

The Basics of American Politics

FOURTEENTH EDITION

Gary Wasserman
Georgetown University

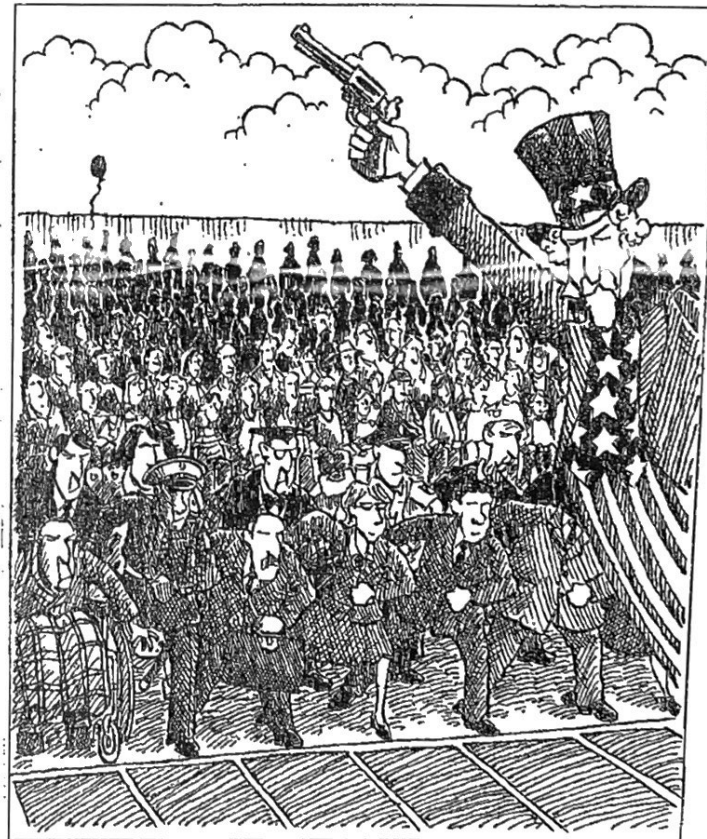


Longman

Boston Columbus Indianapolis New York San Francisco Upper Saddle River
Amsterdam Cape Town Dubai London Madrid Milan Munich Paris Montreal Toronto
Delhi Mexico City São Paulo Sydney Hong Kong Seoul Singapore Taipei Tokyo

CHAPTER 1

What Is Politics?



The First Day of Class

This class sucks. The first day of American government the professor comes in and asks us to sit in alphabetical order. Do you believe this? Of course all the freshman sheep shuffle off to their seats. But since I am sitting next to an attractive lady, I don't want to move. So I ask him whether he might want us to wear Mickey Mouse t-shirts to his next class. A bit too cute, perhaps, because he asks me if I think politics goes on in the classroom.

I reply, "No, we study politics, but very few of us actually participate."

"Incorrect," he responds, and would I mind leaving the class?

"Well, yes, I would mind," I say, "considering the costs of my first seven years at college."

"Will you please leave?" he says.

OK, so I start to go. He then stops me and asks why I am departing. I remind him that while he may have missed it, he has just asked me to remove myself. But he persists and asks why I'm doing what he asked. Maybe I have missed something. I respond that he is the kahuna here. I am just a sometimes-paying student.

"In other words," he says, "my position as the teacher influenced you to do something you didn't want to do. In fact, it influenced everyone to sit in alphabetical order. So we just saw a process of influence in this classroom that affected a group of people. That's politics. . . ."

"Oh, by the way, do you have a cigarette?"

"Hey, you can't smoke in here."

"You mean my power as a teacher is limited. In this case by your right to have a nonsmoking classroom. And of course all of you have other rights that limit any teacher's power. If this gentleman here didn't have such a good sense of humor he might bring me before some university committee for harassment. That too is politics."

This story reveals a process of influence between the teacher and the students. Their relationship is not only an educational one but a political one as well. It is political in the sense of political scientist Harold Lasswell's famous definition of *politics* as *the process of who gets what, when, and how*. The teacher (who) gets the student to leave the class (what) immediately (when) by using his authority to persuade and threaten him (how). This indeed is politics.

