

Notes

1 Theories of the American Presidency

1. Antonia Juhasz, "Two Years Later: BP's Toxic Legacy," *The Nation*, May 7, 2012. See also Naomi Klein, "Gulf Oil Spill: A Hole in the World," *The Guardian* (UK), June 20, 2010. The Exxon-Valdez spill occurred in 1989. For an account of the record \$4.5 billion settlement between BP and the Department of Justice in November of 2012, see Jason Leopold, "BP Will 'Kill Again,' Former EPA Officials, Attorney Warn," *Truthout*, November 18, 2012. For an analysis of the oil spill, see also William R. Freudenburg and Robert Gramling, *Blowout in the Gulf: The BP Oil Spill Disaster and the Future of Energy in America*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011.
2. Dahr Jamail, "Gulf Ecosystem in Crisis Three Years after BP Spill," *Al Jazeera English*, October 21, 2013. Rebecca Leber, "Judge Deals a Blow to BP's Efforts to Dodge Deepwater Horizon Payments," *Nation of Change*, December 26, 2013.
3. President Barack Obama, "Remarks by the President on Climate Change," *The White House*, June 25, 2013.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Obama, quoted in Bill McKibben, "Our Protest Must Short Circuit the Fossil Fuel Interests Blocking Obama," *The Guardian* (UK), January 6, 2013.
6. See William F. Grover, *The President as Prisoner: A Structural Critique of the Carter and Reagan Years*, Albany, NY: SUNY, 1989, especially Chapter 1, "The Rise and Decline of Presidency Fetishism." Some of the language and analysis in this chapter is from *The President as Prisoner*.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–5. See also the discussion of Hamilton's fuller meaning in Michael A. Genovese, ed., *Contending Approaches to the American Presidency*, Washington, DC: SAGE/CQ Press, 2012, pp. 12–19.
8. Grover, *The President as Prisoner*, p. 5. See also p. 188, note 9.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
14. See Genovese, *Contending Approaches to the American Presidency*, pp. 11–19, for a solid brief discussion of the Framers' effort to balance Hamiltonian energy with republican safety.
15. Theodore Lowi, *The Personal President*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985, p. 96.

16. Ibid, p. 115.
17. See Grover, *The President as Prisoner*, Chapter 1, for a full account of the Expansivist-Restrictivist debate among a wider range of authors within Political Science. Genovese uses the language of this debate in his analysis. See Genovese, *Contending Approaches to the American Presidency*, p. 11.
18. Harold Laski, *The American Presidency: An Interpretation*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940, p. 11.
19. Ibid., p. 274.
20. Ibid., p. 123.
21. Clinton Rossiter, *The American Presidency*, revised ed., New York: Mentor Books, 1960, p. 14.
22. Grover, *The President as Prisoner*, p. 26. See also note 34 on p. 193.
23. Rossiter, *The American Presidency*, p. 102.
24. Ibid., p. 140.
25. Grover, *The President as Prisoner*, pp.32–39. Among many accounts, see also Thomas E. Cronin and Michael A. Genovese, *The Paradoxes of the American Presidency*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 107–115; Stephen Skowronek, “Mission Accomplished,” *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 39, no. 4, December 2009, pp. 795–804; and Michael Nelson, “Neustadt’s ‘Presidential Power’ at 50,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, March 28, 2010.
26. Richard Neustadt, *Presidential Power*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1980, p. 136.
27. Genovese, *A Presidential Nation: Causes, Consequences and Cures*, Boulder, CO: Westview, 2013, p. 3.
28. Lori Cox Han, *New Directions in the American Presidency*, New York: Routledge, 2011, p. 4.
29. For an account of this crisis of the office, see Grover, *The President as Prisoner*, pp. 7, 39–61.
30. Edward S. Corwin, *The President: Office and Powers*, 4th ed., New York: New York University Press, 1957, pp. 29–30, 307.
31. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *War and the American Presidency*, New York: W. W. Norton, 2004. See especially Chapter 3, “The Imperial Presidency Redux.”
32. Schlesinger, *War and the American Presidency*, p. 45.
33. Thomas E. Cronin, *The State of the Presidency*, 2nd ed., Boston: Little Brown, 1980; Cronin and Genovese, *The Paradoxes of the American Presidency*, especially Chapter 1; and Theodore J. Lowi, *The Personal President*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985.
34. Lowi, *The Personal President*, p. 151.
35. Schlesinger, *War and the American Presidency*, p. 66.
36. Ibid., pp. 67, 119.
37. Andrew J. Bacevich, “The American Political Tradition,” *The Nation*, July 17, 2006, p. 23.

