

PRG REPORT



Newsletter of the Presidency Research Group

The American Political Science Association

Volume XVIII, number 2

Fall 1996

The Constitution and the Conduct of American Foreign Policy

David Gray Adler
Idaho State University

Few areas of the Constitution are so little understood as those provisions that govern the conduct of United States foreign policy. As Americans contemplate their country's role in the post-Cold War world, they may be persuaded by the Iran-Contra Affair and by recent military operations that have ranged from Grenada, Panama and Haiti to Iraq, Somalia and Bosnia to reexamine what is perhaps the most dangerous and pervasive of all constitutional myths—the myth that in foreign affairs, as Gerhard Casper has observed, “the president is Zeus.” Like this greatest of Olympian gods, whose power was supreme and whose behavior was beyond control, the president, according to this myth, may do whatever he wishes in the conduct of American foreign policy. This myth, relentlessly asserted over the past several decades, has poisoned the minds of the press and the public.

(continued on p. 10)

Chief Clerk's Report:

The Presidency Research Group and the Year Ahead

Martha Joynt Kumar

There are three threads dominating the work of the group during the past year and projected to do so in the year ahead. They are: the conduct of our organizational operations, the consideration of a special issue, and the creation of committees to deal with current and future issues.

1. Conducting Organizational Operations: Routine and Special Activities

The Presidency Component at the APSA Convention. We certainly had a successful conven-
(continued on p. 2)

Inside This Issue	<i>From the Editor</i>	2
	<i>Secretary/Treasurer's Annual Report</i>	4
	<i>Presidency Text Reviews</i>	8
	<i>In Memory of Patrick J. Fett</i>	12
	<i>New Books on on the Presidency 1996</i>	14
	<i>Neustadt Award Winners</i>	18
	<i>Book Review: Presidential War Powers</i>	19

From the Editor

Robert J. Spitzer

In this issue, the reader will find a variety of articles and items of interest. The lead article, by David G. Adler, summarizes the case for correcting misunderstood constitutional analysis of the role of the presidency in public affairs. A review essay by William D. Muller discusses some recent presidency texts, and there is a separate review of Louis Fisher's recent book. Several ads and shorter inserts underscore the multiplicity of activities involving presidency specialists these days. The *Report* also notes with sadness the recent passing of a young presidency scholar, Patrick Fett.

As is noted elsewhere in this edition, I will be stepping down as *Report* editor after the Spring 1997 issue. If you think you might have any interest in participating in the writing or production of this publication, or know of anyone whom might be interested, please contact me or PRG President Martha Joynt Kumar. I also wish to again acknowledge the invaluable contribution of Bill McCleary of the SUNY Cortland English Department, whose technical assistance makes the production of this publication possible.

* * *

In publishing news, Congressional Quarterly has published a new research guide for studying the presidency. *How to Research the Presidency* (1996; 134 pp.; \$19.95 paper) is prepared by Fenton S. Martin and Robert U. Goehlert, who have written other presidency-related guides and bibliographies. The book covers primary and secondary sources, research tools, and a selected presidents and the presidency bibliography. The guide is geared to a level amenable to undergraduate and graduate students, yet is also useful for presidency scholars (especially if the scholars are not well experienced in a particular research subfield). Martin and Goehlert have also produced a similar volume on congressional research, *How to Research Congress* (1996; 107 pp.; \$19.95 paper).

Chief Clerk's Report (cont. from p. 1)

tion. There were a record number of attendees in San Francisco and we saw them at our events. We had a good slice of panels with well attended paper presentations and roundtables. The presentations were solid and covered a broad terrain with topics representing an impressive range of subjects, time periods covered, and with a balanced blend of descriptive-prescriptive presentations. A successful program comes about, though, only through the hard work of its organizers. Special thanks go to Mary Stuckey for putting together the panels and to the panel chairs for making sure the people under their wings wrote the papers, distributed them, and the discussants received and read them.

Awards Committees. Thanks are in order as well to Paul Quirk, Russ Renka, and Larry Jacobs for chairing the awards committees for the best paper by a graduate student, the best paper, and for the best book on the presidency. David Cohen, a graduate student at the University of South Carolina, won the award for the Best Paper by a Graduate Student for his paper presented at the Midwest convention, "President Bush's Chiefs of Staff: Sununu and Skinner in the White House." The Best Paper award went to Bob Spitzer for his 1995 APSA paper, "It's My Constitution, and I'll Cry If I Want To": Constitutional Dialogue, Interpretation, and Whim in the Inherent Item Veto Dispute." The Neustadt Award for the Best Book on the Presidency was given to Karen Hult and Chuck Walcott for their 1995 book, **Governing The White House: From Hoover through LBJ**. In addition to making excellent decisions, the committees arrived at them in a timely way. In sum, convention events and the work leading up to them demonstrated the solid ground work done by those putting together the events.

PRG Report. At our recent convention, Bob Spitzer announced the coming year will be his last as the editor of our newsletter. During his tenure, the newsletter regularly provided us with information on upcoming conventions and programs, recent scholarship in our field including published books, articles, and convention papers, and gave us timely articles on topics interesting to our members. He brought a professional look and content to our publication, qualities we will strive to retain.

Programs Underway: Conference on the American Presidency and the White House Interview Program. Our most important activity for the 1996-1997 year is the conference we have been planning for over a year now. Titled "Presidential

Power: Forging the Presidency for the Twenty-First Century", the conference features ten paper presentations spread over a two day period. Each of the five panels will have a facilitator acting as a mentor for the young scholars on his or her panel as well as two discussants on each one. Over the course of the two days, in addition to the papers, those attending the conference will hear a luncheon talk by Richard Neustadt and a post dinner discussion session of reporters and officials featuring Bill Plante, CBS White House correspondent, and Presidential Press Secretary, Mike McCurry.

The White House Interview Program. The other item we worked on last year and will focus on again in the current one is our proposal presented in early January to the National Archives for the creation of a jointly run White House Interview Program. Both the letter to the National Archives and a copy of our proposal were printed in the Spring issue of **PRG Report**. The program calls for the Presidency Research Group to arrange for interviews with senior and middle level White House officials as they leave office and for the Archives to absorb the costs of interview transcription and subsequently making them available for scholarly use. I am currently explaining the program and its advantages to people at both the Archives and the White House. We now have a committee that will soon begin its work establishing tasks and priorities.

2. A Special Focus: Promoting the Interests of Young Scholars We want to make the presidency an attractive intellectual home for young scholars. We have taken, and, in the course of the coming year, will take the following steps to promote our junior members:

Presidency conference features junior scholars. Next month we will hold a conference on the American presidency featuring the work of ten junior presidency scholars. Senior scholars will serve as mentors on the five panels with the focus on the conference aimed at the work on our junior members. In addition to having young scholars as our presenters, the Presidency Research Group has given, as well as raised, funds to bring to New York other young scholars not on the program. We have raised sufficient funds to bring in eleven junior people. At the same time, the PRG has not ignored its more senior members as we are providing travel funds for discussants as well.

Encouraging convention participation: inclusion on panels and rewarding good scholarship. At our

PRG Officers

President

Martha J. Kumar, Towson State University

Vice President

Terry Sullivan, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Secretary-Treasurer

Karen Hult, Virginia Polytechnic Institute

Newsletter Editor

Robert J. Spitzer, SUNY Cortland

Governing Council

David Gray Adler, Idaho State University (95-98)
 Ryan Barilleaux, Miami University of Ohio (95-98)
 George C. Edwards III, Texas A & M (95-98)
 Michael Genovese, Loyola Marymount University (95-98)
 Lawrence Jacobs, University of Minnesota (94-97)
 Nancy Kassop, SUNY New Paltz (94-97)
 Janet Martin, Bowdoin College (94-97)
 Lyn Ragsdale, University of Arizona (96-99)
 Russell Renka, Southeast Missouri State University (94-97)
 Renee Smith, University of Rochester (96-99)
 Mary Stuckey, University of Mississippi (94-97)
 Raymond Tatalovich, Loyola University of Chicago (96-99)
 Shirley Anne Warshaw, Gettysburg College (95-98)
 Stephen J. Wayne, Georgetown University (96-99)
 M. Stephen Weatherford, University of California-Santa Barbara (96-99)

Graduate Student Board Member

Michael Link, University of South Carolina

1997 Program Section Chair

M. Stephen Weatherford, University of California-Santa Barbara

recent convention, Mary Stuckey, our program chair, gave special attention to including young scholars both as presenters and as discussants. This year we gave our first award for the Best Paper by a Graduate Student. Also at the convention, George Edwards announced

that his Center for Presidential Studies at Texas A&M will give an award for the best dissertation on the presidency.

