Presidential Power



ARTHUR S. MILLER

PRESIDENTIAL POWER IN A NUTSHELL

By

ARTHUR S. MILLER

Professor of Law National Law Center, George Washington University

ST. PAUL, MINN.
WEST PUBLISHING CO.
1977

COPYRIGHT © 1977

By

WEST PUBLISHING CO.

All rights reserved

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 77-78619

For Dagmar

PREFACE

One is temerarious indeed to undertake to write a brief exposition of presidential power in the American constitutional order. The field is a mixture of law and politics, with the accent heavily on the latter, and is noteworthy for the paucity of authoritative precedent as lawyers understand precedent. Presidential power is characterized by its fluidity and its relative uncertainty. The imponderables that go into its exercise in any given Administration are too many and varied, and too subject to the accidents of personality and the impacts of external imperatives, to permit one to do much more than pose some of the questions that must be considered in any examination of the presidency.

This Nutshell was prepared for use as ancillary reading in courses in constitutional law, both in law schools and undergraduate schools. In addition, I employ it as the basic text in my offering, The Executive Function. Because it is designed for classroom use, as well as outside reading, references—both cases and statutes, plus some law journal and text writings—have been included. No attempt has been made to compile a complete bibliography.

A word about the point-of-view of the author: In today's world, strong presidential leadership

PREFACE

is not only characteristic of modern Presidents; it is a necessity. Government could not operate otherwise. The basic constitutional problem is how to make power that is necessary as tolerable and as decent as possible. It is becoming ever increasingly obvious that Americans have not yet solved that deepseated, all-pervasive problem. The power is there and it is being exercised—for better or for worse—but the means of placing effective, but not excessive, checks upon it have not yet been found.

I am indebted to two students, George Knapp and Jeffrey Mirman, for research assistance. Miss LaMona Rivers typed the entire manuscript with style and dispatch.

It is important to note, since the situation regarding the specifics of the presidency is so fluid, that the cutoff date for material used in this volume was March 1977.

ARTHUR S. MILLER

Washington, D. C. March, 1977

A

Abrams v. United States, 250 U.S. 616 (1919), 287
Alderman v. United States, 394 U.S. 165 (1969), 217
Algonquin SNG, Inc. v. Federal Energy Administration, 426 U.S. 548 (1976), 122, 260
Altman & Co. v. United States, 224 U.S. 583 (1912), 153
Amalgamated Meat Cutters v. Connally, 337 F.Supp. 737 (D.D.C. 1971), 106, 248

American Public Power Ass'n v. Power Authority, 355 U.S. 64 (1957), 156

Armstrong v. United States, 80 U.S. 154 (1872), 308

B

Bailey v. Richardson, 341 U.S. 918 (1951), 57 Baker v. Carr, 369 U.S. 186 (1962), 137 Berk v. Laird, 429 F.2d 302 (2d Cir. 1970), 190 Biddle v. Perovich, 247 U.S. 480 (1927), 308, 312 Boyd v. United States, 142 U.S. 450 (1892), 311 Buckley v. Valeo, 421 U.S. 1 (1976), 39, 100 Burdick v. United States, 236 U.S. 79 (1915), 308

C

Carlesi v. New York, 233 U.S. 51 (1914), 311
Charge to Grand Jury, In re, 62 F. 828 (D.C.Ill.1894), 196
Charlton v. Kelly, 229 U.S. 447 (1913), 159
Chicago & Southern Air Lines, Inc. v. Waterman Steamship Corp., 333 U.S. 103 (1948), 222
Chinese Exclusion Case, 130 U.S. 581 (1889), 146, 158
Clark v. Valeo, No. 76–1825 (D.C.Cir. 1977), 100, 115
Cole v. Richardson, 405 U.S. 676 (1972), 57
Cole v. Young, 351 U.S. 536 (1956), 57, 58

Consolidated Coke and Coal Co. v. Beale, 282 F. 934 (D.Ohio 1922), 198

Cooper v. Aaron, 358 U.S. 1 (1958), 198

D

Debs, In re, 158 U.S. 564 (1895), 91, 106, 117, 119
District 65, Wholesale, Retail, Office and Processing Union v. Nixon, 341 F.Supp. 1193 (D.N.Y.1972), 243
Duncan v. Kahanamoku, 327 U.S. 304 (1946), 118, 176, 196

