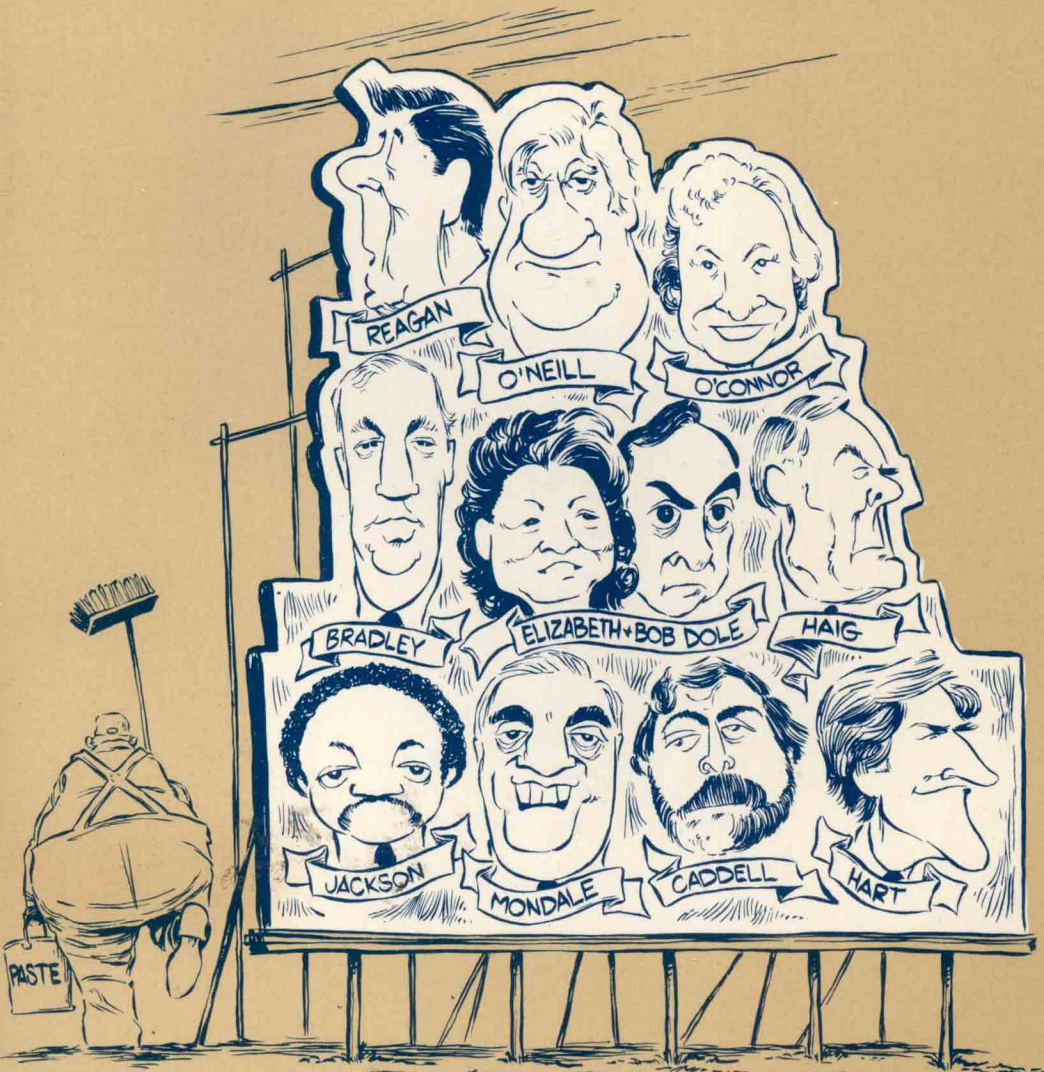


Peter Woll

Behind the Scenes in
AMERICAN
GOVERNMENT
Personalities and Politics

Fifth Edition



Peter Woll

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY

BEHIND THE SCENES IN

American Government

Personalities and Politics

Fifth Edition

LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY

Boston Toronto



Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Main entry under title:

Behind the scenes in American government.

Bibliography: p.

