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## The Presidency

### I. Reviewing the Chapter

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#### Chapter Focus

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce you to the role the presidency plays in maintaining and energizing American government. It probes the mixed feelings that the Founders had toward a strong executive and the sources of presidential power. You should pay particular attention to the president's relations with Congress and with the electorate. After reading and reviewing the material in this chapter, you should be able to do each of the following:

1. Distinguish between the roles of president and prime minister.
2. Describe the concerns of the Founders regarding a strong executive.
3. Describe the role of the electoral college in the election of a president.
4. Describe the organization of the presidency.
5. Discuss the challenges presidents face in exercising the power to persuade their various constituencies.
6. Describe the factors that affect the degree of success the president has in his relations with Congress.
7. Describe the role of the vice president and the problems associated with presidential succession.
8. Discuss presidential ability in dealing with foreign and economic policy, and identify the functions of the various agencies that work with the president in these areas.

#### 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 party or coalition maintains a majority in the legislature
  - B. Differences
    1. President's party may not always have a majority in Congress
    2. Presidential candidates nominated by non-legislators in an election-year convention; prime minister chosen in a non-election year by small caucuses made up mostly of legislators

3. Presidential candidate selected for ability to win an election; prime minister selected to maintain a parliamentary majority
  4. Presidential candidates have little administrative experience; prime ministers have extensive experience
  5. Presidents reward people with cabinet positions; prime ministers select people who can influence parliamentary majority as cabinet officials
- II. The Powers of the President
    - A. Formal powers found in Article II
      1. Not a large number of explicit powers
      2. Some power shared with Senate alone and Congress as a whole
    - B. Greatest source of power is in politics and public opinion
      1. Increase in broad statutory authority
      2. Expectation of presidential leadership from the public, especially in crisis
  - III. The Evolution of the Presidency (see CHAPTER BOX)
    - A. Delegates feared both anarchy and monarchy
    - B. Establishing the legitimacy of the presidency
      1. Public acceptance of office and its powers
      2. Orderly transfer of power
      3. Early presidents were cautious, moderate in their use of power
    - C. The Jacksonians and the re-emergence of Congress
      1. Jackson sought to maximize powers of presidency
      2. Vigorous use of veto for policy reasons
      3. Challenged Congress
      4. With brief exceptions the next hundred years were a period of congressional ascendancy
      5. Intensely divided public opinion
      6. Only Lincoln expanded presidential power through inherent powers
      7. President mostly a negative force to Congress
  - IV. The Modern Presidency (see CHAPTER BOX)
    - A. The White House Office
      1. Contains the president's closest assistants
      2. Three types of organization: circular, pyramid, and cluster
      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
    - C. The Cabinet
      1. Largely fiction, not mentioned in Constitution
      2. President can appoint fewer than 1 percent of departmental employees
      3. Secretaries become preoccupied and defensive about their own departments; leads to conflict
    - D. Independent agencies, commissions, and judgeships
      1. President appoints members of agencies that have a quasi-independent status
      2. Agency heads can be removed only "for cause" and serve fixed term
      3. Judges can be removed only by impeachment

- V. 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
  - E. Popularity and influence
    - 1. Presidents try to transform popularity into support in Congress
    - 2. Little effect of “presidential coattails”
    - 3. Congress members believe it is politically risky to challenge a popular president
  - F. The decline in popularity
    - 1. Popularity highest immediately after election (honeymoon)
    - 2. Popularity declines by midterm
- VI. Presidential Character
  - A. Personality affects White House organization and public judgment
  - B. Presidential personalities: Eisenhower to George W. Bush
- VII. The Power to Say No
  - A. Veto
    - 1. Veto message
    - 2. Pocket veto (only before end of Congress)
  - B. Congress rarely overrides vetoes
  - C. Executive privilege
    - 1. Confidential communications between president and advisers
    - 2. Justification: separation of powers and need for confidentiality
    - 3. *U.S. v. Nixon* (1973) rejects claim of absolute executive privilege
  - D. Impoundment of funds
    - 1. Presidential refusal to spend funds appropriated by Congress
    - 2. Budget Reform Act of 1974
- VIII. The President’s Program
  - A. Putting together a program
    - 1. President can try to have a policy on everything
    - 2. President can concentrate on a small number of initiatives
    - 3. Constraints: time, crisis, controlled budget
    - 4. Need for president to be selective about what he wants
  - B. Measuring success
    - 1. “Box score”: proportion of president’s measure approved by Congress; wins half
    - 2. Proportion of votes in Congress on which president’s position prevails; win three-fourths
- IX. Presidential Transition
  - A. Few presidents serve two terms; Twenty-second Amendment
  - B. The vice president
    - 1. May succeed on death of president
    - 2. Somewhat of an “empty job” since only preside over Senate
  - C. Problems of succession
    - 1. Twenty-fifth Amendment and presidential disability
    - 2. Vacancy in vice presidency