Our definition of politics centers on actions among a number of people involving influence. How do people get others to do what they wish? How does our society or any group (like that classroom) distribute its valued things, such as wealth, prestige, and security? Who gets these *values*, and how? The dialogue hints at answers in the concepts of *power* and *authority*.

Politics and Power

Note that the teacher influenced the student to do something he didn't want to do—leave the class. The teacher demonstrated his power over the student, though limited by the student's rights. *Power* is simply the *ability to influence another's behavior*. Power is getting people to do something they wouldn't otherwise do. Power may involve force (often called *coercion*), persuasion, or rewards. But its essence is the ability to change another's actions. The more power one has over another, the greater the change, or the easier the change is to accomplish. Having more power also could mean influencing more people to change.



Power involves relationships between people and groups. When someone says that a person has a lot of power, one should ask: Power to influence whom to do what? What is the power relationship being discussed? Take the statement "The United States is the most powerful nation in the world today." If this means that because the United States has a military larger than the next 15 countries combined, it can influence any other country however it wishes, the statement is wrong. These resources (including its huge wealth and educated population) can give only a *capacity* for power. Whether this capacity is converted into effective influence will depend on the relationship in which it is applied. Certainly the United States has far greater military capabilities

than any adversary in Afghanistan. Yet attempts to stabilize a friendly government seem beyond America's power. The limits of power were shown by the costs—casualties and money—as well as the uncertain outcome of using American resources to influence Afghan behavior.

People generally do not seek power for its own sake. They want it for other values it can bring them—for security or fame or wealth. Power, like money, is a means to other ends. Most people seek money for what it can buy—whether food, clothing, or shelter. Just as some people go after money more intently than others, so too do some people seek power more than others. Of course power, like money, does not come to everyone who seeks it.

Elites

Those who do gain power often are called a political elite. *Elites* are those who get more than others of the values society has available (such as wealth and respect). We could answer the "who" part of the question "who gets what, when, and how?" by saying the elite are those who get the most.

There may be different elites depending on what value is being considered. In a small town, the owner of the largest business may be getting most of the wealth in the community, whereas the poor but honest mayor may have most of the respect. In most cases, however, the values overlap. The wealthy businessman will get plenty of respect, and the mayor will use people's respect for her to make income-producing contacts and investments.

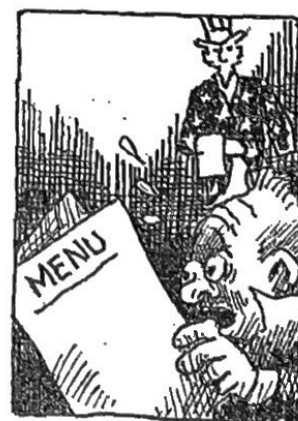
To see the difference between an elite and the rest of us, we can look at one value (wealth) in one society (the United States). Clearly, wealth is not distributed equally among the population; some (the elite) get more than others. The top 5 percent of the American population gets more than 21 percent of the national income while the bottom 20 percent receives only 3.4 percent. More than 37 million Americans live below the official poverty line. Further, inequality seems to be growing. Between 1970 and 2008 the average annual compensation of the top 100 chief executive officers (CEOs) of American corporations went from \$1.3 million—31 times the pay of an average worker—to \$38 million, more than 4,500 times the pay of the average worker. (See "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner.")

Authority: Legitimate Power

Elites often reinforce their position by gaining authority. *Authority* is legitimate power. By *legitimate* we mean even more than "legal": The word implies something *accepted as right*. This correctness or

legitimacy is connected in people's minds to both the position and the wishes of the authority. People may think something is legitimate if it was chosen using an agreed-upon procedure, such as an election. People recognize certain others as having the right to influence them in certain ways (say by leaving the class) and not in other ways (by giving them a cigarette to smoke in class). Most people feel that students *should* listen to teachers; children *should* obey their parents, and vice presidents *should* follow the wishes of presidents. People have many reasons for obeying authorities including habit, the authority figure's personal appeal, desire to be accepted by the group, and self-interest. But although they may not always follow it, people widely recognize authority as deserving obedience and that is what gives it legitimacy.