1. United States — Politics and government — 20th century — Addresses, essays, lectures. 2. Politicians — United States — Addresses, essays, lectures.

3. Statesmen — United States — Addresses, essays, lectures. I. Woll, Peter, 1933—

JK271.B533 1985 320.973 84-21303

ISBN 0-316-95171-4

Copyright © 1985 by Peter Woll

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means including information storage and retrieval systems without permission in writing from the publisher, except by a reviewer who may quote brief passages in a review.

Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 84-21303

ISBN 0-316-95171-4

9-8-7-6-5-4-3-2

ALP

Published simultaneously in Canada
by Little, Brown & Company (Canada) Limited

Printed in the United States of America

PREFACE

This book is designed as a supplementary text for introductory American government courses. It is also an exciting complement to a wide range of courses that analyze parties and political campaigning, interest groups and lobbyists, the media and political consultants, the presidency, Congress, the courts, and the bureaucracy.

Politics is, by any measure, fascinating. But this fascination is not often conveyed to students because many books and courses concentrate on structures and processes at the expense of the individuals who constitute the life-blood of politics. And it is, after all, the people in politics who shape its character, just as they themselves are shaped by it. This book illustrates how character and personality influence politics, and the ways in which political institutions and processes, such as the presidency and political campaigning, affect the personalities and actions of those who are directly, and sometimes indirectly, involved. Vignettes of famous politicians, pressure group leaders, journalists and political consultants, members of Congress, White House staffers and presidential advisers, Supreme Court justices, and top-level bureaucrats comprise the book. By introducing students to the colorful and powerful personalities who are to be found in politics, I hope to make American government the lively subject that it should be.

The fifth edition, just off the presses after the dramatic and exciting presidential and congressional elections in 1984, presents fresh profiles of the contestants for the White House and, in the Democratic party, of leading contenders for the presidential nomination. At the outset, as the text examines political parties and politicians, Elizabeth Drew sets the stage with her classic *New Yorker* selection that describes the grueling process of running for the presidential nomination in a time of party reforms that require candidates to campaign at the grass-roots level in primaries and at the party level caucuses throughout the nation. Although the Democrats in 1984 retreated somewhat from the grassroots reforms of the 1970s, by reducing the number of primaries and adding "super-delegates," members of Congress and state and local elected officials who became 14 percent of the convention delegates, the race for the nomination was just as exhausting as ever. A new selection by a team of *Time* reporters examines how the fatigue factor affected Walter Mondale, Gary Hart, and Jesse Jackson in the final laps of the nomination race.

Nowhere can the effect of personality and style upon politics be better seen than in Jesse Jackson's historic race for the presidency. A fresh first-hand account of his campaign depicts how his masterful oratorical skills and political techniques influenced both party and national politics.

Running for the presidency has changed since the days when local party bosses, such as Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, were important power brokers because of their ability to deliver enough votes to swing their states. Daley remains the paradigm of the big city boss and an important part of our political history, which is the reason for the retention of Mike Royko's classic account of Daley and his machine. How that machine has continued to shape Chicago politics into the mid-1980s is the subject of a new selection following Royko.

As the book turns from portraits of politicians in the electoral process to lobbyists and interest groups, a new portrayal of Florida Congressman Claude Pepper, champion of America's elderly, illustrates how a member of Congress can become an interest group leader and its chief Washington lobbyist. Nicholas von Hoffman describes a scene familiar to the Capitol Hill community as he writes about the Monocle's power lunch, where lobbyists, members of Congress and their staffers, and an occasional cabinet secretary meet to plan strategies while they enjoy gastronomic delights.

While politicians and political insiders confront each other directly as they play the political game, they all know that effective use of the media is essential to maintain and expand their political bases. Elected officials, lobbyists, and top-level bureaucrats seek expert advice from political consultants within and without government to polish the images they project to their constituencies. New vignettes in this edition portray the wizardry of Patrick Caddell, the champion of anti-establishment candidates that included Gary Hart in 1984, and, in a first person account, the challenges and dilemmas of presidential press secretary Jody Powell during the Iranian hostage crisis.

