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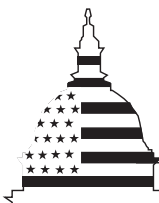
Report to the Chairman, Subcommittee  
on Treasury, Postal Service, and  
General Government, Committee on  
Appropriations, House of  
Representatives

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September 2001

**FORMER  
PRESIDENTS**

**Office and Security  
Costs and Other  
Information**



**G A O**

Accountability \* Integrity \* Reliability

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# Contents

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<b>Letter</b>		1
	Results in Brief	2
	Background	5
	Total Federal Cost of Former Presidents From Fiscal Years 1977 Through 2000 Was About \$370 Million	9
	Historical Space Data Provide Guidance for Amount of Office Space; Office Sizes Vary	9
	GSA Generally Pays All Costs for Office Space	11
	Office Rental Costs Generally Similar to Comparable Properties	12
	Former Presidents' Office Space Has No Special Amenities or Build-Out Features but Provides Good Exterior Views	15
	Former Presidents Staff Generally Receive Compensation From Federal and Nonfederal Sources and Are Reportedly Not Engaged in Political Fund-raising	16
	Agency Comments and Our Evaluation	21
<b>Appendix I</b>	<b>Total Expenditures Associated With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977 to 2000</b>	23
<b>Appendix II</b>	<b>Scope and Methodology</b>	34
<b>Tables</b>		
	Table 1: Former Presidents Office Space	10
	Table 2: Fiscal Year 2000 Rental Cost for Offices of Former Presidents and GSA's Current Estimated Cost of Comparable Space	13
	Table 3: Former President's Office Staff and Compensation Paid With Funds From the Former Presidents Act	18
	Table 4: Total Expenditures Associated With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977-2000	23
	Table 5: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, Fiscal Years 1977-2000	24
	Table 6: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Former President, Fiscal Years 1977-2000	25
	Table 7: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Former Presidents' Widows, Fiscal Years 1977-2000	26

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Table 8: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Cost Category, by Former President and Widows, Fiscal Year 2000	27
Table 9: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Cost Category, by Former President and Widows, Fiscal Year 1999	28
Table 10: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Cost Category, by Former President and Widows, Fiscal Year 1998	29
Table 11: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Cost Category, by Former President and Widows, Fiscal Year 1997	30
Table 12: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Cost Category, by Former President and Widows, Fiscal Year 1996	31
Table 13: Former Presidents, Wives, Widows, and Minor Children Protected by the Secret Service, Fiscal Years 1977-2000	32



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United States General Accounting Office  
Washington, DC 20548

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September 28, 2001

The Honorable Ernest J. Istook, Jr.  
Chairman, Subcommittee on Treasury,  
Postal Service, and General Government  
Committee on Appropriations  
House of Representatives

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This report responds to your request of March 20, 2001, that we update and expand on the work we reported on in 1988, concerning costs borne by the federal government associated with former presidents and their dependents.<sup>1</sup> In addition to updating the information contained in that report, you also asked for additional information concerning the offices of former presidents. As agreed with your office our six objectives, therefore, are as follows:

- How much has the federal government spent to support former presidents and their dependents since fiscal year 1977?
- What are the sizes and types of office space utilized by each former president? What guidance exists regarding the appropriate size of a former president's office?
- What is the rental cost of each of the former presidents' offices, and does any person or entity other than the General Services Administration (GSA) pay for any of the former presidents' office space? Is the rental cost GSA pays for each former president's office in accord with prevailing rental rates for similar properties near the former presidents' offices? Is there any other space near the offices of former presidents that is used for activities associated with former presidents?
- Are there any special amenities or interior space features within each former president's office that could affect rental cost?
- How many staff occupy each former president's office? Does the staff receive compensation from nonfederal sources? Are the staffs involved with political fund-raising activities?

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<sup>1</sup>*Former Presidents: Support Costs and Other Information* (GAO/GGD-88-57FS, Mar. 13, 1988).

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- Is there any involvement between entities such as presidential foundations and the former presidents' offices?

To respond to your request, we researched applicable laws, reviewed GSA files, toured each of the former presidents' offices and interviewed GSA and U.S. Secret Service officials and staff from each of the former presidents' offices. In addition, to provide context for the information we are reporting, we reviewed and discussed with GSA and Secret Service officials, applicable laws authorizing benefits for former presidents and GSA's correspondence to one former president relating to the use of appropriated funds. This report provides information on private funding that was provided by the offices of the former presidents. GSA is not required to collect or verify this information, nor are the offices of former presidents required to report it.

During the period in which we conducted our review former President Reagan's office was in the process of relocating to a smaller office complex. This relocation was expected to be completed during September 2001. Much of the information contained in this report about former President Reagan's office is based upon the location of his office as of June 1, 2001. Where possible, we have also provided information concerning his future office. At the time we last visited former President Clinton's office, it had not been completed. Where possible, we have included information about his office based on information provided by GSA officials responsible for establishing the office. Some of this information was still preliminary at the time we completed our work and is subject to change.

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## Results in Brief

For fiscal years 1977 through 2000, the federal government paid about \$370 million to support former presidents and their families. The cost for fiscal year 2000 was about \$26 million. Each former president by law is entitled to a pension, a furnished office, salaries for office staff, office-operating expenses, travel funds, free mail, and Secret Service protection. In addition, a former president's surviving widow is entitled to a pension. The former president's surviving spouse is entitled to free mail costs, and Secret Service protection. The tables in appendix I provide cost information on a yearly basis for fiscal years 1977 through 2000 and identify those persons receiving protection during these fiscal years. Tables 8 through 12 provide detailed information on cost, by category, for each former president for fiscal years 1996 through 2000.

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As of June 1, 2001, the offices of the five living former presidents ranged in size from 3,306 to 5,912 square feet. Under the Former Presidents Act,<sup>2</sup> GSA is authorized to provide for each former president suitable office space appropriately furnished and equipped as determined by the GSA Administrator at a location specified by the former president. The law does not, however, provide any information or guidance on the appropriate amount of space that is to be provided. According to a GSA official who was involved with establishing former President Bush's office, the former president used the size of existing former presidents' offices as a guide in determining the size of his future office. Likewise, the Chief of Staff for former President Clinton said historical space data and advice from GSA officials were used in estimating the size of former President Clinton's office. Table 1 provides information on the types and amount of space, such as the former president's personal office, general offices, and conference area for each of the former presidents' offices.

For fiscal year 2000, GSA's rental charge to former President Bush was \$144,000, former President Carter \$89,283, former President Ford \$105,099, and former President Reagan \$256,671. Former President Clinton's office was not finished until late August 2001. His estimated annual rent payment to GSA for fiscal year 2002 is estimated to be about \$354,000. According to a GSA official, the fiscal year 2003 rental rate will be adjusted to reflect any amortization of interior construction costs not accounted for in the fiscal year 2002 rental charge. According to GSA officials, the federal government is paying the entire lease cost for all of the former presidents' offices. The rental rates GSA has paid are generally within the range of comparable rents paid for similar properties in the areas in which the former presidents' offices are located. Table 2 provides information on the fiscal year 2000 rental cost of the former presidents' offices and current comparable rental cost for other properties located near each of the former presidents' offices. No outside organizations paid any portion of the rent. However, the Carter Presidential Center,<sup>3</sup> where the office of former President Carter is located, has provided additional space for former President Carter's use at no cost to the government. This includes a conference room and some office space. The Secret Service maintains

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<sup>2</sup>3 U.S.C. § 102 note.

<sup>3</sup>Former President Carter and his wife Rosalynn Carter founded the Carter Presidential Center, a nonprofit organization in 1982. The Jimmy Carter Library and Museum are operated by a separate organization.

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space close to each of the former presidents' offices. The Secret Service pays rent to GSA for that space.

No special amenities or interior features appear to exist at the former Presidents' offices. All five offices provide good exterior views. Three of the offices—those of former Presidents Bush, Reagan,<sup>4</sup> and Clinton—are located on the top floor of their respective high-rise buildings and provided panoramic views. Former President Ford's office is a one-story house with a view overlooking a golf course and former President Carter's office is located on the second floor—also the top floor—of the Carter Center and provides a view of some of the Carter Center grounds. According to GSA officials, office space permitting good outside views should command higher rental rates. However, because so many other factors also affect the negotiation of rental rates, they could not provide a precise amount for that feature.

The office staffs of former presidents' ranged from 6 to 19 persons and included full-time and part-time paid members along with volunteers and interns. In addition to receiving federal compensation, most paid staff members also receive compensation from other sources. These sources include the former presidents and his or his spouses' foundations. Table 3 provides information on the type and number of staff that are currently employed by each former president and the total federal and nonfederal compensation they receive. According to representatives of each former president, the staff is not involved with political fund-raising activities. Former President Carter's staff is involved with fund-raising for the former president's foundation.

