

# PRG REPORT



Newsletter of the Presidency Research Group

The American Political Science Association

Volume XVIII, number 1

Spring 1996

## “NIXON”: Character Study<sup>1</sup> or Character Assassination<sup>2</sup>

Michael A. Genovese  
Professor, Political Science  
Director, Institute for Leadership Studies  
Loyola Marymount University

We will always have Richard Nixon to kick around. But does he deserve it? When ex-presidents Ford, Carter and Nixon were given a sendoff as they flew to represent the United States at Anwar Sadat's funeral, Senator Robert Dole quipped, "There they go: See-No-Evil, Speak-No-Evil, and Evil."

Richard Nixon seems to invite scorn.<sup>3</sup> So self-consciously awkward was he that he often seemed a caricature of himself. Now, Oliver Stone, one of the great filmmakers of the world and someone who would surely have made Nixon's enemies list, gives us a sometimes sympathetic, often brutal portrait of a Nixon possessed by demons and hounded from within; a man who could not escape his tormenting past, and a man driven by insecurities of mythic proportions.

Stone's *Nixon* has been hounded by criticism from the Nixon family  
(continued on p. 8)

## Chief Clerk's Report

Martha Joynt Kumar

Since we met at the APSA convention, we have moved on all of our agenda items. The conference on the American presidency is scheduled for November 15th and 16th, 1996, the proposal for a White House Interview Program is under consideration at the National Archives, and the reform movement is under way at Presidential Studies Quarterly. Let's take each in turn.

"Presidential Power: Forging the Presidency for the 21st Century." The Presidency Research Group and Columbia University will cohost a conference on the American presidency at Columbia University. The 35th anniversary of *Presidential Power* by Richard Neustadt serves as the backdrop for

(continued on p. 2)

<b>Inside</b>	<i>From the Editor</i>	2
<b>This</b>	<i>Proposal for White House Interview Program</i>	4
<b>Issue</b>	<i>In Memory of Barbara Hinckley</i>	6
	<i>Articles on the Presidency 1995</i>	10
	<i>Papers Presented on the Presidency 1995</i>	13

# From the Editor

Robert J. Spitzer

This issue includes an intriguing look at Oliver Stone's recent film about Richard Nixon by Mike Genovese (move over, Siskel and Ebert), and an obituary about Barbara Hinckley, whose good work will be sorely missed by the readers of this publication. Readers should take special note of the several upcoming events highlighted in this issue — in particular, the conference on the presidency inspired by Richard Neustadt's *Presidential Power*, to be held at Columbia University on November 15 and 16. See Chief Clerk Kumar's report for details.

Note also that the PRG is now on the World Wide Web. The address is: [HTTP://SUNSITE.UNC.EDU/LIA/PRGNET](http://SUNSITE.UNC.EDU/LIA/PRGNET)

The American Political Science Association Annual Convention will be held this year in San Francisco from August 29-September 1. A complete list of presidency panels is reprinted in this issue. But please note in particular these PRG events to be held at the APSA:

- A special meeting is being organized, thanks to George Edwards and Martha Kumar, which is designed to bring together presidency specialists and book publishers who specialize in presidency books and presidency book series. The session, tentatively titled "Publishing Presidency Research: Scholars Invited to Meet Editors and Publishers," is scheduled for Saturday from 12:30-1:30, and will be an extremely beneficial opportunity for those with book ideas, projects, or manuscripts related to the presidency or leadership to meet with interested publishers. This may be especially helpful for newer scholars less schooled in the sometimes baffling, if not byzantine world of publishing.

- The PRG's Governing Council will hold its breakfast meeting at the APSA on Friday at 7:30 AM. The PRG Business meeting will be held on Friday from 12:30-1:30.

- A board meeting of *Presidential Studies Quarterly* will also be held at the APSA, and all interested persons may attend.

\* \* \*

Pres. Clinton's FY 1997 budget is available on the internet. The World Wide Web address is: <http://www.doc.gov/BudgetFY97/index.html>

After protracted litigation, more than 3000 hours of

Nixon White House tapes will soon become available to the public. The tapes cover the key period from February 1971 to July 1973, and are said to include some of the most dramatic moments of the Nixon presidency. According to an archivist who worked on the tapes for five years, the tapes are "a godsend for historians" for the insights they provide "not only on Watergate, but domestic policies, the 1972 election, the whole area of foreign policy and diplomacy." (NY Times, 3/27/96)

\* \* \*

Congressional Quarterly has published two brief reference works that our readers may find useful in this election season. The *Guide to the 1996 Presidential Election*, by Michael L. Goldstein, (1995; \$17.95) is a 93-page compendium of pertinent election related information that incorporates a description of the primary and general elections process. For class and student use, each chapter includes several exercises and a brief bibliography of recommended readings. CQ has also produced *Candidates '96: Profiles of Presidential Contenders*, edited by Ronald D. Elving (1995; 160 pp.; \$18.95). This reference work provides detailed biographies of all pertinent presidential contenders for 1996.

---

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

our conference. In our conference, we will honor Richard Neustadt, consider the state of presidency research, and explore presidential performance and efforts to make the presidency a more effective institution. In designing our conference, we are focusing on bringing together junior and senior scholars, including Richard Neustadt. The panels will include junior scholars as paper presenters with our senior members serving as facilitators. While we have no intention to exclude senior people, we will make every effort to include junior members. The facilitators will lead what we hope will be a lively discussion between the presenters and the audience. Since you have received a description of the conference and its panels, there is no need to review them here. In addition to the events detailed in the letter, we have scheduled an informal gathering of students of Richard Neustadt who will discuss his impact on their teaching and their work. The group will include scholars and people who work in the political world.

We will keep you up-to-date on conference arrangements through postings on our list service

(prgnews) and on our Web page (<http://sunsite.unc.edu/lia/prgnet>). We will use the same sites to tell you about the disposition of our request for a grant from the National Science Foundation to fund travel to the conference for young scholars and for the conference participants. The conference agenda should be in order by the end of April or early May. When the agenda is settled and location arrangements firmed up, Columbia University will send a mailing to each of you with information on conference registration procedures. We hope that you will join us in New York for what will certainly be a special event.

White House Interview Program. In early January we submitted to the National Archives a proposal for a joint partnership between the Presidency Research Group and the Archives for the purpose of developing information on White House staff operations. With the aim of developing comparable information across administrations, we will provide appropriate people to conduct interviews with senior and middle level White House staff members, develop questions for the scholars to ask, and make suggestions of people to be interviewed. Most especially, we want to interview people with the information needed to build a solid record of the actions of specific administrations and the White House as an institution. While we will provide the scholars to conduct the interviews, we have requested that the Archives transcribe the tapes and make them available to researchers, preferably by putting them on-line. We have included our proposal in this issue of *PRG Report*. The Deputy Archivist and acting head of the presidential library system, Lew Bellardo, indicated that we can expect to hear from the Archives in late spring concerning the status of our request. As with the Neustadt conference, we will keep you posted electronically.

