

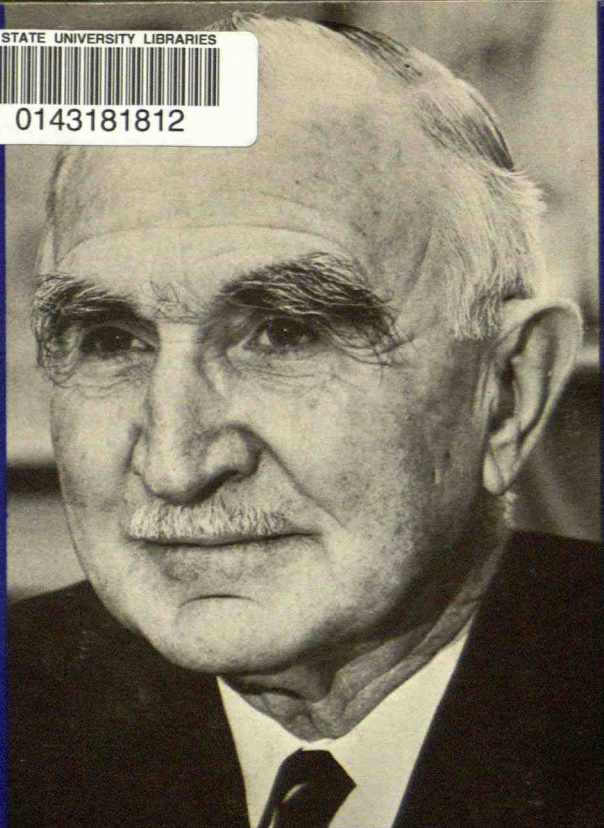
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WAYNE MORSE

The Record of a Working Senator ... In detail

A 1968 HANDBOOK FOR MORSE WORKERS

INDEX ON BACK COVER

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS

10 East 39th Street
New York, N. Y. 10016

Murray Hill 3-2286

August 21, 1967

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The Honorable Wayne Morse
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Morse:

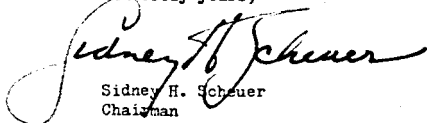
As chairman of the National Committee for an Effective Congress, I have the honor to advise you that this Committee feels it essential that you be redesignated as your party's candidate for the Senate of the United States and to that end we express our enthusiastic endorsement.

Your public service since 1944 is studded with signal accomplishments. Your judgment and your courage have served to add leaven to the political dialogue and have helped bring into focus some of the great and critical issues of our time. Your many legislative contributions lend testimony to your outstanding ability. Your impact on American life reflects moral sensitivity of a high order. Your high respect for the constitutional processes of our country in itself has been invaluable. There are few men now in public life whose services have equaled yours in total value.

As you well know, you have been accused at times of being a minority for minority's sake and we have not failed to evaluate this. We feel you have been a minority only when your conscience did not permit you to go along with the majority. We have no doubt that it would have been much easier and perhaps politically profitable to adopt majority opinion.

Our Committee is confident that your party and your state will show their appreciation by renominating you with an overwhelming vote. In our view your services cannot be spared.

Sincerely yours,



Sidney H. Scheuer
Chairman

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WAYNE MORSE

209 Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

March 19, 1968

Dear Friend and Supporter:

It is upon loyal friends like you that I must depend to help tell the story of my record to the people of Oregon.

You know that an election is never won by a candidate. Victory is achieved by the thousands of people like you who work in support of a candidate.

This booklet is designed to give you a summary of some of the actions I have taken over the past 23 years in the United States Senate in serving you, the State of Oregon and the nation. All the information contained in this booklet is documented by official records.

I want the people of Oregon to know how I have represented them in the United States Senate. While I will visit as many communities and meet as many people as possible during my re-election campaign, it will be physically impossible to visit all the areas in Oregon and talk with all of the people.

For that reason, this detailed account of my record is being made available to volunteer workers. It is my hope that you will share this accounting with your friends, neighbors, co-workers and fellow voters.

It is no secret that a large segment of the press in Oregon presents a biased and distorted account of my work in the United States Senate. But through your assistance and the help of other friends like you in Oregon, the true facts can be made known to the voters. I admit to being proud of my record, and I am satisfied to be judged on it.

But the voters must know the facts. When they do, I shall not hesitate to place my political future in the hands of the electorate of my state.

If I do not get the opportunity to thank you personally, I want you to know how deeply I am grateful for your work on my behalf.

I regard service in the United States Senate as a solemn public trust, and I hope that you will find that my work measures up to the high standards of this office.

Sincerely,

Wayne Morse

WAYNE MORSE—THE MAN, THE LEADER, THE SENATOR

Independent, fearless, outspoken, brilliant, controversial, idealistic—Wayne Morse of Oregon is an effective force in the Senate of the United States.

Four times the voters of Oregon have elected Wayne Morse to represent them in the United States Senate.

Thousands of Oregonians have met Wayne Morse personally and have found him a warm and friendly man, interested in their problems and their hopes.

For 23 years, Oregonians have recognized their senior senator as a statesman and leader of national and international stature.

Most Oregonians know Wayne Morse the senator. Fewer know Wayne Morse the man. His career has been dynamic and well-rounded, consistently marked by dedication to principle.

EARLY YEARS

Wayne Morse was born October 20, 1900, on a farm in Verona, Wisconsin, which his great-grandfather had homesteaded. He early learned the virtues, not to mention the necessity, of hard work and family solidarity.

As he helped his father with their livestock, he developed respect for the soil and for living things. When Wayne was only eight, his father started him in a Shetland pony breeding project. When he was seventeen, he owned his first American saddle horse. His love of horses and livestock continues to this day. Wayne Morse's prize Devon cattle and horses are regularly exhibited in county fairs in Oregon, and at the Oregon State Fair and Pacific International Livestock Show as well as at several Maryland fairs.

The Morse farm family of six children was a hardworking, happy family in which frugality and religious principles were taught and practiced. Wayne's parents took special pains with his education. From the time of his youth, Wayne Morse has demonstrated the courage of his convictions and devotion to principle.

He credits several teachers with having an early and great influence upon his ideas and his future. He was nurtured in the American belief in equality of opportunity without regard to race or creed, and he developed a great interest in American history and the Constitution as a living document for a democratic society.



Senator and Mrs. Wayne Morse with their six grandchildren.

COLLEGE YEARS

Wayne Morse worked at outside jobs throughout college and law school. His high school teacher in biology loaned him the money that made it possible for him to start college and stay in college. He worked at various jobs during college, such as driving a horse-drawn small wagon that met the night mail trains in Madison, Wisconsin. He often has said that he would have been a school dropout had it not been for his mother and his high school biology teacher, who were determined to see to it that he had a chance to go to college. After college, he and Mrs. Morse taught school and paid back the money they both had borrowed to supplement their earnings while they went to college.

At the University of Wisconsin, from which he graduated and earned a master's degree, he was active in student government, debating and the honorary military society. Upon graduation he received a commission of second lieutenant in the U. S. Army Reserve. He is a member of Scabbard & Blade, an honorary collegiate military society.

At the University of Wisconsin, Wayne Morse did his first political campaigning—for Progressive Republican "Fighting Bob" LaFollette. It is interesting that his initial political activity was on behalf

Continued

of a man known for his independence and liberalism—a champion of the family farmer, wage earner and small businessman and the foe of political corruption and economic monopoly. In 1924, Wayne Morse married Mildred Downie, whom he had known in high school and college. They have three married daughters and six grandchildren.

The future senator went on to teach at the University of Minnesota. While carrying a full teaching schedule at the University of Minnesota, he also earned his law degree and taught part-time at a Catholic seminary in St. Paul, the only Protestant on the staff. Mrs. Morse also was a teacher at this time. Her subjects: home economics, American history and literature.

After law school, Wayne Morse received a teaching fellowship at Columbia University in New York City, where he earned a Doctor of Jurisprudence degree. His doctoral dissertation on the American grand jury system has become an often-quoted work on the subject. While in New York, Mrs. Morse worked on the staff of the *Delineator* magazine.

THE MOVE TO OREGON

In 1929, Wayne Morse was appointed Assistant Professor at the University of Oregon School of Law. In less than two years, at only 30 years of age, he was appointed Dean, the youngest dean of an accredited law school in the nation. Under his leadership, the law school gained new prestige, with 100 per cent of the graduates passing the Oregon bar examinations year after year.

A diligent instructor and able administrator, Wayne Morse was also a friend and counselor to his students. Luncheon or dinner at the Morse home was a part of student life at the law school. His teaching stressed moral responsibilities and ethical standards which should motivate a lawyer in discharging his responsibilities. He also emphasized the great principles of our Constitution. As he says so often, he never stopped learning from his students.

LABOR ARBITRATION

While he was at the University of Oregon, Wayne Morse frequently acted as an arbitrator in labor-management disputes. He was a pioneer in establishing the principle that arbitration should follow judicial procedures. This procedure brought a new orderliness to a difficult field.

His reputation for fairness resulted in frequent requests by both management *and* labor for Wayne Morse's services as an arbitrator. Soon he became West Coast arbitrator for the longshore industry, in

which position he helped to settle and prevent many major shipping strikes. His contribution in this field in the thirties and forties resulted in the savings of millions of dollars to the people of the West Coast. Many companies are still operating under arbitration awards he wrote, which have needed only to be updated by subsequent collective bargaining agreements.

Under appointment by the Governor of Oregon, Wayne Morse also conducted a survey of Oregon criminal law administration. His work resulted in major reforms and led to his selection by the Attorney General of the United States as Director and Editor-in-Chief of a nationwide study of parole, probation and release procedures. The five volumes produced under his direction, known as "The Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures," brought action by many state legislatures to improve their criminal laws. Two of the volumes were written entirely by Wayne Morse. These writings, coupled with his subsequent activities in this field in connection with his Senate work, have made him an eminent authority on crime prevention, criminal law and procedure.

AVERTS RAIL STRIKE

In 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt made Wayne Morse chairman of the National Railroad Emergency Board to preside over a long, controversial dispute that threatened a national railroad stoppage. After six weeks of formal hearings, Wayne Morse, with a sense of urgency that later seemed prophetic, broke the case by holding the parties in thirty-eight hours of a continual mediation session. He moved from one party to the other with proposals and suggestions for compromising their differences. After the thirty-eight hours, he called the parties together and proposed a final settlement based upon the compromises and concessions he had hammered out.

His recommendations were accepted without change—on December 6, 1941, just a matter of hours before the Pearl Harbor attack and the entry of the United States into World War II. Morse's judgment, tact and tirelessness averted paralysis of America's railroads at a time when a nationwide strike would have been a calamity.

WAR LABOR BOARD

President Roosevelt a few days thereafter appointed Morse to be a public member of the National War Labor Board. Morse told the President that he preferred to activate his reserve commission in the Army and seek active military service. The President told him that as Commander-in-Chief he believed Morse's greatest contribution to the

Continued

"Wayne is one of those uncommon public men whose sense of duty and fair play thrust him into the center of issues and events to meet the challenges of our times, both at home and abroad. His contribution to the fabric of our society mark him as a devoted public servant whose interests not only reflect his constituency—but our national conscience as well."

SENATOR GEORGE McGOVERN,
D-South Dakota

war effort would be on the Labor Board to help insure uninterrupted, maximum production of weapons and supplies. •

On the War Labor Board, Morse helped maintain labor-management peace during wartime. The War Labor Board's decision in the policy-setting little steel case established the "little steel formula" for fair wages, inflation control in labor cases, industry-wide bargaining rights, adjustment of gross inequities in labor-management relations, and a series of other more subordinate issues. Each of the four public members wrote assigned sections of this historic decision. Among the sections of the Board's opinion in this case which Wayne Morse wrote, was the one dealing with union rights. It has been referred to in many subsequent decisions by labor arbitrators and by authorities in the field of labor law. The decision in the little steel case became the successful pattern for the settlement of hundreds of labor disputes in World War II.

Wayne Morse wrote a large number of the Board's opinions during his two years' service on the Board. These established many principles of labor law which are controlling today. Historic, among many, was his opinion in the Norma Hoffman case. This case established the vitally important union-maintenance clause for the duration of the war. Labor generally recognizes that this opinion, which was written entirely by Wayne Morse, probably did more to protect the legitimate rights of labor during the war than any other decision of the Board. Morse's decision in this case received a unanimous vote of all twelve members of the Board, including the employer members. It has been favorably referred to by many scholars in labor law as a landmark decision.

When a nationwide coal strike was called in November, 1943, a majority of the Board made special concessions to the strikers, in violation of the wage stabilization policies applicable to all the rest of American labor. Wayne Morse then wrote his famous dissenting

opinion in that case, and resigned from the Board. In his dissenting opinion, he held that a nationwide strike in time of war, in a major industry vital to the war effort, could not be justified under the no-strike, no-lockout agreement which all of labor and all of management had entered into with the President at the outbreak of the war. He held that the same rules should apply to all of labor and to all of management, and no union or management should be allowed to hold a strike or lockout gun at the head of the United States government in any industry vital to the war effort.

After Morse's resignation from the War Labor Board, Secretary of War Robert Patterson called Morse into conference and offered to commission him as a colonel to serve in London as the Secretary's special consultant on labor problems. President Roosevelt had not as yet accepted Morse's resignation from the War Labor Board, but when he learned that Morse was also being urged to return to Oregon and run for the United States Senate in 1944, the President strongly recommended to Wayne Morse that he enter the Senate race. Many Oregonians had already urged him to run for the Senate.

AN "EXPERIMENT IN POLITICS"

Political prophets gave him little chance. Wayne Morse gratefully declined an offer from some leading Oregon Democrats that he run on their ticket, explaining that he had always been a LaFollette Progressive Republican and wanted to do whatever he could to keep sound liberalism alive in his party.

The 1944 campaign waged by Morse was based on a program of "Principle Above Politics." He proposed to the voters of Oregon an "experiment in politics," in which he promised that, if elected, partisan considerations would never dictate his vote. Oregon agreed emphatically, sending Wayne Morse to Washington, D. C., where he began writing history as a United States Senator.

When Morse went to the Senate, he proved that he meant to keep his promise. When the facts and his conscience dictated otherwise, Morse voted differently from the majority of his party and supported Democratic proposals.

As a Republican, Morse forced a change in the oppressive Republican caucus system of the Senate which had attempted to bind all GOP senators to vote on the issues as the majority of the caucus decided.

Early in his Senate career, Morse became known as a man who was not afraid to take an independent stand on an issue. The Morse

Continued

trademark of moral and political *courage* is a quality which he has demonstrated consistently to this day. It has been approved four times by the voters of Oregon.

RE-ELECTION

In 1950, Wayne Morse repeated his pledge of 1944—"Do not re-elect me unless you want me to sit in the Senate a free man—*free* to vote in the public interest as the facts and my conscience dictate."

Once again the voters of Oregon agreed, and sent Morse back to Washington for a second term.

At the 1952 Republican convention, Morse was disappointed and disturbed when the party platform turned out to be weak on civil rights, extremely partisan on foreign policy, evasive on labor-management issues, advocated the tidelands giveaway, and hedged on resource development in the Northwest.

A second disappointment came when General Eisenhower sent word after his nomination that he wanted only Richard Nixon's name placed in nomination for vice-president. Morse believed in an open convention. He had been selected to make one of the speeches in support of Senator Saltonstall of Massachusetts for the vice presidential nomination.

Morse was further disturbed when candidate Eisenhower signed a declaration of Republican policy drafted by Senator Robert Taft. The statement was a declaration of Taft conservatism, which the Eisenhower candidacy had been expected to displace in the GOP with sound moderate liberalism.

LEAVES REPUBLICAN PARTY

Senator Morse became convinced that General Eisenhower, in his eagerness to win, was trying to appear to be all things to all men, and that it would be impossible for him to govern wisely after such a campaign. As further important campaign issues developed, it became clear to Morse that he could not support Eisenhower over the Democratic nominee, Adlai Stevenson.

After many conferences with Republican leaders, Senator Wayne Morse announced that he had no choice in all good conscience but to campaign for Stevenson and oppose Eisenhower. He explained that he felt it would not be ethical to actively oppose the candidate of the Republican Party and remain a Republican. Thus, for two years, he was an Independent in the United States Senate.

In the 1954 senatorial race, while still an Independent, Wayne Morse campaigned vigorously throughout Oregon for Democrat Richard Neuberger, who won an extremely narrow victory.

In 1955, Wayne Morse joined the Democratic Party after it became clear that members of that party welcomed him—and more importantly, that many Oregon Democrats shared his deeply-held beliefs on the issues of major importance.

RE-ELECTED AS A DEMOCRAT

Once again, political seers were predicting the end of Wayne Morse's political career. In 1956, running as a Democrat for the first time, the senior senator faced Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay, a former governor of Oregon.

McKay and the Eisenhower administration waged an expensive campaign of attack and smear against Morse in 1956. But they overlooked one thing—Wayne Morse refused to roll over and play dead. He took the issues to the voters of Oregon and demonstrated once again that he is a vigorous, tireless campaigner.

When the vote was counted, the voice of the Oregon electorate was clear—they wanted six more years of Wayne Morse's brand of independence, courage and constitutional liberalism.

SENATE STATESMAN

As a third-term senator, with his vast storehouse of experience and information, his parliamentary skill and his encyclopedic memory, Wayne Morse of Oregon continued blazing his historic path as an effective advocate of the individual's constitutional rights and of the public interest. He earned the respect of his colleagues in the Senate for his many legislative accomplishments in behalf of Oregon projects and interests. His twenty-three-year record of accomplishment in helping to obtain for Oregon many public works projects is a legislative monument to his effectiveness.

Acknowledged as the Senate's leading expert on labor-management matters, Wayne Morse continued to write a record of accomplishment as a foe of monopolies, a champion of conservationist causes, and a fighter for civil rights and the private enterprise system. His effective committee and Senate-floor work in support of farm, education, small business, labor, water resources, conservation, public works, social security, medical care, veterans, and other pieces of general welfare legislation won for him the respect and esteem of his colleagues in the Senate on both the Democratic and Republican sides.

He was also emerging as a Senate statesman. His consistent, commonsense and outspoken views on American foreign policy were gaining him national and international renown.

Continued

Wayne Morse was (and is) a leading member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He was (and is) chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs, whose study in 1959 provided the basis for the Alliance for Progress. He was a United States delegate to the United Nations in 1960. He was one of two Senate delegates to the Bogota, Colombia, Conference of 1960, where he made the major address to the conference in behalf of the U. S. delegation. In 1962, Senator Morse was appointed as one of two Senate delegates to the Conference of Punta del Este, Uruguay, a result of which was the acceptance by the South and Central American countries of the co-operative and self-help plans for carrying forward President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress program. Senator Morse was appointed as a representative of the United States to many international meetings and foreign conferences.

Wayne Morse of Oregon was being seen and recognized increasingly as an able spokesman on important foreign policy matters. The record he was writing caused him often to be referred to as the Conscience of the Senate.

"In that body of many able men who constitute the United States Senate, none is more courageous, none more indefatigable and more vigilant to protect the public interest, and the interests of the people of his state, than is Wayne Morse. Wayne Morse's leadership in behalf of education, clearly a field second to none in importance in our free society, since education and democracy are indeed one and inseparable, places this and coming generations forever in Wayne Morse's debt.

"With the announced retirement of Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, Wayne Morse, when re-elected, will become chairman of the important Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, in which he has been chairman of the Subcommittee on Education, and will, in the next and succeeding congresses, be able to continue with the added authority of the chairmanship his dedicated battling on behalf of the working people of America.

"I need not add that his courageous stand against our follies in foreign affairs are increasingly being recognized as sound and far-sighted."

SENATOR ERNEST GRUENING,
D-Alaska

FOURTH TERM

Re-elected in 1962 for a fourth term in the United States Senate, Wayne Morse's seniority and legislative effectiveness, combined with his continued vigor and dedication, met with a string of unbroken successes.

As chairman of the Senate Education Subcommittee under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, Oregon's senior Senator was a prime mover in skillful passage of a series of important and far-reaching education bills.

In the labor management field, Wayne Morse continued to be consulted, by both President Kennedy and President Johnson, on major national labor disputes which were besetting their administrations. These included the East Coast and Gulf of Mexico maritime dispute of 1963, the Railway labor dispute of 1963, the East Coast and Gulf maritime dispute of 1965, the Steel dispute of 1965, the Airlines dispute of 1966, and the Railway labor dispute of 1967. In addition, both President Kennedy and President Johnson sought Senator Morse's counsel on a number of major labor disputes which were subsequently resolved before they reached a crisis stage. (As earlier, Presidents Roosevelt and Truman had frequently consulted with Senator Morse on labor-management issues.)

Wayne Morse was a firm supporter, and co-sponsor, of many of the bills in the historic array of important social legislation passed by the 89th Congress.

And in the area of foreign policy, which so largely has dominated the national scene in this decade, Wayne Morse of Oregon took the lonely path, dictated by his conscience and his deep concern for world peace and justice through international law. He has pointed the direction that America and the world must travel to make the future secure for future generations of American boys and girls.

SENIORITY IN COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

At the close of the first session of the 90th Congress in December, 1967, Wayne Morse ranked eighth in seniority in the Senate. His high seniority is a great asset to Oregon in many legislative situations as well as in the Senate power structure.

Senator Morse is the second-ranking member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, which is recognized as one of the most important committees of the Senate. He is chairman of the Subcommittee on Education, and is the manager on the floor of the Senate of all the education bills that come before the Senate for

Continued

legislative action. Since the first year of the Kennedy administration, Senator Morse has been floor manager of more education bills, and has piloted them to successful passage, than have been passed in the entire preceding history of the nation.

Upon his re-election, Senator Morse will become chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, which has jurisdiction over labor, education, health, poverty and many veterans measures in the Senate.

His record in handling education legislation won the high praise of President Kennedy and of President Johnson. He has been referred to as "Mr. Education" of the Senate by President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, by many of his colleagues in the Senate, and by educators throughout the country.

On one occasion, President Johnson referred to the passage of education bills since 1961 as a "legislative miracle." Senator Morse's legislative generalship in the Senate, and his effectiveness in conference committees with the House of Representatives, have been major contributions to this legislative miracle. From the standpoint of the educational benefits for Oregon, this legislation has already brought many millions of dollars of federal money into the state, and many millions will continue to flow into the state for years to come.

Senator Morse is the fourth-ranking member of the powerful Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. He is chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs. It was in 1958 that Senator Morse made the motion which was seconded by the then Senator from Massachusetts, John Kennedy, to conduct a series of research studies dealing with the many problems which had arisen in U. S.-Latin American relations. The Senate appropriated the necessary funds and the studies were made. It was out of these studies that the Alliance for Progress program was born. When Senator Kennedy became President, he used the reports prepared by the experts for Senator Morse's subcommittee as the framework for the Alliance for Progress program which is doing so much to improve U. S.-Latin American relations.

Wayne Morse has continued his membership in the Senate District of Columbia Committee, on which he is the second-ranking member, because of his firm belief in the necessity for fair, humane and forward-looking legislation affecting the citizens of our nation's

"Wayne Morse (is) an outstanding American whose contributions in the Senate have already earned for him a durable place in the nation's annals. As Oregon's senior senator, Wayne Morse represents the people of his state with integrity, intelligence and ability. As ranking Democratic member in the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, he has been a major contributor to both the substance and the passage of landmark legislation involving labor and education. Wayne Morse is a strong right arm and a tower of strength to the leadership.

"For over a decade, Wayne Morse and I have served together on the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. In that body he has been a forceful and courageous advocate of his views on the issues of our times. In line with his special position as chairman of the Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs, he is recognized as one of the country's leading experts on our relations with Latin America. The senator has also devoted much time and talent to the betterment of our nation's capital for the lasting benefit of all Americans."

SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD,
D-Montana, Majority Leader

capital. His work for Home Rule in behalf of 850,000 people living in the District of Columbia who do not have the right to elect a mayor, or other municipal officials, has caused President Johnson to state publicly that no member of Congress has done more for the District of Columbia than has Wayne Morse.

Senator Morse is chairman of the subcommittee which has jurisdiction over the District of Columbia's schools, police and fire departments, and public welfare programs. His service to all of the people of the nation, in helping to resolve the many complex problems of the District of Columbia, has won for Senator Morse a high regard in the nation's capital, in which more people live than in each of eleven states of our country.

Wayne Morse has taken step by step and time again through his membership on the Small Business Committee, of which he is the second-ranking member, to work for and protect the economy of many of Oregon's small businesses. Many of Oregon's businessmen have

Continued

gone on record attesting that they have received unfailing and effective help whenever they have called upon Senator Morse to help them try to solve their problems with the federal government.

SENATOR FOR PEACE

Next to Wayne Morse's graduation picture in his high school annual, it was said of him: "Courage, the highest gift, that scorns to bend to mean devices, to gain a sordid end."

"Courage" is Wayne Morse's trademark. Historians may write that his earlier career, brilliant as it was, was merely a prelude to his consistent, courageous and historic stance as the *statesman* who did the most to keep alive in the United States in the mid-1960's the vitally important debate on American foreign policy.

Wayne Morse is not alone any more when he stands on the Senate floor to point out that American unilateral military action in Vietnam will not take us down the path to peace in Southeast Asia. By a vote of 82 to 0, the United States Senate in November, 1967, voiced its approval of the United Nations approach to settling the war in Asia. Senator Morse has been advocating this approach for four years.

On that occasion, Senator Mike Mansfield, the Senate majority leader, told the Senate: "We should give credit where credit is due, and that is to the senior Senator from Oregon, who has furnished the initiative in this body in the matter of taking this proposal to the United Nations.

"Senator Morse realized the proper role of the United Nations in the Vietnam dispute long, long ago. I certainly commend him for his deep insight, his perceptive foresight."

But to that tribute, as to so many others, Senator Morse replies that he cannot claim the credit. The credit, he says so often, belongs to the framers of the United States Constitution.

RENEWS HIS PLEDGE

In his campaign for re-election in 1968, Wayne Morse has renewed the pledge he made to the people of Oregon in 1944, 1950, 1956, and 1962—Principle Above Politics.

Your future, Oregon's future, and the future of the nation call out for the re-election to the United States Senate of this proven, courageous statesman.

In the sections of this book that follow, you can read the facts about Wayne Morse of Oregon and some of his actions on many issues in the United States Senate.

WAYNE MORSE OF OREGON— STATESMAN FOR PEACE

Throughout his public career, Senator Wayne Morse has been a consistent advocate and legislator for peace in the world.

All Oregonians and all Americans can be proud of his record of farsighted leadership on this overriding issue.

His reputation and record in support of world peace through applying the rules and peace-keeping procedures of international law are known around the world.

Wayne Morse entered the United States Senate in 1945—shortly before the end of World War II. At that time, Americans and peace-loving people around the globe shared a dream: that the United Nations would be the international organization through which permanent peace would finally be established.

Wayne Morse of Oregon still believes that ideal is worth working for. The active pursuit of that goal has been a major mission of his service in the Senate of the United States.

Wayne Morse's consistent record rests firmly on two philosophical cornerstones:

- *The only hope of advancing the cause of peace in our time lies in the substitution of the rules of international law for the jungle law of military might.*
- *The formulation of American foreign policy under our Constitution belongs to the people of the United States, not exclusively to the President and the State Department.*

The Wayne Morse record on Vietnam is discussed in a following section of this booklet. But it can be fully understood only in the context of the entire, consistent Wayne Morse record on peace and American foreign policy.

Here is a brief summary of the highlights of your Senator's record:

INTERNATIONAL COURT RESOLUTION

On the day in 1945 when the United States Senate ratified the United Nations Charter treaty, Senator Wayne Morse introduced a resolution providing for adherence by the United States to the Statute of the *International Court of Justice*. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 60 to 2.

