

# PRG REPORT

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The American Political Science Association



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## The Balanced Budget Amendment: Risks to Political Institutions

Louis Fisher<sup>1</sup>

On March 1, 1994, the Senate once again rejected the proposal to amend the Constitution to require a balanced budget. The idea has broad public support, nourished in large part by popular misconceptions and simplifications. Complicated issues, often raising subtle constitutional and institutional questions, are not easily compressed into convenient soundbites for public consumption.

Federal deficits, out of control because of Reagan policies in 1981, need to be reduced. However, the balanced budget amendment rests on slippery ground. It would most likely backfire and lead us *away* from a balanced budget. State practices demonstrate how easy it is to disguise deficits and confuse the public with novel accounting games. The balanced budget amendment would make matters worse, not better. President Clinton and Congress are confronting the deficit because it is in plain sight.

*(continued on p. 4)*

<b>Inside</b>	<i>From the Editor</i>	2
<b>This</b>	<i>New Books on the Presidency 1992-93</i>	7
<b>Issue</b>	<i>Articles on the Presidency 1992-93</i>	15
	<i>Notices</i>	18

## Chief Clerk's Report

Larry Berman

Both PRG award committees are set. The Neustadt Committee will be chaired by Michael Genovese. Committee members are Barbara Hinckley and Lyn Ragsdale. The 1993 Best Paper Award Committee will be chaired by Mary Stuckey. Members are Paul Brace, Janet Martin and Larry Jacobs. Please send your book or paper to the committee chairs: Michael Genovese at Loyola Marymount University, Political Science, Loyola Boulevard at West 80th St., Los Angeles, CA 90045-2699; and Mary Stuckey at University of Mississippi, Political Science, University, MS 38677.

I am pleased to report that Paul Quirk accepted a PRG

*(continued on p. 6)*

# From the Editor

Robert J. Spitzer

In this issue, the lead article by Louis Fisher of the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, summarizes his arguments against the balanced budget amendment, narrowly defeated in Congress earlier this year. As with many similar plans to tinker with the Constitution, such as the item veto, Fisher argues that such a proposal would have unintended and perverse political consequences, and at the same time would not effect the budget-balancing magic its backers claim. Along with constitutional scholar Leonard Levy, Fisher is also the co-editor of the just-published **Encyclopedia of the American Presidency** (Simon & Schuster).

Todd Patterson has again assembled a detailed bibliography, this time of recent presidency books, and an update of articles on the presidency that did not appear in the Fall 1993 **PRG Report**. Anyone with bibliographic submissions for future issues should contact Todd at his address cited at the end of the bibliographies. Please note also that deadlines for submission of materials for future issues of the **PRG Report** will be **April 1** for the Spring issue, and **October 1** for the Fall issue. In addition, the volume numbering of the **PRG Report** resumes with this issue. I also wish to recognize the assistance of Bill McCleary and Donna Curtin, without whom the production of this newsletter would be impossible.

Partisanship aside, the White House has finally recognized the significance of presidency scholars and the PRG. The White House librarian has requested a complete set of back issues of the **PRG Report**. Unfortunately, there seems to be no existing repository for these. I request that anyone with a complete or near-complete set of back issues please contact me at your earliest convenience, so that they can be duplicated and sent on to the White House. The first person to come forward with a complete (or near-complete) set will receive, absolutely free, a copy of Martin and Goehlert's **The American**

**Presidency: A Bibliography** (CQ, 1987), an \$80 value. Alternately, if anyone has any leads about where the set might be obtained, please let me know.

As most of you are aware, the White House has been on the e-mail network since 1993. According to Jonathan P. (Jock) Gill, White House e-mail coordinator and former Lotus Software executive, they receive about 1000 e-mail letters a day, compared to about 40,000 paper letters per week. (Their internet address is: [President@Whitehouse.gov](mailto:President@Whitehouse.gov).) E-mail has been dubbed the "fireside chat" and "electronic soapbox" of the 90s. According to the **New York Times**, a city councilman in Sunnyvale, CA was elected last fall by campaigning almost exclusively on Internet. (NYT, 11/28/93)

On March 23, the Federal Archives issued new rules requiring the most important electronic mail messages transmitted daily to be preserved, and thus available through the Freedom of Information Act. The rule arises from a court case in 1993 having to do with the preservation of e-mail messages from the Reagan and Bush White Houses. The guidelines pertain only to messages deemed public business. (NYT, 3/24/94)

Over 50,000 pages of FBI files pertaining to Pres. Kennedy's assassination and Lee Harvey Oswald are available to the public as of April 1 through the National Archives. The release is part of the implementation of the President Kennedy Assassination Records Collection Act of 1992.

The Nixon Library in Yorba Linda, CA, opened a think tank devoted to America's new role in world affairs in January. Called the Center for Peace and Freedom, it will focus on philosophical and strategic concerns of America's role in the world. (Syr. P-S, 1/17/94)

By all accounts, the Reagans are enjoying their retirement. According to a former Reagan assistant, the retired Gipper is being tutored two or three times a week to play the har-

monica, a hobby of Presidents Lincoln, T. Roosevelt, Coolidge, and Eisenhower. Yet while Reagan admits to fiddling with a mouth organ, he hotly denies taking lessons, saying "I play for my own self amusement exclusively—usually when I don't have my hearing aids in." Who's telling the truth in this "Harmonica-gate" matter? (NYT, 4/3/94)

Finally, in the never-ending effort to provide up-to-the-minute, late-breaking, insightful, and useful information, here is V.P. Gore's Top 10 List of the Best Things about Being Vice President:

10. Police escort gets you to the movies faster.
9. You know that game tetherball? I played tetherball with the inventor of tetherball.
8. After they sign a bill, there's lots of free pens.
7. If you close your left eye, the seal on the podium reads "President of the United States."
6. I get intellectual property rights to my speeches.
5. Dan Quayle and Gerald Ford are pretty easy to beat during Vice President's week on **Jeopardy!**
4. You don't have to be funny to get invited on **Letterman**.
3. You eat all the french fries the President can't get to.
2. You don't have to be a good speller to get the job.
1. Secret Service code name: Buttafuoco.

## PRG Officers

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They face a deficit of known size, honestly displayed. A balanced budget amendment would push the deficit underground, paper it over, and hide it from public view.

President Ronald Reagan regularly told the public that states balance their budgets and so should the national government. Anyone who examines the state experience knows that states do not balance their budgets, or certainly not as that term is used for the national government. In reporting the balanced budget amendment last year, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary stated that “continued deficit spending by the states has been a rarity.” The constitutional constraints of balanced budget amendments “have proven to be workable in the states and have not inhibited their ability to perform their most widely accepted functions.”

