



PRG Report



Newsletter of the Presidency Research Group

The American Political Science Association

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On Becoming APT Research Using Presidential Archives, Part II

Terry Sullivan

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Presidency studies now have an opportunity to create a powerful, empirical research agenda. To realize the opportunity analysts need only become APT: adopt a research method that emphasizes the transformation of archival information into systematic data. That accomplished, a number of new and exciting avenues of research will open. The second in a series, this paper describes how the discipline might develop this APT agenda. An earlier paper described the approach and listed

continued on page 5

Chief Clerk's Report

Martha Kumar's records show that our membership took a healthy spurt from 362 to 418 members during the 1991-92 academic year. We suspect that the brief hiatus in the publication of the newsletter jogged the memories of elapsed members that they had failed to renew. We shall take our serendipity where we find it.

Richard M. Pious has kindly offered to share a massive bibliography of the presidency literature with fellow PRGers. The bibliography was compiled to provide a basis for a multi-volume reference work on the presidency, which, unfortunately, the publisher dropped. Richard is concerned that some fine articles were left out because of space requirements and the scope of the planned publication. Nonetheless, it is easily the most exhaustive presidency bibliography available. And it is yours for the asking.

Because it runs some 77 pages, I will distribute it **only** as a disk file.

continued on page 9

Inside	Minutes of PRG Business Meeting.....	2
	Federal SoapBox Software Review.....	2
This	Texas A&M Presidential Studies Center.....	3
	Neustadt Award.....	4
Issue	<i>Obiter Dicta: Mystery of the Nixon Psyche</i>	10
	APSA Presidency Papers.....	15

*email inf. per p. 9
also-mail to p. 14*

Minutes of 1992 Business Meeting

Martha Kumar

The Presidency Research Group met in Chicago at the annual American Political Science Association convention. Our president, Sam Kernell, opened the meeting and mentioned that we would discuss the slate of candidates for the editorial board, the Neustadt Award, and the bulletin board. We began with the finances. Martha Kumar gave the Secretary-Treasurer's report. The bottom line is that we have \$1927.70 in our treasury. The fact that we published only one newsletter accounts for our large nest egg. The only expenses we had other than the newsletter was the Neustadt Award plaque and the business breakfast for board members at the convention last year. We currently have 418 members. That represents a substantial increase from last year's membership of 362.

We now have a taxpayer's identification number for our organization with the Internal Revenue Service which gives us tax exempt status. This was necessary because the APSA was not allowing sections to use its number.

Continued on page 13

Software Review: Federal SoapBox

Lyn Ragsdale
University of Arizona

Federal SoapBox is a new database program of the federal government updated quarterly with two central features. First, it offers a database of the structure and organization of the federal government in the Congress, bureaucracy, presidency, and courts. The database offers the opportunity to search for officials or offices by topic, party, name, or zip code. A user may request information about a particular office for which SoapBox provides a brief description of its functions and jurisdictions. Or a user may request information on the personnel within a particular office or committee. This option supplies the names, addresses, and titles of the individuals who work in an office (ranked according to seniority). Biographies are provided for some of the individuals. Finally, a user may request information on the chain of command in which the particular office falls. For instance, if the user wished to find out information about the House Appropriations Committee, the chain of command feature would designate it as, first, a part of the legislative branch, and, then, within that among the standing committees of the House.

Second, SoapBox offers a complete letter writing guide with form letters to help contact members of Congress and other

government officials. Mailing lists can also be created from the organizational database and printed as a mail merge with a letter written in SoapBox (either the user's own or a form letter supplied by SoapBox). Mailing labels also can be printed for the individuals on a mailing list.

I found the organizational database more valuable than the letter writing feature of the software. The letter writing capability is easy and flexible but it is geared mostly toward groups' orchestrated letter-writing campaigns. For instructional and research purposes, the organizational database is promising. The chain of command, the description of offices, and the display of who's who will familiarize students with the important, as well as the obscure, people and units of the federal government. For research needs, one can easily obtain a list of current congressional committees or a roster of an office in the Executive Office of the President. Especially if more data are included in the future updates of the package about past Congresses, presidents, agencies, the courts, and budgets, it could be an invaluable addition to existing almanacs, manuals, and statistical guides, especially on the presidency and Congress.

THE CENTER FOR PRESIDENTIAL STUDIES

GEORGE C. EDWARDS III
Texas A&M University

Readers of this newsletter will probably agree that despite the extraordinary visibility of the chief executive and the enormous volume of commentary on individual presidents, the American presidency is the least understood institution in American politics. To close the gap in our understanding of the presidency, Texas A&M University created The Center for Presidential Studies in 1991. The Center is a nonpartisan, interdisciplinary research center that will be located next to and closely associated with the George Bush Presidential Library.

