

PRG REPORT



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On-Line Presidential Documents: User-Friendly But Still Incomplete

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INTRODUCTION

Since the advent of electronic document and data archives available to Internet and now World Wide Web users, presidency scholars and other researchers have found themselves facing mammoth resources that provide information quickly and conveniently, usually at little or no cost. While this is good news for those searching for presidential documents on line, the use of new electronic resources still requires its own caution: researchers should not allow the ease of information gathering to tempt them to rely exclusively on electronic sources. The rapidly growing on-line data and information are often incomplete and potentially inaccurate. Despite these drawbacks, researchers can benefit enormously from on-line sources and can, with care, minimize the effects of their shortcomings. The ease and speed of access to these sources enable researchers to gather vast amounts

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Chief Clerk's Report

Martha Joynt Kumar

The Presidency Research Group had an exceptional year in terms of its organizational development and the extended range of its activities. Our membership increased from 347 members in July 1994 to 422 a year later. Our growth in members has been matched by an increase in organizational activity. Our members now regularly converse electronically through a members list service. Terry Sullivan brought us on line with a list service for the general membership, prgnews, and one for officers and board members. Both proved fruitful this year in our discussions of current organizational issues and in developing agenda items for the coming year. Sandwiched between electronic

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From the Editor

Robert J. Spitzer

The lead article in this issue of the Report discusses the uses and limits of accessing presidential documents on-line. The ease and convenience of such access is tempered, according to Shaw, Shapiro, and Jacobs, by often unforeseen gaps in document availability. Also in this issue, Frank Kessler discusses his current research on the emerging political and policy role of the vice presidency.

Mary Stuckey of the University of Mississippi has been selected to serve as section head for the Presidency Section for the 1996 APSA convention, to be held in San Francisco. Stuckey reports that the number of panels allocated to each section is based on attendance at the previous year's panels, not on section membership. In the case of the Presidency Section, less than 40% of all proposed papers and panels are accepted. Yet at the same time, the total number of proposals is up. Prospective panel participants should note that no one may participate in more than two APSA panels, and that the APSA is working to reduce the number of unacknowledged co-submissions. Those found in violation of these two rules will be dropped from the program. Contrary to earlier rumors, Stuckey promises that she will consider paper proposals that make no mention of Elvis Presley.

* * *

As the reader may know, the journal *Presidential Studies Quarterly* is undergoing some significant changes. Dr. Gordon Hoxie, who created and nurtured *PSQ* and its parent organization, the Center for the Study of the Presidency, has stepped down from the position as *PSQ* editor. Historian Joan Hoff succeeds him. In the spirit of Dr. Hoxie's drive and commitment to the study of the presidency, members of the journal's editorial board are now working to assess the journal, with an eye to making it an even stronger outlet for the best presidency scholarship. To that end, interested persons are invited to share their thoughts with this editorial board group, co-chaired by our own PRG President Martha Kumar. She would welcome the thoughts and suggestions of presidency scholars interested in the future of the *PSQ*. Her address is: Political Science, Towson State University, Towson, MD 21204

* * *

The awards committees for PRG awards have been selected. The Neustadt Award for Best Book on the Presidency published in 1995 will be chaired by Larry Jacobs, University of Minnesota. Nancy Kassop, SUNY New Paltz/Library of Congress, and Stephen Wayne, Georgetown University, are also serving. The Best Paper Award Committee includes Steve Weatherford, University of California, Santa Barbara (chair); Jeff Tulis, University of Texas, Austin; and Kathy Smith, Wake Forest University. The Best Graduate Student Paper Committee (including graduate student papers delivered at the APSA and papers from regional conferences) is composed of Larry Berman, University of California, Davis (chair); Jim Pfiffner, George Mason University; and Marcia Whicker, Rutgers University, Newark campus.

* * *

Interested persons can now participate in a new e-mail service, NH-PRIMARY. This service provides a discussion site about the New Hampshire primary, as well as extensive information about the primary as it develops, from candidate speeches to local press coverage. To subscribe, send the following e-mail message to NH-PRIMARY@UNH.EDU: SUB NH-PRIMARY yourfirstname yourlastname, home-business-school. NH-PRIMARY is being organized by Jim Farrell (JFARRELL@CHRISTA.UNH.EDU) and Mark Kuhn (MKUHN@CHRISTA.UNH.EDU), both of the University of New Hampshire's Communications Department.

As most readers know, the National Archives is moving toward greater electronic sophistication, which presidency scholars translate into greater and easier documentary access. Yet the Archives reports that it is encountering considerable problems in translation of materials, as well as the rapid obsolescence of various software and hardware. For example, some CD-ROM computer disks that were designed to last a century have shown signs of decay after a decade. According to Archives head John W. Carlin, more than half of all Archives documents "will be electronic" by the year 2000. The Archives also has an e-mail address, which can be used by researchers making inquiries free of charge: INQUIRE@NARA.GOV (NY Times, 10/1/95)

Congressional Quarterly has released the newest editions of several very useful reference works. The 1996 edition of *Politics in America* (1995; 1541 pp., \$89.95 cloth, \$54.95 paper), provides up-to-date information on the composition and structure of the 104th Congress. This well-known reference work has but one competitor, the *Almanac of American Politics*.

Both works provide the kind of detailed information about congressional representatives, their voting records, their districts, and their committees that any presidentialist would find useful. In addition, *Politics in America* comes with a CD rom version of the book for those who prefer computer screens to paper.

CQ's *Presidential Elections, 1789-1992* (1995; 274pp., \$28.95, paper) provides detailed data on every presidential election, including useful maps. Beyond this, it includes votes garnered by minor party candidates, presidential primary results, and background on national nominating conventions. CQ's *National Party Conventions, 1831-1992* (1995; 301 pp., \$28.95, paper) is devoted exclusively to presidential nominating conventions. Key convention balloting is included, along with detailed descriptions of the important events of every national party convention and highlights of party platforms. Both reference works are accessible and valuable. CQ has also issued, in pocket version, its *Who's Who in the Federal Executive Branch 1995* (1995; 209 pp; \$14.95), a compendium of offices and personnel in the Executive Branch from the president himself to the cabinet departments and independent agencies, current through February 1995. *Who's Who in Federal Regulation 1995* (1995; 202 pp; \$14.95) is a more detailed compendium of administrative offices and their personnel.

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Chief Clerk's Report

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conversations considering the Archivist position and appropriate candidates for the job, we had exchanges of information, such as the search for complete and inexpensive sets of ADA ratings for members of Congress. Electronic communication provides us with a way to get together year round. Hopefully, it will allow us to undertake an ambitious agenda in the coming year. Its presence also means that we can reach decisions through the building of a consensus among the membership and board members. While it takes some time to build a collective opinion, as was true in the case of the Archives position, the painstaking work we did created a strong organizational position. In addition, it produced an involved membership. Approximately 100 people went on-line during that period in order to at least follow, if not participate, in the discussion.

Organizational Activities: PRG Report, Publishing Awards, and Convention Panels and Business Decisions. One of the most impressive aspects of our organization is the manner in which people contribute time and energy to our programs and activities. Our most heartfelt thanks go to Larry Berman under whose watch the above changes took place. In spite of the serious injuries he incurred in an automobile accident of a year ago, Berman remained involved in directing the group towards a more active organizational and scholarly role. It would have been difficult for us to have accomplished what we did this year without Terry Sullivan's help on substantive and procedural issues. As important as electronic conversation is, our most important venue for the exchange of information is the **PRG Report**. Under the aegis of Bob Spitzer, we regularly receive exceptionally thorough information canvassing research in the area of the presidency. He supplies us with a round-up of convention papers, articles, and books on the chief executive. Bob developed a professional quality publishing design for the **Report** and then sought articles and research information to match. We thank him for his excellent work.

