



"DUN MARE"

"I DREAM OF A CITY WITH A PROGRAM
LIKE THAT WHICH DR. KING DREAMED OF"

VINCENT
LAWRENCE

BOOKS:

The Votes Beneath the Ridicule

a review by Anthony T. Podesta

Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago by Mike Royko. E.P. Dutton. \$5.95.
Daley of Chicago by Bill Gleason. Simon & Schuster. \$7.50.

Each March 17 he dyes his river green. His favorite book, "the greatest book ever written," is *Robert's Rules of Order*. On the Vietnam war, he once commented, "I don't see any more serious division in our country than we had in the Civil War and at other times." Every morning he attends mass downtown at St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church. On Sundays he goes to the Church of the Nativity of Our Lord. His limousine bears the unusually lengthy license number 708-222, while his wife's modest car has ED 3536 license plates.

He received 708,222 votes when he won the mayor's chair in 1955. He and his wife Eleanor have always lived in a modest pink bungalow at 3536 South Lowe Avenue, near the stockyards and the Chicago Amphitheater, site of the 1968 Democratic convention. She is known to her neighbors in their working-class neighborhood as "Sis." He is a simple man, a family man, an Irishman, a Catholic, and a political being.

A nominating speech for his reelection last year as Chairman of his Organization began with "R, you're rare; I,

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you're important; C, you're courageous; H, you're heavenly; A, you're able; R, you're renowned; D, you're Democratic; J is for your being a joy to know; D, you're diligent; A, you're adorable; L, you're loyal; E, you're energetic; and Y, you're youthful."

On April 6 he was reelected to a fifth four-year term. He is Richard Joseph Daley of Chicago, and he is "duh mare."

Race has been the key issue in Chicago for many years, and is the focus in the only two books yet published on the Daley years in Chicago. *Daley of Chicago*, by Bill Gleason, and *Boss*, by Mike Royko, are two extremely similar accounts of the city and its politics by two experienced journalists. Gleason is a sportswriter for the *Chicago Sun-Times*, while Royko writes a feature column for the *Chicago Daily News*.

Both authors concentrate on 1968 as the height of national interest in Chicago. Both writers intersperse flashbacks and flashforwards within the chronology of that year. Both men interview the same people and use similar quotations from them. Both make Daley a fascinating character to read about—humorously common, shrewd, pious, vulgar, full of

backroom intrigues, politically unforgiving in outrageous and yet somehow ridiculous ways. But both authors really fail to explain Daley the politician, choosing rather to excoriate him playfully in familiar, salesworthy, superficial modes of attack. They attribute the Mayor's power essentially to his capacity for ruthless, unprincipled organization—much as commentators on the right analyze the appeal of communism in Vietnam—and thus duck the tough question of how he maintains support from so many voters. The authors stick to poking at and scorching Daley the character, the Irish godfather. They do not assess his kind of politics, which is full of ethnic head-counting, family problems, favors, chicken dinners, funerals, job-hunting, religious ceremonies, and struggles to keep people in line. But this kind of politics is the essence of Daley, and it is crucial to know how important it is and how it works—especially when most liberal critics would prefer to abandon this grimy, boring stuff for a loftier brand of politics focusing on the problem areas of high policy. Daley has no abstract analysis of any major issue nor any unswerving concern for ideology; but he has most of the Jews, Poles, Italians, blacks, Irish, and even Swedes—and that has been enough. Although these two books fail to explain why, they are good personality profiles once this limitation is accepted.

No Humanity and the Rancid Author

Both books begin with the Mayor touring the city. Royko portrays him driving to the office in the mayoral limousine, while Gleason depicts him walking across the South Side from the black to the white ghetto. One can learn more of a city from walking through its streets than from riding along its expressways. Gleason's *Daley of Chicago* is clearly the more comprehensive of the two efforts.

Royko is the more talented writer, but he tends to gloss over critical

topics with a well-written quip or a spritely vignette. In the last campaign, labor hosted a dinner for Daley attended by more than 10,000 trade unionists. It was "the largest indoor dinner in the history of the world for the greatest mayor in the history of the world." "Labor provides Daley with his strongest personal support and contributes great sums to his campaigns," observes Royko. Yet he devotes three paragraphs to labor in between his four paragraphs on the Mafia and his page on the Organization's fund-raising.