States find the constraint of a balanced budget requirement “workable” because they define their budget very differently than the federal government and individual households. States do not, in fact, live within their means. They run debts. When people tell me that states balance their budgets, I ask them, if that is so, why do states issue bonds? If their budgets are balanced, why do they have to borrow? Why do they worry about bond ratings? The state experience is not one of balanced budgets. It is one of indebtedness.

If states really spent only as much as receipts would allow, there would be no need

in state constitutions for limits on indebtedness. Yet that is what one finds: dollar limits on how much states can borrow. When states cannot live within the limits on indebtedness, some interpret the restriction as a limit only on guaranteed debt (backed by the full faith and credit of the state). Such an interpretation allows them to turn to *nonguaranteed* bonds to avoid debt limitations. Full faith and credit debt, which used to account for almost all state and local long-term debt, has now declined to about 30 percent of the total.

It is simplistic to say that states balance their budgets. They balance one budget: the operating (or general) budget. Much of the indebtedness and borrowing shows up in their second budget: the capital budget. A requirement that the federal government “balance its budget” would invite the creation of a second budget, just like the states. Many economists, conservative and liberal, favor the creation of a capital budget on theoretical grounds. But in a political world, the result could well be a capital budget that contains \$200 billion or \$300 billion—whatever the federal deficit that year is—followed by a glowing announcement that “the federal government has balanced its budget.”

Various studies estimate that the size of the state budget that is actually balanced ranges from 47 percent to 66 percent of the total budget. State balanced budget requirements typically exclude money spent on highway

construction and maintenance, school construction, pension benefits, and capital activities. By obscuring deficits this way, we could blunt the political pressure to reduce the deficit. Mere changes in accounting (easy to do) would encourage Congress and the President to relax their efforts to control federal deficits.

Significantly, the meaning of “debt” is a matter of definition. The balanced budget constitutional amendment considered in 1994, S.J. Res. 41, required an extraordinary majority to increase the public debt. Section 2 provided that the limit “on the debt of the United States held by the public” shall not be increased unless three-fifths of the whole number of each House shall provide by law for such an increase by a roll call vote. What is the “debt of the United States held by the public”? The Senate Judiciary report refers to a definition offered by the General Accounting Office. Debt held by the public is that part of the gross federal debt held “outside the Federal Government,” including any federal debt held by individuals, corporations, state or local governments, the Federal Reserve System, and foreign governments and central banks. Not included in the definition is the debt held by government trust funds, revolving funds, and special funds.

Thus, a key control on the level of federal debt depends on a definition that can vary over the years, depending on political pressures and economic conditions. The report

by Senate Judiciary stated: "An amendment to the Constitution forces the Government to live within its means." It does not have that effect in the states. There is no reason to think it would have that effect at the federal level.

We should learn something from our experience with the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Acts, which required a zero deficit by a specific year. Obviously it did not produce that result. What it did was to stimulate a variety of ways to circumvent the restrictions and undermine the goals. Similar creative efforts can be expected for a balanced budget amendment. The states have discovered a number of devices. The Federal Government can use those and invent others. There is no shortage of ingenuity in this area.

The balanced budget amendment poses another risk: Damage to our political institutions. It would weaken Congress (both in terms of power and prestige), increase presidential power and control, and involve the federal courts inappropriately in fiscal and budgetary decisions. The Senate Judiciary report claimed that the balanced budget amendment does not require "any alteration in the balance of powers between the legislative and executive branches, but merely imposes an additional responsibility upon each, to be fulfilled through the exercise of existing authorities." The proposed amendment "is not intended to grant the President additional formal authority or power over

budget legislation or spending." The report further explains that Section 6 of S.J. Res. 41, requiring Congress to "enforce and implement" the amendment by appropriate legislation, was included to preclude "any interpretation of the amendment that would result in a shift in the balance of powers among the branches of government."

Nevertheless, the experiences at the federal and state level indicate a substantial impact on the balance of power among the three branches. We can expect less power for Congress and more power for the President and the federal courts.

At the state level, governors use balanced-budget requirements to justify greater power over spending. They invoke item-veto authority, impound funds, and shift expenditures from one year to the next. In a message to the Pennsylvania legislature in 1983, Governor Dick Thornburgh responded to a general appropriations bill with this warning: "Since the Constitution requires that I enact a balanced budget, I am required by law to reduce the expenditures contained in this bill." He proceeded to reduce a number of appropriations, including those supporting the operations of the General Assembly.

A year later, a New Jersey court explained that the governor's item veto "serves the governmental need to have a balanced budget in place at the start of the fiscal year." In 1992, a Missouri court noted that the "line item veto is a

powerful budget balancing tool." The Louisiana constitution empowers the governor to veto "line items or use means provided in the bill so that the total appropriations for the year shall not exceed anticipated revenues for that year." The Missouri constitution and a Rhode Island statute also provide the governor with explicit authority to withhold funds to maintain a balanced budget.

In 1978, a Massachusetts court agreed that the governor had the constitutional power to spend less than the full amount appropriated (whether by impoundment, allotment, or other means) provided that the objectives of the underlying legislation were achieved. A Louisiana court in 1987 upheld a state law (designed to help balance the budget) that authorized the governor to withhold funds and to transfer dedicated highway and flood funds to the state general fund.

Section 1 of S.J. Res. 41 provides that total outlays for any fiscal year shall not exceed total receipts for that year. If outlays exceed estimates and receipts decline because of unexpected developments, the President could argue on constitutional grounds that it is necessary to impound funds and take other actions (unilaterally) to meet the dictates of the balanced budget amendment.

Under these conditions the power of the purse, vested in Congress by considered choice of the framers, will drift to the President. As Presidents

explore these new-found powers, parties will go to the federal courts to seek definitions of executive power. A number of cases at the state level are precisely of this character. State courts are asked to define budgetary terms and concepts and to monitor a range of spending, taxing, and indebtedness actions to see that they conform to the balanced budget requirements. If state actions are a guide, judges will not be shy about tackling budgetary and fiscal questions, no matter how complex and technical.

The President's power to impound resulted in heavy litigation in the early 1970s. About eighty cases were decided, generally against the broad interpretation of presidential power advanced by the Nixon administration. In those cases the administration had to rely (unsuccessfully) on implied and inherent powers. Almost all of the judgments went against the Executive. Armed with the balanced budget amendment, however, Presidents could claim a constitutional basis for impoundment. The crucial task assigned to Congress by the Constitution — deciding budget priorities — would shift through this process to the President and the executive agencies.