Similar thanks go to those people who served on committees granting awards for the best book and the outstanding APSA convention paper with the presidency as its topics. As has been the case in the past, no one turned us down. Erwin Hargrove chaired the Neustadt Award Committee and Mary Stuckey headed the Best Paper Committee. Serving on their committees

were: Frank Rourke and Janet Martin on the Neustadt Committee and Janet Martin, Paul Brace, and Larry Jacobs on the Best Paper Committee. Charles Jones won the Neustadt Award for his **The Presidency in a Separated System**, a book which views the office within the context of its separateness from the Congress. As did Richard Neustadt, Jones challenged prevailing notions about the office and its influence in shaping legislation. The Founders Award for the Best Paper went to Richard Forshee for his 1994 convention paper, "Presidential Activism and Obstruction in Committee and on the Floor". This was the first of the Founders Awards to be granted and it was given in the name of Professor Fred I. Greenstein, who coalesced the original group. We have included the award citations elsewhere in the newsletter. They were delivered respectively by Professors Erwin Hargrove and Janet Martin.

Special recognition is due Lyn Ragsdale for the excellent combination of panels she constructed for the convention. The complementary group of 12 panels and roundtables balanced approaches to studying the presidency with ones considering specific aspects of the institution. There was a strong emphasis on taking stock of how we study the presidency and the different areas we consider our research priorities. The research methods panels included the following as their topics: studying the White House over time; research approaches to the presidency; presidency studies and gender; new directions in presidential popularity research; formal models of executive politics. The remaining panels covered presidential actions and relations: presidents and public communication; presidents on Capitol Hill; the dynamics of the institutional presidency; the Constitution as an element shaping institutional behavior; connections between presidential campaigns and governance, and perspectives on presidential policy-making. In our board and business meetings, we took action to develop and maintain strong links with graduate students. First, we voted to create a 16th position on the board reserved for a graduate student. The student selected to fill the position is Michael Link (University of South Carolina). In addition, on Larry Berman's recommendation we adopted an award for the best paper delivered by a graduate student at the APSA or a regional political science association convention. Since graduate students are often short on resources, it is more likely that they present papers to the regional associations rather than the national one. The award will be the second of the

Founders Awards, the first is for the best convention paper on the presidency.

The Consideration of the Qualifications and the Candidates for Archivist of the United States. The Presidency Research Group broke new ground among organized sections with its involvement in the consideration of the Archivist's position. With so many of our members using archival materials, we have a direct interest in the operation of the Archives, particularly the presidential libraries system. A review of our activities on the Carlin nomination will appear in the December issue of PS. We worked over a four month period from developing resolutions establishing what we considered to be primary considerations in the selection of an Archivist to creating questions to pose to Governor John Carlin, President Clinton's candidate for the Archivist position. Following the interview and the report to the board members and membership written by Terry Sullivan and myself, we discussed the suitability of Carlin's public service experience to the management requirements of the Archives. The board voted in favor of finding his background to be suitable to the needs of the Archivist's position. We presented testimony before the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee in support of his suitability for the position. He was unanimously confirmed by the Senate with no votes cast against him in either the committee or on the floor.

John Carlin: The Record So Far. Since taking office Archivist Carlin has successfully balanced sometimes competing interests. The most important ruling issued during his tenure is the one relating to the retention of e-mail records. The regulations call for similar standards to be used in the retention of electronic records as paper ones. Carlin decided that until the agencies have the funds to acquire systems to maintain the records electronically, they will be allowed to print the records as paper. All agencies, however, are being encouraged to maintain records electronically so that they will be available for future use by scholars and by agencies and individuals within the federal government.

Archivist Carlin has maintained a strong public posture on the necessity of swiftly opening records. He recently discussed the importance of releasing information that reflects poorly on the actions of the government and its officials, and not limiting the public to those files that demonstrate its good works. "The more we can do to make records accessible, the more likely people will have confidence in their government, even when the information is bad," he said. When asked

about the files of the Whitewater investigation, he said they should be opened as soon as is possible once the records are transferred to the National Archives. When independent counsel Kenneth Starr finishes his work, his agency is automatically shut down with the records immediately transferred to the Archives.

Our members who attended the convention met John Carlin when he was our guest at a Thursday evening reception. Approximately 75 people came through during the hour and a half gathering making it possible for him to speak individually with quite a few people. In the latter part of the reception, he sat with those remaining and discussed the changes he is seeking to bring about at the National Archives. At the end of August, he spoke to all employees throughout the Archives system on the need to deal with the critical issues of the increasing amount of the budget that must go to housing records and the inevitable pinch on employee salaries that will result in the future if the space issue is not successfully addressed. In addition, he discussed his efforts to effect change in the bureaucratic culture at the National Archives. As an agency that has not had strong central management, its individual units have become resistant to central direction. Over dinner, he continued his discussion with several of our members.

Agenda Item #1: A Conference on the Anniversary of the Publication of Presidential Power. At our board and business meetings, we discussed items to be put on our agenda for discussion during the fall. There are three items and we can discuss each in turn. The first is sponsoring a conference on the presidency. The year 1995 marks 35 years since the publication of Richard Neustadt's **Presidential Power**. The anniversary of the publication of this seminal book seems like an appropriate occasion to consider both the office of President and our approaches to studying it. We could observe this landmark in a variety of ways: a conference, a book of essays, or perhaps, a plenary session at an APSA convention. I have spoken with a variety of people about the idea and every one seems enthusiastic in participating in a conference and delivering papers written specifically for the occasion. The question is where the money will come from and where it could be held. If there is sufficient interest in a conference as opposed to other options, then we have at least one offer to explore. If we can sort out the logistics on it, I think a conference would provide many benefits. The presidency conferences that have previously been held were ones limited in their number of invitees. While we would not be in a position to pay for people, we could

at least aim for a conference where all of the members who want to attend could do so. The discussion and exchanges that come out of a two day conference are certainly more intellectually and professionally satisfying than would be the case with other venues, such as a convention panel or session. At least one publisher is interested in handling a volume of original papers coming out of such a conference, He is the first publishing person I spoke with, thus I would assume there might be others as well. There are other questions that arise with the consideration of such an event, so let's dive into this discussion first and see where it goes.

Agenda Item #2: An Oral History Program with White House Staff Members. The second item for consideration is an oral history program. As an administration closes out, there are some of us who regularly conduct interviews with White House staff members. It is a wonderful time to catch people in a reflective mood and to put staff members on the record who studiously avoided talking with reporters and others outside of the building. While we are accumulating interviews as scholars for our personal use, there is no continuing program to do so for archival purposes. The presidential libraries no longer have an oral history program. Even when they did, it was of limited use to political scientists. The questions asked by the historians conducting the interviews tended to be event driven with few process questions asked. Few queried how an office functioned and what concept staff members had of their work and their relationship with the President. If we have a sufficient number of volunteers who regularly

come to Washington, we could conduct a series of interviews with people as they leave office. We could as a group create some guidelines, both substantive and procedural, that would direct the people conducting the interviews. While we might want to toss around this idea, it would seem prudent to wait until a person is appointed to head the presidential library system. Such an interviewing program would be most effective if it reflected a cooperative arrangement between us and the libraries.

Agenda Item #3: A Journal on the Presidency. A third item for discussion is a journal on the presidency. Since **Presidential Studies Quarterly** is currently in a period of transition between editors and the leadership of the center sponsoring the journal, we might want to wait on this discussion until the **Quarterly** chooses its future direction. There is a small working committee of nine members of the editorial board that is currently discussing issues relating to the journal's aims and operating procedures. Several of our members are on that committee and many more serve on the full editorial board. I am serving as chair of the group. You can be assured that we are interested in effecting policies that emphasize solid scholarship. We will report on activities as events warrant.

As you can see, our year has been full of varied activities with every prospect that the coming year will involve even more action than was true in 1994-1995. With the Neustadt conference as our first agenda item, please get on-line and let's begin our discussion of possible venues and appropriate topics for discussion.

On-Line Presidential Documents

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of information quickly and to conduct far more comprehensive searches than are feasible or even possible by more traditional means. Based on our experience gathering White House communications on health care during the 103rd Congress, we offer some cautions and advice about electronic document gathering. Because of variations in computer programs and ever-changing communications technology, however, we do not offer a detailed user's manual. We provide some technical guidance in accessing the on-line materials that pertain to presidency research.

ELECTRONIC SOURCES

Two principal types of electronic information sources are available via the Internet: archives and list servers. Archives are often university-based services which may be searched by subject, date, key-word, or by the name of the organization compiling the information. These often have expansive holdings and usually involve only very little delay between the gathering and the release of the material. Archives are typically arranged to allow researchers to move easily and quickly through materials, often limiting their searches to narrow categories based on substantive interests. While numeric data files can present difficulties for those interested in combining them into machine-readable data sets, text files are easier to handle. Documents are assembled and captured according to the searcher's computer software. They may be read on the

screen, copied directly to computer disk, or sent to one's local electronic mail (e-mail) address.

