

UNIT

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CHAPTER 7

THE PRESIDENCY

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EXECUTIVE BRANCH AT WORK

CHAPTER 9

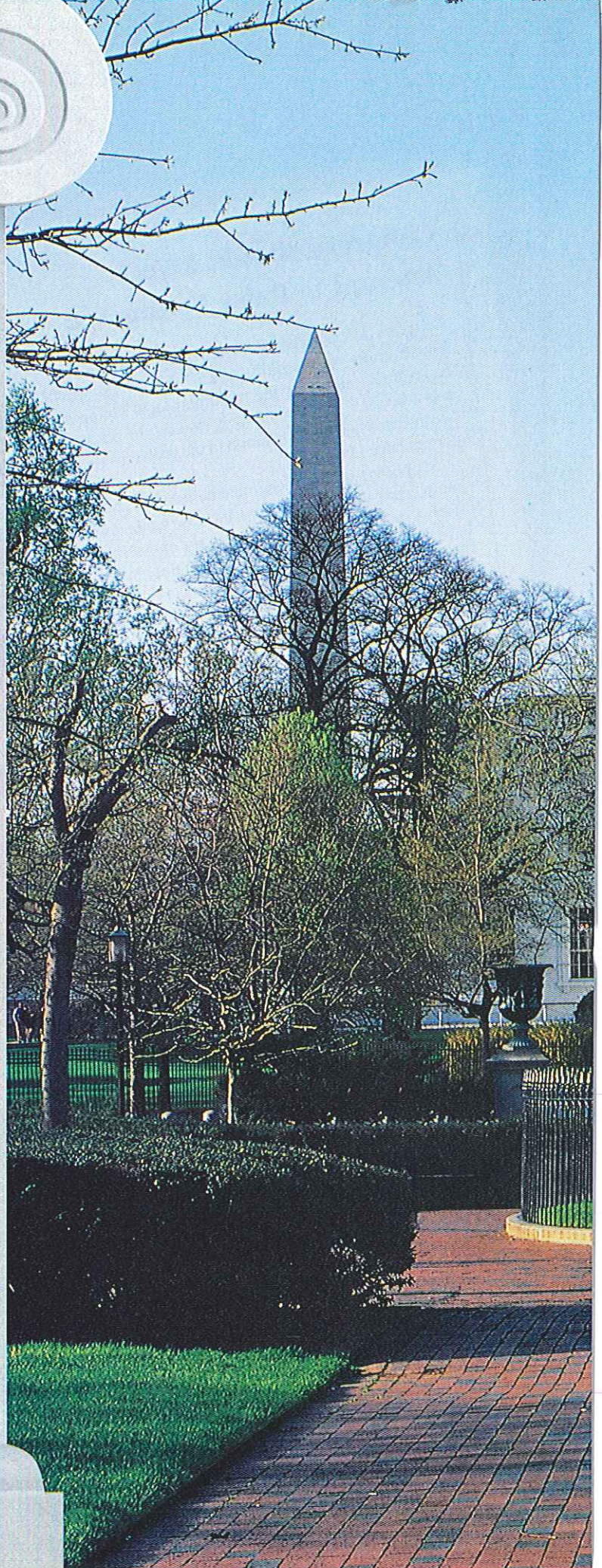
ECONOMIC POLICY

CHAPTER 10

FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

PUBLIC POLICY LAB

What process might you follow if you were to write a speech for the president? Find out by reading this unit and taking the Public Policy Lab challenge on pages 242–45.



THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH



CHAPTER 7

THE PRESIDENCY

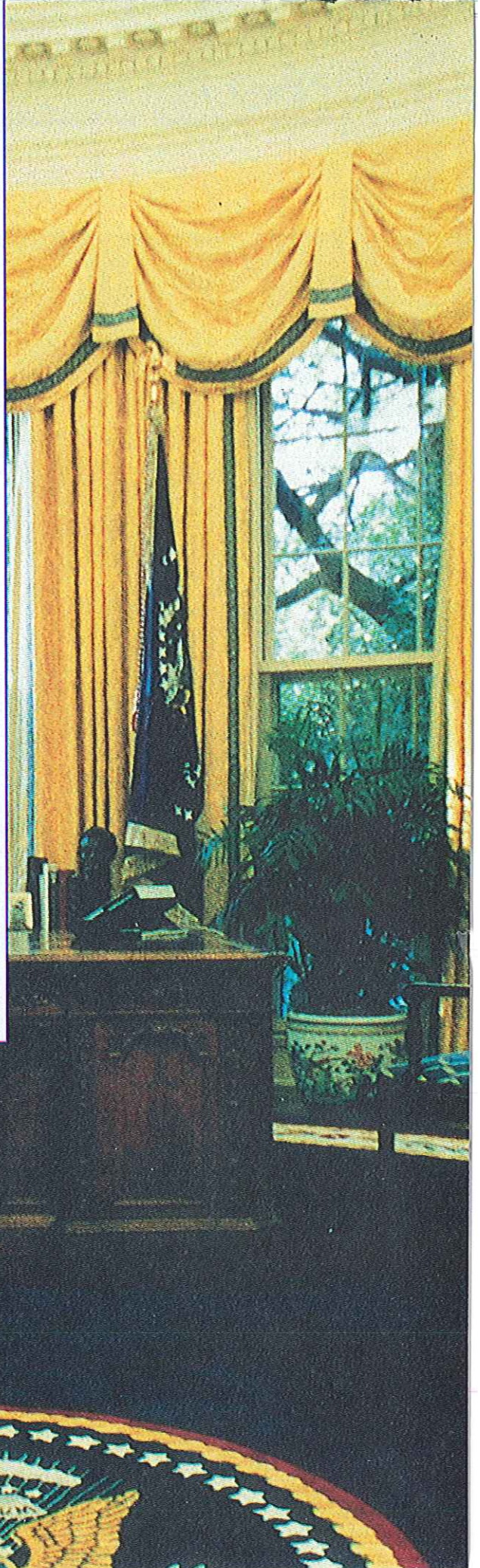
If you have heard of only one address in Washington, D.C., it is likely to be 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue—the address of the White House, home and office of the president of the United States. The White House attracts more visitors each year than any other building in the country. This is not surprising, as the presidency is the major focus of attention in the U.S. political system.

Although presidents do not and cannot “run” the country single-handedly, most modern presidents have had decisive influence over U.S. foreign policy and have set much of the agenda for economic and domestic policy. This chapter looks at the many roles, qualifications, and powers of the president, as well as the presidential nomination and election processes.



Government Notebook

In your Government Notebook, list all of the presidents who have served since you entered the first grade. What do you remember about these presidents and their terms in office?



SECTION 1

THE PRESIDENTIAL OFFICE

Political Dictionary



State of the Union
Address
diplomacy
foreign policy
presidential succession

Objectives

- ★ What are the roles of the president?
- ★ What are the qualifications and terms of the office of the presidency?
- ★ What is the order of presidential succession?

Since 1789 many children in America have proudly exclaimed, “I’m going to grow up to be president.” However, speaking as a present-day high school student, would you like to apply for the job? Before you answer, read on to learn about the president’s roles in the U.S. government as well as the position’s qualifications and terms of office.

The President’s Roles

The president plays many vital roles in U.S. government. Some of these roles are outlined in the Constitution. Others have been assumed and expanded by those who have held the office.

Chief Executive Article II, Section 1, of the Constitution states that “the executive power shall be vested in [given to] a President of the United States of America.” This means that as head of the executive branch, the president is responsible for executing, or carrying out, the nation’s laws.

Commander in Chief Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution states that “the President shall be

Commander in Chief of the army and navy of the United States.” As head of the U.S. armed forces, the president commands all military officers in both wartime and peacetime. This does not mean that he or she actually leads U.S. troops into battle. The president does, however, stay in frequent contact with the nation’s military leaders and has the final say in wartime decisions.

Chief Agenda Setter The Constitution requires that the president “shall from time to time give to the Congress information of [about] the state of the Union, and recommend to their [Congress’s] consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary.” To carry out this provision, each year the president delivers several messages to Congress. In January the president delivers a **State of the Union Address**, which sets forth the programs, policies, and legislation that he or she wants Congress to enact. The president also sends Congress a budget proposal, recommending how the federal government should raise and spend its money.

Representative of the Nation As one of two nationally elected officials in the government, the president represents—in a way that no member of



CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT In October 1994 President Bill Clinton visited U.S. troops in Kuwait. What are the president’s responsibilities as commander in chief?

Congress can—all of the people. As President Woodrow Wilson wrote, “He [the president] is the representative of no constituency, but of the whole people. When he speaks in his true character, he speaks for no special interest.” President Harry Truman stated a similar idea: “The president is the only lobbyist that 150 million Americans have. The other 20 million are able to employ people to represent them . . . but someone has to look out after the interests of the 150 million that are left.” (The population of the United States at the time was around 170 million.)

