

The Executive Branch

*P*articipating IN GOVERNMENT

E-Mailing an Agency

The president is responsible for administration of hundreds of government agencies that affect people's lives in a direct way. From this unit select a federal agency. Find out what its main services are. Then survey people in your community to determine how well the agency serves people. Send the results of your survey to the federal agency via E-mail.



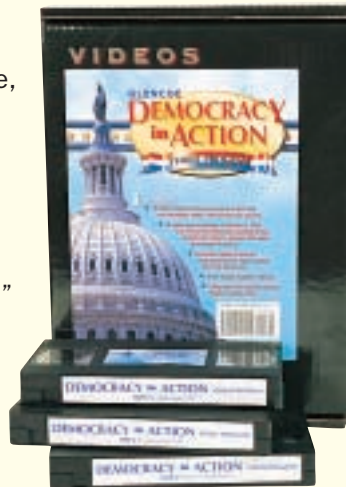
Electronic Field Trip

The White House

Take a virtual tour of the Supreme Court Building in Washington, D.C., and see how the judicial branch works.

Glencoe's Democracy in Action Video Program

The White House is the site of the president's office, the residence of the First Family, the place where many official social gatherings are held, and a symbol of the presidency. The **Democracy in Action** video program "The White House," referenced below, provides an inside view of the White House and the architectural changes made throughout its history.



Also available in videodisc format.

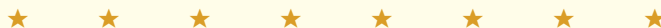
View the videodisc by scanning the barcode or by entering the chapter number on your keypad and pressing Search.



**Disc 2, Side 1,
Chapter 3**

Hands-On Activity

Use library or Internet resources to find information about the homes of past presidents. Use multimedia tools or software to create a multimedia presentation about historical residences. Incorporate images you find on the Internet. Include information about architectural styles, dates of construction or renovation, unique features, and present condition and use.



◀ The Lincoln Memorial



◀ **CONTENTS** ▶

Chapter 8

The Presidency



Why It's Important

Your Chief Executive In 1971, 18-year-olds were granted the right to vote nationwide. If you are not already eligible to vote for president, you soon will be. This chapter presents some of the informal but traditional requirements for this powerful office, and how to become involved in the selection process.



To learn more about the formal and informal powers of the presidency, view the *Democracy in Action* Chapter 8 video lesson:

The Presidency



CLICK HERE

GOVERNMENT
Online



Chapter Overview Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at gov.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 8–Overview** to preview chapter information.



CONTENTS



President and Vice President

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

compensation, presidential succession

Find Out

- What qualifications for the office of president do you think are most necessary for carrying out the duties of the office?
- What are the constitutional provisions for filling the executive office if the president is unable to perform those duties?

Understanding Concepts

Growth of Democracy Why are personal qualities of candidates for president more demanding than the constitutional qualifications?

COVER STORY

Bush Fills In

WASHINGTON, D.C., MARCH 30, 1981

Vice President George Bush rushed back to Washington from Texas this evening after the shooting of President Ronald Reagan. Bush may be required to assume the responsibilities of the presidency, under the terms of the Twenty-fifth Amendment, if Reagan's wounds prevent him from performing the duties of office. Bush will fill in for the president at tomorrow's functions, including a meeting with leaders of Congress and lunch with the prime minister of the Netherlands. However, no steps have been taken to officially designate him acting president. Reagan is reported to be alert and should be able to make decisions tomorrow.



Vice President Bush

A vice president, stepping into a president's role, faces a daunting assignment. President Truman, assuming the office when Franklin Roosevelt died, told the press:

"I don't know whether you fellows ever had a load of hay fall on you, but when they told me yesterday what happened, I felt like the moon, the stars and all the planets had fallen on me."

—Harry S Truman, 1945

The office of the president has been developing for more than 200 years. Just as the nation has grown during that time, the powers of the executive branch have also grown.

Duties of the President



The constitutional duties of the nation's first president, George Washington, and those of a modern president are much the same. However, presidents today have enormous power and responsibility. For example, the Constitution makes the president the commander in chief of the nation's armed forces. In Washington's administration this meant calling out a militia of 15,000 volunteers and getting on a horse and leading the troops to crush a rebellion of whiskey distillers. Today the president oversees a military divided into four major units, makes decisions of how to deploy troops stationed throughout the world, and manages a defense budget of over \$270 billion.

In addition to commanding the military, the constitution gives the president responsibility to appoint—with Senate consent—heads of executive departments, federal court judges, and other top officials. In conducting foreign policy, the president makes treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate, meets with heads of state, hosts foreign officials, and appoints ambassadors to represent the United States in other countries.

A Traveling President




Executive Benefits The president usually flies long distances in *Air Force One*. At other times, the Chief Executive travels in an official car, a private airplane, or a U.S. Navy ship. **Why does the Secret Service discourage the president's use of public transportation?**

The most important duty of the president may be to ensure that all the laws of the United States are “faithfully executed.” A vast bureaucracy assists the president in this task. A president may pardon people convicted of federal crimes, except in cases of impeachment, or reduce a person’s jail sentence or fine.

The president has lawmaking power. Each year the president delivers a State of the Union message to Congress, in addition to other messages from time to time. Today Congress expects a president to take some leadership in proposing policy changes.

President's Term and Salary

 Originally, the Constitution did not specify how many four-year terms a president may serve. George Washington set a long-held precedent when he served for eight years and refused to run for a third term. However, in 1940 and 1944, Franklin D. Roosevelt broke this tradition when he ran for a third and a fourth term.


The Twenty-second Amendment Reaction to Roosevelt’s unprecedented four terms in office and concern over too much executive power led Congress to propose and the states to ratify the **Twenty-second Amendment** in 1951.¹ The amendment secured the traditional presidential limitation of two terms, while allowing a vice

president who takes over the presidency and serves two years or less of the former president’s term to serve two additional terms. Thus, it is possible for a president to serve up to 10 years.

Salary and Benefits The Constitutional Convention determined that presidents should receive compensation. The Constitution did not specify the amount of **compensation**, or salary, but left the matter for Congress to determine. Between 1969 and 2001, the president received \$200,000 a year in taxable salary and \$50,000 a year for expenses connected with official duties. In 1999, Congress raised the president’s salary to \$400,000, starting with the new president in 2001. The Executive Office of the President also provides a non-taxable travel allowance of up to \$100,000 a year. Congress cannot increase or decrease the salary during a president’s term.

Other benefits (some that are necessary for security reasons) are provided to the president. For example, *Air Force One*, a specially equipped jet, as well as other planes, helicopters, and limousines are made available to the president and close assistants.

Presidents receive free medical, dental, and health care. They live in the White House, a 132-room

 See the following footnoted materials in the *Reference Handbook*:
1. *The Constitution*, pages 774–799.

mansion with a swimming pool, bowling alley, private movie theater, and tennis courts. The White House domestic staff does the cooking, shopping, and cleaning for the president's family.

The government pays the expenses of operating the White House. Items the government does not pay for, however, can amount to thousands of dollars each month. The cost of all personal entertainment, such as receptions and dinners not directly related to government business, is paid by the president.

When presidents retire, they receive a lifetime pension, now \$148,400 a year. They also have free office space, free mailing services, and up to \$96,000 a year for office help. When presidents die, their spouses are eligible for a pension of \$20,000 a year. While these benefits offer financial security to the president and his family, money is not the reason that people seek the presidency.

Presidential Qualifications



The Constitution sets basic qualifications for president. Other qualifications reflect personal qualities expected of presidents. Most Americans over the age of 35 can meet the constitutional requirements for the presidency. Very few can meet the informal requirements.

Constitutional Requirements In Article II, Section 1, the Constitution defines the formal requirements for the office of president.¹ The president must be: (1) a natural-born citizen of the United States; (2) at least 35 years old; and (3) a resident of the United States for at least 14 years before taking office. The same requirements apply to the vice president.

Government Experience Many other qualities are necessary for a person to have a real chance of becoming president. Experience in government is an unwritten but important qualification. Since 1868, for example, only five major-party candidates for the presidency had no previous political experience, with Dwight D. Eisenhower as the most recent example. In this century candidates who have served as United States senators or as state governors have most often won the presidential nomination. For example, Ronald Reagan had served as governor of California and Bill Clinton as governor of Arkansas. A political career provides the opportunity to form political alliances necessary to obtain a party's nomination as well as the name recognition necessary to win votes.



See the following footnoted materials in the **Reference Handbook**:
1. The Constitution, pages 774–799.

We the People

Making a Difference

Eugene M. Lang



In 1996 Eugene Lang received the nation's highest civilian honor—the Presidential Medal of Freedom. President Clinton presented the award to Lang and 10 other Americans for their outstanding contributions.

Lang received the award for fulfilling dreams. In 1981 Lang went back to his elementary school in East Harlem for a visit. He made the sixth-grade students at the school a promise: if they finished high school, he would pay for their college educations. The motivation worked.

Seventy-five percent of the class graduated or received their equivalency certificates.

Lang started the “I Have a Dream” Foundation in 1986. It is a program that provides money to underprivileged children to attend college. The program also offers mentoring and tutoring opportunities for students in need. Today the “I Have a Dream” program has spread to 59 cities and includes more than 15,000 students whose dreams of going to college will become a reality, thanks to Eugene Lang's contributions.



“I Have a Dream”[®] Foundation

Importance of Money A serious candidate for the presidency must have access to large amounts of money. Even though the federal government provides funds for some aspects of presidential campaigns, running for the presidency means raising money from supporters and using one's own personal finances. Campaigning in the primaries, paying for television time, hiring campaign staff and consultants, and sending out mailings adds up to tens of millions of dollars. Congress has set an upper limit on such spending. In 1992 the law allowed candidates to spend up to \$30.91 million before the national nominating convention and an additional \$61.82 million between the convention and the election. If candidates spend more than the limit, they lose millions of dollars of public funds that the Federal Election Commission distributes to eligible candidates.