One may also subscribe to a wide variety of list servers (usually at no cost), which are electronic mailing lists from which materials, announcements, or information on available materials are distributed periodically. Subscribers may choose to receive information from governmental, university-based, or other organizations ranging from informal discussion groups on particular topics to news releases regarding specific policy areas. The political science archive at Texas A&M University includes a "list of lists," providing more than a dozen discussion forums for those interested in various fields of political science. List servers allow subscribers to keep abreast of developments in academics and politics. In order to make each of the list servers appealing to a broad audience, the sources typically establish broad subject categories. The result is that subscribers inevitably receive some material not immediately relevant to their interests. For example, subscribing to the White House's on-line health care list results in one receiving several mailings each week that are only tangentially related to health care reform in the U.S. (To subscribe to the White House newsfeed service, an e-mail can currently be sent to Publications@research.ai.mit.edu with the word "help" as the subject and nothing in the body of the message. The sender will receive a return message with instructions for subscribing to documents on topics of interest.) The moment required to delete the "junk mail" or non-relevant messages is a small price to pay in exchange for the wealth of information available. List

servers are a good way to keep up with current events and newly released information and may even stimulate alternative avenues of research, but alone they typically do not support rigorous investigative efforts. Despite these occasional shortcomings, however, the numerous lists can be tremendously thought provoking and valuable.

A handful of U.S. universities have established large public-access electronic archives covering numerous subject areas in political science and other disciplines. Any of them may be accessed by using their "gopher address," which is typed in at the Unix or Lynx prompt on one's local computer system or in the appropriate block when using Mosaic, Netscape, or other similar software designed to access fully the World Wide Web. It is possible to move from one archive, or gopher server, to another by selecting the desired data base from among menu options, regardless of the software used. Contemporary software programs provide guidance to new users, simplifying the task of moving from one labeled menu item to another. Netscape and Mosaic users may scroll through the available categories of holdings, while those accessing archives by way of gopher software (along with Unix or Lynx) may select the desired option by key strokes. Northwestern University's (NWU) American Politics Gopher is an especially helpful place to begin, as it allows users to browse not only NWU's holdings but also to search for other on-line archives by key-words in their titles. For example, one may locate all the archives on the Internet containing the word "politics" in their titles (these archives are numerous). It is also possible to truncate search

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tive agenda on health care during that period. To our knowledge, this crucial body of White House communications was neither published nor archived anywhere else, other than by several of the electronic archives. Had we searched only the traditional published sources, we would have missed and overlooked this large set of important materials. Transcripts of press conferences given by administration officials were also found on-line and were not readily available through any other source of which we were aware. Tapping into on-line sources allows much greater comprehensiveness and speed than researchers have been accustomed to before. Furthermore, electronic texts lend themselves to key-word or key-phrase searches with word processing programs, meaning researchers can analyze materials quickly without wasting time reading irrelevant passages. Lastly, the materials saved on computer disks occupy much less space than files, or crates, of photocopied pages.

THE DOWN-SIDE OF ON-LINE ARCHIVES

While the on-line research process clearly is an enormous improvement over searching through dusty library shelves, it does have potentially serious drawbacks. We encountered two difficulties: incompleteness and possible inaccuracy of the available information. We found that no single site contained all the relevant materials and that some contained only a small fraction of what we knew existed. A careful inventory of on-line documents eventually led to a large but still incomplete collection. To verify the completeness of our collection, we systematically compared the list of our

holdings to materials published in Public Papers of the Presidents and the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents for 1993 and 1994. We took the Public Papers and the Weekly Compilation as the standards against which to compare the on-line materials. For that two-year period, we found that the Weekly Compilation included some 130 pieces not included in any of the electronic archives we had searched. Searching these archives, then, is only the first step in gathering a complete set of documents. Clearly, it is crucial to review the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents and the Public Papers of the Presidents to ensure completeness of one's search.

Several factors contributed to the incompleteness of our holdings from the on-line archives. The first had to do with the placement of particular files under a given topic heading. For example, searching under "health" at UNC's SunSITE archive produces (as of this writing) a list of over 1100 items from numerous governmental and non-governmental sources. But since that archive categorizes materials by their primary subject matter, many White House statements merely mentioning health care but primarily addressing other topics are not placed under the "health" rubric. In order to correct this problem we revisited the archives and read through documents month by month, visually scanning text for health care mentions too small to have placed the document under the health care rubric. Unfortunately, this step found only a minority of the missing documents. Another partial solution is to search an archive that brings up all documents containing a key-word. The

presidency archive at the University of California at Irvine and the gopher service at the University of Minnesota, for example, allow this and highlight the key-word in the document text. There is an obvious drawback, however, to capturing many extraneous materials by casting one's net so widely. Further, the archives at UC at Irvine and at Minnesota are not as comprehensive as some of the others, notably UNC's SunSITE, Texas A&M, and Northwestern University's collections.

Another cause of missing documents is the failure of the White House press secretary to provide the materials to the various archives. Two university-based archive administrators told us that they believed their holdings to be complete to the extent the White House makes the materials available. The pitfall is that not all White House documents are provided to the public-access archives. These missing items highlight the problem of relying on a single source. Because the records we found of White House communications were generated by the office of the White House press secretary, they were subjected to editing by the White House. Although news coverage of major speeches or press conferences may provide a check on this possible distortion, the transcripts of many of the many everyday messages defy verification. Although the messages published in the Public Papers of the Presidents are said, according to the White House press secretary, to reflect accurately what was actually stated and checked against sound recordings whenever possible, there is no assurance that sanitizing does not occur in the office of the press secretary. As Martha Kumar

brought to our attention, transcripts of at least two embarrassing press briefings concerning the White House Travel Office firings in May of 1993 were conspicuously absent from materials provided by the White House to the various electronic archives. (Because the administration's comments were made by spokespersons Dee Dee Meyers and George Stephanopolous and not by the President himself, records of these briefings are not found in the Public Papers nor in the Weekly Compilation.) This selective suppression of some embarrassing documents suggests the clear possibility of the occasional, selective sanitizing of the documentary record. If White House editing of transcripts does occur, it would appear to be uniform across print and electronic media. Comparison of a sample of texts gathered on-line with their counterparts in the Weekly Compilation showed identical wording.

Regarding a less devious but still troublesome problem, some of the messages, in particular State of the Union Addresses, were released in pairs: the first labeled "as prepared" and the second "as delivered." Due to President Clinton's penchant for impromptu rhetoric, the differences between the two are often non-trivial. The labeling of these pairs of similar documents is not ubiquitous; therefore, it is occasionally difficult to identify the transcript of President Clinton's actual statements. Further, some presidential speech transcripts are released solo, leaving the researcher with no way to determine whether the text was prepared text or the address that was actually delivered. Consulting two electronic archive administrators, we were told the messages,

especially those labeled "as delivered," do reflect actual presidential statements.

CONCLUSION

Despite the easy availability of the massive volume of presidential documents, researchers should take the time to consult multiple sources to ensure accuracy and completeness. This means both the on-line archives as well as the most definitive but often cumbersome,

printed and bound ones. Care must be taken regarding potential inaccuracies or omitted items, especially regarding government-generated documents whose distribution may be controlled by a single source. The on-line resources will accelerate and expand the scope of research and information gathering, but these relatively mechanical efforts have not yet replaced the conventional detective work done off-line in the library.

The Role of the Vice President In an Age of Retrenchment

Frank Kessler
Missouri Western State College

Will Colin Powell run an independent candidacy for president? Will he enhance his chance for the White House by paying his dues as running mate for Bob Dole or whomever? There was a time when people would not have looked so benignly on the potential of a stint as Vice President.