Increasing our understanding of the presidency requires a concentration of talent and a focus of effort that has not occurred elsewhere. The Center seeks to support distinguished visiting scholars, prominent public officials, post-doctoral fellows, and Texas A&M faculty and students from several disciplines conducting research and sharing their understanding of the presidency. Scholars affiliated with the Center have begun to conduct studies of important matters relating to the presidency and will convey their results to other scholars, government officials, students, and the general public.

The interdisciplinary orientation of the Center is reflected in the membership of the national advisory board. It includes the archivist of the United States, Don Wilson; historians Stephen Ambrose and Robert Ferrell; communications specialists James Andrews and David Zarefsky; political scientists Thomas Cronin, Louis Fisher, Kathleen Frankovic, Fred Greenstein, Erwin Hargrove, Chuck Jones, John Kessel, Martha Kumar, Richard Neustadt, Richard Pious, Roger Porter, Bert Rockman, Francis Rourke, Norman Thomas, Stephen Wayne, and Aaron Wildavsky; and pollsters Alec M. Gallup, Lance Tarrance, and Richard Wirthlin. I have been named director of the Center.

The focus of the research mission of the Center is broad. It includes presidential decision making, presidential-congressional relations, the president as world leader, the public president, the president as chief executive, presidential selection, and the president as party leader. We are also interested in the comparative study of chief executives.

continued on page 12

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Neustadt Prize Goes To David R. Mayhew

Editor's Note: The 1992 Richard E. Neustadt Prize was awarded to David R. Mayhew. In presenting the award, Colin Campbell offered the award with the following comments. Paul Quirk and Mary Stuckey served with Colin on the award committee.

David R. Mayhew's *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking, and Investigations, 1946-1990* (Yale University Press, 1991) could just as easily receive an award for its contribution to legislative studies. In fact, it bears a message of importance to the entire field of American government and politics.

The standard diagnosis which attributes the intractability of the federal policy arena to "divided government" has gained wide currency over the past few years. This has become so much the case that presidential candidates have brought the term into the popular lexicon.

Two dangers present themselves through overinvestment in the divided government thesis. First, this might place unrealistic expectations upon administrations and congresses operating under the control of the same party. Second, it fails to give sufficient weight to the possibility that the electorate might actually prefer the

added cover from impetuous or arbitrary administrations provided by divided government. After all, the principle of separation of powers still functions as the central attribute which distinguishes the American constitution from those of other advanced liberal democracies.

A tendency has emerged in the discipline in recent years whereby many scholars seem prepared to absolve presidents of leading creatively and effectively if they face divided government. This lowering of the bar for presidents serving under divided government— especially if they have come to office with decisive electoral mandates— ultimately will erode our standards for governance. David Mayhew's book might not convince everyone that we cannot associate all of the difficulties presidents encounter with Congress with whether they control both houses. However, his painstaking assessment of legislative deadlock and aggressive oversight between 1946 and 1990 should give us all pause for thought.

This is a magnificently crafted and executed book. Our political science colleagues will find themselves contending with it for years to come— even if they disagree with its conclusions.

Announcement...

Political Communication: Theories and Methodologies Conference

This conference leading to an edited collection of essays will feature papers relevant to the study of political communication from theoretical and

methodological perspectives. Submissions should focus on the relationship between the subject studied, theories relevant to that subject, and the appropriate methodologies deriving from those theories. Authors may either start with a methodology and explicate its applications or start with a substantive field of interest and discuss potential methodologies. Potential topics include, but are by no means restricted to: applications of game theory, statistical models of political communication,

linguistic analysis, rhetorical theories, content analysis, approaches to studying the media, and communicative aspects of campaigns.

Potential contributors should send an extended abstract **NO LATER THAN MAY 1, 1993**, to **Mary E. Stuckey**, Political Science, University of Mississippi, University, MS 38677. The conference is currently planned for February of 1994 at the University of Mississippi.

several examples of APt research. In becoming APt the analyst must cross two hurdles. First, a researcher needs to become familiar with how archives work. Second, as a whole the discipline must create an institutional commitment to APt research in the same way that it has developed institutional commitments to congressional and election studies.