- D. Impeachment (see CHAPTER BOX)
  1. Judges most frequent targets of impeachment
  2. Indictment by the House, conviction by two-thirds of Senate
  3. Impeachable offenses: treason, bribery, high crimes and misdemeanors
  4. Case of Andrew Johnson
- X. The President and Public Policy (Part One: Foreign Policy)
  - A. The president and foreign affairs
    1. President stronger in foreign than domestic policy
    2. Early in history, secretary of state was dominant foreign policy figure
    3. President now dominant—may use national security adviser and/or secretary of state as chief foreign policy adviser(s)
  - B. Key foreign policy agencies support president
    1. Department of State—oldest; represents interest of foreign nations
    2. Department of Defense—secretary may be rival of secretary of state
    3. CIA—possible cover operations; intelligence analysis
    4. NSC—determines what president will read or write on foreign policy issues
  - C. President does have foreign policy constraints
    1. Disagreements among advisors
    2. Congress has constitutional role in several areas
  - D. Congress's "usurping" of foreign policy powers
    1. Laws affecting arms sales with legislative veto
    2. War Powers Act
    3. CIA oversight committees
    4. Public opinion—"rally around the flag" at times, but also can wither away
- XI. The President and Public Policy (Part Two: Economic Policy)
  - A. Public more critical of president's economic policy
    1. Elections turn more on economic issues than foreign policy issues
    2. Voters have more firsthand knowledge of economic trends
  - B. President has less control over economy
    1. Economic authority more widely dispersed in government
    2. Economists disagree among themselves
  - C. Key economic advisers to president
    1. OMB director (spending cuts), taxes, yet only 25 percent of the budget is "controllable"
    2. CEA (economic studies), but president can ignore CEA director
    3. Secretary of Treasury, concerns of bankers
  - D. Federal Reserve Board
    1. Not directly under presidential control
    2. Consists of 7 persons, 14-year terms—presidentially-appointed; chair 4-year term
    3. Influences supply and price of money through buying/selling of government securities, controlling reserve requirement, and setting interest rates
  - E. Budget process
    1. Process begins first Monday in February and ends in new fiscal year on October 1
    2. If budget not enacted on time, continuing resolutions used
    3. Recent problems with deficits
    4. Economists disagree on economic effects of deficits
    5. Political choice to cut deficit either to raise taxes or to cut spending on biggest programs

## Key Terms Match

Match the following terms and descriptions:

- |                                      |          |                                                                                                                                                                         |
|--------------------------------------|----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. cabinet                           | 1. ____  | A constitutional procedure by which federal judges and civil officers can be removed from office before their terms expire.                                             |
| b. circular 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. |
| c. cluster or ad hoc structure       | 3. ____  | Legislation ratified in 1951 which limits presidents to two terms of office.                                                                                            |
| d. Council of Economic Advisors      | 4. ____  | Presidential staff who oversees the policy interests of the Advisors president.                                                                                         |
| e. electoral college                 | 5. ____  | A statement sent to Congress by the president giving the reasons for vetoing a bill.                                                                                    |
| f. Executive Office of the President | 6. ____  | The chief executive in a parliamentary system who is chosen by the legislature.                                                                                         |
| g. executive privilege               | 7. ____  | The presidential assertion of the right to withhold certain information from Congress.                                                                                  |
| h. Federal Reserve Board             | 8. ____  | The organization responsible for preparing the federal budget and for central clearance of legislative proposals from federal agencies.                                 |
| i. impeachment                       | 9. ____  | Agencies headed by appointees who serve for fixed terms and can be removed only "for cause."                                                                            |
| j. impoundment                       | 10. ____ | A presidential refusal to spend money appropriated by Congress.                                                                                                         |
| k. independent agencies              | 11. ____ | Agencies that perform staff services for the president but are not part of the White House.                                                                             |
| l. inherent powers                   | 12. ____ | The right of some governors to veto only portions of a bill instead of having to veto the entire bill.                                                                  |
| m. line-item veto                    | 13. ____ | A legal system by which states select electors who then vote for the president and vice president.                                                                      |
| n. National Security Council         | 14. ____ | Powers not specified in the Constitution that are claimed by the president by virtue of office.                                                                         |
| o. Office of Management and Budget   | 15. ____ | A committee within the Executive Office composed of the vice president and the secretaries of state and defense and chaired by the president.                           |
| p. pocket veto                       | 16. ____ | A president's council of advisers.                                                                                                                                      |
| q. presidential coattails            | 17. ____ | A congressional effort to place restrictions on the President's ability to use military force in situations where Congress has not declared war.                        |

