

PRG REPORT



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The Forgotten Campaign of Franklin D. Roosevelt

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Introduction

Many years ago it was my good fortune to take a graduate seminar on the presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt. When I tried to initiate a discussion about Roosevelt's run for the United States Senate, the professor expressed doubt that FDR ever sought the office. Since then, in numerous discussions about Roosevelt, I have discovered that many people are unaware that he entered New York's 1914 senatorial primary.¹ Although Roosevelt lost, the race was an important step in his political career as it enhanced his standing among progressive Democrats and his visibility among the state's voters. More importantly, Roosevelt was forced to reevaluate his zealous opposition to Tammany.

A Toss of the Hat

On July 19, 1914, from the nation's capitol, Franklin Roosevelt wrote his wife Eleanor that he was contemplating a run for the United States

(continued on p. 7)

Chief Clerk's Report

Martha Joynt Kumar

Since this is my last report as an officer of the Presidency Research Group, I would like to review the goals I articulated two years ago and let you know where we are today on each of the three.

- a program to interview White House officials and to make those interviews available for scholarly research.
- a conference on the American presidency timed to coincide with the anniversary of the publication of *Presidential Power*.
- the professionalization and rejuvenation of *Presidential Studies Quarterly*.

Let me go through the status of each and then look at goals we added along the way and where we stand on them, particularly on the

(continued on p. 2)

Inside	<i>From the Editor</i>	2
This	<i>Studying Presidential-Congressional Relations</i>	13
Issue	<i>Articles on the Presidency 1996</i>	21
	<i>Papers Presented on the Presidency 1996</i>	27

From the Editor: "Hello, I Must Be Going. . ."

Robert J. Spitzer

This issue's lead article, by Joseph Smaha, is an interesting account of Franklin Roosevelt's "forgotten campaign" for the U.S. Senate. Steven A. Shull offers an article on his recent work on presidential-congressional relations. PRG President Martha Kumar provides an update on the growing list of our organization's activities.

* * *

Here's a pop quiz. Which of the following individuals has had the greatest overall impact on the shape, direction, force, perception, and study of the modern presidency in the last three decades: a) George Washington, b) Richard Neustadt, c) Abraham Lincoln, d) James David Barber, e) Franklin Roosevelt, or f) Richard Nixon. The correct answer is f) Nixon.

No bona fide student of the presidency could fail to be fascinated by Nixon's life and career. And what important aspect of the modern presidency since the early 1970s has not been influenced or shaped by the Nixon years? Indeed, every presidency since his can be interpreted in the light of a Nixonian paradigm. By this, I do not suggest that Nixon was a great president. He was not. The kindest and most diplomatic observation I might offer was that his was a tragic presidency. But every subsequent chief executive's tenure was a kind of extended dialogue with Nixon, from Ford's de-imperialized presidency to Clinton's courtship of the former president, climaxing in Clinton's eulogizing of Nixon at his funeral.

The fascination with Nixon has hardly abated with his demise. Witness the most recent revelations from his presidential papers (which even now seem to be literally pried from Nixon's cold, dead hands), including Ray Price's alternate speech, prepared on August 3, 1974 but never delivered, in which Nixon would have announced that he would not resign from the presidency. Or consider the recent revelation that, two weeks after the Watergate break-in, Nixon directed his own aides to vandalize the Republican party headquarters and then pin blame on the Democrats (the plot was never executed). Or most recently, consider Nixon's 1972 memo, addressed to Alexander Haig and Henry Kissinger, in which Nixon angrily blamed Pentagon

military leaders for failing to gain the upper hand in Vietnam because they had played "how not to lose" for so long that they had forgotten how to win. He further accused military leaders of "direct sabotage" of his orders, among other things (NY Times, 3/27/97). The juxtaposition of Nixon's belief, as late as 1972, that Vietnam was being lost because of military foot-dragging, with Lyndon Johnson's revealing comment from 1964 (also released to the public this past March) that Vietnam seemed to be an unwinnable quagmire, offers a startling snapshot of Nixon's executive pathology. Nixon's burial ended nothing. Scattered reports of Nixon sitings at K-Marts around the country will no doubt persist.

* * *

With this issue of the *PRG Report*, I conclude my editorship. I have been pleased to serve in this capacity for the last four years, and I once again must single out two particular individuals. Todd Patterson has produced excellent and detailed bibliographies of books, articles, and papers on the presidency for every issue I have edited. His work has been first-rate. Bill McCleary, of the SUNY Cortland English Department, has contributed his superb technical skills to the layout and design of this *Report*, giving it the fine look it has maintained. As for myself, I bid editorial adieu by quoting the immortal words of Marx — Groucho, that is — who said, "Hello, I must be going."

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

inclusion of young scholars into our field of research.

The White House Interview Program: Preliminary Support From the Pew Charitable Trusts. We have good news to report on the White House Interview Program. We have a grant in the form of a consultancy of \$15,000 from the Pew Charitable Trusts. I will use it to develop a full grant proposal of from \$400,00 to \$600,000 spread over three years. We will use the interviews we develop with middle and senior level officials to develop information for incoming White House staff members in the year 2001. We will develop information for their use in ways we think they are likely to use, including the preparation of a CD-ROM with interview material and information from other sources concerning White House staff experiences and recurring organizational patterns. The \$15,000 development money will go towards the expenses associated with gathering information on the

preparation of the CD-ROM as well as projected costs for the full grant. Additionally, it will go towards the cost of bringing together groups of White House staff members for perhaps a half dozen informal dinner sessions to discuss what they did not know when they came into the White House, what they would like to have known, what they did know that was useful as they began their White House service, and, finally, in what form would they have used material in the early months, e.g. briefing materials, CD-ROM, meetings with knowledgeable former staff members, and small conference sessions with former staff people. Through these informal sessions with former staff people, we will be able to appropriately design our information preparing incoming White House staff with the goal of providing them with useful information delivered in a functional format. The interview program will follow the lines we have drawn for it during the past year and a half. We will work together with the National Archives in making the material available on line. Additionally, we will work through the Academy of Leadership at the University of Maryland at College Park to implement the grant provisions, including all of the staff work required to set up interviews, to keep track of the completed ones and their transcription, and to house the tapes. I will serve as the director of the program and keep it moving. The members of our White House Interview Program Committee will establish the interview protocol and they will regularly receive information from me about the operation of the program.

Conference on the American Presidency, Presidential Power: Forging the Presidency for the Twenty-First Century. Our conference on the American presidency took place November 15th and 16th. The conference was both constructive and interesting. It worked at many levels: integrating junior and senior people, honoring Richard Neustadt, identifying and providing a platform for talented junior scholars, bringing up future research needs and approaches, and an occasion of good fellowship.

Integrating Junior and Senior Scholars. The senior scholars who served as mentors and discussants put in a great deal of work shaping the papers presented by junior members. Working over a period of several months, senior people began their work by commenting on the proposals put forward by the junior people. One could not help but be struck by the genuine interest senior scholars demonstrated in effecting the success of the work of their junior colleagues. That spirit continued through the confer-

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ence process. Including meals and at breaks, there were numerous opportunities at the conference for people to get together with others working in similar research areas. In addition to the young people presenting

papers, we raised money to bring in an additional 11 young people. They came from as far away as California from the West and the Netherlands from the East. The money to support their travel came primarily from the Academy of Leadership at the University of Maryland at College Park, as well as from the Presidency Research Group, and from individual contributors.

Honoring Richard Neustadt. The conference honored Richard Neustadt in a very suitable way: focusing on the work of junior people. He wrote

Presidential Power as a junior person and appreciates the need to support their work. In his talk to us, he spoke of the difficulties he had finding a publisher for the book. He went through several before finding one willing to publish it. He called on young people to persist in finding outlets for their work. In his remarks, he spoke of the difficulties of scholars communicating with presidents-elect, presidents, and White House staff, and having them understand what we know about the office and its institutional routines. He called on us to build a body of information documenting the

PRG Best Paper Award Winners

Below is a list of the PRG Best Paper Award winners, including information on their subsequent publication where known. Note that the Best Paper award was renamed "The Founder's Award" in 1995, after the founders of the PRG.

<i>Award Given</i>	<i>Paper Presented</i>	<i>Paper Title</i>
1990	1989	Stephen Weatherford, "Economic Policymaking and the Question of Presidential Power"; published as "Responsiveness and Deliberation in Divided Government: Presidential Leadership in Tax Policymaking," <i>British Journal of Political Science</i> 24(February 1994): 1-31.
1991	1990	Bartholomew Sparrow, "Raising Taxes and Going Into Debt: A Resource Dependence Model of the U.S. Public Finance in the 1940s"; published in Sparrow, <i>From the Outside In: World War II and the American State</i> (Princeton University Press, 1996).
1992	1991	Michael Genovese, "Margaret Thatcher and the Politics of Conviction Leadership"; published in <i>Women as Leaders</i> , ed. by Genovese (Sage Pub., 1993).
1993	1992	Lawrence Jacobs and Robert Shapiro, "Leadership and Responsiveness: Some New Evidence on the Johnson Presidency"
1994	1993	no award
1995	1994	Richard Forshee, "Presidential Activism and Obstructionism in Committee and on the Floor"; under journal review.
1996	1995	Robert J. Spitzer, "'It's My Constitution, and I'll Cry If I Want To': Constitutional Dialogue, Interpretation, and Whim in the Inherent Item Veto Dispute"; published as "Constitutional Interpretation of the Inherent Item Veto Dispute," <i>Political Science Quarterly</i> (Summer, 1997).

process of White House decision-making. Only if we have a solid information base can we understand the institution of the presidency. We should make effective use of existing primary materials found in presidential libraries. Additionally, we should build a body of interview material laying out how individual White Houses operated. As you can see from the description of the White House Interview Program, we are well on our way to establishing the type of program Richard Neustadt called on us to develop.

Providing a Platform for young People. The conference was structured as an event to focus on the work of young people. Presenting papers related to a variety of Neustadtian themes, the presenters used a variety of research methods to cover their subjects. In addition to an exploration of the topics and papers, there was some general discussion of appropriate approaches to studying the presidency. Rather than go through the papers now, we will provide abstracts of the completed pieces in the Fall newsletter. There will be a volume published by Columbia University Press coming from the conference presentations.

An Occasion of Good Fellowship. Columbia University proved the perfect host. Not only did it provide the travel funds for all of the panel participants, but the university came up with fine space for our panel discussions and a lovely room in the Casa Italiana for our meals. We easily moved from one event to another with all the resources we needed close at hand. With a breakfast, two lunches, and a dinner, we had ample opportunities to talk with one another about our mutual research interests. We owe special thanks to Bob Shapiro for organizing the support and arrangements at Columbia University and to Lisa Anderson, the chair of the Department of Political Science and now the Dean of the School of Public and International Affairs, for making sure the needed level of funding would make its way to the surface. It was a truly memorable event and one our group can look back on with a real sense of accomplishment.

