

PRG REPORT

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... Preserve, Protect, and Defend the Constitution: George Bush, Article IV, and the Los Angeles Riots of 1992

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I INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

This article is presented to elicit both comments and assistance. The comment portion regards the thesis that the Constitution was violated by the Bush administration. The assistance request deals with gaining some help regarding utilization of the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to gain information related to the decision making process by President George Bush's administration during the 48 hours leading up to the President's Executive Order 12804 of May 1, 1992. That order directed federal troops to assist in the suppression of the riots in Los Angeles. The

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From the Editor

Robert J. Spitzer

The lead article in this issue, authored by Dick Diamond, is a research in progress and a query for ideas and assistance. He seeks to examine whether the Constitution was violated when President Bush authorized sending federal troops to Los Angeles to quell the 1992 riots there. The question of the use of federal troops for domestic purposes is an interesting one in and of itself; its application to the LA riots puts a finer point on this constitutional question. He welcomes any comments, suggestions, ideas, or advice. Steven Shull provides a detailed bibliography on presidential-congressional relations from a policy per-

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spective, and Todd Patterson provides another detailed bibliography of recent works on the presidency.

Beginning with this issue, the **PRG Report** institutes the publication of book reviews. This issue includes a review of a new book on the presidency and economic policy by John Fren dreis and Ray Tatalovich. Our space for book reviews is extremely limited, but if you would like to submit a book for review, please have it sent to me at SUNY Cortland.

The committee to give the Best Paper Award for the 1994 APSA was recently formed. It is chaired by Mary Stuckey, University of Mississippi. The other committee members include Paul Brace, Larry Jacobs, and Janet Martin. Please submit papers to Stuckey at your earliest convenience. Nominations should be received by November 1.

* * *

In the interest of offering a small and particular contribution to the larger question of diversity, here are some data on presidency research participation by gender. At the 1994 APSA, fifteen presidency panels were offered, incorporating a total of 83 participants. Of those, fourteen (17%) were women. Of those fourteen, eleven (13%) presented papers. The other three (4%) were discussants or panel chairs. Similar data by race could not be extracted from the convention program. Of the seventeen-member PRG Board serving during the 1993-94 year, six (35%) were women. Of the current nineteen-member board, serving during the 1994-95 year, eight (42%) are women (the difference in board size is attributable to two officers who also served as board members in 1993-94).

* * *

As students of the Nixon presidency are aware, the late former president conducted a 20-year effort to control papers, documents, and tapes from his presidency. A recently compiled National Archives index of unreleased White House tapes includes over 200 hours of discussions about Watergate and other subjects, including foreign policy. About 150,000 pages of unreleased documents include information on the 1972 campaign and a host of other matters. Nixon's doggedness to resist public access continued to the end; he filed a final suit to

block access shortly before his death last spring. Since then, Nixon's heirs and allies vowed to continue the fight to block public access to administration materials. In fact, Nixon's lawyer, R. Stan Mortenson, is arguing now that Nixon continues to have a right to privacy even after death (although there is apparently no legal basis for this novel theory). The prevalent legal opinion seems to be that Nixon's death all but ends the privacy claims. (NYT, 4/26/94) Still, the claim may open up the prospect of an entirely new area of law: to wit, does the privacy penumbra extend beyond the grave? Perhaps it might if K-Mart shoppers begin to report Nixon sightings. . . .

PRG Business Meeting

Terry Sullivan

New York, NY, September 3, 1994 — In the absence of PRG President Larry Berman, Vice President Martha Kumar convened the 1994 annual meeting. Kumar began the meeting by explaining that an automobile accident had made it impossible for Berman to attend. Larry's injuries, though serious, were not threatening and his recovery was progressing rapidly. Kumar invited those in attendance to sign a card and poster which the section was sending to Larry. The meeting heard a report on the state of the section's membership and finances from Terry Sullivan, secretary-treasurer. Sullivan stressed the sound financial situation but cautioned about declining membership. He reported that the board had identified a number of actions that it authorized in hopes of boosting the membership from its current level of 347 to a higher and more financially secure level of 365, the number necessary to sustain the budget (see addendum). Sullivan reported on the budget for the coming year and the status of PRGNet, the section's information services on the Internet.

PRG Report's editor, Robert Spitzer, announced that the Report would accept book reviews on a limited basis. As promised in the Report, Spitzer announced that George Edwards

had provided a complete set of PRG Reports for archival purposes (as set of which is now in the library of the Executive Office of the President). Appreciation was expressed to Edwards.

Kumar reviewed the Board's actions from its breakfast meeting. She announced that the board recommended that the section rename its best paper award as the Founders' Award for Best Paper, in honor of the APSA members who formed PRG in 1981. [The twelve founders were Peri Arnold, Dom Bonafede, Thomas Cronin, Fred Greenstein, Michael Grossman, Erwin Hargrove, Martha Kumar, David Naveh, Francis Rourke, Lester Seligman, Stephen Wayne, and James Young. ed.] It further recommended that each year, the Founders' Award be given in the name of one of the original section organizers and that the name should rotate each year. Such a system would not, however, bind the selection committee to limit its deliberations according to the specialization of the particular founder being honored. The recommendations were approved by the members.

