

CHAPTER 14

The Presidency

REVIEWING THE CHAPTER

CHAPTER FOCUS

This chapter introduces you to the institution that has become the hub of American government during its two centuries of history: the presidency. The chapter demonstrates that this institution is unique or at least significantly different from other positions of government leadership. It also surveys the changes that have occurred in the office from the original, limited position intended by the Founders, through historical evolution, and down to the office of the president as we know it today. After reading and reviewing the material in this chapter, you should be able to do each of the following:

1. Explain the differences between the positions of president and prime minister.
2. Discuss the approach of the Founders toward executive power.
3. Sketch the evolution of the presidency from 1789 to the present.
4. List and describe the various offices that make up the office of the president.
5. Review discussions of presidential character and how these relate to the achievements in office of various presidents.
6. Enumerate and discuss the various facets—formal and informal—of presidential power.

STUDY OUTLINE

- I. Presidents and prime ministers
 - A. Characteristics of parliaments
 1. Parliamentary system twice as common
 2. Chief executive chosen by legislature
 3. Cabinet ministers chosen from among members of parliament
 4. Prime minister remains in power as long as his or her party or coalition maintains a majority in the legislature
 - B. Differences
 1. Presidents are often outsiders; prime ministers are always insiders, chosen by party members in parliament
 2. Presidents choose their cabinet from outside Congress; prime ministers choose members of parliament
 3. Presidents have no guaranteed majority in the legislature; prime ministers always have a majority. The United States usually has a divided government
 4. Presidents and the legislature often work at cross-purposes
 - a) Even when one party controls both branches
 - b) A consequence of separation of powers
 - c) Only Roosevelt and Johnson had much luck with Congress

5. Presidents and prime ministers at war
 - a) Bush had to cajole a Congress controlled by his own property, Blair encountered no meaningful resistance in parliament
 - b) When public opinion turned against Bush's position, he remained in office. When public opinion turned against Blair, he announced his resignation
- II. Divided Government
- A. Divided versus unified government
 1. Fifteen of twenty-two congressional/presidential elections since 1952 produced divided government
 2. Americans dislike divided government because it can lead to gridlock
 - B. Does gridlock matter?
 1. But divided government enacts as many important laws as a unified government
 2. Reason: Unified government is something of a myth in U.S.
 - C. Is policy gridlock bad?
 1. Unclear whether gridlock is always bad; it is a necessary consequence of representative democracy
 2. Representative democracy opposite direct democracy
- III. The evolution of the presidency
- A. Delegates feared both anarchy and monarchy
 1. Idea of a plural executive
 2. Idea of an executive checked by a council
 - B. Concerns of the Founders
 1. Fear of military power of president who could overpower states
 2. Fear of presidential corruption of Senate
 3. Fear of presidential bribery to ensure reelection
 - C. The electoral college
 1. Each state to choose own method for selecting electors
 2. Electors to meet in own capital to vote for president and vice president
 3. If no majority, House would decide
 - D. The president's term of office
 1. Precedent of George Washington and two terms
 2. Twenty-second Amendment in 1951 limits to two terms
 3. Problem of establishing the legitimacy of the office
 4. Provision for orderly transfer of power
 - E. The first presidents
 1. Prominent men helped provide legitimacy
 2. Minimal activism of early government contributed to lessening fear of the presidency
 3. Appointed people of stature in the community (rule of fitness)
 4. Relations with Congress were reserved; few vetoes, no advice
 - F. The Jacksonians
 1. Jackson sought to maximize powers of presidency
 2. Vigorous use of veto for policy reasons
 3. Challenged Congress
 - G. The reemergence of Congress
 1. With brief exceptions the next hundred years was a period of congressional ascendancy
 2. Intensely divided public opinion
 3. Only Lincoln expanded presidential power
 - a) Asserted "implied powers" and power of commander-in-chief
 - b) Justified by emergency conditions
 4. President mostly a negative force to Congress until the New Deal

