CHAPTER 13
The Presidency

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Introduction (399–400)
   A. Two fundamental questions concerning the president revolve around presidential power and the relationship with the public.
   B. Presidential power is the power to persuade.
   C. Presidents must have highly developed political skills.

II. The Presidents (pp. 400–406)
   A. Great Expectations
   B. Who They Are
   C. How They Got There
      1. Elections: The Typical Road to the White House
         a. The Twenty-second Amendment limits presidents to two terms.
         b. Only 13 presidents have served two or more terms.
      2. Succession and Impeachment
         a. Impeachment is the political equivalent of an indictment in criminal law.
         b. The House Judiciary Committee voted to recommend Richard Nixon's impeachment as a result of the Watergate scandal.
         c. The Twenty-fifth Amendment permits the vice president to become acting president if the president is disabled.

III. Presidential Powers (pp. 406–408)
   A. Constitutional Powers
   B. The Expansion of Power
   C. Perspectives on Presidential Power

IV. Running the Government: The Chief Executive (pp. 408–415)
   A. The Vice President
   B. The Cabinet consists of the heads of the executive departments.
   C. The Executive Office
      1. The National Security Council (NSC) links the president's key foreign and military policy advisors.
      2. The Council of Economic Advisors (CEA) advises the president on economic policy.
      3. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) prepares the president's budget.
   D. The White House Staff
   E. The First Lady
V. Presidential Leadership of Congress: The Politics of Shared Powers (pp. 415–422)
   A. Chief Legislator
      1. The Constitution gives the president power to veto congressional legislation.
      2. A pocket veto occurs if Congress adjourns within ten days after submitting a bill and the president fails to sign it.
   B. Party Leadership
      1. The Bonds of Party
      2. Slippage in Party Support
      3. Leading the Party
         a. Presidential coattails occur when voters cast their ballots for congressional candidates of the president's party because those candidates support the president.
         b. The president's party typically loses seats in midterm elections.
   C. Public Support
      1. Public Approval
      2. Mandates
   D. Legislative Skills

VI. The President and National Security Policy (pp. 422–427)
   A. Chief Diplomat
      1. The president alone extends diplomatic recognition to foreign governments.
      2. The president has sole power to negotiate treaties.
      3. Presidents can negotiate executive agreements with heads of foreign governments.
   B. Commander in Chief
   C. War Powers
      1. The War Powers Resolution mandated the withdrawal of forces after 60 days unless Congress declared war or granted an extension.
      2. The use of the War Powers Resolution may constitute a legislative veto violating the doctrine of separation of powers.
   D. Crisis Manager
      1. A crisis is a sudden, unpredictable, and potentially dangerous event.
      2. Presidents can instantly monitor events almost anywhere and act quickly.
   E. Working with Congress

VII. Power from the People: The Public Presidency (pp. 427–432)
   A. Going Public
   B. Presidential Approval
   C. Policy Support
   D. Mobilizing the Public

VIII. The President and the Press (pp. 432–435)
   A. Presidents and the press tend to be in conflict.
   B. The president's press secretary serves as a conduit of information from the White
House to the press.
C. The best known direct interaction between the president and the press is the presidential press conference.
D. Most of the news coverage of the White House focuses on the president’s personal and official activities.
E. News coverage of the presidency often tends to emphasize the negative.

IX. Understanding the American Presidency (pp. 435–436)
A. The Presidency and Democracy
B. The Presidency and the Scope of Government

X. Summary (p. 436)

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying Chapter 13, you should be able to:

1. Describe the American presidents—who they are, how they got there, and what they do.

2. List the constitutional powers of the president and explain how these powers have expanded.

3. Explain how the office of the presidency is organized to make policy.

4. Discuss the relationship between the president and Congress and the ways in which the president is able to lead Congress.

5. Explain the role of the president in developing national security policy.

6. Discuss the importance of public opinion to the president and his ability to obtain the support of the public.

7. Examine the relationship between the president and the media.

8. Understand the place of the presidency in American democracy and the effect the presidency has had on the scope of government.
The following exercises will help you meet these objectives:

Objective 1: Describe the American presidents—who they are, how they got there, and what they do.