With presidential and judicial power increasing,

Congress is the inescapable loser. Congress could also lose in a second sense. The spending cuts and tax increases necessary to genuinely balance the budget will not be less painful or less politically injurious under a constitutional amendment than under the Gramm-Rudman Acts. If Congress fares no better than the states, popular judgment could be harsh. Having promised the nation that a balanced budget amendment will produce a balanced budget, Congress would have to concede that the "balance" was achieved only because of a series of sophisticated accounting innovations, bookkeeping contrivances, and new borrowing authorities. Congress would have advertised its inability to comply with constitutional commands, a command it personally fashioned and sent to the states for approval. Such a result would only deepen public cynicism and disrespect for the national legislature. Large deficits in the annual budget threaten our nation. So do deficits of trust in our governmental institutions.

<sup>1</sup> This article is drawn from Fisher's testimony in 1992 before the House Budget Committee and in 1994 before the Senate Appropriations Committee. Fisher is a senior specialist in separation of powers with the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress.

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

recommendation that Aaron Wildavsky's contributions to the study of the presidency be recognized at this year's APSA meeting. George Edwards will chair a panel dedicated to Aaron's memory. Check **PS** for the time and place.

I will recommend to the Executive Committee that PRG sponsor a short course at the 1995 APSA meeting. We will utilize that meeting to formulate PRG agendas, criteria for awards, and to consider slates or nominees to PRG positions. I'm hoping for a good turnout at the PRG Business meeting. Again, check **PS** for time and place.

The APSA has created a new standing committee on Organized Sections. The committee will assist all organized sections in carrying out their work.

A special note of appreciation to Bob Spitzer for bringing out two timely editions of our newsletter and to Treasurer Terry Sullivan for his work with PRG and Sun-site as well as carrying out his liaison work for PRG with APSA.

See you in New York.

# New Books on the Presidency 1992-1993

(including early 1994 releases)

## Annotated Bibliography

Todd Patterson<sup>1</sup>

- Abraham, Henry J. 1992. *Justices and Presidents: A Political History of Appointments to the Supreme Court*. New York: Oxford University Press. 467 pages. Appraises appointment objectives and characteristics of presidents and their nominees.
- Abrams, Herbert L. 1992. *The President Has Been Shot: Confusion, Disability, and the 25th Amendment in the Aftermath of the Attempted Assassination of Ronald Reagan*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Recounts the shooting and its aftermath and confusion in the White House that surrounded the event.
- Allen, Charles F. 1992. *The Comeback Kid: The Life and Career of Bill Clinton*. New York: Birch Lane Press.
- Anderson, David L. 1993. *Trapped By Success: The Eisenhower Administration and Vietnam, 1953-1961*. New York: Columbia University Press. 276 pages. Details policy-making toward Vietnam and how the Eisenhower administration failed to solve the problems of Vietnam for the 1960s and 1970s.
- Asher, Herbert. 1992. *Presidential Elections and American Politics: Voters, Candidates, and Campaigns Since 1952*. Fifth edition. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole. Analyzes why citizens vote as they do and what candidates must consider as they campaign.
- Barber, James David. 1992. *The Presidential Character: Predicting Performance in the White House*. Fourth edition. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. 544 pages.
- Barrett, David M. 1993. *Uncertain Warriors: Lyndon Johnson and His Vietnam Advisers*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 264 pages. Presents evidence of Johnson's complex system of consultation, systematically assessing his encounters with his advisers.
- Berns, Walter, ed. 1992. *After the People Vote: A Guide to the Electoral College*. Lanham, MD: AEI Press. 115 pages. Explains the workings of the electoral college, the process of presidential succession, and the interactions of Constitutional, federal, state, party, and parliamentary rules.
- Bibby, John F. 1992. *Politics, Parties, and Elections in America*. Second edition. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers. Examines parties in government, presidential nominations and political influences of and on presidents and parties.
- Biersack, Robert, Paul S. Herrnson, and Clyde Wilcox, eds. 1994. *Risky Business: PAC Decision-making and Strategy in 1992*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe. 224 pages. Comprehensive study of PACs and decisionmaking within them. Discusses implications of case studies and evaluate policy consequences of its findings, focusing on the 1992 election.
- Black, Earl, and Merle Black. 1992. *The Vital South: How Presidents Are Elected*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 400 pages. Traces the shift in southern loyalties, with chief concern focusing on recent southern preferences in the presidential arena. Emphasizes what parties must do to win and electoral college majority in the 11-state region.
- Borritt, Gabor S., ed. 1992. *Lincoln, the War President*. New York: Oxford University Press. 272 pages. Looks at how Lincoln confronted the central issues of the Civil War.
- Brace, Paul, and Barbara Hinckley. 1992. *Follow the Leader: Opinion Polls and the Modern Presidents*. New York: Basic Books. 288 pages. Accounts how modern presidents from Truman to Bush have interpreted and responded to changes in their popularity.
- Broadwater, Jeff. 1992. *Eisenhower and the Anti-Communist Crusade*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 291 pages. Details the continuity from Truman through Eisenhower in the handling of the communist threat.
- Buhite, Russell D., and David W. Levy, eds. 1992. *FDR's Fireside Chats*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 315 pages.
- Burke, John P. 1992. *The Institutional Presi-*