- |                            |          |                                                                                                                                                           |
|----------------------------|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| r. prime minister          | 18. ____ | Group composed of professional economists that carries out economic studies for the president and provides economic advice on economic trends.            |
| s. pyramid structure       | 19. ____ | The rule that holds that power is wielded by the people who are in the room when a decision is made.                                                      |
| t. Rule of Propinquity     | 20. ____ | A seven-person board, nominated by the president and confirmed by the Senate, that influences both the supply and price of money.                         |
| u. trial balloon           | 21. ____ | A form of veto in which the president fails to sign a bill passed by both houses of Congress within ten days and Congress has adjourned during that time. |
| v. Twenty-fifth Amendment  | 22. ____ | The charismatic power of a president which enables congressional candidates of the same party to ride into office on the strength of his popularity.      |
| w. Twenty-second Amendment | 23. ____ | This is when a president leaks part of his program to judge public and congressional reaction to it.                                                      |
| x. veto message            | 24. ____ | A method of organizing a president's staff in which most presidential assistants report through a hierarchy to the president's chief of staff.            |
| y. War Powers Act of 1973  | 25. ____ | A method of organizing a president's staff in which several task forces, committees, and informal groups deal directly with the president.                |
| z. White House Office      | 26. ____ | A method of organizing a president's staff in which several presidential assistants report directly to the president.                                     |

### Did You Think That...?

A number of misconceptions are listed below. You should be able to refute each statement in the space provided, referring to information or argumentation contained in this chapter. Sample answers appear at the end of the *Study Guide*.

1. "The official titles of Executive Office officials are an accurate reflection of their influence on the president."

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- 2. “The president has clear-cut authority over executive agencies and only needs to be urged to exercise it.”

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- 3. “Because members of Congress generally win their seats on the strength of their individual efforts and not by riding the president’s coattails, they do not pay special attention to the president on legislative matters.”

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- 4. “Presidents are constitutionally required to share all their information with Congress.”

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- 5. “Presidential powers under the Constitution are complete.”

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Data Check

**Table 8.2: Partisan Gains or Losses in Congress in Presidential Election Years**

- 1. What hypothesis underlies the table?  

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- 2. What does the 1956 election suggest about the popularity of Eisenhower the individual and the popularity of the Republican party as an institution?  

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- 3. What other data would you like to have before concluding that there is or is not a presidential coattails effect?  

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**Figure 8.1: Presidential Popularity; Figure 8.2: Percentage of Roll-Call Votes in Congress in Which the Side Publicly Favored by the President Won; Table 8.3: Partisan Gains and Losses in Congress in Off-Year Elections**

4. What does Table 8.3 tell us? Keep in mind that Senate seats up for reelection are not evenly distributed between the two parties.  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. Compare the gains and losses in Table 8.3 with the level of presidential popularity in Figure 8.2 for the same years. In how many midterm elections was there a decline in presidential popularity?  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. What does Figure 8.2, appear to indicate about the relationship between a president's popularity and his/her ability to get his/her legislative proposals approved by Congress?  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. Referring to Figure 8.2, do presidents tend to be more successful early or late in their administrations?  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. According to Figure 8.1, have presidents since 1964 been as consistently popular as those prior to that period?  
\_\_\_\_\_