Gleason's style is often heavy and tiresome. He is also given to pulpy melodrama, as in his description of a scandal in the office of Daley's 1963 opponent, Benjamin Adamowski: "When the cobwebs had cleared, the pugilistic Pole started swinging with both hands." The police riot in front of the Hilton Hotel during the Democratic convention is "pictures of young girls being seized by arms and legs, their panties exposed to shock those who are sickened by sexuality but thrilled by violence. Pictures of young girls, reduced to human projectiles, striking at the sides of police vehicles instead of flying through the doors that were the targets of the police."

Royko introduces his chapters with excerpts of the Chicago Conspiracy trial testimony, certain to be well received in Manhattan. Gleason uses excerpts from the Roman Catholic masses which are celebrated on the days in 1968 he discusses. This technique, as contrasted to Royko's efforts to condemn him, exhibits Gleason's attempts to understand Richard Daley. Gleason is sympathetic, but willing to make harsh judgments when they are warranted. He is insightful on Daley's Irishness, Catholicity, and middle-class background. Royko was asked after *Boss* was published why his style of writing contained such bitterness. "Bitter? I am not bitter," he explained. "Rancid is the word."

Royko and Gleason concentrate so much attention on an abbreviated

exposition of Chicago politics that the portrait of Daley tends to be one-dimensional, though Royko is more guilty on this score. Both men fail as well to provide any significant analytical discussion of Chicago politics or the Democratic Organization. Gleason is more comprehensive in his anecdotes, while Royko's anecdotes tend to be more exciting and outrageous. Thus both volumes benefit from the strengths, but suffer from the superficialities of daily journalism.

Despite these differences, the central conclusion of both books is identical. Gleason provides a "summation of all the indictments of the Daley years: Maximum efficiency but very little humanity." Royko argues that the Daley years began with "values that would never change: things, concrete, glass, steel, downtown, business profit. Then if there's anything left, maybe something for the human being."

Winning the Black Vote

These criticisms have often been leveled at Daley. He often exclaims, "It is easy to criticize, to find fault, but where are your programs?" He can point to the 14 black aldermen and the four black city department heads. This year a black was elected city treasurer, the first city-wide office held by a black person. He is proud of welfare and public housing and model cities and rat control and the poverty program. He knows he is not John Lindsay or Kevin White or Peter Flaherty, but what are their programs, he would ask.

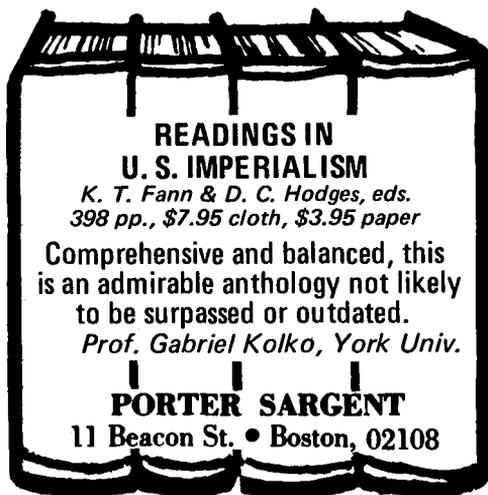
Still the infant mortality rate in poverty areas of Chicago is equal to that of Ceylon. The black mortality rate is higher than any other major city. Some public high schools have two dropouts for every graduate. The sons and daughters of politicians, even black politicians, usually attend Roman Catholic schools.

Yet Daley has not done appreciably worse than other big city mayors. Chicago public housing was

not built on the garden apartment model, but at least it has been constructed. The police force in Chicago is now 17 per cent black compared to the seven per cent of New York police who are black. The transportation system planned by Daley has an undue emphasis on highways, but the mass transportation component still provides people with greatly improved access, albeit expensive, to jobs away from the ghetto. The Organization has provided jobs for tens of thousands of black people in public and private employment. Forty per cent of the civilian employees of the Police Department are black.