A Presidency Journal. One of our agenda items stemming from our fall meeting is to follow the progress of the transition between editors now underway at *Presidential Studies Quarterly* and to encourage the development of the Quarterly into a solid scholarly journal. As a co-chair of the editorial board, this fall I gathered a small group of editorial board members, most of whom were members of the Presidency Research Group, to craft a proposal detailing needed changes in journal operations and procedures. Our group made recommendations calling for an editorial policy statement stressing our interest in sound scholarship, the establishment of sound professional editorial procedures, the creation of specific guidelines for the

## PRG Officers

### President

Martha J. Kumar, Towson State University

### Vice President

Terry Sullivan, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

### Secretary-Treasurer

Karen Hult, Virginia Polytechnic Institute

### Newsletter Editor

Robert J. Spitzer, SUNY Cortland

### Governing Council

David Gray Adler, Idaho State University (95-98)  
Ryan Barilleaux, Miami University of Ohio (95-98)  
John Burke, University of Vermont (93-96)  
George C. Edwards III, Texas A & M (95-98)  
Michael Genovese, Loyola Marymount University (95-98)  
Betty Glad, University of South Carolina (93-96)  
Susan Hammond, American University (93-96)  
Karen Hult, Virginia Polytechnic Institute (93-96)  
Lawrence Jacobs, University of Minnesota (94-97)  
Nancy Kassop, SUNY New Paltz (94-97)  
Janet Martin, Bowdoin College (94-97)  
Russell Renka, Southeast Missouri State University (94-97)  
Mary Stuckey, University of Mississippi (94-97)  
Shirley Anne Warshaw, Gettysburg College (95-98)  
Richard Waterman, University of New Mexico (93-96)

### Graduate Student Board Member

Michael Link, University of South Carolina

### 1996 Program Section Chair

Mary Stuckey, University of Mississippi

selection of an editor and editorial board members, and a call for a search for a publisher for the Quarterly, including as possible candidates the Johns Hopkins University Press and the University of Chicago Press. The proposal will be presented for a final reading at the May editorial board meeting. Following the September

meeting of the board, which will take place at the American Political Science Association convention, I will step down from my position on the editorial board. I have put a considerable amount of energy into shaping the reform program and believe it is now up to others to carry it out. I will then join Susan Webb Hammond as a co-editor of *Congress and the Presidency*.

During the fall, we added an item to our agenda. In an extended e-mail conversation, our members crafted a letter to the nominating committee of the American Political Science Association detailing some of the challenges confronting the association and suggesting Fred Greenstein as a person well suited to address the problems we described. We discussed the myriad problems facing graduate students, including funding and job placement, and described concerns raised by the current efforts, particularly by members of the House of Representatives, to make deep cuts in government grants to social science scholars. Whoever is to lead the Association, it is important that attention be paid to both of these areas of concern.

## Proposal for a White House Interview Program

January 7th 1995  
Mr. Lewis Bellardo  
Deputy Archivist  
The National Archives

Dear Lew,

Enclosed is a proposal for the development of a White House Interview Program, an enterprise to be operated jointly by the National Archives and the Presidency Research Group. The goal of the program is to produce a finished understanding of the operations of a President and his White House. By creating an oral account of recent administrations, an important element will be added to the presidential record. The written material left behind by an administration provides significant substance to the portrait of a President's years in office, but typically many unanswered questions remain. Why was a proposal put forward, where and how did ideas develop, what alternative policies were considered, who suggested them? These are queries that typically arise when a scholar is piecing together the operations of an administration or linking

together the actions of several. The oral record of an administration constitutes one aspect of the "essential evidence that documents...the actions of federal officials", a goal of the National Archives articulated by Archivist John Carlin in his "Strategic Directions for the National Archives and Records Administration".

Our proposal comes with the strong support of our membership. Indeed in our e-mail discussions of the program, many members volunteered to conduct interviews. Those offering to do so include the most prominent among presidency scholars. Charles Jones, recent President of the American Political Science Association and 1995 winner of the annual Richard E. Neustadt Award for the best book on the presidency, tendered his services. Other interview volunteers include several winners of the Neustadt Award and past Presidents of the Presidency Research Group. Numbering among them are Bert Rockman, George Edwards, Larry Berman, and Erwin Hargrove. Many other productive presidency scholars are lined up behind them.

Our program will build a record across administrations as well as within individual White Houses. We will seek comparable information in order to analyze trends over time. Working through a committee of presidency scholars experienced in interviewing White House personnel, the Presidency Research Group will compile a list of senior and middle level staff members whose recollections will add to our knowledge and understanding of an administration. The committee will develop subject areas to explore and questions to be asked. Again, many members have volunteered service on the proposed committee.

The program has generated strong interest among our members because as a group we are concerned about the quality of the record a White House leaves behind. We are genuinely committed to building a full portrait of a President's term in office and of his White House operations.

When you would like to discuss the program, please feel free to call me. I can be reached at 302 328-9498 or by e-mail at E7U4KUM@toe.towson.edu.

Best Wishes,

Martha Joynt Kumar  
President  
Presidency Research Group

## **The White House Interview Program**

The Presidency Research Group proposes a joint program with the National Archives to develop an oral record of the White House across administrations, including an account of its operations, the individuals serving on the staff, and decisions reached there. Through recorded interviews with selected senior and middle level staff members, a rich resource on White House activities will be made available for study by scholars and others seeking to understand the institution of the presidency. For its part, the Presidency Research Group will provide the following: a list of appropriate people to be interviewed; volunteers to conduct the interviews; a list of subject areas and questions to guide the interviewers. In turn, the National Archives will encourage White House staff members to make themselves available for interviews and will transcribe the interviews and make them available for research at the appropriate presidential libraries.

### **A Research Need: Interviews as a Corroborative Resource**

The White House Interview Program will prove to be a rich resource in the following ways:

- Complement the Written Record
- Provide Comparable Information Across Administrations
- Provide Portraits of Key White House Decision-Makers, Document Their Actions, and Track Events

The White House Interview Program will document significant information to round out a portrait of an administration and to make available comparable data for analysis of several administrations. Interviews constitute an important complement to the written record left behind by the members of a White House. Memoranda tell what was done and many times describe the options but often fail to give an account of why people what they did. Interviews can provide a sense of the nuance of policy decisions so important for the complete record of an administration's actions.

An interview program will enhance the quality of available presidency research materials. For many of us, a record of White House decision-making is the basic matter of our work. The oral history program run by the individual presidential libraries no longer exists. Today libraries must make do with interviews con-

ducted by individual researchers who encounter White House officials. There is no systematic effort to develop a comprehensive White House record either in terms of the individuals working there or in the decisions reached. The interview program we propose will seek to provide consistent information for each of the administrations interviewed and to facilitate analysis.