\mathbf{E}

Edwards v. United States, 286 U.S. 482 (1932), 102 Employers Group of Motor Freight Carriers v. National War Labor Board, 143 F.2d 145 (D.C.Cir. 1944), 180 Endo, Ex parte, 323 U.S. 283 (1944), 178

F

Farkas v. Texas Instruments, Inc., 375 F.2d 629 (5th Cir. 1966), 125

Faubus v. United States, 254 F.2d 797 (8th Cir. 1958), 106, 198

Federal Energy Administration v. Algonquin SNG, Inc., 426 U.S. 548 (1976), 122, 260

Fleming v. Page, 9 How. 803 (1850), 166, 171, 187

Fong Yue Ting v. United States, 149 U.S. 698 (1893), 159

Fourteen Diamond Rings v. United States, 183 U.S. 176 (1901), 155

Furman v. Georgia, 408 U.S. 238 (1972), 309

G

Garland, Ex parte, 71 U.S. 333 (1867), 310, 312 Geofroy v. Riggs, 133 U.S. 258 (1890), 144 Gold Clause Cases, 294 U.S. 240 (1935), 244 Gordon v. United States, 117 U.S. 697 (1864), 33, 37 Grand Jury, In re Charge to, 62 F. 828 (1894), 196 Greene v. McElroy, 360 U.S. 474 (1959), 58 Grossman, Ex parte, 267 U.S. 87 (1925), 311

H

Haver v. Yaker, 9 Wall. 32 (1869), 155
Head Money Cases, 112 U.S. at 599, pp. 157, 158
Hepburn v. Griswold, 75 U.S. 603 (1870), 69
Hirabayashi v. United States, 320 U.S. 81 (1943), 177
Holmes v. Jennison, 14 Pet. 540 (1841), 130
Homes Building & Loan Ass'n v. Blaisdell, 290 U.S. 398 (1934), 222, 228, 244
Humphrey v. United States, 295 U.S. 602 (1935), 47

T

Illinois Central Railroad v. Bosworth, 133 U.S. 92 (1890), 312

Independent Meat Packers Ass'n v. Butz, 526 F.2d 236 (8th Cir. 1975), 94

Ivanov v. United States, 419 U.S. 881 (1974), 215

J

Jackson v. Metropolitan Edison Co., 419 U.S. 345 (1974), 319

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee v. McGrath, 341 U.S. 123 (1951), 57

Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp. v. NLRB, 301 U.S. 1 (1937), 231, 244

K

Katz v. United States, 226

Kendall v. Stokes, 3 How. 87 (1845), 111

Kendall v. United States ex rel. Stokes, 37 U.S. 524 (1938), 109

Kennedy v. Sampson, 511 U.S. 430 (D.C.Cir. 1974), 103, 168Knote v. United States, 95 U.S. 149 (1877), 311

Korematsu v. United States, 323 U.S. 214 (1944), 178

L

La Abra Silver Mining Co. v. United States, 175 U.S. 423 (1899), 102, 157

Laura, The, 114 U.S. 411 (1885), 313

Legal Tender Cases, 79 U.S. 457 (1871), 69, 70

Lochner v. New York, 198 U.S. 45 (1906), 221

Luther v. Borden, 7 How. 1 (1849), 196

M

Marbury v. Madison, 5 U.S. 137 (1803), 63, 85, 273

Martin v. Mott, 25 U.S. 19 (1813), 171, 196

McCulloch v. Maryland, 4 Wheat. 316 (1819), 66

Merryman, Ex parte, 17 Fed.Cas. 144 (C.C.D.Md.1861), 117, 122, 212

Miami Herald Publishing Co. v. Tornillo, 418 U.S. 241 (1974), 287

Milligan, Ex parte, 71 U.S. 2 (1866), 166, 174, 176, 195, 197, 208, 212

Miranda v. Arizona, 384 U.S. 436 (1966), 63, 68

Mississippi v. Johnson, 4 Wall. 475 (1867), 122, 305

Missouri v. Holland, 252 U.S. 416 (1920), 129, 143, 201

Mitchell v. Laird, 488 F.2d 611 (D.C.Cir. 1973), 190

Monarch Insurance Co. of Ohio v. District of Columbia, 359 F.Supp. 1249 (D.D.C. 1973), 197

