

Sphex paper by Robert Chambliss Light, Jr, January 5, 2012

Introduction: Cham Light is a Regional Assistant General Counsel with Nationwide Insurance where he has been employed in a number of legal and management positions for over 26 years. Cham has served on the boards of many organizations including being a founding director of the Board of Directors of the Free Clinic of Central Virginia, on the Executive Committee of the Board of the Library of Virginia and as President of the Board of the Lynchburg Historical Foundation and as President of the Board of the Old City Cemetery. He is currently Vice Chair of the Lynchburg Electoral Board and on the Board of Trustees of the Jones Memorial Library. He is married to Edie Light and they have two children, Tray and Paige.

The Lion and the Fox:

Thank you Mr. <sup>Vice</sup> President for the introduction. I hope this the first paper of 2012 will be deemed to be a good beginning of what I know will be a great series of papers for the year.

Professional speech writers advise that when presenting a speech that the speaker should start-off with a funny anecdote or some sort of attention grabber to get the audience's interest.

I thought about a number of one liners or short jokes to tell but after some thought I decided to share with you what to me is a funny anecdote that hopefully will help illuminate the topic of my presentation which is The Lion and the Fox.

I don't know how many of you may know Frank Atkinson. Frank is an attorney with McGuire, Woods, the large law firm headquartered in Richmond, VA. Before joining McGuire Woods Frank was a Republican political operative and served as Chief of Staff for Ed Meese when Meese was U.S Attorney General. In 1992 Frank had a book published he had worked on for a number of years entitled The Dynamic Dominion: Realignment and the Rise of Virginia's Republican Party Since 1945. The book was introduced to the public with a large formal / black tie party at the Jefferson Hotel in Richmond. It was a non partisan evening with then U.S Senators John Warner and Chuck Robb serving as co-chairs of the evening's event and Professor Larry Sabato serving as Master of Ceremonies. Since my wife Edie and I are friends of Frank Atkinson we decided to attend the event. It was a great evening with a large number of speakers praising Frank's scholarship, libations flowing very freely and a number of political figures trading political war stories. Well into the evening I needed to go to the mens bathroom to answer the call of nature. I walked into the very crowded and very noisy men's room and found an empty urinal. As I looked to my right I realized I was standing next to Senator Warner. I also looked to my left and I realized I was standing next to Lawrence Lewis. You may or may not know that Lawrence Lewis was a prominent private investor who lived in Richmond. He had been involved in Republican politics for many years and had been a very generous donor to Senator Warner over those years. As

Lawrence Lewis stepped back from the urinal he boomed out in a strong voice “Hey, Warner I bet mine is bigger than yours”. Instantly the crowded and noisy mens bathroom went totally silent. All eyes were fixed on Senator Warner. Every man in that crowded bathroom had the same thought, what was John Warner, the dignified and then senior U.S Senator from Virginia going to say ?, Senator Warner stepped back from the urinal, waited just long enough to make sure he had the full attention of everyone, and in a loud and clear voice said “Lewis, we have a saying in the U.S. Senate, it is not the size of the dog in the fight that counts but rather the size of the fight of the dog that counts.” There was a very slight pause for dramatic effect and then Warner pulled-up his zipper and added with a slight smile, “ Besides, Elizabeth always said I was the best ! ”. The entire mens room burst into loud laughter, Lawrence Lewis knew he had just been bested and he and John Warner walked out of the mens room together slapping one another on each others back.

This is my first SpheX presentation. Thankfully I have had over two years of having the opportunity to hear many excellent papers presented as part of my preparation. I have been given a great deal of wise advice as to my paper including don't try to cover too many topics and try an area that you don't know much about, be intellectually adventure some with your paper. I had originally planned on speaking on what motivates individuals to seek power, how they acquire power and then what they do with the power once they do acquire it. I have decided not to speak on what motivates individuals to seek power because there are as many reasons to seek power as there are people who seek it and so it seemed to be too broad of a topic. I also decided that what people did with power once they acquired it was a topic that deserved it's own focus and therefore I have saved that topic for another paper. So tonight's paper will focus on some of the ways power is acquired.

I have studied the issue of power for many years, mainly by reading biographies and various history books but also by trying to be an observer of individuals and how they acquired and used power. I think this interest on the topic stems partly from my upbringing as the grandson and son of career military officers. During my father's career as a U.S Navy officer he commanded three different ships: a submarine and two destroyers. His service began as an Ensign in early 1944 on a submarine in the Pacific, included command of a destroyer during the Cuban Missile Blockade in 1961 and resulted in him receiving five battle stars during the course of his service. My father was an experienced and respected commanding officer and it was always fascinating to be on board the ships and see my father's commands result in immediate action. We would also have very interesting family conversations about how the Navy and military life functioned and these conversations inevitably involved power and how it was used. I think my interest in the subject of power was also influenced by having spent the first 14 years of my life growing-up in Norfolk VA and in the Washington DC suburbs. In Norfolk I observed power at any Naval ceremony or event. In the DC suburbs you were exposed to national politics and the political process everyday in the media so you would be very conscious of it. Your friends and neighbors would oftentimes be employed in government positions in which they exercised some degree of power and everyone was very conscious of who was where in the pecking order. One of my first personal

experiences with power in a very minor way was when I was seven years old and I persuaded my great-aunt to vote for John Kennedy for President in the 1960 election. She was very concerned about the power that the Pope might exercise over Kennedy if he were elected President. Between Kennedy's own statements that his first responsibility was to do what was best for the United States and that he would not be answering to the Pope and my own constant nagging of my great-aunt that she vote for him I was delighted when Kennedy won the election. I think it was at that time that I realized that one person, however minor, could make a difference or effect an outcome. So the topic this evening is not so much one that is intellectually adventuresome for me but it has helped me to bring together literally years of reading and study into a hopefully coherent presentation.

Nothing in this presentation this evening is meant to have any kind of subliminal or personal message to anyone, especially to those in the audience who may hold offices of public trust. The comments are simply my own historical observations and are meant to be simply of general interest with no hidden message of any sort.

We need to review very briefly what we are talking about when we refer to power.

Power can be defined in many ways. It also needs to be recognized that power is not necessarily leadership though the two can overlap and they oftentimes complement one another but sometimes they can be at odds with one another. Leadership can be either formal such as in the case of a formal position or informal such as someone who attracts followers outside the norms of a formal organization. A leader needs to have power and if he does not have power is he really a leader? Closely related to power and leadership is the activity or concept of influence. One can tremendous powers of influence but not have any real power and or perhaps even little or no leadership.

Power may be thought of as the activity of forcing people to do something they may not otherwise be inclined to do.

Leadership may be thought of as the activity of persuading people to cooperate in the achievement of a common objective.

Influence might be thought as of the ability of producing an effect without apparent force or direct exercise of command.

Power can also be very elusive and can wax and wane with various turns of events. I think of a well known political figure from this area who, after several unsuccessful attempts, when he was finally elected to the Virginia House of Delegates really had no power and very little credibility. However, over a number of years he matured, worked very hard, grew his influence and power and eventually he was elected Speaker of the House of Delegates. He was arguably the second most powerful individual in state government behind the Governor. Then in stunning fashion he quickly lost his power and much of his influence. Such is the nature of power, leadership and influence, they are precious commodities that are hard to gain and easily lost.

Acquiring power is not always an easily identifiable event. It is oftentimes more of a process that develops over time and it is not so easily observed. Therefore this paper this evening might not be as specific and as revealing as might be possible with a subject that is more straight forward or transparent.

But let's not get bogged down in definitions let's just remember that power, leadership and influence are all closely related but not necessarily the same activity or concept.

The focus of this evening is how power has been acquired or more precisely how the individuals under review secured the positions that gave them the power they exercised.

In my remarks this evening the line between acquiring power and exercising power is blurred at times. But the two are closely connected and it is hard to discuss one without discussing the other. So if at times the focus seems to drift please recognize this overlap. In my second paper I will give more specific examples of how power has been used.