### **The Contributions of the Presidency Research Group**

- Provide Appropriate Leading Scholars to Conduct Interviews
- Develop Lists of White House Staff Members to be Interviewed
- Develop Questions to Guide Interviewers

The Presidency Research Group will provide the following: volunteers to conduct the interviews, an outline of the kinds of information we as presidency scholars want to see accumulated; a list of the people we believe need to be interviewed in order to provide a full portrait of a White House. We would operate through a committee of people (not necessarily members of the PRG) who use interviews as a basic part of their work and who live, work, or do research in the Washington area. In addition to developing suggestions for subjects to be explored and people to be interviewed, committee members most likely will conduct some of the interviews. Some of the people who have volunteered to conduct interviews in their subject area include the past presidents of the Presidency Research Group and the winners of the Richard E. Neustadt award, the most prestigious prize for a book on the presidency. This group includes: Professors George Edwards, Erwin Hargrove, Bert Rockman, Sam Kernell, Larry Berman, and Charles Jones all of whom have volunteered their services.

In effect, the Presidency Research Group will operate as facilitators. We will establish the information needed to round out a portrait of a White House operation, target the key individuals and shops in the White House we need to detail, and come up with appropriate scholars to conduct the interviews. We will also establish some consistency among interviews in terms of how they are conducted and the record established by them. In the past individual libraries had difficulty with inconsistency both in terms of the breadth and the quality of the record established by the interviews. The Johnson Library, for example, did a crackerjack job of reaching broadly to catch the

experience of people at the middle as well as the senior levels of the various shops. We could ensure standardization using successful techniques found in earlier interviews and developing practices of our own. Our members will benefit from the valuable White House record we establish.

### **The Contributions of the National Archives**

- The Imprimatur of the National Archives
- Transcripts of Interviews
- Make Interviews Available to Those Conducting Research

As our nation's memory, the National Archives has an important stake in such a project. Providing a record of governmental activities involves more than just finding and maintaining records. It also includes providing evidence of the actions of individual decision-makers, their decisions, and their operations. Why individual decision-makers make their choices is important for scholars to know. The written record provides what people did while interviews answer questions of why decisions were made and what alternatives were considered.

The National Archives will provide its imprimatur and transcriptions of the tapes as well as a method of circulation. The participation of the Archives would encourage White House staff members to cooperate with the endeavor. Through its participation, the National Archives will endorse the importance of the oral record. The Archives will also provide transcriptions of the interviews and make them available for research. The cost of transcribing an hour long interview typically runs around \$65.00. A standard transcription service charges \$14.00 an hour requiring in the neighborhood of 5 hours to transcribe one hour of tape. The goal will be to have the transcripts available on-line through the individual presidential libraries.

## **Barbara Hinckley**

Barbara Hinckley, Professor at Purdue University, died November 22, 1995 of breast cancer at age 58. She received her Ph.D. from Cornell University in 1968 and held academic appointments at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, Cornell, University of Wisconsin-Madison, and New York University before arriving at Purdue in 1993.

Barbara was a leading scholar in the study of U.S. Congress and in the study of the American presidency. She began pathbreaking research in two major areas of congressional scholarship—on congressional elections and the seniority system. Work on congressional elections was in its infancy in the 1960s when Barbara published "Interpreting House Midterm Elections" in 1967 followed by "Incumbency and the Presidential Vote in Senate Elections" in 1970, both appearing in the *American Political Science Review*. The latter article was one of the earliest assessments on what has now become a cottage industry of work on incumbency in congressional elections. Barbara continued to be at the forefront of scholarship in this area. She was instrumental in developing the pivotal 1978 National Election Study that provided the first systematic study of congressional voters' attitudes and action. Her work confronted fundamental differences between House and Senate elections which had not been considered before in "House Reelections and Senate Defeats" *British Journal of Political Science* (1980), "The American Voter in Congressional Elections" *APSR* (1980) and in her book *Congressional Elections* (1981).

Barbara's book on *The Seniority System in Congress* (1971) stands as the single classic on this topic, vital to the understanding of the Congress then and now. No book since has addressed the evolution of seniority as a norm and its impact on the legislative body in the way Hinckley's volume did. Many of us often thought Barbara should do a thorough follow-up book or a twenty-year update or the like, but true to Barbara's wide-ranging interests, she felt she had done the subject and had long since moved on.

In addition to these major works, Barbara wrote a significant body of research on congressional committees, leadership, and coalitions including articles and books on the effect of policy content on committee behavior, the nature of committee prestige and mem-

bers' goals in passing legislation, and formation of coalitions, conflicts within them, and their changes over time. She also wrote a classic overview of Congress in *Stability and Change in Congress* (4th ed. 1988) which ably summarized much of the leading empirical research in the field. Her most recent book on Congress, *Less Than Meets the Eye: The Myth of Congressional Assertiveness in Foreign Policy* (1994) proved to be another masterfully innovative work which analyzed the extent to which Congress has played a powerful role in defining and constraining American foreign policy.

In the early 1980s, Barbara began research on the presidency. During that time, she told many of us that she had "seen it all" in the study of Congress and was ready for new challenges and new areas to investigate. She started a project that evolved into her book *The Symbolic Presidency* (1990) in which she analyzed presidential rhetoric and its themes in a novel way. The most significant contribution of the book is how presidents reveal the symbolic presidency in their own words—as identical to the nation, as identical to the government, as alone, as above party, and as close to God. Hinckley concludes that this is "an institutionalized portrayal" of the office. Successive presidents present themselves and the office in similar symbolic ways.

Barbara's next major project on the presidency was her book with Paul Brace entitled *Follow the Leader: Opinion Polls and the Modern Presidents* which received the Richard E. Neustadt award in 1992 for the best book of the year on the presidency. Two articles, also with Brace—"The Structure of Presidential Approval" (1991) and "Presidential Activities from Truman to Reagan: What Difference Did They Make?" (1993) both in the *Journal of Politics* expanded the book. *Follow the Leader* is without doubt an award-winning book, which currently sets the direction and tone for work on presidential approval and the effects of presidential speeches and activities on public opinion. Brace and Hinckley provide a compelling argument about how public opinion polls directs presidents' time in office. Presidents' popularity is shaped by presidents' own decisions and choices, but also good and bad fortune over which they have little, if any, control.

One thread runs through all of Barbara's work: the search for empirical reality. I still vividly remember a day in her graduate seminar on Congress at Wisconsin in which she opened class by saying that there was such a thing as an empirical truth, that it was knowable, and

it could be found with the right data and the right methodology. I thought Barbara was merely trying to provoke discussion with this perspective which left out the biases of the researchers, their own interests and conclusions, problematic data sets, coding rules, and questions of methodology. But it became clear in that session and in many subsequent talks with Barbara that she believed that political science research could find empirical truth. She believed more firmly than anyone else I have known in this commitment to the nature and the product of empirical political science and her own work greatly advanced this empirical research.