Junior scholars meet publishers. In San Francisco, George Edwards organized a session where we brought together our junior members with editors and publishers specializing in publishing presidency scholarship. In the convention next fall, we will bring together a group of journal editors to let our junior members meet them and hear what editors seek in the manuscripts.

Service on committees. We are bringing our junior members into the leadership of our organization through committee service. We have included several as members on our awards committees and some are serving on our substantive committees as well.

3. The Coming Year: Tracking Existing Issues and Planning for Future Events. In the coming year we are solidifying our organization through the work we do in a series of substantive committees designed to tackle issues and tasks requiring our attention. Working through committees will suit both our current and future needs. After passing the proposal by the members of the board, I created the following four substantive committees. They are: Publications Committee, Committee on Funding Presidency Research, Presidential Libraries Committee, and Committee on the White House Interview Program. Upon hearing from some of you about their creation and taking all offers for service on the committees, I composed them with some loose operating guidelines and solicited the following people to serve on them. Except for the committee he heads, Terry Sullivan will serve in an ex officio capacity on the other committees.

The Publications Committee. Headed by George Edwards, the committee will explore the future publication of our newsletter, including the possibility of expanding it into several sections somewhat after the model of the newsletter published by the Legislative Studies Section. In addition, the members can explore putting convention papers online and consider what items might be made available through e-mail. The committee members include: Steve Shull, Renee Smith, and Mary Stuckey.

The Committee on Funding Presidency Research. Chaired by Janet Martin, it will explore how we can extract more dollars for presidency scholars from institutions such as the National Endowment for the Humanities. With the issue of funding as a back-

drop, this committee will consider where scholars get their money, who receives it, who lacks it, and what can be done to develop all segments of our field. In sum, the task of the committee involves reviewing the state of our research. Its members currently include: Lyn Ragsdale, Paul Light, and Steve Weatherford.

Presidential Libraries Committee. Headed by Terry Sullivan, the committee will keep current with the reorganization efforts at the National Archives as they effect the library system. This summer we made recommendations to the National Archives on their Strategic Directions plan designed to guide their operations into the next century. As always, we have a particular interest in presidential library operations and will continue following the organizational restructuring within the Archives. The members are: Sam Kernell, Katie Tenpas, Larry Berman, and John Maltese.

The White House Interview Program. I will chair the committee and continue my efforts moving forward our proposal to interview senior and middle level White House staff members. At this point, I am serving as its Sherpa within the White House and at the National Archives. In anticipation of the interviewing work ahead of us, I have put together a committee of scholars with experience interviewing White House staff members. The members include: Steve Hess, Shirley Warshaw, John Kessel, Michael Grossman, and Steve Wayne.

Awards Committees. Both last year and this, we had great success recruiting members to serve on our awards committees. This year, we put special attention towards recruiting junior members. These committees should prove a nice entry point for our younger members. Here they can get some experience working in the organization and meet scholars with shared interests. The Neustadt Committee for the Best Book on the Presidency has Karen Hult (one half of this year's winning team) as its chair and David Adler, Bat Sparrow, and Richard Ellis as its members. The committee created to find and acknowledge the Best Paper by a Graduate Student is chaired by Chuck Walcott (the other half of the winning Neustadt team) and has Michael Link, Mary Anne Borrelli, and Patricia Conley as its members. The final committee, the Best Paper on the Presidency, has Don Robinson as its chair and Joe Pika, Marissa Golden, and Ken Mayer as its members.

An Issue Currently Under Board Consideration: The Nomination and Election of Officers. Our officer positions are no longer honorifics. With substan-

tive responsibilities, the positions now attract many very talented and hard working people. Rather than continue with procedures geared towards impressing the unwilling, we now need to create a process that reflects our current needs and high level of member interest in serving.

Our procedure for the selection of officers and board members is a hybrid of established procedures governing the election and tacit understandings dominating the nomination process. With the election of several officials to take place at our next meeting and many months ahead to prepare for the event, now is an appropriate time to consider our leadership questions. In our work, we need to create procedures that encourage people to participate and provide all who want to serve with an equal opportunity to do so. It is time for the board, and ultimately our membership, to consider how we might routinize the process by which we select our officers and board members, most especially our nomination procedures. Using our board as a forum for such a discussion will fit in with the participatory procedures we have followed since the development of our listserv. When issues have surfaced, such as the consideration of our approach to positions to present to the National Archives, we have done so through board action over our e-mail system. Board members recently indicated interest in considering the nomination and election process and to do so through participation of the full board. As always, the membership will be kept current once the discussion is organized and underway.

Leadership Transition. Since this is my last year as an officer, I would like to do what I can to make the leadership transition a smooth one. Terry Sullivan, our vice-president, will take over next fall. He has been actively involved in all of the work we have undertaken the past few years, including this year providing us with an analyses of the Strategic Directions Initiative of the National Archives as well as being involved in the planing of the presidency conference and the creation of the White House Interview Program. Since he has played a key role in forming the active organization we have become, he can be counted upon to provide energetic leadership based on the participation of the membership. He will sit on all of our substantive committees as an ex officio member in order to keep current with their operations. With the leadership working together with the committees we now have, the organization will develop a firm and broad base in the coming years.

Secretary/Treasurer's Annual Report

Karen Hult

PRG continues to operate on a solid financial foundation with a steady membership base. Meanwhile, its activities have included discussion of a White House interview program and co-sponsorship and participation in the design and planning for a conference on the U.S. presidency in honor of the 35th anniversary of Richard's Neustadt's *Presidential Power*.

Secretary's Report

Membership in PRG has remained stable, with individual memberships numbering 416 (compared with 422 in 1994-95). In addition, there are roughly 25 institutional members, mostly libraries.

Although there are few evident problems with retaining members, the need persists to urge members to keep their memberships current and to try to attract new members, especially junior faculty and graduate students.

Terry Sullivan has continued to maintain and work to improve the on-line information services of the PRG. PRGNet (and PRGBoard for board members) have helped keep section members informed and facilitated their participation in ongoing PRG activities. Meanwhile, PRESIDENT has attracted a diverse array of requests for information about U.S. presidents.

Treasurer's Report

What follows summarizes PRG budgetary matters from 1 July 1994 through 30 June 1995. Similar, more detailed information is provided to the APSA every July as part of the Association's monitoring of organized sections.

Although PRG's expenditures for fiscal 1996 exceeded revenues by \$110.70, as of 1 July 1996 \$3182.20 remained in the account. Expenditures for the period were \$2071.70; the largest expense (\$632.74) was postage. At the same time, revenues totaled \$1961, with the largest source being approximately \$1500 in dues payments. Since July 1st, the APSA has deposited \$498 in dues and \$215.47 for mailing labels to the PRG account. Before the expenses associated with the annual meeting, the PRG had a balance of \$3895.67.

Minutes of the Annual Meeting

The annual membership meeting of the PRG was called to order at 12:40 p.m. on August 30, 1995 at the San Francisco Hilton. Martha Joynt Kumar, PRG President, presided.

Old business

The first order of business were the reports of the PRG's three prize committees. Professor Russell Renka presented the Founder's Award in honor of George C. Edwards III for the best paper on the presidency delivered at the 1995 APSA meeting. After thanking the other committee members (Kathy B. Smith and Jeffrey Tulis), Prof. Renka presented the award to Professor Robert J. Spitzer for his paper, "'It's My Constitution and I'll Cry If I Want To': Constitutional Dialogue, Interpretation, and Whim in the Inherent Item Veto Dispute." Prof. Renka indicated that the "paper very persuasively refutes the constitutional theory that a president has long possessed the power to veto parts of bills," and praised the paper's "theoretical importance, stylish writing, and forceful argumentation."

Professor Paul Quirk reported on the first Founder's Award for the best graduate student paper on the presidency that had been presented at the 1995 APSA or the regional political science meetings in 1995-96. This year, the award was in honor of Thomas E. Cronin. Prof. Quirk noted that with this Founder's Award the PRG seeks to encourage graduate students "to share the excitement of helping to unravel the many mysteries surrounding the presidency." On behalf of committee members James Pfiffner and Marcia Whicker, the award was given to David B. Cohen, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of South Carolina, for his paper, "Bush's Chiefs of Staff: Sununu and Skinner in the White House," delivered at the 1996 meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association. Prof. Quirk highlighted the paper's "rigorous theorizing" and "revealing case studies" and pronounced it, and the larger project from which it was drawn, "first-rate." Michael Link accepted the award for Mr. Cohen, who was unable to attend, and emphasized Mr. Cohen's honor and gratitude.