5. Since the 1930s power has been institutionalized in the presidency
 6. Popular conception of the president as the center of government contradicts reality; Congress often policy leader
- IV. The powers of the president
- A. Formal powers found in Article II
 1. Not a large number of explicit powers
 2. Potential for power found in ambiguous clauses of the Constitution, such as power as commander in chief and duty to “take care that laws be faithfully executed”
 - B. Greatest source of power lies in politics and public opinion
 1. Increase in broad statutory authority
 2. Expectation of presidential leadership from the public
- V. The office of the president
- A. The White House Office
 1. Contains the president’s closest assistants
 2. Three types of organization
 - a) Circular
 - b) Pyramid
 - c) *Ad hoc*
 3. Staff typically worked on the campaign: a few are experts
 4. Relative influence of staff depends on how close one’s office is to the president’s
 - B. The Executive Office of the President
 1. Composed of agencies that report directly to the president
 2. Appointments must receive Senate confirmation
 3. Office of Management and Budget most important
 - a) Assembles the budget
 - b) Develops reorganization plans
 - c) Reviews legislative proposals of agencies
 - C. The cabinet
 1. Largely a fiction, not mentioned in Constitution
 2. President appoints or controls more members of cabinet than does prime minister
 3. Secretaries become preoccupied and defensive about their own departments
 - D. Independent agencies, commissions, and judgeships
 1. President appoints members of agencies that have a quasi-independent status
 2. Agency heads serve a fixed term and can be removed only “for cause”
 3. Judges can be removed only by impeachment
- VI. Who gets appointed
- A. President knows few appointees personally
 - B. Most appointees have had federal experience
 1. “In-and-outers”; alternate federal and private sector jobs
 2. No longer have political followings but picked for expertise
 - C. Need to consider important interest groups when making appointments
 - D. Rivalry between department heads and White House staff
- VII. Presidential character
- A. Eisenhower: orderly
 - B. Kennedy: improviser
 - C. Johnson: dealmaker
 - D. Nixon: mistrustful
 - E. Ford: genial
 - F. Carter: outsider
 - G. Reagan: communicator
 - H. Bush: hands-on manager

- I. Clinton: focus on details
- J. Bush: a different kind of outsider
- VIII. The power to persuade
 - A. Formal opportunities for persuasion
 - B. The three audiences
 - 1. Other politicians and leaders in Washington, D.C.; reputation very important
 - 2. Party activists and officials inside Washington
 - 3. The various publics
 - 4. Trends in informal remarks, press conferences, and formal speeches (the bully pulpit)
 - C. Popularity and influence
 - 1. Presidents try to transform popularity into support in Congress
 - 2. Little effect of presidential coattails
 - 3. Members of Congress believe it is politically risky to challenge a popular president
 - 4. Popularity is unpredictable and influenced by factors beyond the president's control
 - D. The decline in popularity
 - 1. Popularity highest immediately after an election
 - 2. Declines by midterm after honeymoon period
- IX. The power to say no
 - A. Veto
 - 1. Veto message
 - 2. Pocket veto (only before end of Congress)
 - 3. Congress rarely overrode vetoes in 1996
 - B. Executive privilege
 - 1. Confidential communications between president and advisers
 - 2. Justification
 - a) Separation of powers
 - b) Need for candid advice
 - 3. *U.S. v. Nixon* (1973) rejects claim of absolute executive privilege
 - C. Impoundment of funds
 - 1. Defined: presidential refusal to spend funds appropriated by Congress
 - 2. Countered by Budget Reform Act of 1974
 - a) Requires president to notify Congress of funds he does not intend to spend
 - b) Congress must agree in forty-five days
 - D. Signing statements
 - 1. Issued when a president signs legislation
 - 2. Have a variety of purposes
 - a) express attitudes about a law
 - b) tell executive branch how to implement law
 - c) discuss some aspect considered unconstitutional
 - 3. Common among twentieth century presidents
 - 4. Not very popular with Congress
 - 5. Supreme Court has not addressed the constitutional significance of such statements
- X. The president's program
 - A. Putting together a program
 - 1. President can try to have a policy on everything (Carter).
 - 2. President can concentrate on a small number of initiatives (Reagan)
 - 3. Constraints
 - a) Public reaction may be adverse
 - b) Limited time and attention span
 - c) Unexpected crises
 - d) Programs can be changed only marginally

