

**JAMES P. PFIFFNER**  
**University Professor**

Schar School of Policy and Government  
George Mason University  
3351 Fairfax Drive, 3B1  
Arlington, VA 22201  
703/993-1417; [pfiffner@gmu.edu](mailto:pfiffner@gmu.edu)  
web: [pfiffner.gmu.edu](http://pfiffner.gmu.edu)

**Education**

B.A. University of Wisconsin, Madison (1968), Political Science  
M.A. University of Wisconsin, Madison (1972), Political Science  
Ph.D. University of Wisconsin, Madison (1975), Political Science

**Experience**

2001- George Mason University, University Professor of Public Policy  
Director of the Doctoral Program, 2010 – 2014  
2013 Visiting Professor, Griffith University, Australia (June – August)  
2007 S.T. Lee Professorial Fellow, School of Advanced Study,  
University College London (January-July)  
1987-2001 Professor of Government and Politics, George Mason University  
1997 Visiting Scholar, The Brookings Institutions (January-August)  
1984-87 Associate Professor of Government and Politics, George Mason University  
1980-84 California State University, Fullerton, Associate Professor of Political Science  
1980-81 U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Special Assistant, Office of the Director  
1978-80 California State University, Fullerton, Assistant Professor of Political Science  
1975-78 University of California, Riverside, Assistant Professor of Political Science  
1974-75 Brookings Institution, Research Fellow  
1971-74 University of Wisconsin, Madison, Teaching Assistant  
1970 U.S. Army, Vietnam/Cambodia, 25th Infantry Division  
Section Chief, Fire Direction Center, A Battery, 1/8 Artillery,  
1969 Fort Sill, Oklahoma, Instructor in Artillery Gunnery

**Honors and Awards**

College of Arts and Sciences, Scholarly Award, George Mason University, 1999.  
National Academy of Public Administration, elected member.  
Distinguished Faculty Award, George Mason University, 1990.  
Brookings Institution, Visiting Scholar (Summer 1983).  
John Brown Mason Professorship, California State University, Fullerton (1983-84).  
National Association of Schools of Public Affairs & Admin. Faculty Fellowship (1981-82).  
Army Commendation Medal for Valor, (with “V” device) Vietnam/Cambodia (1970).

*Who's Who in America*, 2000; *Who's Who in the World*, 2010.

## **JAMES P. PFIFFNER**

### Bibliography

#### **Books**

*Examining Torture: Empirical Studies of State Repression*, co-edited with Tracy Lightcap  
(NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

*Understanding the Presidency*, co-edited with Roger H. Davidson.  
Seventh Edition (New York: Pearson-Longman, 2013).

*Torture as Public Policy*, (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2010).

*The Modern Presidency* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994)  
Sixth Edition (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thompson, 2010).

*Power Play: The Bush Administration and the Constitution*  
(Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2008), paperback edition, 2009. *Power Play:*

*Intelligence and National Security Policymaking on Iraq: British and American Perspectives*  
Co-edited with Mark Phythian (Manchester University Press, co-published in the United  
States by Texas A&M University Press, 2008).

*The Character Factor: How We Judge America's Presidents*  
(College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004).

*Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Presidency*  
General editor: David Abshire (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001)  
I am listed as "Executive Editor" for The Center for the Study of the Presidency. I edited  
75 brief (1000 words) case studies and wrote five cases. I also wrote the concluding  
chapter (cited below) to the volume.

*The Future of Merit: Twenty Years after the Civil Service Reform Act*,  
co-edited with Douglas A. Brook (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Johns  
Hopkins University Press, 2000).

*Governance and American Politics: Classic and Current Perspectives*, edited  
(Harcourt, Brace, and Company; 1995).

*The Presidency and the Persian Gulf War*, co-edited with Marcia Whicker and Raymond Moore  
(Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993).

*The Managerial Presidency*, edited  
(Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole, 1991).  
Second edition: (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1999).

*The Presidency in Transition*, co-edited with R. Gordon Hoxie  
(New York: Center for the Study of the Presidency, 1989).

*The Strategic Presidency: Hitting the Ground Running*  
(Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1988).  
Second Edition: (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1996).

*The President and Economic Policy* (editor)  
(Philadelphia: ISHI Publications, 1986).

*The President, the Budget, and Congress: Impoundment and the 1974 Budget Act*  
(Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979).

Editor: special issue of *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (co-edited with Marcia Whicker):  
*The Clinton Presidency in Crisis*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4, (Fall 1998).

Editor: special issue of *Presidential Studies Quarterly*:  
*Presidential Decision Making*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (June 2005).

### **Congressional Testimony**

“Presidential use of White House ‘Czars’”

Testimony before the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental  
Affairs, October 22, 2009

### **Scholarly Journal Articles** (total = 50)

[many of these articles are posted at [pfiffner.gmu.edu](http://pfiffner.gmu.edu)]

“Organizing the Trump Presidency,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* Vol. 48, No. 1  
(March 2018), pp. 153-167.

“The Unusual Presidency of Donald Trump,” *Political Insight* (September 2017) Vol. 8, No. 2,  
pp. 9-11.

“Magna Carta and the Contemporary Presidency,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No. 1  
(March 2016), pp. 140-157.

“The Constitutional Legacy of George W. Bush,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 45, No. 4  
(December 2015), pp. 727-741.

“On Reading the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Report on CIA Detention and  
Interrogation,” *Intelligence and National Security: Special Forum on the US Senate  
Select Committee Report on the CIA’s Detention and Interrogation Program*, November  
2, 2015), pp. 15-17.