Authority is an efficient form of power. If people feel they *should* follow the wishes of an authority, then there is no need to force or even to persuade them to do so. The cost of influence is lowered for the authority. If, however, people do not respect the authority's legitimacy, its power can disappear quickly. A glance at a newspaper's front page will provide examples of authorities somewhere in the world having their legitimacy challenged. Today there are reports of Uighurs, a non-Chinese people living in western China, protesting the Chinese political and economic dominance of their region. Several days of rioting resulted in widespread damage. Because the police had lost their legitimacy for many in this Muslim ethnic group, the cost to the police of influencing behavior went up. The police could still force people off the street—and an element of force lies behind most authority—but anyone can clear a street with a gun. Only an accepted authority can do it with just a word.



PRIORITIES MENU
 IRAQ WAR as of 6/10/09
 \$830 BILLION
 OR 114 MILLION KIDS IN
 HEADSTART FOR 1YR
 OR 128 MILLION COLLEGE
 SCHOLARSHIPS FOR 1YR
 OR 6.5 MILLION UNITS
 OF PUBLIC HOUSING
 SOURCE:
 NATIONAL PRIORITIES,
<http://www.nationalpriorities.org>

Guess Who's Coming to Dinner

Imagine one hundred people at the banquet seated at six tables. At the far right is a table set with English china and real silver, where five people sit comfortably. Next to them is another table, nicely set but nowhere near as fancy, where 15 people sit. At each of the four remaining tables 20 people sit—the one on the far left has a stained paper tablecloth and plastic knives and forks. This arrangement is analogous to the spread of income groups—from the richest 5 percent at the right to the poorest 20 percent at the left.

Twenty waiters and waitresses come in, carrying 100 delicious looking dinners, just enough, one would suppose, for each of the one hundred guests. But, amazingly, four of the waiters bring 20 dinners to the five people at the fancy table on the right. There's hardly room for all the food. (If you go over and look a little closer, you will notice that two of the waiters are obsequiously fussing and trying to arrange ten dinners in front of just one of those five.) At the next-fanciest table, with the 15 people, five waiters bring another 25 dinners. The 20 people at the third table get 25 dinners, 15 go to the fourth table, and ten to the fifth. To the 20 people at the last table (the one with the paper tablecloth), a rude and clumsy waiter brings only five dinners. At the top table there are four dinners for each person; at the bottom table, four persons for each dinner. That's approximately the way income is distributed in America—fewer than half the people get even one dinner apiece.

Source: From *Equality* by William Ryan. Copyright © 1981 by William Ryan. Reprinted by permission of Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, Inc.

Power and authority, then, are central to politics. They are also central to many other aspects of life; almost all social relations involve people trying to influence others. In a political science course, we could study the politics of a school, a hospital, or a family—who influences, who is influenced, and what is the process and limits of that influence. But most students of politics are interested in a bigger question: How does our society or nation decide who gets what, when, and how? To find out, we need to study the most important organization that decides who gets the values of our society—government.

The Need for Government

Government is one of humanity's oldest and most universal institutions. History records very few societies that have existed without government. *Anarchy* (a society without government) may be an

interesting theory, but it seldom has been applied for long. Instead, people have lived under forms of government that vary from the tribal council of a Native American village to the complex party dictatorship of Communist China. Why is government so common?

One answer is that government is as common in society as is *political conflict*—the struggle over distribution of a community's valued things. These values (such as wealth) are limited, but people's demands for them are pretty unlimited. This imbalance means conflict. Whenever people have lived together, they have needed a way to regulate the disagreements. The question is not *whether* there will be conflict, but *how* the conflict will be handled. Who will decide on the rules that determine who wins and who loses? And how does one get the loser to accept the decision? The usual way to channel political conflict and thus preserve society is to have some form of government.