4. Need for president to be selective about what he wants
5. Heavy reliance on opinion polls
6. Impact of dramatic events and prolonged crises
- B. Attempts to reorganize the executive branch
 1. An item on presidential agendas since the administration of Herbert Hoover
 2. Bush and the Department of Homeland Defense
 - a) White House Office of Homeland Security created in aftermath of terrorist attack of 9/11
 - (1) Small staff
 - (2) Little budgetary authority
 - (3) No ability to enforce decisions
 - b) Bush's call for a reorganization
 - (1) Creation of third largest cabinet department encompassing twenty-two federal agencies
 - (2) 170,000 employees and an annual budget of almost \$40 million
 - c) Fate of proposal is pending, but it is neither the first of its kind nor the largest.
 3. Reasons for reorganizing
 - a) Large number of agencies
 - b) Easier to change policy through reorganization
 4. Reorganization outside the White House staff must be by law
- XI. Presidential transition
 - A. Few presidents serve two terms
 - B. The vice president
 1. May succeed on death of president
 - a) Has happened eight times
 - b) John Tyler defined status of ascending vice president: president in title and in powers
 2. Rarely are vice presidents elected president
 - a) Unless they first took over for a president who died
 - b) Only five instances otherwise: Adams, Jefferson, Van Buren, Nixon, and Bush
 3. "A rather empty job"
 - a) Candidates still pursue it
 - b) Preside over Senate and vote in case of a tie
 - c) Leadership powers in Senate are weak
 - C. Problems of succession
 1. What if the president falls ill?
 - a) Examples: Garfield, Wilson
 2. If vice president steps up, who becomes vice president?
 - a) Succession Act (1886): designated secretary of state as next in line
 - b) Amended in 1947 to designate Speaker of the House
 3. Twenty-fifth Amendment resolved both issues
 - a) Allows vice president to serve as "acting president" if president is disabled; decided by president, by vice president and cabinet, or by two-thirds vote of Congress
 - b) Requires vice president who ascends to office on death or resignation of the president to name a vice president
 - (1) Must be confirmed by both houses
 - (2) Examples: Agnew and Nixon resignations
 - D. Impeachment
 1. Judges most frequent targets of impeachment
 2. Indictment by the House, conviction by the Senate

- XII. How powerful is the president?
- A. Both president and Congress are constrained
 - B. Reasons for constraints
 1. Complexity of issues
 2. Scrutiny of the media
 3. Power of interest groups

KEY TERMS MATCH

Match the following terms and descriptions:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. A constitutional procedure by which federal judges and civil officers can be removed from office before their terms expire | a. <i>ad hoc</i> structure |
| 2. Legislation that specifies the conditions and order of succession to the presidency and vice presidency when the president leaves office before completion of his term | b. Article II |
| 3. People who alternate between jobs in the federal government and employment in the private sector | c. bully pulpit |
| 4. Presidential staff who oversee the policy interests of the president | d. cabinet |
| 5. A statement sent to Congress by the president giving the reasons for vetoing a bill | e. circular structure |
| 6. The president's use of his prestige and visibility to guide or enthuse the American public | f. delegate |
| 7. The chief executive in a parliamentary system who is chosen by the legislature | g. direct democracy |
| 8. Reveals what the president thinks about a new law and how it ought to be enforced | h. divided government |
| 9. The presidential assertion of the right to withhold certain information from Congress | i. electoral college |
| 10. The organization responsible for preparing the federal budget and for central clearance of legislative proposals from federal agencies | j. Executive Office of the President |
| 11. Agencies headed by appointees who serve for fixed terms and can be removed only "for cause" | k. Executive privilege |
| 12. A presidential refusal to spend money appropriated by Congress | l. gridlock |
| 13. Term used to describe the early months of the presidential term when popularity ratings tend to be relatively high | m. honeymoon |
| 14. Agencies that perform staff services for the president but are not part of the White House | n. impeachment |
| | o. impoundment of funds |
| | p. "in-and-outers" |
| | q. independent agencies |
| | r. lame duck |
| | s. legislative veto |
| | t. line-item veto |
| | u. Office of Management and Budget |
| | v. perks |
| | w. pocket veto |
| | x. prime minister |
| | y. pyramid structure |
| | z. representative democracy |
| | aa. signing statement |