To varying degrees, foundations associated with each former president are involved with the office operations. While the foundations themselves do not pay any portion of the office rental cost, they do assist office operations by supplying some furniture and equipment. At former President Carter's office, which is leased from the Carter Presidential Center—a nonprofit foundation—two staff members of the Center use office space paid for by GSA. Simultaneously, however, GSA does not pay for other Center space that is used exclusively by former President Carter or his staff. Only one of the former presidents' spouse maintains an office within his office complex. Former President Carter provides his spouse an

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<sup>4</sup>Former President Reagan's office is relocating to another building. The size of the office is also being reduced from about 5,912 to about 2,450 usable square feet of space.

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office. GSA pays for that space. According to a former President Carter office representative, Mrs. Carter is significantly involved with the former president's activities and thus was provided an office by the former president.

We provided copies of a draft of this report to the Administrator, General Services Administration, the Secretary of the Treasury, and former Presidents Bush, Carter, Clinton, Ford, and Reagan for their comment. We received either written or oral comments from GSA, the Secret Service, a Treasury bureau, former President Carter and representatives of former Presidents Bush, Clinton, Ford, and Reagan. GSA's Chief Financial Officer and former President Clinton's Chief of Staff provided technical clarifications to our draft report. These clarifications have been included where appropriate. The Deputy Assistant Director of the Secret Service stated that the Secret Service had no comment. Former President Carter and the Chiefs of Staff of former Presidents Bush, Ford and Reagan all said that the information pertaining to their offices was accurate.

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## Background

The Presidential Transition Act,<sup>5</sup> the Former Presidents Act, presidential protection legislation,<sup>6</sup> and other legislation authorize federal government benefits for former presidents, their spouses, and children. The Presidential Transition Act and the Former Presidents Act authorize office space and office operating costs to a former president. The Former Presidents Act authorizes pensions for a former president and his surviving widow. The protection legislation authorizes the Secret Service to provide protection for former presidents, their spouses, and children and specifies the length of time each is entitled to receive protection.

### Presidential Transition Act

The act authorizes GSA to provide former presidents the following support:

- suitable office space, appropriately furnished and equipped as determined by the GSA Administrator at a place within the United States specified by the former president;
- compensation for members of their office staff, not to exceed for any one person the amount provided for an Executive Level IV position (currently that amount is \$125,700);

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<sup>5</sup>3 U.S.C. § 102 note.

<sup>6</sup>18 U.S.C. § 3056.



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- an allowance for travel expenses and subsistence;
  - communications services; and
  - printing, binding, and postage expenses.

Under the Transition Act, funds are available for expenses incurred to establish an office for an outgoing president beginning 30 days before his presidential term expires, (December 21) until 6 months after the end of the term of office (July 20).<sup>7</sup> The act also provides that, except for pensions, entitlements under the Former Presidents Act do not become effective until 6 months after the presidential term expires (July 20).

#### Former Presidents Act

This act authorizes GSA to provide the following support for a former president, some of which are similar to that provided by the Transition Act:

- a pension at an annual rate equal to the rate of pay for a head of an executive department, currently \$161,200. Upon the death of a former president, a surviving widow is entitled to receive an annual pension of \$20,000.
- an office staff selected by the former president and responsible only to him in the performance of their duties. For the first 30 months the total annual allowance for the entire staff is limited to \$150,000. Thereafter, the annual allowance is limited to \$96,000. No individual may be paid more than the highest annual rate provided for an Executive Level II position, currently \$145,100. While not considered to be federal employees, staff working for the former president are eligible for certain federal benefits, such as federal retirement and life and health insurance.<sup>8</sup>
- office space appropriately furnished and equipped, as determined by the GSA Administrator, located wherever the former president specifies in the United States. Upon the death of a former president, GSA has determined that to give the staff ample time to bring its operations to a conclusion, the office should be allowed, as a general rule, to operate up to 6 additional months.<sup>9</sup> GSA has decided that 6 months is sufficient time to complete any

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<sup>7</sup>GSA has concluded that July 20<sup>th</sup> is the last day that Presidential Transition Act funds are legally available to be obligated by a former president.

<sup>8</sup>Retirement – 5 U.S.C. § 8331(1)(I) and 5 U.S.C. § 8401 (11)(A), health insurance- 5 U.S.C. § 8901(1)(H), and life insurance – 5 U.S.C. § 8701(a)(9).

<sup>9</sup>The Former Presidents Act does not provide any information or guidance on how long a former president's office should be given to wind up affairs after a former president's death.

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unfinished business and transfer appropriate documents and other items to the presidential library. The surviving spouse is not entitled to any staff or office allowance.

Originally provided for in the Former Presidents Act, former presidents were authorized to send nonpolitical mail within the United States, its territories, and possessions as franked mail (i.e., mail with their signature in lieu of postage). Subsequently, this provision was moved to 39 U.S.C. § 3214 and revised to include mail sent internationally and to grant surviving spouses the same mailing privileges.<sup>10</sup> The former presidents may also use penalty mail (mail sent in envelopes without a stamp and bearing a notice of penalty for private use) for 6 months after leaving office under the authority of the Presidential Transition Act. GSA is also authorized to pay for travel and related expenses of former presidents and no more than two members of their staffs.<sup>11</sup>

GSA, in consultation with officials representing the former presidents, prepares yearly operating budgets. Funds are appropriated by Congress and included as part of GSA's annual appropriation act. In addition to assisting the former presidents' offices with budget preparation, GSA also provides administrative support for the offices of former presidents, assisting on requests for equipment, supplies, and other office expenditures.

## Presidential Protection

Beginning in 1962, the Secret Service was authorized to protect a former president, at his request, for a reasonable period of time after he leaves office.<sup>12</sup> In 1965, protection was expanded to a former president and his wife during his lifetime and the widow and minor children of a former president for a period of 4 years after he leaves office or his death occurs while still in office, unless such protection is declined.<sup>13</sup> In 1968, protection was once again expanded to protect a former president and his wife during his lifetime, the widow of a former president until her death or remarriage, and minor children of a former president until they reach 16

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<sup>10</sup>The Former Presidents Act appropriation reimburses the Postal Service for expenses under 39 U.S.C. § 3214.

<sup>11</sup>Public Law 90-608, 82 Stat. 1190, 1192 (1968).

<sup>12</sup>Public Law 87-829, 76 Stat. 956 (1962).

<sup>13</sup>Public Law 89-186, 79 Stat. 791 (1965).

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years of age, unless such protection is declined.<sup>14</sup> In 1994, the law was amended to rescind lifetime protection for former presidents and their spouses if the president's term of office began after January 1, 1997.<sup>15</sup> The 1994 amendment provided that for presidents who begin their term of office after January 1, 1997, protection is provided for them and their spouses for a period of not more than 10 years from the date the former president leaves office except, as follows:

- The protection of a spouse is terminated in the event of remarriage or divorce from, or the death of a former president.
- If the death of a president occurs while in office or within 1 year after leaving office, the spouse shall receive protection for 1 year from the time of death.
- The child of a former president under the age of 16 receives protection for a period of time not exceeding 10 years or upon the child becoming age 16, whichever comes first.

After the statutory period of protection has terminated, the Secretary of the Treasury has the authority to provide temporary protection if the Secretary determines that conditions warrant further protection.

President George W. Bush is the first President covered by the revised protection legislation.

In fiscal year 1994, the Former Presidents Act was amended to authorize an appropriation for GSA to make available for each former president up to \$1 million annually and his or her spouse up to \$500,000 annually for security and travel-related expenses if,

- the former president and/or spouse was not receiving lifetime protection under the lifetime provision (18 U.S.C. § 3056), or
- protection provided by the Secret Service had expired at the end of the 10-year period, or
- protection was declined prior to end of the 10-year period.

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<sup>14</sup>Public Law 90-608, 82 Stat. 1190, 1198 (1968).

<sup>15</sup>18 U.S.C. § 3056.

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## Total Federal Cost of Former Presidents From Fiscal Years 1977 Through 2000 Was About \$370 Million

Each former president by law is entitled to a pension, franked mail, a furnished office, office staff salaries, office operating expenses, travel funds, and Secret Service protection. In addition, a former president's surviving widow is also entitled to a pension. The former president's surviving spouse is entitled to free mail and Secret Service protection. For fiscal year 2000, the cost to the federal government for those benefits was about \$26 million. For fiscal years 1977 through 2000, the total cost was about \$370 million. The tables in appendix I provide information on costs on a yearly basis for fiscal years 1977 through 2000 and identify recipients of protection during these fiscal years. Tables 8 through 12 provide detailed information on cost, by category, for each former president for fiscal years 1996 through 2000.