Perhaps more important than any of these data, the black voters of Chicago continue to support Daley even as they may elect anti-Daley aldermen to represent them in the City Council. Undeniably, some of these votes are stolen, while other voters are intimidated, but the majority of blacks in Chicago support Daley. The Mayor actually lost the white vote in the 1963 mayoral election. Blacks are unquestionably the key vote-producing element in the Daley coalition.

Though Daley's percentage of the black vote dropped from nearly 80 per cent in 1967 to less than 70 per cent in 1971, many black leaders, especially clergymen, continue to support him. One black minister introduced him to his congregation last



month with, "Civil rights in Chicago is a man named Mayor Daley." Another requested "divine guidance in giving this man the greatest vote plurality he has ever received."

Daley has often been able to frustrate and co-opt insurgent black political leaders. One was elected alderman in the late Congressman William Dawson's ward in 1969, after losing to Dawson in a congressional primary the year before. He remained quiet in his first two years on the Council and this year was the Organization candidate. Another black political leader beat the Organization for a Council seat and then beat one of Daley's black assistants for a state senate seat. He now drives a white Rolls Royce, and his major legislative contribution in his first term was to increase from one to two the number of free license plates each state legislator receives. Both men are now 100 per cent for the Mayor's programs.

The city named a street for Martin Luther King after he was assassinated. Gleason quotes Daley at the dedication in what is almost a parody, but probably sincere, of King's "I Have a Dream" speech. Daley tells the crowd, "I dream of a city with a program like that which Dr. King dreamed of."

The Machine as Mother

Blacks are a potent part of the Organization, but other groups assume critical roles as well. Labor provides manpower and money in return for political influence, business opportunity, and public recognition. The State Street and LaSalle Street businessmen and bankers contribute cash and bipartisanship and are granted perquisites like public works improvements and commissions on the sale of municipal bonds.

The newspapers endorse the Mayor, and he supports their editorial programs and provides assistance for their advertisers. The reactionary *Chicago Tribune* sponsored the proposal to build a mammoth convention center on the lakefront. Daley built it,

and it was named McCormick Place after the late publisher of the *Tribune*. It is also known as Tagge's Temple after George Tagge, the political editor of the *Tribune* and the chief lobbyist for McCormick Place. The only other Democrat the *Tribune* has endorsed in recent years is P. J. Cullerton, the county assessor, the man who determines the real estate taxes for the Tribune Tower.

It is disappointing to find no systematic discussion of the economics of the Organization. Only Royko provides even sketchy material on this critical topic. He reveals Daley's moral code: "Thou shalt not steal, but thou shalt not blow the whistle on anybody who does." The Organization is dependent upon various forms of graft in order to maintain itself.

Royko estimates that \$300,000 is spent on election day in a city election. This is grossly understated. Nearly one million dollars was spent on election day this year to award the Mayor his fifth term. Royko also states that hundreds of thousands are spent on billboards for county assessor campaigns. Much of this prime space is donated by corporations who own billboards and are concerned about their tax assessments.

No piece on the Democratic army in Chicago is complete without a discussion of its foot soldiers. The Mayor and the Organization do not make the mistake that characterized the Lindsay first term of placing experts in government positions, elective or appointive. A civil servant produces on election day or "he has to go," explains Alderman Vito Marzullo. "If a company has a man who can't deliver, who can't sell the product, wouldn't it put somebody else in who can?" The Organization controls 25,000 to 35,000 public jobs and twice as many in private business and industry.

Both Royko and Gleason, as they concentrate on their protagonist, tend to understate the clout of other political leaders in the city. Royko supports the view that "It's one-man rule,

absolutely.” Gleason explains that “almost nothing had been done in Chicago that he had not wanted done.” Gleason alludes to the city motto, “The Mayor has taken literally the ‘I’ in ‘I will.’” Yet when the Mayor wanted to drop his running mate for city clerk from the ticket this year, he lost the political struggle that ensued and was forced to run with the man he wanted to dump. Daley does not control everything and everyone, but within the party he almost always finds himself on the winning side.

Heavy Hand Close to the People

Daley is perhaps the most powerful Democratic political leader in the nation. He will control the 170-member Illinois delegation to the 1972 Democratic convention, and the 26 electoral votes of Illinois may well determine the political future of Richard Nixon.