Barbara also had a little known interest outside of political science stemming from her background in English as an undergraduate at Mount Holyoke. She published a book with one of her two daughters which described and synthesized major works of American fiction.

On a personal note, I will miss Barbara not simply as a consummate scholar whose work I enjoyed reading and from which I learned immensely, but as my mentor and dear friend. She not only taught me how to study American politics, but showed tremendous enthusiasm for my own research as a graduate student and later on. She also knew the profession well and how to develop in it and how to assert proper professional values. An APSA Barbara Hinckley Mentor Award is being set up to honor Barbara's unceasing encouragement and efforts on behalf of her students. To those of us who knew Barbara well, she was energetic, witty, lively, inquisitive, moody, opinionated, and very smart. She always lived life on her own terms and knew herself and what she wanted so well that she never let others talk her into compromising those terms. This spirited determination is what I will remember and miss most about Barbara Hinckley.

Lyn Ragsdale  
University of Arizona

## Nixon: Character Study or Character Assassination

(continued from p. 1)

and the former presidents' sympathizers. "The historical portrayal of events is totally off the wall," said Alexander Haig who served as Nixon's chief-of-staff during the president's final days. Yes, Stone employs dramatic license to tell his story. But does he treat Nixon unfairly? Is this film merely left wing propaganda?

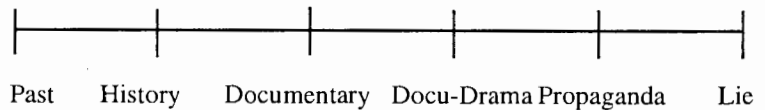
Oliver Stone is not a historian nor a political scientist, he is a filmmaker, and an extraordinarily talented one at that. His primary task is to entertain. In Stone's case he also hopes to educate and thereby adds a burden many filmmakers do not carry. Given the topics of several of his films - the Kennedy assassination, the war in Vietnam - Stone opens himself up to criticism as he seeks to understand our past in order to shape our future.

How are we to judge films like *Nixon*? Films which portray historical figures or events? Obviously there is a difference between a scholarly book on Nixon which emerges from the academic culture and bears a burden of proof,<sup>4</sup> and a movie (which is first and foremost a profit-making enterprise). But all the books on Nixon, from left to right, approach their topic with some bias, some point of view. So too a movie maker brings a good deal of baggage to his craft.<sup>5</sup> Where scholarly books pass through a review process, political films have a different review process - less rigorous academically, more concerned with entertainment value. There is thus something of a gap between academic and enter-

tainment standards of judgment.

What can we reasonably expect from a TV/Theatrical docu-drama? Must it, can it stick closely to the historical record? Can it take liberties for dramatic purposes? Must it sacrifice accuracy for character/plot development?

Can we even expect "history" to accurately reflect the past? The past is what actually happened. History is what we more or less agree probably happened. A docu-drama attempts to dramatize what may have happened. And propaganda attempts to exploit for self-serving purposes, a skewed version of what happened. Graphically one could depict these various efforts at story telling as a continuum, from most to least truthful:



In this sense then, a docu-drama, to be true to its subject, must attempt to use history as a vehicle to understanding the character of the person and the mood of the times. Here Stone excels.

*Nixon is primarily a character/personality study, not a work of history. Liberties are taken. Events which happened at different times are condensed into one scene for time and dramatic purposes; private conversations between the president and first lady are created when the filmmaker could not possibly know about these private exchanges.*

Thus, as history *Nixon* leaves much to be deserved, but as personality portrait Stone gets uncomfortably close to Nixon the

man. In many ways, Stone's *Nixon* reminds one of Wells' *Citizen Kane*. It is a larger-than-life portrait of a larger-than-life man. And like *Kane*, *Nixon* is about more than merely one tormented man, it is an allegory of who we as a people are. Just as we are to see in Charles Foster Kane the good and bad sides of America, so too are we to see in Richard Milhous Nixon, the good and bad within ourselves.

Yes, *Nixon* raises questions about how far an artist can employ creative license, but these are by no means new questions. From before Shakespeare to today, artists have used historical figures (sometimes abused these figures) for dramatic

purposes. In 1915, D. W. Griffith portrayed the Ku Klux Klan as saviors of the South in his cinematic (if not historical) masterpiece *Birth of a Nation*. More recently films such as *Silkwood* (1983), *Malcolm X* (1992), and a host of TV docu-dramas presented dramatic renditions of historical figures. Why then is *Nixon* held under such a critical microscope? Perhaps because Stone presents a deeply personal remarkably human portrait of the former president. Is *Nixon*, *Nixon*? Literally no, but in a sense Stone does seem to get inside the man.

*Citizen Kane* opens with the famous "Rosebud" line, delivered by a dying Kane. Nixon's rosebud is a biblical quote from Matthew which opens the movie: "What



shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

The Nixon portrayed in *Nixon* (the key to unlocking "Rosebud") emerges from a line spoken by Henry Kissinger, "Can you imagine what this man might have been had he been loved?" In *Nixon* we see a man driven, tortured by self-doubt, self-pity and deep insecurities. Looking at a portrait of John F. Kennedy who haunted Nixon, the president remarks, "When they look at you (Kennedy), they see what they want to be. When they look at me, they see what they are."

Anticipating the storm of controversy which would greet the film, Stone and co-producer Eric Hamburg published a very useful book which contains short essays by John Dean, Daniel Schorr, E. Howard Hunt, Alexander Butterfield, Stanley Kutler, John Sears, Eugenio Martinez and others.<sup>6</sup> Also in the book is a richly annotated screenplay, a series of Watergate related documents and transcripts, and a bibliography of sources.

The movie *Nixon* is, it must be said, more true to history than the Nixon library.<sup>7</sup> But it is not without its faults. Nixon is not credited with some of the progressive domestic policies he achieved (was he the last of the "liberal Republicans?"), nor is his strategic intelligence always in evidence. Finally, Stone's continued fascination with conspiracies distracts more than it illuminates.

In the end, Nixon is more a character study than character assassination, more an effort to get to the core of the man than depict a literally accurate portrait of events. "It forces the viewer to acknowledge the twisted humanity of the

man."<sup>8</sup>

Nixon remains a figure of Shakespearian dimensions, fragile and fascinating; familiar yet unknown. Oliver Stone's *Nixon* helps us understand the man, but so much of Nixon remains hidden.

