

**PAUL H. DOUGLAS: INSURGENT SENATE SPOKESMAN
FOR HUMANE CAUSES, 1949-1963**

**Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Jerry M. Anderson
1964**

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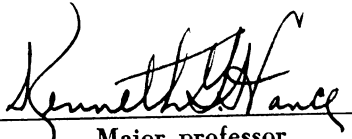
PAUL H. DOUGLAS:
INSURGENT SENATE SPOKESMAN
FOR
HUMANE CAUSES: 1949-1963

presented by

JERRY M. ANDERSON

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph. D. degree in Speech


Major professor

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ABSTRACT

PAUL H. DOUGLAS: INSURGENT SENATE SPOKESMAN
FOR HUMANE CAUSES, 1949-1963

by Jerry M. Anderson

A New England farm boy reared in the reform era of the Progressive movement, Paul H. Douglas earned a Ph.D. and became a distinguished professor, nationally recognized expert on economic and labor relations problems, prolific author, government consultant, city alderman, and Marine hero at age fifty prior to becoming a U. S. Senator. The study analyzes the Senate speaking of Douglas, who on over 6,000 occasions, including over 190 speeches from prepared manuscripts, has been a fervent and persistent spokesman for legislation to carry out what he considers to be the proper function of government--to lower the barriers to man's economic, social, intellectual, and spiritual development.

The organization of the study is both chronological and topical, divided into four parts. Part One, "The Shaping of a Senator," consists of Chapters I-III which interpret biographical-historical events in Douglas' life up to 1949. Part Two, "The Senator's World," consists of Chapters IV and V, two topical chapters developing the milieu and conditions affecting Senate speaking, Douglas' concept of rhetorical theory, and his methods of speech preparation. Part Three, "The Senator Speaks," contains Chapters VI-VIII. Chapters

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Jerry M. Anderson

VI and VII analyze by Congressional sessions the occasions, topics, and constituents of rhetorical proof in debates, colloquies, and other remarks in the Senate, from nearly 2,000 items in Douglas' speech files, observations of his speaking, personal interviews with the subject and his staff, the daily and yearly Congressional Record, and other sources. Chapter VIII analyzes the Illinois Democrat's speaking against the 1950 natural gas bill as an illustrative-example of his public address. Part Four, "The Vital Signs," evaluates Douglas' Senate speaking, primarily in terms of accepted rhetorical canons, and includes related conclusions regarding the function and role of speaking in the Senate with proposals for increasing its importance.

Paul Douglas considers the Senate a national forum and has adapted his messages well to the immediate audience of colleagues, the Congressional Record, and agents of the mass media, although his speeches on economic matters are often overburdened with statistical evidence which may impede intelligibility. Douglas is thorough in preparation and responsible in analysis.

He blends effectively ethical, psychological, and logical factors of invention throughout his speeches, with rational demonstration through argument his forte. Ethical proof is strongest in the introduction and enforces the credibility he enjoys with his colleagues as a man of integrity and knowledge and as one who creates infectious good will, a tenet of his Quaker religion. Psychological proof is in-

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corporated most intensely in the conclusions of his speeches in the form of appeals to justice, patriotism, altruism, and humanitarianism, although he employs a variety of motive appeals, various forms of suggestion, attention, multisensory language, vivid description and narration throughout his speeches. His use of logical proof provides a "mind-filling" experience for his audiences each time he speaks. The overall structure of his reasoning is deductive; but he uses all four forms of reasoning in the development of his arguments, with sign reasoning used less than that from analogy, example, and causal relation. He supplements abundant factual evidence with expert testimony, thinks quickly, and presents cogent arguments in debate, focusing on issues and not personalities in conduct consistent with his personal code of ethics. The audible and visible aspects of his delivery are generally adequate in terms of the typical norms.

While relatively unsuccessful in personally securing enactment of legislation he has championed, during his career he has been a conscience of reform in influencing legislative action in the national interest--a voice of insurgency for humane causes. Paul H. Douglas has been an ethical and responsible Senate speaker practicing sound rhetorical principles. His speeches are marked by careful reasoning and argumentative skill, the most essential qualities of an effective legislative speaker.

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FOR HUMANE CAUSES, 1949-1963

by

Jerry M. Anderson

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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1964

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of Dr. Kenneth G. Har-
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and her understanding,
and her study at all stages
of its preliminary stages
and her sacrificing devotion
to this endeavor pos-

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The author also wishes to acknowledge his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Jens B. Anderson, whose understanding and counsel over the years have been an important factor in his continuing academic pursuits.

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TABLE

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

PART ONE: THE

1

THE INTELLECTUAL

A Cycle of Reform
Frontier Farm Bo
Embarking on a
Infectious Good
Philosophy of
Doctor Douglas
Phase One Conclu

APPRENTICESHIP FOR

Climate of Opin
Progressive Root
A Prolific Pen
Social Change
A First-Hand Vi
Experiment
Norman Thomas a
Lessons from t
Depression Warn
One Man Destruc
Measuring the M
the Worker
Independent Fol
John Dewey
Government Serv
Theory of Wages
Depressions
Writing, Speaki
Guardian of Ame
and Communism
More Public Ser
"Professor"—Al
Fifth Ward
Patrolling the
of the Press

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	Page ii
INTRODUCTION	vi

PART ONE: THE SHAPING OF A SENATOR

Chapter

I. THE INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS 2

A Cycle of Reform	2
Frontier Farm Boy	2
Embarking on a Chosen Career	11
Infectious Good Will--The Social Philosophy of a Quaker	12
Doctor Douglas	15
Phase One Concluded	18

II. APPRENTICESHIP FOR PUBLIC SERVICE 20

Climate of Opinion--Normalcy	20
Progressive Roots	22
A Prolific Pen in Agitation for Social Change	24
A First-Hand View of the Communist Experiment	26
Norman Thomas and the World Tomorrow	28
"Lessons from the Last Decade"	30
Depression Warnings	33
One Man Destruction of an Empire	35
Measuring the Material Progress of the Worker	38
Independent Political Action with John Dewey	40
Government Service	43
Theory of Wages and Controlling Depressions	45
Writing, Speaking, Politics	47
Guardian of America Against Fascism and Communism	47
More Public Service	49
"Perfessor"--Alderman from the Fifth Ward	50
Patrolling the Ward for Freedom of the Press	55

Losing Campaign
Nomination
Phase Two Conclu

II HARKIS ISLAND TO

Climate of Opini
of War
A Dramatic Move
Private Douglas
Seeking a Place
Douglas "Rins"
U. S. Senator Do
Reasons for Va
Teacher and Scho
Classroom
Phase Three Concl
On to Capitol Hi

PART TWO: THE

THE SENATE ENVIRONMENT

Congress--A Model
The Senate Oper
Impressions of a
Liabilities and
Office

THE SENATOR'S WORK

The Senator and
Represent Whom?
The Mass Media
Other Message Cl
Speech in Commit
Speech in the S
The Congressional
The Speaker Look
Preparing to Tak
The Senate Forum

PART THREE: THE

SECTION: THE STUDY OF

The Approach and
Bacon on Inve
Aristotle on
Concept of In
Analysis

Chapter		Page
	Losing Campaign for the Senate	
	Nomination	56
	Phase Two Concluded	58
III.	PARRIS ISLAND TO CAPITOL HILL	60
	Climate of Opinion--Realities	
	of War	60
	A Dramatic Move	61
	Private Douglas	63
	Seeking a Place on the Ballot	67
	Douglas "Runs" for Election	73
	U. S. Senator Douglas--Some	
	Reasons for Victory	87
	Teacher and Scholar in a Larger	
	Classroom	89
	Phase Three Concluded	90
	On to Capitol Hill	90
	 PART TWO: THE SENATOR'S WORLD	
IV.	THE SENATE ENVIRONMENT	93
	Congress--A Model of Democracy?	94
	The Senate Operation	103
	Impressions of a Freshman Senator	113
	Liabilities and Assets of the	
	Office	134
V.	THE SENATOR'S WORLD OF COMMUNICATION	137
	The Senator and the Process	138
	Represent Whom?	141
	The Mass Media	150
	Other Message Channels	158
	Speech in Committees	159
	Speech in the Senate	164
	<u>The Congressional Record</u>	185
	The Speaker Looks at His Art	194
	Preparing to Take the Floor	205
	The Senate Forum	209
	 PART THREE: THE SENATOR SPEAKS	
INTRODUCTION:	THE STUDY OF INVENTION	211
	The Approach and Methodology of Part III	211
	Bacon on Invention	211
	Aristotle on Invention	212
	Concept of Invention in This	
	Analysis	212

xxx

The Approach
Arrangement in
Selection of an
Example
Accuracy of the

7. SENATOR WITH IDEAS

The Man Seen and
Eighty-first Co
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Eighty-fifth Co
First Session
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Eighty-sixth Co
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First Session
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Eighty-eighth Co
1963
Summary-Speeches

9. AGAINST THE NATURAL

Setting and Cir
Factors of Pers
Summary Interpre

10. SUMMARY AND CONCL

APPENDIX
PART A
PART B
PART C

Chapter	Page
The Approach	219
Arrangement in Part III	220
Selection of an Illustrative- Example	221
Accuracy of the Text	223
VI. SENATOR WITH IDEAS: 1949-1956	225
The Man Seen and Heard	225
Eighty-first Congress: 1949-1950	229
First Session	230
Second Session	240
Eighty-second Congress: 1951-1952	248
First Session	248
Second Session	256
Eighty-third Congress: 1953-1954	263
First Session	264
Second Session	271
Eighty-fourth Congress: 1955-1956	277
First Session	277
Second Session	281
VII. SENATOR WITH IDEAS: 1957-1963	289
Eighty-fifth Congress: 1957-1958	289
First Session	290
Second Session	296
Eighty-sixth Congress: 1959-1960	303
First Session	304
Second Session	312
Eighty-seventh Congress: 1960-1961	321
First Session	321
Second Session	326
Eighty-eighth Congress: First Session 1963	332
Summary-Speeches: 1949-1963	340
VIII. AGAINST THE NATURAL GAS BILL	342
Setting and Circumstances	342
Factors of Persuasion	344
Summary Interpretations	399
PART FOUR: THE VITAL SIGNS	
IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	421
BIBLIOGRAPHY	426
APPENDIX A	454
APPENDIX B	460
APPENDIX C	463

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1. James MacGregor Burns
 Statement, by Joseph S. S.
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2. Speech by Paul H. D.
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INTRODUCTION

Paul H. Douglas as a Subject for Study

"Something stirs in the hearts of men when someone challenges authority and tradition."¹ Throughout his lifetime, Paul Howard Douglas has been such a challenger, an insurgent spokesman for humane causes, seeking to preserve the dignity of man and insure equal opportunity. In his own words, "to lower the barriers and enable people who come into the world 'booted and spurred' economically and socially to have the same opportunity as those who by inheritance enter it 'saddled and bridled' with wealth."²

A New England farm boy growing to manhood during the reform era of the American Progressive Movement, Paul H. Douglas earned a Ph.D. at Columbia University and became a nationally recognized expert on economic and fiscal matters, a distinguished professor and noted author, consultant on labor problems, city alderman, Marine hero, and at the age of 56 a U. S. Senator. His rise to the U. S.

¹James MacGregor Burns, "Foreword" to The Senate Establishment, by Joseph S. Clark (New York: Hill and Wang, 1963), p. 5.

²Speech by Paul H. Douglas, East Lansing, Michigan, October 5, 1964.

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Senate and the speeches of his fifteen years as a leading and respected spokesman in that body, as well as the conditions impinging upon those messages, challenge investigation.

The subject of this study, Paul H. Douglas, has been from 1949-1963 a chief Senate spokesman for a variety of propositions which show no consistency with any "party line." Douglas has fervently and frequently been a spokesman for propositions to protect the dignity and freedom of the individual, to promote man's moral and intellectual development, to make man master of his economy through government in order to achieve individual and national economic goals, and to make government a dynamic and flexible agent of collective national wisdom to serve man more effectively. He has considered himself a national-interest Senator in sponsoring and championing legislation for the national welfare: civil rights; social welfare; the protection of consumers' interests; the protection of small business, labor, and the family farm; the promotion of a balanced budget in normal times, checks against inflation, closing tax loopholes, and improved federal debt management, economy and high ethical standards in government; the preservation of natural resources; and the implementation of humane and firm foreign policy. Douglas has been called a hard-boiled idealist, frustrated senator, a leader for the hazards of the future, senator with ideas, rebel in Illinois, ferocious independent, a

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Purpose

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"Red-baiter," and consistently more damaging things by the Chicago Tribune and other media in opposition to him. Douglas is broadly classified as a "liberal" on domestic affairs and an "internationalist" on foreign affairs. Robust at the age of 72, he is today in constant demand as a public speaker throughout the nation.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to analyze the speaking of Douglas in the U. S. Senate with emphasis on his verbal messages--intrinsic aspects of the speaking situation--and to a lesser degree on the related extrinsic aspects of the situation--the speaker, the audience, and the occasion. It will be concerned with the speaker; who he was, the topics he spoke on, the factors underlying his particular stands on such topics, and the ends he hoped to achieve. The audiences he addressed will be considered with regard to who they were, their attitude toward the speaker, their attitude toward the topics discussed by the speaker, and their response to his speeches. The occasions on which Douglas spoke will also be considered from the standpoints of when, where, and why he spoke, the conditions under which he spoke, and the measurable results, if any, of his speaking. Insofar as the accuracy of what he said and how he said it can be established, the manner of delivery evident and especially the factors of inventional proof employed will be studied. The methods

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of preparation practiced by the speaker will be considered briefly, while the rhetorical elements of style, arrangement, and memory will not be explicitly studied. The study will attempt to describe, analyze, interpret, and evaluate the speaking of Paul H. Douglas in the United States Senate.

Limitations

Time limitations will be imposed on the study by the period 1949-1963. It will be limited in scope to focus on the Senator's speaking in the Senate Chamber in Washington, D.C. Only incidental consideration will be given to the subject's public address in his various roles outside the U. S. Senate prior to and during the period of study. The various roles of Douglas in his lifetime, apart from and including being a U. S. Senator, and the U. S. Senate as the environment for his public address are considered as relevant factors conditioning his Senate speaking.

Intrinsic Merit of the Study

The study of a contemporary speaker such as Douglas has intrinsic merit. If it can be assumed that the U. S. Senate is an important organ of the national government, then a figure such as Senator Paul H. Douglas, as a member of it, merits study as a national spokesman in political action. Public address, the practice of rhetoric, has served, and will continue to serve, as an

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¹ Lester Thomsen and
Editor (New York: Ronald

² Allan Nevins, "Paul
of the Future," (A
1958) reprinted in the
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important force in realizing political action.

Rhetoric has long been the handmaid of politics. Its association should be made even closer, more direct. While it is not necessary to regard it as a branch of rhetoric, it is essential that we recognize fully the importance of speechcraft as a means of realizing desirable ends in political action.¹

Moreover, as an individual political practitioner and Senator, Paul Douglas reinforces the merit intrinsic in studying his public address by the reputation he has developed as an important member of the Senate. The fact that he has acquired some reputation as a Senator is evidenced by surveys and ratings by his colleagues, duly noted in the text of the study, which at times have rated him among the most outstanding members of the Senate. As his former colleague, Senator Herbert H. Lehman of New York has testified, "By long odds the most useful and inspiring Senator of my time was Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois."² Even early in his career as a freshman Senator, Douglas seemed to enjoy considerable prestige in the Senate and as a speaker, as reflected in the following statement:

¹Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 466.

²Allan Nevins, "Paul Douglas: A Leader for the Hazards of the Future," (Address, Chicago, Illinois, June 27, 1960) reprinted in the Congressional Record, 86th Congress, Second Session, July 2, 1960, p. 558765.

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¹ Mortimer Smith, "

Mass Mercury, 71 (July,

² Paul A. Boase, "E

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Douglas enjoys a rather remarkable prestige. Many old Washington hands claim they cannot remember when a newcomer to the Senate has succeeded in making such an immediate place for himself. He is liked and respected by his colleagues; he has received a widespread and favorable press... and from the number and nature of the platform and radio engagements he fills it would seem he is rapidly becoming the philosophical spokesman of the liberal Fair Deal position as Senator Taft has become the spokesman for the conservatives. Douglas is no lofty oracle.¹

Has his public address played a significant role in this status, and if so, how, and to what extent are questions which this study will attempt to answer.

Intrinsic merit in the study of a contemporary figure results also from the unique opportunity the critic has to record the present events as he observes and lives them. "Without a keen awareness of the social, intellectual, political, economic, and religious milieu of the period under consideration (and those preceding it) the student can formulate few valid value judgments of public address."² The writer has on occasion had the opportunity to observe the speaker in action in the preparation and delivery of a speech and view the immediate responses of the audiences addressed.

The most important contribution that studies in contemporary public address can make to total continuing research is to record the present

¹ Mortimer Smith, "Senator Paul H. Douglas," American Mercury, 71 (July, 1950), p. 27.

² Paul A. Boase, "Background Reading in American Public Address," Speech Teacher, VII (January, 1958), pp. 61-64.

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¹ Wayne N. Thompson
Ann Arbor, Quarterly
Vol. 1, p. 281.

² Kenneth G. Hance,
after a re-examination
Spring, 1961), p. 1.

accurately, completely, and expertly, and thus to provide future scholars, who will have the advantages of historical perspective, with observations of speakers as they speak, of the immediate audience as they listen, and of public reaction shortly after the speech is over.

It would seem that the amount of work in contemporary public address ought to be increased...as useful contribution to rhetorical theory.... The preservation of materials will increase the reliability of future studies.¹

In addition to the merit intrinsic in a contemporary subject, there is merit in the application of the historical-critical approach in the study of any speaker. This approach to the study of a speaker contributes to the history of public address and can add to, and support, the present body of rhetorical theory.

...the Historical-Critical approach may have predictive value and thus contribute to theory development. It may do so by reporting, analyzing, interpreting, and appraising the activities of both skilled and unskilled practitioners...it may provide empirical data, [which can be] then projected into hypotheses or theory.²

Distinctiveness of the Study

This study of the Senate speaking of Paul H. Douglas does not duplicate other research, and is thus distinctive. At the present time there is no book or even a section of a book which gives special consideration to his career in the U. S. Senate. No definitive biography has been

¹Wayne N. Thompson, "Contemporary Public Address as a Research Area," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XL (February, 1954), p. 283.

²Kenneth G. Hance, "The Historical-Critical Type of Research: a Re-examination," Central States Speech Journal, XIII (Spring, 1961), p. 167.

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Materials and Sources

Primary sources include
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¹Statement by Senator
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²Hugh Cordier, "Fau
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³Dietrich Hill, "Me
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University of Iowa, 1955).

published. No edition of his speeches exists. The Senator has an autobiography underway, about which he commented: "I'm writing an autobiography now, but it won't be published until after I leave the Senate or after my death because I intend to tell the truth. I've written up to the point where I enter the Senate now."¹ One doctoral dissertation² on Douglas' 1954 campaign speaking, completed in 1955, does not duplicate the emphasis of this study. Two Master's theses, which are case studies of only single addresses, have also been written.³

Materials and Sources of the Study

Primary sources included personal correspondence with Douglas, the voluminous product of his pen in books

¹Statement by Senator Douglas in interview of May 24, 1963.

²Hugh Cordier, "Paul Douglas 1954 Senatorial Campaign with Special Reference to Television," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech, University of Illinois, 1955).

³Dietrich Hill, "Meeting the Charge of Communism: A Study of a Speech Given by Paul H. Douglas, September 22, 1948, at Urbana, Illinois" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Speech, University of Illinois, 1949); A. Douglas MacRae, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Paul H. Douglas's Senate Address on the Submerged Lands Controversy" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Speech, State University of Iowa, 1955).

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and periodicals, personal interviews, and copies of all extant materials--other than very personal correspondence--in the Senator's Washington files from the 1948 campaign through May of 1963. The Senator and his staff made available abundant materials and sources, which constituted literally an automobile "trunkload."

The writer spent the week of May 20, 1963, in the Senator's Washington office and was able to interview him on several occasions,¹ observe his methods of speech preparation, observe and even assist in making corrections of a speech text for the daily edition of the Congressional Record, observe his handling of interviews with constituents and other visitors, his associations with colleagues, and his general schedule and activities during this period. He also accompanied Douglas to a subcommittee hearing and listened and observed him testify. From the gallery of the Senate Chamber, the writer was able to observe the actions of the Senator on several occasions and witnessed the delivery of a prepared address. He was then allowed to visit the official reporting room of the Senate and follow the address as it underwent changes in preparation for printing in the daily edition of the Congressional Record.² The visit in May of 1963 also made it possible to interview various members of Douglas' staff

¹Notable among interviews, varying in length from 5 to 70 minutes, was the one tape recorded on May 24 which his staff reported was the first in which the Senator was taped except for those which were broadcast on radio or television.

²See Appendix A.

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one or more times and to observe their activities. The writer gained access at this time to scrapbooks of Senate speeches and other useful data in the Senator's office.¹ Prior to this visit, the writer had witnessed the speaker addressing the Senate on at least two other occasions.

Notable secondary sources, in addition to the materials from the Washington office and interviews of his staff, included a number of recent books written on the Senate and Congress, writings in current history, publications in Rhetoric and Public Address, information from various newspapers and periodicals, the Congressional Record, and many other materials cited throughout the text and listed in the bibliography.

The writer's own background and interests have also contributed knowledge and insight to the study of Paul H. Douglas. A native of Wisconsin and an interested student of politics, he has followed the career of the Senator since his election to the U. S. Senate. While active in politics, and as a member of the State Administrative Board of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Wisconsin in 1958, he was exposed to the ideology of Douglas because of the influence the Senator had in Wisconsin as a national party spokesman.

¹Those materials used for the analysis of verbal messages and questions concerning their accuracy and completeness will not be considered here because they are discussed in the Introduction to Part Three.