As the nation’s main representative, the president is often the focus of political attention. This becomes most apparent during crises. For example, the president often travels to the site of a natural disaster—such as a hurricane in Florida

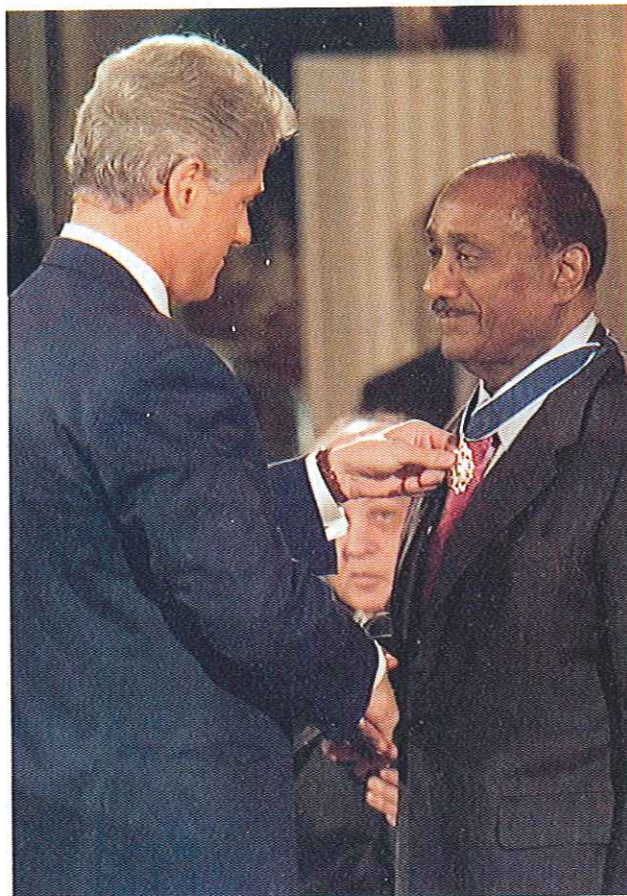
Comparing

↑ Governments

The French Prime Minister

In most countries with a parliamentary system of government, the prime minister—rather than a monarch or a president—is the chief executive. Prime ministers generally are involved in both domestic and foreign policy. The French parliamentary system, however, is organized somewhat differently. In France, the president, who is elected by the people, and the prime minister, who is appointed by the president but is responsible to the Parliament, share executive powers. The president largely manages foreign affairs, while the prime minister takes responsibility for the daily operations of the government.

Another unusual characteristic of the French parliamentary system is that the prime minister is allowed to hold other government positions while helping run the nation. For example, several French politicians in recent years have served as mayor of a city while also serving as prime minister. Many people in France believe that such combinations are a good way to stay in touch with the public while serving as the nation’s executive.

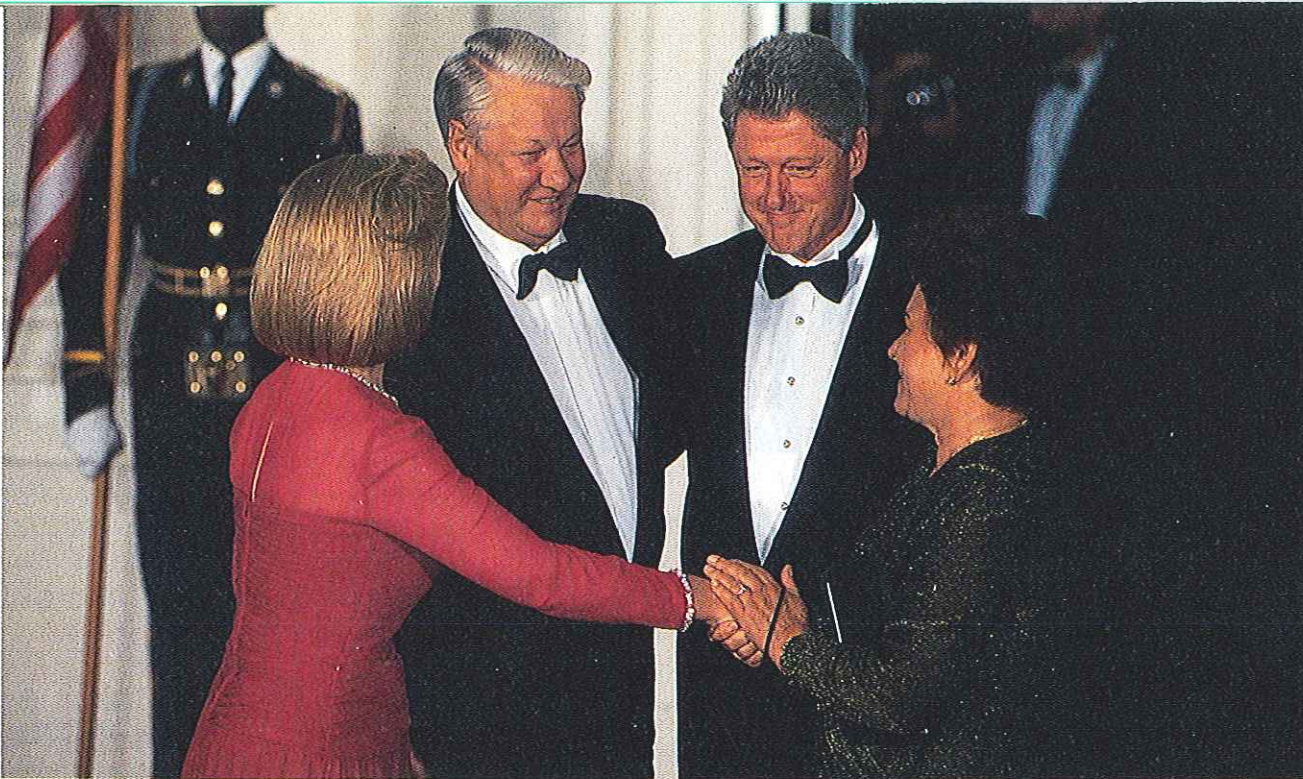


CITIZENSHIP *President Bill Clinton awards John H. Johnson, chief executive officer of Johnson Publishing, the Presidential Medal of Freedom. What duties must the president assume as the country’s chief of state?*

or an earthquake in California—to show national concern. “In times of crisis,” one observer has noted, “citizens expect their president to be personally on duty and in charge.”

Chief of State As chief of state the president symbolizes the United States and its people. This means that the president represents the nation when meeting with foreign leaders both at home and abroad. In this role, the president engages in **diplomacy**, or the art of conducting negotiations with foreign countries. Such diplomacy builds international ties that further U.S. economic and security interests.

In the role of chief of state, the president also performs many ceremonial duties. These include awarding medals to citizens who have made notable contributions to society, lighting the nation’s Christmas tree, and opening the professional baseball season by throwing the first pitch.



WORLD AFFAIRS *President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton greet Russian president Boris Yeltsin and his wife, Naina Yeltsin, at a White House state dinner in 1994. Why is it important for the president to establish friendships with foreign leaders?*

Foreign-Policy Leader Related to the role of chief of state is that of foreign-policy leader. As the head of one of the most powerful countries in the world, the president must give constant attention to the nation's **foreign policy**—its plans for dealing with other countries. The goals of U.S. foreign policy are to promote trade and friendship with other countries while maintaining the security of the United States. (The goals and principles of U.S. foreign policy are more fully explained in Chapter 10.) The president's special role in foreign affairs is suggested in the Constitution by the role as commander in chief and the power to negotiate treaties with foreign nations. Also, the Constitution states that the president must take an oath to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." Congressmembers are not required to take an oath, suggesting that the president has a special responsibility for national security.

Party Leader As the leader of his or her political party, the president makes speeches to help other party members who are running for public office. The president also helps the party raise money for its political campaigns, candidates, and programs.

Qualifications and Terms of Office

You now know the roles that the president must play once in office. What qualifications, though, must a person have to reach the presidency, and what are the terms of office?

Formal Qualifications Article II, Section 1, of the Constitution states that the president must

- ★ be a native-born U.S. citizen,
- ★ be at least 35 years of age, and
- ★ have been a U.S. resident for at least 14 years.

The Constitution contains no other formal qualifications for the presidency.

Presidential Background In addition to fulfilling the above formal qualifications, the people who have become president also have shared similar personal backgrounds. For example, all presidents to date have been white, male Christians. This pattern shows signs of changing, however. In 1984 Geraldine Ferraro was the Democratic nominee for vice president. Also in 1984 and again in 1988, Jesse Jackson, an African American, made a strong bid for the presidency. In fact, recent polls

I WANT YOU

F.D.R.



**STAY
AND FINISH
THE JOB!**



INDEPENDENT VOTERS' COMMITTEE OF THE
ARTS and SCIENCES for ROOSEVELT

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT *President Franklin D. Roosevelt was the only U.S. president to serve more than two terms in office. Here, an interest group advertises its support of Roosevelt's campaign for his third term. Which amendment to the Constitution established a two-term limit for the presidency?*

suggest that a majority of Americans would vote for a qualified woman, African American, or Jewish American for president.

In addition, most of the nation's 41 presidents have been highly educated. Of the 24 presidents who served during the 1700s and 1800s, when few people went to college, 15 were college graduates. All twentieth-century presidents except for Harry S Truman attended college, and several earned advanced degrees. (President Truman earned a law degree—law schools did not require an undergraduate degree at the time.)

Terms The Constitution sets the president's term of office at four years. Originally, however, the number of terms a president could serve was not

specified. After serving two terms, George Washington stated that he did not wish to be considered for a third term and stepped down. All presidents afterward followed this two-term tradition until Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was elected to a third term in 1940 and a fourth in 1944.

To keep one person from holding the nation's highest office for such a long time, in 1947 Congress proposed the Twenty-second Amendment, which the states ratified in 1951. This amendment set forth a constitutional two-term limit for the presidency.

Salary and Benefits Currently the president earns \$200,000 a year, plus \$50,000 for official expenses and additional allowances for travel and entertainment. Congress sets the president's salary. However, to prevent Congress from using the power to influence the president, a change in salary cannot take place until the beginning of the next presidential term.

The presidency carries several benefits in addition to salary. The president and his or her family live in the White House, a stately mansion that features both offices for White House staff and private living quarters for the presidential family. For special meetings and vacations, the president may use Camp David, a mountain retreat in Maryland.

To travel to Camp David and anywhere else in the world, the president has a fleet of cars, helicopters, and airplanes, including the presidential jet, *Air Force One*. One story has it that when President Lyndon B. Johnson began boarding one of two helicopters and an aide informed him that his was the other one, Johnson replied, "They're all mine."

Presidential Succession The Constitution states that if the president dies, resigns, or is removed from office, the vice president becomes president. This constitutional provision has been invoked nine times—eight times when the president died in office and once when he resigned.

What would happen if both the president and the vice president should die or resign? The

Presidential Succession

1. Vice President
2. Speaker of the House
3. President *Pro Tempore* of the Senate
4. Secretary of State
5. Secretary of the Treasury
6. Secretary of Defense
7. Attorney General
8. Secretary of the Interior
9. Secretary of Agriculture
10. Secretary of Commerce
11. Secretary of Labor
12. Secretary of Health and Human Services
13. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
14. Secretary of Transportation
15. Secretary of Energy
16. Secretary of Education
17. Secretary of Veterans Affairs



The chart above lists the order of succession for the presidency if the president should die or resign. Which cabinet member is fourth in line for the presidency?