#### Endnotes

1. Director Oliver Stone's characterization of his movie, *Nixon*.
2. The Nixon family's characterization of Stone's movie, *Nixon*.
3. Michael A. Genovese, *The Nixon Presidency: Power and Politics in Turbulent Times* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1990).
4. For excellent accounts of Watergate, see: Stanley Kutler, *The Wars of Watergate* (New York: Knopf, 1990); and Fred Emery, *Watergate* (New York: Times Books, 1994).
5. See: Michael A. Genovese, *Politics and the Cinema: An Introduction to Political Films* (Lexington, Mass: Ginn Press, 1986).
6. Eric Hamburg, *Nixon: An Oliver Stone Film* (New York: Hyperion, 1995).
7. See: Stanley I. Kutler, "Richard Nixon: Man and Monument," in Eric Hamburg, ed., *Nixon: An Oliver Stone Film* (New York: Hyperion, 1995), pp. 43-49.
8. Stryker McGuire and David Ansen, "Nixon." *Newsweek*, December 11, 1995.

## Announcing Two Upcoming Conferences:

### "GEORGE WASHINGTON: LIFE, TIMES, AND LEGACY"

A multidisciplinary conference to be held September 17-19, 1998, sponsored by Louisiana State University at Shreveport.

and

### "AMERICA AT THE THIRD CENTURY AND MILLENNIUM: WHERE WE HAVE BEEN, WHERE WE ARE GOING AND WHAT DOES IT MEAN?"

A multidisciplinary conference to be held October 18-21, 2000, sponsored by Louisiana State University in Shreveport.

For details about both conferences, contact Bill Pederson, History and Social Sciences, LSUS, One University Place, 439 BH, Shreveport, LA 71115-2301. FAX (318) 797-5358.

# Articles on the Presidency 1995

Todd Patterson  
Michael D. Garofalo

- Abramowitz, Alan I. 1995. It's Abortion Stupid: Policy Voting in the 1992 Presidential Election. *Journal of Politics* 57: 176-186. Argues that, despite the general belief that the presidency was decided almost exclusively on economic issues, attitudes toward abortion had a significant influence on candidate choice in the overall electorate.
- Adler, David Gray. 1995. The President's Recognition Power: Ministerial or Discretionary? *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 267-286. Examines the historical origins of the president's power of recognition and the evolution of exercise of this power.
- Alsfeld, Richard W. 1995. The Presidency Reconfigured? The Textbook Presidency Yet Again. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 677-682. Examines interpretations of the presidency as portrayed in current government textbooks.
- Alvarez, R. Michael, and Jonathan Nagler. 1995. Economics, Issues and the Perot Candidacy: Voter Choice in the 1992 Presidential Election. *American Journal of Political Science* 39. The influence of different factors on presidential elections has been a research topic that fascinates the media and public during election years.
- Blessing, Tim H. 1995. Three Swings and Ten Dynasties: The Temporal-Historical Aspects of Presidential Performance. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 457-477. Divides the presidency into three long swings and ten dynasties.
- Brown, Robert D., and Edward G. Carmines. 1995. Materialists, Post-materialists and the Criteria for Political Choice in U.S. Presidential Elections. *Journal of Politics* 57: 483-494. Determines the theory of value change suggests not only that materials and post-materials make different political choices but they also use different criteria for making those choices.
- Cohen, Jeffrey E. 1995. Presidential Rhetoric and the Public Agenda. *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 87-107. Finds that increases in presidential attention to economic, foreign, and civil rights policy have led to increases in public concern over those policies.
- Conti, Delia B. 1995. President Reagan's Trade Rhetoric: Lessons for the 1990s. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 91-108. Considers Reagan's strategies and tactics in order to reconcile pragmatic policy shifts through trade rhetoric.
- Covington, Cary R., J. Mark Wrighton, and Rhonda Kinney. 1995. A Presidency-Augmented Model of Presidential Success on House Roll Call Cotes. *American Journal of Political Science* 39(4). Considers whether presidents significantly affect congressional roll call voting outcomes.
- Crabb, Cecil V. 1995. George Bush's Management Style and Operation Desert Storm. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 251-265. Attributes success of the Gulf War was largely a result of Bush's skills in diplomacy and strategic decision making. Argues that management style was limited essentially to foreign affairs rather than domestic and electoral politics.
- Cullather, Kevin Kessler. 1995. Budget Summits: A Consensus Building Approach to the Federal Budget Process. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 511-531. Considers recent "budget summits" used to facilitate the development of the Federal budget.
- Dorsey, Leroy G. 1995. Theodore Roosevelt and Corporate America, 1901-1909: A Reexamination. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 725-739. Recounts Roosevelt's "anti-trust" image within a "pro-business" framework. Contends Roosevelt espoused a positive climate for corporate development and big business in American society.
- Edwards, D. Clark. 1995. Predicting Presidential Decision-Making from Presidential Language and Mass Media Reportage. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 43-65. Content analysis procedure developed to bridge levels of quantitative and qualitative analyses of the communication process.
- Edwards, George C., III. 1995. Explaining Presidential Approval: The Significance of Issue Solvency. *American Journal of Political Science* 39: 108-134. Argues issues vary over time in their solvency and in their impact on presidential approval.
- Fackler, Tim, and Tse-Min Lin. 1995. Political Corruption and Presidential Elections. *Journal of Politics* 57: 971-993. Examines political corruption, arguing it has recently figured prominently in the news from Washington and around the world.
- Flanagin, John Mead. 1995. Less Is More: A New Staff Structure for the White House. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 207-221. Proposes a scheme of