“Dysfunctional Politics in the United States: Origins and Consequences,”  
*Papers on Parliament*, No. 60 (March 2014), pp. 17-37.

published by the Department of the Senate, Parliament House, Canberra, Australia.

“The Paradox of President Reagan’s Leadership,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* Vol. 43,  
No.1, (March 2013), pp. 81-100.

“Torture During Interrogation: Notes from the Field,” *Public Integrity*, Vol. 15, No. 1  
(Winter 2012-2013), pp. 97-102 (book review essay).

“Strong Executive Branch Leadership Crucial for Policy Implementation,” (with co-authors)  
*The Public Manager* (Winter 2012), pp. 37-40.

“Federalist No. 70: Is the President Too Powerful?” *Public Administration Review*  
Special Issue, (November/December 2011), pp. 112-118.

“Decision Making in the Obama White House,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* Vol. 41, No.2,  
(June 2011), pp. 244-262.

“U.S. Blunders in Iraq: De-Baathification and Disbanding the Army,” *Intelligence and National  
Security* Vol. 25, No. 1 (February 2010), pp. 76-85.

“Obamas Präsidentschaft: Wandel und Kontinuität,” (“The Obama Presidency: Change and  
Continuity”) *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* (January 2010), pp. 6-12.

“Decision Making in the Bush White House,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly*

- (June 2009), pp. 363-384.
- “Presidential Signing Statements and Their Implications for Public Administration,”  
*Public Administration Review* Vol. 69, No. 2 (March/April 2009), pp. 249-255.
- “Executive Power: George W. Bush and the Constitution,”  
*Presidential Studies Quarterly* (March 2008), pp. 124-144.
- “The Institutionalism: A Conversation with Hugh Heclo,” *Public Administration Review* Vol. 67,  
No. 3 (May/June 2007), pp. 418-423. [conducted and edited interview with Heclo]
- “Marching in Time: Alliance Politics, Synchrony, and the Case for War in Iraq, 2002-2003,”  
co-authored with Mark Phythian, Rod Tiffen, and Alan Doig.  
*Australian Journal of International Affairs*, March 2007.
- “The First MBA President: George W. Bush as Public Administrator,”  
*Public Administration Review*, January/February 2007.
- “U.S. Obligations for the Treatment of Prisoners,” *Virginia Lawyer*, Vol. 95, No. 4  
(December 2006), pp. 44-49.
- “Les décisions de guerre de George W. Bush: ‘Afghanistan et l’Irak  
*Politique Américaine* No. 5, (Ete-Automne, 2006), pp. 35-52.
- “Torture and Public Policy,” *Public Integrity* Vol. 7, no. 4 (Fall 2005), pp. 313-330.  
Reprinted in Richard J. Stillman, ed. *Public Administration: Concepts and Cases*  
(Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2010), pp. 454-465.
- “Presidential Decision Making: Rationality, Advisory Systems, and Personality,”  
*Presidential Studies Quarterly* Vol. 35, No. 2 (June 2005), pp. 217-228.
- “Did President Bush Mislead the Country in His Arguments for War with Iraq?,”  
*Presidential Studies Quarterly* Vol. 34, No. 1 (March 2004), pp. 25-46.
- “The Electoral College and the Framers’ Distrust of Democracy,” with Jason Hartke,  
*White House Studies* Vol. 3, No. 3 (2003), pp. 261-272.
- “President George W. Bush and His War Cabinet,”  
*Foreign Policy Bulletin* (Winter 2003), pp. 288-296.
- “Elliot L. Richardson: Exemplar of Integrity and Public Service,” *Public Integrity* Vol. 5, No. 3  
(Summer 2003), pp. 251-269. Won award from the Ethics Section of the American  
Society for Public Administration for outstanding article published in 2003.
- “Ranking the Presidents: Continuity and Volatility,” *White House Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2003),  
pp. 23-34. Reprinted in Meena Bose and Mark Landis, eds. *The Uses and Abuses of  
Presidential Ratings* (Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science Publishers, 2004).
- “Judging Presidential Character,” *Public Integrity*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Winter 2002-2003), pp. 7-24.
- “George Washington’s Character and Slavery” *White House Studies*, Vol 1, No. 4, ( 2001), pp.  
351-461. Reprinted in: Robert P. Watson, ed., *Contemporary Presidential Studies:; A  
Reader*(NY: Nova Science Publishers, 2003), pp. 3-12.
- “The White House Office of Presidential Personnel,” (with Bradley Patterson) *Presidential  
Studies Quarterly* Vol 31, No. 3 (September 2001), pp. 415-438.  
[A longer version of this article was prepared by the authors for the White House 2001  
project, directed by Martha Kumar and financed by the Pew Charitable Trusts. It was one  
of a series of papers on the primary White House Offices prepared for the 2001 transition.  
The papers were read and used by the incoming Bush transition team.]  
Reprinted in: *The White House World* edited by Martha Kumar and Terry Sullivan  
(College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press), pp. 165-192.