Continued

The International Court is available to render opinions on issues of law between nations. It can also give advisory opinions to the Security Council, General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations, upon their request.

The Court has been little used. It seems that too many countries, including the United States, would rather fight over a question of law than take it to court. This is true even though the Court's verdicts are not enforced by any agency. They depend upon the countries they affect to carry them out.

Yet the framework and procedure of the International Court is there whenever we decide to use it. Under Senator Morse's resolution, the Court is available to the United States.

The cause of peace calls for its use.

McMAHON RESOLUTION

In 1950, Senator Morse co-sponsored, with the late Senator Brien McMahon of Connecticut, a proposal that the Senate "recommend an immediate special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations for the single purpose of *stopping the armaments race by speeding agreement upon effective and enforceable disarmament and control covering conventional armaments, biological and chemical agents, and atomic and hydrogen bombs.*"

The resolution further resolved that the Congress pledge itself to appropriate and make available to the United Nations, "when an effective and enforceable system of world-wide disarmament and control takes effect, *all sums which would otherwise have been spent upon weapons for a period of five years, such sums to be expended by the United Nations for peaceful development of atomic energy, technical assistance programs to underdeveloped areas, and general economic aid and assistance to war-ravaged countries . . .*"

In fiscal year 1968, the United States alone plans a budget of at least \$77 billion for defense, war and arms. Just think what we might have saved, and the underdeveloped world gained, from the McMahon resolution, if it had been carried out.

Senator Morse believes peace can only come about through such legislative proposals. It will never come about through arms races. He points out that throughout history arms races have produced war, not peace.

Senator Morse has always supported in the Senate adequate armaments for national defense and security, but he has opposed arms races that lead to military intervention abroad.

To those who complain that such measures as the McMahon resolution are unrealistic, Senator Morse quotes the words of Senator McMahon when he introduced it:

"The free world's strength derives in part from material things—the vigor of its industry and armed forces. But far more does its strength derive from the things of the spirit—the righteousness of the principles we hold sacred."

DISARMAMENT SUBCOMMITTEE AND AGENCY

In 1955, Senator Morse supported the creation of a Special Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament, and voted for funds to staff it. The committee's studies filled a vacuum in American knowledge of the obstacles to disarmament at a time when there was little interest in the matter within the Administration.

In the first months of the Kennedy Administration, Senator Morse voted for the controversial measure which created the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency within the State Department. The Agency expanded and elevated the work of the Subcommittee. It works closely with specialists in the Defense Department to explore technical possibilities and problems. *It made a major contribution to the negotiation of the test ban treaty of 1963.*

NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY

As early as 1957, Senator Morse introduced a resolution in the Senate calling upon the United States to seek agreement with other great powers to stop testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. The level of radiation pollution in the world's atmosphere was growing to proportions that alarmed health authorities.

One of the outstanding accomplishments of President Kennedy's Administration was the negotiation of the nuclear test ban treaty, and its ratification by the Senate in 1963. *Senator Morse advocated and voted for it.* The signers all pledged not to test nuclear weapons above ground, where radiation would spread into other countries.

Major non-signers of the treaty are France and China. *But more than 100 countries are signatories to the test ban treaty.* It has been honored by the parties, and has curbed pollution of the atmosphere.

Not only did the treaty achieve its immediate objective, but it led to negotiation between the United States and the Soviet Union of other measures to avert the use of nuclear weapons. The installation of the "hot line" between Moscow and Washington was one of these.

Continued

BERLIN AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Throughout the years of "cold war" between the United States and Russia, a recurring point of conflict was Berlin. In 1959, the dispute over access rights rose to heights that threatened the outbreak of war. Senator Morse began then to urge that the United States seek to put *both* East and West Berlin under the jurisdiction of the United Nations, making it a single, international city.

Senator Morse renewed that appeal in 1961, when the erection of the Berlin Wall brought on another crisis. On those occasions, Senator Morse also urged that the United States seek a ruling from the International Court on our rights in Berlin.

It was unthinkable to Senator Morse that either country should take the world to the edge of nuclear war upon its own finding of its alleged rights, rather than upon the basis of a clear and unmistakable international determination of those rights.

Senator Morse believes the Berlin situation remains a key area where progress might be made toward reuniting Europe.

UNITED NATIONS BONDS FOR PEACE

A great obstacle to United Nations peace-keeping activities has been the failure of some members to make the payments assessed to them. The Soviet Union, France, and several other members are still in arrears on their contributions to the peace force that was sent to the Congo in 1960.

In 1962, Senator Morse joined in obtaining Senate passage of a bill authorizing the United States government to purchase United Nations bonds, as a means of making a loan to the United Nations.

The Congo force was expensive, but it saved untold billions that the United States would have spent, had we tried to oust Russia from the Congo ourselves. The Soviet Union had to leave the Congo. It was the United Nations that put her out, rather than a costly military effort by the United States alone that could well have led to a much wider war.

Senator Morse believes that for that, our financial support to the United Nations was well worth the cost.

PERMANENT UNITED NATIONS, INTER-AMERICAN POLICE FORCES

Both the United Nations and the Organization of American States suffer from the absence of permanent police forces. A result is that if either the UN or the OAS decides to act in a dispute, it must then go about locating soldiers from among its members to do the job.

In 1959, Senator Morse joined in obtaining Senate passage of an amendment to the foreign aid bill that provided funds for a permanent police force within the Organization of American States. The Senate passed it again in 1963 and 1965.

But no such force has yet been established. Other parties to the OAS have been slow to back the idea, and the United States has not pressed it. We seem to prefer to act alone as military policeman—a policy which Senator Morse thinks is a great mistake.

The same has been true at the United Nations. Senator Morse believes the availability of forces at all times would encourage both organizations to use them, rather than let individual members act alone.

Wayne Morse is presently co-sponsor of Senator Clark's resolution, S. Con. Res. 47, which urges the United Nations to establish a permanent peace force and pledges American support of it.

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER REVISION TO ELIMINATE VETO

Another major obstacle to peace-keeping operations of the United Nations has been the veto power which the charter gives to permanent members of the Security Council.

In 1959, Senator Morse joined Senator Clark of Pennsylvania in introducing a resolution calling for a review of desirable charter revisions for the United States to seek.

Senator Morse believes that foremost among the changes would be elimination of the veto power in the Security Council. Senator Morse believes the United States should take the lead in trying to remove the veto, so the Security Council can resume its original purpose of deciding upon effective peace-keeping measures.

Continued

WAYNE MORSE OPPOSES UNILATERAL PEACE-KEEPING

When the United Nations appears stalemated by the veto, the great powers of the world find it easier to justify acting alone.

But Senator Morse of Oregon opposed unilateral American military action:

- In 1954, when war with China was threatened over Formosa.
- In 1957, when war appeared close in the Middle East.
- *And in 1964, in Vietnam.*

In each of those instances, Senator Morse tried to bring in the United Nations as the appropriate agency to determine what force should be used to keep peace.

But in each case, the United States not only undertook to make the decision itself, but gave this power—unchecked by Congress—to the President.

On June 11, 1962—*almost six years ago*—Senator Morse said of the growing civil war in Vietnam, and the sending of United States military “advisers” to take part in it:

“In my judgment, the time has come for the United States, through the present Administration, to make clear to our allies that there must be an allied foreign policy in Southeast Asia, and that the American people no longer should have placed upon them the heavy burden of payment that the American people are now carrying for the operations in Southeast Asia. . . .

“I am also of the opinion that this matter now has gone beyond the probabilities of being handled by SEATO; that this is a matter that ought to be laid before the United Nations, and that it ought to be handled under the provisions of the Charter, for this area is a threat to the peace of the world.”

On September 11, 1967, Senator Morse introduced a resolution in the Senate which called upon the President to lay the Vietnam war before the United Nations Security Council—and if that failed to produce action, to lay it before the General Assembly.

The Morse resolution, and the hearings on it, paved the way for unanimous Senate passage, 82-0, of a similar, but milder, resolution offered by Senator Mansfield.

These actions have been in keeping with the conviction Wayne Morse has often expressed in the Senate:

“There is no hope for permanent peace in the world until all nations of the world are willing to set up a system of international justice through law, to the procedures of which will be submitted each and every issue that threatens the peace of the world, for final and binding decision to be imposed by an international organization such as the United Nations.”

VIETNAM

Wayne Morse of Oregon has the respect of concerned Americans and peace-loving people of the free world for his courageous and consistent opposition to unilateral American military action in Southeast Asia.

Senator Morse has argued from the start that American military action in Vietnam might produce a *truce*—but it will never produce a *peace*.

Senator Morse has consistently opposed sending American soldiers to fight an Asian war.

He has consistently pressed his view—in Congress, to the President, and to the American public—that this country's course of action in Vietnam has been illegal, unconstitutional and immoral.

Senator Morse does *not* support unconditional withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. But he *does* support a multi-national effort to negotiate an end to the war.

No one in the United States has done more than Wayne Morse to keep alive in this country the public debate on Vietnam, in the firm belief that American foreign policy should be decided by the informed citizens of this democracy.

Wayne Morse has warned repeatedly that the United States is risking war with China. He has pointed out time and again that the United States is violating the Geneva Agreement, has supported puppet governments in South Vietnam and has embarked on a reckless military adventure that could lead to massive involvement of American soldiers in an Asian land war, a mistake that military strategists have warned against since the days of the Korean conflict and before.

History has consistently proved Wayne Morse *right* in his assessment of American foreign policy.

This has nowhere been more true than in Vietnam.

Continued

Even *Time* Magazine (January 5, 1968) acknowledged Wayne Morse's consistent stand against escalation of the war in Vietnam. *Time* said:

"No one else in Congress—not even Arkansas' J. William Fulbright—has been so consistently and vociferously opposed as Wayne Morse, who calls U. S. policy 'immoral and illegal.' Morse is one of only two Senators—with Alaska Democrat Ernest Gruening—who voted against the Tonkin Gulf Resolution of 1964, one of only three who voted last year against defense appropriations."

In March, 1964, Senator Gruening of Alaska and Senator Morse of Oregon began a systematic discussion of the history of the war in Vietnam and American involvement there.

By then, Senator Morse had become aware of the failure of our foreign aid program in South Vietnam. He knew the details of the extensive waste and corruption in the government of South Vietnam President Diem, much of it at the expense of American taxpayers.

In 1964, Senator Morse spoke about Vietnam in the Senate on 69 occasions. Alone, he and Senator Gruening tried to bring to public attention the fact that mere assistance to the government of South Vietnam would not save it.

They pointed out that substituting an American effort for South Vietnamese effort would require massive intervention and endless war.

In August, 1964, an exchange of gunfire in the Gulf of Tonkin prompted the Administration to ask for, and obtain from Congress, a resolution of endorsement on which it has since based its build-up of the American war effort to more than 500,000 men.

Two senators — Wayne Morse and Ernest Gruening — voted against the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

- They alone asked probing questions of exactly what the Resolution meant, and what it authorized.
- They challenged whether Congress should grant a blank check to the President to make war in the absence of a declaration of war by Congress.
- Both senators have voted against the war appropriations, believing that using the power of the purse-string is the only way Congress can regain its rightful control over excessive presidential power.

Although President Johnson was promising in 1964 that "we are not about to send American boys nine or ten thousand miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves," events were getting out of hand. Escalation remained the order of the

day and hundreds of thousands of United States troops were dispatched to Vietnam.

Throughout 1964 and 1965, only Senators Morse and Gruening consistently fought the President's policy, despite the political unpopularity of their position.

But they have been proved correct. In the more than three years since the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was passed, many other senators have expressed regret at voting for it, saying they would not do so again.

On August 22, 1967, Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said that he had re-read the 1964 debate on the Tonkin Resolution and he paid tribute to Senator Morse by saying:

"The time that has elapsed since then has proved him to be practically the only one who was correct in the position he took with regard to that resolution in August, 1964.

"And, in spite of the sadness and tragedy that has afflicted the country, as a member of the Senate, he ought to be very proud of his foresight at that time."

Senator Morse's constant efforts to bring the Vietnam war before the United Nations were highlighted by the resolution he introduced for this purpose on September 11, 1967 (S. Con. Res. 44). Hearings were promptly held on it by the Foreign Relations Committee.

A second resolution modifying the Morse version was offered by the majority leader, Senator Mike Mansfield, and was adopted on November 30, 1967, by the Senate by a vote of 82 to 0.

At that time, Senator Mansfield described Senator Morse as the one "who furnished the initiative in this body in the matter of taking this proposal to the United Nations. Senator Morse realized the proper role of the United Nations in the Vietnam dispute long, long ago. I certainly commend him for his deep insight, his perceptive foresight."

A NOTE ON SENATOR MORSE AND THE PRESIDENT

There are those who allege that Wayne Morse's well-known and outspoken position on Vietnam has weakened his influence and cooperation with President Johnson.

Those people could not be more wrong.

When Wayne Morse disagrees with the President, he says so. But when he agrees with the President, he is equally outspoken.

And on most domestic issues affecting the welfare of American

Continued

citizens, Wayne Morse and President Johnson are usually in agreement.

Columnist Drew Pearson reported in the Portland, Oregon, *Journal* of September 21, 1967:

"At this point the President made an unusual political statement. 'I want you to know that I don't engage in primaries,' he said, 'but I'm a Morse man.'"

On the same day, columnist Victor Riesel reported on a meeting with President Johnson:

"'You guys have Morse figured wrong,' said the President. 'He is the best fellow I have up there. He's helped on aid to education, civil rights. We don't agree on foreign policy. But I can't blame him for that. The guy is entitled to a night off.'"

Even *Time* Magazine, which is anything but friendly to Senator Morse, acknowledges the close degree of cooperation between Senator Morse and President Johnson. *Time* Magazine of January 5, 1968, had this to say:

"Despite their differences on Vietnam, the two men are in near-perfect accord on many domestic issues, particularly labor and education. 'The President understands he can't have Wayne on the war,' notes one Senator, 'but he can have him on other matters. And he needs him.'

"Morse's skill as a parliamentarian has helped save many Administration bills, and last month it helped the Democratic majority push through the biggest school-aid-authorization bill in history. By the time he takes the floor with a bill, Morse, No. 2 Democrat on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, knows not only every detail in the bill but also who will oppose it—and just when he must compromise. He is consulted by the President on every important labor dispute . . ."

Columnist A. Robert Smith reported to Oregon newspapers in September, 1967:

"'Well, all I can say,' responded President Johnson, 'is that when I ask Wayne for anything, he delivers.'

"Despite the tongue-lashing Morse delivers when it comes to appraising the President's approach to Vietnam, the senator has become a most helpful team man for the administration when it comes to domestic affairs. In the field of education and anti-poverty legislation, Morse has delivered one bill after another with dispatch and skill that merit the admiration of the pragmatist in the White House.

"And now he has delivered the terms of a settlement of the railroad labor dispute, after getting legislation through Congress to prevent a strike.

"A senator who can deliver in this fashion, during a period when Congress is becoming increasingly balky, is a legislator to be valued, a man to be praised, and a political ally to be defended, from the vantage point of President Johnson."

VOTING RECORD OF SENATOR MORSE ON MAJOR LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE VIETNAM WAR

88th Congress, Second Session, 1964

| <i>Date</i> | <i>Vote</i> | <i>Subject</i> |
|-------------|-------------|----------------|
|-------------|-------------|----------------|

| | | |
|-----|-----|----------------------------|
| 8/7 | Nay | Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. |
|-----|-----|----------------------------|

89th Congress, First Session, 1965

| | | |
|-----|-----|---|
| 5/6 | Nay | Vietnam Supplemental Appropriation; additional \$700 million. |
|-----|-----|---|

89th Congress, Second Session, 1966

| | | |
|-----|-----|---|
| 3/1 | Nay | Mansfield motion to table Morse amendment to repeal Public Law 88-408 (Gulf of Tonkin) which supported President Johnson's determination to repel armed attack against U. S. forces in southeast Asia by the Communist regime in North Vietnam. |
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| | | |
|-----|-----|--|
| 3/1 | Nay | Vietnam Supplemental Military Authorization. |
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90th Congress, First Session, 1967

| | | |
|-----|-----|---|
| 3/1 | Nay | Vietnam Supplemental Appropriation, including re-declaration of Congressional support for Vietnam war policies. |
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| | | |
|------|-----|--|
| 3/20 | Nay | Vietnam Supplemental Appropriation for 1967. |
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WAYNE MORSE— FOREIGN POLICY SPOKESMAN

Wayne Morse is one of the strongest foreign policy assets the United States has. His record of courage and independence is well known among the leaders of foreign countries, and even among the citizens of small towns everywhere. They often say that if Wayne Morse can pursue the course of action he does in American politics, and still survive, then there is Democracy in America.

Senator Morse is fourth-ranking on the important, 19-member Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He is chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs. Before becoming a member of the Foreign Relations Committee in 1955, he served for several years on the Armed Services Committee of the Senate.

Few men in this country are as informed in this vital area of national concern as Oregon's senior senator.

WAYNE MORSE REPRESENTS THE UNITED STATES AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

Democratic and Republican presidents alike have recognized Wayne Morse of Oregon as a keen student of international affairs.

Senator Morse has often been asked to serve as a representative of the United States at international meetings and foreign conferences. Here is the record:

- In 1946, Wayne Morse was sent by President Truman and Secretary of War Patterson on a special mission to the displaced persons camps of Europe and to Palestine. The confidential report he made was praised by President Truman as being of great help to him in formulating American policy.
- In 1950, Wayne Morse was chairman of a subcommittee which inspected and studied the operations of all American military bases and installations throughout Alaska.
- In 1952, Wayne Morse was one of two senators appointed to investigate American military installations in Great Britain, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Greece and Turkey. The report filed on his return resulted in many changes in the administration of American bases.

- Wayne Morse took part in interparliamentary conferences with Mexico in 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966 and 1967.
- Wayne Morse was chairman of a delegation of seven senators appointed by President Johnson to represent the United States at parliamentary conferences in Japan, India and Pakistan in November-December, 1965. The delegation also went to Israel to confer with the Israeli government.
- Wayne Morse served as the special ambassador of President John F. Kennedy at the inauguration of the president of Peru in July, 1963.
- Wayne Morse served as the Senate adviser to President Kennedy in a meeting of Central American presidents in Costa Rica in March, 1963.
- *Wayne Morse was appointed by President Eisenhower as United States delegate to the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1960.*
- Wayne Morse, at the request of the Foreign Relations Committee, toured six Latin American countries in his capacity as chairman of the Latin American Subcommittee in 1959. *Out of this trip came recommendations that laid the groundwork for the Alliance for Progress.*
- At the Punta del Este, Uruguay, conference in 1962, Wayne Morse accompanied Secretary of State Dean Rusk as his special adviser.
- Wayne Morse represented President Kennedy in Puerto Rico on its Constitution Day, 1961.
- Wayne Morse was one of two Senate delegates appointed to attend the meeting of the Organization of American States in Bogota, Colombia, in 1960. The State Department assigned Senator Morse the task of making the major speech in behalf of the American delegation, in which he set forth the American position on the Act of Bogota which was formulated at that conference.
- Wayne Morse headed the Senate delegation to the British parliamentary conference in New Dehli, India, in 1957.
- In 1967, Wayne Morse was one of five senators asked by President Johnson to fly to Mexico with him and the president of Mexico. President Johnson explained that the flight would give him the opportunity to discuss some of the problems of United States-Mexico relations.

Continued

"United States Senator Wayne Morse is more than legend. His service exemplifies the true quality of independence, courage and intellectual probity."

SENATOR ALBERT GORE,
D-Tennessee

WAYNE MORSE URGES REALISTIC CHINA POLICY

One reason given for the war in Vietnam is that Communist China must be "contained" by the United States in Southeast Asia. This argument persists even though it is said, at the same time, that China has become deeply isolationist and by her own actions has alienated herself from potential friends in that part of the world.

In October, 1965, Senator Morse in a Senate speech challenged the contention that China had to be "contained" in Vietnam by U. S. military forces. He pointed out that China had no men fighting in the war, while we had many thousands; that China was supplying relatively little equipment to North Vietnam or the Vietcong, while we were supplying all the military weapons for South Vietnam.

Senator Morse believes that this country's simple translation of our containment policy toward Russia into a containment policy toward China ignores a central feature of our Russian policy: *a long-time state of diplomatic relations, travel, cultural exchanges, trade, and cooperation in many areas has given us experience and insights into Soviet objectives and methods.* The State Department's large group of Soviet experts has no parallel group of first-hand Chinese experts.

The Cuban missile crisis of 1962 did not end in nuclear war largely because America had a wide range of contacts with Russia, both official and informal, and long experience in direct dealing with Russian leaders. *There are no such channels open to us with China.*

There are no channels because of the American policy of refusing to face the most obvious fact of life in Asia today—*the Communist government of China is in complete control of the country.* If we are to deal with the problems China poses to us as a nuclear power, we will have to do it directly with her government.

Senator Morse in 1960 urged that the United States make a start in recognizing the Asian facts of life by dropping our bitter resistance to Chinese membership at the United Nations.

Senator Morse suggested that we propose a United Nations committee that would go to Peking and discuss the means of according mainland China representation in the United Nations.

Senator Morse has frequently quoted with approval the words of Pope Paul before the United Nations in 1965:

"Your vocation is to make brothers not only of some but of all peoples, a difficult undertaking, indeed; but this it is, your most noble undertaking.

"Strive to bring back among you any who have separated themselves, and study the right method of uniting to your pact of brotherhood, in honor and loyalty, those who do not share in it. Gentlemen, you have performed and you continue to perform a great work: the education of mankind in the ways of peace. The United Nations is the great school where that education is imparted. . . . Everyone taking his place here becomes a pupil and also a teacher in the art of building peace."

As a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Morse urged in January, 1966, that the Committee conduct a full, public study of our China policy. The hearings that followed produced the first frank appraisals in 20 years of United States relations with China.

Today, China is moving rapidly into the circle of nuclear powers. The United States has extensive military plans for coping with China—but no diplomatic, cultural or commercial plans.

Senator Morse believes that if we are to avoid nuclear war with China, we will have to deal with the reality of China on the mainland, and not with the pleasant myth that "China" exists on the island of Taiwan.

SENATOR MORSE URGES PEACE-KEEPING IN THE MIDDLE EAST

In early 1948, Senator Morse advocated United States recognition of the State of Israel, one of many new countries struggling to be born out of the ruins of imperialism. President Truman recognized Israel as a nation soon afterwards, helping greatly to make it a full-fledged member of the community of nations, and one of the few democracies in that part of the world.

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As the new Arab nations surrounding Israel continued with threats and plans to destroy Israel, Senator Morse protested the arming of Arab countries during the Eisenhower Administration.

When war broke out in 1956, Senator Morse opposed a unilateral United States military action there. He voted against the Middle East Resolution of 1957, which authorized the President to send troops there on his own determination, and which he did send into Lebanon.

Throughout Senate action on foreign aid legislation, Senator Morse has joined with the late Senator Lehman and later with Senators Javits and Gruening to *withhold United States aid to countries threatening their neighbors*, or practicing religious discrimination against American citizens.

In 1959, the Morse-Javits amendment authorized the President to terminate our assistance to any country practicing these discriminations, then practiced mainly against American servicemen and businessmen of the Jewish faith. This provision has been included ever since, in one form or another, in foreign aid legislation.

In 1963, a Morse-Gruening amendment to the foreign aid bill was approved by the Senate, cutting off aid to Nasser's Egypt or any other country engaged in aggression against a country also receiving United States aid. At the time, Egypt had a large army in Yemen and was continuing to threaten Israel.

Senator Morse has frequently cited Jordan as a bad example of United States foreign aid. Our aid provided Jordan with modern arms and a subsidy to her economy—yet it did not enable the United States to prevent Jordan from joining Egypt in its war plans.

In the spring of 1967, the Arab countries began organizing again against Israel. Pacts were made to put the armies of Jordan and Iraq under Egyptian command. In June, Nasser moved his forces to blockade the Gulf of Aqaba, a waterway which Arab countries, and maritime powers generally, recognized in 1956 as international waters. In 1956, the United States stood behind that guarantee.

For several days in 1967, after Nasser violated international law rights in the Gulf of Aqaba, western nations dickered over what should be done to restore this vital international waterway lifeline to Israeli use. When nothing came of these talks, Israel acted to open the waterway, resulting in the "six days' war" of 1967.

Senator Morse was the first to call upon the United States to demonstrate that the Gulf of Aqaba was still considered international waters by our country. Such a demonstration on our part might have warned Egypt right at the start that nations other than Israel were interested in upholding the principle of international access to this waterway and those similar to it elsewhere.

In 1965, on a trip to Asia as head of a seven-man Senate delegation, Senator Morse went to Israel at the request of President Johnson. While in Israel, Senator Morse and his delegation talked to Israel government officials about American military aid to Arab countries with its resulting threat to peace in the Middle East.

Senator Morse does not believe the United States should make any more arms available to Arab countries, nor subsidize them with food or economic aid, as long as they continue to plan new assaults upon Israel.

Senator Morse believes the United States should make clear to Arab countries that the United Nations is duty-bound to resist any attack upon Israel by the Arab States.

Further, Senator Morse believes it should be made clear to the Arab countries that unless they recognize Israel as a sovereign power and negotiate a peace treaty with her through the assistance of the United Nations, if necessary, the responsibility for the continued threat to world peace in the Mediterranean rests with the Arab nations.

Senator Morse believes the *sale* of arms should be limited to countries with good commercial credit standing, a condition that Israel meets. Faced with Arab threats to make war against Israel, Senator Morse believes that the United States should sell those arms to Israel which she needs to defend herself from any act of aggression by the Arab powers—but at the same time, seek to have the United Nations enforce the peace against any outbreak of war in the Middle East.

Senator Morse strongly favors re-establishment of a United Nations force in the Middle East to serve as international keeper of the peace until Israel and the Arab countries work out a peace treaty and demonstrate to the United Nations that peace will be preserved.

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SENATOR MORSE WORKS TO STRENGTHEN ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS IN LATIN AMERICA

In 1955, Senator Morse became chairman of the Latin American Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. He has held the post ever since.

As chairman, he organized a review in 1958 of what was wrong with our relations with nations to the south of us, and how relations might be improved.

Out of the survey conducted by his subcommittee came a series of recommendations that later came to be called the Alliance for Progress. Senator John F. Kennedy was a member of the Morse subcommittee at the time.

In 1959, as Fidel Castro moved to take over Cuba, Senator Morse, almost alone, warned that Castro's methods of mass executions and show trials marked him as a demagogue, not a democrat. Against considerable opposition from liberals, Senator Morse urged that the United States not embrace Castro as it had earlier embraced the previous dictator of Cuba.

Early in 1962, Senator Morse served as Senate adviser to Secretary of State Dean Rusk at the hemispheric meeting in Uruguay, where Cuba was quarantined as a threat to the peace of the hemisphere.

In 1963, Senator Morse represented President Kennedy as Special Ambassador at the inauguration of the President of Peru. In that same year, he participated with President Kennedy in a meeting with presidents of Central American countries in Costa Rica.

Senator Morse has maintained close touch with the congresses of Latin American countries. He has been a member of the congressional conference with Mexico each year since 1961.

As military juntas began overthrowing one government after another in Latin America, Senator Morse sought to curtail our assistance to them, for the basic objective of the Alliance for Progress is to promote constitutionalism, and political and economic liberty.

Through Senator Morse's amendments to foreign aid legislation, a ceiling has been put upon the amount of military grant aid that may go to Latin American countries.