There are so many historical figures that I could review this evening. It is fascinating to review how Cleopatra achieved dominance in her country and at the time as the richest person in the world how she used her wealth to advance her own and her country's interests. Another fascinating individual is Joanna of Anjou, how she became Queen of Naples and how she held on to her position for so many years. Or consider Catherine the Great of Russia and how she acquired her position as Empress of Russia and increased the power of that position. Another individual who is fascinating to study as an example of acquiring power is Cao Cao who lived from 155 to 220 in China and was enthroned as Emperor Wu after his death.

Many people exercise great power outside of the formal sphere of appointed or elected office. It is fascinating to see how Martin Luther King, Jr. came to acquire his power in the area of civil rights. It is also interesting to review the tremendous moral power yielded by Mohanda Gandhi and Mother Teresa. Clark Clifford and Edward Bennett Williams were two attorneys in Washington, D.C. who both for many years from the 1950s through the 1980s exercised if not direct power certainly great influence. There are almost unlimited examples of the ways and approaches over time that individuals also from business, the military and academia have used to attain power, exercise leadership and be influential.

The two individuals I will review are Huey Long, Governor of and later U.S. Senator from Louisiana and Robert Moses who served or rather I should say ruled in a variety of appointed offices in New York City and state.

The material that I have selected for this evening are drawn from what are considered some of the best researched and well written books that deal with power. These examples are also meant to share with you new facts and information about which you might not otherwise be familiar. That is one of the reasons I did not select individuals such as Julius


Caesar, Adolf Hitler or Franklin Roosevelt for my presentation, their biographies are very well known and considering the erudition level of the audience you would probably know more about them than I do or could present this evening.

One of the first serious studies about power was a paper started in 1513 and finished in 1514 and written by Niccolo Machiavelli from Florence, Italy. Machiavelli is considered by some to be the father of political science.


I apologize that I do not have a series of high tech slides to share with you but I do have an old fashioned paper handout to which I will be making reference. The first page is a painting of Machiavelli in his robes as Chancellor and the main square in Florence superimposed in the background. This is the most famous painting of Machiavelli and painted when he was at the height of his powers as Chancellor. I will leave it to your own opinion as to whether he appears benign, bemused, cynical or some other state of mind in the painting. The country that we now know as Italy was a collection of city states with Florence squeezed in from all sides by other states and with the major players being the Kingdom of Naples in the south, the Republic of Venice in the northeast, the Duchy of Milan in the northwest, the Papal States to the east and the Republic of Genoa to the west. If you will look at the second page of the handout you will see a map of Italy in the late 1500s showing the various city states and how divided the country was at the time. In addition to the turmoil caused between the city states themselves the constant involvement of France, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire only added to the confusion. The entire region was one of constant political and military chaos with alliances changing very quickly and deceit and lies being the normal course of conduct between them. Machiavelli himself described Italy as “leaderless, lawless, crushed, despoiled, torn and overrun”. These characteristics among the city-states were also found within the states themselves with political intrigue constantly going on and violence and assassination often being used to achieve one’s goals. Machiavelli, who lived from 1469 to 1527, was from a respectable but by no means distinguished family and lived on the south side of the city near the Ponte Vecchio. It seems from his writings that he received at least the rudiments of a Renaissance humanistic education. Machiavelli’s first appearance on the public stage was in 1498 when, after Florence had overthrown the Medici and declared itself a Republic in 1494, Machiavelli was selected Second Chancellor of the Republic. He then led a notable career in the diplomatic service of the Republic until 1512 when the Medici returned to power and Machiavelli was arrested in 1513 on suspicion of plotting against the Medici. In an attempt to gain the attention of and curry favor with the Medici, Machiavelli wrote the manuscript that eventually came to be titled The Prince. The work was based on the life and intrigue of Cesare Borgia (1475-1507) the illegitimate son of Pope Alexander VI (nee Rodrigo Borgia, 1431-1503) who was first a Cardinal and later after resigning his position from the church was the Duke of Valentinois though considering how Cesare Borgia’s career turned-out the book should have been more a study in short term success and long term failure and what not to do as a ruler as opposed to what a ruler should do. Divided into twenty six chapters it serves as guide book for gaining and using power. Machavelli asked his friend Franscesco Vettori, a Medici intimate, to share the manuscript with the powers that were within the Medici clan evidently in hopes of being restored to a position of prominence and importance.

Both Machiavelli and Vettori both had some ambivalence and reluctance to share the manuscript and it was probably never read by its intended target, Lorenzo de Medici. However, Machiavelli's ultimate purpose aside from his short term aim of securing employment for writing the book was to share with others his accrued wisdom with the actual ways in which political rule was conducted, to share as he termed it, "hidden knowledge".

I am not here to review Machiavelli's book in depth and it is more about using power than acquiring it but a brief review of some of the twenty six chapters of The Prince will give you a good idea about the book. For example, chapter one, how many kinds of principalities there are and by what means they are acquired, chapter six, concerning new principalities which are acquired by one's own arms and ability, chapter seven, concerning new principalities which are acquired by the arms of others or by good fortune, chapter fifteen, concerning things for which men, and especially princes, are praised or blamed and chapter seventeen, concerning cruelty and clemency and whether it is better to be loved than feared.

 The basic tenant of The Prince is that men are inherently evil and to acquire power one must be prepared to do evil acts and once power has been acquired continue to do evil things to remain in power. Of course we all know that The Prince has been widely criticized for promoting evil behavior in rulers as a virtue and the adjective Machiavellian is synonymous with such infamous characters such as Hitler and Stalin. The Oxford English Dictionary defines a "Machiavellian" as "an intriguer, an unscrupulous schemer".

One of the more well known quotes from The Prince was used by the historian and acknowledged expert on leadership professor James MacGregor Burns as the title for the first volume of his biography on Franklin Roosevelt when Burns quoted the following from Machiavelli:

 "A prince must imitate the lion and the fox, for the lion can not protect himself from traps and the fox cannot defend himself from wolves. One must therefore be a fox to recognize traps and a lion to frighten wolves. Those who wish to be only lions do not understand this. Therefore, a prudent ruler ought not to keep faith when by doing so it would be against his interest and when the reasons which made him bind himself no longer exist.. If men were all good this precept would not be a good one; but as they are bad and would therefore not observe their faith with you so you are not bound to keep faith with them".

Perhaps the most infamous quote from The Prince is found in chapter fifteen where Machiavelli states: "For a man who wants to make a profession of good in all regards must come to ruin among so many who are not good. Hence it is necessary to a prince, if he wants to maintain himself, to learn to be able to not to be good, and to use this and not use it according to necessity".

The most damning criticism of The Prince is that the book does not make any provisions for rewards or punishments after life for the actions of the prince. Contrast The Prince to

the letter / book written by St Thomas Aquinas to the King of Cyprus, entitled On Kingship, which Machiavelli may or may not have read, in 1267 which contained numerous rewards for a virtuous king and punishments for the actions of a tyrant. As a result of Machiavelli's lack of consequences for one's actions he has been labeled the first real atheist or at least a relativist.

It should be noted the manuscript was not published during Machiavelli's lifetime and did not appear in Italian until 1532 five years after his death, when it was published by Machiavelli's son. Machiavelli's collective works were banned by the Roman Catholic Church in 1559. The Prince first appeared in English in 1640 and as best as can be determined has been in print in at least one edition ever since, a record held by only a handful of works such as the Christian Bible.

Interestingly though Machiavelli never regained his former positions of governmental prominence and power he did write a number of other significant works including a history of Florence, another book entitled Discourses on the Ten Books of Livy, which championed the republican form of government, a hilarious satire entitled "Rules for an Elegant Social Circle" and a very popular comical play involving sexual intrigue called "The Mandrake" which is considered the foremost play of the Italian Renaissance and is still the one from that period the most performed today including an onstage performance by Tom Hanks.