- “Meeting the Freight Train Head on: Planning for the Transition to power,” (co-author)  
*Presidential Studies Quarterly* Vol. 30, No. 4 (December 2000), pp. 754-769.  
 Reprinted in: *The White House World* edited by Martha Kumar and Terry Sullivan  
 (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press), pp. 5-24/
- “Presidential Lies,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (Vol. 29, No. 4 (December 1999), pp. 903-917.
- “Sexual Probity and Presidential Character,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Fall 1998), pp. 881-887.
- “The Public Service Ethic in the New Public Personnel Systems,” *Public Personnel Management*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Winter 1999), pp. 541-555.
- "The National Performance Review in Perspective," *International Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1997), pp. 41-70.
- "The President's Chief of Staff: Lessons Learned," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (Winter 1993), pp. 77-102.  
 Reprinted in: *The Managerial Presidency*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., James P. Pfiffner editor (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1998), pp. 75-104.
- "Establishing the Bush Presidency," *Public Administration Review* (January/February 1990), 64-72.
- "The 1988-89 Presidential Transition," *Presidency Research*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (Spring 1989), p.18-30.
- "The President's Legislative Agenda," *The Annals* Vol. 499 (September 1988), pp. 22-35.  
 Reprinted in: Randall Ripley and Elliot Slotnick (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2nd ed., 1993, pp. 353-362.
- "Thirteen Year Paper Chase: The Nixon Archives," *Presidency Research* (Spring 1987), pp. 15-20).
- "Political Appointees and Career Executives: The Democracy-Bureaucracy Nexus in the Third Century," *Public Administration Review* (January/February 1987), pp. 57-65.  
 Reprinted in: *The American Constitution and the Administrative State* edited by Richard Stillman (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989).  
 Reprinted in: *The Managerial Presidency* edited by James P. Pfiffner (Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole 1991).  
 Reprinted in: *Agenda for Excellence* edited by Patricia Ingraham and Donald Kettl (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1992).
- "White House Staff versus the Cabinet: Centripetal and Centrifugal Roles," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (Fall 1986) pp.666-90.  
 Reprinted in: *Readings In American Government and Politics* edited by Randall Ripley and Elliot Slotnick (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1989), pp. 429-439; 2nd ed., 1993, pp. 322-331.
- "Learning From Presidential Transfers," *Presidency Research* (Fall 1985), pp. 15-19).
- "The Federal Budget: Policy, Process, and Politics," *Congress and the Presidency* (Autumn 1985), pp. 193-197).
- "Political Public Administration," *Public Administration Review* (March/April 1985), pp. 352-356).
- "Budgetary Crisis and Congressional Spending," *Policy Studies Journal* (March 1983), pp. 539-545).

- "The Challenge of Federal Management in the 1980s," *Public Administration Quarterly* (Summer 1983), pp. 162-182).
- "The Carter-Reagan Transition: Hitting the Ground Running," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* (Fall 1983), pp. 623-645.
- "Presidential Personnel Policy," *Presidency Research* (Spring 1982), pp. 2-6.
- "Management and Central Controls Reconsidered," *The Bureaucrat* (Winter 1981-82), pp. 13-16.
- "Budgeting and the 'People's Reform'," *Public Administration Review* (March/April 1980), pp. 194-200.

**Book Chapters** (Total = 61)

[many of these chapters are posted at [pfiffner.gmu.edu](http://pfiffner.gmu.edu)]

- "The Lies of Donald Trump: A Taxonomy" in *The Trump Presidency and Executive Power*, edited by Charles Lamb (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming, 2019).
- "President Bush and the Invasion of Iraq: Presidential Leadership and Thwarted Goals," in James McCormick, ed., *The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Roman & Littlefield, 2017), pp. 361-380.
- "Unilateral Presidential Authority: Uses and Abuses," in *Rivals for Power*, edited by Jordan Tama and James Thurber (Roman and Littlefield, 2017), pp. 75-97.
- Staffing the President's Team," in Keifer, J. J. and Neaves, T. T. "Implementing Successful Strategies for Emergency Management and Homeland Security." In *Memos to National Leaders*, edited by P. L. Posner, J. R. Lachance, and T. T. Neaves. Washington, DC: National Academy of Public Administration and the American Society for Public Administration (2016)., pp. 28-31.
- "Managing the Federal Executive Branch," with Mary Boardman, in *Foundations of Public Administration*, edited by Jos C.N. Raadschelders and Richard J. Stillman (Irvine, CA: Melvin & Leigh, 2017), pp. 262-278.
- "Introduction," in *The George W. Bush Presidency, Volume I: The Constitution, Politics, and Policymaking*, ed. Meena Bose (Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science Publishers, 2016), pp. xi-xvi.
- "White House Rules: The Post-World War II Presidency," in *Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Presidency*, edited by Maxmillian Angerholzer III, et al. (Praeger, Denver, CO, 2016), pp. 11-15.
- "The First Hundred Days: Myth and Mystique," in *Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Presidency*, edited by Maxmillian Angerholzer III, et al. (Praeger, Denver, CO, 2016), pp. 91-96.
- "Presidents Bush, Obama and the Surveillance of Americans," In *The Quest for Leadership: Essays in Honor of Thomas E. Cronin*. Michael Genovese, ed. (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2015), pp. 131-148.
- "The Efficacy of Coercive Interrogation," in *Examining Torture: Empirical Studies of State Repression*, editors James P. Pfiffner and Tracy Lightcap, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 127-157.
- "U.S. Torture Policy and Command Responsibility," in *Examining Torture: Empirical Studies of State Repression*, editors James P. Pfiffner and Tracy Lightcap, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 103-125.

