

Book Reviews

The Enlargement of the Presidency.
Rexford G. Tugwell. Doubleday,
New York, 1960. 508 pp. \$6.95.

The Presidency of the United States is the highest secular office on earth. The personal power of the President of the United States, exercisable by him alone, without control by any other authorized person or court, is greater than that of the Prime Minister of Great Britain (even when the Cabinet is with him) and greater than that of Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Premier in the constitutional machinery of that nation. In spite of this depth and scope of power, the awful and dangerous responsibility is confided to one man and only one man; and, again in spite of this, the method of selection is such that Tugwell believes only six out of more than 30 Presidents have been creatively equal to their obligations.

These are the conclusions that emerge from this diligent and luminous study of the evolution of the Presidency, properly entitled *The Enlargement of the Presidency*. My own phrase, the "engorgement" of the Presidency, is designed to suggest, more roughly, the grave problem in statecraft which Tugwell has consciously raised. Can any one man possibly do the job?

Tugwell shows how the apparently meager clauses of the Constitution regarding the duties and powers of the President have been bodied forth, during 170 years, by the genius and enterprise (sometimes not by the *brain* but by mere *instinct*) of the strong Presidents until the President's role in the government of the United States and in American leadership in the world would cause the Founding Fathers to gasp at their immensity. For, today, the President has become the Chief Executive over a tremendous apparatus of officials and functions; the Chief Diplomatist and Guardian of the Security of the Nation,

external and internal; the Chief Legislator, in that the Congress awaits and works on the program of legislation that emanates from him, affirmed by his power to veto, to strike down what he does not like; National Planner of economic progress; Social Mentor, to commend to the nation a better social ethic; Party Chief, so that he may use party organization to commend and manipulate into effectiveness the talent he possesses; Chief of State, to symbolize the nation's majesty and to educate the millions who are but tyros in the comprehension of what living in the fellowship of a nation means.

Tugwell unfolds the intermittent stages, the leaps forward, the backsliding, in this staggering evolution by identifying the nodal points in the general history of the United States at which the man's character and talents have been called forth, in "Presidential moments," to solve and to ward off disasters, to meet moral commitments, to foster progress. The facts are abundant, the analysis perspicuous and telling. Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Polk, Lincoln, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt are the conspicuous "greats." Their persons and tactics proceed from a little land of rural settlements, as isolated from the world as was naturally possible, through the conquest and settlement of a subcontinent, to a new economy and complete immersion in the moral life of the whole world.

The three rules of action. This colossal enlargement of the office of President was accomplished under three impulses—The Rule of Necessity, The Rule of Restraint, and the Rule of Responsibility—in Tugwell's formulation. These rules are created (or not) by the Presidents for themselves and interpreted by each, alone, for himself.

The Rule of Necessity means that a President himself may decide and command whatever he individually deems necessary to solve a national crisis,

especially when Congress is not helpful, whatever may be the words or silences of the written Constitution. The courts will almost certainly support the action, if his action is legally challenged. Congress will almost certainly accept the decisions and actions. Thus, Jefferson purchased Louisiana; Polk contrived the rape of Texas; Lincoln suspended habeas corpus and emancipated the slaves by proclamation; Cleveland broke the Pullman strike in Chicago; Theodore Roosevelt intervened in the anthracite strike, manipulated the legalities for the Panama Canal, sent the U.S. fleet around the world, to overawe the world and especially Japan; Woodrow Wilson instituted many executive measures during World War I; F. D. Roosevelt invented Lend Lease and dozens of other devices for welfare and victory.

The Rule of Restraint emerges from the constitutional arrangement that the powers of the Congress, the Judiciary, and the Executive Branch are separate: to each his own. The President, even following the Rule of Necessity and that of Responsibility, must be prudent and respectful of the rights of the other branches: as Washington said, it is a government of accommodation as well as of law, and he ought not stretch his own power, or relax it, unless compelled "by imperious necessity." This is respect for checks and balances, and of course, Congress has the power to enact legislation, provide funds, and raise taxes. But it imposes on the President the most wearing task of meeting Congress in an unending "cold war" for the initiative in leadership and the triumph of his will.

The third rule is that of Responsibility. It means the assumption by the Presidency, as a charge on his conscience and effort, of what Theodore Roosevelt called the "stewardship" of the nation, for its welfare and survival. This is responsibility effectuated not merely by *post facto* activity supplementary to a laissez faire society, but by the leading and guiding introduction of a national vision to the nation as a whole, supplied by the President. For he is the one elected official who is directly appointed by the nation acting as a single electorate. Congress is split many ways by its dispersed electoral districts. The President is the nation's mentor; its educator; its unifier; the planner of its civilization so far as government can and does contribute to this. Congress looks homeward too often and too agonizedly to assume the

elan of leadership of the national society of Americans.