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His exposure to the Senator's ideology and public address continued in 1959 when a resident of Illinois and a Douglas constituent while pursuing graduate study in Rhetoric and Public Address. Then, for the next two years, the writer gained some insight into the environment and circumstances of Paul Douglas' formative years and the politics of his home state while teaching at the University of Maine, located a few miles from the Senator's hometown of Newport and alma mater of Bowdoin College. These circumstances have provided both motivation and insight for the study.

Organization of the Study

The organization of the study combines the chronological and topical methods of development and is divided into four parts. Part One, "The Shaping of a Senator," is chronological and consists of three chapters dealing with biographical-historical matters influential as conditioning factors in Douglas' life which served to prepare him for his role as a Senator and Senate speaker. Chapter I considers that period of his life from 1892-1924, from his birth and formative years in Maine through the completion of his Ph. D. at Columbia, and is entitled "The Intellectual Foundations." Chapter II deals with the period, 1924-1941, from his entry into the arena of politics and reform to the time of his unexpected enlistment into the Marines as a private at age fifty, and is

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Against the broad background of the Senator's work, the topical in arrangement of the framework for attempting to function as a speaker is developed in both the assumption held by him to divorce himself from the climate of the time and the traditions affecting him in an untenable position and therefore the act and therefore the brought to bear is the immediate context and occasion for his does not operate in bringing the excellence of public speaking can be considered of the communication act. The next to report, analyze the man entering the scene of the time he lives

entitled "Apprenticeship for Public Service." Chapter III, "Parris Island to Capitol Hill," includes the period of his Marine duty in World War II through his successful campaign and election to the U. S. Senate.

Against the broad "backdrop" provided by Part One, Part Two, "The Senator's World," consists of two chapters which are topical in arrangement to provide the most workable framework for attempting to develop the milieu in which he functions as a speaker in the Senate Chamber. The materials developed in both Parts One and Two are based upon an assumption held by the writer that the rhetorical critic who divorces himself intentionally or unconsciously from the climate of the times, the stream of events, and the other conditions affecting the man and his speaking finds himself in an untenable position. Oral communication is a social act and therefore largely the product of forces which are brought to bear on the life of the speaker as well as the immediate conditions and circumstances of the setting and occasion for his public address. Public address does not operate in a vacuum, and critical judgments regarding the excellence and effectiveness of a practitioner of public speaking can neither be valid nor reliable apart from consideration of the conditional factors which affect the communication act. Therefore, just as Chapters I-III attempt to report, analyze, and interpret the development of the man entering the Senate in the context of the influence of the time he lived and activities he experienced,

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Chapters IV and V narrow in focus to consider the more immediate environment in which he found it necessary to function upon becoming a Senator, and the factors there which tempered his public address. Chapter IV, "The Senate Environment," seeks to take the reader inside Congress and the Senate to see the forces operative in a Senator's life, the assets and liabilities of his office, the general conditions for his public address in the Senate Chamber, and to report the impressions of Paul Douglas as he recorded them as a freshman Senator. In the topical progression of Part Two, Chapter V, "The Senator's World of Communication," is intended to follow logically and build upon what has been presented by focusing on the role of the Senator in the nexus of communication in which he finds himself. From this overview of the Senator's world of communication, the conditions surrounding public address in the Senate gain perspective. Douglas' concept of rhetorical theory and his general methods of speech preparation provide what seems to be a logical conclusion to this chapter and a pertinent transition from the gestalt of the first two parts to the more specific analysis of his verbal messages.

Part Three, "The Senator Speaks," begins with two chapters developed chronologically by sessions of Congress to provide a profile of his Senate speaking career through the "generalized approach." Chapter VI, entitled "Senator with Ideas: 1949-1956," begins with a description of the man seen and heard on the Senate floor to provide some

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visualization of the speaker's manner of delivery for the discussion and analysis which follows in the remainder of the chapter on the topics, the occasions, and intentional constituents of his speeches from 1949-1956. Chapter VII, covering roughly the second half of Douglas' Senate career, is entitled "Senator with Ideas: 1957-1963" and is a continuation of the discussion and analysis of topics, occasions, and invention in addresses, debates, and colloquies for the period defined. Chapter VIII analyzes the ethical, psychological, and logical factors of persuasion in Douglas' speech, "Against the Natural Gas Bill," March 21-22, 1950, to provide an illustrative-example of his public address in the Senate. The rationale for the approach and the methodology are defined in the Introduction to Part III which precedes Chapter VI.

The final section, Part IV entitled "The Vital Signs," provides the summaries and conclusions growing out of this study: "Senator Paul H. Douglas: Insurgent Senate Spokesman for Humane Causes." From the empirical data in the study, this chapter attempts to provide evaluative judgments resulting primarily from the artistic method of criticism which may add to, and serve to support, existing knowledge of rhetorical theory.

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PART ONE

THE SHAPING OF A SENATOR

THE INTELLIGENCE

A Cycle

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¹ Richard Hofstadter:
The Age of Reform, 1955.

CHAPTER I

THE INTELLECTUAL FOUNDATIONS

A Cycle of Reform

American history is marked by cycles. The period from about 1890 to World War II can be considered a cycle of reform, which, though considerably modified in the 1890's and 1920's, set the stage for politics during the greater part of the twentieth century. That cycle of reform was characterized by the uprising expressed most eloquently in the Populism of the 1890's, the Progressive Movement lasting from about 1900 to 1920, and the New Deal and Fair Deal of the 1930's and 1940's.¹ Within the perspective of this period of roughly six decades Paul H. Douglas, a farm boy who became economist, teacher, author, consultant on labor problems, alderman, moral and insurgent reformer, and twice-wounded Marine, was preparing for his role as a spokesman of national import and U. S. Senator after 1949.

In this chapter, the historical, economic, social, political, religious, and intellectual forces impinging upon Paul H. Douglas in the initial three decades of that reform cycle will be focused upon first.

¹ Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Vintage-Random House, 1955), p. 3.

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¹ Current Biography
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² Ibid.

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Frontier Farm Boy

Reared in this reform era, Paul Howard Douglas was born into the modest economic surroundings of James and Annie (Smith) Douglas in Salem, Massachusetts, March 26, 1892. His early impressions and associations, however, are connected with north-central Maine, where his family moved during the depression and panic of 1893 (caused mainly by heavy exportation of gold), where "conditions were almost as primitive as those of Lincoln's frontier days."¹ His paternal forbearers, seafaring people of Scottish origin, had settled in Maine in the seventeenth century.²

On a small farm outside Newport,³ Maine, young Paul Douglas worked side by side with his father, struggling for subsistence in the small clearing of the sandy, rock-infested soil where his chief duties included gathering maple sap and milking cows. Milking cows, Douglas later contended, "should be requisite for all aspiring politicians, for it strengthens one's hands for handshaking, and the hand movement is nearly

¹Current Biography Yearbook, 1949, ed. Anne Rothe, pp. 166-168.

²Ibid.

³The citizens of Newport, (population 1296 in 1960 census) in writer's personal interviews at the high school and on Main Street in 1960, are proud of native-son Douglas, curious about how he became so liberal, and recall little of him or his family.

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His mother died when Douglas was four years old, and his father remarried shortly thereafter. The marginal return of the farm proving to be economically inadequate, his father, James Douglas, returned to his former occupation as a travelling salesman. The absence of his father caused Douglas to assume heavy responsibilities for the upkeep of the farm at an early age.

With his father on the road, he was under the guidance of his stepmother and her brother, "an iconoclast who was inclined to take a swig too much of hard cider,"² but who subscribed to most of the leading muckraking publications of the day. Douglas recalls:

My family were Yankee Democrats and therefore somewhat critical of the prevailing political doctrines of the time. A fundamental influence on me while growing up in the Maine woods was the reading I did as a boy. I was exposed to and read the literature of the times; the muckraker magazines, McClures Magazine, Everybody's Magazine, La Follette's Progressive magazine, and from time to time Bryan's [William Jennings Bryan] magazine, and the rest. I read the articles of Lincoln Steffens, Ida Tarbell, and Ray Stannard Baker. We also subscribed to the New York World, which came two days late and was the big crusading paper of the country at that time. Although I grew up in the Maine woods, I had the influence of journals of the outside world, which I carefully read, and a Democratic family.³

¹Writer's personal interview with Paul H. Douglas, U. S. Senator, U. S. Senate Office Building, Wash., D.C., May 24, 1963.

²Joe Alex Morris, "Senator Douglas: Hard-Boiled Idealist," Saturday Evening Post, August 6, 1949, p. 27.

³Interview with Douglas. op. cit.

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This special appetite for the muckrakers and the desire to expose himself to ideas by reading at an early age helped compensate for Douglas' lack of formal education prior to entering Newport, Maine, High School. He attended only one term of grammar school, but he read from cover-to-cover everything that came into the house, and his stepmother tutored him at home from grammar school texts.¹

Apart from his reading, Douglas attributes the observation of injustices in labor conditions he observed in northern Maine at an early age as laying the early foundation for his philosophy and later efforts on behalf of the common man, as well as his special interest in labor problems and protective labor legislation.

As a boy I watched the exploitation of lumber camp men for low pay. I also observed the unsuccessful strike of section hands on the Canadian Pacific Railroad in Maine who were working for poor pay because none of the operating fees [profits] of the railroad were helping them.²

Paul Douglas also recalls certain of the personal abuses he experienced as a boy, because he was identified as a member of a Democratic family in Maine. This placed him in an outgroup, influenced and reinforced his opposition to the dominant Republicanism of his state, and made him unafraid of being in the minority. Most noteworthy, he recalls, was the Memorial Day Parade--one of the top yearly

¹ Current Biography Yearbook, op. cit., p. 166.

² Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

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¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

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events in Newport.¹

This annual parade became a Republican affair in Maine. There were a few kids in our town, I think only one other when I got to high school, who were known to be members of Democratic families. We were always allowed to march too, but they put us at the end of the line, so as not to contaminate the rest of them. Gradually we realized that we were always put at the end of the line and we got sore about it.²

A Time writer in 1950 after interviewing Douglas concluded: "He [Douglas] never got over being sore at injustice, whenever he found it. He was from this point [the Memorial Day Parade] a rebel, a reformer, a crusader for the boys at the end of the line."³

The Democrats, Douglas remembers, were blamed for opposing the Civil War. "So, I got started as a liberal Democrat even before high school and more during those years in seeking to refute that inaccurate point of view."⁴

In high school, Douglas worked part-time in the express and baggage office of the Maine Central Railroad in Newport, and kept up his chores on the farm.⁵ There is no evidence that the curriculum or teachers of Newport High School had any special influence or made any long-lasting

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ "Making of a Maverick," Time, January 16, 1950, p. 16.

⁴ Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

⁵ Ibid.

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An old Bowdoin class
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contribution in preparing Douglas for the responsibilities he was to assume later in the United States Senate. The one experience he vividly recalls in high school was the training he was given in preparation for his commencement address, which was in the tradition of the Elocution Movement.

Of course, I believe good public speaking rests on content and is a very important form of communication. However, in high school for my graduation speech, I had an elocution teacher who coached with emphasis on gesticulation and inflection--not facts. Unfortunately, I carried some of that with me to college, and didn't get rid of it until I was well along at Bowdoin and on the debate team.¹

On to Bowdoin, Columbia, and Harvard

In 1909, Douglas entered Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, about seventy miles south of Newport, which he describes as:

A somewhat sleepy New England liberal arts college to which I took an already firmly established liberal Democratic philosophy... And to me the term "liberal" means tolerance of our fellow beings, and, in terms of government, removing as many of the barriers as we can to human personality development.²

Bowdoin is also the alma mater of Longfellow and Franklin Pierce, whom Douglas calls "one of the poorest Presidents the country ever had."³

An old Bowdoin classmate of Douglas, Sumner Pike, remembering him as a tall, gangling rebel, has noted:

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Joseph S. Clark, The Senate Establishment (New York: Hill and Wang, 1963), p. 130.

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Douglas stated:

I was rather to the right of William Howard Taft, who was then President, and he [Douglas] was rather to the left of Eugene V. Debs, who was tried for something about every four years. Douglas was a radical campus leader. If he could find a minority he would go with it.¹

Like many other earnest young men, appreciation of the challenge of earning his own livelihood became a continuing lesson as Douglas worked his way through college in Brunswick by waiting on tables, mixing concrete, farming, baggage smashing, and selling gelatin desserts. But the raw-boned, six feet two inch student displayed tremendous energy and a diversity of interests while acquiring some reputation as both athlete and scholar at Bowdoin. He found time to play center on the football team and be a member of the boxing team. Douglas was graduated in 1913 with an economics major and a Phi Beta Kappa key.²

Fifty years after his graduation from the pine-shaded campus of Bowdoin, Douglas recalls two academic experiences as an undergraduate which have proven particularly beneficial to him. "The first was the courses in labor problems and management with John Cabot which had a marked influence in leading me to career work in these areas."³ The second was being a member of the debate team. Of this experience Douglas stated: "I was on the debating team my

¹ Morris, op. cit., p. 107.

² Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

³ Ibid.

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¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

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junior and senior year. We studied William Trufant Foster's Argumentation and Debating. Foster, as you know, was a student of George Pierce Baker. I have tried to extend the lesson of debating by using sound logic and concrete facts for the well-being of man to all of my speaking."¹

Douglas also recalls that at Bowdoin he "read Henry George's Progress and Poverty with much interest, and Josiah Royce and Henry James."² He also took a special interest in studying the careers of Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, George W. Norris, Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., and others whom he came to admire.³ His reading was not restricted, however, to American political figures, the careers and public address of Fox, Pitt, and Disraeli being familiar to Douglas from reading Chauncey Goodrich's Select British Eloquence and other sources.⁴

In 1913, he began two years of study at Columbia University.

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Comments by Paul H. Douglas to the writer while re-writing the text for the Congressional Record following his speech in the U. S. Senate on May 23, 1963, "To repeal the amendment to pay balance of awards for war damage compensation made by the Philippine War Damage Commission under the terms of the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of April 20, 1946, and to authorize the appropriation of \$73,000,000 for that purpose, approved August 30, 1962."

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¹ Interview with Dr.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Here I got acquainted with the labor movement which was just getting underway, and first got interested in protective labor legislation. After the triangle fire, when labor was getting organized, I worked in the successful movement of the ladies' garment workers to organize the sweat shops on the east side of New York and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. In the election of 1914, I was a poll watcher. Tammany was trying to steal votes, and I protected against them. I was arrested for protecting and brought before Judge William MacAdoo, who was a fine man.¹

Douglas relates that "my whole experience in college and graduate school opened my eyes to the problem of the underdog and made me more sympathetic to his problems. But I think I was always sympathetic to him."² Douglas further stated: "Professor Henry R. Seeger at Columbia had a profound influence on me, through his courses in labor and tax problems, in becoming aware of the problems of the working man."³

A scholarship was supplemented with part-time jobs during the two years at Columbia, and Douglas received a Master's degree in economics in 1915. He then accepted a graduate scholarship from Harvard for a year of study which exposed him to a philosophy of economics and labor-management relations quite different from that to which he had been exposed at Bowdoin and Columbia. The experience at Harvard has left a lasting impression.

¹ Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

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The economics department at Harvard, with only one or two notable exceptions, on the whole disliked poor people and sided with the wealthy and the powerful, and those of social importance. This repelled me, and I have never felt too warmly toward Harvard since.¹

Embarking on a Chosen Career

From the fall of 1916 to the spring of 1920, when the U.S. faced and met the crisis of a world war and was recovering from it, Paul Douglas was embarking upon his chosen profession of college teaching. At the age of twenty-four he left Harvard to take his first teaching position. During the 1916-1917 academic year he served as an instructor of economics at the University of Illinois. He left Illinois in 1917 to become an instructor and then assistant professor of economics at Reed College in Portland, Oregon. Then he interrupted his teaching career in 1918 to serve as a labor disputes adjustor for the Emergency Fleet Corporation. The next year, 1919-20, found the restless and adventuresome Douglas at the University of Washington at Seattle as an associate professor of economics. When asked from what associations with teaching colleagues he had profited most, Douglas turned to the year at the University of Washington in his reply.

During the year I was at Washington, Vernon L. Parrington was there, but I don't remember meeting him. I had large classes which kept me busy. However, I did meet frequently and greatly profited from my discussions with J. Wilson Smith, a close friend, consultant, and colleague of Parrington, who is credited with pioneering the application of economic to political theory. Smith called

¹ Ibid.

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¹ Ibid.

² Current Biography

³ Mortimer Smith,
San Mercury, July, 19

my attention to the under-representation of urban areas and the problems of the Populist-Progressive Movement. He showed me how the Progressive Movement was merely an outgrowth of the Populist Movement which stayed underground.¹

In 1920 Douglas joined the faculty of the University of Chicago, where he was an assistant professor of industrial relations, 1920-23; associate professor, 1923-25; and from then until 1948, a full professor.²

One writer's interviews with Douglas's former students and teaching colleagues reveal the change in Douglas' personality during his teaching career:

Those who knew him in his early teaching days remember him as thin, sad-eyed, and about as jolly as an undertaker; but as he put on weight his personality blossomed so that his later students recall a self-assured, friendly man who was often full of high spirits and a sort of sanitary humor.³

Infectious Good Will--The Social Philosophy of a Quaker

World War I created a philosophical question for Douglas. His sympathies, of course, were with the Allied powers, but he was opposed to any involvement other than economic assistance on the part of the United States. Like Norris and La Follette, whom he admired, he opposed the

¹ Ibid.

² Current Biography Yearbook, op. cit.

³ Mortimer Smith, "Senator Paul H. Douglas," American Mercury, July, 1950, p. 28.

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Horris, op. cit.

United States' entry in the war. When the United States did enter the war, Douglas didn't enlist until after a long period of introspection and struggle with his conscience; near the end of the war he went to an Army fort for a physical examination. Disqualified from military service because of defective eyesight,¹ he then took the job as a labor disputes adjustor with the Emergency Fleet Corporation as it was being deactivated in 1918-19.

Perhaps the most compelling cause for his hesitancy to become active in the war effort was the fact that in his early twenties Douglas became a member of the Society of Friends. It was because he had chanced to read the Journal of John Woolman, the eighteenth century Quaker who devoted his life to persuading slave-holders to free their slaves, that he gained interest in the Society of Friends. From this, Douglas not only took the commandment "that ye love one another," but also learned the efficacy of good works--that combination of spirituality and practicality which marks the Quaker faith.

In an interview in the early 1930's Douglas chose a figurative analogy to clarify his faith in the importance of good will:

In the Quaker tenets, for the first time I realized the contagious power of good will. If like a biologist, one views life as a struggle between bacteria, still one must admit that ill will is divisive and destructive, and good will

¹Morris, op. cit., pp. 110-111.

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² Farrar and Rinehart

³ Paul Douglas' old
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⁴ Cabell Phillips,
New York Times Magazine,

is uniting and constructive. The problem of life, then, is to increase the 'bacteria', the infective centers of friendliness. It is not the approval of formulas but the radiating of good will which is ultimately the creative power.

This I have believed to be the central doctrine taught by Christ: that this radiating of good will makes one a participant in the creative process of life....

In brief, I do have great faith in the power of friendliness and good will to touch other people and change many of their attitudes.¹

His reading of John Woolman² and his association with the Society of Friends has had a long lasting effect on an integral part of the social philosophy of Paul Douglas. According to Cabell Phillips, writing in the New York Times Magazine in 1951, "...Douglas' concept of morality of public duty and human relationships has remained patterned on those of John Woolman."³ Another writer has attributed Douglas' pre-occupation with good works as the motivating force for his entrance into politics:

¹ Devere Allen, ed., Adventuresome Americans (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1932), p. 182.

² Paul Douglas' oldest son is named John Woolman Douglas. The Saturday, March 16, 1963, state edition of Chicago's American, p. 1., "Midwest In Brief," reported the following: "The United States Senate, by voice vote, has confirmed the nomination of John W. Douglas, son of Senator Paul H. Douglas, to be assistant United States attorney general. Douglas, 42, who received unanimous approval of the Senate judiciary committee, will head the civil division of the justice department."

³ Cabell Phillips, "Paul Douglas--Instinctive Liberal," New York Times Magazine, June 24, 1951, p. 10.

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¹ Smith, op. cit.

² Paul H. Douglas,
Education, published
Public Law, ed. Facul
University (New York: Col
1941).

From the point of view of the public the important thing about his [Douglas] conversion to Quakerism is not the effect it had on his private spiritual nature but the preoccupation with good works, which finally drove him into politics.¹

Throughout his academic and political careers, Paul Douglas seems to have had the unique ability to create goodwill and not only gain the respect but maintain the friendship of those whom he has opposed.

Doctor Douglas

Paul Douglas returned to Columbia University in 1921 to complete the requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy Degree in economics. He was awarded the degree in 1923; his doctoral dissertation, American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education, was a scholarly and penetrating, if sometimes pedantic, analysis reflecting his main interest and concern for the labor force. This dissertation of nearly 700 pages traces the origin, development, and decay of apprenticeship to early twentieth century America. Douglas showed the decline of apprenticeship in what he terms "the Machine Era" of his time and cited the need for greater vocational education for children "because apprenticeship alone is not adequate--as a means of alleviating the lack of employment and economic opportunities for the labor force."²

¹Smith, op. cit., p. 29.

²Paul H. Douglas, "American Apprenticeship and Industrial Education," published in Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, ed. Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University (New York: Columbia University, 1921), XCV, 2, 216 and passim.

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¹Ibid., p. 331.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

Having analyzed the problems and developed the need, Douglas then advocated the following solutions:

Capital and labor, in spite of its impersonality, its division of labor, the ephemerality of the relationship between worker and employer, and the basic motive of profit, turn their collective efforts into harmony, so that children may be at once protected from the undue burdens of industrial life and enabled to develop themselves.¹

This he contended "cannot be done primarily by trying to breathe new life into the decaying system of formal apprenticeship itself,"² but must be developed in view of modern technological advances and present conditions of employment.