Political Beliefs Because extremely liberal or conservative candidates have little chance of being elected, the major parties usually choose presiden-

GOVERNMENT Online

Student Web Activity Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at gov.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 8—Student Web Activities** for an activity about the president and vice president.

tial candidates who hold moderate positions on most issues. Exceptions do, however, sometimes occur. In 1964 Barry Goldwater, a very conservative Republican, became his party's presidential candidate. In 1972 a very liberal Democrat, George McGovern, won the nomination. Both of these candidates were soundly defeated in the general election. In the 2000 campaign both candidates, Al Gore and George W. Bush, adopted moderate positions on major issues.

Personal Characteristics What personal characteristics does a person need to become president? Most presidents have come from northern European family backgrounds. A few have been from poor families (Abraham Lincoln and Harry S. Truman, for example) and a few from wealthy ones (both Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy). Most presidents, however, have come from middle-class backgrounds.

Presidents generally have been white, married, Protestant, financially successful men. No woman, nor any person of African, Hispanic, or Asian ancestry has yet been president or vice president. In 1960 John F. Kennedy became the first Roman Catholic to win the office. Geraldine Ferraro, Democratic candidate for vice president in 1984, was the first woman nominated by a major party for high office. Jesse Jackson, an African American, won the support of many delegates at the 1988 Democratic convention. Another African American, Colin Powell, former chairperson of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has been sought as a candidate by both major parties.

Personal Growth Holding presidential office tends to underscore a person's inner personal strengths and weaknesses. President Harry S. Truman, who had succeeded to the presidency on the death of Franklin Roosevelt, explained the loneliness of the office:

CQ

Speaking of
WASHINGTON...

“Constitutionally” Speaking In the pandemonium after Ronald Reagan was shot in 1981, Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr., briefed the press in the absence of Vice President George Bush, who was out of town. Asked who was in charge, Haig erroneously replied that he was. “Constitutionally, gentlemen,” he said, “you have the president, the vice president, and the secretary of state, in that order....” In fact, the Constitution leaves it to Congress to legislate the line of succession after the vice president. Haig confused the current line, spelled out in a 1947 law, with an earlier law that did have the secretary of state third in line.



“The presidency of the United States carries with it a responsibility so personal as to be without parallel. . . . No one can make decisions for him. . . . Even those closest to him . . . never know all the reasons why he does certain things and why he comes to certain conclusions. To be President of the United States is to be lonely, very lonely at times of great decisions.”

—Harry S Truman

Truman, however, grew into the office and took responsibility for the difficult decisions. One motto on his White House desk read: “The Buck Stops Here.”

Presidential Succession



Eight presidents have died in office—bullets struck down four; four died of natural causes. After John F. Kennedy was killed in 1963, the country realized that the rules for **presidential succession** the Constitution established were inadequate.¹ The nation needed a new set of rules to determine who would fill the president’s office in case of a vacancy.

Order of Succession Ratified in 1967, the **Twenty-fifth Amendment** established the order of succession to the presidency and spelled out what happens when the vice presidency becomes vacant:

“Section 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice President shall become President.

Section 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice President, the President shall nominate a Vice President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.”

—Twenty-fifth Amendment, 1967

The amendment was first applied in 1973 after Spiro Agnew resigned as Richard Nixon’s vice president. President Nixon then nominated Gerald



See the following footnoted materials in the **Reference Handbook**:
1. The Constitution, pages 774–799.



Congressional Quarterly’s
Government at a Glance

Line of Presidential Succession

- Vice President
- Speaker of the House
- President *pro tempore* of the Senate
- Secretary of State
- Secretary of the Treasury
- Secretary of Defense
- Attorney General
- Secretary of the Interior
- Secretary of Agriculture
- Secretary of Commerce
- Secretary of Labor
- Secretary of Health and Human Services
- Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
- Secretary of Transportation
- Secretary of Energy
- Secretary of Education
- Secretary of Veterans Affairs

Source: Nelson, ed. *The Presidency A to Z* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Inc., 1994).

Critical Thinking

The Presidential Succession Act of 1947 established the order of succession, including the possibility of the offices of president and vice president being vacant at the same time.

What officer would be next in line if these two top executive offices were vacant at the same time?

Ford as vice president, and Congress approved the nomination. A year later, when President Nixon resigned from office, Vice President Ford became president. Ford then nominated Nelson Rockefeller, former governor of New York, to be vice president, and Congress again approved the nomination. This process marked the only time in United States history that both the president and vice president were not elected to these offices.

What would happen if the offices of president and vice president both became vacant at the same time? The Presidential Succession Act of 1947 established the order of succession. According to this



Presidential Vacancy

On March 30, 1981, John Hinckley, Jr., attempted to assassinate President Ronald Reagan. Vice President George Bush took charge during Reagan's subsequent surgery. **Why is an official presidential line of succession needed?**

law, the next in line for the presidency is the Speaker of the House. The president *pro tempore* of the Senate follows the Speaker. Next in line are the cabinet officers, starting with the secretary of state. The other 13 department heads follow in the order in which Congress created the departments.

Presidential Disability What happens if a president becomes seriously disabled while in office? Several presidents were not able to fulfill their responsibilities. President James Garfield lingered between life and death for 80 days after he was shot in 1881. During that period, no one was officially designated to take on the duties of the president. A stroke disabled President Woodrow Wilson in October 1919. During his recovery, Mrs. Wilson often performed his duties. In 1955 President Dwight D. Eisenhower's heart attack completely disabled him for 4 days. For 20 weeks after that, he could do only a limited amount of work. During his illness Eisenhower's assistants ran the executive branch while Vice President Nixon stood in for him on ceremonial occasions.

The Twenty-fifth Amendment sets forth a series of rules to be followed when a president becomes disabled. The amendment provides that the vice president becomes acting president under one of two conditions. First, the vice president assumes

the president's duties if the president informs Congress of an inability to perform in office. Second, the amendment says that the vice president will take over for the president if the vice president and a majority of the cabinet or another body authorized by law informs Congress that the president is disabled. This second provision would take effect if a disabled president was unwilling or unable to inform Congress that he or she could not continue to carry out presidential duties.

Under the terms of the Twenty-fifth Amendment, the president can resume the powers and duties of office at any time simply by informing Congress that a disability no longer exists. If, however, the vice president and a majority of the cabinet or other body authorized by law contends that the president has not sufficiently recovered to perform properly, Congress must settle the dispute within 21 days. Unless Congress decides in the vice president's favor by a two-thirds vote in each house, the president may resume office.

The Vice President's Role



The Constitution gives the vice president only two duties. First, the vice president presides over the Senate and votes in that body in case of a tie. Most vice presidents spend very little

time in this job. Second, under the Twenty-fifth Amendment, the vice president helps decide whether the president is disabled and acts as president should that happen.

Standby Work A vice president's work and power depend upon what responsibilities, if any, the president assigns. Hubert Humphrey, Lyndon Johnson's vice president, once said, "The only authority he [the Vice President] has is what the President gives him. He who giveth can taketh away."

Fourteen vice presidents have become president. Of these, nine vice presidents have succeeded to the office upon the death or resignation of the president. Some have done so under difficult circumstances. Harry S Truman became president in 1945, near the end of World War II, when Franklin D. Roosevelt died in office.

Increased Responsibilities The presidents before Eisenhower (1953-1961) usually ignored their vice presidents. Since Eisenhower, however, presidents have tried to give their vice presidents more responsibility. Vice presidents today often represent the president overseas, attending state funerals and other ceremonial functions, serving in a diplomatic role, and visiting with heads of state. In addition, they may make speeches around the country defending the president's policies and decisions. Today vice presidents are members of the National Security Council, the president's foreign and military policy advisers. President Carter made his vice president, Walter Mondale, a mem-



Executive Powers Vice President Cheney represented the president and the nation while making a speech. *John Adams once said, "I am Vice President. In this I am nothing, but I may be everything." What did he mean?*

ber of several groups that advised the president on various issues.

More recently, Vice President Al Gore served as a close adviser to President Bill Clinton overseeing areas such as the organization of government and environmental issues. His outspoken support of the North American Free Trade Agreement was credited with helping its approval.

Section 1 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

- Main Idea** Using a graphic organizer like the one below, show three constitutional requirements and three informal requirements of a president.

Constitutional	Informal
1.	
2.	
3.	

- Define** compensation, presidential succession.
- Identify** Twenty-second Amendment, Twenty-fifth Amendment.
- Who are the first four officers in the line of succession to the presidency?

Critical Thinking

- Drawing Conclusions** Why do you think presidential candidates who represent moderate views usually win elections?

Concepts IN ACTION

Growth of Democracy Conduct a survey using the following questions: In your opinion, when will the United States have its first female president? Its first minority president? Tabulate the results on graphs and display them in class.

Electing the President

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

elector, electoral vote

Find Out

- What evidence suggests that the Founders did not anticipate the effects of political parties on presidential elections?
- Based on the historical record of elections, how well has the Electoral College performed in selecting presidents the nation wanted?

Understanding Concepts

Constitutional Interpretations How has the method of electing a president changed to make the process more democratic?