## II. Practicing for Exams

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**True/False.** 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. A president has more power than a British prime minister.  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. The Constitution gave the presidency relatively little power.  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. The greatest source of presidential power is the authority of the president to introduce legislation.  
\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. Establishing the legitimacy of the presidency was aided by the fact that the Founders did not expect the federal government to do very much.  
\_\_\_\_\_

- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. When no candidate receives a majority in the electoral college, the Senate selects the president.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Two of the strongest presidents during the nineteenth century were Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln.
- 
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. The growth in the power of the presidency did not begin until the Kennedy administration.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. White House staff appointments must be confirmed by the Senate.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. A “pyramidal” organization of the White House Office is more likely than a “circular” method to include a chief of staff.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. The cabinet has not generally served as a useful source of advice for the president.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. The heads of agencies that make up the executive office of the president (e.g., the CIA) are appointed by the president and are not subject to the consent of Congress.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. A president usually seeks to reward important constituencies when he appoints his cabinet officers.
- 
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. A president generally can count on enough support from Congress to guarantee the success of his programs.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. A president’s personal popularity has little effect on how much of his program Congress passes.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. A president’s popularity generally increases over time after he takes office.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 16. Over the past three decades, the president's party usually has not been in control of both houses of Congress.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 17. One way the president potentially exercises power and bargains with Congress is through the line-item veto.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 18. A pocket veto can be used at any time.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 19. In 1973, the Supreme Court held that the president could not claim an unqualified right of executive privilege.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 20. The Reagan style of putting together his program was to have a policy on almost everything.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 21. The vast bulk of federal expenditures are beyond the president's control in any given year.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 22. Fewer than half of the bills a president submits to Congress are approved.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 23. Throughout the course of American history, vice presidents have frequently acquired the presidency by election.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 24. The Twenty-fifth Amendment deals with the issue of presidential disability.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 25. Impeachment refers to the conviction of a public official for some crime committed while in office.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 26. The importance of foreign affairs to the president is greater today than it was earlier in this century.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 27. The secretaries of defense and state are often major rivals for influence with the president.
-

- \_\_\_\_\_ 28. Perhaps the most influential of the four agencies that support the president's conduct of foreign affairs is the National Security Council.
- 
- \_\_\_\_\_ 29. Only the president can declare war.
- 
- \_\_\_\_\_ 30. Congress's attempts to bring the CIA under congressional scrutiny have thus far been unsuccessful.
- 
- \_\_\_\_\_ 31. A president's powers in economic affairs are less than those in foreign affairs.
- 
- \_\_\_\_\_ 32. Both the president and the Office of Management and Budget have powerful influences over government spending.
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 33. The Federal Reserve Board influences both the supply of money and the price of money (i.e., interest rates).
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- \_\_\_\_\_ 34. The government goes out of business if it fails to adopt a budget by October 1.
- 
- \_\_\_\_\_ 35. Since 1982, the president and Congress have made little progress in reducing the federal deficit.
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**Multiple Choice.** Circle the letter of the response that best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. 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 are most often government insiders.
  - d. Presidents generally choose their cabinets from among members of Congress.
2. Unlike a prime minister, the president selects his cabinet officers and advisers in such a way as to:
  - a. help control Congress.
  - b. reward personal followers.
  - c. ensure that both parties are represented.
  - d. appease the electorate.

3. According to your text, the greatest source of presidential power lies in the realm of:
  - a. the Constitution.
  - b. politics and public opinion.
  - c. the execution of laws.
  - d. foreign policy formulation.
4. The legitimacy of the office of the president was aided during the years of the first presidents by which of the following?
  - a. the limit placed on the number of terms a president could serve
  - b. the stature of the men holding the office
  - c. the rise in power of political caucuses
  - d. the close relationship that developed between the president and Congress
5. The personality of which president began to alter the relationship between the president and Congress and the nature of presidential leadership?
  - a. Andrew Jackson
  - b. Ulysses Grant
  - c. Richard Nixon
  - d. Jimmy Carter
6. What happens if no presidential candidate wins a majority of electoral college votes?
  - a. The candidate with the largest popular vote wins the election.
  - b. The candidate who carries the ten largest states wins the election.
  - c. The House is free to select whomever it wishes to be president.
  - d. The House chooses the president from among the three leading candidates.
7. President Lincoln justified his unprecedented use of the vague powers granted in Article II of the Constitution by citing:
  - a. the intentions of the Framers.
  - b. the platform of the Republican party.
  - c. the conditions created by civil war.
  - d. economic necessity.
8. The Rule of Propinquity states that power:
  - a. corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.
  - b. tends to be shared most evenly when leadership is weakest.
  - c. tends to be wielded by the people who are in the room where decisions are made.
  - d. is greatest when legitimacy is strongest.
9. Of the following, the group in closest physical and political proximity to the president is the:
  - a. Executive Office.
  - b. State Department.
  - c. cabinet.
  - d. White House Office.

