicit submissions that focus on new lines of inquiry in the study of the presidency, or that uncover and illuminate paradoxes and conundrums in the field. These would not be reports on completed research. Instead, they should be viewed as suggestions for future avenues of research. At their best they would prompt responses by others in the field, with their own views and analyses. In this way, we hope to stimulate further interaction among members of the PRG.

The Newsletter is a reflection of its members. It can only achieve its potential when you actively participate in generating its contents. Let me hear from you about ideas for future issues.

NEUSTADT AWARD FOR BEST BOOK OF 1988 ANNOUNCED

The Neustadt Award for Best Book was presented at the 1988 APSA convention to Barry Schwartz for George Washington: The Making of an American Symbol. Schwartz's book was chosen by the Neustadt Award Committee, consisting of Richard Watson, James D. Barber, and Robert DiClerico. Professor Watson made the presentation on behalf of the PRG.

REPORT ON THE USE OF PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES BY PRG MEMBERS

At the PRG annual meeting during the 1988 APSA convention, Samuel Kernell noted the growing importance of presidential libraries to presidency research, and suggested that the PRG take a greater interest in shaping the libraries' activities to better serve its members. As a first step, he conducted a mail survey of PRG members and their views on the presidential libraries. While, only nine members responded, their reports do provide some important insights.

Respondents were asked to rate the performance of the libraries on three criteria: Service of Archive Staff, Processing of Materials, and Quality of Collection. The scale ran from 1 (poor) to 5 (great). The following table summarizes the results:

NAME OF COLLECTION	NUMBER OF VISITORS	SERVICE		PROCESSING		QUALITY	
		X	s.d.	X	s.d.	X	s.d.
HCH	2	4.5	0.5	4.0	0.0	4.0	0.0
FDR	2	2.5	1.5	3.5	0.5	3.5	0.5
HST	3	4.3	0.9	4.5	0.5	4.5	0.5
DDE	5	4.2	0.7	4.4	0.5	4.2	0.4
JFK	6	2.4	1.4	2.0	1.5	2.2	0.6
LBJ	8	4.1	1.9	4.2	0.7	4.2	1.2
RMN	3	4.3	0.5	2.5	0.5	3.5	0.5
GRF	3	4.6	0.5	4.5	0.5	3.0	0.0
JEC	2	4.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	3.0	0.0

Of course, all conclusions are tentative given the small N's involved. That caveat notwithstanding, it is apparent that the libraries fall into two groups. The HCH, HST, DDE, LBJ, and GRF libraries scored in the 4.0 to 4.6 range ('very good') in all three categories, while the FDR, JFK, RMN, and JEC libraries all scored appreciably lower ('fair' to 'good'). Given the recent establishment of the Carter library, and the limbo status of the Nixon papers, their scores are understandable. However, the results suggest that the FDR and JFK libraries could be improved.

Respondents also offered the following suggestions:

- to expand the availability of grants, and not to limit their use to defraying travel costs.
- to increase the number of finding aids available and/or to sell copies of them for personal use (at reasonable xeroxing rates).
- to organize the finding aids into more useable formats. They are geared to identifying specific pieces of legislation rather than more general, non-policy, (e.g., "staffing") issues.
- to encourage other researchers to contact libraries before their visit to maximize the usefulness of their time at the libraries.
- to sensitize staff (especially at FDR and JFK) to the needs of researchers so that they are more willing to provide assistance.
- to bring copying costs more into line with actual costs of production, and ease the access to making copies.
- to open the libraries on Saturdays, so that time spent on location is put to more productive use.

Many of the suggestions reflect the underfunding of the libraries. With more money available, there might be more grants, less expensive xeroxing, more hours of operation, more staff to process materials requests, etc. However, the one recommendation that does stand out is the desirability of improving the responsiveness of the FDR and JFK library staffs to the needs of researchers.

MIDWEST POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION 1989 CONVENTION SECTION SCHEDULE:
 "POLITICAL EXECUTIVES AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES"

The following panels have been organized by Section Head Steven Shull for the 1989 Midwest Political Science Association Convention, to be held April 13-15 at the Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois:

Panel 1: "Presidential Transitions"

Chair: Bert A. Rockman, University of Pittsburgh

Papers:

"Presidential Agenda, 1989: Ideological, Electoral, and Strategic Constraints" Robert Kaufman, Howard Univ.

"Before the Honeymoon Ends: Understanding Differences in the Policy Outcomes of Large-Scale First Term Presidential Policy Endeavors" Matthew R. Kerbel, Villanova Univ.

"The Political Rhetoric of the Presidential Transition" Mary E. Stuckey, University of Mississippi.

Discussants:

David C. Kozak, Gannon University

Panel 2: "Retrospective on the Carter and Reagan Administrations"

Chair: Norman C. Thomas, University of Cincinnati

Papers:

"The Carter Administration and Regulatory Reform" James E. Anderson, Texas A&M University

"Promises Kept, Promises Broken: The Reagan Years" Michael G. Krukones, Bellarmine College

"The New 'Rationality' of Post Modern Executives" Patricia Lee Sykes, University of Massachusetts

Discussants:

Frank Kessler, Missouri Western State College

Shirley A. Warsaw, Gettysburg College

Panel 3: "New Perspectives in Presidency Research"

Chair: George C. Edwards, III Texas A&M University

Papers:

"Presidents, the Modern Presidency and the Logic of Presidential Behavior" Jeffrey E. Cohen, University of Illinois

"Presidential Influence in Policy Making: A Test of Neustadt's 'Power'" Dennis W. Gleiber & Steven A. Shull, University of New Orleans

"Dynamics of Tenure in the Presidential Cabinet" Keith Nicholls, Arizona State University

Discussants:

David Nice, Washington State University

John H. Kessel, Ohio State University

Panel 4: "Presidential Influence in Congress - I"

Chair: Lance T. LeLoup, University of Missouri-St. Louis

Papers

"Presidential Leadership in Congress: Bargaining and Strategic Responses" Terry Sullivan, University of North Carolina

"What Helps and What Hurts Presidents? - A Logit Model of Roll Call Voting" Russell Renka, Southeast Missouri State Univ. and Richard A. Forshee, University of Michigan

"Explanations of Presidential Success and Failure in the Congressional Budget Process" Alan J. Rosenblatt, American University

Discussants:

Michael L. Mezey, DePaul University
Don Racheter, Central University of Iowa

Panel 5: "The Organization of the White House"

Chair: Charles Walcott, University of Minnesota

Papers:

"A Comparison of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson's Use of Staff Personnel: An Interaction Analysis" James J. Best, Kent State University

"A Good Man is Hard to Find: Presidents and Political Executives" Thomas Weko, American University

"The Nixon White House and the Mobilization of Bias" Joseph A. Pika, University of Delaware

"Flacking for the President: The Development of the Office of the Press Secretary" Karen M. Hult, Pomona College, and Charles Walcott, University of Minnesota

Discussants: undetermined at time of publication

Panel 6: "Controlling Administrative Discretion"

Chair: Morris S. Ogul, University of Pittsburgh

Papers:

