

Former Presidents: Pensions, Office Allowances, and Other Federal Benefits

Updated March 16, 2016

Congressional Research Service

<https://crsreports.congress.gov>

RL34631

Summary

The Former Presidents Act (FPA; 3 U.S.C. §102 note) was enacted to “maintain the dignity” of the Office of the President. The act provides the former President—and his or her spouse—certain benefits to help him respond to post-presidency mail and speaking requests, among other informal public duties often required of a former President. Prior to enactment of the FPA in 1958, former Presidents leaving office received no pension or other federal assistance. The FPA charges the General Services Administration (GSA) with providing former U.S. Presidents a pension, support staff, office support, travel funds, and mailing privileges.

Pursuant to statute, former Presidents currently receive a pension that is equal to pay for Cabinet Secretaries (Executive Level I), which for calendar year 2015 was \$203,700. Executive Level I pay was increased to \$205,700 for calendar year 2016. In addition to benefits provided pursuant to the FPA, former Presidents are also provided Secret Service protection and financial “transition” benefits to assist their transition to post-presidential life. Pursuant to the FPA, former Presidents are eligible for benefits unless they hold “an appointive or elective office or position in or under the Federal Government or the government of the District of Columbia to which is attached a rate of pay other than a nominal rate.”

The President’s FY2017 budget request seeks \$3,865,000 in appropriations for expenditures for former Presidents, an increase of \$588,000 (17.9%) from the FY2016 appropriation level. The increase in requested appropriations for FY2017 anticipates President Barack Obama’s transition from incumbent to former President. For FY2016, President Obama requested and received appropriations of \$3,277,000 for expenditures for former Presidents—an increase of \$25,000 from FY2015 appropriated levels.

Some critics of the Former Presidents Act say the statute subsidizes Presidents who are not struggling financially. Others argue that although a former President is not in a formal public position, he remains a public figure and should be provided a pension and benefits that permit him to perform duties that emerge as a result of his public status.

In the 114th Congress (2015-2016), the House and Senate are considering similar legislation that would amend the FPA. Both bills (H.R. 1777 and S. 1411) would set a former President’s pension at \$200,000 annually, with increases each year by the same percentage authorized for benefits provided by the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. §401). Both pieces of legislation would provide a former President an additional \$200,000 annual allowance to be used as he determined and would remove other benefits currently provided to former Presidents—including those currently provided for travel, staff, and office expenses. Additionally, the bills propose that for every dollar a former President earned in each fiscal year in excess of \$400,000, his federal annuity would be reduced by \$1.

GSA data on payments to former Presidents show that the value of benefits provided to each of the living former Presidents—when adjusted for inflation—has generally declined from FY1998 through FY2015. The nominal appropriation levels for former Presidents’ benefits, however, increased through FY2011 and then declined from FY2011 through FY2015.

This report provides a legislative and cultural history of the Former Presidents Act. It details the benefits provided to former Presidents and their costs. Congress has the authority to reduce, increase, or maintain the pension and benefits provided to former Presidents of the United States. This report considers the potential effects of maintaining the FPA or amending the FPA in ways that might reduce or otherwise modify a former President’s benefits.

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Introduction

Prior to 1958, U.S. Presidents who left office received no federal pension or other financial assistance. Some former Presidents—like Herbert Hoover and Andrew Jackson—returned to wealthy post-presidential lives. Other former Presidents—including Ulysses S. Grant and Harry S. Truman—struggled financially. Still others—including Andrew Johnson, John Quincy Adams, and William Howard Taft—served formally in the federal government after their presidencies.¹

In 1958, prompted largely by former President Truman’s financial difficulties, Congress enacted the Former Presidents Act (FPA; 3 U.S.C. §102 note). The FPA was designed to “maintain the dignity” of the office of the President by providing former Presidents—and their spouses—a pension and other benefits to help them respond to post-presidency mail and speaking requests, among other informal public duties often required of a former President and his spouse.² As administered by the General Services Administration (GSA), the act, as amended, provides former Presidents with a pension, funds for travel, office space, support staff, and mailing privileges.

According to the FPA, upon leaving office, former Presidents are to receive a pension that is equal to the pay for the head of an executive department (Executive Level I), which was \$203,700 in calendar year 2015. Executive Level I pay increased to \$205,700 in calendar year 2016.³ The widow of a former President is authorized to receive an annual pension of \$20,000.

Currently, four former Presidents receive pensions and benefits pursuant to the FPA.

The President’s FY2017 budget request seeks \$3,865,000 in appropriations for expenditures for former Presidents, an increase of \$588,000 (17.9%) from the FY2016 appropriation level. The request includes language stating that the appropriation includes funding for “future former President Barack Obama.”⁴ President Obama’s anticipated transition from incumbent to former President is scheduled to occur on January 20, 2017.

For FY2016, President Obama requested and received appropriations of \$3,277,000 for expenditures for former Presidents—an increase of \$25,000 from FY2015 appropriated levels (P.L. 114-92).

The FPA is not the only authority that provides benefits to a former President. For example, pursuant to the Presidential Transition Act (3 U.S.C. §102 note), an outgoing President is entitled to receive seven months of “transition” services and facilities to assist his transition to post-presidential life.⁵ Federal law also provides former Presidents and their spouses lifetime Secret

¹ President Andrew Johnson served as a Senator after his presidency. President Taft served as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court after his presidency. John Quincy Adams served nine terms in the House after his presidency. President Grover Cleveland can also be said to have won federal elected office after leaving the presidency. He is the only President to serve non-consecutive terms. President Cleveland was first elected to the presidency in 1884 and was inaugurated on March 4, 1885. After losing the 1888 election to Benjamin Harrison, President Cleveland won the 1892 election and was again inaugurated as President on March 4, 1893.

² This report uses masculine pronouns to refer to former Presidents because they have all been men.

³ Appropriations for the Former Presidents Act are made for the fiscal year (October 1 through September 30 for each year). Pay increases for federal employees, in contrast, follow the calendar year. Former Presidents Act appropriations, therefore, must anticipate a potential pay increase that may begin three months into the fiscal year. Pension data provided later in this report includes costs incurred during both calendar year 2015 and 2016.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ This report provides some additional information on the transition benefits provided to the former President. For analysis of the Presidential Transition Act, see CRS Report RS22979, *Presidential Transition Act: Provisions and*

Service protection.⁶ In 1994, the law was amended to limit U.S. Secret Service coverage to 10 years for any President who entered office after January 1, 1997.⁷ President George W. Bush and his wife Laura Bush would have been the first former President and first lady who faced this statutory limit.⁸ The Former Presidents Protection Act of 2012 (P.L. 112-257), however, reinstated Secret Service protection for former Presidents and their spouses until their deaths.⁹ The bill also reinstated Secret Service protection to the children of former Presidents until they are 16 years old. The bill was signed into law by President Barack H. Obama on January 10, 2013.

Recent Legislation to Amend the FPA

On April 14, 2015, Representative Jason Chaffetz, Chairman of the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, introduced the Presidential Allowance Modernization Act (H.R. 1777). Senator Joni Ernst introduced a similar bill (S. 1411) with an identical title on May 21, 2015. The bills, among other changes, seek to cap a former President's pension at \$200,000—removing the current pay link to that of Cabinet Secretaries. Both pieces of legislation seek to provide a former President an additional \$200,000 annual allowance to be used as he determines. Pursuant to H.R. 1777 and S. 1411, the values of a former President's pension and allowance would increase annually at the same percentage rate of increase authorized for benefits provided through Title II of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. §401).

Additionally, the bills seek to remove other benefits currently provided to former Presidents, including those currently provided for travel, staff, and office expenses. Also, for every dollar a former President earned in each fiscal year that was in excess of \$400,000, both H.R. 1777 and S. 1411 would require that federal government-provided annual allowance be reduced by \$1. Further, if a former President held an elected position in the federal or District of Columbia governments, the bills would require that he forfeit his rights to a pension until he left office. H.R. 1777 and S. 1411 also seek to raise the pension available to the widow of a former President, from \$20,000 to \$100,000.

H.R. 1777 was referred to the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform.¹⁰ On May 19, 2015, the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee amended and reported H.R. 1777 in the nature of a substitute. The substitute language was nearly identical to H.R. 1777, as introduced, but did not include language that would have required a former President to forfeit the pension benefit while he served an elected position in the District of Columbia government.

At a May 19, 2015, markup of H.R. 1777, Representative Elijah Cummings, a co-sponsor of the bill, stated that “taxpayers should not have to pay for a former President’s allowance if the former

Funding, by Henry B. Hogue.

⁶ 18 U.S.C. §3056.

⁷ P.L. 103-329, §530(a).

⁸ On September 26, 2008, legislation (P.L. 110-326; 122 Stat. 3560) that extends U.S. Secret Service protection to a Vice President, his or her spouse, and his or her children who are under 16 years old for up to six months after leaving office was enacted. Previous to the bill's enactment, Secret Service protection for a Vice President and his or her family was provided on an ad hoc basis.

⁹ Former first ladies maintain Secret Service protection until their deaths or divorce from the former President. If a former first lady outlives her husband, she either maintains Secret Services protection until her death or until she remarries.

¹⁰ Rep. Chaffetz introduced bills identical to H.R. 1777 in the 112th Congress (H.R. 4093) and the 113th Congress (H.R. 248). Both bills were introduced and referred to the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform. No further action was taken on either H.R. 4093 or H.R. 248.