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## Historical Space Data Provide Guidance for Amount of Office Space; Office Sizes Vary

Under the Former Presidents Act, GSA is authorized to furnish each former president suitable office space appropriately furnished and equipped, as determined by the GSA Administrator, at a location of the former presidents choosing in the U.S. According to GSA officials, this provision allows former presidents to select the city, building, floor, and even location on a floor for their offices. GSA's role is to negotiate with the building owners the best lease, which would include rental cost. GSA officials told us that GSA has no authority to reject a former president's location request and has not issued any guidance on this subject. The law does not provide any information or guidance for GSA concerning the amount of office space requested by a former president. According to a GSA official who was involved with establishing former President Bush's office, the former president used the size of existing former presidents' offices as a guide in determining the size of his future office. Likewise, the Chief of Staff for former President Clinton said historical space data and advice from GSA officials were used in estimating the size of former President Clinton's office.

As of June 1, 2001, the size of former presidents' offices ranged from 3,306 to 5,912 square feet. Table 1 provides information on the amount of space utilized by former Presidents', Bush, Carter, Clinton, Ford, and Reagan. Table 1 also provides information on the amount of various types of space, such as the former president's personal office, general offices, and conference space in each of the former presidents' offices. A lease has been signed for the Clinton office space. Although former President Clinton moved into his office during July 2001, as of August 7, 2001, construction of the interior and furnishing of this space had not been completed.

**Table 1: Former Presidents Office Space<sup>a</sup>**

Space usage	Former presidents				
	Ford	Carter	Reagan <sup>b</sup>	Bush	Clinton
President's office	610	1,018	555	698	1,106
Spouse office	0	496	0	0	0
General office	1,560	2197	3,607	3,223	3,880
Conference	401	0 <sup>c</sup>	0 <sup>d</sup>	336	442
Kitchen/pantry	0 <sup>f</sup>	164	60	198	49
Other	735	348	1,690 <sup>g</sup>	119	112
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,306</b>	<b>4,223</b>	<b>5,912</b>	<b>4,574</b>	<b>5,589</b>

<sup>a</sup>Actual measurement of space, in usable square feet, made by GSA at our request.

<sup>b</sup>Former President Reagan's office is relocating, with an expected reduction in space to about 2,450 square feet.

<sup>c</sup>The Carter Center provides a conference room at no cost to GSA.

<sup>d</sup>The office has some space that was previously used as conference space but is presently designated as reception/office space and is included in the office category.

<sup>e</sup>Kitchen/pantry located in the Secret Service space.

<sup>f</sup>Includes a mailroom of about 140 square feet.

<sup>g</sup>Includes a secure corridor, hallway, and elevator lobby.

Source: GSA.

The office of former President Reagan was in the process of relocating. The current location has been used since he left office in 1989. According to his Chief of Staff, this move is being done because the former president no longer requires as much space as is currently occupied. Because of the former president's medical condition, the new office will not contain an office for the former president's personal use. The new office will be reduced in size from about 5,900 to about 2,450 usable square feet. GSA signed a lease for the space on July 3, 2001, and relocation is expected to take place during September 2001. In addition to his current office, about 1,700 additional square feet of space was used for a short period of time during 1989 and 1990 as a mailroom. The space was located in another building and was required because of the large amount of mail that was being received.

Former Presidents Ford and Bush have had only one primary office since their terms of office ended. The office size for former President Ford has not changed. Former President Bush's office eliminated about 1,300 square feet of unneeded office space in 1994, about 1 year after he first occupied

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his office. About 119 square feet of storage space was added during 1999. The storage space is located on another floor in the building.

Both former Presidents Ford and Bush maintain summer offices in other locations. Former President Ford's primary office is located in Rancho Mirage, CA., and his summer office is in Vail, CO. Former President Bush's primary office is located in Houston, TX, and his summer office is in Kennebunkport, ME. GSA does not pay any rental costs for the two summer offices; the former presidents pay the costs for the space. Their primary offices remain open and operational throughout the year. GSA's primary costs for the two summer offices are the per diem and travel cost of staff who relocate for the summer months to staff those offices. Only two staff members are allowed to be on travel at government expense at the same time. The per diem and travel costs for the Ford and Bush summer offices for fiscal year 2000 were \$36,247 and \$35,607, respectively.

Former President Carter's office is located at the Carter Presidential Center, in Atlanta GA. According to GSA and Carter Center officials, former President Carter's office has resided at the Center since the Center opened in 1986. Prior to that time, the office was located in the Russell Federal Building, which is also located in Atlanta. According to information provided by GSA, the square footage of the Carter Center office is about 18 percent smaller than that of the Russell building location.

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## GSA Generally Pays All Costs for Office Space

According to GSA officials, except for the office of former President Carter, all the space occupied by each of the offices of former presidents is paid for by GSA.<sup>16</sup> As shown in Table 8, for fiscal year 2000, GSA's rental charge to former President Bush was \$144,000, former President Carter \$89,283, former President Ford \$105,099, and former President Reagan \$256,671. As of August 7, 2001, former President Clinton's office was not finished. His estimated annual rent payment to GSA for fiscal year 2002, is expected to be about \$354,000. According to a GSA official, the fiscal year 2003 rental rate will be adjusted to reflect any amortization of interior construction costs not accounted for in the fiscal year 2002 rental charge. All the former presidents' offices are located in leased space, including

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<sup>16</sup>The rent payments for the former presidents' offices are paid from Former Presidents Act appropriations and transferred into the Federal Buildings Fund to reimburse GSA for the lease costs and administrative and security fees.

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former President Clinton's office. GSA is the lessee for all office space used by the former presidents, and the former presidents are, in essence, tenants. Former President Carter, who maintains his office at the Carter Presidential Center, utilizes some additional office space that is provided by the center at no cost to the government. For example, a conference room and some office space are available for his use. The Center also provides an apartment that is located next to his personal office. In addition to the former president's office space, the Secret Service maintains offices near each former president's office. GSA negotiates space for the Secret Service, as part of the lease for each former president's office. The Secret Service pays rental costs for its space to GSA.

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## Office Rental Costs Generally Similar to Comparable Properties

Based upon the information provided by GSA officials, rental rates paid by GSA for former presidents' offices generally are similar to rental rates charged for comparable office space located near the former presidents' offices. The cost per square foot of space for former presidents Bush and Carter was within the range, and the rate for former President Reagan's office was slightly below. Although, the rental rate for former President Ford, was about 6 percent higher than the highest comparable rental rate, the firm that provided the rental information at the request of GSA stated that suitable space for use by a former president might not exist. In its report, the firm stated that the space for which they provided information was applicable for typical agencies but not necessarily a former President. Former President Clinton's space is about 4 percent more costly than other federally leased space in the same building but located on a lower floor. According to a GSA official, the higher floor location was the most significant factor for the higher cost.

The amount of rent that GSA charges each of the offices of former presidents is determined in the same way GSA determines rent it charges federal agencies in space it controls. The former presidents' office rent is based upon GSA's lease costs (what it pays the building owner), plus amounts to cover GSA administrative and security costs. GSA charges rent monthly. The rental cost are paid from GSA's Former Presidents Act appropriation and deposited into the Federal Buildings Fund. GSA uses the Federal Buildings Fund, subject to congressional limitations, to pay lease costs, building operating costs and capital expenses.

Table 2 provides information on the rental cost of each of the former president's offices for fiscal year 2000 and what GSA officials believe

would be the current cost of comparable space at other locations near each of the former presidents offices.

**Table 2: Fiscal Year 2000 Rental Cost for Offices of Former Presidents and GSA's Current Estimated Cost of Comparable Space**

Former president and location of office	Fiscal year 2000 rental cost <sup>a</sup>	Usable square feet <sup>b</sup>	Cost per usable square foot	GSA's estimated comparable cost <sup>c</sup>
Bush Houston, TX	\$144,000	4,574	\$31.48	\$34.91 to \$37.93
Carter Atlanta, GA	89,283	4,223	21.14	\$18.14 to \$33.05
Ford Rancho Mirage, CA	105,099	3,306	31.79	\$22.81 to \$29.94 <sup>d</sup>
Reagan <sup>e</sup> Los Angeles, CA	256,671	5,912	43.42	\$44.84 to \$64.93

<sup>a</sup>Rent paid by former presidents to GSA includes the lease cost GSA pays to the building owners plus GSA administrative and security costs.

<sup>b</sup>Actual measurement of space made by GSA at GAO's request.

<sup>c</sup>The comparable rental cost provided by GSA officials has been increased by GSA's 8 percent administrative fee and 13 cents per-square foot security fee.

<sup>d</sup>GSA hired a private firm to conduct a market survey of available properties. That firm provided rental rate information on seven properties. However, in its report it stated that there is very little existing space that is of the quality or is suitable for the use of a former president's office. The report also stated that while the properties included in its report would be "...valid for a typical agency office lease, ... we are not comfortable that a suitable quality office building exists for the proposed use."

