

# Bargaining Tested

**Government 3161: The American Presidency**

# Revisiting the Cases of Command

- Do you agree with Neustadt that these cases demonstrated presidential weakness?
- What would other cases show? Let's look at two more.

## Bargaining in Action: The Johnson Treatment



# A Critical First Test: The Foreign Aid Bill

- At the time of JFK's assassination, it was hopelessly stalled in the House.
- Opponents led by Otto Passman (D-LA) had slashed the budget authorization by more than 25% and threatened to cut the appropriation even more.
- Many also opposed provisions to approve JFK's deal to sell wheat to Russia.

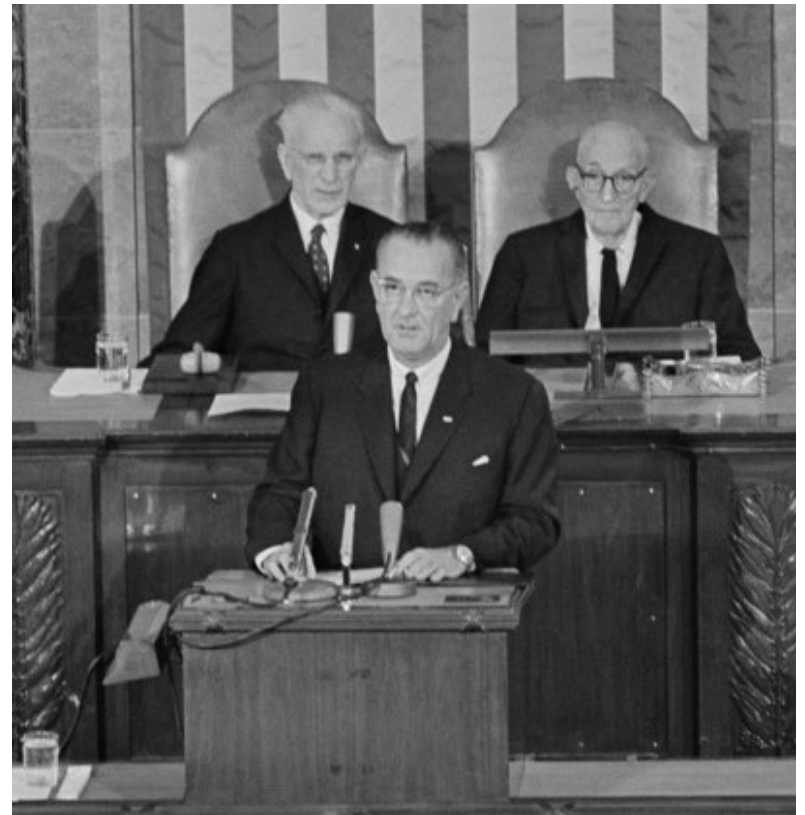
# LBJ's Message to Congress, 11/27/1963

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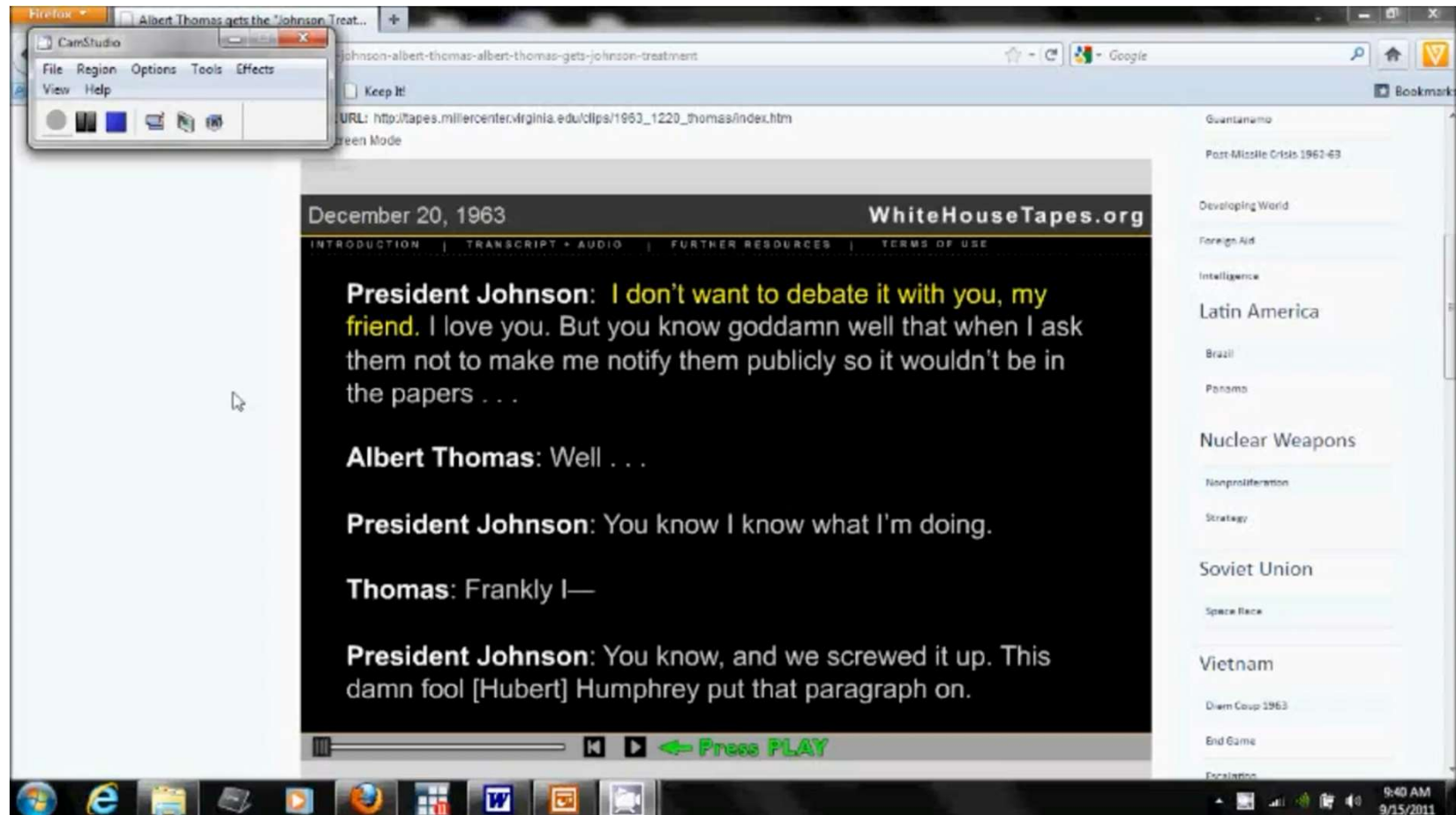
"All I have I would have given gladly not to be standing here today.... An assassin's bullet has thrust upon me the awesome burden of the Presidency. I am here today to say I need your help; I cannot bear this burden alone."

"This is our challenge--not to hesitate, not to pause, not to turn about and linger over this evil moment, but to continue on our course so that we may fulfill the destiny that history has set for us.... First, no memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill for which he fought so long."