15. View of presidential decision-making which stresses what the public wants
 16. The power of some governors (and the president in a limited way between 1996 and 1998) to veto portions of a bill instead of having to veto the entire bill
 17. Andrew Jackson's view of his role as president of the United States
 18. A legal system by which states select electors who then vote for the president and vice president
 19. A statement that defines the constitutional powers of the president
 20. Term used to express concern over inefficacy in government which might result from Congress and the Presidency being controlled by members of different parties
 21. A method of organizing a president's staff in which several task forces, committees, and informal groups deal directly with the president
 22. A president's council of advisers
 23. A method of organizing a president's staff in which several presidential assistants report directly to the president
 24. View of presidential decision making which stresses what the public interest requires
 25. A political system in which all or most citizens participate directly by either holding office or making policy
 26. A government in which one party controls the White House and another party controls one or both houses of Congress
 27. A politician who is still in office after having lost a reelection bid
 28. The rejection of a presidential or administrative action by a vote of one or both houses of Congress without the consent of the president
 29. The fringe benefits of holding an office
 30. A form of veto in which the president fails to sign a bill passed by both houses within ten days and Congress has adjourned during that time
 31. A method of organizing a president's staff in which most presidential assistants report through a hierarchy to the president's chief of staff
- bb. Tribune of the People
 - cc. trustee
 - dd. Twenty-fifth Amendment
 - ee. unified government
 - ff. veto message
 - gg. White House Office

32. A political system in which leaders and representatives acquire political power by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote
33. A government in which the same party controls the White House and both houses of Congress

DATA CHECK

Table 14.1 (Page 378): The Cabinet Department

1. Which cabinet departments are the oldest?

2. Which cabinet department is the newest?

3. Which cabinet department has the largest number of employees?

4. How many of the cabinet departments have been created since 1960?

Table 14.2 (Page 384): Partisan Gains or Losses in Congress in Presidential Election Years

5. What hypothesis underlies the table?

6. What does the 1956 election suggest about the popularity of Eisenhower (who won 57% of the popular vote) and the popularity of the Republican party as an institution?

7. In which election was the greatest number of seats gained by the president's party in the House of Representatives?

8. In which election was the greatest number of seats gained by the president's party in the Senate?

9. In which two elections were the greatest number of seats lost by the president's party in the House of Representatives?

Figure 14.1 (Pages 386–7): Presidential Popularity

10. What question was asked of respondents in order to collect the data presented in this Figure?

11. In which terms was it quite clear that the president was not as popular at the end of his term as he was at the very beginning?
-

12. What do the terms that do not exhibit the trend identified in the previous question have in common?
-

Table 14.3 (Page 387): Partisan Gains or Losses in Congress in Off-Year Elections

13. What does Table 14.4 tell us generally?
-

14. In which election(s) did the party of the president lose more than fifty seats in the House?
-

15. In which election(s) did the party of the president lose more than ten seats in the Senate?
-

16. In which two elections did a president *gain* seats in *both* the House and the Senate?
-

PRACTICING FOR EXAMS

TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements *T*. If any part of the statement is false, mark it *F*, and write in the space provided a concise explanation of why the statement is false.

1. T F Democratic president Jimmy Carter could not get the Democratic-controlled Senate to ratify his strategic arms limitation treaty.
-

2. T F The popularly elected president is an American invention.
-

3. T F Divided government has been the result of most national elections since 1952.
-

4. T F Research suggests divided governments do not ratify significant treaties or pass important laws.
-

5. T F We may have had a truly unified government in 1933 and 1965.
-

6. T F In a typical presidential election, one half of all voters will vote for one party's candidate for president and the other party's candidate for Congress.
-

7. T F The general assumption of the Framers of the Constitution was that George Washington would be the first president.
-
8. T F Presidential elections have never been decided by the House of Representatives.
-
9. T F George Washington limited himself to two terms.
-
10. T F George Washington was a strong supporter of political parties.
-
11. T F Congress decided no president's image would appear on currency until after his death.
-
12. T F The Nation's early presidents made extensive use of the veto power.
-
13. T F Although he had been elected as a military hero, Andrew Jackson had also been a member of both the House and the Senate.
-
14. T F Abraham Lincoln praised Andrew Jackson's exceptional use of executive authority.
-
15. T F Lincoln raised an army and spent money without prior approval of Congress.
-
16. T F Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation Act without prior congressional approval.
-
17. T F From the Eisenhower years through the Reagan administration, Congress often took the lead in setting the legislative agenda.
-
18. T F The Clean Air Act (1990) and the Welfare Reform Act (1996) were both bills deigned by Congress, not by the president.
-
19. T F Grover Cleveland used federal troops to break a labor strike in the 1890s.
-
20. T F President Carter employed the pyramid structure for organization of personal staff.
-
21. T F Typically, senior White House staff members are drawn from the ranks of the president's campaign staff.
-