The board also recommended the establishment of an honorary membership to PRG. These memberships would recognize those whose actions or professional duties played an important role in developing an understanding of the presidency. Those honored would be members for two years and would have their dues paid by the section. The board recommended the first group to be so honored to include: President Bill Clinton, Prof. William Galston, Mr. John Fawcett, and the directors of the presidential libraries. The members approved the motion, and the secretary was instructed to notify those so honored.

The board recommended the following criteria in governing consideration for the Neustadt Book Award: 1) the book so honored must have theoretical interest, and that 2) the committee consider the broadest number of perspectives as possible in considering nominees. The latter language was recommended in order to assure future committees that they should use the widest latitude in examining nominees without prior restraints. In particular, this criterion was seen as not excluding a priori textbooks of historical examinations of the presidency, books on leadership, or even books

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University (94-97)

Mary Stuckey, University of Mississippi
(94-97)

Richard Waterman, University of New
Mexico (93-96)

Stephen Weatherford, University of
California, Santa Barbara (92-95)

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Lyn Ragsdale, University of Arizona

Preserve, Protect

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California state Legislature, sitting at the time, was not consulted nor did it apply for assistance.

Ultimately I plan to produce two articles, one for the academic community, and one for the general consumer market. Similar content will appear in both; however, the format will be aimed at the particular audience in each situation.

Included in this article are all works consulted thus far, even though all have not been used in this brief presentation. The historical background and constitutional discussion of the 1787 Philadelphia Convention are brief, at best, due to space considerations. The completed articles will include appropriate background material from 1787-1967.

II THE ISSUE AT HAND

President George Bush's May 1, 1992 decision to dispatch federal troops to quell the Los Angeles riot without the request of the California state legislature raises a serious constitutional question.

The issue revolves around Article IV, Section 4, Paragraph 2: The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; AND ON APPLICATION OF THE LEGISLATURE, OR OF THE EXECUTIVE (WHEN THE LEGISLATURE CANNOT BE CON-

VENED) AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.

(author's caps)

The provision "... on application of the Legislature ..." was ignored. The California State Legislature was in session.

III APRIL 30, 1992 - CALIFORNIA

It had been a horrendous 12 hours. Following the Los Angeles police officers' acquittal on the police brutality charge in Rodney King's arrest, the southcentral area of Los Angeles became a "free-fire" zone. Live television images revealed wanton violence in America's second largest city.

Initial efforts to defuse the situation proved fruitless. Local law enforcement personnel were ill prepared to cope with a riot (some say insurrection) of such magnitude. Within a few hours of the outbreak of violence on April 29 (8:13 P.M.), Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley phoned California Governor Pete Wilson requesting National Guard assistance. (Murphy and Newton 1992: A-4)

Wilson quickly obliged. By 9 P.M. local time, the Guard was being activated. During the early morning hours of April 30, Guard members assembled at over a dozen area armories. The problem of obtaining sufficient ammunition had been resolved; by mid-day on April 30, the guard was ready to assist local law enforcement.

IV APRIL 30 - WASHINGTON, D.C.

Federal officials in Washington D.C. monitored the Los Angeles situation closely. What communication occurred between White House officials and federal officers in Los Angeles is unknown but it is safe to assume that Justice Department officials were in close communication with federal officials in Los Angeles since the federal court house in Los Angeles had been threatened by rioters. Sometime on Thursday, April 30, Bush spoke to Bradley and Wilson (Nelson 1992: A-9).

Jack Nelson, Washington correspondent for the Los Angeles Times wrote, "... Bush, under intense pressure to involve the federal government...spent part of Thursday morning consulting with advisors. . . Although Bush could dispatch federal troops... White House Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said no such action has been considered." (Nelson 1992: A-9) Assuming Fitzwater accurately reflected the administration's thinking, an abrupt change occurred; by the end of the day military plans were being finalized.

Contingency plans to send in federal troops (Nelson 1992) were in fact being developed, even though the riot was less than 36 hours old and the National Guard hadn't even been on the scene for 12 hours.

"... After a flurry of late-night phone calls between [Samuel] Skinner [Bush's Chief of Staff], Bush, and National Security Adviser

Brent Scowcroft, [General Colin] Powell [chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff] was awakened at 4 a.m [May 1]...telling him that the White House was considering the use of active-duty troops." (Jehl and Broder 1992A: A-22)

This would place preliminary discussions (without the input of Powell) during the evening of April 30. Considering the three hour time differential, Powell was awakened at 1:00A.M. PDT on May 1. The decision to invest the area with federal troops had been made at least a few hours before.

In a May 2 Los Angeles Times story, Douglas Jehl and John Broder (1992A: A22) stated, "... White House and Pentagon officials said details of the reinforcement were drawn up in the pre-dawn hours before a 7:15 A.M. [May 1] session at the White House in which Bush met with . . . Colin Powell . . . Atty. Gen. [William] Barr and other senior officials."

While the President and his staff considered military intervention, the California state Legislature was in session. Nothing in the state Assembly or state Senate journals indicates any consideration or request for federal assistance pursuant to Article IV, Section 4 of the U.S. Constitution.

Although it has been well documented in the Los Angeles Times (Jehl and Broder 1992), New York Times (Rosenthal 1992), and Washington Post (Lancaster and Gellman 1992)), that Bush spoke to Wilson and Bradley

just minutes before the nationally televised address to dispatch federal troops to the riot, and that some discussion had taken place in the morning hours of April 30, what is unknown is what other phone calls took place between the President and the Governor, what Governor Wilson's specific request was, and whether or not there was an event that caused Wilson to lose faith in the California Guard's ability to stem the riot.

