

PRG REPORT



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The Presidency and Constitutional Change in the 20th Century: The Racial Component

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Presidents and Constitutional Pressure Points

This essay results from some thinking about presidential action in the face of the presence of Africans (and their descendants) within the polity. Presidential decision-making can be imagined as a subset of the broader idea of decision-making. The President conceives that some future situation could be made better than the present, that the possible "projects" are not infinite, but are rather limited in the social situation; the president goes through some process to choose the one that seems most productive (Snyder, Bruck, and Sapin, 1962, 90).

James Sterling Young speaks of the President as "direct[ing] the behavior of others, thereby effecting a public action or policy" (Young, 1993, 8). The American President engages thus, from

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Chief Clerk's Report

Larry Berman

Transitions, transitions. And only good news: Martha Kumar is now vice-chair of PRG (better yet, she's our next chair). Terry Sullivan is Secretary/Treasurer and, with this inaugural issue, Bob Spitzer takes over as our newsletter editor.

I received a request from Kathleen Graf, librarian at the Executive Office of the President, for all past issues of the PRG newsletter as well as a subscription so that the current newsletter can be in the EOP. But, we don't have a complete set of past newsletters and I am asking for your help—please notify Bob Spitzer if you have extra copies of past PRG newsletters. Anyone with a complete set gets a PRG prize of recog-

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From the Editor

Robert J. Spitzer

I am very pleased to assume the editorship of the *PRG Report*. Your suggestions, ideas, and especially contributions to future issues will be greatly appreciated. Articles on all aspects of presidency research are welcome, including: summaries or updates of ongoing research; strategies, tips, experiences on doing presidency research; think pieces on recent presidential activities, such as assessments of the Clinton administration. Submissions should include hard and disk copies (WordPerfect 5.1 preferred). In addition, if you presented a good presidency paper at this year's APSA, or know of a good one, remember to submit it to the 1993 Best Paper Committee (members to be announced).

In this issue, the lead article, provided by Matthew Holden, explores the question of race and the presidency. In addition, *PRG Report* revives the presidency bibliography thanks to graduate student Todd Patterson of the University of South Carolina, who offers the first of two installments of presidency bibliography information. This issue includes presidency articles from 33 journals and papers from seven conferences covering the last two years. The Spring issue will include a presidency book bibliography covering this past year. As you will see, Todd has done a superb job. If you have information on presidency papers at upcoming conferences, please pass the information on to Patterson. If you have book titles (c. 1992-present) to include in the Spring bibliography, send a complete citation with a one-sentence summary to: Todd Patterson, 7502 Hunt Club Rd., Apt. 18-D, Columbia, SC 29223; FAX 803-736-5679; e-mail: "tpatters@kirk.geog.sc Carolina.edu"

Under the category of research updates, on August 9, a federal district court judge halted the release of Nixon White House tapes by the National Archives until all personal conversations were weeded out and returned to Nixon. As of August, the Archives had released 63 of

4000 hours of tapes. This ruling halts that process. In addition, Judge Royce Lamberth ruled that the remaining tapes should be released all at once instead of in portions which, according to Public Citizen, would delay the release of tapes 5 to 10 years (NY Times 8/10/93).

A three-judge Court of Appeals panel (D.C. Cir.) ruled August 13 that the federal government must save millions of electronic messages, as it is now required to do for paper messages. The ruling arises from a suit brought by the National Security Archive and Public Citizen which challenged the Bush administration's plan to erase all electronic communications from the Reagan administration, amounting to millions of pages of documents. The Clinton administration argued in court that it should have the option of printing and saving those documents it believed warranted preservation, which would have saved at least some material. The appeals court rejected both the Bush and Clinton proposals (and in so doing, upheld a lower court ruling). The ruling includes EOP and NSC e-mail systems, but does not include records involved solely with advice to the president. The Clinton administration had not decided whether to appeal the decision as of August (NY Times, 8/14/93).

Starting on August 23, the CIA began providing to the National Archives 90,000 pages of documents pertaining to the assassination of President Kennedy, including records from the Warren Commission and the House Committee on Assassinations. President Clinton recently appointed a panel to review 150,000 pages of assassination material to cull it before release. The review panel and document release process arises from a 1992 act of Congress, prompted in part by the controversy surrounding Oliver Stone's movie "JFK" (NY Times 8/20/93).

Shortly before press time, I received a frantic note from a Cortland librarian that describes what the American Library Associa-

tion has labeled a "serious threat to free access" to government information. The concern stems from HR 3400, the Government Reform and Savings Act, a proposal arising from V.P. Gore's National Performance Review recommendations. The bill is on a congressional fast track, and gives greater authority to the Executive branch over information production and dissemination. It also apparently dismantles the GPO (Gore says desktop printing makes it obsolete). This may be enacted by the time you read this. Is this a matter of consequence to us? Comments?

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nition at next year's business meeting.

Terry Sullivan is trying to update our E-mail list. If you're not on his register (and most of our readership is not) please contact Terry with your E-mail address. Thanks to Terry I'm soon to be surfing on Internet. Why, I don't know.

We will be returning to the tradition of an Executive Committee breakfast prior to the business meeting at next year's APSA meeting. At that time, we will consider awards, nominations, and PRG direction. In that vein, I would like PRG to sponsor an APSA short-course at the 1995 convention. Not only are short courses intellectually engaging, but they can be revenue enhancers for the PRG. Please write me with any ideas you may have for a short-course topic. We will consider all suggestions at next year's Executive Committee meeting.

The Neustadt and best paper committees will soon be constituted. I would like PRG membership feedback on recommendations for each committee.

PRG will sponsor a commemorative panel at the APSA on Aaron Wildavsky's contributions to presidency research. I am requesting that a PRG member volunteer to chair the 1994 APSA panel. Please contact me ASAP if you would like to undertake this job. I would also like you to consider naming our "best paper" award in honor of Aaron's work.

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time to time, in "nation leading" (Young). Presidential nation-leading results, sometimes, in changes in the very constitution of the polity itself. A constitution, even the formalized American constitution, is not a "document" merely.² (Bryce, 1901; Hagan, 1958, 46; Merriam, 1931; Rostow, 1989, 4.) It is agreement among the powerful as to how the powerful will act toward each other, and as to what their interest or standard of morality will require them to do regarding the groups that are weaker.

War, economics and race have historically been the three great sources of pressure within the American constitutional system. Presidents have been aggressive in their claims to broad authority, often to inherent authority as to war and national security. Struggles over this have long shaped, and continue to shape, the real constitution of war and national security (Shuman and Thomas, 1990). Domestic and international demand has also pressed for results so far as to shape what, as I recall, Adolf A. Berle, Jr. denominated "the economic republic." Presidential claims have, again, not been timid.

What about Presidential action on race?

When the civil rights movement was vigorous in the early 1960s, at least a few scholars adopted the symbolism of a "second Emancipation Proclamation" (Kranz, 1969, 741-769). The theme was that the President had his own law-making sufficient to cope with urgent national needs (Mor-

gan, 1970, 86).

Presidents in these matters, as in lesser matters, may hypothesize some element of free choice, or of doing what the President personally wants to do. (However, it is methodologically very hard to know what the person who is the president means, or what decisional relevance it may have.) Organizational demand is the aggregate of demands from formally subordinate officials, including both those whom (Holden, 1988) presidents choose and those who are chosen by other means, the tastes and preferences of those formal subordinates, and the capacities of organizations over which those subordinates preside (Holden, 255-276; and, for specific recent illustrative matter, Golden, 1991, 8-9). External demand means demand from those within the society but outside the decisional entity (in this case the president and those responsible to the president), as well as from those from other countries (Rose, 1990).