38. Jennifer Van Bergen, "The 'Unitary Executive' and the Threat to Democratic Government," in William F. Grover and Joseph G. Peschek, *Voices of Dissent: Critical Readings in American Politics*, 8th ed., New York: Longman, 2010, pp. 253–260. On the balance of power generally within American governmental institutions weighted toward the presidency, see Genovese, *Contending Approaches to the American Presidency*; Cox Han, *New Directions in the American Presidency*; and Schlesinger, Jr., *War and the American Presidency*. For the counterpoint that embraces the inevitability of the strong presidency, see Eric A. Posner and Adrian Vermeule, *The Executive Unbound: After the Madisonian Republic*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
39. This is true even with much more richly developed approach of "new institutionalism" via analysis of political regime changes. See Stephen Skowronek, "Presidential Leadership in Political Time," in Michael Nelson, ed., *The Presidency and the Political System*, 5th ed., Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2003; Skowronek, "Mission Accomplished"; and his seminal *The Politics Presidents Make*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997.
40. Bruce Miroff, *Pragmatic Illusions: The Presidential Politics of John F. Kennedy*, New York: David McKay Co., 1976, p. xiii.
41. See Lawrence R. Jacobs and Desmond S. King, "Varieties of Obamaism: Structure, Agency and the Obama Presidency," *Perspectives on Politics*, 8, no. 3, September 2010, pp. 794–795.
42. Ira Katznelson and Mark Kesselman, *The Politics of Power*, 2nd ed., New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979, p. 265. For a solid brief overview of similar critiques of Neustadt and the ends of power, see Cronin and Genovese, *The Paradoxes of the American Presidency*, pp. 111–113.
43. Klein, "Gulf Oil Spill: A Hole in the World."

2 Beyond Institutions-as-Structure: A Deeper Structural Perspective

1. Woodrow Wilson, *The New Freedom*, New York: Doubleday, 1913, p. 4. Some of the language and analysis of the structure of the presidency is from William F. Grover, *The President as Prisoner*, Albany, NY: SUNY, 1989. Other portions appeared previously in William F. Grover "Deep Presidency: Toward a Structural Theory of an Unsustainable Office in a Catastrophic World—Obama and Beyond," *New Political Science*, 35, no. 3, September 2013, pp. 432–448.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 164–165.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 44. For two classic interpretations of the essentially conservative nature of Progressive Era reforms, see Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism*, New York: The Free Press, 1963, and James Weinstein,

- The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1968. For an application of this type of analysis to the supposedly progressive presidency of JFK, see Bruce Miroff, *Pragmatic Illusions: The Presidential Politics of John F. Kennedy*, New York: David McKay Co., 1976.
5. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Politics of Upheaval*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960, p. 620.
 6. See the celebrated works of James MacGregor Burns, *The Deadlock of Democracy*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963; James MacGregor Burns, *Presidential Government*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973; and James MacGregor Burns, *The Power to Lead: The Crisis of the American Presidency*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984.
 7. The term is from the work of Fred Block and Frances Fox Piven, as quoted in Brian Waddell, "When the Past is Not Prologue: The Wagner Act Debates and the Limits of American Political Science," *New Political Science* 34, no. 3, September 2012, p. 357. It is a particularly apt charge with regard to the work of Jacobs and King, "Varieties of Obamaism," which creates the misimpression that encounters between theories of the presidency and theories of the state are a quite new development. For a broader example of this misimpression within presidential studies, see Michael A. Genovese, ed., *Contending Approaches to the American Presidency*, Washington, DC: SAGE/CQ Press, 2012.
 8. Waddell, "When the Past is Not Prologue," and Charles E. Lindblom, "The Market as Prison," *Journal of Politics* 44, no. 2, May 1982, p. 334.
 9. President Barack Obama, "Remarks by the President at the United States Military Academy Commencement Address," *The White House*, May 28, 2014.
 10. Harold Laski, *The American Presidency: An Interpretation*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. See also William F. Grover, *The President As Prisoner: A Structural Critique of the Carter and Reagan Years*, Albany, NY: SUNY, 1989, pp. 20–25; all brief Laski quotes are cited therein.
 11. Stephen Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership in Political Time: Reprise and Reappraisal*, Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2011; Stephen Skowronek, "Presidential Leadership in Political Time," in Michael Nelson, ed. *The Presidency and the Political System*, 8th ed., Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2006; and Stephen Skowronek, "Mission Accomplished."
 12. Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership in Political Time: Reprise and Reappraisal*, p. 5.
 13. *Ibid.*, Ch. 2; and Skowronek, "Presidential Leadership in Political Time," pp. 89–135.
 14. Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership in Political Time: Reprise and Reappraisal*, p. 20. Skocpol and Jacobs also make this point about the advantages of change-oriented presidents starting from scratch, as it were,