Utilizing Archives

While they may look like them, archives differ greatly from libraries. For example, their staffs have different objectives than librarians. The archival logic also arranges materials differently from the libraries. And it "accesses" information in vastly different ways. Sometimes, these differences pose interesting challenges. For starters, since archivists consider the *preservation* of history, not its access, as their central mission, they sacrifice researcher access whenever it conflicts with preservation. This practice has two initially disturbing consequences: First, preservation makes obsolete some of our most cherished research techniques. For example, archives rarely boast "open stacks" so researchers rarely have the opportunity to find materials by "collateral

searches:" *find one thing and then look around*. The researcher cannot count on aimless sampling to produce much material. Second, preservation takes *time* and it places time directly between the researcher and the researcher's product. Indeed, it makes time the researcher's chief enemy. Preservation requires lead time; familiarization and requests for materials generate down time; and processing materials, either by the researcher or the archival staff, generates lag time. So the researcher must arrive with a plan of search, the will to persevere, and time.

With the proper strategy, the researcher can avoid some of these constraints. First, the researcher ought to explore what the archivists themselves have done to counterbalance the preservation-driven restrictions. For example, sometimes archivists will prepare "searches," a list of files most likely to contain information on a particular topic. When available, these searches provide an invaluable alternative to collateral search techniques and reduce down time as well. In most situations the researcher can obtain copies of searches before arrival. In some situations and with the appropriate lead time, the archivists will prepare a search

on demand.

In general, archives have fewer "indexing" devices than research libraries. Most archives (and certainly all presidential libraries) have no comprehensive list of materials similar to a library's title card catalog. The job of creating such for an archives that houses tens of millions of documents would fall beyond any staff's capacity. The only archival equivalent to the card catalog, called the "finding aid," resembles more the equivalent of a special collection catalog. On the other hand, finding aids typically carry far more annotations describing contents than you find on any card catalog item. Moreover, archivists regularly describe the contents of collections down at least to the subcollection level, which sometimes describes exactly the materials for which the researcher searches. In some situations, the researcher can obtain these annotated finding aides through inter-library loans or directly from the archives through the mail.

Archival files resemble your own office files. They reside in an imaginary file drawer (called a "box") and within each file drawer they reside in folders. Within each folder, the documents free float. On top of this familiar organization, the

continued on next page

APt (from previous page)

archive adds its own: boxes exist generally within larger "collections" that sometimes exhibit their own internal organization into subcategories. For example, all presidential libraries have something called the "White House Central File" (hereafter simply WHCF) which houses a voluminous collection covering every conceivable subject. For example, the WHCF documents on Civil Rights bills reside in "HU 2."

Like one's own files, the organization of archived files reflects the qualities of its originator, sometimes pristine and sometimes sloppy. The archive faithfully preserves these traits. Sometimes the quality of files varies in direct proportion to what we might call the "Law of the Least Likely:" participants store materials in direct, inverse relationship to their involvement.

Often those who stand at the periphery, close enough "to be in the paper loop" but not so close as to have overwhelming responsibilities, possess the complete files. Therefore, a second level member of the Office of Congressional Relations might have remarkably good (i.e., productive) files because of access and the opportunity to file systematically, while superiors in the same office may have very disappointing files. In archives like the presidential libraries that have millions of pages of

documents, this law can frustrate systematic data-gathering efforts. Therefore, having an organizational chart handy becomes a useful strategy for organizing searches through the files. Since the White House staffing patterns and responsibilities often vary greatly with time, the archivists often provide invaluable assistance in identifying staff responsibilities. Typically they have had to do exactly the same thing in processing files and will have detailed notes. The researcher can also find out useful staffing information from the *Congressional Directory* and the archives's list of "oral histories." This last list covers the archives's collection of recorded interviews with prominent and not so prominent people associated with the archives's principal. The list usually includes a biographical description that covers the person's job titles and responsibilities.

My experience suggests that, beginning with the "aides' files," (the collection of staff office files organized by the staffer who originated the materials) represents the most efficient use of time. These files generally have more useful material in them and little of the chaff that regularly makes its way into the WHCF. The researcher must remember that the WHCF acts as the last resting place of

everything that circulates through the White House. As such, trivial letters and memorabilia often outnumber the useful. In most White Houses, the WHCF archival team (moles in the White House basement) makes distinctions between "Executive" and "General" files. Where they made that distinction, avoid the latter. Avoid oral histories when you visit. Generally, people remember what they prefer to remember rather than what happened. For that reason, we do archival research. Moreover, most archives will loan oral histories through the interlibrary loan service. If you can maintain a good set of records, you can collect, copy, and return a very large number of such histories in a very short time. Better to read these things at home on someone else's money, not your grant.