- “Organizing the 21<sup>st</sup> Century White House,” in James Thurber, ed., *Rivals for Power*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Lanham, MD: Roman Littlefield, 2013), pp. 63-86.
- “Bill Clinton and the Character Factor in Perspective,” in Rosanna Perotti, ed. *The Clinton Presidency and the Constitutional System* (Texas A&M University Press, 2012), pp. 221-232.
- “Clinton, Congress, and the Presidency,” in Rosanna Perotti, ed. *The Clinton Presidency and the Constitutional System* (Texas A&M University Press, 2012), pp. 43-46.
- “Organizing the Obama White House,” in James A. Thurber, ed., *Obama in Office* (Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2011), pp. 75-85.
- “President Bush as Chief Executive,” in Robert Maranto, et al., *Judging Bush* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), pp. 58-74.
- “Presidential Transitions,” in George C. Edwards and William G. Howell, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of The American Presidency* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 85-107.
- “Partisan Polarization, Politics, and the Presidency: Structural Sources of Conflict,” in James A. Thurber, ed. *Rivals For Power: Presidential Congressional Relations* (Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield, 2009), pp. 37-60 (revised for 4<sup>th</sup> edition).
- “George W. Bush as Chief Executive,” in Andrew Wroe and Jon Herbert, *Assessing the Bush Presidency: A Tale of Two Terms?* (Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp. 29-43.
- “Introduction: Policy-Making and Intelligence on Iraq,” with Mark Phythian, In James P. Pfiffner and Mark Phythian, eds. *Intelligence and National Security Policymaking on Iraq: British and American Perspectives* (UK: Manchester University Press, 2008); U.S. edition: Texas A&M University Press, 2008, pp. 1-16.
- “Decision Making, Intelligence, and the Iraq War,” in James P. Pfiffner and Mark Phythian, eds. *Intelligence and National Security Policymaking on Iraq: British and American Perspectives* (UK: Manchester University Press, 2008); U.S. edition: Texas A&M University Press, 2008, pp. 213-232.
- “The Ethics of Interrogation: Torture and Public Management,” in Derek S. Reviron and Judith Hicks Stiehm, eds., *Inside Defense: Understanding the U.S. Military* NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 161-172.
- “Intelligence and Decision Making Before the War with Iraq,” in George C. Edwards and Desmond King, eds., *The Polarized Presidency of George W. Bush* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 213-242.
- “Presidential Leadership and Advice about Going to War,” in Terry L. Price and J. Thomas Wren, eds., *The Values of Presidential Leadership* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 135-157.
- “Partisan Polarization, Politics, and the Presidency: Structural Sources of Conflict,” in James A. Thurber, ed. *Rivals For Power: Presidential Congressional Relations* (Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield, 2006), pp. 33-58.
- “Do Presidents Lie?,” in George C. Edwards, *Readings in Presidential Politics* (Belmont, CA: Thompson Wadsworth, 2006), pp. 159-181.
- “The Decision to Go to War with Iraq,” in Richard J. Stillman, *Public Administration: Concepts and Cases* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2010), pp. 195-209 (also in 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> editions).
- “National Security Policymaking and the Bush War Cabinet,” in Richard Conley, ed.

- Transforming the American Polity: The Presidency of George W. Bush and the War on Terrorism* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2004).
- “George W. Bush: Policy, Politics, and Personality,” in George C. Edwards III and Philip John Davies, eds., *New Challenges for the American Presidency* (NY: Pearson/Longman, 2004), pp.161-181.
- “Ranking the Presidents: Continuity and Volatility,” in Meena Bose and Mark Landis, eds., *The Uses and Abuses of Presidential Ratings* (Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science Publishers, 2004), pp. 27-42.
- “Traditional Public Administration versus The New Public Management: Accountability versus Efficiency” Festschrift for Professor Klaus Konig of Speyer, Germany.  
in *Institutionenwandel in Regierung und Verwaltung: Festschrift fur Klaus Konig*, Arthur Benz, HHeinrich Siedentopf, and Karl-Peter Sommermann, eds. (Berlin,Germany: Duncker & Humblot, 2004), pp. 443-454.
- “Assessing the Bush Presidency,” in Gary L. Gregg and Mark J. Rozell, eds. *Considering the Bush Presidency* (NY: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 1-20.
- “George H.W. Bush and William Jefferson Clinton,” Chapter 10 in *Organizing the Presidency* by Stephen Hess (Washington: Brookings, 2002), pp. 146-164.
- “The Transformation of the Bush Presidency,” in James P. Pfiffner and Roger Davidson, eds. *Understanding the Presidency*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (NY: Longman, 2002), pp. 453-471.
- “Reevaluating the Electoral College” in James P. Pfiffner and Roger Davidson, eds. *Understanding the Presidency*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (NY: Longman, 2002), pp. 57-72.
- “Presidential Appointments: Recruiting Executive Branch Leaders” in *Innocent Until Nominated: the Breakdown of the Presidential Appointments Process*, edited by G. Calvin Mackenzie (Washington: Brookings, 2001), pp. 50-80.  
A 2500 word version of the chapter was published in *The Brookings Review* (Spring 2001), pp. 41-44.
- “The President and Congress at the Turn of the Century: Structural Sources of Conflict,” in *Rivals For Power*, ed. By James A. Thurber (Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield, 2002), pp. 27-48.
- “Presidents in Crisis: Watergate, Iran-Contra, and President Clinton’s Impeachment” in *Triumphs and Tragedies of the Modern Presidency*, ed David Abshire (Wesport, CT: Praeger, 2001), pp. 284-300.
- “The Paradox of Governmental Power,” in Moorhead Kennedy, et. al, *The Moral Authority of Government* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2000), pp. 183-188.
- “Character and the Modern Presidency: Multi-Dimensional or Seamless?” in Clyde Wilcox and Mark Rozell eds. *The Clinton Scandal* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2000), pp. 225-255..
- “Government Legitimacy and the Role of the Civil Service,” in James P. Pfiffner and Douglas A. Brook, eds. *The Future of Merit Twenty Years after the Civil Service Reform Act*. (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Press, 2000), pp. 15-38.
- “Presidential Constraints and Transitions.” in *Presidential Policymaking: An End-of-Century Assessment*. Ed. Steven A. Shull. (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharp, 1999). pp. 19-37.
- “President Clinton, Newt Gingrich, and the 104<sup>th</sup> Congress.” in *On Parties: Essays Honoring Austin Ranney*. Eds. Nelson W. Polsby and Raymond E. Wolfinger (Berkeley, CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, 2000). pp. 135-168.