Morgan v. T.V.A., 28 F.Supp. 732 (1939), 49

Morton v. Ruiz, 415 U.S. 199 (1974), 71

Moyer v. Peabody, 212 U.S. 78 (1909), 118

Myers v. United States, 272 U.S. 52 (1926), 16, 28, 29, 42, 46, 109, 321

N

Nader v. Bork, 366 F.Supp. 104 (D.D.C. 1973), 58, 112, 168, 294

Nardone v. United States, 302 U.S. 379 (1937), 220

Nardone v. United States, 308 U.S. 338 (1939), 220

National Labor Relations Board v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Co., 301 U.S. 1 (1937), 231, 244

National Petroleum Refiners Ass'n v. Federal Trade Commission, 482 F.2d 672 (D.C.Cir. 1973), 72
National Treasury Employees Union v. Nixon, 492 F.2d 587 (D.C.Cir. 1974), 22, 85, 107, 121
Neagle, In re, 135 U.S. 1 (1890), 88, 106, 117, 120

Nebbia v. New York, 291 U.S. 502 (1934), 244 New York Times v. United States, 403 U.S. 713 (1971), 276 Nixon v. Sirica, 487 F.2d 700 (D.C.Cir. 1973), 269

0

Olmstead v. United States, 277 U.S. 438 (1928), 219 Orlando v. Laird, 443 F.2d 1039 (2d Cir. 1971), 190

P

Peters v. Hobby, 349 U.S. 331 (1955), 57, 58
Pigeon River Co. v. Cox Co., 291 U.S. 138 (1934), 158
Pocket Veto Case, The, 279 U.S. 655 (1929), 103
Pollard v. Kibbe, 14 Pet. 353 (1840), 144
Powell v. McCormack, 395 U.S. 486 (1969), 115, 305
Power Authority v. Federal Power Commission, 247 F.2d
538 (1957), 156
Prize Cases, 67 U.S. 635 (1863), 170

Q

Quirin, Ex parte, 317 U.S. 1 (1942), 166, 175, 195

\mathbf{R}

Ray v. Blair, 343 U.S. 214 (1952), 34 Reed v. Franke, 297 F.2d 17 (4th Cir. 1961), 124 Reid v. Covert, 354 U.S. 1 (1957), 144, 147, 151 Ritter v. United States, 84 Ct.Cls. 293 (1936), 304

\mathbf{S}

Schick v. Reed, 419 U.S. 256 (1974), 309, 312 Seery v. United States, 127 F.Supp. 601 (Ct.Cl.1955), 152

此为试实,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbo

Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities v. Nixon, 498 F.2d 725 (D.C.Cir. 1974), 115, 121, 273

Service v. Dulles, 354 U.S. 363 (1957), 58

Smith v. Allwright, 321 U.S. 649 (1944), 61, 264

Social Security Cases, 301 U.S. 548 (1937), 244

Springer v. Philippine Islands, 277 U.S. 189 (1928), 39

Staats v. Lynn, Civ.No. 75–0551 (D.D.C. 1975) (1976), 99, 100, 115, 116, 258

Steel Seizure Case, 343 U.S. 579 (1952), 179

Steuart & Bros. v. Bowles, 322 U.S. 398 (1944), 180

T

Terry v. Adams, 345 U.S. 461 (1953), 61 Totten v. United States, 92 U.S. 105 (1976), 172

U

United States v. Belmont, 301 U.S. 324 (1937), 142, 148, 222 United States v. Brown, 381 U.S. 437 (1965), 16, 321

United States v. Brown, 484 F.2d 418 (5th Cir. 1973), 223

United States v. Butenko, 494 F.2d 592 (3d Cir. 1974), 215, 217

United States v. Clay, 430 F.2d 165 (5th Cir. 1970), 223

United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corp., 299 U.S. 304 (1936), 131, 222