President is making a comfortable living earning more than \$400,000 a year after leaving office.”¹¹

In the report to accompany H.R. 1777, the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform stated that “[u]pdating the pension and allowances provided to former Presidents who earn significant incomes is needed given the country’s fiscal position.”¹²

On June 22, 2015, the Congressional Budget Office released a score of H.R. 1777, as reported, that stated the legislation would reduce federal outlays by \$10 million from 2016 through 2020.¹³ The score estimated that “at least two former Presidents would earn enough that they would not be eligible for an allowance beginning in 2016.”¹⁴ On January 11, 2016, H.R. 1777 passed the House. The next day, H.R. 1777 was received in the Senate and referred to the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs. No further action has been taken on H.R. 1777.

On February 10, 2016, S. 1411 was ordered to be favorably reported, as amended, by the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs. Among the amendments made at the markup were the inclusion of a provision clarifying that GSA would be required to work with the Secret Service to ensure that any reduction in benefits to the former President would not affect a former President’s security. The amended bill also included a provision stating that office space leases for current former Presidents would not be affected by any reduction in benefits. In short, any reduction in benefits related directly to office space lease payments would not go into effect until the termination of an existing lease agreement. The amendments also removed the language that would have required a former President to forfeit the pension benefit while he served an elected position in the District of Columbia government. No further action has been taken on S. 1411.

Varied Post-Presidency Circumstances

Some critics of the Former Presidents Act say it subsidizes Presidents who are not struggling financially.¹⁵ In the 112th Congress (2011-2012), Representative Chaffetz, when introducing H.R. 4093, noted that while he did not want former Presidents “living the remainder of their lives destitute,” that “none of our former presidents are poor.”¹⁶ Others may argue that while a former President may not hold a formal public position, he remains a public figure even after he leaves office. When former President Harry S. Truman returned to Independence, MO, following his presidential tenure, for example, he reportedly said it cost him \$30,000 a year to reply to mail and requests for speeches.¹⁷ Some may argue that to cover such costs, a former President should be

¹¹ U.S. Congress, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, “May 19, 2015 – Business Meeting,” at <https://oversight.house.gov/markup/may-19-2015-business-meeting/>, around 17:30.

¹² U.S. Congress, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, *Presidential Allowance Modernization Act*, report to accompany H.R. 1777, 114th Cong., 1st sess., July 16, 2015, H.Rept. 114-209 (Washington: GPO, 2015), p. 4.

¹³ Congressional Budget Office, *H.R. 1777 Presidential Allowance Modernization Act*, Washington, DC, June 22, 2015, at <https://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/114th-congress-2015-2016/costestimate/hr17770.pdf>.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2. The score does not state which two former Presidents are included in that estimate.

¹⁵ See, for example, Rep. Jason Chaffetz, “Reps. Chaffetz, Altmire, and Gowdy Introduce Cost-saving Presidential Allowance Modernization Act,” press release, February 28, 2012, at <http://chaffetz.house.gov/press-release/rep-chaffetz-altmire-and-gowdy-introduce-cost-saving-presidential-allowance>.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ See, Dom Bonafede, “Life After the Oval Office: Caring For Ex-Presidents Can Cost a Bundle,” *The National Journal*, August 31, 1985, p. 1945.

provided a pension and benefits that permit him to perform duties that emerge as a result of his unofficial public status.

Former U.S. Presidents have returned to varied financial circumstances after leaving office. Some former Presidents created or returned to wealthy lives after the presidency. Others struggled financially. Contemporary former Presidents—like William J. Clinton and George W. Bush—write memoirs, head foundations, and give public speeches. No current former President has claimed publicly to have significant financial concerns.

International Comparisons

The United States is not the only country that pays a pension and provides other benefits to its former head of government. Since 2013 in Britain, all “great offices of state,” including the Prime Minister, are on the ministerial pension scheme used for other members of Parliament, under the Parliamentary Contributory Pension Fund.¹⁸ Since 2012 in Canada, the pension for a former Prime Minister is calculated as 3% of his or her salary multiplied by his or her years of service.¹⁹ Pursuant to Canada’s Pension Reform Act, a former prime minister appears to remain eligible for pension benefits as a former member of Parliament.²⁰

Benefits Available to Former Presidents

GSA is authorized by the FPA to provide limited funding for an office staff and “suitable office space, appropriately furnished and equipped,”²¹ at a location within the United States designated by a former President, for the rest of his lifetime. In addition, each former President is authorized to receive a lifetime federal pension, travel funds, and franked mail privileges. Separate statutes provide U.S. Secret Service protection to former Presidents.²² In 1961, the Comptroller General of the United States determined that the FPA also applies to office supplies, such as stationery and local and long distance telephone service. **Table 1** shows the FY2015 GSA appropriation provided for former Presidents, disaggregated by category of expenditure.

The data in **Table 1** show that in FY2015, costs of providing benefits to more recent former Presidents were higher than for their predecessors. For example, in FY2015, George W. Bush, the former President who left office most recently (January 2009), had the highest annual pension and benefit costs among the four living former Presidents (\$1,098,000). Former President Jimmy Carter, the living former President with the longest tenure out of office (January 1981), drew the

¹⁸ The pension contribution and accrual rates for British members of Parliament vary based on certain decisions of the member. Djuna Thurley et al., House of Commons Library, “Public Service Pensions Bill, Bill No. 70 of 2012-13,” October 16, 2012, pp. 66-68. Between 1937 and 2013, Britain’s former prime ministers received a pension equal to half of their ministerial salary. They also received an office, secretarial support, and a car and driver. Djuna Thurley, House of Commons Library, “Pensions of ministers and senior office holders,” October 18, 2012, pp. 13-15.

¹⁹ Bill C-46. The prime minister’s pension is furthermore capped at two-thirds of the PM’s salary.

²⁰ In the parliamentary political system, the prime minister is also a member of Parliament. Pension Reform Act, R.S.C., 2012, c. 22, at <http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?Language=E&Mode=1&DocId=5811436&File=4>. Previously, a prime minister was eligible to receive the same pension as a former member of Parliament and roughly two-thirds of his or her prime minister salary. (Members of Parliament Retiring Allowances Act, R.S.C. 1992, c. 46, s. 81). Under current Canadian law, members of Parliament must serve at least six years to be eligible for pension benefits. A prime minister must serve at least four years or be at least 65 years old to be eligible for pension benefits.

²¹ 3 U.S.C. §102 note, “Former Presidents”; 72 Stat. 838.

²² 10 U.S.C. §3056.

smallest pension and benefits (\$430,000). Also in FY2015, former Presidents William J. Clinton and George W. Bush received larger appropriations to pay for personnel benefits (\$119,000 and \$102,000, respectively) than former Presidents Jimmy Carter and George H. W. Bush received (\$0 for Carter and \$65,000 for George H. W. Bush). The pension and benefits paid to former Presidents George W. Bush and Clinton in FY2015, when added together, comprise 62.2% of all benefits paid to the four living former Presidents and the widows of the former Presidents.

In FY2015, office space rental payments were the highest category of cost for former Presidents George H. W. Bush, Clinton, and George W. Bush. As shown in **Table 1**, former President George W. Bush received the highest FY2015 appropriation for office space (\$434,000).²³ Former President Clinton's office space costs (\$429,000) were \$5,000 less than former President George W. Bush's costs, which was a reversal from FY2014. According to GSA, the appropriations provided for office space are estimates "based on prior year actual obligations and anticipated changes" to those obligations for the next fiscal year. As shown in **Table 3**, the actual office space costs for the former Presidents are lower than the appropriations displayed in **Table 1**. According to GSA, excess office space funds can be reallocated to other costs for former Presidents that were underestimated or unanticipated. If excess funding is not needed during the fiscal year, it is returned to the Department of the Treasury. In addition to office space, pension costs have historically been a large share of federal appropriations. Pension costs were the highest category of spending for former President Carter in FY2015, while they were second only to office space for the other three living former Presidents.

Table 1. Annual GSA Allowance for Former Presidents

FY2015 Enacted Appropriation, in Thousands

Allowance Type	Jimmy Carter	George H. W. Bush	William Jefferson Clinton	George W. Bush	Widow Nancy Reagan ^a	Totals
Personnel Compensation	\$0 ^b	\$96	\$96	\$96	\$0	\$288
Personnel Benefits ^c	\$0	\$65	\$119	\$102	\$0	\$286
Pension ^d	\$205	\$205	\$218 ^e	\$214 ^e	\$0	\$842
Travel	\$0	\$56	\$0	\$10	\$0	\$66
Office Space ^f	\$112	\$207	\$429	\$434	\$0	\$1,182
Communications ^g	\$15	\$60	\$11	\$80	\$6	\$172
Printing	\$1	\$10	\$9	\$20	\$0	\$40
Other Services ^h	\$96 ⁱ	\$62	\$31	\$64	\$0	\$253
Supplies and Materials ^j	\$1	\$10	\$3	\$28	\$0	\$42
Equipment ^k	\$0	\$23	\$8	\$50	\$0	\$81
Totals	\$430	\$794	\$924	\$1,098	\$6	\$3,252

Source: Data provided to CRS by the Office of the Budget, General Services Administration. On February 15, 2016, CRS requested appropriation data for FY2016. GSA had not responded to the request as of date of

²³ Greater detail on the office space and costs provided to each former President are provided in **Table 3** later in this report. Information provided electronically to CRS by GSA on February 4, 2014.

publication. Mrs. Nancy Reagan died on March 6, 2016. It is likely that her FY2016 pension was fully funded for FY2016, and was paid out on a pro-rated basis until her death.

Notes: Data do not include costs for U.S. Secret Service protection, which are not made public and are not funded through appropriations to the General Services Administration.