"He doesn't do funerals." This comment of a top staff aide to Vice President Albert Gore, Jr., made in an interview in his office this past fall, is a far cry from the way vice presidents were perceived by others and even by their own staffs a mere couple of decades ago. Casual observers, examining press accounts of Dan Quayle as VP, might have been tempted to believe that the vice presidency had fallen back into the disrepute from which it seemed to have emerged in the Clinton-Mondale and even Reagan-

Bush years. In fact, research on the staffing and advisory role of today's vice president and his immediate predecessors illustrate that the Rodney Dangerfield impression of the office is not only inaccurate, but counterproductive. It is inaccurate because it belies the enhanced potential that access and expanded staff support presents for any vice president. It is counterproductive because it might deter capable people from seeking the office.

A decade ago, Paul Light told us that "Vice Presidents have finally joined the small group of White House aides who act as senior advisors to the President." Recently, a former Clinton White House staffer commented in a phone conversation we had, in response to the question, "How would you characterize the Vice

President as an Advisor?": "He's **the** closest advisor to the President who is not married to him." (emphasis added) Light contended, in 1984, that vice presidents suffer the same wins and losses as other senior staffers, even though they have gained the resources for a continuing advisory role. Although that may still be the case, present research suggests that presidents since the Carter-Mondale era will be pressured by public and media expectations and the precedents and problems to provide their vice presidents regular access to the oval office and the security information that is available to the president. Vice presidents constitute Neustadtian "vantage points" across domestic, economic and foreign policy areas available to few, if any other senior advisors. In fact, given all the flack heaped on George Bush for his unexpected choice of Dan Quayle, presidents will likely be expected to select running mates capable of being viewed as a cut above "senior staffers," and serve as presidents in their own right should the unthinkable occur. This point must not be overstated, though, because, as Walter Mondale learned making his path breaking choice of Geraldine Ferraro, there is no reason to expect that voters will vote for or against a presidential candidate based primarily on the choice of running mate. The choice more likely has a peripheral impact on perceptions of the judgement of the candidate seeking the Oval Office.

While more recent information on the Carter-Mondale years might question whether Mondale could be accurately characterized as "highly successful in shaping administration policy," as Light contended in his classic book on vice presidential power, before Nelson

Rockefeller's abbreviated vice presidency, the thought that the vice president could have any impact at all would have been considered ludicrous. Clearly, Mondale was given the key role (at the president's direction) in drawing up the outline of the agenda for the early months of the Carter administration. In addition, Mr. Carter commended him for this contribution before all of the senior staff. Still, given the "checkered past" (pardon the pun) of the office, few political scientists have spent much time contemplating its potentials.

Respected icons of presidency scholarship like Arthur Schlesinger were so incensed at the selection, later misdeeds and irresponsible rhetorical fusillades of Spiro Agnew, that when he resigned under fire, they suggested that the office be abolished altogether. The difficulty of effecting change by constitutional amendment discourages us from entertaining such notions, attractive as they might seem at any given time. It is almost beyond imagination that the Congress or the public would be exercised enough about the question of whether we need a vice president to provide the momentum necessary to amend the Constitution to eliminate the office. Since Agnew's resignation, though, people like Walter Mondale, Dan Quayle, and Al Gore have sought the office not merely because it was a heartbeat away from the presidency, but because each seemed to think, with some justification, that he could make a difference in the job despite its reputation.

As presidential hopefuls begin the process of selecting their running mates for 1996, and potential vice presidents ponder offers, both need to have a concrete

conception of the office, the characteristics needed to fulfill those roles, and the ability to work as full partners in campaigning and in governing. Vice presidential candidates with higher career aspirations must also recognize the possibility of unintended effects on their own credibility which could result from their loyalty to their ticket partner. Both also need to remember who, after all, is president.

One need only examine the comments of George Bush's major presidential competitors in 1992 to realize that presidential hopefuls are not always clear on what they plan for their ticket mates to do once elected. Bill Clinton talked of making Gore, in language reminiscent of Jimmy Carter, his "staff chief," and Ross Perot had similar expectations of Admiral James Stockdale. Unfortunately, as Tom Cronin has noted, the Constitution and statutory law provide little in the way of a job description for the vice president. An aide to Clinton's first chief of staff halfheartedly lamented that he could not characterize the model of chief of staff that Mac MacLarty was using. The staff member noted that he was not an "academic type" on top of all of the theories.

Paul Light divides the vice presidential job description into categories not inconsistent with the research of people like Joel Goldstein, Marie Natoli, Michael Turner and others. He sees the vice presidency involving duties that are **CEREMONIAL, POLITICAL, POLICY, and** to a lesser degree, **TRAINING** in nature. **Ceremonial** involves acting on the president's behalf as a delegate with little freedom to maneuver. In this role Light includes participation in a variety of task forces, councils, and

forums that rarely have any substantive impact and provide the vice president no real formal responsibility.

The **political** role in Light's analysis includes acting as a public liaison officer listening to complaints, encouraging support, and massaging egos. He also notes that the role encompasses acting as spokesperson, "hitman," and advertiser for the administration, no matter how burdensome the chore might become. In the election cycles this role includes the "hatchet man" and attack dog and even pit bull functions, much to the detriment of their political reputations, as Bob Dole and Spiro Agnew no doubt learned. At times this role also includes making the case for themselves to be re-nominated for the ticket, as Dan Quayle learned in 1992. The **policy** duties were both line and senior advisory in nature. The line duties might involve policy in a particular area such as Rockefeller had with respect to domestic policy. It could also involve, as with George Bush, foreign policy crisis management or responsibility for a particular agency at the president's behest.

Rockefeller learned the hard way that careerists resent having their turf invaded and toes stepped on even if the invader is named Rockefeller. Since the FDR administration it has not been uncommon for a vice president to be called in for advice in a specialized policy area. While these activities tend to be sporadic in most past administrations, vice presidents who venture into these areas must be careful to "know the boss." Few emperors want to be told that they have no clothes, as Hubert Humphrey learned when his advice on Vietnam and the bomb-

ing there caused him to be ostracized from administration foreign policy inner circles. In one of the Miller Center Oral histories on vice presidential selection, Jimmy Carter noted that one of the things he appreciated most about Mondale, was that the vice president brought a unique perspective to the White House advisory system. "Fritz," Carter indicated, was capable of conceptualizing problems in terms of how he would handle things if he were the president. At this point, it is instructive to note that it had tended to be the presidents without Washington careers like Carter, Clinton, and Reagan who tended to consult their vice presidents in areas where their ticket mates had special expertise. Historically this had not been the case because vice presidents were expected to perform basically ceremonial and political duties.

My own research, especially at the White House, has involved interviewing staff people who have or presently do serve both the president and vice president. As was true for my documentary and archival research on other administrations, my questions centered around the role that the vice president is seen to play in the administration, including job description and staff interaction. I handed them an earlier version of the enclosed job description and asked them to critique it. They were to suggest any other roles that Gore plays in the Clinton White House that I did not include, and to provide their judgement on the functions which were more important. My role categories were more numerous than Light's, but covered many of the same duties. Within the categories, functions and responsibilities sometime

overlapped.

Implications for the Selection Process

Each of the vice presidents from Mondale through Gore brought a special capability to the White House which the president was able to utilize. Given that the Constitution creates the office, and that public cynicism about it has heightened during the Bush-Quayle years (whether fairly or not), my research suggests that presidents should thus consider vice presidential selection to be one of the most important, if not THE most important choice they make with respect to their administrations. They should be prepared to empower their vice presidents to use the office and staff in a meaningful and productive manner. For their part, candidates for vice president should be knowledgeable of their own job descriptions, and like Mondale and Gore, negotiate their roles from a position of strength. If the presidential candidate refuses to consent to these considerations, then the prospective vice presidential candidate might find acceptance of the vice presidential offer to be counterproductive to his/her own career aspirations, as well as deleterious to the prospective vice president's self respect.

Secretary/ Treasurer's Annual Report

Terry Sullivan

After a brief membership slump, PRG has rebounded dramatically. Its membership has reached an all-time high. After a tough financial year, with projected lower income from membership dues and extraordinary demands on its resources we have come out of the year in sound financial condition. These changes have put the section on a strong foundation.

Secretary's Report

This report covers two elements: membership and basic information resources. Membership in PRG surged forward after two years of declines. PRGNet, initiated this past year as a simple demonstration, has begun full service to the membership. The section's membership took a 22% jump over the 1994-95 year. We begin this academic year with approximately 422 members. The current membership figure stands well above the minimum membership (of at least 364) necessary to meet our regular budget requirements and it represents an all-time high. The board took several actions last year in conjunction with APSA to bolster our membership base and these seem to have paid off.

