

PRG REPORT

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From the Imperial Presidency to the Arrogant Presidency: Is There a Connection?

Nancy Kassop *

Everyone remembers the "Imperial Presidency." It was a time that was marked by claims of absolute executive power in a variety of separation of powers areas: war powers, covert actions, impoundment, executive privilege, and the pocket veto, to name just a few. Sharp confrontation characterized the relations between President Nixon and the liberal wing of the Democratic Congress, especially in the emotionally charged atmosphere surrounding the Vietnam War and the deep divisions over its wisdom that were apparent in both Congress and the public. Other features of this era were centralization of executive power in the White House and tighter control over the bureaucracy, both calculated to bring as much power as possible into the hands of the president and his closest advisors.

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From the Editor

Robert J. Spitzer

This issue's lead article reports on Nancy Kassop's ongoing research concerning what she labels "the arrogant presidency": a term she applies to describe the presidential successor to the imperial presidency. Much of this issue's space is also devoted to a subject of great interest to many PRG members: the status of President Clinton's choice for Archivist of the United States. The PRG troika of Berman, Kumar, and Sullivan, prepared a resolution on this matter for consideration by the APSA management council (reprinted in these pages). The council chose not to endorse it, but it did agree to bring it to the full

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council at the Midwest political science conference. Readers of PRG's e-mail have tasted more than a flavor of the debate over the appropriate qualifications for this important position. Much of this debate concerning the proper qualifications for such a position centers on an old dichotomy in political science — that of emphasizing non-political expertise, versus selection based consciously on political skill and experience. PRG secretary-treasurer Terry Sullivan has authored an excellent piece on this matter in the **Chronicle of Higher Education** (March 10, 1995, pp. B1-2). Regardless of the politics-expertise debate, most PRG readers will agree that it is high time that political science become more actively involved in such matters. Meanwhile, a White House announcement and Senate nomination hearings are imminent.

Last Fall's issue reported the names of some dozen founders of the PRG. One name left off that initial list was George Edwards. If anyone else knows of other founders, please pass the name on to me for proper recognition.

* * *

On November 10, 1994, Pres. Clinton signed an executive order which declassified 44 million pages of once secret government documents dating back to World War I, amounting to one-eighth of all secret documents held in the National Archives. Objections from the military are holding up the declassification of another five million documents. (NYT, 11/11/94)

Groundbreaking for the Bush Presidential Library at Texas A & M took place on November 30, 1994. When open in 1997, the library will house 37 million pages of documents. (NYT, 12/1/94) In a related matter, federal district court judge Charles Richey ruled on February 27, 1995, that an agreement between Bush and then-national archivist Don Wilson giving Bush

control over electronic records generated by the White House Office and the Office of Policy Development was invalid as a violation of the Presidential Records Act of 1978. According to Judge Richey, the agreement "put the law back to where it was prior to 1978." The agreement raised some eyebrows because it was consummated on the final day of Bush's presidency; Wilson subsequently resigned as archivist, and was appointed by Bush to head his own library in Texas. (NYT 3/1/95)

In what may be the first presidential ranking to include Clinton, Siena College's Research Institute published the results of a survey of over 100 presidential scholars in the disciplines of political science and history. For those interested in the presidential ratings game, the top 10 rated presidents were, in order, Franklin Roosevelt, Jefferson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Washington, Wilson, Truman, Eisenhower, Madison, and Kennedy. Clinton came in at number 16, beating out contemporaries Reagan (20th), Nixon (22nd), Carter (25th), Bush (31st), and Ford (32nd). (Albany Times-Union, 1/12/95)

Among the documents made public by the National Archives in January was a memorandum from Nixon's White House legal staff, dated January 10, 1974, which reported that Nixon's secretary, Rose Mary Woods, intentionally caused the famous 18-minute gap in a key Oval Office tape recording. (NYT, 1/13/95) Those who recall the events of that controversy from the time will not be terribly surprised by this conclusion.

The Assassination Records Review Board, organized to assess and release information about the John F. Kennedy assassination, is seeking materials related to the assassination that may now be in private hands. It is also reviewing documents still being held as secret by the government. (AP, 3/7/95)

Memo from PRG Officers On National Archivist Search

TO: MEMBERS OF PRG
FROM: Larry S. Berman, President
Marth Kumar, Vice President
Terry Sullivan, Secretary

Enclosed with this message, please find a letter and resolution that we are sending to the APSA regarding the Association's participation in the nomination process surrounding the Archivist of the United States. We are sending this letter, on relatively short notice, for two reasons:

1) We believe it is good policy for the PRG to be involved in the process resulting in the selection and confirmation of a nominee for Archivist. All of our members have a professional interest in the National Archives and the records in its charge and the policies it sets governing the free flow of public information. The PRG and APSA have not been involved in the vetting of previous Archivist candidates and we believe (as a policy) that practice should end.

2) The APSA has asked that the PRG send a letter requesting action by the board in time for the annual meeting set for March 2, that request that they consider APSA participation in the vetting process and that PRG offer some suggestions for how APSA should proceed. We have done that.

Given the short time frame given us from when we knew of the nomination process to when APSA requested the letter, we acted on our authority to protect the interests of the Group. Now that we have accomplished that, we would like to begin a dialogue about how to proceed in the future and by using what standards.

We hope that you will use the materials we drafted for APSA as a draft report on how PRG should proceed on such nominations in the future.

We look forward and encourage a lively ex-

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change via PRGNews and the Presidency Report (where this will next appear in print).

Professor Catherine Rudder, Exec. Director
American Political Science Association

Dear Professor Rudder,

As you may know, the Clinton administration currently has under review candidates for nomination as Archivist of the United States. Since the Archivist oversees the central agency responsible for government information, its policies affect the study of political science. Just as an example, a number of our members use the presidential libraries that NARA administers. And the Presidency Research Group, itself, sponsors a joint project called PRESIDENT with the presidential libraries system and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Our hope is that PRESIDENT will bring the presidential libraries onto the Internet where our researchers can have wider access to these extraordinarily valuable research materials.

The Presidency Research Group encourages the board of APSA to adopt the attached resolution. The resolution instructs the Executive Director of APSA and the APSA's Presidency Research Group to examine the credentials of the various candidates and to recommend to the Board how it should proceed in making recommendations both to the White House and to the Senate during the confirmation process.

If you need further assistance in this matter, please feel free to call on the PRG. In the short run, you may contact Professor Terry Sullivan, who is Secretary of the PRG and who is currently doing the logistical work on this issue. With my best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Larry S. Berman, President
Presidency Research Group

Resolution

In as much as the Archivist of the United States oversees an agency central to the public's understanding of government...

In as much as the Archivist of the United States oversees an agency central to political science research on many of the key institutions of our government, including the Congress and the Presidency...

In as much as the current administration is actively considering candidates for its nominee as Archivist of the United States...

Be it resolved that the Board of the American Political Science Association instructs the Executive Director and the Presidency Research Group to research the qualifications of the candidates under consideration by the administration.

Be it resolved that the Executive Director should report back to the board with recommendations as the qualifications of the various candidates as quickly as possible and no later than 15 March 1995, whereupon the Board will prepare recommendations to forward to the White House and to the Senate.

Be it resolved that, for considering these candidates, the Board adopts the standards outlined in Attachment A of this resolution.

Attachment A:

Standards for Considering Candidates for Archivist of the United States

Introduction - The American Political Science Association makes recommendations on candidates as to their being "qualified" or "not qualified" to serve as Archivist. It makes no recommendation as to which candidate is better suited to be the Administration's nominee or which candidate should receive the support of the Senate. APSA makes its recommendations on the basis of two general criteria: Does the

candidate have suitable experience? Does the candidate evidence support for public policies the APSA feels are important to governing the National Archives and Records Administration.

Suitable Experience - The National Archives is a central management agency in the federal government. Its mission includes management of the nation's information resources by recommending policies on the treatment of government records, their disposal and storage, and their accession by the general public. Its mission includes management of the Presidential Libraries system and the requirements of the Presidential Records Act. Its mission includes publishing information about government activities including the Federal Register and The Public Papers of the President. The budget of the National Archives currently stands at \$200,000,000 and it employs thousands of federal workers spread throughout the United States. Its mission also brings it into contact with the research community and the general public interested in the information resources of the National Archives.

Therefore, the APSA considers the following as important "experience" for a proper nominee as Archivist of the United States:

>> The nominee should have experience managing a large government executive. <<

The more that executive approximates the size of NARA's budget/personnel and the multi-functional scope of NARA's mission the better the experience.

>> The nominee should have experience promoting the proper treatment of government records, including their storage, preservation, dissemination, and public access. <<

The more the nominee has demonstrated through past actions a commitment to promoting proper treatment of records the better the experience. Useful experiences might include promoting through past policy-making expanded access to government records, advocating development of improved preservation techniques or im-

proving facilities for managing and preserving records.

>> The nominee should have experience dealing directly with both legislators and chief executives since these officials set policy for government records. <<

The more familiar the nominee is with the concerns of these officials, the better the nominee is capable of representing the agency's views and the better the nominee is at promoting the agency's policy recommendations. For example, under the Presidential Records Act, if the White House wanted to dispose of a presidential record, the law requires the Archivist to review the proposed disposal and report to Congress any objections the Archivist might have. Obviously, this law puts the Archivist in a very unique position in the executive branch: working for the President, but regulating presidential behavior. Obviously, an effective Archivist must maintain congressional support and the confidence of the President, simultaneously.

>> The nominee should be familiar with National Archives and Records Administration operations. <<

The more experience the nominee has had with the NARA's operations the better. Relevant experiences might include serving as a senior manager in NARA or as Director of one of NARA's presidential libraries or on one of NARA's advisory boards or one of the agencies that regularly cooperates with NARA operations, either in the federal government or in the states.

>> The nominee should have experience with the scholarly research role NARA plays. <<

The nominee should have some experience working in the user communities associated with the archives — listed in order of usage: federal agencies, genealogists, and university professors. Proper experiences would

include such things as managing a federal agency which regularly deals with NARA or being a professor or leading a public university.

Support for Proper Public Policy - The Archivist of the United States has special responsibilities for recommending policy regarding the treatment of public records. The APSA believes that in carrying out that responsibility the Archivist should favor the widest dissemination of public information with the fewest restrictions consistent with national security. The APSA also recognizes the importance of access to high-quality public information through advanced information services such as the worldwide Internet and believes that NARA should lead the government in setting policy to realize this goal.

Therefore, APSA considers the following as important "support for proper public policy" on the part of a nominee for Archivist of the United States:

>> The nominee should have the broadest possible vision for the future of government archives and information management, including development and implementation of information policy and provision for the management of electronic records. <<

>> The nominee should support expanded participation by NARA in developing the government's information resources, including electronic access through the nation's information infrastructure. <<

Currently, NARA has lagged the other federal agencies in participation on the Internet and in projects improving electronic access to records. APSA encourages NARA to take the lead in these areas.

>> The nominee should support expanded participation by users, particularly scholars, on NARA advisory boards wherever those boards advise the NARA on proper policies for accessing information. <<

Except for presidential libraries, most units of the NARA do not make provisions for extensive scholarly participation on advisory boards. APSA supports expanding focus on the scholarly users of NARA records by encouraging scholarly participation in advisory capacities.