United States v. Hartwell, 6 Wall. 385 (1868), 38

United States v. Isaacs, 493 F.2d 1124 (7th Cir. 1974), 306

United States v. Klein, 80 U.S. 128 (1872), 312

United States v. Lovett, 328 U.S. 303 (1946), 59

United States v. Maurice, 26 Fed.Cas.No. 15,747 (1823), 37

United States v. Midwest Oil Co., 236 U.S. 459 (1915), 29, 88, 91

United States v. Mitchell, No. 75–1384 (D.C.Cir. 1976), 269 United States v. Nixon, 418 U.S. 683 (1974), 2, 22, 33, 63, 116,

121, 222, 268–270, 272, 273, 306

United States v. 129 Packages, Fed.Cas.No. 15,941 (D.C.Mo. 1862), 197

United States v. Pink, 315 U.S. 203 (1942), 142, 148

United States v. Robel, 389 U.S. 258 (1967), 59, 222

United States v. Smith, 321 F.Supp. 424 (C.D.Cal.1971), 223
 United States v. United States District Court, 407 U.S. 297 (1972), 123, 205, 214

United States v. United States District Court, 444 F.2d 651 (6th Cir. 1971), 219

United States v. Wilson, 32 U.S. 150 (1833), 308

United States v. Yoshida International, Inc., 526 F.2d 560 (C.C.P.A.1975), 122

University of Illinois v. United States, 289 U.S. 48 (1933), 131

\mathbf{v}

Valentine v. United States ex rel. Neidecker, 299 U.S. 5 (1936), 152

Vitarelli v. Seaton, 359 U.S. 535 (1959), 58

\mathbf{W}

Ware v. Hylton, 3 Dall. 199 (1796), 144 Wells, Ex parte, 59 U.S. 307 (1856), 312

West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish, 300 U.S. 379 (1937), 231, 244

Whitney v. Robertson, 124 U.S. 190 (1888), 158

Wickard v. Filburn, 317 U.S. 111 (1942), 244

Wiener v. United States, 357 U.S. 349 (1958), 47

Wilson v. Girard, 354 U.S. 524 (1957), 150, 152, 153

\mathbf{Y}

Yamashita, In re, 327 U.S. 1 (1946), 166, 176

Yoshida International, Inc. v. United States, 526 F.2d 560 (C.C.P.A.1975), 261

Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer, 343 U.S. 579 (1952), 2, 84, 205, 243

\mathbf{Z}

Zweibon v. Mitchell, 516 F.2d 594 (D.C.Cir. 1975), 215

| | Page |
|------------------------------------------------|------|
| PREFACE | VI |
| Table of Cases | XII |
| Chapter One. Presidential Power in Perspective | 1 |
| Introduction | 1 |
| The Context in Which Presidential Pow- | |
| er Is Exercised | 4 |
| What Is Presidential Power? | 6 |
| Dualism in Theory | 11 |
| Why Have A Separate Executive? | 15 |
| President as Head of State and Head of | |
| Government | 21 |
| The Chief Executive and the Executive | |
| Offices of the President | 25 |
| Theories of the Office | 27 |
| Some Constitutional Consequences | 29 |
| Sources of Presidential Power | 31 |
| Chapter Two. The President as Chief Exec- | |
| utive | 34 |
| Introduction | 34 |
| The Power of Appointment | 36 |
| Limitations on the Appointment Power | 41 |
| Removal Power | 45 |
| The Power to Direct Decisions | 51 |
| Reorganization Power | 51 |
| Loyalty-Security Programs | 55 |
| Conclusion | 60 |
| | |