Nowhere is there any indication that the governor notified the state Legislature. Moreover, he said, "They [local law enforcement] weren't very enthusiastic about the additional federal troops . . . That [asking for federal troops] was done because the mayor and I thought it was necessary." (Stolberg 1992: A-8)

What is also a mystery is the role that private citizen Warren Christopher (presently Secretary of State) played. It is well documented that he had discussions with the White House regarding the dispatch of federal troops. (Reinhold 1992: 22)

Nowhere in his address to the nation on May 1, 1992 did President Bush acknowledge that he had fulfilled the constitutional provisions as outlined in Article IV, Section 4. There is some debate as to whether or not Wilson wanted troops or "federal assistance," and whether it was Bush who wanted a strong show of force (Rosenthal 1992: 8).

A written request for federal troops appears not to exist, even though a fax

request takes only seconds. During the Detroit riots of 1967, Governor Romney sent Lyndon Johnson a telegram requesting such assistance. ("Johnson TV Talk" 1967) Finally, nowhere is there any comment from the California state Legislature.

V HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

There was considerable debate at the Constitutional Convention of 1787 regarding the use of federal troops to assist states in suppressing insurrections and riots. The period from mid-August to mid-September was filled with discussion as to the role of a national government in that kind of emergency and whether or not the state legislature was the body to request the help (Coakley 1988: 11-19). The discussion was central to the argument between the Hamiltonians and those opposed to a strong central government.

From that point through the twentieth century, presidents have been wary of requesting federal forces. From Jackson's through Lyndon Johnson's administration one finds ample evidence of presidential reticence to respond to a governor's actions unless absolutely necessary.

Most helpful in getting an overview of the specifics of presidential decisions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are Yarmolinsky's *The Military Establishment*, (1971: 153-158), Rich's *The Presidents and Civil Disorder* (1941: 189-219), Cooper's *The*

Army and Civil Disorder (1980: 237-260), and Coakley's (1988) *Role of Federal Military Forces in Domestic Disorders, 1789-1878*.

VI RESEARCH PROBLEMS

The decision making process (to dispatch federal troops) and the constitutional issue, both at the national level (which is one concern) and the state level (Wilson/Bush not consulting/asking the state legislature or its leadership for constitutional authority) are the issues under study.

Based on news reports (no federal agency has responded to any inquiry of mine), there was considerable planning within 18 hours after the riots began. There were numerous phone calls, involvement of "senior officials," and input from one influential private citizen, Warren Christopher. From the evening of April 30 (at the latest), Skinner, Scowcroft, and Barr were involved with Bush in the decision to invest the area riot area with regular troops. If we can garner any understanding of decision making from recent administrations, Presidents talk things over with White House counsels (who advise the President on being President and on the Constitution) and other aides. Article IV does not appear to be a topic discussed.

Correspondence with state officials has ranged from "stonewalling" to avoidance or denial of the facts.

Nancy A. Zimmelman, of the California Secretary of State's office, wrote that "No

federal troops participated in riot control. Only the National Guard was used." (Zimmelman 1993)

Willie Brown, Speaker of the California State Assembly, in a response to the role or lack thereof of the state Legislature and its leadership wrote, ". . . My legal counsel has analyzed your question and the answer seems to point in the direction of the federal government." (W. Brown 1993)

The leadership of both houses of the state Legislature was written. Brown's was the only response.

Janice Rogers Brown, Legal Affairs Secretary of Governor Wilson's office wrote in part, ". . . Government Code section 6254 (1) exempts from disclosure under the Public Records Act: 'Correspondence of and to the Governor . . .' In addition, the Governor's telephone conversations are not recorded. Therefore, no documents will be provided in response to your request." (J. Brown 1993)

In a follow-up letter, Patricia C. Esagro, Chief Deputy Legal Affairs Secretary, explained that the governor could call out the National Guard in the case of an emergency and that since the National Guard is a State/Federal military entity, the President, in the event of a national emergency becomes the Commander-In-Chief "as in Desert Storm." Additionally, "In situations such as the one in Los Angeles, the Governor routinely notifies the President of the emergency." (Esagro 1993)

The White House, through

Marsha Scott, Deputy Assistant to the President-Director of Correspondence and Presidential Messages, said that, "the situation you describe cannot be handled at the federal level." (Scott July 1993) This was after an earlier April 1993 letter indicating that the Justice Department would handle my concerns. (Scott April 1993). So much for understanding the U.S. Constitution.

I have submitted numerous FOIA requests to the departments of Defense and Justice as well as to the White House. Such requests, at present unanswered, ask for records of a 48 hour period of phone logs, documents, etc. regarding the input of material and the process of decision making. Although I have stipulated that pending an appeal I will pay up to \$100.00 to each of the three departments so named for material, my resources are limited.

Any advice on additional approaches, suggestions, or insights that might shed light on the constitutional and political issues raised by this incident would be appreciated. I can be reached at (909) 352-5116. Mailing address is Box 7309, Riverside CA 92513. E-Mail address is DDiamond@Delphi.com.