Information Services

In addition to the Report, the PRG introduced a number of electronic services, carried out

through the Secretary's office. Currently, the University of North Carolina's Leadership Information Archives administers PRGNet on its SunSITE machine (SunSITE.unc.edu). The initial PRGNet project focused on linking the membership together through PRGNews at SunSITE. This listserver has already come online and it connects a little less than one-third of the membership. We are encouraging members to join PRGNews.

This past year, the PRGNews played an important role in formulating the PRG's position on the Clinton Administration's nomination and confirmation of Gov. John Carlin as Archivist of the United States. PRGNet has also created a freely available electronic reference room for accessing presidency materials on the worldwide web. This reference room currently publishes our reports. This year, we will try to establish links with other research services currently on the internet: federal agency information services, the White House, courts, State executive agencies, and presidential libraries through PRESIDENT. Ultimately we would like to provide the PRG annotated bibliography of recent presidency research and electronic versions of research materials.

Founder's Award

Under the auspices of a board motion last year, the PRG named its convention paper prize after the founding group of the section. After some research the list of those honored by the prize includes:

Fred I. Greenstein, Thomas Cronin, Stephen Wayne, Bert Rockman, David Naveh, Dom Bonafede, Erwin Hargrove, Francis

Rourke, George Edwards, James Young, Lester G. Seligman, Martha Kumar, Michael Grossman, Peri Arnold

Treasurer's Report

This report summarizes the PRG's budgetary matters for the period July 1, 1994 through June 30, 1995. It reflects information provided to the APSA as part of their ongoing monitoring process for organized sections.

This summary covers the APSA fiscal year for 1994-1995 and draws primarily on information presented in the PRG's annual fiscal report submitted to the APSA. At the beginning of the fiscal year, PRG faced a possible crisis since its membership base was not sufficient to generate dues to cover its budget. With some extraordinary effort by Professor Robert Spitzer, and some good decisions by the board and some help from APSA, we have weathered that potential storm with very little damage. Over the year, we lost \$200 from our savings covering expenses in this transition year to end the year with about \$3,300 in our account. Income from membership dues totaled \$1,673.

While this year presents us with no financial problems, we should expect that publication expenses should rise as some cost-cutting arrangements at SUNY Cortland expire. However, since we had some extraordinary mailings this past year, we should estimate our budget as very close to the current activities.

Minutes of the Annual Meeting

The annual membership meeting of the PRG came to order at 12:32PM on September 2, 1995 at the Chicago Hilton and Towers Hotel. Professor Larry Berman,

President of PRG, presided. In his opening remarks, Prof. Berman thanked the membership for their understanding last year at his absence. He also praised the work of the Board and commented on what an interesting year he had had as President of the organization. In keeping with the one piece of advice that Sam Kernell had passed on to him, Prof. Berman then turned to meeting over to the new President, Professor Martha Kumar.

Old Business

Prof. Kumar introduced the first item of old business by turning the floor over to Professor Erwin Hargrove to report on the decisions of the Neustadt Prize committee. The committee reported that it had selected Professor Charles Jones as the winner of the Neustadt Prize for the Best Book on the Presidency for 1994. The Prize cited his book: *The Presidency in a Separated System*. In describing the committee's decision, Prof. Hargrove characterized Prof. Jones' book as providing an "elegant framework" for research, as a "spawning ground" for future dissertations, and as demonstrating a "strong, clear mind at work." Professor Jones accepted the award and said that he was particularly pleased with the encouragement from his peers that this award entailed. Professor Janet Martin then reported on the first "Founder's Award" for best paper at the APSA convention. The award was given in honor of Fred I. Greenstein and it was given to Professor Richard Forshee for his paper, "Presidential Activism and Obstruction in Committee and on the Floor." The committee strongly recommended Professor Forshee's work. Professor Russell Renka accepted the award on behalf of Professor Forshee who was moving

to take up his first job. Prof. Renka emphasized how appreciative Prof. Forshee was of this recognition by his colleagues.

Secretary/Treasurer Terry Sullivan then reported on PRG's financial and membership situation. Our membership stands at an all time high, growing about 20% last year. He attributed this growth to actions taken both by the board and by the APSA over the past year. Our financial situation is solid. A detailed report is forthcoming in the newsletter. We have about a \$3,500 reserve. PRGNet continues to grow with PRGNews (the list service) doing a good deal of business last year. To join PRGNews, send email to PRGNet@unc.edu. In addition, this year we hope to expand the web service of PRGNet to include more than just official PRG Reports.

New Business

Professor Kumar reported on the APSA Organized Sections Coordinating Committee's annual meeting. The following points were made at that meeting:

- *Organized sections should continue to allow APSA to act as the central provider of membership lists to publishers, etc. This practice allows APSA to generate revenues which it then disperses to the organized sections. PRG is a net gainer on such transactions.

- *APSA encourages PRG members to consider donating money to the EE Schattschneider Award Endowment in order to boost its current award value.

- *Organized sections interested in outside activities should take notice of the practices followed by the PRG

in its recent involvement in the appointment and confirmation of the Archivist of the US. Their actions represent a useful model for Section involvement in issues of concern to them without compromising the APSA's tax exempt status.

Professor Kumar then reported on the following recommendations of the Board and the membership voted to affirm these recommendations:

- *The Founder's Award Series would expand to include a "Best Graduate Student Paper" presented during the previous year. The paper could come from conventions other than the APSA.

- *A Graduate Student member be added to the Board of Directors, to encourage integration of graduate students into the PRG.

- *Terry Sullivan nominated to be Vice President and Karen Hult nominated to be Secretary/Treasurer for two year terms.

- *Board memberships for the following: David Adler, Shirley Warshaw, George Edwards III, Michael Gennovese (reappointed), Ryan Barilleaux (reappointed), Michael Link (Graduate Student).

Professor Kumar reported briefly on the following proposed initiatives:

- *A Neustadt Celebration to mark the 35th anniversary of *Presidential Power*. PRGNews will discuss the details this fall.

- *An oral history project with the National Archives. PRGNews will discuss this proposal this fall.

- *Revamping of the *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. As the head of the editorial board, Professor Kumar invited the PRG membership to be involved

- in shaping the future of PSQ, and to send comments and suggestions for the future of the journal to her or others involved with the journal.

The meeting adjourned at 1:30PM.