The Mayor has presided over the strongest political machine in the country, while other machines have collapsed as they suffered through reform. It is true that if someone less skilled than Daley had been elected in 1955, the Organization might have withered away. He has, however, been a strong but thoroughly adaptable political leader who has brought it through a critical transition period. He has made the Organization legitimate, although the practitioners and practices remain ever so slightly on the safe side of what is politically and legally permissible. It is now perfectly respectable for Republican businessmen to become part of the Organization.

The question that remains is whether Daley or anyone else could have done any better. Daley did not create Chicago; he is a reflection of it. The analogue to the two million Jews who live in New York is the 600,000 Chicago Poles, a group with very different social views and voting patterns. Neither did Daley create the Organization. He inherited it, he

modernized it and mastered it. He mirrors the social and political views of its officers and enlisted men, and they in turn are reflective of the voters they represent. Above all else, everyone values stability.

The blacks who revolted after the assassination of Dr. King as well as the “hippies, yippies, and flippies” who came to the Democratic convention challenged that stability and Daley’s authority to run his city. These challenges led to Daley’s infamous “shoot to kill” order as well as the debacles in Lincoln Park and on Balbo Drive.

Making these policy choices was probably not difficult for Daley. He was reflecting the voters in his conservative and xenophobic city. The Mayor emerged from the rubble of the convention as the most popular national political leader in Illinois.

Today’s liberals are prone to lament the lack of responsiveness in political institutions. They criticize any governmental body that is not concerned with the mundane day-to-day needs of its constituents. The community action component of OEO was designed to combat the remoteness of local government. Model cities was created to integrate, on a community-wide basis, the various, often fragmented public programs.

This “process” part of the liberal agenda for local government is precisely what Daley can claim as an accomplishment. White in Boston and Lindsay in New York initiated “little city halls” to bring their civil servants closer to the people. Chicago has had a similar “program” for years in the form of the offices of the 50 Democratic ward committeemen. Further, there are 3,412 littler city halls located in the homes and offices of every precinct captain.

Daley’s performance on the programmatic part of the liberal agenda is far less exemplary. It is true that he, the mediator, kept the city running and free of crippling strikes—no mean accomplishment. Most city services are delivered in Chicago at least as

well as in other cities. Chicago has better street lighting in all of its alleys than many cities have on their major thoroughfares. But Daley's record on critical issues like race and peace is lacking. He followed his President and he follows his voters, without making much of an attempt to sort out the complications of modern politics in order to offer a leadership of hope and understanding. He is the old, infinitely pliable politician, and more independent principles seldom shine through. Although it is unlikely that municipal government will ever solve racism or poverty, Daley obviously could have moved in these areas more vigorously, leaving aside the deficiencies of his style. Dr. King observed in 1966 that he had never seen in Alabama such hatred as he encountered in Chicago. Chicago would be a healthier city had Daley won only 60 per cent of the vote—if that loss of support meant real gains for poor and black people.

There is also at least a tinge of authoritarianism in the Daley Organization. The demonstrators in 1968 felt its harsh methods, and many Chicagoans are helplessly excluded and hurt in less dramatic ways for not going along. Homeowners and storekeepers who insist on displaying signs for non-Organization candidates are sometimes beset with frequent visits from the city fire and building inspectors. Political dissenters with college degrees can move on (perhaps to write book reviews in Washington), but others must painfully learn to live with the Organization and play by its rules.

The Selling of a Book Mayor

Daley's moral leadership failures and his widely publicized methods of political control seem obvious enough to most people who will read the Gleason and Royko books, and yet these faults seem highly abstract to most of his supporters in Chicago. Totalitarianism, for example, often looks from within like a mixture of

glorious unity and extraordinary leadership; and this tends to be true in Daley's city. Chicago works: it is not bankrupt, the garbage is collected, and public employees report to work except on election day.

