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How, what and why of the man who

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By Arnold A. Rogow

THE PRESIDENT AS WORLD LEADER. By Sidney Warren. Lippincott. 480 pp. \$6.95.

THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE. By Louis W. Koenig. Harcourt, Brace & World. 435 pp. \$9.50.

The authors of *The Federalist*, who were the first to write about the powers and responsibilities of the Presidency, our unique institutional contribution to the art of government, were unable to look back on any election when they wrote that the electoral process practically guaranteed "that the office of President will never fall to the lot of any man who is not in an eminent degree endowed with the requisite qualifications. Talents for low intrigue, and the little arts of popularity, may alone suffice to elevate a man to the first honors in a single state; but it will require other talents, and a different kind of merit, to establish him in the esteem and confidence of the whole union . . ." One wonders what they would have said about the selections made at the Cow Palace and in Atlantic City.

But even if they had taken the worst possible view of the candidates, they might have reminded us that Plato's insight—"Power makes the man"—becomes, in the American setting, the truism that the Presidency makes the man. As these two books demonstrate, many a man has come to the White House without distinction of any kind and with little or no reputation for rectitude. Yet we have never had a corrupt President although we have had many corrupt governors, judges, senators, congressmen, and mayors.

Of the books under review, only the Koenig volume can be regarded as a major contribution to our knowledge of the American Presidency. Sidney Warren's *The President as World Leader* begins with Theodore

Roosevelt and ends with John F. Kennedy, but that is the least of its limitations. In essence, Mr. Warren, who teaches political science at California Western University in San Diego, has nothing new or provocative or definitive to say about his subject. Like most political scientists he is partial to the "do-something" Presidents; he therefore prefers the Roosevelts (both of them), Wilsons, Trumans and Kennedys to the others.

Indeed, his esteem for JFK might appear excessive even to the most devoted Kennedyphile when he writes that the late President "elevated the presidency to the highest eminence it had ever reached." The basis of this statement is not Kennedy's "actual accomplishments" which, the author admits, "were few," but "the ideas he generated, the forces he set in motion." Mr. Warren seems to believe that there would have been no civil rights act, no test-ban agreement, no awareness that poverty is a national disgrace, had Kennedy not been President for 34 months. The author thus manifests ignorance of those world-wide and national social forces that moved JFK, and will move future Presidents, in certain.

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