"Untitled" William F. West, Texas A&M University, and Joseph Cooper, Rice University

"Bureaucratic Responsiveness to Legislative Control" James R. Bowers, John Fisher College

"Three Strategies for Limiting Bureaucratic Discretion" William J. Pielsticker, University of Michigan

Discussants:

Frederick M. Kaiser, Congressional Research Service

Panel 7: "The Role of Bureaucratic Structure:

Chair: Charles Barrilleaux, University of New Orleans

Papers:

"Expansion of Administrative Capacities in the Federal Government" Bartholomew H. Sparrow, University of Chicago

"Impact of State Reorganization Upon the Structure of Public Organizations" Stephen M. King, University of Missouri

"Toward A Temporal Theory of the Allocation of Federal Aid" John A. Hamman, University of Illinois, Urbana

Discussants:

Anne Freedman,
Curtis Copeland, General Accounting Office

Panel 8: "Testing Theories of Bureaucratic Performance"

Chair: Kenneth Meier, University of Wisconsin

Papers:

"Taking Bureaucracy Seriously" Larry B. Hill, Univ. of Oklahoma

"Attitudinal Components of Bureaucratic Performance" Dennis Krystek, University of Southern Mississippi, Charles Barrilleaux and Greg Crandall, University of New Orleans

Discussants:

Carol Ann Traut, Wayne State College

Sybil M. Delevan, Penn State University

Panel 9: Workshop on Public Administration and Decision-Aiding Software

Chair: Stuart S. Nagel, University of Illinois, Urbana

Papers:

"Decision-Aiding Software and Public Administration" Miriam Mills
New Jersey Institute of Technology

"Research on Microcomputers in Public Organizations" Donald F. Norris, University of Maryland, and Lyke Thompson, Western Michigan University

"A Framework for Developing Micro Computer Problem Solving Applications" John F. Saccu and John W. Ostrowski, George Mason University

"Decision Support Systems for High Level Policy Making" Dov Te'eni, Case Western Reserve University

Discussants: undetermined at time of publication

Panel 10: "Presidential Influence in Congress - II"

Chair: Cary R. Covington, University of Iowa

Papers:

"Explaining Presidential Support in Congress, 1981-1984" David J. Lanoue, Illinois State University

"Sources of Presidents' Legislative Arguments" Stephen A. Borrelli, University of Iowa

"Presidential Public Support and Legislative Influence: The Role of Structure in Congress" Michael MacKuen, University of Missouri-St. Louis

Discussants:

Albert Ringelstein, East Carolina University

Randall B. Ripley, Ohio State University

ADVERTISEMENTS AND SOLICITATIONS

SPECIAL DISCOUNT OFFER FROM CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY ON
GUIDE TO THE PRESIDENCY

CQ has agreed to offer to members of the PRG a 20% discount on its new publication, Guide to the Presidency. The Guide, edited by Michael Nelson, examines different aspects of the presidency, including: the origins, the processes of selection and removal, the powers, relations with the public and media, and the interplay with other branches of

government. It includes biographies of every president, vice president and first lady. The Guide sells normally for \$137.50. By using the form at the end of this Newsletter, you can purchase the Guide for \$110, including postage and handling - that's an additional \$17.50 less than the limited, prepublication offer made by CQ. All orders must be placed on the special PRG discount form and must be sent prepaid directly to Congressional Quarterly at the address shown. The Guide will be available starting in May, 1989.

The AMERICAN POLITICS QUARTERLY welcomes manuscripts from all fields of American politics, including presidency research. Recent issues, for example, have featured articles on presidential appointments to the Supreme Court (Gary King, July, 1987); 'fairness' and vote choice in the 1984 presidential election (Kenneth Raskinski and Tom Tyler); the distribution of White House social invitations and their effects of congressional support (Cary Covington, July 1988); and voting in open and closed presidential primaries (Priscilla Southwell, July 1988). Papers utilizing any scholarly approach to the study of American politics are welcome. We ordinarily give authors a decision within two months of submission. Please send four copies of submitted articles to Susan Welch, Editor APQ, University of Nebraska, Lincoln NE 68588-0328.

The INTERNATIONAL LINCOLN ASSOCIATION is a new organization for those interested in the leadership model that Abraham Lincoln provides for democratic societies. It publishes a quarterly newsletter and yearly annals. Annual meetings and a variety of workshops and conferences are held. For membership and further information, please contact Dr. Wallace H. Best, International Lincoln Association, 24775 Fern Valley Road (Box L), Idyllwild, CA 92349. Phone (714) 659-5646.

The GERALD R. FORD FOUNDATION awards grants of up to \$2000 to cover travel and other expenses for use of the Gerald R. Ford Library's archival collections. For information about the collections and the grants contact: Director, Gerald R. Ford Library, 1000 Beal Avenue, Ann Arbor, MI 48109. Phone (313) 668-2218. Deadline: March 15, 1989.

II. ARTICLES AND CONFERENCE SUMMARIES

WIMPYMAN, OUR TEXTBOOK PRESIDENT

Michael A. Genovese
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In the October, 1970 issue of The Washington Monthly, political scientist Thomas E. Cronin published an influential article entitled,

"Superman, Our Textbook President." In that article, Cronin chronicled the emergence of the purposeful, activist, Superman image which had developed around the presidency since the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The presidency, Cronin quoted from political science and history textbooks, was "the great engine of democracy" the "American people's one authentic trumpet," "the central instrument of democracy," and "probably the most important governmental institution in the world." These textbooks, wrote Cronin, "encourage the belief that the 'president knows best,'." Cronin quoted Clinton Rossiter, whose text The American Presidency, was one of the best selling of its time:

Few nations have solved so simply and yet grandly the problem of finding and maintaining an office or state that embodies their majesty and reflect their character....

There is virtually no limit to what the President can do if he does it for democratic ends and by democratic means....

He is, rather, a kind of magnificent lion who can roam widely and do great deeds so long as he does not try to break loose from his broad reservation....

He reigns, but he also rules; he symbolizes the people, but he also runs their government....

This textbook, Superman image had found its way into political journalism as well as Cronin cited Theodore White's Making of the President series, and White's near fawning over each newly elected president. It had also found its way into public expectations, as presidents were seen as leaders who could save us by virtue of superhuman performance.

What, to Cronin, were the primary components of the textbook presidency? Two characteristics stand out, Omnipotence and Moralistic-

Benevolence. The president was powerful, he was great, and he was good. FDR and his presidential progeny - - - we seemed able to pass down the "FDR Halo" from administration to administration---created an image of the presidency which both served and saved us via extraordinary talent put to the uses of the people.

Cronin was correct in 1970 in identifying this dominant image of the presidency. He captured in few words the image which scholars and the public had embraced. But a brief three years later, a major transformation began to take place. As a result first of Vietnam, then of Watergate, our Superman became an Imperial President. Cronin's Superman---savior of the people---became Arthur Schlesinger's enemy of the people. The presidency had become a danger to the republic, using its powers not for the public good, but for self aggrandizement.