<sup>e</sup>On July 2, 2001, GSA signed a lease for space to house former President Reagan's new office. A total of about 2,450 square feet will be used for the former president's office. The estimated annual rental payment to GSA by the former president will be about \$139,000, or about \$56.73 per square foot.

Source: GSA.

Former President Clinton's office is not included in table 2 because his New York City office was not opened until July of 2001. Although the office was opened in July, interior construction was not completed until August 2001. GSA's rental payment to the building owner, per usable square foot, is expected to be about \$59.71. Former President Clinton's annual rental cost for fiscal year 2002 is currently estimated to be about \$354,000. This amount includes GSA's lease cost and its administrative and security costs. According to a GSA official, the fiscal year 2003 rental rate will be adjusted to reflect any amortization of interior construction costs not accounted for in the fiscal year 2002 rental charge. Also according to the official, the current square foot rental rate that GSA is paying the building owner is similar to the rate negotiated for the Social Security



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Administration on another lease in the building and awarded the same day as the former president's office lease (April 17, 2001). The rental rate per square foot for the Social Security office, which is located on a lower floor, is about \$57.18. The Clinton rental rate is about 4 percent higher. According to a GSA official, the higher floor location was the most significant factor for the higher cost. Also, according to the official, no other comparable properties exist in the area.

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### Transition Act Funds Are Authorized for Former Presidents Use for Initial Interior Space Construction and Furnishing of Space

Once GSA has negotiated a lease for space, an office's layout must be developed, constructed, and furnished with desks, telephones, computers, and other equipment. The amount of interior construction depends upon the condition of the leased space and the planned layout: it might already be configured so that only minor modifications are necessary, or the space could require extensive work. If interior construction is necessary, GSA tries, as part of its negotiation with the building owner, to persuade the owner to pay for some of the construction costs. For example, as part of the lease cost, the owner may provide an allowance of \$5 per square foot. According to GSA officials, the condition of the commercial leasing market at the time GSA negotiates with the owner determines, to some extent, what the rent and build-out allowance will be. If quality space is in short supply, GSA officials said that rental rates go up and allowances offered or provided by building owners go down.

If the costs of the construction exceed the allowance provided by the owner, GSA and the former president, as the tenant, are responsible for the additional costs. Such costs can be charged against the former president's account in one lump-sum, or GSA can amortize the cost as part of the rent over some period of time. We found that at least two of the former presidents' offices, using Transition Act funds, chose the lump-sum payment to pay for part of their office interior construction costs. We could not determine if similar payments were made for the other three former presidents' offices, because records were not readily available. However, based upon discussions we had with GSA officials, we believe it is likely that this method was chosen as well. Using the funds on a lump-sum basis keeps the rent costs lower than if those costs were amortized and collected as part of the monthly rent. In the GSA lease files for former Presidents Bush and Clinton, we found documentation stating that the former presidents authorized the use of their transition funds for this purpose. According to a GSA budget official, this is an allowable expenditure of Transition Act funds because they can be used for office space. According to the budget official, it was his experience that this was the preferred method. Former President Bush authorized \$134,500 and

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former President Clinton authorized \$415,000 of their Transition Act funds for the construction of their offices interior space. Former President Clinton's total transition budget was \$1,525,000, of which about \$878,000 was obligated as of June 30, 2001.

Once the interior construction is finished, the office needs to be furnished with desks, chairs, computers, telephone systems, and so forth. According to a GSA budget official, either Transition or Former President Act funds can be used for this purpose because both acts allow for those types of expenditures. Subsequent purchases of furniture or equipment may be paid for from either Transition or Former Presidents Act funds, depending on the timing of the acquisition.

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## Former Presidents' Office Space Has No Special Amenities or Build-Out Features but Provides Good Exterior Views

During our examination of former Presidents' Bush, Carter, Ford, and Reagan offices, we did not identify any special amenities or build-out features that we believe would not be found in similar commercial office space. Construction of former President Clinton's office was only partially complete at the time of our visit to his office on August 7, 2001. We inspected each former president's office complex and did not see anything that might be considered in excess of what would be found in quality office space elsewhere. Walls were generally painted, no wallpaper, and the furniture was generally government issue. According to GSA officials, a former president is allowed interior space that is comparable to the quality of space provided to an executive department head. Since the former president's pension is based upon the salary of a cabinet official, it is reasonable to expect that the office quality would be comparable. We visited two cabinet officer offices as part of this assignment, and on previous occasions we have visited offices such as an U.S. Attorney's office and judicial chambers. Based upon our observations, we do not believe that the former presidents' offices exceed the GSA standard. While former President Clinton's office was not yet completed when we visited, the completed work was not expected to include anything that appeared to exceed GSA's standard or what we observed in the offices we visited for comparative purposes. GSA's New York Region Director of Property Acquisition and Realty Services said the quality of former President Clinton's planned office would be equivalent to a federal official such as a U.S. Attorney or federal judge.

Each former president's office had what we considered to be a good outside view. Three of the offices, former Presidents Bush, Reagan, and Clinton, are located on the top floor of their respective buildings. In our opinion, each provides good panoramic views. Former President Ford's

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office is a one-story house and former President Carter's is located on the second floor of the Carter Center. Each of those two offices, we believe, also has good exterior views. Former President Ford's view is of a golf course, and former President Carter's view consists of part of the Carter Center grounds.

We asked GSA officials if a higher floor location or a good exterior view could command a higher rental rate. They said that while everything regarding real estate is negotiable, it would be reasonable to assume that a high-floor office with a good view or an office with a good view in general could be expected to command a higher rental rate. Because so many factors influence what the final rental rate would be, such as the supply and demand for office space, GSA officials could not provide a definitive incremental rental amount generally associated with a higher floor location or an office with a good view. However, according to a GSA official involved with the lease for former President Clinton's office space, a higher elevation could command as high as a 10 percent premium.

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## Former Presidents Staff Generally Receive Compensation From Federal and Nonfederal Sources and Are Reportedly Not Engaged in Political Fund-raising

Each former president receives federal funding for an office staff. Former presidents' office staff ranged from 6 to 19 persons, including full- and part-time paid members and volunteers and interns. Although staffs can receive federal compensation, they are not considered federal employees. They are, however, eligible for certain federal benefits such as retirement and health insurance. In addition to receiving federal compensation, most staff members also receive additional compensation from the former presidents, their foundations, and/or their spouses' foundations. According to representatives of the former presidents', no staff members conducted political fund-raising.

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## Staff Allowance

The Former Presidents Act allows each former president to select a staff that is only responsible to him in the performance of their duties. An annual allowance of \$150,000 is provided for the first 30 months beginning July 20th of the year in which the term of office of the former president expired and \$96,000 annually thereafter. According to officials from GSA's Office of General Counsel, while the staff receives federal compensation, they are not classified as federal employees. However, the staff may participate in several federal employee benefits programs, such as retirement and health insurance. Table 3 provides information on the number of staff within the offices of former Presidents Bush, Carter, Clinton, Ford, and Reagan.

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**Staffs Receive Compensation  
From Nonfederal Sources**

In addition to receiving federal compensation, most of the former presidents' staffs reportedly receive compensation from nonfederal sources according to representatives of the former presidents. This additional compensation came directly from the former presidents and/or from one of their or their spouses' foundations. In return, the staff perform their normal former presidents' office duties, assist the former president with personal matters, or assist the foundation with former presidential activities or a combination of the three. For example, the head of one former president's office receives compensation from the federal government, the former president, and his foundation. That person's duties include managing the office, dealing with issues such as preventing the commercialization of the former president's image, assisting the foundation with setting up meetings and conferences dealing with issues that took place during his presidency, and serving as the library's freedom of information representative. Table 3 provides information on the total amount of compensation received by the office staff of former Presidents Bush, Carter, Ford, and Reagan and the sources of that compensation. Table 3 also provides limited information on former President Clinton's staffing plans.

**Table 3: Former President’s Office Staff and Compensation Paid With Funds From the Former Presidents Act<sup>a</sup>**

Types of staff	Former President				
	Ford	Carter	Reagan	Bush	Clinton <sup>b</sup>
Full-time paid	4	9	4	6	12
Part-time paid	1	0	1	3	0
Volunteers <sup>c</sup>	1	2	1	3	6
Interns <sup>c</sup>	0	1	2	2	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>19</b>
Total amount of federal salaries	\$95,732	\$93,864	\$94,316	\$95,644	\$0
Total amount of nonfederal salaries	\$87,550	\$314,837	\$150,000	\$363,000	\$0 <sup>d</sup>
<b>Total compensation</b>	<b>\$183,282</b>	<b>\$408,701</b>	<b>\$244,316</b>	<b>\$458,644</b>	<b>\$0</b>

<sup>a</sup>Staff numbers are current as of June 1, 2001, and compensation reflects total for fiscal year 2000. As of June 1, 2001, former President Clinton’s staff was being paid by Transition Act funds. Former President Act funds became available to pay his staff salaries on July 20, 2001. As of June 30, 2001, former President Clinton has obligated about \$562,000 for personnel salaries and benefit costs.