As a personal observation after having read The Prince at least four times over the last thirty years and having read several biographies on Machiavelli I am not certain exactly what Machiavelli's real motivation was in the book. He was basically a proponent of the republican form of government and I question if his advice to rulers should be taken as literally as it appears to be written. As a matter of fact one of Machiavelli's direct descendants, Niccolo Capponi, in a recent biography of Machiavelli quoted Machiavelli in a letter to a friend as follows:

"For some time I have never been saying what I believe, nor do I ever believe what I say; and if it happens that I should utter the truth, I cover it with so many lies that it is difficult to find it". (page 239)

The same author also quotes an English Cardinal, Robert Pole, who went to Florence eleven years after Machiavelli's death to interview people who knew Machiavelli about his motivation in writing the book. His friends were quoted as stating that Machiavelli: "burned with hatred toward that prince for whom he wrote. Nor did he expect from that book anything other than, by writing for the tyrant the things that please a tyrant, to give him, if he could, a ruinous downfall by his own actions". (page 223) So based on information like this and Machiavelli's cynical nature in general I think there is a much more nuanced motivation and message to The Prince than a superficial reading of it would otherwise indicate.

In spite of the controversy surrounding Machiavelli he does have many admirers as is reflected in the inscription on Machiavelli's monument, erected 200 years after his death

by an English nobleman, in the Church of Santa Croce in Florence Italy which reads: "No eulogy is worthy of such a name".

As I have already indicated I want to review how two particular individuals acquired some of the power they exercised so creatively. I selected these two specific individuals partly because they are not such well known individuals, partly because both of them had very intense drives to acquire power and partly because they are interesting contrasts in background and style.

My first example is Huey Pierce Long, Jr. Most of the information I will be reviewing is from a biography I received in 1970 when I was a junior at Virginia Episcopal School for having attained the highest grade that year in the advanced placement course of American Studies. The biography is entitled simply Huey Long, is 884 pages long and was written by T. Harry Williams who was a history professor at Louisiana State University. The book was noteworthy for being based largely on oral history interviews with various individuals who shared in conversation a great deal of sensitive information they would never have been willing to commit to paper. The book received both the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award. It is one of my most cherished books in my personal library of approximately 4,000 books.

For those of you who do not know who Huey Long was or if you have heard his name but do not know much about him he was a fascinating figure. The movie entitled "All the King's Men" starring Broderick Crawford and based on Robert Penn Warren's book of the same name is based very loosely on Long's life.

Briefly, Long was born in 1893 in northern Louisiana to a farm owning middle class family. After being expelled from high school in the eleventh grade he spent four years as a travelling salesman and auctioneer. After a year at Tulane Law School he persuaded the Law Board to allow him to take the bar exam which he passed and then he spent ten years representing small plaintiffs against businesses. In 1918 at age 25 he was elected to the LA Public Service Commission. He used that position to enhance his reputation as a populist taking on the oil and utility companies. He ran for Governor in 1924 and lost but was reelected to the Public Service Commission. In 1928 Huey ran again for Governor, this time successfully. Huey, known as The Kingfish, a title which he relished, was considered a populist Democrat and greatly expanded LA's highways, hospitals and educational institutions. However, it is a real study in do the means justify the ends to see how Huey attained these reforms. Quickly after elected Governor he fired hundreds of opponents in the state bureaucracy all the way from cabinet level heads to state road workers. He also expected state employees to have a portion of their salary paid into what was called the "deduct box", a lock box literally of cash used to finance campaigns. In 1929 there was a bitter and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to impeach Long which undoubtedly involved bribes by both sides. As a result Long stated he changed his style from saying "please" when trying to get things done to "dynamiting them out of my path". In 1930 Long was elected to the U.S Senate defeating the incumbent by a margin of 57 to 42 percent. Long decided not to take his Senate seat and to serve out the

remaining ten months of his term as governor before entering the U.S Senate in January 1932.

Let's go back to the handout and look at a couple of photos of Long. As Governor Long lavished state money on LSU and considered himself the ultimate booster and ruler of the school. The top photo is from music Long helped write for the school. I understand both songs are still played at LSU. I wonder if the titles of both these songs were supposed to convey a subliminal message indentifying Long with the university as both darling and the one scoring points for them. The bottom photo is from a handbill outlining Long's speaking schedule. As you can see, it is quite intense but since Long thrived on public speaking it would have been invigorating to him. The second page is a photo of Long addressing the 1932 Democratic National Convention in which he is successfully defended the seating of his group of delegates against charges that they had been improperly selected based on directions from Long. . Note, Long is in his trademark white suit. Does this photo remind you of any other prominent political figure of the time, perhaps someone in Germany ?

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Long had developed a program he called "Share Our Wealth" with its motto of "Every Man a King". Basically the program was a net asset tax on corporations and individuals as well as increased federal spending on public works, old age pensions and schools, all directed at providing economic relief during the Depression. Long took this program to the national stage crisscrossing the country with plans to run for President against Roosevelt in 1936, who called Long "The most dangerous man in America" and compared him to Hitler and Mussolini. Long had a huge national following and was considered a real threat to Roosevelt's reelection since the country was still in terrible economic condition. Even though Long was now operating on the national stage he remained firmly in control of LA and it was on one of his frequent visits to the LA state capitol that he was assassinated in 1935 at age 42. His assassin was Carl Weiss, a 29 year old medical doctor considered brilliant by his colleagues, who was the son of a doctor and who's father in law, a long time serving and respected judge, was being ground-up in Long's brutal political battles. Williams, in describing Weiss, stated: he was "a sincere and idealistic young man who agonized over the evils that he believed Huey Long was inflicting on his class and his state...he went into the capitol that Sunday night to remove a tyrant...knowing that he himself would undoubtedly be killed. " Weiss fired two shots into Huey Long while the assassin was shot 62 times by Long's body guards.

So how was it that Long accumulated so much power on both the state and the national stage ?

Perhaps the best answer to this question is to quote T. Harry Williams directly from his book:

" He had that quality that political scientists call charisma, of being able to excite people merely by appearing before them, which all the great mass leaders in history- for example Hitler, Gandhi, Lincoln, Franklin D Roosevelt, John F Kennedy- have had. He excited people and excited emotions, arousing in his relatively short but explosive career every

feeling in the political spectrum-amazement and admiration, disbelief and disgust, love and hatred and with many individuals, cold apprehension....He burst into the Louisiana scene in the mid 1920s and nothing in that heretofore placid and planter ruled state would ever be the same again...Long created a machine of his own, and a very effective one, but he went much further. He was the first Southern leader and very possibly the first American leader, to set out not to contain the opposition or to impose certain conditions on it, but to force it out of existence. Deliberately he grasped the control of all existing boards and other agencies, and then just as deliberately, by creating new agencies to perform functions, he continually enlarged the patronage at his disposal. His control of patronage gave him control of the legislature and his control of the legislature enabled him to have laws enacted that invested him with imperial authority over every level of local government. He became so powerful finally that he could deny the political opposition almost all political sustenance and if he wished destroy it. But with the finesse of a great political artist he preferred to do it another way, if his foes would accept his way. What he was working on before his death and in effect had brought off, was creating an arrangement in which the only remaining opposition faction would have to come into his organization to survive. It would have a place and obtain rewards but he would define the place and assign the rewards. Controlling the executive and legislative branches and also the judicial branch-he campaigned to elect sympathetic justices-he dominated the whole power structure of the state. If the system had been perfected it would have been the most daring and dangerous concentration of power in an American state government.”

Let’s now turn our attention to Robert Moses who may be lesser known individual than Huey Long but he is still tremendously fascinating in his acquisition and use of power.