Constitution gives Congress the right to decide **presidential succession**, or who should fill the presidency and in what order. According to a law passed by Congress in 1947, presidential succession after the vice president is as follows: Speaker of the House of Representatives, president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and the members of the cabinet—in the order in which their departments were created.

If the president is succeeded by the vice president, who becomes the new vice president? Until 1967 no one did—the office remained empty until the next presidential election. In 1965, however, Congress proposed the Twenty-fifth Amendment, which the states ratified in 1967. The amendment provided for the president to nominate a new vice president.

The new law was tested six years later, when Vice President Spiro Agnew was forced to resign after he pled no contest to income tax evasion. It was later determined that he also had received illegal payoffs from construction company executives while he was governor of Maryland and vice president. President Richard Nixon nominated Gerald Ford to fill the office. When Nixon resigned later that same year as a result of Watergate, Ford became president. Ford nominated Nelson Rockefeller as his vice president, creating a situation in which neither the president nor the vice president was elected by the people. The nominee takes office only if approved by a majority vote of both houses of Congress. The Twenty-fifth Amendment also states that the vice president should serve as acting president if the president is too ill to serve.

SECTION 1

REVIEW

1. Define the following terms: State of the Union Address, diplomacy, foreign policy, presidential succession.
2. Describe the president's role as representative of the nation. What are the other roles of the president?
3. What formal qualifications must a person fulfill to be president?
4. What are the terms and benefits of the presidency?

5. Thinking and Writing Critically



Examine the chart on this page. Do you agree with the current order of presidential succession? If a president dies or resigns from office, should the vice president assume the presidency, or should a new presidential election be held? Explain your answers.

6. Applying **POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS**



Conduct an Internet search for the White House's home page. Make a list of the information you find there.

SECTION 2

PRESIDENTIAL POWERS

Political Dictionary



executive order
executive privilege
alliance
executive agreement
diplomatic recognition
reprieve
pardon
commutation

Objectives

- ★ What are the president's executive and foreign-policy powers?
- ★ What judicial and legislative powers does the president have?
- ★ How has presidential power grown over the years?

Many people believe that the president has the power to “run” the nation. This impression, however, is not shared by presidents themselves. Contemplating the transition of his successor, Dwight Eisenhower, from the military to the White House, President Truman said, “He’ll sit here, and he’ll say, ‘Do this! Do that!’ *And nothing will happen.* Poor Ike—it won’t be a bit like the Army.” President John F. Kennedy liked to quote William Shakespeare’s play *Henry IV*, in which one character boasts, “I can call spirits from the vasty deep,” to which another replies, “Why so can I, or so can any man; But will they come when you do call them?”

Presidents may have felt so limited partly because it is Congress that makes the laws. The president’s role regarding domestic policy is often merely to try to influence the legislature. As you will learn, however, the president does have decisive and far-reaching foreign-policy powers, and presidential power has grown over the years. In

addition, as Chapter 9 explains, the president has the power to influence U.S. economic policy through his or her recommendations regarding the nation’s spending plan.

Executive Powers

The president’s executive powers are simple and yet far-reaching. They include carrying out laws and appointing officials. Presidents also have claimed an additional power, executive privilege.

Executing Laws Article II, Section 3, of the Constitution states that the president “shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.” This simple phrase gives the president great powers. Because laws passed by Congress are generally quite broad, the president has a great deal of freedom in interpreting how to carry out and enforce them.

One way that the president exercises this power is by issuing **executive orders**—detailed instructions, regulations, and rules that state how to carry out and enforce legislation. Executive orders have the force of law.

Appointing Officials The president’s executive powers also include appointing officials. As the



CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

Madeleine Albright, the first woman to be appointed secretary of state, was sworn into office on January 24, 1997. What constitutional power does Congress have over the president’s cabinet appointments?

Constitution states, the president “shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for.” By appointing people to fill key positions in government, the president can influence the government’s priorities and policies.

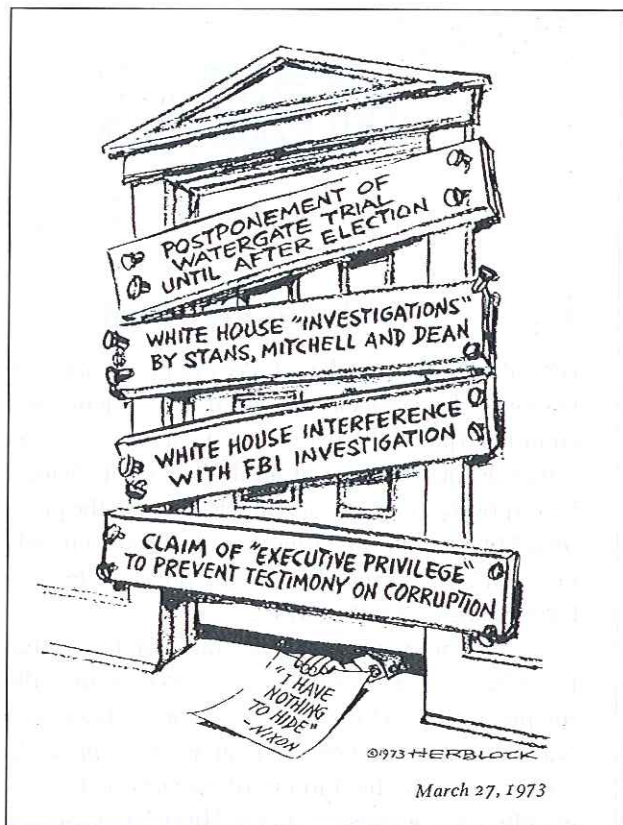
The president’s appointment power is limited to key officials, such as the heads of the major executive departments and agencies and other policy-making officials. Most federal employees are hired under a civil service merit system, which is more fully explained in Chapter 8. Their jobs are out of reach of the president.

The president’s appointment power is checked by the Senate, which confirms or rejects appointments of many high-level government officials. The Senate has used its power to refuse presidential appointments only rarely.

Executive Privilege Perhaps the most controversial executive power is the president’s occasional refusal to give Congress information that it has requested. Although the term was first used in 1955, presidents since George Washington have based such refusals on the idea of **executive privilege**, or the president’s right not to hand over documents or to testify regarding matters that he or she believes are the executive branch’s confidential business.

The most dramatic case of executive privilege happened during the Watergate investigation in 1973. When the Senate began investigating the case, President Richard Nixon claimed executive privilege, announcing that none of his aides would be allowed to testify before the Senate Watergate Committee. Afterward, when the Senate learned of the existence of tape recordings of White House meetings, Nixon again claimed executive privilege and refused to hand over the tapes. After a nearly one-year struggle, the Supreme Court ruled that executive privilege did not apply in the case and that Nixon must hand over the tapes.

The debate over executive privilege continues. Some argue that certain matters, such as delicate negotiations with foreign countries, often must be kept secret. Others, however, believe that Congress must have access to all the material it needs to oversee agencies and to write legislation.



From Herblock Special Report (W.W. Norton, 1974). Reprinted by permission.

POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS This cartoon illustrates President Richard Nixon’s attempt to use the power of executive privilege to prevent White House aides from testifying during the Watergate investigations. How did the Supreme Court rule on executive privilege in the Watergate investigation?

Diplomatic Powers

Although many officials in the Department of State and other agencies help conduct U.S. foreign policy, the president is the main person responsible for the nation’s foreign policy. The president has assumed this leading role partly because of the speed with which foreign-policy decisions must be made, particularly during crises. A large body such as Congress, by requiring debate and majority agreement, would on the other hand move too slowly to handle many foreign-policy situations.

Making Treaties With the advice and consent of the Senate, the president has the power to make treaties, or agreements, between the United States and other countries. Treaties include peace agreements to end wars and trade agreements that set up economic ties and terms of trade. Another kind

Government and Journalism

The President and the Media

Few photographs exist of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in a wheelchair. Yet the president, who contracted polio when he was 39 years old, relied on a wheelchair to move around. Roosevelt disliked being photographed in his wheelchair, and the press respected his wishes. "There was an unspoken code of honor" among members of the press, writes historian Doris Kearns Goodwin.

At the time, most people did not know that President Roosevelt was in a wheelchair. Why did the press hold to this "unspoken code"? Roosevelt had a good working relationship with the press, in part because he held frequent press conferences. Members of the press respected his wishes, and he provided them with information for their stories.

The news media today play a far different role than they did during the Roosevelt administration. The actions and personal lives of more recent presidents have been much more closely examined than in earlier administrations. What changed? The Watergate break-in, which led to President Richard M. Nixon's resignation, was perhaps the single event that changed the relationship between the media and the president. Investigative journalism, a technique popularized by reporters who exposed the Watergate scandal, often focuses on uncovering negative stories about the lives of high-level officials.

Is this justified? How much does the public have the right to know about the nation's president? These are highly debated questions in today's media-focused world. Television news and newspaper headlines are the public's foremost sources of knowledge about the president. This information helps shape the public's view of the president and opinions on issues. During his administrations, President Bill Clinton has been plagued by stories on Whitewater, Travelgate, and his use of the White House for campaign fundraising. These stories have portrayed the president in less than favorable ways. Some people say



President Ronald Reagan speaks to members of the press on the lawn at the White House.

that the media focus too much attention on the personal lives of presidents when providing this information. Others argue that the job of the media is to act as a watchdog over political leaders.

As the public has gained greater access to information about the activities of the president, the relationship between the president and the media has become less friendly and respectful. Presidents have argued that the media's coverage is too critical, and the media claim that the public has a right to know what the president is doing.