A major reason for Ronald Reagan's success with the public has been his mastery of the electronic media and skillful press relations, which are described in a new selection on Reagan's "magical" style. He was called "The Man in the Teflon Suit" because criticism of his actions did not seem to stick to him as a person. The presidency chapter also includes a fresh profile of Walter Mondale, describing how he used his time out of office to build the political base that enabled him to become the presidential nominee of his party.

It is not only the character and style of the incumbent that determines presidential performance but also the personalities and political skills of White House staffers. In this edition, George Reedy and John Dean continue to

describe the role of White House aides and their behind-the-scenes machinations as they struggle for power.

At the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, powerful politicians of many political stripes dot the Capitol Hill landscape. *New Yorker* prize-winning author John McPhee contributes a fresh portrait of New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley, who was identified by the *Wall Street Journal* after the 1984 national party convention to be a rising political star. McPhee focuses on the former New York Knick star's "homestyle" manner of relating to his constituents. The subject of another new and lively selection is the Washington team of Elizabeth and Robert Dole, the Secretary and the Senator, powerful insiders who in marriage still respect the separation of powers. Finally, added to the Congress chapter is a vignette of Wisconsin Congressman Les Aspin that not only illustrates how the former political outsider became a powerful insider on Capitol Hill, but also describes how his successful political career was built. Complementing and balancing these new selections are the ever-popular portrayals of: Lyndon B. Johnson's style as majority leader, by Roland Evans and Robert Novak; the contrasting styles of Senators Robert Byrd and Edward Kennedy, by Laurence Leamer; Russell Long, by Aaron Latham; and House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill by Jimmy Breslin.

In Chapter Six, is the popular selection by Bob Woodard and Scott Armstrong that gives a behind-the-scenes account of the Supreme Court's abortion decision along with Earl Warren's firsthand description of the interplay of personalities on the Court when it confronted the desegregation cases.

The book's concluding chapter on the bureaucracy retains Sanford Unger's classic piece on J. Edgar Hoover ("The King"), and the selection by Jonathan Alter that portrays prominent political entrepreneurs in the bureaucracy, including Admiral Hyman Rickover.

An underlying theme of this book is that the personalities and styles of people in high positions in politics do shape the political process. However, many political scientists, including our first — the framers of the Constitution — believe that structural arrangements can shape and determine human behavior. The framers of our system of government were not particularly concerned with the deeper psychological variants in human beings; they delved into psychopolitics only to the extent of accepting the premise that persons, particularly those entering the political process, are likely to be motivated by self-interest rather than by the national interest.

Thus the framers carefully constructed our system of separation of powers and of checks and balances for the purpose of controlling the baser side of human nature. The safeguards they established offered protection against unbridled political ambition, the pursuit of self-interest in the political process, and the possibility of tyranny. The map of our political system, devised

by men such as Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, resembled a military map, with defensive and offensive positions being taken by the armies — the branches of government — and with differing weapons being provided to the combatants. Balancing the forces would ensure that victory would not be certain on any one side, and that after the forces grew exhausted by their perpetual and often futile combat they would seek not unconditional surrender but a negotiated peace settlement. By carefully controlling the conditions of political warfare, the framers hoped to limit governmental power and to shape policy in the people's interest.

James Madison in *Federalist 51* succinctly stated the framers' views on human nature and how it should be controlled within government:

But the greatest security against a gradual concentration of the several powers in the same department, consists in giving to those who administer each department, the necessary constitutional means, and personal motives, to resist encroachments of the others. The provision for defense must in this, as in all other cases, be made commensurate to the danger of attack. Ambition must be made to counteract ambition. The interest of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place. It may be a reflection on human nature, that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government. But what is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government, which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself. A dependence on the people is, no doubt, the primary control on the government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions.