Thirdly, Professor Larry Jacobs spoke as chair of the Neustadt Committee and on behalf of committee members Ryan Barilleaux and Nancy Kassop. Prof. Jacobs presented the Neustadt Award for the Best Book on the Presidency published in 1995 to Professor Charles E. Walcott and Professor Karen M. Hult for their book *Governing the White House: From Hoover through LBJ*. The committee praised the book's combination of "origi-

nal research with theoretical innovation" and called it an "important contribution to scholarship in all areas of the presidency."

Secretary/Treasurer Karen Hult then reported briefly on the PRG's membership and financial situation. She noted that more detailed written information was available to interested members and would be presented as well in a forthcoming newsletter.

New business

Recommendations from the PRG Board were presented to the full membership for discussion and vote. First, Prof. Kumar reported the nominations of five new board members to replace those whose three-year terms expire in 1996: Lyn Ragsdale, Renee Smith, Raymond Tatalovich, Stephen Wayne, and M. Stephen Weatherford. After little discussion and no nominations from the floor, the nominations were approved.

Second, Prof. Kumar gave a brief summary of the reports of the award committee chairs on the necessity of formulating specific guidelines for granting each award. On the whole, more detailed guidelines were not deemed necessary, but some written criteria for eligibility of books and papers did seem desirable. The Board recommended the following addition to the PRG By-Laws:

ARTICLE IV. AWARDS

The PRG shall give such awards as it deems appropriate. Awards committees shall be named by the President, subject to the approval of the Steering Committee. Annual PRG Awards shall include the following:

Section 1. The Richard E. Neustadt Award for the Best Book on the Presidency. The criteria for the award shall include: a) the book so honored must have theoretical interest, and b) the award committee shall consider the broadest number of perspectives as possible in considering nominees. The book must also have a copyright date coinciding with the year of the award.

Section 2. The Founder's Award for Best Paper.

A Founder's Award, named in honor of the APSA members who formed the PRG in 1981, shall be given annually for the best paper on the presi-

dency/executives at the previous year's APSA conference. In addition, a separate Founder's Best Paper Award shall be presented to the best graduate student paper presented at either the national conference or one of the regional conferences. A different founder shall be recognized by name on an annual, rotating basis when each award is announced and presented.

After a brief discussion of the copyright dates referred to in Section 1, the amendment to the by-laws was approved.

Prof. Kumar proceeded to report on two ongoing PRG initiatives:

1) Neustadt Conference: The format will be five panels, each with two papers presented by junior scholars and more senior discussants. The PRG will provide two travel grants to junior applicants who wish to attend the conference.

2) White House Interview Program: Prof. Kumar is continuing to discuss with officials at the National Archives a program in which PRG members would interview White House staffers and the Archives would transcribe the interviews and make them available to researchers. Prof. Kumar also is carrying on discussions with officials in the Clinton White House to see if departing aides might be interviewed before they actually leave the White House. A PRG committee is being established to prepare for the interview project by drafting questions and discussing varying approaches.

After reminding participants about the next day's PRG-sponsored session with editors and publishers of books on the presidency, Prof. Kumar noted that a similar session, largely designed for more junior faculty, would be held next year with journal editors. Prof. Kumar reported on a change in Association handling of paper proposals for the 1997 meeting: all proposals are to be submitted to the APSA (*not* to section chairs) by November 15th. Professor Mary Stuckey, the 1996 Presidency section chair, stressed the importance of using the official proposal forms and noted that for the 1996 meeting she was able to accept about 40% of the 100 proposals she received; she also encouraged thinking about doing poster sessions and indicated that there were about 12 posters from the presidency section.

Attention turned next to presidential libraries. Professor George Edwards reported that the Bush Project would be open sometime in late 1997. He and Professor Terry Sullivan will be working on digitizing the entire

collection so that materials will be available electronically. Among the constraints on the project, however, are a small staff and a relatively low priority on making materials available to researchers.

Prof. Sullivan went on to report on possible implications of the new strategic plan that has been developed at the National Archives. Among the issues he is following is the effect of the Presidential Records Act on archivists' decision-making; after the fifth year after a president leaves office, for example, Freedom of Information Act requests begin to take priority. Second, Prof. Sullivan noted the continuing interest in consolidating or abolishing the presidential library system and in making it more difficult for presidents to create their own libraries. Ongoing PRG monitoring and efforts to advise the Archives are necessary.

Professor Robert Spitzer solicited materials for the PRG newsletter and noted relevant deadlines for submissions. This will be his final year as editor, and he encouraged those interested in taking over the editorship to contact him.

The meeting adjourned at 1:30 p.m.

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.

For more information, contact 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; or, 516-463-5666 or by e-mail: PSCWFL@Hofstra.edu

Presidency Text Reviews

- DiClerico, Robert E. *The American President*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 4th edition, 1995), 400 pp.
- Genovese, Michael A. *The Presidential Dilemma: Leadership in the American System*. (New York: Harper Collins, 1995), 157 pp.
- Koenig, Louis W. *The Chief Executive*. (New York: Harcourt Brace, 6th edition, 1996), 491 pp.
- Pious, Richard M. *The Presidency*. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1996), 523 pp.

Three of these books are recent comprehensive texts on the presidency (Koenig, DiClerico and Pious) while Genovese is a much more focused study. His volume would need a variety of supplements in a course on the presidency (or it could easily be used as a supplement in an American Politics course). All have a certain interest in what Genovese calls "the failure of leadership," reflecting some of the recent popular disenchantment with the entire Washington system. Genovese's six chapters (including a postscript on the 94 election) look at what he calls "failed leadership," with "an effort to understand and explain the failure of the American presidency to meet the needs, expectations, and responsibilities placed upon leaders in the past quarter century." (Genovese, p. ix). Genovese draws heavily on the work of David Mayhew and Richard Neustadt in trying to explain (the failure of) presidential leadership and he argues that: "Presidents, facing a system of multiple veto points, seek to maximize power and influence." (Genovese, p. ix). Rather than blaming individuals for the weakness of the presidency, he argues the Founding Fathers "created—by design—an 'anti-leadership' system of government." (Genovese, p. 28) But he is careful to argue in Chapter 3 that a president can follow certain strategies to enhance the position which the checks and balances puts him in: "Presidents, to be effective leaders in a democratic system, must bring Hamiltonian energy, to a Madisonian system, for Jeffersonian ends. . . . For a leader to be effective, he needs the vision of John Kennedy, the political skills of Lyndon Johnson, the strategic insight of Richard Nixon, the genuineness of Gerald Ford, the character of Jimmy Carter, the charisma of Ronald Reagan, the experience of George

Bush and the interpersonal skills (& wife) of Bill Clinton." (p. 163). But then he spoils the prescription by reference to the need to have, what Machiavelli called, FORTUNA, on our side. (Ibid.) Genovese is not overly concerned with institutional matters in his short work and fails to have any reference to some of the attributes which can contribute to presidential leadership and power, including the budget process or the veto (and now the line item veto).

Genovese's focus on abstract leadership fails to take into account the question of popular reaction. Perhaps the problem is not the fault of the president, but of the American people. Many of the leadership problems in American politics derive from the simple fact that, as a people, we have no strong consensus on where we want to go or what we want to do. If one believes in democracy, there are real problems with Genovese's theory of Presidents seeking "to maximize power and influence." (Genovese, pp. ix, 110) While the Genovese volume is the most coherent and integrated of the four because of its size and focus on leadership, the addition of a final chapter on the impact of the 1994 election gives the book a curiously dated sound.

Reflecting the same concern for leadership, Koenig, for example, includes suggestions at the end of numerous chapters on how to make the president more effective (e.g. Koenig, Ch. 8, pp. 206-210), DiClerico devotes his next to final chapter (DiClerico, Ch. 10, pp. 335-366) to the question of reform and Pious discusses a number of specific reforms in his final chapter (Pious, Ch. 16, pp. 475-496). While the skills of particular presidents are important, it is important not to forget the institutional context within which they are to be exercised and the external context. Because of their greater length, the three comprehensive texts are able to lay out the institutional context which help to define the presidency and provide both the limitations and opportunities on what the president might be able to do.

The three full length texts are interesting both for what they include and what they leave out. Koenig, as befitting a book first published in 1964, is the most historical. For example, its illustrative case studies include both Adams (Koenig, pp. 36-38, 131-133) and James Garfield (pp. 80-82). DiClerico is the least historical in his overall treatment of the office. Both DiClerico (Ch. 9) and Koenig (Ch. 13) have included chapters on presidential personality while Pious does not.