In spite of these criticisms, the president does receive many benefits from media coverage. Increased access to media has allowed recent presidents to influence public support for their policy agendas, for example. In addition, major television coverage of the presidential speeches allows the president to publicly announce his or her legislative agenda for the year. During times of crisis, the president can use the media as a tool to rally the public's support. In essence, the media enable the president to establish a relationship with the public.

What Do You Think?

1. Do you think the public has a right to know information about the president's personal life? Explain your answer.
2. Do you think that the media place too much emphasis on negative stories? Why?



WORLD AFFAIRS *President Richard Nixon and Soviet president Leonid Brezhnev signed the SALT treaty in 1972. For what reason might a president sign a treaty with another country?*

of treaty forms **alliances**—agreements between two or more countries to help each other for defense, economic, scientific, or other reasons.

Making Executive Agreements Not all issues among countries need be worked out through treaties, however. The president and the leader of a foreign government may arrange a more informal understanding, or **executive agreement**. These agreements cover a variety of areas such as educational and scientific exchange programs, joint economic ventures, and economic assistance. In 1995, for example, through an executive agreement with Mexican president Ernesto Zedillo, President Clinton arranged for a loan of \$20 billion to Mexico.

The use of executive agreements has grown in recent years in part because they allow presidents to make foreign policy without going through Congress's slow-moving treaty approval process. Congress needs only to be officially notified of the agreement within 60 days.

Recognizing Countries The president also has the right to establish **diplomatic recognition**, or to determine whether the United States officially recognizes a government as the proper representative of its country's people. To recognize a foreign country means to set up official relations with that nation's government.

Military Powers

The Constitution states that only Congress can declare war. As commander in chief of the armed forces, however, the president may send U.S. forces anywhere in the world that there is danger to the United States. In this role the president may order troops, warships, and fighter planes to faraway places. The president also makes recommendations to Congress about the military's size and equipment needs. In the 1990s, for example, President Clinton recommended to Congress that the numbers of U.S. soldiers, naval vessels, and long-range bombers be reduced.

Committing Troops Presidents have committed U.S. soldiers to foreign duty for many reasons. In 1992 President George Bush sent U.S. troops to Somalia to help keep the peace and pass out food to starving people. In 1994 President Clinton sent soldiers to Haiti to help restore democracy in that country. These situations involved little in the way of conventional warfare.

War Powers Act Presidents have, however, sent U.S. troops into battle—in Korea, Vietnam, and many smaller conflicts. Though they were not declared wars, these conflicts involved all of the costs of a declared war, including sending soldiers into combat. As a result, Congress has sometimes challenged presidential power to commit U.S. soldiers to battle. Presidents have responded by saying that their authority to do so stems from their constitutional powers as commander in chief.

Congress pressed the issue, however, and in 1973 passed the War Powers Act. This act requires that soldiers sent abroad by the president be brought back within 60 days unless Congress approves the action. This time may be extended to 90 days if needed to ensure the safe removal of U.S. troops. Some critics of the act argue that it gives the president a power not stated in nor intended by the Constitution—the power to conduct undeclared war for 60 to 90 days without congressional approval. Others believe that the act

Careers in Government



The Military

Many young people—men and women alike—find a rewarding career in the military. In 1775, when George Washington took command of the country's first army, soldiers learned to load muskets and fire cannons. In contrast, today's military is one of computer-operated tanks and sophisticated jet fighters. Although combat preparedness is still a major aspect of military training, today's military jobs also include those requiring technical expertise in fields such as communications, electronics, and medicine. The role of the military—to defend the nation—remains unchanged, however.

The U.S. armed forces is made up of five branches—the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard. Each branch employs personnel in occupations that range from meteorology to equipment maintenance. Military employees are provided with specialized, complex training, and each branch has its own training programs.

An enlistee is trained in one of the more than 2,000 military occupation specialties, which include such jobs as rocket specialist, air traffic controller, emergency medical technician, illustrator, and computer programmer. Enlistees enter the armed forces by enrolling in a branch of the military. Many enlisted men and women enter the military after graduating from high school.

Military officers, however, are usually college educated. Officers in all branches of the military



Military personnel at the Satellite Operation Center near Denver, Colorado, keep an eye on missiles around the world.

except the Coast Guard can train in the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC), which is offered at colleges and universities. Graduates completing the four-year ROTC program leave college as officers. Officers in all branches are trained to perform functions such as combat leadership, technical support in electronics and computers, and military intelligence.

Military officers also may train at one of the country's five service academies—the U.S. Military Academy, the U.S. Air Force Academy, the U.S. Naval Academy, the U.S. Coast Guard Academy, and the U.S. Merchant Marine Academy—all of which are now open to women. In addition, Officer Candidate School (OCS) and state-controlled military schools, such as the Citadel and Virginia Military Institute, provide officer training.

was necessary, however, to limit the president's powers as commander in chief.

In fact, the act did not end the debate over committing U.S. troops. In 1991 President Bush sent U.S. soldiers to the Persian Gulf to lead a ground and air attack on Iraq, which had invaded its neighbor Kuwait in late 1990. American troops, along with troops from several other countries, defeated Iraq and won back Kuwait's independence. Some people criticized the Persian Gulf operation because it took place without Congress's having issued a declaration of war. Others have pointed out,

however, that Bush did meet with Congress about sending U.S. troops to the area and that Congress issued a statement supporting the operation.

Judicial Powers

As you know, the Constitution gives the president the power to appoint Supreme Court justices with the approval of the Senate. How much influence does this power give presidents over the Court? Conservative presidents do tend to appoint justices with conservative ideals, just as liberal presidents

tend to appoint justices with liberal ideals. Once on the Court bench, however, justices often stray from these labels. Several presidents have been dismayed when one of their Court appointees handed down a decision that was the opposite of what they expected it to be. Supreme Court justices, unlike other presidential appointees, cannot be removed from office by the president once they are seated. Thus, the appointment power does not place Supreme Court justices under presidential control.

The president's judicial powers also include the appointment of all other federal judges, and granting reprieves, pardons, and commutations. A **reprieve** postpones the carrying out of a person's sentence. It allows a convicted person to gather more evidence or to appeal for a new trial. Reprieves often are granted in death penalty cases. A **pardon** grants forgiveness to a convicted criminal and frees the person from serving out his or her sentence. A **commutation** lessens the severity of a convicted person's sentence.

Legislative Powers

In addition to the preceding executive powers, the president also holds several legislative powers. He or she can influence congressional action by recommending legislation, vetoing legislation, and lobbying congressional members.

Recommending Legislation According to the Constitution, only members of Congress may actually introduce bills. Congress and the public, however, have come to expect the president to play a key role in setting the legislative agenda. For example, President Woodrow Wilson presented to Congress a legislative reform program that he called the "New Freedom." Among the proposed reforms were the lowering of a high protective tariff and the creation of the Federal Reserve system.

The State of the Union Address has become the president's major opportunity for proposing a



POLITICAL PROCESSES *President George Bush meets with U.S. soldiers in Saudi Arabia during Operation Desert Storm in 1990. What restrictions does the War Powers Act place on the president's power to send soldiers abroad?*

legislative program. This speech tends to outline the president's priorities in broad terms. The details of the legislative program usually are contained in the president's annual budget, which proposes how much money government will spend and on what programs. (The president's role in the budget process is more fully explained in Chapter 9.)

Vetoing Legislation The veto power is largely a preventive measure. It does not enable the president to produce legislation, but it can help undo laws with which he or she disagrees. Because vetoes are difficult to override, the president can sometimes use the threat of a veto to pressure Congress into modifying a bill. In addition, as noted in Chapter 6, the line-item veto increases the president's power by allowing him or her to veto certain parts of a spending bill without vetoing the entire measure. As noted in Chapter 6, however, the constitutionality of the line-item veto had yet to be ruled on by the Supreme Court by mid-1997.

Lobbying Presidents lobby members of Congress on behalf of certain bills by making personal telephone calls and by inviting members of Congress to the White House. Presidential lobbying typically takes place just before final floor consideration—



POLITICAL PROCESSES *Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, President Bill Clinton, and Senator Bob Dole meet at the White House to discuss the problems with the federal budget. How does the president work to gain the support of members of Congress for certain programs and policies?*

particularly if the count is so close that a handful of votes could make the difference. Of course, some presidents have used this power more than others. President Lyndon Johnson, for example, called members frequently. In fact, he once called to lobby a senator at 2:30 A.M. Johnson began the conversation by asking how the member was doing. “I was just lying here waiting for you to call me, Mr. President,” came the sarcastic reply.

Sometimes a president will offer support or threaten to withhold support for a project that is crucial to a member’s district in order to pressure the person into backing a particular bill. More often, however, presidential lobbying involves wooing, not threatening. For example, Donald Regan, a close adviser to President Ronald Reagan, described the president’s lobbying efforts by saying that “the President never bullied, never threatened, never cajoled [sweet-talked]. It was always: Let me explain why I’m for this bill, and I hope that we can count on your vote.”

Growth of Presidential Power

As noted in Chapter 3, many of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention believed that executive power was necessary for effective government, but they feared creating an executive that was too strong. As a result, they placed several

checks on the president’s powers. Nonetheless, the power of the presidency has grown—in large part because of the individuals who have held the office.

Early Presidents President George Washington, determined to establish the new government’s role as representative of the American people, set out to make the president a symbol of federal authority. During 1794’s Whiskey Rebellion, when a rag-tag band of farmers in western Pennsylvania rose up to oppose a federal tax on liquor, Washington himself accompanied more than 12,000 militia partway to the scene of the rebellion. This display of military might was meant to show how much force the president could summon to ensure that people obey federal laws.



CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT *Some presidents have pushed their power to the limits of what the Constitution allows. In this cartoon, published in 1832, President Andrew Jackson is portrayed as a royal leader with little respect for the Constitution. Why is it important that Congress and the Supreme Court check the president’s power?*

The Granger Collection, New York

The third president, Thomas Jefferson, was the model of the president as a strong executive. This was unexpected of a man who had earlier expressed concerns about the power of the office. One way that Jefferson increased presidential power was through foreign affairs. In 1801, for example, he sent U.S. naval ships to the Mediterranean Sea to take action against the Barbary pirates, who were demanding that U.S. commercial vessels pay increasing amounts of money to sail along northern Africa without being attacked. Some regard Jefferson's action as the first example of an undeclared presidential war.