WORKS CONSULTED

BOOKS

Coakley, R.W., *Role of Federal Military Forces in Domestic Disorders, 1789-1878*, Army Historical Series, Center of Military History, U.S. Army

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 Yarmolinsky, Adam, *The Military Establishment: Its Impacts on American Society*, New York, Harper & Row, 1971. 434pp.
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 (GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS)

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 "Executive Order 12804 Providing for the Restoration of Law and Order...", President George Bush, 5/1/92, *Code of Federal Regulation, Title 3, The President*, Office

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 DeParle, Jason, "General and Troops Have Domestic Mission," *New York Times*, 5/3/92, p. 23.
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Lancaster, John and Barton Gellman, "4,000 Federal Troops Concentrate in Staging Areas for L.A. Deployment," *Washington Post*, 5/2/92 p.A-17.
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 Rosenthal, Andrew, "Bush Says Verdict 'Stunned' Him; He Vows to Put an End to Rioting," *New York Times*, 5/2/92, pp. 1, 8.
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20.

LETTERS

Brown, Janice Rogers, Legal
Affairs Secretary to Califor-
nia Governor Peter Wilson,
LETTER TO AUTHOR, 8
February 1993

Brown, Willie L., Speaker of
the California Assembly,
LETTER TO AUTHOR, 23
July 1993

Esgro, Patricia, C., Chief
Deputy Legal Affairs Secre-
tary to California Governor
Peter Wilson, LETTER TO
AUTHOR, 5 August 1993

Scott, Marsha, Deputy Assis-
tant to the President,
LETTER TO AUTHOR, 14
April 1993

Scott, Marsha, Deputy Assis-
tant to the President,
LETTER TO AUTHOR, 1
July 1993

Zimmelman, Nancy A., Archi-
vist II, California State
Archives, LETTER TO
AUTHOR, 18 March 1993

¹ Richard Diamond has taught American government and history for the past 35 years at both the community college and high school advanced placement levels. He has published more than 50 articles in a variety of magazines and journals, and is a 1958 graduate of the University of California, Berkeley. The author is indebted to Professor Robert J. Spitzer, SUNY Cortland, Professor John Paul Jones of Richmond University's Law School as well as the numerous individu-

als on the Internet for their assistance.

Minutes (cont. from p. 3)

on a single administration or president, as long as they made a theoretically significant contribution. The membership approved the motion.

The board recommended planning for a short course at the 1995 convention. It recommended circulating a call for suggestions. This call would go out over PRGNet and in the Report. The membership approved the motion.

The board recommended a slate of new board members to serve three-year terms: Lawrence Jacobs, Nancy Kassop, Janet Martin, Russell Renka, and Mary Stuckey. The membership approved the slate.

Michael Genovese then presented the Neustadt Award to Stephen Skowronek for his book, "The Politics That Presidents Make" (Harvard University Press). Kumar announced that the Best Paper committee for the 1993 convention had received no nominations, and therefore made no recommendation. Kumar announced that Mary Stuckey would head the committee for the 1994 convention papers and would make every effort to consider a wide range of papers. George Edwards reported on the developing plans at the Bush Presidential Library. In particular, Edwards reported on the anticipated groundbreaking scheduled for November 30, 1994, in College

Station, Texas. The meeting was adjourned.

Addendum: Further actions taken by the board. In further board actions, the following were adopted: The section would create an honorary membership for those outside the PRG who make a considerable contribution to understanding the presidency. These honorary members will receive a free PRG membership for two years, including a subscription to PRG Report. Further memberships will require nomination by the board, approval by majority vote of the board, and majority vote by the membership at the annual business meeting. The board approved continuing support for the bibliography series in the PRG Report. The board approved using the section's carryover to cover any potential deficit this year up to \$400. The board approved creation of PRG Net services at LIA-Sunsite.unc.edu, on a trial basis without an editorial board for one year. It approved notifying APSA of our services and allowing gopher.APSA.trenton.edu to connect to our service as long as they did not try to extend editorial control to our services. The board approved PRG sponsorship of the presidential libraries idea network (PRESIDENT) which will provide information services from the presidential libraries to internet users.

As of the convention, the section seemed to have recorded its second consecutive year of declining membership.

The APSA had reported to us a membership of 347. Given this membership dropped below the 365 members necessary to maintain our budget, the board was somewhat concerned and it authorized some attempts to boost our membership. In particular: 1) the Secretary will poll members who have allowed their membership to lapse, 2) the board will publish its active membership roster so that the active members can have an idea as to who is a member, and 3) the board will publish the list of "institutional memberships" (mostly academic libraries). After only the briefest of efforts, the APSA has reported to us an increase in membership of 65 members. Given a small loss of members, our current roster stands at an all time high of 398 members.

As of September 15, 1994 the PRG carries the following as members. If you do not appear on this list or you note someone who does not and should, please contact Terry Sullivan [sullivan@sunsite.unc.edu or prgnet@sunsite.unc.edu] or you may send your dues to APSA.