All four books reflect the continuing strong

influence of Clinton Rossiter's pioneering work on presidential roles and even partially organize their texts that way. The three also reflect the more recent Richard Rose typology which distinguishes between a traditional, a modern and a post modern presidency (Genovese, pp. 52-53; Koenig, pp. 2-3; Pious, pp. 48-80)

The other three volumes reflect the particular organizational biases of their authors. All three deal initially with the creation of the office of president, its evolution and the whole question of recruitment. But then they diverge. Pious throws in a chapter on presidential prerogative early on and DiClerico takes up the topic of foreign policy immediately after nomination and election (a topic which Pious and Koenig put toward the end). All three include chapters on the presidency and public opinion, but Pious is the only author to include a chapter on the presidency and the courts, while only DiClerico feels the vice presidency deserve special attention. Pious and Koenig each include several chapters which deal with presidential

involvement with various areas of domestic policy, while DiClerico include some of this in a case study chapter.

Of the four, DiClerico is the most academic and has the least explicitly normative coverage. It especially shows in what he calls the "Difficulties in Studying the Presidency" (pp. xii-xv). Koenig, Genovese, and Pious, on the other hand, are all explicitly arguing for a more effective presidency and, especially in the case of Genovese, seek to identify why the president has not been an effective leader. In pushing the agenda for change, Koenig includes a final chapter on comparison with parliamentary systems (Epilogue) and Pious discusses some of the possible reforms which have been advocated since the time of Woodrow Wilson (Ch. 16).

William D. Muller
Professor of Political Science
SUNY Fredonia

Announcing a Conference on:

"THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY: AN INSTITUTION UNDER ATTACK"

**sponsored by Columbia University and
the Presidency Research Group**

November 15-16, 1996

With the 35th anniversary of the publication of Richard E. Neustadt's *Presidential Power* as the backdrop, junior and senior scholars will come together at Columbia University, New York City, to analyze and discuss five key topics central to the study of the modern presidency: The Personalization of Power, Organizing the Presidency, Presidents as Persuaders, The President in the Political System, and The Potential for Leadership. For more information, contact Martha Kumar, Towson State University; Lawrence Jacobs, University of Minnesota; Bert Rockman, University of Pittsburgh; or Terry Sullivan, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

The Constitution and the Conduct of American Foreign Policy (cont. from p. 1)

The constitutional design for foreign affairs has been all but buried by an avalanche of newly-contrived, self-serving executive branch missives that adduce an untenable theory of presidential monopoly of foreign relations powers. Over the past half-century, Democratic and Republican presidents from Harry S. Truman to William Jefferson Clinton have laid claim to sweeping executive powers in an unrelenting assault on the constitutional norms that govern American foreign policy.

For most Americans who have matured politically since the Second World War, presidential dominance in foreign affairs has become a commonplace. This pervasive understanding rests on familiar, if flimsy, scaffolding. If one shines a lamp on the constitutional argument for unilateral presidential control, it goes something like this. The framers of the Constitution gave the president a unique role in foreign affairs. His authority to define, manage and conduct the nation's foreign relations is unfettered. As the "sole organ" of American national policy, he alone is responsible for the nation's security. Thus congressional interference in this area is invidious. Indeed, any attempt by Congress to legislate in the realm of international relations violates the separation of powers doctrine. To fulfill this broad responsibility, the president is vested with certain "inherent powers" and all of the executive power of the nation. Accordingly, the president may, at his pleasure, unilaterally grant and withdraw recognition of foreign governments and countries,

negotiate executive agreements without congressional approval, order covert activities of a peaceful or violent nature, withhold any or all information regarding foreign affairs from Congress and the American people, and raise and spend funds in defiance of congressional restraints. Moreover, he is commander in chief of the armed forces, a post which carries with it the authority to do anything, anywhere, that can be done with military force, including the initiation of war. Apparently, he also possesses authority to violate the law.

This extravagance, exposed in *The Constitution and the Conduct of American Foreign Policy*, which Larry N. George and I have edited, and published with the University Press of Kansas, has served to obscure the architectural blueprint of the Framers, for whom the concept of presidential unilateralism in foreign affairs was intolerable. The Constitution assigns to Congress senior status in a partnership with the president for the purpose of conducting foreign policy. Article I vests in Congress broad, explicit, and exclusive powers to regulate foreign commerce, raise and maintain military forces, grant letters of marque and reprisal, provide for the common defense, and to initiate all hostilities on behalf of the United States, including full-blown war. As Article II indicates, the president shares with the Senate the treaty-making power and the authority to appoint ambassadors. The Constitution exclusively assigns only two foreign affairs powers to the president. He is designated commander in chief of the nation's armed forces, although, as our book demonstrates, he acts in this capacity by and under the authority

of Congress. The president also has the power to receive ambassadors, but the Framers viewed this as a routine, administrative function, devoid of discretionary authority. This list exhausts the textual grant of authority to the president with respect to foreign affairs jurisdiction. The president's constitutional powers pale in comparison to those of Congress.

The Framers' studied decision to vest the bulk of foreign policy powers in Congress marked a deliberate and dramatic departure from the practice in England which, like other nations, concentrated virtually untrammelled authority in the hands of the executive. Placed in its historical context, then, the Convention's decision to break from the prevailing foreign policymaking practices of other governments at the time was simply stunning. It is explicable, perhaps, only in terms of the Framers' intellectual orientation, their understanding of history, and their own practical experiences. The effective control and management of foreign policy and the use of armed force was, of course, a primary goal and animating purpose of the Constitutional Convention. Indeed, given the widespread ramifications of foreign relations, "nothing," as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. has written, "was more crucial for the new nation than the successful conduct of its external relations."

The difficult search for an efficient foreign policy design was compounded by the Framers' heightened fear of the abuse of power. The Framers were steeped in English history and they well knew that "the management of foreign relations," as Madison stated, "appears to be the most

susceptible of abuse of all trusts committed to a Government." War, alone, could plunder the nation's treasury, ravage its society and, of course, destroy its very lifeblood. The Framers contemplated the possibility and consequences of treasonous acts, realized that fortunes were to be made in the dark and secretive world of espionage, and feared the loss of liberty at home that could result from danger, real or pretended, from abroad. They were also greatly influenced by the constitutional crises and political convulsions of the seventeenth century English Civil Wars. The absolutist claims of the Stuart Kings and the abuse of authority by manipulative ministers had hardened their view toward the executive. The pervasive fear of unbridled power, and the specter of an embryonic Monarchy, precluded presidential control of foreign policy.

The pervasive fear of a powerful executive, particularly a president who might wield unilateral authority in an area so sensitive and critical as that of foreign relations, was reinforced by the republican ideology that permeated the Convention. The Framers' attachment to collective judgement and their decision to create a structure of shared power in foreign affairs provided, in the words of James Wilson, "a security to the people," for it was a cardinal principle of republicanism that the conjoined wisdom of the many is superior to that of one. The emphasis on collective decisionmaking came at the expense of unilateral presidential authority, of course, but that consequence was of little moment, given the overriding aversion to unrestrained executive power.

The conjunction of these historical, philosophical, and experiential influences compelled the Convention to reject the model of executive control over foreign affairs prevailing in the rest of the world, in favor of collective decisionmaking. The Framers' scheme brought Congress center stage in the foreign policy process and required institutional integrity, restraint and forbearance on the part of both branches. In the past fifty years, however, this blueprint has been overshadowed by a mushrooming cloud of unilateral presidential actions in contravention of the Constitution, actions which exhibit appalling arrogance of power and an utter contempt for the rule of law in the conduct of foreign affairs.

Our book represents a direct response to the extravagant claims to executive power that have emanated from the White House in recent decades. The thesis of the book is simple: unilateral presidential control of United States foreign relations poses a grave threat to our democratic society and is without constitutional warrant. This book provides a detailed and comprehensive analysis of how the Constitution governs the conduct of American foreign policy. In addition to our own contributions, we have solicited a foreword from Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and essays from Louis Fisher, Donald L. Robinson, Robert J. Spitzer, Harold Hongju Koh, Dean Alfange, Jr., Gerhard Casper, Edward Keynes and Daniel N. Hoffman. The book examines, among other subjects, the war power, the War Powers Resolution, the Persian Gulf War, presidential prerogative, the recognition power, executive agreements, executive secrecy, the role of the judiciary in foreign

affairs, and the power of Congress to assert its spending authority as an instrument of foreign policy. The historical record of American foreign policy is also important to the themes of this book. Specific chapters analyze the Quasi-War with France in 1798, Thomas Jefferson's actions in the Barbary Wars of the early 19th century, and Harry Truman's presidential war in Korea. As our authors demonstrate, these historical incidents do not constitute "precedents" for unilateral warmaking.