- ency. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 288 pages. Studies the contemporary presidency (FDR to Bush) as an institution, the impact of executive organization and management, and case studies of Carter and Reagan.
- Callahan, North. 1992. *Thanks, Mr. President: The Trail-Blazing Second Term of George Washington*. New York: Cornwall. 255 pages. Identifies presidential precedents set by Washington during his second term.
- Campbell, James E. 1993. *The Presidential Pulse of Congressional Elections*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky. 273 pages. Proposes a "presidential pulse" theory of congressional elections that synthesizes the surge-and-decline, and referendum models.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1993. *Rethinking Camelot: JFK, the Vietnam War, and the U.S. Political Culture*. Boston: South End Press. 172 pages. In viewing the Kennedy assassination in particular, purports that presidents are manipulated by America's economic managers.
- Clift, A. Denis. 1993. *With Presidents to the Summit*. Fairfax, VA: George Mason University Press. Analyzes the presidency in national security.
- Cohen, Richard E. 1994. *Changing Course in Washington: Clinton and the New Congress*. New York: Macmillan. 239 pages. An early assessment of Clinton's dealings with Congress.
- Connelly, Thomas L., and Michael D. Senecal. 1992. *The Almanac of American Presidents*. New York: Facts on File. 485 pages. Provides wide-ranging and hard-to-find information on the presidents, arranged by subject.
- Corrado, Anthony. 1992. *Creative Campaigning: PACs and the Presidential Selection Process*. Boulder: Westview. 286 pages. Analyzes the unanticipated consequences of the FECA of 1974 in the rise of pre-candidacy political action committees by presidential aspirants. A case study of the complexity of political regulation.
- Crabb, Cecil V., Jr., and Pat M. Holt. 1992. *Invitation to Struggle: Congress, the President, and Foreign Policy*. Fourth edition. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly. 304 pages.
- Cramer, Richard Benjamin. 1992. *What It Takes: The Way to the White House*. New York: Random House.
- Crotty, William, ed. 1993. *America's Choice: The Election of 1992*. Guilford, CT: Dushkin. 200 pages. An assessment of the 1992 elections.
- Current, Richard Nelson. 1992. *Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 253 pages. Considers the contribution of Lincoln's Southern loyalists and their activities in each of the Confederate states.
- Davies, Philip John. 1992. *Elections USA*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 232 pages. Introduces the 1992 presidential election campaign and shows how U.S. elections work.
- Davis, James W. 1992. *The President as Party Leader*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishers. 248 pages. Examines the political process, relations between the president and Congress and political parties, and discusses reforms that may make president more effective leaders.
- Davis, Richard. 1992. *The Press and American Politics: The New Mediator*. New York: Longman. 305 pages. Examines the role of the media and its impact on government. Part III includes focus on how media covers the president.
- Dawson, Joseph G., ed. 1993. *Commanders in Chief: Presidential Leadership in Modern Wars*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 226 pages. Evaluates the character and abilities of modern presidents at war. Provides historical perspectives tracing the question of presidential war powers and leadership back to the constitutional debates and forward to Bush's actions against Iraq.
- Day, Gleenan. 1992. *Minority Presidential Candidate and Parties of 1992: A Reference*.
- Denhardt, Robert B., and William H. Stewart, eds. 1992. *Executive Leadership in the Public Service*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 180 pages. Collection of essays deal with the nature of leadership at the national, state, and local levels.
- Dumbrell, John. 1992. *The Carter Presidency: A Re-evaluation*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 200 pages. Looks at Carter's years in the White House from a post-Cold War per-



- spective. Argues Carter was neither incompetent nor lacking in a compassionate vision.
- Durant, Robert F. 1992. *The Administrative Presidency Revisited: Public Lands, the BLM, and the Reagan Revolution*. Albany: State University of New York Press. Analyzes Reagan's administrative strategies and the consequences of an aggressive strategy for presidential leadership. Based on extensive research on the Bureau of Land Management activity in New Mexico during the Carter and Reagan administrations.
- Eastland, Terry. 1992. *Energy in the Executive: The Case for the Strong Executive*. New York: The Free Press. Analyzes ethical behavior as the central force behind great presidents in strong executives.
- Edel, Wilbur. 1992. *The Reagan Presidency: An Actor's Finest Performance*. New York: Hippocrene.
- Edwards, George, et al. *Researching the Presidency: Vital Questions, New Approaches*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 496 pages.
- Euchner, Charles C., and John Anthony Maltese. 1992. *Selecting the President: From Washington to Bush*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly. 315 pages. Examines many changes over two centuries that have gradually altered the methods of selecting presidents. Provides a chronology of presidential elections from Washington to Bush.
- Ferrell, Robert H. 1992. *Ill-Advised: Presidential Health and Public Trust*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press. 205 pages. Touches on the medical histories of several presidents, focusing on Eisenhower.
- Florig, Dennis. 1992. *The Power of Presidential Ideologies*. Westport, CT: Praeger. 328 pages. Explores the historical relationship between presidential ideology, policymaking, and governance.
- Frendreis, John P., and Raymond Tatalovich. *The Modern Presidency and Economic Policy*. Itasca, IL: F.E. Peacock. 335 pages. A comprehensive analysis of the relationship between the presidency and economic policy.
- Friedenberg, Robert V., ed. 1993. *Rhetorical Studies of National Political Debates: 1960-1992*. Second edition. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Friedman, Leon, and William F. Levantrosser, eds. 1993. *Cold War Patriot and Statesman: Richard M. Nixon*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. Examines the major areas of the Nixon diplomacy and the impact of the advances for which he was responsible.
- Gant, Michael M., and Norman R. Luttbeg. 1992. *American Electoral Behavior: 1952-1988*. Itasca, IL: F. E. Peacock Publishers. 584 pages. Examines descriptions of stability and change of the American electorate between 1952 and 1988. Focuses on decline in partisanship, political partition, and political trust.
- Genovese, Michael A. 1993. *The Presidency in an Age of Limits*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing. Examines efforts at presidential leadership from Nixon to Bush in an age of diminishing power.
- Genovese, Michael A., ed. 1993. *Women as National Leaders*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications. Analysis of the role of gender in leadership. Includes case studies of seven female political leaders.
- Gilbert, Robert E. 1992. *The Mortal Presidency: Illness and Anguish in the White House*. New York: Basic Books. 336 pages. Shows how presidents from Coolidge to Bush have suffered from debilitating medical problems which they frequently managed to conceal from the public.
- Gillon, Steven M. 1992. *The Democrats' Dilemma: Walter F. Mondale and the Liberal Legacy*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Glennon, Michael J. 1992. *When No Majority Rules: The Electoral College and Presidential Succession*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly. 149 pages. Explains the rules of the electoral college and the contingency election process, as well as the potential problems and disputes that could arise out of those processes.
- Graham, Hugh Davis. 1992. *Civil Rights and the Presidency: Race and Gender in American Politics, 1960-1972*. Recreates the intense debates in Congress and the White House that led to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965.
- Gross, Ken. 1992. *Ross Perot: The Man Behind*