"In short, this is no time for delay. It is a time for strong, forward-looking action on the pending foreign aid bill, making clear that we are not forfeiting our responsibilities to this hemisphere or to the world, nor erasing Executive flexibility in the conduct of our foreign affairs."



# Different Tactics in Private



# Christmas Session

- Demanding immediate action, LBJ had Democratic leaders bring members back to Washington for a Christmas Eve session to pass the bill.
- Passman: “Maybe I should come in here on Christmas Eve in my Santa Claus suit and offer a bill distributing all this money to all those countries.”
- The bill passed, the wheat deal was included, and LBJ hosted an impromptu thank-you Christmas party for members at the White House.

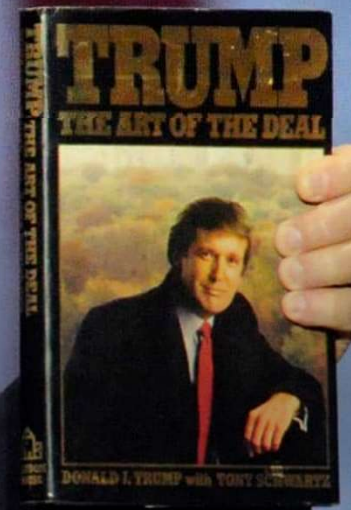


# Taking Stock

- The final appropriation was \$3 billion. More than the \$2.8 billion passed in the House Subcommittee, but still \$600 million below the authorization.
- The wheat deal survived with few strings on the white House.