The requirements of preservation also mandate that archives staff photocopy the materials requested by researchers. This restriction, of course, furthers preservation at the expense of researcher resources. Because of in house photocopying, most archives take a considerable amount of time to process requests and they charge substantial amounts for copies (e.g., presidential libraries charge 25-35 cents per page). As a result, a researcher might request copies of the same document found in two separate places. Given the real expense of unnecessary

duplication, the researcher ought to maintain notes about which requests for photocopying have already been made. In some archives, the photocopying process involves bracketing the requested material with colored strips of paper and then describing the document on a form. In many (but not all) the researcher keeps the request forms until the end and turns the forms in at one time. While this procedure means the archives complete no copying until the researcher leaves, it does reduce the number of duplicate requests. Other archives require that the researcher make a separate request form for each box and insert the form inside the front of the box when returning it to the archivists. This second method allows for speedier turnaround at the expense of duplication. You ought to check ahead of time as to how the archive handles copy requests so you will know whether you need some method of keeping track of requests. Also, because one often finds an incomplete copy of a memo long before locating the complete memo (if ever), make note of how many pages you requested.

Just as the archives themselves differ from libraries, their staffs differ too. An archivist generally possesses the expertise of a reference librarian. Because they have read everything in a collection

as part of its processing, they *can* act as an invaluable source. Often they do not, I am embarrassed to say, because researchers treat them badly. I cannot count the number of rude and arrogant demands I have encountered merely sitting in the reading room watching my colleagues at work. At all costs, you should work *with* the archivists. This recommendation goes double when the archive assigns an archivist specifically to you. Then you have an invaluable resource on call. If familiar with your project, he or she can make invaluable recommendations about materials and location.

In sum then, the following simple rules of thumb will improve anyone's use of an archive.

—Before you leave home, find out if the archives:

- **Will send you searches and finding aides.
- **Will send you a Who's Who or an organizational chart.
- **Will send you a list of oral histories.
- **Will allow you to do your own copying.
- **Uses a running photocopy request form (preferred) or has you put the request form with each box (faster).
- **Assigns an archivist to your project or not. If they do, then give that archivist as

much information about your project as you can.

- Save as much of your money as possible for photocopying of documents. Photocopy as much as possible rather than taking detailed notes.
- Stay longer than you really can.
- Never spend all of your time plowing through the materials of the principals. Remember the Law of the Least Likely. Watch for that junior associate with the pack rat files.
- Cooperate with the archivists— they represent a very useful resource when they participate in your project as opposed to merely serving your requests.
- Start with the Aides and personal papers collections. Avoid WIICF General.

Institutionalizing APt

An efficient personal strategy for archival research represents only half the APt story, however. The other half involves institutional support for APt research. Three general approaches will improve the discipline's ability to utilize APt. First, APt requires an institutional underwriter. Second, since archives differ from research

continued on next page

APt (from previous page)

libraries, foundations supporting APt research must reorganize their approach to funding. Third, the discipline itself must become involved in general APt research projects.

As with other empirical studies, APt development depends upon institutionalized support for collecting archival materials and for facilitating APt research. In congressional studies, for example, two entities have underwritten improved research.

Congressional Quarterly's coverage keeps the discipline (generally removed from Washington) abreast. In addition, ICPSR's data archive reduces the extraordinary costs associated with data preparation and analysis. One cannot overstate the importance of these two. Indeed, their existence accounts for why the most advanced empirical presidency analysis focuses on *congressional* influence [e.g., Edwards 1980, 1989; Bond and Fleisher 1990].

Like congressional and elections research, APt utilization depends upon development of a large scale project grant. Such a project would develop a large scale, "dynamic" database archive facility capable of receiving and holding cross-administration data presumably on electronic devices. Already, the Bush administration electronically archives materials passing

through the Oval Office. The combination of these current archival activities and efforts at the other presidential libraries would produce a sizable empirical database that would grow quickly over time as it incorporated current administrations. These materials could then underwrite an empirical presidency research agenda without the costs associated with extensive on-site visitation. Such a dynamic database would allow scholars across the country to use APt, say through an interactive computing network (like BITNET) or through distributing CD-ROMs. Developing such a database would specifically encourage otherwise expensive longitudinal analyses. While maintaining such a database requires a major institutional setting, the discipline need not depend upon ICPSR. In other disciplines, university institutes maintain sizable database operations like that proposed here. For example, the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine currently maintains the most successful dynamic archival facility that maps the human genome. One or more of the universities associated with on-site presidential archives would make a very suitable institutional setting.