- a. Mrs. Nancy Reagan waived the widow's pension pursuant to P.L. 85-745, as amended. Mrs. Reagan, however, received franking privileges.
- b. FY2013 was the first year that former President Jimmy Carter was not paid personnel funds through this particular account. According to GSA, however, former President Carter received personnel benefits of equal value "under a separate account ... outside of the GSA payroll system." Funding for former President Carter's personnel is included in his "Other Services" account. Information provided electronically to CRS by GSA on February 4, 2014.
- c. Former Presidents Jimmy Carter and George H. W. Bush do not receive federal health benefits through FPA appropriations. According to a GSA legal opinion, former President Carter does not qualify for health benefits because he served only one term, which is less than the five-year period required for most former federal employees to receive health benefits. Although George H. W. Bush only served one term, his tenure in other federal positions permits him to receive health benefits through FPA. He has chosen not to accept those benefits.
- d. According to GSA, the former Presidents' pension benefits include the pension and "related benefits." Information provided electronically to CRS by GSA on April 27, 2015.
- e. GSA was uncertain why the pension benefits for William Jefferson Clinton and George W. Bush were higher than the statutory cap of Executive Level I pay (\$203,700 in calendar year 2015 and \$205,700 in calendar year 2016). Information provided to the authors via email on April 27, 2015. As noted in table note d, however, the pension category includes "related benefits." It is possible that health care costs associated with former Presidents Clinton and Bush are included in this category.
- f. According to GSA, the appropriations provided for office space are estimates "based on prior year actual obligations and anticipated changes" to those obligations for the next fiscal year. As shown in **Table 3**, the actual office space costs for the former Presidents are much lower than the values provided in this table. According to GSA, these excess office space funds can be reallocated to other costs for former Presidents that were underestimated or unanticipated. If this excess funding is not needed during the fiscal year, it is returned to the Department of Treasury. Information provided electronically to CRS by GSA on February 4, 2014.
- g. "Communications" includes cable, phone, and UPS/Fedex charges. Information provided electronically to CRS by GSA on April 27, 2015.
- h. "Other Services" includes security payments to DHS for lease location, license and support hours for IQ contract, postage for frank mail, furniture moves, and disposal costs. Information provided electronically to CRS by GSA on April 27, 2015.
- i. As noted in note b above, personnel costs for former President Carter are included in this account for FY2015.
- j. "Supplies and Materials" include office supplies and subscriptions. Information provided electronically to CRS by GSA on April 27, 2015.
- k. "Equipment" includes furniture or information technology hardware or software and the related installation costs. Information provided electronically to CRS by GSA on April 27, 2015.

Table 2 shows the costs of pension and benefits provided to former Presidents for the past 15 fiscal years.

Table 2. Total Appropriation of Pensions and Benefits Provided to Former Presidents, Adjusted to FY2015 Dollars

FY2000 to FY2015, in Thousands

Fiscal Year	Gerald Ford	Jimmy Carter	Ronald Reagan	George H. W. Bush	William J. Clinton	George W. Bush	Widow Ladybird Johnson	Widow Betty Ford	Widow Nancy Reagan	Totals
2000	\$648	\$694	\$948	\$764			\$30			\$3,085
2001	\$636	\$680	\$913	\$762	\$341		\$29			\$3,361
2002	\$655	\$669	\$730	\$821	\$1,307		\$29			\$4,211
2003	\$671	\$654	\$683	\$868	\$1,396		\$28			\$4,301
2004	\$668	\$634	\$675	\$858	\$1,370		\$28			\$4,232
2005	\$657	\$609	\$242	\$865	\$1,337		\$27		\$2	\$3,739
2006	\$636	\$591		\$855	\$1,320		\$26		\$7	\$3,435
2007	\$618	\$575		\$831	\$1,284		\$25		\$7	\$3,340
2008		\$570		\$865	\$1,279			\$7	\$7	\$2,728
2009		\$572		\$910	\$1,339	\$404		\$8	\$8	\$3,241
2010		\$563		\$902	\$1,183	\$1,420		\$8	\$8	\$4,083
2011		\$530		\$859	\$1,136	\$1,456		\$7	\$7	\$3,996
2012		\$535		\$869	\$1,010	\$1,362			\$14	\$3,790
2013 ^e		\$510		\$824	\$953	\$1,280			\$7	\$3,574
2014		\$471		\$838	\$952	\$1,289			\$7	\$3,556
2015		\$430		\$794	\$924	\$1,098			\$6	\$3,250
Totals	\$5,189	\$9,287	\$4,190	\$13,486	\$17,132	\$8,308	\$222	\$29	\$80	\$57,921

Source: Data provided to CRS by GSA. Previous fiscal year data has been provided to CRS annually over time. CRS calculated the adjusted dollar values using the data provided.

Notes: Adjusted costs are calculated using Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index (CPI) annual averages. To calculate the inflation adjustment values, CRS divided the FY2015 CPI by the appropriate year's CPI rate (for example, the CPI rate for 2007 when calculating the adjusted dollar costs for 2007). CRS then multiplied that dividend by the nominal dollar amount provided to a former President in pension and benefits for each year. Values may not add up to the totals due to rounding. Table used for analysis can be found at <http://www.bls.gov/cpi/cpid1512.pdf>, Table 24, p. 74.

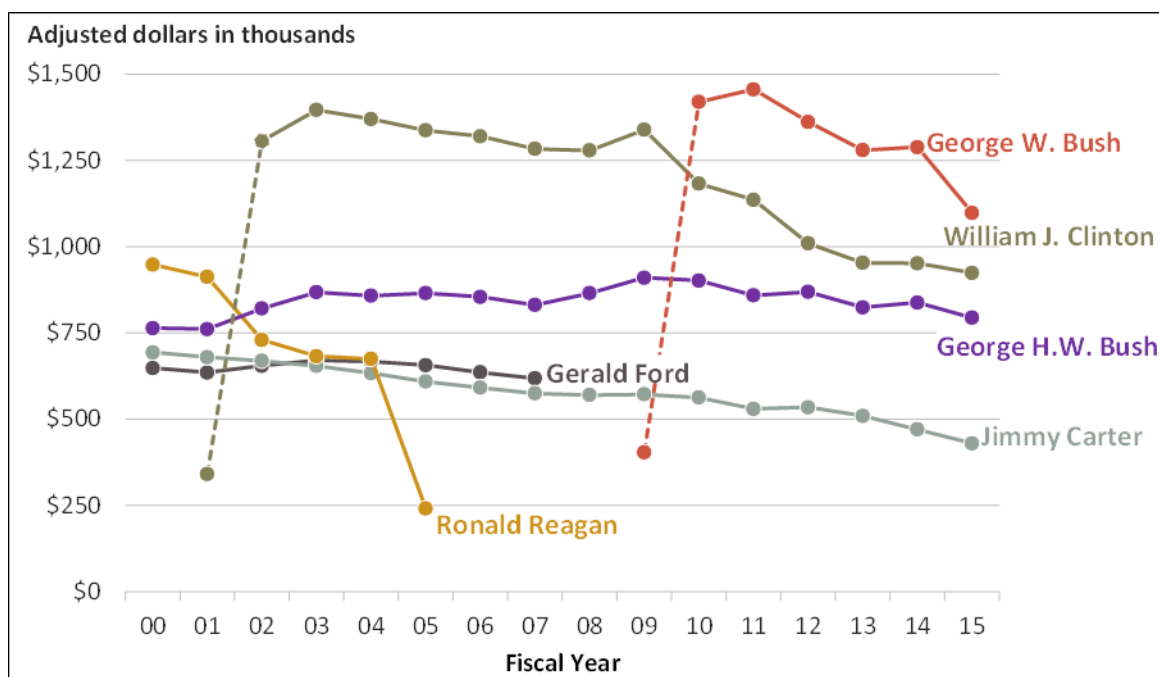
- a. Former President Reagan died on June 5, 2004. The FY2005 allowance reflects costs associated with closing his office. Mrs. Nancy Reagan waived the widow's pension pursuant to P.L. 85-745, as amended. Mrs. Reagan, however, continued to receive franking privileges.
- b. Former President Ford died on December 26, 2006. The FY2007 allowance was used to fund the costs associated with closing former President Ford's office. Mrs. Betty Ford waived the widow's pension pursuant to P.L. 85-745, as amended.
- c. Mrs. Ladybird Johnson died on July 11, 2007. Her allowance was fully funded in FY2007 and was paid out on a pro-rated basis until her death.
- d. Mrs. Ford died on July 8, 2011. Her allowance was fully funded in FY2011 and was paid out on a pro-rated basis until her death.
- e. According to GSA, FY2013 costs were lower than the three previous years because offices of the former Presidents "have chosen to reduce and limit their expenses" because of "sequestration" and "overall budget restrictions." Information provided electronically to the author on February 4, 2014. Additionally, costs for the former Presidents were lower in FY2013 because former President George W. Bush was no longer eligible for additional personnel compensation provided for by P.L. 95-138 (91 Stat. 1170). The law provides a former President additional personnel funding for the 30-month period that begins July 20 of the first year the former President left office. See U.S. General Accounting Office, GAO Report GAO-01-983, *Former Presidents: Office and Security Costs and Other Information*, September 2001, p. 16. The former President can hire as many employees as he would like, provided their aggregated pay does not exceed the \$150,000 cap.

