The Three Sub-Presidencies

- **Domestic**

  *This is the arena that the President must share the power with Congress and his own bureaucracy. It is the arena with the biggest conflicts between the President and Congress.*

**Economics**

- Economic responsibilities have grown since the last half of the 20th Century. Main issues are fiscal and budget issues, foreign trade, employment policies, and the monetary system.

- It is the area that the president has the least experience and must rely on advisors.

- Congress establishes the Council of Economic Advisors and the Office of Management and Budget to help the President.
Primary responsibilities belong to the President and he operates with little obstruction from Congress. The president’s image is boosted by success in the foreign arena and the President can use tactics that are not possible in domestic policies, such as, covert operations.

Factors that Constrain the President’s Power

- Constitution
- Federalism
- Separation of Powers
- Congress
- Federal Courts
- Opposition Party
- Fractions in own Party
- Bureaucracy
- Media
- Public Opinion
- Interest Groups
- World Leaders
- Economic Conditions
- White House Staff
- Re-election Bid
- Favorable Recognition in History

Factors That Influence Presidential Decision Making

- Time Available to Respond
- Amount of Prior Study and Preparation
- Importance of the Issue
- Style of Decision Making
- Formal Rules—Constitution, laws, treaties
Factors That Influence Presidential Decision Making...

- **Informal Rules** - tradition, protocol, chain of command in the White House
- **Available Resources** - Tangible items at his disposal
- **Status Relationships** - Face to Face contact (Nixon-Kissinger)
- **External Decision Makers** - People that do not communicate with him, but still influences him (Carter and Iranian hostages)

Roots of the Executive-Legislative Conflict

- Conflicts in responsibilities and sharing of power
- Varying terms of office
- Periods of divided Government
- Diversity of Constituents
- Bashing of Congress being orchestrated by the President
- Congress portrays President as not having a vision

Roots of the Executive-Legislative Conflict

- And Finally– No Collective Responsibility

Each wants credit for the successes and desires to blame the other for the failures.
Mastering the Seven Tasks

• Symbolic Moral Leader

Cultivating a down home image

Heal the nation’s wounds

Bringing the nation together in times of crisis, disaster, or misfortune

Mastering the Seven Tasks

• Crisis Management

Always appear Presidential

Be proactive

Be prepared

Mastering the Seven Tasks...

• Priorities and Programs

Strike when riding high in the polls

Take advantage of the honeymoon period
Mastering the Seven Tasks...

- **Recruitment**

  The fruits of victory to fill opening in the bureaucracy and the courts. The best and brightest may not want it and your campaign staff may not be the best choice.

Mastering the Seven Tasks...

- **Coalition Building**

  A great persuader and negotiator

  Build alliances with state and national leaders, business and labor

  Power is political capital—spend wisely
  State of the Union, threaten vetoes, bully pulpit and access to the media, election mandates

Mastering the Seven Tasks...

- **Implementation and Evaluation**

  Evaluate what worked and what did not

  Build on your successes and avoid repeating your failures
Mastering the Seven Tasks…

• **Oversight and Early Warnings**

  Don’t get caught by surprise. Have in place damage control procedures.

  Advisors should be prepared to minimize any damage to the president or his programs.

Legislative Resources of the President

• **Partisan base in Congress**

  When president’s partisans in Congress are cohesive and ideological in step with him, the advantages of the president are increased.

Legislative Resources of the President…

• **Formal powers**

  Presidents gain leverage by using or threatening to use their veto.

  President may issue executive orders that interpret laws or regulates the behavior and decisions of executive branch agencies
Legislative Resources of the President...

• Visibility and Public Approval

*Media focuses on the President and he speaks with one voice.*

*If president can mobilize public support for his initiative, members of Congress must weigh the cost of opposing the president.*

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Legislative Resources of the President...

• Expertise and Information

*Broad policy expertise is available to the president from the agencies of the executive branch*

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Legislative Resources of the President...

• White House Staff

*The president has a large personal staff that allows the president to monitor and communicate with Congress, lobbyists, and the media. It meets with the WH staff on almost a daily basis.*
Legislative Resources of the President...

- **Patronage and Projects**

  Presidents and top cabinet officials use personnel appointments to assert control over the bureaucracy and to do favors for members of Congress. They can influence decisions about who wins federal contracts and the location of federal installations and buildings.

Legislative Resources of the President

- **National Party Organizations**

  The president effectively controls the resources of the national committees, which can be used to do favors for members of Congress.

President’s Success Rate in Congress

Table 6.3: Presidential Success Rates on Roll-Call Votes: The Effect of Majority Control and Party Size, 1915-2000 (Percentage Successful)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President’s Party as Percentage of Chamber</th>
<th>Majority</th>
<th>Minority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House More than 50%</td>
<td>82.7%</td>
<td>84.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-50%</td>
<td>63.3%</td>
<td>64.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 44%</td>
<td>49.4%</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>(18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Senate</th>
<th>Majority</th>
<th>Minority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>84.6%</td>
<td>(40)</td>
<td>(45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85.4%</td>
<td>(40)</td>
<td>(49)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.5%</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.5%</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>(15)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Each cell in the table represents the number of votes in which the president's party is a majority and the president's party has a majority. The percentage is the number of votes in which the president's party is a majority and the president's party has a majority. The notes are from: Data: Based on information from Norman J. Ornstein, Thomas E. Mann, and Michael J. Malbin, Vital Statistics on Congress, 1960-2000 (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 2001), pp. 161-124.
## Presidential Decision Making Choices

1. Do Nothing  
2. Presidential Statement, Censure  
3. Call for Negotiations  
4. Propaganda Barrage  
5. Economic Sanction  
6. Economic Aid  
7. Military Advisors  
8. Military Material  
9. Military Threats  
10. Military Mobilization  
11. Blockade  
12. Subversive Action  
13. Bombing  
14. Invasion  
15. Nuclear War

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## National Security: Problems With the Old System

- National Security Act, 1947  
  Creates: National Security Council  
  CIA  
  Department of Defense  
- Its overarching purpose was the containment of the Soviet Union.

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## Post Cold War Issues

- Sole Superpower status  
- A divided government with close, bitter elections where interest groups prevail.  
- Potential of unrest in Western Hemisphere  
- Rising anti-Americanism  
- Russia not anchored in the West, China causing regional fears, rise of India as a major power, US partnership with Europe in decline
### Post Cold War Issues…

- Persistent regional troublemakers
- Spread of weapons of mass destruction
- Integrating our values with policy
- No comprehensive security agenda: terrorism, political and religious extremism, environmental degradation, international crime and drug trafficking, humanitarian disasters, failed states leading to warlordism, disease, illegal immigration

### New Recommendations

- President must establish the strategic direction and tone of foreign policy.
- National security is broadened to include diplomacy, military, law enforcement, economics, and humanitarian assets.
- A more centralized strategic planning and the preservation of unity command in the White House.

### New Recommendations...

- Defense readiness must include protection of new threats (cyber warfare, terrorism, WMD, etc) where no one agency can assume responsibility.
- Bipartisan cooperation between Congress and president.
- Multilateral involvement with Allies