The dissertation is a landmark in the career of Douglas because it sets forth a seventeen-point program which is an early statement of several of the proposals Douglas has advocated in his life-long crusade of economic reform. The first point in his proposal advocated raising the age of compulsory full-time education to sixteen years,³ a requirement that now has become law in most states. At that time fourteen years was the maximum accepted age; and in many states youths, out of family financial need, were entering into full-time factory employment before the age of fourteen. He proposed free tuition and scholarships to children of poor families; revision of the curriculum to

¹ Ibid., p. 331.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

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¹ Ibid., pp. 331-

combine prevocational guidance and general education-- Douglas saw the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 as an encouraging sign--for the two additional years, from fourteen to sixteen; state compulsory education for a minimum of eight hours per week for children between the ages of sixteen and eighteen; and prohibition by law of any youth entering as his first full-time job such trades as newsboy or bootblack. He also proposed the establishment of voluntary night schools for workers over eighteen years of age and of vocational training departments in all industries; the enactment of legislation providing for registration and supervision of formal apprenticeship programs by all states; increases in the salaries of teachers of vocational industrial subjects; and the creation of a federal department of education to administer this program. Although primarily a state program, it was to be financed by "social surplus" gained from personal income, excess profits, and inheritance taxes collected by the federal government.¹ The proposal was revolutionary in its time, but received little attention then.

With his wife, the former Dorothy S. Wolff, whom he met and married in 1915 when she was a fellow graduate student at Columbia, Doctor Paul Douglas returned in 1923 to his teaching position in industrial relations at the University of Chicago.

¹Ibid., pp. 331-339.

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Richard Hofstadter
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¹ Hofstadter, op.

² Ibid., p. 13.

Phase One Concluded

Paul Douglas' intellectual foundations developed in the tradition of progressive reform, an ideological climate which Richard Hofstadter has said is the tradition upon which the political sentiments of most intellectuals in America were formed,¹ and the cause Hofstadter concluded is:

Perhaps because in its politics the United States has been so reliably conservative a country through the greater part of its history, its main intellectual traditions have been, as a reaction, "liberal", as we say-- that is, popular, democratic, progressive.²

Phase one, the early years of Paul Howard Douglas, when the foundations of his personal political, social, economic, and religious doctrines were developed, coincided with that cycle of American history labelled the Progressive Era-- peculiar for its reform efforts. The leaders of this movement were often called insurgent for their efforts and goals in seeking exact justice between man and his fellow man to remove barriers and to extend the function of government to equalize social and economic conditions. A personal religious faith based upon good will and good works welded with education, his exposure to the progressive literature, climate of opinion, and events of this era were to have a long-lasting effect in developing the causes for which Paul Douglas was to become a leading oral advocate in the Senate

¹Hofstadter, op. cit., p. 12.

²Ibid., p. 13.

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Thus, the first phase, and perhaps most important because of the formation of basic assumptions and ideas, intellectual foundations, had been by 1923 completed in the shaping of the insurgent spokesman for humane causes-- liberal reformer--Paul H. Douglas. In the period to follow, the young professor sought to apply his academic arguments and thus exposed himself to a rugged initiation and education in the rough-and-tumble arena of practical politics.

APPRENTICESHIP

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CHAPTER II

APPRENTICESHIP FOR PUBLIC SERVICE

Economist-reformer Douglas' assumptions for helping the common man and especially the laboring force were largely developed in the Progressive Era of the first two decades of the twentieth century. His ideology and actions remained quite consistent with the Progressive tradition through the twenties and thirties in spite of the shifting economic, social, and political conditions of those two decades. Douglas' activities during this period, after the completion of his doctorate to his involvement in World War II, will be considered here.

Climate of Opinion--"Normalcy"

The status quo of the main stream of American thought in the mid-nineteen twenties reflected general public apathy and political conservatism. The crisis faced by the nation in World War I had been strenuous, and the American public was trying to forget that ordeal.

A whole generation in the twenties was infected by an "eat-drink-and-be-merry-for-tomorrow-we-may-die" spirit. Business reached new heights of prosperity in this post-war era, a prosperity which provided an easy and natural escape

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for Americans to live and feast on the fruits of "normalcy" in their great and prosperous nation. The businessman was perceived as the backbone of the nation, and it was assumed that whatever was good for him must therefore necessarily be good for the nation. It was evident that the era of progressive reform which had marked the first two decades of the twentieth century had passed as "Fighting" Bob LaFollette flew the last banner of the Independent Progressive party in the 1924 Presidential election as a mere ideological protest. The activities of the Ku Klux Klan and the results of the Scopes and Sacco-Vanzetti trials reflected the levelling effect of "normalcy". The prevailing norms of American opinion structure were indifferent and certainly not receptive to change, criticism, or the raising of issues which might tamper with, or upset, this period of escape.

It was in this climate of opinion that Paul H. Douglas, upon completion of his doctorate program, returned to his classroom at the University of Chicago in 1924. It was a period in which the "blue collar" laboring man seemingly had become the "forgotten man" swept aside by the crushing focus on the businessman as the backbone of American prosperity. The young professor of industrial relations at the University of Chicago had not, however, forgotten the laboring man in America, nor was he personally willing to be cast aside in the unintellectual current of the times. Paul H. Douglas set out with new vigor to practice his basic assumption "that a professor has a basic and scholarly responsibility

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to serve as a critic of the society in which he lives toward the end of improving it for the welfare of his fellow man."¹

Progressive Roots

During the 1920's and early 1930's Douglas' agitation for social change had taken on a decided anti-capitalistic tinge. Nevertheless, from his early reading of the muckrakers and his admiration of the Wisconsin Idea set forth by Robert Marion LaFollette, Sr., he developed firm convictions about the need for justice between man. He held that every man was entitled to his God-given natural rights to life, liberty, and property; and he became vehemently opposed to the "capitalistic greed of big business" and its domination of government which he observed in the 1920's. He agreed with the good-government Progressives that everything must be done to return government to the "hands of the people," and to equalize wealth so as to provide for the welfare of all citizens.

The function of the federal government is to provide for the people. It is laid down in the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self evident," inalienable rights and the pursuit of happiness for every man. In the general welfare clause of the Constitution, the Preamble, and Section 8 of the Constitution, and as Abraham Lincoln said, a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," that the government should do for the people what they cannot do for themselves--what they cannot do as well for themselves. That is a clear statement by Lincoln and

¹ Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

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¹ Ibid.

² See content foot

³ Edward N. Doan,
New York: Rinehart,

all my life I've never been able to see why it could be used as a conservative doctrine. What they can't do as well, the government should do for them.¹

Although he has not been as optimistic as LaFollette was about getting the facts to the people,² Douglas accepted, was influenced by, and attempted to implement all these major demands of the Wisconsin Idea: (1) to extend the function of government to equalize social and economic conditions, and (2) remove the influence of corrupt government, and (3) change the forms of government to give majority control.³

While the "farm bloc" in Congress made feeble attempts in the 1920's to provide legislation to help the farmer, Douglas, the economist, emphasized economic changes in the system and focused his reform writings on improving the lot of the growing working classes in industry. During the administrations of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, the inability to provide equal economic opportunity became a source of increasing concern to Douglas from 1921-1932. The vested hand of business interests and corruption added to his skeptical view of the laissez faire system of government and economic theory operative in this era.

Douglas advocated measures which at the time were considered socialistic, but which since then have become law:

¹ Ibid.

² See content footnote 2, page 32.

³ Edward N. Doan, The LaFollettes and the Wisconsin Idea (New York: Rinehart, 1947), passim.

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¹ Douglas, "Why I

² "Compulsion vs.

³ Readers' Guide
Public, October 24

(1) state aid for working mothers, (2) unemployment insurance, and (3) social security.¹

A Prolific Pen in Agitation for Social Change

If Douglas' oral communication was restricted almost exclusively to the captive audience of students in his classroom, his scholarly publications were soon to establish him a national reputation as an economist. Academician Paul H. Douglas assumed his professional role as a scholarly critic of American society by focusing his assault on the status quo with the best weapon he then had--a prolific pen.

Paul Douglas was already a well-published writer and scholar by 1924. Beginning in 1916, with his first publication while at Harvard,² he had by 1924 published twenty-two articles in ten different popular and scholarly publications on a variety of current economic and political subjects.³

In 1921 he had co-authored an article with his wife, Dorothy, which was awarded first prize in the American Economic Review contest. This 118-page article appealed for greater philanthropic and charitable acts by those who have "...acquired wealth beyond their needs..." to others who "...through no fault of their own are unable to realize the

¹ Douglas, "Why I am for Thomas," Op. cit., pp. 268-70.

² "Compulsion vs. Ideals," New Republic, July 1, 1916, p. 229.

³ Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, 1916-1923. New Republic, October 24, 1925, pp. 268-70.

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¹ Paul and Dorothy
Economic Review,

² Ibid., passim.

³ Interview with D

elemental joys of life...."¹ The persistent theme of that article appealed for "public demonstration of what organized effort, efficiently and economically directed, is able to accomplish" in equalizing economic conditions.² Typical of his writings, it included extensive statistical evidence supporting his conclusions. In 1923 he published a book entitled The Worker in Modern Democratic Society, which criticized the conditions under which the laborer worked and the disproportionate return he received for his efforts. His doctoral dissertation next added to his moral crusade as an insurgent advocate for the betterment of the worker in modern society.

By ordinary standards, therefore, Douglas was a highly published scholar by 1924. But this was only the beginning of a scholarly contribution which now includes over 300 articles in some 240 different popular and scholarly publications and over twenty books, authored or co-authored by Douglas in his lifetime.

The fact that the teachings and writings of Douglas reached more than an academic audience first became evident in 1924, "I was assailed by unidentified conservative elements as a spreader of socialist and communist doctrines"³ for advocating the equalization of economic opportunities and the

¹Paul and Dorothy Douglas. "What Can a Man Afford?" American Economic Review, XI (December, 1921), 118.

²Ibid., passim.

³Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

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¹ Paul H. Douglas,
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² Biographical S
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³ Douglas

redistribution of wealth. An attempt by these groups to pressure his resignation at the University of Chicago proved unsuccessful.

In 1925 Douglas published a comprehensive analysis of family income, Wages and the Family,¹ "his first major book which brought him national renown among social scientists."² The purpose of this book was to "solve the dilemma of the living wage theory." The solution prescribed by Douglas was a family-based wage. He proposed fixing a minimum wage for each wage earner with added allowances for dependent wives, children, and others reliant on the wage earner for support. He used the industrial wage plans of Europe and Australia for precedent, support, and amplification of his proposal. Cautioning throughout that the potential danger of the plan lay in placing too much control in the hands of the employer, which would lead to discriminatory practices in the allotment of wages, Douglas urged that appropriate federal legislation must be enacted to prevent such discrimination.³

A First-Hand View of the Communist Experiment

In 1926, Douglas was once again on the move. He served as a visiting lecturer at Amherst College in 1926 and 1927, also acting as an economic advisor to a trade union

¹Paul H. Douglas, Wages and the Family (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1925).

²"Biographical Sketch of Senator Paul H. Douglas (D. Ill.)," official release from the office of U.S. Senator Paul H. Douglas, 1957, p. 1.

³Douglas, Wages and the Family, op. cit., passim.

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¹ Morris, op. cit.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

mission to Russia, which was organized by the editor of the Locomotive Engineer's Journal. Douglas joined the mission only after being assured that no communists were members of the group.¹

It is reported that outside of Moscow the American group visited an airplane factory where some of the workers greeted them with indignant protests against the Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts. Never loathe to get into an argument or make a speech when a principle is at stake, Douglas replied that he had not believed the men guilty, but at least their case had been heard in the U.S. courts for eight years. He added that in Moscow a recent case against several bank clerks had started with arrests at eight P.M., trials at midnight, and execution at dawn. "You're hypocrites, if you complain about American courts while yours operate in that manner."² An uproar is reported to have occurred, and the meeting broke up with shouts of "nineteenth century bourgeois liberal."³ Recalling the incident, Douglas noted:

A good-looking girl came up and introduced herself as Betty Glan and advised me that I was suffering from nineteenth-century bourgeois liberalism. No, I replied, you'll discover that if you fail to give the other fellow a fair trial, you will lose your own idealism and unity and ultimately the weapons you are using will be used against you. The girl scoffed at me. I never saw her again, but

¹Morris, op. cit., p. 107.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

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²Smith, op. cit.

³Ibid.

heard about her through an item in a New York daily some ten years later. She had been shot as a Trotskyite.¹

Many American intellectuals of the 1920's considered Soviet Russia a highly hopeful experiment in social planning. Douglas was no exception; he came home impressed by what he considered a "spiritual unity among the people,"² and he was rather optimistic about that country's future, although a little worried about the obvious lack of political freedom.³ Douglas drew three main conclusions from his visit to Russia: (1) That city workers and cooperative villages work in harmony, (2) they have a new social religion--the building up of a People's Society which is based upon a national ideal of moral unity, and (3) the government is very wise and efficient in gradually putting "strain on their communist faith by not reaching full-time employment of all workers at once to keep the labor force working on a piece-rate basis."⁴ After this visit to Russia, Douglas returned to the University of Chicago.

Norman Thomas and the World Tomorrow

With the approach of the 1928 election, Douglas decided he could not support either major presidential candidate, and he voted for Socialist Norman Thomas for President:

¹ Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

² Smith, op. cit., p. 29.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Allen, op. cit., p. 189.

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⁴ Interview with

"A vote for anyone else than Thomas is thrown away. We need a labor party here like the one in England, not just liberal lip service, and the Socialists are the closest to that need."¹ But he never joined the Socialist party because "I could not subscribe to the party doctrine that the class struggle was inevitable."² In 1928, he also edited a book which included a series of economic essays to commemorate the sesquicentennial writing of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations.³

From 1928-1933, Douglas was a contributing editor to The World Tomorrow, a publication started by a group, including Norman Thomas, during World War I to indict the treatment of conscientious objectors in federal prisons (Thomas had a younger brother in prison as an objector). The World Tomorrow later served as a propaganda vehicle for constructive proposals to equalize social and economic conditions.

For his socialistic activities and propagandizing, Thomas was followed in the twenties by federal agents who wire tapped and took him in for frequent interrogations; also, Post Master General Burleson, "high priest of red-baiters" sought to suppress The World Tomorrow.⁴

Concerning The World Tomorrow, Douglas recalls:

¹ Douglas, "What I Am For Thomas", OP. CIT., p. 17.

² Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

³ Adam Smith, 1776-1926, ed. by Paul H. Douglas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928).

⁴ Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

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¹ Ibid.

² Selected Issues

³ Harry W. Laidler
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The World Tomorrow was originated by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and its editor for many years was Clinton Page, a protégé and co-worker of Sherwood Eddy. It was a group of religious peace lovers who favored independent action and social legislation. I was a contributing editor to it and no more than that, and as the Hitler menace increased during the 1930's, after 1933 I simply could not continue my relationship with it and, therefore, resigned.¹

Douglas had used this magazine to attack both political parties and also the economic system of the United States.²

"Lessons from the Last Decade"

In 1929, Paul Douglas contributed a chapter to the book, The Socialism of Our Time, edited by Norman Thomas and Harry W. Laidler, executive director for the League of Industrial Democracy.³ In a chapter entitled "Lessons from the Last Decade,"⁴ Douglas presents the clearest statement of his economic theory and social philosophy at this time in the form of thirteen propositions and a critical question:

The developments during the previous decade in both capitalistic America and in bolshevistic Russia should compel a modification of socialistic theory and practice and lead to a consideration of other problems which have hitherto been slighted. If one may speak of the lessons which these crowded ten years should have taught, I would list the following as the most important, although not necessarily in the order named.

Breakdown of Capitalism Not Inevitable

1) That Marx was wrong in predicting an inevitable breakdown of capitalism from purely economic causes.

¹ Ibid.

² Selected issues of The World Tomorrow, 1929-35.

³ Harry W. Laidler and Norman Thomas, eds., The Socialism of Our Time (New York: Vanguard Press and the League for Industrial Democracy, 1929).

⁴ Ibid., chap. 3, pp. 29-57.

2) A character of progress is that it has increased at a faster rate than the population.

Stabilizing the Population

3) The unemployment rate has increased the great increase in population demonstrated the need to consider the problem of controlling population through controlled reproduction.

War and Capitalism

4) The force of capitalism is to destroy capitalism and its economic factors, and to create a new economic system.

Need for Creative Planning

5) Economic planning, if it is to be reasoned, a blind and inevitable goal but it must be directed and controlled.

Value of the State

6) The Russian system of corporations or trusts as a device which would control the production of goods and services which would be distributed to the people.

Some Inequality of Income

7) The wage rate should be wide for moderate differences in important different types of work. Piece-rates should be used where possible.

Needed--A Modification of the Present System

8) The price of goods should be determined what is needed, however, to produce them.

Accumulating Capital

9) A liberalization of annual investment and this should be applied to industry, from per capita state taxes.

The Place of Voluntary Organizations

10) It is the duty of voluntary organizations which will protect the economic interests of the people from potential economic interests and also perform some of the functions of the state.

2) A characteristic of American industrial progress is that the supply of fixed capital has increased at a faster rate than the population.

Stabilizing the Price Level

3) The unemployment which has accompanied the great increase in physical production has demonstrated the necessity for socialists to consider the problem of stabilizing the price level through controlling the supply of money and credit.

War and Capitalism

4) The force which above all others may destroy capitalism is not the blind movement of economic factors, but war.

Need for Creative Planning

5) Economic evolution is not, as Karl Marx reasoned, a blind force working toward its own inevitable goal but a vis a tergo which is capable of being directed to widely varying goals.

Value of the State Trust

6) The Russian practice of creating state corporations or trusts is an invaluable administrative device which lessens many of the difficulties which would otherwise attend nationalization.

Some Inequality of Remuneration Necessary

7) The wage system under socialism should provide for moderate differences in wages as between important differences in skill and arduousness and piece-rates should be introduced as widely as possible.

Needed--A Modified Price System

8) The price system can largely be used to determine what shall be produced. This should be tempered, however, by considerations of social policy.

Accumulating Capital Under Socialism

9) A liberal provision should be made for the annual investment of large sums of fixed capital and this should be drawn from the profits of industry, from personal savings and in some cases from state taxes.

The Place of Voluntary Cooperation

10) It is highly necessary to create powerful voluntary organizations within the socialist state which will protect workers, consumers and farmers, from potential bureaucracy, which will represent the economic interests of these groups and which will also perform some affirmative economic functions.

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¹ Ibid., pp. 29

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Unifying Divergent Interests

11) The creation both of numerous state trusts and of such voluntary organizations creates, however, the possibility of a conflict of policies.

Political Leadership and the Simple Life

12) The members of this fellowship or dominant party must resolutely refuse to accept any special economic privileges and must live a simple, non-luxurious life upon an appreciably lower scale than that enjoyed by men of equal ability who are not members of the party.

Agriculture and Individual Enterprise

13) Agriculture must for a long time be carried on by individual enterprise, although this may be tempered and sweetened by the development of cooperative institutions.

Dictatorship VS. Democracy

14) I have reserved for the last the most important question of all; namely, that which in the past decade has split the socialistic movement of the world into the two camps of communists and social democrats. This is whether socialism can be obtained by the process of political democracy or whether the hold of the capitalist class is so strong that, even though socialism is preferable, it will be impossible to get it adopted by the state through peaceful means.¹

In answer to this last and most important question, he strongly advocates the peaceful, democratic way because he believes it to be more effective and more humane both as an end and as a means. This he concludes to be the only way in spite of obstacles resulting from the fact that the ruling class of capitalists controls the surplus income and the source of information and education, such as the press.²

¹ Ibid., pp. 29-49.

² In 1963, and perhaps because of the battle scars of several political campaigns, he seems even more concerned about the control of information; when asked by the writer in an interview May 24, 1963, with reference to statements in this chapter of 1929, if he concurred with the famous

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¹ Charles A. Beard
the Nation, July 22

Depression Warnings

Paul Douglas witnessed public expectation of great achievement whipped to a high pitch as Herbert Hoover became President in 1929. Hoover was being extolled as a superman possessing the engineering genius and humanitarianism to elevate the art of government in an era already marked by abundant prosperity. Douglas watched Hoover enter upon his duties with a rush of enthusiasm to lead a nation built on the solid rock of post-war prosperity, which Hoover perceived to be a concept shared by the majority of the American people.¹

aphorism set down by Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., "Give the people the facts and freedom to discuss and all will go well," he replied: "Yes, of course, I do, if the facts can be made available and the climate of opinion may be such that the people want to know all the facts. However, there is an important qualifier: It is very difficult to give the people all the facts. There are many newspapers, but they are such huge capitalistic enterprises that you have to be a multi-millionaire to own one. Take the Chicago Metropolitan area for example; all four newspapers are owned by two people. Marshall Field owns the Sun Times and the News. The McCormick estate owns the Tribune and Hearst paper, the American. It's like Jonah swallowing the whale. All papers in Chicago are owned by one man and a ghost. The two major papers in Los Angeles are owned by the Hearst enterprise and the Otis Chandler estate."

¹Charles A. Beard, "The Presidential Appointments," Nation, July 22, 1931, pp. 82-84.

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² Doan, SR, cit

³ Ibid., p. 81.