<sup>b</sup>Based upon an estimate provided by the Chief of Staff of former President Clinton. The permanent office was not fully established at the time of our review.

<sup>c</sup>Based upon a daily average. Former President Clinton’s office is expected to utilize volunteers and interns, but the exact number of these individuals has not yet been determined.

<sup>d</sup>According to the Chief of Staff of former President Clinton, some staff compensation will be paid by the former president and his presidential foundation.

Source: Offices of former Presidents and GSA.

GSA officials informed us that there is no legal prohibition that would preclude the former president’s staff from receiving compensation from other sources or doing personal work for the former presidents. We are unaware of any legal prohibition that would preclude these activities. With regard to the former president’s staff doing personal work for him, the Former Presidents Act provides that staffs are only responsible to the former president in the performance of their duties.

According to all of the chiefs of staff or other representatives of the former presidents, none of the offices have been involved with political fund-raising activities. This is consistent with GSA’s advice to the former presidents that their staff should not use appropriated funds for partisan political activities. In response to a request from former President Bush for GSA’s opinion on matters relating to the operation of his office, the GSA Administrator stated in a 1993 letter that “neither appropriated funds nor

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federally funded office staff time may be used in support of partisan political activities.” At the time GSA sent former President Bush this letter, there was a specific prohibition in GSA’s appropriations act against using funds appropriated for former presidents’ allowances and office staff for partisan political activities.<sup>17</sup> While this prohibition is no longer included in GSA’s appropriations act, GSA officials informed us that as a matter of policy it has always, even prior to the 1993 provision, advised former presidents against using federal funds or federally funded office staff time for partisan political activities. GSA has not issued any overall instructions about the propriety of political fund-raising by the staff of former presidents.

Former President Carter’s staff is, however, involved with fund-raising for the former president’s foundation. GSA officials informed us that there is no legal prohibition against former president’s staff participating in fund-raising activities for the former president’s foundations. We are unaware of any legal prohibition that would preclude former president’s staff from engaging in this type of activity.

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## Presidential Foundations Involved With the Offices of Former Presidents

To varying degrees, foundations associated with the former presidents or their spouses are involved with the use of former president’s office space and staff. In addition to staff compensation discussed above, former presidents’ foundations share office in the former presidents’ offices and provide office equipment and furnishings. GSA officials informed us that there is no legal prohibition against the practices of sharing office space and providing furniture and equipment that have developed between former presidents and their foundations. We are unaware of any legal prohibitions that would preclude this. The following is a description of the relationship between those organizations and the current former presidents who already have permanent offices.

### Former President Ford

According to the Chief of Staff for former President Ford, one staff member receives compensation from the Gerald R. Ford Library and Museum and another staff member receives compensation from the Betty Ford Center. The latter staff member conducts normal duties for the former President and also assists Mrs. Ford with her Center’s activities. According to the Chief of Staff, the staff member’s computer was supplied by the Center and Mrs. Ford pays for all office supplies required as a result

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<sup>17</sup>Public Law 103-123, 107 Stat. 1226, 1266 (1993).

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of her Center's activities. Neither Mrs. Ford, the Library, nor the Center maintains offices at the former president's office.

#### Former President Carter

Former President Carter's office is located at the Carter Presidential Center and space is rented from the Center. According to the Carter Center's Director of Administrative Services, all of the office staff that work on former President Carter's activities are employed and paid by the Carter Center. However, under a contract between GSA and the Center, GSA pays \$80,000 to the Center to provide administrative support for the office of the former president. Those funds are then used to cover a portion of some employee's salaries. The Director also stated that all of the other staff only receive Carter Center funds. During fiscal year 2000, one employee who was located in Plains, GA, worked for the office and received compensation from both the government and the Carter Center. That employee retired last year. Employee titles are also different. Where as other former presidents have chiefs of staff, former President Carter's personal assistant's title is the Executive Assistant to the Chairman. Former President Carter is the Carter Center's chairman.

Some of the space utilized by the Carter Center's Executive Director and his assistant is paid for by GSA. According to the Director, he is actively involved with the office of former President Carter by traveling with the former president, accepting awards on his behalf, handling some of the former president's correspondence, and working with the former president's staff. Mrs. Carter is assigned an office in the office of former President Carter. The Director of Administrative Services stated that the former president decided to provide an office for his wife in his former president's office because they both work jointly on most activities involving the former president. GSA officials informed us that there is no legal prohibition against this, and we are unaware of any such prohibition. The Director also stated that GSA does not pay for some space that is used exclusively by the former president, such as a conference room and some office space. The Carter Center also provides an apartment for the former president. The apartment is located next to the former president's personal office in the Carter Center. According to the Director, the Carter Center provided most of the equipment and furniture used by the former president's staff.

#### Former President Reagan

GSA subleases space for former President Reagan's office from the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation. The foundation once had staff located on the same floor but in separate office space. The foundation staff has since relocated to the Reagan Library, but according to former President Reagan's Chief of Staff, the foundation did utilize the conference room for

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its quarterly meetings. According to the Chief of Staff, one staff person receives compensation from the foundation; this individual assists the foundation in setting up conferences, such as on the Cold War, that are associated with the former president. The foundation provided some furniture. The Chief of Staff also stated that Mrs. Reagan supplied a computer used by one of the staff who assists her, and she purchases her own office supplies. Mrs. Reagan does not have an office in the office of former President Reagan. The Chief of Staff also stated that three staff members receive compensation from former President Reagan.

#### Former President Bush

According to the Chief of Staff for former President Bush, two staff members receive compensation from the George Bush Presidential Center Foundation. The foundation also provided two computers and some furniture, but it has no office space at the former president's office. From August 2000 through March 2001, one of its staff members was located at the former president's office. That staff person transcribed the personal diaries of the former president that he dictated while he was president. One staff member assists Mrs. Bush. According to the Chief of Staff, Mrs. Bush purchases all office supplies necessary for her activities. Mrs. Bush does not have her own office at former President Bush's office. The Chief of Staff also stated that seven staff members receive compensation from former President Bush.

#### Former President Clinton

Former President Clinton has established the William Jefferson Clinton Presidential Foundation. The foundation is located in Little Rock, Arkansas. As previously stated, the foundation will assist with the payment of office staff salaries. According to former President Clinton's Chief of Staff, no other assistance from the foundation is being considered.

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## Agency Comments and Our Evaluation

We received either written or oral comments from GSA, the Secret Service, former President Carter and representatives of former Presidents Bush, Clinton, Ford, and Reagan. GSA's Chief Financial Officer and former President Clinton's Chief of Staff provided technical clarifications to our draft report. These clarifications have been included where appropriate. The Deputy Assistant Director of the Secret Service stated that the Secret Service had no comment. Former President Carter and the Chiefs of Staff of former Presidents Bush, Ford and Reagan all said that the information pertaining to their offices was accurate.

As agreed with your office, unless you publicly announce the contents of this report earlier, we plan no further distribution until 30 days from its issue date. At that time, we will send copies of this report to the Chairman



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and Ranking Minority Members of the congressional committees with jurisdiction over GSA and the Secret Service. We are also sending copies of this report to the Administrator of GSA; the Secretary of the Treasury; the Director of the Secret Service; and former Presidents Bush, Carter, Clinton, Ford, and Reagan. We will also send copies to interested congressional committees and make copies available to others on request.

Major contributors to this report were Ronald King, John Parulis, and Susan Michal-Smith. If you or your staff have any questions, please contact me on (202) 512-8387 or at [ungarb@gao.gov](mailto:ungarb@gao.gov).