Although Senator Morse favors the use of international agencies to dispense aid, he does not believe the agencies should be allowed to dispense American money in violation of our own foreign aid principles.

In 1965, when United States contributions to the Inter-American Development Bank were renewed, a Morse amendment was added to the law requiring the American vote in the Bank to be cast against any loan to a country that has seized the property of our investors without compensation.

Senator Morse is also deeply concerned with the United States interest in Panama. He knows that American commercial and military needs have outgrown the present canal, and that a new, sea-level canal will soon be needed in Central America.

Senator Morse believes that more consideration should be given to constructing a new canal elsewhere than in Panama, especially if it can be developed as an international waterway that will not be subject to seizure or exorbitant price demands by any one country.

When President Johnson prepared for a meeting with other Latin American presidents in the spring of 1967, he invited the advice of Senator Morse and several other members of Congress as to what agreements the United States should be prepared to make. The main topic of the conference involved plans for a common market within Latin America.

Senator Morse introduced a resolution worked out in consultation with the White House. It stated that the United States would favor assistance through the Alliance for Progress to the extent that the Latin American countries make it effective through self-help to establish a common market. The resolution was not adopted prior to the President's departure, and hence was dropped.

A few weeks later, the Morse Subcommittee began a review of the Alliance for Progress, after a request by the Senate Majority Leader for Senate committees to undertake a surveillance of the administration of existing laws.

Papers have been prepared and published concerning trade problems in the hemisphere, political issues, military security needs, land reform, and the extent to which goals first established for the Alliance for Progress in 1961 are being met.

Completion of the survey this year will give Congress—and the public—a much clearer picture of the current status of the Alliance for Progress, its accomplishments and failures.

WAYNE MORSE FIGHTS FOR A SENSIBLE FOREIGN AID PROGRAM

His Record on U. S. International Accounts—The Dollar Drain, Foreign Aid, and Balance of Payments

Senator Morse is firmly committed to the principle that the beneficiaries of American foreign aid dollars should be the *people* of foreign nations, especially underdeveloped nations.

He is a consistent and harsh critic of foreign aid programs that take American tax dollars and give them to the landlords, military castes and ruling powers of foreign countries.

Senator Morse wages a constant fight to keep your dollars at home, to help the American economy, unless it can be shown that American money appropriated for foreign aid is truly being used to further economic and social programs among the people of foreign countries.

Here are recent highlights of the Wayne Morse record:

As one of five floor managers who obtained Senate ratification of the North Atlantic Treaty in 1949, Senator Morse supported and voted for Marshall Plan aid to restore the economies of our western European allies, and military aid to equip their armies.

But by late 1962, he had become alarmed by the continued assistance to our revived and prosperous NATO partners. Military aid to NATO members amounted to more than \$400 million in fiscal year 1963, and the United States was considering picking up 40 per cent of the cost of a new fleet of nuclear armed ships for NATO—a cost put at between \$2.5 and \$6 billion.

Senator Morse was also concerned by the constant deficit we were running in our international accounts, and by the changed attitude of France, a central NATO country. France began raising barriers to U. S. goods, especially foodstuffs like Oregon-grown fruit. She began withdrawing her military units assigned to the NATO military organization, even though France, like other NATO countries, had never fulfilled her assigned manpower quota as had the United States.

"Wayne Morse is nationally known for his industry, his rugged independence and his deep and abiding interest in the problems of all people. . . . It is a privilege to have him as a friend over the many years we have both been in government."

SENATOR STUART SYMINGTON,
D-Missouri

In a Senate speech on January 14, 1963, Senator Morse began a detailed re-examination of the American role in western Europe. He itemized the difficulties France was creating for our farm products; the withdrawal of French units from NATO; and the many ways in which the cost of our 350,000 American troops in Europe was draining dollars out of the United States. He condemned France's practice of secretly obtaining U. S. assets and converting them into gold. As our gold supply waned, other Senators became concerned, too.

Senator Morse also began a searching re-examination of the foreign aid program. The Washington correspondent of the Providence (R. I.) *Journal* wrote:

"Primarily because of one man, the Senate debate on foreign aid stretched on for 14 days and forced Senators to record their stand more than 30 times before approval came in a 63 to 17 vote Friday afternoon.

"Almost single-handedly, Senator Wayne Morse, D-Ore., pressed on until nearly every dark corner of the vast aid program was exposed to the light of unlimited Senate debate. Rhode Island's Senators, like most of their colleagues, had been telling their constituents right along that they would take a close look at the aid program this year. Senator Morse made sure everyone did just that . . ."

The original Administration request for \$4.9 billion was trimmed down to \$4.5 billion by the Administration itself. This was reduced by the Foreign Relations Committee to \$4.2 billion.

Senator Morse urged that foreign aid as then constituted be ended, and a blue-ribbon Congressional committee be appointed to bring in

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a new program for future years. This new program would be proposed only after a country-by-country study of previous aid had been made. Aid henceforth would be limited to 50 countries, compared to the 90-plus then on the aid rolls.

Although the Morse proposal was not accepted that year, in 1965 it was added to the aid bill by the Foreign Relations Committee itself. When the House refused to accept it, the Senate began writing into foreign aid legislation the various reforms that Morse had called for in his 1963 plan.

As the 1963 debate began, Morse challenged the value and success of foreign aid in country after country. After ten days, the Senate leadership recognized that the bill was in trouble. It came in with its own amendment, reducing the program by \$385 million. But Senator Morse pressed for further changes. The Senate approved Morse amendments that reduced:

- Development loans by \$25 million.
- Economic grants by \$20 million.
- Contingency funds by \$50 million.
- Latin American grants by \$20 million.

A Church-Morse amendment cutting off aid to the economically prosperous countries of Europe and Japan was passed and retained in the final law.

Other Morse amendments approved by the Senate provided a firm definition of what was meant by an economically developed country; repealed the two-year authorization for lending, so the program would come under Congressional review each year; and a Morse-Gruening amendment cut off aid to Nasser's Egypt or any other country engaged in aggression against a friend of the United States.

In 1964, the Senate adopted a Morse amendment that reduced the \$3.5 billion measure of that year by \$216 million.

In 1965, Morse was joined by Committee Chairman Fulbright in his effort to revamp and reduce the scale of foreign aid. The Committee bill included the Morse plan to end aid as it was then constituted, and to restrict future aid to a total of 50 countries. A Morse

floor amendment cutting \$200 million from the \$3.44 billion total was adopted.

One Morse amendment lost. It would have cut U. S. aid to Pakistan and India by 75 per cent, because they were close to war with each other, yet each was supported by our assistance. A few weeks later, the war came, forcing a suspension of aid to both countries.

Funds voted that year came to the lowest total in the history of foreign aid.

In 1966, the Senate cut \$250 million from development loans and \$100 million from military aid, after narrowly rejecting a Morse amendment cutting the latter by \$200 million. The number of countries eligible for development loans (excluding Alliance for Progress countries) was put at 10; for supporting assistance, 10; for technical aid, 40; and for military aid, 40. New programs of more than \$100 million in value were prohibited, except when specifically authorized by Congress.

Last year, 1967, saw the smallest aid program ever. A total of \$737 million was cut by the Foreign Relations Committee, with Morse support. A bill he co-sponsored with Senator Fulbright to expand birth control programs in countries receiving aid was written into the bill.

An amendment Morse offered on the Senate floor reducing development loans by another \$100 million was passed, as were other Morse amendments putting a ceiling of \$50 million on military aid to Latin American countries and \$25 million on military aid to African countries.

In 1967, \$2.3 billion was appropriated for foreign aid. This does not include our vast military and economic assistance to Vietnam and other countries of Southeast Asia. But the reduction is in keeping with Senator Morse's belief that we should *not* maintain all aid programs

"Oregon is fortunate in being able to return to the Senate a man who has won universal respect for devotion to his state and nation, illustrated by his high sense of honor and an uncommon willingness to stand up and be heard on the divisive issues of our times."

SENATOR VANCE HARTKE,
D-Indiana

everywhere, when conditions change and when new obligations arise elsewhere.

In 1964, Senator Morse pursued his effort to increase our earnings and cut our spending abroad by attacking unfair ocean freight rates. Legalized international cartels of shipping companies and governments fix these rates, which are much higher for goods shipped out of the United States than for goods shipped into the United States. He challenged the Maritime Commission to investigate these rates, and to refuse approval of them on behalf of the U. S. government.

The Morse campaign to equalize shipping costs for U. S. exports is beginning to get results, for the Maritime Commission and American business are now aroused to the injustice of the rate structure.

In August, 1967, Senator Morse tried in another way to reduce U. S. costs abroad that are responsible for our international deficit. He offered an amendment to reduce the \$70.2 billion Defense Department appropriation bill by 10 per cent. Had it passed, it would have left to the discretion of the Secretary of Defense the decision where to make cuts that would total \$7.02 billion. The Secretary could provide everything needed for Vietnam, and make the cuts in such expenditures as the \$2.5 billion for our troops in Germany.

Morse's amendment was not adopted. But by the end of 1967, the foreign deficit was so bad and the drain on our gold so serious that the Administration put mandatory limits upon investments and travel abroad by U. S. citizens.

Senator Morse continues to insist that it is our *governmental* expenditures abroad—for military bases, for more than one million U. S. servicemen overseas, for foreign aid—that should be reduced before we restrict American business and citizens in their spending abroad.

Wayne Morse is co-sponsor of the current resolution by Senator Mansfield, calling for a substantial reduction in American forces in Europe.

Senator Morse also joined a majority of Senators in 1967 in terminating the "easy credit" arms sales that in too many cases are unlikely ever to be repaid.

WAYNE MORSE FIGHTS TO CUT GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Senator Morse has brought about tremendous savings in the American foreign aid program. These savings of your tax dollars are described in the previous section of this booklet.

Here is some more of the record:

THE 'MORSE FORMULA' IS AN EFFECTIVE WEAPON FOR ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT

If your friends tell you they think a United States Senator should save them money—*ask if several hundred million dollars is enough!* That's how much of *your* tax money has been saved over the years because of the effective policy of economy that has become known in Congress as the "Morse Formula."

The Morse Formula is simple enough. It merely provides that surplus federal property turned over to states or local governments must be paid for at 50 per cent of appraised value. Federal property turned over to private individuals or commercial interests must be paid for at full appraised value.

The formula was devised at the end of World War II to prevent give-aways of federal surplus property (mostly military property). At that time, it grew out of what was known as the Byrd-Saltonstall-Morse report. Senator Morse was chairman of that subcommittee.

But in the 20-plus years since then, Senator Morse has been the Senate watchdog to insist that the formula is applied to *all federal property transfers*. Why not? Federal property is your property—why should it be given away without compensation?

The Morse Formula is simple in conception—but difficult in application. Most of the bills involving such property transfers are so-called minor bills which are usually passed by "unanimous consent" in the Senate. That means the bills are just called off on the "consent calendar" and if no senator objects, they are considered passed without any actual vote being taken on them.

Therefore, Senator Morse makes a practice of examining each of

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the bills in advance of the calendar session. If a bill contains no provision for payment to the federal government, he objects to the bill and offers an amendment based upon the Morse Formula.

There's no glory in that kind of detail work—but *somebody* has to do it for you. As the *Oregon Journal* reported on September 4, 1967:

"Unanimous consent bills are hard to catch, but Morse has managed to catch nearly every one involving property transfers in the past 21 years."

Not all of these attempted land grabs involve great sums of money. In fact, many of them involve rather small amounts. But they add up—probably to as much as \$1 billion in the years that Oregon's senior senator has insisted on application of the Morse Formula.

Many types of federal property have been involved in these attempted give-away bills. Many involve real property—particularly military reservations or parts of them.

In one bill, it was proposed to give to a state a stretch of military real estate that was from 2 to 10 miles wide and extended about 50 miles along the sea coast. Senator Morse's investigation showed that the property was worth a great many millions of dollars. The plan was to use much of it for commercial resort developments once the state obtained possession of it and sold it to land and resort developers.

Other bills have involved office buildings, purchased by the federal government for use during the war, which later became surplus. A myriad of other real estate holdings have been involved, such as surplus warehouses, military camps, hospital property, shipyards, experiment stations and other such federal holdings. In the area of surplus personal property, the total number of bills since 1946 would fill a book.

As a result of Wayne Morse's watchdog activities, seldom does a senator try to obtain surplus federal property for nothing. Every Senate committee now has its clerk notify Senator Morse of any bill that comes to it without the Morse Formula written into it.

In fact, the Morse Formula for all practical purposes has become an unwritten rule of the Senate. Frequently senators speak in praise of it when they introduce a bill with the Morse Formula in it or support Wayne Morse in his insistence that it be added to it. This usually happens when a property-transfer bill comes to the Senate from the House of Representatives.

Senator Morse, as Senate watchdog over federal property, has rigid standards—as people in a few Oregon communities know, since

he has always insisted that Oregonians, too, compensate the federal government for surplus property. For, says Senator Morse, "If I were unwilling to apply the formula to my own state, then I would have no right to apply it to any other state."

A lot of people talk about fighting off raids on the treasury. Wayne Morse has the battle scars to show that he has *done* something about it, *to save you money you wouldn't have known was yours in the first place.*

That's *effective* representation.

WAYNE MORSE URGES NON-ESSENTIAL CUTS IN DEFENSE AND SPACE SPENDING

As the cost of the Vietnam war began to rise in 1964, Senator Morse took the position that our ambitious—but unessential—space and military activities unrelated to Vietnam should be cut back.

Chief among these:

- *The space program.*
- *The assignment of more than 350,000 troops to Europe.*

The goal of reaching the moon in this decade was suggested by President Kennedy in 1961, when there was no war budget. Spending levels for the crash program rose quickly to more than \$5 billion a year.

As the war budget rose in 1964, Wayne Morse began to vote for curtailment of space spending, pointing out that it was primarily a scientific study with long-range implications—and *should not be held to a timetable when more important events overtook us.*

In 1964, Senator Morse supported an unsuccessful effort to reduce the \$5.5 billion space budget by \$308 million.

In 1965, Senator Morse voted against a \$5.2 billion authorization for NASA on the ground that it was too large, and he voted to cut \$100 million from its appropriation.

In 1966, Senator Morse voted for an amendment calling for a percentage cut of 10 per cent in the space budget, which was \$5 billion that year.

In 1967, Senator Morse voted to reduce the space funds by \$100 million. Once again, when all efforts to cut the appropriation further failed to carry, he voted against the entire \$4.68 billion appropriation.

Troops In Europe

Senator Morse also believes that as the U. S. military build-up in

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Asia jumps rapidly in money and manpower, our outlay of resources in Europe should be reduced.

Our NATO partners in Europe no longer feel threatened by Soviet aggression. They do not meet their manpower assignments for the NATO military organization. In fact, France is withdrawing hers entirely, and the British contingent remains in Germany only because it is paid for in part by the United States and Germany.

In 1967, Senator Morse proposed an amendment to the \$70.2 billion Defense Department appropriation bill that would have reduced it by 10 per cent. A saving of \$7.02 billion would have come from non-Vietnam activities, chiefly those in Europe. The amendment was rejected. But rather than asking for more money needed for Vietnam in 1968, the Defense Department is in fact taking the funds out of other programs.

Senator Morse is also co-sponsor of the Mansfield Resolution, S. Res. 49, calling for a reduction in U. S. troops deployed in Europe.

WAYNE MORSE AUTHORS SINGLE CATALOGUE LAW

Some time ago, when the American Legion Post in Grants Pass informed Senator Morse of its resolution calling for a single catalogue system for purchasing by all Pentagon procurement agencies, he took prompt action. Senator Morse learned that the various military services were using more than a dozen separate catalogues, even though they were buying items nearly identical to each other.

Senator Morse sponsored legislation that set up a single catalogue system. It was adopted by Congress in 1952 as Public Law 426, over opposition from the Pentagon. It was later estimated to be saving taxpayers hundreds of millions of dollars a year.

In 1961, when Pentagon reorganization became a top priority of the Kennedy Administration, the single catalogue idea was enlarged. From one catalogue used by various services, Pentagon procurement was further unified by putting all procurement itself under a single roof—the Defense Supply Agency.

Now the entire federal government is coming under the system, in what is called the Federal Catalogue Program. At the end of December, 1967, there were more than 4.3 million items included in it, for use by all federal agencies.

All this from the seed planted by Wayne Morse in 1952 at the behest of the Grants Pass American Legion!

WAYNE MORSE WORKS FOR ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT

"In a democracy, there is no substitute for a full public disclosure of the people's business."

This ethical principle is one of the cornerstones of Wayne Morse's political philosophy. Government officials are *public* officials; their business is *your* business.

Wayne Morse has constantly proposed and supported legislation to prevent situations in which powerful government officials have private interests which conflict with the impartial administration of their duties.

SUPPORTS FULL DISCLOSURE OF FINANCIAL INTERESTS

In 1946, Senator Morse first sponsored legislation requiring every high government official, including members of Congress, to publish a full accounting of his income and business interests.

This principle has now been applied through practice to nominations to the cabinet. Support is growing for making it mandatory and applying it to members of Congress as well. In the current Congress, Senator Morse's bill is S. 313. Other senators in recent years have offered similar so-called full disclosure bills but the Senate has been very skittish about such legislation.

When the Bobby Baker scandal broke over the Senate in 1963, Senator Morse testified before the Senate Rules Committee, which conducted an inquiry:

"The effort of some to offer up Mr. Bobby Baker as the sacrifice to public opinion in the hope of avoiding an inquiry into the activities of senators is a hopeless effort. The public is not fooled. It knows that Bobby Baker is 'small potatoes' and that if this inquiry ends with him, it will be because the Senate was anxious to protect its members even at the expense of one of its favorite hirelings."

"Neither this committee nor the Senate needs to go into a detailed inquiry into the financial dealings of every member. We do not need to know the current details to know that over the decades, a financial corruption will result where the possibility of conflict of interest is ever present and also shielded from public view."

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Senator Morse urged the Rules Committee at that time to recommend legislation requiring full disclosure of income and business interests by members of Congress and top Senate employees, as the only way to avoid future scandals.

But it did not, and the next scandal to shake the Senate involved Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut. This time, a Special Senate Committee on Standards and Conduct made the inquiry. It recommended the censure of Senator Dodd.

Senator Morse voted against every effort to reduce the charges or to soften the censure language. He favored expulsion in the Dodd case. However, only censure on one of the charges was voted, by 92 to 5.

The Dodd case once again exposed the absence of clear standards of ethical conduct for Congress.

Wayne Morse believes such a code is needed, and it should include a requirement that income and business interests be published by each member and his top aides.

The *Salem Capital Journal* (September 18, 1967) said:

"We agree with Morse on this. The Powell and Dodd scandals, plus some lesser ones this year, have left a pretty sad picture of Congress in the public's eyes. Unless the lawmakers adopt some rules with teeth in them the image isn't likely to get much better."

FIGHTS AGAINST 'UNLICENSED BARS' IN CAPITOL

Wayne Morse has sometimes incurred disapproval by attacking another practice common in the nation's Capitol Building—drinking of hard liquor in its public rooms. He disapproves of holding official Senate functions which in fact are Senate drinking parties.

He points out that if senators want to have a liquor party, let them go to a hotel and rent a reception room and not impose on the taxpayers by using the Capitol Building and the Senate office buildings. He calls it a desecration of these public buildings, particularly in view of the fact that each day hundreds of school children visit the Capitol. Senator Morse argues that it is bad taste to set such an example, which is bound to be offensive to many taxpayers.

As Washington columnist Jack Anderson reported in the *Oregon Journal* (August 24, 1967):

"For years, Sen. Wayne Morse, D-Ore., has led a lonely campaign against these unlicensed bars. The thought of inebriated legislators casting votes on vital national issues appalls him.

" 'There has never been one night session of the Senate in all my experience,' Morse once told friends, 'that hasn't witnessed at least one senator making a fool of himself and disgracing the Senate.' "

In an effort to curb this abuse, Wayne Morse has tried to amend the Senate rules to prohibit such affairs. His measures have always been buried in the Senate Rules Committee. But senators know that Wayne Morse will press the issue, and many have told him that they will vote for his proposed change in Senate rules if he can ever get it out of the Rules Committee to the floor. Many church groups have interested themselves in the issue this year, and are making known their desire for Senate action.

SUPPORTS MERIT SYSTEM IN PATRONAGE APPOINTMENTS

The use of patronage has long been a source of some political abuses. Patronage as a means of filling federal offices has been whittled down, but not enough. One place in which it still remains is in the selection of postmasters. This means that postmasterships are political rewards.

Senator Morse would support a civil service examination system for the selection of postmasters if the Congress would approve it—but the patronage system is still too entrenched within the Congress.

To reduce the more undesirable effects of political patronage, Wayne Morse makes his appointments of *acting* postmasters by calling upon a vote of the county Democratic central committee for the person it believes should be recommended to the Postmaster General for the job.

One reason Senator Morse does this is because he believes the central committee is entitled to a voice in filling county patronage jobs. He also believes the state central committee should help fill state-wide patronage jobs. As he points out, party organizations do precinct work, ring doorbells, organize get-out-the-vote drives, distribute campaign literature, organize political meetings and do all the rest of the hard work that really elects candidates. The basic idea and purpose of patronage jobs is to strengthen the organization of the party and to reward hard-working, able, deserving campaign workers.

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For *permanent* postmasters, Post Office regulations call for an examination. The Post Office sends Senator Morse the names of the *top three scorers* in the examinations. Senator Morse then sends their names and grade scores to the county central committee for recommendation. He selects the person recommended by the county committee unless some good cause is shown justifying further consideration.

Military Academies

Another group of appointments that involves patronage consideration is the selection of young men who seek appointment to the nation's military academies. *For their appointments, Senator Morse follows a merit system without regard to political party.*

Senator Morse places the names of applicants to the military academies on an eligible list for an examination for admission, given by the Civil Service Commission. Senator Morse then makes his appointments according to the rank-order results of the examination scores.

This eliminates all favoritism, all partisanship, all politics. It means that any boy from Oregon has an equal chance to be appointed to a military academy.

Senator Morse has found that about 30 per cent of the senators now follow this policy—but the percentage seems to be increasing each year as more and more senators see the basic fairness of it.

Other

There are some patronage jobs at both the state and federal level that are purely political in nature. For those jobs, Senator Morse works closely with state and county party leaders in making the selections. He seeks primarily to impress upon party leaders the importance of recommending highly-qualified, competent people. Senator Morse urges that they be selected from various areas of Oregon in order to provide a fair statewide distribution of these jobs. He receives fine cooperation from county and state party leaders and is proud of the high competence of the individuals who have been recommended to him for appointment.

WAYNE MORSE WORKS FOR FAIR LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS AND SOUND LABOR STANDARDS

In the field of labor law and labor-management relations, Wayne Morse's position as the Senate's leading expert is unchallenged.

His skill and knowledge are the result of more than 30 years of active, dedicated and productive work as a labor arbitrator and mediator.

His record is one of *results*—for all of America's working men and women, and for the free-enterprise system in the United States.

No member of Congress in the last 23 years has done more than Wayne Morse to defend and protect the legitimate rights of organized labor and free collective bargaining in the United States.

During the last 20 years, Senator Morse has been the author or co-sponsor of many bills that have sought to advance and protect the legitimate rights of labor.

He has fought just as strongly to oppose vindictive legislation aimed at destroying strong, free and responsible unions. His entire legislative record in the field of labor-management relations is one which has sought to protect both labor and employer rights in responsible free collective bargaining.

The working men and women of our nation are all beneficiaries of the work Wayne Morse has done as an arbitrator, mediator and legislator.

Wayne Morse is the second-ranking member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. His re-election to the Senate means that next January he will become chairman of this important Senate committee. The present chairman, Senator Hill of Alabama, has announced that he is retiring from the Senate.

The elevation of Senator Morse to the chairmanship will mean a great deal to Oregon and the nation. This committee has jurisdiction over Senate bills involving labor, education, health, railroad retirement, veterans affairs, migrant workers, minimum wages, public welfare, poverty issues and a large number of other legislative problems.

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It is this committee that sends to the floor of the Senate each year more legislation affecting the daily lives of more millions of Americans than any other committee in the Senate. The training, experience, prestige and record which Wayne Morse will bring to the chairmanship of this committee next January will redound to the great credit of Oregon throughout the nation.

Senator Morse ranks first at the White House on labor matters, and Majority Leader Mansfield makes no secret of the enormous influence Wayne Morse has in the Senate on labor issues.

Wayne Morse's labor record is built on the experience of more than three decades. He arbitrated his first labor dispute in 1934 in Eugene, Oregon—34 years ago. He has arbitrated, mediated, officially investigated, adjudicated, written labor decisions for the War Labor Board and carried out special Presidential assignments in several hundred labor dispute cases since then.

Last year, when President Johnson appointed him to the President's Special Railroad Mediation panel to settle the Railroad Shopcraft dispute, the President stated that in the last 30 years, Senator Morse probably has been involved in the settling of more major labor disputes in our country than any other living American.

Here are some of the highlights of his labor record. Space does not permit a complete listing of Wayne Morse's lengthy record in this field.

MARITIME REFEREE

In 1936, Wayne Morse (then Dean of the University of Oregon School of Law) arbitrated his first longshore dispute. Shortly after that, he was appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as arbitrator for the longshore industry on the West Coast. He rendered many policy-setting labor decisions. One of his most important arbitration decisions was in the Encinal Terminal case in 1938.

In that decision, Wayne Morse laid down the rule that has since become standard in labor arbitration law: no union member is required to cross a legitimate picket line of a sister union even though the collective bargaining agreement is silent on that subject.

Today, unions and union members all over the nation enjoy the benefit of that ruling.

RAILWAY EMERGENCY BOARD

In 1941, Wayne Morse was appointed by President Roosevelt as chairman of the President's Emergency Board to settle the 1941 nationwide railway dispute.

During the course of the proceedings, Wayne Morse mediated the dispute to finality the day before the attack on Pearl Harbor and the entry of the United States into World War II. This successful mediation avoided a stoppage in the railway industry at the outbreak of the war, which would have been very damaging to the war effort.

VACATIONS WITH PAY

As a result of his service as chairman of the President's Emergency Board involving the 1941 railway labor dispute, Wayne Morse in 1942 was selected by both sides to settle a major dispute between the Brotherhood of Railroad Clerks and the railroads. The issue involved a union request for vacations with pay.

It was Wayne Morse's decision in the Railway Clerks case that established for the first time in the railway industry the now generally accepted policy of vacations with pay.

The benefits of the vacation award in the Railway Clerks case spread throughout all segments of the railway industry and into many other segments of American industry. Wayne Morse's brilliantly-reasoned decision in this case was based on the premise that vacations with pay varying in relation to the length of service of the employee should be recognized as part of the wage cost in any modern industry.

WAR LABOR BOARD

Upon the creation of the National War Labor Board in December, 1941, Wayne Morse served as a public member of the War Labor Board under an appointment from President Roosevelt. He resigned effective January 1, 1944, to run for the United States Senate.

Of great importance to organized labor today is a formula for maintenance of union membership that was set forth in an opinion written by Wayne Morse, acting on behalf of the Board, in the Norma Hoffman Bearings Corporation, Case 120, of August 24, 1942.

It was this decision that did much to stabilize labor relations during World War II. Labor today continues to enjoy the benefits of this great labor decision perfected by Wayne Morse while serving as a member of the National War Labor Board. It set a historic precedent relative to union rights.

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TAFT-HARTLEY, 1947

As a member of the Senate Labor Committee, Wayne Morse argued at length against the 1947 Taft-Hartley Bill on the floor of the Senate. President Harry Truman vetoed the measure but when the vote was taken to override the veto, several Democrats were in Europe, attending an International Parliamentary meeting. Senators Wayne Morse, Glen Taylor and Claude Pepper, with the help of a few others, held the Senate floor for several days. They talked in support of President Truman's veto message in order to give those Democrats a chance to get back to Washington and vote to support the President. But most of them failed to come home and, as a result, the veto was finally overridden.