- “President Clinton’s Impeachment and Senate Trial,” in *Understanding the Presidency*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. edited by James P. Pfiffner and Roger H. Davidson (NY: Longman, 2000).
- “The American Tradition of Administrative Reform,” in *The White House and the Blue House: Government Reform in the United States and Korea* eds., Yong Hyo Cho and H. George Frederickson (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998).
- “Ronald Reagan’s Contrasting Chiefs of Staff,”  
in *Ronald Reagan’s America*, edited by Eric J. Schmertz, et. al. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), pp. 493-502.
- "President Clinton and the 103rd Congress: Winning Battles and Losing Wars,"  
in *Rivals for Power: Presidential-Congressional Relations*, edited by James Thurber (Washington: CQ Press, 1996), pp. 170-190.
- "Governance," in *Governance V: Institutions and Issues*, ed. Kenneth Thompson (New York: University Press of America, 1994), pp. 113-134.
- “Presidential Policy Making and the Gulf War,” in *The Presidency and the Persian Gulf War*, co-edited Marcia Whicker, James Pfiffner, and Raymond Moore (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993), pp. 3-24.  
Reprinted in: *Understanding the Presidency*, eds. James P. Pfiffner and Roger Davidson (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 2000), pp. 405-415.
- "The Bush Transition: Symbols and Substance," in *Presidential Transitions: The Reagan to Bush Experience* ed. Kenneth Thompson (New York: University Press of America, 1993), pp. 61-84.
- "The President and the Postreform Congress," *The Postreform Congress*, ed. Roger Davidson (New York: St. Martins, 1991).
- "Divided Government and the Problem of Governance,"  
*Divided Democracy*, edited by James A. Thurber (Washington: CQ Press, 1991).
- "The Political Appointments Process and the Recruitment of Scientists and Engineers," in Report of the National Academy of Sciences, *Recruitment, Retention, and Utilization of Federal Scientists and Engineers* (Washington: National Academy Press, 1990), pp. 133-142.
- "Introduction," with Elliot L. Richardson to *Leadership for America: Rebuilding the Public Service* [The Volcker Commission]. Report of the National Commission on the Public Service (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990), pp. xii-xxvi.
- “Politics and Performance: Strengthening the Executive Leadership System,” with Elliot L. Richardson in *Leadership for America: Rebuilding the Public Service* [The Volcker Commission]. Report of the National Commission on the Public Service (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990), pp. 209-242.
- "Can the President Manage the Government?, in James P. Pfiffner, ed. *The Managerial Presidency*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (College Station, TX, 1998), pp. 3-22.  
Reprinted in: *Understanding the Presidency* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, James P. Pfiffner and Roger H. Davidson eds. (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 2000), pp. 226-240.
- "Presidential Control of the Bureaucracy," Chapter four of *The Strategic Presidency*, reprinted in *Current Issues in Public Administration* edited by Frederick S. Lane (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990).
- "OMB: Professionalism, Politicization, and the Presidency," in *Executive Leadership in Anglo-American Systems*, edited by Colin Campbell and Margaret J. Wyszomirski (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991), pp. 195-218.

- "Presidential Transitions and National Security Policy" in *The Constitution and National Security* edited by Walter R. Thomas and Howard E. Shuman (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1990).
- "Nine Enemies and One Ingrate: Presidential Appointments During Transition," in *The In and Outers: Presidential Appointees and the Problems of Transient Government in Washington*, edited by G. Calvin Mackenzie (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).
- "Strangers In a Strange Land: Orienting New Presidential Appointees," in *The In and Outers*, edited by G. Calvin Mackenzie (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).
- "Taking Over the Government: Key Tools for a New Administration," in *Papers on Presidential Transitions and Foreign Policy* edited by Frederick C. Mosher (New York: University Press of America, 1987).
- "The Reagan Budget Juggernaut: The Fiscal 1982 Budget Campaign," in *The President and Economic Policy* edited by James P. Pfiffner (Philadelphia: ISHI Publications, 1986).  
Reprinted in: *Public Administration: Concepts and Cases*, 3rd Edition, edited by Richard J. Stillman (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984).
- "The Crisis of Confidence in U.S. Economic Policy," in *The President and Economic Policy* (Philadelphia: ISHI Publications, 1986).
- "Inflexible Budgets, Fiscal Stress, and the Tax Revolt," in *The Municipal Money Chase* edited by Alberta Sbragia (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983).
- "California and the Tax Revolt," in *California Government in National Perspective* edited by Keith Boyum and Philip Gianos (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1984).