Since the scope of archival research can become broad ranging and since APt access requires considerable time, long stays on-site often become

essential. This fact suggests two important implications: First, scholars in residence at archives most likely will make the most of APt. Archives located at or near academic institutions, then, provide the best opportunity to further APt development. These centers (e.g., the JFK, LBJ, and Ford presidential libraries, and the Albert and McCormack Centers and soon the Bush library and coincident School of Public Service and Center for the Study of the Presidency) and their supporting foundations can further APt by devoting some of their efforts to supporting their resident scholarly communities. These institutions might support, say, special teaching projects that combine the scholar's research interests with student use of the archives. They might include removing special barriers to support for resident research projects. For example, supporting foundations could offer researcher support in "block grants" (as the Albert Center and the Hoover Presidential Library do) which then can cover any form of research expense. Most foundations support archival research by awarding funds for travel-related expenses *only*. This "categorical" approach, of course, arbitrarily excludes most resident scholars who have no travel expenses. At the very least, a block grant

approach allows resident scholars to compete evenly with non-residents.

Third, the APSA and its presidency research group ought to work hard to avoid the location of presidential libraries off academic sites (e.g., the Nixon and Reagan libraries). It ought to convene a study panel on the impact archives have on their academic communities. This committee could gather information not only about the costs of the archival presence but its benefits. For example, most of the six presidential archives with which I am familiar greatly enhance their home communities intellectual life. Of course, they draw researchers from far distant places to the campus and they act as a forum for important historical symposia. What is more important, however, presidential archives can sponsor a number of lectures that have little to do with the actual subject of the library. These "A night with..." or "Meet the author of..." activities include writers and artists and practicing politicians as well as leaders of business and industry. They can focus disparate resources (generally outside academia) to enhance the intellectual life of the general community to which the university belongs.

This committee could offer invaluable advice to academic communities contemplating housing a presidential archive.

For example, it could provide a set of recommendations about the archives's principal functions, including the character of museum presentations. It could also provide guidelines designed to maximize the research uses of the archives.

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- *I gratefully acknowledge my friend and colleague John Fawcett, Assistant Archivist of the United States. I have also profited from discussions on related topics with Gary Byrd, John Caldwell, Samuel Kernell, Richard Lucier, and Ron Peters. In addition, I would like to acknowledge the example of Lawrence C. Dodd whose activities as APSA Congressional Fellow and as scholar suggest much of the blend I recommend here.

Chief Clerk's Report (from page 1)

Write or e-mail (PRG-REQUEST@UCSD) your request for a copy with the following information: computer format (IBM or MacIntosh), floppy disk size (5 or 3"), and file format. In addition to text file, I can make it available in the following word processing formats: Word (5.0), Word for Windows, Wordperfect (5.3), and Word for Mac.

Steven Weatherford has agreed to chair next year's Neustadt award committee. He will be joined by Martha Kumar and Michael Genovese.

I still need a volunteer to assemble an annual bibliographic review of the current literature. It will, of course, be a great service to presidency scholars and disproportionate to the modest effort required.

Respectfully submitted,

Sam Kernell

Obiter Dicta

**UNLOCKING THE MYSTERY
OF THE NIXON PSYCHE**

Michael A. Genovese
Loyola Marymount University

In the past few years, the National Archives has released portions of the papers of former President Richard M. Nixon. These papers are now being examined by scholars and journalists who are searching for clues into what has for years been the seemingly unanswerable question: Who is Richard Nixon?

Psychobiographers have dissected Nixon's every word and movement in an effort to determine what makes Nixon tick, but until now the truth has eluded us. However, after spending weeks buried in the Nixon presidential papers to research my book *The Nixon Presidency: Power and Politics in Turbulent Times* (Greenwood Press), I have—I am proud to say—finally uncovered the missing link to the Nixon psyche. Buried under mounds of pages, I have discovered an exchange of memos which at last gives us the answer to our question. Who is Richard Nixon? Read on:

MEMORANDUM FOR:
MR. BUTTERFIELD

As the President wended his way through Europe, it occurred to him that we don't have decent restroom facilities at the Washington Monument. There are apparently some trailers parked there which are used as restroom facilities but he thinks this is totally unsuitable. He wants the trailers removed and proper, nice-looking restroom facilities built and convenient to the Monument for the people who are

waiting there to see it—but unobtrusive and in good taste. Will you please look into this and see what we can do?