- the Myth*. New York: Random House.
- Hamby, Alonzo L. 1992. *Liberalism and Its Challengers: From FDR to Bush*. Second edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 448 pages. Plots the rise, fall, and continuing evolution of the liberal tradition in America since the Depression.
- Hellweg, Susan A., Michael Pfau, and Steven R. Brydon. 1992. *Televised Presidential Debates: Advocacy in Contemporary America*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. 200 pages. Integrates contemporary theory and research about the television medium and influence with extensive research on presidential debates.
- Herken, Gregg. 1992. *Cardinal Choices: Presidential Science Advising from the Atomic Bomb to SDI*. New York: Oxford University Press. 336 pages. Analyzes the sensitive interactions between science advisers and the president in crucial national security policy decision in the past fifty years.
- Hinck, Edward A. 1993. *Enacting the Presidency: Political Argument, Presidential Debates, and Presidential Character*. Westport, CT: Praeger. 272 pages. Analyzes the presidential and vice-presidential debates of 1960 to 1988. Reveals ways in which the dramatic encounter forges images of presidential character.
- Hoover, Herbert. 1992. *The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 350 pages. Contends that Wilson's message, as conveyed by Hoover, is as important today as it was when the U.S. first took a global leadership role.
- Horick, Edward A. 1993. *Enacting the Presidency: Political Argument, Presidential Debates, and Presidential Character*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Houck, Davis W., ed. 1993. *The Public Speeches of Ronald Reagan*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. Provides a representative collection of speeches on major issues, and includes a short bibliography.
- Jamieson, Kathleen Hall. 1992. *Dirty Politics: Deception, Distortion, and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 352 pages. Examines how political ads and speeches have influenced voters, especially focusing on presidential races.
- Jamieson, Kathleen Hall. 1992. *Packaging the Presidency: A History and Criticism of Presidential Campaign Advertising*. Second edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 576 pages. Chronicles the evolution of the campaign ad from handbill and newspaper cartoon through radio and television coverage.
- Kaufman, Burton I. 1993. *The Presidency of James Earl Carter*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 243 pages. Scholarly assessment of the Carter presidency based on materials available in the Carter Presidential Library.
- Kernell, Samuel. 1992. *Going Public: New Strategies of Presidential Leadership*. Second edition. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly. 267 pages. Examines the increasing presidential practice of appealing directly to the public over Congress.
- Kiewe, Amos, ed. 1993. *The Modern Presidency and Crisis Rhetoric*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers. Examines how presidents from Truman to Bush rhetorically approached and managed crises during their presidencies.
- Klein, Patricia A. 1993. *Federal Elections 92*. Washington, DC: Federal Election Commission. 120 pages. Provides raw data on 1992 elections, including presidential primary and general election. Compiled by popular vote, maps, and results by states.
- Knock, Thomas J. 1993. *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order*. New York: Oxford University Press. 416 pages. Explains the failure of Wilson's dreams of a new world order and illuminates some forces that have inspired and frustrated later similar attempts.
- Kofsky, Frank. 1993. *Harry S. Truman and the War Scare of 1948*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 423 pages. Reveals how Truman systematically deceived Congress and the public into thinking the Soviet Union was about to launch World War III.
- Langston, Thomas S. 1992. *Ideologues and Presidents: From the New Deal to the Reagan Revolution*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 264 pages. Analyzes three key presidents to assess how ideologues have influenced presidential administrations and the presidency.
- Leffler, Melvyn P. 1992. *A Preponderance of*

- Power: National Security, the Truman Administration and the Cold War.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. 689 pages. Analyzes the initial confusion and growing resolution of a foreign policy and the Truman administration's embrace of Cold War diplomacy.
- Leloup, Lance T., and Steven A. Shull. 1993. *Congress and the President: The Policy Connection.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth. 274 pages. Offers insight into how Congress and the presidency interact, focusing on policy arenas and the framework of "patterns of interaction." Views the relationship as a complex partnership, presented through several mini-case studies.
- Levine, Myron A. 1992. *Presidential Campaigns and Elections: Issues, Images and Partisanship.* Itasca, IL: F. E. Peacock Publishers. 288 pages. Explores presidential campaigns and elections by examining elections at two levels: voting behavior trends since the New Deal and recent campaign strategies.
- Levy, Leonard W., and Louis Fisher, eds. 1993. *Encyclopedia of the American Presidency.* 4 vols. New York: Simon & Schuster. Illuminates facets of the presidency including war powers, budgets, relations with Congress, and other areas.
- Lewis, Thomas A. 1992. *For King and Country: The Maturing of George Washington, 1748-1760.* New York: HarperCollins.
- Lewis-Beck, Michael S., and Tom W. Rice. 1992. *Forecasting Elections.* Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly. 163 pages. Presents election forecasting research in an accessible manner. Examines competing equations, appraising their accuracy and length of lead time prior to election, for national, international, and statewide elections.
- McCaslin, Richard B. 1992. *Andrew Johnson: A Bibliography.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. A systematic bibliography of literature on Andrew Johnson's life and career.
- McCubbins, Mathew D., et al. 1992. *Under the Watchful Eye: Managing Presidential Campaigns in the Television Era.* Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly. 193 pages. Analyzes and reassess three great axioms in presidential elections of the effects of television on campaigns.
- Maltese, John Anthony. 1992. *Spin Control: The White House Office of Communications and the Management of Presidential News.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 297 pages. Examines the evolution of the White House Office of Communications and its role in managing news about presidents.
- Mansfield, Harvey C., Jr. 1993. *Taming the Prince: The Ambivalence of Modern Executive Power.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 384 pages. Assesses executive power in general and the character of modern republicanism in particular.
- Mead William B., and Paul Dickson. 1993. *Baseball: The Presidents' Game.* Washington, DC: Farragut Publishing. 208 pages. Reveals the genuine affection American presidents have had for baseball.
- Medhurst, Martin J. 1993. *Dwight D. Eisenhower: Strategies of a Communicator.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. 280 pages. Studies Eisenhower's skills as a communicator and how he used language to conceive strategies during his administration.
- Melder, Keith. 1992. *Hail to the Candidate: Presidential Campaigns from Banners to Broadcasts.* Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press. 212 pages. Provides a history of presidential electioneering and chronicles the changing character of the election process.
- Milkis, Sidney M. 1993. *The President and the Parties: The Transformation of the American Party System Since the New Deal.* New York: Oxford University Press. Examines the evolving relationship between the executive and party politics since the 1930s.
- Miller, Arthur H., and Bruce E. Gronbeck. 1993. *Presidential Campaigning and American Self Images.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 380 pages. Argues that the concept of "self image" is the key to understanding the paradox that Americans question the viability of the presidential electoral system yet believe it is the key to a better tomorrow.
- Mughan, Anthony, and Samuel C. Patterson, compilers. 1992. *Political Leadership in Democratic Societies.* Chicago: Nelson-Hall