1. What are the two contradictory expectations that Americans have about the presidency?

   1.

   2.

2. Make a list of the ten presidents you believe to have been the best and briefly explain why.

   1.

   2.

   3.

   4.

   5.

   6.

   7.

   8.

   9.

   10.

3. Outline the procedure for removing a president from office.
Objective 2: List the constitutional powers of the president and explain how these powers have expanded.

1. Look at Table 13.3 on page 406 and choose one constitutional power of the president from each category that you believe to be the most important.
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 

2. Describe two ways in which the power of the president has expanded from its constitutional base.
   1. 
   2. 

Objective 3: Explain how the office of the presidency is organized to make policy.

1. List three recent vice presidents who have played a prominent role in the administration.
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 

2. What is the cabinet and what does it do?
3. List and explain the function of three major policymaking bodies of the Executive Office.

1.

2.

3.

4. What is the difference between a hierarchical organization and a wheel-and-spokes system of White House management?

Hierarchical:

Wheel-and-spokes:

5. Make a list of four First Ladies and the way each influenced the presidency.

1.

2.

3.

4.

Objective 4: Discuss the relationship between the president and Congress and the ways in which the president is able to lead Congress.

1. List the three options the president has once Congress passes a bill.

1.
2. What is the difference between a veto, a pocket veto, and a line-item veto?

Veto:

Pocket Veto:

Line-Item Veto:

3. Explain the term "presidential coattails."

4. What are the two indicators of public support for the president?
   1. 
   2. 

5. What is meant by the president's "honeymoon" period?

Objective 5: Explain the role of the president in developing national security policy.

1. What is an executive agreement and how does it differ from a treaty?

2. What are the main provisions of the War Powers Resolution?
3. Why is the president more equipped to handle a crisis than Congress?

4. What are the "two presidencies"?
   1. 
   2. 

Objective 6: Discuss the importance of public opinion to the president and his or her ability to obtain the support of the public.

1. What is the difference between the president as head of state and head of government?
   Head of State:

   Head of Government:

2. Rank the past ten presidents in terms of their ability to garner public support.
   1. 
   2. 
   3. 
   4. 
   5. 
   6. 
   7. 
   8. 
   9. 
   10.
Objective 7: Examine the relationship between the president and the media.

1. What is the role of the president's press secretary?

2. In what way(s) are the press biased in their coverage of the president?

Objective 8: Understand the place of the presidency in American democracy and the effect the presidency has had on the scope of government.

1. In what way(s) is the institution of the presidency undemocratic?

2. How does the presidency increase and decrease the scope of government?

KEY TERMS

Identify and describe:

Twenty-second Amendment

Impeachment

Watergate

Twenty-fifth Amendment

cabinet
National Security Council (NSC)

Council of Economic Advisors (CEA)

Office of Management and Budget (OMB)

veto

pocket veto

presidential coattails

War Powers Resolution

legislative veto

crisis

*Compare and contrast:*

impeachment and Watergate

Twenty-second Amendment and Twenty-fifth Amendment

National Security Council, Council of Economic Advisors, and Office of Management and
Budget

veto, pocket veto, and legislative veto

War Powers Resolution and legislative veto

Name that term:

1. It limits the president to two terms of office.
   ______________________________________

2. Because of this scandal, the House Judiciary Committee voted to recommend the impeachment of President Nixon.
   ______________________________________

3. Although not in the Constitution, every president has had one.
   ______________________________________

4. This links the president's key foreign and military advisors.
   ______________________________________

5. A two-thirds vote in each house of Congress can override it.
   ______________________________________

6. Few congressional races are actually determined by this factor today.
   ______________________________________

7. This is a sudden, unpredictable, and potentially dangerous event.
   ______________________________________
USING YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Compare and contrast the Clinton presidency with the Bush presidency in terms of the principal roles the president plays. Identify particular policies in which the president is involved as head of state, commander in chief, chief legislator, and so on. You may want to collect newspaper or news magazine items that illustrate contemporary policy problems that both presidents faced. Pay special attention to presidential roles with respect to specific policy areas and national security.