A new image of the presidency developed. Superman was no longer on the side of the people; the power of the institution, which we thought would be used for good also granted the bearer of this power a capacity to do wrong. This shift in presidential image can be attributed to two factors: generational shifts, and events.

The generation of presidential scholars who came to political maturity in the 1930s and 40s had FDR as their model. Leadership through the crises of the depression and World War II focused attention on the presidency as a powerful and benevolent institution. In general, this generation of scholars thought that if more FDRs could be found, greater gains could be achieved.

By the late 1970s, a generation of presidential scholars who had reached political maturity in an era of political assassinations; Vietnam, and Watergate began to emerge. FDR was history, political

tragedy was memory. This group of scholars, slightly more skeptical, slightly less optimistic of the uses of power, saw that the power of the presidency could be used for great good and great evil. They had grown up with an Imperial Presidency.

Events also had a profound impact upon the way we viewed the presidency. With the collapse of the Nixon presidency and the failures of the Ford and Carter presidencies, (and the rise of the Imperiled Presidency), with a resurgent Congress, a declining party system, a more skeptical (or cynical) public, and with the degeneration of the Reagan presidency into the Iran-Contra scandal, the Sleaze Factor, and astrological advisers, presidential scholars moved further and further away from the Superman image of the presidency. By the mid 1980s, a new image of the presidency had developed: Wimpyman, Our Textbook President.

Now, instead of the presidency as a powerful institution, it was being portrayed as a weak institution. Instead of asking, towards what ends should a president lead, we began to ask, "Can a President lead?". From Superman, to Imperial, to Imperiled, our view of the presidency had done a 180 degree shift. From the Cult of the Presidency we shifted to a Shackled Presidency, from Superman to Nowhere Man.

In less than 20 years Superman, upon whom few checks existed, was replaced by presidents upon whom the system of checks and balances was resumed with a vengeance.

Images of failure, limitation and weakness dominate the new presidential literature. Harold Barger wrote of "the impossible presidency," Theodore Sorensen of "political gridlock" or "all checks and no balances," James L. Sundquist wrote of "failed presidents," James M. Burns wrote of "deadlock," Peter Smithers wrote of "presidential

paralysis", Hugh Heclo of the "illusion of presidential government," Franck of the "tethered presidency," Paul Light of the "no win" presidency. Cronin wrote of an "imperiled" presidency, and Hodgson called the modern presidency "impotent". As Hodgson wrote, "Never has so powerful a leader been so impotent to do what he wants to do, what he is pledged to do, what he is expected to do, and what he knows he must do."

After "presidential" wars and scandals, after the resurgent Congress, after the public's withdrawal of support, presidential scholars became more sensitive to the weakness, limitations, checks, and constraints on presidential power: So many checks, so few balances; so many roadblocks, so few resources, so much separation, so little power. Institutional impotence, not power became part of the new textbook presidency.

The theme of presidential weakness is not new (see Woodrow Wilson's writings), but this new found indictment of presidential impotence is more severe and multifaceted than in previous periods. Scholars vary on the causes and potential cures for this presidential weakness, but among the most often cited problems are: Structure: our system was designed by the Framers to be anti-leadership (Robinson); Culture: ours is an individualistic society, often suspicious of power (Rockman); Individuals: if only we could get the "right" people in the White House... (Barber); Intermediaries: loss of power linkages such as political parties (Burns); Selection: the leadership recruitment process develops overly personalized electoral coalitions, not governing coalitions (Seligman and Covington); Cycles: there are long and short term cycles which create opportunities for strong leadership, and

constraints on leadership (Rockman, and Pfiffner); Tools: presidents do not have the powers necessary to meet their responsibilities (Sundquist); Expectations: the public expects and demands too much of its leaders (Davis); Institutions: a system of separation of powers, with checks and balances, fragments power (Neustadt); Issues: perhaps our problems are too complex and demanding (Barger); A Resurgent Congress: intrusive and reactivated, especially with the persistence of divided government (Koenig); and the Decline of American Power: as the "empire" contracts, the president loses power (Rose).

Proposed cures range from a strengthened party system (Burns), to variants on a parliamentary model (Sundquist), to better selection based on personality (Barber), to a rebirth of citizen politics (Cronin), to means whereby presidents can develop more stable governing coalitions (Seligman and Covington), to promoting executive-legislative unity (Robinson). Whatever the remedy, reformers recognize the need to promote leadership, responsibility, and efficiency. In addition, there are primary values which all reforms must promote and protect. No mean task.

Thomas Cronin concluded his "Superman" article by noting that, "we pay a price...for the way we have over-idealized the presidency." We too pay a price for over-denigrating the presidency. It becomes a self-fulfilling prophesy. We elect a president and almost immediately savage him.

In many ways, the presidency is a weak office. Designed with limits and checks, it takes a strong, forceful president to overcome the limitations inherent in the office. To transcend weakness, presidents can pursue any combination of the following means: 1) the Formal power

to command (Pious); 2) the Informal power to persuade, bargain and exchange (Neustadt); and 3) the Illegal means of going beyond the law (Genovese).

As presidents get more and more frustrated by their inability to move the machinery of government via the first two methods, there is a growing temptation to resort to the third method: illegal or extra-constitutional means. The Iran-Contra scandal is but the most recent example of a president who couldn't get his way with Congress, turning to subterranean means to achieve desired goals (Moyers). Can we have a presidency which is powerful, accountable and constitutional? Must the choice be stalemate or illegality?

The new textbook image of presidential weakness is a recognition of and response to twenty five years of presidential failure or inadequacy. Can the presidency be saved? In 1980, Thomas Cronin wrote that, "the cult of the strong presidency is alive and well...The American public...has not lost hope in the efficacy of strong purposive leadership." The goal is to develop a responsive and responsible, powerful but accountable, constitutional and creative presidency. Waiting for Godot, or FDR, will not provide an answer.

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THE LEGACY OF THE REAGAN PRESIDENCY

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On May 24-26, 1988, the Institute of Governmental Affairs at the University of California, Davis hosted a conference on "The Legacy of the Reagan Presidency." The conference brought together scholars, journalists, a former President, and administration officials. The papers presented will be published by the Johns Hopkins University Press under the editorship of Larry Berman. The conference, which aired nationally on C-Span, was made possible by funding from the John Olin Foundation and the Linde and Harry Bradley Foundation.

Thomas Mann, Director of the Governmental Studies Program at the Brookings Institution, opened the conference with a plenary address entitled "Thinking About the Reagan Years." Mann's address set the tone for the conference. He identified the parameters in which the Reagan imprint on the presidency could be analyzed: a detachment from policy, an ideologically-derived commitment to specific policy priorities, and the import of his captivating, disarming personality. Additionally, the environment in which Reagan governed must be fully examined.

The first panel analyzed Reagan's foreign policy legacy. Bruce Jentleson of Cornell University served as moderator. Robert Pastor of Emory University, Robert Lieber of Georgetown University, and

Condoleezza Rice of Stanford University delivered papers. Francis Fukayama of the RAND Corporation served as the panel discussant.