The Rejuvenation of *Presidential Studies Quarterly*: An Unfulfilled Mission. Several of our members put in a great deal of effort invigorating *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, the only journal exclusively devoted to studies of the presidency. I chaired a committee made up of George Edwards, Bert Rockman, Barbara Kellerman, Betty Glad, Herbert Parmet, and Joan Hoff, the designated journal editor. We recommended the journal be published by an academic publisher, a move that is currently under consideration by the Center for the Study of the

Presidency. We also developed a statement of purpose to guide the consideration of articles to be published in the journal. While we made gains, the untimely loss of Joan Hoff as the journal editor threatens the future of the *Quarterly*. It remains a mission unfulfilled. Someone else will need to take it on, however, as I have left the *Quarterly* and am now working with Sukie Hammond on Congress and the Presidency. It may be that in the future the PRG will want to consider publishing a journal.

Working with Young Scholars. In the past two years, we have made significant efforts to attract young scholars to the field of the presidency. The presidency conference was organized around their work and we have held sessions at the APSA convention to help them fold into our professional life. At the San Francisco convention, George Edwards chaired a session with book publishers and editors. It provided young people with an opportunity to meet editors publishing work on the presidency. At the convention in Washington we will have a session, also chaired by George Edwards, with journal editors, including those from the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *Congress and the Presidency*, and *Political Research Quarterly*. The following year there will be one on funding research. Chaired by Janet Martin, the committee working on that issue is still gathering information. In addition to the information we are providing our junior members, all of our committees have young scholars serving on them.

The American Political Science Association Convention: Panels, Reception, and An Invitation to President Clinton. Steve Weatherford has put together our group of presidency panels. You can see the listing of them in the next issue of PS. In addition to the regular sessions, we have scheduled a few other events. First, we have sent an invitation to President Clinton to speak at the convention. I wrote a letter to him and the APSA as well as Pi Sigma Alpha signed on to it. I recently put it out to the membership through prgnews. If you would like to see it, let me know and I will email you a copy. Second, we are hosting a reception at the convention, one that ties in with a session with reporters and officials. So far we have scheduled to join us for a late afternoon session on Thursday of the convention, Mike McCurry, Helen Thomas (UPI), Bill Plante (CBS), John Harris (Washington Post), and Alexis Siemindinger (BNA, a group of business dailies). I plan to add a couple of other people on this panel. Additionally, we will invite other reporters who cover the presidency so that they can meet scholars

whom they can go to when they need a scholarly perspective. I often get requests from White House reporters for the names of scholars they can speak with on a variety of subjects. The reception, which follows the officials and reporters session, will allow people from both sides to talk with one another.

Institutionalizing Our Energy. Now that our organization has a full agenda, we need to make sure we maintain the energy we have created.

Committee Structure. Through our committee structure, we have a method for regularly dealing with organizational issues. We currently have four committees: Funding Presidency Research, Publications, Presidential Libraries, and White House Interview Program. They cover the issues now on our plate and others can be added as needed. In addition, we have the awards committees we traditionally have had.

Nomination and Election Process. The main source of our energy, though, rests with those who serve the organization through their positions as officers and as members of the board. We are now in a position where many of our members are interested in serving in leadership positions. Because there is so much interest in service in leadership spots, we are considering how best to structure our nomination and election process. Board members decided they wanted to have a discussion among the board members rather than appoint a committee to discuss the process. We have begun a discussion of the topic and will report to the membership when we have recommendations to make. At this point our next step is for those of us who hold positions to provide descriptions of our responsibilities. Then we will discuss how best to nominate people for the positions.

Organizational Leadership. Our organization is blessed with a large number of people who offer their help and who work well with one another. We regularly have people who offer their help. Bob Spitzer, for example, is completing six years as the editor of PRG Report. During those years, he established a new format for the newsletter and regularly provided us with updates on books, articles, and convention papers written in our field, as well as convinced our colleagues to provide us with their research findings. He set a standard we all appreciate and we thank him for his hard work and successful product. So too has Karen Hult in her work keeping track of our funds and projected revenues. Our board members and officers deserve our appreciation as well. They have tackled some contentious issues, but always in a civil manner. I am certain the cooperative atmosphere of the organiza-

tion has led people to get involved in its work. The board members regularly take part in a broad range of issues, such as those arising from the White House Interview Program, the Strategic Plan of the National Archives, the invitation to the President, and organizational operations. The leadership transition will be an easy one as Terry Sullivan, who will take over as President at our business meeting at the APSA convention, has been involved in all of the issues we have considered in the past two years. He has taken part in the decisions and has consistently worked on the details of organizational issues and operations.

You have my real thanks for the fine years I have had working with you. It has been a pleasure indeed.

Best Wishes,

Martha

The Forgotten Campaign of Franklin D. Roosevelt (cont. from p. 1)

Senate from New York to succeed Elihu Root.² Eleanor was at Campobello Island, Canada awaiting the birth of Franklin Jr.³ Several weeks later, on August 13, Roosevelt announced his candidacy without consulting Eleanor or his friend and advisor, Louis Howe, who was on vacation.⁴ Neither, Roosevelt said, had he consulted with the Wilson Administration.⁵ To many this appeared a brash move by the 32-year old Roosevelt who, just 17 months earlier, had been sworn in as the youngest Assistant Secretary of the Navy in American history.⁶ FDR resigned his position as a State Senator shortly into his second term to accept the appointment, which was a reward for his efforts in New York on behalf of Woodrow Wilson's presidential campaign.

As Assistant Secretary, Roosevelt energetically campaigned for a stronger, more efficient, navy.⁷ This may have been due, in part, to the increasing possibility of war with Mexico.⁸ Roosevelt also used his federal position to build a base of support in New York for himself and the administration through the use of patronage.⁹ Although Roosevelt had some success placing progressives in postmasterships and customs collectorships, Senator James A. O'Gorman (D-NY) and Charles F. Murphy (Society of Tammany) fought hard to maintain control of political appointments within the state by opposing Roosevelt's nominees in Congress (through senatorial courtesy) and by applying pressure directly on members of the administration. Wilson, a progressive, tried to

accommodate both factions.

Prior to the announcement of his candidacy for the Senate, FDR had been mentioned as a gubernatorial candidate.¹⁰ In the aforementioned letter to Eleanor he stated that the "Governorship is, thank God, out of the question" and he made this decision public a few days later.¹¹ These must have been heady times for the young Roosevelt. Thrust into the national spotlight as a Wilson appointee and touted as a candidate for two major political offices from a prominent state, Roosevelt entered a primary usually "reserved" for those who were older, more experienced, and tied to Tammany. But the Roosevelt name would be something to contend with; Franklin being a cousin of the former Republican governor and president.¹²

The primary was set for September 28. This would be the first time that citizens directly elected their Senators—the 17th Amendment having been ratified in April of the previous year. Although William McAdoo and Dudley Malone had privately encouraged Roosevelt to run, the amendment's enactment may have been the crucial determinant. In his public announcement, Roosevelt stated that

For the first time in a State-wide election the voters will have a chance to choose their candidates in a primary. *For this reason* [author's emphasis], and fortified by unsolicited and spontaneous requests from people in every county of the State, I have decided to submit my name as candidate for the United States Senate in the Democratic primaries.¹³

Direct election meant that FDR could seek the office without the blessing of Charles Murphy. In fact, Roosevelt's campaign theme would be that *he* was not a Murphy man.

Roosevelt had been first to announce for the seat. Now everyone awaited Murphy's choice. Rumors circulated that it would be millionaire publisher William Randolph Hearst. The prospect of running against Hearst pleased Roosevelt as Hearst was disliked in many quarters.¹⁴ To Roosevelt's chagrin, Hearst declined to run.¹⁵

Two months before Roosevelt announced his candidacy, James W. Gerard, U.S. Ambassador to Germany, was mentioned as a senatorial candidate. Gerard denied he would forgo his ambassadorial duties to campaign for the office.¹⁶ By the end of July, World War I had begun in Europe and Gerard was active in securing the safety and safe passage of American citizens caught in the maelstrom. As summer ebbed, Gerard's name circulated again for the Senate seat. Roosevelt may have been intimidated by the prospect of running against Gerard as he felt it necessary to publicly comment on the rumor of his candidacy:

I am not yet willing to believe that he [Charles Murphy] can drag an ambassador away from important duties to make him the respectable figurehead for a bad ticket.¹⁷

Murphy's Move

Roosevelt had underestimated the length of Murphy's reach. Gerard now said he would run provided he did not have to return to New York to campaign.¹⁸ Murphy was agreeable. Two weeks

before the election Gerard cabled his consent and Tammany shifted into high gear.

Like Roosevelt, James Watson Gerard was a product of the upper class.¹⁹ He was born in Geneseo, New York in 1867 to James Watson Gerard and Jenny Jones Angel. His father was a lawyer and state senator; his mother, the daughter of a judge. Partly educated in England and well-traveled in Europe, Gerard graduated from Columbia College in 1890 and then simultaneously enrolled in Columbia's School of Law and the master's program in Political Science, receiving his M.A. in 1891. Gerard served an apprenticeship in the law office begun by his grandfather and eventually became a judge.

At age 21 Gerard made a \$200 campaign contribution to Tammany and paid two dollars for dues; though, he said, he never attended another meeting.²⁰ Later, he became a poll watcher and defended Tammany voters accused of voter fraud.²¹ His appointment by Wilson as ambassador to Germany²² was, in part, brought about by the intervention of Tammany.²³ It was not, therefore, demagoguery for Roosevelt to characterize Gerard as Murphy's candidate.²⁴

Murphy's choice was a master stroke. Gerard enjoyed an impeccable reputation, was often in the news regarding his duties in Europe and, most importantly, he was a Wilson man. Though Roosevelt was clearly the more progressive of the two, the selection of Gerard placed the administration in an uncomfortable position—as Murphy well knew it would. Wilson could endorse either candidate or remain neutral, but endorsing Roosevelt meant

opposing Murphy; which no president could afford to do. Wilson's own advisors were split. As Frank Freidel noted:

FDR was in part the victim of conflict among Wilson's advisors. While [William] McAdoo, [Dudley] Malone, and [Colonel Edward] House favored FDR, [Joseph] Tumulty, [Albert] Burselon and Attorney General James C. McReynolds were conciliatory toward Tammany.²⁵

To the particular disappointment of McAdoo and Malone, Wilson chose neutrality. As a result, "not a single important administration leader would campaign for [Roosevelt]."²⁶

When Roosevelt announced his candidacy in August, he stated that he would ask for an unpaid "leave of absence from Sept[ember] 9 to Sept[ember] 29."²⁷ Gerard remained in Germany and avoided any polemics with Roosevelt. The campaign was short and uneventful as the public's attention was focused on events in Europe.