The author I am drawing on for so much of my material this evening on Robert Moses is a journalist turned biographer by the name of Robert Caro. Caro graduated from Princeton, worked as a journalist for many years and has been a fellow at both Columbia and Harvard Universities. Caro is the foremost scholar in the area of the acquisition and use of power. Caro began research for his first book in 1967. It was entitled The Power Broker Robert Moses and the Fall of New York , and was published in 1974. The book is 1,246 pages in length and as part of his research Caro conducted 522 oral history interviews including seven with Moses himself to elicit incredibly sensitive information that the individuals interviewed would never have committed to paper. This book was awarded the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award among other honors. Since his first book Caro has been working on a multi volume biography of Lyndon Johnson. He has finished three volumes, a fourth volume is scheduled for release in May 2012 and the fifth and final volume is targeted for release in 2015 or 2016. Caro’s work on Johnson has won numerous awards including a Pulitzer and a National Book Award. Caro’s writing style is very engaging and the information and details he provides paint vivid pictures of how Robert Moses and Lyndon Johnson came to acquire their power, how they used it and how their power was lost.

As fascinating and as scary as was Huey Long so also was Robert Moses who was the complete opposite of Long in so many ways. Moses was born in 1888, his father was a

successful department store owner and real estate speculator and his mother was a forceful woman who was active in the settlement movement. He was born of the Jewish faith though he subsequently converted to Christianity, grew-up in New Haven, CT and later New York City and graduated from Yale University. After Moses graduated from Yale he then graduated from Wadham College at Oxford and then earned a Ph. D. in political science from Columbia University with his dissertation entitled The Civil Service of Great Britain. Through a family connection Moses secured a position at the Bureau of Municipal Research, a private group dedicated to improving the quality of city governance and eliminating corruption and where he caught the attention of Belle Moskowitz a close political confidant of Al Smith.. As a result of Moskowitz Moses was appointed chief of staff of a commission appointed by then New York Governor elect Al Smith to draw-up a plan to reorganize the New York state government and implement sweeping social welfare reform. Moses' commission issued a 375 page report ( not including a 44 page summary) in 1919 that consolidated 187 state agencies into 16 departments, extended the Governor's term to four years, reduced the long list of state officials to Governor, Lt. Gov, attorney general and comptroller and adopted an executive budget system. Moses and Smith became very close and Moses served Smith in a variety of capacities. For years everyone had considered Smith himself the best drafter of legislative bills in New York but by working closely with Smith it came to be recognized, even by Smith himself, that Moses became the best bill drafter. Moses came to learn exactly how to craft and position proposed legislation to accomplish his goals and navigate the bill through for the votes needed in the New York state legislature. As Caro observes in his book: "Dreams-visions of public works on a noble scale- had been marching through Bob Moses' mind in almost continuous procession for a decade or more. Not one of them had marched out of his mind into reality. But during that decade Bob Moses had learned what was needed to make dreams become realities. He had learned the lesson of power. And now he grabbed for power with both hands". So it was that Moses persuaded Governor Smith to propose creation of a New York State Council of Parks and to have Moses appointed as Chairman of the Council. While seemingly innocuous the bill creating the Council had many definitions referenced to other statutes and unless one carefully reviewed the bill and the referenced statutes it was not apparent as to just how powerful and far reaching the Council of Parks with broad powers of eminent domain, could become. With this approach as a model for future power garbs, Moses over a 44 year time period (1924-1968) eventually held 12 separate titles at one time and controlled all federal appropriations to New York City. His state positions had staggered six year terms which made it difficult to reduce his power in any given year. His time in power spanned 8 mayors of New York City, 6 Governors of New York state and 6 U.S. Presidents. These positions included such major positions as Parks Commissioner for New York City, President of the Long Island State Park Commission, Secretary of State for New York (1927-1928) and Chairman of the New York State Power Commission. As head of these various entities which in New York were called public authorities and had a great deal of autonomy Moses controlled millions of dollars from their revenue generation from tolls on bridges and roads and other fees associated with beaches and recreational areas. He had the power to issue bonds without legislative approval. It would be impossible to list all the projects Moses was responsible for but he has been called " America's greatest builder ". His projects included two World Fairs (

1939 and 1964 ), Jones Beach, several power dams, the Triborough Bridge, the Cross Bay Bridge, the Throgs Neck Bridge, the Bronx-Whitestone Bridge, the Brooklyn Battery Tunnel, the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge, the Long Island Expressway, Lincoln Center, the United Nations, Fordham University and Tavern on the Green. At one time he had 80,000 people working on his projects. Moses's projects came with a cost. It is estimated his road projects dispossessed 250,000 people and his other projects dispossessed an additional 320,000 people completely destroying many neighborhoods in New York City. Many critics blame Moses for having favored cars over people and public transportation and therefore having caused severe transportation and housing problems for the average citizen, especially minority groups.

Let's return to the handout to look at some photos concerning Robert Moses. The first page is actually a map of NYC and Long Island that shows all the projects associated with Moses. As you can see there are literally hundreds, large and small. And these are just projects in those two localities. Remember Moses' reach was across the state of New York so there are many more if the entire state was shown. The second page is a photo showing lower NYC and a few of the bridges Moses influenced. It is rather breathtaking to think that just about every approach into and out of NYC was designed by Moses. The last page is a photo of Moses at the peak of his power. The photo speaks for itself with the caption "The Power Broker".

The following quote from Caro's biography is very insightful as to Moses' lust for power:

" The building of a public work shapes a city perhaps more permanently than any other action of government...During Moses' reign over public works in New York it was not the shouts of the people but the whispers of banks, labor unions, insurance companies, big construction combines, big business and of course the Retainer Regiment that determined what public works would be built in New York. He centralized in his person and in his projects all those forces in the city that in theory have little to do with the decision making process in the city's government but in reality have everything to do with it and by such centralization he made them strong." ( page 753)

" In the beginning-and for decades of his career- the power Robert Moses amassed was the servant of his dreams, amassed for their sake, so that his gigantic city-shaping visions could become reality. But power is not an instrument that its possessor can use with impunity. It is a drug that creates in the use a need for larger and larger doses. And Moses was a user. At first, for a decade or more after his first real sip of power in 1924, he continued to seek it only for the sake of his dreams. But little by little there came a change. Slowly but inexorably, he began to seek power for its own sake. More and more, the criterion by which Moses selected which city-shaping public works would be built came to be not the needs of the city's people but the increment of power a project would give him. Increasingly, the projects became not ends but means-the means of obtaining more power.

As the idealism faded and disappeared, its handmaidens drifted away. The principles of the Good Government reform movement which Moses had once espoused became principles to be ignored. The brilliance that had invented a civil service system was applied to the task of circumventing civil service requirements. The insistence on truth and logic was replaced by a sophistry that twisted every fact to conclusions not merely preconceived but preconceived decades earlier.” (page 19)

It is interesting to note that Robert Moses did run once for public office. In 1934 he ran on the Republican ticket for Governor against the incumbent Governor Democrat Herbert Lehman and Moses was defeated in a landslide. Moses learned that elected political office was not going to be his way to acquire power.

Before leaving this issue of how these two individuals acquired power we will briefly review how they came to lose their power and what was their legacy.

Obviously in the case of Huey Long he lost his power in a violent way that would have been very understandable to Machiavelli: he was murdered. Had Long’s career not been cut short it would have been interesting to say the least how events might have changed. Would his corruption been exposed or perhaps prosecuted criminally ? Would Long eventually have been defeated at the ballot box ? With Long influencing public policy would the U. S have entered World War Two ? Franklin Roosevelt would probably have been forced to be more liberal in his policies and approaches to the economic woes of the Depression.

In spite of his premature death Huey Long did leave a significant legacy in Louisiana though not really on the national level. The improvements he made to roads, schools and public welfare institutions at least boosted Louisiana from the worst state in the country at least into the more progressive group. Perhaps Long’s greatest legacy was in that of his family’s public service. His wife, Rose, followed him in the U.S. Senate for the rest of his term, 1936-1937. His brother, Earl Long, who was even a more colorful character than Huey and who was actually a political foe of Huey’s, served three times as Governor of Louisiana from 1939-1940, from 1948 to 1952 and from 1956 to 1960. Huey and Rose’s son Russell Long served in the U.S. Senate from 1948 to 1987. Russell was Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee from 1965 to 1981, was considered an expert on tax issues and the Wall Street Journal called Russell Long “the fourth branch of government”.