The data indicate several trends. First, the aggregated adjusted value of pension and benefits provided to the former Presidents stayed relatively consistent from FY2000 through FY2001. From FY2001 to FY2002, the aggregated adjusted pension and benefits value increased 25.3% (from \$3,361,000 to \$4,211,000). The adjusted pensions remained above \$4,000,000 until FY2005, when they declined to an aggregated total of \$3,739,000. The total pensions continued to decline until they reached their lowest adjusted aggregated value in FY2008 (\$2,728,000). The aggregated pensions grew from FY2008 through FY2010, and then they declined from FY2011 to FY2015. When adjusted for inflation, FY2003 had the highest costs for pension and benefits (\$4,301,000) and FY2008 had the lowest costs (\$2,728,000).

Second, as shown in **Figure 1**, despite the general trend toward overall increasing costs associated with providing pensions and benefits to former Presidents, the value of each individual former President's pension and benefits—when adjusted for inflation—has either declined or remained stable. George H. W. Bush is one exception to that trend. Between FY2000 and FY2015, George H. W. Bush's adjusted pension and benefits increased from \$790,000 in FY1999 to \$794,000 in FY2015.²⁴ The annual appropriation data suggests that federal funding for former Presidents increases in the years immediately following the end of a President's term, as was the case for both FY2001-FY2002 and FY2009-FY2010.

Figure 1. The Costs of Pensions and Benefits Provided to Former Presidents in FY2015 Dollars

FY2000 to FY2015, in Thousands



Source: Data provided to CRS by GSA. CRS calculated the adjusted 2015 dollar values using the data provided.

Notes: Adjusted costs are calculated using Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index (CPI) annual averages. To calculate the inflation adjustment values, CRS divided the FY2015 CPI by the appropriate year's CPI rate (for example, the CPI rate for 2007 when calculating the adjusted dollar costs for 2007). CRS then

²⁴ According to data from GSA, President George H. W. Bush's pension (Executive Level I pay), office space, and other costs have increased over the past 20 years.

multiplied that dividend by the nominal dollar amount provided to a former President in pension and benefits for each year. The table used for analysis can be found at <http://www.bls.gov/cpi/cpid1502.pdf>.

Transition Expenses

The Presidential Transition Act (PTA),²⁵ as amended, authorizes the Administrator of GSA to provide services and facilities to each outgoing President and Vice President, “for use in connection with winding up the affairs of his office,” for a period “not to exceed seven months from 30 days before the date of the expiration of his term of office.”²⁶

The PTA authorizes appropriations for specified activities during a presidential transition, including both those just mentioned and those in support of the incoming President and Vice President. The act authorizes “not more than \$3.5 million ... for the purposes of providing services and facilities to the President-elect and Vice President-elect” and “not more than \$1.5 million ... for the purposes of providing services and facilities to the former President and former Vice President.”²⁷ In the event that the outgoing Vice President is becoming President, the PTA limits the authorized expenditures in this area.²⁸ The law also requires that the authorized amounts be adjusted for inflation “based on increases in the cost of transition services and expenses which have occurred in the years following the most recent Presidential transition.”²⁹

In FY2009, during which the most recent presidential transition occurred, \$8 million was appropriated.³⁰ In FY2013, the President’s budget requested \$8.95 million for PTA-authorized purposes.

The President’s FY2017 budget request seeks \$9.5 million for GSA to carry out the PTA. The President’s budget request states that anticipated PTA expenses include \$1 million “for briefing personnel associated with the incoming administration.”³¹

In addition to the \$9.5 million requested by GSA, for FY2017 the Executive Office of the President’s Office of Administration requested \$7.6 million “for data migration services for processing of records of the department President and Vice President ... and for other transition-related administrative expenses.”³² This request is separate from the \$9.5 million.

²⁵ 3 U.S.C. §102 note; PTA. For more information, see CRS Report RS22979, *Presidential Transition Act: Provisions and Funding*, by Henry B. Hogue, *Presidential Transition Act: Provisions and Funding*, by Henry B. Hogue.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, §4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, §6(a). According to General Accounting Office (now the Government Accountability Office) audits of Presidential Transition Act spending, the transition funds have been used to provide suitable office space, staff compensation, communications services, and printing and postage associated with the transition. See, for example, U.S. General Accounting Office, *Audit of Reagan Presidential Transition Expenditures*, GGD-81-50, March 2, 1981, p. 3, at <http://gao.gov/assets/140/134036.pdf>; and U.S. General Accounting Office, *Audit of Ford-Carter Presidential Transition Expenses*, GGD-78-36, December 23, 1977, pp. 2-3, at <http://gao.gov/assets/130/122685.pdf>.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, §6(b).

³⁰ P.L. 111-8; 123 Stat. 643.

³¹ U.S. Office of Management and Budget, *The Budget for Fiscal Year 2017*, commonly referred to as the President’s budget request, Washington, DC, February 2016, pp. 1178-1179, at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2017/assets/gsa.pdf>.

³² Executive Office of the President, *Congressional Budget Submission: Fiscal Year 2017*, Washington, DC, 2016, pp. AS-3, at <https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/fy2017eopbudgetfinalelectronic.pdf>.

Pensions

The FPA, as amended, requires the federal government to provide for each former President a taxable pension that is equal to the annual rate of basic pay for the head of an executive department (Executive Level I), which was \$203,700 for calendar year 2015. Executive Level I pay was increased to \$205,700 for calendar year 2016. The pension begins immediately upon a President's departure from office at noon on Inauguration Day, January 20. The Secretary of the Treasury disburses the monthly pensions.

The FPA does not address whether a President who resigns from office is eligible to receive pension benefits and other allowances. Following a 1974 precedent set by the Department of Justice concerning President Richard Nixon's resignation from office, however, a President who resigns before his official term of office expires would be entitled to the same lifetime pension and benefits that are authorized for a President who completes his term. Former President Nixon, therefore, did receive a pension and other benefits. There is no precedent pertaining to whether a President who is removed from office following impeachment by the House and conviction in the Senate is entitled to his pension and related benefits.³³

Office Space and Staffing Allowances

GSA is authorized to provide "suitable office space, appropriately furnished and equipped" at any location within the United States selected by a former President.³⁴ This location does not need to be connected to any other facility related to the President, including the official Presidential Library or museums maintained by private foundations. The funding for this provision becomes effective six months after the expiration of a President's term of office. The FPA does not provide specifications or limitations pertaining to the size or location of a former President's office space. Since a former President's pension is comparable to the salary of the head of an executive branch agency, GSA has historically applied "the cabinet-level office standard" for the quality of a former President's office space, equipment, and supplies.³⁵ Office space costs for the living former Presidents are shown in **Table 3**.

Table 3. Annual Office Space Costs for Former Presidents, FY2015

Former President	Location	Square Feet	Cost
Jimmy Carter ^a	Atlanta, GA	7,070	\$109,439
George H. W. Bush	Houston, TX	5,379	\$179,691
William J. Clinton	New York, NY	8,300	\$414,380
George W. Bush	Dallas, TX	8,237	\$420,506

Source: Data provided to CRS by GSA on January 1, 2014. GSA confirmed on April 28, 2015, that these office locations are still being used during FY2015.

³³ U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Assistant Attorney General, letter to the Administrator of the General Services Administration from Mary C. Lawton, Acting Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel, Washington, DC, August 15, 1974.

³⁴ 3 U.S.C. §102 note. See also U.S. General Accounting Office, GAO Report GAO-01-983, *Former Presidents: Office and Security Costs and Other Information*, September 2001, p. 9 at <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d01983.pdf>.

³⁵ U.S. General Accounting Office, *Costs Associated with Former Presidents and Their Dependents*, GAO/GGD-85-68, September 26, 1985, p. 6, at <http://www.gao.gov/assets/150/143450.pdf>. GAO does not clarify what the Cabinet-level office standard is.

Note: These data are actual office space costs, and may not be equal to the appropriated costs for the office space provided in **Table I**.

- a. President Carter's office is located in the Carter Presidential Center campus, which also houses the Carter Library. However, the office is maintained in a separate building on the campus.

Six months after a President leaves office, provisions of the FPA, as amended, authorize the GSA Administrator to fund an office staff.³⁶ During the first 30-month period when a former President is entitled to assistance under the FPA, the total annual basic compensation for his "staff assistance" cannot exceed \$150,000.³⁷ Thereafter, the aggregate rates of staff compensation for a former President cannot exceed \$96,000 annually.³⁸ The maximum annual rate of compensation for any one staff member cannot exceed the pay provided at Level II of the Executive Schedule, which was \$183,300 in 2015 and \$185,100 in 2016.³⁹ Despite these limits, a former President is permitted to supplement staff compensation or to hire additional staff using private funds.⁴⁰

According to a GSA legal opinion written on December 15, 1972, the office of a former President may continue to operate after the former President's death for a "reasonable period of time." The GSA Administrator has historically provided office staff up to six months from the date of the former President's death to complete unfinished business and to close the office. The office's closure date must be approved by the GSA Administrator.⁴¹

Travel Expenses

In 1968, the FPA was amended to authorize GSA to make funds available to a former President, and no more than two members of his staff, for official travel and related expenses. The FPA caps appropriations at \$1 million for "security and travel related expenses" of a former President.⁴² The security and travel expenses of a former First Lady are authorized up to \$500,000 per year, pursuant to the law. GSA makes the final determination on appropriate costs for travel expenses.⁴³

³⁶ The Presidential Transition Act, as amended (3 U.S.C. §102 note, PTA) provides office benefits for the first six months after a former President leaves office. FPA office and staff benefits, therefore, begin six months after the former President has left office—when the transition benefits cease.