Stratification Challenges and the Role of Presidents

On the whole, presidents decline to follow the course implied. Twentieth century politics was determined by the eventual answer to a nineteenth century question. The question was whether the freed Africans could be accepted as African Americans, or whether they would be treated as subordinated persons with lesser rights. So long as slavery was the predominant political fact, there was little issue. The Civil War,

as confirmed by the Emancipation, created racial stratification as an issue that did not exist before.

Operationally, the question could be stated thus: do the persons of African descent have any legitimate role in the selection of those who will hold the public offices? Simply, do they have a right to vote and will the right be protected by Federal authority? Presidents from Grant through Harrison faced this as an active issue. The answer was "yes," (Attorney General, 1876, 12-13) but the answer was offered with decreasing strength as the years passed. The executive did not, in fact, easily abandon an interest in the Black population of the South (Cresswell, 1991, Chaps. 1 and 6; Cummings and McFarland, 1970, 230-249). But it was inhibited by severe hostility in the Supreme Court, and by Democratic power in Congress from 1875.

The issue was not definitively closed until the very last decade of the nineteenth century (Holden, forthcoming). The twentieth century United States was turned into a semi-apartheid society. It remained so at least until the time of Pearl Harbor. The challenges to stratification arose from within the body politic, in all the activity of the civil rights movements and its antecedents.

Presidential Attention and Avoidance

Challenges to stratification-as-policy took place, earlier, in forms that most political leaders did not see, or

could reasonably regard as too remote for their current interest. Since the Depression, presidents have shifted course, silently, as if guided by the "Principle of the Hiding Hand" (Hirschman, 1967, 9-34). Presidents disguised even from themselves the logical implications of what they were doing.

If one takes a political science orientation to interest politics, then the results are what one should expect. *Presidents have intervened in, or abstained from, racial constitutional issues primarily in accord with the interest of groups in the presidential entourage or departmental structure (organizational demand), or in the interest of groups in the presidential support coalition, party, electoral base or constituency structure.*

A. *Altering the Rule of Political Participation*

Presidential attention to the issue of the African American right to vote was forced externally and adopted reluctantly. Herbert Hoover unintentionally reopened the issue by nominating a Supreme Court candidate (John J. Parker) who was on record as saying that African American participation in politics was a source of evil and danger and that the wiser people of both races recognized that. Most of the opposition to Parker came from other sources, and he lost by two votes. But the marginal votes of Northern African Americans played some part in some senators' calculations. "While it was doubtful that more than three or four

senators [were influenced by anxiety about the Black vote], the occasion furnished the first national demonstration of the Negro's power since Reconstruction days" (*Christian Science Monitor*, May 9, 1930, 21). It became clear that there was a Northern African American constituency that, at the margins, could become part of the support base of some presidential candidates. From that time onward, the latent issue of African American voting rights in the South recurred as an active issue for members with African American constituents in the North. Increasingly, this meant Northern Democrats. But no president was ready to talk about such an issue until Truman and his advisers deemed it imperative (Truman, 1956, 181).

Truman turned the issue of the right to vote into a front page issue for explicit debate by presidents. The calculation was that the civil rights issue was essential to activate the urban minorities in the 1948 campaign. The Eisenhower Administration, following Truman, eventually deemed it necessary to support legislation that became the Civil Rights Act of 1957. The Eisenhower Administration brought very few cases under the new bill in the three years following its passage. The Kennedy administration would have been satisfied if it could have limited itself to the enforcement of voting rights. Moreover, the Justice Department, under Robert Kennedy, placed great stress on such cases (Schlesinger, 1978). In

the context of all that happened since, we observed Johnson make this front page issue into a winning issue. We observed, as a matter of external demand, the Republican presidents seek to limit the scope and effect of the new laws.

B. *Altering the Reservoir of Decision-Makers: The Executive and Executive Appointments*

Paradoxically, presidents who would not directly discuss the right to vote became instructors to the nation on the symbolism of the appointments in their own administrations. An underlying question in the real constitution, is the question "do persons of African descent constitute proper members of the governing elite?" Organizational demand was the initiator of change. A small number of New Deal "liberals" brought into their agencies the first visible and sizeable set of African American bureaucrats (Watkins, 1990; "A List of Negroes," 1942, 173-175; Ware, 1984, 81). On the whole their role was to keep before agency staffs some claims about the needs of Blacks. The Black press soon christened this group "the Black Cabinet." This surely implies more about governing than can have been realistic at the time. The group must have been at the margin of executive decision-making, receiving little support from anyone, except when their sponsors inside the administration were effective. As a matter of symbolism, if only that, the government ceased being exclusively "the white

government.”

The next level of appointments does not even begin until 1949. Oscar Ewing, the administrator of the Federal Security Agency (later rechristened Department of Health, Education, and Welfare) brought into his office a Black woman as an “assistant to the administrator,” not yet an “assistant administrator.” Within the next four years, the Eisenhower administration, after negotiations, brought an African American (E. Fredric Morrow) to the White House staff (Morrow, 1963, 110), and a Chicago lawyer, J. Ernest Wilkins, as an Assistant Secretary of Labor. Kennedy widened the pattern still more, with such appointments as that of a Black man as associate press secretary, a Black man as deputy assistant secretary of state, and at least one Black appointee as a major regulatory commissioner. His appointees in turn made a variety of hitherto unexpected appointments of their own (Wilkins, Roger, 1982, Chapter 9). By the time of Richard Nixon, the Black appointee at the sub-cabinet level was still unusual, but was no longer a guaranteed novelty. Lyndon Johnson further expanded the appointment pattern, as did President Jimmy Carter. At least seven percent (19/270) of Carter’s appointees were Black (Office of Louis Martin, August, 1980). The appointments pattern continued, except for the Reagan Administration, through the Bush administration and into the Clinton administration. When four of

fourteen Cabinet departments have African American secretaries (as was the case at the beginning of the Clinton administration), the constitution to that extent has a different character.

C. Altering Basic Substantive Policy: The Role of the Executive

Both organizational demand and external demand played large roles in questions of substantive policy. There is at least a question within the constitution as to what substantive results people may expect. African Americans could fairly ask the question of whether they had a constitutional right to life (Berry, n.d.).

1. *Presidents and their subordinates, in the 20th century, almost completely let pass the critical substantive issue of protection against preventable death.* Until the time of Harry Truman, presidents chose to direct only the mildest of presidential rhetoric, on the most restricted or unusual occasions, against the practice of killing and burning people. Few sermons against lynching were preached from the “bully pulpit.” Rather, presidents passively accepted lynching as a normal part of life. FDR was persuaded to use some generally critical language in a speech transmitted by radio to the Federal Council of Churches. But beyond that Roosevelt expressly refused to intervene. His rationale was that he could not let his economic program become hostage (White, 1948, 168-170).

Truman was drawn into the lynching issue after World

War II. Returned African American soldiers were lynched in Louisiana and Georgia. In South Carolina, one veteran, Isaac Woodward, was beaten so badly as to be blinded (White, 325-327). Walter F. White, then Executive Secretary of NAACP, reported a meeting with Truman on the subject. “My, God!” he quoted Truman, “I didn’t know things were that bad” (White, 331). Truman stated in that meeting his decision to create the President’s Committee on Civil Rights. The Committee reported rapidly, and its report was a landmark in the evolution of civil rights policy. It seems plausible, though not proven, that Truman’s personal admiration for those who served in the military merged with his need, anticipating 1948, to appeal to the African American vote.