>> The nominee should support legislation requiring all branches of the federal government improve their records policies reducing barriers to public access. <<

Currently only the Presidential Records Act places an upper limit on how long records can be denied public access. Except where an agency is forced by a successful FOIA request, federal agencies can avoid processing records for public access until the records are 30 years old. The Congress routinely closes its records permanently. The Judiciary routinely does too. APSA supports bringing each of these branches in line with the requirements of the Presidential Records Act which sets the limit on closings at 12 years.

>> The nominee should advocate for expanded openness in treating federal records under the Executive Order on Classified National Security Information. <<

Currently, the Clinton Administration considering promulgating new federal standards on how to treat classified materials. APSA encourages the free flow of information given the new international conditions.

Arrogant Presidency

(continued from p. 1)

What happened to the “Imperial Presidency?” Its ultimate demise has been explained by both constitutional and political factors. Constitutionally, we looked to Congress and the courts to adjust the imbalance of power that had developed, and to bring the system back into its state of rough equilibrium. Politically, a president was forced from office even before the constitutional process of impeachment ran its full course, and a political party was repudiated soundly at the polls at the next election.

In its wake, Congress reasserted its constitutional authority in these critical areas by passing such “framework legislation” as the War Powers Resolution of 1973, the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, the Case-Zablocki Act of 1972, the Hughes-Ryan Amendment of 1974 to the Foreign Assistance Act, the National Emergencies Act of 1976, the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 and, somewhat later, in 1980, the Intelligence Oversight Act (the product of the 1976 Church and Pike Committee hearings on intelligence operations). These laws constituted the congressional response to presidential overreaching during the Vietnam/Watergate period, primarily in the areas of foreign affairs, the budgetary process, and appropriations. They provided for congressional monitoring or oversight of executive actions

by imposing procedural requirements on the president, often in the nature of reporting or consulting provisions, findings of fact, or legislative vetoes. Funding restrictions were another congressional device, as employed in the 1976 Clark Amendment prohibiting funding to the rebels in Angola, which was the precursor to the series of Boland Amendments in the 1980s that limited or prohibited funding for the contra rebels in Nicaragua.

Politically, the Republican Party suffered a massive defeat in the 1974 midterm elections, followed by the loss of the presidency in 1976, but the real consequence of the fall from grace and power of the Republicans goes far deeper than numbers alone, and can be measured by the magnitude of the institutional and structural changes in Congress wrought by this avalanche of new members, changes that substantially reformed the internal workings of that body for the next twenty years. The “subcommittee explosion,” and, consequently, the resultant dispersion of power, the demotion of the seniority principle in the selection of committee chairs, and the placing of restrictive floor rules at the disposal of party leaders in the House (though not implemented by them until the 1980s) are chief among the changes acknowledged by political scientists to have transformed the institution, particularly the House. Beyond the obvious objective of maximizing the opportunities for Democratic control of

legislation, these changes had the equally apparent effect of making the president’s participation in the legislative process (and, by logical extension, the ability of the president’s party in Congress to participate effectively) far more difficult, frustrating and uncertain.

There is nothing new here. This is the conventional explanation or the “received wisdom” that “the system worked” to rein in an avaricious president who overstepped his constitutional bounds. But, there is a larger story to tell here, and I would offer the following hypothesis.

A decade after the imperial presidency era, beginning with the administration of President Reagan and continuing into that of President Bush (and, very likely, for far more complex reasons, continuing into President Clinton’s, as well), a pattern of high-visibility interbranch disputes, not unlike those of the imperial presidency era, appeared (e.g., item veto, pocket veto, war powers, signing statements, oversight over covert actions). In this period, presidents took actions not only to protect the constitutional prerogatives of their office, as we would expect most chief executives to do, but, at times, they also manifested an attitude, and took actions consistent with that attitude, of disregard, disdain, disrespect and, perhaps, contempt for both the *policies* and *procedures* (and, more generally, the entire institution) of Congress. In short, the imperial presidency of the earlier

era simply reappeared in a different incarnation in this latter, post-imperial period in a version outwardly more benign than the former but essentially the same at the core.

Fueling this hypothesis is my belief that there is, indeed, a connection between the imperial presidency of the late 1960s/early 1970s and what I have characterized as the "arrogant presidency" of the 1980s/1990s. This linkage manifests itself in two ways: (1) in the similarity of the *issues* that arose between Congress and the president in both eras, as well as between the *tools* or strategies employed by minority party presidents in these two periods to gain political advantage against a majority party Congress, and (2) in the *reasons* for the emergence of an "arrogant presidency," reasons which originate in the hardened and rebellious resistance by the two recent presidents to the institutional responses, both substantive and procedural, by Congress in the aftermath of the imperial presidency era.

In other words, we had presumed that we had laid the excesses of the imperial presidency to rest. In fact, we may have only been laying the groundwork for future contentious interbranch relations to reappear over many of the same issues, in an even more insidious fashion, as a counter-response by subsequent presidents to the congressional efforts to restrain and monitor their office. It should not surprise us, then, that presi-

dents would begin to fight back to regain lost ground and maybe even to claim greater territory as a hedge against future congressional attempts to invade their executive domain. Seen in this light, Reagan, by 1981, started this reclaiming process, and Bush, by 1988, continued and accelerated it.

Herein lies a powerful explanation for why both Reagan and Bush (1) resisted compliance with the procedural requirements of the War Powers Resolution; (2) disregarded the statutory provisions in the Intelligence Oversight Act and the Hughes-Ryan Amendment for notifying Congress of covert operations; (3) opposed, in principle, the use of independent counsels, as authorized by the Ethics in Government Act; (4) pleaded for the item veto as a device to counteract the restrictions and conditions on rescission authority in the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act; and, ultimately, (5) devised the tactic of using signing statements (and urging that, as expressions of "executive intent," they should be accorded the same legal weight as legislative intent) as a way to reinterpret laws of Congress and to restrict executive branch enforcement to only those provisions that the administration chose to enforce. These actions were propelled by a presidential resentment of congressional efforts to contain their range of operations, and were bolstered by vocal executive branch proponents who came to question whether the

presidency had become "impaired" or "fettered" by these congressional restraints.¹

Certainly, all presidents find themselves embroiled at some point in separation of powers struggles with Congress but there seemed to be something more at work with Reagan and Bush than the typical, inevitable, episodic struggles for power between the branches. There is a difference between a president who sporadically asserts strong claims to executive power and one who approaches the office with an overriding sense of superiority and exclusivity that has the purpose and effect of minimizing the role of the other branches. This is particularly troublesome in a system that depends for its existence and legitimacy on interbranch cooperation and sharing of power. That system presumes differences of opinion on *policy* preferences but, at least, assumes consensus on the *process* of ironing out those differences. My research on Reagan and Bush suggests that they wanted to (and tried to) fundamentally change that process in ways that would give the president a procedural advantage in order to move his policy objectives. Their vision of government was most emphatically *not* one of shared powers, or, more accurately, as Chuck Jones has noted, in an improvement on Neustadt, one of "separated institutions competing for shared powers"² but, rather, it was one of "separated institutions exercising *separate* powers," with the presidency claiming for

itself not only those powers that had been constitutionally allocated to it but raiding Congress's powers, as well (what's mine is mine and what's yours is mine, too).

The patterns of behavior that comprise the "arrogant presidency" are, as noted above: (1) a president's aggressive protection of the constitutional prerogatives of the office, borne out of a concept of executive power that is fiercely possessive and exclusive in its nature, and (2) a disdain, disregard, disrespect, and, at times, an outright contempt for many of the *policies* and *procedures* of Congress.³

Simply put, arrogance here is marked by a presumption of presidential supremacy and exclusivity that is combined with an automatic rejection of congressional efforts to protect *its* powers and an entire system of limited government. Although both Congress

and the president believed in limited government, there was one significant "catch:" these two presidents believed that *Congress* ought to be limited, while Congress believed that the *president* ought to be limited. The impasse created by such views provided, at times, a chilly atmosphere for relations between the branches.

This definition was sharpened and expanded to take note of other aspects, especially prevalent in the Bush administration. These are the wide-ranging *accumulation* of issues which precipitated presidential-congressional clashes, the *regularity* of these confrontations, and

the *harshness and stridency of the rhetoric* employed by Bush when referring to Congress.⁴

This is the ideal time for such a study, as it comes on the heels of the emergence in recent years of a vast and growing scholarly literature on the Reagan and Bush presidencies by fellow political scientists and former administration officials.⁵ The attention to the heightened profile that separation of powers disputes provided, as well as the effort to draw connections to the imperial presidency, are ideas that are not emphasized in the current literature and, yet, the extraordinary range and number of these interbranch disputes begs for some explanation.

My research so far has been in three parts: (1 & 2) individual examinations of separation of powers disputes in both the Reagan and Bush administrations, and (3) a broader, more concrete analysis of explanations for that behavior.⁶ This third effort explored in some detail the long-term factors contributing to interbranch hostility during the 1980s/1990s. These included divided government, congressional reforms, and reactions to framework legislation. The responses of Reagan and Bush to these factors depended largely on their respective political resources and advantages at given points in time, leading them to fashion, accordingly, the strategies each would use when confronted with a majority party Congress. A brief summary of some of these elements follows below.

1. Review of Separation of Powers Disputes in the Reagan and Bush Administrations

The specific areas of interbranch hostility in the Reagan administration that were examined (with some significant overlap with the Bush administration) were: (1) war powers; (2) covert actions/intelligence oversight; (3) congressional devices, such as the legislative veto (*INS v. Chadha*), the discretionary powers of the Comptroller General in budgetary decisions when removable by Congress (*Bowsher v. Synar*), and the authorizing of the judicial appointment of independent counsels (*Morrison v. Olson*); and (4) presidential initiatives, such as the pocket veto, the item veto, and the urging of legal status to bill-signing statements in the statutory interpretation process that, in effect, would permit the president to reinterpret laws passed by Congress.

The areas examined in the Bush study were: (1) the pocket veto; (2) the item veto; and (3) war powers. Other areas that were not addressed in that study but that were equally significant and need to be included are: (1) clashes over congressional oversight over covert actions; (2) the claimed power over regulatory review by the President's Council on Competitiveness; (3) objections to language in committee reports directing presidential action; (4) withholding of information from Congress by inspectors general

in criminal investigations; (5) reinterpretation of laws in signing statements and subsequent refusal to implement those laws; (6) the separate and contrary presidential interpretations of the Civil Rights Act of 1991; and (7) the December 1992 pardons of the major Iran-contra figures. The picture that emerges here is of a president and Congress (and the courts, as well) at loggerheads with each other over the scope of their respective constitutional powers.

The conclusion drawn from both of these studies was that, for those issues covered in the research (e.g., war powers, pocket veto, item veto, oversight over covert actions, signing statements) a pattern began to emerge on two levels, consisting of (1) presidential *refusal* to comply with the *procedures* established by Congress, and (2) a deliberate and willful presidential *disregard* for the laws of Congress that either required or forbade the undertaking of certain *policies*. In short, there was evidence that both Reagan and Bush believed that Congress was without constitutional authority to require the president to comply with its *procedures* and to implement its *policies*, and that these presidents believed they had the discretion to make such judgments about Congress and to substitute their *own* procedures and policies. Such a position was indicative of a rejection of any vision of shared policy-making authority and of an embrace of absolute and exclusive presi-

dential power in these areas, not wholly unlike the approach to executive power underlying the imperial presidency.