Moses was forced from power by the only individual in New York state with more power than himself. In 1958 Nelson Rockefeller was elected Governor of New York state. For the first time since Moses had amassed his own power he faced an individual with even more power than himself especially with access as to money both public and private. . Rockefeller had his own ambitious agenda as regards transportation and public works. He needed access to the millions of dollars that Moses controlled. It took Rockefeller six years as Governor to finally wrest control of power away from Moses. Even then Rockefeller needed Moses to make missteps in the process. To quote Caro: “Thanks to his control of one city and three state public authorities he had anchored himself in a

position so secure that no one could take his power away from him. Only he could lose it for himself, his career booming to new heights in the eighth decade of his life, could be checked only by his own personality. Only Robert Moses could lose Robert Moses his power. And he did". ( page 1065 and 1066). Briefly what happened was that in 1960 then New York City mayor John Lindsay had forced Moses out of four of his city posts. However, Moses still had his New York state positions. In New York state all employees were required to retire at age 65. There could be extensions for exceptional individuals. Moses had turned 65 in 1953 and had routinely been granted extensions by the Governor, including Rockefeller. In 1962 Moses was coming-up on his 74<sup>th</sup> birthday but the extension had not been granted. A meeting had been scheduled for Moses to meet with the Governor at the governor's office at 22 East 55<sup>th</sup> Street to cover a wide ranging agenda of public works projects. Moses brought-up the extension and as part of that discussion Rockefeller asked Moses to retire as Chair of the State Council of Parks, the first position of power that Moses had secured over 40 years before. Rockefeller said he wanted to transition his brother Laurence who had been long active in conservation issues into the position. Rockefeller said Moses could stay on as Chair of the Long Island State Park Commission and the authorities for Bethpage and Jones Beaches, he could also continue as Chair of the State Power Authority. Moses refused and said if the governor wanted him to resign Parks Council he would resign all of them. There followed an ugly scene with Moses storming out of the meeting and leaving Rockefeller on the sidewalk outside the office trying to calm Moses down. Rockefeller called Moses repeatedly the next day and Moses refused to speak with him. Moses had been asked before by both Governors and mayors to resign different posts and Moses had always bluffed them into backing down by threatening to resign all his positions. Moses wrote Rockefeller a letter in which he confirmed it was either all or nothing. As Caro relates: " Moses' arrogance lead him to push the Governor too far. He sought to make him surrender, not gracefully but unconditionally-by using his ultimate weapon, the ultimatum that had never failed him before. Still refusing to take telephone calls from the Governor he replied to him by firming up his threat and putting it in writing...This time however the ultimate weapon misfired. After thirty years of issuing that defiant challenge he had issued it to a man who would take him up on it. On the day after he received Robert Moses' resignations the Governor accepted them stating "This is a decision I accept with regret"...At one stroke Moses had cost himself five jobs...And not only had he lost control of his first great dream, he had lost a huge hunk of his power. His power had been derived partly from popularity and mostly from money-money that he had sole discretion to spend. The popularity had vanished some years back, but its loss had not mattered much so long as he didn't lose the money. But the money came from his network of four public authorities. Now at a stroke three of them were gone-including the biggest of them all, the state Power Authority, that with both Robert Moses Power Dams completed was beginning to generate tens of millions in annual revenue." (pages 1074-1078). I could go on to cover how over the next several years Moses' lost the remaining power that he possessed but that would be rather anticlimactic. Suffice it to say because of pride and arrogance Moses had overplayed his hand and the loss of his power came to be the tragedy of his final years before he died in 1981 at age 92. Moses, who Caro said was "preoccupied with immortality" (page 1,160) and who's mind remained very active,

spent the last fifteen years of his life frustrated by the loss of his power and complained about the ingratitude of his fellow citizens for all he had done for them.

Robert Moses left behind a substantial legacy in the form of his public works projects, some of which are deemed for the better and some for the worse. Ten of the structures are named after him. Moses also had a tremendous influence on urban planning during his tenure. There are many other cities that copied his approach of road building and urban clearance, again sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse and so his legacy extended further afield than just New York.

It is very interesting to compare and contrast Huey Long and Robert Moses. One was a hard scrabble deep Southern Baptist from one of the most backward states in the country and who really had a very sketchy formal education. The other was from a wealthy Jewish family from the most prosperous and sophisticated state in the country and had the most prestigious of educations. Both of them remade the worlds in which they operated. By ramming through various programs Long brought LA from having one of the worst road, educational and social support systems in the country to at least a state more into the main stream. Moses, by ramming through his many building projects, literally remade NYC, Long Island and much of NY State. They came to their power through very different means. Long was an unbelievably successful political candidate who really was in office only seven years. Moses' only bid for elected political office was unsuccessful but his list of appointed governmental posts at one point twelve at the same time, is unequalled and extended over a 40 year time period. The end to their power is also an interesting contrast. Long was very ruthless in his pursuit and use of power and lost his power in a very violent manner that is literally by assassination. Moses, who was equally ruthless in his pursuit and use of power, by his own hubris and largely self inflicted wounds lost his power. It needs to be noted that both Long and Moses worked very hard at their mission of acquiring and using power, they were both incredibly energetic.

All of this by way of concluding this review of how power is achieved is to state the obvious: there are as many different ways to achieve power as there are individuals who pursue it. One way is like Long, get elected to public office by campaigning against the establishment and then taking advantage of the office use it to build your own political machine. Another way is, like Moses, ingratiate yourself into the favor of individuals in powerful positions and then use that relationship to have yourself be appointed to positions of power and consolidate your position to establish your own base of power. Whether running for public office or being "an insider" one still needs to produce successful results for your power to be maintained in the long run.

One common element shared by both Long and Moses as well as some of the other great acquirers of power is the "ability to look into other men" (Caro, page 1146). Caro identifies this ability in Lyndon Johnson when he quoted LBJ as once having said: "When you walk into a crowded room you better know within five minutes who are your friends and who are your enemies or you will have no friends by the end of the meeting".

Long and Moses, so different in how they acquired power yet so much alike in their desire for power. I will leave it to you to decide who was the lion, who was the fox or who may have been a combination of these as Machiavelli had so advised and at what times in their careers did they combine them the most artfully.

I will let you decide if they pursued power like a lion or like a fox or some combination of the two or perhaps you see them as some other type of animal in their pursuit of power. No matter how you view them they both were fascinating individuals.

Distribute Dr. Phil's survey: we have all completed numerous surveys on personality, style and other characteristics but I thought this one might be would be fun for you to take home as a quick review.

Thank you for your attention this evening and I am happy to try to answer any questions.