Alternatives to the Mayor have been tested. The 1971 election pitted against him a candidate who promised an immediate attack on poverty and racism. A liberal Democrat running as a Republican, Richard Friedman labored to build a coalition of Republicans, liberal Democrats, Jews, and blacks. He campaigned forthrightly and was endorsed by such disparate personalities as millionaire insurance man W. Clement Stone, the 1968 Illinois Nixon chairman and author of *Success Through PMA — A Positive Mental Attitude*, and Jesse Jackson, the national chairman of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Operation Breadbasket. Daley beat Friedman soundly, carrying 48 of the 50 wards, including every black, Jewish, and Republican ward.

Both authors anticipated these election returns. Royko's book is on the bestseller lists, while Gleason's remains obscure. Differences in writing ability account for some of these sales. But more important, sociologically, is that those who are able to and do buy hardcover books enjoy finding Daley both laughable and contemptible—and Royko excels at serving this menu.

Many of these same people hope to defeat Richard Nixon in 1972 and count on substantial majorities from white, working-class Democrats. They would be well advised to spend less time ridiculing Richard Daley and more time trying to comprehend the man and the voters who sustain him. Issue-oriented campaigns don't have to lose, but they almost always do unless the issues are personalized—unless they are made real at the level of Daley's everyday politics, where a lot of voters reside.

We still await a truly good book on either Daley or the Democratic Party of Chicago. ■

POLITICAL BOOK NOTES

This section lists public affairs books scheduled for publication this month. Publishers who want descriptions of their books included should notify us two months in advance and provide a brief (50 words or less) objective summary of the contents.

America, Inc.: Who Really Owns and Operates the United States. Morton Mintz and Jerry S. Cohen. Dial, \$10.

The authors contend that corporations are private governments which, as effectively as public governments, control our health, our safety, our environment, and our pocket-books.

American Deserters in Sweden: The Men and Their Challenge. Thomas Lee Hayes. Association Press, \$4.95.

America's Black Congressmen. Maurine Christopher. Crowell, \$8.95.

Covers the careers and contributions of the 34 blacks who have served in the U.S. Congress through 1970—from Mississippi's Hiram Revels who broke the Senate's color line in 1870 to Brooklyn's Shirley Chisholm.

Being and Doing. Marcus G. Raskin. Random House, \$10.

The Case for Participatory Democracy: Some Prospects for the Radical Society. Edited by C. George Benello and Dimitri Roussopoulos. Grossman, \$10.

Contributors Sidney Lens, Staughton Lynd, George Woodcock, Greg Calvert, and Martin Oppenheimer probe the historical roots of participatory democracy in Western culture and analyze its application to the problems of modern mass society.

Changing Sources of Power: American Politics in the 1970s. Frederick G. Dutton. McGraw-Hill, \$7.95.

The Consent of the Governed and Other Deceits. Arthur Krock. Little, Brown, \$8.95.

Coping with Multicrisis: Sea Power and Global Politics in the Missile Age. Jonathan Howe. MIT Press, \$12.50.

A chronicled analysis of two crises—the Middle East in 1967, Quemoy in 1958—furnishes a framework for the study of U.S., Soviet, and British policy-making processes in multicrisis situations. Discusses the cold war concept of collective security and of U.S. national security policy in a new decade.

The Dark Night of Resistance. Daniel Berrigan. Doubleday, \$4.95.

Dateline: Latin America. Nathan A. Haverstock and Richard C. Schroeder. The Latin American Service, \$3.

Diplomatic Immunity. Bernardo Teixeira. Luce, \$4.95.

Dollar Harvest: The Story of the Farm Bureau. Samuel R. Berger. Lexington Books, \$7.95.

The Gang and the Establishment. Richard W. Poston. Harper & Row, \$7.95.

Getting Justice: The Rights of People. Stephen Gillers. Basic Books, \$6.95.

The Healing of a Nation. David Loye. W.W. Norton, \$8.95.

Justice Denied: The Case for Reform of the Courts. Leonard Downie, Jr. Praeger, \$6.95.

The Letters of Louis D. Brandeis, Vol. I (1870-1907): Urban Reformer. Edited by Melvin I. Urofsky and David W. Levy. State Univ. of New York Press, \$20.

The initial volume of a planned series of five contains over 700 letters selected from thousands of Brandeis letters. Historical and biographical references added.

The New Politics: Mood or Movement. Edited by James A. Burkhardt and Frank J. Ken-