2. Long-Term Factors that Contributed to Interbranch Hostility During 1980s and early 1990s

The long-term factors that I have identified as explanations for heightened presidential-congressional confrontation during this period were: (1) the continued existence of divided government, further exacerbated by the entrenchment of the Democrats in Congress as of 1974, along with the institutional reforms established by that "freshman class," and (2) the reaction on the part of the executive branch to the "framework legislation" of the mid-1970s and to the continuing progeny of that prototype.

The section on divided government explored the political resources and advantages (and, at times, the lack of these factors) possessed by Reagan and Bush. It recognized differences in their political status, such as the fact that Reagan was elected with an overwhelming policy mandate and one house of Congress whereas Bush, with a modest 53% of the vote, had no such mandate and faced substantial opposition party dominance in both houses, and variations in the available political resources throughout each one's administration.

Framework legislation and the reactions it engendered were both described in some detail above. The general point

here is that Congress and the president operate within a cyclical relationship regarding the relative strength of their respective powers. The late 1960s and early 1970s, captured in Schlesinger's descriptive term of "the imperial presidency," was a time of presidential aggrandizement and dominance. Consequently, the reassertion of congressional authority in the mid and late-1970s was a predictable response, but it, too, provoked a counter-response, one which was driven by presidential resentment of Congress, which served to illustrate the ineffectiveness of this legislation, and which, thus, directly contributed to the eruption of the later round of presidential-congressional conflict, this time, with a distinctively sharp edge, after a brief interregnum.

3. Strategies Used by Reagan and Bush

The challenge of presidents who find themselves face to face with an opposition party Congress, who may possess varying degrees of political weakness, and who must coexist with the restraints of framework legislation is to find creative ways to harness the power of their office to help them either to (1) establish a bargaining relationship with Congress, or (2) counter congressional initiatives or efforts to regulate the executive branch. What is noteworthy about Reagan and Bush is that they pursued similar strategies, and that these courses of action were

exceptionally bold and sharply confrontational in nature. These strategies were: (1) centralization of executive branch policy-making in the White House and the resultant politicization of the bureaucracy; (2) strategic use of the veto; (3) appeals to the public for support, combined simultaneously with harsh criticism of Congress as an institution; and (4) reliance on an expansive interpretation of constitutional prerogatives, in conjunction with the development of a comprehensive legal strategy that utilized the resources of the Justice Department and the Office of the White House Counsel to vigorously defend the office of the presidency against attempts of congressional encroachment.

Conclusions

If one accepts the assumption that separation of powers conflicts seemed particularly acute and numerous during the Reagan and Bush years, and that these two presidents exemplify the characteristics of "arrogant presidents," the logical question is, why did they find greater need than most other presidents to confront Congress on a wide range of fronts? Was this due to either an overriding strategy or theory of presidential power, or, alternatively, to particular political conditions present during each one's administration?

Not surprisingly, the evidence suggests that both of these explanations played important roles here. Political conditions and conceptions of

executive power were equally significant in providing a foundation from which these two presidents approached their relations with Congress. Curiously, positions of strength as well as weakness propelled them to challenge Congress: thus, while Bush's public approval rating in May 1991 was in the 80 percent range, he launched into a blistering attack against Congress in his Princeton speech and, equally, when his approval ratings had fallen to 40 percent in March 1992, he slammed Congress once again in his address to the Republican members.⁷

The basic thesis here was that the existence of divided government (and its related effects) and the aftermath of framework legislation both contributed to the contentious relations between these two chief executives and Congress, and that both Reagan and Bush employed similar strategies so as to maximize the power of the president vis-à-vis Congress.

In trying to draw a connection between the imperial presidency of the 1960s and 1970s and the arrogance exhibited by Reagan and Bush towards Congress in the 1980s and early 1990s, one cannot fail to be struck by the similarity of (a) the *issues* that aroused legislative-executive conflicts between the two eras, such as the proper allocation of war powers, the mechanics of covert actions, control over federal spending, administrative control over the bureaucracy, and the general guarding of the powers of the office

of the presidency, and (b) the *tools* employed by both sets of presidents to work their will, tools that smack of political manipulation and defensive weaponry as presidential mechanisms by which to "trump" Congress and to retaliate against congressional efforts to carry out legitimate constitutional responsibilities. Thus, while Nixon used impoundment for policy reasons, Reagan and Bush used rescissions (the latter-day descendant of impoundment) and called repeatedly for the item veto to accomplish the same objective that impoundments had served in earlier times. Control over the bureaucracy was a constant feature for Nixon, Reagan and Bush: whereas executive orders had been the methods of choice to perform this function for Nixon and Reagan, Bush heightened the level of control here with his Council on Competitiveness. Protecting the constitutional prerogatives of the president is, also, a responsibility that all presidents feel obligated to perform, but the lengths to which they will go may vary considerably, according to their own propensities and the contemporary circumstances. The existence of these two factors as primary causes for Nixon's public posture is well-accepted: the reasons why Reagan and Bush chose to protect their office so zealously may be more subtle. Thus, this is where the effects of divided government and framework legislation offer plausible explanations.

In assessing whether there

is a connection between the imperial presidency of Nixon and the arrogant presidencies of Reagan and Bush, certain points have emerged. Framework legislation and the broader efforts by Congress throughout the 1980s to monitor the executive branch were direct consequences of the accumulation of power and the corresponding claims of its exclusivity by presidents in the imperial era: thus, Reagan's and Bush's efforts to break free from those restraints were the equally direct consequences of increased congressional control after the period of executive branch excesses.

The factor of divided government is more difficult to analyze since it has been, in one form or another, a dominant feature for much of the latter part of the twentieth century. The imperial presidency era did not provoke it, since it had existed previously. However, the 1974 Democratic sweep of Congress subsequent to the downfall of Nixon clearly contributed to a greater entrenchment of that party in that institution, and is most certainly correlated with the proliferation of congressional structures, procedures and personnel that so outraged recent presidents. Congress, in part, reacted to the increased power of the presidency and its presence as an institution in the 1970s by trying to shore up its own power and presence, in order to retain a rough parity with the executive. (We are further witnessing today the flip-side of these reforms, as an emboldened majority party

Congress has chosen to consolidate, rather than disperse its power, against a minority party president. In a strange twist of fate, it is now the 104th Congress that has taken the initiative to "confront" the president, but that is a matter for a wholly separate study.)

Furthermore, although the initial focus of this research had been primarily on Reagan and Bush, the question of how and where a Clinton presidency fits in all of this, particularly in light of the changed political environment and the reemergence of divided government caused by the 1994 elections, begs for a broadening of the scope of the research to a wider analysis of what this portends for the future of American political institutions. The American political system is clearly at a crossroads: political parties have been substantially weakened, two decades of divided government proved frustrating and exasperating, yet a brief two years of unified government culminated in a palpable voter antipathy towards politics and politicians and a puzzlingly low public approval rating for a president who garnered the most successful legislative record in forty years. Somewhere, there are explanations for these dynamics. It may well be that a potential answer may emerge from this exploration of connections between the period when public disillusionment with government first began on a large scale, the late 1960s/early 1970s, and the more recent period of confrontational government between

the policy-making branches.

Notes

1. L. Gordon Crovitz and Jeremy A. Rabkin, ed., *The Fettered Presidency: Legal Constraints on the Executive Branch* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1989).

2. Charles O. Jones, *The Presidency in a Separated System* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1994).

3. Nancy Kassop, "The Rise of the Arrogant Presidency: Separation of Powers in the Reagan Administration," paper delivered at the 1993 Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Pasadena, CA, March 18-20, 1993 and at the Hofstra University Ninth Presidential Conference: "Ronald Reagan: The Fortieth President," Hempstead, NY, April 22-24, 1993. Paper will be published by Greenwood Publishing (forthcoming) as part of the conference proceedings.

4. Nancy Kassop, "The Arrogant Presidency II: The Bush Administration Confronts Separation of Powers," paper delivered at the 1994 Western Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Albuquerque, NM, March 10-12, 1994.

5. See, for example, Ryan J. Barilleaux and Mary E. Stuckey, eds., *Leadership and the Bush Presidency: Prudence or Drift in an Era of Change* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1992); Colin Campbell, S.J. and Bert Rockman, eds., *The Bush Presidency: First*

Appraisals (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1991); Lou Cannon, *President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1991); Gary W. Cox and Samuel Kernell, *The Politics of Divided Government* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991); Morris Fiorina, *Divided Government* (New York, NY: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992); Charles Fried, *Order and Law: Arguing the Reagan Revolution - A First-hand Account* (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1991); Charles O. Jones, *The Presidency in a Separated System* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1994); Charles O. Jones, ed., *The Reagan Legacy: Promise and Performance* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1988); David R. Mayhew, *Divided We Govern: Party Control, Lawmaking and Investigations, 1946-1990* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991); Charles Tiefer, *The Semi-Sovereign Presidency: The Bush Administration's Strategy for Governing Without Congress* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994); and James A. Thurber, *Divided Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1991). In addition, excellent sources on presidential-congressional relations in the legislative process during the Reagan-Bush years abound by congressional scholars. Some of the best examples of this literature are Jon R. Bond and Richard Fleisher, *The President in the Legislative Arena* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1990); Mark

Peterson, *Legislating Together: The White House and Capitol Hill from Eisenhower to Reagan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990); and Barbara Sinclair, *Legislators, Leaders and Lawmaking: The U.S. House of Representatives in the Postreform Era* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

6. See, Kassop, "The Rise of the Arrogant Presidency: Separation of Powers in the Reagan Administration," *supra*, n. 3; Kassop, "The Arrogant Presidency II: The Bush Administration Confronts Separation of Powers," *supra*, n. 4; and Kassop, "From

*Nancy Kassop is associate professor of political science at SUNY New Paltz.

the Imperial Presidency to the Arrogant Presidency in Separation of Powers Conflicts," paper delivered at the 1994 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New York, NY, Sept. 1-4, 1994.

7. "Remarks by the President in Honorary Degree Ceremony, Princeton University, May 10, 1991," *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, Vol. 27, No. 19, p. 590; "Address to the Republican Members of Congress and Presidential Appointees, March 20, 1992," *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, Vol. 28, No. 12, p. 510.

Conference on FDR

Louisiana State University in Shreveport, the Little White House Historical Site, and Roosevelt University are calling for participants in an international and multidisciplinary conference, "FDR After 50 Years: Politics and Culture of the 1930s and 1940s," to be held on September 14-16, 1995. Interested persons should contact Bill Pederson, LSU in Shreveport, One University Place, 439 BH, Shreveport, LA 71115-2301; (318) 797-5337; FAX (318) 797-5358.