2. All presidents seem to want to hold a prominent place in history. People are sometimes asked to identify the "top presidents" in our nation's history. Make a list of those presidents that you believe played prominent roles, for better or worse. You may even wish to rank them. Justify your choices by making a statement or two about each president's success or notoriety in one of the presidential roles, in policymaking achievements in domestic or foreign policy, in relations with Congress, and/or in terms of his image of power. Compare your choices with those of your colleagues. On the basis of your assessment, briefly describe what you believe to be the factors that help ensure that a president will have a prominent place in history.

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the correct answer:

1. Richard Neustadt has argued that presidential power is the power to
   a. instruct.
   b. command.
   c. educate.
   d. control.
   e. persuade.

2. How many presidents were political scientists?
   a. About half of them
   b. One
   c. All but one of them
   d. Two
   e. All of them

3. _____ of the 43 presidents have served two or more full terms in the White House.
   a. Five
   b. Ten
   c. Thirteen
   d. Twenty
   e. Thirty
4. Once the House votes for impeachment, the president
   a. must leave office.
   b. is fined or sentenced to prison.
   c. is tried by the Supreme Court.
   d. is tried by the Senate.
   e. must be indicted by a grand jury before being removed from office.

5. According to the Twenty-fifth Amendment, in the event of a vacancy in the vice presidency,
   a. the Electoral College elects a new vice president.
   b. the Speaker of the House is automatically the new vice president.
   c. the office remains vacant until a subsequent national election takes place.
   d. the Congress picks a new vice president from a list of five names submitted by the president.
   e. the president nominates a replacement, who must be confirmed by both houses of Congress.

6. The order of succession to the presidency, should the president be unable to fulfill his or her duties is
   a. vice president, president pro tempore of the Senate, Speaker of the House, cabinet members in order that their department was created.
   b. vice president, Speaker of the House, president pro tempore of the Senate, chief justice of the Supreme Court, cabinet members in order that their department was created.
   c. vice president, Speaker of the House, president pro tempore of the Senate, cabinet members in the order that their department was created.
   d. vice president, chief justice of Supreme Court, president pro tempore of the Senate, Speaker of the House.
   e. vice president, Speaker of the House, president pro tempore, cabinet members in the order that their department was created.

7. The presidential cabinet
   a. is the electronically locked vault where the president keeps his top secret papers.
   b. is given tremendous power under the Constitution.
   c. includes, by law, a minimum of two sitting members of Congress at all times.
   d. consists of the head of each executive department, plus any additional government officials the president designates.
   e. can veto actions by the president.

8. Cabinet-level executive departments are created by
   a. Congress.
   b. the Constitution.
   c. the president.
   d. rarely held national referendums.
   e. All of the above
9. The budgetary implications of the president's budget are provided to the president by the
   a. Executive Budget Office.
   b. Department of the Treasury.
   c. Council of Economic Advisors.
   d. Internal Revenue Service.
   e. Office of Management and Budget.

10. Which of the following was created in 1947 to coordinate the president’s foreign and
    military policy advisers?
    a. Department of State
    b. Department of Defense
    c. National Security Council
    d. Department of Homeland Security
    e. Office of Management and Budget

11. Which president did not have a hierarchical, but rather, a wheel-and-spokes form of
    organization to his White House staff?
    a. John F. Kennedy
    b. Franklin D. Roosevelt
    c. Woodrow Wilson
    d. Richard Nixon
    e. Jimmy Carter

12. The Brownlow Committee’s argument that presidential assistants should have a “passion
    for anonymity,” meant that
    a. presidential assistants should be unknown and unfamiliar individuals.
    b. presidential assistants should be undaunted by the prospects of being relatively
       unknown and hidden from the president.
    c. presidents should select individuals who they do not know to work in the White
       House.
    d. All of the above
    e. None of the above

13. A pocket veto is the situation in which the president
    a. vetoes particular items in a spending bill.
    b. lets a bill die by neither signing nor vetoing it after Congress has adjourned.
    c. rejects a Congressional override.
    d. lets a bill become law by neither vetoing nor signing it.
    e. sends a law back to Congress with the reasons for rejecting it.

