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#### PLS 401: SENIOR SEMINAR Part IV: The Apparatus of Governance Ch. 15: Presidential Government

#### I. Untitled introduction: **presidential government**

- A. **Definition**: a democratic system in which the legislature and the executive exist independently and are elected independently of each other
- B. **Political parties have a somewhat different role** parties are often more loosely unified in presidential compared to parliamentary systems
  - 1. Parties in a presidential system don't have as much control over nominations and election campaign resources of individual members of the legislature
  - 2. Because of separation of constituencies, one party is not guaranteed a control of both the executive and legislative branches
    - a. In the 1980s, the Republican Party controlled the White House and (sometimes) the Senate, but not the House
    - b. In the 1990s, it was the Democratic Party in that situation
- C. Examples of presidential systems: U.S., much of Latin America, France, Russia, & Turkey
- D. The fragmentation of power typical of the U.S. system
  - 1. Is illustrated in each house of Congress power is diffused between majority- & minority-party leaders, standing committees & their chairs.
  - 2. The fragmentation of power weakens party discipline in Congress

### II. Presidential and parliamentary systems compared

- A. Presidential-leadership expectations are high
  - 1. The *president* is the only official elected in a nationwide election
  - 2. The Constitution gives extraordinary powers to the president, especially as commander in chief
  - 3. Custom and tradition gives the president primary responsibility for
    - a. Foreign policy
    - b. Domestic policy proposals to Congress
- B. However, *separation of powers (and constituencies)* makes **presidential-leadership** *success* very difficult (especially in federal systems like Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, & the U.S.)
  - 1. The voters don't know who to praise or blame
  - 2. Both branches find it easier to behave irresponsibly in a presidential system of fragmented powers and responsibilities
- C. **Comprehensive policy** is much more difficult to accomplish in a presidential compared to a parliamentary system
  - 1. Bargaining and compromise can lead to contradictory policies
  - 2. Intense minorities can block apathetic majorities e.g., more handgun control [Shively is incorrect about prayer in schools a clear majority favors a moment of silence over any government-sponsored prayer in public schools]
- D. **Recruitment of executive leaders** most come from *outside the legislature (many from outside government)* in a presidential system
  - 1. Less familiar with a wide range of public-policy issues
  - 2. Less familiar with legislative leaders, norms, and procedures
  - 3. Are more likely to be chosen in haste and without adequate review
  - 4. But outsiders do bring more varied talents and backgrounds

#### E. Review and control of the executive –

- 1. Although Shively says that oversight is less systematic and regular in presidential systems because a. There is no weekly *question hour* 
  - b. Impeachment and removal is not a useful substitute
- 2. However, he also notes [in C. 14, sect. V. A.] that compared to national legislatures, parliamentary committees lack significant oversight powers:
  - a. No permanent staff
  - b. No authority to call committee hearings
  - c. No subpoena power

- F. The political process is less flexible (less able to adjust to changing circumstances)
  - 1. A common example is loss of public support
  - 2. Extreme examples are:
    - a. Death, resignation, or impeachment/removal of a president
    - b. Presidential disability

# III. The split executive of parliamentary systems

- A. Parliamentary systems are based on
  - 1. A union of executive & legislative power
  - 2. But a separation of chief-executive and chief-of-state leadership roles
    - a. The Prime Minister (Premier or Chancellor) is the chief executive with real powers
  - b. The President (or monarch) is the chief of state or ceremonial leader with only symbolic powers
- B. In contrast, in a presidential system,
  - 1. There is a separation of the executive and legislative branches in terms of powers & constituencies
  - 2. But a union of the chief-of-state and chief-executive roles
    - a. The president is *both* the working and ceremonial leader (although many of those less important duties are pushed off on the vice president)
    - b. This combined role gives the president an advantage in seeking public support that the chief executive in a parliamentary country lacks

# IV. Why aren't all democracies parliamentary systems

- A. *Parliamentary systems* (that **unite** the executive and legislative branches)
  - 1. Are more efficient (if there is a majority party or a stable coalition majority)
  - 2. Are more responsive to the will of the majority
  - 3. And the majority party or coalition is more easily assigned praise or blame
- B. But *presidential systems* (that **separate** powers & constituencies)
  - 1. Have more safeguards against the abuse of government powers
  - 2. Require more bargaining and compromise between diverse interests
- V. **Judicial review** seems to be more necessary in a presidential (and federal) system of fragmented powers Table 15.1
  - A. There is more of a need for a referee to adjudicate disputes among branches and levels of government
  - B. Parliamentary/unitary systems with judicial review include: Austria, Canada, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, and Spain

#### VI. A note on constitutions and power – constitutions are not static but change and develop

# A. Through amendments

B. Through custom and practice (e.g., political parties)

# VII. Examples of transition in presidential government

### A. France

- 1. 1945-57: political instability resulted in (economically successful) bureaucratic rule
- 2. 1957-69: President **Charles de Gaulle** was installed by the military & in 1962 a new constitution provided a **hybrid presidential/parliamentary system**:
  - a. A directly elected president who is powerful if his party controls the National Assembly
  - b. But a National Assembly that can dissolve the executive cabinet (and force "cohabitation" if the opposition controls the National Assembly the prime minister shares more power with the president)

# B. Mexico

- 1. 1910-20: revolution (sporadic conflict continued for another 5 to 10 years)
- 2. 1929-1997: **one-party dominance** by the PRI (Party of the Institutionalized Revolution) but the president was limited to a single 6-year term limit
- 3. 1997-present: **party competition** brought about by reform efforts of several PRI presidents, media exposure of corruption in government, and public support for reform