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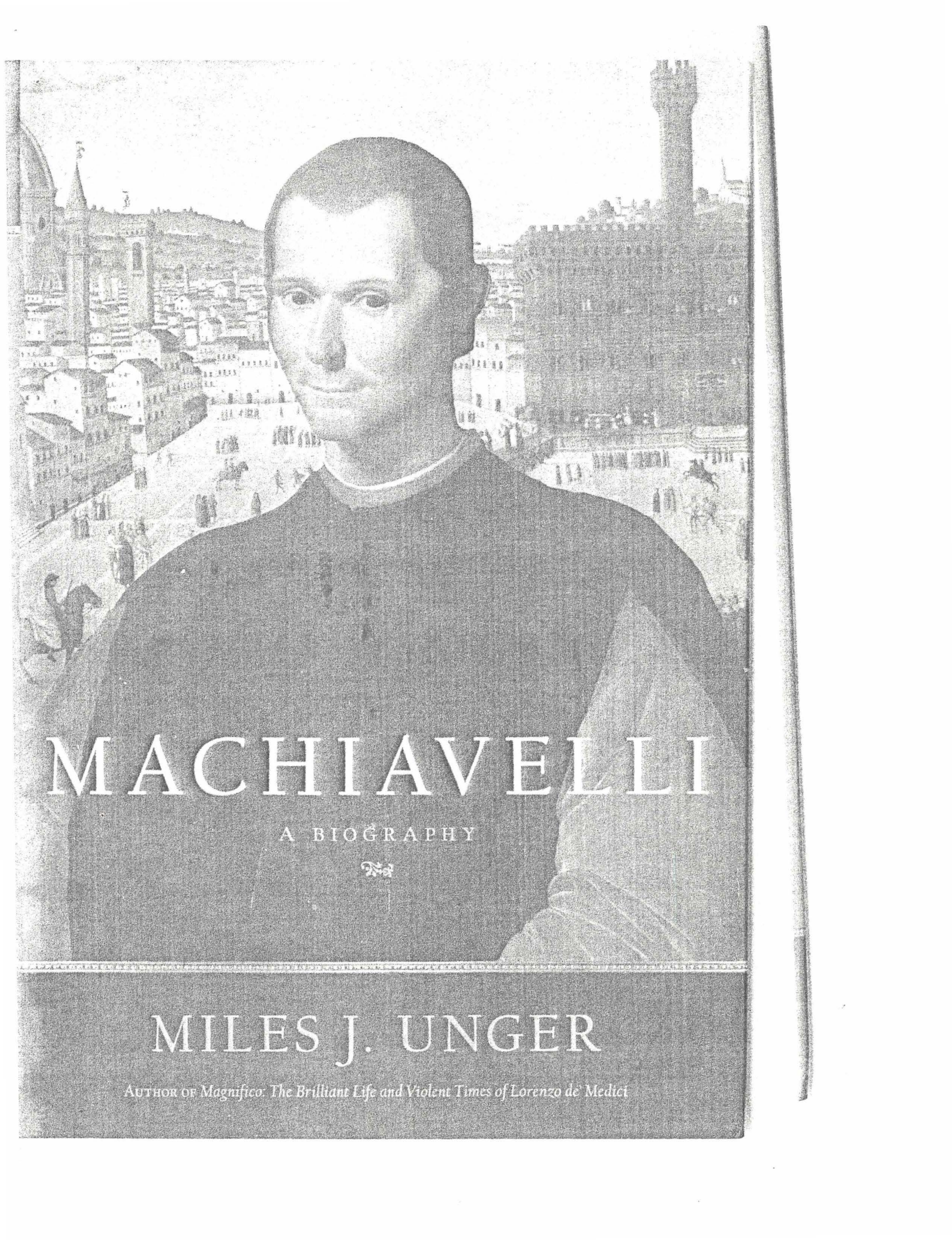
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# MACHIAVELLI

A BIOGRAPHY



MILES J. UNGER

AUTHOR OF *Magnifico: The Brilliant Life and Violent Times of Lorenzo de' Medici*

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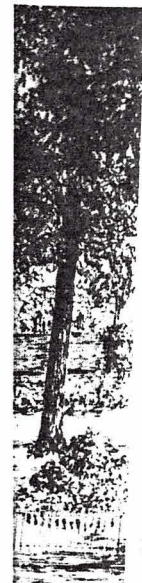




Courtesy of Harley B. Bozeman

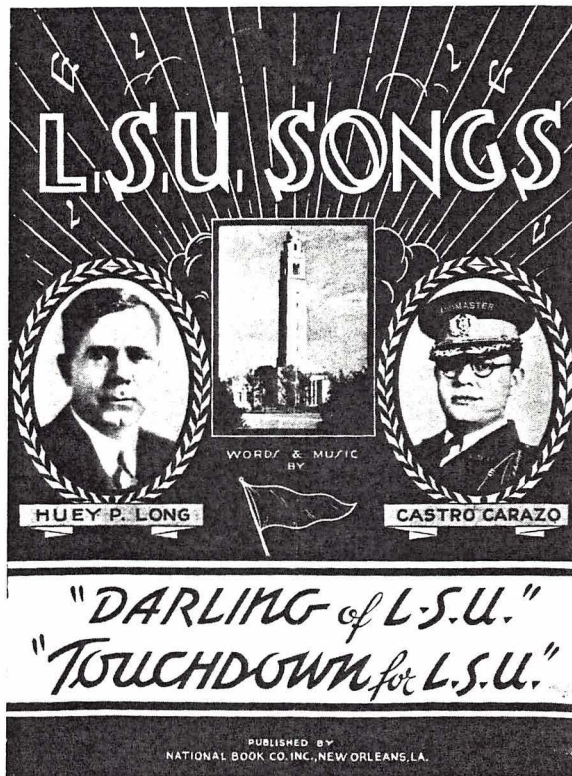
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Mrs. Drew Nelson Hays in Louisiana:  
Sketches of Historical Homes and Sights

From the collection of the author



The cover of an LSU song sheet, music written by Huey Long in collaboration with bandmaster Castro Carazo

**HEAR**  
**Huey P. Long**  
United States Senator  
**On All Issues of the Day**

A typical Long speaking schedule. Such handbills outlined his appearances during a campaign

Persons desiring questions answered on any State, National or International questions requested to write out the same and hand to chairmen of meetings:—

**Wednesday, November 8**

Oakgrove	- - - - -	10:30 a. m.
Winnsboro	- - - - -	3:00 p. m.
Monroe, New City School	- -	7:00 p. m.

**Thursday, November 9**

Ruston	- - - - -	10:30 a. m.
Gibsland	- - - - -	3:00 p. m.
Minden	- - - - -	7:00 p. m.

**Friday, November 10**

Natchitoches	- - - - -	10:30 a. m.
Leesville	- - - - -	2:00 p. m.
Alexandria	- - - - -	7:00 p. m.

**Saturday, November 11**

Marksville	- - - - -	10:30 a. m.
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esign by