Most governments in the world today claim to be democratic. A *democracy* is a form of government in which most people can effectively participate. Because it is generally impractical for all the people to take part in their government directly, their participation is usually through representatives chosen in free elections. Hence, the people rule themselves indirectly through their representatives, in a form of government often called a *representative democracy*.

An essential part of democracy is a tolerance of different opinions and interests. What many countries call "free elections"—without competing political parties, freedom of speech, and an independent press—would not impress many Americans. Unlike ideologies such as militant Islam or communism, democratic politics doesn't assume that some groups, like Christians or capitalists or socialists, are wrong and shouldn't participate. Politics in a democracy acts like a marketplace, continually reacting to demands by different groups and reaching compromises among them.

Reaching decisions this way is messy. Democratic politics seldom allows clear-cut victories by anyone. Groups must be free to stand up for their own interests and none has a monopoly on the truth. Politicians in a democracy practice an ancient and noble craft—to reconcile conflicting interests in order to promote a common good. As British political scientist Bernard Crick wrote, "democratic politics . . . chooses conciliation rather than violence . . . as a way to maintain order and adapt to change."

Yet establishing governments, even democratic ones, does allow a few great power over many others. This power includes the ability to coerce others more effectively than if government didn't exist. As illustrated by the mass murders of Jews by Nazi Germany and the current genocide of African tribes in Sudan, control of government may even mean the power to kill millions of your own citizens.

As we will see in the next chapter, the skeptical politicians who wrote the Constitution understood the problem of power. The journalist Robert D. Kaplan described our founders as “constructive pessimists” who “worried constantly about what might go wrong in human relations.” James Madison’s famous quote in *The Federalist Papers* No. 51—“If men were angels, no government would be necessary”—justified the elaborate Constitutional hardwiring of checks and balances, and divisions of power and civil liberties designed to limit the future leaders of the United States. Yet as the Supreme Court decision following the 2000 conflicted presidential vote reminded us, the control of powerful judicial and political offices can allow those in authority to determine the outcome of even the most honored process in a democracy—a free election.

What Is Government?

Government is a political association that does two things:

1. It makes rules determining who will get society’s values.
2. It alone regulates the use of legitimate force in society.

The first part of the definition deals with how society distributes the values it has available—wealth, respect, safety, resources, money, and so on. The second part deals with how these decisions are enforced. Government, then, has the final word over who gets what and the ultimate say over how it will be done.

Government does not always *directly* determine who will get the valued things in a society. The United States is a capitalist system, based on the private ownership of the economy. This means that the government doesn’t directly decide on what jobs people will do, what products they will make, or who will get the income from the sale of the products. In theory, the U.S. government only protects the private distribution of society’s values, with minimal interference. At the same time, the government places higher taxes on those with higher incomes, and gives welfare to people who are getting the least of society’s wealth. Both taxes and welfare illustrate the government’s authority limiting the private distribution of the value of wealth.

This is not to say that somehow the economy is outside the reach of America’s government. During the recent economic meltdown, the Obama administration rescued the nation’s largest banks and automobile companies by buying their stock. But even in more normal times the so-called “free” market depends on a framework of public regulations. The American economy is joined at the hip with a complex network of government agencies that make sure that we find comfort in

our hotels, meat in our Big Macs and safety in our savings accounts. The trust behind countless economic exchanges in society rests on legal rules and political expectations. When these break down, as many suspected happened during the lax government regulations that led to the recession of 2008–2009, people’s confidence in banks and businesses declines as well. Those who proclaim that the strength of the economy lies in maintaining mythical barriers to political “interference” are talking ideology, not analysis. The successful American economy rests not in the detachment of the market from government but in their numerous effective links.

Making and Supporting Decisions

The government may also intervene directly in disputes among its citizens. Folks in a town near a river may not be able to swim there because a paper mill pollutes it. The town residents or the owners of the mill may ask the government to settle the dispute. The appropriate part of the government may respond by passing a law, or by a ruling of an administrative agency such as the Environmental Protection Agency, or by a court decision on whether the town or the paper mill will get the use of the river (“the value”).