LANDRUM-GRIFFIN, 1959

Senator Wayne Morse joined Senator John F. Kennedy, who was chairman of the Senate Labor Subcommittee, in writing a bill that passed the Senate by a vote of 90-1. It was known as the Kennedy-Morse Labor Bill. But the House substituted the Landrum-Griffin Bill. Wayne Morse believed the Senate made far too many concessions in conference with the House on the bill. He refused to sign the conference report and, with Senator Langer of North Dakota, voted against the conference report.

At its convention in December, 1967, an AFL-CIO panel of lawyers called the Landrum-Griffin Act "a bad law," pointing out the many ways in which it infringed upon union rights. Their arguments were but a summary of the detailed arguments Wayne Morse made in the Senate against the bill in 1959.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT

In 1959 and 1960, Senator Morse was chairman of the Railroad Retirement Subcommittee of the Senate. Its major legislation was the Morse-Staggers retirement bill, signed into law in May, 1959. This law carried a general 10 per cent increase in annuities; pensions for widows; reduced benefits for women at age 62 if they have less than 30 years' service, and full benefits at age 60 with 30 or more years' service.

Unemployment compensation benefits for railroad workers were improved in that law, with the length of payment extended. Since the

passage of this basic retirement bill in 1959, Senator Morse has sponsored amendments to it which have continued to improve it.

In January, 1968, Senator Morse became the author of two new amendments to the railroad retirement system. One improved benefits for all railroad workers by increasing benefits for railroad workers equal to the Social Security increases passed by Congress in December, 1967.

This Morse railroad retirement amendment passed the Congress within 10 days and was signed by the President in early February, 1968. Seldom does a bill pass that fast in Congress; this shows the high recognition accorded Wayne Morse in the field of labor legislation.

The other 1968 railroad retirement amendment introduced by Senator Morse seeks to grant increased benefits to widows. It will be scheduled for public hearings and will undoubtedly be passed before the end of this session of Congress. Senator Morse is receiving pledges of widespread support for it in the Senate.

LONGSHORE STRIKE, 1963

On January 16, 1963, Senator Morse was appointed by President John F. Kennedy as chairman of a special board to investigate and review a shutdown of all Atlantic and Gulf Coast ports resulting from a strike by the International Longshoremen's Association.

The special board made its recommendations on February 20, 1963, which resulted in satisfactory settlement of the dispute accepted with high praise from both sides.

MORSE OPPOSES COMPULSORY ARBITRATION, 1963 AND 1967

The only compulsory labor arbitration law the Congress has ever passed was in the 1963 railroad dispute. *Senator Morse was one of only two Senators to vote against it.*

Senator Morse, backed by President Kennedy, argued at great length against this bill. He offered President Kennedy's substitute plan for settling the dispute which would have avoided compulsory arbitration. Unfortunately, the Senate yielded to the pressures and clamor for a compulsory arbitration bill.

Senator Morse warned in that debate that management, labor and the Senate would rue the day that the first compulsory arbitration law in the history of the Congress was passed. Events have proved him

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right. The compulsory arbitration law of 1963 did great wrongs to railroad labor and has proved very costly to the railroad companies.

In 1967, Wayne Morse persuaded President Johnson not to accept a proposal submitted to him by some of his advisers setting forth compulsory arbitration procedures for resolving the 1967 railroad dispute with the six Shopcraft Railroad Brotherhoods.

Senator Morse convinced the President and his advisers to support his recommendation that any legislation to be passed for settling the 1967 railroad case should be limited to the mediation procedures of the War Labor Board of World War II. He pointed out that the War Labor Board, with the approval of both its labor and employer members, settled more than 2,500 labor disputes by the use of this mediation procedure.

At the President's request, Senator Morse drafted the mediation bill which excluded all elements of arbitration, and it was passed by the Congress.

Under this bill, the 1967 railroad dispute was settled by a special Presidential Mediation Board. Wayne Morse was chairman. The five members of the Board, one of whom was George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, were unanimous in their recommendations to the parties for settling each one of the issues in the dispute. Both sides accepted the recommendations of the President's Mediation Board.

The decision in this case is generally recognized as one of the greatest accomplishments of Senator Morse as a trouble-shooter for Presidents in settling national emergency labor disputes. President Johnson, many members of Congress, Cabinet members, labor and industrial leaders and many experts in the field of industrial relations, have praised highly Senator Morse's work in this case.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING UNDER MASS TRANSIT ACT

In 1963, Senator Morse offered an amendment to protect the collective bargaining rights of men and women working for private companies that may be taken over by public authority under federal mass transit plans.

After failure of an effort by some Senators to water it down, the Morse amendment passed by a vote of 52 to 41. The House subsequently put the same provision in its bill, so it became the final law. Today, thousands of workers are the beneficiaries of this Morse law.

EAST COAST LONGSHORE STRIKE, 1965

In February, 1965, an East Coast longshore strike tied up all Atlantic and Gulf ports. President Johnson directed the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Commerce to meet with the parties to the dispute and requested Wayne Morse to join with them in recommending a fair disposition of the issues, or procedures for resolving them.

The panel's recommendations resulted in a prompt settlement on the East Coast. By the end of February, the West Gulf ports reached an agreement.

The settlement in this case followed many of the principles and policies which Senator Morse and his Board laid down in the settlement of the 1963 East Coast and Gulf Dock strike.

STEEL INDUSTRY DISPUTE, 1965

In August, 1965, Senator Morse and Under Secretary of Commerce LeRoy Collins were selected by President Johnson as his personal emissaries to make a special report on the labor dispute in the steel industry which was threatening to shut down the industry.

After spending two days in Pittsburgh talking to the parties involved in the controversy, Morse and Collins made a report to the President, setting forth their recommendations for resolving the dispute.

The mediation which followed produced an agreement of settlement based upon the Morse-Collins report to the President, thereby saving the nation from a disastrous shutdown of the steel industry.

DUPONT BANK HOLDING COMPANY BILL

In 1966, Wayne Morse sponsored and obtained enactment of the bill breaking up the DuPont Estate which included banking, industrial and railroad operations under the guise of a charitable trust.

Railroad brotherhoods were especially interested in this bill because the estate operated the Florida East Coast Railroad under terms of the trust.

Continued

METALLIC MINE SAFETY AMENDMENTS

In 1966, Wayne Morse served as floor manager in the Senate for the Metal and Nonmetallic Mine Safety Amendments. This bill was important to the steel workers and others working in non-coal mines and provided needed federal standards and inspection of safety equipment, along with existing state safety machinery.

Only the most effective legislative footwork by Senator Morse saved this bill from being gutted by an amendment to substitute state enforcement for joint federal-state responsibility. The amendment was first approved by 41 to 39. Senator Morse obtained its reconsideration by 42 to 38, and then its defeat by a single vote.

A compromise was worked out with the House to produce a final bill which greatly improved metallic mine safety for thousands of mine workers in our country. Senator Morse has won for himself the gratitude of these workers and labor, generally, for his work on this bill.

AIRLINES DISPUTE CASE, 1966

In 1966, Senator Morse was appointed by President Johnson as chairman of the emergency board in the airlines' dispute case. The board's unanimous recommendations were rejected by the Machinist's Union. Subsequently, a White House-approved mediation settlement was turned down by the rank and file.

It is interesting to note that the White House mediation settlement was worked out between the Machinist Union's national negotiating committee, the airlines committee and the Secretary of Labor and his top staff assistants. At 1 a.m. the night before the White House mediation agreement was reached, President Johnson called to the White House the Secretary of Labor, the Under Secretary of Labor, the chairman of the Economic Council, Senator Morse, David Ginsburg and two of his White House staff advisers to discuss proposals for mediating the unresolved issues.

The President had asked Senator Morse and Mr. Ginsburg to suggest what they thought would be fair compromises of the unsettled issues. The Morse-Ginsburg suggestions met with the approval of the group, plus some suggestions by the Secretary of Labor. The discussion lasted until almost 3 a.m. It was this package of proposals that comprised most of the mediation agreement that was reached by the

national negotiating committee of the union headed by the International President of the Machinists Union and the negotiators for the airlines.

It may be recalled that the international president of the Union, the general counsel for the airlines and the President of the United States went on a nationwide telecast in which they announced the settlement, subject to its ratification by the rank and file of the union. The president of the union spoke favorably of the agreement on that telecast and indicated he would recommend its approval.

The members turned it down—which they had the right to do—and the strike continued for a short time. The final settlement increased some of the economic benefits, but it contained many of the imprints of the original Morse, Ginsburg, Neustadt Emergency Board Report Recommendations and the Morse-Ginsburg mediation proposals made to the President in the historic middle-of-the-night mediation conference.

SECTION 14(b) OF TAFT-HARTLEY

In 1966, Senator McNamara, chairman of the Labor Subcommittee, became ill. He was in charge of the bill to repeal Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Senator Morse was one of the co-sponsors of the bill. With Senator McNamara absent much of the time because of illness which later caused his death, the bill had no effective manager on the Senate floor.

Senator Morse was selected by the supporters of the bill to make the presentation of the bill to the Senate. A filibuster ensued and an effort to impose cloture failed. Senate action on the bill was dropped, with Senator Morse's speech the only one having been made in support of repeal of Section 14(b).

EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN

When he was on the War Labor Board, Wayne Morse joined in establishing the principle of equal pay for equal work for women workers. He has offered bills backed by labor in every Congress since 1945 to make this principle statutory.

In 1963, a House companion to his S. 1409 for this purpose was finally enacted. This is another one of the many pieces of labor legislation which Senator Morse originally proposed which is now the law of the land.

Continued

SPLITTING UP LABOR COMMITTEE, 1967

The 1967 Senate Reorganization Bill contained a provision to split up the present Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee into a Labor Committee and an Education Committee. Present members of the committee would not have been able to serve on both new committees.

It became evident that many vacancies would open up on a separate Labor Committee, with the result that the committee and its work would be greatly injured. The AFL-CIO and many management groups joined in opposition to the proposal to split the committee.

Senator Morse took over the job of fighting the splitting up of the committee. He organized Senate opposition to the split and was joined by Chairman Lister Hill. At a committee meeting called for the purpose of hearing Senator Morse report on the issue, the committee voted unanimously to oppose the split.

The action of the committee was reported by Senator Morse to the authors of the Reorganization Bill, and they agreed to drop the provision from the bill. High commendation was sent to Senator Morse by labor, education and industry leaders, and many others for his leadership on this issue.

SITUS PICKETING

Senator Morse has carried the ball on situs picketing in the Senate, along with Senator Kuchel of California. He has introduced the bills on this subject in the Senate, including the current one, since 1959. He opposed the restriction on situs picketing during the debate on Taft-Hartley in 1947.

In 1967, Senator Morse and Senator Kuchel introduced a new bill on the subject recommended by the building trades, and they gave the only two major speeches in the Senate during 1967 on the proposed situs picketing issues.

Although four Presidents—Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson—have all recommended situs picketing legislation, it is still an unresolved labor issue.

At the beginning of the 1968 congressional session, the building trades officials advised Senator Morse and Senator Kuchel that differences had developed among some labor leaders over some of the provisions in the bill. Until those differences are resolved, they plan to proceed in another field of safety labor legislation.

MINIMUM WAGE

Senator Morse sponsored and obtained amendments to the 1966 Senate minimum wage bill that added coverage for Panamanian nationals in the Canal Zone, an amendment sought by the State, County and Municipal Employees Union.

Senator Morse obtained the first coverage for handicapped people in sheltered workshops.

His Senate amendment to extend overtime coverage of operating employees of transit companies was knocked out in conference at the insistence of Congressman Powell.

His Senate amendment reducing the exemption for logging crews from twelve to six was also lost in conference, but he succeeded in getting the conference to adopt a compromise figure of eight.

On the issue of minimum wage coverage of people in interstate commerce, it has always been Wayne Morse who has carried the most weight in defeating such amendments as those which seek to limit coverage when it comes to retail trade. At its convention in December, 1967, the executive council of the AFL-CIO called the 1966 amendments "a giant stride toward meeting labor's goals" and "the greatest package of improvements" since the wage-hour law was enacted in 1938.

Wayne Morse carried the fight for these amendments on the floor of the Senate. In fact, since 1946 it has been Wayne Morse whom organized labor has called upon to lead the fight in the Senate for increases in minimum wage increases.

In 1966, he was the author of the District of Columbia minimum wage bill, which was declared by the leaders of the AFL-CIO to be the best model minimum wage bill for state coverage of any bill in the country.

The Morse District of Columbia minimum wage bill, which was passed and signed by the President, was the model for several of the major 1966 amendments to the National Minimum Wage Bill.

Continued

RAIL INDUSTRY SHOPCRAFT DISPUTE, 1967

In July, 1967, President Johnson made Senator Morse chairman of a special board to mediate "to finality" the shopcraft dispute in the rail industry. This board was created by Senator Morse's bill, S. J. Res. 81, which ended a two-day rail strike.

The board followed an emergency arbitration board and another special mediation board headed by Judge Charles Fahy. The Morse board's settlement went into effect October 16, 1967.

Senator Morse's insistence that this major dispute be handled by a mediation procedure and not by straight compulsory arbitration forestalled an economic crisis for the whole country. It produced a settlement which *effectively ended a growing sentiment in Congress for compulsory arbitration legislation in all disputes affecting transportation—rails, airlines, trucks and shipping.*

When the 1967 railroad dispute threatened to produce a nationwide strike, some of President Johnson's advisers recommended to him a compulsory arbitration bill. Senator Wayne Morse strongly opposed it. He told the President that he would never vote for a compulsory arbitration bill and he pointed out to the President that he was one of only two senators who voted against the only compulsory arbitration bill ever passed by the Congress.

Therefore, in 1967 he urged President Johnson to reject compulsory arbitration legislation. When President Johnson asked him to prepare a bill which he thought would be better, Wayne Morse proposed the mediation procedure which was followed by the War Labor Board in the successful settlement of more than 2,000 cases.

Senator Morse pointed out to the President and his advisers that the labor members of the War Labor Board, as well as the employer and public members, approved and signed those settlements.

Mediation is not arbitration.

Mediation involves working out fair common sense *compromises of differences* as proposed by the labor and employer parties to the dispute working under the direction and advice of a board of mediators.

Arbitration is a strictly *judicial* process under which the evidence on each issue is controlling.

Compromise has no place in arbitration but mediation is compromise.

During World War II, the War Labor Board always tried to get the parties to settle their disputes by mediation—with the understanding that if they failed to reach a compromise of their differences, then the compromises proposed by the board itself for settlement would become binding.

This procedure was known throughout the war as Mediation to Finality. It was used in those major disputes that endangered the war effort, such as disputes in railroads, shipping, trucking, airlines, defense plants, shipyards, mines and a host of other industries.

The 1967 railroad dispute was just such a case. The same common denominator, namely our country at war, existed in 1967 as existed during World War II.

A fair equitable settlement of the 1967 railroad dispute was essential, without the country suffering the great losses to the war effort which would be caused by a railroad strike or lockout.

Therefore, at President Johnson's request, Wayne Morse came forward with the railroad mediation bill of 1967.

It passed Congress by an overwhelming vote.

It was signed with praise by the President.

It produced a fair settlement of the dispute.

Contrary to the misrepresentations of some labor leaders and some politicians, it did *not* involve compulsory arbitration. It provided for a procedure of *compromising the differences* between the parties.

But on those issues in which the parties did not reach a compromise on their own, both sides accepted the compromises handed down by the board.

It is true that the law provided that the compromises recommended by the board would be final unless one or both of the parties went to court over them.

The important thing is that the Morse bill limited the board to the compromising procedures of *mediation* and excluded the strict judicial procedures of compulsory *arbitration*.

The fairness of the results of the Morse bill is best evidenced by the fact that both sides accepted the final recommendations of the Morse bill. The President approved the settlement with high praise and the country as a whole praised Senator Morse's leadership in the case.

Continued

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Since 1953, when he began serving on the Senate District of Columbia Committee, Senator Morse has championed measures of interest to working people in Washington, D. C. Most recent was enactment of his model minimum wage statute for the District. At his insistence, the rights of union members of the transit system have also been protected in legislation affecting surface and subway transportation.

Senator Morse was instrumental in drafting and obtaining congressional approval of S. 2194, a bill amending the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Act (P.L. 87-424). This bill is considered by the Department of Labor as one of the finest unemployment compensation laws in the nation.

Senator Morse has also vigorously supported the improved District of Columbia teachers', policemen's and firemen's pay increases and supplementary benefits. He was also a prime mover behind a bill, S. 3086, reducing the work-week for firemen (P.L. 87-697).

In 1966, Senator Morse obtained congressional approval of his bill (S. 19) improving minimum wage and hours conditions in the District of Columbia. The D. C. minimum wage law had not been amended since 1917.

Department of Labor officials state that this is probably the best wage law in the nation. Its coverage is exceedingly broad, including practically everyone except domestics.

MIGRATORY LABOR

In recent Congresses, Senator Morse has joined in co-sponsoring legislation to assist in the construction of adequate sanitation facilities and housing for migrant families; to aid the states in improving educational opportunities and day-care centers for their children; to register contractors of migrant workers; and to establish a National Council on Migratory Labor.

Senator Morse is a supporter of S. 8, now pending in the Senate Labor subcommittee, to extend the protection of the National Labor Relations Act to agricultural workers seeking to organize into unions.

PROFESSIONAL STRIKE-BREAKERS

Senator Morse has sponsored legislation to forbid the hiring of professional strikebreakers in interstate labor disputes. One of his bills prohibits the practice among the states; another one prohibits it in the District of Columbia.

LONGSHORE AND HARBOR WORKERS

Since 1947, Senator Morse has sponsored the legislation that has expanded and improved longshoremen and harbor workers' compensation and sought to improve safety standards on the docks.

The 1955 bill he co-sponsored with Senator Magnuson made the first improvements in the basic act in ten years. His own bill of 1961 provided the next increases in compensation for injury suffered in this hazardous employment.

In 1967, Senator Morse joined with Senator Yarborough of Texas in introducing S. 2485 to raise compensation to a maximum weekly benefit of \$105, and to make several additional improvements. This bill is now going through the legislative processes of both the Senate and the House. Prospects for its passage in 1968 are very promising.

BAN ON AGE DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING

Ten years ago, Senator Morse joined Senator Richard Neuberger in sponsoring legislation prohibiting discrimination by reason of age in federal employment. *His interest continued in this problem faced by people over 40 in finding new jobs.*

In 1967, Senator Morse co-sponsored S. 830, with Senator Yarborough of Texas, prohibiting age discrimination throughout business and labor organizations. It passed the Senate unanimously and became Public Law 90-202 in December, 1967.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

In the 88th and 89th Congresses, Senator Morse co-sponsored extensive improvements in federal unemployment compensation, chiefly to expand benefits. He voted for the substitution of this version in place of a totally inadequate House bill in 1966, but the measure never emerged from conference.

Continued

In the 90th Congress, Senator Morse again joined Senator McCarthy of Minnesota in introducing S. 2377, seeking the same improvements as were contained in the 1966 bill. He is working hard on this bill and hopes that before Congress adjourns in 1968 the House will be willing to go along with it.

CURRENT ANTI-UNION LEGISLATION

Senator Morse has pressed the case against one feature of the anti-riot bill because it opens the door to unfair prosecution of union organizers.

He made a strong speech against the Smathers labor court compulsory arbitration bill, S. 176, by pointing out that it would bring more labor issues into politics than it would keep out.

The bill would be a great disservice to employers as well as to labor because it interferes with free collective bargaining in many ways. It would usurp many rights of management.

Senator Morse opposes the Ervin amendment to the Civil Rights Bill, which seeks to deny to unions the right to punish union members. He stresses that responsible unions must have the right through democratic procedures to discipline members for violations of obligations imposed by union constitutions, by-laws, and rules approved by the union membership.

Senator Morse stresses that union responsibility is a two-way street. Union officials must be responsible to their membership but also the individual members of a union must be responsible to their duly elected officers and comply with the laws, rules and policies of the union which the union officers are duty-bound to enforce.

"He is a giant in the Senate. In civil rights, education, conservation, labor legislation, and many other fields, he has made contributions which will be written in the history books a hundred years from now. I know the voters of Oregon will return him to Washington this fall by an overwhelming margin."

SENATOR HARRISON "PETE" WILLIAMS,
D-New Jersey

WAYNE MORSE FIGHTS FOR PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS FOR OREGON

His Seniority Is a Great Asset to the Economy of Oregon

For 23 years, Wayne Morse has sought *maximum* public works appropriations for Oregon, because he regards these appropriations as *permanent wealth-producing investments* for the State of Oregon and its people.

His work in this field over the years has produced *enormous benefits* for Oregon. He is noted for it in the Senate.

Example:

- From fiscal 1946 through estimated allocations for fiscal 1968, expenditures by the Corps of Engineers in Oregon public works projects have totaled almost *\$1.1 billion*.
- During the same period, expenditures by the Bureau of Reclamation for Oregon reclamation projects have totaled almost *\$94 million*.

These investments represent permanent installations for our state, portions of which reflect electric power generation (and the consequent reductions in project costs). *All of them add to the growth of our economy, the supply of our pure water, the control of pollution, the development of recreation, fish and wildlife resources, and the control of navigation.*

During the dry summer of 1967, the dams on the Willamette and its tributaries, for which Senator Morse worked, kept the stream flow high enough to abate pollution substantially.

The same dams, during the winter floods of 1964-65, impounded water to prevent millions of dollars of flood losses.

Oregon's performance on public works appropriations is enviable.

For Corps of Engineers projects, Oregon has the third-highest per capita expenditures in the entire nation.

During the 10-year period preceding the 1960 census, the per capita expenditure for Oregon was \$314—a figure exceeded only by Arkansas and South Dakota. (North Dakota was fourth with \$295, and Washington State was fifth with \$248.)

Continued

In 1967, Congress added only nine projects to the federal budget. *Three of these were in Oregon.*

These achievements reflect Senator Morse's constant alertness in presenting Oregon's case to the Senate Appropriations Committee, and he has been equally alert in obtaining Congressional authorizations for these projects.

His battle of late 1962 to procure authorization for the Rogue River dams—and his successful fights in the 1950's to prevent the so-called "partnership" giveaways of electric power features on such dams as John Day, Cougar and Green Peter—will long be remembered in Oregon and in the Congress.

LOST CREEK DAM—A NEARLY LOST APPROPRIATION IN 1966

A dramatic illustration of an achievement by Senator Morse came in his fight against heavy odds in 1966 to get Senate approval of a new start on Lost Creek Dam in the Rogue River Basin.

This magnificent project was ready for initial construction appropriations—but the Administration, following a "limited new starts" program because of the war in Vietnam, had requested no funds for Lost Creek for fiscal 1967.

The then-Congressman from Oregon's Fourth District (in which the Lost Creek project is located) was a member of the House Appropriations Committee. *But he was unable to induce his committee to recommend one cent for Lost Creek Dam for fiscal 1967.*

Senator Morse—despite the handicap of no budget request, and no favorable recommendation from the House Appropriations Committee—worked diligently with members of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Senator Morse convinced them of the merits of including \$500,000 in initial construction funds for Lost Creek Dam.

The Senate agreed in the wisdom of funding the project. The Senate-House conference committee agreed. And Lost Creek Dam was won for Oregon.

That example shows how Senator Morse's effective work on Oregon public works appropriations made possible a new start on an \$87 million project for Oregon, despite *inaction* from the Administration and *failure* on the part of the former Congressman from the District.

"I have found him a most valuable ally in our work on problems involving federal lands and other issues of critical importance to Oregon, Nevada and the entire West. In addition, he has provided an equal measure of support while serving with me on the District of Columbia Committee."

SENATOR ALAN BIBLE, D-Nevada

FISCAL 1968 APPROPRIATIONS

This year (fiscal 1968) Oregon achieved remarkable success on public works appropriations. Despite the lack of budget requests, we obtained *new starts* on:

- The Chetco Harbor project.
- The Tillamook South Jetty project.
- The Siuslaw Harbor modification project.

This was an enviable record and reflected many long hours of hard work on the part of Oregon's senators and the congressmen from the districts in which the projects will be built.

WILLAMETTE RIVER COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY

It was Senator Morse's work in obtaining a resolution in the Senate Public Works Committee which authorized the Corps of Engineers to undertake a comprehensive study of water resource development in the Willamette River Basin.

This resolution was adopted November 15, 1961, at the request of Senator Morse. The survey is expected to be completed within the next two or three years. It will outline a program for maximum flood control and other water resource development in the Basin by the Corps and other federal agencies.

Senator Morse looks back with pride on the many outstanding Oregon public works and reclamation projects upon which he has had the privilege of working.

Here are just a few of them:

Continued

CORPS OF ENGINEERS

| <i>Project</i> | <i>Approximate year of completion</i> | <i>Total estimated cost</i> |
|-----------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| The Dalles Dam | 1957 | \$246,923,000 |
| John Day Dam | 1967 | \$448,000,000 |
| McNary Dam | 1953 | \$295,000,000 |
| Cougar Dam | 1964 | \$ 54,700,000 |
| Detroit Dam— | | |
| Big Cliff Reregulator | 1954 | \$ 62,730,000 |
| Lookout Point— | | |
| Dexter Reregulator | 1955 | \$ 89,000,000 |
| Hills Creek | 1962 | \$ 45,700,000 |
| Green Peter— | | |
| Foster Reregulator | 1967 | \$ 82,320,000 |
| Blue River (90 % completed) | 1967 | \$ 31,400,000 |

Senator Morse has also worked for the construction of many important Oregon reclamation projects. Several of these projects are listed below:

| <i>Project</i> | <i>Approximate year of completion</i> | <i>Total estimated cost</i> |
|--------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| Deschutes North Unit— | | |
| Haystack Dam | 1957 | \$ 13,010,000 |
| Grants Pass Project— | | |
| Savage Rapid Dam | 1955 | \$ 1,019,000 |
| Rogue River Project— | | |
| Talent Division | 1961 | \$ 25,536,000 |
| Crooked River Project— | | |
| Prineville Dam | 1962 | \$ 8,305,000 |
| Crooked River Extension | 1967 | \$ 1,198,000 |
| Vale Project— | | |
| Bully Creek Extension | 1965 | \$ 3,467,000 |
| The Dalles Project— | | |
| Western Division | 1967 | \$ 6,884,000 |
| Rogue River Basin— | | |
| Agate Dam | 1967 | \$ 2,014,000 |
| Baker Federal Reclamation Project | To be completed 1968 | \$ 7,645,000 |

TUALATIN PROJECT

Senator Morse co-sponsored S. 254 which authorized construction of the \$23 million Tualatin Federal Reclamation project. It became law in September, 1966.

This is one of the most important reclamation projects in North-western Oregon and will supply *water, flood control, fish and wildlife, and recreation benefits—in addition to irrigation*. Preconstruction planning funds were approved by Congress in fiscal 1968.

MERLIN PROJECT

Senator Morse is also author and sponsor of the Merlin project in Southwestern Oregon. His bill is S. 51, and it was passed by the Senate on December 8, 1967.

During the coming fiscal year, he will work to the best of his ability to obtain preconstruction planning funds and maximum construction funds for this important project.

CALIFORNIA INTERTIE

As a watchdog for the public's interest in low-cost power, Senator Morse contributed greatly to the enactment in 1964 of legislation authorizing the Pacific Northwest-Southwest Intertie—*the largest single electric transmission project in the nation's history*.