Our authors share several fundamental assumptions and understandings that define this collection of essays. These include, above all, a recognition that constitutional arrangements and democratic values should govern the conduct of foreign policy, and a belief that the very marrow of constitutionalism consists of the subordination of the president to the rule of law. As a consequence, they are deeply critical of the post-war pattern of presidential usurpation of congressional powers. They embrace the Constitution's emphasis on collective decisionmaking in foreign affairs, which focuses the spotlight on Congress, while remaining keenly disappointed in the unwillingness of Congress to properly assert its constitutional powers and responsibilities. There remains, nevertheless, a deep and abiding belief in Congress as a national forum for discussion and debate. The contributors to this volume also agree that policy arguments cannot be permitted to supersede constitutional allocations of power. At all events, the Constitution, properly understood and interpreted, does not sanction presidential domination of America's international affairs.

Two appendixes round out the volume. The first consists of the principal essays in the *Federalist* papers (including the often neglected No. 69) that address the issue of the constitutional governance of American foreign policy. A firsthand examination of the Framers' reasoning will demonstrate their concern to sharply limit the role of the president in foreign affairs. The second gathers excerpts

from the chief foreign affairs cases, judicial decisions that are central to an understanding of the contours of discussion in the academy, in the public realm, and in governmental departments. Instructors and readers alike will perhaps appreciate the convenience of this collection of key *Federalist* essays and judicial opinions within the covers of one book.

traveling in Italy for some time before returning to Iowa to finish his collegiate career. He received bachelor's degrees in Political Science and Journalism from the University of Iowa in 1983. Before graduation, he had thought seriously of pursuing a career in journalism, but instead entered the graduate program in Political Science at the University of Rochester. While at Rochester, he won the Department of Political Science Undergraduate Teaching Award in 1985, and was a Harold Gosnell Fellow in 1986-1987. He received his M.A. in 1987 and in 1988 packed up for Nashville and an assistant professorship at Vanderbilt. While at Vanderbilt, he finished his dissertation and was awarded the Ph.D. from Rochester in 1990. He left Vanderbilt in 1993 for the University of Memphis, where he was to be a candidate for tenure this past Fall.

Pat's dissertation, entitled "Presidential Influence and Legislator's Voting Decisions on the President's Legislative Agenda," was an innovative, detailed, and data-rich exploration of the influence of presidential legislative priorities on legislators' voting decisions. The main innovation was his development of a method for determining how members of Congress normally vote absent presidential influence, which formed a baseline from which he was able to determine the extent of a president's impact on how legislators' vote. The data set included all presidential mentions of legislative priorities and the first year success record of Presidents Carter and Reagan. In later work, he supplemented this data set with personal interviews of members of Congress, made possible by a summer spent in Washington, D.C.

Patrick J. Fett

Patrick J. Fett died of brain cancer this past summer in Memphis, Tennessee. Among friends too numerous to mention, he left behind his parents (Don and Fran), brothers Wayne and Michael, his sister Jane, a sister-in-law Sue, and nieces Erin and Courtney.

I met Pat Fett on a hot summer day in August, 1989. I had just begun graduate studies at Vanderbilt University, and walked past his office on the fourth floor of Calhoun Hall. He was 30

years old at the time and was beginning his second year on the faculty. His door was open, but I knocked anyway. At first, I thought that perhaps another graduate student was temporarily doing some research for him because the person sitting behind the desk certainly did not resemble any other professor I had ever known. Behind the desk sat a man dressed in a tie-dyed t-shirt, shorts, sandals on his feet, and sporting long blonde hair and John Lennon glasses. For some reason, I remember asking hesitantly, still not believing he was a professor, "Are you Professor Fett?" He smiled as if he had heard those words uttered in disbelief before, assured me that yes, he was Pat Fett, and asked me in to talk. Common intellectual interests

(American political institutions) provided the in-road into conversations about common life experiences (Midwestern roots, Catholic upbringing) and personal interests (music and baseball). With that inauspicious beginning began one of the finest professional collaborative relationships and, more importantly, personal friendships I have known.

Patrick Joseph Fett was born on February 15, 1959, in Waukegan, Illinois, and spent his childhood in Iowa City, Iowa. He developed intellectual interests early, eagerly consuming novels and short stories. Graduating from high school in 1977, he attended Southeast Missouri State University where he was a catcher on the university baseball team. After a semester at SEMO, he returned to Iowa City in the Winter of 1978, attending the University of Iowa. As with everything in life, he took full advantage of opportunities presented him, studying and

via a Dirksen Congressional Center Grant. This phase of his research, published in the *Western Political Quarterly* (1992), showed that first year presidents do not tend to be strategic in their interaction with Congress, pursuing instead their sincere preferences. In addition, legislators' voting decisions are influenced not so much by

personal contact from the president, but by the individual legislator's perception of the importance of a particular issue to the President. Using the number of presidential mentions as his main explanatory variable, supplemented by interviews confirming his impressions, Pat was able to make an important contribution to our understanding of presidential-congressional relations.

Pat's work remained focused on this area, but was by no means limited to it. He published papers on presidential-congressional relations in the *Journal of Politics* (1994) and *Southeastern Political Review* (1994), and has one forthcoming in *Congress and the Presidency*. His other published work related to the legislative process, including pieces on the swing ratio (*Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 1986), and term limits (*PS: Political Science and Politics*, 1993). His work continued to illuminate old questions and raise new ones, and he pursued topics such as absenteeism as an alternative to voting against the president and legislative signaling between Congress and the president. He was also engaged in ongoing research, both collaborative and solo, on issues related to party-switchers, term limits, institutional stability, presidential lobbying of Congress, applied social choice, and legislative deinstitutionalization. He was a co-

winner of the Pi Sigma Alpha Award for the Best Paper Presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Meeting. Finally, his talents were not limited to American politics as his forthcoming article on revolutions in the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* attests.

Although the discipline lost a very promising and careful scholar, those of us who knew Pat will suffer the personal loss most severely. While almost everyone has friends, Pat had more close, personal friends than any person I know. His warmth and generosity cannot be exaggerated. My own personal memories are full of images of him paying for meals, volunteering a large portion of his time working at soup kitchens for the homeless, pulling alongside the road on the interstate to lead a stray dog to safety, and caring for his own dog. Also in my permanent memory are arguments that can only erupt between a Chicago Cubs fan (Pat) and a St. Louis Cardinals fan (me); images of him diving over rows of seats in pursuit of a foul ball at a Nashville Sounds baseball game, nachos and cheese flying; trips that more than doubled in time because of Pat's insatiable desire to explore back roads and mom-and-pop diners; helping him build a fence one hot August day, only to have the city tear it out the next week; having him organize everyone for evenings of country music at Nashville's most legendary clubs; spur-of-the-moment trips to his favorite catfish restaurant some 40 miles outside Nashville; and so many more that to list them would take more space than I am allotted. My memories could be matched by others, from his Rochester cohort to his colleagues and graduate students, both at Vanderbilt and Memphis, on whom

he had a profound impact. Our pain is slightly eased by the fact that he lives in our memories and conversations about the supply of seemingly endless anecdotes he left us.

Pat was diagnosed with a brain tumor in May, 1992. At that time, the prognosis was very bleak indeed. He was not supposed to live until Christmas. Pat's courage led him to reject the doctor's verdict, and he flew to San Francisco to have surgery. To the doctors' amazement, he was given a clean bill of health in 1993. He taught and continued to produce high-quality research until June, 1996. In June, he suffered a relapse. Still, he had planned to attend the American Political Science Association meetings in San Francisco, where he was to be a participant on an International Relations panel. I had the tremendous privilege to be with him in mid-August, and even then he was looking forward to the future. He mentioned that perhaps he would return to research soon and then to teaching in a year or so. It is to our unending sorrow that this did not occur. Pat Fett died Sunday, September 1, 1996, in Memphis. He was 37 years old.

No one who knew Pat could fail to be touched by his generosity, genuine concern for people and animals, and enormous courage. The discipline has lost a valued member of its community. We will know less about politics than if he had lived. More tragically, his friends and family have lost a loved one. We will know less about life and how to live it in his absence.