Articles on the Presidency 1994

Todd Patterson

- Arnold, Peri E. 1994. The Intellectual Roots of the Progressive Era Presidency. *Miller Center Journal* 1: 25-33. Considers how the presidency took a central role in government during the country's progressive era, 1900-1917. Discovers what circumstances and events led to this shift.
- Ball, Moya Ann. 1994. The Phantom of the Oval Office: The John F. Kennedy Assassination's Symbolic Impact on Lyndon B. Johnson, His Key Advisers, and the Vietnam Decision-Making Process. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 105-119. Concludes that Kennedy's assassination was dramatized to such an extent that his persona took on mythical and heroic proportions, affecting Johnson's decisions in his theme of continuity.
- Bashevkin, Sylvia. 1994. Facing a Renewed Right: American Feminism and the Reagan/Bush Challenge. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 27: 669-698. Empirically assesses the judicial and legislative decision making in Reagan/Bush years in key policy areas. Considers effects these presidencies had on the women's movement in America.
- Bernstein, Iver. 1994. Moral Perspective and the Cycles of Jacksonian History. *Journal of Policy History* 6: 260-271. Analyzes different histories of the era and their oscillating cycles of antipathy and support for Jackson and his policies.
- Bostdorff, Denise M., and Steven R. Goldzwig. 1994. Idealism and Pragmatism in American Foreign Policy Rhetoric: The Case of John F. Kennedy and Vietnam. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 515-530. Analyzes Kennedy's rhetoric, contending it serves as an exemplar of how presidents balance idealistic and pragmatic arguments.
- Brams, Steven J., and Samuel Merrill III. 1994. Would Ross Perot Have Won the 1992 Presidential Election Under Approval Voting? *PS* 27: 39-44. Considers the impact of Ross Perot's independent candidacy on the 1992 General Election and implications for approval voting-based methods.
- Bratton, Kathleen A. 1994. Retrospective Voting and Future Expectations: The Case of the Budget Deficit in the 1988 Election. *American Politics Quarterly* 22: 277-296. Investigates the interplay between the deficit issue and voting decision.
- Brown, Roger G., and Carolyn R. Thompson. 1994. Management of Political Functions in the Eisenhower White House: An Organizational Perspective. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 299-307. Considers how Eisenhower's staff managed political functions. Applies some established concepts of organization theory on the effects of external environmental influences on organizational change in the modern White House.
- Brown, Walton L. 1994. Presidential Leadership and U.S. Nonproliferation Policy. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 563-575. Examines nonproliferation approaches to the Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations. Identifies the persistent and new problem areas that challenge continuation of the nonproliferation regime.
- Bull, Hedley. 1994. The American Presidency Viewed from Britain and Australia. *Miller Center Journal* 1: 101-108. Discusses the presidency from the point of view of U.S. allies, Britain and Australia. Highlights similarities and differences in these two countries' perspectives.
- Butler, David. 1994. The Presidency and American Constitutionalism. *Miller Center Journal* 1: 109-123. Remarks on a British perspective of the presidency and constitutional restraints and provisions.
- Clark, Gordon L. 1994. NAFTA - Clinton's Victory, Organized Labor's Loss. *Political Geography Quarterly* 13: 377-348. Considers the implications of NAFTA's success on Clinton's presidency.
- Clarke, Harold D., and Marianne C. Stewart. 1994. Prospectives, Retrospections, and Rationality: The "Bankers" Model of Presidential Approval Reconsidered. *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 1104- . Argues that analyses and data re inadequate for assessing

- electoral patterns based on economic expectations according to a rational expectations model.
- Collier, Ken. 1994. Eisenhower and Congress: The Autopilot Presidency. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 309-325. Describes Eisenhower's relations with Congress that reflect his style of governing more than preconceived ideas of leadership. Argues the Eisenhower approach to Congress may be important beyond understanding his own presidency.
- Conti, Delia B. 1995. President Reagan's Trade Rhetoric: Lessons for the 1990s. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 91-108. Examines Reagan's rhetoric on trade from 1981 to 1988, arguing that he employed various strategies to achieve particular results with different emphases for foreign and domestic audiences.
- Crothers, A. Lane. 1994. Asserting Dominance: Presidential Transitions from Out-Party to In-Party, 1932-1992. *Polity* 26: 793-814. Examines how incoming presidents use public rhetoric to develop support for their plans and programs. Argues this approach adds significantly to understanding the transition and subsequent successes and failures of presidents once in office.
- David, James A., and David L. Nixon. 1994. The President's Party. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 363-373. Examines some of the mechanisms through which the American presidency may adapt to more decentralized government. Argues that new, institutionalized means have emerged to coordinate the electoral and policy groups of presidentially-affiliated groups.
- Duchin, Brian R. 1994. "The Most Spectacular Legislative Battle of That Year:" President Eisenhower and the 1958 Reorganization of the Department of Defense. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 243-262. An historical recount of a "spectacular" battle between the President and Congress over control of the nation's military establishment.
- Edwards, D. Clark. 1995. Predicting Presidential Decision-Making from Presidential Language and Mass Media Reportage. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 43-65. Analysis designed to develop a bridge between more general levels of qualification in content analysis and more precise, qualitative valenced world-level analysis. Qualitative aspects provide active procedures that facilitate understanding presidential decision making.
- Fett, Patrick J. 1994. Presidential Legislative Priorities and Legislators' Voting Decisions: An Exploratory Analysis. *Journal of Politics* 56: 502-512. Assesses the effect that the president's revealed ranking of an issue had on a legislator's roll-call decision during the first year of the Carter and Reagan presidencies. Determines presidential issue advertisement did have statistically noticeable affect.
- Fuhrman, Susan H. 1994. Clinton's Education Policy and Intergovernmental Relations in the 1990s. *Publius* 24: 83-97. Describes the Clinton Administration initiatives in education and the framework that underlies them, then addresses four aspects of intergovernmental relationships highlighted by current federal policy.
- Gaskin, Thomas M. 1994. Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, the Eisenhower Administration and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1957-1960. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 341-361. Considers Johnson's role in achieving bipartisanship in foreign policy during Eisenhower's administration. Concludes Johnson's efforts increasing his stature and bolstered his reputation as more than a domestic politician.
- Gibson, Martha Liebler. 1994. Managing Conflict: The Role of the Legislative Veto in American Foreign Policy. *Polity* 26: 441-472. Argues that the 1983 Supreme Court decision ruling the legislative veto unconstitutional has had important and unforeseen consequences in foreign policy. Develops a typology of foreign policy issues and analyzes a series of representative cases to show the differential impact of the decision across foreign policy matters.
- Gienapp, William E. 1994. The Myth of Class in Jacksonian America. *Journal of Policy History* 6: 232-259. Argues that class divisions are largely a myth formulated by scholars. Largely sites the works of Charles G. Sellers.
- Greenstein, Fred I. 1994. "The Hidden-Hand Presidency: Eisenhower as a Leader" - A 1994 Perspective. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*

- 24: 233-241. Provides a contemporary perspective on a classic volume, "Eisenhower as a leader.
- Greenstein, Fred I. 1994. The Presidential Leadership Style of Bill Clinton: An Early Appraisal. *Miller Center Journal* 1: 13-23. Delineates Clinton's leadership style evident in the first year of his presidency.
- Hager, Gregory L., and Terry Sullivan. 1994. President-Centered and Presidency-Centered Explanations of Presidential Public Activity. *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 1079-1103. Assesses the president's public activities. Citing empirical evidence suggests an important role for presidency-centered explanations and a necessary control for technology; these models need to provide additional insight into presidential activities to be more effective.
- Haney, Patrick J. 1994. The Nixon Administration and Middle East Crises: Theory and Evidence of Presidential Management of Foreign Policy Decision Making. *Political Research Quarterly* 47: 939-959. Examines how the Nixon Administration attempted to structure and manage advisory groups during two foreign policy crises. Explores the links between structure and process in foreign policy decision making.
- Harlow, Bryce. 1994. Richard Nixon: The Man and the Political Leader. *Miller Center Journal* 1: 81-97. Interview about Richard Nixon as an individual and politician.
- Herrera, Richard. 1994. Cohesion at the Party Conventions, 1980-1988. *Polity* 26: 75-89. Shifts focus of party cohesion from support for party nominees and implications for electoral success to party organizations and explores ramifications for opinion leadership and governing. Reports consistently low levels of issue coherence within both major parties, even among delegates who support the same candidate.
- Hershey, Marjorie Randon. 1994. The Meaning of a Mandate: Interpretations of "Mandate" in 1984 Presidential Election Coverage. *Polity* 27: 225-254. Considers four different definitions of "mandate," arguing that the dominant interpretation of the 1984 election focused on a policy mandate.
- Hoff, Samuel B. 1994. The Presidential Pocket Veto: Its Use and Legality. *Journal of Policy History* 6: 188-208. Traces the history of and review use in the 19th century of the pocket veto. In several stages assess the ramifications for presidential effectiveness and consequences of heightened consternation over this scarcely studied executive power.
- Holbrook, Thomas M. 1994. The Behavioral Consequences of Vice-Presidential Debates: Does the Undercard Have Any Punch? *American Politics Quarterly* 22: 469-482. Examines the political consequences of vice-presidential debates. Indicates that vice-presidential debates do influence public opinion.
- Holbrook, Thomas M. 1994. Campaigns, National Conditions, and U.S. Presidential Elections. *American Journal of Political Science* 38: 973-998. Develops and tests a model of candidate support, incorporating campaign variables and national conditions. Concludes that national conditions have greater impact on determining election outcomes.
- Hoover, Judith D. 1994. Ronald Reagan's Failure to Secure Contra Aid: A Post-Vietnam Shift in Foreign Policy Rhetoric. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 531-541. Compares Reagan's rhetorical stances toward Nicaragua with previous administrations, concluding whether the failure of his rhetoric marked the end of the Cold War or merely was a swell in the ebb and flow of American foreign policy.
- Hovenkamp, Herbert. 1994. Comment on Charles Seller's *The Market Revolution* and William Gienapp's "The Myth of Class in Jacksonian America." *Journal of Policy History* 6: 272-276. Provides commentary on perspectives of the Jackson era, based on articles in the same journal issue.
- Jackman, Robert W., and Ross A. Miller. 1995. Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies During the 1980s. *Comparative Political Studies* 27: 467-492. Evaluates the validity of contending perspectives on institutional arrangements embodied in electoral laws. Examines connections between institutional factors of voter turnout rates in 22 democracies, then considers possible linkages between cultural factors.

- Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1994. Issues, Candidate Image, and Priming: The Use of Private Polls in Kennedy's 1960 Presidential Campaign. *American Political Science Review* 88: 527-540. Argues that social psychologists' notion of priming offers an empirically-grounded and theoretically-plausible campaign strategy for treating image and issue as interconnected strategy concerns.
- Kahn, Michael A. 1995. The Appointment of a Supreme Court Justice: A Political Process from Beginning to End. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 25-41. Argues that Robert Bork's rejection was a unique event. Demonstrates that criterion used by presidents and senators to select Supreme Court Justices often result in rejection for political reasons.
- Kengor, Paul G. 1994. The Role of the Vice President During the Crisis in the Persian Gulf. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 783-807. Illuminates Dan Quayle's role during the Gulf crisis. Cites instances where Quayle expressed his personal views on policy, shedding light on situations in which he contributed to policy formulation.
- Kiser, George C. 1994. Are Senior Citizens Too Old for the Vice Presidency? A Look at the Record. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 809-821. Explores whether Vice Presidents that begin their terms after reaching age 65 are more vigorous or has health declines so seriously that it undermined their performance in office.
- Lanoue, David J. 1994. Retrospective and Prospective Voting in Presidential-Year Elections. *Political Research Quarterly* 47: 193-205. Considering the 1984 and 1988 elections, develops models of the effects of economic evaluations on voting in presidential and congressional elections. Finds that retrospective economic judgments have stronger and more consistent impact on voting behavior.
- Lowi, Theodore J., et al. 1994. Presidential Democracy in America: Toward the Homogenized Regime. *Political Science Quarterly* 109: 401-438. Examines the oxymoron of the American Presidential Democracy and its evolution, with subsequent discussion on topics raised.
- Mervin, David. 1995. The Bully Pulpit II. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 19-23. Considers the contingency of personal freedom, leadership and other aspects of the Reagan administration. (See also Muir, 1995.)
- Miscamble, Wilson D. 1994. The Foreign Policy of the Truman Administration: A Post Cold-War Appraisal. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 479-494. Traces American participation in the Cold War through the Truman Administration. Analyzes the strategy of containment, formulated during the period, which guided American foreign policy for the next four decades.
- Muir, William K., Jr. 1995. The Bully Pulpit. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 13-17. Considers the contingency of personal freedom, leadership and other aspects of the Reagan administration. (See also Mervin, 1995.)
- Mayer, William G. 1994. Review Essay: Four Quick Takes on 1992. *Polity* 27: 331-337. Provides synopses of four major analyses of the 1992 elections.
- Monardi, Fred M. 1994. Primary Voters as Retrospective Voters. *American Politics Quarterly* 22: 88-103. Examines the influences of perceptions of the economy and other retrospective issues in selecting a party's nominee for the presidency. Demonstrates that when a primary is contested by an incumbent president, primary voters behave in a similar manner to general election voters.
- Nacos, Brigitte Lebens. 1994. Presidential Leadership During the Persian Gulf Conflict. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 543-561. Argues that Bush's leadership during the Persian Gulf conflict was a mixed bag of international, domestic, and Washington-focused performances.
- Neustadt, Richard E. 1994. Presidential Transitions: Are the Risks Rising? *Miller Center Journal* 1: 3-12. Considers whether the risks in presidential transition are rising.
- Nutting, P. Bradley. 1994. "Tobias Lear, S.P.U.S.:" First Secretary to the President. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 713-724. Attempts to understand Lear, the largely ignored first Secretary to the President, his relationship with Washington, the workings of