⁴ Peter H. Odeq
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The University of Chicago professor objected, of course, to Hoover's basic assumptions that the "least government is the best government" and "so goes big business, so goes the nation." In addition, Hoover's insistence that the depression was abnormal and "prosperity was just around the corner" also infuriated economist Douglas. "Hoover was oblivious to both the causes and the means of alleviating the depression."¹

Men such as Paul Douglas and Senator Bob LaFollette, Jr., publicly predicted early in 1929 that an economic debacle was inevitable unless measures were taken to prevent it--there could not be "perpetual prosperity," they warned, if the status quo were allowed to continue.² Both LaFollette and Douglas proposed that the Federal Reserve banking system stop unregulated speculation and urged lowering tariffs.³ Douglas was among the innovators of a petition, signed by some 1,000 leading economists and citizens, sent in the summer of 1929 to Hoover warning him of the crisis facing the nations;⁴ and young LaFollette shocked the conservative Congress

¹ Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

² Doan, op. cit., p. 78.

³ Ibid., p. 81.

⁴ Peter H. Odegard, "Mr. Hoover's Noble Experiment," Nation, July 27, 1931, pp. 102-104. "Senator & Mrs. Douglas Discuss Foreign Trade," Radio Broadcast release May 10, 1953. Mrs. Douglas states that P. H. Douglas had drafted a protest to high tariffs which was signed by about 1,000 leading economists.

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¹ Interview with D

in the spring of 1929 by warning them of the economic chaos ahead. However, neither Hoover nor Congress paid any attention to warnings; and, of course, the Depression came. The resultant era of economic turmoil called economist Douglas to join other intellectuals in an attempt to find solutions to the crisis facing America. However, in that busy and critical year of 1929, Douglas chose also to meet a challenge closer to home in Illinois.

One Man Destruction of an Empire

Busy as a writer and teacher during the Hoover years, Douglas perceived several injustices; and he was soon to focus his efforts in leading a memorable battle against the "greedy activities" of Samuel Insull and his holding company, which brought Douglas to the attention of the general public for the first time. "My first real experience in practical politics and the thing that eventually got me into politics was my fight with Insull."¹

At the request of the Cook County Real Estate Board in 1929, I began an investigation of Samuel Insull in the traction system. Insull owned the elevated companies and he was trying to get control of the surface lines. And together the joint evaluation of them caused problems because it was close to 265 million dollars. Together they were called an independent franchise, but which in reality would have been a commercial franchise because the city would have had to purchase the whole package and pay 265 million.

¹ Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

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¹ibid.

I got hold of a report from the mayor of Chicago, who was honest, which showed that the original value and cost did not exceed 120 million, and we estimated with depreciation that the assessed evaluation could not exceed 130 million in the combined system even later. So I fought this enabling legislation and then fought the adoption of the franchise-charter. This was a bitter battle. I helped organize the Illinois Consumers and Investors League in 1932 and that group became suspicious of Insull's financing in which he was piling one holding company on top of another; and we were also suspicious he was going to sell off and swap properties between Public Service of Northern Illinois and Commonwealth Edison. It's a complicated business, but it amounted to milking the hard-to-get-at equity from real estate holdings of Commonwealth Edison's stockholders to back Insull's other holdings. So I attacked that and got in a terrific fight with the Illinois Commerce Commission. A legislative commission abused me and gave me a very rough time in the hearing. Interestingly enough two days after the hearings Insull fled from the country. Now, I don't take credit for causing him to flee, But it was clear that he had definitely been misappropriating funds. He was badly licked.¹

Douglas had contended for some years that Illinois politics was corrupt, and this gave him first-hand evidence to support that contention. Insull, who had been a pillar of respectability in Chicago, was trying to consolidate the Chicago traction lines. He was at the peak of his power, having built up a Midwestern traction and utilities syndicate, underneath which existed a Midwest political alliance. While Douglas was defeated in his protest before the legislative hearings of the Illinois Commerce Commission, in the next

¹ Ibid.

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four months his charges of watered utilities and corrupt alliances were proven to be true after Insull's departure for Europe. The financier's empire had been crushed, and some housecleaning in the Illinois state house resulted.

An interesting sidelight to the investigation is reported by J. A. Morris:

One day when he [Douglas] was getting ready to catch a train for Springfield to protest the Insull bond issue before the State Commerce Commission, he discovered that his only good pair of pants was at the cleaners. He rushed down the street and found the shop had closed. He searched the neighborhood and he found the owner, badgered him into reopening the shop and finally departed for the state capital with his good pair of pants. But on the train he had time to think, and suddenly he found the whole situation ironically amusing.

"As the train pulled out," he relates, "I said to myself: Oh, what a fool you are, Douglas. Only one good pair of pants to your name and here you are trying to fight the whole Insull empire!"¹

The battle with Insull culminated in corrective legislation with the passage of the Illinois Utilities Act of 1933,² which set controls on monopoly and provided safeguards against vested interests and internal corruption in utility holdings. The investigation provided a rugged initiation in Douglas's first taste of practical politics, far beyond his expectations when he began the battle.

¹ Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

² Address by Allan Nevins, Chicago, Illinois, June 27, 1960. Printed in the Congressional Record, 86th Congress, Second Session (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), p. 558765.

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¹ Interview with

² Morris, op. cit.

³ Interview with

⁴ Paul H. Douglas
Index (New York: Hor
1926, p. vii.

I suppose I was very naive with regard to the ramifications of the political, underworld, and business alliances into which I stuck my foot.¹

The ramifications of this reform battle with Insull from 1929-32 were to prove agonizing indeed to Douglas.

...politicians attacked him as a radical. Businessmen, including Insull, tried to get him fired from the university. The underworld political combines of the Capone era saw some danger in his reform activities. For the next three years, Douglas was battered, abused, ridiculed, and defeated at every turn, but he wasn't cowed.²

And when Insull returned later from Europe under indictment, his empire was in ruins. Douglas had learned a great deal from this experience, which provided a rigorous test for his personal principles under fire.³

Measuring the Material Progress of the Worker

During the Insull battle, Douglas found time in 1930 to finish the book, Real Wages in the United States, for which he had been compiling data for six years. The study was an attempt to "measure the material progress which the workers have obtained"⁴ during the years studied, 1890-1926. He computed a new index to measure the cost of living, set forth new series of wage rates, prepared averages of the

¹ Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

² Morris, op. cit., p. 107.

³ Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

⁴ Paul H. Douglas, Real Wages in the United States: 1890-1926 (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930), Preface, p. vii.

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annual earnings of employed workers, and compiled data on unemployment since 1890 in order to obtain the earnings of the eligible wage-earning class as a whole. It was thus possible for him to measure the relative purchasing power of hourly and weekly wage rates and of the yearly income of the total working class. While twenty-two million workers were included in the measure, the only two classes of considerable size for which he could work out a continuous index were domestic servants and mercantile employees.

The following tenets stand out from among the forty-six conclusions reached by Douglas: (1) Net incomes of all occupations increased, primarily due to production increases and the threat, if not the organization, of voluntary unionism; (2) the proportion which wages and salaries formed of the total value product of manufacturing increased from 1899 to 1921, but decreased since then; and (3) the real earnings of the employed remained relatively constant from 1923-27, while employers' profits were rising--consequently an "appreciable factor in the extra-ordinary increase of stock market values..."¹

The results of this study tended to support Douglas' contention that the employee-working class was not receiving its fair share of "real" wages or disposable income. The study also reinforced Douglas' conviction that his pre-depression prescriptive proposals to equalize income and cut down speculation would have helped prevent the economic collapse.

¹Ibid., pp. 581-590.

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² Paul H. Douglas
Harcourt-Hill Book

³ Ibid., pp. v

A companion text, The Movement of Money and Real Wages in the United States, 1926-28, published by Douglas in 1931, demonstrated a continuation of the same wage tendencies reported in the earlier volume. Here Douglas studied the chart of real wages as would a sympathetic physician tabulating the rise and fall of the temperature of a belated patient laboring with a dread disease. His findings on real wages from 1890-1928 are classic, and are cited in most texts dealing with any economic analysis of contemporary United States history.¹

Independent Political Action with John Dewey

Douglas dedicated his book, The Coming of a New Party, published in 1932, to John Dewey, a University of Chicago colleague, as the "best representative of the new spirit in American political life."² Dewey, in writing the Foreward to the book, reciprocated:

We have here no remote academic argument for the coming of a new political movement. We have a vivid and authoritative picture of the existing American scene--documented, concrete, moving...not dealing with the opinions of the author as to why there should be a change...but with the factors in our industrial and social life which are bound to bring one into existence.... This book should be compulsory reading for all citizens.³

¹Real wages in the economic milieu after 1928 was not studied by Douglas, perhaps because his life became more complex.

²Paul H. Douglas, The Coming of a New Party (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1932), dedication page.

³Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

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The Coming of a New Party enunciated more comprehensively the family wage program first outlined in Wages and the Family (1925). The Family Wage Plan was a means of alleviating the dominant problem Douglas saw in society--the well-being of the men and women with dependents. To Douglas, democracy, either political or industrial, was a means to an end--the security of the family. The plan, as outlined earlier, was to make the family, not the individual worker, the unit for calculation of wages. If there were 100 factories in a certain community employing 100 workers each, or 10,000 in all, each employer would pay his proportional share into a central fund based upon the number of his employees and their dependents. An equitable sum of money based upon the cost of living index, in addition to the employee's individual salary, would be paid for dependents, not to the employee but to his wife or the woman who cared for his dependent children.¹

Logical and humane though this plan might be, there is little evidence that it received any wide-spread application.² However, William F. Hapgood, wealthy by inheritance and owner of a large canning factory in Indiana, did use the Family Plan on an experimental basis during the early 1930's "to challenge the assumption of a capitalist that roots in laissez faire and a harsh, primitive naturalism"

¹Ibid., passim.

²In 1963, Douglas had this to say about the Family Wage Plan, when asked if he still favored it: "Not so much because of the increased nature of population."--Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

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which, as a "Jeffersonian democrat believing in individualism," he felt he must challenge.¹ The testimony available indicates that Hargood and his employees found the plan satisfactory.²

The Family Wage Plan was the economic basis for the 1932 third party advocated by Douglas with the strong support of University of Chicago colleague, John Dewey. Paul Douglas and John Dewey had worked together to form the League for Independent Political Action in 1923:

John Dewey and I formed the League for Independent Political Action in 1923 because we could not accept the Democratic party as it existed then. It was not a constructive force, but just a tool of big city machine politics and the southern democracy. We felt it was impossible to reform it. So we decided independent political action was needed. Dewey and I were close for four to five years.³

The Coming of a New Party appears to have been primarily a political campaign publication for the 1932 election, which clearly aimed at promoting the principles of the League for Independent Political Action party in that election with emphasis on the incorporation of the Family Wage Plan. Previous consideration had been given to giving the League the Farmer-Labor party label, but that was discarded because it was felt that the platform would draw as well from the farming and labor electorate

¹Allen, op. cit., pp. 228-232.

²Ibid., p. 232.

³Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

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¹ Louis Maric,
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² Ibid.

³ Interview with

with L.I.P.A. on the ballot. Moreover, it was felt that the Minnesota Farm-Labor party would join the League anyway; and the Farmer-Labor title would be too exclusive of other interest groups.¹

The L.I.P.A. was only one of many minor parties growing out of this restless period. The 1932 election ballot contained more minor parties than any previous one in history. By the summer of 1932 there were twenty-six "third parties"; many of them inconsequential, but their very existence a sign of the unsettled and trying times. Minimal scattered labor support was gained by the League for Independent Political Action.²

Douglas the liberal insurgent in 1932 did not choose to back Democratic party nominee, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, even though he did so later.

The League for Independent Political Action kept going until 1935 when the New Deal began with the passage of the Social Security Act and the Wagner Act. That year the New Deal really got down to the masses of the American people and this took away the pressures for a third party. In 1936 I supported Roosevelt, and we really have not had a third party movement since then.³

Government Service

After Roosevelt's victory in 1932, Douglas served from 1933-35 on the Consumers Advisory Board of the National

¹ Louis Adamic, Dynanite (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1934), passim.

² Ibid.

³ Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

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²National Cyclop

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Recovery Administration until it was declared unconstitutional, although he had no great admiration for General Hugh S. "Blue Eagle" Johnson, "commander-in chief" of the N.R.A.,¹ and was in opposition to the principle of the N.R.A., which he considered to be one of the New Deal panaceas.

When Douglas joined the N.R.A. Consumers Advisory Board, he was no stranger to government service, his publications having given him enough prominence to lead to several government appointments, both on the state and federal levels. Within the single year of 1930, he had served as acting director of the Swarthmore Unemployment Study, as secretary to the Pennsylvania Commission on Unemployment; and as a consultant and secretary to the New York Committee to Stabilize Employment, the last at the invitation of Franklin D. Roosevelt, then governor of New York. Douglas also served as a member of the Illinois Housing Commission from 1931 to 1933. He is credited with drafting the Illinois State Utilities Act of 1933 to reduce electricity and gas rates, and also with formulating, in 1935, the Illinois Old Age Pension Act.²

Douglas had studied unemployment and unemployment insurance in Europe in 1931 on a Guggenheim Fellowship. From this research, he subsequently published in 1933 Standards of Unemployment Insurance, dedicated to the economist, John R.

¹Time, April 27, 1943, p. 15.

²National Cyclopedia of American Biography (New York, 1949), p. 400.

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Commons, which developed an affirmative case for unemployment insurance.¹

Theory of Wages and Controlling Depression

Douglas produced his distinguished work, Theory of Wages,² in 1934, for which he was awarded the \$5,000 Hart, Schaffner and Marx prize in international competition. The thesis of this book was essentially a restatement of the need to distribute proportionately the surplus income to the wage earning class and the indigent in American society, eliminating the wastes of the capitalistic system of sky-rocketing production causing surpluses and a smaller unit margin of return. This book was the result of earlier opposition by Douglas to the Hawley-Smoot tariff and the handling of farm surpluses.

Real Wages in the United States (1890-1929) and The Theory of Wages are regarded as classic. In them he demolished with facts and figures the Marxist claim

¹Paul H. Douglas, Standards of Unemployment Insurance (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933), passim.

²Whether fact or fiction, Milton Mayer, writer for the Saturday Evening Post, reported to Richard Strout that the dedication of Professor Douglas to his writing was very evident to an anonymous janitor during the time Douglas was working on Theory of Wages. It is reported that mysterious sounds were heard by a janitor in the dead of the night. The noise was only Professor Douglas soaking his head in cold water at a washstand rigged up outside his office so that he could keep on working. He did it two or three times a night.-- Richard L. Strout, "Paul Douglas: Senator with Ideas," New Republic, September 5, 1949, p. 15.
Paul H. Douglas, The Theory of Wages (New York: Macmillan Company, 1934).

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Controlling Power

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2. Paul H. Douglas,
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3. Ibid., pp.

4. Ibid., pp.

that the growth of capitalism led to the impoverishment of the working class. However he had much in common with the democratic socialists in this era. He favored public ownership of monopolized industry--but never joined the Socialist party because he objected to the doctrine of class antagonism.¹

Controlling Depressions was published by Douglas in 1935. In this book he attempted to analyze the main causes of the Great Depression of the 1930's and to point out a way in which future depressions may be eliminated or reduced. He discussed older economic theories at length, traced the emergence of the capitalistic system, and concluded that its two main evils were wars and economic depressions.² He considered "initiating" and "cumulative" causes of the depression and then suggested that "the rigidity of wages and prices, or frictions and monopolistic control" were the chief generating causes of economic crises.³ To control or reduce depressions, he outlined a twelve-point plan based on government control and "pump priming" measures.⁴

¹Irwin Ross, "The Independent Gentleman from Illinois," Reader's Digest, December, 1958, p. 131. His views on the wisdom of public ownership have changed. Douglas now fears that socializing industry would destroy incentives and only substitute government for industrial bureaucracy. "Today I'm a diffusionist," he said in a personal interview with the writer, "Monopoly is still a threat, but I want to see economic power widely diffused throughout the country."

²Paul H. Douglas, Controlling Depressions (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1935), pp. 1-52.

³Ibid., pp. 53-78.

⁴Ibid., pp. 277-281.

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³ Current Biogr

Writing, Speaking, Politics

He is explicit and emphatic regarding the relationship of writing and speaking, saying that his research and writing have been instrumental in his development as a speaker, and his writing also led to his interest in politics.

In answer to your question of what relationship my writing has had to my speaking, let me say it has been very helpful in my public speaking and speaking in the Senate. I had two directions in my writing, one was scientific, the study of real wages and wage theory. The other was in the field of practical problems, labor legislation and social security, and the latter inevitably made me take an interest in contemporary politics.¹

Guardian of America Against Fascism and Communism

In 1935, Douglas was first mentioned for elective office, and a petition was circulated to place him on the ballot as a Fusion candidate for the office of mayor of Chicago. The movement failed, however, and in a subsequent three-month vacation to Europe with his wife Emily,² Douglas was so alarmed by what he saw of the Mussolini dictatorship that, in the words of Mrs. Douglas, he "decided to come home and fight fascism in his own country."³

My wife and I went to Italy in 1935, and after a few days in Naples went up to Rome, and one afternoon we heard the church bells

¹Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

²After his divorce from Dorothy Wolff in 1930, he later married Emily Taft, former actress and daughter of the famous sculptor, Lorado Taft, in 1931 --official biographical sketch from Douglas' office, op. cit.

³Current Biography Yearbook, pp. 166-168.

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all over Rome ringing. We thought it was an assembly. We went to the Palazzo di Vecchio where Mussolini had his palace; and it's by the Court which comes down by the Coliseum. The Black Shirts began quickly to march down into the square--they filled the square. After a wait of about an hour Mussolini came out on the balcony and made his speech saying that Ethiopia had provoked¹ Italy by withdrawing its troops--by withdrawing its troops--from the frontier and that they had had enough of this, so his troops had crossed the Ethiopia frontier an hour or two before. Then, he started the crowd shouting, "Basta, basta," enough, enough. And I felt the world was moving to a crisis.²

The impact of this trip is indicated in the 1957

official biography of Senator Douglas, released by his office:

Douglas saw such a grave threat in Mussolini's dictatorship in Italy that he determined to return and take an active part in warning Americans of the dangers from both Mussolini's and Hitler's brand of totalitarianism. His experience there also reinforced his determination to fight the new brand of totalitarianism, as exemplified by the aggressive attempts of the Soviet Union to communize the world. Senator Douglas wrote and spoke against both the fascist and communist brands of totalitarianism in the early 1930's, long before it became popular to do so. As early as 1932, the Daily Worker attacked Douglas for his "rabid hatred of our party" and called him a "bourgeois reformist."³

¹ Words underlined are those stressed by Douglas through the use of greater vocal force.

² Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

³ 1957 Official Biographical Sketch, op. cit.

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¹ Morris, op.

² Paul H. Jones

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Douglas explained to J. A. Morris in 1949 his membership in groups and movements he had joined to fight Fascism, but some of which turned out to be communist-dominated:

In my ardor against Hitler and Mussolini it may have been that I did not sufficiently investigate some groups in whose behalf I was approached by reputable persons. But when I discovered the presence of communists, I got out. Nobody has fought me more bitterly than the communists.¹

Back in 1930 he sponsored and put through a resolution barring them from membership in the third-party movement [e.g. the League for Political Action].

While he did not abandon his support of the working class upon returning from this trip, his chief concern after 1935 was the prevention of Fascism and Communism "boring from within."

More Public Service

Following the passage of the 1935 Federal Social Security Act, he wrote Social Security in the United States (1936),² a favorable analysis of the nature and benefits of the act. From 1935-1937, he served on the advisory committee to the United States Senate and the Federal Social Security Board, the latter group working on the revision of the original social security act. In 1937,

¹Morris, op. cit., p. 127.

²Paul H. Douglas, Social Security in the United States, (New York, London: Whittlesby House, McGraw-Hill, 1936).

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⁴ 1957 Official

he formulated the Illinois Unemployment Insurance Act.¹

From 1925 to 1941, he gained valuable experience and met several crises as chairman of the board of arbitration for the newspaper publishing industry. He handed down some eighty-five decisions in the adjudication of labor-management conflicts, in the longest term in this capacity served by any man.²

"Professor" - Alderman from the Fifth Ward

A group of University of Chicago friends in 1929 asked Douglas to run for city alderman from Chicago's Fifth Ward, a ward consisting of a conglomeration of rich, poor, and middle class voters in which the University is located. Douglas, who had been instrumental in getting this group to back an independent candidate for the council, consented to try for a place on the ballot in the "notorious, machine-dominated city council of Chicago."³ Douglas explained his candidacy: "Because I wanted to dramatize the fact that the alderman's position was a public trust and not a plum tree...."⁴ While Cook County Democrats were split on Douglas, Mayor Edward Kelly offered to support Douglas as the regular Democratic nominee.

¹1957 Official Biographical sketch, op. cit.

²Ibid.

³Julian J. Steen, "Douglas of Illinois," Nation, January 31, 1948, pp. 127-28.

⁴1957 Official Biographical sketch, op. cit.

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Douglas made it clear that he intended to run with no strings attached to the county organization, and Kelly is reported to have indicated his agreement, for "the council needs some agitation--it's been too quiet."¹

Kelly undoubtedly sensed that a liberal like Douglas would attract the support of labor and Negroes to the Democratic machine, but he probably had a more personal interest in Douglas--" ...like many men of little education, he was inordinately impressed by anyone who was both learned and articulate."²

Kelly kept his word, and Douglas won his first elective office. However, even if Kelly was understanding, the "perfessor's" fellow councilmen did not follow the lead. From the start, Douglas was called a "gadfly," a "windmill-tilter," a "nagging conscience," and a "sponsor of lost causes."³ Frequently, outvoted in the council by as much as forty-eight to two, receiving support only from Alderman John Boyle [later Illinois Attorney General], he nevertheless succeeded in focusing public attention upon such flagrant evils as the wretched housing conditions of Chicago's Negroes, the predatory behavior of certain Insull successors as traction magnates, the

¹"Making of a Maverick," op. cit., pp. 16-19.

²Smith, op. cit., p. 30.

³Steen, op. cit.

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¹ Ibid.