### **Papers Posted on Websites**

- "Trump's lies corrode democracy," The Brookings Institution (April 13, 2018).
- "The Unusual Presidency of Donald Trump," *Political Insight* (September 2017), pp. 9-11.
- "Why John Kelly can't tame the White House Chaos," *Washington Post* (August 18, 2018).
- "Inexperience in the White House breeds friction across the executive branch," Brookings FixGov Website on the first 100 days of the Trump administration (May 2, 2017).
- "Trump wants a White House that's not 'top down.' Here's why this won't work," *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage blog, (28 November 2016).
- "Trump pledged to reverse Obama's executive orders. Here's how well past president have fulfilled that pledge," with graduate student Joshua Lee. *Washington Post*, Monkey Cage, (23 January, 2017).
- "Why Does Trump Still Have So Many Vacancies to Fill?" *Foreign Affairs* online (April 27, 2017).
- "The Office of Presidential Personnel," White House Transition Project Report, 2017), pp. 1-30.
- "Cabinet Secretaries versus the White House Staff,"  
Posted by Brookings on the *FIXGOV: Making Government Work* website (March 2015)  
<http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/fixgov>
- "Policy Making in the Bush White House," (2008 APSA paper cited above)  
Posted by Brookings in their Issues in Governance Studies paper series at:  
[http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2008/1031\\_bush\\_pfiffner.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2008/1031_bush_pfiffner.aspx)
- "Managing the Executive Branch in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Consolidation and Disaggregation"

co-authored with Mary Boardman. Posted on *Public Administration Review* website: *Foundations of Public Administration*, along with bibliography and model course syllabus. <http://www.aspanet.org/scriptcontent/pdfs/FPA-MEB-References.pdf>

### **Scholarly Reference Works**

“The Presidency: Governing” (6,000 words)

*Oxford Companion to American Politics*, edited by David Coates  
Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 2013. Vol. II, pp. 220-229.

“Torture, Interrogation, and Fair Trial Procedures,” (2,750 words)

*Oxford Companion to American Politics*, edited by David Coates  
Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 2013. Vol. II, pp. 372-376.

“Torture, Issue of, in U.S. Military and Diplomatic Affairs.” In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of American Military and Diplomatic History*, edited by Timothy J. Lynch, vol. 2, pp. 364-366. Oxford University Press, UK and New York, 2012.

“Presidential Transitions,” in *The Oxford Handbook of The American Presidency*, edited by George C. Edwards and Willaim G. Howell  
(Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 85-107.

*Encyclopedia of the American Presidency*

edited by Leonard W. Levy and Louis Fisher (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994)

Commissioned entries:

Divided Government	(750 words)
Managerial Presidency	(500 words)
Patronage	(1500 words)
Strategic Presidency	(750 words)
Departmental Secretaries	(2000 words)
Office of Personnel Management	(1500 words)
Schedule C Positions	(500 words)
Presidential Transitions	(2500 words)
White House Personnel Office	(1000 words)
The Persian Gulf War	(1000 words)

*Encyclopedia of the United States Congress*

edited by Donald C. Bacon, Roger H. Davidson, and Morton Keller (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994). One commissioned article on Presidential Transitions.

*Oxford Historical Guide to American Government*

edited by George T. Kurian (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997)

Commissioned Entries:

Office of Personnel Management	(2,000 words)
Chief of Staff to the President	(1,500 words)
White House Office	(1,500 words)
Executive Office of the President	(500 words)
Office of Presidential Personnel	(500 words)
The President’s Cabinet	(2,500 words)

*The Heritage Guide to the Constitution*

edited by Matthew Spalding and David Forte (Washington: Regnery, 2005, 2014).

Commissioned Entries:

“Pardon Power,” pp. 203-205

“Recommendation Clause,” pp. 217-219 (coauthored)

**Popular Press**

“Executive Power in the Bush and Obama Administrations,” *Presidency Research Group Report* (PRG), Spring 2011, pp. 4-5.

Op-ed piece: “Impeachment: The Constitutional Issues” *White House Weekly* (14 December 1998). [5 days before the House voted on impeachment]

“Rating Scootergate: Washington scandals run the gamut, from greed to sex, but abuse of power threatens the health of our republic,” *New York, Newsday*, October 30, 2005

"Cutting Staff No Easy Task for Clinton," *Maine Sunday Telegram* (12 December 1993), 1800 words.

"Building the White House Staff," with Bradley H. Patterson  
*Government Executive* (December 1992), pp. 14-16.

"Political Appointees: Fewer is Better," with Elliot L. Richardson, *Government Executive* (June 1991), pp. 58-59.

"Creating a Real Cabinet," with Elliot L. Richardson,  
*USA Today Magazine*, Vol. 119, No. 2544 (September 1990), pp. 10-12.

Reprinted in *Governing*, ed. Roger Davidson and Walter Oleszek  
(Washington: CQ Press, 1992), pp. 364-368.

Reprinted in Bruce Stinebrickner, *American Government 91/92*  
(Guilford, CT Dushkin, 1991), pp. 83-85.

"Our Cabinet System is a Charade," with Elliot L. Richardson,  
*The New York Times* (28 May 1989), op-ed page.

"The Twentieth Amendment," *The Book of Days: 1988*  
(Ann Arbor, MI: The Pierian Press, 1987).

"Presidential Succession and Transition," *Book of Days: 1987*  
(Ann Arbor, MI: The Pierian Press, 1986).