10. The most important agency in the Executive Office in terms of providing administrative assistance is the:
  - a. Council of Economic Advisers.
  - b. Office of Management and Budget.
  - c. Office of Technology Assessment.
  - d. Office of Environmental Quality.
11. One reason a president has relatively little power over his cabinet departments is because he:
  - a. cannot appoint the heads of these departments.
  - b. requires Senate approval of his choices for heads of these departments.
  - c. cannot appoint more than a fraction of their employees.
  - d. must share power with both the legislative and judicial branches of government.
12. When voters choose as members of Congress people of the same party as an incoming president, they probably do so for what reason?
  - a. as a reward to the incoming president for his successful campaign
  - b. as a means of ensuring additional congressional support for the incoming president
  - c. as an indication of the incoming president's personal popularity
  - d. as a result of the unpopularity of the outgoing president
13. Personality plays a more important role in explaining the presidency than it does explaining Congress because a president is:
  - a. more likely to rely on hands-on politics and persuasiveness to enact policy.
  - b. less constrained by the rules and roles that operate within government.
  - c. more likely to be judged by his character in addition to his accomplishments.
  - d. relatively immune from public opinion and polls.
14. 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
15. The "presidential character" of Lyndon Johnson was characterized by:
  - a. the use of talented amateurs.
  - b. persuasion in face-to-face encounters.
  - c. careful and complete staff work.
  - d. deep suspicion of the media.
16. By asserting the right to withhold information from Congress or the right to "executive privilege," the president:
  - a. stops congressional policy making.
  - b. forces Congress to bargain with him.
  - c. discourages opponents of his policies.
  - d. invokes clear constitutional mandates.

17. A bill is passed to the president for action while Congress is still in session. After ten days, he has still not approved it. What happens to the bill?
  - a. It is returned to Congress.
  - b. It is killed.
  - c. It becomes law.
  - d. Nothing—the president has thirty days to act on a bill.
18. Most governors—but not the president—are allowed to reject some provisions of a bill and to accept others. In doing so, they are exercising what is called:
  - a. constitutional discretion.
  - b. a pocket veto.
  - c. executive privilege.
  - d. a line-item veto.
19. Presidential claims for executive privilege are based on the separation of powers and on the:
  - a. Constitution.
  - b. need for cooperation with Congress.
  - c. need for candid advice from aides.
  - d. power of the executive to appoint judges.
20. On the issue of a president's rights to impound funds, the Constitution says:
  - a. that a president must spend the money that Congress appropriates.
  - b. that a president does not have to spend money that Congress appropriates.
  - c. that a president may spend money that Congress does not appropriate.
  - d. nothing.
21. Which of the following factors places the greatest constraint on a president's ability to plan a program?
  - a. his ideology
  - b. the limits of the president's time and attention
  - c. the need to campaign
  - d. the mass media
22. The approach taken by most presidents in dealing with the constraints that are placed on their planning and developing a program is to:
  - a. stick to a few key programs.
  - b. delegate minor programs to states and communities.
  - c. push for many programs simultaneously, expecting a few to succeed.
  - d. rely on rhetoric and personal friendships.
23. In recent decades, the two key issues that presidents have focused on in planning and developing new programs have been:
  - a. military spending and social welfare programs.
  - b. inflation and the national debt.
  - c. the economy and foreign affairs.
  - d. taxes and the federal budget deficit.