Daniel Ponder
University of Colorado-Colorado Springs

New Books on the Presidency 1996

Annotated Bibliography

Todd Patterson

- Adler, David Gray, and Larry N. George, eds. 1996. *The Constitution and the Conduct of American Foreign Policy*. Foreword by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas. 396 pp. A compilation of chapters on shared powers in foreign policy.
- Andrew, Christopher. 1996. *For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush*. New York: BasicBooks. 688 pp. Examines how presidents have used or misused secret intelligence.
- Bernstein, Irving. 1996. *Guns or Butter: The Presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson*. New York: Oxford University Press. 656 pp. Examines Johnson's domestic policies throughout his administration.
- Best, Judith A. 1996. *The Choice of the People? Debating the Electoral College*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. 163 pp. The arguments over the electoral college, and selected documents.
- Biskupic, Joan, and Elder Witt. 1996. *The Supreme Court and the Powers of the American Government*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 370 pp. Perspectives on how the Supreme Court affects and is affected by other branches of government.
- Brookhiser, Richard. 1997 (February). *Founding Father: Rediscovering George Washington*. New York: The Free Press. 240 pp. Chronicle of Washington's quarter-century career in public life.
- Buckley, Christopher. 1996. *The White House Mess*. New York: Penguin. 320 pp. A satirical look at the presidency.
- Campbell, Colin, and Bert Rockman. 1996. *The Clinton Presidency*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House. Leading students of politics offer insights into the first two years of the Clinton administration.
- Cheney, Richard, and Lynne V. Cheney. 1996. *Kings of the Hill: How Nine Powerful Men Changed the Course of American History*. New York: Touchstone. 272 pp. Analysis of powerful House leaders through history. Chronicles the balance of power through history, examining how power affects congressional politics, as well as strength of the presidency.
- Clarke, Jeanne Nienaber. 1996. *Roosevelt's Warrior: Harold L. Ickes and the New Deal*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. 423 pp. Examines the internal bureaucracy of Roosevelt's administration, providing insight into the public career of his "liberal lightning rod."
- Cook, Brian J. 1996. *Bureaucracy and Self-Government: Reconsidering the Role of Public Administration in American Politics*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. 192 pp. By examining key conflicts in American political development, from the debates of 1789 through the Jacksonian era and confrontations of the New Deal, shows how views of public administration have been in constant tension.
- CQ's Guide to Current American Government. 1996. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 150 pp. Guide to American government, including a section on the 1996 presidential race.
- Dallek, Robert. 1995. *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press. 688 pp. Examines Roosevelt's foreign policy strategy and tactics.
- Denton, Robert E., Jr., and Rachel L. Holloway, eds. 1996. *The Clinton Presidency: Images, Issues, and Communication Strategies*. Westport, CT: Greenwood. 288 pp. Examines the Clinton administration from a communication perspective.
- Dickinson, Matthew J. 1996. *Bitter Harvest: FDR, Presidential Power and the Growth of the Presidential Branch*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 320 pp. Analyzes Roosevelt's bureaucratic organization, arguing modern presidencies could learn much from his small, personally managed administration.
- Epstein, Lee, and Thomas G. Walker. 1996. *Constitutional Law for a Changing America: A Short Course*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 800 pp. Short course that contains excerpts of important constitutional cases, spanning institutional powers and civil liberties and rights.
- Freedman, Samuel G. 1996. *The Inheritance: How Three Families and America Moved from Roosevelt to Reagan and Beyond*. New York: Simon & Schuster. 464 pp. A story of American politics through several generations.
- Galambos, Louis, and Daun vanEe, eds. 1996. *The Papers of Dwight David Eisenhower: Volumes XIV-*

- XVII: The Presidency - The Middle Way*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. 3,040 pp, 4 vols. Covering Eisenhower's first term in office, broadens understanding of the administration and his role in creating the modern presidency.
- Gardner, Howard. 1996. *Leading Minds: An Anatomy of Leadership*. New York: BasicBooks. 416 pp. Through portraits of leaders, elaborates on a plausible type of leadership and identifies core characteristics of leaders.
- Gates, Robert M. 1996. *From the Shadows: The Ultimate Insider's Story of Five Presidents and How They Won the Cold War*. New York: Simon & Schuster. 608 pp. Personal memoirs recount various presidential activities that led to the demise of communism and an end to the Cold War.
- Gerhardt, Michael J. 1996. *The Federal Impeachment Process: A Constitutional and Historical Analysis*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 280 pp. Analyzes the impeachment process since Watergate, arguing it is an effective process with special non-reviewable power confined solely to Congress.
- Gimpel, James. 1996. *National Elections and the Autonomy of American State Party Systems*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 256 pp. Using the theory of candidate-centered politics, explains why party factionalism has persisted in the United States. Contends that major upheavals in presidential voting may leave lower offices untouched.
- Goldstein, Michael L. 1995. *Guide to the 1996 Presidential Elections*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 93 pp. Primer on how presidents are chosen, including primary/caucus races, conventions, and the campaign.
- Graber, Doris A. 1996. *Mass Media and American Politics*. Fifth Edition. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 430 pp. Reflects on recent changes in mass media and their impact on politics, including analysis of struggle for control of information between the president and the media.
- Hacker, Jacob. 1997 (January). *The Road to Nowhere: The Genesis of President Clinton's Plan for Health Security*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 248 pp. Analyzes Clinton's health care reform policies within the context of current political theories on agenda setting.
- Hacker, Kenneth L., ed. 1995. *Candidate Images in Presidential Elections*. Westport, CT: Praeger. 224 pp. Adds to candidate image constructs provided by Nimmo and Savage in their 1977 publication, *Candidates and Their Images*.
- 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.
- Just, Marion R., et al. 1996. *Crosstalk: Citizens, Candidates, and the Media in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 308 pp. Focusing on the 1992 presidential campaign, looks at how citizens use information to make decisions and how politicians and media interact to shape that portrait.
- Kernell, Samuel. 1997 (February). *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*. Third Edition. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 265 pp. Examines the increasingly frequent practice of presidents to gain public support over Congress.
- King, Anthony. 1997 (January): *Running Scared: The History of Campaigning Over Governing in America*. New York: The Free Press. 256 pp. Analysis of political campaigning in America.
- Knott, Stephen F. 1996. *Secret and Sanctioned: Covert Operations and the American Presidency*. New York: Oxford University Press. 272 pp. Provides a history of covert operations throughout the United States' history, examining how presidents have relied upon clandestine activities.
- Langston, Thomas S. 1996. *With Reverence and Contempt: How Americans Think about Their President*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. 192 pp. Provides the thesis that the presidency is shrouded in myths that carry destructive consequences.
- Lawrence, David G. 1996. *The Collapse of the Democratic Presidential Majority: Realignment, Dealignment, and Electoral Change from Franklin Roosevelt to Bill Clinton*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 240 pp. Combines analysis of presidential elections since World War II with theories of electoral change. Examines how Reagan bridged the re- and dealignment eras and how Clinton was elected despite the postwar trend.
- Lemert, James, et al. 1996. *The Politics of Disenchantment: Bush, Clinton, Perot and the Press*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, Inc. 384 pp. Accounting for both scholarly and media writings about the 1992 campaign, analyzes the election from several perspectives.
- Levy, Peter B. 1996. *Encyclopedia of the Reagan-Bush Years*. Westport, CT: Greenwood. 464 pp. Encyclopedic volume on the Reagan and Bush