**Commissions and Panel Reports**

National Academy of Public Administration Report, 2012.

with Dwight Ink, David Lewis, and Anne O’Connell, “Strengthening Administrative Leadership: Fixing the Appointment Process,”

[http://www.politicalappointeeproject.org/sites/default/files/FINAL\\_AppointeeProcess.pdf](http://www.politicalappointeeproject.org/sites/default/files/FINAL_AppointeeProcess.pdf)

National Academy of Sciences, Consultant and Staff Member, 1991. Project on "Politically Appointed Scientists and Engineers." Participated in Panel meetings, did research, and helped draft final report. Panel chaired by Kenneth Dam.

Testimony: Statement before the President's Commission on the Federal Appointments Process, printed in the *Report of the Commission* (Washington: Executive Office of the President, December 1990), pp. 41-47.

National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences, 1990:

Project on "Recruitment, Retention, and Utilization of Federal Scientists and Engineers."

Participated in Panel Meetings, wrote and presented paper: "The Presidential Appointments Process and the Recruitment of Scientists and Engineers." Published in the Final Report of the Project, pp. 133-142. Panel chaired by Alan K. Campbell.

Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1990-91:  
Panel member, Congressional Oversight of Defense Project Participated in series of Panel meetings. Prepared background paper: "Congressional Oversight of Defense Management." Panel Chaired by John O. Marsh.

National Commission on the Public Service (Volcker Commission)  
Project Director, Task Force on Political/Career Relationships. Researched/wrote, revised, and edited the Task Force Report: "Politics and Performance: Strengthening the Executive Leadership System," Published by the National Commission on the Public Service, 1989. in *Leadership for America: Rebuilding the Public Service*, Task Force Reports. Task Force chaired by Elliot L. Richardson.

National Academy of Public Administration, 1987-88  
Issue Leader, Presidential Transition Project. Researched, wrote, revised, and edited the report section on the White House Staff and the Cabinet, published as: "Organizing the White House and Consulting with the Cabinet," Chapter Two of *The Executive Presidency: Federal Management for the 1990s* (Washington: 1988). Panel chaired by Elmer B. Staats.

National Academy of Public Administration, 1984-85  
Senior Research Associate, Presidential Appointee Project Collaborated in the collection of an extensive data base on Presidential Appointees from 1964-84, and the writing of: *The Presidential Appointee's Handbook* (NAPA, 1985) and *Leadership in Jeopardy: The Fraying of the Presidential Appointments System*, (NAPA, 1985).  
Panel chaired by John W. Macy.

### **Book Reviews**

About thirty book reviews in the following journals:  
*American Political Science Review*  
*Presidential Studies Quarterly*  
*Public Administration Review*  
*Western Political Quarterly*  
*Political Science Quarterly*  
*Journal of Politics*  
*The Bureaucrat*  
*Perspective*  
*The Annals*  
*Governance*

### **Professional Conferences and Conventions**

One or two appearances each year (since 1975) as paper presenter, chair, or panel discussant at annual conventions of the following professional associations, among others:  
American Political Science Association  
Center for the Study of the Presidency  
Midwest Political Science Association

## **International Lectures and Briefing of Foreign Officials**

Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia, Summer 2013

Visiting Professor and Lecture tour of government agencies and universities:

Senate Occasional Lecture, The Theatre, Parliament House, Canberra, July 19

Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, July 18

Office of National Assessments Roundtable

Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, luncheon

Griffith University, Centre for Governance and Public Policy, Seminar

Australia Institute of International Affairs, Lectures

ACT Branch, Canberra, July 16; Victoria Branch, July 29, Melbourne

Swinburne Institute for Social Research, Leadership Institute, July 30, Lecture

Monash University, Melbourne, academic seminar, August 1.

Rothermere American Institute and Nuffield College, Oxford University

Conference on the American Presidency,

“Politics and Polarization: The George W. Bush Presidency”

May 25-27, 2006

Paper Presentation: “Presidential Decision Making and the War in Iraq”

University of Leuven, Belgium

Conference on: “Ethics and Integrity of Governance,”

June 2-5, 2005 Leuven, Belgium

Paper presented: “Torture and Public Policy: The Ethics of Interrogation”

University of Wales, Swansea, October 6-10, 2004, Conference on U.S. Elections

United States Studies Program.

Presentation: “U.S. National Security and the 2004 Presidential Election.”

American Politics Group of the United Kingdom

Annual Meeting: November 14, 2003, United States Embassy, London

Keynote address: “John Kennedy and the Transformation of the American Presidency”

School of Advanced Study, University College London

Institute of United States Studies

Conference: “New Challenges for the American Presidency”

May 12-13, 2003, British Library Conference Centre

Paper presentation: “George W. Bush: Politics, Policy, and Personality”

Embassy of Brazil in Washington, D.C., 13 April 2002

Briefing of members of the President’s Office on presidential transitions

Follow-up briefing on the organization of the presidency, spring 2005.

Germany, Paper presentation at conference on “Federalism in Germany and the USA: From

Cooperative to Competitive Federalism?” Sponsored by the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung,

Munchen. April 22-24, 1998.