COVER STORY

House Chooses President

WASHINGTON, D.C., DECEMBER 1824

General Andrew Jackson has won the popular presidential vote, but his 99 electoral votes are not enough to win the highest office. The electors, divided among four candidates, give no one the election. The House of Representatives will now be asked to choose the president. It is likely their choice will be between General Jackson and John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts. Jackson feels confident that the House will make him president. Many observers, however, believe that House Speaker Henry Clay could sway enough votes to give Adams the office.



Jackson campaign box

John Quincy Adams was chosen by the House as the sixth president. Initially, at the Constitutional Convention, the Founders proposed that Congress choose the president without a popular or an electoral vote. They gave up the idea because it violated the principle of separation of powers making it possible for Congress to dominate the presidency.

Direct popular vote was another possible method for electing the president. Many of the Founders, however, feared that citizens could not make a wise choice because they knew little about potential leaders. There was no national news media, radio, or television. In addition, some leaders believed that the most popular candidates might not be the best presidents.

After weeks of debate, the Founders settled on a compromise that Alexander Hamilton introduced. This compromise set up an indirect method of election called the Electoral College. With a few changes, that system is still in use today.

The Original System



Article II, Section 1,¹ established the **Electoral College**. It provided that each state would choose electors according to a method the state legislatures set up. Each state would have as many electors as it had senators and representatives in Congress. At election time, the **electors** would meet in their own states and cast votes for two presidential candidates. This vote was the **electoral vote**. No popular vote was cast for the early presidential elections.

Electoral votes from all the states would be counted in a joint session of Congress. The candidate receiving a majority of the electoral votes would become president. The candidate receiving the second highest number of votes, who also had a majority, would become vice

See the following footnoted materials in the **Reference Handbook**:

1. *The Constitution*, pages 774–799.

president. In case of a tie, or if no one received a majority, the House of Representatives would choose the president or vice president, with each state having one vote.

As expected, the Electoral College unanimously chose George Washington as the nation's first president in 1789 and 1792. After President Washington retired, however, political parties began to play an important role in national elections. Political parties had an unexpected and profound impact on the Electoral College system.



Fan endorsing Thomas Jefferson in 1800

The Impact of Political Parties



By 1800 two national parties—the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans—had formed. Each party nominated its own candidate for president and vice president. Each party also nominated candidates for electors in every state. It was understood that if they were chosen, these electors would vote for their party's candidates.

In the election of 1800, the Democratic-Republicans won a majority of electoral votes. As agreed, each Democratic-Republican elector cast one vote for each of the party's candidates—Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. While most electors wanted Jefferson as president, both Jefferson and Burr wound up with 73 votes. Because of the tie, the election went to the House of Representatives.

The opposing party, the Federalists, controlled the House of Representatives. Popular opinion in the nation supported Jefferson, but many Federalists in the House favored Burr. The House debated day and night for six days. Thirty-six ballots were taken before Jefferson was finally elected president and Burr vice president. The 1800 election clearly demonstrated the need for a change in the rules before the next election.

The **Twelfth Amendment** was added to the Constitution in 1804 to solve the problem. It requires that the electors cast separate ballots for president and vice president. The amendment also provides that if no candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes, the House chooses from the

The First President



Political Symbols Frederick Kemmelmeyer created this reverential painting to honor Washington, our nation's only unanimously elected president. *What symbols did the artist use in this painting and how do you think he viewed Washington?*

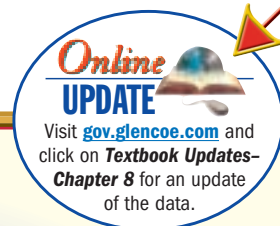
three candidates who have the largest number of electoral votes. If no candidate for vice president gets a majority of electoral votes, the Senate chooses from the top two candidates for vice president.

In the 1820s states began to place presidential candidates on the ballot. Since then political parties have chosen electors by popular vote. Parties also changed their method of nominating presidential candidates, giving the people more of a voice. The Electoral College system adapted to the growth of democracy.

The Electoral College System Today



The Electoral College is still the method of choosing the president and vice president. Parties choose their nominees for president in conventions held in late summer. Voters cast their



The Electoral College System

Presidential Election Year

Tuesday after first Monday in November

- Voters cast ballots for a slate of electors pledged to a particular presidential candidate.

Monday after second Wednesday in December

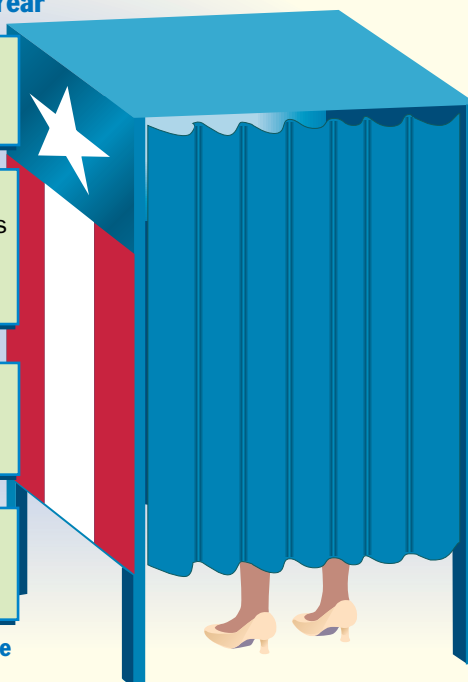
- Winning electors in each state meet in their state capitals to cast their votes for president and vice president.
- Statement of the vote is sent to Washington, D.C.

January 6

- Congress counts electoral votes. A majority of electoral votes is needed to win (270 out of 538).

January 20

- Candidate receiving majority of electoral votes is sworn in as president of the United States.



Presidents Elected Who Lost The Popular Vote

President	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Opponent	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote
John Q. Adams*	84	113,122	Andrew Jackson	99	151,271
Rutherford B. Hayes**	185	4,034,311	Samuel J. Tilden	184	4,288,546
Benjamin Harrison	233	5,443,892	Grover Cleveland	168	5,534,488
George W. Bush	271	53,692,798	Albert Gore	267	54,056,359

* Clay and Crawford also received electoral votes. The election was determined in the House of Representatives.

** Hayes was awarded the disputed electoral votes of three states by a special commission.

Source: Nelson, ed., *The Presidency A to Z* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Inc., 1994); Cable News Network, 2000 (results as of Dec. 4, 2000).

Critical Thinking

The writers of the Constitution chose the electoral college system as a compromise between selection by Congress and election by popular vote. **How many weeks pass between a presidential election and inauguration? Is this much time necessary? Why?**

ballots for president every four years (1992, 1996, 2000, etc.) on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November. While the candidates' names are printed on the ballot, the voters are not actually voting directly for president and vice president. Rather, they are voting for all of their party's electors in their state. In December these electors will cast the official vote for president and vice president. Thus,

a vote for the Democratic candidate is actually a vote for the Democratic electors, and a vote for the Republican candidate is a vote for the Republican electors.

The Electoral College includes 538 electors—a number determined by the total of House and Senate members plus 3 for the District of Columbia. Each state has as many electors as it has senators

and representatives in Congress. Wyoming with 1 representative and 2 senators has 3 electoral votes. California, the most populous state, with 52 representatives and 2 senators, has 54 electoral votes. To be elected president or vice president, a candidate must win at least 270 of the 538 votes. The Electoral College is a winner-take-all system with the exception of Maine and Nebraska. The party whose candidate receives the largest popular vote in any state wins all the electoral votes of that state even if the margin of victory is only one popular vote.

The winning presidential candidate is usually announced on the same evening as the popular election because popular-vote counts indicate who won each state. The formal election by the Electoral College, however, begins on the Monday following the second Wednesday in December when the electors meet in each state capital and cast their ballots. The electoral ballots from each state are sealed and mailed to the president of the Senate for a formal count. On January 6 both houses of Congress meet in the House of Representatives to open and count the ballots. Congress then officially declares the winner president.

Most states do not legally require electors to vote for the candidate who wins the popular vote, but electors usually do so. A few electors, however, have ignored this tradition. In 1976 an elector

from the state of Washington voted for Ronald Reagan, even though Gerald Ford had won the majority of popular votes in the state. Similarly, in 1988 an elector from West Virginia switched Democratic candidates and voted for Lloyd Bentsen for president and Michael Dukakis for vice president. Over the years, eight other electors have broken with custom.

Electoral College Issues



The Electoral College system works well in most elections. However, the call for reform is heard after every closely contested election. Critics point to three major weaknesses in the system that could affect the outcome of an election.

Winner Take All If a candidate wins the largest number of popular votes in a state, that person receives all the state's electoral votes. Critics argue that this system is unfair to those who voted for a losing candidate. For example, in 1992 more than 2 million Texans voted for Bill Clinton, but Clinton did not receive any of Texas's electoral votes.

The winner-take-all system makes it possible for a candidate who loses the popular vote to win the electoral vote. This usually happens when a candidate wins several large states by narrow

POLITICS and You

Electing Your President

Young people are less likely to vote than any other age group. However, Music Television (MTV) and Rock the Vote hope to draw more young voters into the political process.

Rock the Vote is a nonprofit organization dedicated to educating and involving young people. It conducts voter registration drives at rock concerts and on rock radio stations. It can even register you to vote over the Internet.

During presidential campaigns, Rock the Vote and MTV distribute a free election guide for young voters at record stores across the nation. MTV also airs a voter education series called *Choose or Lose*. MTV personalities interview the candidates about issues of interest to young voters. Televised

MTV forums allow young people to express their concerns directly to the candidates. MTV Online makes election information available on the Internet. The presidential candidates have Internet home pages that you also can contact for information.



MTV logo

Participating IN GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY

Measuring Success How successful was Rock the Vote in the last presidential election? Gather information through magazine articles in *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*. Create a graphic using your findings.