Senator Morse opposed the initial proposal, which would have permitted the intertie to be controlled eventually by private companies. He insisted that the public power "yardstick" principle be maintained in this move into the new field of inter-regional power transmission.

As a result of objections Senator Morse and Senator Neuberger made to a "giveaway" version of the intertie legislation, the final intertie law provided for federal ownership of two of the four transmission lines to set a rate standard or "yardstick" for private service. It also assured preference for public power customers and regional users.

Another recommendation which Senators Morse and Neuberger made was also incorporated into the law: a congressional review of wheeling arrangements with private power companies.

Senator Morse pursued the fight for Oregon's power users with the knowledge that Pacific Northwest families today use more than ten times the electricity they did in 1940, and nearly two-and-a-half times the national average.

As a result of the continuing battle Senator Morse and many others have waged for power users, Oregon's rates are among the lowest in the world.

Continued

HANFORD ELECTRIC POWER

In 1955, the Hanford Atomic Works on the Columbia River was using Bonneville system power and pouring hot water down the Columbia River, threatening fish resources as well as wasting a potential power resource. Senator Morse pointed out the possibility of installing generators at Hanford that would turn this hot water into electric power. Typically, much of the Oregon press scorned his proposal at the time.

But in 1962, authorizing legislation was passed with Senator Morse's help—and in the fall of 1966, the first kilowatts from Hanford became available to Northwest power users. Today, the Hanford generator units are complete and they now provide 800,000 kilowatts of power for the Bonneville system.

OREGON SLOUGH

In August of 1967, the Senate Public Works Committee adopted a resolution at the request of Senators Morse and Hatfield. It called upon the Corps of Engineers to study a proposed Oregon Slough project to develop for commercial use 3,000 acres at the confluence of the Willamette and Columbia Rivers.

The plan is being advanced by the Port of Portland. While the land fill, streets and utilities would be provided by the Port of Portland, the Corps would be responsible for the preparation and maintenance of deep-water navigation channels.

This port development project would be a major factor in the future of the Portland metropolitan area.

MULTIPURPOSE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UMPQUA RIVER

Plans being advanced in Douglas County for multipurpose development of the Umpqua River were stymied when it appeared that a water turbidity problem would develop in the reservoir. This could interfere with recreation benefits and lower the feasibility cost-benefit ratio of the entire project.

When presented with the fact that Hills Creek Reservoir in the Willamette Basin has also developed undesirable turbidity (with its geographic similarity to the reservoir sites in the Umpqua Basin), Senator Morse requested the Corps of Engineers to study the causes and control of the Hills Creek problem before proceeding with the Umpqua survey. The study is presently under way.

SIOUSLAW RIVER HARBOR AT FLORENCE

In 1967, Senator Morse persuaded the Senate to add \$500,000 for construction of the Siuslaw River Harbor at Florence.

The sum was not included in the budget and neither was it included in the House-passed appropriation bill.

The funds will now become available for starting construction on this much-needed harbor project at Florence.

An editorial in the Eugene *Register-Guard* referred to this as a "timely triumph," recognizing that Senator Morse "prevailed upon the Senate to recognize that action on this particular project has been long overdue." It further stated that "economic benefits will be substantial, and they will be felt with gathering effects throughout all of Lane County." (Editorial of October 30, 1967.)

40-FOOT CHANNEL ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER

In 1967, Senator Morse prevailed upon the Senate to up appropriations for the 40-foot channel of the Columbia River to \$4 million.

The budget and the House had approved only \$2.7 million.

The Senate prevailed in conference with the House, and the \$4 million was made available. *This Columbia River project is recognized by all economic groups in our state as of vital importance to the future expansion of Oregon's economy.*

BULLY CREEK DAM AT VALE

In 1958, Congressman Al Ullman and Senator Morse introduced bills in the House and Senate authorizing the Bully Creek Dam. In 1959, the House bill was adopted.

In order to avoid time-consuming conference between the House and Senate, Senator Morse requested the Senate to act by unanimous consent to substitute the Ullman bill for the Morse bill. The request was approved, and Bully Creek Dam reservoir got under way.

The dam has provided important flood control protection to this section of the state. It was completed in 1965.

Continued

CROOKED RIVER PROJECT

Senator Morse's bill, S. 1186, to extend the Crooked River reclamation project, became law in 1964. It authorized construction of six small pumping areas to be served out of the Crooked River canal.

TILLAMOOK BAY

Senator Morse is currently seeking funds to provide a South Jetty at the entrance to Tillamook Bay. The Budget Bureau has declined to allow funds for it, but the House approved \$500,000 for the initial work during fiscal 1967, and Senator Morse prevailed upon the Senate to approve this sum.

Previously, Senator Morse worked in the Senate to provide the authorizations and appropriations to repair the break in Bay Ocean Spit and to rehabilitate and improve the North Jetty at Garibaldi, both integral parts of the Tillamook Bay Project.

LOWER GRANDE RONDE-CATHERINE CREEK DAMS NEAR BAKER

This project was a budget casualty until 1968. Senator Morse and Congressman Ullman sought planning funds of \$110,000 for Catherine Creek Reservoir and \$150,000 for Lower Grande Ronde Reservoir in 1967. These funds were not allowed. But the budget submitted in January, 1968, contains \$100,000 in planning funds for Catherine Creek Reservoir. Both projects remain top priority items for Senator Morse and Congressman Ullman.

WILLOW CREEK DAM AT HEPPNER

Senator Morse is seeking planning funds of \$225,000 to begin planning Willow Creek Reservoir at Heppner. This dam is urgently needed for flood control.

The project was authorized in 1965, with Senator Morse's help, after a disastrous flood struck the city.

OTHER PUBLIC WORKS AND RECLAMATION PROJECTS

Among other public works and reclamation projects for which Senator Morse has sought authorizations and funding in the Senate have been:

- The navigation project at Port Orford.
- The Illinois Valley Division of the Rogue River Basin project.
- The Olalla Division of the Umpqua project.
- The Monmouth-Dallas Division of the Willamette River project.
- The Umpqua River South Jetty project.
- The Rogue River Harbor project.
- Yaquina Harbor modifications.
- Coos Bay and Charleston Harbor project.
- The Mouth of the Columbia project.
- Coquille River Harbor.
- Warrenton Small Boat Basin.

WILDLIFE LAB AT LA GRANDE

In 1967, Senator Morse appealed to the Senate Appropriations Committee to provide \$350,000 for a modern Forest Service research laboratory at La Grande.

The budget had provided nothing for it, but the House and Senate joined in adding the funds.

The laboratory is intended to study means of improving livestock range in wildlife habitats in Eastern Oregon and Washington, where 2,000,000 cattle and more than 1,000,000 sheep are affected by the condition of the range.

The action of Congress in overruling the Administration and starting construction of the laboratory in 1967 will enable research in this area to expand greatly.

Continued

FOREST SERVICE LABORATORY AT BEND

Senator Morse joined in obtaining federal authorization for a series of forest service laboratories across the country, one of them to be located in Bend, Oregon. First federal funds for the labs were appropriated in 1961.

On May 2, 1964, Senator Morse joined in the dedication ceremonies of the Bend laboratory, devoted to finding more effective and economical ways of growing and tending timber as a crop. The Bend laboratory specializes in ponderosa and lodgepole pine, and associated species.

WATER POLLUTION LABORATORY AT CORVALLIS

In 1962, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, upon Senator Morse's representations to HEW Secretary Ribicoff, designated Corvallis as the site of a new Water Pollution Control Laboratory.

Senator Morse pursued his interest in this facility by testifying in 1964 to the Senate Appropriations Committee. He appealed a restricted budget that allowed for only 31 employees at the laboratory, although it was designed for 75 people. But the increased funds provided by the Senate were eliminated in conference with the House.

TONGUE POINT

No one anywhere did more than Senator Morse to retain the federal facilities at Tongue Point, near Astoria, as a federal installation. When it was closed as a naval base, Senator Morse began searching out other federal activities that could use Tongue Point.

Senator Morse blocked the proposed cut-rate salvage sale of the base, on the grounds that the investment in Tongue Point by the American taxpayers should be protected.

Senator Morse insisted that with all of the federal activities in the country, Tongue Point could well be utilized for some of them.

His search for a federal use of Tongue Point culminated on September 27, 1963, when President Kennedy visited Tongue Point, accompanied by Senator Morse and other members of the Oregon Congressional delegation. It was President Kennedy's last trip away from Washington, D. C., before his fateful journey to Texas.

The President's visit, and that of other cabinet members who accompanied him, pointed up the fine layout available. President Kennedy promised to help find a federal use for it.

In 1964, when the Economic Opportunity Act became law, Tongue Point was immediately selected as one of the three largest Job Corps training sites in the country. It was operated by the Philco Division of the Ford Motor Company, in conjunction with the University of Oregon.

Last year, Tongue Point was switched from a men's Job Corps center to a women's Job Corps center, where it continues to serve as an important economic artery in that part of Oregon.

Senator Morse saved the taxpayers the expense of constructing a whole new facility for this activity. Its annual budget is now \$4 million a year.

MARINE RESEARCH LABORATORY AT NEWPORT

Late in 1962, a major Area Redevelopment project was aided by a grant of \$959,590 for a marine science research center at Yaquina Bay near Newport.

The grant was made possible by the Area Redevelopment Act, a law which Senator Morse had co-sponsored and advocated for many years.

This science research center created 110 new jobs in itself, and contributed indirectly to 210 additional jobs in service enterprises in this Lincoln County Community.

SHIP STORAGE, ALTERATION, CONVERSION AND REPAIR FACILITIES

It was Senator Morse who, early in his Senate career, convinced the Administration to establish a Reserve Fleet Basin at Tongue Point, Oregon. This ideal location, which served as a Reserve Fleet layup facility for about 20 years, is now scheduled for phasing out.

Senator Morse continues to urge the Administration to retain this fine site for future Reserve Fleet storage.

Throughout his years in the Senate, Senator Morse has cooperated with Oregon ship alteration, conversion and repair firms to bring major contracts to Oregon. In recent years, he succeeded in pressing for retention of the "35-65" allocation formula for ship alteration, conversion and repair work to West Coast firms.

Continued

In order to assure that the West would receive at least 35 per cent of this major contract work, Senator Morse preferred to have the 35 per cent allocation written into the law rather than to allow complete discretion of the military on the assignment of this work.

The allocation is no longer a requirement, but the outstanding work performed by Oregon alteration, conversion and repair firms during pendency of the "35-65" allocation law assures major allocation of federal contracts of this type to Oregon.

This means jobs and contracts for Oregon workmen and business firms.

LOG EXPORTS

Rising Japanese purchases of Northwest logs reached levels by late 1967 that caused great concern in Oregon and Washington. Exports in 1967 spurted to half again the 1966 level, and it was evident that some stability in the export picture was needed to protect the timber supply for West Coast lumber mills.

Senator Morse pressed the State Department to talk with Japan about the extent of her log purchases, with a view to obtaining voluntary limits. These talks were set up in September, 1967, and began in December, 1967.

On November 27, 1967, Senator Morse called a meeting of all affected industry and labor organizations. All the pros and cons of the log export supply situation were explored. Agreement was reached within the lumber industry for limitation upon future log sales for export from public timber sold by the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management.

In meetings among members of the Oregon and Washington congressional delegations, Senator Morse took the lead in insisting that the two federal agencies be asked to come up with plans for log sales that would protect local economic interests in these two states. On December 16, a meeting which Senator Morse arranged was held at the White House with industry representatives and Joseph Califano, the President's aide for domestic affairs.

Senator Morse also opened public hearings, on the record, in the Senate Small Business Committee on January 16, 1968. Industry, labor, and port representatives again stated the case, and the Forest Service and Bureau of Land Management were invited to prescribe regulations for their sales that would curb the bidding up of log prices by Japanese competition.

"Contributions of Wayne Morse to his state and our nation are countless. Suffice to say, Senator Morse has been in the forefront of almost every great piece of social legislation that has brought comfort and dignity to millions of Americans in the past 23 years. In behalf of all Hoosiers, I take my hat off to a great United States Senator and a great man, Wayne Morse."

SENATOR BIRCH BAYH, D-Indiana

These hearings gave all interested parties the opportunity to lay out in a public record all arguments and facts relating to the question of how Japanese purchases of logs in Oregon and Washington are affecting these states, and whether anything should be done about them.

All industry witnesses testified to the need and desirability for some export limitation that would stop the bidding up of stumpage prices, and assure local mills a supply of timber.

They were joined in this testimony by several representatives of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters.

The hearings were far from one-sided. The committee knew that log exports have also brought a boom to some segments of Northwest industry. The committee heard testimony from several groups and individuals who oppose curbs on exports.

Shortly before the hearings opened, a recommendation from the Treasury Department to the Forest Service stirred up wide and strong reaction among all segments of the lumber industry throughout the Pacific states. It called for a limitation upon log exports from Oregon and Washington not to exceed 1 billion board feet a year from all sources. But it also called for changes in Forest Service policy in Alaska to permit large-scale log exports. Present policy essentially

"Senator Morse . . . is a great senator and has made signal contributions to the welfare of the nation."

SENATOR ROBERT C. BYRD,
D-West Virginia

restricts sales from public land there to use for "primary manufacture" in the state.

The subcommittee was deluged with requests from Alaskans to appear in opposition to this proposal. The Alaska Chamber of Commerce, the State Department of Economic Development, the Alaska Lumbermen's Association, the Alaska Loggers' Association, the Alaska Bankers Association, Alaska Forest Products, Inc., and the Ketchikan Pulp Company all sent representatives to oppose any change in the "primary manufacture" rule for public timber in Alaska. They believe it results in the export to Japan of large quantities of partially finished lumber and few logs. By communication to the committee, the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union in Alaska also opposed any change.

Senator Gruening obtained from Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman assurance that Alaska would not become a source of raw logs for Japan. On January 15, Secretary Freeman wrote Senator Gruening, in part:

"... In any event, it is not our intention to set rotation so as to obtain the highest financial return. It is not the objective of National Forest management to do this and no change in this objective is contemplated. . . . You have specifically asked if we intend to change the policy in Alaska and make it possible to export from Alaska, in unprocessed form, logs that have been cut from the National Forests. We do not plan any change in this policy."

This reaction from Alaska was the same as the reaction from affected states to previous proposals that the Japanese be sent into Idaho, Montana, Eastern Oregon, and Northern California to obtain logs, and thus spread the impact around. All these areas have said, in effect, that they do not want the problem now facing Western Oregon and Washington "exported" to them!

Mort Doyle, Vice President of the National Forest Products Association, wrote Senator Morse in December of 1967:

"The forest products industry is sincerely grateful for your forceful and untiring leadership in seeking a solution to the increasingly serious problem of log exports from the Pacific Northwest. We are especially indebted for your strong efforts to convince the State Department and other government agencies involved in the negotiations of the extreme urgency of the problem. . . . There is no question that your stature in the Senate coupled with your personal interest in this issue will be a large share of the reason for any success achieved in the meetings with the Japanese."

Throughout the log hearings, Senator Morse made clear that he does not seek to prevent the exportation of all logs. *He proposed that*

what our government should do is insist that a fair balance be agreed upon with Japan whereby Japan would limit its purchase of logs to not more than 350 million board feet. This was the amount exported to Japan from Oregon and Washington in 1966. Then instead of buying additional logs, Japan should agree to purchase manufactured lumber in varying degrees of milling in those amounts that she would otherwise purchase in the form of round logs if she were allowed to do so.

Such an agreement striking a balance of purchase between round logs and finished lumber would not decrease any employment by long-shoremen in our Oregon and Washington ports—but in fact would increase the number of jobs. It would also bring increased business to stevedoring companies and other businesses in our ports. At the same time, such an agreement would stop exporting American jobs to Japan, which is just what is being done when little or no finished lumber is exported to Japan.

Senator Morse brought out in the hearings through Mr. Cliff, the director of the Forest Service, and many other witnesses, that the present excessive exportation of logs to Japan helps cause the shut-down of Oregon mills, creates unemployment in mill towns, depresses business in those towns, and is leading to a shortage of log supplies for our own mills and stumpage prices low enough for our mills to buy them and manufacture them into lumber at a profit.

Senator Morse also pointed out that the Japanese cannot buy logs in Canada or Alaska because of restrictions placed on their export. However, Japan does buy lumber from Alaska and Canada. Senator Morse argued that Japan will not buy lumber from Oregon and Washington as long as no restrictions are placed on the amount of logs she can buy.

Pressing Japan to buy more of our lumber and fewer logs would benefit virtually all affected business in the Northwest—ports, mills, and loggers. But it is obvious that until we make clear to Japan that we must put a ceiling on log exports, she will not take more lumber from us. Oregon and Washington timber will continue to be exploited by Japan until we adopt policies more in line with those of Alaska and Canada.

WAYNE MORSE FIGHTS FOR PROTECTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Oregonians know and respect Wayne Morse for his consistent battle against intolerance. He has always stood for equal opportunities for all Americans.

No member of the Senate has fought as long as Wayne Morse to create meaningful *laws to enforce the rights* guaranteed our citizens by the Constitution.

Senator Morse has dedicated himself in the years ahead to continue protecting individual and constitutional rights in the face of an increasingly mechanized and computerized society.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT

The eradication of racial discrimination is no new crusade for Wayne Morse. In 1946, 1949 and 1953, he introduced legislation to prohibit discrimination in employment.

In 1950, Senator Morse tried to prevent a Senate filibuster against a fair employment bill.

These efforts to secure fair employment reached fulfillment in the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964, of which Senator Morse was again co-sponsor.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

When much was made of the feeble and meaningless Civil Rights Act of 1957, Wayne Morse voted against it, pointing out that it gave promises but no realistic legal help to Negro Americans.

In 1963, when the administration submitted no civil rights program for congressional consideration, Senator Morse and his colleagues initiated bills to outlaw discrimination in public accommodations and other areas.

In June, 1963, Senator Morse drafted a bill to prohibit disbursement of federal funds to any federal program in which racial exclusion or discrimination occurred.

After Wayne Morse garnered several leading pro-civil rights senators as co-sponsors of his bill—and declared that his bill would be offered as a floor amendment—the administration added a modified version to its own civil rights package. The “federal cut-off” of funds

was left to executive action—but the Morse bill (S. 1665) was the genesis of the present Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

In 1964, Wayne Morse became a sponsor and advocate of S. 2642. This bill was enacted into the Economic Opportunity Act—the War on Poverty. It created the Office of Economic Opportunity under Sargent Shriver.

- Among Office of Economic Opportunity programs now operating effectively in Oregon are Head Start, Upward Bound, the Community Action programs, and the Job Corps.
- Oregon has received \$63.5 million in anti-poverty funds (as of November, 1967).

Creation of the Job Corps as part of the War on Poverty came after the Senate several times had tried to establish a Youth Conservation Corps, to put to work on conservation activities many thousands of youths otherwise unemployable due to lack of education and job background.

The Youth Conservation Corps bill which Senator Morse co-sponsored in 1963 became the Job Corps of the War on Poverty.

- Senator Morse was also instrumental in making Tongue Point, at Astoria, a leading Job Corps center. Its education program is run under contract by the University of Oregon.

WAYNE MORSE FIGHTS FOR EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT MEASURE

In 1967, after a summer of turmoil in many American cities, the Senate Labor Committee, with Wayne Morse presiding, adopted a farsighted Emergency Employment Amendment to the Economic Opportunity Act.

This measure would have added \$3 billion for two years, not to train or educate youths (as the War on Poverty seeks to do), but to put them to work *now* in cities and countrysides, at jobs that require no skill.

This highly controversial amendment, which then lacked administration support, was knocked out in a key Senate vote in 1967, by a vote of 54 to 28. Senator Morse voted for it, as he had in committee. In a television interview in December, 1967, President Johnson endorsed the objectives of the bill.

Continued

WAYNE MORSE FIGHTS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES

In the summer and autumn of 1967, Wayne Morse brought the message to Oregonians, in a number of important speeches, that the people of the United States have a *moral obligation* to do something about the intolerable conditions that exist in America's ghettos.

Senator Morse believes that a duty of a United States senator is to lead and inform the public. He has told Oregonians that it is time for a "make work" program for unemployed Negroes and whites in the ghettos.

Senator Morse says America needs a domestic aid program far more than it needs a military foreign aid program, in which millions of American tax dollars are wasted.

Senator Morse says: "This is not simply a case of charity beginning at home, for I am not talking about 'charity' in any domestic program. Our needs are massive and urgent. They require huge sums of money and imaginative, dedicated leadership to overcome. If we fail in meeting these domestic needs, there will be nothing we can conquer abroad."

OREGON'S SENATOR NATIONALLY RECOGNIZED AS A FIGHTER FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

In a major article on the crisis in the nation's cities, *Newsweek* (August 14, 1967) described the action in Congress:

"A more powerful impulse still was to punish the rioters by pecking away at the Administration's already severely curtailed ghetto programs. The knife had already whacked deeply into model cities, rent subsidies, school aid and rat control, and last week a Senate committee slashed the Teachers Corps appropriation from \$33 million to \$18 million.

"*'If it would help, I would get down on both knees in this plea,' Oregon's Wayne Morse cried on the floor. 'We should put this special assistance into the ghettos of America where we know one of the great social and economic crises confronts us.'*

"But the final vote was 45 to 43 for the cut."

WAYNE MORSE SAYS THE SENATE SHOULD VOTE ON ALL BILLS

"Lengthy debate is of great value, especially when the public is poorly informed on an issue. But using talk to prevent a vote from being taken—ever—is inexcusable."

For decades, the major obstacle to the enactment of civil rights legislation has been the rule of the Senate which permits unlimited debate, unless debate is cut off by vote of two-thirds of the members.

Ever since coming to the Senate, Wayne Morse has sought to change this rule to permit a majority to end debate and bring bills to a vote.

He presses this change at the opening of every new Congress.

SENATOR MORSE TRANSLATES BELIEFS INTO ACTION

Wayne Morse knows that the battle against intolerance is not a part-time job. His personal life reflects strict adherence to the moral and ethical principles he knows are vital to American life.

In discussing discrimination against Jews by private clubs in Kansas City, Mo., the *National Catholic Reporter* (November 8, 1967) reported in a story:

"Last month, the Lawyers Association of Kansas City moved a meeting to a motel after Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon declined to speak to it in the University club. His reason—the club's discrimination—went unreported in the local press."

WAYNE MORSE WORKS FOR IMMIGRATION REFORM

Senator Wayne Morse supported and voted for the extensive changes in the Immigration Reform Act of 1965. That act removed racial and nationality quotas upon immigration, setting instead a numerical limit and pooling unused quotas for use by countries whose quotas were oversubscribed. Preference priorities were also established, giving admission priority to persons having relatives already here.

Like many Oregonians, Senator Morse was distressed by the deportation in 1960 of two long-time Oregon residents on charges that 10 to 20 years ago they took part in subversive activities. Under existing law, these charges are not tried in court, but by an administrative agency. Senator Morse has sought ever since to obtain executive clemency for these men, or to readmit them to the U. S. through special legislation.

Continued

But he has also sponsored general legislation to prevent such injustices. His bills would put a 10-year statute of limitations upon such proceedings, so that an individual lawfully admitted for permanent residence may not be subjected to deportation proceedings for acts of more than 10 years' standing.

Senator Morse's bills to this effect were S. 1500 in 1963 and S. 2546 in 1965. In the current Congress, his provision has been incorporated into Senator Ted Kennedy's general immigration bill, S. 2524, of which Senator Morse is a co-sponsor.

WAYNE MORSE FIGHTS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN MANY WAYS

Appalachia

As part of the War on Poverty, Senator Morse co-sponsored the Appalachia Development Act of 1965, and the 1966 additions to it.

Home Rule For Washington

Senator Morse is the nation's leading sponsor of home rule for the nation's capital city, Washington, D. C. His home rule bills were enacted by the Senate six times, only to lose out in the House.

In 1967, the Administration instituted the first stages of home rule through a reorganization plan.

Lower Voting Age

Senator Morse believes that today's young people are better qualified to vote than their counterparts of the 1800's, when the age of 21 was established as the general voting age. He is a co-sponsor of Senator Mansfield's constitutional amendment to make 18 the uniform national voting age.

Abolish Electoral College

Senator Morse has long favored abolishing the electoral college and electing the President and Vice President by direct, popular vote. He has co-sponsored constitutional amendments for this purpose with Senators Smith and Bayh.

Repeal Capital Punishment

Senator Morse believes that human life belongs to God, and that capital punishment should be done away with. He is co-sponsor of S. 1760, to repeal all capital punishment for federal crimes.

Riots

Senator Morse believes riots in city ghettos must be attacked by attacking ghettos first. He has supported *model cities* and *rent subsidies* on key votes to make these programs amount to something more than paperwork.

Senator Morse's *education* measures have poured millions of dollars into the improvement of ghetto schools, where the best teaching methods are needed most. Senator Morse has either been the author or one of the sponsors of every major education bill that has been introduced in the Senate since 1946. Each one of his bills has called for equal educational opportunity free of any discrimination based upon race, color or creed.

Senator Morse believes that legal penalties for the crimes of violence that occur in riots are ample—and *should be imposed upon the guilty*. He favored congressional investigation of the 1967 riots with this principle in mind.

Equal Rights For Women

To guarantee equal rights for women, Senator Morse has co-sponsored S. J. Res. 54, a constitutional amendment.

Right-To-Know

Senator Morse believes you have a right to know the business of your government, except where publication would endanger national security. Senator Morse co-sponsored several "right to know" bills, including S. 1160, which finally became law in 1966 (Public Law 89-487).

"One Man, One Vote"

In 1965, Senator Morse voted against the Dirksen constitutional amendment to cancel Supreme Court decisions requiring apportionment of state legislatures by population. This was the move to reverse the Court's "one man, one vote" rule.

Continued

School Prayers

In 1966, Senator Morse voted against another Dirksen amendment, which also failed to pass. It would have restored religious prayers in public schools.

Wayne Morse is a devout and religious man belonging to the Congregational Church. He believes in prayer. However, he also believes that as a matter of constitutional law, the Supreme Court was right in its prayer decision.

Bill of Rights

Senator Morse supports the recent U. S. Supreme Court decisions which guarantee constitutional rights to persons accused of crimes.

Wayne Morse says, "We don't need to deny constitutional rights to those suspected of crime in order to have effective, efficient law enforcement."

He adds: "Isn't it just a little silly to admit that the Bill of Rights exists and then deny that our citizens have the right to be informed of its contents?"

WAYNE MORSE FIGHTS FOR AN EQUITABLE MILITARY DRAFT

Senator Morse believes sweeping changes are needed in the nation's selective service system. He has long fought for an equitable military draft, so young men in every part of the country will be treated fairly.

On April 14, 1967, Wayne Morse told the Senate that "the lack of national standards among draft boards is one of the reasons why I have voted against the draft the last two times. I expect to continue to vote against it unless a fair draft law can be enacted. I shall never vote for a draft law as discriminatory and unfair as the selective service system is."

But on May 11, 1967, when the Senate extended the draft law, there were very few changes in it. A number of amendments to improve the draft, including three by Senator Morse, were defeated—and the bill passed the Senate by a vote of 70 to 2.

Wayne Morse was one of the two to vote against it. It wasn't the first time he voted against a draft bill. In 1963, Senator Morse told the Congress:

"It is an astonishing thing to me that in a Pentagon building bulging with the so-called whiz kids and slide rule minds that pride themselves on industrial efficiency, we must still stagger along with a rickety, wasteful, and completely unfair method of filling the ranks of the Army."