³⁷ Ibid. The separate \$150,000 compensation level for the initial 30-month period was established in 1977 (P.L. 95-138; 91 Stat. 1170). The 30-month period begins July 20th of the first year the former President leaves office. See U.S. General Accounting Office, GAO Report GAO-01-983, *Former Presidents: Office and Security Costs and Other Information*, September 2001, p. 16. The former President can hire as many employees as he would like, provided their aggregated pay does not exceed the \$150,000 cap.

³⁸ In 1964, the FPA was amended to increase the aggregate rates of staff compensation from \$50,000 to \$65,000 (P.L. 88-426; 78 Stat. 412); to \$80,000 in 1967 (P.L. 90-206; 81 Stat. 642); and to \$96,000 in 1970 (84 Stat. 198).

³⁹ 3 U.S.C. §102 note, "Former Presidents" (b). According to a GAO report, staff members of a former President "can receive federal compensation, [but] they are not considered federal employees. They are, however, eligible for certain federal benefits such as retirement and health insurance." See U.S. General Accounting Office, GAO Report GAO-01-983, *Former Presidents: Office and Security Costs and Other Information*, September 2001, p. 16. The 2014 Executive Schedule is available at U.S. Office of Personnel Management, "Salary Table No.2014-EX," at <http://www.opm.gov/policy-data-oversight/pay-leave/salaries-wages/salary-tables/pdf/2014/EX.pdf>.

⁴⁰ A former President must use personal or private foundation funds to pay staff if the cost is greater than the \$96,000 statutory cap.

⁴¹ Information provided electronically to CRS from GSA on August 8, 2008.

⁴² 3 U.S.C. §102 note, "Former Presidents" (g).

⁴³ FY1969 Supplemental Appropriations Act (P.L. 90-608; 82 Stat. 1192).

Secret Service Protection⁴⁴

The Secret Service provides lifetime protection to former Presidents.⁴⁵ Former Presidents' spouses also receive protection until one of two events occurs: divorce from the former President or death of the former President followed by remarriage.⁴⁶ Protection for a former President's children is available until they reach the age of 16.⁴⁷ Legislation enacted in 1984 allows former Presidents or their dependents to decline Secret Service protection.⁴⁸ Former Vice Presidents, their spouses, and children under the age of 16 are authorized to receive Secret Service Protection for six months after they leave office.⁴⁹

The FY1995 Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriations Act⁵⁰ amended 18 U.S.C. §3056 to limit protection to 10 years for former Presidents who began serving after January 1, 1997, and their spouses.⁵¹ Former President George W. Bush and his wife Laura Bush would have been the first former President and First Lady affected by this statutory limit. On January 10, 2013, however, President Obama signed into law the Former Presidents Protection Act of 2012 (P.L. 112-257), which reinstated lifetime Secret Service protection for all former Presidents and their spouses. The Secretary of Homeland Security is authorized to direct the Secret Service to provide temporary protection to a former President or his spouse at any time.⁵²

Currently, former Presidents Jimmy Carter, George H. W. Bush, William J. Clinton, and George W. Bush, and their wives receive Secret Service protection.⁵³ The costs of providing protection for former Presidents and their spouses are funded through the budget of the Secret Service, as opposed to GSA. The Secret Service does not publicly disclose protection costs or details for security reasons.⁵⁴

⁴⁴ For more information on the Secret Service and their protection of former Presidents and other officials, see CRS Report RL34603, *The U.S. Secret Service: History and Missions*, by Shawn Reese.

⁴⁵ 18 U.S.C. §3056. The original statute (P.L. 87-829; 76 Stat. 956) limited Secret Service protection to "a reasonable period after he leaves office." The following year, 1963, a new statute (P.L. 88-195; 77 Stat. 348) authorized the Secret Service to protect Jacqueline Kennedy, the widow of President John F. Kennedy, and their two children for "not in excess of two years."

⁴⁶ If a President dies while in office, a spouse may receive Secret Service protection for one year. 18 U.S.C. §3056(3)(B).

⁴⁷ In 1965, the FPA was amended (P.L. 89-186; 79 Stat. 791) to provide "protection of the person of a former President and his wife during his lifetime and the person of a widow and minor children of a former President for a period of four years after he leaves or dies in office."

⁴⁸ P.L. 98-587; 98 Stat. 3110.

⁴⁹ P.L. 110-326; 122 Stat. 3560.

⁵⁰ P.L. 103-329; 108 Stat. 2413.

⁵¹ The 10-year limit on Secret Service protection applied to former Presidents' spouses unless Secret Service protection was terminated earlier because the spouse divorced the former President or the spouse remarried following the death of the former President.

⁵² 18 U.S.C. §3056. Pursuant to 18 U.S.C. §879, a person who makes threats against a former President or his immediate family member can be fined or imprisoned for up to five years.

⁵³ Former President Richard Nixon discontinued Secret Service protection for himself and his wife, Pat, more than 10 years after his resignation from office. See Philip H. Melanson, *The Secret Service: The Hidden History of an Enigmatic Agency* (New York, NY: Carroll & Graff, 2005), p. 163.

⁵⁴ Information provided via telephone from the Secret Service to the author on February 11, 2013. Total Secret Service appropriations for protection of "persons and facilities" is available in CRS Report RL34603, *The U.S. Secret Service: History and Missions*, by Shawn Reese, p. 4.

Health Benefits

No statutes explicitly govern the payment of health benefits for former Presidents. Generally, however, former federal employees must be enrolled in the Federal Employees Health Benefits program for five years to qualify for health benefits.⁵⁵ GSA, historically, has interpreted similar service requirements for a former President to qualify as a federal annuitant.⁵⁶

Presidential terms are four years. Jimmy Carter served a single presidential term, and, therefore, does not qualify for federally funded health benefits. Although George H. W. Bush served only one term as President, he is entitled to federal health benefits because of his extensive federal service in other positions, including Member of Congress, Director of Central Intelligence, Ambassador to the United Nations, and Vice President. While former President George H. W. Bush is eligible for federal health benefits, he opts not to receive them.⁵⁷ Since former President Clinton served two presidential terms and receives a monthly pension, GSA's position is that he qualifies for federal health benefits. George W. Bush is eligible for and receives federal health benefits.⁵⁸

Funerals

The incumbent President is charged with officially announcing the death of a former President by presidential proclamation and ordering the U.S. flags on all federal buildings to be flown at half-staff for 30 days (4 U.S.C. §7(m)). Former Presidents are entitled to an official state funeral, including traditions and requirements determined by the Armed Forces.⁵⁹

According to state funeral policy, the incumbent President must notify Congress that the former President had requested a state funeral, and then set a date for the ceremony. The Secretary of Defense is then designated as the representative of the incumbent President for the purpose of making all state funeral arrangements in Washington, DC. The Secretary of Defense may designate the Secretary of the Army as his personal representative, who may then delegate to the commanding general of the U.S. Military District of Washington (MDW) the overall authority for planning and implementing the funeral arrangements within Washington, DC, and elsewhere.⁶⁰

The former President's funeral plans are to be collected by those making the arrangements, and an aide is to be assigned to assist the former President's next of kin. Certain military honors and traditions may be extended by the military, based on the wishes and requests made by the former President's surviving family members.⁶¹ A guard of honor, which is composed of members from each of the Armed Forces, attends to the former President's remains. If a former President dies outside of Washington, DC, arrangements are made to return his remains to the District.

⁵⁵ 5 U.S.C. §8905(a).

⁵⁶ Defined in 5 U.S.C. §8901(3).

⁵⁷ Former President George H. W. Bush is eligible and may elect to receive health benefits that are appropriated pursuant to an authority other than the Former Presidents Act.

⁵⁸ Information on former Presidents and health benefits was provided electronically to CRS from GSA on February 11, 2013.

⁵⁹ U.S. Headquarters of the Departments of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Treasury, "State, Official, and Special Military Funerals," Army Pamphlet 1-1, December 1965.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁶¹ The military has rendered military honors to former Presidents since the burial of George Washington on December 18, 1799, at Mount Vernon, VA.

The former President's remains are to lie in repose for one day,⁶² and then be moved to the Capitol Rotunda to lie in state for an additional 24 hours.⁶³ A ceremony is then traditionally held at the Capitol, which includes the playing of a hymn and a cannon salute. A former President, as former Commander-in-Chief, is also entitled to burial and ceremony in the Arlington National Cemetery.⁶⁴ If the former President is to be buried outside of Washington, DC, however, honors will be rendered at the train station, terminal, or airport that serves as the point of departure for the remains. Traditionally, a flag is draped over the former President's casket. At the state funeral service, certain additional honors may be rendered, including musical honors and gun salutes.⁶⁵ In addition, the U.S. Air Force may coordinate a flyover or the Armed Forces may stage a cannon salute.⁶⁶

Potential Policy Options for Congress

Congress has the authority to reduce, increase, or maintain the pension and benefits provided to former Presidents of the United States. Also, Congress has the ability to set limitations on the use of this funding by former Presidents and their staff. This section considers the potential effects of maintaining the FPA, modifying the FPA in ways similar to H.R. 1777 and S. 1411 (both entitled the Presidential Allowance Modernization Act), and other policy options for consideration.

The Informal Public Role of a Former President

Currently, former Presidents are provided \$96,000 for personnel compensation, a \$205,700 pension, and as much as an additional \$796,000 in various benefits.⁶⁷ Former Presidents no longer

⁶² For more information on the ceremony at the place of repose, see U.S. Headquarters of the Departments of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Treasury, "State, Official, and Special Military Funerals," pp. 12 and 14.