Sincerely yours,



Bernard L. Ungar  
Director, Physical Infrastructure Issues

# Appendix I: Total Expenditures Associated With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977 to 2000

**Table 4: Total Expenditures Associated With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977-2000**

<b>Fiscal year</b>	<b>Former Presidents Act</b>	<b>Secret service protection</b>	<b>Total</b>
1977	\$378,749	\$5,576,349	<b>\$5,955,098</b>
1978	651,965	7,936,728	<b>8,588,693</b>
1979	720,697	9,072,373	<b>9,793,070</b>
1980	739,795	7,563,432	<b>8,303,227</b>
1981	718,325	9,741,663	<b>10,459,988</b>
1982	1,024,405	11,750,238	<b>12,774,643</b>
1983	1,028,820	10,941,419	<b>11,970,239</b>
1984	1,075,176	10,547,659	<b>11,622,835</b>
1985	1,103,933	11,416,329	<b>12,520,262</b>
1986	1,036,729	8,359,615	<b>9,396,344</b>
1987	1,055,273	9,265,491	<b>10,320,764</b>
1988	1,058,305	8,331,803	<b>9,390,108</b>
1989	1,247,848	13,472,939	<b>14,720,787</b>
1990	1,710,716	12,785,902	<b>14,496,618</b>
1991	1,815,394	12,897,617	<b>14,713,011</b>
1992	1,976,800	13,481,078	<b>15,457,878</b>
1993	2,247,506	18,945,296	<b>21,192,802</b>
1994	2,495,498	18,797,425	<b>21,292,923</b>
1995	2,072,824	20,942,654	<b>23,015,478</b>
1996	1,992,168	21,139,287	<b>23,131,455</b>
1997	2,002,882	22,746,170	<b>24,749,052</b>
1998	2,036,002	22,580,904	<b>24,616,906</b>
1999	2,023,888	23,186,699	<b>25,210,587</b>
2000	2,083,331	23,743,561	<b>25,826,892</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$34,297,029<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>\$335,222,631</b>	<b>\$369,519,660</b>

<sup>a</sup>For fiscal years 1985 through 1987, the amount shown includes Former President Act funds used to pay the rental charge for a townhouse owned by the federal government in Washington D.C. that was used exclusively by former presidents when they visited the capital. Starting with fiscal year 1988, Congress eliminated the rental payments because the property was seldom used. The charge to the Former Presidents Act account for those 3 years was \$62,913, \$63,627, and \$53,821 respectively.

Source: GSA and Secret Service officials.

**Appendix I: Total Expenditures Associated  
With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977 to  
2000**

**Table 5: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, Fiscal Years 1977-2000**

<b>Fiscal year</b>	<b>Former presidents</b>	<b>Widows</b>	<b>Total</b>
1977	\$316,168	\$62,581	<b>\$378,749</b>
1978	590,002	61,963	<b>651,965</b>
1979	660,697	60,000	<b>720,697</b>
1980	693,394	46,401	<b>739,795</b>
1981	676,125	42,200	<b>718,325</b>
1982	979,405	45,000	<b>1,024,405</b>
1983	1,006,420	22,400	<b>1,028,820</b>
1984	1,052,276	22,900	<b>1,075,176</b>
1985	1,080,933	23,000	<b>1,103,933</b>
1986	1,012,604	24,125	<b>1,036,729</b>
1987	1,034,273	21,000	<b>1,055,273</b>
1988	1,037,329	20,976	<b>1,058,305</b>
1989	1,226,884	20,964	<b>1,247,848</b>
1990	1,688,611	22,105	<b>1,710,716</b>
1991	1,794,670	20,724	<b>1,815,394</b>
1992	1,956,300	20,500	<b>1,976,800</b>
1993	2,226,106	21,400	<b>2,247,506</b>
1994	2,474,298	21,200	<b>2,495,498</b>
1995	2,050,324	22,500	<b>2,072,824</b>
1996	1,970,972	21,196	<b>1,992,168</b>
1997	1,981,582	21,300	<b>2,002,882</b>
1998	2,014,595	21,407	<b>2,036,002</b>
1999	2,002,374	21,514	<b>2,023,888</b>
2000	2,061,731	21,600	<b>2,083,331</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$33,588,073</b>	<b>\$708,956</b>	<b>\$34,297,029</b>

Source: GSA officials.

**Appendix I: Total Expenditures Associated  
With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977 to  
2000**

**Table 6: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Former President, Fiscal Years 1977-2000<sup>a</sup>**

<b>Fiscal year</b>	<b>Nixon</b>	<b>Ford</b>	<b>Carter</b>	<b>Reagan</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Total</b>
1977	\$215,923	\$100,245	\$0	\$0	\$0	<b>\$316,168</b>
1978	229,323	360,679	0	0	0	<b>590,002</b>
1979	282,990	377,707	0	0	0	<b>660,697</b>
1980	318,213	375,181	0	0	0	<b>693,394</b>
1981	300,418	323,390	52,317	0	0	<b>676,125</b>
1982	311,313	296,188	371,904	0	0	<b>979,405</b>
1983	291,868	331,184	383,368	0	0	<b>1,006,420</b>
1984	317,525	350,366	353,063	0	0	<b>1,020,954</b>
1985	317,469	360,995	339,556	0	0	<b>1,018,020</b>
1986	307,679	328,267	313,031	0	0	<b>948,977</b>
1987	360,990	343,182	276,280	0	0	<b>980,452</b>
1988	403,601	351,161	282,567	0	0	<b>1,037,329</b>
1989	390,557	359,441	324,027	152,859	0	<b>1,226,884</b>
1990	407,202	336,785	352,200	592,424	0	<b>1,688,611</b>
1991	420,611	409,956	367,899	596,204	0	<b>1,794,670</b>
1992	436,739	411,840	407,934	699,787	0	<b>1,956,300</b>
1993	448,603	454,145	388,256	746,058	189,044	<b>2,226,106</b>
1994	396,901	433,539	406,673	665,973	571,212	<b>2,474,298</b>
1995	0	453,235	411,214	619,954	565,921	<b>2,050,324</b>
1996	0	430,088	394,825	605,607	540,452	<b>1,970,972</b>
1997	0	432,121	408,277	608,886	532,298	<b>1,981,582</b>
1998	0	437,639	398,937	614,028	563,991	<b>2,014,595</b>
1999	0	437,328	399,765	611,236	554,045	<b>2,002,374</b>
2000	0	510,357	397,635	599,649	554,090	<b>2,061,731</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$6,157,925</b>	<b>\$9,005,019</b>	<b>\$7,029,728</b>	<b>\$7,112,665</b>	<b>\$4,071,053</b>	<b>\$33,376,390</b>

<sup>a</sup>Does not included cost associated with D.C. townhouse. (See table 4 note) Cost was charged to overall account and not to individual former presidents.

Source: GSA officials.

**Appendix I: Total Expenditures Associated  
With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977 to  
2000**

**Table 7: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Former Presidents' Widows, Fiscal Years 1977-2000**

<b>Fiscal year</b>	<b>Mrs. Johnson</b>	<b>Mrs. Truman</b>	<b>Mrs. Eisenhower</b>	<b>Widows postage</b>	<b>Total</b>
1977	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$20,000	\$2,581	<b>\$62,581</b>
1978	20,000	20,000	20,000	1,963	<b>61,963</b>
1979	20,000	20,000	20,000	0	<b>60,000</b>
1980	20,000	20,000	2,000	4,401	<b>46,401</b>
1981	20,000	20,000	0	2,200	<b>42,200</b>
1982	20,000	20,000	0	5,000	<b>45,000</b>
1983	20,000	0	0	2,400	<b>22,400</b>
1984	20,000	0	0	2,900	<b>22,900</b>
1985	20,000	0	0	3,000	<b>23,000</b>
1986	20,000	0	0	4,125	<b>24,125</b>
1987	20,000	0	0	1,000	<b>21,000</b>
1988	20,000	0	0	976	<b>20,976</b>
1989	20,000	0	0	964	<b>20,964</b>
1990	20,000	0	0	2,105	<b>22,105</b>
1991	20,000	0	0	724	<b>20,724</b>
1992	20,000	0	0	500	<b>20,500</b>
1993	20,000	0	0	1,400	<b>21,400</b>
1994	20,000	0	0	1,200	<b>21,200</b>
1995	20,000	0	0	2,500	<b>22,500</b>
1996	20,000	0	0	1,196	<b>21,196</b>
1997	20,000	0	0	1,300	<b>21,300</b>
1998	20,000	0	0	1,407	<b>21,407</b>
1999	20,000	0	0	1,514	<b>21,514</b>
2000	20,000	0	0	1,600	<b>21,600</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$480,000</b>	<b>\$120,000</b>	<b>\$62,000</b>	<b>\$46,956</b>	<b>\$708,956</b>

Source: GSA officials.