2. *Presidents were drawn by entourage politics (organizational demand) and by external demand into altering economic features of the real constitution.*

Do African Americans, within the constitution, have the same rights as others in the economy? The answer is not obvious. Freedom of contract is also a feature of the constitution. Freedom of contract in the 20th century for a long time meant that private decision-makers had, and systematically exercised, the power to exclude African Americans from large parts of the ordinary economy. The job discrimination issue was forced upon, and taken by, President Franklin Roosevelt,

and turned into a national policy debate when the United States was at the doorstep of World War II in 1941. President Roosevelt at a certain point took personal control of negotiations, with the result that a march was cancelled in exchange for Executive Order 8802 (1941). The order was founded in the president's emergency powers. It forbade discrimination in *defense* industries and established a President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice as the controlling administrative entity. Thus, it set the pattern that, 23 years later, would be incorporated into statute as Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

It was a measure of some change in the policy atmosphere that the Justice Department could agree to file a brief opposing the enforceability of covenants that forbade the sale or use of real property to, or by, African Americans (Perlman, 1941).

External demand was always present, in the sense that African Americans clamored for desegregation. The role of Blacks in military service does not quite fit with the problem of entry into the economy, although it does involve the crucial question of how the country's population is to be utilized in a time of personnel shortage. Organizational demand (in the sense of the professional officers) constitutes a hard wall of resistance. Segregation was sometimes broken in practice during the war, but segregation remained the dominant policy. Organizational demand

then shifted rapidly under the pressure from personnel shortage, until the Truman Administration and the Korean War (Dalfiume, 1975, IX and X).

School segregation is perhaps the substantive issue that recent presidents have found least manageable. Presidents were pulled into this controversy unwillingly. The Department of Justice filed a brief attacking the basic concept of the legality of racial segregation. If Caplan (1987) is correct, that decision was made almost idiosyncratically. It was the handiwork of one lawyer, and given the inattentive approval of Attorney General James P. McGranery, late in the Truman administration. Once initiated, the action took on a life of its own. (The lawyer in question was in constant communication with Justice Frankfurter while he was shaping the Department's argument (Caplan, 25-30)).

When faced with conflicting external demands, presidents appear to have done what they wanted to do. The illustration that I choose is President Reagan and the question of tax exemptions for private academies. Once the court entered into an active policy of desegregation, busing reached its maximum. Busing elicited immediate political opposition from white communities. Resistance to busing became resistance to desegregation. Republicans had no reason to be ambivalent. The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) played an important role in terms of its decision-making criteria regarding the tax

exempt status of private institutions created as segregated alternatives to desegregated public school systems (Jones, 1982). More indicative of the Republican presidents' latitude is the *Bob Jones* case. In *Bob Jones*, the IRS was challenged for withholding tax exempt treatment to institutions that practiced racial discrimination. The president stated that he was not sure that it was legal for the IRS to be making social policy judgments. The president ignored two features that advocates thought important. First, the IRS did not randomly interject itself. Rather, the practice had been accepted by the IRS during the Nixon administration, over the objection of Attorney General John Mitchell, in a settlement of litigation. People in Mississippi, who wanted the IRS to move against the segregated private academies, had sued. Apparently anticipating unfavorable fallout in the courts, IRS entered into a settlement under which the denial of exemptions was undertaken. The objectionable practices had been reviewed prior to the Reagan administration, and had been accepted more than once by other Federal courts.

Some Points of Departure

1. Presidents are not "natural" supporters of civil rights in the sense of supporting the interests and claims of African Americans. Even the most adventurous presidents have generally been cautious in making claims to authority. This would not be a necessary

or interesting observation, except that for a certain period political scientists confused the contemporary facts with an underlying necessity.

2. The contemporary facts of external demand drove the Democratic presidents to an active and generally pro-African American policy. The demonstration of conservatism as a form of activism, in the presidencies of Reagan and Bush (Shull, 1993), is in point.

3. Presidents are not only leading actors. They often become lagging actors. They lag behind the courts and behind active nuclei in Congress for protracted periods. Presidents have lagged but they also have led. They have led at certain crucial moments, making latent issues into active issues, active issues into front-page issues, and have been decisive in making front-page issues winning issues.

4. If presidents deem themselves to represent the effective political majority, one should expect their racial policies to accord with what they imagine the effective political majority to support.

If the disposition of the effective political majority is uncertain, the choice open to the president is at once freer and more dangerous. The situation is also more complex if the political coalition in which the president holds the center is also overtly divided. Finally, if the personal disposition of the president and the objective political indicators conflict, the resultant is difficult to predict.

¹. This essay adapts from Holden, Matthew, Jr., *Presi-*

dent, Congress, and Racial Stratification, (Ernest T. Patterson Memorial Lecture), Department of Political Science, University of Colorado at Boulder, 1985; and, Holden, "Race and Constitutional Change in the 20th Century: The Role of the Executive," in Franklin, John Hope and Genna Rae McNeill (eds.), *African Americans and the Living Constitution*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press (Forthcoming).

². DEFINITION: The constitution is a network of rules, understandings, habits, customs and beliefs and answers the following questions. Who (or what sort of person) is a member of the political community? Amongst the members, what constitutes the reservoir or pool of eligible persons from which decision-makers are to be drawn? What is the recruitment process for drawing particular persons from the pool of eligibility? What are the decision-process rules to be applied in governing? What are the substantive outputs that are mandatory, permissible, and forbidden in actual policy? What are the rules for changing the rules?

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Presidency Research via INTERNET at SUNSITE

Terry Sullivan

With the assistance of SUN Microsystems Inc., the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has embarked on a project to make available research materials about the modern presidency using the INTERNET. We began in August of 1992 with the Papers of the Clinton/Gore Campaign and now have added the Public Papers of the Clinton Presidency, published nightly by the White House Office of Communications. These materials include NAFTA, NPR, NIITF, speeches, press briefings., etc. You may access these materials using GOPHER or TELNET at SUNSITE.UNC.EDU. SUNSITE supports WAIS, SWAIS, HYperText, MOSAIC, and other sophisticated information processing approaches. You may also obtain a more detailed account of the SUNSITE from writing to Terry Sullivan at UTOSPS@UNCMVS.OIT.UNC.EDU.

1. The National Performance Review has asked SUNSITE to organize discussions on ways to improve government, to redesign governing. NPR will provide more detail on its plans and we will pass along to

the PRG as we believe PRG members can make a contribution to the program. If you have a preliminary interest in this program, contact Terry.

2. We would like to begin a collection of oral histories. We are exploring having the Presidential Library system dump their oral history collections onto SUNSITE, at least those which they have on disk. That would allow for INTERNET access with the addition of WAIS capability. As a demonstration SUNSITE now carries an extensive [3Mb] oral history of Lawrence O'Brien conducted by the LBJ Library. If you have oral histories or interviews that you wish to contribute, send them on a disk in straight ASCII (Text) to:

Oral History Database -
SUNSITE
C/o Terry Sullivan
Department of Political
Science
CB#3265, Hamilton Hall
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3265

Or you may ship it in ASCII text via EMAIL to:
Sullivan@SUNSITE.UNC.EDU.

Articles on the Presidency 1992-1993

Todd Patterson

- Abrams, Herbert L. 1993. "Shielding the President from the Constitution: Disability and the 25th Amendment." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 533-553. Examines the mechanism defined for temporary replacement of a disabled president. Suggests that future administrations should prepare for and utilize the 25th amendment's provisions.
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- Stern, Mark. 1993. "Calculating Visions: Civil Rights Legislation in the Kennedy and Johnson Years." *Journal of Policy History* 5: 231-247. Examines civil rights legislative strategies of Kennedy and Johnson as they dealt with the emerging Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act.
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- Sullivan, John L., Amy Fried, and Mary G. Dietz. 1992. "Patriotism, Politics, and the Presidential Election of 1988." *American Journal of Political Science* 36: 200-234. Analyzes the strong influence of patriotic appeals of candidates in the 1988 election.
- Swank, O. H. 1993. "Popularity Functions Based on the Partisan Theory." *Public Choice* 75: 339-356. Presents popularity function estimates for presidents based on voter evaluations and their understanding and partisan reputations.
- Thomas, Norman C. 1992. "Jimmy Carter, Public Policy, and the Public Interest." *Journal of Policy History* 4: 453-466. Evaluates the Carter presidency as atypical but not wholly unsuccessful. Primarily a study through two book reviews.
- Thompson, Robert J. 1992. "Contrasting Models of White House Organization: The Eisenhower, Ford, and Carter Experiences." *Congress & the Presidency* 19: 113-136. Empirically tests the basic assumptions of competitive, hierarchical, and collegial models of White House staff organizations.
- Tonelson, Alan. 1992. "Prudence or Inertia? The Bush Administration's Foreign Policy." *Current History* 91: 145-150. Examines how Bush's atavism