During the Senate debate in May, 1967, Wayne Morse pointed out that a number of reforms are needed in the selective service system, such as:

- There should be national deferment standards for the draft system.
- A system should be established in which the youngest men, not the oldest, should be drafted first—or else a ratio between the youngest and oldest should be worked out.
- Deferments should be considered for young men who serve in the Peace Corps, VISTA, Red Cross or other such service.
- The local and national selective service bureaucracies should be modernized through the use of automatic data processing equipment.
- Draft registrants appealing their classification should have the right to an attorney in their appeal before their draft boards.

In voting against the 1967 draft law, Senator Morse told the Senate:

"I am not going to be a party to voting for a four-year Selective Service Act seeking to bind the young men of this country for another four years at the cost of such a gross injustice as we are imposing upon their freedom in the name of security."

In 1967:

- Senator Morse supported the Hatfield amendment which called for an eventual change-over from a conscriptive draft to a volunteer military service. The amendment lost, 69 to 9.
- Wayne Morse supported the Hatfield amendment which tried to limit the draft law renewal to two years, not four, so Congress could exercise closer supervision over the draft. The amendment failed, 67 to 13.
- Wayne Morse supported an amendment by Senator Young of Ohio, which would have reduced the military service of inductees from two years to 18 months. The amendment lost, 74 to 4.

Continued

- Senator Morse supported the Gruening amendment which would have limited the assignment of draftees to Southeast Asia unless they volunteered for such service. The amendment lost, 75 to 2.

Wayne Morse understands the problems of young men who face induction. "The draft contributes to the anxiety of almost all male college students," he says, "not because of fear of death or dislike of the service, but because, as students put it, 'We don't know what's going to happen to us.'"

During the 1967 debate:

- Wayne Morse offered and fought for an amendment which would have established national standards for draft boards, in order to eliminate a whole variety of local practices, procedures and policies which result in great injustices. As he pointed out, a great many young men are trying to "beat" the draft—not because they are unpatriotic, but because the system itself has worked unjustly, unfairly and inequitably. The amendment failed, 68 to 6.
- Wayne Morse offered and fought for an amendment which would have allowed Peace Corps and VISTA volunteers to be deferred from the draft until they finish their Peace Corps or VISTA term of service. The amendment lost, 65 to 7.
- Wayne Morse offered and fought for an amendment which would have given draftees the right to an attorney before their appeal boards. It lost, 55 to 17.

When the Senate passed the 1957 draft bill without making the many changes which he thinks are vitally important, Senator Morse made his position known very clearly to his colleagues. He said:

"The Senate should recognize that when it gets through with this bill tonight, it has not finished its job in regard to a selective service law, even for the immediate future.

"When we get through hearing from the American people, we are going to recognize that we have not finished the job. Some of my colleagues in the Senate believe that this bill will be swallowed in one lump by the American people. They are going to discover millions of protesters against this bill . . .

"It is a bad bill. It continues to perpetuate unfair discriminatory policies, continues to be grossly unfair in its lack of uniformity in the treatment of the young men of this country, who are being drafted into the Army unfairly, in comparison with the privileges, the exemptions, the deferments, and what amounts to favorable discriminatory practices made available to those who are not being drafted. . . ."

WAYNE MORSE WORKS FOR CONSERVATION AND RECREATION

Wayne Morse has consistently worked to expand public recreation facilities in Oregon, with particular emphasis on the improvement of existing facilities and the acquisition and development of land for recreation.

For example:

- Senator Morse co-sponsored the original 1957 legislation that created the Outdoor Recreation Resources Commission, resulting in a permanent Bureau of Recreation within the Department of Interior.
- Senator Morse co-sponsored legislation in the 87th Congress to promote federal and state programs in outdoor recreation and to provide financial help to the states for this purpose.
- Senator Morse co-sponsored a measure in the 89th Congress to establish a land and water conservation fund to help the states and federal agencies to plan for and meet swelling outdoor recreation demands.
- Senator Morse co-sponsored a bill in 1965 to amend the Land and Water Conservation Fund Act to provide for careful congressional study of any existing or proposed users' fees for public outdoor recreational facilities.
- Senator Morse joined in sponsoring legislation in the 90th Congress to provide increased revenues to the Land and Water Conservation Fund, to assist federal, state and local governments in acquiring and developing public outdoor recreation facilities.

Continued

OREGON DUNES

Senator Morse co-sponsored the first Oregon Dunes National Seashore Park bill in 1959, with the late Senator Richard Neuberger. The bill would have set up a seashore area of about 30,600 acres.

Since that time, Senator Morse has consistently worked to improve later dunes bills, objecting primarily to the blanket condemnation features regarding private property.

The Department of Interior wants blanket condemnation power —*but has not been able to meet the legal test of proving public necessity for gaining private lands.*

With the Everglades Park in Florida as a case in point, Senator Morse urged that the park be put together from available public land. In his work for the passage of an Oregon Dunes bill, Senator Morse has continued to promote legislation embodying his amendments on condemnation procedures.

Wayne Morse points out that a large and splendid Dunes Seashore Park could be established without taking a single acre or piece of private property. He says:

"We have federal land and state land in abundance all along the coast and particularly in the Florence area. Let us set up such a park and then let the Secretary of Interior prove, *parcel by parcel*, that he needs any private holdings to enlarge such a park.

"Then and only then will I vote for condemnation for those individual particular pieces of private property. To give him blanket condemnation authority is not necessary at all."

REDWOOD PARK

In 1967, Senator Morse fought for and joined with the majority in passing the landmark Redwood National Park bill.

Senator Morse continued his long-held view that preservation of the forest areas for public enjoyment can be accomplished only through the concept of publicly-supported multiple-use in the public's national parks.

The case for the bill's passage, Senator Morse felt, was made on the indisputable basis that *so few tracts of primeval Redwoods are left* —and passage of the bill did not threaten the availability of prime timber-growing forest land, which can be made to produce crop after crop of useful wood in 70- to 90-year cycles.

The one reservation against the bill, and a resolution Senator Morse sought to eliminate by amendment, was in the exchange provision of the bill, whereby public Redwood forest lands were traded for private forest lands, which had already been cut over, in order to add land to the Redwood Park.

Senator Morse felt that this created a dangerous precedent and constituted an open invitation to those who would carve up our national forests and other federal forests just for the sake of commercial exploitation.

CASCADES PARK

In 1967, Wayne Morse introduced a bill calling for the Secretary of Interior to study the advisability of establishing a national park, or other unit of the national park system, in the Oregon Cascades.

The bill calls for a comprehensive study of the scenic, scientific, recreational, educational, wildlife and wilderness values of the Cascades between the Columbia River and the northern boundary of Crater Lake.

The Morse bill calls upon the Secretary of Interior to make a report to Congress within one year.

The bill does *not* call for the creation of a Cascades Park, but only for a *study of the feasibility or non-feasibility*.

Senator Morse takes the position that conservationists and others who want the park are entitled to an official government study of their proposal and a congressional hearing on it.

WILDERNESS ACT

Wayne Morse was an early sponsor of the Wilderness System bill. He voted for it when it passed the Senate in 1961. He supported later amendments to improve the act, and he voted for the strengthened Wilderness Act in 1964.

Recently, Senator Morse co-sponsored S. 2751 with Senator Hatfield, to designate the Mount Jefferson Wilderness in the Willamette, Deschutes and Mount Hood national forests.

Continued

OREGON BEACHES

When an attempt was made in 1967 to put a highway through the Nestucca sandspit on the Oregon coast, Wayne Morse took the position that conservation, not dollars, was the real issue.

Senator Morse responded quickly when an Oregon citizens' group raised the possibility that a federal issue was involved in the controversy.

State Treasurer Robert Straub credited Wayne Morse with helping him get federal assistance in fighting the beach highway. Straub wrote in a letter to conservationists (September 7, 1967):

"When I was in Washington, D. C., two weeks ago, Senator Wayne Morse went with me for an hour-long session with Secretary Udall. He was of real help in persuading Mr. Udall that a vital federal interest was involved in not allowing the use of federal funds to build highways through recreation areas."

Senator Morse has asked the Secretary of Transportation, Mr. Boyd, to make a thorough study of any new proposal for the location of any highway along the Oregon beaches that might violate the expressed intent of Congress—that federal funds for interstate highways should not be used toward paying for highways that jeopardize public use of federal or state recreational areas such as parks, beaches, streams, lakes and similar areas.

"No man is more truly deserving of the appreciation not only of Oregon but of the 49 other states for his conscientious, dedicated and effective contribution to government. Wayne's courage in espousing unpopular causes, his determination in seeing great social problems through to successful fruition and his outstanding ability in meeting all comers most effectively in debate have long added to the stature of the Senate. While we do not always agree, he maintains the warm friendship of members of this body, whether in agreement or disagreement. We respect ability, and certainly Senator Morse has this in great abundance."

SENATOR MIKE MONRONEY,
D-Oklahoma

OCEAN RESOURCES

In 1966, Oregonians were alarmed at the presence of Russian fishing trawlers off the Oregon Coast. They were fishing extensively in primary grounds for ocean perch and bottom fish.

Senator Morse reviewed the international law, and agreements which might apply to this problem, and he consulted with government experts. He found that since the Russians were fishing beyond the three-mile limit, and since the Russians had signed no agreements restricting their fishing beyond the three-mile limit, there were no legal remedies that could be invoked.

However, Senator Morse also found that in 1958 there was a fishery convention signed by several Pacific countries, but not Russia. On April 11, 1966, Senator Morse wired President Johnson urging that a diplomatic conference be scheduled immediately with the Russian government—to work out an acceptance by the Russians of the 1958 Pacific international fishery convention.

As a result, a conservation agreement was negotiated with the USSR, which included the closing of certain areas off the Oregon Coast to large-scale fishing in primary grounds for perch and other species.

Senator Morse believes that negotiations of fishing conservation agreements would be strengthened if the United States government would cooperate with the American fishing industry in helping to build fishing programs to match the large investments planned by the Russians.

Senator Morse has supported the Senate Small Business Committee in a study of what can be done by holding hearings in the Pacific Northwest.

He has also joined, with members of the Oregon, Washington and Alaska delegations, in every program that has sought to strengthen and protect American fishing rights off the West Coast and to help revitalize government programs to aid research in the ocean sciences.

WAYNE MORSE LEADS THE WAY IN FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

Wayne Morse became chairman of the Senate Education Subcommittee in 1961, as the Kennedy Administration was taking office.

Since then, he has been leader and floor manager for all education bills in the Senate.

Under Senator Morse's leadership, the Congress has passed more education legislation, in quantity and quality, than in the entire preceding history of the United States.

Wayne Morse is widely acknowledged as a foreign policy statesman. His position as a labor law expert is unchallenged. His reputation is established as a constitutional lawyer, as a conservationist, as one of the Senate's leading liberals, as a source of great strength to the Democratic leadership in the Senate in the passage of general welfare legislation.

But Democrats in Oregon should also be proud of the fact that Wayne Morse's leadership has produced dramatic accomplishments in the field of education legislation. In the United States Senate, Wayne Morse of Oregon is known as "Mr. Education."

When historians write about the decade now ending, they will note that the members of the United States Congress, after years of frustration and indecision, finally endorsed with their votes the theory that the Federal Government has a moral obligation in the education of American boys and girls.

For many, many years, constructive legislation aimed at federal aid to education was stymied in the Congress, seemingly forever, for a number of political reasons.

But about ten years ago, with the signing in 1958 of the National Defense Education Act, the federal government began its current financial support of the educational systems of our country at all levels.

Education legislation began as a trickle, but it widened to a stream, and then came forth in full freshet as the 1960's brought a great and lasting change in the attitude of the American people with respect to federal financial support for the educational process.

Recent legislation enacted under Senator Morse's leadership has resulted in Office of Education funds for Oregon which are now estimated at \$40 million annually—compared with \$3.1 million in 1960.

Senator Morse recognizes that with states and local communities now taxed close to the limit—or over the limit—*the nation's education crisis required this federal assistance if we were not to fall dangerously behind in training the minds and skills of our young people.*

"We will never be able to keep up with Russia and China in manpower," Senator Morse says, "but we better see to it that we keep up in brainpower."

The legislative leadership and parliamentary abilities of Oregon's Wayne Morse, in seeing these numerous education bills through to final passage, have been the subject of many spontaneous and enthusiastic tributes from his Senate colleagues.

In 1965, President Johnson referred to passage of the package of education bills as a "legislative miracle."

Wayne Morse, as a concerned father and grandfather, as the holder of four college degrees himself, as a former teacher and school administrator, knows that the education of a boy or girl in one part of the country is of vital concern to all Americans in all parts of the country.

He holds firm to the principle that every American youngster, *as a matter of right*, is entitled to as much education as he or she has the ability to master.

It has been our state's great fortune in this historic period that Congresswoman Edith Green of Oregon has been chairman of a

"Wayne Morse has stood at my side in committee, on the Senate floor, and in conference with the House throughout these years, battling to bring the benefits of modern medicine to all our people, to stimulate the intellectual resources of our people through strengthening our schools and colleges, and to establish even-handed justice in the relations between labor and management.

"Always foremost in protecting the interests of Oregon, Senator Morse is nationally known as a great and valiant fighter for causes vital to the country as a whole.

"The Senate would be a lesser place without Oregon's leading statesman, and America a weaker voice for truth and justice were he not here to call out to our conscience."

SENATOR LISTER HILL, D-Alabama,
Chairman Committee on Labor and
Public Welfare

House Education Subcommittee, working with Senator Morse as the other half of this Oregon team of "educational statesmen."

The major new laws enacted during this period are:

The Morse-Perkins Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Public Law 88-210). This act expanded existing vocational education programs for people of all ages, and authorized increases in matching grants to the states to carry them out. It also extended the National Defense Education Act and aid to school districts affected by federal activities.

The Morse-Green Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 (Public Law 88-204). This landmark statute authorized a three-year program of \$1.2 billion for the construction of college classrooms and libraries through matching grants and low-interest loans. At the time, President Johnson called the measure "the most significant education bill" ever passed by Congress.

Signing of the bill put an end to a three-year struggle in Congress, launched by President Kennedy, to provide federal aid for the construction of college classrooms, laboratories and libraries.

The Morse-Dent Library Services and Construction Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-269). This expansion of the Library Services Act extended the program to urban libraries and provided \$45 million in matching grants for construction of library buildings.

National Defense Education Act Amendments of 1964 (Public Law 88-665). This made major revisions in the National Defense Education Act which provided a huge leap forward in the funding of graduate fellowships available. Among other effects, it provided for an increase in the number of fellowships from 1,500 in 1964 to 7,500 in 1968.

Educational and Training Aspects of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. As chairman of the Education Subcommittee, Wayne Morse seized the opportunity provided by Senate Labor Committee consideration of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 to insert educational proposals previously heard by his subcommittee.

Two such programs were the college-work study program (for students from low-income families) and the adult basic education act program.

"Wayne Morse has always put the public interest first. Millions of Americans have reason to bless his name for the educational fights he has led and won on their behalf. In this field alone, he has done more during his career than any number of others have done in a lifetime. The breakthroughs we have made as a result of his efforts in elementary, secondary, vocational and bi-lingual education by themselves constitute a new era for millions. These progressive ideas have always found expression through Senator Morse. There is not a member of the United States Senate who has not benefitted and learned from exposure to his learning and erudition. His integrity, courage and belief in what America really stands for are examples to every citizen of this nation."

SENATOR JOSEPH M. MONTOYA,
D-New Mexico

Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-10). With this act, a *dramatic breakthrough*, a formula was finally found to resolve the First Amendment difficulties which had for so long plagued efforts to enact broad federal support for elementary and secondary school students.

This second Morse-Perkins Act authorized \$1.3 billion to improve elementary and secondary education. It provided a two-year program of aid to school districts on the basis of their percentage of pupils from low-income families, and a five-year program for supplemental education centers available to private and public schools. It provided funds for purchases of textbooks and other teaching aids, and extended to 1968 aid to school districts affected by federal activities.

In signing this act, President Johnson said, "I believe deeply no law I have signed or will ever sign means more to the future of America."

Higher Education Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-329). This law authorized many millions of dollars for university extension programs and community service programs; for strengthening college libraries and training of librarians; and for aid to small, developing colleges.

It also authorized a student loan program at low interest and authorized \$70 million a year in college scholarships.

It created the Teachers Corps and established the Morse fellowship program.

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School Disaster Aid Act of 1965 (Public Law 89-313). This act protects communities whose schools have been damaged or destroyed by fire, earthquake or storm. As soon as the President declares an area eligible, it may receive money from previously appropriated funds under Impacted Area authorities.

Elementary and Secondary Education Amendments of 1966 (Public Law 89-750). This law authorized \$6.1 billion for two years. It provided expanded financial aid for the education of children from low-income families; funds for supplementary education centers and services available to public and private schools; and funds for acquisition of school library and instructional materials. It also broadened the assistance to federally impacted school districts.

Higher Education Amendments of 1966 (Public Law 89-752). This law extended for three years the Morse-Green Act of 1963. It authorized \$4 billion over that period for grants and loans for construction of academic facilities in colleges, community colleges and universities. It provided loans for undergraduates and graduate centers.

International Education Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-752). This act authorized a five-year program for the establishment or support of language centers and of existing centers for advanced international studies and research. It authorized \$140 million over a three-year period for grants and contracts.

National Sea Grant College and Program Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-688). This legislation seeks to extend the principle of the great Morrill Act (for land-grant colleges) to the unknown and largely untapped resources of the marine world.

This act has immense potential education and economic significance for a state enjoying Oregon's geographic location.

In June, 1967, Congress enacted the *Education Professions Development Act (Public Law 90-35)* and provided an additional tenure to the *Teachers Corps* program while at the same time broadening the scope of professional training available to encompass available disciplines from teachers' aides in kindergarten through in-service training of potential college presidents.

On December 15, 1967, under Senator Morse's leadership, Congress passed the *second major extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965* and in doing so, not only established a new administrative pattern for the \$500-million authorization for financing supplementary educational centers and services, but also

initiated new programs in the field of bi-lingual education, special education for the handicapped and school bus safety.

It also brought to Oregon an additional \$200,000 annually in impacted aid money.

Under Wayne Morse's leadership in the next Congress, all Oregonians can look forward with confidence that education legislation will be given full, careful scrutiny and will be pressed with skill and determination based upon solid experience and legislative achievement.

The education needs of Oregon and the nation call out for his continued service in the Senate of the United States.

WHAT OTHERS SAY ABOUT WAYNE MORSE

One of the most remarkable tributes paid to Wayne Morse's educational statesmanship was extended by Senator Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut (who was Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in the Kennedy Administration). On April 8, 1965, Ribicoff said:

"This and future generations of Americans will forever be in the debt of the senator from Oregon. In a brilliant public career, he has achieved much. But when history records the great deeds of the Senate, the name Morse will shine brightly on our education bills.

"The senior senator from Oregon has waged a consistent and determined fight against all odds and all discouragement in an effort to help education. During my days as Secretary, when everyone was running away in the face of the tough issues, when people were seen running in all directions, the one man in Congress who understood the overriding needs in the field of education was the senator from Oregon.

"The senator from Oregon was always present, whether it was day or night, morning or afternoon. He worked steadily and steadfastly. It is a crowning achievement that now this work of many years will finally be accomplished.

"When the name Morse appears on an education bill, the present generation of children and children yet unborn will be assured that the bill stands for the one man, who in my opinion more than any other single individual in the whole history of our nation, has helped further the cause of education in the United States . . ."

Commenting on the Higher Education Act of 1965, Senator Javits of New York told the Senate:

"The work of the senior senator from Oregon in bringing this bill to the floor with the unanimous support of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is of such an extraordinary quality that I feel that that alone, whatever else ensues, deserves the highest encomium of which not only I am capable but also the entire world of education.

"It is extraordinary that a man of so many abilities in so many fields becomes the most adroit, intelligent, wise judge, conciliator and friend when he is in charge of a bill that any committee could ever have. It is most extraordinary . . ."

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Senator Metcalf of Montana said:

"In all the history of the United States there has never been an educational program enacted such as the one under the leadership of the senator from Oregon. . . . The boys and girls of America and the families of America for another 100 years will praise the distinguished senator from Oregon just as they praised Senator Morrill and other great leaders of education . . ."

Majority Leader Mansfield said:

"The title 'Mr. Education' is a title well earned by Senator Morse. . . . I thank him from the bottom of my heart, and I congratulate him for his tremendous understanding, knowledge, and ability on all matters, but especially on questions involving education."

Senator Robert Kennedy said:

"I can say without question that we would not have an education bill if it had not been for the patience, leadership, and knowledge of this subject on the part of the senior senator from Oregon. As a freshman senator and a new member of the committee, it was one of the most impressive experiences that I have ever had, not only with the higher education bill, but also with the secondary bill. . . ."

Speaking on the 1967 amendments, Senator Pell of Rhode Island told the Senate on December 4, 1967:

"I believe that great credit must be given to Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon. In truth, he is the father and shepherd of this conception of aid to education. What greater satisfaction can one have than to know that since the establishment of these programs, approximately 8.3 million educationally deprived children have been reached.

"The senator's great dedication is manifested, not only by his great attention to detail, but also his great patience exercised while bringing the legislation to fruition. As a member of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, I can inform the Senate that no bills come before us with greater attention to detail than education legislation. And yet the larger goals are always kept in view."

Senator Randolph of West Virginia said (December 5, 1967):

"We are fortunate to have the able guidance of the senator from Oregon. The members of our subcommittee, the Congress and our nation are indebted to our distinguished chairman. Truly, in this country there is no better friend and effective advocate of education than the senator from Oregon. It is a privilege to be a member of the subcommittee and to actively work with him. His patience in trying circumstances; his modesty in achievement; his cooperation and understanding in individual cases; his knowledge of complex education legislation; but above all his fairness in judgment, are unparalleled."

Those are only a few of the many tributes to Senator Morse spoken on the floor of the Senate by his fellow senators, both Republican and Democratic.

WAYNE MORSE WORKS FOR OREGON BUSINESS

The name Wayne Morse is as respected on Main Street in your town as it is in the Senate of the United States. For Senator Morse knows that America's political freedom is only as strong as its economic freedom.

Wayne Morse knows that *our nation's economy is the best defense weapon we have.*

Senator Morse has worked hard and faithfully to earn his outstanding reputation as a champion of the independent businessman.

- His office is known as a place where Oregon businessmen can be heard and can obtain proper aid—without regard to political affiliation.
- Oregon businessmen have learned that a call to Senator Morse for help on the administrative level always results in an effective, fair and vigorous presentation of their case. He has acted for 23 years as an effective legislative counsel for the economic interests of Oregon.

Senator Morse is a member of the Senate Select Committee on Small Business. *His advocacy of small business measures is a record of accomplishment.*

WAYNE MORSE WORKS TO STRENGTHEN THE SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

The Small Business Administration is the federal government's service agency for small business. In establishing the SBA, Congress recognized that America's 5 million small businessmen make an indispensable contribution to our national life.

The Small Business Administration helps small firms, such as abound in Oregon, solve their financial problems, overcome the effects of disasters, sell to or buy from the government, strengthen their management and production capabilities, and achieve increased growth and prosperity.

Senator Morse says: *"Small Business Administration loans have helped translate dreams into reality for thousands of enterprising men and women."*

- After co-sponsoring legislation which established the Small Defense Plants Administration (forerunner of the SBA), Senator

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Morse supported legislation which created and extended the Small Business Administration. In 1958, he voted to make it a permanent agency.

- When Portland was omitted from the list of eleven SBA branch offices given the power to make loans, Senator Morse acted quickly to give loan authority to the Portland branch.

The Portland branch has granted or guaranteed loans to more than 1,500 Oregon businessmen and has given management assistance to many hundreds more.

SBA Loans to Oregon Businessmen*

| | Number | Amount |
|------------------------------------|--------|--------------|
| Regular Business Loans | 964 | \$51,967,000 |
| Disaster Loans | 563 | 7,490,000 |
| Displaced Business Loans | 18 | 1,588,000 |
| Community Development Loans | 13 | 2,319,000 |
| Economic Opportunity Program | 3 | 26,000 |

*As of October, 1967

Wayne Morse fought for this program when it was endangered. Early in 1966, there was a strong indication that the Administration intended to dismantle the Small Business Administration and place it within the Department of Commerce, where it would lose its independence of operation and policy-making.

Senator Morse protested this move. His argument and those of other friends of the agency were persuasive and the efforts to eliminate the Small Business Administration were abandoned.

WAYNE MORSE WORKS FOR THE HOME-BUILDING AND LUMBER INDUSTRIES

There was a lot of talk about a lumber slump in 1966. Did you know that Senator Morse was listening—*before* other people began complaining?

Senator Morse was among the first to sound the warning of what the tight money policies of the government were doing to home-builders and lumbermen, particularly in the Northwest.

In July, 1965, Senator Morse presented the case to the Senate—backed up by strong evidence—that homebuilding was experiencing a drastic downturn, that small lumber mills and builders would be

suffering badly. Senator Morse called for a reversal of tight money policies, and he went to work for legislation that would bring some relief to Oregon.

When the situation worsened, Senator Morse brought the figures to the attention of the President on October 20, 1966, and to the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in a personal visit shortly afterwards.

Meanwhile, with strong support from Senator Morse, Congress passed three bills aimed at helping the homebuilding industry:

- Public Law 89-566 made available \$1 billion for the purchase of mortgages on moderate-income houses.
- Public Law 89-597 authorized the imposition of ceilings on interest rates.
- Public Law 89-695 raised insurance on deposits from \$10,000 to \$15,000, thus encouraging increased deposits in savings and loan associations and other thrift institutions.

In a major Senate speech on February 3, 1967, Senator Morse outlined a further series of alternative budget and monetary policies. During the early months of 1967, many of these suggestions were adopted by the Administration and the Federal Reserve System to ease credit and restore a measure of equitable treatment to the homebuilding and lumber industries.

WAYNE MORSE WORKS TO STRENGTHEN OREGON FOREIGN TRADE PROGRAMS

Senator Morse has long recognized the value of export trade to Oregon and the Northwest.

Early in 1967, he urged the Small Business Committee to hold a series of field hearings in seaports across the country. He pointed out that such hearings would help build exports in regional businesses and would also build the country's trade surplus and improve the nation's balance of payments and gold flow.

The committee unanimously adopted Senator Morse's suggestion on February 1, 1967, and named Portland, Oregon, as the city for the first of these hearings.

On May 19-20, 1967, public hearings in Portland brought together a wide variety of businessmen, trade association executives and state and local government officials from the Northwest to assess the potential for trade with nations around the Pacific Basin and elsewhere during the next decade.

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As a direct result of the hearings, the President appointed a Secretary of Commerce and the Small Business Administration resumed the export program, which had been held in abeyance for more than a year.

WAYNE MORSE WORKS TO INCREASE OREGON BUSINESS SALES TO GOVERNMENT

Businessmen in Oregon know that Senator Morse's offices in Washington and Portland are always open to extend help to any business firm that has had difficulty in dealing with the government. Senator Morse demands fair, equal treatment for Oregon businessmen.

He has also worked to improve the general climate for doing business with the government.

- *Senator Morse took the lead in securing the cooperation of the Oregon Congressional delegation for holding a full-scale conference on government contracts and procurement which was held September 26-27, 1967, in Eugene.*

Top specialists from government agencies and large prime contractors came to Eugene to brief more than 300 Oregon businessmen on how to bid for and compete for the *more than \$150 billion* in goods and services purchased each year by the federal, state and local governments.

Alert to *new programs* in the federal government, Senator Morse made a special effort to insure the attendance at the conference of representatives of federal oceanography programs, the National Science Foundation, and agencies working with city and construction problems, such as the Water Pollution Control Administration.

Individual counseling was provided to all interested firms, which could get directly on bidders' lists for future contracts to be awarded by all government agencies.

At the Eugene conference, Senator Morse called for the establishment in Oregon of a repository of federal standards and specifications.