22. T F There are ten major executive departments headed by cabinet officers.
-
23. T F A president rarely knows more than a few of the people that he appoints.
-
24. T F According to the text, much of Eisenhower's bumbling, incoherent manner of speaking was a strategic "public disguise."
-
25. T F Richard Nixon thrived on personal confrontation and face-to-face encounters with other politicians.
-
26. T F Presidents have made fewer and fewer impromptu remarks in the years since Franklin Roosevelt held office.
-
27. T F President Roosevelt failed to "purge" members of Congress who opposed his program.
-
28. T F Some presidents have not experienced a "honeymoon" in the sense of initially high levels of public support and congressional compliance.
-
29. T F Most state governors possess the power of the line-item veto.
-
30. T F In 1996, Congress effectively gave the president the power of the line item veto with the introduction of the "enhanced rescission."
-
31. T F The Supreme Court upheld the power of the president to carve up legislation, retaining only those parts with which he is in agreement.
-
32. T F The Constitution specifically requires the president to divulge private communications between himself and his principal advisors if a congressional investigation demands such information.
-
33. T F For most of our nation's history, there was no serious challenge to the claim of presidential confidentiality.
-
34. T F The Constitution specifically requires the president to spend money that is appropriated by Congress.
-
35. T F Signing statements were the creation of presidents in the early 1900s.
-

36. T F Members of Congress have encouraged presidents to accompany legislation with signing statements.
-
37. T F The text suggests that a sixty-hour workweek is typical for a president.
-
38. T F The Supreme Court has declared so-called legislative vetoes unconstitutional.
-
39. T F Presidents routinely complain of what they feel is the limited scope of their power.
-
40. T F In 1841, John Tyler became the first vice president to become president because of the death of his predecessor.
-
41. T F The only official task of the vice president is to preside over the Senate and to vote in case of a tie.
-
42. T F The Twenty-fifth Amendment to the Constitution addresses the problem of presidential succession.
-
43. T F Only two presidents have ever been impeached.
-

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response that best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. In a parliamentary system the prime minister is chosen by the
 - a. people.
 - b. signatories.
 - c. electors.
 - d. legislature.
 - e. monarch.
2. Which of the following statements is *true* of U.S. presidents but not of British prime ministers?
 - a. Presidents and the legislature often work at cross-purposes.
 - b. Presidents are selected by the legislature.
 - c. Presidents have more strict control over members of their party.
 - d. Presidents are most often government insiders.
 - e. Presidents generally choose their cabinets from among members of Congress.
3. The text suggests that policy gridlock is a necessary consequence of
 - a. representative democracy.
 - b. big government.
 - c. direct democracy.
 - d. divided government.
 - e. unified government.

4. Who called for something like an elective monarchy here in the United States?
 - a. George Washington
 - b. John Adams
 - c. Thomas Jefferson
 - d. John Jay
 - e. Alexander Hamilton
5. The Framers first considered having _____ select the president.
 - a. the Supreme Court
 - b. Congress
 - c. the state legislatures
 - d. the various governors
 - e. the large states
6. Which amendment formally limited presidents to two terms?
 - a. 9th
 - b. 10th
 - c. 17th
 - d. 22nd
 - e. 26th
7. Establishing the legitimacy of the presidency in the early years was made easier by the fact that the national government
 - a. was both efficient and popular.
 - b. acted cautiously because it was in debt.
 - c. had relatively little to do.
 - d. kept the Treasury Department weak.
 - e. was dominated by one political faction.
8. Andrew Jackson's use of the veto power was conspicuous because
 - a. he rarely used it.
 - b. he used it more than all of the presidents before him combined.
 - c. all of his vetoes were overridden.
 - d. he would not use the power unless he thought legislation was unconstitutional.
 - e. he would not use the veto simply because of a policy disagreement.
9. Jackson's view of a strong and independent presidency
 - a. was forsaken after two years in office.
 - b. has not been adopted by any other president.
 - c. was only adopted by Abraham Lincoln.
 - d. emerged as the norm a century later.
 - e. has been adopted by the Democratic Party.
10. Which of the following actions did Abraham Lincoln take without prior congressional approval?
 - a. Raised an army.
 - b. Spent money.
 - c. Blockaded Southern ports.
 - d. Suspended *habeas corpus*.
 - e. all of the above.
11. Today, winning the presidency means a candidate must get ____ electoral votes.
 - a. 100
 - b. 170
 - c. 250
 - d. 270
 - e. 538