- when comparing FDR's more favorable circumstances to Obama's. See Theda Skocpol and Lawrence R. Jacobs, "Accomplished and Embattled: Understanding Obama's Presidency," *Political Science Quarterly*, 127, no. 1, Spring 2012, pp. 1–24.
15. Skowronek, *Presidential Leadership in Political Time: Reprise and Reappraisal*, p. 30.
 16. Perry Anderson, "Homeland," *New Left Review*, no. 81, May/June 2013, p. 31.
 17. Theodore J. Lowi, *The Personal President*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985.
 18. The following discussion of theories of the state draws on Grover, *The President as Prisoner*, pp. 74–87. See also Waddell, "When the Past is Not Prologue," for a fuller discussion of how the insights of critical/radical theories of the state are downplayed or ignored within Political Science generally.
 19. Lindblom, "The Market as Prison." See also his seminal work *Politics and Markets*, New York: Basic Books, 1977, and Waddell, "When the Past is Not Prologue."
 20. Lindblom, "The Market as Prison," cited in Grover, *The President as Prisoner*, p. 3.
 21. Lindblom, *Politics and Markets*, p. 356.
 22. Grover, *The President as Prisoner*, pp. 3–4.
 23. Erik Olin Wright and Joel Rogers, *American Society: How It Really Works*, New York: Norton, 2011, p. 345.
 24. Classic critiques of the democratic pluralist conception of the state are offered in Ralph Miliband, *The State in Capitalist Society*, New York: Basic Books, 1969 and William E. Connolly, ed., *The Bias of Pluralism*, New York: Atherton Press, 1969. For specific application to the study of the presidency, see Grover, *The President as Prisoner*, and Jacobs and King, "Varieties of Obamaism."
 25. See Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, *On Democracy*, New York: Penguin, 1983, particularly Chapter Three on "Structure." See also Wright and Rogers, *American Society*, especially Chapter Sixteen, "Democracy: How It Works."
 26. Wright and Rogers, *American Society*, p. 347; and Joshua Cohen and Joel Rogers, "American Exceptionalism and the Politics of Fragmentation," quoted in William F. Grover and Joseph G. Peschek, eds., *Voices of Dissent: Critical Readings in American Politics*, 9th ed., New York: Pearson, 2013, p. 82.
 27. Martin Gilens and Benjamin I. Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens," *Perspectives on Politics* 12, no. 3, Fall 2014, pp. 575, 577.
 28. See G. William Domhoff, *Who Rules America*, 6th ed., Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2010; Miliband. *The State in Capitalist Society*; and C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

29. Grover, *The President as Prisoner*; Domhoff, *Who Rules America?*; and Joseph G. Peschek, "The Obama Presidency and the Great Recession: Political Economy, Ideology, and Public Policy," *New Political Science* 33, no. 4, December 2011, pp. 427–444.
30. G. William Domhoff, *Who Rules America Now?* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983, p. 1.
31. Poulantzas, "The Problem of the Capitalist State," in *Ideology in Social Science*, ed. Robin Blackburn, New York: Vintage, 1973, p. 245. In the Blackburn volume, see also Miliband's "Reply to Nicos Poulantzas." What we call "capital dominance" theory is often called a "structural" theory of the state or "structural Marxism."
32. The role of capital accumulation and business confidence is discussed in Michael A. Genovese, *The Presidential Dilemma: Leadership in the American System*, 2nd ed., New York: Longman, 2003, pp. 73–79. See also James O'Connor, *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*, New York: St. Martin's, 1973.
33. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, "The Crisis of Liberal Democratic Capitalism The Case of the United States," *Politics and Society* 11, no. 1, March 1982, p. 52; Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Democracy and Capitalism*, New York: Basic Books, 1986; Fred Block, "The Ruling Class Does Not Rule," in *The Political Economy: Readings in the Politics and Economics of American Public Policy*, eds. Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1984; Waddell, "When the Past is not Prologue," and Grover, *The President as Prisoner*, Chapter Two.
34. Lawrence Jacobs and Desmond King, "America's Political Crisis: The Unsustainable State in a Time of Unraveling" *PS: Political Science and Politics*, April 2009, pp. 277–285.
35. Two especially useful texts that explore the issue of legitimacy are Jurgen Habermas's classic *Legitimation Crisis*, Boston: Beacon, 1973, and William Connolly, ed., *Legitimacy and the State*, New York: New York University Press, 1984.
36. See Miroff, *Pragmatic Illusions*; Kim McQuaid, *Big Business and Presidential Power: From FDR to Reagan*, New York: William Morrow, 1982; Laurence H. Shoup, *The Carter Presidency and Beyond*, Palo Alto, CA: Ramparts, 1982; Alan Wolfe, *America's Impasse: The Rise and Fall of the Politics of Growth*, New York: Pantheon, 1981; Alan Wolfe, "Presidential Power and the Crisis of Modernization," *democracy* 1, no. 2, April 1981, pp. 19–32; Grover, *The President as Prisoner*; and Jacobs and King, "Varieties of Obamaism."
37. Miroff, *Pragmatic Illusions*, p. 272.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 279.
39. Wolfe, *America's Impasse*, p. 237. See also his "Presidential Power and the Crisis of Modernization," for an insightful discussion of how the presidency came to be used as the instrument through which American capitalism modernized and expanded.

