agenda-centered strategy, of presidents, 21–22
ally mobilization in, 54–55
consequences of, 58–62
lobbying and, 21–22, 50–62, 96
logic of, 53–62
opponent deterrence in, 55–58
"pivotal voters" and, 34, 57
for tax cut policy, for Bush, G. W., 81–83
in tax cut strategy of Bush, G. W., 96
agenda-setting, by presidents, 17–19, 20
carlygame strategy with, 50–62
lobbying and, 20, 50–62
negative agenda control and, 41–42
policy making and, 35–37, 40
as politically compromising, 57–58
positive agenda control and, 42, 44
presidential power through, 17–20
for proposals, 36–37
Armey, Dick, 73
Baker, Howard, 39
Baker, James, 51
Barrett, Andrew, 19, 36
Baucus, Max, 103
Berlin Wall, fall of, 13
Black, Duncan, 31
Bond, Jon, 36, 53, 167
Bonier, David, 75
Brady, Henry, 7
Breaux, John, 78
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 13
budget reconciliation process, 77
"bully pulpit," presidency as, 18
Burns, James MacGregor, 14–15
Bush, George H. W., 16–17
Bush, George W., 25, 28, 111
See also tax cuts, strategy of Bush, G. W.
lobbying success of, 134–135, 145
perception of Congress, 3
political pragmatism of, 155
presidential leadership of, 153–154
Social Security reform campaign of, 153, 154
tax cut policy under, strategy for, 68–105
on vote counting, 31
vote-centered strategy of, 47
Byrd, Robert, 39
Caddell, Patrick, 12
Calio, Nick, 158
Cannon, Lou, 160
Carter, Jimmy, 12
Congressional battles of, 6, 55–59
"discredited" presidency of, 10
ideological support in Congress for, 8
key votes for, perceived success with, 106–108
legislative proposals under, negative success from involvement, 135
lobbying success of, 135, 148, 148
political pragmatism of, 160
problem prioritization for, 152
vote-centered strategy of, 47
Celler, Emanuel, 129
Civil Rights Act of 1964, 129
Clinton, Bill, 106
on budget fights with Congress, 28
endgame strategy for, 51
Clinton, Bill 

health care reform campaign under, 172
key votes for, 125
on “lame duck” status, 12
on presidential power, 5–6
strategic rival of, 39
on tax cut strategy of Bush, G. W., 69–70
vote-centered strategy of, 47

Clinton, Hilary,
cloture option, 8
votes necessary for, 31
coalition-building, in policy making, 64