12. The elimination of the Electoral College might have the effect of
 - a. encouraging third parties.
 - b. reducing vote turnout.
 - c. increasing the importance of less populous states.
 - d. reducing the importance of independent candidates.
 - e. expediting the results of presidential elections.
13. Which of the following presidential powers is not a shared power?
 - a. Treaty making
 - b. Appointment of ambassadors
 - c. Approval of legislation
 - d. The pardoning power
 - e. Appointment of judges and high officials
14. The greatest source of presidential power is found in
 - a. the Constitution.
 - b. Congress.
 - c. public communication.
 - d. the bureaucracy.
 - e. politics and public opinion.
15. The text suggests that the ability of a presidential assistant to influence the president is governed by the rule of
 - a. reason.
 - b. propinquity.
 - c. law.
 - d. integrity.
 - e. Congress.
16. Which organizational structure runs the risk of isolating or misinforming the president?
 - a. pyramid
 - b. circular
 - c. ad hoc
 - d. titular
 - e. vertical
17. Which organizational structure lends itself to confusion and conflict?
 - a. pyramid
 - b. circular
 - c. ad hoc
 - d. titular
 - e. vertical
18. The Office of Management and Budget both assembles the president's budget and
 - a. manages the departments.
 - b. reviews departmental legislative proposals.
 - c. manages federal personnel.
 - d. organizes presidential cabinet meetings.
 - e. reviews the Senior Executive Service.

19. Which modern president is almost the only one given credit for coming close to making his cabinet a truly deliberative body?
 - a. Harry Truman
 - b. Calvin Coolidge
 - c. John F. Kennedy
 - d. Dwight Eisenhower
 - e. Bill Clinton
20. The main difference between a presidential agency and an independent agency is that heads of the former
 - a. cannot have their salaries reduced.
 - b. serve at the president's discretion.
 - c. can only be removed "for cause."
 - d. cannot sponsor legislation.
 - e. serve at Congress's pleasure.
21. All of the following statements regarding "acting appointments" are correct *except*:
 - a. Such appointees hold office until the Senate acts on their nomination.
 - b. Such appointees have been known to hold office for months without confirmation.
 - c. Senators generally favor such appointees because of their heavy nomination workload.
 - d. Presidents see the allowance of such appointees as a necessity.
 - e. The existence of such appointees appears to be contrary to the Vacancies Act of 1868.
22. In recent administrations there has been a tendency for presidents to place in their cabinet people known for their
 - a. independent political power.
 - b. personal wealth.
 - c. creativity.
 - d. loyalty to Congress.
 - e. expertise.
23. Of the three audiences that the president confronts, the one that is most often important for maintaining and exercising power is
 - a. other politicians and leaders in Washington.
 - b. the mass public throughout the nation.
 - c. party activists.
 - d. foreign leaders.
 - e. officeholders outside Washington.
24. There is a noticeable decline in the number of _____ by recent presidents.
 - a. public appearances made
 - b. public speeches given
 - c. press conferences held
 - d. cabinet meetings called
 - e. State of the Union addresses given
25. The personal popularity of the president affects which of the following most directly?
 - a. How Congress treats presidential legislative proposals
 - b. How members of the president's party do in House elections
 - c. How members of the president's party do in Senate elections
 - d. The president's ability to conduct foreign affairs
 - e. b and d