- the early "executive office," and the varied responsibilities of this position.
- Pace, Joseph Michael. 1994. Public Funding of Presidential Campaigns and Elections: Is There a Viable Future? *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 139-152. Suggests that public funding of presidential elections may terminate in the near future without federal legislation to offset the projected demise of existing funding systems.
- Parry-Giles, Shawn J. 1994. The Eisenhower Administration's Conceptualization of the USIA: The Development of Overt and Covert Propaganda Strategies. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 263-276. Examines how the Eisenhower Administration constructed new propaganda strategies for America's Cold War with the Soviet Union. In all, the administration ushered in a new and more sophisticated approach to the practice of propaganda.
- Patterson, Bradley H., Jr. 1994. Teams and Staff: Dwight Eisenhower's Innovations in the Structure and Operations of the Modern White House. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 277-298. Argues that Eisenhower is the father of the modern White House, the structures of which tend to be replicated in subsequent presidencies.
- Piper, J. Richard. 1994. "Situational Constitutionalism" and Presidential Power: The Rise and Fall of the Liberal Model of Presidential Government. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 577-594. Analyzes the four principal components of the normative liberal model of presidential government and the political situations which gave rise to their emergence and led to their demise.
- Poe, Steven C., and Rangsimma Sirirangsi. 1994. Human Rights and U.S. Economic Aid During the Reagan Years. *Social Science Quarterly* 75: 494-509. Shows that whether human rights make a difference in U.S. economic aid allocation depends on how the question is framed. Argues during the Reagan era that human rights were not considered in allocating economic assistance.
- Ponder, Stephen. 1994. The President Makes News: William McKinley and the First Presidential Press Corps, 1897-1901. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 823-836. Considers McKinley's contributions to the modernization of presidential press relations with the press differed from his predecessors, documenting major new initiatives.
- Renda, Lex. 1994. Retrospective Voting and the Presidential Election of 1844: The Texas Issue Revisited. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 837-854. Argues that the Texas annexation issue did not hinder Henry Clay's campaign in the northern states in the 1844 election.
- Rogal, Samuel J. 1994. From Pedagogue to President: Thomas Woodrow Wilson as Teacher-Scholar. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 49-56. Looks at Wilson on a more personal level, considering his experience and abilities that set the stage for the election of 1912.
- Rozell, Mark J. 1994. Executive Privilege in the Bush Administration: Constitutional Problems, Bureaucratic Responses. *Miller Center Journal* 1: 63-80. Contrasts Bush's and Reagan's leadership styles and their implications for how each administration tried to manage controversy over executive privilege.
- Rozell, Mark J. 1994. President Ford's Pardon of Richard M. Nixon: Constitutional and Political Considerations. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 121-137. Examines the constitutional arguments both opposed to and in favor of the Nixon pardon. Develops a normative conclusion.
- Rozell, Mark J. 1995. Presidential Image-Makers on the Limits of Spin Control. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 67-90. Identifies perceptions of White House media strategists regarding presidential efforts to manage and control the media. Contends that perceptions of media strategists influence their evaluations of the president's actions and the development of their strategies.
- Saunders, Robert M. 1994. History, Health and Herons: The Historiography of Woodrow Wilson's Personality and Decision Making. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 57-77. Overview of conflicting interpretations on the relationship between Wilson's personality, health, and decision-making. Argues his decisions were not affected by psychological or medical influences.

- Seyb, Ron. 1994. The Death and Rebirth of Reorganization Planning: Symbolic Action, Divided Government and Orthodox Administrative Theories Enduring Appeal. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 725-744. Contends that while much of the writing on the administrative presidency strategy treats it as a substitute for comprehensive reorganization, the two main approaches to administrative reform can co-exist.
- Shelley, Fred M., and J. Clark Archer. 1994. Some Geographical Aspects of the American Presidential Election of 1992. *Political Geography Quarterly* 13: 137-159. Historical and contemporary analyses of the 1992 popular vote for President on a state-by-state basis. Considers why Clinton prevailed while previous Democratic presidential hopefuls did not.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg, and Rein Taagepera. 1994. Plurality Versus Majority Election of Presidents: A Proposal for a "Double Complement Rule." *Comparative Political Studies* 27: 323-348. Discusses various methods used for presidential elections. Presents an alternative method that compromises between plurality and majority methods; the "double complement rule" seeks to encourage the coalescence of partisan forces around broad coalitions.
- Sidey, Hugh. 1994. Presidential Character. *Miller Center Journal* 1: 127-131. Describes some elements of presidential character. Speculates on certain characteristics and their levels of success of recent presidents.
- Sirgiovanni, George S. 1994. Dumping the Vice President: An Historical Overview and Analysis. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 765-782. Examines the history of the recent "dumping" the Vice President phenomenon. Demonstrates that circumstances involved in such events are peculiar and unlikely to reoccur in the modern context.
- Smith, Kevin B. 1994. Abortion Attitudes and Vote Choice in the 1984 and 1988 Presidential Elections. *American Politics Quarterly* 22: 354-369. Re-examines the impact of abortion attitudes on voting behavior in national elections. Finds that pro-choice attitudes do influence behavior at the individual level in national elections.
- Sorensen, Theodore C. 1994. Foreign Policy in a Presidential Democracy. *Political Science Quarterly* 109: 515-528. Considers processes and powers in the making of foreign policy in America's presidential democracy. Provides historic examples of the evolution and changing power bases over time.
- Spitzer, Robert J. 1994. The Disingenuous Presidency: Reagan's Veto and the 'Make-My-Day' President. *Congress and the Presidency* 21: 1-10. Argues that Reagan used a symbolic veto strategy to reap its political benefits while minimizing its political costs by transforming rhetoric into reality, yielding a "disingenuous presidency."
- Stathis, Stephen W. 1994. Impeachment and Trial of President Andrew Johnson: A View From the Iowa Congressional Delegation. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 29-47. Analyzes Johnson's experience of testing his accountability.
- Stid, Daniel D. 1994. Woodrow Wilson and the Problem of Party Government. *Polity* 26: 533-578. Analyzes Wilson's solution to the problem of party government. Although more nuances and pragmatic than the later "responsible party model," the theoretical and political difficulties he encountered suggest that the problem of party government in the U.S. is an intractable one.
- Strong, Robert A. 1994. Anecdote and Evidence: Jimmy Carter's Annapolis Address on U.S.-Soviet Relations. *Miller Center Journal* 1: 35-54. Analyzes the circumstances around and impact of Jimmy Carter's Annapolis address and its failure to clarify U.S.-Soviet relations. Concludes Carter's Administration, because of its complication, never described America's relations with the USSR on a level comparable to Nixon or Reagan.
- Stuckey, Mary E. 1994. Review Essay: Presidents and Political Contexts. *Journal of Politics* 56: 818-823. Analyzes various attempts to research the presidency by moving away from individual focus toward more theoretically-grounded analysis.
- Thiemann, William G. 1994. President Hoover's Efforts on Behalf of FDR's 1932 Nomination. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 87-91. Analyzes Herbert Hoover's effect on the 1932 presidential nomination.

Vaughn, Steven. 1995. The Moral Inheritance of a President: Reagan and the Dixon Disciplines of Christ. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 109-127. Considers the impact of Ben Bill Cleaver and Reagan's mother, Nell, on the values Reagan took into the presidency.

Walcott, Charles, and Karen M. Hult. 1994. White House Organization as a Problem of Governance: The Eisenhower System. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 327-339. Argues that more attention needs to be paid to the diversity of decision structures in the White House rather than to classifications of entire staff systems or to categories of "formal" and "informal."

Walworth, Arthur. 1994. Considerations on Woodrow Wilson and Edward M. House: An Essay Letter to the Editor. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 79-86. Provides insight on Wilson and appeals for accurate interpretations of Wilson's aspirations and motives.

Whicker, Marcia Lynn, and Ruth Ann Strickland. 1994. The Impact of Presidential Selection Methods on Executive-Legislative Conflict. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 24: 745-763. Using computer simulation, tests the effectiveness of nine different presidential selection methods in generating executive-legislative conflict. Concludes non-partisan methods generally result in less conflict than their partisan counterparts, but reduction in conflict can be attained with the adoption of certain partisan selection options.

Wilcox, Clyde, Clifford W. Brown, Jr., and Lynda W. Powell. 1994. Republican Voting Among Democratic Presidential Contributors: A Test of Rival Hypotheses. *Polity* 26: 127-.

Young, James Sterling. 1994. America's First Hundred Days. *Miller Center Journal* 1: 57-62, Considers, in a historical context, the "First Hundred Days" phenomenon in the America presidency.

Zentner, Scot J. 1994. Liberalism and Executive Power: Woodrow Wilson and the American Founders. *Polity* 26: 579-599. Examines how Wilson's theory of presidential leadership follows from a view of executive power different from that of the Founders, with the executive role understood as the embodiment of the national will as head of the administrative state.

Papers Presented on the Presidency 1994

Todd Patterson

American Political Science Association
Hilton and Sheraton Hotels, New York, NY,
September 1-4, 1994.

Abramson, Paul R., et al. "The Problem of Third Party & Independent Candidacies in American Political System: Wallace, Anderson and Perot in Comparative Perspective." Michigan State University.

Adams, Elizabeth. "FDR and Clinton: A Tale of Two Reluctant Free Traders." University of Pittsburgh.

Adler, David G. "Presidential Prerogative and Constitutional Theory." Idaho State University.

Alfange, Dean, Jr. "The Quasi-War and Presidential War Making." University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Atkeson, Lonna. "Presidential Nomination Campaigns and General Elections: The Divisive Primary Hypothesis Re-Visited." University of Colorado, Boulder.

Bayes, Jane. "Women in Top Administrative Positions: A Comparison of the Reagan and Clinton Administrations." California State University, Northridge.

Brand, Donald. "The Impact of Christianity on the Modern American Presidency." Wilkes University.

Brehm, John, and Paul W. Gronke. "A Heteroskedastic Time Series Model of Volatility in Presidential Approval Ratings." Duke University.