# The Dealmaker in Chief



# Case 2: President Trump Ends DACA



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— IMMIGRATION | Issued on: September 5, 2017



# But the Very Same Day...



**Donald J. Trump**

@realDonaldTrump

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Congress now has 6 months to legalize DACA (something the Obama Administration was unable to do). If they can't, I will revisit this issue!

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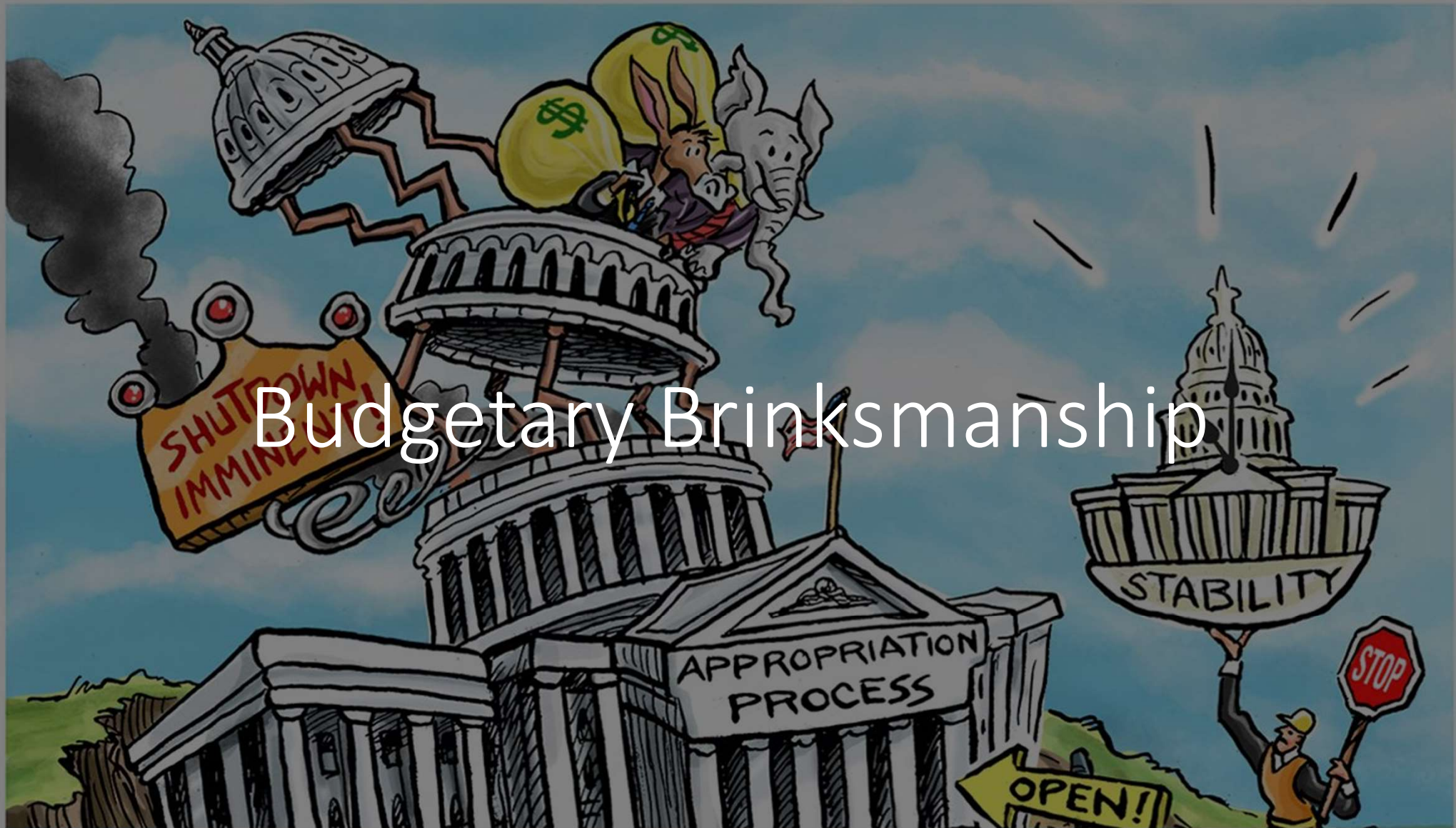
91K

## Dealing on DACA





# Budgetary Brinksmanship





## Bipartisan Push Thwarted by Hardliners

DACA for the Wall?