- reorganization for the Executive Office of the President that lessens internal friction and isolates weaknesses.
- Gellner, Winand. 1995. The Politics of Policy "Political Think Tanks" and Their Markets in the U.S.-Institutional Environment. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 497-510. Describes and explains different institutional responses to the increased demand for expert advice in advanced industrial societies. Analyzes the evolution of think tanks and their emergence into more ideologically-oriented institutions.
- Grant, Philip A., Jr. 1995. President Harry S. Truman and the British Loan Act of 1946. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 489-496. Recounts Truman's handling of the British war debt question.
- Grant, Philip A., Jr. 1995. President Warren G. Harding and the British War Question, 1921-1923. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 479-487. Recounts Harding's handling of the British war debt question.
- Hammer, Dean C. 1995. The Oakeshottian President: George Bush and the Politics of the Present. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 301-313. Argues that perceptions of Bush as an archetypical procedural president are inadequate.
- Hartung, William D. 1995. Nixon's Children: Bill Clinton and the Permanent Arms Bazaar. *World Policy Journal* 12: 25-35. Analyzes armament policies of recent administrations, suggesting Clinton's presidency should learn from the past and modernize its policies to the post-Cold War world.
- Kahn, Michael A. 1995. The Appointment of a Supreme Court Justice: A Political Process from Beginning to End. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 25-41. Surveys the history of the appointment process of Supreme Court Justices. With historical background to the Bork rejection, demonstrates that rejection of justices for political reasons is normal, predictable, and desirable.
- Lerner, Mitchell. 1995. Vietnam and the 1964 Election A Defense of Lyndon Johnson. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 751-766. Argues that Johnson intended to make his intent clear regarding Vietnam but was ignored by the electorate.
- McFadden, David W. 1995. After the Colby Note: The Wilson Administration and the Bolsheviks, 1920-21. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 741-750. Analyzes Wilson's policy and policy involvement toward the Soviet Union.
- Maltese, John Anthony. 1995. Speaking Out: The Role of Presidential Rhetoric in the Modern Supreme Court Confirmation Process. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 447-455. Examines presidents' use of "going public" tactics during confirmation processes from Truman to Bush, showing an increasing willingness of presidents to speak on behalf of their choices. Argues this willingness is reflective of the institutionalization of the "public presidency."
- Mervin, David. 1995. The Bully Pulpit, II. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 19-23. Analyzes the bully pulpit, a place for presidents to rally support for their agendas, in the context of the Reagan and Bush presidencies.
- Mervin, David. 1995. Political Science and the Study of the Presidency. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 669-675. Argues that political scientists should focus on the policy process and not normative appraisals of policy's substance.
- Muir, William K., Jr. 1995. The Bully Pulpit. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 13-17. Analyzes the bully pulpit, a place for presidents to rally support for their agendas, in the context of American liberties and freedoms.
- Mulcahy, Kevin V. 1995. Rethinking Groupthink: Walt Rostow and the National Security Advisory Process in the Johnson Administration. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 237-250. Reevaluates perceptions of Rostow's flow of information to the president and the pervasiveness of "groupthink" with Rostow as a "mindguard."
- Mulcahy, Kevin V. 1995. Walt Rostow As National Security Adviser, 1966-69. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 223-236. Reassesses the role of Rawest as a presidential assistant, particularly in regard to policies toward Vietnam.
- Mutz, Diana C. 1995. Effects of Horse-Race Coverage on Campaign Coffers: Strategic Communication in Presidential Primaries. *Journal of Politics* 57: 1015-1042. Examines media portrayals of and public support for candidates, focusing on the behavior of potential campaign contributors.
- Nardulli, Peter F. 1995. The Concept of a Critical Realignment, Electoral Behavior, and Political Change. *American Political Science Review* 89: 10-22. Argues critical realignment can be a powerful tool in studying electoral behavior and political change by analyzing presidential elections between 1828 and 1984.
- Norpoth, Helmut. 1995. Is Clinton Doomed? An Early Forecast for 1996. *PS* 28: 201-207. Forecast's Clinton's re-election in 1996.
- Orman, John. 1995. Images of the Presidency in the

- Periodical Press. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 683-695. Examines the image of presidential leadership and reporting in the periodical press from 1983 to 1992.
- 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 attempts to manage the media.
- Ruckman, P. S., Jr. 1995. Presidential Character and Executive Clemency: A Re-examination. *Social Science Quarterly* 76: 213-231. Argues presidential character is a critical factor in clemency policy. Suggests clemency should not be ignored in studying the presidency.
- Russell, Greg. 1995. Madison's Realism and the Role of Domestic Ideals in Foreign Affairs. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 711-723. Develops Madison's world view as an example of relating domestic ideals to the pursuit of international peace.
- Scheele, Henry Z. 1995. Prelude to the Presidency: An Examination of the Gerald R. Ford-Charles A. Halleck House Minority Leadership Contest. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 767-785. Examines the GOP leadership fights in 1959 and 1963, asserting Ford became the first American this century to survive an intraparty leadership struggle in Congress and then advance to the presidency.
- Shaffer, Martin B. 1995. An Aerial Photograph of Presidential Leadership: President Clinton's National Energy Plan Revisited. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 287-299. Suggests an illumination of broader political environments are required to understand complexities involved in exercising presidential leadership. Uses Carter's National Energy Plan as a case study for the model.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg. 1995. The Electoral Cycle and Institutional Sources of Divided Presidential Government. *American Political Science Review* 89: 327-343. Analyzes divided government in election cycles and related power brokering.
- Shull, Steven A. 1995. Presidential Cycles in Civil Rights Policy Making. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 429-446. Examines presidential cycles, concluding that individual presidents more precisely explain government activities than short-term presidential cycles.
- Stern, Mark. 1995. Party Alignments and Civil Rights: Then and Now. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 413-427. Compares shifting patterns of partisan voting and leadership between the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1991.
- Sylvia, Ronald D. 1995. Presidential Decision Making and Leadership in the Civil Rights Era. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 391-411. Using a conceptual framework drawn from literature on presidential leadership examines the personal papers and administrative records of the civil rights era presidents. Concludes the structure of the presidency frequently compels presidents to hands-on decision making, regardless of consensus levels.
- Thornson, Gregory R., and Samuel J. Stambough. 1995. Anti-Incumbency and the 1992 Elections: The Changing Face of Presidential Coattails. *Journal of Politics* 57: 210-220. Analyzes the mobilization effects of Ross Perot and how it benefitted House challengers.
- Troy, Gil. 1995. Stumping in the Bookstores: A Literary History of the 1992 Presidential Campaign. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 697-710. Analyzes the 1992 presidential campaign in historical perspective, concluding the election year's policy debates were predictable based on a broader cycle of doubt and hope.
- Vaughn, Stephen. 1995. The Moral Inheritance of a President: Reagan and the Dixon Disciples of Christ. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 109-127. Analyzes the profound influence Ben Hill Cleaver and Nelle Reagan had on Reagan's values and development.
- Watterson, John S., III. 1995. Political Football: Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and the Gridiron Reform Movement. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 555-564. In their styles of promoting college football reform, both Roosevelt and Wilson showed approaches that coincided with their political strategies.
- Wilz, John Edward. 1995. The Making of Mr. Bush's War: A Failure to Learn From History? *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 25: 533-554. Argues that the Bush administration ignored growing evidence throughout the 1980s of Iraq's disregard of international armament policies and human rights accords.

# Papers Presented on the Presidency 1995

Todd Patterson

## American Political Science Association

Chicago Hilton and Towers, Chicago, IL, Aug. 31-Sep. 3, 1995.