26. Which of the following statements about George W. Bush's approval ratings is *incorrect*?
- His initial ratings were comparable to those of President Clinton's in 1993.
 - His disapproval rating was the highest of any president since polling began.
 - His approval rating for the first six months was fairly typical for modern presidents.
 - His approval ratings after the September 11 attack were the highest ever recorded.
 - none of the above.
27. Once in office a president can expect to see his popularity
- increase over time.
 - remain about the same.
 - fluctuate in a manner that admits of no generalization.
 - decline over time.
 - be dependent on the actions of Congress.
28. Which of the following statements is true of a bill that is not signed or vetoed within ten days while Congress is still in session?
- It is considered to have received a pocket veto.
 - It is returned to Congress.
 - It must be given a veto message.
 - It becomes a law until the next session of Congress.
 - It becomes law automatically.
29. From George Washington to Bill Clinton, about ____ percent of over 2,500 presidential vetoes have been overridden.
- 4
 - 15
 - 20
 - 25
 - 30
30. Which statement best describes George W. Bush's use of the veto power?
- He has used it about as much as most recent presidents.
 - He has used it more often than recent presidents.
 - He has used it slightly less than recent presidents.
 - He has hardly used the power at all.
 - He has vetoed more legislation than any modern president.
31. The doctrine of executive privilege is based on separation of powers and on the
- constitutional requirements for secrecy.
 - War Powers Act.
 - president's need for confidential advice.
 - White House *Sourcebook*.
 - integrity of each branch of government.
32. The issue of executive privilege was not directly addressed by the Supreme Court until
- John F. Kennedy was reported to have had dealings with organized crime.
 - Harry Truman refused to provide testimony in regard to some controversial last minute pardons.
 - George Bush interfered with Iran-Contra prosecutions.
 - Richard Nixon attempted to withhold tape recordings from a special prosecutor.
 - Gerald Ford pardoned Richard Nixon.

33. In *Clinton v. Jones* (1997) the Supreme Court ruled that the president can be sued
- while in office.
 - for actions taken before he became president.
 - in state and federal court.
 - by non-U.S. citizens.
 - A and D.
34. Which of the following factors is emphasized by the text as placing considerable constraint on a president's ability to plan a program?
- The president's personal ideology
 - The limits of the president's time and attention
 - The need to campaign
 - The leaders in his own party
 - The mass media
35. During an average year, Congress passes _____ bills.
- between 50 and 100
 - between 200 and 300
 - between 400 and 600
 - over one thousand
 - over six thousand
36. _____ was the last president *not* to use public opinion polls.
- Woodrow Wilson
 - Herbert Hoover
 - John F. Kennedy
 - Franklin Roosevelt
 - Harry Truman
37. The text reports Bill Clinton actually used public opinion polls to determine
- how to decorate the inside of the White House.
 - what to name his pets.
 - how he should answer the question of marijuana use.
 - what color his saxophone should be.
 - where he should go on vacation.
38. The phrase "mend it but don't end it" was poll-tested by Bill Clinton for use in discussions concerning
- affirmative action.
 - sexual harassment.
 - our relationship with Israel.
 - his relationship with Republicans after impeachment.
 - Social Security.
39. One item on the presidential agenda for almost every president since Herbert Hoover has been
- reduction in the separation of powers
 - expanding legislative power
 - reforming the federal judiciary
 - lowering taxes.
 - reorganization of the executive branch.

40. A president suffers a stroke that leaves him or her partially paralyzed. The vice president, with the support of a majority of the cabinet, declares that the president is unable to discharge the duties of the office, but the president disagrees. What happens next?
- Congress decides who is president.
 - Because the vice president has the support of a majority of the cabinet, the vice president assumes the presidency.
 - Because the president is still alive, he or she remains president.
 - Because the president and vice president disagree, a new election is held, allowing the people to decide who should be president.
 - The Supreme Court decides who is president.
41. Which of the following statements is *incorrect*?
- Sixteen persons have been impeached by the House.
 - Seven persons have been convicted by the Senate.
 - No federal judge has ever been removed by impeachment.
 - The impeachment case against Andrew Johnson was “flimsy.”
 - Clinton’s impeachment led to the expiration of the office of independent council.

ESSAY QUESTIONS

Practice writing extended answers to the following questions. These test your ability to integrate and express the ideas that you have been studying in this chapter.