Because Murphy had metropolitan New York under his thumb, Roosevelt was forced to campaign upstate "through overwhelming rural areas, where there were few Democrats save for a scattering of federal and state officeholders."²⁸ Roosevelt stumped the state on the issue of bossism:

I believe the great majority of Democrats, as well as the great majority of the whole body of voters, are sick of present conditions and demand a chance to effect a change. I have always fought within party lines, and I seek the

regular and legal means of giving these voters a chance. If elected, I will strive only to carry out the theory of our Government by representing the State of New York and not any faction, locality, or self-appointed clique of rule or ruin politicians.²⁹

Although Roosevelt traveled widely "he rarely could find mass audiences; the primary, which took place ...during the first great battles of the war, did not attract much attention."³⁰ When he did attract a crowd "there were published complaints that his listeners, at the end of his speeches, had no more idea where he stood on great questions than they had at the beginning."³¹

Roosevelt received a smattering of endorsements from newspapers and Democratic county organizations (including his own in Dutchess county) and the support of the Jeffersonian Alliance as well.³² He also received support from several navy yard leaders, but Louis Howe, his campaign manager, committed a faux pas when he let the endorsements go out on circulars lacking the union label.³³ One week before the election Roosevelt responded publicly to a letter sent to him by James S. McDonough. McDonough was the third candidate in the race and had asked Roosevelt to declare his position on several issues. Roosevelt evaded McDonough's request and returned to his campaign theme:

In this campaign, as in many others, I have taken a consistent position against the control of the Democracy of this State by Charles Francis Murphy,

believing that he is a handicap to our Democracy.³⁴

The campaign seemed hopeless. Even if Roosevelt could snatch a victory in the primary, he would need the support of Tammany in the general election. But how could he expect Murphy's support in November after campaigning against him in September?

Defeat³⁵

As predicted,³⁶ voter turnout was poor and the strength of Tammany had not waned. Gerard and Murphy crushed the opposition by garnering 64% of the total vote (see Table 1). Roosevelt was beaten by more than 2 to 1 state-wide. Although his campaign was short and had not generated much enthusiasm, FDR did win more than a third (22) of the counties, but most of these victories were in rural areas where turnout was extremely low. His modest success can be explained by the popularity of the progressive movement in rural America. This liberal movement sought to reform the corrupt practices of political parties and city machines. To progressives, Tammany was both corrupt and conservative, so it was not a surprise that Roosevelt (an upstate progressive) fared well in rural New York.

It was in the heart of Tammany where the damage to Roosevelt's campaign was most profound. In Bronx, Kings, New York, and Queens counties, where nearly 60% of the entire state's votes had been cast, Roosevelt was beaten by nearly 4 to 1 (see Table 2). Roosevelt did show some strength in the south, however, by winning Nassau County on Long Island.

Table 1
Results of the 1914 New York Democratic Primary for United States Senate.¹

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Votes Received</u>	<u>Counties Won²</u>
James W. Gerard	123,361 (63.9%)	39 (62.9%)
James S. McDonough	16,102 (8.3%)	1 (1.6%)
Franklin D. Roosevelt	53,644 (27.8%)	22 (35.5%)
Totals	193,107 (100%)	62 (100%)

Source: *New York Times*, 30 September 1914, 5:2.

¹See note 35.

²Received at least a plurality of the vote.

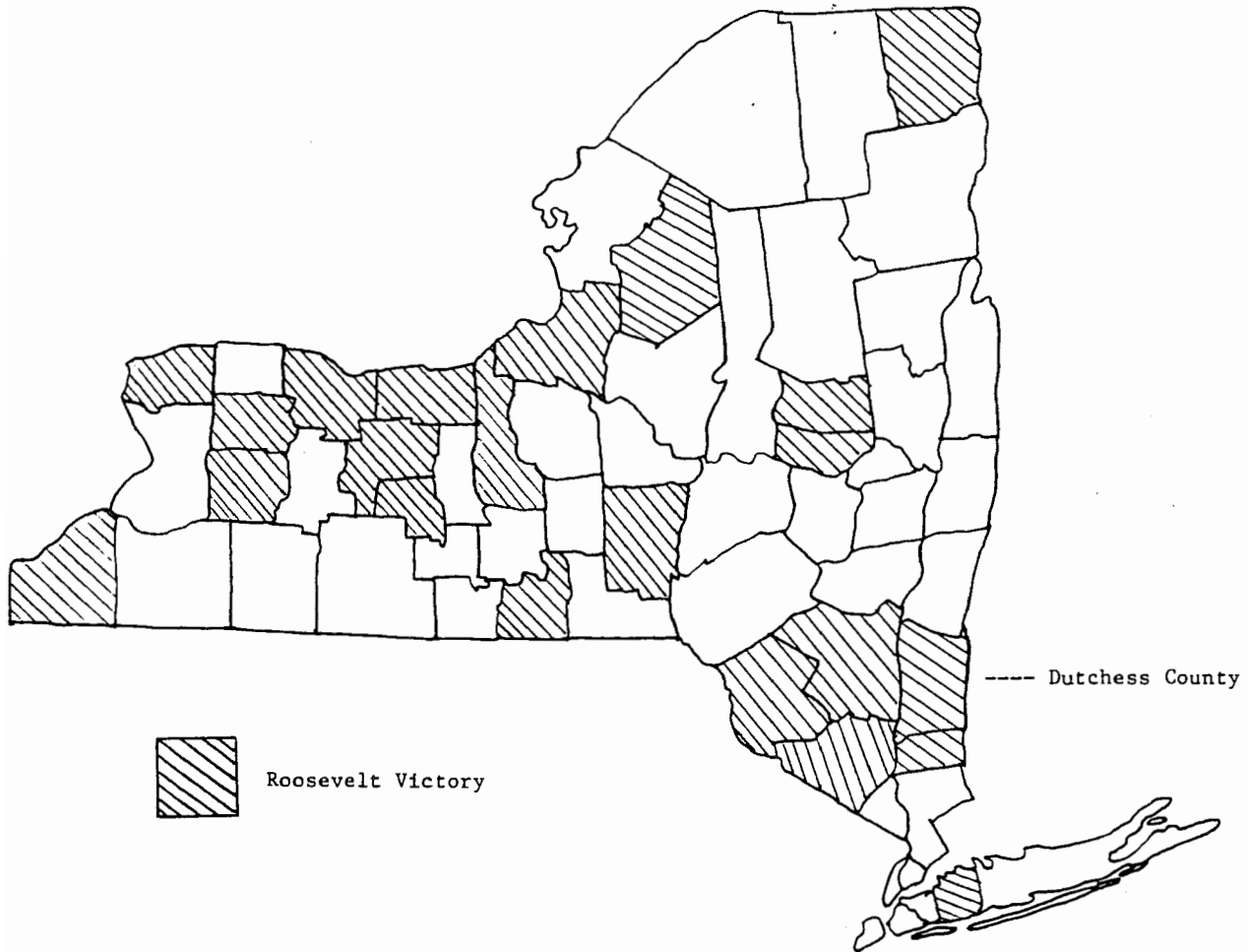
Table 2
Selected County Vote Totals for the 1914 New York Democratic Primary for United States Senate.¹

<u>County</u>	<u>Gerard</u>	<u>McDonough</u>	<u>Roosevelt</u>
Bronx	9,190	1,247	3,520
Kings	31,910	3,159	8,762
New York	32,691	1,536	5,759
Queens	11,454	923	4,623
Totals (114,774)	85,245	6,865	22,664

Source: *New York Times*, 30 September 1914, 5:2.

¹See note 35.

Figure 1. County Map of New York



After his defeat, Roosevelt put on a good public face and resumed his duties with the Navy. He exaggerated his primary "success" by falsely claiming victory in "a majority of the counties of the State."³⁷ He neither appeared despondent in public nor in letters to his wife. Years later, Eleanor reflected on the 1914 campaign:

I do not think that my husband ever had any idea that he was going to win, and I have often

heard him say that he did not think himself suited to serve in the United States Senate; and it was probably a great relief to find himself back at his desk in the Navy Department.³⁸

Being a good party man, Roosevelt offered Gerard his support via telegram³⁹ and "during the last week of the general election campaign, made eight speeches in New York in support of the entire Democratic ticket."⁴⁰

President Wilson and James McDonough also campaigned for the Tammany ticket.

The Democrats went down in defeat in November. Gerard (44.9%) lost the Senate race to Republican James Wadsworth (50.2%)⁴¹ and Governor Martin Glynn (a Murphy man) lost his bid for reelection to Charles Whitman, also a Republican. Murphy must surely have now recognized that "without progressive candidates [he] could not win the election."⁴²

Conclusion

Even with direct election, a victory in the New York Democratic primary was nearly impossible without the support of Tammany. FDR reevaluated his politics and began to build bridges to Murphy's machine. He befriended John Fitzgerald, the powerful congressman from New York City, and supported Al Smith in the 1915 race for sheriff of New York. In 1916 Roosevelt persuaded Wilson to appoint Robert Wagner postmaster of New York City (which Wagner declined).⁴³

This was not the last time Roosevelt was mentioned as a senatorial candidate. His name resurfaced in 1922 and Governor Al Smith tried unsuccessfully to draft him for the '26 race.⁴⁴ Roosevelt's refusal to toss his hat in the ring during these years was probably due to his battle with polio, which he had contracted in 1921. During the summer of 1927 there was talk of drafting Roosevelt for the 1928 race, but in August he announced that he would not be a candidate.⁴⁵ The publicity did Roosevelt no harm. In 1928 he entered the New York gubernatorial contest instead—a contest that propelled him back to Albany and eventually into American political folklore.

NOTES

The author wishes to thank Raymond Teichman, Supervisory Archivist at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, for providing information for this paper.

1. The biographical essay in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* also omits FDR's campaign for the Senate in 1914 [(Macropaedia)

1995 ed., s.v. "Roosevelt, Franklin Delano"].

2. Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *FDR: His Personal Letters, 1905-1928* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1948), 229.

3. Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1952), see second footnote, 183.

4. *Ibid*, see text and second footnote, 183.

5. *New York Times*, 14 August 1914, 12:1.

6. Roosevelt served under Secretary Josephus Daniels.

7. For a synopsis of naval forces at that time, see Franklin D. Roosevelt, "How the Navy is Daily Employed." *Scientific American*, 28 February 1914, 177-178.

8. *New York Times*, 27 April 1914, 2:3.

9. Kenneth S. Davis, *FDR: The Beckoning of Destiny, 1882-1928, A History* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1971), see Chapter 12.

10. This was mentioned as early as December 1913; see Frank Freidel, 179.

11. *New York Times*, 24 July 1914, 2:5.

12. Theodore Roosevelt was governor of New York from 1899-1900 and president of the United States from 1901-1909. Theodore, too, had served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy (1897-1898).

13. *New York Times*, 17 August 1914, 6:6.

14. Roosevelt said it "would be magnificent sport" to run against Hearst. Quoted in Kenneth Davis, 359.

15. *New York Times*, 26 August 1914, 8:8. Hearst supported James W. Gerard in the primary.