- cramped the process by which the U.S. sets its foreign policy goals and identifies its options.
- Walker, Wallace Earl. 1993. "Presidential Transitions and the Entrepreneurial Presidency: Of Lions, Foxes, and Puppy Dogs." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 57-75. Applies criteria of shrewd transitions to the Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations.
- Watson, Jack H., Jr. 1993. "The Clinton White House." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 429-435. Focuses on key elements of Clinton's leadership and management style and his approach to policy-making. Also describes organization and structure of senior staff.
- Welch, Susan, and John Hibbing. 1992. "Research Notes: Financial Conditions, Gender, and Voting in American National Elections." *Journal of Politics* 54: 197-213. Explores the differences between men and women in their levels and types of economic voting. Considers presidential and congressional elections in 1980 and 1984.
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- Wilcox, Clyde, Clifford W. Brown, Jr., and Linda W. Powell. 1993. "Sex and the Political Contributor: The Gender Gap Among Contributors to Presidential Candidates in 1988." *Political Research Quarterly* 46: 355-369. Investigates the gender gap in policy preferences among political contributors in presidential elections.
- Wildavsky, Aaron. 1993. "At Once Too Strong and Too Weak: President Clinton and the Dilemma of Egalitarian Leadership." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 437-444. Analyzes the egalitarian dilemma and its implications on the Clinton presidency through a comparative context.
- Wrabley, Raymond B., Jr. 1992. "Nation-Building and the Presidency: Competing National Visions at the Founding." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 22: 261-277. Details the competing visions of Hamilton and Jefferson and their continuing influence on the shape of the modern presidency.
- Wright, Gerald C. 1993. "Workshop: Errors in Measuring Vote Choice in the National Election Studies, 1952-88." *American Journal of Political Science* 37: 291-316. Examines a problem of systematic measurement error in the National Election Studies.
- Zagacki, Kenneth S. 1992. "Rhetoric, Failure, and the Presidency: The Case of Vietnam." *Communication Studies* 43: 42-55. Explores the rhetorical shortcomings of Nixon, Ford, and Carter in their efforts to console and compensate the nation after Vietnam.
- Zupan, Mark A. 1992. "Measuring the Ideological Preferences of U.S. Presidents: A Proposed (Extremely Simple) Method." *Public Choice* 73: 351-361. Analyzes the congressional dominance theory and presents a method for measuring ideological preferences of presidents.

Papers Presented on the Presidency 1992-1993

Todd Patterson

(arranged alphabetically by conference; affiliation of primary author provided)

American Political Science Association

Washington Hilton, Washington, DC, September 2-5, 1993.

- Abramowitz, Alan I. "Abortion as a Political Issue in the 1988 and 1992 Presidential Elections." Emory University.
- Abrams, Hebert. "Presidential Health and the Public's Right to Know: Confidentiality vs. Informed Consent." Stanford University.
- Abramson, Paul R., and Charles W. Ostrom, Jr. "Question Wording and Partisanship: Change and Continuity in Party Loyalties During the 1993 Election Campaign." Michigan State University.
- Alvarez, Ramon Michael. "The Bayesian Voter." California Institute of Technology.
- Anderson, Donald F. "Packing the Supreme Court, Taft Style, 1909-1913." University of Michigan, Dearborn.
- Baer, Denise L. "Group Representation at the 1988 and 1992 National Nominating Conventions." House Democratic Caucus.
- Baker, John. "Executive-Legislative Interaction in Shaping U.S. Security Policy: A Reassessment of Current Policy-Making Models." Columbia University.
- Bass, Harold F., Jr. "Bill Clinton's Presidential Party Leadership: A Preliminary Assessment." Ouachita Baptist University.
- Baumann, Lawra J. "Institutional Immorality by Design or Default? The Reagan Administration and Departments of Energy and Education." University of Cincinnati.
- Beck, Paul Allen, Russell J. Dalton, and Robert Huckfeldt. "The Intermediation Process in the 1992 Presidential Election." Ohio State University.
- Berry, Brian J. L., Edward J. Harpham, and Euel Elliott. "Riding the Long Wave: Macroeconomics and the Presidency." University of Texas, Dallas.
- Bose, Meenekshi. "Words as Signals: A Comparison of Eisenhower's and Kennedy's Early Rhetoric about the Cold War." Princeton University.
- Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M., and Renee M. Smith. "Testing Political Theories of Dynamic Equilibrium: Fractional Integration and Long Memory Processes." Ohio State University.
- Boyd, Richard W. "The Influence of Foreign Policy Issues in the 1956 and 1960 Elections." Wesleyan University.
- Brown, Roger G., and Carolyn R. Thompson. "Transformations of Political Functions from the Presidential Party to White House Management." University of North Carolina, Charlotte.
- Buchanan, Bruce. "A Tale of Two Campaigns: 1988 vs. 1992." University of Texas, Austin.
- Calvert, Randall L. "The University of Rochester's 1988 Presidential Nomination Stock Market Game." University of Rochester.
- Campbell, Colin J. "The Presidency and the Decline of Neutral Competence in Comparative Perspective." Georgetown University.
- Carpini, Michael Delli, and Scott Keeler. "Effects of the 'PEople's Presidential Debate' on Undecided Voters in the Richmond Area." Columbia University.
- Comiskey, Michael. "Presidents and Court Packing: The Case of FDR." Penn State University.
- Cowhey, Peter F. "Ballot Box Diplomacy." University of California, San Diego.
- Crigley, Ann N., Marion R. Just, and Timothy E. Cook. "Press Coverage and Public Perceptions of Candidates in the 1992 Presidential Election." University of Southern California.
- Davis, Richard. "Press Coverage of Supreme Court Nominations." Brigham Young University.
- Downing, Kim. "The 1992 Presidential Debates: The Event vs. the Mediated Version." Rutgers University.
- Drachman, Edward R. "President Eisenhower's Decision to Oppose the British-French-Israeli Invasion of Suez." State University of New York, Geneseo.
- Duffy, Robert J. "Regulatory Policy, Executive Administration, and the Clean Air Act: The Legacy of the Council on Competitiveness." Rider College.
- Duncan, Dean F. "The Election Cycle in Foreign Policy Activity." Gettysburg College.
- Durant, Robert F. "Hazardous Waste Policy, Regulatory Reform, and the Reagan Revolution: The Ironies of an Activist Approach to Deactivating Government." University of Baltimore.
- Edwards, George C., III. "The Irrelevance of Charisma." Texas A & M.
- Fine, Terri Susan. "Party Identity as Communicated Through the 1992 Democratic and Republican Party Platforms." University of Central Florida.
- Gilbert, Robert E. "Physical Disabilities of Lyndon B. Johnson: Pre-Presidential and Presidential Periods." Northeastern University.
- Gold, Howard J. "The Reagan Cohort and the Decline of the Democrats." Smith College.
- Graber, Doris A. "Reporting Candidates' Qualifications." University of Illinois, Chicago.