How the government supports its decision brings us to the second aspect of government—its exclusive regulation of legitimate force. In enforcing its decisions, the government may employ, allow, or prevent the use of force. Either the paper mill or the town’s swimmers may be ordered not to use the river and may be fined or arrested if they do so. Only the government is allowed to regulate what kind of force is used, and how.

The government is not the only one in society that can legitimately use force. Parents may discipline their children to keep them from swimming, or the paper mill may employ guards to keep people off their property. But only the government can set limits on this force. Most governments permit parents to spank their kids yet forbid physical abuse of children. The paper mill’s guards may be forbidden to use guns to keep swimmers out. Government does not *monopolize* the use of legitimate force, but it alone *regulates* its use.

The Study of Politics

What is the study of politics? One thing to notice about political science is that it’s a lot like other *social sciences* such as history, economics, sociology, and psychology. Each studies aspects of the relations among people. In any large group of people, many social interactions

are going on. Each of these disciplines may look at the same group and ask different questions about the relationships that are occurring. This division of labor is partly traditional and partly a way of separating complicated human relations into more easily understood parts. Political science fits in by studying one type of interaction between people—that involving power and authority. The following example will make the approaches of the other disciplines clearer and distinguish them from political science.

Political Science and Microsoft

What questions would an economist, a psychologist, and a historian ask about the operations of a “society” like the giant computer software company Microsoft? An *economist* might ask questions about the production and distribution of the various Microsoft operating systems and other programs. In designing its Microsoft Network, how did the company attract subscribers and content providers? How were buyers of the Windows program discouraged from using rival Web browsers? A *psychologist* might concentrate on the motives and goals of Bill Gates, the founder of Microsoft and the richest man in America. What is the psychological makeup of this successful entrepreneur? How does he deal with subordinates and competitors? A *historian* might look at the origins and development of Microsoft. What factors within the industry explain why in a few years its operating systems ran more than four-fifths of the world’s computers? Why did it become a multibillion dollar corporation while competitors fell by the wayside?

These different fields of study overlap. Members of one discipline often are interested in the findings of another. Economists may find answers to their questions about how focused and innovative the company is in a psychological study of Bill Gates. The historian might ask the economist about Microsoft’s mergers with potential competitors to determine the logic behind its expansion. Certainly the economist and the psychologist would want to know about the history of the corporation before studying their particular parts of it.

A political scientist, although interested in the other disciplines’ findings, would most likely focus on the central question: *Who is getting what, when, and how?* How do Bill Gates successors control and manage Microsoft; how do these executives reach decisions and implement them? How did Microsoft gain preeminence in its industry, and how do its leaders keep the company, and themselves, on top? How does the government influence their decisions through regulations, taxes, and occasional legal actions? Political science focuses on the

study of power and authority—on the powerful, the ways in which they exercise their authority, and the consequences for the rest of us.

As Lasswell wrote, “The study of politics is the study of influence and the influential.” That is the core of what a political scientist would want to find out about Microsoft.

Why Give a Damn About Politics?

After looking at what politics is and what government and political scientists do, you could still be asking one basic question: Who cares? Some students conclude: “Politics is just ego. I don’t want to get involved in it.” Why *should* any of us give a damn about politics?

The problem is that we are already involved. Apathy is as much a political position as is activism. Either position will influence who gets what in our society. Safe streets, good schools, and clean food are political decisions influenced by who participates in making them, who is prevented from participating, and who chooses not to participate.

Our lives are webs of politics. Think of what you have done today and how politics has influenced you. What you had (or didn’t have) for breakfast was probably influenced by the price and availability of the food. The quality of the food you ate was regulated by a government agency that made sure those Grade A eggs were Grade A and that the milk was indeed pasteurized. The cost of those milk and eggs was affected by the decisions of government to aid farmers, as well as the ability of agricultural groups to influence the government by lobbying and campaign contributions. The news you heard on the radio about what the government was doing for the economy was conditioned by what officials felt they should tell the public, what reporters could dig out of unofficial sources, and what media editors felt was newsworthy. The college you attend, the tuition you pay, and the student loans you may or may not receive are all the results of someone’s choices in the political game. (See “Who Needs Government?”)