The relatively simple governmental model established by the framers to control political evil and at the same time to provide effective government has undergone many changes over the more than a century and a half since the Constitution was ratified. Before the end of the nineteenth century the presidency had developed imperial powers, due not only to historical circumstances but also to the character of the men who had occupied the office from the beginning. Thomas Jefferson, who opposed a strong presidency while he was in Paris at the time the Constitution was framed, ironically changed his mind after his election to the presidency in 1800. The forceful and determined character of Abraham Lincoln helped not only to save the Union but also to establish precedents for the growth of presidential power. The personalities of presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard M. Nixon, Jimmy Carter, and Ronald Reagan all had a

profound effect on the institution of the presidency. Just as presidential character helped to build up the office, it also was responsible for bringing it into temporary disrepute after Watergate. No one would deny that the personality of Richard Nixon played a significant role in the Watergate affair, particularly in the way it was handled in the White House, nor that the personality of Gerald Ford helped to restore dignity to the White House.

Just as the transformations in the presidency have been shaped by the personalities of the men who have held the office, so have changes in other political institutions. Congress is a venerable and highly structured institution, but it too has an important personal dimension, found in the personalities of its leaders and the chairmen of its committees. Legislative styles and policies frequently depend on the characters of congressmen. Congress is composed of men and women who are not simply conduits for the few electoral demands that exist, but who act as they are motivated by their consciences and by their psychological needs for power and status within the institution.

The courts and the bureaucracy were designed to be more nearly neutral politically than were the president and the Congress and such obvious political advocates as parties and pressure groups. The judiciary was to dispense justice impartially and independently of the political arms of government, and the bureaucracy was to administer the laws. But here, too, the characters and personalities of judges and bureaucrats influence how justice is carried out and how laws are implemented.

I would like to thank Donald Palm, whose perceptive and timely editorial judgments and recommendations creatively shaped the fifth edition of this book. Billie Ingram skillfully and efficiently guided the manuscript through the production process. I greatly appreciate Neil Sullivan's enduring interest in the book and recommendations for it. Rochelle Jones, to whom the book is dedicated, continues to help keep the author abreast of the Washington political scene. Her suggestions for this as for previous editions have been invaluable and reflect her enthusiasm and originality in many ways. Finally, no acknowledgments would be complete for any of my books without thanks to Barbara Nagy, who for years has made my writing enjoyable.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICIANS

1

1

Elizabeth Drew

Running

3

The candidates and their campaign staffs speak for themselves in describing the personal effect of the grueling presidential primary process in this New Yorker selection by Elizabeth Drew.

2

Kurt Andersen

Campaign 1984: Facing the Fatigue Factor

24

Walter Mondale became forgetful, Gary Hart looked haggard, and Jesse Jackson was exhausted as they ran full tilt for the Democratic presidential nomination. A team of Time reporters gives a lively account of the race and examines the important question of whether or not the exhausting process of running is a true test of the candidate's ability to govern.

3

Evan Thomas

Campaigning with Jesse Jackson: Pride and Prejudice

29

Bold, charismatic, dedicated, driven, and flamboyant are among the adjectives that describe Jesse Jackson. As the first serious black candidate for the presidency, he changed political history. A lively Time cover story depicts Jackson's masterful political style, his soaring rhetoric and media skills, which, combined with his charismatic personality, made him a major political force.

- 4** Lou Cannon
Ronald Reagan: A Political Perspective 43
Ronald Reagan was finishing high school on the eve of the stock market crash of 1929 and the Great Depression that followed. Franklin Roosevelt became his political idol, and for most of his life he backed liberal causes. He trained for a career in radio, but his talent and handsome appearance helped him to become a highly successful Hollywood actor. His stage presence and mastery of the media led him to the White House in 1980.
- 5** Mike Royko
The Boss 62
The inner workings of one of the last big-city machines and its powerful boss, Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, are described in Mike Royko's best selling expose of city politics, The Boss.
- 6** E. R. Shipp
Will Loyalty Win the Ward Again? 79
The legacy of the Daley machine continued to affect Chicago politics after the Mayor's death in 1976. A special New York Times report describes the 1984 battle for the post of ward committeeman, which pitted an old-time machine candidate against a Hispanic community activist who had made an impressive showing the year before by garnering 42 percent of the vote in an election for alderman against an organization candidate who had served under Daley.