16. *New York Times*, 16 June 1914, 4:3.

17. *New York Times*, 8 September 1914, 10:7.

18. *New York Times*, 10 September 1914, 4:7.

19. All biographical information is from James W. Gerard, *My First Eighty-three Years in America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1951). Oddly, Gerard did not discuss the Senate campaign in his memoir. This is remarkable since he is the only person to have defeated Roosevelt in a primary. Roosevelt's only other electoral loss was as the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee in 1920; he was the running mate of James M. Cox.

20. James Gerard, 34.

21. *Ibid*, 35.

22. Gerard took the oath of office in July of 1913.

23. James Gerard, 168.

24. *New York Times*, 12 September 1914, 7:1.

25. Frank Freidel, see footnote, 185.

26. Kenneth Davis, 359.
27. *New York Times*, 14 August 1914, 12:1.
28. Frank Freidel, 188.
29. *New York Times*, 17 August 1914, 6:6.
30. James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1956), 59.
31. Kenneth Davis, 360.
32. *New York Times*, 15 August 1914, 14:3.
33. Frank Freidel, 187.
34. *New York Times*, 21 September 1914, 9:3.
35. The voting data incorporated in this paper was reported in the *New York Times* two days after the primary (30 September 1914, 5) and was incomplete. Complete county totals were not published in the *New York Times* at a later date nor were they available from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (letter to the author from Raymond Teichman, 11 July 1996). According to Frank Freidel (p.188), Gerard received a total of 210,765 votes (67.6%), McDonough 23,977 (7.7%), and Roosevelt 76,888 (24.7%). Compare these percentages with those in Table 1. Freidel's totals for Gerard and Roosevelt are identical to those reported by Kenneth Davis (p.360) and James MacGregor Burns (p.59). Freidel's total for McDonough is confirmed by Burns (p.59). Neither Freidel nor Davis nor Burns had complete county totals. Freidel reported that Roosevelt won 22 of 61 counties (p.188) and Burns stated that FDR won more than "a third of the state's sixty-one counties" (p.59). The *New York Times* article cited above listed returns from 62 counties and Roosevelt won 22 of these with at least a plurality of the vote: Cayuga, Chautauqua, Chenango, Clinton, Dutchess, Genesee, Lewis, Monroe, Montgomery, Nassau, Niagara, Ontario, Orange, Oswego, Putnam, Schoharie, Sullivan, Tioga, Ulster, Wayne, Wyoming and Yates.
36. For example, it was reported that "Col[onel Theodore] Roosevelt and the other Progressive leaders have felt all along that Murphy will have his way in New York State at the primaries, and that independent Democrats who seek nominations will fail." *New York Times*, 15 August 1914, 14:3.
37. Quoted in Frank Freidel, 188.
38. Eleanor Roosevelt, *The Autobiography of Eleanor Roosevelt* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1961), 79.
39. Roosevelt cabled the following message to Gerard in Berlin: "Hearty congratulations. Shall abide result primaries. In addition will make active campaign for you if you declare unalterable opposition to Murphy's leadership and all he stands for. Please answer." *New York Times*, 30 September 1914, 5:6. Gerard replied: "Thanks for your assurance of support. Of course, I intend to represent the Democratic party and the people, and no faction or individual, if elected." Quoted in Frank Freidel, see second footnote, 188. This reply satisfied FDR.
40. Kenneth Davis, 361.
41. *New York Times*, 5 December 1914, 7:6. The Progressive Party's candidate, Bainbridge Colby, received 4.9% of the vote.
42. Frank Freidel, 189.
43. Kenneth Davis, 361.
44. *New York Times*, 28 June 1926, 1:6.
45. *New York Times*, 13 August 1927, 5:2.

Studying Presidential-Congressional Relations

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OVERVIEW AND SCOPE

This study uses political time and policy area approaches to examine contemporary relations between Congress and the president. A primary venue for such relations is roll call voting in Congress, including presidential position-taking, controversy and partisanship in voting, and legislative support of presidents' positions. These activities revolve around the adoption of public policy and are used in this volume. In addition, *Presidential-Congressional Relations* examines supposedly independent executive actions (issuing executive orders) as an alternative form of policy adoption by presidents who still must operate within the legislative arena.

Existing measures of presidential-congressional relations have been both praised and damned in the scholarly literature. Some of the criticism surrounds the fact that they are based on roll call votes, where each vote is weighted equally. That and other criticisms are addressed by including a data set of important (major) legislation based upon David Mayhew's widely cited, *Divided We Govern* (1992). Because his criteria for inclusion yield so few foreign and defense issues, additional major foreign policy legislation based on Barbara Hinckley's *Less than Meets the Eye* (1994) is also used. This combination of data provides sufficient important legislation to categorize by political time and policy areas.

Three different policy typologies are compared to provide rival explanations of modern presidential-congressional relations. *Presidential-Congressional Relations* incorporates two substantive typologies. First is the two presidencies thesis, first advanced by Aaron Wildavsky in 1966. One criticism of the two presidencies notion is that the dichotomy is too crude, thereby missing variation possibly evident if more categories were available. Therefore, I also incorporate a policy categorization identified by Gary King and Lyn Ragsdale (1988). Additionally, this book uses a functional classification made famous by Theodore Lowi, initially in 1964 and later amended.

This volume also groups government activities according to political time: by presidential party, by individual president, and by selected year in presidential term of office. All and important legislation and executive orders are assessed from 1957-1994, which allows systematic examination of presidential-congressional activities over 38 years. Utilizing political time in this volume goes beyond standard treatments of chronology or president as units of analysis by using combinations of years to better understand presidential-congressional relations.

The theoretical and empirical development of the existing literature will be enhanced in several ways. First, it is important to study which particular policy typology best helps us understand presidential-congressional relations. If the votes can be categorized reliably and if differences within and across these policy areas are observed, then they represent valid typologies of policy content. If so, then policy content may indeed help explain the politics and, perhaps, even the process of policy making (as envisioned by Ranney 1968; Lowi 1964). The book will also be able to observe whether substantive or functional typologies are most useful.

Second, different groupings of years have been shown by scholars to have theoretical and empirical utility. In this study political time provides valuable controls on the data beyond conventional examinations. Obviously dividing these data by presidential party should reveal major differences in assertiveness, preferences and congressional reactions to them (Kessel 1984; Shull 1983). Individual presidents also have been shown to vary in their legislative relations (Beck 1982; Shull and Gleiber 1995) and over time. Finally, selected years in presidential terms, while sometimes containing few cases, may be important to behavior. Probably honeymoon year is quite different from other years (Light 1982; Kessel 1984; Shull 1983). All three year groupings can be compared to all years together as a baseline.

Third, the research introduces a new data set consisting of roll call votes on major legislation developed from Mayhew (1992) and Hinckley (1994). The Mayhew/Hinckley data are provocative but passage of major legislation identifies little role for presidents. By adapting the CQ vote data to major legislation and comparing it to all votes, we can more fully assess presidential-congressional relations. Adding the Hinckley data increases the number of foreign and defense votes available for empirical testing beyond Mayhew, thereby ensuring sufficient cases for each of the three policy typologies and increasing reliability of

results.

The fourth purpose is to better understand the nature of vote controversy in presidential-congressional relations. The roll call data for important and all legislation provide many different forms of vote conflict and/or partisanship. Such controversy should relate both to presidential position-taking and subsequent legislative support and, of course, should vary by political time, by issue area within and between policy typologies, and whether all or only important legislation is analyzed.

Fifth, presidents have executive options in policy making and such decisions may depend on the legislative environment they face. Presumably, presidents who are highly supported in Congress have less need to issue executive orders. Yet, this "administrative" device may be related to legislative conditions. On the other hand, such actions may depend little upon the legislative environment. This research allows a direct examination of executive order issuance within the legislative arena across political time and issue areas of public policy. Scholars have not addressed this important executive-legislative linkage sufficiently.

Finally, *Presidential-Congressional Relations* if successful in these endeavors, will provide an important data set for use by scholars of presidential-congressional relations. At present, research relies on Congressional Quarterly, Mayhew, or Hinckley measures separately, or variations thereof, all of which suffer limitations. Indeed, dissatisfaction with current measures has led to manipulations of them as well as utilizing CQ's key votes measure (Edwards 1989; Bond and Fleisher

1990). None are satisfactory by themselves but, by combining and comparing several of them, potential explanatory power and subsequent research on presidential-congressional relations are enhanced.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

The relationship between the president and Congress is exceedingly important but not always easy to discern. As with most research, what is uncovered depends upon the theory and measurement employed. Only one of the four activities used in this research has been analyzed extensively; other measures merit attention as well. This book shows how particular indicators and operationalizations were developed and utilized. Some analyses herein examined only important legislation while others focused on all legislation. For the latter, roll call votes in the House only were used, while votes in both chambers were compiled for important legislation. Observable differences between important and all votes emerged, as discussed next according to the four government activities.

PRESIDENTIAL POSITION-TAKING

Position-taking is a response by presidents to legislative votes appearing in Congress. Presidents cannot introduce legislation in Congress, but certainly can express preferences on roll call votes on Congress's agenda. Position-taking obviously is discretionary for presidents, however, so considerable variation occurs in this activity among individual presidents. First off, presidents take positions twice as often on important than on all legislation. Only final passage

votes are included for the former, while many routine procedural or amendment votes may appear for the latter. Major policy area and political time differences occurred in presidential position-taking.

Position-taking occurs relatively more frequently in domestic than foreign policy and, as expected, partisan differences emerge as well. As expected, Democratic presidents do emphasize the former relatively more and Republicans the latter relatively more. Such party differences are more pronounced for important than for all legislation. Illustrating how the two presidencies thesis may miss variation, position-taking averaged greatest in defense and resources and least in foreign aid and agriculture. Perhaps not surprising given research showing presidential emphasis in redistributive policy, position-taking averaged greatest there and least on distributive policy, in which presidents presumably have least interest (Shull 1983; Spitzer 1983).

Obviously, considerable differences in position-taking occur among the individual presidents. Probably no one would be surprised that John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson took the greatest average frequency of positions on both important and all legislation. Dwight Eisenhower and Ronald Reagan averaged the least positions per year in office, but as a percent of roll call votes, Gerald Ford took by far the fewest positions on average of any modern president. Somewhat unexpectedly, position-taking on House votes occurs relatively least often during presidents' first year in office. Perhaps presidents are too busy then to concern themselves with many routine matters as they concentrate on their own agenda

during the crucial honeymoon period.

LEGISLATIVE VOTE CONTROVERSY

In examining controversy on legislative votes, several (often very different) indicators were provided for important legislation, while a single partisan difference measure was included for all House votes. The results of the five controversy measures on important legislation diverged greatly and interpretation sometimes was difficult. Final passage votes on important legislation generate many amendments but less than half of these votes were non unanimous and less than one quarter were partisan. However, partisan and non unanimous voting was actually less when Republicans rather than Democrats were presidents. Although voice voting was greater under Democratic presidents, no presidential party difference appeared in amendment frequency.