Cohen, Richard,
Congress, U.S. See also key votes
battles with, for Clinton, B., 28
Bush, G. W., first perceptions of, 3
Carter and, battles with, 6, 55–59
carlygame strategy for key votes in, 122
89th, 122
Eisenhower on, 150
individual self-interest as factor for, 6
Kennedy’s first perception of, 3
legislative proposals and, predispositions toward, 173–174
94th, 122
107th, 73–74
partisanship within, 6–8
pivotal-politics model and, 7–8
“pivotal voters” distance, from president, 8, 9
presidential party percentages in, 6
presidential policymaking and, 66–67
presidents’ first impressions of, 3
tax cut strategy of Bush, G. W., and, 71
Constitution, U.S.
contextual constraints of, 8–10
limits of, 4–6
presidential powers under, 4–5
Cox, Gary, 19
CQ Almanac, 53, 108, 110, 117
Daschle, Tom, 85, 95
DeLay, Tom, 31
democracy, presidential elections as linchpin of, 11–13
Democratic Party, legislative proposals and, partisan advantage of, 131
Dirksen, Everett, 129
“discredited presidency,” 10
domestic policy, sample frames for, 165–166
Downs, Anthony, 31
carlygame strategy, with agenda-centered lobbying, 50–62
in Congress, 122
in policymaking, 172–173
of presidents, 117, 150–151
for tax cut policy, for Bush, G. W., 81–85
Economic Report of the President for 2001, 72
Edwards, George, III, 14, 19, 36, 167
Eighty-Ninth Congress, 122
presidential legislation under, 143–144
Eisenhower, Dwight, 20, 110
on Congress, 150
on “lame duck” status, 12
strategic rival of, 39
vote counting for, 33
carlygame strategy, with vote-centered lobbying, 46–50
for Clinton, B., 51
consequences of, 49–50
for Johnson, L., 50–51
for key votes, 115–116, 151
logic of, 47–50
in policy making, 172–173
for Reagan, 51–53
for tax cut policy, for Bush, G. W., 80–81
Evans, Larry, 37
Farmer, James, 129
Fenno, Richard, 45
Fiornia, Morris, 29
Fleisher, Richard, 36, 53, 167
Ford, Gerald
key votes for, perceived success with, 123
lobbying success of, 134–135, 148
94th Congress under, 122, 143–144
Fortier, John, 103
George III (King), 4
Gingrich, Newt, 39
Gore, Al, 28, 78
on tax cut strategy of Bush, G. W., 70
Grassley, Charles, 73, 103
Griffin, Patrick, 159
Hall, Richard, 35, 89
Hastert, Dennis, 73
“head counts,” 31
health-care reform campaign, under Clinton, B., 172
Hightower, Jim, 77
The Hill, 29
honeymoon period, for presidents, 12
legislative proposals during, 174–175
Hoover, Herbert, “discredited” presidency of, 10
Houghton, Amo, 78
Humphrey, Hubert, 129
Iraq War, 13
Jefferson, Thomas, 150
Jeffords, Jim, 79
party switch by, 85
Johnson, Lyndon, 106
on bill signing, for legislative proposals, 129
89th Congress under, 122, 143–144
endgame strategy for, 50–51
key votes for, perceived success with, 106–108, 122–125
lobbying success of, 134, 145, 146, 163
Medicare and, 27
political capital of, 149
strategic rival of, 39
supportive party dispositions and, 108, 116–117
Johnson, Nancy, 78
Jones, Charles, 53
Kennedy, John F., 2, 65
on bill-signing, for legislative proposals, 128, 129
lobbying success of, 134
perception of Congress, 3
on presidential power, 106
Kennedy, Robert, 129
Kerrey, Bob, 47, 106
key votes, 106–108
for Carter, perceived success with, 106–108
in Congress, 122
endgame strategy for, 115–116, 151
exogenous events’ influence on, 117
for first budget package, for Clinton, B., 125
for Johnson, perceived success with, 106–108, 122–125
in legislative proposals, 142–143
multiple regression testing for, 115–119, 125
opposition party dispositions and, 108, 116–117, 122
patterns for, 111
presidential role in, 110–114, 117, 126–127, 170
in Senate, 122
successful lobbying for, 113–125
supportive party dispositions and, 108, 116–117, 122
King, Anthony, 15
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 13, 129
Kingdon, John, 20, 35–36, 45
Korean War, 13
Krehbiel, Keith, 7
Krugman, Paul, 70
“lame duck” status, of presidents for Clinton, B., 12
Eisenhower on, 12
Largent, Steven, 79
leadership, presidential, 150–162
of Bush, George W., 153–154
devising strategy as part of, 156–157
execution of, 158–159
Neustadt on, 161
Office of Legislative Affairs and, 158
policy adjustment as part of, 154–155
policy drafting and, 154–156
practice of, 151–159
principle v. pragmatism in, 159–161
problem prioritization in, 152–154
for Roosevelt, T., 162
status quo targeting as part of, 153–154
wedge issues and, 154
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Index</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 190  | legislative proposals, of presidents, 128–149  
agenda setting for, 36–37  
Carter involvement with, negative success from, 135  
conditional success of, 143–144  
Congressional predispositions and, 173–174  
contextual correlates for, 132  
Democratic Party and, partisan advantage for, 131  
under 89th Congress, 143–144  
extra-presidential variables for, 135–136  
during honeymoon period, 174–175  
 intra-party negotiations for, 38, 39  
issue as factor in success of, 142–147  
Kennedy, J., on, 128, 129  
key votes and, role in, 142–143  
lobbying for, 46–50, 133–136, 137  
multiple regression test for, 139–141, 143  
under 94th Congress, 143–144  
of opposing party leaders, 60–61  
outcomes as symbol of presidential power, 65, 134–135  
patterns of, 129–133  
“pivotal voters” disposition and, 140–142  
political capital as influence on, 133, 142, 174  
political environment for, 174–175  
of presidents, 30, 30–37, 112–138, 145–147  
Reagan on, 128  
sample frames for, for domestic policy, 165–166  
strategy for, 37  
of supportive leaders, 30, 37–39  
Lewinsky, Monica, 13  
Light, Paul, 12, 111  
Lincoln, Abraham, 10, 150  
lobbying. See also earlygame strategy, with agenda-centered lobbying; endgame strategy, with vote-centered lobbying; key votes in agenda-centered strategy, of presidents, 21–22, 50–62, 96  
agenda-setting by presidents and, 20  
by Bush, G. W., success of, 134–135, 145  
by Carter, success of, 135, 146, 148  
of Congress, research sample for, 86–87  
consequences of, 58–62  
effectiveness of, 104–105  
by Ford, success of, 134–135, 148  
by Johnson, success of, 134, 145, 146, 163  
by Kennedy, success of, 134  
for legislative proposals, by presidents, 46–50, 133–136, 137  
measures of, 87–91  
patterns of, 92–101  
of “pivotal voters,” 95  
policymaking and, 64  
political capital and, 60–61  
by presidents, 20–22, 46–50, 133–136, 137  
as private, 84  
through public appeals, 91, 92–93, 99–101  
quality of, by White House, 89–90, 97–99  
quantity of, by White House, 88–89, 95–97  
strategies, definition of, 88, 157  
tactics, definition of, 88, 90–91, 157  
for tax cuts, as strategy of Bush, G. W., 83–91  
of U.S. Senate, 85–86  
vote-centered strategy for, 46, 50, 61  
Long, Russell, 55–59, 160  
Los Angeles Times, 71  
Lott, Trent, 51, 73  
McCubbins, Mathew, 19  
McCulloch, William, 129  
Medicare, signing into law, 27  
Miller, Zell, 78  
Mitchell, John, 65  
Morris, Dick, 51  
Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, 155  
National Taxpayers Union, 69  
negative agenda control, 41–42  
presidential influence on, 41–42  
Nelson, Ben, 78 |
INDEX