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⁴ Morris, op.

debasement of the public school system by grafting politicians, and the inadequate allowances for unemployment relief. His one-man campaign could hardly be expected to "clean Chicago's political stables," but undoubtedly it did arouse in an apathetic citizenry some interest in their government.¹

In his campaign Douglas had pledged to audit his income if elected "in a city which is not conspicuous for civic probity...."² When he published an audit of his city salary for the first year showing that he netted only \$16.72 after paying the expenses of his office, Time reported that "the boys [other aldermen] resented the implication and said only a grafter could make ends meet."³

Among other contributions in his term as alderman, Douglas established a city office policy where people could bring their troubles; also, he instituted town meetings of the New England style for the constituency to attend.⁴

While Douglas' contacts with the public and his activity in politics and public affairs had proven helpful to him as an oral communicator, probably no single experience contributed more to his education in public address up to this time than the rough-and-tumble of the

¹ Ibid.

² Current Biography Yearbook, op. cit.

³ "Making of a Maverick," op. cit.

⁴ Morris, op. cit., p. 109.

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² Morris, *op. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*

city council. He learned by first-hand experience the need to simplify his style and adapt to the educational level of his audience.¹ He also learned that the audience of the council was not the captive one in the classroom and did not respond well to his lecture method of persuasion. His professional approach made him an easy target for the ward politicians with no code of ethics, who ridiculed the "perfessor," outmaneuvered him, or mowed him down with tricks. He was inclined to lecture the council in classroom fashion, and once brought in a learned educator to testify before the school committee, "...on which he and Boyle were probably the only members who had gone much beyond grammar school."² The educator settled himself back comfortably with a stack of documents to explain what was wrong with the Chicago system.³ But he didn't get started

¹Public speaking is a very important form of communication. The language used in speaking must be simpler than in writing, interesting and clear. I've always believed that if you talk on the issues it is as good for one audience as for another and that an audience of average people can take good stuff and digest it, providing you don't use big words. I've never believed in talking down to an audience. The one great trouble with academicians is that they use theologisms, now I'm almost using one myself, fancy, multi-syllable words, when it would be much better to say things simply. I think an English philosopher has defined sociology as a science which everyone knows in language that no one can understand. Facts, evidence, and reasoning are the crucial materials of speaking.--Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

²Morris, op. cit., p. 109.

³Ibid.

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¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Mathias Ba
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⁴ Morris, op

⁵ Interview
pp. 127-128.

before he was interrogated by the committee members and indicted as an unqualified expert because he was not a resident of Chicago and was not a taxpayer, and was discredited to the point of inferring that he probably beat his wife. The educator soon fled.¹

Douglas did not resent the demagogic tactics of the aldermen.² There is evidence that Douglas' personal philosophy of good will and the infectiousness of friendliness paid some dividends later. Mathias "Paddy" Bauler,³ his bitterest and crudest antagonist on the city council, testified that the "perfessor" had won him over, and Bauler made sure his ward was delivered to Douglas in his 1948 campaign for the Senate.

In the three years Douglas served on the council, he and John Boyle were a "militant minority" of two. They never clearly won a battle, but in the long run they pushed the Council so hard that they did a great deal toward ending Kelly's reign and bringing in a reform mayor.⁴ All this culminated in the election of the "able and independent" Martin Kennelly as mayor in the fall of 1946.⁵

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Mathias Bauler, 43rd Ward Alderman, was opposed in his 1963 bid for re-election by Chicago's American. The American wanted him retired because he was too old.

⁴ Morris, op. cit.

⁵ Interview with Douglas, op. cit., and Steen, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

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²Ibid., p.

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⁴Ibid.

Although Douglas was instrumental through his action as an alderman in beginning the agitation for the ouster of Mayor Ed Kelly, yet he succeeded in maintaining Kelly's respect and support. "When you differ with a man, show him, by your looks, by your bearing and by everything that you do or say, that you love him."¹ "I applied that philosophy successfully to Mayor Ed Kelly, and he supported my wife when she ran for Congress."²

Patrolling the Ward for Freedom of the Press

On the night of December 4, 1941, the University of Chicago Daily Maroon reported that Alderman-Professor Douglas "patrolled the Fifth Ward from midnight until 5:00 A.M. to see that no molestation occurred at the birth of the Chicago Sun."³ It was rumored that the Chicago Tribune had warned vendors not to carry the new paper to their stands. Although a man of good will, who assumes good intentions on the part of all others, Douglas did not hesitate to insure justice. The angular, raw-boned six feet two inch bespectacled Douglas made the circuit.⁴ "With his size and the gleam in his eye, what would have

¹Paul H. Douglas, "The Best Advice I Ever Had", Reader's Digest, June, 1954, p. 31.

²Ibid., p. 32.

³Strout, op. cit., p. 13.

⁴Ibid.

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¹ Ibid.

² Morris, op

³ Ibid.

happened if one of the Tribune's strong arm men had tackled him?"¹ However, the night in the Fifth Ward turned out to be quiet and peaceful for the alderman and chairman of the Board of Arbitration for the newspaper publishing industry.

Losing Campaign for the Senate Nomination

During 1941, Douglas had gained valuable campaign-speaking experience by twice "stumping" Illinois in support of President Roosevelt's foreign policy.

Then, in 1942 he made a strong bid for the Democratic senatorial nomination. In the primary campaign Douglas made "as many as 1104 speeches to some 600,000 listeners and shaking hands with about 200,000 persons in a 50,000 mile campaign."² His usual campaign day started at 6:00 A.M. at a mine pit or factory gate with a loud-speaker mounted on a Jeep to speak to the workers when they arrived, and he ended the day conferring with local leaders at about midnight.³

The language and delivery of his speeches became less professorial as the campaign progressed. He used no notes but insisted on having the text of any major address in his coat pocket. As his manner of delivery changed, he also seemed to thrive more each day on mingling with

¹Ibid.

²Morris, op. cit., p. 109.

³Ibid.

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the voter,¹ even to the extent that he sometimes stopped at taverns in the evening to quote Byron to the customers and any other subjects they wanted to discuss.

In the campaign, Douglas as a man of good will found it difficult to accept the personal attacks, misquoting, and misunderstandings of the political campaign.

At first, I shared the thoughts of young Count Rostov in War and Peace. As he saw the French lancer come at him in his first engagement, young Rostov asked: "Is it really true that this man wants my life--I whom my mother loves?"²

But Douglas accepted the idea and even won over some of the Democratic bosses who were out to "murder him in the primary" by meeting them face-to-face on their ground, if necessary drinking their whiskey [and he dislikes liquor]. "I lost the 1942 primary but I made a lot of friends, including my opponent [McKeough] who became a very strong friend."³

Although in voter response a losing persuasive effort, his vigorous campaign in the 1942 primary gained Douglas support and recognition as "...some politicians took mental note of the large, pleasant man who had such obvious audience appeal."⁴

¹ Ibid.

² Paul H. Douglas, "Running for Office Means What It Says," New York Times Magazine, September 5, 1948, p. 41.

³ Paul H. Douglas, "The Best Advice I Ever Had," op. cit., p. 32.

Douglas was defeated by Raymond McKeough in the primary. In the November election McKeough was defeated by McCormick-sponsored Republican C. Wayland Brooks,--A. Douglas McRae, "A Rhetorical Analysis of Paul H. Douglas' Senate Address on the Submerged Land Controversy" (unpublished Master's thesis, State University of Iowa, August, 1955), p. 17.

⁴ Smith, op. cit., p. 31.

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Phase Two Concluded

In the eighteen years since Douglas received his Ph.D. from Columbia, his portfolio of experiences was overflowing. He was an insurgent maverick, a moral crusader, a social conscience with a compassion for causes in behalf of his fellowman. He seemed instinctively to seek out, and perhaps at times stumble on, social injustice. He seemed to have an aversion to the easy or expedient path, to uphold unpopular causes whether by choice or accident, and to toil at each endeavor, frequently exposing himself to ridicule and considerable personal agony. As an economist, teacher, author, investigator, government consultant, alderman, and candidate for the U. S. Senate nomination, Paul Douglas had, in spite of his frequent "minority of one" approach, acquired reputation and respect as a principled critic of his society and a man potentially competent to assume public duty.

Paul Douglas was fifty when he sought the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate in 1942. He had made his debut in practical politics, had gained considerable political experience, and had demonstrated ability as a public speaker in a variety of situations in which he had already served as a leader in meeting the "hazards of the future."¹ He was at an age when many men content themselves to remain secure in their established professions or to live on past reputations. But this was

¹Nevins, op. cit.

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not the case with Paul Howard Douglas. His whole life, as Allan Nevins has said, was a preparation for his succeeding years of preeminent usefulness--a leader for "hazards of the future." The greatest challenges and rewards for Paul Douglas were yet to come.

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CHAPTER III

PARRIS ISLAND TO CAPITOL HILL

Climate of Opinion--Realities of War

World War II brought the realities of modern battle closer to the American people than had any previous conflict in history. The gigantic number of men involved, the wartime regulations at home, and the implications of total war, all directly affected every man, woman, and child in the United States.

During 1941 and 1942, Japan won a series of spectacular victories at Singapore, the Netherlands, East Indies, Burma, Guam, Wake Island, and Hong Kong, allowing the Japanese to concentrate their attack on the Philippines. Outnumbered American forces made a valiant stand on the Bataan Peninsula and the island of Corregidor before the fall of the Philippines. Attu and Kiska of the Aleutian Islands then fell to the Japanese; and by the end of the summer of 1942, Nipponese forces had occupied a million square miles of territory. On the other front, in Europe, Hitler's troops had pushed back the Russians, pounded England mercilessly and sunk hundreds of American freighters with their submarines. The road back to Allied victory

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A Dramatic Move

After his defeat in the Democratic primary for the Senate, Paul Douglas' activities focused temporarily upon his classroom at the University of Chicago. The application of the modified Socratic teaching method was what Douglas must have considered the best way to give effect to his philosophy of college teaching:

To stimulate interest, clear and accurate thinking, respect for facts, and the development of relative freedom from prejudice. There can be no democracy and freedom without accurate thinking, the roots of prejudice grow in inaccuracy.²

One of his students in the summer of 1942 reported:

Douglas left us right in the middle of the term. He was an unusual teacher, a tall, heavy and powerful man with a shock of thick gray hair, who wore nondescript and rumpled suits and walked up and down the aisles, generating good will while teaching. He would stop, put his arm around a student and go on asking questions and lecturing. Then, one day he quite unexpectedly announced that he was leaving us to enlist in the Marines.³

Douglas had aroused some curiosity when close friends found out he had gone for a two-mile swim in the

¹Ray Allen Billington, American History after 1885 (Paterson, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams & Company, 1963), pp. 209-210.

²Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

³Statement by Associate Professor of Political Science Joseph Schlesinger in an interview, May 10, 1962, at Michigan State University.

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² Morris, OP

³ Smith, OP

cold and choppy waters of Lake Michigan. Actually, he was testing his stamina; and upon finding that all parts of his fifty-year old body seemed to be functioning properly, he made one of the most dramatic moves of his career by enlisting in the Marines.¹

It is reported that Paul Douglas, the father of five children, had persuaded his friend, Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox, to "pull some strings" and make arrangements for him to enlist as a private in the U. S. Marines. He refused a commission in the Navy as lieutenant commander which Knox urged him to accept. Douglas underwent a unique physical examination for service. Although over age with below standard teeth and poor eyesight, but with a letter from Secretary Knox, he passed with "flying colors."² During the thirty days before he was to report for active duty, he worked out in a gymnasium and went swimming to get in better condition.³

Probably no one, including Douglas, can ever quite explain the compulsion behind his enlistment. First, he had to reconcile his religious convictions as a peaceful Quaker with the idea of taking part in war. But Quakers consider the individual conscience as the highest

¹Morris, Smith, Strout, Official Douglas Biographical Sketch, op. cit.

²Morris, op. cit., p. 110.

³Smith, op. cit., p. 30.

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¹ Edgar B
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authority; and in this case Douglas' conscience told him that he had to be willing to do himself what he had been urging others to do in fighting Fascism: "My conscience told me I had to fight; I had advocated resistance to all aggression. I could find no peace of mind without backing up my views physically."¹ There were those who thought Douglas was "putting on a good show" and it would merely end up with a soft job in Washington.²

Private Douglas

He resigned as alderman, took a leave of absence from the University of Chicago, and reported to the Marine base at Parris Island, South Carolina, for basic training. He was placed in a platoon where the average age was nineteen years.³ His scholarly and other accomplishments probably were of little interest to his platoon buddies, nor did they prove helpful in scaling the hurdles of the obstacle course. After basic training he still refused the commission until he discovered he was too old for overseas duty without one; then he accepted a captain's rank and joined the First Marine Amphibious Corps at New Caledonia in the Pacific Theater in 1943.⁴ In 1944, he

¹ Edgar Brown, "Senator Paul Douglas--His Career and Ideals," Chicago Herald--American, November 10, 1948, p.4.

² Strout, op. cit., p. 13.

³ 1957 Official Biographical Sketch, op. cit.

⁴ Ibid.

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Although his was a desk job as an adjutant, Douglas fought in the battles of Pelelieu and Okinawa; and he had his first taste of battle shortly after the First Division charged ashore at Pelelieu. On the second day, the adjutant of the Fifth Marine Regiment was wounded, and the message sent back read: "Our adjutant wounded, if that old white-haired buzzard still wants to get in some fighting, let him come ashore."¹ Captain Douglas did go ashore and stayed with the Fifth through some of the bloodiest days of the Pacific campaign. He won a Bronze Star for carrying ammunition to the front lines under fire at Pelelieu and was struck by a piece of shrapnel for his first Purple Heart-- "a cheap Purple Heart," he later said.² He won a second as a volunteer rifleman in an infantry platoon assaulting the Naha-Shuri line in Okinawa. The platoon was advancing under heavy fire when one burst of shrapnel ripped his left arm from elbow to wrist.³ (Douglas says that the arm works best today as a paper-weight.⁴) Another wounded man, Robert Halveyer, of Centralia, Illinois, presents an eye-witness account of the fighting in the Okinawa campaign, as follows:

¹"Making of a Maverick," op. cit., p. 17.

²Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

³1957 Official Biographical Sketch, op. cit.

⁴Ross, op. cit., p.134.

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We were on Okinawa in the front lines in the jungles facing the Japs who were only a short distance away. I was an enlisted man under the command of Colonel Paul Douglas. All during the campaign Colonel Douglas stayed with the men and was out in front of us most of the time even though by such actions he subjected himself to great danger and was repeatedly ordered to stay in the rear for his own protection.

At one point we were forced to seek cover in a small sunken area due to the heavy machine gun fire making it impossible to advance. While we were waiting for heavy artillery to back us up, a large mortar shell landed in our midst, throwing shrapnel over the area, injuring a large number of our battalion including Colonel Douglas, whose left arm was practically torn off.

We waited for what seemed hours and when the litter bearers finally came along, they stated that they had instructions to bring out the Colonel first.

Although Colonel Douglas suffered terrible shock and had lost large quantities of blood, he ordered the litter bearers to take out all the enlisted men before he would allow them to touch him.

He was much older than the rest of us and was actually more seriously wounded than many. In fact, by waiting for the enlisted injured to be attended to first, he almost lost his life.

It makes me sick to hear the same fat bellied cowards whose misguided leadership in the Senate, with their appeasement policy, lulled the people of the United States to sleep, thereby costing so many of our lives, now running around the State calling my Colonel discrediting names when they are not fit to stand on the same ground with him.¹

¹Letter from Raymond Horn of Salem, Illinois, to Charles Callahan of Douglas Campaign Committee, October 30, 1948, recounting the story by Halmeyer. Quoted from "Douglas' Independent Committee" campaign release in 1948.

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Another letter from Chaplain Berman of the Sixth Marine Division, which was side by side with Douglas's Fifth Division on Okinawa, stated:

...I stopped at one of the Medical Aid stations just behind the lines to see whether I could be of some help to the Chaplain on duty. The station was a crude affair--a large cave on the side of a hill--crowded with the wounded who were being brought in with great frequency. Chaplain Thompson greeted me with: "I've got a friend of yours over here," and he pointed to a grimy, bloodcovered man lying on a stretcher. "I don't recognize him," I said. "That's Paul Douglas, who has been badly hit, as you can see. When they brought him in and asked him his name, he said, "Private Douglas," and it was only when I recognized him that I saw to it that the record was corrected to "Major".¹

"When I asked Douglas," Chaplain Thompson continued, "why he had indicated he was a Private, he told me that he didn't want to get any special consideration or treatment. The fact is he never had any right to go down where the fighting was thickest because his duty allowed him to sit at a desk in the G-I office. But on Okinawa, as on Pelelieu, he felt that if he could be of any help to the men while they were fighting, he wanted to be with them. They told me he had done a terrific job."²

¹There are conflicting accounts as to the rank of Douglas. He progressed through "field promotions," to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel while in the hospital recovering, just before he was mustered out of the Marines from active duty. Halmeyer refers to Douglas as Colonel in Horn's account because Halmeyer knew of Douglas's later promotion in the hospital and out of respect refers to him by highest rank.

²Letter from Chaplain Berman to Charles Callanan, November 1, 1948, quoted from "Douglas Independent Committee" campaign release in 1948. Another account indicates that the first person Douglas told about his shooting a sniper except his wife was four years after the war had ended. This account suggests the Quaker by choice rather than birthright felt real compassion for his fellow man even in time of war. "I thought, here is man right back on his belly in the primeval ooze--and the sniper I just killed after he shot at me in the entrance of a cave may well have been a professor of economics at the University of Tokyo."--Morris, op. cit., p. 28.

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Douglas' war efforts have been well described, even if somewhat superlatively by Allan Nevins in an address in 1960:

And when the Second World War began, he went far beyond the call of duty in his search for a post of peril in the humblest rank. He might have found a dozen excuses for remaining at home: in his 50 years, in his five children, in his duties as professor, alderman of the fifth ward in Chicago, and expert consultant on public problems. He might have asked a commission and a post in Washington. But with his unswerving instinct for the laborious and self-sacrificing course, he enlisted as a private, and took his place with other marines in the front lines. He was as ready to give up his life as had been that other Illinoisan raised to the Senate, E. D. Baker, who was slain at Ball's Bluff. Like his other achievements, he had modestly cloaked his heroism as a fighter. But he rose from the ranks to be major; he was awarded the Bronze Star for gallantry in action; he was twice wounded, at Pelelieu and at Okinawa, and spent 14 months in hospitals; and his comrades in arms have termed him the very model of a resourceful officer.¹

In November, 1946, after undergoing five operations, spending fourteen months in hospitals, Douglas was honorably discharged as a Lieutenant Colonel with a partially disabled left arm, loss of forty-five pounds, a bronze star, and two Purple Hearts. He received a pension which he gave up when he became Senator.²

Seeking a Place on the Ballot

While Douglas was in the Marines, his wife Emily had taken his place on the political front. With the help

¹Nevins, op. cit.

²1957 Official Biographical Sketch, op. cit.

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of Colonel "Jake" Arvey, chairman of the Cook County Democratic Committee, she had been elected Congresswoman-at-Large from Illinois in 1944 and served during the 79th Congress (1945 and 1946).¹ Douglas felt she had done so well that his own political career should be ended, but he reconsidered when she lost in the Republican sweep of 1946.²

After his discharge from the Marines, Douglas served briefly as a special Presidential aide to Harry S. Truman, and then returned to his professorship at the University of Chicago.

Late in 1946, Douglas was prominently mentioned as a possible Democratic nominee for Chicago's coming mayoralty election.³ Even though he had decided that he wanted to become either mayor or governor, the Democratic organization maneuvered him away from both posts because they feared his independent thinking would cause him to cut off too much patronage.⁴ "He chose to throw his support to Martin H. Kennelly, however, who received the Democratic nomination and ultimately became Mayor of Chicago in 1947."⁵

¹Ibid.

²Morris, op. cit.

³1957 Official Biographical Sketch, op. cit.

⁴"Gentleman and Scholar," Time, January 12, 1948, p. 61.

⁵1957 Official Biographical Sketch, op. cit.

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"Boss" Jake Arvey was looking for "good government" candidates to revive the Democratic organization in 1947. Because Douglas had strong support from labor, veterans organizations, and the independent voters of Illinois, Arvey announced on December 30 that Paul H. Douglas was the Democratic candidate for United States Senator.¹ Unopposed for the Democratic nomination, Douglas faced incumbent Republican C. Wayland "Curly" Brooks, isolationist protégé of the Chicago Tribune, who was generally regarded as "unbeatable". In addition to Brooks' strength, Douglas' situation was further complicated by the presence of a Henry Wallace Progressive candidate, who presumably would drive off the ultra-liberal votes.

For Better or Worse--A Presidential Election Year

The election of 1948, a Presidential election year, did not provide for Democratic party candidates the assistance and usual security of a strong incumbent President running for re-election. Most of the Congressional candidates chose to avoid identification with incumbent President Harry S. Truman; and the national Democratic political climate was cold, dark, and depressing when Douglas threw his hat in the ring for the Senatorial race in 1948.

¹"Gentleman and Scholar," op. cit., p. 16.

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Even Democratic leaders were mired down in defeatism, privately confessing that Truman had little or no chance at the White House in his own right. He was regarded as a weak leader, especially in comparison to the brilliant and picturesque Franklin D. Roosevelt. So depressed were most of the party chieftains that they hoped Truman would eliminate himself and allow the party to select a more glamorous candidate.¹ But Truman refused to be set aside.

In contrast to Democratic defeatism, few Republicans, after their victory in the Congressional elections of 1946, had any serious doubt that they would win the Presidency and maintain control of Congress in the election of 1948. The Republican candidates for nomination confidently declared themselves as early as 1947.² The Republicans attributed their sweeping victory in the 1946 Congressional elections to the fact that the country was tired of Democratic rule and would elect a Republican President in 1948. This seemed valid in view of the fact that in the past, decisive defeats at mid-term for the party in power had resulted in defeat at the Presidential election. The Republican leaders ignored

¹Aaron Abell, A History of the United States of America (New York: Fordham University Press, 1953), p. 6.