In addition, Jefferson acted beyond the expressed powers of government when he bought the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803. First, the Constitution does not mention any power to purchase foreign lands. Second, Jefferson signed an agreement to buy the territory before he got congressional approval to make the purchase. Jefferson defended his action by arguing that if he had not acted swiftly, France might have retracted its offer to sell the territory.

President Andrew Jackson cast himself as a champion of the common citizen in his campaign against the Bank of the United States. Declaring the bank a symbol of economic privilege, Jackson vetoed congressional legislation intended to renew the bank's charter and made the bank an issue in the presidential election. "Never before," wrote two political analysts, "had a chief executive gone to the people over the heads of their elected legislators." This image of the president as representative of the people has become a defining part of the presidency today.

The Modern Presidency Modern presidents have used frequent speeches and media attention to try to reach the people. One of the earliest presidents to do so was Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt took advantage of these tools, traveling around the country making direct appeals to the public on legislation. The press covered his

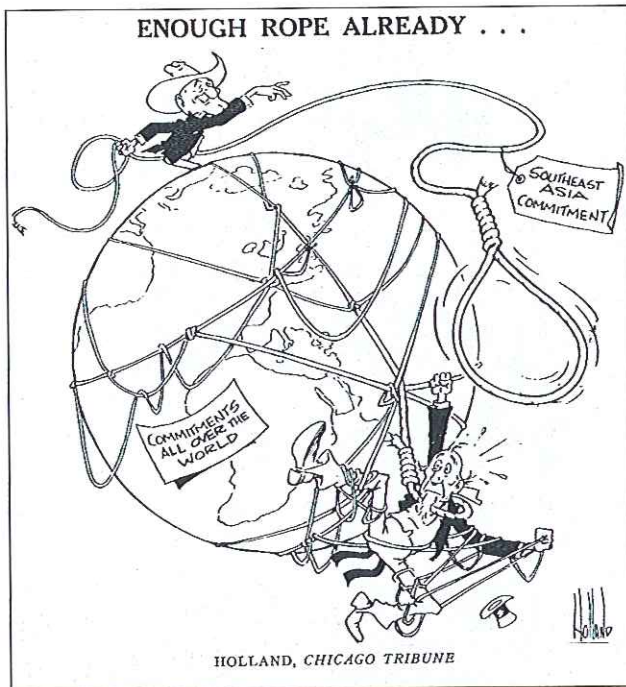


POLITICAL PROCESSES *President Theodore Roosevelt frequently made speeches and used the press during his presidency. How have the media helped to shape the image of modern presidents?*

speeches, thus further drawing the public's attention to Roosevelt's ideas. Presidents ever since have followed Roosevelt's path.

Woodrow Wilson might be considered the first president to act the way that someone living today expects a president to act. For the most part, Wilson merely extended techniques Roosevelt had used. He lobbied Congress directly, installing a telephone line between the White House and Congress, and held regular press conferences. In addition, as you read earlier, Wilson proposed an entire legislative program to Congress.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt went on to refine the techniques that were used by Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. He took advantage of the technology of radio by broadcasting "fireside chats" to Americans. In addition, Roosevelt proposed the most thorough legislative agenda in U.S. history to try to bring the country out of the Great Depression. One result of Roosevelt's actions was a tremendous increase in public interest in the president and his ideas. This increased public response shows that the president was becoming the focus of attention in the political system.



WORLD AFFAIRS The cartoon above comments on President Lyndon B. Johnson's decision to commit U.S. troops abroad. What does this cartoon say about the consequences of that decision?

The Imperial Presidency Many people began to fear that the power of the presidency was expanding dangerously during the presidencies of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon in the 1960s and early 1970s. Both of these presidents, for example, committed thousands of U.S. soldiers in

the undeclared war in Vietnam, initially without congressional approval. The use of such seemingly unrestrained power led many people to claim that the office had become "the imperial presidency." (Congress did, however, approve the funds for these troops after they had been sent.)


Concerns over presidential power peaked with the Watergate case, in which President Nixon helped cover up the illegal break-in of Democratic Party headquarters by members of his own re-election committee. Nixon resigned to avoid facing impeachment charges for abusing the powers of the presidency.

The Presidency Today Distrust of the president and of government in general certainly remains higher than before the events of the 1960s and 1970s. This distrust is reflected in an increase in the number of investigations of government actions. Investigations such as the Iran-contra affair, Whitewater, and Travelgate regularly splash across newspaper headlines.

Some people argue that the search for acts of government wrongdoing has become a thin disguise for political witch-hunts, distracting the president and Congress from their duties. Still, such investigations act as a vital check on government power. Despite the many accusations and investigations that have tarnished its image, the presidency remains the focus of the U.S. political system and the most powerful office in the world.

SECTION 2

REVIEW

1. Define the following terms: executive order, executive privilege, alliance, executive agreement, diplomatic recognition, reprieve, pardon, commutation.
2. What are the president's executive powers? Why is executive privilege such a source of controversy?
3. What diplomatic and military powers does the president hold? Why did Congress pass the War Powers Act?
4. How can the president influence the judiciary? Congress?
5. Describe how Woodrow Wilson helped establish the modern presidency. What changes took place in Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency?
6. **Thinking and Writing Critically**  Do you think the presidency has become too powerful an office? Are there enough checks on presidential power? Explain your answers.
7. **Applying CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT** Why might investigations of White House actions affect people's trust in government? Name some examples of these investigations. Do they affect your opinion of the presidency?

SECTION 3

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION AND ELECTION

Political Dictionary



nominate
electoral college
elector
caucus
convention
primary election
general election
party platform
plank
popular vote
plurality

Objectives

- ★ What is the electoral college?
- ★ How are presidential candidates chosen?
- ★ How are convention delegates chosen?
- ★ What is the format for conventions?

Have you made up your mind about running for president? Even if you fulfill the formal qualifications listed in Section 1, you must leap one more hurdle to become an official candidate—securing your party's nomination.

Nominating candidates—proposing people to run for an elective office—is the first step in the process of choosing the president. The Constitution makes no mention of how presidential candidates should be nominated. While the framers did design a system for choosing the nation's president and vice president, they did not anticipate how the U.S. political system would develop.

Electoral College

When first discussing how the president would be selected, the framers found themselves in

disagreement. Some believed that the president should be selected by popular vote, while others thought that Congress should choose the president. The system finally agreed upon was the **electoral college**—a special body made up of people selected by each of the states—which votes for the president and vice president. (See the chart below for a description of how the framers intended the electoral college to work.)

In the Constitution, the framers planned for each **elector**—or electoral college member—to cast two ballots. One ballot, or electoral vote, had to be cast for a person who was not a resident of the elector's state. The person who received the majority (more than half) of the votes was president, and the person who received the next-highest number of votes

The Original Plan of the Electoral College

1. Each state has the same number of electors as it has senators and representatives.
2. In their respective states, electors vote for two candidates—one of whom may not be a resident of the electors' home state.
3. A list of these candidates is presented to Congress, and the number of votes for each candidate is counted.
4. The person who wins the majority of electoral votes becomes president.
5. The person having the second-greatest number of electoral votes becomes the vice president.
6. If two candidates tie for first place in the electoral vote, or if no candidate wins a majority of the votes, the president is chosen by the House of Representatives, with each state having one vote.
7. If a tie occurs for second place, the Senate chooses the vice president.



CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT *The framers' original plan for the electoral college was changed by the Twelfth Amendment. What were the flaws of the original plan?*

would be the vice president. Each state had as many electoral votes as it had members of Congress.

The first two elections under the plan worked smoothly—George Washington was unanimously elected twice. As political parties developed during the 1790s, however, the system began to show flaws.

Instead of electors each selecting the person they considered to be best for the job, they began nominating only members of their own political party. The rules governing the electoral college did not account for this change, which led to some difficult situations. During the election of 1796, for example, Thomas Jefferson lost to John Adams by only three electoral votes. He thus became Adams's vice president, despite the fact that they were members of rival parties.

By the election of 1800 the lines between political parties were firmly drawn in the electoral college. Thus, the electors, who were chosen according to their party affiliation, voted exclusively for their own party's candidates in the election.

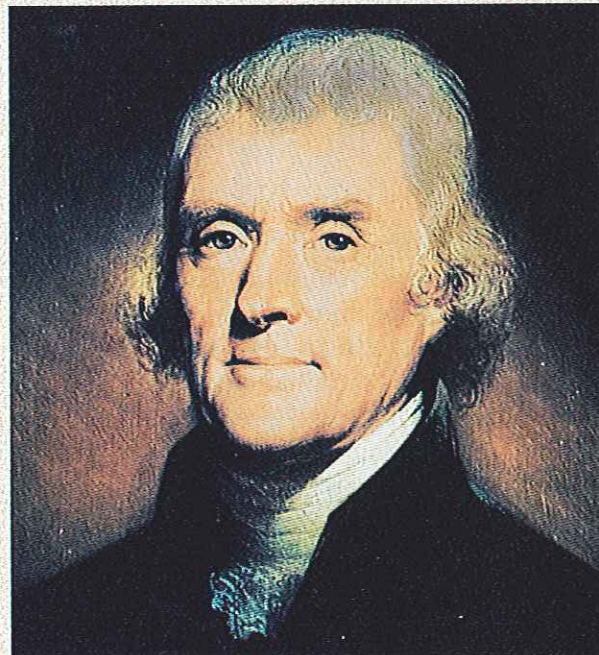
During the election of 1800, a majority of the electors chosen were members of the Democratic-Republican Party. When they voted, they chose,

per electoral college rules, two people—Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Jefferson was the party's choice for president, and Burr the party's choice for vice president.