H.R. Haldeman

MEMORANDUM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 13, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR:
MR. H.R. HALDEMAN

FROM: ALEXANDER P. BUTTERFIELD

SUBJECT: (Would You Believe?) Rest Rooms
(Staff Secretary Action Memo P804)

It was heartening indeed to know that the President thought of me while he wended his way through Europe....regardless of the context of his thoughts at the time.

I too feel strongly about decent rest room facilities, and I am happy to report that we never do have rest room-type trailers parked in the vicinity of the Washington Monument, or anyplace at all along the Mall, unless it is anticipated that a demonstration or some other "spectacular" is going to generate a larger than normal crowd in a particular area. As a matter of fact, there were seven of these mobile comfort stations on the Washington Monument Grounds the day before the President left for Europe. Evidently he saw them there and assumed that they were the only rest room facilities we had. However, under all normal conditions, there are no trailers in sight along the Mall. Rest room facilities are installed in permanent-type, one story brick or stone buildings. The General Superintendent of National Capitol Parks has assured me that the rest rooms have full

time attendants and that they are inspected daily by Park Service supervisors. He said too that they are painted and otherwise renovated as necessary each year during the off-season.

Not one to take responsibilities lightly, I summoned a White House limousine and went, myself, to the Monument Grounds. While enroute, I slipped into my overalls and put on my shades. Getting out of the car about a half-block short of my destination, I meandered casually among the tourist groups in the vicinity— then darted into the men's room. It appeared to be fairly clean but, in my opinion, much too small. And in the same one story building— overall about the size of Herb Klein's office (actually about the size of three-quarters of the lawn space in the President's Garden)— there is a ladies' room, a snack bar and a souvenir shop.

This in conclusion:

— Mobile comfort stations are used on the Monument Grounds only when especially large crowds are anticipated.

— The permanent buildings which house rest room facilities are not unattractive.

— The permanent rest room facilities for men and women in the vicinity of the Washington Monument are very small and should be enlarged considerably in order to adequately serve the increasing numbers of tourists who come to Washington, D.C. each year.

— With discretion I will look into the feasibility of Interior's building a larger and nicer rest room facility on the Washington Monument Grounds.

Additional Note:

(I should probably tell you. You'll find out anyway.) As I was leaving the men's room, I was arrested. I had been trying to fake a plumber's kit with my briefcase....and had forgotten to remove the White House tag. The Park policeman was

convinced that I had picked up the article inside. Later at the station house— thanks to the driver's showing up with my gray flannel suit, striped tie and white oxford button-down shirt— everything was unscrambled and my true identity proven to the Park Police officials.

Had it not been for this embarrassing and delaying incident, my report to you would have been more timely.

Richard Nixon and the anal fixation? Richard Nixon and the toilet fetish? Did Nixon's mother, Hannah, ruin him because of poor potty training in his youth? I leave it to future generations of scholars to sort out the deeper meaning of Mr. Nixon's near obsession with toilet facilities. Suffice it to say, the real Nixon is finally coming out. I suppose we should have known all along, seen the clues, pieced the puzzle together earlier. Now what is Reagan's problem?

Announcement...

Praeger Publishers has established a new book series entitled the "Praeger Series in Presidential Studies" with Robert E. Denton, Jr. as the Series Editor. The Series is open to all approaches and methodologies as well as contemporary and historical studies. Proposals, manuscripts, and other inquiries should be directed to Robert E. Denton, Jr., Department of Communication Studies, Agnew Hall, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA 24061. Denton will also serve as Editor of Praeger's Series on Political Communication.

Presidential Center
(from page 3)

One of the Center's most important programs is the establishment and continuous development of a data base on the presidency and American politics that consists of data not available in traditional archives. Our goal is to make this the country's central archive for data on the presidency and an invaluable supplement to the presidential libraries. It will serve scholars, government officials, and others interested in the presidency and American government.

Currently, the Gallup Poll, the CBS/New York Times Poll, the Newsweek Poll, Tarrance and Associates, and Americans Talk Security\Issues archive their data in the presidential archive. Richard Wirthlin has donated his archive of hundreds of political polls, most notably those taken for President Reagan, to the Center. We hope to add polls taken for President Bush after he leaves office. The archive also has the most extensive and sophisticated computerized congressional roll-call voting data on presidential proposals. The Center intends to add papers of presidential advisors and high-ranking officials, audio- video records of the presidency, journalists' files and diaries, national political party records, and other valuable materials. If you have data sets that you wish to donate, please contact me.