Individual president differences also were considerable on important legislation votes. Among contemporary presidents, the most vote controversy occurred under Bill Clinton in terms of percentage of partisan votes, non unanimous votes, and average vote splitting. Despite Republican congressional agenda leadership, institutional controversy was high during the 104th Congress (1995-1996). Presidents' first year was most partisan, containing the most non unanimous votes and the highest percentage of vote splitting. Relatively more voice votes but fewer amendments occurred in foreign policy, as expected, but more vote splitting and about the same percentage of partisan votes appeared as in domestic policy.

Agriculture had the lowest proportion of voice votes, the greatest percentage of partisan votes, and the greatest vote splitting, while resources was lowest on these indicators. Social welfare was not very controversial on any of the five conflict measures.

The measure of controversy for all legislation was a comparison of in versus out party House member support for the president grouped by years and policy areas. This party gap in support was greater for Democratic than Republican legislators, suggesting that House members are more partisan when the latter presidents occupy the White House. However, Democrats, on average, have larger majorities and do not appear as hard on Republicans as GOP members are on Democratic presidents (Gibson 1995). The greatest average difference in party support occurred under Kennedy and the least under Nixon. Obviously, Republicans were strongly opposed to many Kennedy initiatives but Democrats were nearly as supportive of Nixon's policies as were Republican House members. Selected year differences in party support averaged least during last year in presidents' term of office. In versus out party support differences were not great between domestic and foreign policy. Some mean differences occurred by the King and Ragsdale policy typology but they too were not very dramatic.

LEGISLATIVE SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

Virtually all of the empirical literature on presidential-congressional relations focuses on presidents' legislative support or success. Considerable confusion exists in the literature over these

indicators, and they measure quite different phenomena. Percent agreement in the House with presidents' vote positions is utilized here. Overall, presidents are supported 60% in the House but Democrats receive much greater support than Republicans. Johnson received the greatest and Reagan the least support from members of the House. Clinton's support was high in 1993-1994 but then dropped to the lowest ever in 1995. Selected year in presidential term was not very useful in tapping president's legislative support in the House of Representatives.

As anticipated, foreign policy receives somewhat greater levels of support than domestic policy but variation by policy area occurred only for Republican presidents. Not surprisingly, Johnson (highest) and Reagan (lowest) were the extremes in domestic policy support. Although Clinton's support was low in 1995, such domestic positions as job training and eliminating the Interstate Commerce Commission were upheld by Congress. Only in foreign policy do year groupings make much difference; in last year presidents receive much greater foreign policy support than during other years. Within the King and Ragsdale typology, support was greatest for trade and least for aid and agriculture. Considerable party differences occurred in social welfare as anticipated. Individual president variations were considerable, even more so than presidential party and, especially, selected year within presidential term.

EXECUTIVE ORDER ISSUANCE

Some might assume that executive order issuance involves little presidential-congressional interaction. However, this analysis

reveals that is not the case and their utilization provides another measure of presidential assertiveness in a legislative environment. Unlike what I observed in civil rights (Shull 1993, 111), Democratic presidents average more orders over all issues per year than do Republicans. Clearly related to party, more orders occur on average under unified than divided government. Harry Truman issued by far the most orders annually and Reagan averaged the fewest on average among modern presidents. Accordingly, the overall trend in order issuance is down somewhat through Clinton. Another finding was that presidents issue more orders during their first than during any other year in their term.

When examining policy areas, Democratic presidents especially issue relatively more orders in domestic than foreign policy. Mean domestic order issuance was high for Kennedy and Clinton but low for Reagan and Bush, who focused more on foreign policy concerns. More surprising than this finding is the high proportion of domestic orders by Nixon. Foreign policy orders are issued relatively most often during presidents' re-election year and domestic orders appear relatively most often during last year in office.

Most executive orders classified by the King and Ragsdale typology on average occur in trade, defense and government while fewest occur relatively in foreign aid and agriculture. Social welfare order issuance varied greatly by presidential party, while government (presumably more routine matters) did not. The individual presidents had particular relative emphases (e.g., Eisenhower = defense; Reagan = trade, Clinton =

resources). During first year, welfare and agriculture were emphasized; during last year, defense and government were prominent; during re-election year, trade received considerable attention by presidents in executive order issuance.

POLICY AND TIME APPROACHES

UTILITY OF POLITICAL TIME

In general, the aggregations of data by political time performed about as well as when using the policy typologies. Indeed, although both dichotomies, presidential party usually was more discriminating than was the two presidencies. Partisanship of course is increasing in congressional voting and Democratic and Republican presidents and legislators do seem to behave quite differently. On most of the government activities, significant party differences emerged; sometimes they were amplified when used in conjunction with the policy typologies. Democratic presidents on average were more assertive, had more support, but also more controversy on votes than Republican presidents. Admittedly, presidential party may be a poor surrogate for presidential ideology, but studies have found the two strongly related (Gleiber and Shull 1992). Yet ideology is a useful concept too, and CQ should resume (since 1991) providing the votes used for determining individual legislator scores for each of four different organizations. Without the votes themselves, it is much more difficult to tap presidential ideology.

Individual president variations were also quite stark. A problem of few observations may appear when grouping data by nine presidents

(ten with executive orders). This was particularly true for Ford and Clinton, for which just two years of data were available. Presidents who were assertive with Congress (like Kennedy, Johnson, and Clinton) were also highly supported, largely due to favorable partisan majorities in both chambers. The former two (but not Clinton) also issued many executive orders, yet the three differed greatly in controversy between votes on important versus all legislation. The five Republican presidents during 1957-1994 (Eisenhower, Nixon, Ford, Reagan, and Bush) generally were least assertive and supported least by Congress.

Year in term generally produced the least satisfying results. Some observations are clear in that presidents usually get their way earlier rather than later in their terms of office. First (honeymoon) year was lowest in controversy on important legislation but greatest in support on all legislation and executive order issuance. Last (lame duck) and re-election years, while similar to each other as expected, were not always greatly different from first year. Position-taking and controversy were greater in last year for important legislation as was controversy for all House votes. Re-election year did not emerge as greatly different on any indicators.

Using political time in this volume goes beyond standard treatments. It represents a different way of thinking about presidential-congressional relations according to recurring, short term cycles instead of purely chronological time. The concern is more with understanding patterns and meaning in relationships between the two institutions. In addition to political party and individual

presidents, selected year within president's term of office facilitates comprehension of stability and change in agendas and activities. It allows for a more sophisticated and extended analysis than simply studying phenomena over time alone.

UTILITY OF POLICY AREAS

The roles and influence of both the president and Congress vary considerably by policy areas, and all three typologies had at least some discriminating power. Although only a dichotomy, the two presidencies retains some utility. The recent decision by CQ to include an economic dimension, instead of just domestic and foreign, has been suggested by others (e.g., Manning 1977; LeLoup and Shull [1979] 1991). Presidents do not appear to be more foreign policy oriented, taking relatively fewer positions in that domain. However, they do issue executive orders extensively in defense and in trade. Congress does appear more domestic oriented (in controversy measures) by challenging presidents relatively frequently in government and social welfare. Agriculture has such low salience that it probably should be subsumed with the other six areas, presumably mostly within resources. Although used only for important legislation, the Lowi typology, too, had utility. As expected, presidents seem more redistributive and constituent oriented and Congress more distributive and regulatory oriented.

Although congressional influence in foreign policy does not yet match its power domestically, Congress is increasing its role considerably. The issue area where Congress has had the least influence has been in defense. Wars and

crises in the twentieth century have led to substantial growth of presidential power. Yet, even here Congress is asserting itself, particularly when presidents are thought to have exceeded their authority and encroached into areas where Congress also maintains constitutional responsibilities. Thus, while presidential powers have grown enormously, Congress appears to be catching up (Ripley and Lindsay 1993). There is no evidence, even when Congress and the president are of the same party, that this trend will reverse itself in the near future.

Good evidence exists in this book that substantial variation in actor behavior occurs within domestic and foreign policy. However, showing that aid and trade differ dramatically in the foreign realm, and that social welfare and agriculture are quite different domestically, provides confidence that greater variation in behavior can be tapped than by using the dichotomy alone. The effort here simply combined trade, aid, and defense as categorized by these authors into the foreign dimension and social welfare (including civil rights), government (including economic management), resources, and agriculture into the domestic realm. Although somewhat crude, the King and Ragsdale categorization incorporates some of both substantive and functional aspects of policy typologies.

The Lowi typology revealed some dramatic changes in emphasis over time. The increasingly technical nature of society has necessitated a growth in regulatory policy. This may have been largely at the expense of distributive issues, which dominated the policy arena in the nineteenth century (Lowi 1972, 300). Because of the

level of expertise required, it is probable that a shift has occurred, moving policy making generally and regulatory policy specifically from the legislative to the executive sphere (Vogler 1977, 304). Since redistributive issues tend to be controversial and ideological, normally it is the president, not Congress, who initiates policy in behalf of society's poor (Ripley and Franklin 1991, 148). Distributive policies are less ideological than regulatory and redistributive issues in that they involve fewer social rearrangements. Such issues as acreage allotments and water projects are more likely to be adopted by Congress than are the more conflictual redistributive policies (Ripley and Franklin 1991, 149; Hayes 1978, 154). Constituent policies often contain foreign policy content. Usually, they are developed centrally in both branches of government and are rather partisan.

Although all three policy typologies have discriminating value, none of the three is perfect. The two presidencies distinction appears less empirically obvious than it did in the 1960s. Yet, the phenomenon still exists, if more so for Republican than Democratic presidents. Although theory has been limited, considerable research has worked toward this end (Shull 1991; 1994; Lindsay and Steger 1993), and it is parsimonious. The King and Ragsdale categorization at first appears totally atheoretical, in that no rationale is provided for the issue area groupings. They are based loosely on two typologies identified empirically in early research (Clausen 1973; Kessel 1974) but the authors expanded on the foreign domain as have others (Ripley and Franklin 1986; 1991; Shull et al 1985; Lindsay and

Ripley 1993, Ch. 2; Hinckley 1994). Martha Gibson (1995) has provided the most theoretical development of the typology to date. The Lowi typology has the strongest theoretical foundation of the three, but often has been difficult to apply empirically (Shull 1983; Spitzer 1983). All three typologies were used here, compiled within accepted limits of intercoder reliability, and found to have utility.