Because each elector cast one ballot for Jefferson and one for Burr, however, Burr and Jefferson were tied. Following the Constitution, the election was then thrown to the House of Representatives, which tied 35 times before its members finally chose Jefferson as president and Burr as vice president. To prevent such a situation in the future, Congress passed and the states ratified the Twelfth Amendment in 1803–04. The amendment stated that the president and vice president would be elected with separate ballots. It did not, however, change any other part of the electoral college.

Nomination Procedures

As you have read, the framers did not establish a system for nominating the presidential and vice presidential candidates, only for electing them once nominated. For this reason, the process for nominating candidates has changed a great deal throughout U.S. history.



The Granger Collection, New York

POLITICAL PROCESSES In 1800 Thomas Jefferson (right) was chosen as president, and Aaron Burr (left) as vice president, after 35 tie votes by the House of Representatives. What major change did the Twelfth Amendment make to the original plan?

Early Nominating Procedures During the early 1800s, the parties chose presidential candidates in congressional caucuses. A **caucus** is a meeting of people, such as members of a political party, who gather to make decisions on political courses of action. These meetings, which went on behind closed doors, were criticized by many voters, who believed them to be unrepresentative. For this reason, the states replaced the congressional caucus as a means of nominating presidential candidates by the 1820s. (Caucuses are more fully explained in Chapter 19.)

Conventions The death of the caucus led to the rise of another means of nominating presidential candidates—**conventions**. These party gatherings are held to nominate candidates, determine rules that govern the party, and make decisions about the party's stance on issues of the day. The first

one held—a National Republican Convention—nominated John Quincy Adams in 1828. In the election of 1832, all three parties in the running used a national convention to nominate presidential and vice presidential candidates. The procedure is still used today.

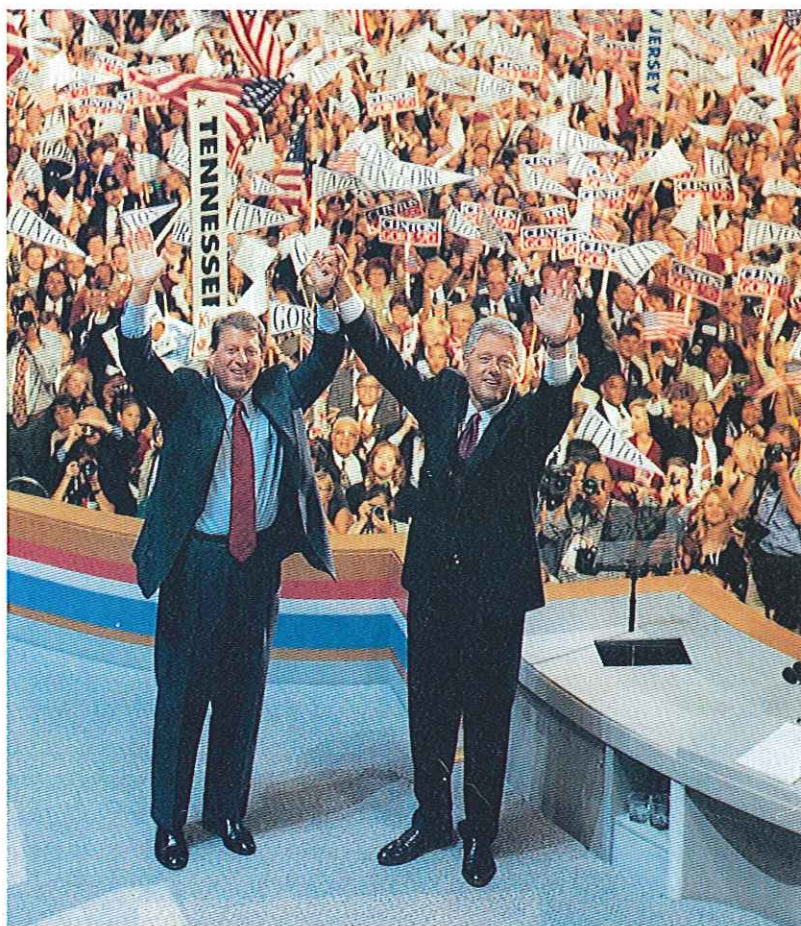
Conventions are attended by delegates—people elected or appointed to select a party's candidates. Delegates generally are selected through one of two means—presidential primaries or state caucuses.

Presidential Primaries

As you have read, conventions are now used for nominating presidential candidates. Before the national conventions are held, however, most states hold presidential primary elections to determine who will be the convention delegates. **Primary elections** are elections held before the general election that determine the candidates for each party. After the national conventions, voters actually choose officials in a **general election**.

Presidential primaries generally serve two functions: to select delegates to the convention, as mentioned above, and to show voters' preferences for presidential candidates. In some states the primaries serve only one of these functions; in others they serve both. It is important for candidates to know what kind of primary a state holds, as it may affect how candidates spend their campaign time and resources.

In some states' presidential primaries, party members vote for their choice of presidential candidates only. Delegates to the national convention are awarded to the candidates, based on the results of the primary. This system is called a "binding presidential preference" system. In states with "beauty-contest" primaries, voters choose their favorite candidate, but actual selection of the delegates to represent each candidate takes place independently. In yet other states with "delegate selection" systems, voters choose only the delegates to the convention, without indicating which candidate the delegates will support.



POLITICAL PROCESSES *President Bill Clinton and Vice President Al Gore accepted their bid for a second term in office at the Democratic National Convention in 1996. What role do national conventions play in the nominating process?*

Finally, in some states voters express both a preference for presidential candidate and vote for a slate of delegates. These states include New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Vermont, West Virginia, and Illinois.

Some states award delegates to candidates based on the percentage of the votes the candidates receive in the primary. For example, in Kentucky, the top four candidates who have at least 15 percent of the vote are awarded a certain percentage of the delegates.

In just a few states—West Virginia, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey—the candidate who receives the greatest percentage of the votes receives all of that state’s delegates at the national convention. In these “winner-take-all” states, a candidate can actually win less than half of the votes and still win all of the delegates for that state. For example, if there are three top candidates, and one receives 40 percent of the vote, another 35 percent of the vote, and the third 25 percent of the vote, even though the top candidate won only 40 percent of the vote, he or she still gets all of that state’s delegates at the convention.

Caucuses

Some states hold party caucuses instead of or in addition to presidential primaries. (Some states also hold local or state conventions.) Caucuses usually originate at the local level. These meetings

are held on the same day at places around the state and are open to any party supporter. Many states, however, have systems that hold additional caucuses at the county, congressional district, and state level before making final decisions on candidates. The caucuses also elect delegates to the national convention.

Turnout in caucuses is lower than in primaries because people often need to stay an entire evening to participate in a caucus meeting but only a few minutes to vote in a primary. State law, not convenience, however, determines whether the parties choose presidential convention delegates by primary or by caucus.

The Nominating Season

The presidential nominating season usually starts with caucuses in early February of each presidential election year and ends with the last primaries in early June. Some states begin their nomination process earlier than others do, and the order is important. The decisions of voters and financial contributors in states with primaries later in the year may be affected by the results of earlier primaries. The front-loading of primaries—the scheduling of primaries early in the year—can therefore have a great effect on the outcome of the election. The momentum gained in winning or making a strong showing in early primaries—even in small states with few electoral votes—can boost a candidate to the front of the pack. Likewise, a poor showing weeds out many candidates early in the game.

Over time, front-loading has become increasingly significant. States such as California, once proud because their June primaries gave the candidates the last chance to face off against one another, began to see their primaries become unimportant because front-loading had already determined a winner. As a result, in 1996 California and several other states moved up their presidential primary dates to March.



POLITICAL PROCESSES Citizens of Runnells, Iowa, meet at the local fire station to vote in a caucus for the presidential election. *Why are primaries generally better attended than caucuses?*

Indeed, understanding the importance of early momentum, presidential candidates have been looking for increasingly earlier chances to gain victories. Some people, hoping to shorten presidential nomination contests, have proposed holding a national primary on a single day.

National Conventions

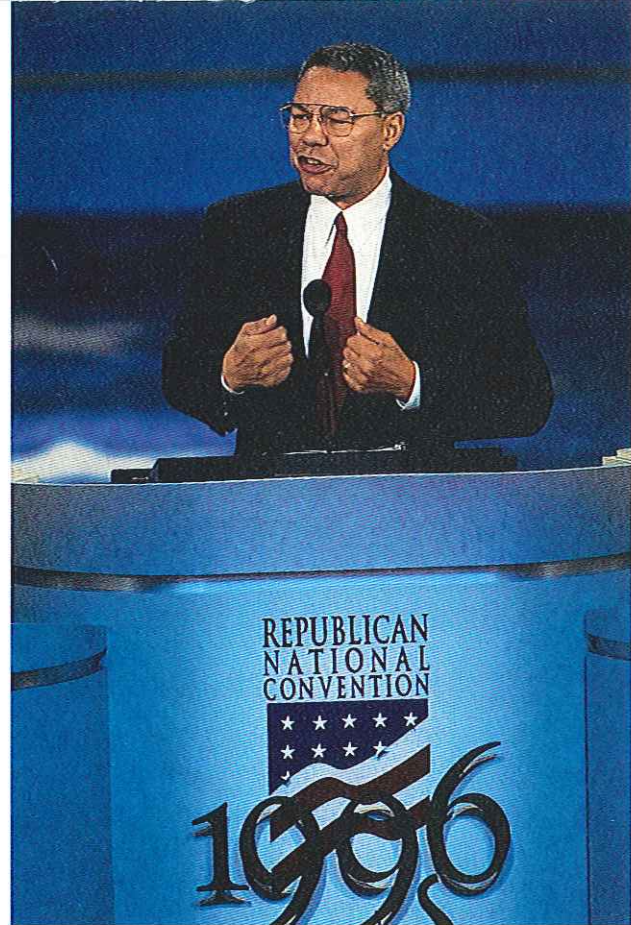
Though the candidates for each party may already be determined after the primaries, it is at the national party conventions where the candidates are officially chosen. Party conventions are gigantic, boisterous events filled with tradition. The only formal business of a convention is nominating presidential and vice presidential candidates and agreeing on the party's views on issues of the day. Conventions, however, also try to unify the party for the coming campaign through informal events and party-oriented rallies. As a result, many conventions take on a carnival-like atmosphere. Delegates and other attendees wear festive, multicolored hats and carry signs; members of the party make rousing speeches; and music and balloons fill the air.