- Publishers. 510 pages. Probes the relationship of democracy and leadership primarily through experiences in presidential and parliamentary systems. Considerable attention is given to presidential leadership in the U.S.
- Muir, William K. 1992. *The Bully Pulpit: The Presidential Leadership of Ronald Reagan*. San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies. 264 pages. Considers the Reagan administration, the contemporary presidency, and post-World War II American political thought. Diffuses Reagan's presidency by examining the speech-writing process, his communication with the public, and the institutions of American life he sought to instruct to carry his message to larger publics.
- Mullins, Kerry, and Aaron Wildavsky. 1992. *The Beleaguered Presidency*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transactions.
- Murray, Robert K., and Tim H. Blessing. 1993. *Greatness in the White House*. Second edition. University Park: Penn State Press. 192 pages. Assesses how historians rate presidents, updated through Ronald Reagan.
- Neely, Mark E., Jr. 1993. *The Last Best Hope of Earth: Abraham Lincoln and the Promise of America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 310 pages. Explores Lincoln's advanced ideas about military strategy and husbanding of resources, as well as his political ambition and fierce nationalism.
- Nelson, Michael, ed. 1993. *The Elections of 1992*. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press. 192 pages. Analyzes the results of the 1992 elections, providing a variety of perspectives on the outcomes, media, and effects of the results.
- Newman, John M. 1992. *JFK and Vietnam: Deception, Intrigue, and the Struggle for Power*. New York: Warner. 528 pages. Details the inner-workings of the Kennedy administration with regard to policy toward Vietnam. Explores policy choices in Laos, Cuba, and Vietnam.
- Norrander, Barbara. 1992. *Super Tuesday: Regional Politics and Presidential Primaries*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 239 pages. Comprehensive analysis of 1988 primaries, focusing on the impact of the coordinated efforts to create a regional primary. Argues that scholars should pay greater attention to the process of candidate attrition.
- O'Brien, Patrick G. 1992. *Herbert Hoover: A Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. Cites over 2600 entries depicting the continuum of contemporary and historical viewpoints on Hoover.
- Parsons, Lynn H. 1993. *John Quincy Adams: A Bibliography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. 240 pages. Guide to literature on Adams as diplomat, president, and congressman.
- Perlmutter, Amos. 1993. *FDR & Stalin: A Not So Grand Alliance, 1943-1945*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 336 pages. Assesses FDR's war strategy and his postwar vision. Sheds new light on the relationship of FDR and Stalin.
- Piffner, James P. 1994. *The Modern Presidency*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 253 pages. An introductory text to the presidency that emphasizes the modern office and its organization.
- Pika, Joseph A., Zelma Mosley, and Richard A. Watson. 1992. *The Presidential Contest*. Fourth edition. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly. 190 pages.
- Pomper, Gerald, et al. 1993. *The Election of 1992*. Chatham, NJ: Chatham House. Analysis of the 1992 presidential contest.
- Ragsdale, Lyn. 1993. *Presidential Politics*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 514 pages. A comprehensive introduction to the presidency, contrasts the image of the single executive and the reality of the plural presidency.
- Reeves, Richard. 1993. *President Kennedy: Profile of Power*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Rehnquist, William H. 1992. *Grand Inquests: The Historic Impeachments of Justice Samuel Chase and President Andrew Johnson*. New York: William Morrow. 303 pages. Paints vivid legal and political backgrounds to the impeachment proceedings of these individuals. Illuminates the impeachment of Johnson.
- Rejai, Mostafa, and Kay Phillips. 1993. *Demythologizing an Elite: American Presidents in Empirical, Comparative, and Historical Perspectives*. Westport, CT: Praeger. 172 pages. Studies characteristics in flaws and

- strengths of American presidents. Links broad historical patterns with the idiosyncratic circumstances of individual lives and careers.
- Rimmerman, Craig A. 1993. *Presidency By Plebiscite: The Reagan-Bush Era in Institutional Perspective*. Boulder, CO: Westview. Contrasts the Reagan-Bush administrations by outlining attributes of the plebiscitary presidency.
- Rozell, Mark J. 1992. *The Press and the Ford Presidency*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 264 pages. Examines major themes drawn from various mediums to show the criteria the press used in evaluating Ford's presidency. Demonstrates how certain impressions of a president take hold and resist change.
- Ryan, Halford R. 1993. *Harry S. Truman: Presidential Rhetoric*. Westport, CT: Greenwood. 232 pages. Critically assesses Truman's presidential rhetoric. Provides texts of major speeches and other material.
- Ryan, Halford, ed. 1993. *The Inaugural Addresses of Twentieth-Century American Presidents*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. 352 pages. Explores how presidents have used their addresses to empower themselves in office. Holds that the president delivers persuasive speeches to move Congress and the people.
- Schaller, Michael. 1992. *Reckoning with Reagan: America and Its President in the 1980s*. New York: Oxford University Press. 208 pages. Explains Reagan's popularity in the 1980s, as well as the ways his very real appeal trivialized American politics.
- Schneider, William, and Patrick B. Reddy. 1993. *Election Battlegrounds: Swing States and Suburbs*. Lanham, MD: AEI Press. 180 pages. Explains the realignments in American politics since World War II. Analyzes voting and opinion polling data on seven basic constituencies.
- Schroedel, Jean Reith. 1994. *Congress, the President, and Policymaking: A Historical Analysis*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe. 224 pages. Considers the significance of the separation of executive and legislative functions on policy consequences.
- Schudson, Michael. 1993. *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget, and Reconstruct the Past*. New York: Basic Books. 352 pages. Explores how America's collective memory of Watergate has changed over the years, and what this reveals about how we can learn from the past.
- Schwarz, Jordan A. 1993. *The New Dealers: Power Politics in the Age of Roosevelt*. New York: Alford A. Knopf.
- Sellers, Charles. 1992. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846*. New York: Oxford University Press. 512 pages. Re-counts the sweeping political and social historic of the period, showing how the massive national resistance to commercial interests rallied around Andrew Jackson.
- Shanley, Robert A. 1992. *Presidential Influence and Environmental Policy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood. 200 pages. Studies the administrative tools and techniques presidents have used to influence environmental policymaking.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg, and John M. Carey. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press. 316 pages. Surveys presidential and parliamentary governments and the variants between these polar types. Evaluates these systems by the standards of their electoral efficiency and their representativeness.
- Shull, Steven A. 1993. *A Kinder, Gentler Racism? The Reagan-Bush Civil Rights Legacy*. New York: M.E. Sharpe. 252 pages. Argues that Reagan and Bush elevated civil rights, yet cut back on federal protections.
- Shuman, Howard E. 1992. *Politics and the Budget: The Struggle Between the President and Congress*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. 416 pages.
- Skowronek, Stephen. 1993. *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to George Bush*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 544 pages. Argues that presidential leadership needs to be understood in "political time." Demonstrates that presidents are persistent agents of change, continually disrupting and transforming the political landscape.
- Smith, Jean Edward. 1992. *George Bush's War*. New York: Henry Holt & Co. Analyzes Bush's