The Inauguration



Recounting Ballots Broward County, Florida, election workers scrutinize ballots during the presidential contest of 2000. The race was so close that election officials in several Florida counties manually recounted the ballots to make sure that the count was accurate. *Who selects the president and vice president if no candidate receives a majority of the electoral votes?*

margins. Four times in American history—in the elections of John Quincy Adams in 1824, Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876, Benjamin Harrison in 1888, and George W. Bush in 2000—the candidate who lost the popular vote won the election. In the 2000 election, for example, Democrat Al Gore won around 300,000 more popular votes than Republican George W. Bush. Bush, however, received 271 electoral votes to 267 for Gore.

The 1960 election almost became another example. Democrat John Kennedy defeated Republican Richard Nixon in a very close popular vote. Kennedy won Illinois and Texas by a narrow margin of about 1 percent of the popular vote. If Nixon had won these states, he would have won the election by winning the electoral vote while narrowly losing the popular vote.

Third-Party Candidates When a third-party candidate is a strong presidential contender, other problems can arise. A third-party candidate could win enough electoral votes to prevent either major-party candidate from receiving a majority

of the votes. The third party could then bargain to release electoral votes to one of the two major-party candidates.

Some people say Governor George Wallace of Alabama wanted to use this tactic in the 1968 election. Wallace ran as the American Independent Party's candidate and won 5 states and 46 electoral votes. The election between Republican Richard Nixon and Democrat Hubert Humphrey was very close, with Nixon winning by only about 500,000 popular votes. If Humphrey had beaten Nixon in a few more states, Nixon would not have won a majority of the electoral votes. Then, unless Wallace's electors voted for Nixon, the election would have gone to the House of Representatives.

Election by the House When the House of Representatives must decide a presidential election, each state casts one vote. The candidate

who receives 26 or more of the votes is elected.

Election by the House involves three problems: (1) States with small populations such as Alaska or Nevada have as much weight as states with large populations such as New York or California. (2) Under the rules, if a majority of representatives from a state cannot agree on a candidate, the state loses its vote. (3) If some members of the House favor a strong third-party candidate, it could be difficult for any candidate to get the 26 votes needed to win.

Ideas for Reform People usually criticize the Electoral College system whenever problems arise. Many changes to the system have been proposed. One idea is to choose electors from congressional districts. Each state would have two electoral votes, plus one vote for each congressional district in the state. The candidate winning the most votes in a congressional district would win the electoral vote in that district. The candidate winning the most districts in a state would, in addition, receive the two statewide electoral votes.

Another plan proposes that the presidential candidates would win the same share of a state's electoral vote as they received of the state's popular vote. If a candidate captured 60 percent of the popular vote, for example, the candidate would earn 60 percent of the state's electoral vote.

This plan too would cure the winner-take-all problem. Moreover, it would remove the possibility

of electors voting for someone that they are not pledged to support. Critics of the plan point out that it could possibly enlarge the role of third parties and complicate the election process. Because third-party candidates could get at least some share of the electoral vote in each election, they might also be able to force a presidential election into the House of Representatives.



Congressional Quarterly's Government at a Glance

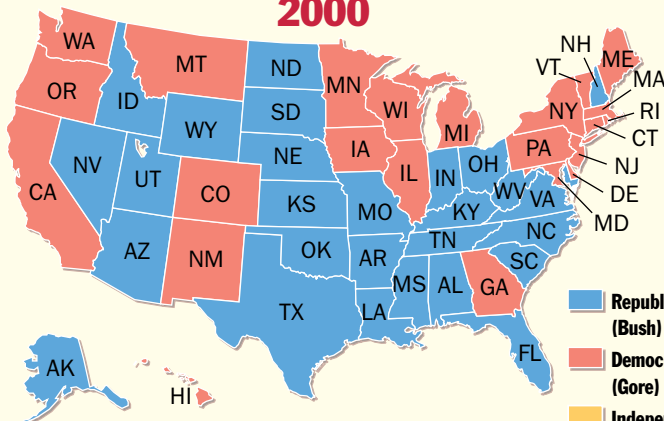
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Visit gov.glencoe.com and click on **Textbook Updates—Chapter 8** for an update of the data.

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Popular and Electoral Votes

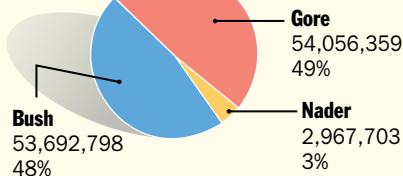
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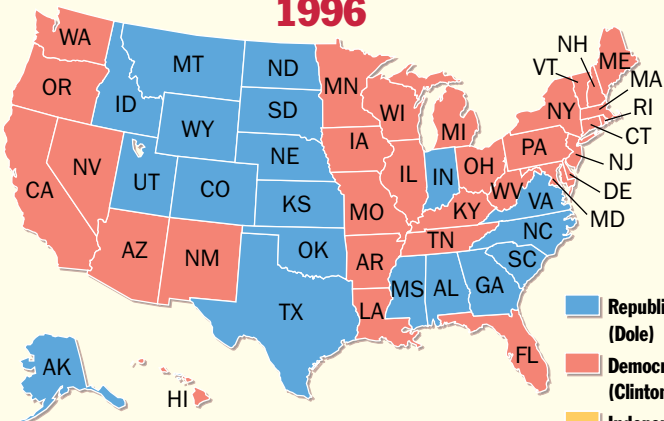
Electoral Vote



Popular Vote



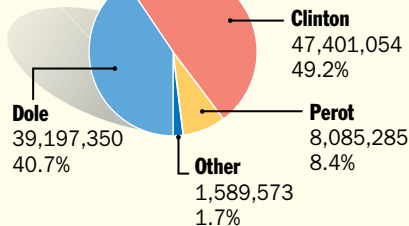
1996



Electoral Vote



Popular Vote




Sources: Israel, *Student's Atlas of American Presidential Elections 1789–1996* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Inc., 1997); Cable News Network, 2000 (results as of Dec. 4, 2000).

Critical Thinking

President George W. Bush's victory in 2000 was the first time in 112 years that the loser of the popular vote won the election. **Which states that backed the Democratic candidate in 1996 voted Republican in 2000?**

Direct Popular Election Another plan is to do away with the Electoral College entirely. Instead, the people would directly elect the president and vice president. While this alternative may seem obvious, some have criticized it on the grounds that it would greatly change the structure of the federal system. It would undermine federalism because the states would lose their role in the choice of a president. It would also mean that candidates would concentrate their efforts in densely populated areas. Large cities such as New York and Los Angeles could control the outcome of an election.

The Inauguration

 The new president, called the president-elect until the inauguration, takes office at noon on January 20 in the year following the presidential election. The Constitution requires the president to take this simple oath:

“*I do solemnly swear (or affirm), that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.***”**

—Article II, Section 8



**Souvenir from
John F. Kennedy's
inauguration**

By custom, an inaugural ceremony is held outside the Capitol in Washington, D.C., weather permitting. The new president rides with the outgoing president from the White House to the Capitol for the inauguration ceremonies. With the outgoing president, family members, government officials, and citizens looking on, the chief justice administers the oath of office. The new president then gives an Inaugural Address.

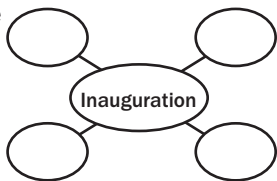
Several presidents have made notable inaugural speeches that have become part of the nation's heritage. Abraham Lincoln spoke about healing and protecting a divided nation in 1861. At his inauguration in the depths of the Great Depression, Franklin D. Roosevelt lifted the spirits of his fellow Americans with the words, “The only thing we have to fear is fear itself.” In 1961 John F. Kennedy called on all Americans to “ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country.”

Members of Congress, foreign diplomats, and thousands of citizens attend the inaugural ceremony. Millions watch on television. After the speech, a parade goes from the Capitol to the White House. That evening official parties celebrate the inauguration to thank people who supported the president's election campaign.

Section 2 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

- 1. Main Idea** Using a graphic organizer like the one to the right, describe the ceremonial events that occur when a new president takes office.



- 2. Define** elector, electoral vote.
- 3. Identify** Electoral College, Twelfth Amendment.
- 4.** Why do presidential candidates spend more time in states with large populations?
- 5.** What does the phrase “winner take all” mean in presidential elections?

Critical Thinking

- 6. Determining Relevance** In judging the Electoral College, how important is it to know that on several occasions an elector broke with custom and voted independently?

Concepts IN ACTION

Constitutional Interpretations Imagine that you are a member of an interest group. Choose a position for your group: keep the Electoral College, or abolish it. Then write a persuasive speech explaining your position.



SHOULD THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE BE REPLACED?

Some Americans think the Electoral College is outdated and ineffective. They want to abolish it and replace it with a system that lets people vote directly for a president. Those who favor the electoral system think it helps to unify the nation, as its creators intended.

WINNER TAKE ALL

The most common argument against the Electoral College system is that a candidate can win without receiving a majority of the popular vote as George W. Bush did in the 2000 election. Another argument is that a candidate can win a majority of the popular vote and more electoral votes than any other candidate, but still lose. This can happen if a candidate does not receive a majority of electoral votes, and the House of Representatives is called to decide on a winner.

A candidate can also win a large percentage of popular votes in a state, but have no electoral votes to show for it. This is especially true for third-party candidates.

Critics say that the Electoral College system robs voters of their power, because candidates often ignore smaller states with fewer electoral votes.



GUARDING AGAINST TYRANNY

Supporters of the Electoral College say most people do not understand the merits of the system. James Madison, one of the original creators, believed that if a majority vote was used, the rights of minorities could be compromised. He wanted to guard against "the superior force of an . . . overbearing majority."