40. Wolfe, "Presidential Power and the Crisis of Modernization, pp. 27–28.
41. Wolfe, *America's Impasse*. For a very readable account the decline of the long wave of US expansion and power after World War II, see Robert Reich, *Aftershock: The Next Economy and America's Future*, New York: Vintage, 2011, particularly Chapters Three and Six.
42. Wolfe, "Presidential Power and the Crisis of Modernization," p. 31.
43. Cass Sunstein, a senior White House advisor on regulatory reform, as quoted in Robert Kuttner, *A Presidency in Peril: The Inside Story of Obama's Promise, Wall Street's Power, and the Struggle to Control our Economic Future*, White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green, 2010, pp. xvi–xvii.
44. Joseph G. Peschek, "The Obama Presidency and the Great Recession," p. 444.
45. Frank Rich, "Obama's Original Sin," *New York Magazine*, July 3, 2011.
46. Larissa MacFarquhar, "The Conciliator: Where is Barack Obama Coming From?" *The New Yorker*, May 7, 2007.
47. See Paul Street, "Obama, As Predicted," ZNet, November 22, 2009. Street wrote some 30 articles detailing the likely conventional path Obama would take if elected, in preparation for his 2009 book *Barack Obama and the Future of American Politics*, Boulder, CO: Paradigm, 2009. *New York Times* columnist and Pulitzer Prize winning economist Paul Krugman found many reasons to be skeptical of the branding of Obama as a progressive force; among them see, "The Obama Agenda," *The New York Times*, June 30, 2008.
48. Burns, *The Power to Lead*. See also Kuttner, *A Presidency in Peril*, p. xvii.
49. Krugman, "The Obama Agenda." Note that Krugman later defended President Obama's record. See Paul Krugman, "In Defense of Obama," *Rolling Stone*, October 8, 2014.
50. David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 2, 37.
51. David Harvey, "The Party of Wall Street Meets Its Nemesis," quoted in Gary Olson, *Empathy Imperiled: Capitalism, Culture, and the Brain*, New York: Springer, 2013, p. 44.
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53. Wright and Rogers, *American Society*, pp. 392–395

3 Bill Clinton and the Neoliberal Presidency

1. Thomas I. Palley, *From Financial Crisis to Stagnation: The Destruction of Shared Prosperity and the Role of Economics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, p. 34.

2. See David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. On this shift, see Joseph G. Peschek, *Policy-Planning Organizations: Elite Agendas and America's Rightward Turn*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987.
3. Michael Lind, "How Reaganism Actually Started With Carter," *Salon.com*, February 8, 2011. For good short treatments of Carter, see Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers, *Right Turn: The Decline of the Democrats and the Future of American Politics*, New York: Hill and Wang, 1986, pp. 105–113; Jacob S. Hacker and Paul Pierson, *Winner-Take-All Politics*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010, pp. 98–100. For a more extended discussion, see William F. Grover, *The President as Prisoner: A Structural Critique of the Carter and Reagan Years*, Albany: SUNY, 1989, especially pp. 97–112 and 139–151.
4. Jeff Faux, "Big Dollar, Little Democracy," *Dissent*, Fall 2012, p. 90.
5. Quoted in E. J. Dionne, Jr., "Democrats Fashion Centrist Image in New Statement of Party Policy," *New York Times*, September 21, 1986.
6. Quoted in Gregg Easterbrook, "The Business of Politics," *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1986, p. 30.
7. Quoted in Jon F. Hale, "The Making of the New Democrats," *Political Science Quarterly*, 110, no. 2, Summer 1995, p. 215.
8. Jonathan Chait, "The Slippery Center," *New Republic*, November 16, 1998, p. 19. On From's career, see Rick Perlstein, "From and Friends," *The Nation*, March 3, 2014, pp. 27–32.
9. Hale, "The Making of the New Democrats," p. 225.
10. Kenneth S. Baer, *Reinventing Democrats: The Politics of Liberalism from Reagan to Clinton*, Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000, pp. 164, 195. For discussion, see Robert Dreyfuss, "How the DLC Does It," *American Prospect*, April 23, 2001, pp. 20–25.
11. Hale, "The Making of the New Democrats," p. 226.
12. Chait, "The Slippery Center," p. 19.
13. Hale, "The Making of the New Democrats," pp. 227–228.
14. Roger Morris, *Partners in Power: The Clintons and Their America*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996, pp. 450–456.
15. Quoted in Alexander Cockburn and Ken Silverstein, *American Babylon*, London and New York: Verso, 1996, p. 258.
16. Thomas Ferguson, "The Democrats Deal for Dollars," *The Nation*, April 13, 1992, pp. 475–478; idem., *Golden Rule: The Investment Theory of Party Competition and the Logic of Money-Driven Political Systems*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, pp. 296–305.
17. Quoted in Paul Starobin, "An Affair to Remember," *National Journal*, January 16, 1993, pp. 120–124.
18. Hale, "The Making of the New Democrats," pp. 207, 224–228.