Abbott, Philip	Cavalli, Carl D.	Frazier, Mary Kaye
Abel, Glen	Chang, Eugene Y. S.	Freedman, Anne
Aberbach, Joel D.	Christensen, Tom	Freedman, Eric M.
Abramson, Alan J.	Clark, Richard L.	
Alexandroff, Alan S.	Collier, Kenneth	Genovese, Michael A.
Aliotta, Jilda M.	Colston, Freddie C.	George, Alexander L.
Altschuler, Bruce E.	Comiskey, Michael	Geppert, Richard M.
Anderson, Dennis M.	Conley, Patricia D.	Gerstle, Jacques
Anderson, Donald F.	Corell, Gina L.	Gilmour, John B.
Anderson, James E.	Cotter, Cornelius P.	Gish, Casey D.
Anderson, Sean	Covington, Cary R.	Gizzi, Michael C.
Andrade, Lydia	Cox, Larry E.	Glad, Betty
Appleton, Sheldon	Cox, Larry E.	Gold, Jamie
Arnold, Peri E.	Crivelli, Joseph L.	Golden, Marissa Martino
Arrington, Theodore S.	Cross, Malcolm L.	Gombar, Thomas J.
Aruga, Tadashi	Cusimano, Maryann K.	Gordon, Craig S.
Atkinson, Joseph B.		Grafton, Carl
Aved, Rachelle Gwen	D'Angelo, Paul	Greenstein, Fred I.
	Davidson, Roger H.	Grossman, Michael B.
	Davis, James W.	
	Davis, James W.	Hamby, Alonzo L.
	Davis, Linda	Hamm, Keith E.
Avella, Joseph R.	Davison, Kenneth E.	Hammond, Susan
Ayala, Rachel Z.	Daynes, Byron W.	Harbison, John L.
	De Francis, Maria E.	Harder, Joseph
Baas, Larry R.	De Giacomo, Paul R.	Hargrove, Erwin C.
	Dennis, Everett E.	Harris, Douglas B.
Baker, Nancy V.	Dewhirst, Robert	Hart, John
Barbe, Pablo Kaufer	Dickinson, Matthew	Hart, Roderick
Barger, Hal M.	Donald, Aida	Hartnett, William J.
Barilleaux, Ryan J.	Dorsa, Vicki L.	Heller, Francis H.
Barlow, Thomas	Dowdle, Andrew	Heller, Francis H.
Barnett, Jason N.	Doyle, Mathias	Henderson, Phillip G.
Bass, Harold F.	Dunham, Pat M.	Hermann, Margaret G.
Beck, Susan Abrams	Dunn, Charles W.	Hertzke, Allen D.
Behlar, Patricia A.	Durant, Robert F.	Hinckley, Barbara
Berman, Larry		Hindson, Theodore T.
Best, Wallace H.	Edwards III, George C.	Hoekstra, Douglas J.
Bimber, Bruce	Edwards, David V.	
Bishop, James B.	Ellis, Richard	Hoff, Samuel B.
Bland, Randall W.	Ettlich, Ernest E.	Hoffman, Karen S.
Blasecki, Janet L.	Evans, Hugh E.	Holden, Chris
	Everidge, Benjamin J.	Holden, Matthew
		Holmes, F. Owen
Bond, Rich	Fabbrini, Sergio	Holt, Karen E.
Bose, Meenekshi	Fabrizio, Paul J.	Honda, Ikudo A.
Boyd, Raymond Eugene	Farrar-Myers, Victoria Anne	Hoxie, R Gordon
Brace, Paul R.	Fett, Patrick J.	Hoyt, Thomas B.
Brattebo, Douglas M.	Fink, Nicole A.	Hult, Karen M.
Brody, Richard	Fino, Susan P.	
Brown, Cheryl A.	Fisher, Linda Lou	Inman, Arline Heil
Brown, Elliott A.	Fisher, Louis	Ippolito, Dennis
Brown, Lara	Fitch II, Orville Brewster	Iwabuchi, Yoshikazu
Brown, Roger G.	Fitts, Michael Andrew	
Brown, Ronald E.	Fleming, James S.	Jackson, Michael G.
Browning, Robert X.	Forshee, Richard	Jacobs, Lawrence R.
Buck, J. Vincent	Franklin, Daniel P.	Jones, Charles O.
Buell, Emmett		Jones, Landis
Burke, John P.		
	Capizzano, Jeffrey A.	
	Carter, Brenda W.	
	Castleton, Thomas E.	

Kahn, Gilbert N.
 Kahn, Melvin A.
 Kamarck, Elaine
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 Troisi, James L.
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 Weimer, Robert Alan
 Weizer, Paul
 Weko, Thomas
 Welborn, David
 Whelan, John
 Whicker, Marcia Lynn
 White, John K.
 Widell, Robert W.
 Williams, Grayson E.
 Willis, Elaine
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 Willner, Ann R.
 Wilzewski, Jurgen
 Wittkopf, Eugene R.
 Wolf, Thomas P.
 Wood, Stephen B.
 Woolley, John T.
 Wyszomirski, Margaret J.
 Yang, John E.
 Young, James Sterling
 Young, John T.
 Young, Roy E.
 Zeringue, Marshal
 Zoetewey, James M.

Addendum: Institutional memberships

APSA
 Bowling Green
 Chicago
 Depauw
 Drake
 Hunter College
 JFK School
 Missouri Western State College
 NARA-DDE Library
 NARA-GRF Library

Northern Illinois University
 NYU
 Oakland University
 Princeton
 Rutgers
 Swarthmore College
 Texas A&M
 Tulane University
 U of Virginia
 UCSD
 UNO-Lakefront
 USC
 White House Library