CONCLUSION

This paper has summarized the findings and drawn implications from the broader research. No final decisions are warranted about the interrelationship of groupings of political time and policy areas in explaining relations between the president and Congress. Yet both revealed important differences in government activities. A multitude of variables and indicators are offered and it should be quite clear to all that neither actor dominates the relationship. Perhaps now more than ever before, true power sharing best characterizes their interactions. Presidential leadership and/or congressional followership clearly provide an inadequate picture of modern presidential-congressional relations; rarely is either dominant or submissive. Increasingly divided government does make institutional conflict more likely but policy deadlock is not inevitable. Neither actor completely sets the agenda on its own and cooperation is nearly always necessary for agenda ideas subsequently to be adopted. Yes, presidents are more influential in the former than they once were, but Congress continues as the dominant actor in the latter. The challenge for presidential-congressional relations

in the twenty-first century will be to avoid policy gridlock that threatens democratic governance.

What should scholars consider in further examinations of presidential-congressional relations? One direction that clearly has not been given enough attention is examining the relationships through public policy approaches, either through modeling the nature of the process or through content issue areas such as those included here. In addition, combining substantive and functional typologies should enhance theoretical and explanatory power. Future analysis is expected to amplify what has been observed here, namely that neither presidents nor Congress acts alone. Therefore, the relationship is one of tandem institutions sharing power rather than a dominant president or a submissive Congress.

It will be obvious to readers of this book that the analysis has been exploratory and conceptual. However, many variables and types of relationships have been introduced, some of which appear to have greater utility than others. Some of the relationships are suggestive of greater influence by presidents and others by Congress, but the overall finding is one of the need for interaction, if not always full cooperation (LeLoup and Shull 1993). Neither branch can act alone and hope to accomplish very much. Subsequent scholars should incorporate many of these variables into their own research, rather than studying these actors in isolation or examining a single government activity.

Some current research incorporates sophisticated multivariate analysis. Widely cited studies (e.g., Bond and Fleisher 1990; Edwards 1989; Peterson 1990) utilize a single dependent variable, includ-

ing minor variations of legislative support or success. Yet, neither of these variables nor any other indicator thereof (such as key votes or examining non unanimous votes only) tell the entire story of presidential-congressional relations. Presidential position-taking, legislative vote controversy, executive order issuance, and phenomena not included here tell us much that support or success do not. Other venues, like legislative liaison and budgeting, need further scrutiny. Also, the political time and policy area groupings reveal sufficient variation to warrant further scrutiny.

Where do we go from here with research on presidential-congressional relations? Within Congress, scholars should consider committee voting and tracking the legislative history of bills to see if presidents can play a role. We need better ways of ascertaining whether bills (and their roll call votes) are part of the president's legislative agenda. That requires collecting the CQ box score (dropped in 1975) so that scholars are less dependent on presidents' vote positions for both the organization's current success and support scores. We need better data on the president's ability to shift votes in Congress, thereby tapping presidential leadership or influence rather than simple congruence of positions (Pritchard 1983; Sullivan 1991; Mouw and MacKuen (1992). Improved measures of presidential success and failure with Congress, including explanations other than public support, would lead to better theory. Surely multivariate analysis is called for. The National Science Foundation should help scholars improve data collection, storage, and dissemination much as it does for students of elections. Therefore,

studying interactions between the first two branches of the national government more systematically is the most pressing problem for scholars of American political institutions.

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¹ This article is excerpted from Shull's forthcoming book, *Presidential-Congressional Relations: Policy and Time Approaches* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

Articles on the Presidency 1996

Todd C. Patterson

- Abramowitz, A. I. 1996. Bill and Al's Excellent Adventure: Forecasting the 1996 Presidential Election. *American Politics Quarterly* 24: 434-442. Describes a three-tier model for forecasting outcomes of presidential elections.
- Aitken, Rt. Hon. J. 1996. The Nixon Character. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 239-247. Briefly analyzes Nixon's character traits and political ambitions.
- Andrade, L., and G. Young. 1996. Presidential Agenda Setting: Influences on the Emphasis of Foreign Policy. *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 591-605. Examines influences of presidential emphasis on foreign policy.
- Arnold, L. W., and H. F. Weisberg. 1996. Parenthood, Family Values, and the 1992 Presidential Election. *American Politics Quarterly* 24: 194-220. Analyzes family structure variables and their partisan affects, especially as they influence presidential vote decision-making.
- Avella, J. R. 1996. Whose Decision to Use Force? *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 485-495. Examines the debate of division of powers in the use of force to support foreign policy objectives.
- Bartels, L. M. 1996. Uninformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections. *American Journal of Political Science* 40: 194-230. Using six recent presidential elections, examines how uninformed voters use cues and information shortcuts to act as if they were informed voters.
- Beachler, D. W. 1996. The South and the Democratic Presidential Nomination, 1972-1992. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 402-414. Year-by-year analyses of southern Democrats.
- Bimes, T., and S. Skowronek. 1996. Woodrow Wilson's Critique of Popular Leadership: Reassessing the Modern-Traditional Divide in Presidential History. *Polity* 29: 27-63. Analyzes Wilson's critique and revisionist perspectives of leadership in American history.
- Burgin, E. 1996. Review Essay: Congress and the Presidency in the Foreign Arena. *Congress and the Presidency* 23: 57-64. Research review of the increasing interest in analyzing executive-legislative relations in foreign affairs.
- Calhamer, A. B. 1996. Significant Factors in the Thirty-Six-Year Cycles of Presidential Elections. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 581-590. Based on V. O. Key's presidential cycles, seeks to uncover patterns over the republic's 201-year history.
- Campbell, J. E. 1996. Polls and Votes: The Trial-Heat Presidential Election Forecasting Model, Certainty, and Political Campaigns. *American Politics Quarterly* 24: 408-433. Revises, updates, and examines background for a highly accurate model for forecasting national popular vote in presidential elections.
- Caplinger, C. 1996. The Politics of Trusteeship Governance: Jimmy Carter's Fight for a Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 778-794. Based on the 1979-1980 debate over a standby gasoline rationing plane, studies trusteeship governance in the political climate of the late 1970s.
- Carroll, R. J. 1996. Clinton's Economy in a Historical Context, or Why Media Coverage on Economic Issues is Suspect. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 828-834. Considers media's role in economic coverage and Clinton's economic policies in a historical context.
- Collier, K. 1996. Behind the Bully Pulpit: The Reagan Administration and Congress. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 805-815. Examines Reagan's use of the "bully pulpit" to influence congressional relations for support of administration policy objectives.
- Cook, B. W. 1996. Presidential Papers in Crisis: Some Thoughts on Lies, Secrets, and Silence. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 285-292. Perspective on scholarly publications of papers of modern presidents.
- Cross, S. 1996. Congress, the Executive and U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Agreement. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 425-434. Analyzes legislative-executive relations through free trade negotiations with Mexico.
- Cuzan, A. G., and C. M. Bundrick. 1996. Research Note: Fiscal Policy and Presidential Elections 1880-1992. *Polity* 29: 141-156. Analyzes presidential election results, purporting that an increase in the ration of federal outlays to GNP has a negative effect on presidential re-election, except in periods of war.
- Daniels, D. G. 1996. Theodore Roosevelt and Gender Roles. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 648-665. Examines Roosevelt's perceptions of gender roles and approach toward the family unit.
- Dark, T. E. 1996. Organized Labor and the Presidential

- Nominating Process: Reconsidering the 1980s. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 391-401. Evaluates democratic reforms in the 1970s and 1980s, emphasizing re-examination of labor's role in presidential nominations during the 1980s.
- Dean, A. L., and J. M. Beggs. 1996. The Department of Transportation Comes of Age: The Nixon Years. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 209-215. Analyzes how the DOT emerged under Nixon as one of the most effective executive branch agencies.
- Duffy, R. J. 1996. Divided Government and Institutional Combat: The Case of the Quayle Council on Competitiveness. *Polity* 28: 379-399. By analyzing the Council on Competitiveness as an executive branch weapon in inter-branch institutional combat, analyzes how partisan struggles over regulation were altered by unified party control in 1993 and the return to divided government in 1995.
- Dwight, I. 1996. Nixon's Version of Reinventing Government. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 57-69. Written from the vantage point of Assistant Director of the Bureau of the Budget for Executive Management and Director of its Office of Executive Management, analyzes the series of management reforms pressed forward during Nixon's first term.
- Eden, R. 1996. The Rhetorical Presidency and the Eclipse of Executive Power: Woodrow Wilson's Constitutional Government in the United States. *Polity* 28: 357-378. Challenges the assumption that Wilson's exaltation of presidential political power carried with it an affirmation of executive power.
- Erikson, R. E., and C. Wlezien. 1996. Of Time and Presidential Election Forecasts. *PS* 29: 37-42. Analysis of the evolution of presidential election forecasting.
- Esposito, D. 1996. Political and Institutional Constraints on Wilson's Defense Policy. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 1114-1125. Considers Wilson's ambivalence about war and military preparations and the affect those beliefs had on his defense policy formulation.
- Felten, P. G. 1996. The Path to Discontent: Johnson, Fulbright, and the 1965 Intervention in the Dominican Republic. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 1009-1018. Examines Johnson's relationship with Fulbright and his influence on Johnson's foreign policy decision making.
- Fleisher, R., and J. R. Bond. 1996. The President in a More Partisan Legislative Arena. *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 729-748. Update to previous analysis of presidential success from 1953-1984, including Congressional-Presidential relations.
- Flippen, J. B. 1996. Containing the Urban Sprawl: The Nixon Administration's Land Use Policy. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 197-207. Studies Nixon's largely ignored land use policies.
- Foot, R. 1996. The Eisenhower Administration's Fear of Empowering the Chinese. *Political Science Quarterly* 111: 505-521. Analyzes Eisenhower's foreign policy toward China and its fear of a Chinese buildup.
- Forsythe, D. P., and R. C. Hendrickson. 1996. U.S. Use of Force Abroad: What Law for the President? *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 950-961. Examines presidential use of force abroad to support policy objectives.
- Gilbert, R. E. 1996. Lyndon B. Johnson's Physical and Psychological Pain: The Years of Ascent. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 694-707. History of Johnson's political career including analyses of his formative years and their influence on his later policy making decisions and objectives.
- Gimpel, J. G., and R. M. Wolpert. 1996. Opinion-Holding and Public Attitudes Toward Controversial Supreme Court Nominations. *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 163-176. Finds that education and having an opinion about the president are strongly associated with opinion-holding about nominees. Further finds that presidential approval, party identification, and ideology are all highly related to approval of nominees.
- Glad, B., and M. W. Link. 1996. Advisers and Policy-Making. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 13-40. Analyzes Nixon's advisers and their influence in his decision making.
- Graham, H. D. 1996. Richard Nixon and Civil Rights: Explaining an Enigma. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 93-106. Analyzes Nixon's inconsistent and incoherent civil rights policy stances.
- Guseh, J. S. 1996. The Impact of Macroeconomic Conditions on Presidential Elections. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 415-424. Explores how macroeconomic conditions affect voters and their decision making.
- Halpern, M. 1996. Jimmy Carter and the UAW: Failure of an Alliance. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 755-777. Examines the UAW-Carter relationship and considers why the alliance dissolved during his administration.
- Hantz, C. A. 1996. Ideology, Pragmatism, and Ronald Reagan's World View: Full of Sound and Fury, Signifying...? *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 942-