New Books on the Presidency 1995

Todd Patterson

- Abramson, Paul R., John H. Aldrich, and David W. Rohde. 1995. *Change and Continuity in the 1992 Elections*. Revised Edition. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 436 pp. Introduction to basic concepts in voting behavior through in-depth analysis of the 1994 congressional elections and 1992 presidential and congressional elections.
- Anderson, David L., ed. 1995. *Shadow on the White House: Presidents and the Vietnam War, 1945-1975*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. 228 pp. Collection of essays on American intervention in Vietnam.
- Barrett, David M. 1995. *Uncertain Warriors: Lyndon Johnson and His Vietnam Advisers*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. 284 pp. Argues that Johnson's Vietnam advisory system was rational.
- Blanton, Tom, ed. 1995. *White House E-Mail: The Top-Secret Messages the Reagan/Bush White House Thought They Had Destroyed*. The New Press/Norton. 224 pp. and ASCII disk. A selection from the three thousand pieces of electronic mail that have been released; an archive of policy deliberations from the Reagan/Bush administrations.
- Campagna, Anthony S. 1995. *Economic Policy in the Carter Administration*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. Examines economic problems that the Carter administration faced and analyzes its solutions from economic and political perspectives.
- Campbell, Colin, and Bert Rockman. 1995. *The Clinton Presidency*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers. Analyzes the first two years of the Clinton administration.
- Candidates '96: Profiles of Presidential Contenders*. 1995. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 210 pp. Profiles all major presidential contenders in the race by fall 1995. Includes analysis of the Perot phenomenon and its contemporary implications.
- Carroll, Richard J. 1995. *An Economic Record of Presidential Performance: From Truman to Bush*. 288 pp. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers. Ranks the economic performance of modern presidents.
- Clayton, Cornell W., ed. 1995. *Government Lawyers: The Federal Legal Bureaucracy and Presidential Politics*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. 292 pp. Provides insights into the bureaucratic legal offices, highlighting perpetual tensions among executive branch politics and the profession.
- Cohen, Warren I., and Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, eds. 1995. *Lyndon Johnson Confronts the World: American Foreign Policy, 1963-1968*. NY: Cambridge University Press. 352 pp. The most comprehensive review available of foreign policy in the Johnson era.
- Craig, Stephen C. 1995. *Broken Contract? Changing Relationships Between Americans and Their Government*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 326 pp. Describes elements of voter disaffection, party decline, and other issues prevalent in the 1990s.
- Crewe, Ivor, and Brian Gosschalk, eds. 1995. *Political Communications: The General Election Campaign of 1992*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 288 pp. Examines the general election campaign of 1992 and its implications on political communication.
- Davis, James W. 1995. *The American Presidency*. Second Edition. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers. 464 pp. Analysis of the presidency and its evolution.
- Dawson, Joseph G. III, ed. 1995. *Commanders in Chief: Presidential Leadership in Modern Wars*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. 230 pp. Analysis of presidential leadership under conditions of modern war.
- Ellis, Richard J. 1995. *Presidential Lightning Rods: The Politics of Blame Avoidance*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. 272 pp. Analyzes the "lightning rod" phenomenon of blame avoidance and acceptance.
- Fisher, Louis. 1995. *Constitutional Conflicts between Congress and the President*. Third Edition. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. 328 pp. Provides an understanding into the complexities of the American constitutional form of government with its separation of powers.
- Fisher, Louis. 1995. *Presidential War Power*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. 248 pp. Analyzes the executive branch's war-making capability, arguing executive initiatives come at the expense of congressional control and violate the Constitution.
- Friedman, Barry D. 1995. *Regulation in the Reagan-Bush Era: The Eruption of Presidential Influence*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 312 pp. Describes the acquiescence to Ronald Reagan's

- assertion of presidential power over the federal process, Executive Order 12291. Argues that conventional political science theories and models are now obsolete because of this eruption of presidential control in the bureaucratic process.
- Gellman, Irwin F. 1995. *Franklin Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, and Sumner Welles*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 384 pp. Explores the hierarchy of the State Department during the New Deal and World War II years, illuminating their impact upon FDR and the conduct of foreign policy during his administration.
- Genovese, Michael A. 1995. *The Presidential Dilemma: Leadership in the American System*. New York: HarperCollins. 160 pp. 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.
- Giglio, James N. 1995. *John F. Kennedy: A Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. 456 pp. A bibliographic compilation of information resources on Kennedy.
- Gilmour, John B. 1995. *Strategic Disagreement: Stalemate in American Politics*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 184 pp. Explains why politicians avoid compromise, outlining tactics and policy mechanisms available.
- Goldstein, Michael L. 1995. *Guide to the 1996 Presidential Election*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 100 pp. Basic introduction to the presidential selection and campaign process, focusing on the 1996 election.
- Goldzwig, Steven R., and George N. Dionisopoulos. 1995. "In a Perilous Hour:" *The Public Address of John F. Kennedy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. 240 pp. Critical analysis of Kennedy's public address.
- Hacker, Kenneth L., ed. 1995. *Candidate Images in Presidential Elections*. Westport, CT: Praeger. Describes and explains how presidential election results hinge on voter perceptions of candidates.
- Hariman, Robert. 1995. *Political Style: The Artistry of Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 260 pp. Demonstrates how matters of style influence politics, using effective political artistry figures including Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton.
- Hess, Stephen. 1995. *News and Newsmaking: Essays by Stephen Hess*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution. 150 pp. Collection of essays on the media, including an examination on the White House Press Corps and the way it covers the president.
- Hess, Stephen. 1995. *Presidents & The Presidency: Essays by Stephen Hess*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution. 150 pp. Collection of essays on the presidency, including examinations of specific presidencies, the office, and leadership characteristics.
- Hoogenboom, Ari. 1995. *Rutherford B. Hayes: Warrior and President*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. 626 pp. In-depth look at Hayes, casting him as a reformer, advocate for equal rights, and a masterful politician.
- Huckfeldt, Robert, and John Sprague. 1995. *Citizens, Politics, and Social Communication: Information and Influence in an Election Campaign*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 313 pp. Within the context of the 1984 presidential election campaign in South Bend, Indiana, investigates several themes of citizen interdependence and its implications on electoral behavior.
- Jackson John S. III., and William Crotty. 1996. *The Politics of Presidential Selection*. New York: HarperCollins. 250 pp. Overview of how Americans select presidents and why the system works as it does. Sets the stage for the 1996 elections.
- Jones, Bryan D. 1995. *The New American Politics: Reflections on Political Change and the Clinton Administration*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Provides insights about the nature of political change in the U.S., with particular emphasis on the 1992 and 1994 elections.
- Jones, Charles O. 1995. *Separate But Equal Branches*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers. Challenges political science's presidency-centered assumptions about American government.
- Kendall, Kathleen E., ed. 1995. *Presidential Campaign Discourse: Strategic Communication Problems*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. 320 pp. Examines communication problems faced by modern presidential candidates through a variety of perspectives.
- Kettl, Donald F., and John J. DiIulio, Jr., eds. 1995. *Inside the Reinvention Machine: Appraising Governmental Reform*. Assesses the Clinton administration's plan for reinventing government after more than a year of effort.
- Langston, Thomas S. 1995. *With Reverence and Contempt: How Americans Think About Their President*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University

- Press. 192 pp. Analyzes and explains American attitudes and judgments about presidential performance.
- Lichter, S. Robert, and Richard Noyes. 1995. *Good Intentions Make Bad News: Why Americans Hate Campaign Journalism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 320 pp. Outlines how campaign journalism has evolved over the past quarter century, concluding that media partisanship plays a disproportionate role in elections.
- McCoy, Donald R., et al, eds. *American Presidency Series*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. In-depth analyses of American presidents and their administrations.
- Bergeron, Paul H. *The Presidency of James K. Polk*. 312 pp.
- Bornet, Vaughn Davis. *The Presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson*. 416 pp.
- Brown, Ralph Adams. *The Presidency of John Adams*. 248 pp.
- Castel, Albert. *The Presidency of Andrew Johnson*. 262 pp.
- Clements, Kendrick A. *The Presidency of Woodrow Wilson*. 304 pp.
- Cole, Donald B. *The Presidency of Andrew Jackson*. 342 pp.
- Coletta, Paolo E. *The Presidency of William Howard Taft*. 308 pp.
- Cunningham, Noble E., Jr. *The Presidency of James Monroe*. 256 pp.
- Doenecke, Justus D. *The Presidencies of James A. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur*. 230 pp.
- Fausold, Martin L. *The Presidency of Herbert C. Hoover*. 292 pp.
- Gara, Larry. *The Presidency of Franklin Pierce*. 218 pp.
- Giglio, James N. *The Presidency of John F. Kennedy*. 334 pp.
- Gould, Lewis L. *The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt*. 356 pp.
- Gould, Lewis L. *The Presidency of William McKinley*. 294 pp.
- Greene, John Robert. *The Presidency of Gerald R. Ford*. 256 pp.
- Hargreaves, Robert Allen. *The Presidency of John Quincy Adams*. 400 pp.
- Hoogenboom, Ali. *The Presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes*. 278 pp.
- Kaufman, Buron I. *The Presidency of James Earl Carter, Jr.*
- McCoy, Donald R. *The Presidency of Harry S. Truman*. 356 pp.
- McDonald, Forrest. *The Presidency of George Washington*. 210 pp.
- McDonald, Forrest. *The Presidency of Thomas Jefferson*. 204 pp.
- Pach, Chester J., Jr., and Elmo Richardson. *The Presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower*. 290 pp.
- Paludan, Phillip Shaw. *The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln*. 388 pp.
- Peterson, Norma Lois. *The Presidencies of William Henry Harrison and John Tyler*. 330 pp.
- Rutland, Robert Allen. *The Presidency of James Madison*. 234 pp.
- Smith, Elbert B. *The Presidency of James Buchanan*. 228 pp.
- Smith, Elbert B. *The Presidencies of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore*. 308 pp.
- Socolofsky, Homer E., and Allan B. Spetter. *The Presidency of Benjamin Harrison*. 268 pp.
- Trani, Eugene P., and David L. Wilson. *The Presidency of Warren G. Harding*. 232 pp.
- Welch, Richard E., Jr. *The Presidencies of Grover Cleveland*. 246 pp.
- Wilson, Major L. *The Presidency of Martin Van Buren*. 258 pp.
- McDonald, Forrest. 1994. *The American Presidency: An Intellectual History*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. 516 pp. Analyzes issues and controversies surrounding the executive office.
- McWilliams, Carey. 1995. *Politics of Disappointment: American Elections*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers. Provides insight and analysis into recent election trends and their implications.
- Matthews, Richard K. 1995. *If Men Were Angels: James Madison and the Heartless Empire of Reason*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. 300 pp. Considers Madison's consistent liberalism; a look at Madison's administration and its contributions to American political thought.
- Mayer. 1995. *In Pursuit of the White House: How We Choose*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers. Analyzes the presidential nominating process.
- Mondak, Jeffery J. 1995. *Nothing to Read: Newspapers and Elections in a Social Experiment*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan press. 186 pp. Compares information-gathering and voting behavior of residents in Pittsburgh and Cleveland during the 1992 campaign season.