Robert Pastor focused on the Reagan legacy and Latin America. According to Pastor, Reagan's legacy is paradoxical: juxtaposed to ever-increasing American militancy toward Latin America with regards to trade, national debt, Nicaragua, and the war on drugs, is the continuing democratization of the region. The Reagan legacy was one of, "postponing the major problems at home and in Latin America rather than addressing them; the Reagan era will be remembered for its heavy-hand rather than for an attempt to join hands with new democracies."

Robert Lieber gave President Reagan mixed marks for his Middle East policies. Professor Lieber identified American interests in the region: oil, regional stability, relations with allies, and minimizing Soviet influence. Of these, only oil, perhaps because of larger world supply and demand patterns, remained stable. Events such as the evolving debacle in Lebanon and the sale of arms to Iran decreased Reagan's influence and policy success.

Condoleezza Rice focused on U.S.-Soviet relations. Professor Rice argued that, contrary to conventional wisdom, the Reagan administration was consistent in its dealings with Moscow. The agenda items identified by Reagan in 1981---human rights, cultural and scientific exchange, regional conflicts, and arms control---still dominated the 1988 summit agenda. However, she noted that the rise of Mikhail Gorbachev was closely linked to improved relations. Gorbachev assumed power and prioritized improving the Soviet economy and relations with the United States. Discussant Francis Fukayama added, "Gorbachev was a kind of manna from heaven for President Reagan."

The day's second panel comprised of economic and fiscal policy experts. Thomas Hazlett, University of California, Davis, served as the moderator. Steven Sheffrin of the University of California, Davis, M. Stephen Weatherford of the University of California, Santa Barbara and Lorraine M. McDonnell of the RAND Corporation, and Charles E. McClure of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University presented papers.

Steven Sheffrin noted the modification of monetary and fiscal policies during the Reagan years. Gramm-Rudman and monetary targeting were responses to the economic crisis of the early 1980's; the Reagan administration moved to limit discretionary economic choices. Using these constitutional rules to solve economic problems was difficult since technical flaws were built into the policies. The Reagan economic record, as a result, is mixed.

M. Stephen Weatherford and Lorraine M. McDonnell co-authored a paper arguing Reagan's economic policy championed ideology. Reagan was able to join a simple economic ideology with his successful leadership style. Weatherford and McDonnell stressed that favorable political circumstances--Jimmy Carter's unpopularity, a lack of cohesion within the Democratic Party, a strengthened dollar, and sizable foreign investment--created opportunity for Reagan. He "shaped the economic dialogue, both by posing the central questions and by circumscribing the range of possible answers." Reagan's limited government and "hands off" policies changed the public's philosophy regarding government's role in redistributing income and equalizing economic opportunity.

Charles E. McClure presented a paper on President Reagan's tax policy, considered by many participants to be his most obvious legacy. After reviewing the process by which tax reform occurred, Dr. McClure

stressed that the federal budget deficit is an equally significant legacy. He wrote, "it would be ironic indeed if part of the Reagan legacy were the economic and political forces which lead to the introduction of a national sales tax."

James David Barber, James B. Duke Professor of Political Science at Duke University, punctuated the first day's panels with a luncheon address entitled, "Reflections on Presidential Character." Professor Barber stressed that character studies should be applied to those who surrounded the president instead of Reagan himself. The most influential person during the Reagan presidency was Nancy, not Ronald Reagan. According to Barber, Reagan was so passive, so willing to avoid conflict, that he was, essentially, a non-character.

The day's final panel considered Ronald Reagan's institutional legacy. Fred Greenstein of Princeton University served as moderator. Joel D. Aberbach of UCLA and Bert A. Rockman of the University of Pittsburgh delivered a paper, as did Richard Nathan of Princeton University. Martin Anderson, of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University was the panel discussant.

Aberbach and Rockman produced a comparative analysis of the bureaucracy under Presidents Nixon and Reagan. They found that while the bureaucracy had undergone an ideological shift to the right since the Nixon administration, policy rifts between the president and bureaucracy were still present under Reagan. However, Reagan's systematic selection methods, his six years of governance with a Republican Senate, and his large electoral victories minimized the strong policy implementation clashes that activist administrations with strong views normally undergo.

Richard Nathan analyzed the institutional powers of the presidency under Reagan. Contrary to many observers' beliefs, Nathan argued that the presidency is not in need of fundamental change; Reagan showed that it still can work. President Reagan's first term was successful because he was selective in prioritizing issues, he institutionalized dissenting views among his advisors, and his advisors were a balanced, trusted group. Thus, policy successes during Reagan's first term can be attributed to Reagan's view of the office. However, his second term did not follow this successful structure. Nathan's prescription for future presidents was to incorporate the managerial and institutional elements that made Reagan a great first term president instead of seeking constitutional or structural changes. Martin Anderson, who served in the first Reagan administration, agreed with Nathan: the key for Reagan's success was in recognizing that "politics is people." Professor Greenstein added that policy skill was as necessary to a president's success as was political skill.

Former President Gerald Ford delivered a speech that evening. President Ford analyzed the recent political and constitutional challenges confronting the office of the President. Ford directed many of his remarks to his concern over the federal budget deficit, which he characterized as "a time bomb, a Frankenstein monster." While the deficit is a legacy of the Reagan years, Ford equally blamed President Reagan and the Congress. Ford questioned Reagan's passive, relaxed governing style; the presidency requires the occupant to "go to work early and stay late."

Day two of the conference began with a panel entitled "The Reagan Electoral Revolution?" Austin Ranney of the University of California,

Berkeley, was the panel moderator. Benjamin Ginsberg and Martin Shefter of Cornell University, and Gary Jacobson of the University of California, San Diego delivered papers. Alan Ehrenhalt, political editor of Congressional Quarterly served as panel discussant.

Ginsberg and Shefter analyzed deadlock within the electoral arena. Ronald Reagan reinforced the existence of electoral and institutional deadlock during his tenure; no electoral realignment occurred under his stewardship. The key to understanding contemporary relations between institutions emanates from each party's attempts to strengthen the institution with which it has been allied: the Democrats and Congress, the Republicans and the Presidency. Each party has sought to dominate the other within the institutional arena. For example, through revelation, investigation, and prosecution, Congressional Democrats have attempted to reel in Republican presidents.

Gary Jacobson identified different sources of this institutional conflict. Jacobson argued that elections results mirrored the mutually exclusive policy preferences voters express to government. While presidents pursue broad national interests, members of Congress are more particularistic. The result is sophisticated split-party voting in which voters are acutely aware of the criteria used in selecting a Democratic Congress and Republican president. Reagan's continual conflicts with the Congress was the result of battling a Democratic House for eight years and Senate for two. The conflict reflected the rational, interest-oriented rift played out in the institutions of government. Reagan delivered allocational efficiency in the presidency and the Democrats delivered distributive justice in Congress.

Presidential-congressional relations were the focus of the next panel. Moderating was Nelson Polsby of the University of California, Berkeley. David Brady of Stanford University and Morris Fiorina of Harvard University presented a paper. Charles O. Jones of the University of Wisconsin and Thomas Mann were discussants.