Sometimes the influence of politics is subtle. Many of the ways we expect to be treated in our daily lives reflect recent changes in the laws. Identity politics, “Who Is What” as well as “Who Gets What,” have risen in public attention as groups have made demands based on their shared identities. These would include the rights of women and homosexuals not to be harassed, or that elderly workers can’t be fired because of their age, or the right of nonsmokers to learn in a smoke-free class. These evolving rights can be supported by joining demonstrations, wearing buttons, and going to court. We are rights-bearing citizens often without thinking that these too are the result of political choices.

Of course few of us participate in the government decisions that affect us. Let's take a personal example. Studies of American government have often pointed out that federal regulatory commissions have not effectively regulated the businesses they oversee. These commissions have tended to be closely tied to the powerful economic interests they supervise. This lesson was brought home when I was in graduate school.

Some years ago the cargo door blew off an American Airlines DC-10 flying over Windsor, Canada, causing violent decompression. The pilot managed to land the empty jumbo jet safely. The government's independent National Transportation Safety Board investigated the near disaster. Their recommendations went to the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), the government regulatory commission in charge of airline safety. The Safety Board recommended that the FAA order that all cargo doors have modified locking devices and that McDonnell Douglas, the plane's builder, be required to strengthen the cabin floor.

The FAA, headed by a political appointee, was operating under a policy of "gentlemen's agreements" with the industries it was regulating. After discussions with the plane's manufacturers (who were large contributors to President Nixon's reelection campaign), they allowed McDonnell Douglas to modify the door on its own instead of under FAA supervision and simply to issue advisory service bulletins for the 130 DC-10s already in operation. McDonnell Douglas was allowed to reject as "impractical" the idea of strengthening the floor.

Somehow the changes were not made on the door of a DC-10 flown by Turkish Airlines. The plane, flying from Paris to London in March 1974, crashed, killing all 346 people aboard. At the time it was the world's worst air disaster. The cargo door had blown off. This loss produced explosive decompression, collapse of the cabin floor, and loss of control. Passengers still strapped in their seats were sucked from the plane. A subcommittee of the House of Representatives, in a report on the crash, attacked the FAA for its "indifference to public safety" and for attempting to "balance dollars against lives."

A teacher and friend of mine, Professor Wayne Wilcox of Columbia University, was on the plane. With him were his wife and two children.

We have no choice over *whether* to be involved in the political game. But we can choose *how* to be involved. We can choose whether to be a *subject* in the political game or an *object* of that game. The question is not whether politics affects us—it does and will. The question is whether we will influence politics. The first step in this decision is choosing how aware we wish to be of the game. This text may, with luck, start that awareness.

Who Needs Government?

Former Senator Ernest Hollings of South Carolina tells this story:

A veteran returning from Korea went to college on the GI Bill; bought his house with an FHA loan; saw his kids born in a VA hospital; started a business with an SBA loan; got electricity from TVA; and then, water from a project funded by the EPA. His kids participated in the school lunch program and made it through college courtesy of government-guaranteed student loans. His parents retired to a farm on their social security, getting electricity from the REA and the soil tested by the USDA. When the father became ill, his life was saved with a drug developed through NIH; the family was saved from financial ruin by Medicare. Our veteran drove to work on the interstate; moored his boat in a channel dredged by Army engineers; and, when floods hit, took Amtrak to Washington to apply for disaster relief. He also spent some of his time there enjoying the exhibits in the Smithsonian museums.

Then one day he wrote his congressman an angry letter complaining about paying taxes for all those programs created for ungrateful people. In effect, he said, the government should get off his back.

Source: Jonathan Yates, "Reality on Capitol Hill," Newsweek, November 28, 1988, p. 12.

What Is This Book About?