**Appendix I: Total Expenditures Associated  
With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977 to  
2000**

**Table 8: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Cost Category, by Former President and Widows, Fiscal Year 2000**

<b>Cost Category</b>	<b>Ford</b>	<b>Carter</b>	<b>Reagan</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Widows</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Pensions</b>						
Benefits for former presidents pensions	\$155,700	\$155,700	\$155,700	\$155,700	\$20,000	<b>\$642,800</b>
<b>Office Staff</b>						
Personnel benefits	\$22,182	\$5,903	\$23,652	\$34,348	\$0	<b>\$86,085</b>
Personnel compensation	95,732	93,864	94,316	95,644	0	<b>379,556</b>
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$117,914</b>	<b>\$99,767</b>	<b>\$117,968</b>	<b>\$129,992</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$465,641</b>
<b>Office</b>						
Equipment	\$24,528	\$0	\$0	\$12,978	\$0	<b>\$37,506</b>
Equipment rental	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
Other services	6,225	15,374	14,306	18,199	0	<b>54,104</b>
Postage	16,116	15,114	10,267	14,007	1,600	<b>57,104</b>
Printing	50	865	8,075	12,057	0	<b>21,047</b>
Rental payments to GSA	105,099	89,283	256,671	144,000	0	<b>595,053</b>
Supplies and materials	20,865	1,120	22,780	10,226	0	<b>54,991</b>
Telephone	20,992	20,412	13,882	9,307	0	<b>64,593</b>
Transportation of things	1,622	0	0	0	0	<b>1,622</b>
Travel	41,246	0	0	47,624	0	<b>88,870</b>
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$236,743</b>	<b>\$142,168</b>	<b>\$325,981</b>	<b>\$268,398</b>	<b>\$1,600</b>	<b>\$974,890</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$510,357</b>	<b>\$397,635</b>	<b>\$599,649</b>	<b>\$554,090</b>	<b>\$21,600</b>	<b>\$2,083,331</b>

Source: GSA officials.

**Appendix I: Total Expenditures Associated  
With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977 to  
2000**

**Table 9: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Cost Category, by Former President and Widows, Fiscal Year 1999**

<b>Cost Category</b>	<b>Ford</b>	<b>Carter</b>	<b>Reagan</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Widows</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Pensions</b>						
Benefits for former presidents pensions	\$151,800	\$151,800	\$151,800	\$151,800	\$20,000	<b>\$627,200</b>
<b>Office Staff</b>						
Personnel benefits	\$23,131	\$5,479	\$22,749	\$34,178	\$0	<b>\$85,537</b>
Personnel compensation	95,801	93,864	91,529	94,773	0	<b>375,967</b>
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$118,932</b>	<b>\$99,343</b>	<b>\$114,278</b>	<b>\$128,951</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$461,504</b>
<b>Office</b>						
Equipment	\$2,319	\$0	\$0	\$26,813	\$0	<b>\$29,132</b>
Equipment rental	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
Other services	4,276	11,425	8,846	8,545	0	<b>33,092</b>
Postage	7,805	17,414	9,106	13,879	1,514	<b>49,718</b>
Printing	0	1,480	14,484	18,027	0	<b>33,991</b>
Rental payments to GSA	76,938	92,388	274,361	139,279	0	<b>582,966</b>
Supplies and materials	20,266	5,589	22,173	12,173	0	<b>60,201</b>
Telephone	21,178	20,326	15,135	9,907	0	<b>66,546</b>
Transportation of things	0	0	1,053	34	0	<b>1,087</b>
Travel	33,814	0	0	44,637	0	<b>78,451</b>
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$166,596</b>	<b>\$148,622</b>	<b>\$345,158</b>	<b>\$273,294</b>	<b>\$1,514</b>	<b>\$935,184</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$437,328</b>	<b>\$399,765</b>	<b>\$611,236</b>	<b>\$554,045</b>	<b>\$21,514</b>	<b>\$2,023,888</b>

Source: GSA officials.

**Appendix I: Total Expenditures Associated  
With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977 to  
2000**

**Table 10: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Cost Category, by Former President and Widows, Fiscal Year 1998**

<b>Cost Category</b>	<b>Ford</b>	<b>Carter</b>	<b>Reagan</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Widows</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Pensions</b>						
Benefits for former presidents pensions	\$150,950	\$150,950	\$150,950	\$150,950	\$20,000	<b>\$623,800</b>
<b>Office staff</b>						
Personnel benefits	\$23,227	\$5,152	\$23,083	\$35,048	\$0	<b>\$86,510</b>
Personnel compensation	95,795	93,864	95,391	95,491	0	<b>380,541</b>
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$119,022</b>	<b>\$99,016</b>	<b>\$118,474</b>	<b>\$130,539</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$467,051</b>
<b>Office</b>						
Equipment	\$15,211	\$0	\$12,812	\$28,800	\$0	<b>\$56,823</b>
Equipment rental	0	0	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
Other services	5,677	12,680	18,565	10,986	0	<b>47,908</b>
Postage	7,148	15,869	10,003	13,386	1,407	<b>47,813</b>
Printing	1,192	6,904	14,173	19,896	0	<b>42,165</b>
Rental payments to GSA	74,846	89,251	258,782	134,372	0	<b>557,251</b>
Supplies and materials	8,667	2,603	17,162	11,821	0	<b>40,253</b>
Telephone	16,575	21,664	11,509	16,054	0	<b>65,802</b>
Transportation of things	0	0	406	0	0	<b>406</b>
Travel	38,351	0	1,192	47,187	0	<b>86,730</b>
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$167,667</b>	<b>\$148,971</b>	<b>\$344,604</b>	<b>\$282,502</b>	<b>\$1,407</b>	<b>\$945,151</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$437,639</b>	<b>\$398,937</b>	<b>\$614,028</b>	<b>\$563,991</b>	<b>\$21,407</b>	<b>\$2,036,002</b>

Source: GSA officials.



**Appendix I: Total Expenditures Associated  
With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977 to  
2000**

**Table 11: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Cost Category, by Former President and Widows, Fiscal Year 1997**

<b>Cost Category</b>	<b>Ford</b>	<b>Carter</b>	<b>Reagan</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Widows</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Pensions</b>						
Benefits for former presidents pensions	\$148,400	\$148,400	\$148,400	\$148,400	\$20,000	<b>\$613,600</b>
<b>Office staff</b>						
Personnel benefits	\$20,880	\$4,788	\$22,817	\$34,867	\$0	<b>\$83,352</b>
Personnel compensation	95,136	93,961	95,645	93,051	0	<b>377,793</b>
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$116,016</b>	<b>\$98,749</b>	<b>\$118,462</b>	<b>\$127,918</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$461,145</b>
<b>Office</b>						
Equipment	\$10,037	\$14,819	\$16,446	\$14,689	\$0	<b>\$55,991</b>
Equipment rental	1,229	0	0	0	0	<b>1,229</b>
Other services	3,430	12,151	15,366	13,916	0	<b>44,863</b>
Postage	6,711	17,305	11,401	12,956	1,300	<b>49,673</b>
Printing	2,336	4,433	10,103	1,319	0	<b>18,191</b>
Rental payments to GSA	74,949	89,373	269,243	134,557	0	<b>568,122</b>
Supplies and materials	10,661	4,880	14,086	7,981	0	<b>37,608</b>
Telephone	18,563	18,167	5,137	17,122	0	<b>58,989</b>
Transportation of things	0	0	0	97	0	<b>97</b>
Travel	39,789	0	242	53,343	0	<b>93,374</b>
Subtotal	\$167,705	\$161,128	\$342,024	\$255,980	\$1,300	<b>\$928,137</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$432,121</b>	<b>\$408,277</b>	<b>\$608,886</b>	<b>\$532,298</b>	<b>\$21,300</b>	<b>\$2,002,882</b>

Source: GSA officials.

**Appendix I: Total Expenditures Associated  
With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977 to  
2000**

**Table 12: Expenditures Under the Former Presidents Act, by Cost Category, by Former President and Widows, Fiscal Year 1996**

<b>Cost Category</b>	<b>Ford</b>	<b>Carter</b>	<b>Reagan</b>	<b>Bush</b>	<b>Widows</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Pensions</b>						
Benefits for former presidents pensions	\$148,400	\$148,400	\$148,400	\$148,400	\$20,000	<b>\$613,600</b>
<b>Office Staff</b>						
Personnel benefits	\$23,087	\$4,747	\$23,308	\$36,652	\$0	<b>\$87,794</b>
Personnel compensation	96,000	92,942	91,217	112,019	0	<b>392,178</b>
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$119,087</b>	<b>\$97,689</b>	<b>\$114,525</b>	<b>\$148,671</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$479,972</b>
<b>Office</b>						
Equipment	\$4,536	\$1,304	\$0	\$7,198	\$0	<b>\$13,038</b>
Equipment rental	960	0	0	0	0	<b>960</b>
Other services	6,708	5,314	11,206	4,926	0	<b>28,154</b>
Postage	6,189	25,213	15,149	18,351	1,196	<b>66,098</b>
Printing	511	1,440	17,419	9,868	0	<b>29,238</b>
Rental payments to GSA	74,949	89,373	269,242	134,557	0	<b>568,121</b>
Supplies and Materials	6,768	6,504	18,740	8,851	0	<b>40,863</b>
Telephone	17,474	19,588	10,090	13,160	0	<b>60,312</b>
Transportation of things	0	0	836	605	0	<b>1,441</b>
Travel	44,506	0	0	45,865	0	<b>90,371</b>
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>\$162,601</b>	<b>\$148,736</b>	<b>\$342,682</b>	<b>\$243,381</b>	<b>\$1,196</b>	<b>\$898,596</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$430,088</b>	<b>\$394,825</b>	<b>\$605,607</b>	<b>\$540,452</b>	<b>\$21,196</b>	<b>\$1,992,168</b>

Source: GSA officials.