The Bush Library itself will be the first truly electronic presidential library. Non-classified documents that cross the desk of the president or the White House chief of staff, about 300,000 documents, are being optically scanned and will be available to view on computer monitors. There will also be 2 to 3 million photos in the Bush Presidential Library, which the National Archives is working with Kodak to digitize. More importantly, there will be between 4,000 and 6,000 hours of color video of the Bush Administration.

Equally important to archiving data is accessing it. We are working in partnership with leading computer and software companies to develop a system that will (1) fully integrate users and data on campus with the Bush Presidential Library; (2) provide the capability to store, rapidly retrieve, and easily process numeric, textual, and image data and integrate it in a unified multimedia framework; and (3) create a network linkage with scholars in the U.S. and around the world. Our goal is to make the material in both the Presidential Library and the Center for Presidential Studies easily accessible to as many scholars as possible.

Imagine, for example, researchers interested in studying the 1992 presidential campaign. Our goal is to

provide a system in which they would be able to sit at their computer terminals and call up memos on campaign strategy, videos of campaign advertisements and television coverage of the campaign, and quantitative data from public opinion polls and election results on the same screen at the same time! It is even possible that they may be able to do this while sitting in New York, Madison, or San Francisco.

The Center for Presidential Studies plans to join with the George Bush Presidential Library to host national conferences on the presidency for scholars, public officials, and interested persons from the private sector. The Center will also join with the Library to sponsor a lecture series on the presidency.

We have also begun the process of organizing exchanges with scholars from other nations and working with Eastern European universities on the development of political science curricula. We believe these ventures prove to be especially productive over time.

The possibilities here are exciting, but the challenges are equally great. We welcome your suggestions and advice and look forward to working with you.

However, now that we have gone through the hassle of getting a number, the Association has changed its policy and will allow sections to use its number as part of a program to organize the funds for all sections. The Association will open accounts into which the semi-annual payments will be directly deposited. However, since we already have our own number and an account that does not require a fee, we will maintain our separate account, a practice several sections are following. The question came up as to what we get in return for the amount of money we contribute to the Association (\$3.00 a member to the Association and \$4.00 for our use). The Association maintains the membership lists and also collects new membership fees.

The Neustadt Award was given to David Mayhew for his book, *Divided We Govern*. Colin Campbell, who headed the committee composed of himself, Mary Stuckey, and Paul Quirk, presented the award. Mayhew was cited for the importance of his subject as well as for the clarity of his execution. He deals with the importance of divided government and the difficulties inherent in legislative deadlock. David Mayhew was present to receive the award. In his remarks thanking the group,

he cited the usefulness of the rich work provided by presidency scholars.

Joc Pika, speaking for Steve Wayne who is organizing the presidency panels, asked people to consider submitting paper proposals. It is unclear how many panels there will be next year, but Bert Rockman noted that there were 12 assigned for this year. We used 11 1/2 as we split one with the Legislative Studies Group.

The officers of the Presidency Research Group are now elected every two years. Thus there was no need to discuss nominations for a president, vice-president, or secretary-treasurer. But the editorial board does rotate its membership on an annual basis with one third of the members coming on every year. Each member serves a term of three years. The recommended members for the editorial board were: Ryan Barilleaux, Tom Cronin, Michael Genovese, Barbara Hinckley, and Stephen Weatherford. The five nominees were unanimously elected to their three-year terms.

Sam Kernell discussed the design of the newsletter and asked for people's responses to the Spring issue. Sam has informed other organizations about the Bitnet operation and hopes it will prove useful in getting information on events, such as conferences. Once we have the

system fully in place, members can share information. Currently, there are 35 members on the system.

Perhaps we might want to include in our newsletter small but interesting sections of recent publications, including books and magazines. While it would be valuable to publish a listing of all recent books, articles, and papers on the presidency—giving short descriptions of each, Sam Kernell observed that one needs research assistance to accomplish that. Larry Berman had begun such a task, but the recent budget cuts in California killed it. Sam requested contributions for the newsletters. It was suggested that book reviews that we do might be published in the newsletter as well. Sam made a special request for good editorial cartoons; his office will obtain permission from the news organizations to use them.

Sam Kernell talked to Robert Browning of Purdue about C-SPAN and its use for presidency research. He has been invited to address our meeting in Washington next fall on the use of his archives in our research and classes. Sam will also invite someone from the National Archives to describe its historical video materials on the presidency.