United States Information Agency, Representative of the United States

Conference on Management Reform, Institute for Strategic and Developmental Studies

Athens, Greece (May 1996)

Briefing of Foreign visitors for USIA and State Department

for representatives of the countries of: France, Thailand, Indonesia, Sri Lanka,

Philippines, Poland, Russia (former Soviet Union), Sierra Leone.  
United States Information Agency, Lecture tour of Germany  
Seminars and Lectures at Universities in Munich, Frankfurt, Göttingen,  
Heidelberg, and Speyer (Summer 1990).  
Department of State, Foreign Service Institute  
briefings and professional development seminars

### **Professional Development Seminars or Lectures**

National War College, National Defense University  
Department of Treasury, Treasury Executive Institute  
Department of Defense, Inspector General's Office  
Federal Executive Institute  
Office of Personnel Management, Government Executive Institute  
American Political Science Association, Congressional Fellows Program  
The Brookings Institution  
Executive Seminar Center, Denver, Office of Personnel Management  
The American University  
Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York  
Harvard Center for International Affairs, Fellows Program  
U.S. Department of Agriculture, Graduate School  
University of Kansas, Keynote Speaker, Conference on War in Iraq, 2004

### **Television and Radio Programs and Interviews**

Voice of America, USIA: 30 March 1999, 26 May 2004.  
ABC Network Morning News, CNBC News, NVCC TV,  
WORLDNET (USIA), Voice of America,  
Tros Aktua Televisie (The Netherlands)  
Newsweek on Air, Canadian Broadcasting Radio  
C-SPAN, Series of interviews on White House Organization (November 1996)  
C-SPAN, presentation on the Clinton Presidency, Hempstead, NY:  
Hofstra University, 12 November 2005 (aired November 24, 2005)

### **News Reporting Interviews and Quotes**

*The New Yorker*  
*The New York Times*  
*The Washington Post*  
*Wall Street Journal*  
*Associated Press*  
*Los Angeles Times*  
*National Journal*  
*Congressional Quarterly*  
*Christian Science Monitor*  
*Business Week*  
*USA Today*

### **Editor of Book Series, 1996-2014**

"The Hughes Series in the Presidency and Leadership Studies"  
Texas A & M University Press  
34 books published, 1996-2014

### **Editorial Boards**

*Journal of Public Administration and Theory* (1996-2002)  
*Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Editor of The Contemporary Presidency Feature  
responsible for commissioning one article for each issue, 2000- present.

### **Book Manuscripts Reviewed**

Westview Press  
Johns Hopkins University Press  
New York University Press  
Brooks/Cole Publishing  
The Dorsey Press  
Duxbury Press  
W.H. Freeman  
University of Tennessee Press  
Nelson Hall Publishers  
State University of New York Press  
Greenwood Press  
F.E. Peacock  
St. Martin's Press  
Cambridge University Press  
University of Pittsburgh Press  
University Press of Kansas  
Texas A & M University Press  
Columbia University Press  
New York University Press  
AW Longman  
Cambridge University Press  
Palgrave Macmillan  
Roman and Littlefield  
Princeton University Press

### **Reviewer of Articles submitted to:**

*American Political Science Review*  
*Public Administration Review*  
*Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*  
*Public Budgeting and Finance*  
*Congress and the Presidency*  
*Western Political Quarterly*  
*Presidential Studies Quarterly* (5-6 per year)



*Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*  
*State and Local Government Review*  
*Political Science Quarterly*  
*American Politics Research*  
*Intelligence and National Security*

### **University Service**

Chair, Second Level Promotion and Tenure Committee, Schar School 2016-17  
Chair, Second Level Promotion and Tenure Committee, S-CAR 2015-16  
Chair, Second Level Promotion and Tenure Committee, PIA, 2014-15  
Member, Provost Committee to Review Appeal of Dean's Report, S-CAR, 2016  
Chair, Search Committee for several positions, SPP 2005-2006, 2010-2011  
Chair, SPP Promotion and Tenure Committee, 2012-13  
Strategic Planning Committee for George Mason University, appointed by the president, 2013.  
University Life Committee, appointed by the President, 1991-92  
Robinson Recruitment Committee, 1987-1995  
Provost Search Committee, 1987-88  
Public Policy Program Development and Search Committee, 1987-88  
University Faculty Search Committee  
    for Senior Faculty Position in Applied Physics and National Security (1988)  
Graduate Council, 1987-88  
Department Search Committees  
    Position in Soviet Politics (1988)  
    Position in Public Policy (1988)  
    Department Chair Search (1989-91)  
    Three positions in Public Administration (1995-96)  
    Political Theory Search (1999)  
    MPA Director Search (2000-2001)  
MPA Screening Committee (1991-92)  
Public Policy PhD Development Committee  
Dean's Advisory Committee, College of Arts and Sciences, 1991-1993  
College of Arts and Sciences Promotion and Tenure Committee, 1994-1997  
Chair, Provost's Committee to Evaluate the Dean of the Law School, 2001  
Chair, Search Committee for the Hazel and Hirst Chairs, *SPP*, 2003-2004

### **Professional Service**

Steering Committee, Presidential Studies Group, 1984-1990  
    American Political Science Association  
Advisory Board, Public Administration Group, 1982-1988  
    American Political Science Association  
Academic Board of Advisors  
    Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies, 1980 -  
    The American University

President, National Capital Area Political Science Association  
1990-91, Member of Board, 1985-95

Academic Judge for the Gerald R. Ford Prize for Distinguished Reporting on the Presidency,  
1992, 1993, 1994

Brownlow Book Award Committee

National Academy of Public Administration, 1999.

Chair, Committee to select the best dissertation on the presidency, annual award  
Bush School of Public Service, Texas A&M University, 1997-2001.

Fellows Selection Committee, National Academy of Public Administration 2003-2004.

updated: November 2017