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

II. Divided Government
   A. Divided versus unified government
      1. Fifteen of twenty-two congressional/presidential elections since 1952 produced divided government
      2. Americans dislike divided government because it can lead to gridlock.
   B. Does gridlock matter?
      1. But divided government enacts as many important laws as a unified government
      2. Reason: Unified government is something of a myth in U.S.
   C. Is policy gridlock bad?
      1. Unclear whether gridlock is always bad; it is a necessary consequence of representative democracy
      2. Representative democracy opposite direct democracy

III. The evolution of the presidency
   A. Delegates feared both anarchy and monarchy
      1. Idea of a plural executive
      2. Idea of an executive checked by a council
   B. Concerns of the Founders
      1. Fear of military power of president who could overpower states
      2. Fear of presidential corruption of Senate
      3. Fear of presidential bribery to ensure reelection
   C. The electoral college
      1. Each state to choose own method for selecting electors
      2. Electors to meet in own capital to vote for president and vice president
      3. If no majority, House would decide
   D. The president's term of office
      1. Precedent of George Washington and two terms
      2. Twenty-second Amendment in 1951 limits to two terms
      3. Problem of establishing the legitimacy of the office
      4. Provision for orderly transfer of power
   E. The first presidents
      1. Prominent men helped provide legitimacy
      2. Minimal activism of early government contributed to lessening fear of the presidency
      3. Appointed people of stature in the community (rule of fitness)
      4. Relations with Congress were reserved; few vetoes, no advice
   F. The Jacksonians
      1. Jackson sought to maximize powers of presidency
      2. Vigorous use of veto for policy reasons
      3. Challenged Congress
G. The reemergence of Congress
   1. With brief exceptions the next hundred years was a period of congressional ascendancy
   2. Intensely divided public opinion
   3. Only Lincoln expanded presidential power
      a. Asserted "implied powers" and power of commander in chief
      b. Justified by emergency conditions
   4. President mostly a negative force to Congress until the New Deal
   5. Since the 1930s power has been institutionalized in the presidency
   6. Popular conception of the president as the center of government contradicts reality; Congress often policy leader

IV. The powers of the president
   A. Formal powers found in Article II
      1. Not a large number of explicit powers
      2. Potential for power found in ambiguous clauses of the Constitution, such as power as commander in chief and duty to "take care that laws be faithfully executed"
   B. Greatest source of power lies in politics and public opinion
      1. Increase in broad statutory authority
      2. Expectation of presidential leadership from the public

V. The office of the president
   A. The White House Office
      1. Contains the president's closest assistants
      2. Three types of organization
         a. Circular
         b. Pyramid
         c. Ad hoc
      3. Staff typically worked on the campaign: a few are experts
      4. Relative influence of staff depends on how close one's office is to the president's
   B. The Executive Office of the President
      1. Composed of agencies that report directly to the president
      2. Appointments must receive Senate confirmation
      3. Office of Management and Budget most important
         a. Assembles the budget
         b. Develops reorganization plans
         c. Reviews legislative proposals of agencies
   C. The cabinet
      1. Largely a fiction, not mentioned in Constitution
      2. President appoints or controls more members of cabinet than does prime minister
      3. Secretaries become preoccupied and defensive about their own departments
   D. Independent agencies, commissions, and judgeships
      1. President appoints members of agencies that have a quasi-independent status
      2. Agency heads serve a fixed term and can be removed only "for cause"
      3. Judges can be removed only by impeachment

VI. Who gets appointed
   A. President knows few appointees personally
   B. Most appointees have had federal experience
      1. "In-and-outs": alternate federal and private sector jobs
      2. No longer have political followings but picked for expertise
   C. Need to consider important interest groups when making appointments
   D. Rivalry between department heads and White House staff

VII. Presidential character
   A. Eisenhower: orderly
   B. Kennedy: improviser
   C. Johnson: dealmaker
   D. Nixon: mistrustful
   E. Ford: genial
   F. Carter: outsider
   G. Reagan: communicator
   H. Bush: hands-on manager
   I. Clinton: focus on details
J. Bush: a different kind of outsider

VIII. The power to persuade

A. Formal opportunities for persuasion

B. The three audiences
   1. Other politicians and leaders in Washington, D.C.; reputation very important
   2. Party activists and officials inside Washington
   3. The various publics

C. Popularity and influence
   1. Presidents try to transform popularity into support in Congress
   2. Little effect of presidential coattails
   3. Members of Congress believe it is politically risky to challenge a popular president
   4. Popularity is unpredictable and influenced by factors beyond the president's control.

D. The decline in popularity
   1. Popularity highest immediately after an election
   2. Declines by midterm after honeymoon period

IX. The power to say no

A. Veto
   1. Veto message
   2. Pocket veto (only before end of Congress)
   3. Congress rarely overruled vetoes in 1996

B. Executive privilege
   1. Confidential communications between president and advisers
   2. Justification
      a. Separation of powers
      b. Need for candid advice

C. Impoundment of funds
   1. Defined: presidential refusal to spend funds appropriated by Congress
   2. Countered by Budget Reform Act of 1974
      a. Requires president to notify Congress of funds he does not intend to spend
      b. Congress must agree in forty-five days

X. The president's program

A. Putting together a program
   1. President can try to have a policy on everything (Carter)
   2. President can concentrate on a small number of initiatives (Reagan)
   3. Constraints
      a. Public reaction may be adverse
      b. Limited time and attention span
      c. Unexpected crises
      d. Programs can be changed only marginally
   4. Need for president to be selective about what he wants
   5. Heavy reliance on opinion polls
   6. Impact of dramatic events and prolonged crises

B. Attempts to reorganize the executive branch
   1. An item on presidential agendas since the administration of Herbert Hoover
   2. Bush and the Department of Homeland Defense
      a. White House Office of Homeland Security created in aftermath of terrorist attack of September 11
         1. Small staff
         2. Little budgetary authority
         3. No ability to enforce decisions
      b. Bush's call for a reorganization
         1. Creation of third largest cabinet department encompassing twenty-two federal agencies
         2. 170,000 employees and an annual budget of almost $40 million
      c. Fate of proposal is pending, but it is neither the first of its kind nor the largest
   3. Reasons for reorganizing
a. Large number of agencies
b. Easier to change policy through reorganization

4. Reorganization outside the White House staff must be by law

XI. Presidential transition
A. Few presidents serve two terms
B. The vice president
   1. May succeed on death of president
      a. Has happened eight times
      b. John Tyler defined status of ascending vice president: president in title
         and in powers
   2. Rarely are vice presidents elected president
      a. Unless they first took over for a president who died
      b. Only five instances otherwise: Adams, Jefferson, Van Buren, Nixon, and
         Bush
   3. "A rather empty job"
      a. Candidates still pursue it
      b. Preside over Senate and vote in case of a tie
      c. Leadership powers in Senate are weak
C. Problems of succession
   1. What if the president falls ill?
      Examples: Garfield, Wilson
   2. If vice president steps up, who becomes vice president?
      a. Succession Act (1886): designated secretary of state as next in line
      b. Amended in 1947 to designate Speaker of the House
   3. Twenty-fifth Amendment resolved both issues
      a. Allows vice president to serve as "acting president" if president is
         disabled; decided by president, by vice president and cabinet, or by two-
         thirds vote of Congress
      b. Requires vice president who ascends to office on death or resignation of
         the president to name a vice president
         1. Must be confirmed by both houses
         2. Examples: Agnew and Nixon resignations
D. Impeachment
   1. Judges most frequent targets of impeachment
   2. Indictment by the House, conviction by the Senate

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