- role and importance in the Desert Shield/Storm events.
- Smith, Richard Norton. 1993. *Patriarch: George Washington and the New American Nation*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Politics and government and their role in developing the nation.
- Spitzer, Robert J. 1993. *President and Congress: Executive Hegemony at the Crossroads of American Government*. New York: McGraw-Hill (paper), and Philadelphia: Temple University Press (hardcover). 309 pages. Examines the shift in policy making power and initiative between Congress and the presidency. Advocates the renewal of the separation of powers in the context of modern executive hegemony and rejects the emphasis on gridlock in viewing divided party control of these two branches.
- Stern, Mark. 1992. *Calculating Visions: Kennedy, Johnson, and Civil Rights*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. 233 pages. Focuses on Kennedy and Johnson as major actors in the civil rights struggles of the sixties and details how civil rights movements moved these presidents.
- Strong, Robert A. 1992. *Decisions and Dilemmas: Case Studies in Presidential Foreign Policy Making*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. 237 pages. Case studies in White House decisional processes analyzed from the end of World War II to the Persian Gulf crisis. Studies focus on power relationships, institutional processes, and personality factors in leadership.
- Sundquist, James L. 1992. *Constitutional Reform and Effective Government Reviewed*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
- Suzuki, Kaichi, L. Alexander Norsworthy, and Helen C. Gleason. 1993. *The Clinton Revolution: An Inside Look at the New Administration*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America. Looks at how Clinton won and his predominant presidential administration style and programs.
- Thompson, Kenneth W. 1992. *Leadership in the Reagan Presidency: Seven Intimate Perspectives*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America. 161 pages. Reviews the Reagan presidency from a broadly representative group of interpreters who elucidate different perspectives.
- Thompson, Kenneth W., ed. 1993. *Lessons from Defeated Presidential Candidates*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Tiefer, Charles. 1994. *The Semi-Sovereign Presidency: The Bush Administration's Strategy for Governing Without Congress*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. 214 pages. How Bush used the Executive Office to circumvent Congress and short-circuit the separation of powers.
- van Minnen, Cornelius A., and John F. Sears. 1992. *FDR and His Contemporaries*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 256 pages. Examines the way world leaders perceived FDR during the crises of the 1930s and World War II.
- Walton, Hanes, Jr. 1992. *The Native Son Presidential Candidate: The Carter Vote in Georgia*. Westport, CT: Praeger. 224 pages. Explores the impact Jimmy Carter had upon his home state electorate.
- Waterman, Richard W., ed. 1993. *The Presidency Reconsidered*. Itasca, IL: F. E. Peacock Publishers. 356 pages. Brings into focus the idea of an expectations gap. Seeks to provide a sounder theoretical understanding of the evolution of the modern presidency.
- Watson, Richard A. 1993. *Presidential Vetoes and Public Policy*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 208 pages. Systematically studies the effect of the modern use of the veto, focusing on elements of the policymaking process that influence presidential decisions on vetoes.
- Wattenberg, Martin P. 1992. *The Rise of Candidate-Centered Politics: Presidential Elections of the 1980s*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 200 pages. Analyzes findings from survey research to help understand politics in the 1980s.
- Wayne, Stephen J. 1992. *The Road to the White House 1992: The Politics of Presidential Elections*. New York: St. Martin's Press. Reviews presidential selection, nomination, campaigning, and elections. Historically recounts presidential campaigns and elections and implies impact on 1992.
- Wayne, Stephen J., and Clyde Wilcox. 1992. *The Quest for National Office: Readings in Elections*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 342



pages. Introduction to congressional and presidential elections, including rules and procedures, strategy, and tactics of nominations, and other facets.

Whicker, Marcia Lynn, James P. Pfiffner, and Raymond A. Moore, eds. 1993. *The Presidency and the Persian Gulf War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. Analyzes the president and war-making, the Gulf War, and its aftermath.

Wides, Louise D., Gregory J. Scott, and Robert W. Biersack. 1993. *The Presidential Public Funding Program*. Washington, DC: Federal Election Commission. 80 pages. Analyzes and provides data on the current system of financing presidential elections.

Winand, Pascaline. 1993. *Eisenhower, Kennedy and the United States of Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 448 pages. Assesses the impact of American Europeanists on U.S. foreign policy. Demonstrates the decisive impact the U.S. has had in shaping postwar Europe.

Wirks, Daniel. 1992. *Buildup: The Politics of Defense in the Reagan Era*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. 247 pages. Examines policies politicians devise to enhance the strength of the faction, examining especially SDI, nuclear freeze, and procurement reform.

Wood, Robert Coldwell. 1993. *Whatever Possessed the President? Academic Experts and Presidential Policy, 1960-1988*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.

Zelizer, Barbie. 1992. *Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination, the Media, and the Shaping of Collective Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 300 pages. Reassesses the media's role in shaping collective memory of JFK's assassination. Raises serious questions about the role of the media in defining reality and shaping myths and memories.

<sup>1</sup> Please send any bibliographic submissions for future issues of the **PRG Report** to: Todd Patterson, 208 Bryton Trace, Columbia, SC 29210; e-mail: TODD@OTIS.HSSC.SCAROLINA.EDU

## Articles on the Presidency 1992-1993

### Annotated Bibliography, Part 2

Todd Patterson<sup>1</sup>

- Beachler, Donald. 1993. A Comparison of Support for Democratic Presidential and House Candidates in the South. *Southeastern Political Review* 21: 825-838. Compares Democratic support in presidential and House elections between 1982 and 1990. Finds considerable divergence between presidential and congressional candidates' fortunes.
- Calhoun, Charles W. 1993. Civil Religion and the Gilded Age Presidency: The Case of Benjamin Harrison. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 651-667. Analyzes the influence and impact of civil religion on Harrison's campaigning and his presidency.
- Covington, Cary R., Kent Kroeger, Glenn Richardson, and J. David Woodard. 1993. Shaping a Candidate's Image in the Press: Ronald Reagan and the 1980 Presidential Election. *Political Research Quarterly* 46: 783-798. Examines Reagan's 1980 campaign strategy to judge the effects of his Issue of the Day media management strategy on his image. Shows that his strategy had success in shaping the content, but not the tone, of the press's coverage.
- Donaldson, Gary A. 1993. Who Wrote the Clifford Memo? The Origins of Campaign Strategy in the Truman Administration. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 747-753. Considers the impact and influence of the Clifford Memo on Truman's administration and his policies.
- Dye, Thomas R. 1993. The Friends of Bill and Hillary. *PS* 26: 693-695. Analyzes the filling of positions in the Clinton administration.
- Fett, Patrick J. 1993. A Context Based Analysis of Personal Presidential Lobbying of Congress. *Southeastern Political Review* 21: 659-682. Compares personal lobbying efforts of Carter and Reagan during their first years in office. Examines how each used personal