949. Seeks to determine the nature of Reagan's belief system through his two administrations.
- Harper, E. L. 1996. Domestic Policy Making in the Nixon Administration: An Evolving Process. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 41-56. Analyzes Nixon's policy making and changes in direction during his administration.
- Haskell, J. 1996. Reforming Presidential Primaries: Three Steps for Improving the Campaign Environment. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 380-390. Provides three key steps to improve presidential campaigning.
- Hetherington, M. J. 1996. The Media's Role in Forming Voters' National Economic Evaluations in 1992. *American Journal of Political Science* 40: 372-395. By analyzing Bush's defeat in 1992, argues voters' perceptions of economic indicators can be more important than statistics themselves.
- Hicks, D. B. 1996. Presidential Foreign Policy Prerogative After the Iran-Contra Affair: A Review Essay. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 962-977. Examines the Iran-Contra Affair through reviews of successive documents and the Walsh final report.
- Hinckley, K. A., and J. C. Green. 1996. Fund-raising in Presidential Nomination Campaigns: The Primary Lessons of 1988. *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 693-718. Exploratory analyses of the flow of funds raised in presidential nomination campaigns, arguing candidates should be given priority to building fund-raising organizations rather than relying on campaign performance to provide monetary momentum.
- Hinckley, K. A., and J. C. Green. 1996. Reply: "We Can't Believe He Ate the Whole Thing." *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 727-728. Reply to comments by Mayer article of same journal issue.
- Hoff, J. 1996. Researchers' Nightmare: Studying the Nixon Presidency. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 259-275. Considers implications for researchers on the voluminous documents and tapes remaining from the Nixon administration.
- Hoff, J. 1996. A Revisionist View of Nixon's Foreign Policy. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 107-129. Analyzes Nixon's revisionist approach to the management of foreign policy and explains why his accomplishments in foreign policy were obscured by Watergate.
- Holbrook, T. M. 1996. Reading the Political Tea Leaves: A Forecasting Model of Contemporary Presidential Election. *American Politics Quarterly* 24: 506-519. Develops a model of presidential election voting that includes a measure of aggregate personal finance.
- Holbrook, T., and J. C. Garand. 1996. Homo Economist? Economic Information and Economic Voting. *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 351-375. Testing a model with data collected during the 1992 presidential campaign, argues that the quality of retrospective voting as a democratic accountability mechanisms hinges on the degree to which citizens have reasonably accurate perceptions of the state of the economy.
- Isetti, R. 1996. The Moneychangers of the Temple: FDR, American Civil Religion, and the New Deal. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 678-694. Emphasizes the role of Christian principles and morals in Roosevelt's political sermons and cultic orations.
- King, J. D., and J. W. Riddlesperger, Jr. 1996. Presidential Management and Staffing: An Early Assessment of the Clinton Presidency. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 496-510. Assesses Clinton's first administration's management and staffing.
- Kitts, K. 1996. Commission Politics and National Security: Gerald Ford's Response to the CIA Controversy of 1975. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 1081-1098. Considers the use of ad hoc advisory committees in executive branch national security decision making.
- Kotlowski, D. J. 1996. Trial By Error: Nixon, the Senate, and the Haynsworth Nomination. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 71-91. Analyzes Nixon's opinions of and his attempts to steer the Supreme Court.
- Krueger, K. 1996. Internal Struggle Over U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Central America: An Analysis of the Reagan Era. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 1034-1046. Analyzes American foreign policy toward El Salvador and Nicaragua in particular during the Reagan administration.
- Laffin, M. 1996. The President and the Subcontractors: The Role of Top Level Policy Entrepreneurs in the Bush Administration. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 550-566. Analyzes executive management and cabinet-level relationships.
- Lewis, D. E. 1996. What Time Is It? The Use of Power in Four Different Types of Presidential Time. *Journal of Politics* 58: 682-706. Describes and tests four theories about how time constrains and defines use of presidential power.
- Lewis-Beck, M. S., and C. Tien. 1996. The Future in Forecasting: Prospective Presidential Models. *American Politics Quarterly* 24: 468-491. Critiques past and provides insight into future models of

- presidential vote forecasting.
- Lutzker, M. A. 1996. Presidential Decision Making in the Korean War: A British Perspective. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 978-995. Re-examines executive objectives in the Far East from a British perspective.
- Lyles, K. L. 1996. Presidential Expectations and Judicial Performance Revisited: Law and Politics in the Federal District Courts, 1960-1992. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 447-472.
- McCann, J. A., et al. 1996. Presidential Nomination Campaigns and Party Mobilization: An Assessment of Spillover Effects. *American Journal of Political Science* 40: 750-767. Hypothesizes that presidential-level campaign mobilization before summer nominating conventions increases activists' work on behalf of the candidates during the general election.
- McCoy, D. 1996. Chicago Sun-Times Poll. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 281-283. Select results of survey of scholarly ratings of American presidents.
- McCracken, P. W. 1996. Economic Policy in the Nixon Years. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 165-177. Analyzes the Nixon Administration's domestic economic policy making.
- Maarja, K. 1996. Watergate's Last Victim. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 277-280. Considers presidential disclosure and document release issues.
- Massaro, J. 1996. President Bush's Management of the Thomas Nomination: Four Years, Several Books, Two Videos Later (And Still More to Come!). *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 816-827. Draws on literature about Supreme Court nominations and recent scholarship on the Thomas nomination to focus on Bush's presidential management of the confirmation process.
- Mayer, W. G. 1996. Comment: Of Money and Momentum. *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 717-726. Commentary on presidential nomination fund-raising and Hickey-Green article of same journal issue.
- Mayer, W. G. 1996. In Defense of Negative Campaigning. *Political Science Quarterly* 111: 437-455. Analyzes the evolution of presidential advertising, campaigning, and debating.
- Merrick, J., and P. Waterman. 1996. The Myth of the Diversionary Use of Forces By American Presidents. *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 573-590. Argues that few relationships are likely found between presidential popularity, congressional support, economic conditions, and the use of force.
- Moran, A. D. 1996. Gerald R. Ford and the 1975 Tax Cut. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 738-754.
- Explains how the Ford administration responded to the economic decline that followed the initial stumbles of Ford's first major economic address.
- Morgan, R. P. 1996. Nixon, Watergate, and the Study of the Presidency. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 217-238. Considers what Watergate literatures tells us about presidential studies.
- Moses, J. L. 1996. William O. Douglas and the Vietnam War: Civil Liberties, Presidential Authority, and the "Political Question." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 1019-1033. Analyzes Douglas' anti-war and civil liberties beliefs and their influence on the Supreme Court's presidential authority constraints during his tenure.
- Myers, D. S. 1996. Editorials and the Economy in the 1992 Presidential Campaign. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 435-446. Considers the role of the economy and editorial publications during the 1992 presidential campaign.
- Nathan, R. P. 1996. A Retrospective on Richard M. Nixon's Domestic Policies. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 155-164. Analyzes Nixon's liberal stances on various domestic policies from his campaign through administration.
- Norpoth, H. 1996. Of Time and Candidates: A Forecast for 1996. *American Politics Quarterly* 24: 443-467. Provides a model for presidential vote forecasting and introduces a measure of candidate support that covers both the incumbent and challenger.
- Norpoth, H. 1996. Presidents and the Prospective Voter. *Journal of Politics* 58: 776-792. Considers various elements citizens use in vote decision-making and nominee character evaluation.
- Norrander, B. 1996. Presidential Nomination Politics in the Post-Reform Era. *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 875-915. Analyzes scholarly research on and general patterns of presidential nominations.
- O'Connor, K., B. Nye, and L. Van Assendelft. 1996. Wives in the White House: The Political Influence of First Ladies. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 835-853. Systematic examination of the influence First Ladies have on policy objectives and administrative decision making.
- Olmsted, K. 1996. Reclaiming Executive Power: The Ford Administration's Response to the Intelligence Investigations. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 725-737. Examination of the Ford administration's handling of the intelligence investigations, arguing it was neither inept nor weak.
- Palazzolo, D. J., and S. M. Theriault. 1996. Candidate Announcement Addresses: Campaign Strategies and

- Voting Behavior. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 350-363. Content analysis of candidate announcement speeches and voting behavior theory.
- Palm, D. R. 1996. Intellectuals and the Presidency: Eric Goldman in the Lyndon B. Johnson White House. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 708-724. Using the Johnson presidency as an example, evaluates the unique problem of how modern presidencies can best utilize intellectuals.
- Pavord, A. C. 1996. The Gamble for Power: Theodore Roosevelt's Decision to Run for the Presidency in 1912. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 633-647. Examines Roosevelt's decision to run for president against his personal friend and hand-picked successor.
- Paynter, J. E. 1996. The Rhetorical Design of John Adam's "Defence of the Constitutions of...America." *Review of Politics* 58: 531-560. Sheds light into Adam's perspectives on the role of the constitution and development of American government.
- Petrocik, J. R. 1996. Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections with a 1980 Case Study. *American Journal of Political Science* 40: 825-850. Concludes candidates have distinctive patterns of problem emphasis in their campaigns, which influences vote decision-making and results.
- Presidential Vote Forecast Compendium. 1996. *American Politics Quarterly* 24: 532-535. Complete reference of specific presidential election forecasts of models presented in specific issues of American Politics Quarterly.
- Price, D. E. 1996. Presidential Power as a Domestic Constraint on Foreign Policy: Case Studies Examining Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 1099-1113. Considers the role of special interest groups and other influences on executive decision making regarding foreign policy.
- Price, M. C. 1996. Political Party and the Limits of Presidential Leadership. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 567-580. Analyzes presidential power and the role of political parties as a limit on leadership capabilities and decision making.
- Ramsden, G. P. 1996. Media Coverage of Issues and Candidates: What Balance is Appropriate in a Democracy? *Political Science Quarterly* 111: 65-81. Considers how issue and candidate coverage should be balanced by the media.
- Rourke, F. E., and R. G. Brown. 1996. Presidents, Professionals, and Telecommunication Policy Making in the White House. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 539-549. Analysis of telecommunication policy making and professional and executive influence on the development of policy.
- Russell, E. T. 1996. The Environmental Record of the Nixon Administration. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 185-196. Analyzes both the domestic and international aspects of Nixon's environmental policy making.
- Scott, J. M. 1996. Reagan's Doctrine? The Formulation of an American Foreign Policy Strategy. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 1047-1061. Analyzes the Reagan Doctrine of foreign relations and foreign policy making.
- Shields, T., and R. K. Goidel. 1996. Research Note: The President and Congress as Sources in Television News Coverage of the National Debt. *Polity* 28: 401-410. Confirms the general consensus that media overwhelmingly focuses on the President, but on the issue of national debt the House received more coverage than the Senate.
- Sieg, K. G. 1996. The 1968 Presidential Election and Peace in Vietnam. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 1062-1080. Considers how the Vietnam War influenced presidential campaigning and vote decision making in 1968.
- Sloan, J. W. 1996. Meeting the Leadership Challenges of the Modern Presidency: The Political Skills and Leadership of Ronald Reagan. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 795-804. Examines Reagan's leadership style and his impact on the evolution of the modern presidency.
- Smaha, Joseph. 1995. Presidential Speechmaking in Election Years: Do Presidents Hide From the Economy? *Political Chronicle* Fall/Winter.
- Southwell, P. L. 1996. Economic Salience and Differential Abstention in Presidential Elections. *American Politics Quarterly* 24: 221-236. Argues vote decision making is affected by economic variables.
- Stans, M. H. 1996. Richard Nixon and His Bridges to Human Dignity. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 179-183. Arguing Nixon was one of the most far-thinking presidents this century, analyzes how Nixon tackled civil rights, foreign affairs, and environmental policy.
- Taylor, A. J. 1996. The Ideological Development of the Modern Republican President. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 374-379. Examines polarization of the modern presidency.
- Tenpas, K. D. 1996. Institutionalized Politics: The White House Office of Political Affairs. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 511-522. Examines the Office of Political Affairs in the expansion of the executive