- Compare and contrast presidents and prime ministers.
- What do the authors offer as the cause of divided government and what do they have to say with respect to curing the supposed ills of opposite party control of the presidency and Congress?
- Explain why Andrew Jackson’s use of the veto power was so unique.
- Identify some actions which Abraham Lincoln took without the authorization of Congress.
- Explain how the electoral college works, how many votes are needed win and what happens if no candidate receives a majority of electoral college votes.
- Identify 5–6 powers of the president.
- Describe the three ways that presidents can organize his personal staff. In doing so, address the strengths and weaknesses of each approach.
- What are the “three audiences” that are identified by presidential scholar Richard Neustadt?
- Explain why presidential success scores in Congress should be used with caution.
- Summarize the two basic arguments supporting the notion of executive privilege and how the Supreme Court has ruled on this issue.
- What are “signing statements” and what are the arguments both for and against their use?
- What do the authors identify as the major constraints on the president’s program?
- Describe how the impeachment of Bill Clinton differed from the impeachment of Andrew Johnson.

ANSWERS TO KEY TERMS MATCH QUESTIONS

1. n
2. dd
3. p
4. d
5. ff
6. c
7. x
8. aa
9. k
10. u
11. q
12. o
13. m
14. j
15. f
16. t
17. bb
18. i
19. b
20. l
21. a
22. gg
23. e
24. cc
25. g
26. h
27. r
28. s
29. v
30. w
31. y
32. z
33. ee

ANSWERS TO DATA CHECK QUESTIONS

1. State and Treasury.
2. Homeland Security.
3. Defense (670,790)
4. 6.
5. There is a chance that individuals running for the House and the Senate who are of the same party as the individual who is elected presidency will win at a higher rate. That is, they will ride the president's coattails into office.
6. The relationship between the presidential candidate's popularity and the popularity of the party is not easy to detect.
7. 1932, Roosevelt, 90 seats.
8. 1980, Reagan, 12 seats.
9. 1960 Kennedy (-20 seats) and 1992 Clinton (-9 seats).
10. "Do you approve of the way ___ is handling his job as president?"
11. Every administration except Eisenhower, Reagan, Clinton.
12. In each case, they are the first terms of two-term administrations.
13. The president's party usually loses seats in the House and the Senate during the mid-term elections.
14. 1942, 1946, 1994.
15. 1946 and 1958.
16. 1934 (Roosevelt), 2002 (Bush)

ANSWERS TO TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

1. T
2. T
3. T
4. F Research suggests divided governments ratify important treaties and pass important legislation about as much as any other kind of government.
5. T
6. F It would be more accurate to say that about 1/4 of voters will do this.
7. T
8. F They have gone to the House twice, 1800 and 1824.
9. T
10. F Washington opposed the formation of political parties and condemned them often.
11. T
12. F The nation's early president used the power rarely, and only when they thought a law violated the letter or the spirit of the Constitution.

13. T
14. F Ironically, Lincoln condemned Jackson's use of the war power.
15. T
16. T
17. T
18. T
19. T
20. F Carter employed the circular structure.
21. T
22. F There are 14 major cabinet departments.
23. T
24. T
25. F Nixon disliked persona confrontations and tended to shield himself behind an elaborate staff.
26. T
27. T
28. T
29. T
30. T
31. F The Supreme Court struck down the enhanced rescission created by Congress in 1996.
32. F The Constitution does not address this topic at all.
33. T
34. F The Constitution is silent on whether the president must spend the money that Congress appropriates.
35. F Signing statements date back to at least the administration of James Monroe.
36. F Members of Congress oppose such statements suspecting they can amount to a veto that cannot be formally overridden.
37. F A 90 hour week is typical.
38. T
39. T
40. T
41. T
42. T
43. T

ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. d
2. a
3. a
4. e
5. b
6. d
7. c
8. b
9. d
10. e
11. d
12. a
13. d
14. e
15. b
16. a
17. b
18. b
19. d
20. b
21. c
22. e
23. a
24. c
25. a
26. e
27. d
28. e
29. a
30. d
31. c
32. d
33. b
34. b

- 35. c
- 36. b
- 37. e
- 38. a
- 39. e
- 40. a
- 41. c