## Trump vs. His Own Staff





# The Art of the Deal?

- How would Neustadt assess LBJ and Trump's performances?
- To what extent was Johnson successful? And how much was due to his effective bargaining vs. external factors?
- If Trump had been more persuasive could he have pushed a deal through? Or is this issue just hopelessly gridlocked?

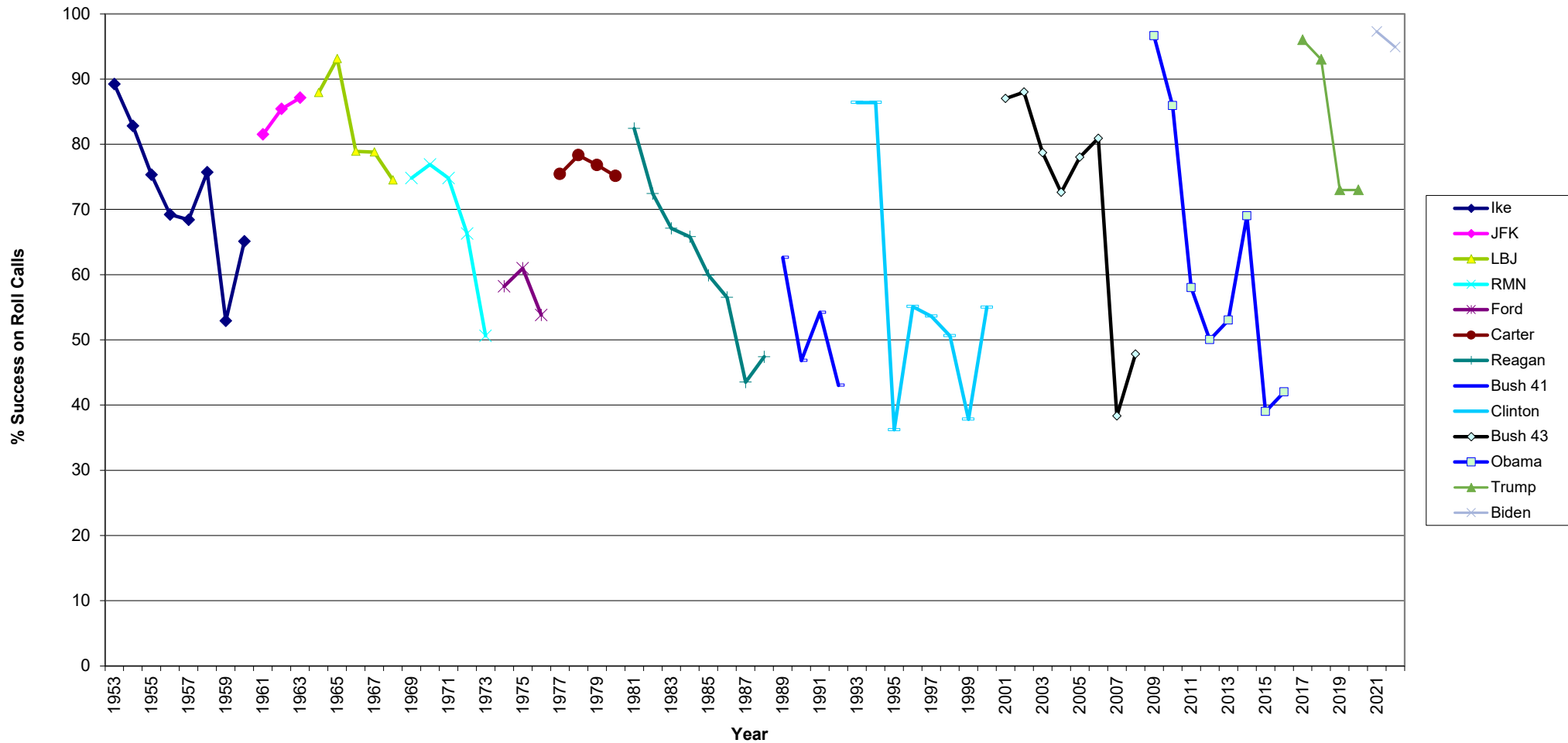
# Testing the Power to Persuade Hypothesis

- How do we measure “presidential power”?
- How do we measure “bargaining skill”?