- Bardes, Barbara. "From the Cold War to the Clinton Years: How Does the American Public React to International Change?" University of Cincinnati.
- Barrett, David M. "Researching a Black Hole: Congressional Oversight of the CIA in the Era of Trust." Villanova University.
- Boiney, John A., and Therese Filick. "Familiarity Breeds...? An Exploration of Personal Knowledge and Presidential Evaluations." American University; Case Western Reserve University.
- Borrelli, Mary Anne. "Campaign Promises and Cabinet Appointments: Politics, Gender, and Representation." Connecticut College.
- Brannon, Laura, and Jon Krosnick. "New Media Priming and the 1992 Presidential Election." Ohio State University.
- Brians, Craig L., and Martin Wattenberg. "Turnout Effects of Negative Advertising in a Presidential Campaign." University of California, Irvine.
- Buchanan, Bruce. "Presidential Candidates and Protective Democracy." University of Texas, Austin.
- Burbach, David T. "Presidential Approval, Public Preferences, and the Use of Force." Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- X Burrell, Barbara. "Public Opinion and Hillary Clinton as First Lady." University of Wisconsin.
- Butler, Gregory S. "Woodrow Wilson and the Tradition of American Puritanism." New Mexico State University.
- Clayman, Steven. "Presidential Debates and the Dynamics of Quotability." University of California, Los Angeles.
- Clements, Kendrick. "Advancing the General Interests of Society: Woodrow Wilson on the Powers and Limitations of the Federal Government." University of South Carolina.
- Cobb, Michael, and Gregory Diamond. "Optimal Choices, Fear or Hope?: Latitude Theory and Vote Prediction in the 1992 Presidential Election." University of Illinois, Urbana.
- Dahl, Megan, and W. Lance Bennett. "Icons, Indexing, and Framing: News Representations of George Bush's Trade Mission to Japan." University of Washington.
- Dickinson, Matthew. "Neustadt and 'New' Institutionalism: New Perspectives on Presidential Power?" Harvard University.
- DiLeo, Daniel. "Tracing Patterns of Influence Between gubernatorial and Presidential Agendas." Pennsylvania State University.
- Duerst-Lahti, Georgia. "Reconceiving Theories of Power: Masculinism in Executive Politics." Beloit College.
- Edwards, George C. III, Andrew Barrett, and Jeffery Peake. "The Legislative Impact of Divided Government: What Failed to Pass?" Texas A & M University. *"McGuire" no pres*
- Endersby, James. "Multicandidate Preference and the Spatial Theory of Voting: Voter Preference and Choice in the 1992 American Presidential Elections." University of Missouri.
- Epstein, David, and Sharyn O'Halloran. "The Presidency as a Hierarchical Multilevel Game." Columbia University.
- Groeling, Tim, and Sam Kernell. "When Networks Report Presidential Popularity Ratings." University of California, San Diego. *also: F. G. ...*
- Heith, Diane. "Presidential Public Opinion Polling: President Carter and Public Constraints." Brown University.
- James, Scott C. "Presidents, Party Systems, and Civil Rights: Historical Opportunity Structures Under Clinton and Truman." University of California, Davis.
- Jankowski, Richard. "Divided Government and Economic Performance." SUNY Fredonia.
- Jones, Bryan, Jeffrey Talbert, and Glen Krutz. "Producing Legislation: An Empirical Assessment of Divided Government Control in the American National Government." Texas A & M University.
- Katz, Andrew Z. "Using Public Opinion in Foreign Policy Formulation: The Nixon Administration and the Pursuit of Peace with Horror in Vietnam." Denison University.
- Korn, Jessica, and Kathryn Dunn Tenpas. "Changing Relationships Between Presidential Power and Political Parties: The Constitution is the Framework, Not the Cause." University of Massachusetts, Amherst; University of South Florida.

- \* Larocca, Roger T. "Presidential Agenda Setting in Congress." University of Chicago.
- Link, Michael. "Formal and Emergent Groups in the Development of Presidential Advisory Networks." University of South Carolina.
- Michelson, Melissa R. "Explorations in Public Opinion-Presidential Power Linkages: Congressional Response to Unpopular Foreign Agreements." University of Illinois, Chicago.
- Minkenberg, Michael. "The American Electorate in the Clinton Era: The Real End of Realignment?" University of Gottingen.
- Morgan, T. Clifton. "Clinton's Chinese Puzzle: Domestic Politics and Economic Sanctions to Promote Human Rights." Rice University.
- Morris, Irwin, and Michael C. Munger. "Conflict in Congress and Its Impact on Presidential Power." Texas Tech University; University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
- Parisi, Laura. "Congressional Influence on Presidential Decision to Use Force." University of Arizona.
- Passavant, Paul A. "Racism, National Identity, and Civil Liberties in the Thought of John Burgess and Woodrow Wilson." University of Wisconsin, Madison.
- Pfiffner, James. "The Transition of the Presidency, 1992." George Mason University.
- Powlick, Philip J. "Public Opinion in the Foreign Policy Process: An Institutional and Attitudinal Comparison of the Reagan and Clinton Administrations." DePauw University.
- Rasler, Karen A., and William R. Thompson. "Presidential Preferences, Public Opinion Climate and Foreign Policy Behavior." Indiana University.
- Royed, Terry. "Testing Mandate Theory in the U.S.: The Carter Through Bush Years." University of Alabama.
- Shields, Todd G. "Presidential Vetoes and Event Count Models." University of Arkansas.
- Shull, Steven, and Johnny Goldfinger. "Presidential Influence on Major Legislation: Extending Mayhew's Analysis." University of New Orleans.
- Silverstein, Gordon. "Was Madison Wrong? Constitutional Interpretation and Imbalance of Powers in American Foreign Policy." Dartmouth College.
- Smaha, Joseph. "Economic Saliency: A 'New' Measure of the Public's Concerns About the Economy and Its Effect on Presidential Job Approval." University of Florida.
- Spalding, Matthew. "Washington as Founder." The Heritage Foundation.
- Spiliotes, Constantine J. "Presidents, Ideology, and Macroeconomic Crises: The Limits of Partisanship in Macroeconomic Policymaking." Dartmouth College.
- \* Spitzer, Robert J. "It's My Constitution, and I'll Cry If I Want To: The Inherent Item Veto Dispute and Constitutional Interpretation." SUNY Cortland.
- \* Steger, Wayne. "Committees, Procedures, Policy Initiations and Presidential Success in Congress." Iowa State University.
- Stid, Daniel. "Woodrow Wilson and the Separation of Powers Revisited." Wabash College.
- Stone, Walter J., and Ron Rapoport. "Candidate-Centered Sources of Party Change: Perot Activists in 1994." University of Colorado, Boulder; College of William and Mary.
- \* Sullivan, Terry. "Bargaining with the President: A Baysean Model of a Simple Game." University of North Carolina.
- Sylves, Richard, and William Waugh. "Governors, Presidents, and Disaster Declarations." University of Delaware; Georgia State University.
- Thomas, Norman C., and Richard J. Harknett. "The Precedence of Power: Determining Who Should Authorize War." University of Cincinnati.
- Tierney, John, and David Yalof. "Tending to the Coattails: Placing President Clinton and the Class of 1992 into Historical Perspective." Boston College; Johns Hopkins University.
- Van Belle, Douglas A. "Managing to Miss Opportunity: Domestic Political Imperatives and Clinton's Policy Towards Haiti." University of New Orleans.
- Waterman, Richard, and Joseph Stewart, Jr. "The Appointment Paradox: Obstacles to Hitting the Ground Running." University of New Mexico; University of Texas, Dallas.
- Weatherford, M. Stephen. "Clinton and the Economy: Unaccustomed Success?" University of California, Santa Barbara.
- Weir, Sara J. "Women and State Chief Executive Leadership: A Pathway to the Presidency?" Western Washington University.
- Zaller, John. "Press Rules and Media Coverage: The Case of Presidential Election Campaigns." University of California, Los Angeles.