Still, the conventions do have official party business to conduct. The format of the convention includes opening speeches, the adoption of a party platform, floor demonstrations, and a state-by-state roll call for the presidential and vice presidential nominations.

Speeches Conventions at times can seem like one long speech. Influential figures in the party give speeches about the party and about the broad themes that the party supports. The most important speech is that of the keynote speaker, who presents the themes that the party will feature in the forthcoming presidential campaign.

Party Platform The biggest controversy at conventions generally centers around approving the **party platform**, or the party's positions on issues of the day. The platform is made up of several **planks**—each of which represents the party's position on a single issue.

Platforms often lead to bitter disagreement among groups within a party—as the abortion issue has among conservatives and moderates in the Republican Party. Party leaders generally attempt to settle disagreements before the convention, both to keep delegates from bickering on prime-time



POLITICAL PROCESSES General Colin Powell spoke at the 1996 Republican Convention. *How do political parties use national conventions to promote party unity?*

television and to keep the party from appearing splintered. Sometimes, however, the conflicts make their way into the convention. Finally, delegates vote on whether to adopt the party platform.

Floor Demonstrations At one time, conventioners held spontaneous demonstrations on behalf of their candidates. Now, however, these demonstrations are carefully planned, with exuberant music and a display of floating balloons. Party leaders strictly control the length of floor demonstrations to keep them from interfering with other events the party wants to have broadcast on prime-time television.

State-by-State Roll Call Though the balloting for the nomination of presidential and vice presidential candidates could be done much more quickly by computer, the state-by-state roll call of the delegates is one tradition that has lasted. Each state's party leader is called upon one at a time, at which point he or she announces how the state's vote will be distributed.

Some states require that the state's primary winner receive all of the state's delegates. Others allow their delegates to be split among two or more candidates. In any case, a candidate must receive over 50 percent of the convention's votes to become the party's nominee. If no candidate receives this high a percentage on the first ballot, additional ballots are taken until a majority candidate emerges.

CASE STUDY

Conventions: From Proving Ground to Media Event

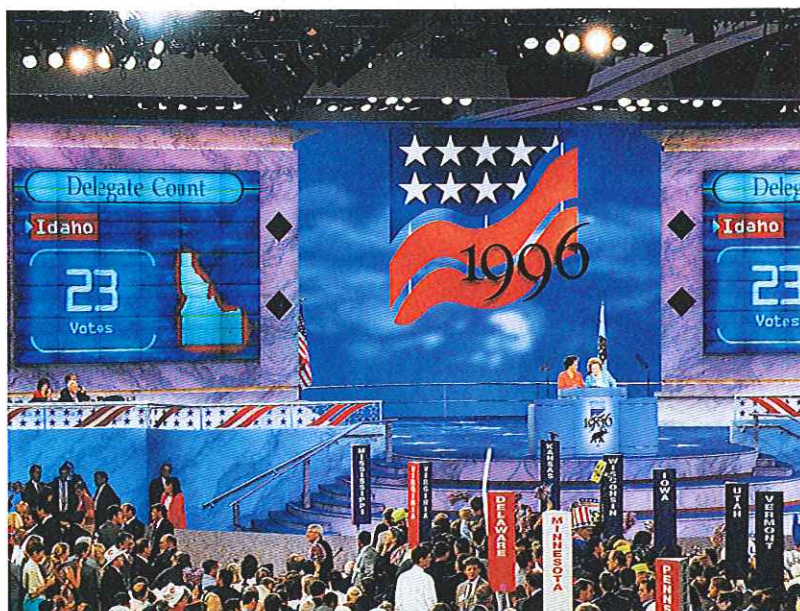
POLITICAL PROCESSES National conventions were once a place where several of a party's candidates could present themselves and explain their positions before the convention delegates. In fact, for most of the history of conventions, the nomination of the party's presidential candidate was undetermined at the convention's start—except in the case of an incumbent president running for reelection, who was usually renominated. For many years, most delegates were more loyal to local

party leaders than to a certain candidate. In an era leaders had little contact with one another before the convention. Thus, it was at the conventions where these leaders would compromise with one another to gain a majority for one candidate.

It often took numerous ballots before a majority of delegates could agree on a candidate. Have you ever heard of Champ Clark? He was the front-runner entering the Democratic convention of 1912. On the forty-sixth ballot, however, he lost to Woodrow Wilson. At the Democratic convention of 1924, it took 103 ballots to nominate John Davis. It generally took the Democrats more ballots than it did Republicans because until 1936 the Democrats required a two-thirds convention majority for nomination.

Since 1952, however, neither party has taken more than one ballot to nominate a candidate. Airplane travel and inexpensive long-distance telephone service have made it easier for local party leaders to discuss the possible nominees before reaching the convention floor. In addition, today the vast majority of delegates are elected

in primaries that determine their votes. No longer decision-making bodies, conventions thus have become coronations of the candidate who led in the primaries and caucuses, as well as a launching pad for the general election campaign. They are designed to give favorable media exposure to the candidate and to the party's platform.



POLITICAL PROCESSES Delegates count votes for the nomination of Bob Dole and Jack Kemp at the 1996 Republican National Convention in San Diego, California. What percentage of votes must a candidate receive to become a party's nominee?

The Election

Once the candidates are chosen, they campaign for several months until the election, which is held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. This period is filled with speechmaking, personal appearances, and other campaigning by the

Comparing Popular and Electoral Votes

WINNER DID NOT RECEIVE THE MOST POPULAR VOTES

| Year | Candidate | Popular Vote | Electoral Vote |
|------|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1824 | * John Quincy Adams | 105,321 | 84 |
| | Andrew Jackson | 155,872 | 99 |
| | Other Candidates | 90,869 | 78 |
| 1876 | * Rutherford B. Hayes | 4,033,950 | 185 |
| | Samuel Tilden | 4,284,757 | 184 |
| 1888 | Benjamin Harrison | 5,444,337 | 233 |
| | Grover Cleveland | 5,540,050 | 168 |

CLOSE POPULAR VOTE

| Year | Candidate | Popular Vote | Electoral Vote |
|------|--------------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1884 | Grover Cleveland | 4,911,017 | 219 |
| | James G. Blaine | 4,848,334 | 182 |
| 1960 | John F. Kennedy | 34,227,096 | 303 |
| | Richard M. Nixon | 34,108,546 | 219 |
| | * Harry F. Byrd | | 15 |
| 1968 | Richard M. Nixon | 31,785,480 | 301 |
| | Hubert H. Humphrey | 31,275,166 | 191 |
| | George C. Wallace | 9,906,473 | 46 |
| 1976 | Jimmy Carter | 40,828,929 | 297 |
| | Gerald R. Ford | 39,148,940 | 240 |

* 1824—Elected by the House of Representatives because no candidate won a majority

1876—An electoral commission set up to rule on contested election results in three states gave Hayes the presidency.

1960—Received electoral votes but no popular votes

Source: The World Almanac

According to the rules of the electoral college, a presidential candidate can win without the most popular votes. The popular vote in several presidential races has been very close. Does the electoral vote always reflect the popular vote?

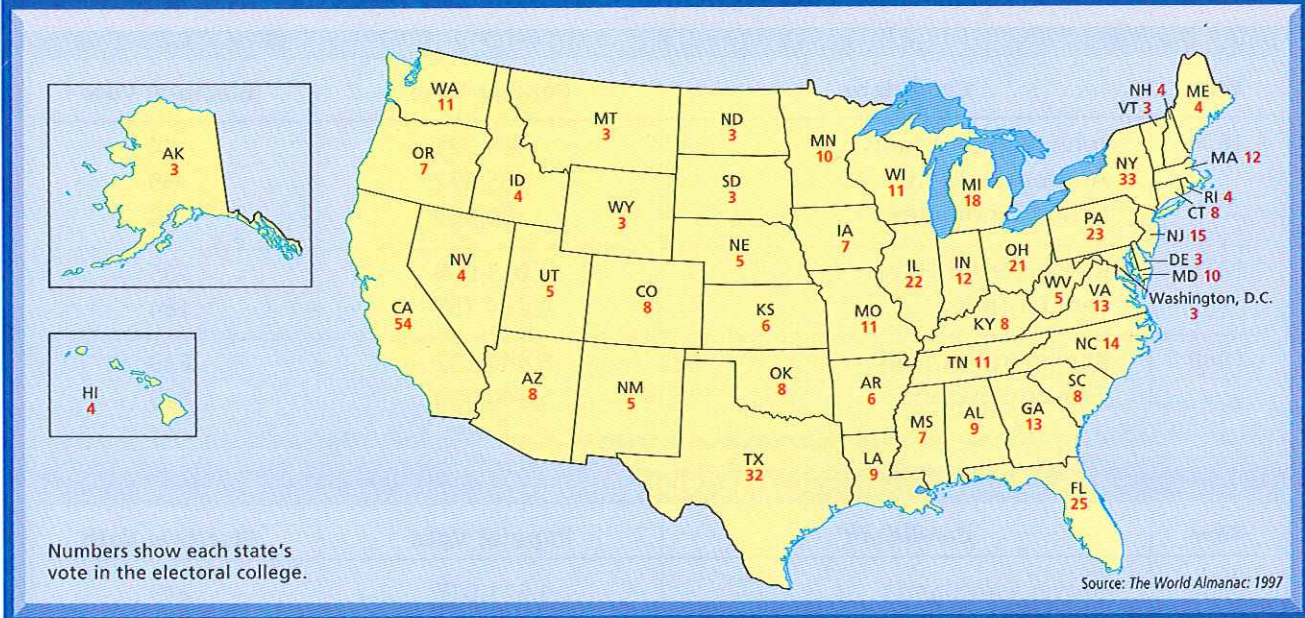
candidates. (The process of political campaigning is more fully explained in Chapter 19.) Finally, on election day, citizens go to the polls to vote for the candidate of their choice—or do they?