Such a repository would give Oregon businessmen a much better chance to bid for federal contracts, and Senator Morse so wrote to Defense Secretary McNamara in September.

On December 23, 1967, the Defense Department announced that a federal repository would be established at Oregon State University in Corvallis.

WAYNE MORSE WORKS FOR FAIR TAXES AND FIGHTS FOR THE CONSUMER

During his career in the Senate, Wayne Morse has opposed sales or excise taxes of all kinds, except where needed during wartime to restrict use of scarce goods or to raise war revenue.

Senator Morse has strongly opposed moves to enact a federal sales tax on all goods.

But consumers pay *selected* federal sales taxes on several items.

These are called *excise taxes*, and Senator Morse regards them as unfair to consumers. They hit hardest at the low and middle-income groups. They are also a burden on business, for they are inconvenient to collect and often impose a competitive disadvantage.

EXCISE AND BUSINESS TAXES

Senator Morse co-sponsored legislation in 1958 to repeal the 3 per cent tax on transportation of goods and the 10 per cent tax on personal travel.

He voted for several amendments to repeal this excise before the freight tax was repealed in 1958.

He continued to seek repeal of the personal travel tax. After it was repealed, except for a remaining 5 per cent tax on air travel, Senator Morse voted in 1963 and 1965 for amendments to eliminate that also.

In 1964, Senator Morse voted:

- To repeal the excise tax on jewelery and furs under \$100 and on all cosmetics and luggage.
- To repeal the excise on handbags under \$50.
- To repeal the excise on mechanical pens and pencils.
- To reduce the excise on cabaret admissions.
- To repeal the excise on theater admissions.

Few of these floor amendments are ever adopted. But consistent votes to repeal excise taxes have prompted the Administration, one-by-one, to submit its own measures to abolish them.

In 1966, Senator Morse opposed the Administration bill to post-

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pone the expiration of some of these excises, and he voted to reduce the tax on telephone service from 10 per cent to 3 per cent.

In 1966, Senator Morse voted against suspending the 7 per cent investment credit. Before the suspension became law, he joined in obtaining a \$20,000 exemption for small business.

When some Oregon industries subject to federal regulation brought to Senator Morse's attention that they had been obliged to proceed with capital expenditures while the investment tax credit was not in effect, Senator Morse took the matter up with the bill's sponsors.

He helped obtain favorable Senate action, in conference with the House, to alleviate the problem. Francis Hill, president of the Northwest Natural Gas Company in Portland, wrote Senator Morse on April 17, 1967:

"I appreciate very much your vigorous and aggressive action in response to my recent telegram with respect to the inequities to this company inherent in the Senate Finance Committee recommendation."

TAX LOOPHOLES

Senator Morse has voted *at every opportunity* to repeal or reduce the 27½ % depletion allowance that gives oil and gas companies and their investors a tremendous tax advantage.

The most recent amendments were offered in 1964. Senator Morse supported unsuccessful amendments by Senators Douglas and Williams in the continuing struggle against this tax privilege.

Senator Morse voted twice in 1964 to try to assure consumers of businesses regulated by federal agencies that the tax advantage of the investment tax credit could be passed on to them. He voted:

- For an amendment to eliminate the tax privilege for corporation executives who hold stock options.
- Against an amendment that sought to preserve part of the dividend credit for taxpayers owning stock.

PERSONAL INCOME TAXES

Since 1958, Senator Morse has sponsored, supported and voted for an increase in the personal exemption for income tax purposes from the existing \$600 to \$800—and preferably to \$1,000.

Senator Morse has pointed out that it would take an exemption in 1967 of \$827 to give the same purchasing power to the taxpayer as the \$600 gave when it was fixed in 1948 as the personal exemption.

In 1964, Senator Morse voted for an amendment to raise the personal exemption to \$800, instead of reducing tax rates—an amendment that was not adopted.

Senator Morse also voted to extend the "head of household" tax treatment to single persons over 35.

On its final passage, Senator Morse voted for the tax reduction of 1964, which reduced personal income taxes by \$9.5 billion and corporate taxes by \$2.2 billion. The bill, which became law, reduced the tax rate for the lowest taxable income level from 20 per cent to 14 per cent and it provided a larger standard reduction for the average family.

Senator Morse does not favor the 10 per cent surtax now being pushed by the Administration.

TRUTH-IN-LENDING

In 1967, the Senate passed a truth-in-lending bill for the first time. *It seeks to protect consumers* by requiring loan agreements to itemize clearly all chargers' fees, insurance costs and interest rates.

This bill was first introduced in the Senate on January 7, 1960, as S. 2755 by Senator Douglas, *with Senator Morse as co-sponsor*. He has worked consistently for its enactment.

In the debate last year, Senator Morse pointed out that American families are paying \$12.5 billion a year in interest and service charges on installment purchase loans, which is almost as much as the government pays on the national debt.

Senator Morse cited a survey showing that the average estimate of interest charges represented to the public by those loaning the money was 8.3 per cent—but the actual interest rate paid was 24 per cent.

Senator Morse knows that many borrowers have been taken advantage of by loan sharks. He also points out that reliable and honest businessmen who charge fair interest rates suffer unfairly from the wrongdoings of those who extract unreasonable loan charges from unsuspecting borrowers.

POSTAL INCREASES

Senator Morse opposed the postal rate increases which went into effect early this year as a result of legislation passed in 1967.

He also opposed the increase several years ago, when first-class mail went to 5 cents and air mail to 8 cents.

In his Senate speeches, Wayne Morse has pointed out that our

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Constitutional fathers held the view that postal service was not intended to be self-sustaining, but should be paid for in part out of general treasury funds.

The belief was that the postal service was a type of educational institution for the easy and rapid dissemination of information to the public. Of course, as Senator Morse points out, much has changed since the days of Jefferson. But he believes the mail should be considered a public service—a *part of the cost of which should be paid out of the federal treasury and a part by individual mailers*.

Just where to strike a fair balance in distributing the cost between government and mailers is the problem that faces Congress whenever a postal rate increase bill comes up for vote.

Senator Morse argues that "junk mail" advertisers should be made to pay their own way, because they are responsible for much of the postal deficit. He says first-class mail users not only pay their own way, but are being asked to subsidize in part the other classes of mail.

COURT COSTS IN CONDEMNATION SUITS

Extensive federal land holdings in Oregon give the state a great deal of litigation over condemnation of property.

Under federal practice, the property owner must pay whatever court costs he incurs in challenging what he believes to be an inadequate offer of compensation made by the government for his property. Thus, even if the court rules in favor of a higher price for the property owner, the increase is often eaten up by legal fees.

Under Oregon practice, these court costs are included as part of the compensation to the landowner. Senator Morse thinks this is a good practice to apply to federal condemnation proceedings.

He has twice introduced legislation for this purpose. His current bill is S. 1351. A large number of the members of the Oregon bar favor his bill, both from the standpoint of sound public policy and for its legal merits.

TRUCKING RESTRICTIONS

Truck transportation is more vital to the economy of western states than to any other section of the country.

In 1967, Senator Morse co-sponsored S. 2658 with Senator Magnuson of Washington, to increase the size and weight limitations on trucks using interstate highways. The passage of this bill will help reduce transportation costs, to the benefit of many Oregon communities.

WAYNE MORSE WORKS FOR AMERICA'S ELDERLY

Wayne Morse's long and effective battle on behalf of America's older citizens is highlighted by one of his outstanding legislative acts:

In 1958, he became the first man in the United States Senate to introduce a Medicare bill.

MEDICARE

The first serious effort to cope with the burden of medical expenses for retired people began with the AFL-CIO in 1957. The AFL-CIO plan for hospital and surgical insurance as part of social security was introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Forand of Rhode Island.

Senator Morse immediately saw the soundness of this approach. He familiarized himself with the Forand bill and he pledged his support for it.

But Wayne Morse did more than that. In order to publicize the problem, and to educate the public and the Senate to the wisdom of the Forand bill, Wayne Morse introduced it into the Senate in March, 1958, stating:

"By this means, the government will be fulfilling the responsibility which, under the general welfare clause of the Constitution, it owes to the people of the United States, namely that in order to keep the private enterprise system sound there must be on the statute books laws which will protect our people in their old age.

"We must remove the great fear that hovers over almost every family chimney in the land; namely, the fear of what will happen when illness or disease strikes. These people are fearful of what will happen; they wonder whether they are to be denied the best medical care that medical science can provide."

Thus, Wayne Morse became the first Senate sponsor of what is now Medicare.

In August, 1958, Senator Morse furthered the education program by offering his "medicare" amendment to a pending social security bill. Responding to the argument that it had no chance of passing, he said:

"It has been my position time and time again that *I have the duty to fight to the very last for what I think is appropriate legislation that ought to be passed.* Failing in that, I would support the best legislation that can be obtained. But in all cases I should make clear what I believe desirable legislation should be.

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"After all, fighting for this type of legislation is a part of the political education process. In America, we all know there is at least a two- to ten-year lag between the introduction and passage of worthy social legislation. We introduce measures one year and fight for them the next year and the next year and the next year. And finally our number increases, and a minority eventually turns into a majority."

Senator Morse's amendment did not go to a roll call vote that year. But by 1960, "medicare" was a top issue of presidential politics. Senator Morse told a meeting of Democratic presidential candidates in Detroit in March, 1960, that if the Forand bill were not brought out of the House committee or the Morse bill brought out of the Senate committee, he would again offer it as an amendment to a pending social security bill.

"The time has come for members of Congress to stand up and be counted on the issue of needed security for the aged of our country," he said.

Wayne Morse's move was not necessary because a special session of Congress after the party conventions saw Medicare the chief issue. There *was* a roll call vote that year on Medicare—but it still lacked a majority vote.

It was not until 1965 that Medicare became a reality, and the battle that Wayne Morse started in 1958 in the Senate was finally won. From that victory has come insurance for people 65 and over against the high cost of hospitalization; nursing home care; home nursing—and a supplemental program affords insurance against surgical charges.

Senator Morse helped turn the minority into a majority.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The battle for disability insurance was similar. In 1956, Senator Morse introduced a bill extending social security coverage to the disabled. That year, the coverage was approved only for those over 50 years of age. But in 1958, that restriction was eliminated because of the fight made by Senator Morse.

Wayne Morse understands that when it comes to social legislation, it often takes time for public acceptance of forward-looking legislation. But for the public to become acquainted with the need and wisdom of action, it requires men in public life willing to advance new proposals, to explain them, to fight for them.

In 1967, Senator Morse helped enact the social security improvements which provided the most extensive increases in benefits since the adoption of Medicare. They included a 13 per cent increase in all benefits—yet this law, too, was much less than Senator Morse urged upon Congress.

Senator Morse is co-sponsor with Senator Kennedy of New York of a measure (S. 1009) which would:

- Raise the floor under benefits by providing a minimum monthly of \$100 for single people and \$150 for a married couple.
- Add an automatic increase in line with the cost of living.
- Entitle a widow to the same benefits her deceased husband was entitled to.
- Permit benefits to be calculated more in line with taxed earnings.
- Entitle the disabled to Medicare.

Another Morse objective has been to keep social security increases from reducing other sources of income from railroad retirement, veterans' pensions, and state welfare. He and many other senators have tried—as yet unsuccessfully—to devise language that will prevent the states from cutting welfare payments every time social security is increased.

Senator Morse has also sponsored and supported efforts to exclude social security increases from income calculations for veterans' pensions and railroad retirement. In 1967, he supported an amendment to the social security bill excluding it from veterans' income calculations. The amendment was lost in conference with the House of Representatives.

In 1967, Wayne Morse also:

- Co-sponsored and voted for the Montoya amendment to allow payment for drugs prescribed for use outside of a hospital or nursing home under the voluntary supplemental medicare program.
- Supported holding down social security payroll taxes and making up the loss of funds from general tax revenues.
- Supported moving up the effective date for new benefits to January 1.
- Voted for an amendment by Senator Hartke to permit an additional year "drop-out" of low income for each 40 quarters of coverage.

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- Voted to raise the outside earnings ceiling to \$2,400 a year without loss of benefits.
- Co-sponsored and voted for the Long amendment to make reimbursement for drugs under state medicare programs by generic names, rather than by brand names.

In 1966, Wayne Morse co-sponsored with Senator Prouty of Vermont an amendment which extended social security to everyone 70 years or older who was not already covered, with the cost financed out of treasury funds. But the House of Representatives did not accept the amendment.

Senator Morse also:

- Voted for the Kerr-Mills addition to Medicare enacted in 1965, which provides federal contributions to state medical assistance programs.
- Voted for the 7 per cent increase in social security benefits passed in 1965.

NURSING HOME IMPROVEMENTS

Wayne Morse is the third-ranking member of the 20-member Senate Special Committee on the Aging. This committee has produced 38 studies and reports on the problems faced by the 19 million Americans who are over 65 years of age—16 per cent of our adult population. The committee's recommendations have brought about many advances in governmental policy and activities relating to the problems of the aging.

One advance is the steady upgrading of nursing home care. The Special Committee held extensive hearings on the adequacy of nursing home care, one held in Portland by Senator Morse.

In 1967, Senator Morse co-sponsored S. 1661 with Senator Moss of Utah, to improve nursing home care for public assistance patients. Enactment of Medicare in 1965 helped upgrade the level of service offered by nursing homes participating in Medicare treatment. But nursing homes caring for public assistance and state "medicaid" patients were not specifically approached until this year.

The Moss-Morse measure was offered as an amendment to the 1967 social security bill, and most of it was incorporated into the law. Licensing will be required, and effective next year, regular inspection of qualified nursing homes by a medical review is called for. Certain minimum specifications are prescribed for qualified nursing homes in states participating in "medicaid."

OLDER AMERICANS ACT

Another notable addition to programs for the elderly has been the Older Americans Act. Co-sponsored by Senator Morse (S. 811), it became law in 1965 and created an Administration on Aging in the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Title III of the act authorizes federal assistance for statewide and community planning and coordination of programs in the field of aging.

Title IV authorizes federal grants to state and local governmental agencies, nonprofit private organizations, and individuals to conduct research and demonstration projects for the elderly.

Senator Morse also served as a member of a special subcommittee of the Senate Labor Committee which produced the 1965 Older Americans Act. When it was expanded in 1967, Wayne Morse again served on this special subcommittee, headed by Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts. The 1967 amendments increased the funds authorized for Titles III and IV, although they are still modest.

AGE DISCRIMINATION BAN

Senator Morse is a long-time sponsor of legislation to prohibit age discrimination in hiring and promotion. In 1967, the bill he co-sponsored with Senator Yarborough of Texas (S. 380) became law.

"As one of the unnumbered and countless friends of Senator Wayne Morse, it has been my privilege to serve with him for 10 years on the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare of the United States Senate. During this period he has had my admiration for his breadth of knowledge, wisdom, compassion, and untiring devotion to the service of his fellow citizens.

"Wayne is a leader, an originator in many fields. . . . I consider myself honored to be able to serve in the United States Senate with Wayne Morse. Oregon is fortunate in having one of the giants of the Senate to represent her."

SENATOR RALPH W. YARBOROUGH,
D-Texas

WAYNE MORSE AND THE PRESS

Wayne Morse long ago learned to shrug off newspaper attacks upon him as the price that an outspoken and controversial public figure pays for his independence.

But Senator Morse's supporters are often more sensitive to the printed word. Some people believe that when an article is printed in a newspaper, the material it contains somehow become "facts."

Don't let yourself be taken in by that trap. Remember, there are more than 100 daily and weekly newspapers in Oregon, and the great majority of them consistently are antagonistic to Senator Morse in their editorial policies.

That is one reason why Wayne Morse sends out a monthly newsletter from Washington, and why he makes so many personal appearances in Oregon. As he puts it, "I never stop campaigning." Except by his own efforts, Senator Morse's long record of accomplishments is rarely reported in Oregon.

That is not to say that there is a conspiracy against Wayne Morse in the Oregon press. Many news reports about him are accurate. But his complete record, his legislative goals and his political philosophy cannot be learned from newspaper headlines, short news articles and emotional editorials.

Wayne Morse, like any other public servant, should be and deserves to be judged on the record and the facts—and not on what an anti-Morse newspaper *says* the "facts" are.

The most effective way you can aid Wayne Morse's re-election is to learn the facts about his record—and make sure that other people find out about them. The clear light of factual, accurate information can easily turn the most misleading newspaper article into so much disappearing ink.

WAYNE MORSE WORKS TO IMPROVE THE NATION'S HEALTH

For 23 years, Wayne Morse has fought for improved, far-sighted health legislation for Americans. His record of accomplishment in the Senate proves that he lives up to his words and his beliefs.

Year after year, Wayne Morse's persuasive action has helped increase funds:

- For medical research.
- For health care for the aged.
- For hospital construction.
- For air and water pollution control.
- For expanded public health facilities.

Senator Morse has fought to lessen the burden of medical expenses on you and your fellow citizens, through cooperative research and medical education.

Wayne Morse believes that medical research and training must be supported by federal funds if we are to continue our medical progress and break through the new frontiers in medicine.

For this reason:

- Wayne Morse introduced a bill in 1957 to encourage teaching and research for mentally retarded children through grants to institutions of higher learning and state education agencies. The substance of this bill became law in 1958. Senator Morse voted for extensions and improvements in the act during the 88th, 89th and 90th Congresses.
- Wayne Morse co-sponsored a resolution in 1959 to provide for international cooperation in health research and research training. The bill authorized the Surgeon General to make grants and loans, and it authorized the President to facilitate the international health research program. The bill became law.
- Wayne Morse supported a 1958 program of \$1 million in grants-in-aid to non-profit schools providing training for specialists, technicians and administrators in the field of public health. The bill became law.

Continued

- Senator Morse supported a bill to authorize a study of the effects of automobile fumes on public health, which became law in 1960.
- Wayne Morse supported an extension of the authorization of \$2 million per year in project grants to schools which train public health specialists. This became law.
- In 1961, Wayne Morse supported a four-year extension of a \$5 million per year program of grants and scholarships for the training of practical nurses. This became law.
- Senator Morse supported a 1961 authorization of \$1.5 million per year for two years, for the training of teachers of deaf children. This became law.
- Wayne Morse supported legislation to authorize a National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, which became law.
- Senator Morse actively supported research and training programs such as:
 - Health Professions Educational Assistance Act of 1963.
 - Increased appropriations for the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped.
 - Graduate Public Health Training Amendments of 1964.
 - Nurse Training Act of 1964.
 - Health Research Facilities Amendments of 1965.
 - Veterinary Medical Education Act of 1966.
 - Allied Health Professions Personnel Training Act of 1966.

All of these became law.

WAYNE MORSE WORKS FOR IMPROVED HEALTH FACILITIES FOR THE NATION

Wayne Morse believes that the government must continue to support improved health facilities and hospital construction. For this reason:

- Senator Morse supported an expanded and extended program in 1961 for federal grants to states and communities for the construction of nursing homes, training of public health personnel, and studies to improve services for aged persons outside of hospitals. This became law.

- Wayne Morse supported the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Health Centers Act of 1963, the pioneering law that formed the basis for all subsequent legislation in this long-neglected area.
- Wayne Morse worked to pass the National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act of 1965, which became law.
- Senator Morse supported the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Act Amendments of 1965, opening new facilities for research and education.
- Wayne Morse supported the Community Health Services Extension Amendments of 1965, which sought to broaden locally provided care programs.
- Wayne Morse supported the Heart Disease, Cancer, and Stroke Amendments of 1965, appropriating \$50 million initially for research, education and training.
- Wayne Morse supported the Comprehensive Health Planning and Public Health Services Amendments of 1966.
- Senator Morse supported the Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1965.
- Wayne Morse supported the Mental Health Amendments of 1967, broadening grant programs for community mental health centers and providing additional research programs.
- Wayne Morse supported the Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments of 1967, extending authorization of funds for state grants and establishing national centers for deaf-blind youths and adults.
- Wayne Morse supported the Mental Retardation Amendments of 1967, providing grants to help meet operational costs for facilities for the mentally retarded.
- Wayne Morse supported the Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967, increasing funds for comprehensive health planning and services and to help communities help themselves in coping with health emergencies.

Continued

In fields of general health, Senator Wayne Morse:

- Co-sponsored legislation in 1963 that called for health warnings on cigarette packages. A modified law to this effect has been enacted.
- Co-sponsored with Senator Jackson of Washington a Kidney Disease Control Act, designed to make artificial kidneys more widely available.
- Co-sponsored with Senator Hill of Alabama legislation to establish a National Eye Institute in the National Institutes of Health. The current bill is S. 325.
- Co-sponsored a measure in 1963 to expand loans to students of optometry.
- Co-sponsored the 1965 bill requiring motor vehicle safety standards, including tire safety.

WAYNE MORSE WORKS TO FIGHT ALCOHOLISM

Few members of Congress have been more diligent in trying to warn the American public—especially young people—against the dangers of excessive consumption of liquor. Wayne Morse has pointed out that by far the most widely-used drug in America is alcohol. Its detrimental effects upon health and traffic safety are a rapidly growing problem in every community. Alcoholism has recently risen from fourth to third place as the nation's leading health problem, ranking only behind heart disease and cancer.

In order to provide more effective knowledge of the effects of alcohol, Senator Morse co-sponsored S. 2657 in 1965 to create a Federal Commission on Alcoholism, and S. 3089 in 1966, to provide a comprehensive program to combat alcoholism. Called the Alcoholism Care and Control Act, it is S. 1508 in the current Congress.

In 1967, Senator Morse also attacked the problem by introducing S. 2202, a bill banning the broadcasting of commercials for alcoholic beverages on radio or television between the hours of 3 p.m. and 10 p.m. He also co-sponsored S. 2500 in the current Congress to require that all hard-liquor beverages carry a health warning on the label.

Senator Morse has fought for years to prevent the serving of hard liquor at official Senate functions held in public rooms of the United States Capitol and Senate office buildings.

WAYNE MORSE WORKS FOR POLLUTION CONTROL

Senator Morse recognizes that water and air pollution are major threats to the health of the American people.

Wayne Morse:

- Co-sponsored the Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1966, which were enacted into law and which provided a greatly expanded program of federal water standards and grants for water treatment facilities.
- Co-sponsored a 1965 bill to extend loans for waste disposal systems in rural areas.
- Co-sponsored S. 3240 in 1966, to extend the Water Pollution Control Act to the waters of tidal estuaries.
- Co-sponsored the Air Quality Act in 1967, which became law in November. (Senator Morse first co-sponsored a related bill in 1963.)
- Co-sponsored an Air Pollution Control measure for the District of Columbia, which has been passed by the Senate.
- Co-sponsored measures to further the control of water pollution by pleasure boats and houseboats.
- Authored and worked to establish the Water Pollution Control Laboratory in Corvallis, which is effectively studying the problem of pollution.

WAYNE MORSE WORKS FOR THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

A Morse bill for the benefit of the handicapped was offered as an amendment to the 1966 minimum wage act and became law in a modified form. It provided the first, limited minimum wage coverage to handicapped persons working in sheltered workshops. The measure has been hailed by state mental health authorities as an important step in aiding the self-help and rehabilitation of the mentally and physically handicapped.

The 1967 Elementary and Secondary Education Act contains a series of major provisions for new programs of aid for handicapped children. Senator Morse and Senator Prouty were the two authors of all of these provisions. The new programs have been praised by educators, doctors and other professional workers serving the needs of handicapped children.

Senator Morse co-sponsored a bill in 1966 to establish a secondary school at the Gallaudet College for the Deaf in Washington, D. C.

Continued

WAYNE MORSE WORKS TO INSURE HEALTH CARE FOR FAMILIES OF THE UNEMPLOYED

During the current session of Congress, Senator Morse has joined in sponsoring measures to restore two major provisions of the Social Security Act that were lost in 1967.

- One bill repeals the intolerable freeze on federal monies to bolster state Aid to Dependent Children programs. It also requires states to extend ADC to the children of unemployed fathers, making it far less likely that a family could be excluded from ADC merely because of the presence of the father in the home.
- A second measure assures that mothers cannot be forced to work when they should be taking care of their children, and enables the states to build medical assistance income standards higher than is now permitted.

MEDICARE

For Wayne Morse's outstanding pioneer work in this field, see the section, "Wayne Morse works for America's Elderly."

"It is a privilege to join the friends of Senator Wayne Morse in saluting him not only for his outstanding service to the people of Oregon, but for the splendid leadership he has provided for all Americans in the United States Senate. For his unrelenting quest for peace and for the policies of social justice he has championed, we are all indebted. His integrity, forthrightness and dedication to the law are a shining example to all men in public life. I look forward to serving with him in the Senate for many years to come."

**SENATOR JOSEPH S. CLARK,
D-Pennsylvania**

WAYNE MORSE FIGHTS FOR FULL DEVELOPMENT OF OREGON'S FOREST RESOURCES

Senator Morse is proud of Oregon's great timber industry and constantly works for its prosperity.

Early in his first term in the United States Senate, Wayne Morse promoted the establishment of research laboratories in the Pacific Northwest to find new technical developments that would enable wood to keep its place in the market.

During his first term in the Senate, Wayne Morse began his long fight for an adequate system of roads to and through our forests. His guiding philosophy has been simply this: *"If we wish to enjoy our forests, if we wish to harvest our forests, if we wish to conserve our forests for the future, we have to be able to reach into our forests."*

Since 1945, Senator Morse has been the principal sponsor of legislation to provide forest roads, and he has been able to get gradually increased appropriations through each Congress.

Following are some of Senator Morse's recent activities on behalf of the forest products industry:

PACIFIC NORTHWEST DISASTER RELIEF, 1965 (Public Law 89-41)

The disastrous floods of the winter of 1964-65 caused a half-billion dollars' damage to roads, farms, residences and industries throughout the Pacific Northwest.

Oregon's forest industries were especially hard-hit as forest access roads were destroyed. Some 12,000 miles of U. S. Forest Service roads and 1,400 miles of Bureau of Land Management roads suffered \$56 million worth of damages. Several million dollars' damage was also done to roads being built by timber purchasers on federal timber contracts.

Wayne Morse was the first senator to outline concrete legislation to relieve the disaster affecting the Pacific Northwest timber industry.

- On January 7, 1965, he introduced S. 327, which treated all flood damage and provided for reimbursement under timber side road construction contracts to restore or reconstruct forest roads.

Continued

The Morse bill, as reported by the Senate Public Works Committee, contained these forest industry aids:

- Provision to meet the main costs for reconstruction on timber purchase roads.
- Authorization of an additional \$38 million for fiscal 1965 to be used for reconstruction and development work in Oregon, Washington, California and Idaho for forest development roads.
- An increase in 1965 fiscal emergency road funds authorized from \$30 million to \$80 million, and an annual increase of \$50 million per year in the emergency road program thereafter.
- Replacement of depleted log supplies through shortening the timber advertisement period from 30 days to 7 days.

Senator Morse secured Senate passage of the bill on April 23, 1965. But when the bill passed the House it contained an added provision which caused a rare veto by the President. Senator Morse immediately re-introduced the bill as S. 2089, excluding the language that caused the veto.

At Senator Morse's special request, his Pacific Northwest Disaster Relief Bill was reported and passed by the Senate on the same day it was introduced, June 7, 1965. It passed the House on June 16 and was signed by the President on June 17.

Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, a member of the Public Works Committee, said, "As usual, the senator from Oregon brought before the committee precise information regarding the consequences of the floods which he proposed to remedy, information which was adequate yet reasonable, and enabled the entire committee to support the recommendations."

The Morse Pacific Northwest Disaster Relief Bill was of enormous help to the timber industry of Oregon, and Senator Morse was given great credit by respected leaders of the timber industry.