Brady and Fiorina questioned why Reagan did not build the enduring legacy that, say, Franklin D. Roosevelt did. They offered several explanations. Statistically, the coattail effect between presidential and congressional elections is less significant now than it was during Roosevelt's tenure. There are less incentives for members of Congress to be concerned over a president's fate. Brady and Fiorina concluded that while Reagan made a difference in defense spending, the tax system, and the deficit, he has not left a political legacy that translates into long-term Republican support. Professor Jones commented that there may be times when strong policy agenda linkages between institutions bring them together and necessitate cooperation. Thomas Mann, in agreeing with Brady and Fiorina's findings, called for further studies that more fully develop the relationship between the president and Congress.

Walter F. Murphy of Princeton University delivered a lunchtime address on the legacy of Reagan's judicial appointments. While there was no immediate judicial revolution, Murphy cautioned that the effect of Reagan's appointments will not be known for decades. Murphy added that Reagan's Supreme Court appointees increased the odds that governmental authority will prevail over individual rights.

The final panel consisted of a roundtable discussion on the parameters of the Reagan presidency. Larry Berman of the University of California, Davis, moderated a panel of Fred Greenstein, Robert Shogan

of the Los Angeles Times, Martin Smith of the Sacramento Bee, and Richard E. Neustadt, Douglas Dillon Professor at Harvard University.

Robert Shogan argued that Reagan succeeded in making the country feel better and more comfortable about the presidency. However, Reagan failed to deliver an honest performance. He achieved government by deficit, which Shogan believed will be his lasting legacy.

Mr. Smith, who covered Reagan while he was governor of California, told panelists that Reagan had little capacity for change or surprise. According to Smith, "He's a very passive individual . . . he was that in Sacramento, where he let his subordinates set key policy decisions, often." Reagan's political footprints were shallow in Sacramento and Washington; he did not leave the Republican Party a strong institution.

Fred Greenstein analyzed whether, like Dwight Eisenhower, Reagan operated a "hidden hand" presidency. The existence of many insider accounts, and Reagan's long-standing reputation for a "no hands" approach convinced Greenstein that the future record is unlikely to reveal any surprises.

Richard Neustadt analyzed the Reagan presidency in terms with which Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower were dealt in his classic book Presidential Power. Neustadt described Reagan as combining "intense conviction on a small number of matters with great passivity and intellectual incuriosity on substantive detail." However, Reagan's feel for power was influenced by his long-time admiration for Franklin D. Roosevelt and his trade union activities. Reagan was an impeccable Chief of State, understood the importance of surrounding himself with a devoted staff, and used the staff system to delegate authority. It was not necessary for Reagan to know policy details.

Larry Berman, when organizing the conference in 1986-87, argued that no president since Franklin D. Roosevelt had influenced the political system more than Ronald Reagan. He offered some reflections on that statement. Berman suggested that the statement rang true of Reagan's first two years in office. However, Berman noted that by May 1988, the political chemistry that created the 1981 tax cuts was no longer present. Early indications of a strong Reagan presidency were threatened by insider accounts of a detached president, Iran-Contra, and reports regarding the president's reliance on astrology. Berman suggested that Reagan may be leaving the presidency a weaker institution than when he inherited it.

Richard Neustadt was charged with delivering the conference's closing observations. Reagan did not serve during war or depression. Therefore, historians will be reluctant to accord Reagan a rank equal to those president's that did preside over crises. Neustadt reminded the conference that future events--such as his presidential successors and the condition of Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union--will play an important role in determining Reagan's legacy. The deficit also would mark Reagan's legacy. Iran-Contra was a blessing since it reinvigorated suspicion in Reagan's "clean-desk" management style. Finally Professor Neustadt offered some themes for further reflection, study, and research: the extent to which young people are involved in politics because of Reagan; an analysis of charisma, why Reagan had it, and how it helped his presidency; and the evolution of Reagan from liberal Democrat to conservative Republican.

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THE EXECUTIVE ESTABLISHMENT AND EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP:
A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Joseph A. Pika
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Executive leadership is a necessary but frequently scarce commodity in all political systems. The Georgetown Bicentennial Conference held September 5-7, 1988, sought to examine common themes, comparable institutional developments, and differing modalities in the exercise of executive power in modern polities. The full conference included six panels featuring twenty academic papers and two evening roundtable discussions. One panel and one evening session were taped for broadcast on C-Span.

Sixteen of the papers will be published along with comments from eight participants with extensive government experience in a volume that focuses on the American, Canadian and British experiences. Four additional papers with reflections on West Germany, France, Switzerland and Turkey are likely to be published at a future date in Governance.

The conference was especially timely: we will soon celebrate the presidency's bicentennial (April 1989) as well as the 50th anniversary of the Brownlow Committee's much-celebrated reform of the presidential system; moreover, held in the wake of the Iran-Contra revelations and just prior to the 1988 elections, much attention has recently been focused on presidential management. A comparative perspective is especially critical for those seeking more general propositions about executive institutions and their evolution. Thus, the essays directly address such topics as the "presidentialization" of the British parliamentary system in general and the Prime Ministership in

particular, as well as the role of cabinets and use of personal staffs in four political systems.

Four general essays establish a broad perspective for the effort. Margaret Jane Wyszomirski examined "institutionalization" of the presidency and the paradox of a "discontinuous institution" in light of four paired attributes: continuity and adaptability; complexity and organization; autonomy and interdependence; cohesion and personalization. Bert Rockman offered reflections on variation in leadership styles across political systems and political cultures with particular attention to the "cartel politics" practiced by Japanese Prime Ministers in contrast to the "market politics" and policy retailing emphasized by American Presidents. Appropriately, the former stress "insider skills" and the latter "outsider skills." B. Guy Peters offered a view of leadership operating within the context of a constraining policy agenda. Overload and retrenchment have brought to the forefront proposals for reform and new strategies for policy-making. Finally, Colin Campbell extended his continuing cross-system analysis in addressing the typical patterns evidenced by presidents and prime ministers: the former opt most frequently for decisiveness and the latter for consultation.

Beyond general treatments, the conference focused on four more specialized topics: cabinet government in the British and Canadian systems; the role of executive agencies in domestic and economic policy-making; the role of executive agencies in foreign policy-making; presidents' and prime ministers' personal staffs. George Jones, after examining five dimensions of purported change, found little support for the contention that the British parliamentary system has been

"presidentialized" under Margaret Thatcher. Peter Aucoin detailed how the Canadian cabinet functions as a confederacy of regional ministers.

James Pfiffner followed the evolution of OMB since BOB's shift following the Brownlow report; its role has changed with institutional memory becoming a less important task as policy responsibilities and responsiveness to presidential needs have grown in importance. But even after more than a half-century of change, the agency's fundamental features are recognizable. Roger Porter assesses the contributions of the Council of Economic Advisers, finding its longevity, clarity of mission, and contributions especially impressive. William Plowden offers a fascinating view (from a parochial American perspective) into the efforts to provide British Prime Ministers with "countervailing advice," help outside the career bureaucrats' advising monopoly. The saga stands in striking contrast to the ready availability of staff assistance in the American presidential system.