New Books on the Presidency 1994

Todd Patterson

- Abramson, Paul R., John H. Aldrich, and David W. Rohde. 1994. *Change and Continuity in the 1992 Elections*. Analyzes the 1992 elections. Using data from a wide variety of sources places the elections in a historical context and speculates on future outcomes.
- Anderson, Patrick. 1994. *Electing Jimmy Carter: The Campaign of 1976*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. Portrait of Jimmy Carter, the man and the politician. Discusses issues that shaped the campaign, including the endless search for themes that would attract media and voter attention.
- Barrus, Roger M., and John Eastby, eds. 1994. *America Through the Looking Glass*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. Argues that the 1992 presidential campaign produced a number of important innovations in campaign methods that undermined the system of representative government. Considers ways in which a campaign shapes public understanding of the structure and functioning of government.
- Berman, William C. 1994. *America's Turn Right: From Nixon to Bush*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Examines the political, cultural, and economic context in which Republican conservatives operated and explores the crisis of the liberal welfare state against the background of presidential politics.
- Briggs, Philip J. 1994. *Making American Foreign Policy: President-Congress Relations from the Second World War to the Post-Cold War Era*. Second edition. Lanham, MD: University Press of America. Explores the struggle between the President and Congress to shape U.S. foreign policy from World War II through the Clinton Administration's policy in Somalia.
- Carlin, Diana B., and Mitchell S. McKinney, eds. 1994. *The 1992 Presidential Debates in Focus*. Westport, CT: Praeger. Provides results of a focus group research project sponsored by the Commission of Presidential Debates. Reports the 1992 presidential and vice-presidential debates.
- Cohen, Warren I., and Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, eds. 1994. *Lyndon Johnson Confronts the World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Reviews foreign policy of the Johnson era. Demonstrates the overwhelming preoccupation with regions and issues that shaped policy through the world.
- Crewe, Ivor, and Brian Gosschalk. 1994. *Political Communications: The General Election Campaign of 1992*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Compilation of perspectives on political communications and their impact and influence on the 1992 elections.
- Denton, Robert E., Jr., ed. 1994. *The 1992 Presidential Campaign*. Considers the 1992 presidential campaign from a communication perspective, examining the nomination conventions, the debates, advertisements, and the role and impact of the media.
- Dover, E. D. 1994. *Presidential Elections in the Television Age: 1960-1992*. Westport, CT: Praeger. Examines the relationship between incumbency and television news reporting. Shows how various recurring patterns in televised news reporting have enhanced the reelection prospects of some incumbents while undermining others.
- Edens, John A. *Eleanor Roosevelt: A Comprehensive Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. Comprehensive annotated bibliography of the many works by an about Eleanor Roosevelt.
- Ellis, Richard J. 1994. *Presidential Lightning Rods: The Politics of Blame Avoidance*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas. Explores an important tool in a president's bag of political and strategic management, "when to take the blame."
- Ferrell, Robert H. 1994. *Choosing Truman: The Democratic Convention of 1944*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press. Recounts the events surrounding Truman's nomination.
- Ferrell, Robert H. 1994. *Harry S. Truman: A Life*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press. Challenges the popular characterization of Truman as a modest man who rarely

- sought the offices he received.
- Fields, Joseph E. 1994. *“Worthy Partner:” The Papers of Martha Washington*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. A compilation of known Martha Washington papers.
- Genovese, Michael A. 1995. *The Presidential Dilemma: Leadership in the American System*. New York: HarperCollins. Presents a unique approach to understanding the many problems presidents face when they seek to govern. Evaluates the performance of recent presidents from Johnson to Clinton, finding that overall each has failed to live up to public expectations. Examines ways presidents can make the most of limited opportunities.
- Gilbert, Robert E. 1994. *The Mortal Presidency: Illness and Anguish in the White House*. New York: BasicBooks. Accounts death and illness in the White House. Shows that all presidents from Coolidge to Bush have suffered from debilitating medical problems frequently concealed from the public.
- Greene, John Robert. 1994. *The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. Shows that Ford’s efforts to lead the nation were severely hampered by Nixon’s misdeeds, America’s disengagement from an unpopular war, and a watchdog Congress eager to restrict presidential power.
- Greenstone, J. David. 1994. *The Lincoln Persuasion*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Outlines the effective use of executive power by Lincoln in addressing the central failing of his day, slavery.
- Griffin, David Ray, and Richard Falk, eds. 1994. *Postmodern Politics For a Planet in Crisis: Policy, Process, and Presidential Vision*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. Argues that the planetary crisis demands a postmodern politics, especially in the United States, the chief embodiment and exporter of modernity. Examines various dimensions of this postmodern presidency with a prescription for the kind of presidential leadership needed.
- Hardaway, Robert M. 1994. *The Electoral College and the Constitution: The Case for Preserving Federalism*. Westport, CT: Praeger. Examines how the Electoral College actually works, how it is supposed to work, and how it might be reformed.
- Hill, Dilys M., and Phil Williams, eds. 1994. *The Bush Presidency: Triumphs and Adversities*. New York: St. Martin’s Press. Describes the successes and failures the Bush administration encountered in foreign and domestic policy. Argues that Bush was undermined by the gridlock of Washington politics and by the demands of the times for a more active domestic vision.
- Hoff, Joan. 1994. *Nixon Reconsidered*. New York: BasicBooks. Shows that the Nixon administration’s reforms in welfare, civil rights, economic and environmental policy, and reorganization of the federal bureaucracy overshadow those things for which he is generally remembered.
- Hoogenboom, Ari. 1994. *Rutherford B. Hayes: Warrior and President*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. Examines Hayes’ accomplishments as President and argues he deserves far greater recognition than he has received in the past.
- Jennings, M. Kent, and Thomas E. Mann, eds. 1994. *Elections at Home and Abroad: Essays in Honor of Warren E. Miller*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. Addresses a number of issues to expand the frontiers of voting studies. Includes work on cross-national studies for comparative purposes.
- Kalb, Marvin. 1994. *The Nixon Memo: Political Respectability, Russia, and the Press*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Case study of Nixon’s relentless quest for political rehabilitation. Focuses on his key role in the post-Cold War debate about aiding Russia in its uncertain revolution.
- Lagon, Mark P. 1994. *The Reagan Doctrine: Sources of American Conduct in the Cold War’s Last Chapter*. Westport, CT: Praeger. Explains Reagan’s foreign policy, applying realist and elite beliefs theoretical perspectives.
- Loevy, Robert D. 1994. *The Flawed Path to the Presidency 1992: Unfairness and Inequality in the Presidential Selection Process*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. Voter’s-eye view of the 1992 election campaign. Questions whether the campaign is fair to the candidates and voters and whether the process treats voters of each state equally.