- Parkways
- Expressways
- Other roads

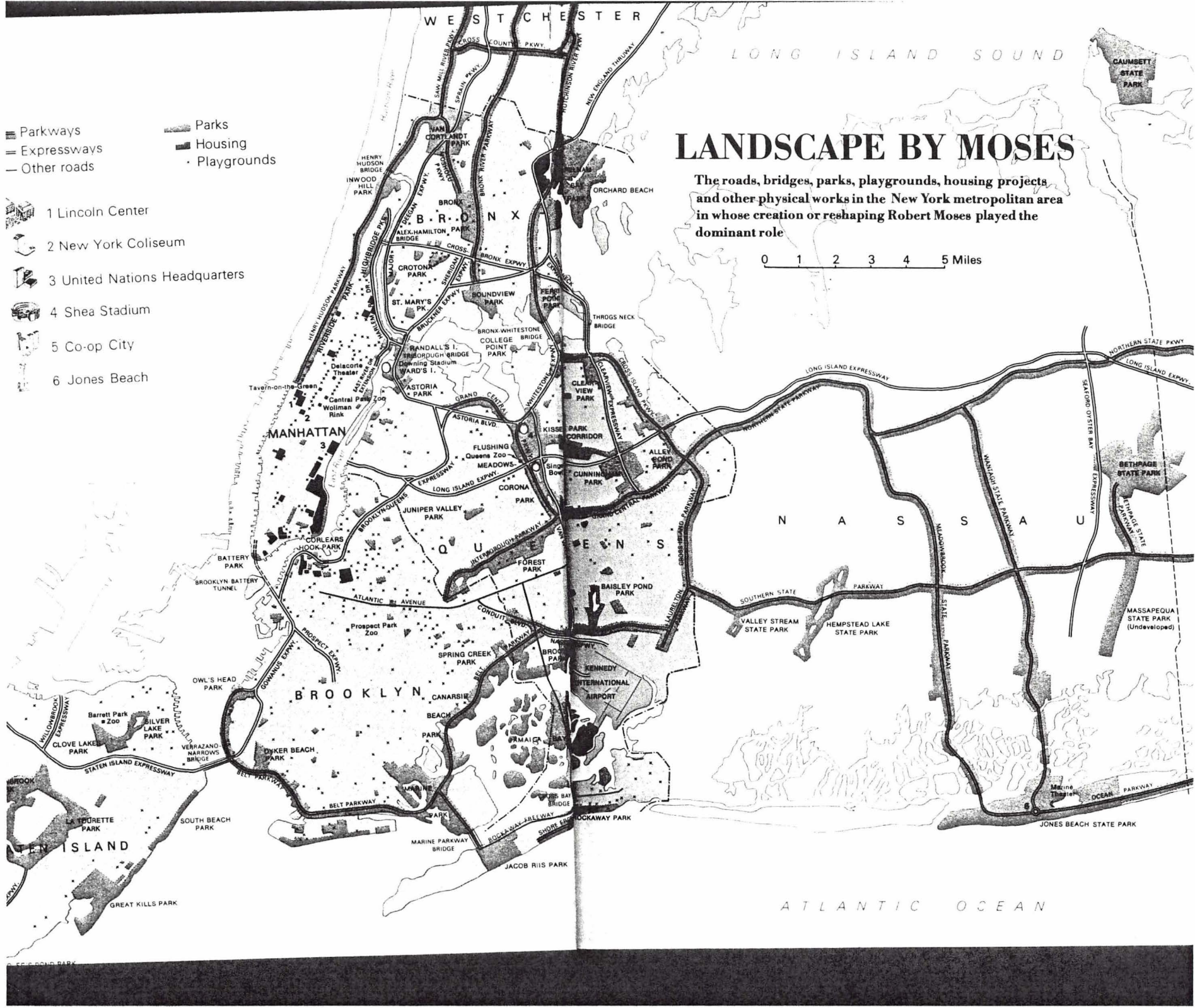
- Parks
- Housing
- Playgrounds

- 1 Lincoln Center
- 2 New York Coliseum
- 3 United Nations Headquarters
- 4 Shea Stadium
- 5 Co-op City
- 6 Jones Beach

# LANDSCAPE BY MOSES

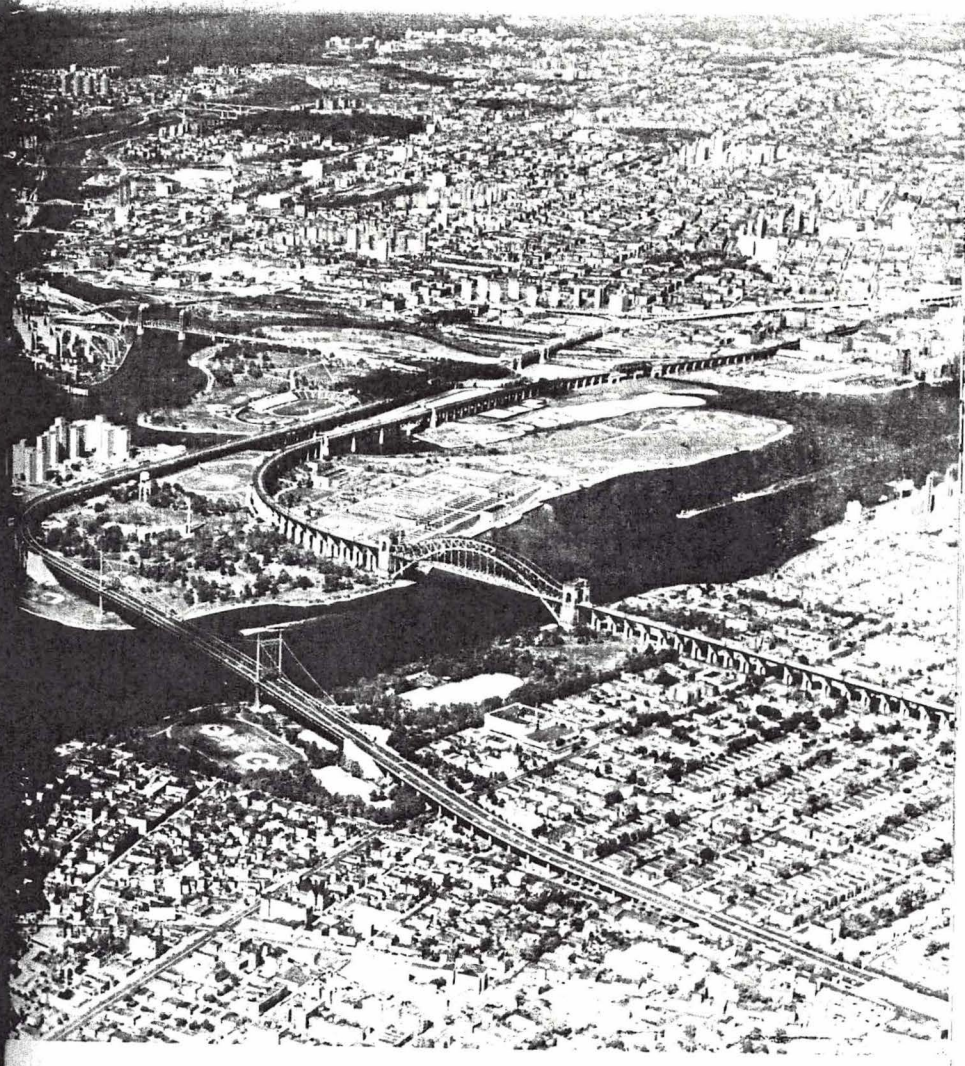
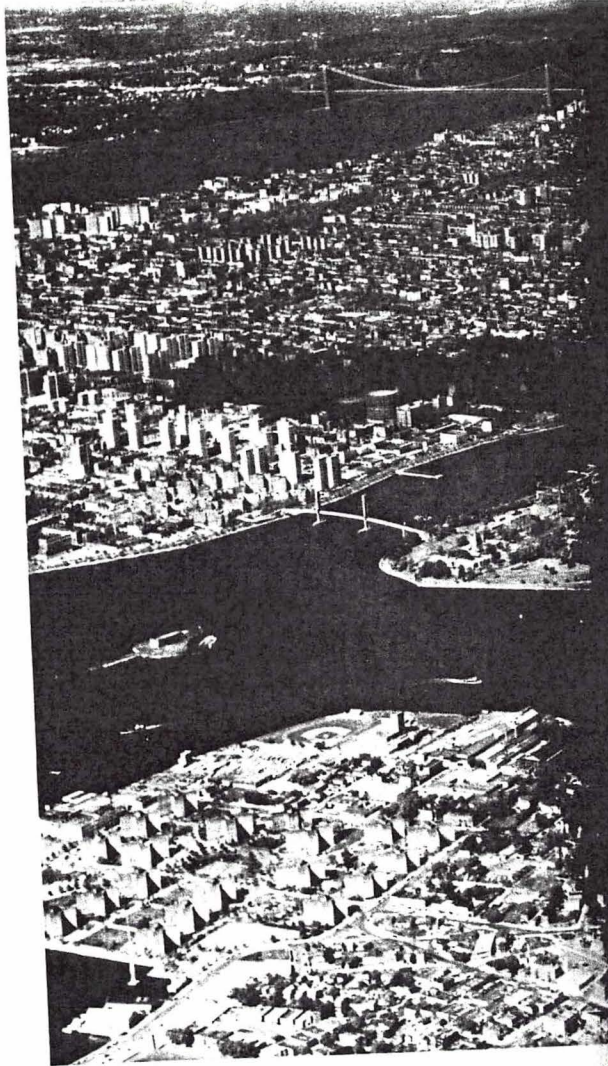
The roads, bridges, parks, playgrounds, housing projects and other physical works in the New York metropolitan area in whose creation or reshaping Robert Moses played the dominant role