- administrations, organized A to Z with over 250 entries on key personalities, issues and events.
- Longley, Lawrence D., and Neal R. Peirce. 1996. *The Electoral College Primer*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 256 pp. Explains the creation and evolution of the electoral college.
- Maraniss, David. 1995. *First in His Class: A Biography of Bill Clinton*. New York: Touchstone. 514 pp. Exploration of Clinton's life and political career.
- Matalin, Mary, and James Carville. 1996. *All's Fair: Love, War, and Running for President*. New York: Touchstone. 528 pp. Insider look at the Bush and Clinton campaigns during the 1992 race.
- Matthews, Christopher. 1996. *Kennedy and Nixon: The Rivalry That Shaped America*. New York: Simon & Schuster. 416 pp. An analysis of Kennedy's and Nixon's relationship and their political dealings.
- Menendez, Albert J. 1996. *The Perot Voters and the Future of American Politics*. Prometheus Books. 309 pp. Using county and select precinct and exit polls, examines the widespread appeal of Perot in the 1992 presidential elections.
- Miller, Warren E., and J. Merrill Shanks. 1996. *The New American Voter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 640 pp. Analyzes voting patterns from 1952 through the early 1990s, with special emphasis on the 1992 election.
- Moise, Edwin E. 1996. *Tonkin Gulf and the Escalation of the Vietnam War*. Raleigh: University of North Carolina Press. 400 pp. Analyzes the Tonkin Gulf incident, concluding the attack was a mistake rather than a concoction to escalate the war. Largely follows Johnson's role in events.
- Morreale, Joanne. 1996. *The Presidential Campaign Film: A Critical History*. 224 pp. Studies presidential image construction and cultural responses to the impact of image over substance.
- Nelson, Michael, ed. 1997 (March). *The Elections of 1996*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 200 pp. Analyzing the 1996 elections, essays capturing the tone and substance of voters decisions.
- The New Republic Guide to the Candidates, 1996*. 1996. New York: BasicBooks. 240 pp. Analyzes the presidential contenders, including three to five essays on each major candidate.
- Pomper, Gerald. 1996. *The Election of 1996*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House. Commentary on the 1996 elections, including insights on media, finance, public opinion, and the election.
- Renshon, Stanley A. 1996. *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.
- Roman, Peter J. 1996. *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.
- Schantz, Harvey L., ed. 1996. *American Presidential Elections: Process, Policy, and Political Change*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 258 pp. Analyzes presidential elections throughout American history, studies the 1992 presidential election in detail, and examines the impact of presidential elections on the country's political system.
- Steinberg, Blema S. 1996. *Shame and Humiliation: Presidential Decision-Making on Vietnam*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 322 pp. Considers an individual's personality, among other personal traits, as a factor in decision making processes.
- Stuckey, Mary. 1996. *The Best Laid Plans...Strategic Failures in the Modern Presidency*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, Inc. 272 pp. Argues the communicative failures of Clinton, as well as other modern presidents, occurred at the intersection of the individual with the institutional expectations of the presidency.
- Swanson, David L., and Paolo Mancini, eds. 1996. *Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy: An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences*. Westport, CT: Praeger. 296 pp. Analyzes the current state of electoral politics around the world and the effect modern politics is having on various countries.
- Thomas, Norman C., and Joseph A. Pika. 1996. *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.
- Thompson, Jake H. 1996. *Bob Dole: Warrior - Senator - ?*. New York: Penguin. 224 pp. Biography of Dole's personal and professional life.
- Thurber, James A. 1996. *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.

- Tsongas, Paul E. 1996. *Journey of Purpose: Reflections on the Presidency, Multi-Culturalism, and Third Parties*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 128 pp. A personal account of the 1992 campaign for president and interpretation of the 1994 elections.
- Underhill, Robert. 1996. *FDR and Harry: Unparalleled Lives*. Westport, CT: Greenwood. 248 pp. Details the development of both Roosevelt and Truman throughout their lives, contrasting their administrations and political careers.
- VonMettenheim, Kurt, ed. 1996. *Presidential Institutions and Democratic Politics: Comparing Regional and National Contexts*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. 248 pp. Focuses on the de-facto separation of powers in European parliamentary systems and presidentialism in France, Latin American, and Eastern Europe. Argues the American system can provide new perspectives for building democratic institutions.
- Waldman, Steven. 1995. *The Bill: How the Adventures of Clinton's National Service Bill Reveal What is Corrupt, Comic, Cynical, and Noble About Washington*. New York: Penguin. 320 pp. Analyzes interplay between Congress, the White House, policy, and politics.
- Warshaw, Shirley Anne. 1996. *Powersharing: White House-Cabinet Relations in the Modern Presidency*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 380 pp. Studies the emergence of the White House staff and presidential cabinet over the past 25 years.
- Watson, Richard A. *Presidential Vetoes and Public Policy*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 232 pp. Analyzes presidential use of veto power.
- Wayne, Stephen J. 1996 (December). *The Road to the White House 1996: The Politics of Presidential Elections*. Post-Election Edition. New York: St. Martin's Press. Analysis of the campaign and election results.
- Westerfield, Donald L. 1996. *War Powers: The President, the Congress, and the Question of War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood. 264 pp. Examines the war powers controversy in both historic and contemporary contexts.
- Wilson, Bob, ed. 1996. *Character Above All: Ten Presidents from FDR to George Bush*. New York: Simon & Schuster. 256 pp. An analysis of the relationship between a president's character and leadership.
- Winik, Jay. 1996. *On the Brink: The Dramatic Saga of How the Reagan Administration Changed the Course of History and Won the Cold War*. New York: Simon & Schuster. 624 pp. Narrative of foreign policy during the Reagan administration, including accounts of key players who helped effectuate the demise of communism.
- Woodward, Bob. 1996. *The Choice: November 5, 1996*. New York: Simon & Schuster. 384 pp. Behind-the-scenes examination of the 1996 presidential race, including campaign management and organization descriptions.

The recently established Committee on Funding Presidency Research is interested in hearing from others who have obtained funding for presidency projects in the past. Specifically, the committee is interested in the methods used to obtain funds, the sources (e.g. libraries, ACLS, NEH), and the nature of such projects. Anyone with such information is urged to contact Committee Chair Janet Martin, Government Department, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, ME 04011; JMARTIN@POLAR.BOWDOIN.EDU

Neustadt Award Winners

Editor's Note: In a casual conversation at the recent APSA meeting, Ray Tatalovich commented that a full list of past Neustadt Award winners should be made available both for archival reasons, and as the core of an excellent reading list on the presidency. The list is provided below, beginning with the first award in 1985. The year at left is the year of the award; the year in parentheses following the publisher is the year of publication. The award itself is given the following year to insure that all qualified books published in the previous year can be considered. Note the wide array of publishers represented on the list. rjs

Year of
Award

- 1985: Bert Rockman, *The Leadership Question*, Praeger (1984)
- 1986: Theodore J. Lowi, *The Personal President*, Cornell University Press (1985)
- 1987: Colin Campbell, *Managing the Presidency*, University of Pittsburgh Press (1986)
- 1988: Barry Schwartz, *George Washington: The Making of an American Symbol*, Collier/Macmillan/Free Press (1987)
- 1989: Erwin C. Hargrove, *Jimmy Carter as President: Leadership and the Politics of the Public Good*, Louisiana State University Press (1988)
- 1990: John P. Burke and Fred I. Greenstein, with the collaboration of Larry Berman and Richard Immerman, *How Presidents Test Reality*, Russell Sage Foundation (1989)
- 1991: Harold Koh, *The National Security Constitution*, Yale University Press (1990)
- 1992: David Mayhew, *Divided We Govern*, Yale University Press (1991)
- 1993: Paul Brace and Barbara Hinckley, *Follow the Leader*, Basic Books (1992)
- 1994: Stephen Skowronek, *The Politics Presidents Make*, Harvard University Press (1993)
- 1995: Charles O. Jones, *The Presidency in a Separated System*, Brookings (1994)
- 1996: Charles Walcott and Karen Hult, *Governing the White House*, University Press of Kansas (1995)

Book Review

Louis Fisher. *Presidential War Powers*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1995. 249 pp. Cloth: \$29.95. Paper: \$14.95.

Louis Fisher's latest work on the separation of powers presents a compelling examination of the debate over the scope of presidential war powers. *Presidential War Power* combines case studies of specific conflicts between the president and Congress with historical analyses to consider the answers to several important questions: "What are the constitutional sources for presidential war power? At what point is prior authorization by Congress required? Why has Congress failed to protect its constitutional prerogatives over questions of war and peace? What role does the federal courts have in policing the limits of executive power? How do we keep presidential power consistent with the Constitution and the intent of the framers?" (preface, p. xiii). The end result is a book which makes a strong argument that over the course of two hundred years, American presidents have routinely overstepped their constitutional authority when exercising war powers.

Presidential War Powers is organized chronologically, and provides a good survey of the history of presidential-congressional interactions involving matters of war and peace. Chapter 1 focuses on the constitutional foundations of war powers, examining the experiences of the American colonists under British rule, and considering the debates in the constitutional convention of 1787. Fisher argues convincingly that the framers of the Constitution "broke decisively with the tradition" of placing the war powers in the hands of the monarch, and "deliberately transferred the power to initiate war from the executive to the legislature" (p. 1).

Chapters 2 and 3 trace the development of presidential-congressional relations from 1789 to 1945. In chapter 2, Fisher examines every major American use of force through the end of the 19th century, including such incidents as the Whiskey Rebellion, the conflicts with the Barbary Powers, the Mexican War, the Civil War, and the Spanish-American War. This chapter is important to his argument because it illustrates how over the course of the 19th century, American presidents began to stray from the expectations of the framers. "At first narrowly confined, the scope of

presidential powers gradually widened. Presidential movement of troops and vessels could provoke war, as in Mexico, and presidents began to use force abroad to 'protect American lives and property.'" By the dawn of the 20th century, presidents "would claim the power to initiate war and determine its magnitude and direction" (p. 13). Chapter 3 continues the story through World War II, discussing such issues as American intervention in Latin America and World War I. Of particular value in this chapter is the insightful critique Fisher offers of the infamous *United States v. Curtiss-Wright* case where the Supreme Court declared the president "the sole organ of the federal government in the field of International relations."