Under the Electoral College system, a candidate cannot win without winning in a large number of states. Supporters consider this an advantage because candidates must reach a broad range of people with varying viewpoints to win the vote. Those who focus on narrow segments of the population are less likely to be elected. Supporters also contend that each voter has more clout in an election that involves 51 separate elections than in one large national election.

Debating the Issue

SHOULD DIRECT ELECTIONS REPLACE THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE SYSTEM?

Assume that you are a citizen testifying before a congressional committee weighing the advantages and disadvantages of the Electoral College system.

KEY ISSUES

- ✓ What was the original purpose of the Electoral College? Does it serve that purpose effectively?
- ✓ What are the advantages and disadvantages of having a direct election?

- ✓ How would presidential campaigns be affected by direct elections?

Debate Divide the class into two groups—one that supports the system and one that does not. Allow time for each group to prepare and present their arguments to the class.

Vote Make your decision. Then have the class vote for or against replacing the Electoral College system.

The Cabinet

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

cabinet, leak

Find Out

- What role does politics play in the appointment of cabinet secretaries?
- How have factors that limit the role of the cabinet as an advisory body affected the relationship between cabinet officers and the presidents they serve?

Understanding Concepts

Political Processes Why are cabinet secretaries who administer large executive departments often not insiders at the White House?

COVER STORY

Jefferson Resigns

NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 31, 1793

The bitter feud that has plagued President George Washington's cabinet ended today, as Thomas Jefferson stepped down as secretary of state. The action followed months of tension between Jefferson and Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton. The contest for influence with the president was settled during the recent crisis with France, when Washington relied on Hamilton instead of his secretary of state. Jefferson recently said of his rival, "I will not suffer my retirement to be clouded by the slanders of a man whose history, from the moment at which history can stoop to notice him, is a tissue of machinations against the liberty of the country."



Thomas Jefferson

Soon after President Washington's election, Congress created a Department of State, a Department of War, a Department of the Treasury, and the Attorney General's office. The president met regularly with his department heads and sought their advice on policy matters. The newspapers of the time called this group Washington's *cabinet*, the general term for the advisers around any head of state. The name stuck.

One of the first responsibilities of a president is to organize and staff the executive branch of government. In fact, the president-elect often has selected most of his nominees for cabinet appointments before taking the oath of office.

Today the president appoints the secretaries that head the 14 major executive departments. Each appointee must be approved by the Senate. The 14 secretaries, the vice president, and several other top officials make up the **cabinet**. Cabinet secretaries are more than advisers; they are also administrators of large bureaucracies.

The Selection of the Cabinet



In selecting their department heads, presidents must balance a great many political, social, and management considerations. Secretaries should have some credible expertise in the policy areas their departments will manage. Appointees must be acceptable to all groups with political power. They should provide geographic balance as well as racial and gender representation. Patronage and party loyalty also are usually important.

Major Factors in Making Appointments

The selection of a president's cabinet is largely a political process. One consideration is that an appointee have a background that is compatible with the department he or she will head. This qualification also can bring some geographic balance to the cabinet. The secretary of the interior, for example, typically is someone

from a western state who has experience in land policy and conservation issues. The secretary of housing and urban development (HUD) generally has a big city background. The secretary of agriculture usually is from a farm state.

Equally important is the president's need to satisfy powerful interest groups that have a stake in a department's policies. The secretary of labor, therefore, generally must be someone acceptable to labor unions. The secretary of commerce is expected to have a good reputation with business and industry. The secretary of the treasury is often a banker or someone with close ties to the financial community.

In addition, it is important that appointees have high-level administrative skills and experience. Cabinet officers are responsible for huge departments that employ thousands of people and spend billions of dollars each year. If inefficiency or scandal should result, blame will fall on the secretary—and on the president.

As women and minority groups have gained political power, presidents have considered the race, gender, and ethnic background of candidates when making their appointments. In 1966 Lyndon Johnson named the first African American department secretary, **Robert Weaver**, to lead HUD. Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed the first woman

to the cabinet, Secretary of Labor **Frances Perkins**, in 1933. Women in the cabinet remained rare until 1975, when President Ford appointed Carla Hills as HUD secretary. Since then, every president's cabinet has included women and African Americans. President Reagan named the first Hispanic, Lauro F. Cavazos, as secretary of education, in 1988. President Clinton used cabinet appointments as an opportunity to recruit women and minorities to top government posts. The Clinton cabinet became the most gender and racially balanced team in history.

Even after people who satisfy all the requirements are selected, obstacles still exist. It is not always easy to convince them to take the positions. Faced with giving up a secure career for a possible short-term appointment, many qualified candidates find the pay, the work, or life in Washington politics to be unattractive. Almost all modern presidents have been turned down by some of the people they have invited to join their cabinets.

Background of Cabinet Members What kind of person does accept appointment to the cabinet, and why? Almost without exception, cabinet members are college graduates. Many have advanced degrees. Most are leaders in the fields of business, industry, law, science, and education.

Clinton's Chief Diplomat



Interest Groups

Madeleine Albright, the first female secretary of state, shakes hands with Japanese foreign minister Yukihiko Ikeda. Albright is a Washington academic who fled Communist Czechoslovakia as a child. **What groups of citizens might have felt pride in Albright's appointment?**

Cabinet secretaries earn \$151,800 per year, and many cabinet members assume government jobs even though they know that they could have earned more than twice that amount in private employment. Some take their posts out of a deep sense of public service. Typically they move easily in and out of government posts from their positions in private industry or the legal, financial, or educational world.


Nominations and Confirmation The selection process for a new president's cabinet begins long before Inauguration Day. The president-elect draws up a list of candidates after consulting with campaign advisers, congressional leaders, and representatives of interest groups. Key campaign staffers meet with potential candidates to discuss the issues facing the department they may be asked to head. Before making final decisions, members of the president-elect's team may **leak**, or deliberately disclose, some candidates' names to the news media. They do this to test the reaction of Congress, interest groups, and the public.

The Senate holds confirmation hearings on the president's nominees for cabinet posts. The nominee to head each department appears before the Senate committee that oversees the department to answer questions about his or her background and views.

The cabinet is viewed as part of the president's official family. The Senate, therefore, usually cooperates in the appointment process, and most confirmation hearings are routine. Of more than 500 cabinet appointments since the time of George Washington, the Senate has rejected only a handful.

Appointments are not automatic, however. President Clinton had been in office less than a month when his nominee for attorney general, Zoë Baird, had to bow out of the confirmation process. In the midst of Senate hearings, a newspaper reported that Baird earlier had hired illegal aliens for household work. A groundswell of public opinion derailed the nomination.

The Role of the Cabinet

 As individuals, cabinet members are responsible for the executive departments they head. As a group, the cabinet is intended to serve as an advisory body to the president. For many reasons, however, most presidents have been reluctant to give the cabinet a major advisory role.

The cabinet meets when the president calls it together. Meetings may be once a week but usually are much less frequent, depending on how a president uses the cabinet. Meetings take place in the cabinet room of the White House and are usually closed to the public and the press.

The First Cabinet



Advising the President

Seated next to President Washington are the members of the first cabinet—Henry Knox, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, and Edmund Randolph. **How has the size and role of the cabinet changed since Washington's first administration?**

Cabinet Members at Work



Influencing Policy

Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman (rear center) and Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala applaud the signing of an executive memorandum on the Americans With Disabilities Act in 1998. **Should presidents be obligated to make greater use of their cabinets? Why or why not?**

The Cabinet in History From the beginning, the cabinet's role in decision making has depended on how each president wanted to define it. Stronger presidents, such as Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt, have paid the cabinet less attention. Andrew Jackson depended on a small group of friends instead of his cabinet for advice. Since they often met in the White House kitchen, they became known as the "kitchen cabinet." During the Great Depression, Roosevelt relied more on a group of university professors called the "brain trust" and his wife Eleanor than on his cabinet.

Some members of Lincoln's cabinet thought he was weak and that they would run the government. They soon learned otherwise. Secretary of State William Seward acknowledged, "The President is the best of us. There is only one vote in the Cabinet, and it belongs to him." Lincoln's treatment of his cabinet illustrates the role it has played through much of American history. Before issuing the Emancipation Proclamation, he called his cabinet together to inform them of his intention to end slavery. He told them:

"I have gathered you together to hear what I have written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter. That I have determined for myself."

—Abraham Lincoln, 1862

The Modern Cabinet Several recent presidents have attempted to increase the role of the cabinet in decision making. In the end, however, most have given up and turned elsewhere for advice. After President Kennedy was assassinated, Lyndon Johnson was anxious to get along with his predecessor's cabinet. He felt he needed them for a smooth transition of power and wanted them to brief him on what was going on in their departments. Soon Johnson, too, was calling on the cabinet less and less. When a meeting occurred, it was generally to give department heads what one presidential assistant called their "marching orders." Johnson's cabinet fared better than Richard Nixon's, however. Some of Nixon's cabinet members did not see him for months at a time.

At the start of his presidency, Ronald Reagan also pledged to make greater use of the cabinet. He stated that his department heads would be his "inner circle of advisers." In an attempt to improve its usefulness, Reagan divided his cabinet into smaller groups. Each group was responsible for a broad policy area such as natural resources or food and agriculture. After only a year in office, however, Reagan began to rely mainly on his White House aides for advice. Presidents Bush and Clinton used their cabinets as sounding boards for their ideas rather than as the advisory body President Washington envisioned.