Clark, Janet, and Caleb M. Clark. "The Gender Gap in Perceptions of Candidates & Parties in '92 Election: Does Gender Consciousness Influence Elector Choice?" University of Wyoming; Auburn University.

Clausen, Aage R., and Rodney Anderson. "Partisan and Ideological Alignments in Congressional Voting During the Carter and

- Reagan Administrations." Ohio State University.
- Coleman, John J. "Party Organizations and Partisanship in the Public." University of Wisconsin.
- Conley, Patricia D. "Methodological Approaches to the Study of the Presidency." Northwestern University.
- Cook, Brian J. "Administrative Theory and Presidential Rhetoric." Clark University.
- Cornfield, Michael. "The 'First Hundred Days,' 1933-1993: From Historic Event to Media Ritual." George Washington University.
- Covington, Cary R., and Lester G. Seligman. "Transition in the Presidency: Coalitions and Crisis." University of Iowa; University of Illinois.
- D'Ambrosio, Lisa, and Ken Goldstein. "Who Conducts the Choir: The Relationship Among the Political Enviro, Organizational Structures and Mass Mobilization." University of Michigan.
- Downing, Kim. "Media Interpretation of Political Events: Evidence from Election 1992." Rutgers University.
- Duffy, Robert J. "Regulatory Oversight in the Clinton Administration." Rider College.
- Disinger, Robert M. "Don't Tell Congress: Presidential Polling in the 1950s and Beyond." University of Chicago.
- Farnsworth, Steve. "Framing the Vote: Presidential Elections, the Economy and the 'Involved' Poor." Georgetown University.
- Fett, Patrick J. "Reassessing Abstention as an Aid to Presidential Coalition Building." Memphis State University.
- Fisher, Louis. "Truman in Korea." Congressional Research Service.
- Forshee, Richard. "Presidential Activism and Obstruction in Committee and on the Floor." University of Michigan.
- Froslid, Karen L. "The President and Public Opinion in Foreign Policy." American University.
- Genovese, Michael A. "Presidential Corruption: A Framework." Loyola Marymount University.
- Gillespie, Michael. "Separating Valence from Arousal in the Public's Emotional Response to Presidential Candidates: 1980, 1984, & 1988 Campaigns." University of Alberta.
- Glad, Betty. "The Psychological Factors that Shape Presidential Advising." University of South Carolina.
- Gold, Howard J. "Third Party Voting in Presidential Elections: A Study of Perot, Anderson, and Wallace." Smith College.
- Greene, Steven. "Who Gives the Honeymoon Bash? A Motivational Approach to Post-Election Changes in Presidential Popularity." Duke University.
- Groseclose, Timothy J. "Testing Competing Electoral Strategies Using Presidential Vetoes." Carnegie-Mellon University.
- Hagen, Michael G. "Candidate-Centered Politics and the Focus of Attention in Presidential Elections." Harvard University.
- Handberg, Roger B. "Reinventing the Space Station: Executive Leadership in an Era of Uncertain Resources." University of Central Florida.
- Hart, John. "The Politics of Symbolism: The Causes and Consequences of Presidential Staff Reductions." Australian National University.
- Hoefer, Richard. "Social Welfare Interest Groups' Advocacy Efforts on the Executive Branch." Northern Illinois University.
- Houghton, David Patrick. "The Role of Analogical Reasoning in Novel Foreign Policy Situations." University of Pittsburgh.
- Huckfeldt, Robert, Paul Allen Beck, and Russel J. Dalton. "Partisan Mobilization in the 1992 Presidential Election." Indiana University; Ohio State University; University of California, Irvine.
- Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Robert Y. Shapiro. "The Public Face of Power: Richard Nixon's Private Polls." University of Minnesota; Columbia University.
- Jackson, David J. "Popular Music and Political Participation: Consuming Communities." Wayne State University.
- Kaarbo, Juliet. "A Comparison of Presidential and Prime Ministerial Styles in Foreign Policy Decision Making." University of Kansas.
- Kassop, Nancy. "From the Imperial Presidency to the Arrogant Presidency in Separation of Powers Conflicts." State University of New York, New Paltz.
- Kerbel, Matthew R. "Old Wine in More Bottles: Coverage of the 1992 Presidential Election on

- Broadcast and Cable Television." Villanova University.
- Kinder, Donald R., and Karin L. Tamerius. "From Racial Crossroads to Racial Neglect: The Priming and Prejudice in the 1988 and 1992 Presidential Elections." University of Michigan.
- Kumar, Martha Joynt. "Personal Style and Presidential Communications Strategies." Towson State University.
- Laracey, Mel C. "The Presidential Newspaper: The Forgotten Way of Going Public." University of Michigan.
- Lieske, Joel A. "The Responsible Electorate Revisited: The Meaning of the 1992 Presidential Election." Cleveland State University.
- Link, Michael W. "Network Analysis and Presidential Research: A New Approach to the Study of Advisory Systems." University of South Carolina.
- Macdonald, Stuart Elaine, et al. "Issues and Candidate Choice in 1992." University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Magoon, Michael. "Media Coverage of Third Party Presidential Candidates." Brown University.
- Maranto, Robert. "Reinventing All Over Again: The Clinton Transition in the Bureaucracy." Lafayette College.
- Michelson, Melissa R. "The Effect of Presidential Approval on Presidential Power." Yale University.
- Morris, Barry Alan. "Reagan as Lear." Pace University.
- Norpoth, Helmut. "Politics and Economic Expectations." State University of New York, Stony Brook.
- Page, Paul. "The Administrative Power of the Presidency: A Case Study of the Defense Closure and Realignment Commission." State University of New York, Albany.
- Palazzolo, Dan, and Bill Swinford. "Remember in November?" Ross Perot, Presidential Power, and the NAFTA." University of Richmond.
- Petrocik, John. "Issue Ownership in Political Elections." University of California, Los Angeles.
- Ponder, Daniel E. "Reformulating Neutral Competence Theory: Expertise and Responsiveness in the Carter Administration." University of Colorado, Colorado Springs.
- Prysbly, Charles L., and John W. Books. "Presidential Voting, Economic Attitudes, and the Local Economic Context." University of North Carolina, Greensboro; University of North Texas.
- Renka, Russell D. "The Locus of Presidential Success and Failure with Congress." Southeast Missouri State University.
- Robinson, Donald L. "Presidential Prerogative and the Spirit of American Constitutionalism." Smith College.
- Roelofs, H. Mark. "The Study of the Presidency: A Phenomenological Approach." New York University.
- Ruckman, P. S., Jr. "Executive Clemency in the United States, 1990-1993: An Empirical Analysis." Northern Illinois University.
- Salmon, Jeffrey. "Roosevelt in the Wild: Does Modern Environmentalism Understand Nature?" George C. Marshall Institute.
- Sanders, Mitch. "Beneath Stormy Waters - The Evolution of Individual Decision-Making in the 1984 and 1988 Presidential Elections." University of Rochester.
- Savage, Sean J. "To Purge or Not to Purge: Hamlet Harry and the Dixiecrats." St. Mary's College.
- Schoppa, Leonard. "Comparing the Impact of Gaiatsu Over Time: Clinton, Bush and the Effort to Pry Open the Japanese Market." University of Virginia.
- Shaw, Daron R. "Breaking the Rules: Ross Perot's 1992 Presidential Campaign." University of California, Los Angeles.
- Simon, Dennis M., and Charles Ostrum. "Public Evaluation of Presidential Performance: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis." Southern Methodist University; Michigan State University.
- Smith, James G. "Clinton and the Rhetorical Presidency: The Case of Equality." West Chester University.
- Smith, Paul A. "Local and National Party Responses to Third and Non-Party Organizational Strategies." State University of New York, Binghamton.
- Sullivan, Terry, et al. "The Mysterious Mistress: Timing in Presidential Success." University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Tenpas, Kathryn Dunn. "Institutionalized Politics: The White House Office of Political Affairs." University of South Florida.

Thomson, Vivian. "Presidential Power and Environmental Policy." University of Virginia.

Weatherford, M. Stephen. "Policy Argumentation and Presidential Leadership." University of California, Santa Barbara.

Willner, Ann R. "Jimmy, Bill, and Ross: Populist Southern Style and Strategies." University of Kansas.

Wye, Melissa. "John F. Kennedy and Bill Clinton: Images of Death and Mythology in Campaign Film Biographies." University of Southern California.

Zegart, Amy. "The Politics of National Security: Origins of the National Security Council." Stanford University.

Midwest Political Science Association

Palmer House (Hilton), Chicago, IL, April 14-16, 1994.

Adkins, Randall E. "The Post-Modern Nominating Environment: What Happends to Presidential Nominations After 1992?" Miami University.

Anderson, James E. "The President and the Regulatory Process." Texas A&M University.

Arnold, Laura W., and Herbert Weisberg. "Murphy Brown Meets Al Bundy: Parenthood, Family Values and the 1992 Presidential Elections." Ohio State University.

Baumann, Lawra J. "Presidential Threats and Institutional Adaptability: Reagan and the Departments of Energy and Education." University of Cincinnati.

Beck, Paul Allen, and Audrey Haynes. "Party Effort at the Grass Roots: Local Presidential Campaigning in 1992." Ohio State University.

Bond, Jon R., and Richard Fleisher. "Clinton and Congress: A First Year Assessment." Texas A&M University; Fordham University.

Brattebo, Douglas M. "Presidential Homework: Executive Preparation for Personal Diplomacy." University of Maryland, College Park.

Callaghan, Karen, and Simo Virtanen. "Crises and Honeymoons: 'Critical Times' Variations in the Effect of the Economy on Presidential

Popularity." University of Massachusetts, Boston; University of New Hampshire.

Ceccoli, Steve, and Mark R. Joslyn. "Media Messages and Voter Preferences, Is There a Link?: Estimating the Impact of Media Information During the 1992 Presidential Campaign." Washington University, St. Louis.

Cohen, David. "Presidential Management Models and the Polk Presidency." University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Cohen, Jeffrey E. "The President's Most Important Problem." University of Kansas.

Corrigan, Matthew. "Presidential Budgetary Success in Congress." University of Florida.

Covington, Cary R., Rhonda Kinney, and J. Mark Wrighton. "Accounting for Presidential Success on Roll Call Votes: The Impact of Agenda Status and President's Position on Passage." University of Iowa.

Dennis, Jack, and Diana Owen. "Perot and the Media." University of Wisconsin, Madison; Georgetown University.

Diamond, Gregory Andrade, and Michael D. Cobb. "The Candidate as Catastrophe: Threat Perception and Issue Voting in the 1992 Presidential Election." University of Illinois.

Dickinson, Matthew J., and Kathryn Dunn Tenpas. "Presidential Staff Shuffling: The Impact of the Reelection Campaign on White House Staff Structure." Harvard University; University of South Florida.

Durham, Gesele E. "Executive Requests of Foreign Assistance to Sub-Saharan Africa: A Levels of Analysis Approach to Understanding the Choices of Who and How Much." University of Minnesota, Morris.

Edwards, George C. III, and Tami Swenson. "The Anatomy of a Rally Event." Texas A&M University.

Fabrizio, Paul. "Who Wins the Presidential Nomination: The Democratic Party Since Campaign Reform." Emory University.

Farnsworth, Stephen J. "The Economy and Presidential Elections: A Study of Unionization's Role in the States." Georgetown University.

Farrar-Myers, Victoria. "Separation of Powers in a Political Environment: The War Power and the Judiciary's Role in Defining Executive-Legislative Relations." State University of New York, Albany.