Is there a remedy? This clear conclusion emerges from the abundance of facts and analysis and documentation: the responsibilities of the Presidency are far too big for one man alone. All the millions of official and the conciliar devices (the growth of which Tugwell sketches in) around the President do not assist him to perform the duties which he alone, the political leader, charged alone by the constitution with responsibility, must perform or, to the nation's direst peril, leave undone. Moreover, the method of election has become unsuited to the discovery of the qualities of political leadership. Is this truly the best we can do in a choice from among 23 million male Americans between the prime ages of 35 and 55? The lesson is not only clear that the unitary Presidency and the method of selection are undesirable, but Tugwell positively draws this conclusion. Furthermore, though his reconstructive proposals are not presented in this book, he firmly advocates a plural or collective executive. He observes that no other great democratic nation has a single executive.

The difficulties of political science as science. The reader of Tugwell's book will realize that only in occasional and marginal situations can Tugwell, or any political scientist, present his findings in a quantified form. He can say that in Washington's day there were only 2000 officials to be supervised by the Chief Executive and that today the President must supervise and animate 1000 times as many. But such facts do not carry the conviction that change is needed, because they do not reveal (they actually obscure) the complexities of the data of decisions, the torture, perplexity, and agony of resolving to act. It is not possible to present in a quantified form the true weight and difficulty of the Presidential burden, the insufficiency of one man's mind and conscience to grapple with his tasks and advisers. The gravest facts are imponderable. They are to be understood only by scientific immersion over many laborious and imaginative years.

The unfortunate result is that talented insight, such as one finds in this book, can be obliterated by any vulgar idolator of things as they are. It is painful to change one's habits, especially if the critic is personally contented with his situation. Thus, any crude journalist can cancel the effect of the most diligent political scientist simply by attack-

ing the scientist's constructive proposals, because *his* (the journalist's) personal aims and purposes do not require them. He need not even attempt to weigh the mass of evidence: he can blind the reading public to the new facts by his prejudiced sneers. In a *New York Times Book Review* notice on 25 September 1960, this happened to Tugwell's reconstructive suggestions and to my more explicit proposals (a President with 11 executive Vice-Presidents elected as one team), made in my book, *The Presidency: Crisis and Regeneration* (University of Chicago Press, 1960). Instead of revealing the findings of Tugwell and Finer, the reviewer merely cried out "Sacrilege!" It is a great pity that such treatises, full of interest, fascinating, and essential to the common weal, are obscured to the public mind by such devices.

HERMAN FINER

*Department of Political Science,
University of Chicago*

Aktuelle Probleme der Ernährung. vol.

1. J. C. Somogyi, Ed. Karger, Basel, Switzerland, 1960. vi + 224 pp. Illus. F. 34.

Until recently Switzerland had no institute devoted exclusively to nutritional research. Therefore, the Green Meadow Foundation established such an institution, and it was inaugurated 18 April 1959. On this occasion Swiss and foreign scientists presented papers directly or indirectly connected with present trends in nutritional research; these papers have been published under the editorship of the director of the Institute for Nutrition Research in Rüschlikon-Zürich, J. C. Somogyi. Somogyi contributed an interesting paper entitled "On the antimetabolites of thiamin"; his paper also sheds new light on the topic ably discussed by A. von Muralt in the paper "On the role of thiamine in the metabolism of the peripheral nerve system."

In a short book review it is impossible to deal with the great variety of subjects contained in this first volume of the institute's publication series. A few remarks must suffice to indicate the scope of this volume. The paper by J. Yudkin, "Man's choice of food" is not satisfactory, in my opinion. While one may agree with Yudkin that the existence of a specific "food instinct" has not been proved in higher animals or in human beings and that, in general,

correct food habits cannot be explained satisfactorily by assuming they resulted from the experience of numerous generations, his alternative hypothesis of satiety cannot be accepted since neither animals nor human beings know when to stop eating. Clive M. McCay uses a more adequate and individualistic approach in his very instructive paper, "Nutrition of older people." Only recently has this subject been given deserved attention. McCoy shows how the food habits of the elderly properly reflect changes in nutritional requirements, and he raises the pertinent but not yet fully understood question of how the body adapts itself within certain limits to changes in food supply. The excellent paper, "Foreign substances in foodstuffs," by F. Eicholtz is of great interest, and so is the paper by J. Kuprianoff, "Radiation preservation of food." Kuprianoff confirms the findings made by research workers in the United States that radiation doses adequate to prevent spoilage do not produce induced radioactivity or any other form of toxicity, but that organoleptic changes which make some irradiated foodstuffs less acceptable are produced. Since whole cells play an important part in the transport and metabolism of nutrients, the paper by G. v. Hevesy, "Radioactive labeling of cells," will be read with great interest. It shows that, by marking specific molecules, such as hemin or DNA, with radioisotopes, one can label entire cells, such as red or white blood corpuscles, and in this way follow their life cycle in the living organism more exactly than by any other method.

FRANCIS JOSEPH WEISS

*1541 North Edgewood Street,
Arlington, Virginia*

An Introduction to Linear Programming and the Theory of Games. S. Vajda. Methuen, London; Wiley, New York, 1960. 76 pp.

Part 1 of Vajda's monograph provides a lucid introduction to the main ideas of linear programming, a mathematical discipline concerned with the maximization or minimization of a linear function of non-negative variables subject to linear constraints (equations or inequalities). The formulation of a simple production-scheduling problem serves as an introduction. Then a method of solution is developed for a special category of linear programming