- branch.
- Thomas, D. B., and L. R. Baas 1996. The Postelection Campaign: Competing Constructions of the Clinton Victory in 1992. *Journal of Politics* 58: 309-331. Examines "contested character" of Bill Clinton's 1992 election through application of Q technique and its methodology.
- Timmerman, D. M. 1996. 1992 Presidential Candidate Films: The Contrasting Narrative of George Bush and Bill Clinton. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 364-373. Analyzes the reversal in conventioning among Democrats and Republicans in 1992.
- Unterberger, B. M. 1996. The United States and National Self-Determination: A Wilsonian Perspective. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 926-941. Analysis of the Wilsonian concept of self-determination.
- Walker, Philip A., Jr. 1996. Lyndon B. Johnson's Senate Foreign Policy Activism: The Suez Canal Crisis, a Reappraisal. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 996-1008. Re-examines Johnson's role during the Suez Canal crisis and its implications on his later foreign policy development.
- Waterman, R. W. 1996. Storm Clouds on the Political Horizon: George Bush at the Dawn of the 1992 Presidential Election. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 337-349. Considers why Bush's record-high approval rating plummeted with his eventual electoral defeat.
- Weatherford, M. S., and L. M. McDonnell. 1996. Clinton and the Economy: The Paradox of Policy Success and Political Mishap. *Political Science Quarterly* 111: 403-436. Analyzes Clinton's economic policy-making and performance.
- Webber, M. J., and G. W. Domhoff. 1996. Myth and Reality in Business Support for Democrats and Republicans in the 1936 Presidential Election. *American Political Science Review* 90: 824-833. Analyzes business support for presidential candidates during the 1936 presidential campaign.
- West, W. F., and A. W. Barrett. 1996. Administrative Clearance Under Clinton. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 523-538. Analysis of Clinton's regulatory review, including comparison with previous administrations.
- Whitaker, J. C. 1996. Nixon's Domestic Policy: Both Liberal and Bold in Retrospect. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 131-153. Analyzes Nixon's ideology, particularly his domestic policy making.
- Wicker, T. 1996. Richard M. Nixon 1969-1974. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 249-257. Perspectives on Nixon's life, character, and ambitions during his presidency.
- Wigton, R. C. 1996. Recent Presidential Experience with Executive Orders. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 473-484. Analyzes recent use of presidential executive orders to accomplish policy making goals.
- Wlezien, C. 1996. The Presidency, Congress, and Appropriations, 1951-1985. *American Politics Quarterly* 24: 43-67. Develops a model of appropriations behavior and decision making as a two-stage process, implying certain patterns of presidential and congressional behavior.
- Wlezien, C., and R. S. Erikson. 1996. Temporal Horizons and Presidential Election Forecasts. *American Politics Quarterly* 24: 492-505. Presents a simple election forecasting model.
- Zentner, S. J. 1996. President and Party in the Thought of Woodrow Wilson. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 26: 666-677. Analyzes Wilson's perspectives on government and how various political theorists impacted his views.

These books were omitted from the book list in the last issue of this Report:

- Mervin, David. 1996. *George Bush and the Guardianship Presidency*. t. Martin's Press.
- Renshon, Stanley. 1996. *High Hopes: The Clinton Presidency and the Politics of Ambition*. NYU Press.

Papers Presented on the Presidency 1996

Todd Patterson

American Political Science Association
San Francisco Hilton and Towers, San Francisco, CA,
August 28-September 1, 1996.

Ault, Michael. "Arming the Prince: A New Measure of Presidential Success." University of North Texas.

Barilleaux, Ryan J., et al. "Forward to the Past: Paradigm Shifts in Presidential Studies." Miami University.

Bartels, Larry. "Politicians and the Press: The Dynamics of News Dissemination." Princeton University.

Borrelli, MaryAnne. "The President's First Cabinet: Nomination Politics During the Presidential Transition." Connecticut College.

Brown, Robert J., and H. Brandon Haller. "Negativity and the 1992 Presidential Election." SUNY Stony Brook, University of Oregon.

Bruce, John, et al. "Television News and the Unmaking of President Bush: A Test of Media Effects on Party Identification." University of Mississippi.

Byrnes, Mark. "The Sensitive Presidency." Middle Tennessee State University.

Carey, John, and Matthew Shugart. "Executive Decree Authority: Calling Out the Tanks, or Just Filling Out the Forms?" University of Rochester, University of California, San Diego.

Chard, Richard, and Robert L. Boucher. "With Advice and Consent: The Supreme Court Nominations Game." SUNY Stony Brook, Notre Dame.

Cohen, Jeffrey E., and John Hamman. "Presidents and the Public Mood." University of Kansas, Southern Illinois University.

Dalton, Russell, et al. "The Media and the Voters: Information Flow in the 1992 Presidential Election." University of California, Irvine.

Geer, John, and Tracy R. Jarvis. "Campaigns, Party Competition, and Political Advertising." Vanderbilt University.

Goldzweig, Steven R. "Rhetorical History and Democratic Ideals in Conflict: LBJ, the Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Civil Rights Act of 1968." Marquette University.

Hathaway, Griffin. "Whigs Reborn? The Relevance of the Millennial Presidency." U.S. Naval Academy.

Hodson, Piper A. "Women as Chief Executives: The Problems and Performance of Female Presidents and Prime Ministers." SUNY Geneseo.

Hughes, William. "Nasty, Brutish, and Short: The Press and the Presidential Honeymoon, 1953-1993." University of California, Davis.

Kinney, Rhonda S., and Linda Beail Coleman. "Gender and the Study of the Presidency." Eastern Michigan University, Point Loma Nazarene College.

Knott, Stephen F. "Equal Rights Under Law? Civil Rights and the Reagan Administration." United States Air Force Academy.

Koenig, Heidi. "Presidential Strategies of Control: The Civil Rights Division from 1970-1990." Northern Illinois University.

Kumar, Martha Joynt. "Evolution of the White House Beat: 1976-1996." Towson State University.

Link, Michael W. "Order From Chaos: Advisory Network Evolution Under Nixon and Carter." University of South Carolina.

Maslin-Wicks, Kimberly, and Michael D. McDonald. "Maneuvering Within Presidential Time and Two Dimensions." SUNY Binghamton.

Many, Adam S. "Popular Votes and Unpopular Outcomes: How Members of Congress Can Capitalize on Anticipated Vetoes." University of California, San Diego.

Mayer, Kenneth R. "The Importance of Moving First: Executive Orders and Presidential Initiative." University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Morris, Richard, and Mary E., Stuckey. "All the President's Indians." Northern Illinois University, University of Mississippi.

Muir, Edward. "Symbolic Foreign Policy and the Rhetorical Presidency: Institutional Choice and Personal Performance." New York University.

Pacelle, Richard L., Jr. "The Executive Branch and the Structuring of Women's Rights Policy: The Role of the Solicitor General's Office." University of Missouri, St. Louis.

Pfiffner, James P. "Presidential Transitions: Lessons Learned." George Mason University.

Ponder, Daniel E. "Public Expectations, Institutional Context, and Presidential Agendas." University of Colorado, Colorado Springs.

Sala, Brian R. "Presidential 'Decree' Powers, Presidential Rhetoric, and Policy Implementation in the U.S." University of Illinois.

Schaefer, Todd M. "Picking on the President: Partisan Elite Media Sources' Impact on Moass Opinion About Presidential Performance Some Preliminary Evidence." Juniata College.

Sennick, Marianne. "Expertise in the Clinton Presidency: The President and the White House Staff." St. Francis College, Brooklyn.

Slane, Alton. "The Line-Item Veto: Constitutional Issues and Presidential Powers." Muhlenberg College.

Sloan, John W. "The Reagan Presidency and the Growing Inequalities of the 1980s." University of Houston.

Tatalovich, Raymond, and John Frenkreis. "The Use (and Abuse) of Macroeconomic Indicators by Presidential Administrations: A Longitudinal Analysis, 1946-1995." Loyola University of Chicago.

Tenpas, Kathryn Dunn. "Women in the White House: A Longitudinal Analysis." University of South Florida.

Thomas, Norman C., and Joseph A. Pika. "Institutions and Personality in Presidency Research." University of Cincinnati, University of Delaware.

Weatherford, M. Stephen, and Lorraine McDonnell. "Economic Policymaking in the Ford and Bush Administrations." University of California, Santa Barbara.

Zaller, John. "The Good News in Bad Press: How the Rising Tide of Negative Presidential Campaign Coverage Serves Democracy." University of California, Los Angeles.

Jackson, John S. "The Midwestern Primaries." Southern Illinois University.

Petterson, Paul. "The New England (Minus One) Regional Primary." Central Connecticut State University.

New England Political Science Association
Sheraton at Monarch Place, Springfield, MA, May 3-4,
1996.

Borrelli, MaryAnne, and Cynthia G. Wilson. "The Francis Perkins and Janet Reno Nominations: Have Women's Cabinet Appointments Changed in Sixty Years?" Connecticut College.

Cripps, Michael. "The Public Irony of Richard Rorty and Abraham Lincoln." Rutgers University.

Eksterowicz, Anthony J., and Glenn P. Hasted. "The White House Legislative Liaison Office: An Opportunity for Inter-Branch Collaboration in a Post-Cold War Era." James Madison University.

Hadley, Charles. "The Southern Primaries." University of New Orleans.

Holland, Kenneth M. "FDR and Charles Evans Hughes: President Versus Chief Justice." University of Memphis.

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For more information, contact William D. Pederson, Department of History and Social Sciences, LSU in Shreveport, One University Place, 439 Bronson Hall, Shreveport, LA 71115-2301. Fax 318-797-5358.

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