The Influence of Cabinet Members Some cabinet members who work closely with the president wield influence because they head departments that are concerned with national issues. The secretaries of state, defense, treasury, and the attorney general fill this role in most administrations. These officials are sometimes called an “**inner cabinet**.” Other secretaries who head departments that represent narrower interests such as agriculture or veterans’ affairs are less influential and have less direct access to the president.

Factors Limiting the Cabinet’s Role



Several factors limit the president’s use of the cabinet for advice in making key decisions or for help in running the executive branch. Understanding these factors helps to explain why presidents have come to rely on assistants in the Executive Office of the President, a presidential advisory agency established by Congress.

Conflicting Loyalties No president commands the complete loyalty of cabinet members. Even though the president appoints them, cabinet officials have three other constituencies that require loyalty: career officials in their own department, members of Congress, and special-interest groups. Each of these groups has its own stake in

the department’s programs. Each may push the secretary in directions that are not always in accord with the president’s plans and policies.

Disagreements among secretaries may result from loyalty to their department’s programs or to its constituent groups. In addition, competition among secretaries for control of a program may cause conflict in the cabinet. President Reagan’s secretary of state, George Schultz, and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger battled to influence the president on arms control and foreign policy for almost two years before Weinberger finally resigned in 1987.

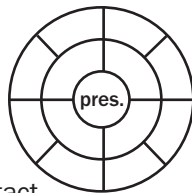
Secrecy and Trust A second factor that reduces the usefulness of the cabinet is the difficulty of maintaining secrecy when 14 cabinet secretaries are involved in a discussion of sensitive topics. Presidents sometimes have discovered cabinet debates reported in the press.

Presidents, like anyone else, would prefer to discuss tough problems with people they know and trust. Yet, because of all the factors that must be considered when choosing department heads, presidents generally appoint relative strangers to their cabinets. President Kennedy, for example, had never met his secretary of defense and secretary of the treasury before he appointed them. For these reasons presidents have increasingly turned to the Executive Office of the President and to their own personal White House staffs for help.

Section 3 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

- 1. Main Idea** Using a graphic organizer like the one to the right, show which cabinet members often form an “inner circle” closer to the president and which have less direct contact.
- 2. Define** cabinet, leak.
- 3. Identify** Robert Weaver, Frances Perkins.
- What five factors do presidents consider when choosing cabinet officers?
- Explain how the decline of the cabinet as an advisory body to the president weakens the system of checks and balances.



Critical Thinking

- 6. Identifying Alternatives** What could a president do when choosing cabinet members to increase their value as advisers?

Concepts IN ACTION

Political Processes Search library resources for information about the major responsibilities of one of the 14 executive departments. Then prepare a list of interview questions that you think would help to determine the competence of a potential secretary of the executive department you chose.

Skills

Social Studies

Interpreting an Election Map

Election maps show various kinds of information about an election. For example, an election map might show the results of a presidential election by identifying the states that voted for each candidate. Another map might show the outcome of a congressional election, district by district.

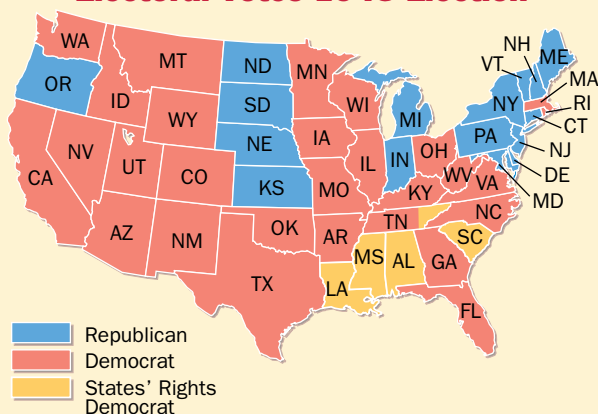
Learning the Skill

To read an election map, follow these steps:

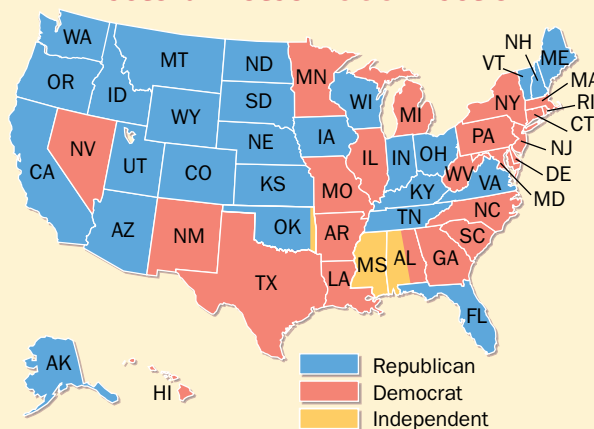
- Examine the map title or caption to determine what election information is being shown.
- Examine the map key to determine how information is presented.
- Based on this information, decide what kinds of questions the map is intended to answer.

The map below answers some questions about the election of 1948, but not others. It does not, for example, provide the results of the popular vote or the results of the final vote in the Electoral College.

Electoral Votes 1948 Election



Electoral Votes 1960 Election



Practicing the Skill

Examine the map above and answer the questions that follow.

1. What does the color red indicate on this map?
2. What does the color blue indicate?
3. How many states voted Republican?
4. Which states split their electoral votes?
5. Compare the two maps. Which states that voted Republican in 1948 voted Democratic in 1960?

Application Activity

In an almanac, newspaper, or other reference work, find the results of a recent city, state, or national election. Draw an election map to present those results. Include a key on your map.



The **Glencoe Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook, Level 2** provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

The Executive Office

Reader's Guide

Key Terms

central clearance, national security adviser, press secretary

Find Out

- What historic changes have made the Executive Office of the President necessary?
- In what ways are the members of the White House Office similar to and different from the president's cabinet?

Understanding Concepts

Political Processes Who are among the president's closest advisers on administration policy?

COVER STORY

Bush Grants Pardons

WASHINGTON, D.C., DECEMBER 24, 1992


President George Bush today pardoned White House aides of former president Ronald Reagan for their involvement in the Iran-contra affair. The pardons closed the legal troubles of those involved in the scandal, which broke in 1986. Two Reagan national security advisers and National Security Council staff were convicted of secret weapons sales to Iran and illegal aid to the Nicaraguan “contra” rebels. In 1987 Reagan accepted a report that blamed the scandal on his “hands-off” attitude toward his advisers. He also accepted responsibility for the actions of his staff.



Protesting U.S. intervention in Central America

Not all staff advisers are as high-profile as President Reagan's National Security Council members were in 1987. The **Executive Office of the President (EOP)** consists of individuals and agencies that directly assist the president. Modern presidents rely on the EOP to provide specialized advice and information needed for decision making. They also use it to help them implement presidential decisions and to gain more control over the executive branch.

Executive Office Agencies

 Created by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1939, the Executive Office of the President has grown to serve the needs of each administration. When Roosevelt took office in 1933 during the Great Depression, he immediately proposed a vast number of federal programs to deal with the country's serious economic problems. As Congress passed one special program after another, the size of the national government began to grow rapidly.

By the mid-1930s, Roosevelt and his few White House assistants felt overwhelmed because they could not coordinate all the new programs and gather all the information the president needed. Consequently, in 1935 Roosevelt appointed the President's Committee on Administrative Management to study the problem. In its report the Committee recommended that a personal staff be “installed in the White House itself, directly accessible to the president.” This staff was to assist the president in:

“Obtaining quickly and without delay all pertinent information . . . so as to guide him in making responsible decisions, and then when decisions have been made, to assist him in seeing to it that every administrative department and agency affected is promptly informed.”

—The President's Committee on Administrative Management, 1937

In response Congress passed the Reorganization Act of 1939 that created the Executive Office of the President. At the same time, President Franklin Roosevelt moved the Bureau of the Budget out of the Treasury Department into the EOP, where it would be more responsive to his wishes and he could be more aware of its activities. As another part of the EOP, he established the White

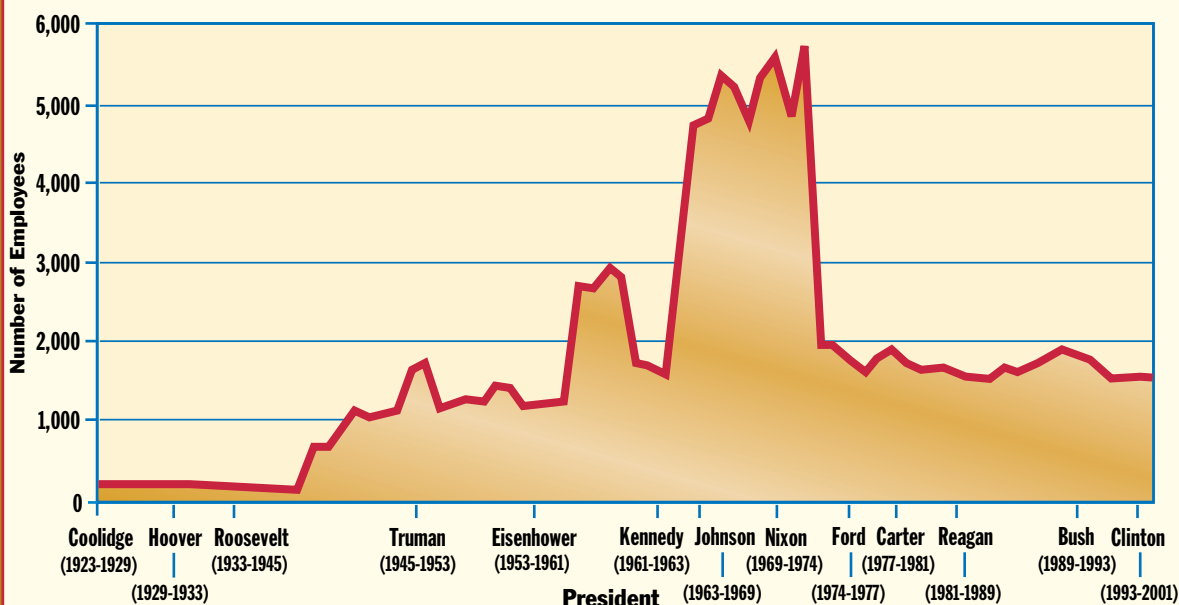
House Office, which he intended to be a small group of advisers working directly with the president on day-to-day matters.

