

PRESIDENCY RESEARCH



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NEWS AND NOTES

The following panels have been scheduled for the upcoming American Political Science Association convention:

The Presidency and White House Communications.

- Chair: Michael B. Grossman, Towson State University.
- Papers: "The Presidential Speechwriting Process: Evolution of an Organizational Function." Charles Walcott, University of Minnesota.
- "The Institutionalization of the Office of Communications." John Anthony Maltese, The Johns Hopkins University.
- "Is the Pen All That Mighty? The Impact of Ronald Reagan's Rhetoric on American Politics and the American Presidency." Mary E. Stuckey, University of Mississippi.
- "Trouble Comes to Mr. Reagan's Neighborhood: The Rhetoric of Iran/Contra." Craig Allen Smith, The University of North Carolina.

Deploying the Presidency, 1989.

- Chair: Bruce Buchanan, The University of Texas at Austin.
- Papers: "Organizing the Presidency, Revisited." Stephen Hess, The Brookings Institution.
- "The New Presidential Leadership Agenda." Bruce Buchanan, The University of Texas at Austin.
- "Political Strategy for the Post-Modern Presidency." Ryan Barilleaux, Miami University of Ohio.
- Disc.: William Schneider, American Enterprise Institute.
- William Galston, Roosevelt Center.

Preparing for the 1989 Transition: NAPA Issue Papers on the Executive Presidency.

- Chair: Stephen J. Wayne, George Washington University.
- Papers: "Executive Office-Departmental Relationships." James P. Pfiffner, George Mason University.
- "Appointments and the New Administration." G. Calvin Mackenzie, Colby College.
- "Political Appointees and the Permanent Government." Patricia W. Ingraham, Syracuse University.
- "President and Congress." George C. Edwards III, Texas A&M.
- Disc.: E. Colin Campbell, Georgetown University.
- Charles H. Levine, American University.
- Roger Porter, Harvard University.

The President and the Congress.

- Chair: Michael L. Mezey, DePaul University.
- Papers: "Presidential Capital and Presidential Support in Congress, 1953-1983." Derek L. A. Hackett, Kent State University.
- "Policy Windows and Agendas: Perspectives on the Carter-Reagan Years." Robert Kaufman, Howard University.
- "The Pocket Veto: Expanding Presidential Prerogatives Through the Back Door." Robert J. Spitzer, State University College at Cortland.

"Presidential Influence from Eisenhower Through Nixon." Ken Collier, Terry Sullivan, The University of Texas at Austin.

Disc.: J. Vincent Buck, California State University, Fullerton.

Presidency and Bureaucracy.

Chair: Michael Nelson, Vanderbilt University.

Papers: "Purpose and Power in Presidential Commissions." Stephen A. Borrelli, Kevin M. Leyden, University of Iowa.

"The Ideological Cart Before the Horse: Executive Appointments Under Reagan and the Aftermath." Richard B. Riley, Baylor University.

"Ideology and Strategy: The Administrative Choices of Carter and Reagan." David Smailes, Mount Holyoke College.

Disc.: Virginia A. McMurtry, Congressional Research Service.

Michael Nelson, Vanderbilt University.

The Presidency and National Security Policy.

Chair: Kevin V. Mulcahy, Louisiana State University.

Papers: "Presidents and National Security Powers: A Judicial Perspective." A. Steven Boyan, University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

"National Security/National Insecurity: The MX Missile and the Structure of the Presidency." William Grover, St. Michael's College.

"What Oliver North Hath Wrought: The Future of the National Security Council Staff." Cecil V. Crabb, Jr., Kevin V. Mulcahy, Louisiana State University.

Disc.: General Andrew Goodpaster, U.S.A., Ret., Atlantic Council.

Carl Braithwaite, Los Alamos National Laboratory.

I. M. Destler, University of Maryland.

Roundtable: The Reagan Presidency: An Evaluation.

Chair: Thomas E. Cronin, The Colorado College.

The following articles will be included in the Spring 1988 issue of Congress & the Presidency.