In a way this is a scorecard covering the major players in the game of national politics. This first chapter introduces some of the terms and substance of politics—the means (power and authority) and goals (values) of the game. Chapters 2 and 6 cover the formal constitutional rules and the civil liberties and rights under which the competition proceeds. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 deal with the governmental players—the president and bureaucracy, Congress, and the Supreme Court—their history and organization, their strengths and weaknesses. Chapters 7 and 8 are about four important nongovernmental players—voters, political parties, interest groups, and media. Though they are not official parts of the government, they have great influence over the outcome of political conflicts. Finally, the last chapter goes into two different theories of who wins and loses, who plays and doesn't play the game.

Let's be clear about this "game"; it is not "Monday Night Football." It is important, complex, changing, and serious enough to involve questions of life and death. Actually, many games are going on at the same time with overlapping players and objectives. They are games in which the participants often disagree, even on the goals. The goals (unlike the touchdown in football) vary with the objectives of the

players. A business may seek higher profits from its involvement in a political issue, a consumer group may want a lower-priced product, and a labor union may demand higher wages for its workers. They may compete over the same issue for different reasons. They all seek to use power to obtain the values they consider important. We can analyze objectively how they play the game, but which side we root for depends on our own interests and ideals.

Another problem is that the players we've grouped together may not see themselves as being on the same team. Each participant, whether the bureaucracy, Congress, or the media, is hardly one player seeking a single goal. They are not only players but also *arenas* in which competition goes on. We may read of Congress opposing the president on an issue, but a closer look will find the president's congressional supporters and opponents fighting it out in the committees of Congress. Some of the media may oppose a certain interest group, while allowing or limiting the use of television news and radio talk shows as arenas for the group's views.

Finally, in a brief introductory text all the political players are not discussed. State and local governments are certainly important in national politics. Ethnic groups and foreign governments may have a role in the outcome of the competition. Someone even more basic may be missing. As one student asked, "Where are the people?" "Whatever happened to the American people in this game?"

Alas, politics today is a spectator sport. The audience is mostly on the sidelines. To be sure, people do influence the players. The president and Congress are selected by election, interest groups depend on their members' support, and media need to please an audience. But the making of foreign policies, the negotiations over legislation, and the discussions of what news the media should cover all get done behind closed doors. Though it is played for the crowd—who certainly pay for the game—the competition itself generally doesn't include them. Whether it will depends on the players, the rules of the game, and the people watching.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

1. In the opening dialogue of this chapter, we discovered politics in an unlikely place—a classroom. Describe some other unlikely situations where politics takes place.
2. How do authorities gain legitimacy? How do they lose it? Do recent elections provide examples of both?
3. People sometimes justify their apathy by the way politicians behave. Do you think this attitude is justified?

4. When you go shopping, do you notice the role of the government in your choice of what to buy? Do you see it on labels or availability of goods or certain standards that you assume are met?
5. Have any decisions in your life been affected by government action? Did you have anything to say about those actions? If you didn't, do you know who did?

SUGGESTED READINGS

- Crick, Bernard. *Democracy: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pb.
An intelligent discussion of the definitions, conditions, and development of modern democracy.
- Golding, William G. *Lord of the Flies*. New York: Capricorn Books, 1959. Pb.
A pessimistic novel (even before the TV series *Survivor*) on what happens to British children on a deserted island without adults or government.
- Kay, John. *Culture and Prosperity: The Truth about Markets*. New York: HarperBusiness, 2004.
An economist's readable account of how markets and governments make some nations rich and some poor.
- Orwell, George. *Animal Farm*. New York: Alfred E. Knopf, 1993.
The classic political fable of the communist barnyard where all the animals are equal but some are more equal than others.
- Warren, Robert Penn. *All the King's Men*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1946.
A terrific novel about a terrifically manipulative politician modeled on Louisiana's Governor, Huey Long.
- Wasserman, Gary. *Politics in Action: Cases in Modern American Government*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006. Pb.
Thirteen brief stories of how presidents and lobbyists, editors and judges, students and bureaucrats play the game of modern politics.