CHAPTER TWO

PRESSURE GROUPS AND LOBBYISTS 83

- 7** Albert R. Hunt
The Washington Power Brokers 84
Thomas Boggs, Jr., a member of a distinguished political family, has become one of the most influential lob-

byists in the nation's capital. Albert R. Hunt, a prize-winning Wall Street Journal reporter, gives a lively account of Boggs's style, which has made him a Capitol Hill insider and an accepted member of Washington's political establishment.

8

Steven Emerson

Dutton of Arabia

91

Fred Dutton was an aspiring young lawyer in California when historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., noticed his political column in the Los Angeles Times and recruited him for Adlai Stevenson's presidential campaign. That was the beginning of a meteoric political career. Dutton joined the Kennedy administration in the early 1960s and later became one of the most influential power brokers in Washington. In the 1980s his time and political skills are devoted to the representation of Saudi Arabia, whose interests he assiduously protects and advances as he plays the Washington power game.

9

John Egerton

Congressman Claude Pepper: Courtly Champion of America's Elderly

103

If the elderly had a union, Florida Congressman Claude Pepper would be its leader and chief Washington lobbyist. That members of Congress may become national advocates of interests that transcend their districts is illustrated in this portrayal of a veteran congressman whose Capitol Hill career spans almost fifty years.

10

Nicholas von Hoffman

The Washington Monocle: Scene of the Power Lunch

114

Monumental egos breed monumental appetites as well as a thirst for power. The Monocle hosts the power lunch on Capitol Hill as Washington's political players

gather to see and be seen while they plan strategies and enjoy gastronomic delights.

11

**The Reverend Jerry Falwell
and the Tide of Born Again** 122

Jerry Falwell, the Lynchburg, Virginia, evangelist, forged religion and politics into a significant political force in the 1980s. A special Newsweek story depicts the character and style of the leader of a nation-wide movement that is attempting to use the ballot box to turn many fundamentalist Christian beliefs into public policy.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MEDIA AND POLITICAL CONSULTANTS 133

12

**Ralph Whitehead
For Whom Caddell Polls** 136

The chief wizard of political pollsters and consultants is Patrick Caddell, the champion of anti-establishment candidates. He is a backroom general whose keen political insights and plots of voter attitudes shape his tactical advice. He was a major force behind Gary Hart's unusually strong bid for the presidential nomination in 1984.

13

**Sidney Blumenthal
Richard Viguerie: The Postmaster General
of the Right** 144

Richard Viguerie is the undisputed master of the direct-mail consultants. He is the force behind the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), and numerous other political causes. This lively portrayal of one of the chief architects of the New Right is taken from Sidney Blumenthal's timely book, The Permanent Campaign.

14

Jody Powell
The Right to Lie

157

*A former presidential press secretary reveals, in a selection taken from his provocative book, *The Other Side of the Story*, how he manipulated the media to protect the national interest and individual lives during the Iranian hostage crisis.*

 CHAPTER FOUR

THE PRESIDENCY

173

15

Steven R. Weisman
Ronald Reagan's Magical Style

175

*Ronald Reagan is *The Man in the Teflon Suit*, because nothing sticks to him. Even Americans who disagreed with his policies liked him for his upbeat and optimistic approach to the presidency. His positive style and mastery of the media deflected public criticism, giving him more leeway than most presidents to make mistakes.*

16

Charles R. Babcock
The Rewards of Losing: Mondale Out of Office

191

Politicians, especially those who have occupied the White House, can enrich themselves far more easily out of than in office. Unlike most defeated politicians, losing vice presidents may, as Walter Mondale did, not only replenish the family coffers but also build and strengthen their political base to make a run for the presidency.

17

George E. Reedy
The White House Staff: A Personal Account

199

*One of Lyndon B. Johnson's most astute staffers depicts the rarified atmosphere of the White House and its impact upon the personal staff of the president. The selection is from George Reedy's provocative book, *The Twilight of the Presidency*.*

- 18** John Dean
My First Day at the White House 205
John Dean describes, in his best-seller, Blind Ambition, his tour of the White House on the first day in his new job as a Nixon aide. Uppermost in his mind was how to achieve the symbols and reality of power as a member of the president's inner circle.