²Arthur C. Bining, A History of the United States (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1951), II, 673.

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¹ Abell, OP. C.

² Facts on Fil
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³ Ibid.

⁴ Bining, OP. S

the possibility that "Fair Dealism" might be only quiescent, not dead, and that voters might attribute their generally prosperous condition to the sixteen years of New Deal leadership.¹ The Republican convention met on June 21, 1948, in Philadelphia with Thomas E. Dewey and Earl Warren emerging as candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency.

It wasn't until March 8, 1948, that J. Howard McGrath, national chairman of the Democratic party, announced: "President Truman will run if nominated."² Immediately the Southern Democratic bloc was called to develop strategy to oppose the Democrat who stubbornly stood on a plank of his platform advocating the extension of civil rights.³ This group immediately boomed William O. Douglas as a candidate.

The Democratic convention convened in Philadelphia on July 12 amid an air of uncertainty. The Democratic party was a picture of disorganization, unrelieved by the presence of any outstanding personal leadership.⁴ Henry A. Wallace, the former Vice-President who had been dismissed by the President as Secretary of Agriculture,

¹ Abell, op. cit., p. 627.

² Facts on File: 1948 Index (New York: Facts on File Incorporated, 1948), p. 227.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Bining, op. cit.

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had broken from the Democratic ranks to establish a third party, bearing the label "Progressive." With him went many of the extreme liberals who had backed Franklin D. Roosevelt. The southern states, unwilling to support Truman's civil rights program, announced they would secede from the convention if Truman was nominated. Immediate trouble was encountered over the drafting of the platform. Upon insistence of Truman supporters to incorporate a strong civil rights plank, the complete Mississippi delegation and part of the Alabama delegation, consisting of twenty-five delegates,¹ seceded from the meeting.²

However Truman was elected on the first ballot; and Alben W. Barkley won the nomination for Vice-President. President Truman created a sensation when he appeared on the platform to accept his nomination in person; and to the joy of the fatigued and discouraged delegates, he acted the part of a real, fighting leader. Seizing this opportunity to initiate the Presidential campaign, Truman, speaking extemporaneously, attacked the Eightieth Congress and the Republican platform and rallied the Democratic delegation for the fight to come.

Ignoring the predictions of pollsters, as well as the creation of a "Dixiecrat" bloc in the South and the opposition of many party bosses, liberals, and labor

¹Facts on File, op. cit., p. 227.

²Bining, op. cit., p. 673.

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4. Smith, op.

leaders, Truman began his acceptance speech on a note of confidence: "Senator Barkley and I will win the election and make these Republicans like it--don't you forget that."¹

Douglas "Runs" for Election

In Illinois, after getting the Senatorial nomination, Douglas ran with Adlai Stevenson, another Democratic Progressive who was seeking the governorship. A dream ticket it was called by Scott Lucas, the incumbent Democratic U. S. Senator and not up for re-election in 1948.²

This 1948 campaign warrants particular attention because it was in this campaign that Douglas first developed the methods he was to use in his subsequent re-election campaigns. Since funds were scarce, he rigged up a jeep station wagon (Willys Overland). With his wife Emily assuming major responsibility for arranging the itinerary,³ Douglas expanded the campaign schedule that he had used in 1942, usually beginning early in the morning at a factory gate. With optimism, energy, and new-found delight in crowds and his own histrionic abilities, Douglas waged a one-man campaign. "Looking disheveled, folksy, and decidedly unprofessorial,"⁴

¹M. B. Schnapper, The Truman Program (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1949), p. 1.

²Strout, op. cit., p. 14.

³"Notes" on 1948 campaign materials from the official files of Senator Paul H. Douglas in May, 1963.

⁴Smith, op. cit., p. 30.

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It would be well to let the candidate re-create the campaign and tell it in his own words, as he did to the nation in the New York Times Magazine, September 5, 1948.

The contrast between American and British campaign practices is summed up in the verbs used to describe the activities of candidates. In Great Britain one "stands" for office. In the United States we "run" for it.

As a candidate for the United States Senate from Illinois, I have a vivid sense of that word "run"--and for this reason:

Illinois holds some 8,300,000 people, divided evenly between Chicago and its suburbs on the one hand, and "down-state" on the other. And in both areas the people come from all the world's racial and religious stocks, settled in massive blocks of tens of thousands. The ways in which they make their living are as varied as the people themselves.

Add together the natural variety of interests which comes from such a setting and the task facing a candidate in Illinois can be seen. I have been "running" for office in every corner of the state almost incessantly ever since I was recommended by the state committee for nomination in January. And I have been "sprinting" since I was formally nominated by the Democratic party in April.

Following the state committee's action in January of this year I got hold of a jeep station wagon, had it equipped for sound and took to the road. In the primary campaign during

¹ Edgar Brown reported in the Chicago Herald-American that Douglas "snapped angrily" when a campaign advisor suggested he make "campaign capital" of his battle crippled arm. Douglas retorted: "I'm not going to drip my blood over Illinois for votes. Some of the boys didn't even have an arm left."--Edgar Brown, Chicago Herald-American, November 10, 1948, (Quoted in press release of 1948 campaign file).

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the three months that followed I made 250 speeches and visited eighty out of our 102 counties. Since the primaries last May I have made approximately 700 speeches in over 300 towns and cities in every county in the state. And the formal campaign doesn't open until Labor Day. A word hasn't been invented yet to describe the form of running that takes place between then and November.

My style of campaigning follows this pattern:

I pull up my sound-equipped jeep wagon at a factory gate during a change in shifts, or on a village street, or somewhere else near the main flow of people. I introduce myself to whatever crowd gathers, and then summarize the main themes of the campaign. Afterward I move among the clusters of people to shake hands and to distribute campaign literature which they can read at leisure. In this way I've spoken to about 225,000 people and have shaken hands with over 100,000 of them....

There is a reason for this direct work. The average voter wants to see the candidates for office and form a visual as well as auditory judgment of them. But the voter is either too busy to go to formal political meetings, or he discounts them as being long winded, hot and blatantly partisan. It becomes necessary, therefore, for the candidate to go direct to the voters.

Physical exertion is, however, the least of the burdens a candidate must bear. He must expect in advance to be abused and misrepresented. Indeed, the way the courts have interpreted the libel laws of the nation, political leaders are set up as fair game for any attack short of murder. The whole spirit of those laws says to the candidate for elective office: "Brother, whatever happens to you--you asked for it!" It is only human, of course, for a candidate to be nettled now and then by the bare-faced lies that are spread about him.

Since I aim to be liberal progressive, I find myself being attacked by both the extreme left and the extreme right. The Communists whisper that I am anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, an advocate of a preventive war against Russia and the tool of bankers and industrialists. The extreme right, on the other hand, calls me a Socialist and a crafty fellow-traveler. It might seem that such mutually contradictory

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attacks would largely cancel themselves out, but in practice each group aims its propaganda at the circles which are closest to it, with the result that various sections of the population can at the same time believe conflicting and slanderous reports.

I do not believe it is necessary for a politician to discuss the same topics before every group he addresses--though it would be a happy state of things if every human being viewed his own welfare as indivisible with the prosperity of his neighbor. The truth is, however, that the interest of a given group in one aspect of an over-all program is much more immediate than that of a second group. And I do believe it correct for a politician to address himself to his audience's particular interests. But it is quite another thing for a politician in talking about the same subject to say one thing before a consumers' group and its opposite before a farmers' group, or to say one thing to employers and another thing to an audience of trade unionists.

By the most pragmatic of tests, I have found that a straightforward and consistent approach to any problem brings higher personal rewards than a policy of doubletalk. For instance, I have been a lifelong advocate of unionism and collective bargaining. Yet in this campaign I've reminded union audiences many times about the ways in which their movements could be improved. In every case I found the response of labor to be an approving and hearty one.

Closely related to this danger of being all things to all men is the added danger of treating people as votes and not as persons--as means to the end of winning an election rather than as ends in themselves. As a college student I was thrilled by Immanuel Kant's rule that one "should treat humanity, whether in one's self or in another, always as an end, never as a means." This imperative means that one should really care for people, whether they are partisans for or against you, or in the "no opinion" group. It means a constant view of politics as having one aim--the promotion of justice--justice for all men--and not the mere acquisition of power for one man.

I have dwelt at length on the trials of a campaign without mentioning its rewards. There are many of these rewards--which are independent of how things turn out at the polls. In

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talking face to face with people you get a renewed personal assurance of the essential decency and fairness of the human race. Most men in fact try to do good and avoid evil. Abundant proofs can be offered, of course, of the many times when community passions have twisted matters so that men in the mass act contrary to their own ultimate interests. Yet the search for truth is not killed off. It reasserts itself as the stronger force in our life and in time bears its fruits.

A second gain from these campaigns is a better appreciation of how vital our democratic process actually is. It is an unending source of joy to see thousands upon thousands of men and women of all ages and in all stations of life lend their efforts to the advancement of political causes. These people are not paid workers. They do not stand to benefit directly from a political victory for their candidate. But they do appreciate the indirect benefits of victory--the creation of an America which better fits their own dreams....

For all its demands, a vigorous "politics" in which every one takes sides is, paradoxically, the best way to bring about a fuller sense of the community of interest. But underneath all this is needed a sense of the basic unity which should bind men together and should provide a feeling of goodwill to all.

Fundamentally men are brothers and the heat and passion of political struggle should not make us forget that fact.¹

Douglas's basic platform was very broad in scope, reflecting the post-war United States, on social welfare measures which could be adapted to the local and state scene, and also a fairly comprehensive treatment of national and international matters. His official policy statement included a brief preamble of liberalism, in the language of the Gettysburg Address, with a concluding statement setting forth his stand on international policy and goals.

¹Douglas, "Running for Office Means What It Says," op. cit., p. 5, 41-42.

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I believe that our government should be both for the people and by the people, that it should increase the opportunities for all and that it should at once work for the common welfare and protect individuals in their human rights. Our foreign policy should work cooperatively to bind up the wounds of war, to establish a firm peace, and to check aggression wherever possible by collective action.¹

Then with a two-fold partition into the broad categories of "domestic measures" and the "field of foreign affairs," he set forth selected propositions explicating the position he took in each area to implement the general aims he advocated in the preamble.

With respect to domestic affairs, he affirmed:

To carry out these aims I am advocating, and when elected I shall support, the following domestic measures:

(1) The checking of further inflation by preventing expansion of bank credit, which raises prices.

(2) The enactment of a vigorous housing program to construct at least 15 million homes in the next decade by reducing building costs, and by lowering the interest rate through a larger federal guarantee for private home construction. Included in this program should also be federal aid for slum clearance in our larger cities.

(3) The provision of greater equality of opportunity by federal aid for education and hospital care.

(4) The protection of racial and religious minorities from being discriminated against in employment, in the courts and at the polls.

(5) The protection of the legitimate rights of private citizens from being unjustly "smeared" by legislative committees, such as those headed by Rep. J. Parnell Thomas. Thus, when a man has been defamed by testimony before, or statements made by, a committee, he should have the right to be heard in his own defense.

¹Paul H. Douglas, "Douglas: His Policy," New Republic June 28, 1948, p. 20, used for official policy statement release in the 1946 Senatorial campaign in Illinois.

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(6) The extension of social security: as one who has helped to draft some of the basic legislation in this field, I naturally favor extending the coverage of our social-security laws and paying more adequate pensions and benefits because of the greatly increased cost of living.

(7) The restoration of collective bargaining. The recent Taft-Hartley Act gives to anti-union employers the power to break almost every union in the country and should never have been passed. Since it now embodies the original Wagner Act, its repeal should be accompanied by the simultaneous passage of another act reestablishing the original Wagner Act together with certain improvements agreed upon by unions and employers.

(8) The development of our forests and rivers to prevent floods, to provide a timber reserve and recreational areas, to furnish irrigation facilities and, where practicable, to generate power.

(9) An all-out effort to get a greater degree of competition in American business in order to expand output, lower prices and distribute economic power more broadly.

Our farm program should, in my opinion, rest on three pillars: (a) an extensive program of soil conservation which would include effective measures for better and cheaper fertilizer to break the present stranglehold imposed by the fertilizer trust; (b) an increased demand for farm products obtained by extending the school-lunch program so that every child in America will have the chance for a hot noon meal at a reasonable price; (c) the provision of a guaranteed total or proportional net income for farmers as a whole equal to that which they enjoyed from 1941 to 1945. This would not require rigid acreage limitation, or the maintenance of fixed prices.¹

With respect to foreign affairs, he affirmed the following broad, ideological statements of policy:

¹ Ibid., p. 21.

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I am in favor of the fullest use of the United Nations, the international control of atomic energy, the reduction of trade barriers, and the development of full economic cooperation among nations.

I believe in the Marshall Plan and shall continue to support it, since I regard it as essential to the rebuilding of Europe.

I am opposed to all acts of aggression and believe that they should be checked in their early stages before they gather too much strength and threaten our own safety. I condemned the aggression of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese military during the thirties and forties, and did all I could to resist it. There is a similar moral obligation to resist Communist aggression, which has manifested itself in Iran, Eastern Europe, Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

I believe in an adequate national defense to back up the United Nations and to check aggression.

As we help to free men from the fear of aggression, we should also work constructively to help free them from want and injustice. The Marshall Plan is a great step in this direction. If Russia would cease her aggressive acts and give convincing proof of peaceful intentions, she could be admitted to a Near East oil consortium, where there is enough oil for everyone. Under this arrangement, the royalty payments could go to the poverty-stricken people of those countries.

A mighty struggle is going on for the souls of men and the possession of states. It is a struggle between those who believe in a free and humane society and those who believe in a police state. We have beaten off one powerful attempt to establish the fascist police state upon the world. A glacial age would descend upon the earth were the police state of communism to be triumphant. For it also imposes a dictatorship over the press, radio, schools, and churches.

Communism, like fascism, takes the people on a one-way ride. For once it gets power, it destroys the democratic alternatives to it and does not accord to others the rights it claimed as a minority. It thus sets up a system which cannot be reversed by democratic methods.

Wherever the Communists have taken over the government they have been ruthless in suppressing all opposition. Everywhere they have set up police states where men are arrested

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¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

without a warrant, denied the right to be visited by friends or released on bail, refused counsel, forbidden to summon witnesses in their behalf or freely cross-question those who testify against them, and sentenced to concentration camps, where they are worked to death. Such a state brings slavery, not freedom, to people and nations. It would be a tragedy were it to extend its area of control. The reality of this police state is so oppressive that many try to soothe their consciences by pretending that it does not exist. But this does not go away with the terrible reality.

Just as the German Communists wanted Hitler to take power and crush the Center so that they could rule, so do the American Communists want to destroy the progressive Center and elect reactionaries because they believe the people would then turn to them.¹

The concluding paragraph followed logically his plea to preserve the "free world" against communism. It also seemed calculated to meet the attacks to which he had been subjected and to indict the actions of extremist groups. Finally, he employed positive suggestion in a plea to unite American liberals and progressives in the election.

I shall therefore keep on struggling as I always have for a progressive policy both at home and abroad as the best means of checking both the extreme Left and extreme Right and for bringing into being a better social order within our own country and in others as well. I believe that American liberals and progressives have too much sense to let themselves be used for the Communists' unworthy ends, and that they will not divide in this year of decision.²

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

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In his official policy statement, Douglas was reflecting most of the issues in the Presidential campaign with a focus on Communism and his life-long crusade for welfare. But no campaign general policy statement can be as definitive as specific speeches in crystallizing issues. Adapting to the needs of particular audiences in direct appeal for votes, a politician does not discuss the same set of issues before every group because people have individual differences in viewing their welfare. Douglas did address himself to the particular interests in speeches to diverse audiences, but without trying to be all things to all people and by being consistent in the rationale and development of specific planks of his platform each time he discussed them.¹ He did take a consistent approach and attempted to be straightforward in a face-to-face appeal to the voter.

Douglas' "basic" thirty-minute campaign address, a highly partisan appeal, relied on a deductive development of the basic ideological differences between the two major political parties filled with pleas in emotive language calculated to elicit patriotic identification with Douglas and his party. However, no direct reference was made to Truman, who was considered a political liability and had not yet won the right to be titular head of the party.

¹This conclusion is based upon an examination of copies of press releases of 1948 campaign speeches in the office files of Senator Paul H. Douglas, in May, 1963, and also on the fact that Douglas followed the principles of campaigning he set forth in his New York Times Magazine article, September 5, 1948, cited in this dissertation.

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Using a tripartite arrangement, Douglas traced the ideological differences of the two parties from the conflict between Jefferson and Hamilton over the distribution of wealth and property to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Only once did he mention Truman and that in a parenthetical manner in the second line of the opening paragraph, suggesting that Truman had had a struggle with the National Association of Manufacturers similar to, and in the great tradition of, Franklin Roosevelt:

Since the days of Jefferson and Hamilton there has been a basic conflict in American politics. It was the issue over which Jackson fought with Clay, Franklin Roosevelt with the Liberty League and now Harry Truman with the National Association of Manufacturers. It is whether we should try to pour prosperity in at the top for a favored few or build it up from the bottom, by seeing to it that the great mass of the people flourish.¹

Throughout the speech, Douglas chose to identify himself with the accomplishments and image of Franklin Roosevelt, not Harry Truman. Prefacing his remarks frequently by "we pledge our allegiance" or "I pledge to you," Douglas sought to build his credibility with the voter by inferring that the basic tenets he advocated in domestic and foreign affairs were a continuation of Roosevelt's New Deal policy. Occasionally he attempted to bring the issues closer to home as he did in the case of the Illinois farmer when he stated:

¹"Speech by Paul H. Douglas, Democratic candidate for U. S. Senator, " copy of press release of speech obtained from the office files of Paul H. Douglas, May, 1963.

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¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

The Illinois farmers, who had been selling their corn for 10 and 12 cents a bushel when Roosevelt came in and who were losing their farms by foreclosure, had the prices of their crops boosted and their farms saved. Then we went on to conserve the black soil of Illinois and to bring electrical power to the isolated farms of the state. Over the opposition of power companies and the Republicans, we have brought light and power to thousands of Illinois farms. The kerosene lamp is being banished and the burden of toil for the farm housewife in washing, ironing, and cooking is being lessened. What is more, this is proving to be a paying proposition and the government will get its money back with interest. But the enemies of this program are still active and now that the Republicans control Congress, the money for this work has been sharply reduced. There are still tens of thousands of farm families in Central and Southern Illinois who need and want this power. But between them and it lies the Republican party and its allies. It is we of the Democratic party who are trying to break this log jam and in this, as in other matters, to bring the good things of life to the farmer.¹

In a more direct attempt to identify himself and his policies with Roosevelt, Douglas said:

I want to pledge to you and to the people of this State that in my campaign and when I am elected Senator, I will try to walk in the steps of Franklin Roosevelt and be faithful to his spirit. I shall try to hold on to what he brought to the American people and to extend it further in such fields as housing, education, and other reforms as well. We propose to preserve prosperity and full employment and to so conduct ourselves that while the body of Franklin Roosevelt may be mouldering in the soil of Hyde Park, his soul will be triumphantly marching on.²

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

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¹ Ibid.

In foreign affairs, Douglas identified the policy of his platform with Woodrow Wilson and Roosevelt in developing his thesis and appeal for peaceful international cooperation. With a review of the horrors of World War II, resulting from the need to battle fascism, he launched his attack on Communism and the Wallace third party:

Neither we as Democrats, nor I as an individual, will allow ourselves to be blackmailed into changing our position in this matter by the threat of a third party candidacy. For we shall continue to put the interests of our country first, let the chips fall where they may.

The Communists want the reactionary wing of the Republican party to win. If the Communists can only help reactionaries to win, then the Communist foreign policy will be put into effect. Aid to western Europe will be shut off and the countries there will be likely to fall into Communist hands. American military power will be crippled and country after country will be taken over by the Russians.

For this election at least, the extreme reactionaries and the Communists are allies. We are opposed to them both. We are going to go right down the middle for true progressivism. We are going to fight for prosperity and social reform at home, and for peace, collective security and the checking of aggression abroad. Behind this program, we shall rally farmer, workers, middle classes, veterans, youth, women and the great mass of the American people. "Thrice armed is he whose cause is just and as we stand at Armageddon, so do we battle for the Lord."¹

This "basic" speech, as labelled by his campaign staff and Douglas, is highly partisan, perhaps best suited for Democratic listeners. Although used for a variety of audiences, it was not well adapted to the traditional

¹ Ibid.

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¹ R. E. Merriam
New Republic, March 1

² Morris, op.

³ Strout, op.

⁴ Morris, op.

Republican audience of "outstate" Illinois. Nevertheless it was used for those groups with some slight revisions. In his speeches outside of Cook County, his special adaptations for the strong support of the Marshall Plan and bitter criticism of Soviet foreign policy were considered by many to have won Douglas several votes in "outstate" Illinois.¹

As the campaign progressed, Douglas, who had always enjoyed amateur acting and singing, became an extrovert before crowds. At campaign rallies he responded to the cheers of the crowd by walking about the platform with hands raised above his head, shaking them in the symbolic gesture of a professional boxer who had just won a fight.² When Republican Senator Brooks declined an invitation from Douglas to debate the issues in the tradition of the Lincoln-Douglas debates on the ground that he "would not meet any irresponsible person,"³ Douglas borrowed an old trick from Al Smith and addressed an empty chair as "Senator Brooks," sometimes enacting a little drama in which he played both himself and Brooks. Sometimes he ended singing "We shall meet, but we shall miss him. There will be a vacant chair."⁴

¹R. E. Merriam, "Where Does Paul H. Douglas Stand?" New Republic, March 15, 1948, p. 29.

²Morris, op. cit., p. 27.

³Strout, op. cit., p. 14.