- Gilbert, Christopher P., David A. Peterson, and Timothy R. Johnson. "Patterns of Support and Defection for Third-Party Presidential Candidates: A Comparison of Anderson, Perot and Wallace Voters." Gustavus Adolphus College; Washington University, St. Louis.
- Gilbert, Robert E. "The Political Effects of Presidential Illness: The Case of Lyndon B. Johnson." Northeastern University.
- Gimpel, James G., and Robin M. Wolpert. "Presidential Approval and the Public Response to Controversial Supreme Court Nominees." University of Maryland; Georgetown University.
- Gizzi, Michael C. "The Presidential Management Explanation of Failed Supreme Court Nominations: The Case of Judge John Parker." State University of New York, Albany.
- Goidel, Robert K., and Ronald E. Langley. "Media Accuracy, Public Opinion, and Economy-Driven Election Outcomes: Do the Tone and Prominence of Coverage of the Economy Accurately Reflect Conditions?" University of Southwestern Louisiana; University of Kentucky.
- Gonzalez, Noelle T. "Newspaper Editorials, Public Policy and Presidential Elections." Northwestern University.
- Gregg, Gary L. "Servant or Leader: The Contemporary Presidency and Political Representation." Miami University.
- Hertz, Kaenan. "Estimating Non-Linear Difference Equation Systems for Presidential Mobilization." Emory University.
- Hoffman, Karen S. "Executive vs. Legislative Representation: Which Interests are Represented Where?" University of Chicago.
- Hubbard, Clark. "Reaching the Masses: Media Impact in a Presidential Campaign." State University of New York, Stony Brook.
- Huckfeldt, Robert, and Russell Dalton. "Political Information and Social Communication in the 1992 Presidential Election." Indian University; University of California, Irvine.
- Jackman, Simon. "Now How Do You Explain That?: Accounting for Economic Expectations, Realizations, and 1992." Princeton University.
- Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Robert Y. Shapiro. "Public Opinion and Military Policy in Vietnam: Lyndon Johnson's Private Polling." University of Minnesota; Columbia University.
- Jurkovic, Timothy. "A Mass Psychology Analysis of the 1988 Presidential Campaign Advertisements." Bowling Green State University, Firelands College.
- Kaid, Lynda Lee, et al. "Videostyle in the 1992 Campaign: Presidential Presentation Through Televised Political Spots." University of Oklahoma.
- Kerbel, Matthew R. "Covering the Coverage: The Self-Referential Nature of Television Reporting in the 1992 Presidential Campaign." Villanova University.
- Kern, Montague, Darrell West, and Dean Alger. "How Voters Construct Meaning from Political Ads The 1992 Presidential Election 'Read My Lips' Campaigns." Rutgers University; Brown University; University of North Dakota.
- King, Erika. "Prestige Newspaper Coverage of Personal Qualities of the 1992 Presidential Candidates." Chatham College.
- Lambert, Jaylene D. "Campaign Rallies and the Perot Vote." University of Kansas.
- Levy, Michael. "Public Opinion and Executive Decision-Making: Desert Shield to Desert Storm." University of Kentucky.
- Lin, Tse-min, and Tim Fackler. "Political Corruption and the Presidential Vote." University of Texas, Austin.
- Lockerbie, Brad. "The Presidential Honeymoon: Is It Overrated?" University of Georgia.
- Lowenthal, Diane. "Dropping In and Dropping Out: The Effect of Third-Candidate Entry and Exit on Voter Preferences." Carnegie-Mellon University.
- Lynch, Patrick, and Michael Munger. "Business Cycles and Presidential Elections: A Time Series Analysis." University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Mudd, Charles L., Jr. "An Initiative in the Study of the Destructive Effects of the Symbolic Presidency." Purdue University.
- Murphy, Tim. "The Effects of Delegate Allocation Methods on the Democratic and Republican Presidential Nomination Process." University of Cincinnati.
- Neuman, Dale A. "Perot Voting: Old Bottles and New Wine." University of Missouri, Kansas City.

- Peterson, Geoffrey D. "An Initial Examination of American Indian Voting Patterns in Presidential Elections, 1952-1988." University of Iowa.
- Potoski, Matthew. "Getting Beyond Cuba: Kennedy and the Integration of the University of Mississippi." University of Vermont.
- Quirk, Paul, and Bruce Nesmith. "The President, Congress, and the Representation of Diffuse Interests." University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; Coe College.
- Ragsdale, Lyn, and John J. Theis. "The Institutionalization of the American Presidency." University of Arizona.
- Renka, Russell D. "Of Presidents and Time: Presidential Capital and the Political Calendar." Southeast Missouri State University.
- Roberts, Brian E. "The Industrial Organization of the 1992 U.S. Presidential Elections." University of Texas, Austin.
- Sanders, Mitch. "Beneath Stormy Waters: The Evolution of Individual Decision Making in the 1984 and 1988 Presidential Elections." University of Rochester.
- Savage, Sean J. "The Origins and Impact of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Liberalism on the Democratic Party." St. Mary's College.
- Serra, George, Albert D. Cover, and Neil Pinney. "Ideological Cohesion Between Congress and the President: Does the Road to the White House Matter?" University of Miami; State University of New York, Stony Brook; Western Michigan University.
- Shields, Todd, and Chi Luang. "Institutional Conflict: An Event County Model of the Presidential Veto Process." University of Kentucky.
- Spiliotes, Constantine J. "Institutional Authority and Policy Choice: The Evolution of the President as Macroeconomic Policy Maker." University of Chicago.
- Stambough, Stephen J. "Anti-Incumbency and Cue Theory: This Time the Margins Started to Vanish." University of California, Riverside.
- Steger, Wayne P. "An Analysis of the Effect of Presidential Agenda-Setting and Policy Formulation on Presidential Success in the House and Senate." University of Iowa.
- Strand, Douglas. "Gay Rights and the Clinton Coalition: Gays-in-the-Military as a Case Study in the Dynamics of Public Support for the President." University of California, Berkeley.
- Sweet, Barry. "The Presidential Use of Force." West Virginia University.
- Vavreck, Lynn. "Exposure and Ideology in Presidential Elections: A Multiplicative Model of Changing Attitudes." University of Rochester.
- Waligora, Colleen, Dennis W. Gleiber, and Steven A. Shull. "Articulating the Theory of Presidential Power: Conceptualizing and Measuring Professional Reputation." University of New Orleans.
- Wattier, Mark J., Jesse F. Marquette, and John C. Green. "Partisan Beliefs Versus Prior Behavior: Rival Interpretations of the 1992 Presidential Election." Murray State University; University of Akron.
- Wawro, Gregory J. "The Political Development of Impoundment: Presidential Discretion and Congressional Control." Cornell University.
- Wrighton, J. Mark, and Stephen A. Borrelli. "Policy Performance: Toward a Reconciliation of Presidential Support Theories?" University of Iowa; University of Alabama.
- Yantek, Thom, and James J. Best. "Invitation to Struggle? Or an Invitation to the Dance?: Legislative-Executive Relations in the Federal Budgetary Process." Kent State University.
- Yin, Jun, and Dennis W. Gleiber. "Prosecuting War and Presidential Popularity." University of New Orleans.

Northeastern Political Science Association
Omni Baltimore Hotel, Providence, RI, November 10-12, 1994.

- Boynton, Richard F. R. "Vice-Presidential Power, An Institutional Analysis: Task Force on Regulatory Relief and Council on Competitiveness." Mount Holyoke College.
- Brattebo, Douglas. "Eisenhower and Kennedy: Contrasting Approaches to Presidential Homework." University of Maryland, College Park.
- Burbach, David. "Presidential Approval, Public Preferences, and the Use of Force." Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Cammarano, Joe, and Jim Josefson. "Issues or Stereotypes? Information Processing in the

- 1988 and 1992 Presidential Elections." Syracuse University.
- Carter, Stephen K., Jr. "Public Approval of the Clinton Presidency." University of Connecticut.
- Dautrich, Kenneth, and Kimberly Downing. "The Unpredictable Voter? Sources of Change from Pre-Election Polls to Electoral Choice." Rutgers University.
- Dickinson, Matt. "Institutionalizing the Presidency: FDR and the Brownlow Commission." Harvard University.
- Drachman, Edward. "President Clinton's Decision to Return Haitian Boat People: The Anatomy of Failure." State University of New York, Geneseo.
- Freie, John, and Neil Kraus. "The Changing Metaphors of Presidential Debates: From the Battlefield to the Stage." Le Moyne College; State University of New York, Albany.
- Gullan, Harold I. "1948: Truman vs. Dewey, The Upset That Wasn't." Temple University.
- Harris, Douglas B. "Dwight Eisenhower, The Modern Republicans, and Party Change." John Hopkins University.
- Hart, David M. "Herbert Hoover's Last Laugh: The Enduring Significance of the Associative State." Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.
- Hoff, Samuel B. "Biting the Bullet: LBJ and the Veto Power." Delaware State University.
- Kilcoyne, Paula. "Lying, Daydreaming, Disavowal and Other Forms of Denial: Richard Nixon." Springfield College.
- Lefkowitz, Joel. "The System of 1972: Reform, Counter-Reform, and Possibilities in the Presidential Nominating System." City College of New York.
- Leighton, Andree. "The New Age Presidency: Leadership Models and American Politics." Temple University.
- Mayer, William G. "Forecasting Presidential Nominations." Northeastern University.
- Misciagno, Patricia S. "Revisiting the Mythic Presidency." Bucknell University.
- Morgan, William. "The Impact of Media Coverage of the Iranian Hostage Crisis on the 1980 Presidential Election: Agenda-Setting." Indiana University.
- Norton, John. "Must Democratic Rhetoric Pander? A Case Study of the 1992 Campaign Rhetoric of Bill Clinton." Lebanon Valley College.
- Paul, Ezra. "Manipulating the Timing of Presidential Primaries." Harvard University.
- Popyk, Frank Stanley. "Public Opinion, Television, and Perception of Crisis: The Case of the Gulf Crisis, 1990-91." Wayne State University.
- Pavord, Andrew C. "Ideology, Party Coalitions, and Regime Transition: The Collapse of the Republican Coalition in the Presidential Campaign of 1912 and the Birth of the Regime Candidates." John Hopkins University.
- Rice, Tom W. "Attitudes Toward a Black for President, 1972-1993." University of Vermont.
- Schurin, Ron. "The President as Enforcer: Wilson, Roosevelt and Congressional Primaries." Baric College.
- Sennick, Marianne. "A Typology of U.S. Presidents and Their White House Staffs."
- Smailes, David A. "The Pedagogical President: How Bill Clinton's Political Beliefs Shape His Administration." Regis College.
- Speel, Robert. "Electoral Realignment in the Northern United States in Presidential Elections Since 1952." Pennsylvania State University, Erie.
- Vike, James. "Regulatory Policy in the Era of Divided Government: EPA and OSHA During the Reagan and Bush Years." Syracuse University.
- White, John K. "Vice-Presidential Selection." Catholic University of America.

Southern Political Science Association

Colony Square Hotel, Atlanta, GA, November 3-5, 1994.

- Bollinger, Troy M. "Who's on First? The Congressional and Presidential Role in Trade Policy in Central America." Miami University, Ohio.
- Borrelli, Stephen A., and Brad E. Lockerbie. "Hidden Honeymoons? Agendas and the Dynamics of Presidential Influence in Congress." University of Alabama; University of Georgia.
- Brattebo, Douglas M. "Kennedy and Johnson: Contrasting Approaches to Presidential Homework." University of Maryland.