Electoral College and the Popular Vote As you have learned, U.S. voters do not cast their votes directly for the president and vice president. Instead, the **popular votes**—votes cast by the general public—are cast for slates of electors who are pledged to the candidates for whom

people wish to vote. Candidates who receive a **plurality**—or most—of the popular votes receive all of that state's electoral votes. For this reason, a close national popular vote may still result in one candidate's winning a large majority of the electoral votes.

Criticisms of the Electoral College In all but three elections, the winner of the national popular vote has been elected president. The fact that the electoral college system allows a candidate

Electoral Vote per State, 1992–2000



States get the same number of electoral votes as their representation in Congress.
Which state has the greatest number of electoral votes?


who did not receive the most popular votes to win an election, however, has caused many people to criticize the electoral college.

Other criticisms of the college also have arisen. Some people are wary of the fact that the electors are not required to vote for the candidate to whom they are pledged, making it possible for the electoral college to disregard the popular vote (although this happens very rarely). In addition, many people feel that the electoral college

system is weak because a strong bid by a third-party or an independent candidate might prevent either major-party candidate from winning a majority. In such a case, the House of Representatives—instead of the people through their electors—would decide the election. Although there have been suggestions for revising or eliminating the electoral college to address the criticisms that have been voiced, elections are still decided by electoral votes.

SECTION 3

REVIEW

1. Define the following terms: nominate, electoral college, elector, caucus, convention, primary election, general election, party platform, plank, popular vote, plurality.
2. Why was it necessary for the framers to create the electoral college? How did they expect the electoral college to work?
3. How have the nomination procedures for presidential and vice presidential candidates changed over time?
4. How are delegates to national conventions selected?
5. **Thinking and Writing Critically**  Do you think the criticisms of the electoral college are valid? Why or why not?
6. **Applying CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT** Imagine that you are one of the framers of the Constitution. How do you think the president and vice president should be selected? Briefly outline your reasoning.

SECTION 1

The president plays a number of key roles, including chief executive, commander in chief, agenda setter, representative of the nation, chief of state, foreign-policy leader, and party leader. Some of these roles are outlined in the Constitution. Others have been assumed and expanded over the years by the presidential officeholders.

The formal qualifications for the presidency are few, but the benefits and responsibilities are great. The president serves a four-year term and may serve no more than two terms. The order of presidential succession is set by Congress.

SECTION 2

The president has decisive and far-reaching executive, diplomatic, and military powers, including executing laws, appointing officials, making treaties and executive agreements, recognizing foreign countries, and committing U.S. troops. The president also has key judicial and legislative powers. The latter allow the president to influence congressional legislation. All of these powers have grown greatly—in large part because of the people who have held the presidential office.

SECTION 3

The framers of the Constitution did not set a means for *nominating* presidential candidates, only for *choosing* the president and vice president.

Because the framers did not state *how* candidates would be nominated, nomination procedures have changed. Until the early 1800s the parties used congressional caucuses to nominate candidates for president and vice president. Parties later switched to national conventions to nominate candidates, a process still in use. Conventions are attended by delegates who are chosen by either presidential primary or caucus.

Depending on the state, presidential primaries generally serve two functions: choosing

delegates for the conventions and showing voter preference. Some states hold caucuses that perform these functions as well.

In recent campaigns, an increasing number of presidential primaries and caucuses have been scheduled for early in the year, leading to a relatively quick elimination of the weaker candidates. For this reason, the candidates for both major parties generally are known long before the national conventions.

The format of the national conventions includes speeches, the adoption of a party platform, floor demonstrations, and a state roll call of votes for the candidates. The candidate who wins the nomination then campaigns for several months before the general election is held.

The electoral college, not the popular vote, actually chooses the president and vice president. The electoral college has been criticized for three primary reasons: that a candidate can win the election even if he or she does not win the popular vote, that a state's electoral votes do not have to reflect its popular vote, and that a strong bid by a third-party or independent candidate could mean that neither major-party candidate receives the majority of the electoral votes, throwing the election into the House of Representatives. These criticisms, however, have not led to reform of the electoral college system.

**Government Notebook**

Review what you wrote in your Government Notebook at the beginning of the chapter about the presidents you remember. Now that you have studied this chapter, can you find within your recollections any examples of the president's roles, qualifications, and powers? Record your answer in your Notebook.

REVIEW

REVIEWING CONCEPTS

1. What are the benefits of being president?
How long is a presidential term of office?
2. How are presidential and vice presidential candidates nominated?
3. What are the president's five main powers?
Give an example of each.
4. Describe the roles of the president. Are any, in your opinion, more important than the others?
5. What qualifications must you have to run for president?
6. What is the electoral college? Why is it sometimes criticized?

THINKING AND WRITING CRITICALLY



1. **CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT** What amendment made it impossible for a president to serve more than two terms? Should presidents be allowed to serve more than two terms? Explain your answer.
2. **CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT** The Constitution gives the president the power to appoint government officials, with Senate approval. Do you think that this power gives the president too much influence on the government? Why or why not?
3. **POLITICAL PROCESSES** Why do you think the framers of the Constitution did not establish guidelines for nominating the president? Explain your answer.
4. **PUBLIC GOOD** What system for electing the president would better serve the public good: the electoral college system or a direct popular vote? Why?

CITIZENSHIP IN YOUR COMMUNITY



Each state follows a different schedule and system for selecting delegates to the presidential nominating conventions. Research the nominating system of your state. Create a brochure informing citizens about these procedures. Be sure to include information on how delegates are selected, when the nominating event is usually held, and the rules for placing third-party candidates on the ballot. You may want to include a chart illustrating how your state's system works.

INDIVIDUAL PORTFOLIO PROJECT



Imagine that you are an adviser to the top officials of a country that is planning to hold its first presidential election. The country's leaders want to use the office of the U.S. president as a model for its executive office. You have been asked to brief key government leaders on the role of the president in the U.S. political system. Write a report describing the roles and duties of the president. You may want to include examples of activities associated with each role.

THE INTERNET: LEARNING ONLINE



Conduct an Internet search for information about the president and vice president. For example, try to find the e-mail addresses for both the president and vice president, recent legislation signed by the president, and recent speeches given by the president or vice president.

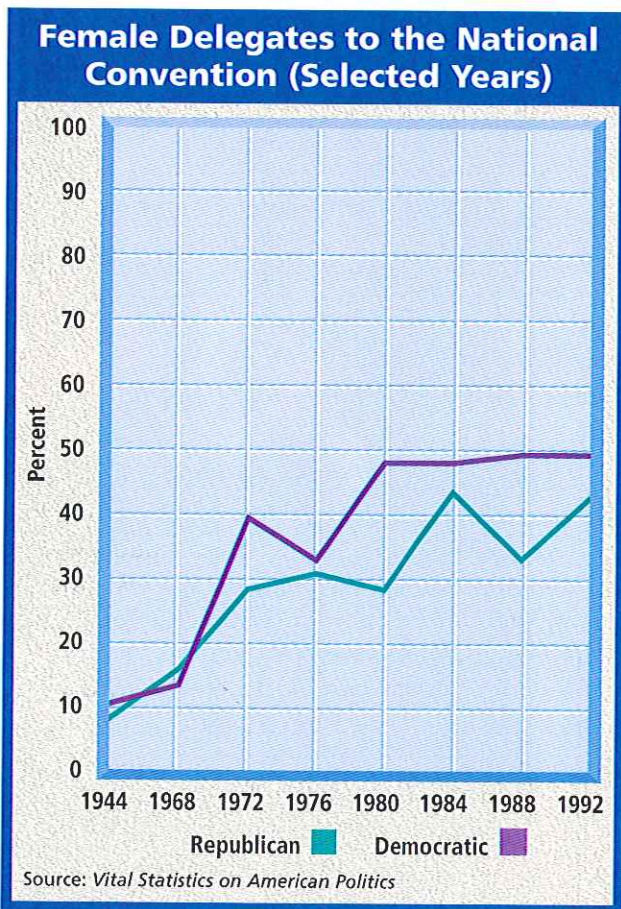
You might start by using search words such as *president of the United States*, *U.S. vice president*, and *executive branch*. List the sources of

information you find. Create a flyer with instructions on how to find information about the president and vice president on the Internet, making sure to include the Internet sites you visited.

PRACTICING SKILLS: UNDERSTANDING CHARTS AND GRAPHS



Study the line graph below, which illustrates the percentage of female delegates to national conventions between 1944 and 1992. Read the labels on the graph, and answer the questions below.



1. Which election year shows the greatest decrease in the percentage of female delegates to the Democratic convention?
2. In which two election years were more than 40 percent of the delegates to the Republican convention women?
3. Which party held a national convention with an equal number of male and female delegates? When did this convention take place?

ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES



PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

On January 17, 1961, President Eisenhower gave a Farewell Address in which he described his hopes for the future of the country. Read the following excerpt and answer the questions.

“Throughout America’s adventure in free government, our basic purposes have been to keep the peace, to foster progress in human achievement, and to enhance liberty, dignity, and integrity among people and among nations. . . .

As we peer into society’s future, we—you and I, and our government—must avoid the impulse to live only for today. . . . We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss also of their political and spiritual heritage. . . .

Down the long lane of the history yet to be written America knows that this world of ours, ever growing smaller, must avoid becoming a community of dreadful fear and hate, and be, instead, a proud confederation of mutual trust and respect. . .

. . . As one who has witnessed the horror and the lingering sadness of war—as one who knows that another war could utterly destroy this civilization which has been so slowly and painfully built over thousands of years—I wish I could say tonight that a lasting peace is in sight.

Happily, I can say that war has been avoided. Steady progress toward our ultimate goal has been made. But, so much remains to be done. As a private citizen, I shall never cease to do what little I can to help the world advance along that road.”

1. According to President Eisenhower, what are the basic purposes of American government?
2. What presidential responsibility did Eisenhower see as increasingly important?
3. What do you think Eisenhower meant when he said that the world is “even growing smaller”?