- Greene, Jay P. "Forewarned Before Forecast: Presidential Election Models and the 1992 Election." Harvard University.
- Greenstein, Fred I. "The Psychology of the Clinton Presidency: Initial Appraisals - Leadership Style." Princeton University.
- Hager, Gregory L., and Terry Sullivan. "President Centered and Presidency Centered Explanations of Presidential Public Activity." University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Hale, Jon. "A Different Kind of Democrat: Bill Clinton, the DLC, and the Construction of a New Party Identity." University of Oklahoma.
- Hammond, Thomas H. "Presidential Power, Congressional Dominance, and Bureaucratic Autonomy in a Model of Multi-Institutional Policymaking." Michigan State University.
- Hansen, John M., and Steven J. Rosenstone. "Mobilization and Participation in the 1992 Election." University of Chicago.
- Herbst, Susan. "Putting the 1992 Presidential Campaign Rolls in Historical Perspective." Northwestern University.
- Hermann, Margaret G. "The Psychology of the Clinton Presidency: Initial Appraisals - Advisors and Advice." Ohio State University.
- Hertzog, Mark W. "Gay Consciousness among Lesbians and Gay Men." University of Virginia.
- Higgins, Robert. "Environmental Equity Policy in the Clinton-Gore Administration." Rutgers University.
- Hill, Walter W. "The Final Leg of the 1992 Presidential Campaign as Captured by an Experimental Political Stock Market." St. Mary's College of Maryland.
- Hickley, Katherine A., and John C. Green. "Presidential Campaign Contributions: Stability, Instability, and Momentum." University of Akron.
- Holbrook, Thomas, and James C. Garand. "What Do Citizens Know and How Do They Know It? Economic Evaluations and Voting in the 1992 Presidential Election." University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.
- Hope, Keith. "Mr. Perot's Constituency." Southern Illinois University.
- Hult, Karen M., and Charles Walcott. "Policy-Makers and Wordsmiths: Writing for the President under Johnson and Nixon." Virginia Polytechnic Institute.
- Jackman, Simon. "Perceptions, Reality, and Economic Voting." University of Rochester.
- Jackson, Thomas M. "The Unwritten Constitution of Presidential War: A Conception of Public Law Perceiving Limits." Marywood College.
- Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Robert Y. Shapiro. "The Public Presidency, Private Polls, and Policymaking: Lyndon Johnson." University of Minnesota.
- Joe, Wesley. "U.S. Presidential Elections and Personal Consumption Spending Patterns: A Case for the Political Business Cycle Theory." Georgetown University.
- Johnson, Stephen D., Joseph B. Tamney, and Ronald Burton. "Family Values Versus Economic Orientation in the 1992 Presidential Election." Ball State University.
- Johnston-Conover, Pamela, and Virginia Sheprio. "Gender, Feminist Consciousness and the 1992 Election." University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Kaid, Lynda Lee. "Technology and Political Advertising: Applications of Ethical Standards to the 1992 Spots." University of Oklahoma.
- Kamarck, Elaine. "Clinton's Challenge: Defining the 'New Democrats'." Progressive Policy Institute.
- Kellstedt, Lyman A., Corwin E. Smidt, and James L. Guth. "Religious Voting Blocs in the 1992 Elections: The Year of the Evangelical?" Wheaton College.
- Kern, Montague, Darrell West, and Dean E. Alyer. "Political Advertising and Ad Watches in the 1992 Presidential Election." Rutgers University.
- King, James D., and James W. Riddlesperger, Jr. "Staffing the American Presidency: An Early Assessment of the Clinton Administration." University of Wyoming.
- Klebanoff, Shoshana. "Strategic Modifiers of Peacemaking Policies in the Mid East: Presidents Jimmy Carter and George Bush." Santa Monica.
- Knack, Stephen. "Perot, Recession, MTV, and Moter Voter: Decomposing the 1992 Turnout Rise." American University.
- Koch, Nadine S., et al. "Is There a Sleeping Giant? A Study of the Effectiveness of Get-Out-the-Vote Efforts in California in 1992." California State University, Los Angeles.
- Kumar, Martha Joynt. "White House Communications Operations: The Partisan Dimension." Towson State University.
- Lammers, William W. "Presidential Leadership Styles in the First Year: Going Public from Roosevelt to Clinton." University of Southern California.
- Lasser, William. "Setting the Stage for the Imperial Presidency: The Destroyers-for-Bases Agreement of 1940." Clemson University.
- Leege, David C. "The Decomposition of the Religious Vote: A Comparison of White, Non-Hispanic Catholics with Other Ethnoreligious Groups." University of Notre Dame.
- L'Etand, Hugh. "Health Screening of Principal Political Leaders: An International Perspective." Travel Medicine International.
- Lieske, Joel A., and David C. Leege. "Re-emergence of Social Welfare Issues in the 1992 Presidential Campaign: How the Democrats Learned to Finesse

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- Lin, Tse-Min. "The Hazard of Party Incumbency in Presidential Elections." University of Texas, Austin.
- Link, Michael W., and Charles W. Kegley. "Measuring Presidential Access and Advisor Influence: Insights from the Iranian Hostage Crisis." University of South Carolina.
- McCarty, Nolan M. "A Reputational Model of the Presidential Veto." Carnegie-Mellon University.
- McCurley, Carl. "Racial Context Effects on White Voters in Contemporary Presidential Elections." Indiana University.
- Mackenzie, G. Calvin. "Radical Makeover: The Post-War Transformation of the American Presidency." Colby College.
- Magnusson, Warren E. N. "Dissidence, Insurgency, and the New Globalism: Municipal Foreign Policy from Reagan to Clinton." University of Victoria.
- Maranto, Robert. "Exploring the Clinton Transition: Views from the Career Civil Service." James Madison University.
- Mayer, Kenneth R. "Department of Defense Contracts, Presidential Elections and the Political-Business Cycle: New Theories and Evidence." University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Mitchell, George. "Between Compliance and Defiance: Executive Branch Disposition of 'Unwanted' Environmental Legislation." Tufts University.
- Morton, Rebecca B., and Mark Olson. "The Perot Factor: Electoral Competition with Entry." Texas A & M.
- Mulcahy, Kevin V. "Rethinking Groupthink: Walt W. Rostow and the National Security Advisory Process in the Johnson Administration." Louisiana State University.
- Nelson, Forrest, and Jack Wright. "The Iowa Political Stock Market." University of Iowa.
- Norman-Major, Kristen A. "The Solicitor General, Executive Policy Agendas and the Court." Vanderbilt University.
- Orman, John M. "Celebrity Politics." Fairfield University.
- Patterson, Thomas E. "News Images of Presidential Candidates: 1950-1992." Syracuse University.
- Ponder, Daniel E. "Presidential Advice and Policy Responsiveness: Theory and Evidence from the Carter Administration." Vanderbilt University.
- Portney, Kent E., and Jeffrey M. Berry. "Centralizing Regulatory Control and Interest Group Access: The Quayle Council on Competitiveness." Tufts University.
- Post, Jerrold M., and Robert S. Robins. "Choosing a Healthy President: Health Screening and the Political Process." George Washington University.
- Prinz, Timothy S. "Perot Voters and Anti-Incumbency in the 1992 Congressional Races." University of Virginia.
- Rapoport, Ronald B., and Walter J. Stone. "The Perot Campaign: Volunteers and Voters." College of William & Mary.
- Renka, Russell D. "What Differences Does the Calendar Make! Changes in the Presidential Capital and Success Over Time." Southeast Missouri State University.
- Renshon, Stanley A. "The Psychology of the Clinton Presidency: Initial Appraisals - Character." City University of New York, Graduate Center.
- Riemer, Neal. "Jewish Voters and Presidential Elections: The Record, the Reasons, the Future." Drew University.
- Roberts, Marilyn, and Paul Allen Beck. "Advertising Strategy, Recall and Effectiveness in the 1992 Presidential Campaign." Ohio State University.
- Rosenblatt, Alan J., and James A. Thurber. "Presidential Success and Failure in the Congressional Budget Process: A Test of Competing Theories." George Mason University.
- Schubert, James N., et al. "Dominance and Attention in Media Coverage of the 1992 Primary Elections." Northern Illinois University.
- Semetko, Holli A. "American Election News in Comparative Perspective." University of Michigan.
- Shants, J. Merrill, and Warren E. Miller. "Performance, Policy, Partisanship - Perot: Complimentary Interpretations of the 1992 Elections." University of California, Berkeley.
- Shapiro, Robert Y. "The Public Presidency, Private Polls, and Policymaking." Columbia University.
- Shaw, Daron R. "Polls and Predictions in the 1992 Presidential Election: A Comparison of Political Surveys and Formal Electoral Models." University of California, Los Angeles.
- Shi, Fengyan. "Agenda Setting: What Influence Do Presidents Actually Have?" Georgetown University.
- Smith, Kathy B. "Presidential Campaigns: Why Follow Our Leader?" Wake Forest University.
- Smith, Paul A., and Jean Blinn. "Did 1992 Produce New Images of the Political Parties?" State University of New York, Binghamton.
- Sorrentino, Frank M. "The President and the Bureaucracy: Strategies for Influence."
- Spiliotes, Constantine J. "Presidential Choice in Macroeconomic Policymaking." University of Chicago.
- Stern, Mark. "Civil Rights Policy and Presidential Policy Making from Carter to Clinton." University of Central Florida.
- Strand, Douglas, and Kenneth S. Sherrill. "Electoral Bugaboos? The Impact of Attitudes Towards Gay Rights and Feminism on the 1992 Presidential Vote." University of California, Berkeley.