Chapters 4 and 5 cover the creation of the United Nations, the Korean War, the Steel Seizure case, President Eisenhower's attempts at cooperating with Congress when using armed forces abroad, and President Kennedy's reassertion of presidential powers. Chapter 6 focuses on the Vietnam War and the War Powers Resolution. Fisher fully chronicles the events leading to Congress' reassertion of power in the form of the War Powers Resolution, and he illustrates nicely both the weaknesses and consequences of the War Powers Resolution as a means to limit presidential power.

Chapter 7 completes Fisher's historical survey, considering military initiatives from Presidents Ford through Clinton. He covers every major use of American force from the *Mayaguez* incident to the Gulf War through the 1994 air raids in Bosnia, including interventions in Lebanon, Grenada, Libya, Panama, Somalia, and Haiti. Chapter 8 is dedicated to the use of covert activities since World War II. Here, Fisher focuses on two main issues: the development of covert operations by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Iran-Contra Affair of the 1980s. Finally, in Chapter 9 Fisher concludes his study by considering some of the justifications offered to support the expansion of war powers in the post-war era and he urges a restoration of "checks and balances." He argues that Congress must reassert its authority in the area of war powers and should use the statutory tools at its disposal to "define and limit presidential power" (p. 199).

Presidential War Power is a very valuable work. It offers a concise history of the use of force by American presidents since the beginning of the republic. A very clear thesis runs throughout Fisher's text: American presidents have routinely exceeded their constitutional authority in the area of war powers. Presidents have

been able to get away with what Fisher considers to be an abuse of power because Congress has either not been willing nor able to assert its own authority. Even when Congress has been able to act (witness the War Powers Resolution), presidents have been able to circumvent congressionally-imposed limitations on their powers due to various loopholes. Throughout the entire book, it is very clear where Fisher stands on the issue of presidential war powers.

While a complete statement of the argument against presidential war powers is valuable, the book may have been more valuable to both students and scholars alike if it presented a more balanced approach to the issue, giving more attention to the arguments in favor of expansive presidential war powers. In its current form, there is no doubt that Fisher is taking a "congress-centered" approach to the issue. The history Fisher presents reflects this approach to a certain degree. The stories Fisher tell are all skewed towards an interpretation of war powers which suggests that

presidents are overstepping their authority. Not enough attention is given to the opposing arguments that presidential power is both necessary and justified.

This criticism notwithstanding, Louis Fisher's *Presidential War Powers* is still an excellent book. Anyone interested in the issue of constitutional war powers should read it. The book can be used as a supplemental text in both undergraduate and graduate courses on the presidency or in American constitutional law. *Presidential War Powers* most likely will not be the final word on the struggle between the presidency and Congress over war powers, but it is a major work that should not be dismissed lightly by champions of presidential war power.

Michael C. Gizzi
Assistant Professor of Political Science
Mesa State College

Does Your Library Subscribe to the *PRG Report*? If not, fill out the coupon below and send it to your Library.

TO: Acquisitions, the Library

FROM: _____

RE: Library subscription to *PRG Report*

I urge you to pick up a subscription to the *PRG Report*, the professional publication of the Presidency Research Group of the American Political Science Association. The *Report* is read by over 400 of the nation's pre-eminent students of the presidency, and contains information on the latest developments in study of the presidency. *The subscription fee is only \$10.* Send a check for \$10 made out to the "American Political Science Association" and indicate that you wish to receive the *PRG Report* of the APSA's Presidency Research Group. Mail it to: APSA, 1527 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

ANNOUNCEMENT

State University of New York Press

book series in

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM

ROBERT J. SPITZER

General Editor

This series is designed to bring together both traditional and innovative approaches to the study of American constitutionalism. Traditional studies, incorporating the examination of court cases, the rule of law, analyses of constitutional history and development, civil liberties and civil rights, issues arising from the separation of powers, and the role of the courts in defining and redefining constitutional meaning, are welcome.

Yet this series also seeks new modes of constitutional inquiry, examining such questions as the role of institutions other than the courts in shaping constitutional meaning, including the presidency; connections between received constitutional meaning and popular perceptions, and between law and politics; disciplinary differences, and the consequences of those differences, in the study of constitutionalism; and new paradigms of constitutional thinking. Scholarship emerging from any pertinent discipline is welcome. The series also accepts the legacy of the Constitution's Bicentennial — to promote wider and clearer understanding of American constitutionalism. Projects with this goal, or that appeal to a mass audience, are encouraged. Books will normally be published simultaneously in paperback and cloth.

Inaugural title in the Series: *Our Elusive Constitution*, by Daniel Hoffman

Please send inquiries, proposals, and manuscripts to:

Clay Morgan, Editor
State University of New York Press
State University Plaza
Albany, NY 12246-0001

YOUR NAME HERE

WANTED: AN INTERESTED PERSON OR PERSONS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE PRODUCTION OF THE *PRG REPORT*, BEGINNING WITH THE FALL 1997 ISSUE.

IF INTERESTED, OR FOR MORE INFORMATION, PLEASE CONTACT *REPORT* EDITOR Robert Spitzer, Political Science, SUNY Cortland, Box 2000, Cortland, NY 13045, e-mail: SPITZERB@SNYCORVA.CORTLAND.EDU; or, Martha Kumar, Political Science, Towson State University, Towson, MD 21204, e-mail: E7U4KUM@TOE.TOWSON.EDU

Best Dissertation on the Presidency Prize Announced

The Center for Presidential Studies in the George Bush School of Government and Public Service announces a national competition for the best dissertation on the American presidency. The competition is open to scholars in any field, including but not limited to political science, history, sociology, speech communication, law, and psychology, and dissertations may focus on any aspect of the presidency. Nominations may be made by chairs of dissertation committees or other faculty members. Winners will be selected by a committee of nationally prominent scholars.

The winners will receive a \$1,000 award and expenses to present their work at Texas A & M University. The prize also carries with it the opportunity for an advance contract (contingent on positive peer review or a revised manuscript) with Texas A & M University Press for publication in the Joseph V. Hughes Jr. and Holly Oldfield Hughes Series in the Presidency and Leadership Studies, under the general editorship of James P. Pfiffner.

Nominations for the prize should include three copies of the dissertation and a cover letter. They should be sent to George C. Edwards III, Director, The Center for Presidential Studies, George Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A & M University, College Station, TX 77843. Dissertations accepted for degree completion in 1995 and 1996 are eligible. The deadline for nominations is February 15, 1997. For additional information see our web site at www-polisci.tamu.edu/cps/.

Subscriptions, Change of Address, and Contributions

PRG Report is published twice annually by the membership of the Presidency Research Group of the American Political Science Association. Individual subscriptions to the Report are provided with membership. Institutional subscriptions are \$10 annually. Make checks payable to the Presidency Research Group, APSA. The PRG's World Wide Web site is: [HTTP://SUNSITE.UNC.EDU/LIA/PRGNET](http://SUNSITE.UNC.EDU/LIA/PRGNET)

Articles, announcements, and other submissions for publication should be provided on disk as well as paper. WordPerfect 4.x or 5.x is preferred. Please follow **Chicago Manual of Style** guidelines, which means that "president" is capitalized only when followed by a name. Manuscripts should be single spaced and employ in-text notes and an abbreviated bibliography. Include full mailing address and e-mail address, if available, after institutional affiliation.

Send subscriptions and address changes to American Political Science Association, 1527 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Deadline dates for submissions are **October 1** for the Fall issue, and **April 1** for the Spring issue. Send submissions and proposals to Robert J. Spitzer, Political Science Department, SUNY Cortland, Box 2000, Cortland, NY 13045; FAX 607-753-5979; e-mail "SPITZERB@SNYCORVA.CORTLAND.EDU"

PRG Report
Political Science Department
SUNY College at Cortland
Cortland, NY 13045



FORWARD & ADDRESS CORRECTION

Russell D. Henka
Dept of Political Science
Mail Stop 2920
Southeast Miss. State Univ,
Cape Girardeau, MO 63701-4799

Bulk Rate
U.S. Postage
PAID
Cortland, N.Y.
Permit No. 14