"Presidential Learning: A Comparative Study of the Interactions of Carter and Reagan." James J. Best.

"Gaining Access to Information in the House Select Committee on Intelligence: A Case Study in Congressional Rules and Conflict Resolution." Frederick M. Kaiser.

"Presidential Conduct of Foreign Policy." Ryan J. Barilleaux.

"Presidents and Their Critics: Portraying the President in Television News Coverage." Frederic T. Smoller.

"A Reappraisal of the Constitutional Age Requirements for Congress and the President." A research note by William E. Cooper.

"Presidential Leadership and Policy Failure: The Gamble of Lyndon B. Johnson." A review essay
by Erwin C. Hargrove.

The Council for International Exchange of Scholars has announced the opening of competition for the 1989-90 Fulbright grants in research and university lecturing abroad.

The awards for 1989-90 include more than 300 grants in research and 700 grants in university lecturing for periods ranging from three months to a full academic year. There are openings in over 100 countries and, in many regions, the opportunity for multi-country research is available. Fulbright Awards are granted in virtually all disciplines, and scholars in all academic ranks are eligible to apply. Applications are seriously encouraged from retired faculty and independent scholars.

The basic eligibility requirements for a Fulbright Award are U.S. citizenship; Ph.D. or comparable professional qualifications; university or college teaching experience; and, for selected assignments, proficiency in a foreign language. It should be noted that there is no limit on the number of Fulbright grants a single scholar can hold, but there must be a three-year interval between awards.

For more information and applications, call or write Council for International Exchange of Scholars, Eleven Dupont Circle N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036-1257. (202) 939-5403.

THE POST-MODERN PRESIDENCY: THE WORLD CLOSES IN ON THE WHITE HOUSE¹

Richard Rose
University of Strathclyde

God grant us the serenity to accept things we cannot change, courage to change the things we can, and wisdom to know the difference.

Reinhold Neibuhr.

The easiest way to see the world closing in on the White House is to turn on the television. Day after day we see evidence of the impact upon American life of actions elsewhere: an arms control statement in Moscow; the kidnapping of Americans in the Middle East; and prices and jobs going up and down in America in response to changes in the dollar's value in Tokyo or Frankfurt. Events the other side of the earth cannot be ignored by the President when they have a great impact upon our lives. Nor can foreigners ignore what happens in Washington. When John F. Kennedy was inaugurated President in 1961, he addressed his words as much to peoples in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa as to the American people.

The post-modern Presidency is not under pressure because American government has become weaker; the challenge arises because other countries have grown stronger. America is richer today than it was a quarter-century ago, and the armed forces are equipped with weapons that were then only visionary. By industry and enterprise, European countries and Japan have grown much richer, and oil-producing nations have grown rich by exploiting their natural resources. Leaders of other countries see that the President still stands tall. But foreign leaders see themselves as standing tall too; they want to advance their national aims, cooperating with the White House if appropriate, or against the White House if necessary.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE POST-MODERN PRESIDENCY

As the world changes, our ideas must change, or we will become confused by applying the standards of one era to a different situation. We are all familiar with the historical process by which the traditional Presidency was transformed into the modern Presidency by FDR. As we are now much closer to the year 2000 than to the day that Franklin D. Roosevelt died, we must understand how the modern Presidency has been changed into the post-modern Presidency.

For a century and one-half the White House was the home of the traditional Presidency. The traditional Presidency was a dignified office of state. Men whose names today mean little had no difficulty in filling the office of the President, for the President was not expected to do anything much. Presidents who tried to play an active role stirred up controversy, because the very idea of an active President was considered inconsistent with the dignity and nature of the office. Abraham Lincoln respected the doctrines of the traditional Presidency, invoking war powers on a temporary basis only. After the Civil War the Presidency continued as before, an inconsequential position for inconsequential men.

The traditional do-nothing Presidency lasted for more than a century because there was very little that the White House needed or was expected to do: the prevailing doctrine was that the best government governed least. Geography and slow communications as well as politics isolated and

¹The following is an excerpt from Richard Rose's forthcoming book of the same title, to be published by Chatham House this summer.