Neustadt, Richard, 2, 92
  on Congressional partisanship, 6
  on presidential leadership, 161
  on presidential persuasion, 10
  on presidential power, 8–9
New York Times, 17, 31
  on Bush tax strategy, 72, 73, 103
New York Times Magazine, 46
Ninety-Fourth Congress, 122
  presidential legislation under,
  143–144
Nixon, Richard,
  “nose counts,” 31
Office of Legislative Affairs, 138
  during Clinton administration, 157
107th Congress
  allies’ electoral/ideological traits,
  73–74
  median voters’ electoral/ideological
  traits, 78–79
  opponents’ electoral/ideological
  traits, 76
O’Neill, Thomas “Tip,” 17
  Reagan and, 52
  strategic rival of, 39–40
Ornstein, Norman, 103
  Panetta, Leon, 47, 51
  partisanship, policymaking and,
  40–44
  majority party leadership and,
  41–44
  negative agenda control and, 41–42
  positive agenda control and, 42, 44
Peterson, Mark, 111
  pivotal-politics model, 7–8
  presidential strategy and, 23–24
  “pivotal voters,” 32
  in agenda-centered strategy, 34, 57
  in Bush tax cut strategy, 76–80,
  102–103
  legislative proposals and, party
disposition as factor for, 140–142
  lobbying of, 95
  president relations with, 33
Policy Agendas Project, 25–26, 110
  policymaking, by presidents, 30–44.
  62–65 See also partisanship,
policymaking and
  agenda-setting for, 35–37, 40
  ally mobilization as part of, 54–55
  coalition building as part of, 64
  Congress and, 66–67
  earlygame strategy in, 172–173
  endgame strategies in, 172–173
  external factors for, 62–63
  internal factors for, 63–65
  intra-party negotiations for, 38, 39
  issue choice in, 63–64
  legislators’ preferences as factor
  in, 63
  legislative outcomes and, 65
  lobbying and, 64
  opponent deterrence and, 55–58
  opposing party leaders and, 39–40
  passing preferred laws and, 171–172
  political capital as factor in, 63
  political partisanship and, 40–44
  political status quo as factor in, 62–63
  president preferences as part of,
  32–33
  president’s proposals in, 36–37
  as proactive, 30
  self-interest as factor for, 66
  strategies of, 37, 44–62
  supportive leaders and, 37–39
  vote counting and, 31–35, 65–66
  political capital
  of Johnson, 149
  for legislative proposals, of presidents,
  133, 142, 174
  lobbying and, 60–61
  presidential policymaking and, 63
  presidential strategy and, 24
  political strategy. See presidential strategy
  political time theory, 11
  Poole, Keith, 8, 74, 76, 79
  positive agenda control, 42, 44
  pragmatism, in presidential leadership,
  150–161
  for Bush, G. W., 155
  for Carter, 160
  for Reagan, 160
  president(s), U.S. See also legislative
  proposals, of presidents; policy
  making, by presidents
  agenda centered strategy of, 21–22
  agenda-setting by, 17–19, 20
  coalition building by, 2–3
  constitutional powers of, 4–5
  earlygame strategy of, 117, 150–151
presidential(s) (Cont.)
endgame strategy of, 115–116, 151
historical context for, 10–11
honeymoon period for, 12
legislative proposals and, role in, 30, 36–37, 112–138, 145–147
lobbying by, 20–22, 46–50, 133–136, 137
negative agenda control and, influence on, 41–42
in perpetual campaign mode, 12–13
persuasive powers of, 10
"pivotal voters" and, relationship with, 33
policy proposal creation by, 18
political capital of, lobbying and, 60–61
political party congressional percentage and (1953–2004), 7
political skill of, 14–16
proposals for, 30–37
real world events as influence on, 13
signing ceremonies, significance of, 27–28
strategies of influence of, 16–17
vote-centered strategy of, 21