- Streichler, Stuart A. "David Gergen and White House Communication Strategy." Johns Hopkins University.
- Suedfeld, Peter. "The Psychology of the Clinton Presidency: Initial Appraisals - Policy Dilemmas." University of British Columbia.
- Tenpas, Kathryn Dunn. "Presidents as Candidates and the Principal-Agent Model." Leiden University.
- Thorson, Gregory R. "The Proof is in the Pudding: The Successes and Failures of Presidential Vote Forecasting Models." University of California, Riverside.
- Warshaw, Shirely Anne. "White House Control of the Domestic Policy Process During the Reagan Administration." Gettysburg College.
- Wattenberg, Martin P. "The Realignment Really Was Hollow: Party Images in the 1992 Election." University of California, Irvine.
- Weisberg, Herbert F. "The 1992 Election: Party Identification and Beyond." Ohio State University.
- Wielhouwer, Peter W. "Mobilization of Activists and Voters: Strategic Canvassing by Political Parties, 1952-1990." University of Georgia.
- Zaller, John R. "The Rise of Candidate Perot." University of California, Los Angeles.
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Atlanta Marriott, Atlanta, GA, April 6-10, 1993.
- Archer, J. Clark, and Fred M. Shelley. "The Geography of the 1992 Presidential Election. University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Discusses results of 1992 popular vote at county level and places the election in a historical trajectory of American presidential elections.
- Martis, Kenneth C. 1993. "The 'Sunbelt Apportionments' and the Geography of United States Elections." West Virginia University, Morgantown. Analyzes apportionment statistics of the sunbelt region and considers possible affects on the Electoral College.
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- Aldrich, John H., and R. Michael Alvarez. "Political Substances and the Primary Voter: Why 'Issues Matter' in Presidential Primaries." Duke University.
- Barilleaux, Ryan J., and Gary L. Gregg. "Presidential Power After the Cold War." Miami University.
- Biersack, Robert, Paul Herrnson, Linda Powell, and Clyde Wilcox. "Seeking the Source of the Money Stream: Strategic Behavior of Individual Contributors in Federal Elections." Federal Election Commission.
- Boyd, Richard W., and Adam Berinsky. "The Influence of Foreign Policy Issues in the American Elections of the Early Cold War." Wesleyan University.
- Boynton, G. R. "Computational Modeling of Candidate Evaluation Processes." University of Iowa.
- Bruce, John M. "The Stability of Affective Reactions to Political Candidates." Harvard University.
- Chappell, Henry W., Jr., Thomas M. Havrilesky, and Rob Roy McGregor. "Partisan Monetary Policies: Presidential Influences Through the Power of Appointment." University of South Carolina.
- Choen, Jeffrey E. "Presidential Rhetoric and Positional Consistency." University of Houston, Clear Lake.
- Collier, Kenneth, and Terry Sullivan. "New Evidence on Presidential Support, Influence, and Its Linkage with Prestige." University of Kansas.
- Covington, Cary R., Kent Kroger, Glenn Richardson, and J. David Woodard. "Ronald Reagan's 'Issue of the Day' Strategy and Differences in Its Impact on Television and the Print Media During the 1980 Election." University of Iowa.
- Dalager, Jon K. "Parties, Candidates or Issues: Perceptions of the Presidential Campaign, 1900-1988. University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
- Duvall, Robert, and Joe D. Hagan. "President, Politburos and Pershings: The Role of Leader Perceptions in Arms Race Dynamics." West Virginia University.
- Farrat, Victoria A. "The Supreme Court Justice Nomination Process During the Reagan Era: A Study in Political Game Theory." University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
- Fitzpatrick, John. "Targeting the White House: Campaign Plan for Victory." American University.
- Gant, Michael M., Lilliard Richardson, and Richard W. Waterman. "Negative Voting in Presidential Elections: An Explanation of the Decline of the Coattail Effect." University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Geer, John. "Competition and Presidential Campaigns." Arizona State University.
- Gilmour, John. "The Strategy of Disagreement in Bargaining Between the Congress and the President." Washington University.
- Gleiber, Dennis W., Steven A Shull, and Albert C. Ringdstein. "Determinants of Congressional Overrides of Presidential Vetoes." University of New Orleans.
- Hagen, Michael G. "Press Treatment of Presidential Front-Runners." Harvard University.
- Hamman, John. "Presidents and Distributional Politics." Southern Illinois University.
- Harrigan, John J. "The Conservative Presidency." Hamline University.
- Hathaway, Dale. "The Electoral Realignments of