Kevin Mulcahy reviews the four fundamental roles that have evolved for the National Security Adviser (administrator, coordinator, counsellor, agent) and comments on how specific advisers performed their jobs. Special attention is given to the perversion of both statutory guidelines and common practice that occurred during the Iran-Contra incident. Lawrence Korb similarly traces the records of 16 Secretaries of Defense in performing the internal (management) and external (advisory) features of their role. Peter Hennessy critiqued recent foreign policy-making practices in Britain.

Joseph Pika reviewed a number of management prescriptions currently offered to presidents and examined the normative context in which policy-relevant advice has been offered. He suggests the outlines

of a "contingency theory" of White House organization and operations. Samuel Kernell, working with evidence from the Reagan and Truman experiences, encourages presidents to adopt more pluralistic White House advisory systems structures while also recognizing the need for central coordination. Patrick Weller examined the emergence, operation and interaction of cabinet secretariats and prime minister's offices in Australia, Britain and Canada. Colin Seymour-Ure examined press secretaries in presidential and parliamentary systems in terms of fundamental roles (spokespersons, advisers, agents, managers), relations with their "principals" as well as outside clientele, the significance of partisanship, and involvement in substantive policy.

A full listing of papers presented at the conference, authors and institutional affiliations follows. Essays appearing in the final collection will be revised, but if original versions are desired, readers should contact authors directly to request individual copies.

- Bert A. Rockman (Univ. of Pittsburgh) "The Leadership Question - Are There Answers?"
- Margaret J. Wyszomirski (Georgetown Univ.) "The Discontinuous Institutional Presidency: An Oxymoron or a Heraclitian River?"
- B. Guy Peters (Univ. of Pittsburgh) "Governmental 'Overload' and Strains on Executive Leadership: A Comparative View"
- Colin Campbell (Georgetown Univ.) "Cabinet Government in Comparative Perspective"
- George Jones (London School of Economics) "Presidentialization in a Parliamentary System"
- Peter Aucoin (Dalhousie Univ.) "The Cabinet in Canada"
- James Pfiffner (George Mason Univ.) "OMB's Evolving Role"
- Roger Porter (Harvard Univ.) "The Council of Economic Advisers"

- William Plowden (Royal Institute of Public Administration, Great Britain) "Providing Countervailing Analysis and Advice in a Career-Dominated Bureaucratic System"
- Kevin V. Mulcahy (Louisiana State Univ.) "National Security Adviser: A Presidential Perspective"
- Lawrence Korb (Brookings) "Foreign Policy: A Departmental Perspective"
- Peter Hennessy (Institute of Contemporary British History, London) "The Whitehall Model: Career Staff Support for Cabinet in Foreign Affairs"
- Samuel Kernell (U.C. San Diego) "White House Pluralism"
- Joseph A. Pika (Univ. of Delaware) "White House Staffing: Salvation, Damnation and Uncertainty"
- Patrick Weller (Griffith Univ., Australia) "Staffing for the Prime Minister: A Comparative Perspective"
- Renate Mayntz (Max Planck Institut, Cologne) and Hans-Ulrich Derlien (Univ. of Bamberg) "Executive Leadership and Bureaucratic Politicization: West Germany"
- Harvey Feigenbaum (George Washington Univ.) "The Cabinet in a Parliamentary Presidential System: France"
- Ulrich Kloti (Univ. of Zurich) "Political Executives and the Struggle to Lead Strategically in Small Federal Systems: Switzerland"
- Metin Heper (Bogazici Univ., Istanbul, Turkey) "The Executive in a 'Strong State' Polity: The Case of Turkey"

III. RECENT PUBLICATIONS ON THE PRESIDENCY

BOOKS

- Aglion, Raoul. Roosevelt and de Gaulle: A Personal Memoir of Allies in Conflict. New York, NY: The Free Press. 1988.
Focusing on two leaders who were heroes in their own countries but hated each other, the author casts new light on historic French-American relations.
- Barber, James D. Politics by Humans. Durham, NC: Duke. 1988. 480p.
- Barilleaux, Ryan J. The Post-Modern Presidency: The Office After Ronald Reagan. Westport, CT: Praeger. 1988.

- Belina, et al. Electing the President. (rev.ed.). Hayward, CA: Janus Books. 1988. 64p.
- Bell, Terrel H. The Thirteenth Man: A Reagan Cabinet Memoir. New York, NY: The Free Press. 1987.
A fascinating account of the Reagan Administration's attitude and policies toward education, this book offers unique insight into the daily battles in the White House, Congress, and the Department of Education itself.
- Boller, Paul F. Jr. Presidential Wives: An Anecdotal History. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. 1988. 533p.
In a series of essays and anecdotes, the author focuses on the backgrounds, characters, outlooks, and personalities of the women the presidents married.
- Bowman, James and Monet, Ronald. Gubernatorial and Presidential Transitions: An Annotated Bibliography and Resource Guide. New York, NY: Garland Publications. 1988. 146p.
- Breslin, Catherine. First Ladies. McGraw. 1988. 528p.
- Broh, Anthony C. A Horse of a Different Color: Television's Treatment of Jesse Jackson's 1984 Presidential Campaign. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies. 1987.
- Egger, Rowland and Harris, Joseph P. The President and Congress. Westport, CT: Greenwood. 1988. 136p.
- Fischer, Roger A. Tippecanoe and Trinkets Too: The Material Culture of American Presidential Campaigns. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press. 1988. 360p.
- Ford, Betty and Chase, Chris. Betty: A Glad Awakening. Boston, MA: G K Hall. 1988. 385p.
- Ford, Gerald R. Humor and the Presidency. New York, NY: Arbor House, 1987. 162p.
- Frost, Elizabeth. The Bully Pulpit: Quotations from America's Presidents. Facts on File. 1988. 240p.
- Greenstein, Fred I. (ed.) Leadership in the Modern Presidency. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1988. 430p.
This book is a collection of presidential portraits from Franklin D. Roosevelt through Ronald Reagan.
- Healy, Diana D. America's First Ladies: Private Lives of the Presidential Wives, 1789-1989. New York, NY: Atheneum. 1988.