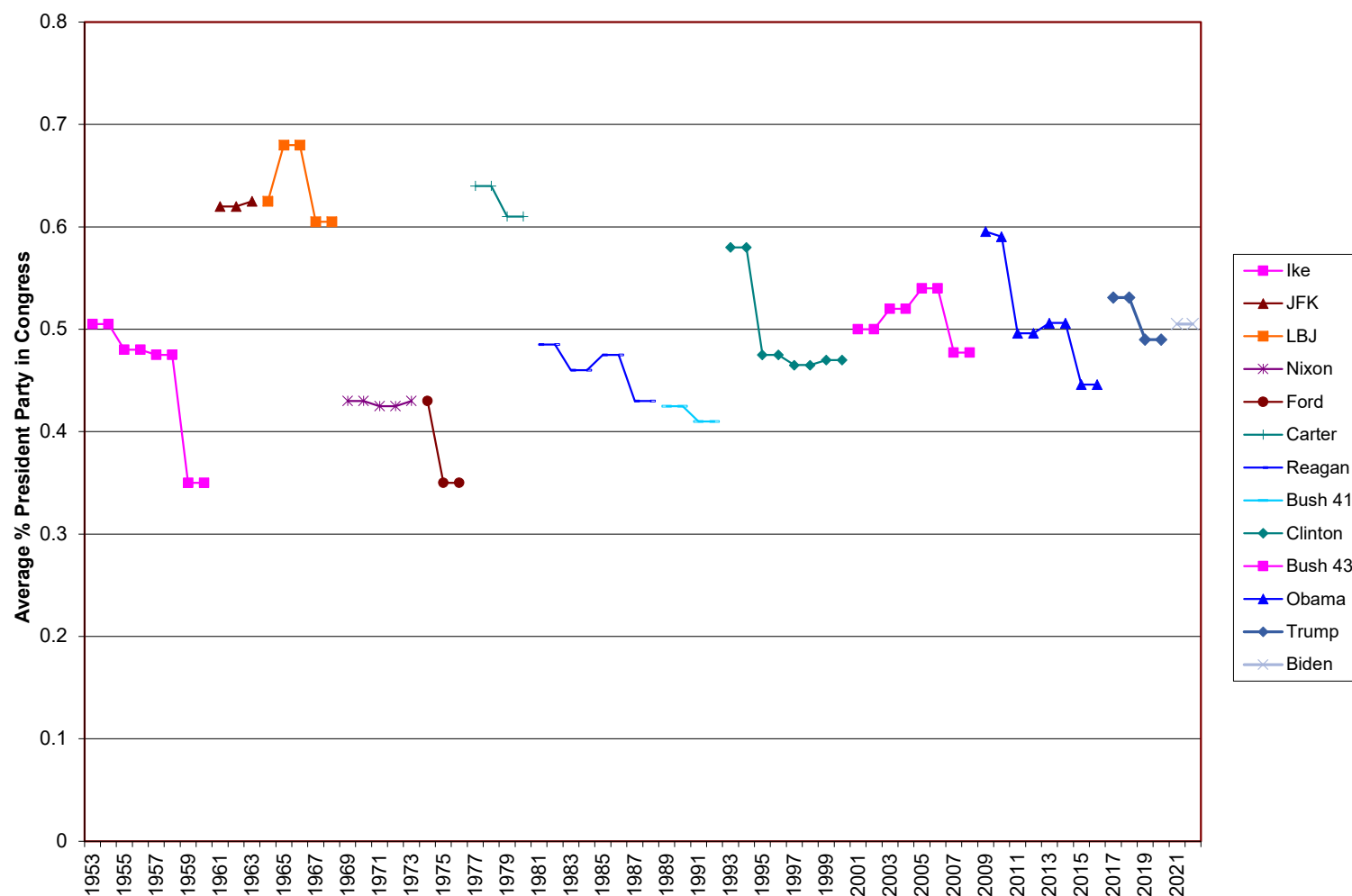
## A (Very Rough) Empirical Approach

- Classify each president as high or low in terms of bargaining skill
- Compare legislative achievements across the two groups

# Presidential Success in Congress



# Presidential Party Strength In Congress



Other Factors?