24. A president's success in getting Congress to go along with his programs can be measured in two principal ways—by the proportion of his proposals approved by Congress and by the:
  - a. total amount of funding allocated by Congress for his programs.
  - b. proportion of votes taken in Congress on which his position prevails.
  - c. speed at which his programs are acted on by congress.
  - d. number of amendments and riders that Congress attaches to his various proposals.
25. Which of the following has been true about presidential elections during times when the country is deeply divided?
  - a. Presidents tend to be reelected.
  - b. Voter apathy is at its highest.
  - c. Presidents seldom win reelection.
  - d. Voters tend to become preoccupied with local elections.
26. Which of the following statements about the vice presidential route to the presidency is correct?
  - a. It has happened only three times in U.S. history.
  - b. It is the most common route to the presidency.
  - c. It is prohibited by the Constitution.
  - d. It happens most often if a president dies in office.
27. Who succeeds to the presidency in the event of the death of both the president and vice president?
  - a. the Speaker of the House
  - b. the secretary of state
  - c. the most senior cabinet officer
  - d. the Senate majority leader
28. A president suffers a stroke that leaves him 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?
  - a. Congress decides who is president.
  - b. Because the vice president has the support of a majority of the cabinet, the vice president assumes the presidency.
  - c. Because the president is still alive, he remains president.
  - d. Because the president and vice president disagree, a new election is held, allowing the people to decide who should be president.
29. The decision on whether or not an impeached president should be removed from office is made by:
  - a. the House of Representatives.
  - b. the Senate.
  - c. both houses of Congress.
  - d. the Supreme Court.
30. The fundamental concern in defining presidential succession is to:
  - a. find a qualified successor.
  - b. ensure the legitimacy of the office.
  - c. satisfy public opinion.
  - d. curb legislative and judicial powers.

31. Which of the following statements about the president's power in foreign affairs is true?
  - a. It is greater than that of the leaders of other nations.
  - b. It is greater than is his power over domestic affairs.
  - c. It is probably less than the Framers intended.
  - d. It is strictly limited by the federal court system.
32. In the conduct of foreign affairs, the president has constitutionally been vested with each of the following powers *except* the power to:
  - a. act as commander in chief of the armed forces.
  - b. appoint ambassadors.
  - c. declare war on other nations.
  - d. negotiate treaties with other nations.
33. Coordination of the different agencies that have overseas activities is handled by the:
  - a. National Security Council.
  - b. president directly.
  - c. secretary of state.
  - d. CIA.
34. The War Powers Act of 1873 requires that:
  - a. Congress not interfere with the president's role as commander in chief.
  - b. the president not spend money for military engagements without the prior approval of Congress.
  - c. the president consult with Congress when sending troops into a new conflict.
  - d. Congress declare war whenever the president sends troops into conflict.
35. Which of the following statements about congressional oversight of CIA covert activities is true?
  - a. Congress has no authority to disapprove such activities.
  - b. Congress must approve those activities that involve political assassination.
  - c. Congress must approve those activities that involve military expenditures.
  - d. Congress has blanket authority to approve or disapprove such activities.
36. The part of the budget that is set as a result of earlier legislation (e.g., Social Security benefits) is referred to by the text as:
  - a. retroactive.
  - b. restricted.
  - c. uncontrollable.
  - d. discretionary.
37. All of the following executive offices are important in making economic policy *except* the:
  - a. comptroller general of the General Accounting Office.
  - b. secretary of treasury.
  - c. chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.
  - d. director of the Office of Management and Budget.

38. The executive agency in charge of economic forecasting and of the preparation of the president's annual economic report to Congress is the:
  - a. Council of Economic Advisors (CEA).
  - b. Treasury Department.
  - c. Office of Management and Budget (OMB).
  - d. Federal Reserve Board.
39. The executive officer who provides estimates of government revenues and who recommends tax changes is the:
  - a. chairman of the CEA.
  - b. secretary of the treasury.
  - c. Director of the OMB.
  - d. chairman of the Federal Reserve.
40. Congress may appropriate monies either through an annual budget or through:
  - a. continuing resolutions.
  - b. informal authorizations.
  - c. biennial budgets.
  - d. pork-barrel bills.

**Essay.** 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.

1. Your text asserts that the most important power of the presidency lies in politics and public opinion. Explain what this statement means.
2. Discuss the factors that lead to conflict in executive-legislative relations. Can they be neatly placed in constitutional and political categories?
3. How does the president go about "bargaining" with Congress (i.e., what "tools" does he have at his disposal for getting Congress to go along with his programs? What are some of the constraints on his ability to get these programs enacted by Congress?
4. To what extent does the president control foreign policy and economic policy? To what extent does Congress influence what a president can and cannot do in these areas?
5. If you were asked by the Founders to make recommendations on the presidency, what could you suggest, on the basis of two hundred years of experience?