| | Page |
|------------------------------------------------|------|
| Chapter Three. The President as Chief Leg- | |
| islatər | 62 |
| Introduction | 62 |
| The "Living" Constitution | 65 |
| Executive Legislation by Judicial Appointments | 68 |
| Executive Interactions with Congress | 71 |
| Legislation by Decree | 84 |
| "Negative" Lawmaking by the Executive | 95 |
| The Veto Power | 97 |
| Conclusion | 103 |
| | |
| Chapter Four. The President as Chief Law | |
| Enforcer | 105 |
| Introduction | 105 |
| The President and Subordinate Execu- | |
| tive Officers | 108 |
| Enforcement of the Criminal Law | 112 |
| A Lawyer for Congress? | 115 |
| Extraordinary Methods of Executing the | |
| Laws | 117 |
| Limitations | 121 |
| Subdelegation of Presidential Power | 123 |
| Chapter Five. The President and Foreign | |
| | 126 |
| Introduction | 126 |
| The President as "Sole Organ" of Ex- | |
| | 132 |
| | 136 |
| | 137 |
| | 152 |
| IVAVIII | 104 |

| Chapter Five. The President and Foreign | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Relations—Continued | |
| | Page |
| Reservations | 155 |
| Termination of International Agree- | 4 E E |
| ments | 157 |
| Chapter Six. The President as Commander- | |
| in-Chief | 162 |
| Introduction | 162 |
| Declared Wars and the President as CinC | 169 |
| The President's CinC Powers in Peace- | |
| time | 185 |
| "Qualified" Martial Law | 195 |
| | |
| Chapter Seven. Emergency Powers of the | |
| President (Outside of De- | |
| clared War) | |
| out ou (tal) | 200 |
| Introduction | |
| | 200 |
| Introduction | 200 205 |
| Introduction Machiavellianism and Presidential Power | 200 205 |
| Introduction Machiavellianism and Presidential Power Reason of State in American History | 200 205 211 |
| Introduction Machiavellianism and Presidential Power Reason of State in American History A Current Problem: Wiretapping for | 200 205 211 |
| Introduction Machiavellianism and Presidential Power Reason of State in American History A Current Problem: Wiretapping for "Foreign Intelligence" Purposes | 200 205 211 214 |
| Introduction Machiavellianism and Presidential Power Reason of State in American History A Current Problem: Wiretapping for "Foreign Intelligence" Purposes Congressional Efforts to Limit Presidential Emergency Powers | 200 205 211 214 |
| Introduction Machiavellianism and Presidential Power Reason of State in American History A Current Problem: Wiretapping for "Foreign Intelligence" Purposes Congressional Efforts to Limit Presiden- | 200 205 211 214 |
| Introduction Machiavellianism and Presidential Power Reason of State in American History A Current Problem: Wiretapping for "Foreign Intelligence" Purposes Congressional Efforts to Limit Presidential Emergency Powers | 200205211214223 |
| Introduction Machiavellianism and Presidential Power Reason of State in American History A Current Problem: Wiretapping for "Foreign Intelligence" Purposes Congressional Efforts to Limit Presidential Emergency Powers Chapter Eight. The President and the Econ- | 200205211214223229 |
| Introduction Machiavellianism and Presidential Power Reason of State in American History A Current Problem: Wiretapping for "Foreign Intelligence" Purposes Congressional Efforts to Limit Presidential Emergency Powers Chapter Eight. The President and the Economy | 200 205 211 214 223 229 229 229 |

| Chapter Eight. The President and the Economy—Continued | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| | Page |
| Controlling the Dollar: The Executive as | |
| Planner | 246 |
| Other Executive Economic Powers | 257 |
| Conclusion | 262 |
| Chapter Nine. Buttressing Powers of the | |
| President | 263 |
| Introduction | 263 |
| The President as Party Leader—Weak- | |
| ness in Fact | 264 |
| Secrecy and the President, Including Ex- | |
| ecutive Privilege | 268 |
| The President as Manipulator of Public | |
| Opinion | 274 |
| Chapter Ten. The President as Head of State, Including Impeach- | |
| ment and the Pardon Power | |
| Introduction | 291 |
| Impeachment—The Non-remedy | 294 |
| Impeachment Under the Constitution | |
| The Power to Pardon | 307 |
| Chapter Eleven. Toward a New Theory of | |
| Separation of Powers? | 314 |
| Introduction | 314 |
| Constitutional Fetishism | 315 |
| The Emergent System | 319 |
| Index | 251 |