- Nelson, W. Dale. 1995. *The President Is at Camp David*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press. 260 pp. Documents the people and activities of the secluded presidential camp, including a look at the camp and its lodges.
- The New Republic Guide to the Candidates, 1996*. 1996 (January). New York: BasicBooks. 240 pp. Analyzes the presidential contenders, including three to five essays on each major candidate.
- Pika, Joseph A., and Richard A. Watson. 1995. *The Presidential Contest*. Fifth Edition. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 215 pp. Examines the rules, traditions, and competitive conditions that govern the selection process and campaigning.
- Polsby and Wildavsky. 1995. *Presidential Elections*. Ninth Edition. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers. Examination of politicians' strategic choices and voter behavior in presidential elections.
- Quinn-Musgrove, Sandra L., and Sanford Kanter. 1995. *America's Royalty: All the Presidents' Children*. Revised and Expanded Edition. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. 304 pp. Provides information about America's first families.
- Ragsdale, Lyn. 1995. *Vital Statistics on the Presidency: Washington to Clinton*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 400 pp. Provides comprehensive datasets on U.S. presidents and the presidency; successor to *The Elusive Executive*.
- Renshon, Stanley A. 1996 (January). *The Psychological Assessment of Presidential Candidates*. New York: New York University Press. 400 pp. Accounts how character has become an increasingly important issue in presidential campaigns.
- Riccards, Michael P. 1995. *The Ferocious Engine of Democracy: A History of the American Presidency*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. *Volume One: From the Origins Through William McKinley*. 420 pp. *Volume Two: From Theodore Roosevelt through George Bush*. 480 pp. Comprehensive history and narrative on the American presidency and individual administrations.
- Riddlesperger, James W., Jr., and Donald W. Jackson, eds.. 1995. *Presidential Leadership and Civil Rights Policy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. 208 pp. Examines the role of presidential leadership in the development and implementation of civil rights policy.
- Roman, Peter J. 1996 (January). *Eisenhower and the Missile Gap*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 280 pp. Examines one of the most unstable periods in the Cold War, drawing from recently declassified archives.
- Rutland, Robert Allen. 1995. *The Democrats: From Jefferson to Clinton*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press. 296 pp. Historic account of how the Democratic party was founded and how it evolved. Examines forces in contemporary Democratic successes and defeats, as well as administrations.
- Ryan, Halford, ed. 1995. *U.S. Presidents as Orators: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. Systematic critique of twenty-one presidencies, focusing on the nexus of oratory and politics.
- Shackelford, George Green. 1995. *Thomas Jefferson's Travels in Europe, 1784-1789*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 240 pp. Describes and explores Jefferson's European journey.
- Thomas, Norman C., and Joseph A. Pika. 1996 (March). *The Politics of the Presidency*. Fourth Edition. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 500 pp. Focuses on how presidents govern in the country and in Washington. Includes analysis of the first two years of the Clinton administration.
- Thurber, James A., and Candice J. Nelson, eds. 1995. *Campaigns and Elections American Style*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 256 pp. Analyzes recent election outcomes and their implications.
- Thurber, James A. 1996 (January). *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 220 pp. Examines the causes of conflict and cooperation between the president and Congress both prior to and after the 1994 elections.
- Trent, Judith S., and Robert V. Friedenberg. 1995. *Political Campaign Communication: Principles and Practices*. Third Edition. Westport, CT: Praeger. Examines electoral politics through principles and practices of speech communication.
- Walcott, Charles E., and Karen M. Hult. 1995. *Governing the White House: From Hoover Through LBJ*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. 366 pp. A primer on the workings of the White House staff. Contends that White House staff influence presidential performance more significantly than previously acknowledged.
- Weko, Thomas J. 1995. *The Politicizing Presidency: The White House Personnel Office, 1948-1994*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press. 228 pp. Explains the enormous growth of presidential power since World War II.

Book Review

Hyland, Pat. *Presidential Libraries and Museums: An Illustrated Guide*. Washington: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1995. xii + 176 pp. \$39.95 cloth; \$29.95 paper.

The United States has no pyramids, no Palace of Versailles, and no Forbidden City. We have no monuments built by our ancient kings to celebrate their own glory unto eternity. As historian Daniel Boorstin once commented—in an aside about the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg—even our archeology is republican.

The great houses of the American Republic have been private ones. An older generation of these palaces aped (and plundered) the treasures of Europe: Hearst's San Simeon and Vanderbilt's Biltmore, for example. The more recent ones display a native penchant for overstatement, such as Elvis Presley's Graceland or the techo-tacky estate of software nabob Bill Gates.

Grand building by public leaders in this country has generally been done for ostensibly public purposes: libraries, public monuments, hospitals, universities, and other facilities meant to serve someone's idea of the common good. Even the excesses of American public building—Louisiana's Sunshine Bridge (which goes nowhere), the Rayburn House Office Building (Russell Baker said it would bring the Caesars to their knees in envy), or Denver's new airport—have tended to be other-regarding rather than self-regarding endeavors. The major exceptions to this rule, and the nation's answer to the pyramids, has been our presidential libraries.

Presidential libraries are run by the National Archives, but would fit almost as neatly in the mission of the National Park Service: each is part tourist attraction and part national resource. They represent a new trend in American culture: the leader erecting a public monument to himself and his tenure in office. Earlier presidents may have built impressive homes for themselves, from Mount Vernon to Monticello to the Hermitage, but these were the private expressions of individuals. Since Herbert Hoover, however, each of our chief executives has been able to build a memorial to himself for the ostensible purpose of housing the papers and records of his administration. Presidential libraries do perform their apparent historical purpose

well, but their self-regarding function is equally apparent to anyone who visits these establishments.

Pat Hyland's book on presidential libraries and museums surveys these American pyramids with an uncritical eye. Ms. Hyland gives the reader a brief tour of the twelve facilities in operation or under construction (the Bush library) and provides basic information about holdings, operating hours, addresses and phone numbers. There is also a brief history of the presidential library system and a brief bibliography on the system and the presidents in question. In all, the book offers a convenient starting point for anyone—tourist or researcher—who wishes to visit a presidential library.

Alas, the book is little more than a starting point. From the perspective of the tourist, the book does a good job of whetting one's appetite for seeing each library and/or museum, but little more. There is not enough information on each president or his library to educate the casual visitor.

From the perspective of the scholar, the value of the work is even more limited. Ms. Hyland tells the reader almost nothing about what is involved in using a presidential library for research. She offers no guidance on how to prepare for a research trip, the importance of contacting the library staff in advance, the working conditions and operating rules of the libraries, the problems of classified or protected materials, or even policies regarding copying of archival material. Anyone who hopes to find this kind of information will be disappointed, and would be well-advised to consult two helpful chapters by Martha Joynt Kumar and Larry Berman in the volume, *Studying the Presidency*, edited by George Edwards and Stephen Wayne (University of Tennessee Press, 1983).