- meetings with legislators to try to win critical votes.
- Friedman, Barry D. 1993. A Case-Study Analysis of the Reagan Regulatory-Review Program. *Southeastern Political Review* 21: 705-720. Examines Reagan's predilection of regulatory review regimen. Uses specific case studies to describe some of the forces experienced by regulatory officials.
- Gelman, Andrew, and Gary King. 1993. Why are American Presidential Election Campaign Polls So Variable When Votes Are So Predictable? *British Journal of Political Science* 23: 409-451. Considers several resolutions as to what causes opinion polls to fluctuate while reaching a predictable outcome in presidential elections. Concludes the news media has an important effect on the outcomes of elections.
- Greenstein, Fred I. 1993. The Presidential Leadership Style of Bill Clinton: Early Appraisal. *Political Science Quarterly* 108: 589-601. Delineates the leadership style of Clinton from evidence provided from his first year in office. Considers why Clinton's advanced political skills didn't help his administration have a balanced beginning.
- Hamman, John A. 1993. Bureaucratic Accommodation of Congress and the President: Election and the Distribution of Federal Assistance. *Political Research Quarterly* 46: 863-879. Investigates whether elections provide bureaucrats with a means for accommodating political pressure from Congress and the White House. Concludes further theoretical consideration is needed on the marginal influence of the presidency in the bureaucratic allocation of federal assistance.
- Herrera, Richard. 1993. Cohesion at the Party Conventions: 1980-1988. *Polity* 26: 75-89. Explores the ramifications for opinion leadership and governing in party cohesion. Reports consistently low levels of issue coherence within both major parties.
- Hoff, Samuel B. 1992. Presidential Support and Veto Overrides, 1889-1988. *Midsouth Political Science Journal* 173-189. Analyzes veto overrides and their implication on presidential support.
- Khan, Haroon A. 1993. Determinants of Congressional Support for the President. *Southeastern Political Review* 21: 763-781. Examines presidential support in Congress. Concludes there is: 1) a distinction between domestic and foreign policy issues, 2) lack of partisanship influence on House support but important influence on Senate support for presidential positions, and 3) presidential experience has a negative influence for presidential position support.
- Krosnick, Jon A., and Laura A. Brannon. 1993. The Impact of the Persian Gulf War on the Ingredients of Presidential Evaluations: Multidimensional Effects of Political Involvement. *American Political Science Review* 87: 962-975. Examines Bush's overall performance ratings throughout stages of the Gulf War conflict. Findings challenge traditional views of dimensions of political involvement and support a view derived from contemporary psychological views of information processing.
- Langston, Thomas S. 1993. A Rumor of Sovereignty: The People, Their Presidents, and Civil Religion in the Age of Jackson. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 669-682. Considers how Jackson gave life to the rumor of popular sovereignty through American civil religion's counter-reformist doctrine of justification by works.
- Luger, Stan. 1993. Administrative Law, Regulatory Policy, and the Presidency. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 713-726. Examines changes in administrative law and regulatory policy with particular emphasis on recent developments concerning presidential control over executive branch regulatory officials. Studies how the administrative process has been shaped and has evolved.
- McKibbin, Carroll R. 1993. Presidential Initiative and Bureaucratic Response: Delivering the Mariner IV Pictures of Mars. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 727-737. Case study of presidential initiative, indicates that the response of bureaucracy can be a complex matter. Focuses on the frustration of presidents in dealing with bureaucracy.
- Maisel, L. Sandy. 1993. The Platform-Writing Process: Candidate-Centered Platforms in 1992. *Political Science Quarterly* 108: 671-698. Examines three aspects of the platform writing process (formal, drafts, influence on key individuals) to analyze the impact of the

process on the outcome.

Maranto, Robert. 1993. The Administrative Strategies of Republican Presidents From Eisenhower to Reagan. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 683-697. Outlines the administrative strategies of Eisenhower, Nixon, and Reagan. Particularly focuses on the Reagan administration.

May, Ann Mari. 1993. Fiscal Policy, Monetary Policy, and the Carter Presidency. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 699-711. Examines broad indicators of economic conditions to conclude that the economy performed rather well during the Carter years.

Noer, Thomas J. 1993. International Credibility and Political Survival: The Ford Administration's Intervention in Angola. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 771-785. Analyzes Ford's attempts to show leadership to secure his nomination by beginning covert involvement in Angola. Suggests Ford's failures in Africa contributes to his image of ineptness and lack of decisiveness.

Riccards, Michael P. 1993. Richard Nixon and the American Political Tradition. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 739-745. Argues that Nixon did not operate outside the rules of the game, but was closely aligned with it throughout most of his career.

Ridout, Christine F. 1993. News Coverage and Talk Shows in the 1992 Presidential Campaign. *PS* 26: 712-716. Considers the importance of campaign coverage by examining Clinton's news coverage and talk show appearances during a particular segment of the presidential campaign trail.

Rourke, Francis E. 1993. The 1993 Gaus Lecture: Whose Bureaucracy Is This, Anyway? Congress, the President and Public Administration. *PS* 26: 687-692. Considers the struggle for control over bureaucracy between Congress and the president.

Skidmore, David. 1993. Carter and the Failure of Foreign Policy Reform. *Political Science Quarterly* 108: 699-729. Explains the failure of Carter's foreign policy reform through a revisionist perspective. Argues Carter was in control of his policies and that they were responsive to ongoing changes in the international structure of power.

Stefan, Charles G. 1993. Yalta Revisited: An

Update on the Diplomacy of FDR and his Wartime Summit Partners. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 23: 755-770. Draws on many Western and Soviet sources now available to re-evaluate the Yalta Conference. Provides perspectives on the rationale underlying Roosevelt's priorities at Yalta and about the relevance of this rationale to the challenges of the post-Cold War era.

Wilcox, Clyde, Clifford W. Brown, Jr., and Lynda W. Powell. 1993. Research Note: Republican Voting Among Democratic Presidential Contributors: A Test of Rival Hypotheses. *Polity* 26: 127-140. Attempts to develop a more detailed portrait of individuals who contribute to political candidates and organizations and their voting patterns.

<sup>1</sup> Please send bibliographic submissions to: Todd Patterson, 208 Bryton Trace, Columbia, SC 29210; e-mail: TODD@OTIS.HSSC.SCAROLINA.EDU

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Louisiana State University in Shreveport will hold its second conference in a series on great American presidents. **FDR AFTER 50 YEARS**, a three-day program, is scheduled for Thursday-Saturday, 14-16 September 1995. All topics will be considered. Although the deadline for submitting proposals is October 1, 1994, early submission is strongly recommended. The Selection Committee makes decisions on a rolling basis.

For those interested in presenting papers, chairing panels, or observing the conference, please contact: William D. Pederson, History and Social Science Department, LSU-S, Bronson Hall 451, One University Place, Shreveport, LA 71115-2301.

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