⁶³ State funerals require that the former President's remains lie in state in the Capitol Rotunda. In addition, Congress may adopt a resolution or otherwise authorize a deceased President to lie in state in the Capitol Rotunda for a state funeral ceremony, followed by public, closed-casket viewing.

⁶⁴ Arlington National Cemetery, "A Guide to Burial at Arlington National Cemetery," at http://www.arlingtoncemetery.org/funeral_information/guide.interment.html. Two former Presidents are buried in the National Cemetery: William Howard Taft and John F. Kennedy.

⁶⁵ Musical honors include the playing of "Ruffles and Flourishes," in which drums play the ruffles and bugles play the flourishes. Presidents receive four flourishes, the highest honor. "Hail to the Chief" is then played. One day after the death of a former President—unless that day is a Sunday or holiday—an order is rendered that one gun be fired every half hour from reveille to retreat. If the day after the former President's death is a Sunday or holiday, the salute is scheduled for the following day. On the day of the former President's burial, a 21-minute gun salute begins at noon at all military installations. The guns fire at one-minute intervals. Also on the day of the former President's burial, all military installations traditionally fire a 50-gun salute—one round per state—after the American flag is lowered. For more information see U.S. Headquarters of the Departments of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Treasury, "State, Official, and Special Military Funerals," pp. 57-58; and U.S. Department of Defense, American Forces Press Service, "Military Tradition to Be Evident in Ford Funeral Events," December 28, 2006.

⁶⁶ For example, following former President Gerald R. Ford's death on December 26, 2006, President George W. Bush announced by proclamation that U.S. flags on all federal facilities be flown at half-staff. Two days later, President Bush issued E.O. 13421, which proclaimed January 2, 2007, a day of respect and remembrance for the former President and ordered the closing of federal offices and agencies. A funeral took place in the Capitol Rotunda on December 30, 2006, where former President Ford lay in state, with subsequent services on January 2, 2007, at Washington National Cathedral. Funeral services for the former President were conducted on January 3, 2007, in Grand Rapids, MI, with interment at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum.

⁶⁷ In FY2015, George W. Bush was obligated \$796,000, in health benefits, travel costs, office space, telephone costs, postage, printing costs, other services, supplies and materials, and equipment. This was the highest amount of any former President for that year. Information provided by GSA.

serve a formal role in the federal government, but arguably continue to perform certain informal public roles. Some have argued that Presidents should continue to be provided access to pension benefits because of these informal roles, such as responding to mail and interview requests.⁶⁸ Moreover, other public servants qualify for a pension—including executive, legislative, and judicial branch employees as well as Members of Congress.⁶⁹

Expectations, Limitations, and Opportunities of a Former President

The FPA was enacted so former Presidents would not be forced “to write and lecture to gain a livelihood in their final days.”⁷⁰ Yet every living former President has already published an autobiography or presidential memoir.⁷¹ Pursuant to the FPA, there is only one occupation that would result in the temporary removal of FPA pension and benefits: “an appointive or elective office or position in or under the Federal Government or the government of the District of Columbia to which is attached a rate of pay other than a nominal rate.”⁷² No living former President has publicly claimed to suffer financial difficulties as a result of continued public responsibilities or otherwise.⁷³ To the contrary, the living former Presidents all earned money writing autobiographies and memoirs that focused on their presidential tenures. Some former Presidents also reportedly earn millions of dollars each year from paid speaking engagements.⁷⁴

Some argue that the expectations placed on former Presidents have changed, and so too should the pension and benefits they are provided. H.R. 1777 and S. 1411, for example, would cap a President’s pension benefit at \$200,000, and significantly limit the other benefits provided.

⁶⁸ For example, in 1958, Rep. Tom Murray provided the following remarks on the House floor:

Today the President of the United States is virtually the only officer of the Federal Government who is not covered by some kind of retirement program. He occupies the greatest office in the world. His duties are most trying and exacting. A former President is considered a dedicated statesman, available whenever desired for service to our country. The interest of the American people in the President does not cease when his term of office has ended, nor does his responsibility end when he retires. The public demands for speeches, conferences, and correspondence continue after his term of office ends.

Rep. Tom Murray, “Retirement, Clerical Assistants, and Free Mailing Privileges for Former Presidents of the United States,” remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 105, part 15 (August 21, 1958), p. 18941. Pursuant to federal law, federal employees and Members of Congress must complete five years of federal service to qualify for pension benefits. Presidents serve four-year terms, and may serve for two terms. Pursuant to the FPA, a President who serves one term (four years) qualifies for the pension and certain benefits (excluding health care) provided to a former President.

⁶⁹ For more information on the pension and benefits provided to federal employees or Members of Congress, see CRS Report 98-810, *Federal Employees’ Retirement System: Benefits and Financing*, by Katelin P. Isaacs and CRS Report RL30631, *Retirement Benefits for Members of Congress*, by Katelin P. Isaacs.

⁷⁰ Rep. Joseph William Martin, Jr., “Retirement, Clerical Assistants, and Free Mailing Privileges for Former Presidents of the United States,” remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 104, part 15 (August 21, 1958), p. 18942.

⁷¹ See Jimmy Carter, *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1995); George H. W. Bush, *All the Best, George Bush: My Life in Letters and Other Writings* (New York: Scribner, 2000); Bill Clinton, *My Life* (New York: Vintage, 2005); and George W. Bush, *Decision Points* (New York: Broadway, 2011).

⁷² 3 U.S.C. § 102 note, “Former Presidents” (a).

⁷³ In an interview with NBC News on May 4, 2015, former President Bill Clinton said that he would continue to give paid speeches to “pay our bills.” See NBC News, “Bill Clinton Defends His Foundation’s Foreign Money,” at <http://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/bill-clinton-defends-his-foundations-foreign-money-n352981>.

⁷⁴ See, for example, Robert Yoon, “Clinton Surpasses \$75 Million in Speech Income After Lucrative 2010,” *CNN: Political Ticker*, July 11, 2001, at <http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2011/07/11/clinton-surpasses-75-million-in-speech-income-after-lucrative-2010/>; and Jennifer Epstein, “George W. Bush Made \$15M on Speaking Circuit,” *Politico*, May 21, 2011, at <http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0511/55372.html>.

Moreover, H.R. 1777 and S. 1411 seek to remove \$1 in federal benefits for every \$1 a former President earns in excess of \$400,000.

While the bills arguably would continue to allow current or future former Presidents from less affluent backgrounds to live comfortably after leaving office, some may argue that reducing the benefits provided to more affluent former Presidents could appear punitive or demonstrate that the federal service of a President from an affluent background was less worthy than the service of a President from less affluent means. Moreover, the bills may prompt privacy concerns for former Presidents. Details of a former President's earnings may not be made public, but the public would know—from a former President's qualification for or disqualification from the receipt of benefits—whether he earned more than \$400,000 per year.

Pensions of the Widows of Former Presidents

While H.R. 1777 and S. 1411 seek to reduce costs associated with former Presidents, the bill includes language that would increase the pension provided to the widow of a former President from \$20,000 to \$100,000 per year. The widows of other federal employees and officials may be eligible to receive survivor benefits, and, in some cases, may receive a pension valued greater than the \$20,000 provided annually to that of the widow of a former President.⁷⁵ The widow of a former President must decline other available pensions to be eligible for the \$20,000. Congress may choose to maintain the \$20,000 pension benefit authority for the widows of former Presidents. On the other hand, Congress may determine that \$20,000 annually is not the appropriate amount for the pension of a widow of a former President. Congress has the authority to set the pension of the widow of a former President at any value or to eliminate it.

Placing Limits on Certain Benefits

Some Members of Congress have argued that the FPA is unclear or overly permissive.⁷⁶ Given past congressional debates on the extent of financial assistance to former Presidents, Congress

⁷⁵ For more information on the survivor benefits provided to federal employees, see CRS Report RS21029, *Survivor Benefits for Families of Civilian Federal Employees and Retirees*, by Katelin P. Isaacs.

⁷⁶ In the 96th Congress (1979-1980), two pieces of legislation related to presidential retirement benefits were introduced: a concurrent resolution (H.Con.Res. 149) requesting that former President Richard Nixon pay the federal government \$66,614.03 for non-security repairs made on his San Clemente estate paid for by the federal government, and a House bill (H.R. 7144) that would have prevented pensions to former Presidents from “exceeding 50 times the poverty level income for one urban family of four.” Neither bill was reported from committee. In the 98th Congress (1983-1984), Sen. Lawton Chiles introduced legislation that would have prohibited former Presidents from using their federal pension “for partisan political activities or income generating activities.” The bill’s report noted that the increases in the staff and office allowances for former Presidents had greatly exceeded Congress’s “original expectations” for the FPA. The “original intent” of the FPA was to ensure former Presidents have “dignified retired lives free from the need to ‘commercialize’ and demean their status as elder statesmen.” See U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, *Former Presidents Facilities and Services Reform Act of 1983*, report to accompany S. 563, 98th Cong., 2nd sess., (Washington, DC: GPO, 1983), p. 3. The bill was reported by the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs, but no further Senate action was taken. Similar bills were introduced in the 97th (S. 1325), 98th (S. 563) and 99th (S. 1047) Congresses, but none of the bills were reported from committee. In 1988, Sen. Chiles introduced another similar bill to limit presidential allowances (S. 1647). It would have limited former Presidents in how they could spend their pension, and would have required them to report annually to Congress on how their pension was used. Additionally, the bill would have limited Secret Service protection to five years from the day a President left office. The bill was not reported from committee. In addition, the Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriations Act, 1994 (P.L. 103-123) contained a provision that amended the FPA by limiting office allowances for former Presidents to a five-year period, beginning in 1998 (legislation enacted in 1997 repealed this provision, and restored lifetime staff and office allowances to former Presidents). The Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriations Act, 1995 (P.L. 103-329), included a provision that prohibited FPA funds from

may choose to consider legislation to clarify current laws governing certain allowances provided for in the act—for example, by limiting office space allocations. Because existing laws are unclear on whether GSA can reject a former President’s choice in office size or location, rental payments in FY2012 ranged from \$109,000 per year for former President Carter’s office to \$444,000 for former President Clinton’s. Among the options that might be considered are placing a spending cap on office space for a former President, mandating that a former President’s office be located in owned or leased federal office buildings, placing a cap on the square footage of a former President’s office space, or leaving current provisions as they are.