- 19** David Wise
Why the President's Men Stumble 211
Presidential character and style is always reflected in the president's relationship with his staff and cabinet officials. He sets the tone for his administration and the boundaries of his subordinates' power. Nevertheless, the indiscreet behavior of the president's men has often embarrassed the White House. This selection, by a prize-winning investigative reporter, takes the reader behind the scenes of the White House from the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt to that of Ronald Reagan. An assessment is made of why scandal rocks some presidencies, while others avoid it.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE CONGRESS 225

- 20** John McPhee
Senator Bill Bradley: Open Man 229
New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley has the right stuff. The former New York Knicks star also has an engaging and effective homestyle, described by best-selling author John McPhee.

- 21** Douglas B. Feaver
The Secretary and the Senator 240
Robert and Elizabeth Dole have become a Washington political item, an exception to the old adage that politics makes strange bedfellows. Both have had distin-

guished political careers in their own right. Now a team, they are reaching ever-new heights of political power.

22

Roland Evans and Robert Novak

The Johnson System

248

In their masterly book, Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power, Roland Evans and Robert Novak picture Johnson as the consummate politician who ruled the Senate with an iron hand as majority leader. His overwhelming personality and highly individualistic style made a lasting imprint on friends and foes alike.

23

Laurence Leamer

Robert Byrd and Edward Kennedy:

Two Stories of the Senate

255

Edward Kennedy is a star, and Robert Byrd is a tactician. Kennedy's individualistic style is in sharp contrast to Byrd's emphasis on collegiality. Both, in different ways, have achieved power and status in the Senate, as described in this selection from Laurence Leamer's book on leading Washington personalities, Playing for Keeps.

24

Aaron Latham

Russell Long

264

In this provocative piece from New York magazine, Aaron Latham describes how Senator Russell Long, the son of "Kingfish" Huey Long, has conquered the Senate and the House of Representatives through a personal style that wins respect, admiration, and sometimes grudging assent from his colleagues.

25

Jimmy Breslin

The Politician

275

The Massachusetts politician, a vanishing breed, is brought to life by Jimmy Breslin in this portrayal of

Thomas P. ("Tip") O'Neill, a streetwise, commonsense politician, whose instincts have led him to a position of dominance in the House of Representatives. The vignette is from Jimmy Breslin's best-seller, How the Good Guys Finally Won.

26

Fred Kaplan
Going from Outsider to Insider on Capitol Hill: Les Aspin and the Case of the MX 286

A former outsider and gadfly becomes a major force in shaping defense policy by learning how to play the Capitol Hill's power game.

CHAPTER SIX

THE COURTS 291

27

Bob Woodward and Scott Armstrong
The Brethren and the Abortion Decision 294

Clashing personalities and intrigue on the Supreme Court may affect the outcome of important cases that have a nationwide impact. In their best-selling book, The Brethren, Bob Woodward and Scott Armstrong write about the impact of personalities on the Court's decision to guarantee women the right to obtain abortions.

28

Earl Warren
A Case of Emotional Impact 314

Earl Warren, hero to some, villain to others, helped to shape the Supreme Court during a crucial period in its history. His character molded his beliefs, which surfaced in his major court opinions. The force of his personality and style more than once persuaded colleagues to his point of view. This selection, from The Memoirs of Earl Warren, is a personal account by the former Chief Justice of his role on the Supreme Court as it faced a number of difficult decisions, including the desegregation cases of 1954.

CHAPTER SEVEN**THE BUREAUCRACY****321**

29

Sanford J. Ungar

The King: J. Edgar Hoover**323**

The bulldog face of J. Edgar Hoover was not a facade. The man behind the mask had an iron will and a quick temper, as is vividly illustrated in this selection from Sanford J. Ungar's definitive book, F.B.I.

30

Jonathan Alter

The Powers That Stay**347**

Top-level bureaucrats must be consummate politicians to maintain their power. Many of the most successful, such as Admiral Hyman Rickover and J. Edgar Hoover, were political entrepreneurs, while others, such as Deputy Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci, learned to serve and often manipulate many masters. This entertaining selection from the Washington Monthly describes the games that bureaucrats play.