14. The Constitution gives the president the power to influence the legislative process
    through his responsibility to
    a. make laws by decree without the consent of Congress in some situations.
    b. direct the business of Congress and initiate impeachment.
    c. report on the state of the union and veto acts of Congress.
    d. recommend legislation and make appointments.
    e. manage the economy, lead the party, and deal with national crises.
15. What are the president's most useful resources?
   a. Party leadership, public support, and their own legislative skills
   b. Tenure in office, party leadership, and public support
   c. Tenure in office, proven mandates, and public support
   d. Tenure in office, mandates, and their own legislative skills
   e. Congressional support, party leadership, and tenure in office

16. In midterm elections, the
   a. president's coattails are the strongest.
   b. president's party typically gains seats.
   c. president almost always wins reelection; a president who does not is the exception.
   d. president usually does not become involved.
   e. president's party typically loses seats.

17. John Kindgon’s study of the policymaking process concluded that
   a. no other actor in the political system has the capability of the president to set agendas.
   b. no other actor in the political system has the capability of Congress to set agendas.
   c. no other actor in the political system has the capability of the Supreme Court to set agendas.
   d. no other actor in the political system has the capability of the media to set agendas.
   e. no other actor in the political system has the capability of the public to set agendas.

18. The War Powers Resolution
   a. prohibited the president from committing American troops without congressional approval.
   b. established the chain of command of the armed forces in the event the president is incapacitated.
   c. gave the president the formal power to declare war in the case of nuclear attack.
   d. mandated the withdrawal of forces after 60 days unless Congress declared war or granted an extension.
   e. established the code protocols that launch nuclear missiles in order to prevent accidental or unauthorized missile launches.

19. Who was considered the first “television president”?
   a. FDR
   b. JFK
   c. Richard Nixon
   d. Ronald Reagan
   e. Bill Clinton
20. Which of the following conclusions can be drawn from Figure 13.3?
   a. Public opinion tends to be more favorable at the beginning of a president’s term.
   b. Public opinion tends to more favorable at the end of a president’s term.
   c. George W. Bush enjoyed some of the highest and some of the lowest public approval ratings among all presidents since Eisenhower.
   d. On average, a majority of Americans approve of the president’s handling of his job.
   e. A, c, and d

TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

Circle the correct answer:

1. George W. Bush was elected in 2000 without a plurality of the popular vote. T / F
2. Most presidents have served two full terms in office. T / F
3. The Twenty-fifth Amendment permits the vice president to become acting president if the vice president and the president's cabinet determine that the president is disabled or if the president declares his own disability. T / F
4. For more than 10 percent of American history, the presidency has been occupied by individuals who were not elected to the office. T / F
5. Bill Clinton was impeached. T / F
6. The National Security Council is formally composed of the president, the vice president, and the secretaries of state and defense. T / F
7. The Constitution creates no role for the First Lady. T / F
8. President Clinton rarely involved himself in policy detail. T / F
9. Since the passage of the War Powers Resolution, declarations of war have been much more frequent. T / F
10. Presidents frequently fail to garner widespread public support. T / F

SHORT ANSWER/SHORT ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. What are the qualifications for the presidency as specified in the Constitution?
2. Describe and explain the significance of the Watergate scandal.
3. What role does the vice president play? Give examples.

4. When can a president claim a mandate? What is the importance of a mandate?

5. What is the relationship between the president and the press?

ESSAY QUESTIONS

1. Explain why, as Richard Neustadt argued, presidential power is the power to persuade, rather than to command.

2. Compare and contrast the constitutional powers of the president with the informal expansion of presidential power.

3. Describe the process by which a president can veto a bill. What recourse does Congress have to respond to a veto, and how often is this recourse successful? Would you favor a line-item veto for the president? Why, or why not?

4. Why is the president given the power as the nation's chief diplomat and the commander in chief of the armed forces? What checks does Congress have on the president's national security prerogatives? Are these sufficient? Explain.

5. How does the contemporary presidency differ from that envisioned by the Founders? Has the modern presidency grown too powerful? Ought we be concerned?