#### **Northeastern Political Science Association**

Gateway Hilton, Newark, NJ, November 9-11, 1995.

Caiazzo, Thomas A. "The Impact of Independent and Third Party Politics on the U.S. Presidency: The

- Wallace, Anderson and Perot Campaigns." Clark Atlanta University.
- Cantor, David M. "The Effect of Divisive Presidential Primaries on General Election Outcomes." University of Maryland.
- Cripps, Michael J. "The Public Irony of Richard Rorty and Abraham Lincoln." Rutgers University.
- Gallagher, Daniel. "Richard Nixon's View of the Executive Power." Northern Illinois University.
- Gleiber, Dennis, and Lynne Marie Gibson. "Presidential Approval as a Factor in the 1994 Congressional Elections." University of New Orleans.
- Hagopian, Mark N. "Administrative Politicians: Aristocratic Stoics v. Plebeian Empire-Builders." American International College.
- Hantz, Charles A. "Can Beliefs Predict Behavior: Reagan and U.S. Foreign Policy." University of Connecticut.
- Hastedt, Glenn P., and Anthony F. Eksterowicz. "Executive/Congressional Liaison in the Post-Cold War Era." James Madison University.
- Hoff, Samuel B. "The Veto Record of President Rutherford B. Hayes." Delaware State University.
- Josefson, Jim. "Party Stereotypes in American Presidential Elections, 1952-1992." Maxwell School of Citizenship, Syracuse University.
- Knott, Stephen. "Principle and Prudence in the Foreign Policy of Ronald Reagan." United States Air Force Academy.
- Lee, Jongho. "The Dynamic Interplay of Cognition and Emotion in Candidate Evaluation." University of Texas, Austin.
- Leiter, William M. "Disparate Impact, Disparate Law: On Understanding the Law of Equal Employment Opportunity, and the Clinton Approach to Affirmative Action." California State University, Long Beach.
- Lines, Jon. "The Nixon Administration's Development of a Voting Rights Act Amendment Strategy." Amherst, New York.
- Meltzer, Yale L. "Congress, the Clinton Administration, and the Information Superhighway." CUNY-College of Staten Island.
- Paul, Ezra. "Congressional Relations Under Nixon, Ford and Carter." Johns Hopkins University.
- Paulson, Arthur. "The 1994 Congressional Election in Presidential Election Perspective: Reflections on the American Party System at the Turn of the 21st Century." Southern Connecticut State University.
- Pigg, Willie H. "Justice Felix Fankfurter as Adviser to President Franklin Roosevelt." California University of Pennsylvania.
- Samryk, Alexis. "Ronald Reagan and the Use of the Executive Order." Temple University.
- Sennick, Marianne. "The Bush White House: A Typology of Staff Expertise." Moriches, New York.
- Shrager, Adam. "Rational Ignorance and the Power of First Impressions: Considerations in the Election of a President." Princeton University.
- VanDyke Scourfield, Judithanne. "The Adjustable Supreme Court: Congressional and Presidential Actions Changing Its Size." Rutgers University.
- Walling, Karl. "Alexander Hamilton on the Theory and Practice of the Presidency." United States Air Force Academy.
- Yazid, Zoubir. "The Clinton Administration Perspective on U.S. Foreign Policy in Algeria." University of Delaware.

## **DebateWatch '96 Project Seeks Organizers**

The Commission on Presidential Debates, the sponsor of general election debates since 1988, is promoting a national voter education program designed to get debate viewers to talk as well as listen. DebateWatch '96 is designed to encourage grassroots discussion groups to take place after each of the televised debates. The project was suggested by focus group participants in a national study of the 1992 debates (see Diana B. Carlin and Mitchell S. McKinney, eds. *The 1992 Presidential Debates in Focus*, Praeger, 1994). DebateWatch '96 packets with suggestions on how to organize and conduct a group will be available after July 1. Prototypes are currently available by contacting the DebateWatch '96 center at the University of Kansas at [presdeb@falcon.cc.ukans.edu](mailto:presdeb@falcon.cc.ukans.edu) or at 1-800-340-8109. The National Project Director is Diana Carlin, Department of Communication Studies at the University of Kansas, who will coordinate the project and conduct research through a Ford Foundation grant. Members of the Speech Communication Association will assist Carlin in data collection. There are multiple research questions that the Ford grant will not cover; persons wishing to conduct their own research should contact Prof. Carlin at the addresses listed.

## **Announcing a Conference on:**

### **“THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY: AN INSTITUTION UNDER ATTACK”**

**sponsored by Columbia University and**

**the Presidency Research Group**

**November 15-16, 1996**

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



## 1996 APSA Conference Presidency Panels

1. Roundtable on Teaching the Presidency
2. Roundtable on Issues of Inequality and Discourse in the 1996 Presidential Election (co-sponsored with Political Communication)
3. Women and the Presidency: New Perspectives on Executive Branch Politics
4. Roundtable on Managing for White House Leadership: Technology, Structure, Staff, and Leadership
5. The Civil Rights Presidency
6. Roundtable on What We Don't Know About the Presidency
7. Roundtable on Evaluating the Clinton Presidency
8. Institutional and Individual Influences on the Presidency
9. Presidential Governance: Strategies and Strategic Environments
10. Presidents and Congress: Nominations (co-sponsored with Legislative Behavior)
11. Influences on Presidential Foreign Policy Making
12. The Economic Presidency
13. Comparative Presidentialism: Decree Authority

(co-sponsored with Comparative Politics)

14. Presidential Communication (co-sponsored with Political Communication)
15. The President and the Public: Public Approval

### Poster Sessions:

1. The President on the Campaign Trail and Into the White House
2. Administering the White House
3. Researching the Presidency: New Data, New Models, New Perspectives
4. Presidential Agenda Setting

### Special Session:

**"Publishing Presidency Research: Scholars Invited to Meet Editors and Publishers."** Tentatively scheduled for Saturday, August 31, from 12:30-1:30, this session, coordinated by George Edwards, will bring together publishers who specialize in presidency books and presidency book series with all interested scholars.

### PRG Meetings:

Governing Council Breakfast Meeting: 7:30 AM  
Friday, August 30.

PRG Business Meeting: 12:30-1:30 Friday, August 30.

---

## **Hofstra Conference on the Bush Presidency**

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

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

## Subscriptions, Change of Address, and Contributions

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

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

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

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



Bulk Rate  
U.S. Postage

**PAID**

Cortland, N.Y.  
Permit No. 14

**FORWARD & ADDRESS CORRECTION**

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