Additionally, Congress may choose to put limitations on the use of FPA travel benefits, for example, for travel for political purposes. Under the law, Presidents may choose to use the funds for any travel, including travel to campaign events. Congress may choose to amend the law to limit the use of travel funds to political events. Defining what is meant by a political event—or conversely, a nonpolitical event—however, may prove difficult.

being used “for partisan political purposes.” That language, however, applied only to appropriated funding for that year.

Appendix A. Legislative History of the Former Presidents Act

Prior to 1958, chief executives leaving office entered retirement without federal assistance. By the end of the 19th century, public sentiment reportedly dictated that it was not appropriate for former Presidents to engage actively in business affairs. Suitable post-presidency occupations included practicing law, obtaining a university professorship, or writing for a newspaper or magazine.⁷⁷ Some former Presidents, like Rutherford B. Hayes, became successful entrepreneurs. Others, like Ulysses S. Grant, suffered financial losses and had personal possessions taken by creditors.

Andrew Carnegie's Offer

In 1912, discussions began in Congress about providing former Presidents and their spouses with annual pensions. That year, industrialist and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie reportedly offered to fund \$25,000 annual pensions for all future former Presidents and their widows until they were provided for by the federal government.⁷⁸ The pensions were to be funded by the Carnegie Foundation of New York, which was founded just a year earlier.⁷⁹ The *New York Times* reported that many Members of Congress deemed it inappropriate for a private corporation to provide pensions to former Presidents. Former President William Howard Taft publicly declined to become the first beneficiary of Carnegie's former President's pension fund when he left office in 1913.⁸⁰

At the time, some Members of Congress and the public believed that Carnegie's proposal was intended to bring attention to the financial difficulties that some former Presidents faced after leaving federal office.⁸¹ On that count, Carnegie's gambit was a success. In December 1912, two bills were introduced in Congress to provide pensions for former Presidents and their widows. The proposed House legislation (H.R. 26464) would have provided a \$2,000 per month pension for former Presidents, a \$1,000 per month pension for widows, and a \$200 per month pension for minor children under age 21, if both parents were deceased.⁸² The bill was referred to the House Committee on Pensions and was not reported. Legislation introduced in the Senate (S. 7519) would have provided a \$10,000 annual retirement pension for the President as Commander-in-Chief of the Army. It would also have provided an annual pension of \$5,000 for the unmarried

⁷⁷ Marie B. Hecht, *Beyond the Presidency* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co, Inc., 1976), p. 214. According to Hecht, the practice of law was meant to be "limited to important cases and restricted court appearances." In 1912, the *New York Times* reported that former President Rutherford B. Hayes saved money from his presidential salary and returned to his home state of Ohio where he successfully raised chickens. Ulysses S. Grant, however, retired to New York City and lost his money in a brokerage firm he ran with his son. Some of Grant's possessions were confiscated because of his financial turmoil. See "Carnegie Pension to Ex-presidents; Bars Roosevelt," *New York Times*, November 22, 1912, pp. 1, 4.

⁷⁸ "Carnegie Pension to Ex-Presidents; Bars Roosevelt," *New York Times*, November 22, 1912, p. 1.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ "Taft Would Refuse a Carnegie Pension," *New York Times*, November 23, 1912, p. 1. As former President, Mr. Taft taught law courses at Yale University, and later served as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

⁸¹ "Carnegie Pension to Ex-Presidents; Bars Roosevelt," *New York Times*, November 22, 1912, pp. 1, 4.

⁸² "President's Pension Bill In," *New York Times*, December 3, 1912, p. 3; and U.S. Congress, House, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States*, 62nd Cong., 3rd sess. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1913), p. 6.

widows of former Presidents.⁸³ The bill was referred to the Senate Committee on Pensions, but it was not reported.

Truman's Finances

The idea to provide pensions to former Presidents was largely forgotten until President Harry S. Truman left office in 1953. In view of former President Truman's financial limitations in hiring an office staff to handle his mail and requests for speeches once he left the White House, the Senate considered legislation in 1955 to provide retirement benefits to former Presidents. The legislation aimed "to maintain the dignity of that great office" and to prevent an ex-President from engaging "in business or [an] occupation which would demean the office he has held or capitalize upon it in any way deemed improper."⁸⁴ The proposal passed the Senate, but was never acted on by the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

President Truman's financial difficulties were disclosed in a 1957 letter to House Speaker Sam Rayburn that stated if such legislation were not enacted, former President Truman would be forced to "go ahead with some contracts to keep ahead of the hounds."⁸⁵ Having rejected several business proposals that were offered to him when he left the presidency in 1953, former President Truman acknowledged his income was largely based on the sale of his father's farm and the proceeds from publication of his memoirs. In 1958, Mr. Truman became the first former President to grant a televised interview for "a substantial fee" when he appeared in 1958 on Edward R. Murrow's "See it Now."⁸⁶

On January 14, 1957, Senator A.S. Mike Monroney introduced S. 607 (85th Congress) to provide an annual pension of \$25,000, clerical assistants, and free mailing privileges for former Presidents.⁸⁷ A companion bill (H.R. 4401; 85th Congress) was introduced by Representative John McCormack, majority leader of the House, on February 5, 1957.⁸⁸ Both bills were strongly supported by Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, the Democratic leader in the Senate.⁸⁹

Passing the Former Presidents Act

Congressional debate in favor of the proposed pension legislation emphasized that the expenditures necessary to implement a \$25,000 annual pension and office expenses for former Presidents were modest, "in consideration of the assurance it provides that former Presidents ... will not want either for a matter of subsistence or for the necessary clerical employees to answer

⁸³ "For \$10,000 Presidential Pension," *New York Times*, December 4, 1912, p. 5; and U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal of the Senate of the United States of America*, 62nd Cong., 3rd sess. (Washington, DC: GPO, 1912), p. 12.

⁸⁴ U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service, *Allowances for Former Presidents and Their Widows*, report to accompany S. 1516, 84th Cong., 1st sess., April 20, 1955, S.Rept. 205 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1955), pp. 1-2. For similar remarks, see Sen. John O. Pastore, "Retirement, Clerical Assistance, and Free Mailing Privileges for Former Presidents of the United States," remarks in the Senate, *Congressional Record*, vol. 101, part 5 (May 5, 1955), p. 5731.

⁸⁵ Marie B. Hecht, *Beyond the Presidency*, p. 187.

⁸⁶ John W. Chambers, "Presidents Emeritus," *American Heritage*, vol. 30, June-July 1979, at <http://www.americanheritage.com/content/presidents-emeritus?page=5>. According to Chambers, the public was largely unaware that Truman received payment to appear on the program.

⁸⁷ "Bills and Joint Resolutions Introduced," *Congressional Record*, vol. 103, part 1 (January 14, 1957), p. 480.

⁸⁸ "Bills and Joint Resolutions Introduced," *Congressional Record*, vol. 103, part 2 (February 15, 1957), p. 1573.

⁸⁹ Marie B. Hecht, *Beyond the Presidency*, pp. 187-188.

the letters of the public.”⁹⁰ The House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service reported the bill, saying it would “avoid the possibility of indignities and of deterioration in public and world regard for the office of the President of the United States.”⁹¹ The amount of the proposed pension for former Presidents was based on comparable pensions accorded five-star generals.⁹² Majority Leader John McCormack stated that the proposed retirement allowances provided recognition and gratitude for a former President’s service to his country, which did not end with his term of office. He and others urged favorable consideration of S. 607 to authorize retirement benefits for an outgoing President. Congressman Chester “Chet” Holifield advocated for the bill by stressing the “burden” of duties placed on an ex-President who can receive “100 to 400 letters a day” and “300 to 400 invitations a month to speak.” Holifield added that passing the bill was “something that we, the greatest Republic in the world, can do to show that we have respect for the office of President and that we recognize the duties and responsibilities that he has to carry on after he leaves that office.”⁹³

S. 607, as introduced, provided that the compensation for an administrative assistant, secretary, and other clerical assistants for each former President should not exceed the aggregate amount authorized for the staff of the Senators from the least populous state, which at the time was \$100,000.⁹⁴ During House debate on S. 607, however, it was argued that the staffing provision of the proposed legislation could involve salaries totaling as much as \$120,000 for each former President’s office, depending on the individual salary paid to each staff person. House and Senate conferees believed that even \$100,000 was excessive, and imposed a \$50,000 limitation on the total compensation authorized for a former President’s office staff.⁹⁵ The bill also originally authorized the GSA administrator to furnish suitable office space for each former President in a federal building “at such place within the United States as the former President shall specify.” The conference committee deleted the reference to “federal building,” allowing GSA to furnish suitable office space for a former President in non-federal office space.⁹⁶

Despite strong support by the leadership of both the House and the Senate, opposition to the concept of providing benefits to former Presidents persisted. In an effort to bring their dissenting views “to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives and of the American public,” seven members of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service prepared a formal report on why they opposed authorizing presidential retirement benefits.⁹⁷ They argued

⁹⁰ U.S. Congress, House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, *Retirement, Staff Assistants, and Mailing Privileges for Former Presidents and Annuities for Widows of Former Presidents*, report to accompany S. 607, 85th Cong., 2nd sess., H.Rept. 2200 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1958), p. 4. See also Senate Hearing Before the Committees on Appropriations and Governmental Affairs, *Cost of Former President to U.S. Taxpayers, Fiscal Year 1980*, 96th Cong., 1st sess., (Washington, DC: GPO, 1980), p. 236.