- McGillivray, Alice V., and Richard M. Scammon. 1994. *America at the Polls 1920-1956*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly. Brings together election results of presidential elections from 1920 to 1956. Provides comprehensive election results organized by state and presented county-by-county.
- McGillivray, Alice V., and Richard M. Scammon. 1994. *America at the Polls 1960-1992*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly. Brings together election results of presidential elections from 1960 to 1992. Provides comprehensive election results organized by state and presented county-by-county.
- Maltese, John Anthony. 1994. *Spin Control: The White House Office of Communications and the Management of Presidential News*. Second edition. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press. Argues Nixon did not create the White House Office of Communications to communicate facts about his administration, but instead to marshal them.
- Martin, Edwin McCammon. 1994. *Kennedy and Latin America*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America. Describes Kennedy's activities as President and his dealings with Latin American countries.
- Milkis, Sidney M., and Michael Nelson. 1994. *The American Presidency: Origins and Development, 1776-1993*. Second edition. Examines the social, economic, political, and international conditions that continue to define the office and explore modern influences on the presidency.
- Miller, Arthur, and Bruce E. Gronbeck, eds. 1994. *Presidential Campaigning and American Self Images*. Boulder, CO: Westview. Explores the paradox that the viability of the presidential electoral system is periodically questioned while presidential elections are largely seen as the best hope for a better tomorrow.
- Nelson, Michael, ed. 1994. *The Presidency and the Political System*. Fourth edition. Compilation of essays that explore an important aspect of the relationship between the presidency and the political system.
- Nichols, David K. 1994. *The Myth of the Modern Presidency*. State College, PA: Penn State Press. Challenges the common view that the modern presidency began with Franklin Roosevelt's administration. Argues that the essential elements of modern presidencies were present in the constitutional design of the framers and were exhibited in practice before this century.
- Peterson, Paul E., ed. 1994. *The President, the Congress, and the Making of Foreign Policy*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press. Examines the relative power of the executive and legislative branches in establishing foreign policy. Considered in terms of the international and constitutional context.
- Phelps, Glenn A. 1994. *George Washington and American Constitutionalism*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas. Provides insight into the history and government Washington helped make.
- Reeves, Jimmie L., and Richard Campbell. 1994. *Cracked Coverage: Television News, the Anti-Cocaine Crusade, and the Reagan Legacy*. Raleigh-Durham, NC: Duke University Press. Documents and deceptions and excesses of television news coverage of the cocaine epidemic. Stands as an indictment of the backlash politics of the Reagan coalition.
- Renshon, Stanley A., ed. 1994. *The Clinton Presidency: Campaigning, Governing, and the Psychology of Leadership*. Boulder, CO: Westview. Collection of analyses of the Clinton presidency, beginning with the campaign.
- Rose, Gary L., ed. 1994. *Controversial Issues in Presidential Selection*. Second edition. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. Designed to stimulate debate and critical thinking about the various phases of modern presidential selection. Contains two-thirds new material.
- Rozell, Mark J. 1994. *Executive Privilege: The Dilemma of Secrecy and Democratic Accountability*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. An interpretive analysis of the presidential exercise of executive privilege. Argues in favor of a limited form of executive privilege.
- Savoie, Donald J. 1994. *Thatcher, Reagan, Mulroney: In Search of a New Bureaucracy*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. Considers the consequences of the war against bureaucracy waged by conservative leaders during the 1980s.

Simpson, Christopher. 1994. *Presidential Directives: National Security Policy During the Reagan-Bush Years*. Boulder, CO: Westview. Contains declassified texts of administrative directives from Kennedy to Bush. Each directive from the Reagan-Bush volume contains editor's notes detailing origin of the document and what is known of still-classified material.

Smaha, Joseph. 1994. **Assessing Presidential Behavior in Economic Downturns and Election Years from 1961 Through 1988**. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Florida. A quantitative study of presidencies Kennedy through Reagan that offers two hypotheses to examine whether presidents try to divert the nation's attention to foreign affairs when the economy performs badly.

Smith, Craig Allen, and Kathy B. Smith. 1994. *The White House Speaks: Presidential Leadership as Persuasion*. Westport, CT: Praeger. Considers presidential leadership as persuasive communication. Case studies examine recent presidents' use of public persuasion to perform their leadership functions.

Steed, Robert P., Laurence W. Moreland, and Tod A. Baker, eds. 1994. *The 1992 Presidential Election in the South*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. Examines the nomination process in the region, presents state-by-state analysis of election results, and offers general conclusions regarding contemporary developments in southern electoral and party politics.