These problems stem from what appear to be two fundamental flaws in Ms. Hyland's project. First, as noted above, the approach is essentially uncritical. In her Acknowledgements, she thanks all of America's presidents for their service (a decent and noble gesture). Then she concludes with the statement "They are heroes—every one!" (p. xii). This enthusiasm may reflect Ms. Hyland's sincere feelings, and for that she cannot be faulted, but the breathlessness of the statement is echoed throughout the book in the way that she discusses the libraries and the library system. Nowhere is there a mention of the controversies that arose over the expense of maintaining these megaliths. A few years ago, some wag lumped the libraries in with big presidential pensions and perqs as part of the "imperial former presidency." We can make a good case for treating well in their golden years the individuals who

served as chief executive, but paying for grandiose monuments is another thing entirely. A few years ago, Congress mandated that maintaining future libraries not become a burden on taxpayers, so recent former presidents must establish endowments to help pay for upkeep and operations of their edifices.

The second flaw in Ms. Hyland's book is that it tries to be two things at once. On one hand, it is a tourist guide. One imagines that the publisher anticipated this book being sold in the gift shop of each of the presidential libraries; that will probably occur. But the volume does not contain enough photographs to be an appealing souvenir book. On the other hand, it contains too little information to be a tool for scholars. To produce a book that would satisfy one audience would have made the project unattractive to the other.

Ms. Hyland is to be commended for her clear prose and good organization. She has produced a book that will engage many citizens who are likely to come across it in a reference room or presidential library gift shop. But they will want more from the book that it can give them.

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Book Review

Paul R. Abramson, John H. Aldrich, and David W. Rohde. *Change and Continuity in the 1992 Elections*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1995, pp. 376. \$23.95 paper. ISBN 0-87187-839-9.

Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde offer their fourth volume in a series of post-election analyses dating back to the 1980 presidential election. The 1992 election will certainly go down in history as one of the most surprising. A year before the general election the return of George Bush to the Oval Office seemed almost inevitable. Bush, the recipient of the highest public approval ratings of any president ever recorded, would be running against one of "six guys names Moe."¹ However, a weak economy, the volatile nature of the nominating environment, and the entrance of billionaire Ross Perot into the contest made for a riveting race for the nomination. This new edition from Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde provides an insightful analysis of the 1992 presidential election and how Arkansas

Governor Bill Clinton wrestled control of the Oval Office from the hands of George Bush. However, the unification of the legislative and executive branches under Democratic control for the first time since Jimmy Carter was president did not last long. The authors explore how the Republican party, in the wake of their defeat in 1992, led an electoral upheaval which returned to them control of the Senate for the first time in eight years and broke the electoral lock Democrats held on the House of Representatives for four decades.

Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde's examination of the recent volatile election cycles provides two important features not found in other post-election analyses.² First, *Change and Continuity in the 1992 Elections* looks at the results of each election in historical and theoretical context. Thus, not only do the authors provide an analysis of both Bill Clinton's win in 1992 and the Republican's congressional victories in 1994, but their book takes on a primer-like quality not found in the other post-election analyses. Those not familiar with either electoral politics or the literature dealing with it will find this feature very important. The second important attribute found in *Change and Continuity in the 1992 Elections* that is not found elsewhere is a more readable style. Although the authors divide the labor of writing, they are to be commended for their use of new communications technology in putting together a more unified "voice" which interprets the last presidential and congressional election cycle. However, to be fair, both the Nelson (1993) and Pomper (1993) compilations on the 1992 election were available two years before Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde's explanation of how Bill Clinton defeated George Bush and Ross Perot to capture the White House.

Change and Continuity in the 1992 Elections has a threefold purpose: (1) a chronological analysis of the 1992 presidential election contest and its results, (2) an examination of voter behavior in the 1992 presidential election, and (3) an appraisal of the 1992 and 1994 congressional election outcomes. First, the authors provide a solid analysis of both the Bush and Clinton nomination wins and Clinton's subsequent victory over Bush and Perot. In reaching these goals, the author's interpretation is well-grounded in both historical context and the literature on electoral politics. The authors' use of figures, tables, and electoral maps could be of great benefit as both an interpretive tool for the reader and as a ready-reference. Further, the authors supplement their traditional use of election results with more modern endeavors like the Gallup/USA Today/CNN tracking poll. In the second part of the book, the

authors employ the sociological, psychological, and rational choice approaches as complementary explanations in their examination of voter behavior in the 1992 presidential election. In their analysis, Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde make good use of the data collected in every one of the twenty-two National Election Studies conducted by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center and the Center for Political Studies. Finally, *Change and Continuity in the 1992 Elections* looks at the 1992 and 1994 congressional elections in an effort to understand how the Republicans were able to break the forty year electoral lock held by congressional Democrats on the House of Representatives.

Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde have once again produced a solid product, useful for both the student and scholar. In their effort at explaining the outcome of the two most recent elections, however, the authors missed an opportunity to revisit a question they previously addressed elsewhere.³ In understanding the outcomes of presidential nominations, many are now beginning to place greater emphasis on the "exhibition season" or the "early days" which occur before the Iowa caucus and New Hampshire primary. In today's nominating environment candidates must deal with structural, situational, contextual, and psychological influences on their decision to display progressive ambition (run for higher office) as opposed to static ambition (stay where they are). What impact did the decisions of many strong, popular candidates such as Lloyd Bentsen, Mario Cuomo, Richard Gephardt, Jesse Jackson, Sam Nunn, and Jay Rockefeller, to sit out the nomination contest have on the nomination and subsequent election of relative unknown Bill Clinton? In May of 1990, eighteen months before the general election, the Gallup organization asked Democratic respondents, which of the Democratic political leaders they would like to see nominated as the party's candidate for president in 1992? Bill Clinton failed to get even 1% of the response. Further, this is not an isolated phenomenon unique only to the circumstances of 1992. In 1996 some very strong candidates for the Republican nomination such as Jim Baker, Bill Bennett, Dick Cheney, Jack Kemp, and Dan Quayle decided not to make a bid for the Oval Office because of constraints on the modern nominating environment which make candidacy today more difficult than ever before.

In many respects *Change and Continuity in the 1992 Elections* is very similar to previous editions of *Change and Continuity*. The three primary goals along with the readable style and historical and theoretical

underpinnings are not new to Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde's work. However, a very different election demands new questions be answered and the authors do so. First, in their analysis of the 1992 election results, the authors look at two new questions. Has there been an electoral change in the post-war South? And, was there a Republican electoral advantage in the race for the White House? Second, the author's interpretation of voter behavior in Bill Clinton's campaign for the Oval Office includes an analysis of the impact of Ross Perot and those who voted for him. Further, Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde look at why voter turnout increased in 1992. Finally, *Change and Continuity in the 1992 Elections* seeks to explain how the Republicans captured both houses of Congress in their 1994 electoral maelstrom.

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¹ Quoted in Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde (1995: 17). *Newsweek*, Election Special, November/December 1992, 28.

² Nelson, Michael, Ed. 1993. *The Elections of 1992*. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, and Gerald M. Pomper. 1993. *The Election of 1992*. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House.

³ Abramson, Paul, John Aldrich, and David Rohde. 1987. "Progressive Ambition Among U.S. Senators: 1972-1988." *Journal of Politics* 49:3-35.

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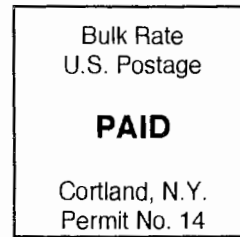
Applications deadlines: December 1, 1995. For more information, contact: Kay Sterling, Administrative Director, Congressional Fellowship Program, APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washinton, D.C. 20036

Hofstra Conference on the Bush Presidency

Hofstra University will host its tenth conference in its series on modern presidents with a three-day conference on the Presidency of George Bush on April 17-19, 1997. The conference will be held on Hofstra's campus in Hempstead, Long Island, New York. The format will include panels and presentations by scholars, journalists, and former and present government officials who served in the Bush Administration.

Papers are invited on topics dealing with the activities, policies, and the organization and operation of the Bush Administration. A prospectus or letter of intent is requested and may be mailed to Dr. William Levantrosser, Director, Conference on the Bush Presidency, Department of Political Science, 104 Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York 11550-1090, or faxed to 516-463-4793. For more information contact the Director at 516-463-5666 or by e-mail: PSCWFL@Hofstra.edu

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