- 1968 and 1996." Butler University.
- Haynes, Audrey A., and Paul-Henri Gurian. "The Relationship Between Spending and Vote Outcomes in Presidential Prenomination Contests." Ohio State University.
- Hershey, Marjorie Randon. "Mandates in the Media: Interpretations of 'Mandate' in 1984 Presidential Election Coverage." Indiana University.
- Hinckley, Barbara, and Paul Brace. "Presidential Activities." New York University.
- Hooper, Michael. "Identification with the Nation and the Evaluation of Presidential Performance." Temple University.
- Hutter, James L. "Targeting the White House The States Needed for Victory." Iowa State University.
- Jacobs, Lawrence, and Robert Y. Shapiro. "Public Decisions, Private Polls: John F. Kennedy's Presidency." University of Minnesota.
- Kerbel, Matthew R. "Coverage of the 1992 Primaries on Network and Cable Television." Villanova University.
- Lindsay, James M., and Wayne P. Steger. "The Two Presidencies Thesis - Fact or Artifact?" University of Iowa.
- Link, Michael W. "Access as Influence: Foreign Policy Advising in the Carter Administration." University of South Carolina.
- Longley, Lawrence D. "Targeting the White House: The DNC and Nomination Reforms." Lawrence University.
- Meernik, James. "Presidential Decision Making and the Political Use of Military Force." University of North Texas.
- Mutz, Diana C. "Media, Momentum, and Money: Effects of Media Coverage on Contributors to the 1988 Democratic Presidential Nominees." University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Myers, Jason. "The Presidential Veto Decision: An Investment Calculation." University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
- Ostrom, Charles W., Jr., and Dennis Simon. "Public Evaluations of Presidential Performance: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis." Michigan State University.
- Parson, Karen Toombs. "Exploring the 'Two Presidencies' Phenomenon: New Evidence from the Truman Administration." Mary Washington College.
- Ramsden, Graham. "Local Press Coverage and Democracy in the 1988 Iowa Caucuses." Creighton University.
- Stein, Robert M. "The Legacy of Great Society Programs in the Reagan Era." Rice University.
- Stroh, Patrick K. "A Cognitive Model of Candidate Trait Impressions." Carnegie-Mellon University.
- Taber, Charles, and Marco Steenbergen. "A Simulated Comparison of Models of Electoral Decision Making." State University of New York, Stony Brook.
- Taylor, Michelle. "Effects of Executive-Legislative Conflict on the Ability of the Executive to Communicate with the Bureaucracy." Texas A & M.
- Wasserman, Donna Pritchard. "News Coverage and the Framing of the 1988 Presidential Nominating Campaign." University of Michigan.
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- Achen, Christopher H., and Theresa Marchant-Shapiro. "Why Former Vice Presidents Often Make Bad Presidents." University of Michigan.
- Althaus, Scott L. "Who's Afraid of the Moral Vote? Comparing Attitudinal Differences and Electoral Participation of Evangelical Christians and Other Voters in the 1988 Presidential Election." Northwestern University.
- Baldwin, Mark A. "State Economic Conditions and the Presidential Vote, 1960-1988." Indiana University.
- Boyd, Richard. "The Influence of Foreign Policy Issues in the Eisenhower Elections." Wesleyan University.
- Brown, Ronald E., and Matthew L. Holden, Jr. "Race, Intellectual History, Public Opinion, and Presidential Behavior." Wayne State University.
- Cameron, Charles, and Nina Fischman. "Patterns in Veto Bargaining, 1946-1991." Columbia University.
- Corrigan, Matthew. "Presidential Programmatic Success in Congress." University of Florida.
- Covington, Cary, Rhonda Kinney, and J. Mark Wrighton. "Death of a Dependent Variable: Presidential Success/Support Rates as Artifact." University of Iowa.
- Craig, Stephen. "The Malevolent Leaders: A Look at 1992." University of Florida.
- Crotty, William. "A Policy Agenda for Winning an Election and Governing a Nation." Northwestern University.
- Dennis, Jack. "Do We Believe Aristotle? Some Empirical Findings about the General Public's Beliefs about Democracy." University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Dillon, Yolanda. "An Analysis of the Policy Differences of Voters and Nonvoters During the 1980, 1984, and 1988 Presidential Elections." Cornell University.
- Dorussen, Hendrikus. "Personal Aspects of Collective Economic Judgments: The Interactive Impact of Judgments of Personal and National Economic

- Conditions on the Presidential Vote." University of Texas, Austin.
- Edwards, George. "Rethinking Presidential Approval." Texas A & M.
- Edy, Jill A. "Third Party Activism: A Challenge to Down's Paradigm." Northwestern University.
- Esaiasson, Peter. "Traits and Evaluations of Candidates in Presidential and Parliamentary Contexts." University of Guelph.
- Fischbeck, Paul, and Patrick Stroh. "A Simulation Analysis of the Electoral College." Carnegie-Mellon University.
- Forshee, Richard. "Legislative Institutions and Presidential Success." University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Hammond, Thomas H. "Presidential Power, Congressional Dominance, and Bureaucratic Autonomy in a Model of Multi-Institutional Policy Making." Michigan State University.
- Hathaway, Dale. "Realignment Theory and the Election of '92: A Political Systems Approach." Butler University.
- Jacobs, Lawrence, and Robert Shapiro. "Leadership in a Liberal Democracy: Johnson's Private Polls and Public Announcements." University of Minnesota.
- Kerbel, Matthew R. "Coverage of the 1992 Presidential Election on Network and Cable Television: A Preliminary Assessment." Villanova University.
- Kollman, Kenneth, and Scott E. Page. "Institutional Effects of the Electoral college on Party Competition." Northwestern University.
- Lin, Tse-Min. "The Historical Significance of Economic Voting." University of Texas, Austin.
- McCarty, Nolan, and Keith Poole. "Honeymoons and Vetoes: Executive-Legislative Bargaining from 1956-1986." Carnegie-Mellon University.
- Mayer, William G. "Evaluating the Presidential Nomination Process: A Re-examination of Criteria and Evidence." Northeastern University.
- Mayhew, Thomas, and M. Stephen Weatherford. "Ideas, Interests, and Presidential Leadership." University of California, Berkeley.
- Mebane, Walter R., Jr., and Gregory J. Wawro. "Pork Barrel Politics in Presidential Elections." Cornell University.
- Meinhold, Stephen, and Steven Shull. "Policy Congruence Between the President and Solicitor General: Issue Attention and Support." University of New Orleans.
- Mintrom, Michael, and Howard Scarrow. "Do American Voters Favor Split Party Control Between Congress and the President?" State University of New York, Stony Brook.
- Mondak, Jeffrey J. "Nothing to Read: Newspapers and Information Acquisition in the American Electorate." University of Pittsburgh.
- Muir, Edward, and Michael Schiffer. "A Typology of Symbolic Presidential Decision Making in Foreign Policy." New York University.
- Nadeau, Richard. "Ideological and Class Polarization in Partisanship among Native Southern Whites: Perspectives from the 1972-76 National Election Studies Panel." University of Montreal.
- Owen, Diana. "Politics and 'The Last Frontier': The Talk Radio Audience and the 1992 Presidential Elections." Georgetown University.
- Olson, Laura. "Ronald Reagan's Rhetorical Appeal to the Christian Right." University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Ponder, Daniel. "Presidents and Agents: Reevaluating the Neutral Competence Debate." Vanderbilt University.
- Rosenblatt, Alan. "Aggressive Foreign Policy Making: The Control of Information and Public Response to Presidential Speeches." George Mason University.
- Rubenstein, Diane. "Psychoanalysis and the Presidency." Purdue University.
- Savage, Sean. "The Party Leadership Styles of Roosevelt and Truman." St. Mary's College.
- Schaefer, Todd, and Ronald Kim. "Style vs. Substance: An Examination of Three Presidencies." Northwestern University.
- Smith, Renee M. "Information Diffusion and the Dynamics of Public Support for Presidents." University of Rochester.
- Steger, Wayne. "Partisanship, Ideology, and the Contentiousness of Legislation." University of Iowa.
- Warren, Mark T. "Pocketbook Voting in the 1984 Presidential Election." University of Texas, Austin.
- Wirt, Frederick, and Samuel Krug. "Leadership and Vision: A Constructivist Approach to Leadership Theory." University of Illinois, Urbana-Campaign.
- New England Political Science Association
Omni Baltimore Hotel, Providence, RI, April 3-4, 1992.
- Devlin, L. Patrick. "An Analysis of the 1992 Presidential Primary Campaign TV Ads." University of Rhode Island.
- New England Political Science Association
Hotel Northampton, Northampton, MA, April 2-3, 1993.
- Blydenburgh, John. "An Operational Definition of Mandate Applied to Recent U.S. Presidential Elections." Clark University.