Added
(no CG95NOT @ SEMO.EDU
on 4/26/93

E-Mail Reminder

By September about forty PRGers had signed onto the network. If you would like to sign on, send mail to PRG-REQUEST@UCSD identifying yourself and your e-mail address. (This address is all you need for the bitnet network. If your university is on internet, add .edu to the end of the address.) We will confirm your success in making contact.

If you get a transmission error message shortly after sending this mail, check first with a local consultant. If you still have a problem, send mail to apip@ucsd (for internet users: apip@ucsd.edu) or call the APIP office at 619- 534-1323.

The success of the PRG network depends on getting a lot of people signed on and using the facility regularly. So, don't delay and keep in touch!

Announcement...

CALL FOR PANELS AND PAPERS SOCIAL SCIENCE HISTORY ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER 4-7, 1993 BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

The Social Science History Association will hold its 18th annual conference in Baltimore, Maryland, November 4-7, 1993. The SSHA is the leading social science interdisciplinary association. Its annual conference provides a forum for historians, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, demographers, and geographers. Graduate students are especially encouraged to participate as panelists.

Those interested in organizing a panel or presenting a paper should send a proposal to the Program Co-chairs. The proposal should outline the topic, briefly describe the format (including tentative paper titles), and provide names, departments and institutional affiliations, addresses, and phone numbers of all participants. Panel organizers should include FAX numbers and BITNET addresses if available. Proposals must be received no later than 15 February 1993. Organizers are encouraged to submit preliminary proposals earlier.

PROGRAM CO-CHAIRS

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Call For Presidency Papers 1993 APSA Annual Meeting

Stephen J. Wayne
Georgetown University

Editor's Note: The American Political Science Association's annual convention will meet in Washington, D.C. next year. Paper proposals and offers to appear as discussants or panel chairs must be submitted by December 1, 1992.

Students of the presidency have witnessed cycles of criticism and praise for the institution and those who have served in it. At the time for this annual call for papers for the next APSA meeting, we seem to be in one of the gloom and doom cycles in which complaints and laments about the presidency and presidential leadership overwhelm the faint praise that is infrequently sounded. Is the presidency broke, and if so, how can it be fixed? What implications might "fixing" it have for the institution and the political system in which it operates? Obviously the subject of presidential leadership remains of central concern here. I hope some of you will direct your research and apply your findings to this issue of governance and the role of the presidency within the contemporary system.

Congruent with the theme of the meeting, we also need to address the topic of identity of or in the presidency. Is there an identity problem or crisis? How can presidential imprints be made and sustained within and beyond an administration? An examination of legacies would certainly be appropriate as would an examination of the methodologies by which we identify and evaluate responsibility, accountability, and accomplishments.

Although I would like to see more applied research on the American presidency, I certainly am sensitive to the continuing need for good theoretical and comparative research. Both will be welcome *as will any quality proposal*.

Creativity in panel format is also encouraged. In addition to the presentation of formal papers with critics, I would like to see several structured discussions (perhaps composed of practitioners and political scientists and/or other social scientists or humanists) on topics of contemporary relevance. Roundtables with short talking papers are another possibility. Let's create

an exciting intellectual environment in which we can all contribute, learn, and be stimulated for another academic year. I look forward to hearing from anyone who is interested in organizing or participating in these sessions.

Papers should be submitted to Stephen J. Wayne, Department of Government, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20057; (202) 687-5908; Fax: (202) 687-5858.

PRG Bulletin Board

To access the PRG Bulletin Board, send your message to PRG@UCSD for Bitnet users and PRG@UCSD.edu for Internet users. Your message will then be transmitted to all PRG members on the electronic mailing list.

Subscriptions, Change of Address, and Contributions

PRG Report is published twice annually by the membership of the Presidency Research Group of the American Political Science Association. Individual subscriptions are provided with membership. Institutional subscriptions are \$10 annually. Institutional subscribers for the 1990-91 year will receive free subscriptions through the 1992-93 academic year. Make checks payable to the Presidency Research Group, APSA.

Letters, announcements and other submissions for publication should be provided on disk as well as paper. Use any of the following file formats: Wordperfect 4.x or 5.x, Word for Dos, Word for Windows, Wordstar, rich text file (RTF) for McIntosh, and DOS text file format. Please follow **Chicago Manual of Style** guidelines, which means that "president" is capitalized only when there is a name attached. Manuscripts should be single spaced and employ in-text notes and an abbreviated bibliography. Include full mailing address and e-mail address, if available, after institutional affiliation.

Send subscriptions, address changes and submissions to Samuel Kernell, Department of Political Science (0521), UC San Diego, La Jolla, CA 92093-0521

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