Organization and Growth Today the EOP consists of the White House Office and several specialized agencies that all report directly to the president. Agency staffs include attorneys, scientists,



Congressional Quarterly's Government at a Glance

Executive Employees from Coolidge through Clinton



Selected Offices within the EOP 1998*

- | | |
|--|---|
| • Office of Management and Budget | • Council on Environmental Quality |
| • Council of Economic Advisers | • Office of Science and Technology |
| • National Security Council | • Office of Administration |
| • Office of National Drug Control Policy | • Office of Science and Technology Policy |
| • National Economic Council | • Office of the Vice President |
| • Office of United States Trade Representative | |

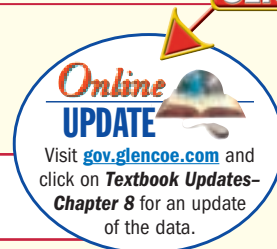
* The offices in the EOP are constantly changing; they are not a fixed or mandated group.

Sources: Ragsdale, *Vital Statistics on the Presidency: Washington to Clinton* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Inc., 1995); Washington Information Directory 1996-1997 (Washington, D.C.: CQ Inc., 1996).

Critical Thinking

The number of executive office employees reached its peak in the early 1970s. **Why do you think this number dropped after 1974?**

CLICK HERE



social scientists, and other highly technical or professional personnel. The EOP currently has more than 1,500 full-time employees, many of whom work in the west wing of the White House.

The Executive Office of the President has grown rapidly for three reasons. First, every president has reorganized it, adding new agencies or expanding existing ones in response to the problems of the day. For example, after an American-sponsored invasion of Cuba failed in 1961, President Kennedy enlarged the National Security Council staff.

Second, because some problems facing the nation's industrial society are so complex, presidents have wanted experts available to advise them about issues related to those problems. The Council of Economic Advisers was created for this reason.

Third, many of today's huge federal programs require several executive departments and agencies to work together. EOP staff members have been added to help coordinate these efforts. For

example, President Bush created the Office of National Drug Control Policy in 1989. This department coordinated the activities of more than 50 federal agencies involved in the war on drugs.

The three oldest agencies in the EOP have played the greatest role in presidential decision making. They are the Office of Management and Budget, the National Security Council, and the Council of Economic Advisers.

The Office of Management and Budget

Before 1970 the **Office of Management and Budget (OMB)** was called the Bureau of the Budget. It is the largest agency in the EOP. Its director, usually a trusted supporter of the president, has become as important as the cabinet secretaries. The OMB prepares the national budget that the president proposes to Congress each year.

Budgets reflect priorities. Because the nation's budget is not unlimited, the president must decide what spending is important and what is not. The OMB's budget indicates what programs the federal government will pay for and how much it will spend on them. Thus, the budget is a key way for a president to influence the government's direction and policies. In 1980 Ronald Reagan campaigned on a pledge to reduce the federal government's role in society and trim federal spending. Immediately after taking office, Reagan ordered David Stockman, his budget director, to prepare detailed plans to cut billions of dollars from government programs. Since the Reagan administration, the budget director has taken an active role in shaping national policy.

Each year all executive agencies submit their budgets to the OMB for review before they go into the president's budget. OMB officials then recommend to the president where to make cuts in each agency budget. To challenge an OMB recommendation, an agency director must appeal directly to the president or a top adviser. This system gives OMB real and continuing influence over executive agencies.

The OMB also reviews all legislative proposals executive agencies prepare. This review is called **central clearance**. If, for example, the Department of Agriculture drafts a bill on farm price supports, OMB officials will review the bill before it goes to Congress. They make sure it agrees with the president's policy objectives.

Preparing the National Budget



Budget Priorities Under OMB director Franklin Raines, the 1998 budget ran a surplus. Prior to this, the last balanced budget was in 1969. **How does the federal budget reflect the administration's priorities?**

The National Security Council Congress created the **National Security Council (NSC)** in 1947 to advise the president and help coordinate American military and foreign policy. Headed by the president, the council also includes the vice president, secretary of state, and secretary of defense. The president may ask other advisers, such as the CIA director or the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to participate in NSC meetings.

A special assistant for national security affairs, commonly called the **national security adviser**, directs the NSC staff. Perhaps more than most other advisory groups, the importance of the NSC has varied with the president's use of it. Truman did little with the NSC. Eisenhower held frequent NSC meetings, but he relied more on the advice of his secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, when making key foreign-policy decisions. Under Kennedy the NSC assumed more importance in presidential decision making. Although he did not call many formal NSC meetings, Kennedy relied heavily on his national security adviser.

During President Nixon's first term from 1969 to 1973, National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger and his staff had a great deal of authority. Working closely with Nixon, Kissinger developed the NSC into a kind of alternate State Department in the White House. In 1973 he negotiated the end of the Vietnam War. He negotiated the opening of diplomatic relations with China, an event that then-Secretary of State William Rogers did not learn of until he saw the news on television. Kissinger also coordinated arms-control talks with the Soviet Union. Rogers finally resigned.

President Carter experienced similar overlap in the activities of his national security adviser and his secretary of state. The governments of other nations complained about the confusion this situation created and asked whether the NSC or the State Department spoke for the United States in foreign-policy matters.

During the Reagan administration, the NSC staff conducted a secret operation to sell arms to Iran in exchange for the release of United States hostages. Profits from the arms sales were diverted to Nicaragua to contras, who were fighting the socialist government. The resulting congressional investigation into the Iran-contra affair decreased the power of the NSC to conduct foreign policy.

The National Security Adviser



Checks and Balances Henry Kissinger (right), Nixon's most influential foreign policy adviser, won the 1973 Nobel Peace Prize with Le Duc Tho, the North Vietnamese negotiator, for negotiating a cease-fire in the Vietnam War. Fighting went on, though, until 1975. **How did Nixon's reliance on Kissinger affect the secretary of state?**

The Council of Economic Advisers Since the Great Depression, the president has been the nation's chief economic planner. Created in 1946, the Council of Economic Advisers helps the president formulate the nation's economic policy. Janet Yellen, named chair of the Council in 1997, had a staff of about 60 other economists, attorneys, and political scientists.

The Council assesses the nation's economic health, predicts future economic conditions, and aids other executive agencies involved with economic planning. It also proposes solutions to specific problems, such as unemployment or inflation. To carry out these functions, it has access to information any federal department gathers having to do with American economic activity. The Council also helps prepare an annual report that is included in the *Economic Report of the President* and transmitted to Congress.

Presenting the President's Views to the World



Press Secretary


President Clinton's press secretary, Mike McCurry, answers reporters' questions. The press secretary meets regularly with the media to keep the public informed of the president's views and decisions. **What other officers are top assistants to a president?**

Other EOP Agencies The number and size of EOP agencies varies from administration to administration, according to the policies each president thinks are important. For example, President Johnson set up an Office of Economic Opportunity to help implement his domestic programs. President Nixon, however, opposed some of Johnson's social policies and eliminated the agency.

Recently the EOP included the following executive agencies in addition to the four agencies already noted: The Domestic Policy Council helps the president plan and carry out long-range policies in domestic areas such as farming and energy. The National Economic Council helps the president carry out long-range economic policy. The Office of Environmental Policy advises the president on environmental issues and policies. It works closely with the Environmental Protection Agency and the departments of Interior, Agriculture, and Energy. The Office of Science and Technology Policy advises the president on all scientific and technological matters that affect national policies and programs. The National Science and Technology Council advises the president about research and development, including the space program. The Office of the United States Trade Representative helps establish United States trade policy and helps negotiate trade agreements with

other nations. The Office of Administration provides support services such as data processing and clerical help for the other EOP agencies.

The White House Office

 The nation's first presidents had no personal staff. George Washington hired his nephew at his own expense to be his personal secretary. When James Polk was president from 1845 to 1849, his wife Sarah served as his secretary. During the 1890s both presidents Cleveland and McKinley personally answered the White House telephone. As late as the 1920s, Herbert Hoover's personal staff consisted of a few secretaries, several administrative assistants, and a cook.

In its 1937 study of the executive branch, the President's Committee on Administrative Management concluded:

“ *The President needs help. His immediate staff assistance is entirely inadequate. He should be given a small number of executive assistants who would be his direct aides in dealing with the managerial agencies and administrative departments.* **”**

—The President's Committee on Administrative Management, 1937

Organization and Growth Unlike the selection of cabinet members, the president appoints White House staff without Senate confirmation. Key aides usually are longtime personal supporters of the president. Many are newcomers to Washington. They do not usually have large constituencies, as do some cabinet officers.

The White House Office has become the most important part of the Executive Office of the President. From about 50 people under Roosevelt, the White House staff grew to almost 600 under Nixon. Clinton's White House Office consisted of about 380 people, a small number of whom reported directly to the president. These top assistants became an inner circle around the president. Chief among them were the president's chief of staff, deputy chief of staff, White House counsel, and **press secretary**.