endgame approach, 115–116, 151
keys to success for, 22–24
lobbying as part of, 20–22, 46–50, 133–136, 137
opposing leaders' preferences in, 23
through personal favors, 17
"pivotal voters" preferences in, 8, 9–24
for policymaking, 37, 44–62
political capital and, 24
political status quo as factor for, 22–23
for proposals, 37
supportive leaders' preferences in, 23
theories for, 15
vote-centered, 21

principle, in presidential leadership, 159–161
for Clinton, B., 155

Randolph, A. Philip, 129
Reagan, Ronald, 1
on bill-signing, for legislative proposals, 128
endgame strategy for, 51–53
legislative successes of, 17
O'Neill and, 52
political pragmatism of, 160
strategic rival of, 39
vote-centered lobbying by, 46
Regan, Donald, 52
Ribicoff, Abraham, 47, 106
Roosevelt, Franklin, 10, 13, 14, 150
New Deal agenda of, 68
Roosevelt, Theodore "Teddy," 20
on presidency as "bully pulpit," 18
presidential leadership for, 162
on presidential power, 5, 13
Rosenthal, Howard, 8, 74, 76, 79
Rostenkowski, Dan, 52
Rudalevige, Andrew, 18

Senate, U.S. See also key votes
cloture option and, 8, 31
carrying proposals, for key votes, 122
tax cut strategy of Bush, G. W., and, 71, 82–85, 102–103
index

September 11th, 85
Shays, Chris, 78
Sigelman, Carol, 135
Sigelman, Lee, 135
Sinclair, Barbara, 16
Skowronek, Stephen, 10
political time theory of, 11
Smith, Chris, 78
Smith, Steven, 38–39
Social Security reform campaign, 153, 154
status quo
presidential leadership and, targeting of, 153–154
in presidential policymaking, 62–63
presidential strategy and, as part of, 22–23
in tax cuts strategy of Bush, G. W., 72–73
Stock Market Crash of 1987, 13
supermajoritarian voting rules, 31–32, 33
Taft, William Howard, 5
tax cuts, strategy of Bush, G. W., See also lobbying
as agenda-centered, 96
agenda-centered lobbying for, 81–89
ally mobilization as part of, 81–82
Clinton, B., on, 69–70
Congressional votes and, 71
economic slowdown and, influence on, 72
federal budget estimates and, 72
Gore on, 70
lack of electoral mandate and, 70
lobbying for, by White House, 83–91
modest public support of, 70–71
New York Times on, 72, 73, 103
opposing leaders’ preferences and, 75–80
opposition deterrence as part of, 82–83, 94–95
outcome assessment of, 101–104
“pivotal voters” preferences and, 76–80, 102–103
political status quo and, 72–73
public appeals for, 91, 92–93, 99–101
public debate over, 70–71
as risky, Democrats view of, 69–70
Senate votes and, 71, 82–83, 102–103
September 11th and, 85
supportive leaders’ preferences and, 73–75, 93–94
targets for, 93–94
theoretical tenets of, 69–75
as vote-centered, 96
vote-centered lobbying for, 80–81
Tax Reform Act of 1986, 17
Thomas, Bill, 73
Time, 155
Traficant, Jim, 78
Truman, Harry
on legislative power of presidency, 20
Medicare and, 27
The Vantage Point (Johnson, L.), 50–51
vetos, votes needed for, 31
bargaining for, 32
“pivotal voters” for, 32
Vietnam War, 13
Volden, Craig, 7
vote counting, in policymaking, 31–35
Bush, G. W., and, 31
for cloture option, 31
for Eisenhower, 33
presidential power and, 65–66
supermajoritarian rules for, 31–32, 33
veto bargaining and, 32
for vetos, 31
vote-centered strategy of presidents, 21
for Bush, G. W., 47
for Carter, 47
for Clinton, B., 47
consequences of, 49–50
for endgame, 49–50
for Johnson, L., 47
by lobbying, 46, 50, 61
logic of, 47–50
for Reagan, 46
tactics of, 49
for tax cut policy, for Bush, G. W., 80–81
in tax cut strategy of Bush, G. W., 96
voter mandates, 11

tax cut strategy of Bush, G. W., and, 70

wars. See Iraq War; Korean War; Vietnam War

Washington, George, 1, 150
Washington Post, 51, 68, 72
Watergate scandal, 13

Wattenberg, Martin, 70–71

wedge issues, 154

“whip counts,” 31

Wilkins, Roy, 129

Wilson, Woodrow, 2, 20

on presidential power, 14

Young, Whitney, 129