0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles

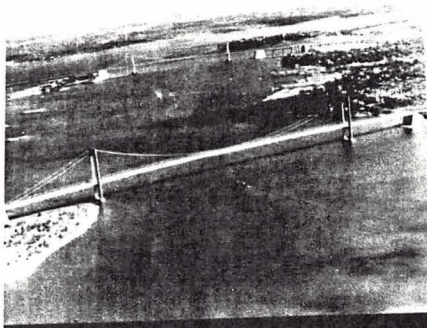


ATLANTIC OCEAN

*LANDSCAPE BY MOSES:*  
 Robert Moses' three-armed  
 Triborough Bridge is the  
 center of a cityscape in  
 which the following are  
 other Moses additions:  
 In Manhattan (left) the  
 East River Drive Extension  
 along the waterfront south  
 of the bridge, and the Harlem  
 River Drive, to the north,  
 and behind these roads,  
 every one of the high-rise  
 low-income housing and  
 Title I urban renewal  
 projects rising out of  
 Harlem. In the Bronx (top  
 right) the Major Deegan  
 Expressway running  
 northwest from the  
 Triborough's Bronx  
 bridgehead, and the  
 Bruckner Expressway  
 running northeast; the  
 housing project just north  
 of the bridgehead; Van  
 Cortlandt and Bronx parks  
 at the top. In Queens  
 (bottom) Astoria Park,  
 Randall's and Ward's  
 islands (center) were  
 almost entirely shaped  
 by Moses.



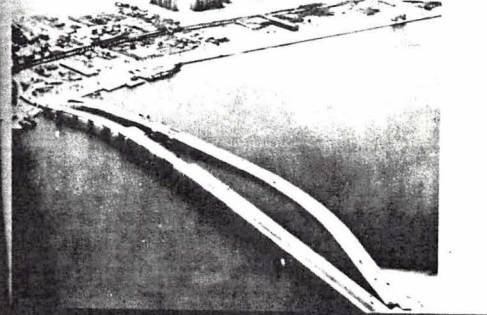
*Bronx-Whitestone Bridge*



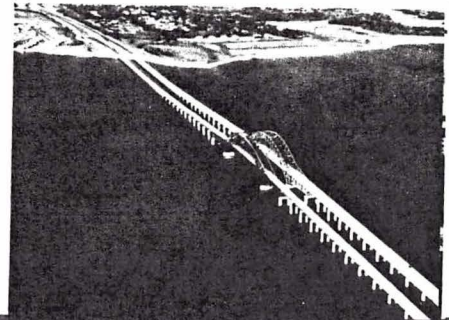
*Throgs Neck Bridge*



*Cross Bay Bridge*



*Robert Moses Twin Causeway*





*The Power Broker*

© ARNOLD NEWMAN



1963



1960



*On the St. Lawrence, 1958*

# Dr. Phil's Personality Test

## How Do Others Perceive You? Quiz

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**Instructions:** Answer the questions below honestly about yourself and we'll score the quiz and let you know how others see you. This quiz supposedly came from Dr. Phil, but we have been unable to authenticate it, so take it with a grain of salt.

---

### 1. When do you feel your best?

- In the morning
- During the afternoon and early evening
- Late at night

### 2. You usually walk...

- Fairly fast, with long steps
- Fairly fast, with small steps
- Less fast, head up, looking the world in the face
- Less fast, head down
- Very slowly

### 3. When talking to people, you...

- Stand with your arms folded
- Have your hands clasped
- Have one or both of your hands on your hips
- Touch or push the person to whom you are talking
- Play with your ear or hair, touch your chin, or smooth your hair

### 4. When relaxing, you sit with...

- Your knees bent, with your legs neatly side by side
- Your legs crossed
- Your legs stretched out or straight
- One leg curled under you

**5. When something really amuses you, you react with...**

- A big, appreciative laugh
- A laugh, but not a loud one
- A quiet chuckle
- A sheepish smile

**6. When you go to a party or social gathering, you...**

- Make a loud entrance, so that everyone notices you
- Make a quiet entrance, looking around for someone you know
- Make the quietest entrance, trying to stay unnoticed

**7. You're working very hard, concentrating hard, and you're interrupted. You...**

- Welcome the break
- Feel extremely irritated
- Vary between these two extremes

**8. Which of the following colors do you like the most?**

- Red/orange
- Black
- Yellow/light blue
- Green
- Dark blue/purple
- White
- Brown/gray

**9. When you are in bed at night, in those last few moments before going to sleep, you are...**

- Stretched out on your back
- Stretched out face down on your stomach
- On your side, slightly curled
- With your head on one arm
- With your head under the covers

**10. You often dream that you are...**

- Falling
- Fighting or struggling
- Searching for something or somebody
- Flying or floating
- You usually have dreamless sleep
- Your dreams are always pleasant

## SCORING FOR THE PERSONALITY TEST

1. (a) 2 (b) 4 (c) 6
2. (a) 6 (b) 4 (c) 7 (d) 2 (e) 1
3. (a) 4 (b) 2 (c) 5 (d) 7 (e) 6
4. (a) 4 (b) 6 (c) 2 (d) 1
5. (a) 6 (b) 4 (c) 3 (d) 5 (e) 2
6. (a) 6 (b) 4 (c) 2
7. (a) 6 (b) 2 (c) 4
8. (a) 6 (b) 7 (c) 5 (d) 4 (e) 3 (f) 2 (g) 1
9. (a) 7 (b) 6 (c) 4 (d) 2 (e) 1
10. (a) 4 (b) 2 (c) 3 (d) 5 (e) 6 (f) 1

15

### **The Vain, Self-Centered Leader - Over 60 Points**

Others see you as someone they should "handle with care." You're seen as vain, self-centered, and who is extremely dominant. Others may admire you, wishing they could be more like you, but don't always trust you, hesitating to become too deeply involved with you.

### **The Natural Leader – 51 – 60 Points**

Others see you as an exciting, highly volatile, rather impulsive personality; a natural leader, who's quick to make decisions, though not always the right ones. They see you as bold and adventuresome, someone who will try anything once; someone who takes chances and enjoys an adventure. They enjoy being in your company because of the excitement you radiate.

### **The Lively Center of Attention – 41 – 50 Points**

Others see you as fresh, lively, charming, amusing, practical, and always interesting; someone who's constantly in the center of attention, but sufficiently well-balanced not to let it go to their head. They also see you as kind, considerate, and understanding; someone who'll always cheer them up and help them out.

### **The Loyal Friend – 31 – 40 Points**

Others see you as sensible, cautious, careful & practical. They see you as clever, gifted, or talented, but modest. Not a person who makes friends too quickly or easily, but someone who's extremely loyal to friends you do make and who expects the same loyalty in return. Those who really get to know you realize it takes a lot to shake your trust in your friends, but equally that it takes you a long time to get over if that trust is ever broken.

### **The Careful Plodder - 21 – 30 Points**

Your friends see you as painstaking and fussy. They see you as very cautious, extremely careful, a slow and steady plodder. It would really surprise them if you ever did something impulsively or on the spur of the moment, expecting you to examine everything carefully from every angle and then, usually decide against it. They think this reaction is caused partly by your careful nature.

### **The Shy Worrier – Under 21 Points**

People think you are shy, nervous, and indecisive, someone who needs looking after, who always wants someone else to make the decisions & who doesn't want to get involved with anyone or anything! They see you as a worrier who always sees problems that don't exist. Some people think you're boring. Only those who know you well know that you aren't.

## SCORING KEY

If you scored...

61 & up

51 - 60

41 - 50

31 - 40

21 - 30

0 - 20

You may be...

The Vain, Self-Centered Leader

The Natural Leader

The Lively Center of Attention

The Loyal Friend

The Careful Plodder

The Shy Worrier