⁹¹ U.S. Congress, House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, *Former Presidents—Retirement, Clerical Assistants, and Free Mailing Privileges*, report to accompany S. 607, 85th Cong., 2nd sess., H.Rept. 2200. Also available in the U.S. Congress, Senate Hearing Before the Committees on Appropriations and Governmental Affairs, *Cost of Former President to U.S. Taxpayers, Fiscal Year 1980*, 96th Cong., 1st sess., (Washington, DC: GPO, 1980), p. 235.

⁹² “Retirement for Former Presidents,” remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 104, part 12 (July 30, 1958), p. 15624. See also Senate Hearing Before the Committees on Appropriations and Governmental Affairs, *Cost of Former Presidents to U.S. Taxpayers, Fiscal Year 1980*, 96th Cong., 1st sess., (Washington, DC: GPO, 1980), p. 247.

⁹³ “Retirement for Former Presidents,” remarks in the House, *Congressional Record*, vol. 104, part 12 (July 30, 1958), p. 15632, and in *Cost of Former Presidents to U.S. Taxpayers*, p. 255.

⁹⁴ “Retirement, Clerical Assistants, and Free Mailing Privileges for Former Presidents,” House debate, *Congressional Record*, vol. 104, part 15 (August 21, 1958), pp. 18940-18941.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18941.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ U.S. Congress, House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, *Retirement, Staff Assistants, and Mailing*

that no adequate need or justification to provide such benefits existed, and that enactment of S. 607 would create a “separate entity” for former Presidents, with “an aura of official standing” and a “wholly undefined relationship to the constitutional functions of the [f]ederal [g]overnment.”⁹⁸

Equally problematic for the seven dissenting Members was the “unprecedented vagueness” of the proposed legislation’s provisions for staff and office allowances, which created “wide and dangerous loopholes.”⁹⁹ The Members were also concerned about the provision to provide each former President with suitable furnishings in an office space that could be located anywhere within the United States. Such a broad provision, the dissenting Members argued, took into account only the proposed costs for providing allowances to the two surviving former Presidents—Herbert Hoover and Truman—and overlooked potential future costs that could be incurred as subsequent Presidents began receiving pension benefits after leaving office.¹⁰⁰

S. 607, as amended, was approved by the Senate on August 16, 1958; passed by the House on August 21, 1958; and signed into law by President Dwight D. Eisenhower on August 25, 1958.¹⁰¹ As enacted, the Former Presidents Act (FPA) provided each former President an annual taxable allowance of \$25,000, payable monthly by the Secretary of the Treasury. The GSA administrator was authorized by the FPA to provide and fund an office staff and suitable office space, “appropriately furnished and equipped,” at a location within the United States designated by a former President. The former President’s staff would not be considered federal employees, but would be entitled to health care and benefits of federal employees. The FPA also authorized free mailing privileges for former Presidents. Pursuant to the act, the widow of a former President also was provided an annual pension of \$10,000, if she waived the right to any annuity or pension authorized under any other legislation.¹⁰²

Privileges for Former Presidents and Annuities for Widows of Former Presidents, report to accompany S. 607, 85th Cong., 2nd sess., H.Rept. 2200, Part 2 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1958), p. 1.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁰¹ 72 Stat. 838.

¹⁰² In 1971, the FPA was amended (84 Stat. 1963) to provide the widow of a former President a \$20,000 taxable annual pension, to be paid monthly by the Secretary of the Treasury. The widow’s pension begins on the day after the former President’s death, and would end with death or remarriage before reaching 60 years of age. The FPA prohibits pension benefits to a former President’s widow while he or she holds an appointive or elective office or position in the federal government or District of Columbia and receives a rate of pay other than a “nominal rate.” To be eligible for the FPA pension, a former President’s widow must waive the right to any annuity or pension available pursuant to other legislation. Nancy Reagan, Barbara Bush, and Laura Bush, according to GSA, did not waive their rights to other statutorily available annuities or pensions, and therefore do not receive the annual pension.

Appendix B. Post-Presidential Lifespans

Table B-1 shows the post-presidential retirement periods for the 30 Presidents who survived the presidency and who subsequently died.¹⁰³ Former President Jimmy Carter is the former President with the longest post-presidential lifespan (more than 35 years). The shortest presidential retirement period was James K. Polk's 103 days. On average, former Presidents who have subsequently died have lived about 13 years (4,720 days) after leaving office.

Table B-1. Retirement Period of Former Presidents After Leaving Office

President	Date Left Office	Date of Death	Retirement Period	
			Days	Years
George Washington	March 4, 1797	December 14, 1799	1,015	2.78
John Adams	March 4, 1801	July 4, 1826	9,253	25.33
Thomas Jefferson	March 4, 1809	July 4, 1826	6,331	17.33
James Madison	March 4, 1817	June 28, 1836	7,056	19.32
James Monroe	March 4, 1825	July 4, 1831	2,313	6.33
John Quincy Adams	March 4, 1829	February 23, 1848	6,930	18.97
Andrew Jackson	March 4, 1837	June 8, 1845	3,018	8.26
Martin Van Buren	March 4, 1841	July 24, 1862	7,812	21.39
John Tyler	March 4, 1845	January 18, 1862	6,164	16.89
James K. Polk	March 4, 1849	June 15, 1849	103	0.28
Millard Fillmore	March 4, 1853	March 8, 1874	7,643	20.94
Franklin Pierce	March 4, 1857	October 8, 1869	4,601	12.60
James Buchanan	March 4, 1861	June 1, 1868	2,646	7.24
Andrew Johnson	March 4, 1869	July 31, 1875	2,340	6.41
Ulysses S. Grant	March 4, 1877	July 23, 1885	3,063	8.39
Rutherford B. Hayes	March 4, 1881	January 17, 1893	4,337	11.87
Chester A. Arthur	March 4, 1885	November 18, 1886	624	1.71
Grover Cleveland ^a	March 4, 1889	June 24, 1908	—	—
Benjamin Harrison	March 4, 1893	March 13, 1901	2,930	8.02
Grover Cleveland	March 4, 1897	June 24, 1908	4,129	11.30 ^b
Theodore Roosevelt	March 4, 1909	January 6, 1919	3,595	9.84
William Howard Taft	March 4, 1913	March 8, 1930	6,213	17.01
Woodrow Wilson	March 4, 1921	February 3, 1924	1,066	2.92
Calvin Coolidge	March 4, 1929	January 5, 1933	1,403	3.84
Herbert Hoover	March 4, 1933	October 20, 1964	11,553	31.63

¹⁰³ Grover Cleveland served two non-consecutive terms, and is, therefore, included twice in the table. Eight Presidents died while in office—William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor, Abraham Lincoln, James A. Garfield, William McKinley, Warren G. Harding, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and John F. Kennedy—and are, therefore, not included in this table.

President	Date Left Office	Date of Death	Retirement Period	
			Days	Years
Harry S. Truman	January 20, 1953	December 26, 1972	7,280	19.93
Dwight D. Eisenhower	January 20, 1961	March 28, 1969	2,989	8.18
Lyndon B. Johnson	January 20, 1969	January 22, 1973	1,463	4.01
Richard Nixon	August 9, 1974	April 22, 1994	7,196	19.70
Gerald Ford	January 20, 1977	December 26, 2006	10,932	29.93
Jimmy Carter	January 20, 1981	—		
Ronald Reagan	January 20, 1989	June 4, 2004	5,614	15.37
George H. W. Bush	January 20, 1993	—		
Bill Clinton	January 20, 2001	—		
George W. Bush	January 20, 2009	—		
Average retirement period after leaving office for deceased Presidents:			4,720.4	12.924

Source: Dates are available from The White House, “Presidents of the United States,” at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents/>. For former Presidents who died prior to 1900, the length of life after leaving office was calculated using Duke University’s Date Calculator page, which is available at <http://cgi.cs.duke.edu/~des/datecalc/datecalc.cgi>. For former Presidents whose deaths occurred after 1900, CRS used Excel to calculate length of life after leaving office. Excel cannot calculate the number of days between dates prior to January 1, 1900. According to Excel’s operating documents, “Excel stores dates as sequential serial numbers so that they can be used in calculations. By default, January 1, 1900 is serial number 1, and January 1, 2008 is serial number 39448 because it is 39,448 days after January 1, 1900.” Years in the post-presidency are calculated by dividing the days by 365. Leap years, therefore, are not included in this calculation.

- a. Grover Cleveland was elected to the presidency two different times, not in succession. He lived 11 years, 112 days after the end of his second term.
- b. This figure excludes the four years between President Cleveland’s first and second terms.

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Acknowledgments

Daniel J. Richardson, a former research assistant, contributed to this report. This report draws up on and supersedes CRS Report. 98-249, *Former Presidents: Federal Pension and Retirement Benefits*, by Stephanie Smith.

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