

POLITICS & GOVERNMENT

percent of all Democratic ballots in 1984 and are the party's largest single voting bloc. But Jackson's leftish Third World rhetoric tends to alienate other voters: The Mondale-Ferraro ticket claimed only 36 percent of whites' votes.

The *New Republic's* editors hope that black mayors and other black elected officials will contest Jackson's leadership. Similarly, they look to the 33 Democratic governors—who "have been dealing creatively with some of the nation's most difficult domestic problems and balancing budgets at the same time"—for the party's new agenda. In foreign policy, the editors argue that party leaders must stop insisting "that America is wrong in defending its interests abroad."

President Reagan is sitting in the Oval Office in part because he told the voters that America's best days were yet to come, and his opponent said it was not so. "The Democrats need to find leaders who believe it is so—and can make it so in reality, not just in television ads."

Who Wants to Be Vice President?

"Making the Most of the New Vice Presidency" by Paul C. Light, in *The Brookings Review* (Summer 1984), Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

"Hardly worth a pitcher of warm spit" was U.S. Vice President (1933–41) John Nance Garner's estimation of his job. Were Garner around today, he would probably take a kindlier view, suggests Light, a National Academy of Public Administration researcher. During the last 10 years, the Vice Presidency has become an office to be reckoned with.

The "new" Vice Presidency began to take shape when Gerald Ford succeeded Spiro Agnew as President Richard Nixon's Number Two man in 1973. Ford demanded and won more staff and independence in return for bolstering the troubled Nixon White House. Ford's Vice President, Nelson Rockefeller, gathered more perquisites and took the chairmanship of the White House Domestic Council, a top policy-making body. Walter Mondale, under the Carter administration, expanded and consolidated these gains.

Mondale's tenure "raised expectations about the role to be played by future Vice Presidents—and made it more difficult for future Presidents to turn back the clock," Light says. He became a member of President Jimmy Carter's "inner circle" of advisers, had regular private talks with his boss, gained complete access to high-level meetings and secret information, and got many of his allies appointed to important jobs in the administration. Conscious of the Washington motto, "Where you sit is where you stand," Mondale secured an office in the West Wing of the White House, just down the hall from the Oval Office. George Bush inherited it in 1981, suggesting that Mondale's innovation may become a tradition.

The Vice Presidency has also taken on impressive institutional trappings, Light reports. Vice President Bush has a staff of 70 and an office budget of \$2 million; in 1961, Lyndon Johnson had only 20 aides and

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WHO IS THIS MAN?

— who keeps stumping the panel on "What's My Line"?



*Al
Capp*

Hubert H. Humphrey was perhaps the epitome of the old-fashioned Vice President.

"Bears striking resemblance to highly articulate ex-Senator" said the caption of this affectionate Al Capp caricature.

no special budget allotment.

Now that the Vice Presidency has become a substantive office, Light believes, presidential candidates should choose their running mates accordingly, not just on the basis of ticket balancing. The rest of us, he adds, will ("alas") have to abandon the old national pastime of ridiculing the Vice Presidency.

*Policy Experts
Are Not Enough*

"A Public Policy Paradox" by Alice M. Rivlin, in *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* (Fall 1984), John Wiley and Sons, 605 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10158.

Making public policy was once part politics, part eenie, meenie, minie, mo. During the last 20 years, however, computer-equipped policy analysts have inundated elected officials with data intended to take the guesswork out of the process. Have they improved the quality of legislation?

Not by much, says Rivlin, founder and for eight years (1975–83) director of the Congressional Budget Office—but not for lack of trying. Nowadays most U.S. universities train policy analysts just as they do lawyers, doctors, and engineers; the graduates have fanned out across the country. They aid governors and legislators "not only in Sacramento and Albany, but also in Little Rock and Santa Fe." They have made their presence most felt in Washington: Congress, for example, employed only 6,791 staffers in 1960, 26,653 in 1982. "No debate on any serious issue—the budget deficits, the breeder reactor, the 600-ship