⁴Morris, op. cit., p. 119.

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²Phillips,
³Steen, op.

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Douglas won widespread support in this campaign. Both the AF of L and the CIO Railroad Brotherhoods and Independent Unions endorsed Douglas, "Uniting all factions of labor...for the first time in labor history, to pledge cooperation with one another in the November 2 election."¹ This kind of support helped offset the attacks of the Wallace Progressive party exemplified by the following indictment of the executive secretary: "We believe that he [Douglas] is a man who parades as a liberal but is in point of fact one of the most open Red-Baiters and warmongers in the nation."²

Besides winning labor support, Douglas was also endorsed by The Chicago Sun, Chicago Times, and Daily News.³ The Chicago Tribune opposed him then and has been consistent in its opposition since that time.

U. S. Senator Douglas--
Some Reasons for Victory

The Illinois voters elected 56 year old Paul Howard Douglas to the United States Senate by a plurality of 408,000 votes on November 2, whereas Truman carried the state by only 33,000 votes.⁴ A total of 525,000 citizens

¹"The Douglas Courier," published by the office of U.S. Senator Paul H. Douglas, newsletter to constituents, Vol. 1, No. 2, Election Edition.

²Phillips, op. cit., p. 11.

³Steen, op. cit. p. 25.

⁴Facts on File: 1948 Index, op. cit., p. 357.

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voted a straight Democratic ballot, or a 51% higher straight Democratic vote than in the 1944 Roosevelt landslide, as compared to only 275,000 straight Republican ballot votes in Illinois. The Congressional delegation from Illinois in the U.S. House of Representatives changed from 6 Democrats and 20 Republicans to 14 Democrats and 12 Republicans.¹ Totally, the Democrats in Illinois held both Senate seats with Douglas' victory, picked up eight seats in the house to hold a 14-12 majority, and elected Adlai Stevenson governor.

An analysis of the reasons for this sweeping victory discloses several factors:

(1) The Illinois Democratic victory in 1948 was helped by Republican complacency or anti-Dewey sentiment as 67% of the registered Republicans in Illinois stayed away from the polls in a year when Dewey was certain to win and carry with him other Republicans.² (2) The farmers were irritated with the 80th Republican Congress for the cutback in steel bin corn storage from 380 million to 50 million bushels, which dropped corn prices,³ and (3) Harry Truman unexpectedly played a role in helping the Democratic cause with the strength of his direct oral

¹"Corn for the Colonel," New Republic, November 15, 1948, p. 7.

²Hugh Cordier, "Paul Douglas' 1954 Senatorial Campaign with Special Reference to Television" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Speech, University of Illinois, 1955), p. 53.

³"Corn for the Colonel," op. cit.

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appeal to the voter; his campaign resulted in a significant gain the opinion polls failed to measure. While Paul Douglas was helped by all these causes in his victory, his demonstration of energy and oral persuasive skills in an extensive campaign without a doubt was the major force in carrying him to victory.

Teacher and Scholar in a Larger Classroom

With his election victory, Douglas received an extension to his leave from the University of Chicago. If his election pleased his students, it must have also been a disappointment to them to see Douglas leave the faculty with which he had been associated off and on for twenty-seven years.¹ The past-President of the American Economic Association, a member of the American Statistical Association and American Philosophical Association, Fellow of the Econometric Society and American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and member of the Royal Economic Association was to leave the professorial ranks, but he was to be no less a scholar in the forthcoming years. As a U.S. Senator, his scholarship took on new dimensions for the welfare of the common man in his role as representative and spokesman

¹One of his students, Mrs. Henrietta Miller, featured as a great teacher in a national magazine in 1964, notes that one of the reasons she never finished her Ph.D. dissertation is because she lost her major advisor, Paul H. Douglas, to the U.S. Senate.--Richard Meryman, "The Rewards of a Great Teacher," Life, March 13, 1964, pp. 70-79.

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Phase Three Concluded

The third and final phase in the preparation of Paul H. Douglas of Illinois for the U. S. Senate was concluded--a preparation broad and profound. Having built up an extraordinary repertoire of experiences in his fifty-six years, Douglas not unexpectedly prescribes in retrospect for a young man entering politics a type of preparation modelled largely after his own.

A young man should study history, political science and economics, and also good literature, and today television. And let me also say that I recommend milking cows to get a strong hand clasp--and that is most important, one of the most important practical applications of political science. Then, I would urge activities on two levels. First, as a citizen in local politics, the disposal of garbage, the library, recreation, juvenile delinquency, facilities for the aged, social welfare. Take hold of some problem locally, locally, locally, and grapple with it so that you become expert as a citizen, and work with all kinds of different people. And secondly, if you can choose a political party, be active in it, distribute literature, address envelopes, canvass voters. Or if you cannot conscientiously affiliate with a political party, try to join some independent group and be an active rather than a passive independent. And by the very nature of it, it should include many speaking experiences.¹

On to Capitol Hill

In a body composed traditionally of lawyers and conservative businessmen, Douglas' background was an unusual

¹Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

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Paul Douglas
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one. There was little question that Douglas had the maturity to qualify for an effective role in the Senate. But could the free-wheeling liberal freshman senator with the distaste for compromise make his mark in an establishment where compromise is the game played by the rules of seniority?

Paul Douglas entered Washington with a burst of enthusiasm. He was eager to carry his life-long liberal crusade to this higher national station in an attempt to remove the barriers which prevented his fellow man from achieving his highest potential.

PART TWO

THE SENATOR'S WORLD

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CHAPTER IV

THE SENATE ENVIRONMENT

On January 3rd every year, the members of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives¹ meet in the House chamber in the south wing of the Capitol in Washington, D.C., to inaugurate a new session of Congress. These men and women are members of one of the oldest parliaments in the world and are the symbols of representative government in twentieth century America. They debate and enact laws in the tradition of a legislature that has met every year for over 170 years despite significant changes in American economic life, despite depressions, and despite wars at home and abroad.

Senator Paul H. Douglas has attended sixteen consecutive opening sessions of Congress, beginning in 1949 with the first session of the Eighty-first Congress to 1964 and the current second session of the Eighty-eighth Congress. The men and women he has joined each January 3rd, like himself, were successful in winning office. They live amid the pulls and pressures of their constituents, powerful

¹There are 435 Representatives and 100 Senators after admitting Alaska, July 1958, and Hawaii, March 1959, to the Union. We, the People: The Story of the United States Capitol (United States Capitol Historical Society, 1964), p. 126.

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The world which Douglas entered as a U. S. Senator differed considerably from any he had previously known. The circumstances of that world are conditioning factors which have affected his public address in the Senate; and because of this importance, this chapter will attempt to re-create briefly those circumstances. Consideration will be given first to an overview of the role of Congress and the misunderstandings, misconceptions, and criticisms of Congress which a Member must be aware of and seek to cope. Next, attention will be devoted to an analysis and some evaluation of the operation of the Senate with which a Senator must also be familiar and to which he must make satisfactory adjustments in order to carry out the responsibilities of his office. Finally, to visualize more distinctly the environment for his Senate speaking, as he perceived it early in his career, the impressions of the subject of this study, Paul H. Douglas, will be reported.

Congress--A Model of Democracy?

Because the national legislature does its work directly under the public eye and its activities are thus mirrored to the nation, it is subject to constant criticism--and at times becomes the nation's whipping boy. Newspaper, radio, and television reporters and commentators, politicians,

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and other citizens consistently berate individual legislators, blocs, or Congress as a whole. Cartoonists portray Congressmen in various derogatory ways.¹ Much of that criticism is, of course, justified; much is not.

Most of the criticism is a natural result of the fact that the national legislature is a forum open to observation.² But in spite of the fact that a great part of the work of Congress is in the open, much of the abuse in reports and interpretations of its activities results from public misunderstandings, misconceptions, and disagreements as to the proper role of Congress, and sometimes from irresponsible reporting.³ It is often forgotten that Congress by its very nature is supposed to be a deliberative

¹Joseph S. Clark points out the criticism directed at Congress on page 238 of Congress: The Sapless Branch (New York: Harper & Row, 1964):

"Columns, editorials, cartoons, TV newscasts have been appearing all over the country demanding Congressional reform: Roscoe Drummond, Howard K. Smith, Edward P. Morgan, Marquis Childs, Doris Fleeson, and James Reston have spoken out. Even Walter Lippman, disinterested in the subject for years, pointed an accusing finger at the Congress and demanded it set its house in order. Herblock's devastating cartoons were to the same effect."

²"1,700 correspondents and photographers are now accredited--and provided with special galleries and offices--to cover events." We, the People: The Story of the U. S. Capitol, op. cit., p. 138.

³See Chapter V of this study on press releases and reporting and comments by Shuman.

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body, and controversial and argumentative. The issues with which it deals are now and are becoming increasingly complex, volatile, and many-sided.¹ Members are usually found on all sides of issues, and the citizen holding one opinion is likely to be intolerant of other views and the lawmakers holding them. Misconceptions over the reasons for the absence of members from the chambers of the Senate and House and their duties often result in abuse.

¹Hubert H. Humphrey gives a legislator's view of the problems in Congress in "To Move Congress Out of its Ruts," New York Times Magazine, April 7, 1963, p. 129:

"Congressmen do not complain about the demands on their time for service to constituents. They perform that service because it is their job, because it is vital for their political survival, and because they know that the individual citizen with a need, complaint or idea cannot even hope to dent the surface of big government unless he works through his elected representative.

But members of Congress do complain often that they have little time to perform their duties as legislators. This is perhaps the central, general problem and defect of Congress today: the inability of Congressmen to find the time to inform themselves of the issues they face, to give their best talents to committee assignments, and to legislate responsibly.

The day is long gone when a member of Congress could be satisfied with mastery over two or three limited, precise subjects and follow a policy of voting the party line on other issues. Today, the Senator or Congressman is expected to be thoroughly informed on hundreds of different subjects and issues--from agricultural economics in Minnesota to the administration of foreign aid in Bolivia, from federal housing needs in New York to Soviet strategy in the Middle East, from a flood control project in California to the merits of a 'man on the moon' spaceship project.

The complexities and variety of issues which members of Congress must master will continue to increase in an age of nuclear power, scientific advances, fast-changing social patterns and international involvement and leadership by the United States."

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Disagreement exists over whether Congress should concentrate on making policies, debating them, investigating problems, or curbing the President, influencing the judicial branch, or something else. The member of Congress must be aware of these attitudes and must decide what his role should be in attempting to cope with them.

Paul H. Douglas is a member of a body that collectively has great power. Yet, great as the powers of Congress are, the framers of the Constitution had no intent of making Congress all powerful. They reserved a great deal of authority to the states, and they gave certain expressed and implied powers to the executive and judicial branches of the national government; also, they assumed that each branch should serve as a check and balance of the others. As time has passed, Congress has gained power in some respects and lost it in others. As the authority of the national government has expanded,¹ the scope of the law-making powers of Congress has expanded with it. Conversely, in its actual exercise of power, Congress has lost much to the President, who in many respects holds today the commanding place in our national government which the

¹For a discussion of the expansion of the power of the Federal Government, see Chapter 5: "Dynamics of Federalism" in James M. Burns and Jack W. Peltason, Government by the People (2nd Ed.: Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1954), pp. 119-150.

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founding fathers intended Congress to have.¹

The Congressional delegate must also be aware that many people have expectations that the national legislative branch of a democratic-representative government such as that of the United States should be a model and epitomize the highest ideals and practice of the four fundamental principles of democracy: (1) popular sovereignty, (2) political equality, (3) popular consultation, and (4) majority rule.² Moreover, Congress is presumed to be a model for the practice of freedom of speech, a basic tenet of democracy, where one can observe the free exchange of ideas in the give-and-take of debate by informed and responsible advocates in carrying out the Constitution and other principles of a democracy through their legislative actions. In its practices, how well does Congress measure up as a model of democracy?

¹Sir Denis Brogan states in the Introduction of Senator Joseph S. Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), p. ix: "It can be said, I think with justice, that this is an age of legislative decline. Even the House of Commons, 'The Mother of Parliaments,' is now almost completely under the control of the executive branch. France, 'Mother of Revolutions,' has chosen to give herself a government very heavily weighted on the executive side. Germany is emerging, if she is emerging, from a long period of extremely forceful executive leadership."

²A more comprehensive discussion of the "Basic Principles for a Model Democracy" is contained in Chapter 2 of Austin Ranney and Willmore Kendall, Democracy and the American Party System (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1956), pp. 18-39.

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The principle of popular
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¹James Braxton
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The first principle of that model, that of popular sovereignty, briefly stated by James Bryce, is:

the ruling power of a state legally vested in the members of the community not in a particular class or classes, but in the members of the community as a whole.¹

The principle of popular sovereignty by definition does exist and is practiced in each house of the U. S. Congress. Power in the affairs of each body is "legally vested" in its members as a whole--"all members of the community".

In the application and practice of the second principle, political equality, Congress as a model of democracy bogs down. In theory, each member does have the same opportunity as his fellows to participate in the total decision-making process, the essence of political equality. However, in practice, a privileged class, or elite based upon seniority, partisanship, and other relationships, exists.

Popular consultation, the third principle, requires that on matters of public policy there must be a genuine popular will; officeholders and members rising to privileged positions of leadership in the House and Senate should be aware of that will, and having ascertained the nature of popular will, they must then faithfully and invariably translate it into action. Within the membership of the houses of Congress there does not usually exist any clear and genuine popular will. Popular consultation, more frequently viewed as congressional members translating the

¹James Bryce, Modern Democracies (New York: MacMillan Company, 1924), Vol. I, p. 20.

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¹ James Mac
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popular will of their constituencies, has also become increasingly difficult with the growing population and greater divergency of opinion resulting from less clear-cut, more, and complex issues.

The fourth principle for a model of democracy as applied to U. S. Congress, that of majority rule, exists and is fundamentally practiced. However, in fact, it frequently impedes the implementation of popular sovereignty, political equality, and popular consultation because its practice results in powerful control. Majority rule (or one-half of the enfranchised members plus at least one) determines party control of each house. Majority rule prevails in voting, except for votes on procedural matters, which often require more than a majority, and determines the passage of legislation and by partisanship the key leadership positions in the Senate and House. Partisanship, of course, is not always a clear measure of voting because "liberal" and "conservative" members of each party line up together, crossing partisan lines to form coalition majorities.¹ The houses of Congress demand that theoretically majorities have the final word on most matters, but Senate and House procedure allows for protection of the minority and individual.

¹James MacGregor Burns. "Goldwater Challenges the '4-Party System'." New York Times Magazine, June 28, 1964, pp. 7ff.

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In short, the national legislature in its individual houses is not in actual practice an ideal or model of democracy, but does give some application to the four basic principles of a democracy in carrying out the legislative processes. If Congress is not a model of democracy and a basic tenet of democracy is freedom of speech, what role, then, does the free exchange of ideas through oral discourse serve in Congress?

Tourist-constituents who go to Washington to watch Congress in session often come away disappointed. The visitor in the gallery, hoping to witness a great forensic battle between powerful and persuasive statesmen-debaters often hears a seemingly disconnected string of speeches and questions delivered by, and presented to, only a handful of inattentive Congressional colleagues. Congressmen¹ frequently rush in and out of the chamber, read newspapers, or talk in small groups. The speakers compete for attention with the buzz and shuffle on the floor and often seem to be addressing their remarks to a relatively empty chamber.² While the exchange of ideas by oral advocates

¹The terms "congressional" and "congressmen" are used to include both Senators and Representatives.

²An awareness and concern for the questions raised and disappointment experienced by visitors coming to the galleries of Congress have caused the respective Committee on Rules and Administration of both the House and Senate to include a statement and rationale for the absence of members in the pamphlet distributed with visitors' passes by the offices of Senators and Congressmen to the visitors. The pamphlet contains the roster, officers, and schematic

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is practiced, Congress is no more a model for the freedom of speech than it is for democracy.

The Congress is much like Democracy, to paraphrase Winston Churchill, the worst form of government--except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time. Yet, the Member of Congress must be aware of what it is, how it operates, and how he will defend that operation as a Member or attempt to improve it.

of the seating of members for each chamber. The statement on absent members contained on page 5 of the visitor's pamphlet for the U. S. Senate, First Session of the Eighty-eighth Congress, is as follows:

"At the time of your visit to the Senate Chamber there may be comparatively few Senators on the Floor--and your own Senator may not be present. Much of the Senate's time must be devoted to items of routine business which have been thoroughly studied and discussed in committee and therefore can be disposed of by a small number of Senators.

The Majority and Minority Leaders (or other Senators acting for them) are always present to guide legislation and to protect party interests. A bell system keeps Senators not on the floor advised of the legislative situation. Party Whips are ready at a moment's notice to call their Colleagues to the Chamber when vital issues are about to be decided.

Senators are among the busiest of individuals, having a multitude of responsibilities requiring their personal attention. If your Senator is not on the Floor, or in his office attending to the many problems and requests of his constituents, he is probably engaged in a committee hearing or investigation.

To insure the efficient accomplishment of its work, the Senate has created 16 permanent standing committees. Bills, resolutions, and other matters requiring action by the Senate normally are referred to the appropriate committee for initial examination and subsequent report. Each Senator is a member of at least two standing committees and also of several subcommittees. In addition, assignments to special, select, and joint committees (or commissions) are spread among its membership."

In general, general criticisms Senate and the House characterizes Congress with it are unique in their procedures, duties, address. Therefore the public address which warrants close

The Senate, respects, is a small state of one hundred for six-year terms. ways organized because faces re-election words, a continuous

The President of the United States than the Speaker of the Senate is only an

¹ See Chapter procedures affect

In general, the public view of Congress and the general criticisms make little distinction between the Senate and the House of Representatives. What generally characterizes Congress and what is considered right and wrong with it are usually associated equally to both its houses. Although similar, the legislative bodies meeting in the north and south wings of the U. S. Capitol Building are unique in their individual heritage, tradition, and procedures, duties, and other factors conditioning public address. Therefore it is the U. S. Senate, the arena for the public address of Douglas for over fifteen years, which warrants closer appraisal.

The Senate Operation¹

The Senate, although resembling the House in many respects, is a smaller body. Its membership presently consists of one hundred members, two from each state, elected for six-year terms. Unlike the House, the Senate is always organized because only one-third of its membership faces re-election each biennial election. It is, in other words, a continuous body.

The President of the Senate is the Vice-President of the United States, who has less control over the Senate than the Speaker has over the House. The President of the Senate is only an ex-officio member and can therefore vote

¹See Chapter V for a discussion of the rules and procedures affecting speech in the Senate.

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¹See Clark, pp. 10, 11, and pages
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only in case of a tie. On the infrequent occasions when he actually presides over the Senate, his chief task is to recognize members in the order in which they rise. Another officer is elected from the Senate membership, a President pro tempore who presides in the absence of the Vice-President, and as a member of the Senate, may vote on all issues.

The organization of both the majority and minority party is by party conferences (both parties have discarded the term "caucus"). The party conferences meet at the beginning of each session of Congress and at other times as needed (usually only when a majority of members request their floor leader to call a meeting of the party conference).¹ These conferences choose majority and minority floor leaders and party whips. In the Senate each party has a policy committee, composed of the leaders of the party, responsible for the party's over-all legislative program. The floor leaders, not through conference election as in the House, appoint the policy committeemen for two-year terms at the beginning of each Congress. Unlike the House Committee, the Senate's policy committees are formally provided for by law and each of them has a regular staff² and a budget.

¹See Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, op. cit., pp. 10, 11, and passim, for a discussion of the Democratic conferences in the Senate since 1956.

²The recent Bobby Baker incident in 1964 has called public attention to this staff. Robert G. Baker was Secretary to the Democratic majority.

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There are fifteen standing committees in the Senate composed of thirteen to twenty-one members, the chairmen of those committees being chosen on the basis of seniority.¹ (The member of the minority party with the longest continuous service is the ranking minority member.) The chairman (the majority party member with the longest continuous service) may be completely opposed to one or more of the key planks of his party's national legislative program (i.e. the Southern Senators on civil rights) or could be incompetent or senile, but he has the right to the chairmanship according to seniority.² The rule of seniority means that chairmen are in reality not chosen by their

¹ Senator Joseph S. Clark, The Senate Establishment (New York: Hill and Wang, American Century Series, 1963), pp. 42-43: "The prize committees in the Senate historically are Appropriations, Finance, Armed Services, and Foreign Relations."

Senator Douglas has been a member of the Senate Finance Committee since 1956.

² Raymond Moley, "Frosty Touch of Age," Newsweek, December 23, 1963, p. 80: "The chairmen of the seven committees of the Senate who will have most to do with the great issues before Congress in 1964 have reached an average age just short of 69. In the House the most important committee chairmen average 72."

Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, op. cit., pp. 183-184: "Five Democratic Senate committee chairmen are in opposition to the platform of their party in the area of the committee's jurisdiction. As a result the seniority system in the Senate was a factor in watering down or delaying action on important legislative recommendations of the Kennedy Administration in the field of civil rights, tax reduction and reform, and agriculture."

Also see page 183 of Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, for a roster of 88th Congress important Senate committee chairmen at the end of 1963, their tenure and age.

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colleagues or party conference but rather by voters of their states, who give them seniority by sending them back to the Senate in election after election.

Once elected, Senators need information and opinion in making laws, in publicizing governmental activities, in attacking the other party or political officials, and in overseeing administration agencies. Hearings by standing committees or by their subcommittees are probably the most important source of information and opinion. These inquiries provide a forum for expert witnesses, and some opportunity for interested citizens to submit views and evidence on controversial bills.¹

In addition to the day-to-day inquiries of the Senate and House, or by joint, regular and standing committees or their subcommittees, special investigations to probe particular problems are frequently set up. One example of the investigatory power of the Senate on special problems was the Senate committee headed by then Senator Harry S. Truman which investigated waste and inefficiency in World War II and presented several constructive suggestions. Another was the committee on un-American activities of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Congress is given special investigatory powers under the Constitution. Private witnesses may be legally subpoenaed and required to testify. The failure of witnesses to testify can result in punishment for contempt

¹See chapter V on speech in committees.