- Cole, Timothy C. "The More Things Change: The Bush Administration and the Rhetoric of the New World Order." University of Maine.
- Flory, Ingrid, and Alex Roberto Hybel. "To Intervene or Not to Intervene: A Comparative Analysis of the Eisenhower Administration's Foreign Policies towards Guatemala and Bolivia." Connecticut College.
- Hayes, Kenneth P. "The Perot Vote in Maine, Factors and Fictions." University of Maine.
- Lascher, Edward. "Electoral College Strategy in Theory and Practice." Harvard University.
- Lehring, Gary. "The Year of the Queer? Sexuality and American Politics in the 1992 Elections." Clark University.
- Magoon, Michael. "Media Coverage of Third Party Presidential Candidates." Brown University.
- Orman, John. "Images of the Presidency in the Periodical Press." Fairfield University.
- Rice, Tom W., and Patrick J. Kenny. "Momentum in Presidential Prenomination Campaigns." University of Vermont.
- Smailes, David A. "Reading Tea Leaves: What the Transition Tells Us About the Clinton Administration." Regis College.
- Weed, Clyde. "The Literary Digest and Presidential Polling." Southern Connecticut State University.
- Zall, Andrew. "Non-traditional Television and the 1992 Presidential Election." University of Vermont.
- tion and Evolution of Presidential War Powers." Mary Washington College.
- Gregg, Gary L. "The Presidency and Representation: Two Theses." Miami University.
- Jimenez, Richard. "The Strategic Parameters of Presidential Influence in Congress." University of South Carolina.
- Jones, Christopher M. "Rethinking and Reformulating the Bureaucratic Politics Paradigm for American Foreign Policy Analysis." Syracuse University.
- Kitts, Kenneth D. "Gerald Ford and the CIA Inquiries, 1974-1976." Francis Marion University.
- Lewis, David. "The Bully Pulpit Revisited." University of California, Davis (Washington Center).
- Norman, Linda L. "The Theoretical and Constitutional Foundations of Executive Power." California State University, San Bernardino.
- Perry, Huey L., Tracey Ambeau, and Frederick McBride. "African-American Representation and Interest Articulation in the Executive Branch of the National Government." Southern University.
- Renka, Russell D. "The First Clinton Year in Congress." Southeast Missouri State University.
- Riddlesperger, James W., and James D. King. "George Bush and the Administrative Presidency." Texas Christian University.
- Rozell, Mark J. "Executive Privilege in the Post-Watergate Era: The Nixon Legacy." Vienna, Virginia.
- Sirgo, Henry B. "African-American Participation in Presidential Politics." McNeese State University.
- Spitzer, Robert J. "The Reagan Presidency and the Veto Power; Symbols and Actions of the 'Make-My-Day' President." State University of New York, Cortland.
- Tatalovich, Raymond, and John A. Murley. "Divided Government and Policy Deadlock: The 'Two Majorities' Revisited." Loyola University of Chicago.
- Whicker, Marcia Lynn. "Defining the Limits of Presidential Power." Rutgers University.
- Whicker, Marcia Lynn. "Mal-Leadership and the Presidency." Rutgers University.
- Wrabley, Raymond B. "State-Building, the Presidency, and the Jacksonian Era." University of Pittsburgh, Johnstown.
- Wright, Sharon D. "Forging the Path to the President: Lenora Fulani and Jesse Jackson." University of Louisville.

Southern Political Science Association

Radisson Plaza Hotel, Savannah, GA, November 3-6, 1993.

- Andrade, Lydia M., and Nehemia Geva. "Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion: An Experimental Analysis." San Jose State University.
- Byrnes, Mark E. "Public Opinion of Presidential Candidates: The Role of National Party Conventions." Middle Tennessee State University.
- Davis, Olethia, James L. Llorens, and Huey L. Perry. "Presidential Support for Civil Rights." Southern University, Baton Rouge.
- Daynes, Byron W., and Glen Sussman. "To Delegate or Not to Delegate: Congressional Support for Presidential Fast Track Authority." Brigham Young University.
- Dowdle, Andrew. "An Analysis of the Strategies of Presidential Cabinet Appointments, 1968-1993." Miami University.
- Eksterowicz, Anthony, and Glenn Hastedt. "American World Views and Clinton's Foreign Policy." James Madison University.
- Gannon, Robert J. "Unoriginal Intent: The Founda-

PRG Business Meeting

Martha J. Kumar

Washington, D.C., September 3—PRG President Sam Kernell convened the 1993 annual business meeting held at the APSA. Secretary-Treasurer Martha J. Kumar reported \$3207.47 in treasury, and reviewed income and expenses (two newsletters and Neustadt Award). Membership reported at 373 as of June. Vice President Larry Berman reported on meeting of organized sections, noting we are in good standing with our current membership level (sections with fewer than 250 members will have problems). We can raise more money by selling our mailing list to publishers, and can share our list with other organized sections. We could also sponsor a mini-course to raise money and provide a service. We could do something archival, with computers, or anything related to teaching. We have the latest APSA member list, including e-mail listings. The association is redoing this to include students and non-academics. We are now required to get a signature from them for large checks. Chuck Jones is the head of organized sections.

Mark Petracca asked about how the money is split. Berman said there was no discussion of that. Stephen Weatherford presented the Neustadt Award to Paul Brace and Barbara Hinckley for their book, *Follow the Leader: Opinion Polls and the Modern Presidents*. Brace was present, expressed his delight with the award, but said that he only found out about it 15 minutes before the meeting. The Best Paper Awards were presented by Robert Spitzer. The 1991 award went to Michael Genovese for his paper on "Margaret Thatcher and the Politics of Conviction Leadership." The 1992 Award went to Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro for "Leadership and Responsiveness: Some New Evidence on the Johnson Presidency." Shapiro accepted for the two. Spitzer would send certificates on to the winners. Members will be prodded to submit papers for next year with reminder in Newsletter. Steven Shull asked why the awards weren't published in the APSA awards list. Kernell said they were sent to APSA, but were lost.

Board members whose terms expire—Matthew Holden, Lyn Ragsdale, Erwin Hargrove, Peri Arnold, and Bruce Buchanan—were replaced by: John Burke, Betty Glad, Susan Hammond, Karen Hult, and Richard Waterman. Berman assumed presidency, Kumar vice president (president-elect), Terry Sullivan secretary-treasurer, and Spitzer Newsletter editor. Slate unani-

mously approved.

Berman thanked Steve Wayne for his work putting 1993 panels together. Paul Quirk assumes job for 1994 APSA. Berman thanked Kernell for his work, including reviving and improving Newsletter. Berman will contact people for committees, and discuss with Executive Board how to use money.

Sullivan announced that the University of North Carolina has an agreement with Clinton White House to access Clinton papers through Internet. They will give us the SUNSITE work station on Internet. There is a gopher for Supreme Court cases, which people can get on their own. Whatever the president, Stephanopoulos or Myers do, computer can access. Documents are indexed, allowing for complicated searches. They are organizing an oral history archive, if you want to put your interviews on it. CompuServe goes back to the campaign, as does UNC stuff.

George Edwards talked about Bush Library materials. He anticipates groundbreaking next year, to be completed by end of 1996. It is an \$82 million project that will house Presidential Studies group. The library will take advantage of modern technology. Bush administration is first to scan documents, including everything that crossed the president's desk. Ultimately, researchers will be able to search materials from their offices. Vacant offices will be available for scholars to use. Documentary and Gallup poll data will be integrated to get polls up when events occurred. The scale of the project is massive. Center will have more polls than the consortium, and is the original data. Other papers will also be included, including Richard Wirthlin data, who is working with Stan Greenberg. The goal is to integrate much data into one system. This will be the first library of the 21st century; it should be comfortable for scholars and designed with them in mind. Dedication will be Spring 1997. White House documents must be screened first, which takes much time. Kernell asked about Don Wilson question and discussion with Inspector General [Wilson was the U.S. Archivist who resigned on 3/31/93 to become executive director of the Bush Library; at same time, Wilson gave to Bush control of 5000 NSC and other White House tapes, containing millions of messages, from Bush and Reagan years—ed.]. Edwards said he didn't know what was going to happen. They went to White House in January and ripped out the hard disks. Nixon just won a big case, letting him clear his stuff; it will be years before Reagan material available, said Berman. Edwards said scholars will be in charge of Bush library.

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Send subscriptions and address changes to Terry Sullivan, Political Science Department, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3265. Send submissions and proposals to Robert J. Spitzer, Political Science Department, SUNY Cortland, Box 2000, Cortland, NY 13045; FAX 607-753-5999; e-mail "SPITZERB@SNYCORVA.BITNET"

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