- Heard, Alexander and Nelson, Michael. (eds.) Presidential Selection. Duke University Press. 1988. 413p.
This collection of essays considers the international implications of how the United States chooses its presidents, how public policies are affected by the changing characteristics of the presidential selection process, and the influence of the Constitution on presidential selection.
- Henderson, Philip G. Managing the Presidency: The Eisenhower Legacy. Boulder, CO: Westview. 1988. 225p.
- Hess, Stephen. The Presidential Campaign. (3rd ed.). Washington, D.C.: Brookings. 1988. 148p.
Examining the campaign process, the author argues that change of the selection system would not fundamentally change the type of person selected. To improve the quality of our presidents, we would need better methods for recruiting and training young people for political life.
- Jones, Charles O. The Reagan Legacy: Promise and Performance. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House. 1988.
This is a collection of insightful essays revolving around the question of what has been the influence of the Reagan Administration on the institutions and processes of American politics.
- Kalina, Edmund F, Jr. Courthouse Over Whitehouse: Chicago and the 1960 Presidential Election. Gainesville, FL: U. Presses Fl., 1988.
- King, Gary and Ragsdale, Lyn. The Elusive Executive: Discovering Statistical Patterns in the Presidency. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly. 1988. 200p.
- Lawless, Ken. Who's the Next President? New York, NY: Putnam Publishing Group. 1988. 96p.
- Leuchtenburg, William E. In the Shadow of FDR: From Harry Truman to Ronald Reagan. Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press. 1988. 356p.
The author sets forth the dilemma all of FDR's successors have faced, namely, the need to emulate FDR but avoid being submerged in his towering image.
- Linder, Robert D. and Pierard, Richard V. Civil Religion and the Presidency. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan. 1988. 252p.
- Lord, Carnes. The Presidency and the Management of National Security. New York, NY: The Free Press. 1988.
The author, a former staffer of the National Security Council, traces the history of the NSC and its strategy-making process, demonstrating its use and misuse by eight presidential administrations.

- Lowi, Theodore J. The Personal President: Power Invested, Promise Unfulfilled. Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press. 1988. 240p.
The author argues that, despite the emergence of the modern Presidency as a powerful office with an independent constituency, the President is hampered by unrealistic public expectations that stress performance and generate deceit, disappointment and unfulfilled promises.
- McIntyre, Angus (ed.) Aging and Political Leadership. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. 1988.
This book is divided into three sections, the first and second on middle age and old age, the third taking an in-depth look at Ronald Reagan.
- McKee, Thomas H. National Conventions and Platforms of All Political Parties, 1789-1905. New York, NY: AMS Press. 1988.
- Miles, William. The People's Voice: An Annotated Bibliography of American Presidential Campaign Newspapers, 1828-1984. New York, NY: Greenwood. 1987. 210p.
- Mortensen, C.D. Violence and Communication: Public Reactions to an Attempted Presidential Assassination. Lanham, MD: U Pr. of America. 1988. 232p.
- Mosher, Frederick C., ed. The President Needs Help: Proceedings of a Conference Held on January 15, 1987. Lanham, MD.: University Press of America. 1988. 98p.
- Nathan, Richard P. and Doolittle, Fred C. Reagan and the States. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 1988. 344p.
- Orren, Gary R. and Polsby, Nelson W. (ed.). Media and Momentum: The New Hampshire Primary and Nomination Politics. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House. 1988.
A compendium of shrewd insights and striking statistics geared to examining the importance of the New Hampshire Primary in nomination politics.
- Paletta, LuAnn and Worth, Fred. The World Almanac of Presidential Facts. New York, NY: Pharos Books New York. 1988.
- Polsby, Nelson and Wildavsky, Aaron. Presidential Elections: Contemporary Strategies of American Electoral Politics. New York, NY: Free Press. 1988. 416p.
- Schell, Jonathan. History in Sherman Park: An American Family and the Reagan-Mondale Election. New York, NY: Knopf. 1987. 133p.
- Schlesinger, Arthur M. Jr. and Israel, Fred L., (eds.) History of American Presidential Elections, 10 vols. Edgemont, PA: Chelsea House. 1988. 4450p.

- Scriabine, Christine. The Presidency. Edgemont, PA: Chelsea House. 1988.
- Schwartz, Barry. George Washington: The Making of an American Symbol. New York, NY: The Free Press. 1987.
In this apparently almost exhausted field, the author manages to produce a fresh look at the first President as an example of American hero-worship.
- Seib, Philip. Who's in Charge? Dallas, TX: Taylor Publishers. 1988.
- Spitzer, Robert J. The Presidential Veto: Touchstone of the American Presidency. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. 1988. 176p.
The author examines the presidential veto, looking both at its historical development and present significance.
- Thomas, E.H. Presidential Quiz Book. New York, NY: Hippocrene Books. 1988. 176p.
- Thompson, Kenneth W., (ed.). The Presidency and Science Advising, vol II. Lanham, MD: University Press of America. 1988. 88p.
- Walters, Ronald W. Black Presidential Politics in America: A Strategic Approach. State University of New York Press. 1987. 288p.
The author seeks to elucidate how the Black leadership has attempted to obtain favorable results for Black participation in presidential politics.
- Wayne, Stephen J. The Road to the White House: The Politics of Presidential Elections. New York, NY: St. Martin. 1988. 336p.
- Whicker, Marcia L. and Moore, Raymond A. When Presidents Are Great. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: P-H. 1988. 192p.
- Will, George. The New Season: A Spectator's Guide to the 1988 Election. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster. 1988. 320p.

JOURNALS

- Abott, Philip. "Do Presidents Talk Too Much? The Rhetorical Presidency and Its Alternative." Presidential Studies Quarterly, Spring 1988, 347-362.
The author examines the rhetorical presidency in light of conflicting theories.

- Adler, David Gray. "The Constitution and Presidential Warmaking: The Enduring Debate." Political Science Quarterly, Spring 1988, 1-36. The author considers the debate on whether Congress or the president is constitutionally empowered to commence war, looking ultimately at the Framers' intent to vest war-making power in Congress.
- Anderson, David L. "J. Lawton Collins, John Foster Dulles, and the Eisenhower Administration's 'Point of No Return' in Vietnam." Diplomatic History, Spring 1988, 127-147. The author examines Eisenhower's foreign policy in Vietnam, contending that it was oversimplified and overcommitted, fostering dependence, not independence in South Vietnam.
- Anderson, Dwight G. "Power, Rhetoric, and the State: A Theory of Presidential Legitimacy." The Review of Politics, Spring 1988, 198-214. The author questions the assumption that presidential power is primarily legitimized by the Constitution, arguing that presidential assertions of power honoring the dominant values of the culture have created an American state which serves as an extraconstitutional source of presidential legitimacy.
- Bard, Mitchell. "Interest Groups, the President, and Foreign Policy: How Reagan Snatched Victory from the Jaws of Defeat on AWACS." Presidential Studies Quarterly, Summer 1988, 583-600. The author suggests that lobby influence regarding foreign policy is partially a function of the balance of lobbying power between competing interests.
- Barilleaux, Ryan J. "Presidential Conduct of Foreign Policy." Congress and the Presidency, Spring 1988, 1-23. Focusing on President Reagan's Iran-Contra affair, the author examines the conflicts and trade-offs presidents face in the conduct of foreign policy and how they are evaluated in such conduct.
- Bass, Harold F. JR. "Presidential Party Leadership and Party Reform: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Abrogation of the Two-Thirds Rule." Presidential Studies Quarterly, Spring 1988, 303-317. The author examines the impact of presidential leadership on party reform, focusing on the 1936 renomination of Franklin Roosevelt.
- Betz, Herman. "Abraham Lincoln and American Constitutionalism." The Review of Politics, Spring 1988, 169-197. The author examines Lincoln's conception of constitutionalism, maintaining that Lincoln adhered to the written Constitution of the Framers, its forms, procedures, principles, and spirit.