SUSTAINED YIELD — ALLOWABLE CUT — TIMBER REFORESTATION

Wayne Morse supports the premise that to have a healthy forest industry, the timber supply must be managed on a sustained-yield basis. Sound and constructive programs in public and private forests have had his constant support.

Senator Morse has fought to protect the national forests and the Bureau of Land Management forests from those who would destroy the public forests through excess cuts beyond sustained-yield limits.

- *Since Wayne Morse has been in the Senate, the professional foresters of the U. S. Forest Service have raised allowable cuts in Oregon's 15.4 million acres of national forest from 1.3 billion board feet to nearly 3 billion board feet, using scientific methods.*
- *During the same period, Forest Service payments to Oregon counties rose from \$600,000 to nearly \$19 million.*
- *In that period, approximately 1 million denuded or understocked forest acres have been reforested, seeded or improved. Last year alone, 130,000 acres were treated to assure their timber supply in perpetuity.*

FOREST ROADS

A complete system of access roads is the sound foundation upon which resource management rests.

Senator Morse has been the principal sponsor of legislation for national forest access roads.

- *Since 1946, access road authorizations have risen from \$12.5 million to \$170 million a year, and have totaled \$938 million in that period.*
- *Appropriations, including reconstruction allocations, have totaled more than \$1 billion.*

Before 1962, the Forest Service was seriously hampered in making access road agreements with private timber companies. Vast stands of ready-to-harvest federal timber could not be marketed.

Senator Morse took the initiative in 1962 by encouraging Secretary of Agriculture Freeman to get an attorney general's opinion on whether the Forest Service could obtain reciprocal road agreements and whether private parties could secure access across national forest lands if they denied needed access to harvest government timber. It was Senator Morse's legal opinion that the Federal Government could deny access across national forest lands.

The Attorney General advised the Secretary of Agriculture that he had the legal authority to deny access, just as Senator Morse's legal and policy review had outlined.

Continued

As a result, the Forest Service now only needs to grant access to private companies if the private companies give access which assures that the roads are open to all in the timber industry to harvest these great public forests.

This policy review opened the way to a new era of cooperation between land owners and the Forest Service under a system of accelerated agreements and proportioned cost sharing in building constantly needed roads.

- *Some 300 agreements covering 3,500 miles of road valued at \$50 million are now covered, making more than 93 billion board feet of timber accessible.*
- *Since 1962, in Oregon alone, the Forest Service has 140 miles of road under agreements which have made accessible 21 billion board feet of national forest timber and 7 billion board feet of private timber.*

The Wayne Morse idea that cooperation on roads is in the public interest has paved the way to market national forest timber worth \$630 million on the stump, while developing multiple use roads available for recreation, hunting and fishing for the benefit of all the people.

FOREST RESEARCH

Research is one key to advancing forest productivity under the concepts of multiple use and sustained-yield.

Senator Morse, relying on the advice of Oregon's conservation leaders and working closely with the Congressional delegation, the governor and educators, has helped secure three new important research centers for Oregon:

- The Corvallis Forest Service Center seeks to develop controls for forest insects and disease, and to improve methods of management of timber lands and watersheds in Western Oregon.
- The Bend forest service research laboratory was established to speed development of coniferous silviculture and forest grazing research.
- The La Grande forest service research laboratory was opened to improve wildlife in the forest and to develop livestock ranges.

The Forest Service has strengthened on-the-ground work with a

network of special research areas where practical demonstrations are conducted: H. J. Andrews, Cascade Head, Pringle Falls, South Umpqua and Starkey experimental areas.

Senator Morse has been in the forefront of those who seek to reduce soil and water losses through speeding the practical use of aerial balloons and helicopters to lift logs.

- *For fiscal 1968, Senator Wayne Morse has secured an increase of \$125,000 allocated to the Pacific Northwest Forest Experimental Station which cooperates with the pioneer balloon logger, Fay Stewart, in carrying on this experimental work.*

This research will have wide and beneficial application in Oregon's forests. With aerial log lifting, trees can be taken from the forest without breakage loss, streams can be saved from log damage, fish resources can be enhanced, hillside and road erosion can be prevented, and more forest lands can grow trees and be saved from the waste of unnecessary roads.

ACCESS TO BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT ROADS

With Senator Morse's assistance, forests of the Bureau of Land Management since 1952 have had \$80.5 million available to construct and improve 1,080 miles of forest access roads and to build 109 key bridges on O & C and other public lands. The O & C money is allocated to the BLM from the share of revenues which have been authorized to be paid to the counties.

This program, which extends to investment in reforestation and recreation development in Western Oregon, represents a unique co-operative local-federal approach to allocated receipts originally destined to the counties for the development of a federal resource with local values.

LOG EXPORTS TO JAPAN

Material on this important issue can be found in the section of this booklet, "Oregon Economy and Public Works."

"All of the many people of Oregon can look with great pride upon Senator Morse's many and enduring contributions during his twenty-four years in the United States Senate."

SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY,
D-Massachusetts

WAYNE MORSE WORKS FOR OREGON'S FARMERS AND RANCHERS

Wayne Morse was raised on a farm and he knows farm problems from personal experience.

Throughout his career, Wayne Morse has owned and managed his own cattle and saddle horse farms. His horses and Devon cattle have won blue ribbons at the Oregon State Fair, Oregon county fairs, the Pacific International Livestock Exposition and at many leading agricultural shows in the nation. He currently is president of the American Devon Cattle Breeders' Association.

Senator Morse believes that the greatest incentive for the wise use, preservation and improvement of our farm lands is the assurance of a reasonably high level of income to our farmers. He regards farming as a long-range rather than a year-to-year project.

Senator Morse has worked vigorously for measures to preserve the family farm as an important segment of our economy. He sees in the family farm the ideal place for instilling responsibility, industry and good citizenship in tomorrow's leaders of America.

Since 1945, Senator Morse has worked closely with all segments of Oregon agriculture on a myriad of problems of cattlemen and horsemen, poultry raisers, fruit, sugar beet and seed crop producers, and wheat and other grain growers.

Year after year, Wayne Morse has responded to every meritorious request from Oregon agriculture with prompt and efficient action, with support of legislation or administrative relief.

THE MORSE VOTING RECORD

Wayne Morse's concern in this area is shown by his vote on selected roll calls affecting agriculture. For example, in the years 1961 through 1966, there were 96 roll-call votes on issues which the Farmers Union deemed significant at the time the votes were recorded.

Of these 96 key votes, Senator Morse's position was in accord with that of the Farmers Union 85 times.

In the 87th Congress, Wayne Morse supported the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, which provided for the extension of wheat and feed grains programs for 1963, the wheat certificate program for 1964, conservation and land-use programs, improvement in the Food For Peace program and expanded FHA lending authority.

In the 88th Congress, Wayne Morse supported the Youth Conservation Corps; he supported extension of the feed grains program for two years; he supported increased appropriations for area re-development; he voted against an amendment to increase REA interest rates from 2 to 3 per cent.

In the 89th Congress, Wayne Morse voted for the omnibus farm bill in 1965, which provided wheat, feed grains, cotton and wool commodity programs for fiscal 1966-69, and programs for cropland retirement.

This voting record assures farmers that Senator Morse can be counted upon to give careful consideration to the views of the representatives of farm groups who present to him their evidence and arguments on farm legislation proposals.

WAYNE MORSE FIGHTS FOR FARM PROGRAMS

Senator Morse has constantly fought for and obtained appropriations for farm programs. Each year, he presents testimony to the Senate Appropriations Committee on Oregon's farm programs.

On January 18, 1968, Senator Morse pointed out:

"In 1960, after eight years of indifferent and even hostile administration of the agency by Republicans, the total loans made by the Farmers Home Administration in Oregon amounted to little over \$3 million.

"In fiscal 1967, more than \$17.7 million was advanced to farmers and other rural residents.

"The remarkable thing about all this is that even though these funds are loaned to borrowers unable to obtain credit elsewhere, losses on these loans are less than one-half of one per cent. Any private lending institution would be happy with such a record."

He also told the Senate:

"In my own State of Oregon, the level of lending activities and the number of rural Oregonians benefitting from Farmers Home Administration loan programs is three times greater today than it was in 1960.

"It is for this reason that during my years of service in the Senate, I have always supported and recommended legislation to expand and improve the supervised credit program.

"I have done this in the firm belief that it is one of the most effective agencies the people in rural America have for strengthening farm family agriculture, improving our rural communities and alleviating rural poverty."

In 1967, the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act was passed as Public Law 90-201. Senator Morse was a co-sponsor of the Senate version which became law.

Continued

VALE PROJECT

Senator Morse's leadership in 1962 brought into being in Eastern Oregon a Bureau of Land Management program to rehabilitate a public land area as large as Rhode Island.

The Vale Rangeland Rehabilitation Project includes 4.5 million acres in Malheur County and parts of Harney and Grant Counties.

Since appropriations obtained by Senator Morse launched this project, the following have been completed:

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| Brush control | 210,000 acres |
| Fencing | 1,200 acres |
| Seeding | 178,000 acres |
| Water Development | 885 units |

This investment of \$7.5 million has stabilized the ranching community, protected vital watersheds, and broadened hunting and fishing programs.

The Vale Project has been strongly endorsed by conservation groups and has won the hearty approval of livestock and wildlife groups.

The Vale Project is a model resource development program and is another example of Senator Morse's work for Oregon's future well-being.

WAYNE MORSE IS HEARD IN WASHINGTON

Senator Morse works with the men and women in the U. S. Department of Agriculture at all levels, from Secretary Freeman through bureau chiefs and section heads.

He has helped to work out agreements:

- To bring Oregon pears within the school lunch program.
- To alleviate the burden upon cranberry growers of the unfortunate consequences of unfavorable publicity on the national market.
- To bring freight cars to the West to move grain at harvest time.
- To protect our domestic cattle against importation of disease.
- To ease the load of farmers having difficult marketing problems.

Senator Morse's position on the Foreign Relations Committee assures that his recommendations concerning international tariff agreements are heard, thus helping to open foreign markets for Oregon's agricultural wealth.

Wayne Morse knows the value of sound conservation practices from his own experience. He has sought in every way to assist farmers in organizing themselves through conservation districts which now cover more than 46.8 million acres of land in Oregon.

Senator Morse is proud that 93 per cent of the farms and ranches in Oregon are in organized soil conservation districts—but he also knows that only 28 per cent of the needed soil and water conservation work on farms and ranches in Oregon has been completed.

During his 23 years in the Senate, Wayne Morse has consistently supported the Federal Crop Insurance Program and has been instrumental in widening this protection to new areas in Oregon, and to cover additional crops.

Sugar beet growers know that Senator Morse will present fairly and effectively their point of view on Sugar Act amendments when extension of the program comes before the Senate.

As chairman of the Senate Education Subcommittee, Wayne Morse has been in a unique position to be of service to the Land Grant colleges of this country. He has sought successfully to extend this concept of educational service to our cities under Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965, which he introduced and which became law.

Senator Morse has vigorously supported agricultural research funding and he has intervened to assure that burned-over rangeland has been re-seeded promptly, and wherever possible with Oregon-produced seed.

Senator Morse helped bring about Project Green Thumb, which employs older and retired low-income farmers to beautify the highways and help build roadside parks. Green Thumb now employs 94 workers in Oregon, with an average age of 70 and an average income before employment of only \$1,000 per year per couple. The program includes Washington, Hood River, Linn, Lane, Polk, Douglas and Clackamas Counties, and men are also working in Multnomah County.

His work in the Senate for 23 years on their behalf has proved to the farmers of Oregon that Wayne Morse is their friend.

OREGON POLITICS, 1966 ELECTIONS

The split between "hawks" and "doves" was at its widest and deepest in the election year of 1966, especially in Oregon. At that time Wayne Morse, whose position on Vietnam has been *consistent from the start*, was the nation's leading advocate of pursuing a moral, sane foreign policy.

Almost single-handedly, Senator Morse had carried the historic debate on Vietnam to the people of the United States, in countless speeches across the country.

This was two years after the ill-advised 1964 Tonkin Bay resolution, which Senator Morse was one of only *two men in the entire Congress* with the courage and foresight to oppose. Senator Morse stood virtually alone among U. S. senators as he pleaded for a reversal of a foreign policy which was leading the United States to moral, economic and political disaster in Vietnam.

Senator Morse was on record many, many times as saying that the issue of Vietnam paled all other issues, combined, into insignificance.

Because of his deep conviction about the wrongness of the Johnson Administration's policies in Vietnam, Senator Morse announced publicly that he could not support Oregon's Democratic nominee for the U. S. Senate in 1966. The decision not to walk out on his conscience brought him under blistering attack from partisan Democrats, just as Senator Morse knew it would.

On one occasion, Senator Morse was asked who would receive his vote for the Senate and he replied that he would vote for the Republican candidate because of his position on foreign policy. But Senator Morse made clear that he would not campaign for the Republican, and he did not.

Here are the *facts*:

On August 15, 1966, Wayne Morse sent a letter to the state chairman and the officers of the Democratic Party of Oregon. That letter said, in part:

"Because of my deep convictions about the foreign policy of the Johnson Administration in respect to the war in Vietnam, I do not intend to participate actively in the Oregon congressional campaigns this fall in our state. However, I have been asked to campaign for Democratic candidates for Congress in other states who seek to change our foreign policy in Southeast Asia. In my opinion, this foreign policy issue is more important to the welfare of our country and to the welfare of the Democratic Party than all other issues combined.

"I yield to no one in our party in Oregon in wanting to build a strong Democratic Party for the best interests of all the people of our state and our country. I am proud to stand on the record that I have

"Senator Morse is known for his independence, integrity and intellect. Whether or not one always agrees with his opinions, one must respect his willingness to stand up and speak out for what he believes is right. He has earned an honored place in the Senate."

SENATOR EDMUND S. MUSKIE,
D-Maine

made for the Democratic Party, both in the State of Oregon and in the United States Senate.

"In view of the sincere and honest differences of opinion I have on the foreign policy issue with some of our Democratic candidates in Oregon who are just as sincere and honest in support of their contrary views on foreign policy, I think I can best serve our party and our country by campaigning for Democrats in other states who share a foreign policy viewpoint which I believe should become the policy of our party if we are to stop the unjustifiable killing of increased numbers of American troops in Asia."

Senator Morse did exactly what he said he would do—he campaigned for Democrats in other states. After the 1966 primary election, *he stayed out of the Oregon senatorial race*. He made one appearance in Oregon. That was on October 29, at the traditional birthday party held in his honor in Washington County. At that appearance, Senator Morse did not speak about Oregon politics.

Despite what you may hear from uninformed people, or from people opposing Senator Morse, remember the facts: in 1966, Senator Morse did *not* campaign against the Democratic nominee in Oregon. He did *not* campaign for the Republican nominee. *He campaigned for Democrats in other states.*

The fact that Senator Morse's name was brought into the emotional Oregon senatorial race was not due to Senator Morse. During that campaign, Senator Morse was trying to strengthen the Democratic Party, not weaken it. Across the country, he was pleading for a change in the party's foreign policy.

Public opinion on Vietnam has shifted greatly since then, and Senator Morse's courageous position is not as lonely now as it was then.

Senator Morse's place in history is greater because he refused to take the easy road and sacrifice his principles for the sake of political expediency. Oregonians and Democrats were the beneficiaries when Senator Morse decided he could not support a candidate who said if we did not fight communism in Vietnam, we would have to fight it "in the rye grass of our own state."

WAYNE MORSE WORKS FOR OREGON VETERANS

Senator Morse expresses in deed his deepfelt belief that the nation owes a debt of gratitude and assistance to the veterans who suffered wounds and disablement and gave years—often their most productive years—to the service of their country in its times of peril.

For several years, Senator Morse was chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Veterans Affairs. His legislative accomplishments for veterans are extensive.

G.I. BILL

During Wayne Morse's first year in the Senate, the 15 million men and women who had been in service during World War II were returning to peacetime activities—the program to help them make up their training, education and business standing was just getting under way.

Senator Morse gave his energies and support to legislation to perfect the G.I. Bill of Rights. In the 79th Congress, he sponsored laws which:

- Removed the restriction which deprived men over 25 of education benefits.
- Repealed the provision of the G.I. Bill which required deduction of benefit from any future cash award or bonus.
- Directed the use of war-time temporary housing to meet the critical shortage of housing for veterans on college campuses.

As chairman of the Veterans Subcommittee, Wayne Morse demonstrated effective leadership by achieving educational amendments to the G.I. Bill. Among the major bills he steered through Congress were:

"In the Senate his is the voice of independent judgment on crucial legislative matters and national policies. During our years together in the Congress, I have come to know and to respect his understanding of public affairs, his leadership for constructive legislation, and his conscientious concern for the welfare of the people of his state and of the nation."

SENATOR EUGENE J. McCARTHY,
D-Minnesota

"His incisive integrity and intellect have made him one of the most respected men in the United States, and certainly one of the most respected senators."

SENATOR FRANK CHURCH, D-Idaho

- An increase in the ceiling on earnings for veterans taking on-the-job training.
- An increase in the subsistence allowance for veterans in college.

Senator Morse also helped write and pass the Korean G.I. Bill of Rights (Public Law 550) which gave to veterans of the Korean Conflict:

- Education and training benefits.
- Home loans.
- Employment benefits.

When the Republican Administration terminated the Korean G.I. Bill by executive order, Senator Morse joined Senator Richard Neuberger of Oregon in introducing legislation to extend it by law.

Senator Morse testified six times before committees of Congress in support of what is now called the Cold War G.I. Bill. In 1959, Senator Morse joined with a majority of senators in passing it, but the bill died in the House of Representatives.

In 1960, Senator Morse teamed up with Senator Yarborough of Texas to press the fight for the Cold War G.I. Bill. It was finally won in 1966, when their bill (S. 9) became Public Law 89-358. Already, about 2 million veterans have taken advantage of its provisions.

In 1967, the G.I. Bill allowances were increased through enactment of S. 16, another Morse co-sponsored bill, which also extended wartime benefits to men who had served in Vietnam. It is Public Law 90-77.

In January, 1968, Senator Yarborough was in Portland, Oregon, to preside at hearings called by the Senate Labor Subcommittee. Senator Yarborough said:

"Until last year I was chairman of the Veterans Affairs Subcommittee. During that period we passed the Cold War GI Bill and this last session we added amendments to increase the benefits available to veterans. Throughout my years of active service on behalf of our veterans, Senator Morse has stood shoulder to shoulder with me attempting to insure that those who have been called to the service of their country may receive proper readjustment benefits upon their return to civilian life."

Continued

"Senator Morse is a hard-working and a highly effective member of the United States Senate who has served his people well. Oregon would be wise to return him to the Senate for another term."

SENATOR SPESSARD L. HOLLAND,
D-Florida

WORLD WAR I PENSION

Wayne Morse was long the Senate champion of a reasonable pension for the 2.5 million veterans of World War I, who until 1964 had received neither the general pension benefits which Spanish War veterans received, nor many benefits of the G.I. Bills for World War II and Korean veterans.

A House-originated bill passed the Senate in 1964, embodying many of the provisions Senator Morse had fought for since 1957.

Senator Morse was also a co-sponsor of the law which gave a national charter to the Veterans of World War I organization.

VETERANS COMMITTEE

All veterans' organizations agree that the Senate needs a standing committee on veterans' affairs. The House has such a committee, but the Senate does not. As a result, Senate measures affecting veterans and their families are divided among several committees.

Senator Morse has introduced several resolutions to create this committee. With large numbers of senators co-sponsoring his and similar resolutions, Senator Morse believes the committee will be approved if it can be brought to a vote.

His current resolutions are S. Res. 13 and 16 in the 90th Congress. These resolutions are also embodied in the 1967 Congressional Reorganization Bill which is pending in the House of Representatives.

Many important veterans' matters, including educational, medical and vocational matters, are now under the jurisdiction of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. This is the committee of which Senator Morse will become chairman next January, since the current chairman has announced his retirement and Senator Morse's seniority puts him next in line.

CAMP WHITE VETERANS HOME

In 1948, Senator Morse brought about the establishment of the Camp White facility at Medford for use by the Veterans Administration for domiciliary care. The facility was established in the face of opposition from the Veterans Administration only because Senator Morse would not accept reluctance and foot-dragging as insurmountable obstacles.

In 1965, when the Veterans Administration proposed closing this facility, Wayne Morse joined others in registering a strong protest, and plans for the closure were cancelled.

Senator Morse takes great pride in his work in obtaining and keeping this home in Oregon for veterans on the Pacific Coast.

HELPS MEN IN SERVICE

Senator Morse's offices in Washington, D. C., and Portland extend at all times their sympathetic aid to veterans and servicemen in their dealings with the Veterans Administration and the armed services.

Countless Oregon veterans and servicemen and their families have obtained help after bringing their problems to his attention. Not only is Senator Morse willing "to go to bat for the little guy," but his staff aides and assistants are keenly aware that this is a high-priority item for action.

Oregonians know that Senator Morse will promptly and effectively render any help he can that is within his jurisdiction as a United States senator.

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"I wish to join the many friends of Senator Wayne Morse, my colleague in the United States Senate, in paying tribute to him for the countless contributions he has made not only to his state of Oregon but to the entire nation. He is tireless in his quest for world peace and has always had the courage to speak and vote the dictates of his conscience."

SENATOR J. W. FULBRIGHT,
D-Arkansas

WIDE RANGE OF ACTION

Here is a listing of some past Morse actions in working for a better program for veterans and servicemen. Senator Morse has:

- Sponsored and won enactment of a measure to provide hospital, domiciliary and medical care for Medal of Honor holders.
- Co-sponsored legislation to establish a Court of Veterans Appeals.
- Introduced measures to provide on-the-job and flight training programs for veterans.
- Co-sponsored a bill to provide readjustment assistance to Vietnam veterans, a measure that passed the Senate but saw no action in the House.
- Co-sponsored legislation to establish service connection for diseases contracted by those held as prisoners of war.
- Requested the printing of a compilation of veterans pensions and benefit laws.
- Sponsored the law providing housing for veterans who suffered severe wartime disabilities.
- Sponsored legislation subsequently enacted into law to safeguard the right of veterans to select their own courses of training under the G.I. Bill.
- Co-sponsored the 1956 law to give financial aid to the orphan children of men killed in wartime service.
- Sponsored a Merchant Seaman's Wartime Service bill to extend some of the benefits of the G.I. Bill to men who served in the Merchant Marine in time of war.
- Sponsored a bill later enacted into law entitling men who lost a hand or arm to a specially-equipped car.
- Co-sponsored bills providing grace period for reinstating National Service Life Insurance.
- Sponsored a bill which became law raising the allowance for disabled veterans participating in vocational rehabilitation.
- Introduced in the 85th Congress a bill raising disability allowances for all degrees of disability. A similar bill originating in the House became law, but it provided smaller increases.
- Supported a 1962 bill again raising disability compensation.
- Co-sponsored a 1967 bill which became law to raise numerous benefits provided by the Cold War G.I. Bill.

WAYNE MORSE IS ON THE JOB

IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

Wayne Morse is a senator with his sleeves rolled up. From the time he entered the Senate until December, 1967, there were 4,296 roll-call votes in the Senate.

Wayne Morse answered Yes or No to 3,718 of those roll-call votes, or 86.5 per cent.

For his current term (1963 through 1967), Senator Morse's attendance on roll-call votes is 88 per cent.

How he would have voted had he been present is recorded on virtually every one of the votes that he missed.

As a senator, Wayne Morse has stood up to be counted on just about every conceivable public issue. The voters of Oregon know where he stands.

IN OREGON

Wayne Morse is an Oregonian, although some people would like the voters to think otherwise. Last summer, a writer for Senator Morse's hometown newspaper wrote an editorial alleging that Senator Morse "rarely bothers to come home." This inaccurate editorial was distributed to about 50,000 households—but a few days after it appeared, the editorial writer received the following letter, which speaks for itself:

July 15, 1967

Eugene Register-Guard

Eugene, Oregon

Dear Sir:

Writing about me in your editorial of July 7, you say, "He rarely bothers to come home." This inaccurate and misleading statement does an injustice to both me and your editorial column.

The fact is that during my 23 years in the Senate, I have averaged at least one weekend a month in Oregon, year in and year out. When the Senate adjourns late each fall, Mrs. Morse and I live in our home in Eugene, except when I may be called back to Washington on Senate business or sent abroad to some international conference.

I maintain an official Senate office in the Federal Courthouse in Portland, where my executive assistant, Charles Brooks, and a secretary, Mrs. Myrtle Carson, widow of the former mayor of Portland, Joe Carson, serve Oregonians on my behalf day in and day out. Many constituents who have problems with the federal government are

Continued

saved the time and expense of trips to Washington, D. C., because of the service rendered them in my Portland office. The weekends I am in Oregon, I hold many conferences on constituent problems in my Portland office, as well as in my home in Eugene. When in Washington, I am in daily contact with my Portland office.

Certainly, I do not consider it in any way a "bother" to fly home and consult with the people I represent. To do so is a big part of my job, for my number one job in the Senate is to serve the interests of the people of Oregon. I have devoted myself to doing it.

During an election year, I do what all senators find it necessary to do. I return home more frequently than one weekend a month, in order to present my record and to discuss the issues with the people of the state in my campaign for re-election. I shall be doing that between now and the 1968 election. The voters will decide on the issues and the record. But one thing they know is that in me, they never have a senator in absentia.

Sincerely,
Wayne Morse

WAYNE MORSE SENIORITY ON COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

- Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. There are 16 members. Wayne Morse is *second*. He is *chairman* of the Education Subcommittee. Next year, he will be chairman of the *full committee*.

- Senate Foreign Relations Committee. There are 19 members. Wayne Morse is *fourth*. He is *chairman* of the Latin American Affairs Subcommittee.

- Senate Select Committee on Small Business. There are 17 members. Wayne Morse is *fourth*. He is *chairman* of the subcommittee on retailing, distribution and marketing practices.

- Senate Special Committee on Aging. There are 20 members. Wayne Morse is *third*. He has special jurisdiction over social security problems.

- District of Columbia Committee. There are 8 members. Wayne Morse is *second*. He is *chairman* of the subcommittee on schools, public welfare and police and fire department

WAYNE MORSE'S SENIORITY

A Great Asset to Oregon and the Nation

This book presents the *facts* about the legislative record of Senator Wayne Morse. It is a record of courage, of consistency, of action.

It is a record created by Wayne Morse's willingness not only to spend the time necessary for a careful study of hundreds of issues, but to speak out forthrightly on the issues, even when silence might be a far safer political course of action.

But most important, *it is a record that shows accomplishment in all areas of legislation.*

As eighth-ranking of the 100 United States senators, Wayne Morse is in a unique position to continue his effective and dedicated service as your spokesman in the nation's capital.

When the Senate convenes in January, 1969, Wayne Morse will be chairman of one of the Senate's most important committees—the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee. This committee handles more legislation affecting the daily lives of more Americans than any other committee in the Senate. It has jurisdiction over labor, education, health, poverty, and most veterans legislation.

Remember that seniority is a major part of influence in the U. S. Senate. In the Senate, a new senator is a freshman with no seniority influence. Wayne Morse has long since passed through that apprenticeship. The other members of the Senate listen when Wayne Morse speaks for Oregon.

IT'S IN YOUR HANDS

Oregon's junior senator currently ranks No. 100 out of 100 senators. Your work on behalf of Wayne Morse will determine whether Oregon will be represented in the Senate next year by Numbers 99 and 100—or whether Wayne Morse, who will then be sixth-ranking, will continue his hard and creative work for you and 2 million fellow Oregonians.

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1968 Re-Elect Wayne Morse Committee, 936 S.W. Washington St., Portland, Oregon
 Dan Dimick, Chairman