Thompson, Kenneth W., ed. 1994. *Lessons From Defeated Presidential Candidates*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America. Analyzes unsuccessful presidential campaigns.

Thompson, Kenneth W., ed. 1994. *Presidents and Arms Control*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America. Considers the role of presidents in the formulation and negotiation of arms control. Addresses the milieu of arms control in the nuclear age and the decision-making style of presidents.

Vaughn, Stephen. 1994. *Ronald Reagan in Hollywood: Movies and Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Explores the relationship between the motion picture industry and American politics through the prism of Reagan's film career at Warner Brothers.

The Presidential-Congressional Relations Literature from a Public Policy Perspective

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While preparing a syllabus for a new graduate course on Presidential-Congressional Relations, I soon discovered the enormity of the task. The literature has blossomed in many directions. However, I was also struck by how much of the more recent research, particularly, emphasizes aspects of public policy making. There are good reasons for this trend because a policy approach offers several advantages to students of presidential-congressional relations.

A public policy perspective helps scholars think more analytically about these two American political institutions. It helps us achieve greater generalizability, comparison, and empirical investigation. In supporting these objectives, it stresses both the process and substance of public policy in examining their interactions in the process and issue areas of policy making. Each actor has differing levels of involvement at particular stages of the policy making process. This involvement and influence is neither absolute nor completely absent at any stage for any actor; considerable overlap exists. Thus, interbranch relationships are fluid, and participants do not always play rigidly assigned roles.

Substantive categorizations of issue areas according to domestic, foreign/defense, and economic/budget is a useful (if traditional) way to distinguish among actor interactions. Not only is the content of these policies quite different, but the level of discretion and the roles of the various actors also varies a great deal by policy area. Some might question the validity of such a trichotomy. Obviously some overlap exists, and probably every issue has a mix of

policy concerns.

A policy perspective emphasizes political interactions as part of an interdependent system in producing public policy. The approach stresses policy relevant (and manipulable) functions that have received too little attention heretofore. A policy approach assists in associating and interpreting disparate information, thereby providing a more secure basis for policy decisions. A carefully woven policy thread can also provide an understanding of where these institutions should be heading in the 1990s after substantial dissatisfaction with their direction during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In the references listed below I have divided the literature largely by substance (content) and process, with several categories of each. In addition to the substantive classification mentioned above, I include a section on the two presidencies literature. With respect to process, certain functions like liaison and the veto fall within policy formulation/adoption while others, like oversight, fall within implementation and evaluation. Only a few sources on presidential success in Congress are provided, particularly those with a policy perspective. Finally, the important question of divided government has considerable policy implications, and concludes this representative, but by no means exhaustive, list of sources on presidential-congressional relations.

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Book Review

The Modern Presidency and Economic Policy. By John P. Fren dreis and Raymond Tatalovich. Itasca, Ill.: F.E. Peacock, 1994. 335 pages. \$35.00.

When Ronald Reagan asked the public in 1980, "Are you better off today than you were four years ago?" he tapped into what has become the prime measure of the success of modern presidents, the state of the economy. The voters' answer was a rejection of President Carter. Clinton's 1992 mantra, "It's the economy stupid," served as yet another reminder of the enduring primacy of economic issues in presidential elections. Despite this, most texts on the presidency devote a brief chapter, generally at or near the end, to the president's role in setting economic policy. Courses on the presidency tend to reflect this lack of emphasis.

One reason is disciplinary boundaries. Economics is not our field. Because most colleges do not require introductory economics, we would have to include an explanation of basic economic theory to make the politics of the economy comprehensible to our students. Nor is there much supplementary reading available, as even books such as Aaron Wildavsky's estimable work on the budgetary process take on only a part of the policy process. *The Modern Presidency and Economic Policy* seeks to fill this void.

Fren dreis and Tatalovich begin by explaining what the president's role in managing the economy is and how that role has developed. They point to four major goals of economic policy (economic growth, full employment, stable prices, and a positive balance of payments) and two less well defined ones (structural change and distribution of wealth). However, these last two are never followed up. The lack of discussion of income distribution in the United States is a serious omission.

Conversely, one of the book's greatest virtues is its clear explanation of the major economic concepts and theories. Readers with no

background in economics will have little difficulty understanding the difference between fiscal and monetary policy, will be able to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of Keynesian economics and monetarism, and may even find themselves drawing Phillips and Laffer Curves. Separate chapters are devoted to the major players in the formulation of economic policy: those in the Executive branch, the Congress, the Federal Reserve Board, and international economic policy. Unfortunately, nongovernmental players such as the stock exchanges, large corporations, and other interest groups are not discussed. An additional chapter on them would be a helpful addition.

Having provided a useful background, the authors move on to the specifics of policy. A section on the politics of economic policy discusses the business cycle and how presidents have sought to counter its ups and downs. Then individual presidential styles are discussed. The book concludes with an examination of deficit politics and an evaluation of the successes or failures of each modern president. Some of the conclusions may prove surprising but all are sensibly argued.

Overall this book should prove an excellent addition to courses on the presidency or public policy. It provides both the basic information needed to understand what is happening and a fairly detailed discussion of recent policy. The authors show how often politics dominates economics in setting policy. They also emphasize how the public's expectations exceed the president's powers, concluding that the likelihood of a second Clinton term "will depend heavily upon how the public evaluates Clinton's first-term performance as the manager of our prosperity."

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