**Appendix I: Total Expenditures Associated  
With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977 to  
2000**

**Table 13: Former Presidents, Wives, Widows, and Minor Children Protected by the Secret Service, Fiscal Years 1977-2000**

<b>FY 1977</b>	<b>FY 1978</b>	<b>FY 1979</b>
Mrs. Truman	Mrs. Truman	Mrs. Truman
Mrs. Eisenhower	Mrs. Eisenhower	Mrs. Eisenhower
John Kennedy, Jr.	Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Johnson
Mrs. Johnson	Former President Nixon	Former President Nixon
Former President Nixon	Mrs. Nixon	Mrs. Nixon
Mrs. Nixon	Former President Ford	Former President Ford
Former President Ford	Mrs. Ford	Mrs. Ford
Mrs. Ford		
Susan Ford		
<b>FY 1980</b>	<b>FY 1981</b>	<b>FY 1982</b>
Mrs. Truman	Mrs. Truman	Mrs. Truman
Mrs. Eisenhower	Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Johnson
Mrs. Johnson	Former President Nixon	Former President Nixon
Former President Nixon	Mrs. Nixon	Mrs. Nixon
Mrs. Nixon	Former President Ford	Former President Ford
Former President Ford	Mrs. Ford	Mrs. Ford
Mrs. Ford	Former President Carter	Former President Carter
	Mrs. Carter	Mrs. Carter
	Amy Carter	Amy Carter
<b>FY 1983</b>	<b>FY 1984</b>	<b>FY 1985</b>
Mrs. Truman	Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Johnson
Mrs. Johnson	Former President Nixon	Former President Nixon <sup>a</sup>
Former President Nixon	Mrs. Nixon	Mrs. Nixon <sup>a</sup>
Mrs. Nixon	Former President Ford	Former President Ford
Former President Ford	Mrs. Ford	Mrs. Ford
Mrs. Ford	Former President Carter	Former President Carter
Former President Carter	Mrs. Carter	Mrs. Carter
Mrs. Carter		
Amy Carter		
<b>FY 1986</b>	<b>FY 1987</b>	<b>FY 1988</b>
Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Johnson
Former President Ford	Former President Ford	Former President Ford
Mrs. Ford	Mrs. Ford	Mrs. Ford
Former President Carter	Former President Carter	Former President Carter
Mrs. Carter	Mrs. Carter	Mrs. Carter
		Former President Reagan
		Mrs. Reagan

**Appendix I: Total Expenditures Associated  
With Former Presidents, Fiscal Years 1977 to  
2000**

<b>FY 1989</b>	<b>FY 1990</b>	<b>FY 1991</b>
Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Johnson
Former President Ford	Former President Ford	Former President Ford
Mrs. Ford	Mrs. Ford	Mrs. Ford
Former President Carter	Former President Carter	Former President Carter
Mrs. Carter	Mrs. Carter	Mrs. Carter
Former President Reagan	Former President Reagan	Former President Reagan
Mrs. Reagan	Mrs. Reagan	Mrs. Reagan
<b>FY 1992</b>	<b>FY 1993</b>	<b>FY 1994</b>
Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Johnson
Former President Ford	Former President Ford	Former President Ford
Mrs. Ford	Mrs. Ford	Mrs. Ford
Former President Carter	Former President Carter	Former President Carter
Mrs. Carter	Mrs. Carter	Mrs. Carter
Former President Reagan	Former President Reagan	Former President Reagan
Mrs. Reagan	Mrs. Reagan	Mrs. Reagan
	Former President Bush	Former President Bush
	Mrs. Bush	Mrs. Bush
<b>FY 1995</b>	<b>FY 1996</b>	<b>FY 1997</b>
Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Johnson
Former President Ford	Former President Ford	Former President Ford
Mrs. Ford	Mrs. Ford	Mrs. Ford
Former President Carter	Former President Carter	Former President Carter
Mrs. Carter	Mrs. Carter	Mrs. Carter
Former President Reagan	Former President Reagan	Former President Reagan
Mrs. Reagan	Mrs. Reagan	Mrs. Reagan
Former President Bush	Former President Bush	Former President Bush
Mrs. Bush	Mrs. Bush	Mrs. Bush
<b>FY 1998</b>	<b>FY 1999</b>	<b>FY 2000</b>
Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Johnson	Mrs. Johnson
Former President Ford	Former President Ford	Former President Ford
Mrs. Ford	Mrs. Ford	Mrs. Ford
Former President Carter	Former President Carter	Former President Carter
Mrs. Carter	Mrs. Carter	Mrs. Carter
Former President Reagan	Former President Reagan	Former President Reagan
Mrs. Reagan	Mrs. Reagan	Mrs. Reagan
Former President Bush	Former President Bush	Former President Bush
Mrs. Bush	Mrs. Bush	Mrs. Bush

<sup>a</sup>Protection ended on July 31, 1985, at the request of former President Nixon.

Source: Secret Service officials.

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# Appendix II: Scope and Methodology

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To answer the first objective, which updates the cost information contained in our 1988 report, we obtained from GSA and Secret Service data on the expenditures for former presidents for fiscal years 1977 through 2000. We did not independently verify the information they provided.

To determine the size of each office and how the space is used, such as a presidential suite, general office space, or other uses, we reviewed GSA files, toured each of the former presidents' offices, and interviewed GSA officials and officials representing each former president. GSA provided us with information regarding the amount of space utilized for specific purposes, such as the size of each former president's personal office. As you requested, all space measurements are reported in usable square feet. GSA defines usable square feet as the area where a tenant normally houses personnel and/or furniture. It does not include any share of a building's support or common-use areas, such as elevator lobbies, building corridors, or mechanical rooms. We did not independently verify the space measurements. To determine if there was other federal space associated with the former presidents' offices, we asked GSA officials for information about whether other federal space was associated with the former president's office.

To determine if the offices contain any special amenities that could affect rental cost, we toured each of the former presidents' offices and interviewed GSA leasing officials about factors that could affect rental costs. Our conclusions about whether or not the offices contained any unusual build-out items or special amenities not generally found in commercial office space are based upon visits we made to the offices of the Secretaries of Labor and Transportation and our audit experience dealing with GSA space issues. GSA leasing officials provided information on the rental cost of comparable properties. We did not independently verify that information. We gathered information on how GSA determines its rental charges. To determine if the former presidents' office rental rates were in line with prevailing rental rates, we asked GSA to provide rental rates for comparable properties located near each former president's office. We did not independently verify the information provided by GSA. However, we did review the market survey GSA had contracted for in regard to locating comparable office space for former President Ford's office and any information provided by GSA officials regarding comparable office space for the other former presidents.

To determine the number of staff utilized by each office, and from which entities the staff received compensation, we reviewed GSA files dealing

with federal compensation for these staffs, interviewed staff members from each former president's office, and obtained compensation data on all staff from a representative at each office. We did not obtain the source documents or independently verify that data. To determine if the staff was involved with political fund-raising, we asked each former president's chief of staff or other representative whether their staffs were involved with political fund-raising. We did not independently verify their response.

To determine what involvement, if any, other persons or entities have had with each of the former presidents' offices, we interviewed staff of each of the former presidents' offices.

In addition to reviewing GSA records, we also researched applicable laws dealing with former presidents and discussed these laws with GSA and Secret Service officials.

We requested comments on a draft of this report from Administrator of GSA, the Secretary of the Treasury, and former Presidents Bush, Carter, Clinton, Ford, and Reagan. We received written comments from GSA, the Secret Service, a Treasury bureau, former President Carter and former President Clinton's Chief of Staff. We also received oral comments from the Chiefs of Staff for former Presidents Bush, Ford, and Reagan. Their comments have been incorporated, as appropriate, in this report.

We conducted our review at the following locations:

- GSA offices in Washington, D.C.; Atlanta, GA; Houston, and Ft. Worth, TX; New York City, NY, and San Francisco, CA;
- Secret Services office in Washington, D.C., and
- Former President Bush's office in Houston, TX; former President Carter's office in Atlanta, GA; former President Clinton's temporary office in Washington, D.C., and the space leased by GSA for his office in New York City, NY, former President Ford's office in Rancho Mirage, CA; and former President Reagan's office in Los Angeles, CA.

We conducted our work between March and August 2001 in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards.

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