### III. Applying What You've Learned

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The previous chapter considered voting on presidential issues from the perspective of Congress. Now look at the same issue from the perspective of the president. The chapter makes many assertions about the factors associated with a president's legislative success rate. See if you derive the same conclusions as the text. Examine the data in the following table.

<i>President</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>President's Popularity (Percentage expressing approval)</i>	<i>Percentage of President's Bills Approved</i>
Eisenhower	1953	69.3	89.2
	1954	65.4	82.8
	1955	71.3	75.3
	1956	73.3	69.2
	1957	65.0	68.4
	1958	54.6	75.7
	1959	63.3	52.9
	1960	61.1	65.1
Kennedy	1961	76.0	81.5
	1962	71.6	85.4
	1963	63.5	87.1
Johnson	1965	66.4	93.1
	1966	51.2	78.9
	1967	44.0	78.8
	1968	41.5	74.5
Nixon	1969	61.4	74.8
	1970	56.9	76.9
	1971	49.9	74.8
	1972	56.4	66.3
	1973	41.8	50.6
	1974	25.9	59.6
Ford	1974	53.9	58.2
	1975	43.1	61.0
	1976	48.1	53.8
Carter	1977	62.4	75.4
	1978	45.5	78.3
	1979	38.1	76.8
	1980	39.5	75.1
Reagan	1981	57.0	82.3
	1982	43.7	72.4
	1983	44.6	67.1
	1984	54.3	65.8
	1985	61.0	59.9
	1986	63.0	56.5
	1987	48.0	43.5
Bush	1988	51.8	47.4
	1989	70.0	62.6
	1990	73.1	46.8
	1991	40.2	54.2
	1992	45.5	67.8
	1993	49.0	86.0
	1994	47.8	70.0
	1995	48.1	57.2

Construct a table to test the validity of standard wisdom on what factors make a president successful. The chapter contends that Congress seldom defies a popular president. Is this thesis correct? Find out for yourself. Complete the following table.

<i>Level of Popularity (Percentage approval)</i>	<i>Percentage of Bills Approved (Average)</i>
0.0 to 55.9	
56.0 to 66.4	
66.5 to 100.0	

1. What correlation is there between the level of presidential popularity and the number of administration bills approved by Congress? Does the correlation support the chapter's thesis about the influence of the president's popularity on congressional levels of support? Do the administrations of certain presidents provide exceptions to this pattern?

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2. Why did presidents with relatively low levels of popularity (such as Carter and Nixon before his resignation) still achieve respectable success rates in Congress? What clues does the chapter give on the answer to this question?

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3. The text suggests that presidential popularity fades over time. Do the data support this idea?

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4. Are presidents more or less successful with Congress as their terms near completion? Do presidents become lame ducks in their second terms, encountering more resistance from Congress?

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5. The text indicates that the benefit of presidential coattails is diminishing. Is this observation reflected in the data? Consider whether Congress is less likely to challenge a popular president as an election nears.

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#### IV. Research and Resources

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##### Suggested Readings

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Burns, James MacGregor. *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1956.

Leuchtenberg, William E. *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932–1940*. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.

Harry S. Truman

McCullough, David. *Truman*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

Greenstein, Fred I. *The Hidden-Hand Presidency: Eisenhower as Leader*. New York: Basic Books, 1982.

## John F. Kennedy

Paper, Lewis J. *The Promise and the Performance: The Leadership of John F. Kennedy*. New York: Crown, 1975.

Sorenson, Theodore M. *Kennedy*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

## Lyndon B. Johnson

Evans, Rowland, and Robert Novak. *Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power*. New York: New American Library, 1968.

Kearns, Doris. *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream*. New York: Harper & Row, 1976.

## Richard M. Nixon

Ambrose, Stephen E. *Nixon—The Education of a Politician, 1913–1962*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987.

## Resources on the World Wide Web

White House: [www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov)  
[www.ipl.org/ref/POTUS/](http://www.ipl.org/ref/POTUS/)  
[lcweb.loc.gov/global/executive/fed/html](http://lcweb.loc.gov/global/executive/fed/html)

Presidential elections: [www.grolier.com](http://www.grolier.com)

*see p. 253 of text for additional readings for Carter, Reagan, and Bush (the Elder)*