- Best, James J. "Presidential Learning: A Comparative Study of the Interactions of Carter and Reagan." Congress and the Presidency, Spring 1988, 25-48.
Noting substantial differences between Carter and Reagan, the author examines their "needs to know" and how they acted to satisfy those needs, gather information and obtain advice.
- Blyndenburgh, John C. "Sophisticated Voting in the 1980 Presidential Election." Political Behavior, 10:2, 1988, 103-116.
Focusing on survey research of the 1980 presidential election, the author demonstrates that sophisticated voting was not employed by voters to avoid their least preferred alternative.
- Clayton, Dorothy H. and Thompson, Robert J. "Reagan, Thatcher, and Social Welfare: Typical and Nontypical Behavior for Presidents and Prime Ministers." Presidential Studies Quarterly, Summer 1988, 565-581.
This article compares the degree to which Reagan and Thatcher, as chief executives, have been able to achieve their policy goals for social welfare.
- Cutler, Lloyd N. "Some Reflections About Divided Government." Presidential Studies Quarterly, Summer 1988, 485-492.
An essay based upon Mr. Cutler's address, in a dialogue with Hedrick Smith, on March 27, 1988 in Washington, D.C. in the 19th Annual Student Symposium of the Center for the Study of the Presidency.
- D'Auria, Gregory T. "Present at the Rejuvenation: The Association of Dean Acheson and Richard Nixon." Presidential Studies Quarterly, Spring 1988, 393-412. The author details the longterm association between Nixon and Acheson, and the political effects of that association.
- Denton, Robert E.JR. "A Communication Model of Presidential Power." Presidential Studies Quarterly, Summer 1988, 523-539.
Presenting a communication model, the author investigates traditional orientation of presidential power.
- Elsy, George M. "Memoir, Some White House Recollections, 1942-53." Diplomatic History, Summer 1988, 357-364.
The author recollects his war-time military duties at the White House, providing an inside look at the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations.
- Fair, Ray C. "The Effect of Economic Events on Votes for the President: 1984 Update." Political Behavior, 10:2, 1988, 168-179.
Basing his calculations on economic factors, the author presents a formula by which he predicts the outcome of the 1988 presidential election.

- Fleisher, Richard and Bond, Jon R. "Are There Two Presidencies? Yes, But Only for Republicans." The Journal of Politics, August 1988, 747-767.
Examining the so-called two presidencies phenomenon, i.e., that in roll call votes in the House and Senate presidents tend to win more often on foreign policy than on domestic policy, the authors address the question of why it characterizes Republican administrations.
- Foote, Joe S. "Ratings Decline of Presidential Television." Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, Spring 1988.
The author examines the decline in network audience interest in presidential speeches and news conferences during the Reagan Administration.
- Gardner, Richard N. "The Case for Practical Internationalism." Foreign Affairs, Spring 1988.
The author contends that, though unilateral military action will still be necessary in exceptional cases, the next president will need to convince the American people that strengthening international institutions is in the U.S. interest.
- Gates, John B. and Cohen, Jeffrey E. "Presidents, Supreme Court Justices, and Racial Equality Cases: 1954-1984." Political Behavior, 10:1, 1988, 22-36.
The authors assess the policy success of presidents since Eisenhower in appointing Supreme Court justices according to their stands on racial equality cases.
- Gergen, David R. "Can We Have an Effective Presidency?" Presidential Studies Quarterly, Summer 1988, 475-483.
An essay based upon Mr. Gergen's address in Washington, D.C., March 25, 1988 at the 19th Annual Student Symposium of the Center for the Study of the Presidency.
- Glenn, Gary D. "Rhetoric and Religion in the 1984 Campaign." Political Communication and Persuasion, 5:1, 1988.
Looking at addresses by Reagan, Mondale, Edward Kennedy, and Mario Cuomo, the author analyzes the ways in which the issues of religion and politics were shaped in the 1984 presidential campaign.
- Hale, Dennis. "Just What Is Policy Anyway? And Who's Supposed to Make It?" Administration and Society, February 1988, 423-452.
Surveying twenty administration and policy texts, the author finds that the "policymaking process" has lost its boundaries and been swallowed up by administration.
- Hamilton, Lee H. "Congress and the Presidency in American Foreign Policy." Presidential Studies Quarterly, Summer 1988, 507-511.
An essay based upon the address by Rep. Hamilton at the 19th Annual Student Symposium of the Center for the Study of the Presidency, March 26, 1988, in Washington, D.C.

- Hoxie, Gordon R. "To Promote the Progress of Science and Useful Arts." Presidential Studies Quarterly, Spring 1988, 363-391.
The author investigates the relationship between the presidency and the promotion of the quality of life and national security.
- Husson, William, Stephen, Timothy, Harrison, Teresa M., and Fehr, B.J. "An Interpersonal Communication Perspective on Images of Political Candidates." Human Communication Research, Spring 1988, 397-421.
Taking as the basis of their study respondents' evaluations of Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale, the authors assess the degree to which candidate preferences are associated with observable behavior of the candidates.
- Kassebaum, Nancy Landon. "To Form a More Perfect Union." Presidential Studies Quarterly, Spring 1988, 241-249.
An essay based upon Senator Kassebaum's address, November 14, 1987 in Philadelphia at the 18th Annual Leadership Conference of the Center for the Study of the Presidency.
- Kiewiet, Roderick D. and McCubbins, Mathew D. "Presidential Influence on Congressional Appropriations Decisions." American Journal of Political Science, August 1988.
The authors examine the extent to which possession of the veto allows the president to influence congressional decisions on regular annual appropriations legislation.
- Ledovic, James H. "National Interests and U.S. Foreign Aid: The Carter and Reagan Years." Journal of Peace Research, June 1988, 115-135.
Comparing the relative impact of "donor interests" and "human needs" on U.S. foreign aid allocations, the author shows that political-military considerations predominated in the foreign assistance policy of both Carter and Reagan.
- Levine, Myron A. "Is a Presidential System for Everyone? Some Reflections on the Dutch Rejection of an American Style Presidency." Presidential Studies Quarterly, Spring 1988, 277-281.
The author examines why the Dutch were attracted to an American-style presidency but still rejected the call for presidential government.
- Mathiot, Andre. "Presidential Government in the United States and in France." Presidential Studies Quarterly, Spring 1988, 251-276.
The author takes a comparative look at how executive power has developed in the United States and France.
- Metz, Steven. "Congress, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and Nixon." Diplomatic History, Spring 1988, 165-185.
The author investigates the impact of the anti-apartheid movement on the Nixon Administration's policy toward South Africa.

Nelson, Michael. "The President and the Court: Reinterpreting the Court-Packing Episode of 1937." Political Science Quarterly, Summer 1988, 267-293.

The author maintains that the Court-packing episode can best be understood not as a unique historical event but as a case study of attempted presidential leadership in the cause of political change.

Nice, David C. "The Item Veto and Expenditure Restraint." The Journal of Politics, May 1988, 487-499.

Looking at how state item veto powers have affected expenditures, the author casts doubt on the proposition that a presidential item veto would help to solve the national government's persistent budget deficits.

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