- Carrico, Gary W. "The Kennedy Administration and Vietnam: A Case for Modifying the Bureaucratic Politics Model of Decision-Making." Emory University.
- Cavalli, Carl D. "The Behavioral Presidency: A Framework for Research." North Georgia College.
- Cavanaugh, John W. "The King Caucus Revisited: A Proposal to Strengthen the Role of Political Parties in the Presidential Nomination Process." University of South Carolina.
- Clark-Daniels, Carolyn. "FEMA and Natural Disasters: Presidential Influence or Bureaucratic Response." Iowa State University.
- Corell, Gina L. "Presidential Television Style and Civil Rights." Louisiana State University.
- Dalager, Jon K. "Nationalization Patterns in the U.S. Normal Vote — Presidential Elections, 1828-1984." University of Illinois.
- Damore, David F. "Fundraising in Presidential Nomination Campaigns." University of Georgia.
- Devore, Joseph A., and Stacie L. Haynie. "Supreme Court Voting and Presidential Ideological Expectations, 1916-1992." Louisiana State University.
- Downing, Kimberly. "Media Interpretation of the 1992 Presidential Debates: Was Format the Issue in the Presidential Debates of 1992?" Rutgers University.
- Farrar-Myers, Victoria A. "Reagan and Bush: The Reconstruction and Articulation of a Regime." State University of New York, Albany.
- Gartzke, Erik A. "Congress and Back Seat Driving: Modeling the War Powers Resolution with Information Theory." University of Iowa.
- Gregg, Gary L., II. "Toward a Representational Framework for Presidency Studies." Clarion University of Pennsylvania.
- Gurian, Paul-Henri. "Strategic Decisions in the 1992 Presidential Primaries." University of Georgia.
- Hicks, D. Bruce. "Contrasting Constitutional Visions of the U.S. President's Foreign Policy Role." Francis Marion University.
- Holt, Karen E. "Zealot Rivalry: Bureaucratic Responses to Administrative Policy Redirection." University of Tennessee.
- Hubbard, Clark R. "Media Signal Impact in a Presidential Campaign." State University of New York, Stony Brook.
- Kitts, Kenneth D. "The Rise of National Security Commissions in the Presidential Advisory System." Francis Marion University.
- Lengle, James I., Diana M. Owen, and Molly W. Sooner. "Divisive Nominating Campaigns and Party Success: A Further Refinement." Georgetown University.
- Link, Michael W. "Evolving Cliques: The Development and Evolution of White House Network Structures." University of South Carolina.
- Martin, David L. "Ross Perot at the Grass Roots: A County Level Analysis of Where He Ran Strongest in 1992." Auburn University.
- Merrill, Tasha M. "Presidential Contenders: Where are They Coming From?" University of Georgia.
- Morris, Irwin L. "Congressional Dominance, Executive Control, or Bureaucratic Independence: The Case of the Federal Reserve." Texas Tech University.
- Nelson, Christopher D. "Organizing for Power: OMB Regulatory Clearance and the Institutional Foundations of Presidential Power." University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Peterson, Geoffrey D., and Rachell Gwen Aved. "Staying Private 2: Enter Eisenhower." University of Iowa.
- Read, David A. "Him Who Sits on It: Hegel, Zizek, and the Sublime Presidency." Purdue University.
- Ruckman, Peter S., Jr. "Clemency Policies of Our Nation's First Four Presidents." Northern Illinois University.
- Stanley, Harold W. "The Party Coalitions and the Clinton Presidency." University of Rochester.
- Stuckey, Mary E., and Elizabeth L. Macy. "Classifying Presidential Communicative Strategies." University of Mississippi.
- Swansbrough, Robert H. "Presidential Personality and Leadership Style: Policy Making." University of Tennessee, Chattanooga.
- Tenpas, Kathryn Dunn. "Passing the President's Policy Agenda: Political Party as Presidential Lobbyist." University of South Florida.
- Voyles, James. "A Comparison the Reagan/Bush and Clinton Justice Departments on Minority-Majority Districts." DeKalb College, North.

Whicker, Marcia Lynn. "Comparing the Nixon and Reagan Presidencies." Rutgers University.

Book Review

The Myth of the Modern Presidency. David K. Nichols. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994. 181 pp. \$32.50 cloth; \$13.95 paper.

Prolific scholarly analysis has established that the American presidency has undergone a fundamental transformation since its creation in 1789. Scholars differ as to the degree, desirability, and consequences of this transformation, but few dispute the fundamental conclusions that a) the modern presidency is importantly different from that envisioned by the framers, and b) that the shape of the modern presidency is only partially explainable by its constitutional basis. David Nichols seeks to challenge the conventional wisdom head-on. As his title asserts, analysis that posits the existence of a distinctly "modern" presidency is largely in error. While admitting that modern presidents do more than their predecessors, Nichols claims that this greater activity is simply a function of the fact that "modern American government as a whole does more." (p. 7) There has not been, he insists, "a change in the constitutional balance of power among the branches" (p. 7). To support this claim, Nichols examines the familiar cases of budgeting, the president's responsibilities as chief executive, and war powers to assert that the powers presidents exercise in these areas today spring directly and fully from constitutional mandate. Nichols further argues that a strong executive with wide discretion was the primary intent of the framers, and is entirely consistent with a popular government of limited powers.

Nichols proposes an intriguingly counter-intuitive hypothesis that is woven together with considerable skill. Yet his analysis fails from the very start. To begin with, Nichols says that the so-called myth of the modern presidency "has

been accepted largely on faith. There has been little scholarly work devoted to defining and outlining the development of the 'modern Presidency.'" (p. 2) To be sure, after the era of Corwin and Rossiter, such analysis did lapse during the rush to behavioralism. Yet in recent decades (especially after Watergate), voluminous work has examined the development of the presidency, including prominent work by the likes of Louis Fisher, Theodore Lowi, David Adler, James Sundquist, Michael Robinson, Sidney Milkis, Michael Nelson, Stephen Skowronek, and Robert Scigliano. Devotees of the study of American political development have given this matter special focus. Nichols bypasses much of this work, and most of the arguments and facts these authors marshal.

Second, Nichols argues that the "increased activity of the President can be attributed to change in the character of government and society, and not to a change in the balance of power between the President and the other branches." (p. 6) This assertion is offered as though the generalized rise in the scope of governmental activities somehow severs or insulates the president from any change in constitutional balance. Yet the rise of the modern American state is inextricably intertwined with that of the presidency, as Lowi, Skowronek, Milkis, and Grant McConnell before them demonstrated.

To buttress his claim that the modern strong presidency arises directly from the Constitution, Nichols relies primarily on Hamilton's view of the president as the archetype for interpreting executive powers, beginning with Hamilton's constitutional blueprint offered to the Constitutional Convention on 18 June 1787. While the delegates at the convention expressed admiration for the thoughtfulness of Hamilton's proposal for an executive-centered government, "his ideas" noted Max Farrand, "were too radical to meet with any general approval." Yet Nichols tries to soften this judgment by claiming that many of the provisions of Hamilton's plan were "not as radical as they initially appeared to be." (p. 47) In any case, the convention ignored Hamilton's plan, and Hamilton himself left Philadelphia, returning briefly only two or three times. Thus, Hamilton's plan tells much about Hamilton, but

little about what the founders were after when they designed executive powers.

Nichols' effort to put a Hamiltonian spin on Article II takes a fatal turn when he further claims that "Hamilton best expressed the spirit of the Constitution in his 'Pacificus Letters.'" (p. 49) Nothing could be further from the truth. Hamilton's efforts to reinvent the presidency to follow his own vision reemerged during his service as Washington's secretary of the Treasury, when he sought to fortify his president's political position by advancing an expansive view of presidential power in foreign affairs. To be sure, his views as expressed in the Pacificus letters foreshadowed the evolutionary path the presidency has taken. But Hamilton was asserting his own vision in an attempt to gain partisan advantage for his president. He was emphatically not speaking for the delegates to the Federal Convention. Here, indeed, is the crux of Nichols' interpretive error. The modern presidency has taken a clearly Hamiltonian, as opposed to Madisonian, turn. Yet it is not because the Hamiltonian view was incorporated into Article II, as Nichols would want the reader to believe; rather, it is because of the vagueness of the definition of executive powers (the best that Hamilton's allies could obtain), the precedents of strong presidents, and the willingness of Congress to yield to executive discretion. Nichols mostly jumps over the prolific scholarship on these issues, not to mention Hamilton's own more restrained detailing of executive powers in the Federalist Papers.

As for Nichols' three case studies, each suffers from selective analysis that pays only the briefest attention to considerable contrary evidence. In the case of budgeting, Nichols fudges his own argument at the outset by saying that "the change in the balance of power between the President and Congress from the nineteenth to the twentieth century is greatly exaggerated, and the contemporary role of the President in the budgetary process is a logical outgrowth of the constitutional office." (p. 67) As for the former assertion, Nichols cites but does not discuss the important analysis of Fisher, Donald Kettl, Allen Schick, Lance LeLoup, Aaron Wildavsky, Howard Shuman, or others. Nichols' latter assertion scarcely supports his own argument, since the president's existing

budgetary powers have been granted to him constitutionally by congressional enactment (as opposed to springing directly from Article II). Nichols' budget power analysis illustrates not some unknown constitutional underpinning for expansive executive budget authority, but simply a Madisonian sharing and shifting of powers. His analysis of the president's administrative responsibilities using the cases of removal power and the legislative veto similarly illustrate a far more Madisonian than Hamiltonian view of the presidency.

As for his treatment of war powers, Nichols says that the "argument for legislative supremacy does not hold up in light of the debates at the Constitutional Convention." (p. 126) As David Adler has convincingly demonstrated, it does indeed hold up. Hamilton himself made this clear in Federalist #69, and the Supreme Court has said the same, in cases ranging from *Bas v. Tingy*, *Talbot v. Seeman*, and *Little v. Barreme* to the *Youngstown* case. Moreover, the commander-in-chief is accountable to Congress in the instance of imperfect or limited war as well as perfect or general war. Nichols does offer useful analysis on the nature of emergency powers, which by their nature favor executive discretion. This indeed is one explanation for greater executive power, despite the fact that twentieth century presidents have exploited the concept of emergency well beyond constitutional bounds to suit their political objectives.

What Nichols labels presidential "pools of discretion" (p. 137) may exist within the Constitution. But the existence of such pools does not mean that the Constitution or the founders created or countenanced the modern presidency. (Vague wording opened the door to greater executive discretion, but that is a far more limited assertion than the claim that the end product of that discretion was specifically authorized by the framers.) The error that Nichols and some others make is two-fold: first, they presume that the modern presidency cannot be an entirely legitimate presidency if the Constitution cannot be said to incorporate the array of modern presidential activities; second, some analysts (not necessarily Nichols) who desire a stronger presidency pursue the mantle of constitutional legitimacy because of its enormous symbolic importance in American

politics. The first motivation is false, since to conclude that the modern presidency results from a legitimate mix of Constitution and politics is no slight against the modern chief executive; the second motivation is potentially pernicious, because it encourages false analysis.

Even though it is not his intention, in the end Nichols' analysis buttresses the prevailing

wisdom—that there is indeed a distinctly modern presidency that is understandable only in the light of the marriage of constitutional roots and distinctly American political development.

Robert J. Spitzer
SUNY Cortland

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