Duties of the White House Staff White House aides perform whatever duties the president assigns them. Because of the role they perform, some aides become very influential. One former presidential adviser confided to an interviewer, "I had more power over national affairs in a few years in the White House than I could if I spent the rest of my life in the Senate."

One task of the White House Office is to gather information and provide advice about key issues facing the president. Some staffers are policy specialists in specific areas such as foreign affairs or energy problems. Others are political strategists, mainly concerned with the political impact of pol-

icy decisions the president makes. The White House counsel advises the president on the legal consequences of those decisions.

Top staff members also act as enforcers, trying to make sure the executive agencies and departments carry out key directives from the president. Bill Moyers, press secretary to President Johnson, explained, "The job of the White House assistant is to help the president impress his priorities on the Administration."

Other key White House staffers present the president's views to the outside world. A press staff headed by the press secretary handles the president's relations with the White House press corps, sets up press conferences, and issues public statements in the president's name. Other staff people work directly with members of Congress. The chief assistant for legislative affairs, for example, advises the president about possible reactions in Congress to White House decisions. These staff members also lobby the lawmakers to gain support for presidential programs.

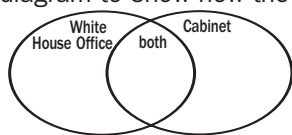
The executive departments and agencies write the president thousands of reports and memos. In addition, a steady stream of people from inside and outside the government want to see the president. Key aides decide who and what gets through to the president.

Recent presidents have given their top White House staff increased authority over actual policymaking. As a result, more and more policy decisions are being made in the White House rather than in federal agencies.

Section 4 Assessment

Checking for Understanding

- 1. Main Idea** Use a Venn diagram to show how the functions of the White House Office and the cabinet are alike and how they are different.
- 2. Define** central clearance, national security adviser, press secretary.
- 3. Identify** EOP, OMB, NSC.
- List three reasons why the EOP has grown.
- What are the three oldest agencies in the EOP, and what roles do they play?



Critical Thinking

- 6. Synthesizing Information** How does the influence of key presidential aides affect the checks and balances established by the Constitution?

Concepts IN ACTION

Political Processes Find out who the following presidential advisers are: chief of staff, deputy chief of staff, White House counsel, and press secretary. Research the background of each adviser and present your findings in a chart.

Presidency A to Z

Presidential Leadership *Presidents attend historical and artistic exhibits, ethnic festivals, and other symbolic or ceremonial events where they can display their interest in American life, reinforce their image as an average person, promote a cause in which they believe, or represent the nation.*

Ceremonies and Public Appearances



Out of the many types of events they attend, presidents have been especially fond of sporting contests. President William Howard Taft threw out the first baseball of the 1910 major league season on April 14 in Washington, D.C., and most presidents since then have observed the tradition. President Kennedy wanted to make such a good appearance at the event that he secretly practiced his throwing on the White House grounds. Since the Washington Senators baseball franchise moved to Texas in 1971, presidents who have wished to throw out the first baseball have had to travel to nearby Baltimore or other cities.

**Renowned opera singer
Marian Anderson**



**President Taft tosses the first
baseball of the season in 1910.**

Presidential Medal of Freedom



Presidents bestow a variety of official awards, the most prominent of which is the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest award for civilian achievement. Only the president can award the lustrous red, white, and blue enameled medal, which recognizes significant contributions to American life, the nation's security, or world peace. Recreated by President John F. Kennedy in 1963, the medal remains a rare and highly coveted honor today. Among past winners are singer Marian Anderson, astronaut Neil Armstrong, labor leader César Chávez, anthropologist Margaret Mead, writer E.B. White, and baseball great Jackie Robinson.



National Mourner



When a prominent American dies, the president is expected to lead the nation in mourning. The White House issues statements eulogizing well-known Americans who have died, but presidential attendance at funerals is generally reserved for former presidents, high government officials, or people who had a close personal or political relationship with the president. On April 27, 1994, President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton attended former president Richard Nixon's funeral. Also attending were all four living former presidents and their wives: George and Barbara Bush, Ronald and Nancy Reagan, Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter, and Gerald and Betty Ford.

Former presidents and their wives honor Nixon at his funeral.



Al Gore looks on as President Clinton signs a bill to revolutionize the way Americans get telephone and computer services.

Ceremonial Signing



At times, even the signing of a bill can become a symbolic occasion. On February 8, 1996, President Bill Clinton signed the Telecommunications Act of 1996 at the Library of Congress – and became the first president to sign a bill into law in cyberspace. Lawmakers from both parties hailed the act as a great leap forward, one that cleared out restrictions hindering U.S. companies in the information age. The event featured a high-tech electronic pen for “signing” the bill on the Internet and an appearance by actress Lily Tomlin playing her well-known character, telephone operator Ernestine. Citizens could watch the ceremony unfold in real time over the Internet.

Chapter 8

Assessment and Activities

CLICK HERE

GOVERNMENT

Online



Self-Check Quiz Visit the *United States Government: Democracy in Action* Web site at gov.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter 8–Self-Check Quizzes** to prepare for the chapter test.

Reviewing Key Terms

Define each of the following terms and use it in a sentence that is appropriate to its meaning.

compensation	leak
presidential succession	central clearance
electoral vote	national security adviser
elector	press secretary
cabinet	

Recalling Facts

1. List four special benefits that the president receives while in office.

Current Events

JOURNAL

Executive Duties Find newspaper and magazine articles about the executive departments. Write a brief summary of an article, including an explanation about why the particular department was involved. Combine your article and explanation with those of your classmates in a pamphlet titled "The Executive Departments in Action."

2. How does the winner-take-all system of the Electoral College operate?
3. What is the process by which cabinet members are selected and appointed?
4. Why has the Executive Office of the President grown?
5. What are the two major functions of the Office of Management and Budget?
6. What are the four key positions on the White House Office staff?

Understanding Concepts

1. **Growth of Democracy** Why do some people criticize plans for the direct popular election of the president?
2. **Constitutional Interpretations** The youngest elected president was John Kennedy at 43. Why do you think the Framers of the Constitution in 1787 set the minimum age for president at 35?
3. **Political Processes** Unlike heads of executive departments, White House staff members are not required to receive congressional approval. What are the advantages and disadvantages of this policy?

Critical Thinking

1. **Drawing Conclusions** Candidates for president are not usually drawn to the office because of the salary. Why do you think these people run for the office?
2. **Identifying Alternatives** Use a graphic organizer like the one below to rank the proposals for reforming the Electoral College system from most to least desirable. Explain your rankings.

proposals	reasons
1.	
2.	
3.	

3. **Synthesizing Information** Will a president who relies on the cabinet for advice be more or less informed than one who depends on close White House advisers? Explain your answer.

CONTENTS

Chapter 8

Cooperative Learning Activity

Making a Policy Decision Work together in small groups to research the duties of key members of the White House staff such as chief of staff, deputy chief of staff, White House counsel, and press secretary. Then have each group role-play before the class how each position might be involved in a critical policy decision.

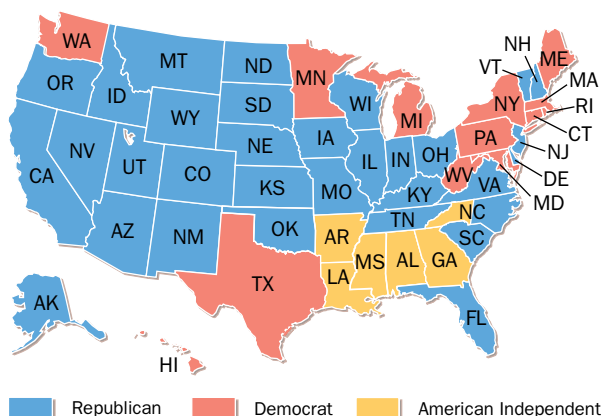
Skill Practice Activity

Interpreting an Election Map

Examine the map below and answer the following questions:

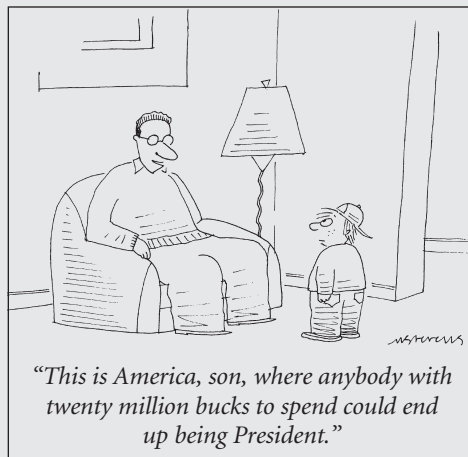
1. What does the color blue indicate on this map?
2. How does the map show which states voted for Republican Richard Nixon?
3. Where was the American Independent Party strong?
4. How would you describe the regional distribution of votes in this election?
5. Compare this map with the map of the 1960 election on page 233. Which states that voted Republican in 1960 voted Democratic in 1968?

Electoral Votes 1968 Election



Interpreting Political Cartoons Activity

1. What does the father think is the most important requirement to become president?
2. Does the cartoon make reference to any of the formal qualifications for the office of the president?
3. Do you agree with the statement made in the cartoon? Why or why not?



Technology Activity

Using the Internet The White House has its own Web site on the Internet. Find information about current activities or events that are taking place at the White House by accessing this site. Using a word processor, summarize the information you find and format it into a "press release."



Participating in State Government

Contact your state government offices to find out the following information:

- How are the Democratic and Republican electors chosen in your state?
- How and where do the electors cast their ballots for president?

Organize the data chronologically and present your findings in a flowchart or informational brochure.