19. Walter Dean Burnham, "Bill Clinton: Riding the Tiger," in *The Election of 1996: Reports and Interpretations*, ed. Gerald M. Pomper, Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1997, p. 2.
20. For discussion, see John B. Judis, "What's the Deal?" *Mother Jones*, April 1994, p. 28.
21. B. Drummond Ayres, Jr., "Clinton Unveils His Economic Blueprint," *New York Times*, June 22, 1992.
22. Steven Greenhouse, "Clinton's Economic Plan Has a Roosevelt Tone," *New York Times*, July 9, 1992.
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24. Michael Kelly, "Though Advisers Differ, Clinton's in Tune With All," *New York Times*, September 13, 1992.
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26. Martin Walker, *The President We Deserve: Bill Clinton—His Rise, Falls, and Comebacks*, New York: Crown Publishers, 1996, pp 14–15.
27. Harold Meyerson, "The Election: Impending Realignment," *Dissent*, Fall 1992, pp. 421–424.
28. Matthew Rothschild, "Beyond the Lesser Evil: The Case Against Clinton," *The Progressive*, October 1992, p. 18. The convict was Ricky Ray Rector, who had been sentenced for a 1981 murder of an Arkansas police officer. Rector had been lobotomized after suffering brain damage in a suicide attempt. Some observers thought Clinton's actions were a calculated attempt to differentiate himself from 1988 Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis. In a debate with George H. W. Bush, Dukakis was asked if he would support the death penalty if his wife were raped and murdered. Dukakis responded that he would not. Rector was executed by lethal injection on January 24, 1992.
29. Robert Pear, "The Picture From the Census Bureau; Poverty 1993: Bigger, Deeper, Younger, Getting Worse," *New York Times*, October 10, 1993; Steve Berg, "36,900,000 Americans in Poverty in '92," *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis), September 5, 1993.
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31. Jason DeParle, "Census Sees Falling Income and More Poor," *New York Times*, October 7, 1994.
32. Guy Gugliotta, "The Minimum Wage Culture," *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, October 3–9, 1994.
33. Quoted in Louis Uchitelle, "The Rise of the Losing Class," *New York Times*, November 20, 1994.
34. Sylvia Nasur, "The 1980's: A Very Good Time for the Very Rich," *New York Times*, March 5, 1992.

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39. M. Stephen Weatherford and Lorraine M. McDonnell, "Clinton and the Economy: The Paradox of Policy Success and Political Mishap," *Political Science Quarterly*, 111, no. 3, Fall 1996, pp. 423–427.
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41. Dean Baker and Todd Schafer, "The Clinton Budget Package: Putting Deficit Reduction First?" *Challenge*, May–June 1993, pp. 4–10.
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43. Bob Woodward, *The Agenda: Inside the Clinton White House*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995, p. 165.
44. Woodward, *The Agenda*, pp. 103, 141–145, 269–271. For an analysis of Clinton's retreat from a public investment agenda that emphasizes the role of public opinion and electoral politics, see James Shoch, "Bringing Public Opinion and Electoral Politics Back In: Explaining the Fate of 'Clintonomics' and Its Contemporary Relevance," *Politics and Society*, 36, no. 1, March 2008, pp. 89–130.
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 60. "Power of Progressive Economics: The Clinton Years," Washington: Center for American Progress, October 28, 2011.
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