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of Congress if the investigation is concerned with matters over which Congress has power and the questions are relevant to the purposes of the investigation.¹ Procedures for congressional investigations are more flexible than in a court of law because their purpose is to gain information, not prosecute. Nevertheless, some of the members of committees have been so eager for results of a sensational nature that their methods have brought the investigation into disrepute, and the severest criticisms frequently have come from Senate members.² Hearings also provide one source of power to the Senate, but individual members are often singularly powerful.

The Senator as an individual is frequently a very important and powerful person. For example, the constitutional and political powers he often wields in a state political organization or in powerful chairmanships of important committees have caused Presidents to defer to the wishes of certain veteran Senators. His speeches often receive national attention, and his name comes to be associated with a particular stand on public issues. In recent years the Senate has also proved to be the most fertile breeding ground for Presidents and Presidential

¹Witnesses have frequently refused to testify on particular matters, citing as grounds the self incrimination clause of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

²See Irving M. Ives, "In Place of Congressional 'Circuses,'" New York Times Magazine, August 27, 1950; and Scott W. Lucas, "Congressional Hearing: A Plea for Reform," New York Times Magazine, March 19, 1950.

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nominees.¹ Moreover, the power of individual Senators is bolstered by arrangements in the upper chamber.

In a sense the Senate is a mutual protection society. Each member tends to guard the rights and perquisites of his fellow Senator--so that his own rights and perquisites will be protected in turn.... Senatorial solidarity often cuts across lines of party and issue.... Such a sense of solidarity means that the Senate may show a united face against some outside force, such as the President, that seems to be challenging its privileges and powers.²

The sense of solidarity propagated by compromise and a motto of live-and-let-live within the Senate add to its power. What has resulted in practice from the interpersonal associations of members differs from the function which the framers of the Constitution conceived for the Senate.

The framers of the Constitution, viewing the Senate as a small deliberative body of wise men removed from ordinary politics, gave the upper chamber special functions in accordance with that presumed capacity of its members. Senators were given the special power over making treaties, the trying of impeached officials, consent as a body for major federal appointments, and a resultant power of advise and consent by individual Senators on federal appointments within their states.

History has witnessed an overlapping of the spheres of power of the two houses of Congress, and the Senate seems to have increased relatively its power.

¹Harry S. Truman, Richard Nixon, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Barry Goldwater.

²Burns and Peltason, op. cit., p. 424.

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While the House was to originate bills for raising revenue, the Senate's fiscal role now rivals that of the House. Although the House still has important powers over foreign relations through control of appropriations, it has not unseated the Senate from a privileged position in foreign policy making. The Senate, reinforced by the fact that all treaties must be ratified by two-thirds of the Senators present, has become the senior partner as a Congressional spokesman on foreign policy. The Senate's power to veto Presidential appointment of ambassadors, ministers, and other foreign officials inherently gives it power in the increasingly important area of foreign affairs along with its treaty-ratifying authority. The one other potential and threatening strength of the Senate lies in its power to sit as a court of judgment upon officials in impeachment proceedings.

The potential power and practices of the U. S. upper house have brought it considerable criticism from within. Senator Paul Douglas as one of the critics from within the Senate exposed existent problems in a speech delivered in the Senate February 21, 1963:

There are the liberal and progressive Democrats, the conservative Democrats, the conservative Republicans, and the liberal Republicans--a small but gallant band. The two center groups, conservative Democrats and conservative Republicans, work in very close alliance with each other, dominate the major committees, control the procedures of the Senate, and in the main stymie the legislation for which the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party has gone to the country.

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There is no use, to my mind, in denying these facts, but apparently it is regarded as bad form to call attention to them. I am reminded of the story in Hans Christian Andersen's "Fairy Tales," about the emperor who had a suit of clothes supposedly woven for him which was in reality nonexistent. He paraded in this suit of clothes. Finally, a very naive boy said, "The emperor has no clothes." Then the illusion was punctured and the people saw the king in his full nakedness. The reluctance of some to discuss the facts of the organization of the Senate is similar to the reluctance to admit that the emperor had no clothes.

Consider the committee chairmanships. Of 14 chairmen, 10 come from the Southern States, 2 from the Southwestern States, and 2 from States in other parts of the country.

I refer to the bipartisan coalition--I suppose the Senator from Pennsylvania [Clark] would call it the senatorial establishment--and its followers. I suppose the author of The Citadel [William S. White] would call it the club. They mean the same thing and largely refer to the same persons. They control the Senate.

I personally believe the result of permitting the coalition's dominance to continue has been that we have not moved forward in the field of legislation as rapidly as we should have done. I also feel, as a Democrat, that it is of increasing disadvantage to the party in making an appeal to the country, because people are properly saying, "You campaign on these platforms, but you do not or cannot put them into effect when we elect you."

Therefore, the bipartisan alliance, which really carries out the Republican platform, operates against Democratic senatorial and congressional candidates from the North and the West, operates against our presidential candidate, and is indeed an albatross around the neck of the Democratic Party.

Yet we are not supposed to talk about it because we might offend someone or might indicate that matters are decided in a different way from the way they are discussed in public. In short, we should not call attention to the nakedness of the emperor.

However, I happen to be one who believes that the truth in these matters is extremely important and that to recognize the facts is the first step toward cure. We all know it is

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so in the field of medicine. Diagnosis comes first; cure comes second. As long as one denies he is ill, as long as he believes everything is fine, he will not take steps to cure the situation. Not until evidence piles up, crippling symptoms appear, and real sickness develops are corrective measures adopted.¹

Douglas and fellow critics contend that the Senate practices make the words inscribed above the door of the New Senate Office Building, "The Senate is the Living Symbol of the Union of the States," an untruth. They contend that the actual operation of the Senate gives authoritative priority to Senators who are consistently re-elected, and therefore members give priority to individual state interests, which will win them votes and return them to office, at the expense of the national interest--the union of the states. Consequently, the whole is frequently not the sum of its parts in efforts to enact legislation in the best interest of the nation. Moreover, critics note further that the disruptive procedural methods legally at the disposal of Senators add to this

¹Clark, The Senate Establishment, op. cit., pp. 123-124. On April 27, 1963, Senators Clark and Douglas released the following joint statement on the publication of their speeches in the Senate Establishment concerning the Senate:

"We regret that the Citadel Press is reprinting the speeches which we delivered in the Senate on February 19 and 21, 1963 concerning the Senate Establishment.

While we stand by what we said, we do not want to have it go before the country under the auspices of this press. We are not able to prevent this, however, because speeches in the Congressional Record are not copyrighted and anyone may reprint without restriction any material originating therein.

The record of the Citadel Press does not command confidence, and we wish it to be understood that we have not authorized any publication of our statements under its auspices."

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irresponsibility, raising havoc with majority rule, allowing minorities to negate and structure proceedings. Douglas and his colleagues wish the Senate to be a microcosm of popular will, but are distraught because a strong party system that could galvanize a majority of members in the face of minorities cannot gain control and discipline members, once they are in office, to enact the legislation of the majority party's national platform upon which they ran and which a majority of the national populous participating in the election gave a stamp of approval. Instead, the motivation to fall in line with individual wishes of state, regional, or special interest groups gains precedence over national legislation and results in divisions irresponsible to the nation as a whole.

Each member of Congress is an independent baron, scarcely hindered by party discipline, responsible only to his constituents from whom he asks votes and campaign contributions and who in turn ask for intercession with Government on their behalf.¹

In an attempt to answer the critics, Congress took steps in 1946 to set its house in order under the leadership of Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., and Congressman A. S. Mike Monroney, who headed a joint committee on the re-organization of Congress to make recommendations for improvements in its procedures. Amended and diluted, its recommendations were enacted into law as the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946² and went into effect with the

¹Ben H. Bajdikian, "Safari into Washington's Netherworld," New York Times Magazine, January 19, 1964, p. 71.

²See Burns and Peltason, op. cit., pp. 445-448.

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¹ Paul H. Douglas,
December 14, 1953, p.
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² Paul H. Douglas,
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Eightieth Congress. The Act made inroads in streamlining the number of committees, but also seemed to spawn more subcommittees. Its lobbying control provisions have resulted in constitutional questions and do not cover all lobbyist groups. Provisions for additional staff in legislative assistance to Congressmen helped some in freeing their time for work on legislation, but the vital problems of seniority and the filibuster remained unanswered. Attempts at other reforms in the Senate, since 1946, have met with little success. Both the critics and many of the defenders of the Senate and Congress agree that further steps toward increased efficiency and responsibility are needed.

These inadequacies restrict Senators from carrying out what Paul Douglas once said was the proper role of a politician: "...to practice the art of the possible...and make satisfactory adjustments within the existing balance of forces, ...and with the human material available...be a useful social carpenter...."¹

Impressions of a Freshman Senator

What are the feelings and expectations of a Senator?

"Only the toad beneath the harrow can feel the sharpness of its prongs,"² to use an analogy of Douglas; thus, a member

¹Paul H. Douglas, "Hero as Politician," New Republic, December 14, 1953, p. 16, in reviewing the Biography of Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., written by Belle (Mrs. Robert) LaFollette.

²Paul H. Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator," New York Times Magazine, March 20, 1949, p. 10.

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of the Senate, and perhaps a new Senator fresh on the scene who has not yet built up an immunity to the Senate's peculiarities, is in the best position to answer that question. Senator Paul Douglas reports his reactions when he was first elected:

There is a moment on election night when a new Senator feels himself to be a new Adam, the first of his breed. But on that score, as on a number of others he begins to change his mind when he comes to the Senate. For one thing, he senses that giants like Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, Davis, Sumner, John Sharp Williams, "Fighting Bob" LaFollette and George Norris have been there before him.¹

For example, I am now filling the identical Illinois seat occupied a century ago by the "Little Giant" who bore the name of our clan, Stephen A. Douglas. The realization of that tradition humbles a freshman at first. In time it should prove a source of strength and reassurance.²

If a zealous new Senator is moved in awe to a sense of humility, that humility is tempered with determination to follow in the footsteps of one or more of those great men from the past. In the case of Paul Douglas, a life-long student of great Senators, the choice of footsteps he wished to follow was an easy one. Shortly after arriving in Washington, the Senator-elect turned to his assistant, Frank McCulloch, in Suite 109 assigned to him

¹A custom has developed whereby Senators have written their names in the bottom of the lower drawer of their desks.

²Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator," p. 10.

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in the Old Senate Office Building,¹ and said: "All I want is to be half as good a Senator as old George Norris."²

¹Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, op. cit., pp. 52-53:

The Congressman gets an office in Washington in one of the three House or two Senate office buildings-- expensive, overadorned, inefficient buildings all of them. The two newest are, inexcusably, the most tasteless, poorly designed and expensive of them all. A Representative will get a suite of at least three rooms now that the Sam Rayburn House Office Building is completed (he used to get two). A Senator will get five or six rooms (he used to get three before the New S.O.B.--as it is known--was built several years ago). Committee chairmen and senior members of both houses get additional rooms, committee suites and hideaways in the Capitol itself.

The suites appear to be designed to impress the constituents or perhaps the member's ego; it is impossible to believe they were designed for genuine office use. The ceilings are high, the rooms deep, the woodwork massive and the furnishings Congressional (there is no other way to describe them). The member's personal office is usually lavishly enhanced by a marble fireplace in which you can't light a fire, a hidden wall safe that is rarely used, a refrigerator that is very useful indeed and private toilet facilities.

In the newer office buildings some thought has been given to built-in shelves and space for filing cabinets, but not much. And it is common to see the rather Edwardian elegance of the huge rooms in the Old Senate Office Building cut up and crisscrossed with ugly, homemade (in the carpentry shop in the basement) room dividers so that place can be found for the equipment, material and tools of work, and so that those on the staff who require it can have some semblance of privacy. It is typical that in my office the stationery must be stored in large, handsome, old-fashioned walnut bookcases with glass doors and curtains. In addition, the Congressman may have an office or several offices right in his own district or state, usually in some federal building--a courthouse or post office, for example. These are rent-free and he gets an allowance to cover the housekeeping cost to the government of servicing them with heat, electricity, cleaning and so on. Because they are in ordinary federal buildings under the jurisdiction of the General Services Administration, these offices are a far cry from the Washington headquarters and are more likely to be shabby and underequipped."

²Strout, op. cit., p. 14.

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According to Douglas, the neophyte Senator soon senses a living tradition--the courteous decorum in the interpersonal relations between colleagues.

For another thing, a freshman Senator learns that the sense of a living tradition is perhaps one of the reasons for the almost exquisite courtesy which prevails in the dealing of Senators with each other. Our political campaigns are indeed rough and a candidate has to develop a tough hide to withstand the poisoned spears which are driven into him. But on the floor of the Senate, however much Senators may differ, they behave like gentlemen [with rare exception]. In a world of sharply differing interests and ideas, this is no mean achievement. This, also, makes the freshman anxious to be worthy of his fellows, the many able men of both parties in the U. S. Senate.¹

What assistance does the new member receive in preparing himself to assume his new position? The first learning resource is provided immediately after election day, when a new member is forwarded a pamphlet, "Information for Senators Elect." That document tells him procedure to be followed in the allocation of office suites, information on his salary, and the Congressional retirement system, as well as the clerk hire allotment at his disposal and how it may be distributed. The pamphlet also sets forth the allowances available to him for travel, stationery, telephone and telegrams, stamps, and his state office.² However, this tells the new member nothing about

¹Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator," p. 10.

²Senator Douglas maintains his state office at 337 U.S. Court House, Chicago, with Douglas Anderson presently heading the staff of five people.

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how to adjust to the customs, manners, and mores of his new environment.¹

Educational opportunities are also provided during the first few weeks of a new Congress; orientation classes are held for new Senators to familiarize them with special facilities such as the use at cost of the radio and television facilities located in the Senate wing of the Capitol Building for taped programs, other special services, and Senate rules. Unless a new Senator has served in the House of Representatives or been on the staff of a Senator prior to election, he faces a considerable learning experience. While Paul Douglas was no stranger to Washington, he found much to be learned upon going there as a Senator.

Before I came to Washington I thought I knew what I would be up against because my wife had previously served a term in Congress and because, in addition to my experience in local government, I had frequently testified before Congressional committees.... One must live the life of a Senator to know its pains. It is relatively easy to offer advice. But it is a soul-trying experience after weighing evidence and conflicting claims and interests to be compelled to decide what is the best for the people of the U.S. and then, as one must, to assume full responsibility for that position.²

The image of a member of Congress engaged in debate of issues or in study and reflection on the problems of the nation and

¹Paul Douglas received considerable counsel from his Illinois Democratic colleague and majority leader in the Senate, Scott Lucas (the only Democratic Senator from a Midwestern state in the 80th Congress), and others, such as Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming, (see Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator," op. cit.).

²Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator," op. cit., p. 10.

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freedom is accurate for only a fraction of his time. At any point in his workday, the Congressman is more likely to be talking about a housing development with municipal officials, or phoning an executive agency for an answer to a constituent complaint, or dictating a letter to a citizen who wants some information for his son's term paper for a school civics class.

Speedy air travel, the low cost of telegrams or long-distance telephone calls and campaigns to encourage citizens to "write your Congressman" have turned most Congressional offices into operations resembling a complex train station, post office, airlines terminal and communications center.... Any citizen who doubts that he is getting an honest day of work for the salary he pays his Congressman need only walk by the Senate or House office buildings late at night or on weekends. Most of the lights are burning....

Since 1946 the nation's population has increased 33 percent, its government has grown to include many more services and duties, its problems are infinitely more complex.... The essential problem of Congress today is simply that there is more to do but only the same number of men to do it. The members of Congress have to find time enough to fulfill their thousands of obligations and to develop a Congressional system in which they can use their time most efficiently.¹

The most pressing day-to-day demands for the time of Senators and Congressmen are not directly linked to legislative tasks. They come from constituents. And the constituency of a member of Congress is not limited to his home state or district. He gives primary attention to the people "back home," but as a U.S. Senator or Representative, his constituency is the whole nation.²

¹ Representative Henry S. Reuss (D. Wis.) has suggested that Congress institute a new type of administrative counsel who would handle many of the service functions of Senators and Representatives. The ombudsman, as he is called in the Scandanavian countries, deals primarily with constituent problems, thus allowing members to spend more time on the study of legislation. See Congressional Record, July 16, 1963 (daily ed.), p. 12067.

² Humphrey, op. cit., p. 39.

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⁴Ibid.

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The fact that each Congress assumes a larger legislative work load is also borne out in part by some comparative evidence. An accounting by the White House concluded that the 83rd Congress of 1953 and 1954 approved 29 major legislative proposals.¹ The 87th Congress of 1961 and 1962 approved a total of more than 1,000 public bills, and the President signed into law 73 major legislative proposals.² These statistics do not analyze the total amount of time spent on particular legislative matters, but do indicate quantitative increases in the volume of legislative proposals considered. In terms of actual hours, a survey of the 84th Congress, "a typical Congress,"³ meeting in 1955 and 1956, indicated that the Senate had held 3,951 committee hearings and executive sessions (11,677 hours) as contrasted with 224 sessions of the Senate (1,361 hours).⁴ In 1962, an election year, Congress met in one of the longest peacetime sessions in history.⁵ Congress met continually from

¹ Ibid., p. 129.

² Ibid., p. 129.

³ Contained in the pamphlet for visitors to the U.S. Senate prepared by Senate Committee on Rules and Administration and entitled, U.S. Senate: Eighty-eighth Congress, First Session, op. cit., p. 5.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, op. cit., p. 164: "The Reorganization Act of 1946 requires that Congress shall go home on July 31 each year, having passed all appropriation bills and other necessary legislation. That law of discipline has not as yet been obeyed and it is not possible to mandamus a legislature."

Ibid., p. 235: "Recent dates of adjournment are

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In the final months, a few old-timers on Capitol Hill grew frustrated enough to look back fondly on the year 1923, when Warren Harding was President and the Congress convened in March just long enough to recess until December.²

Even considering that the Congressional session of 1923 was atypical in brevity, the duties of Senators in routine and legislative work have become increasingly demanding.

On the matter of work load, Paul Douglas, as a freshman Senator, expressed concern over the conflict between time needed for research and critical analysis of legislative matters in responsible decision-making and time demanded by routine work.

And that strain is intensified too by the fact that one is forced to make many such fundamental decisions in the midst of a crushing burden of routine work.

The Labor Committee, for example, [of which Douglas was a member] has been holding two and three hearings a day on the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law and this in itself has taken from five to eight hours of my time each day. Then there are the meetings of the Banking and Currency Committee and Joint Committee on the Economic Report on which I am also serving, and where I am trying to pull a laboring oar. But in addition to all this, I must also help to answer the mail

significant: August 30, 1957; August 24, 1958; September 11, 1959; September 1, 1960; September 27, 1961; October 13, 1962; and December 29, 1963."

Ibid., p. 144; "Throughout recent history no important legislation has been enacted in a Presidential year after the first national convention meets in July." [However, in 1964 the Anti-Poverty Bill was passed on August 10, after the Republican National Convention].

¹Humphrey, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

²*Ibid.*

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¹ In 1963,
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which now averages over 700 communications a day,¹ and which one morning reached 1,700, and meet callers and delegations. Let me chronicle a fairly representative day when the Senate was not in session:

- 7-8:30 A.M. Rise, breakfast, read two morning papers and study memoranda for hearings.
- 8:30-9:30 A.M. Look over mail, answer some of the most important letters and block out today's policy with the staff.
- 9:30-11 A.M. Hearings on the Taft-Hartley repeal.
- 11-12. Hearings on the housing bill.
- 12-1 P.M. Work on correspondence and see visitors.
- 1-2 P.M. Lunch with constituents.
- 2-2:30 P.M. See delegations and telephone Government departments.
- 2:30-5 P.M. Hearings on the Taft-Hartley repeal.
- 5-6:30 P.M. Sign 250 pieces of mail, send telegrams on pressing matters of business.
- 6:30-7:30 P.M. Dinner with group which wants to consult on legislation.
- 7:30-10 P.M. Hearings on the Taft-Hartley repeal.
- 10-12. Read two evening papers and several weekly journals. Clean up correspondence and study more material on Taft-Hartley law and housing

¹In 1963, the number of communications had increased to nearly 1500 average a day and letters to be answered to an average of 900 a day, as observed by the writer while in the Senator's Washington office from May 20-24, 1963, and reported to him by members of Senator Douglas' staff. Douglas' regular Washington office staff in 1963 consisted of 18 people, and 4 additional "patronage" members. No less than 8 of these people work full-time in composing letters to answer correspondence. The Chicago office includes 5 staff members.

Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, op. cit., p. 54: "On the Senate side of the Hill the allowance for staff and equipment is much larger, and the Senatorial staff is therefore not only more numerous but more specialized. As a Senator from a large state I receive approximately \$170,000 each year from the government for these purposes. Under a system so complicated as to be unintelligible, the larger states get more money, but not proportionately more, than the states with smaller populations."

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The schedule

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pp. 10-11.

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problems, block out radio speech for next day.

12:30 A.M. Go to bed.¹

The schedule was seemingly more strenuous than Dr.

Douglas had anticipated, for he went on to say:

¹Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator," op. cit., pp. 10-11.

In 1963, with Congress in session, Chicago's American carried an article entitled "An Illinois Senator on the Go Go," Sunday, April 28, 1963, p. 42, by Robert Gruenberg, Washington correspondent. The article discussed and outlined the schedule of a typical day in the life of Senator Douglas. That article plus observations of Douglas and interviews with his staff by the writer the week of May 20th, 1963, would indicate that a typical workday for Douglas in 1963 was as follows:

- 5:30-8:00 A.M. Rise, dress, read thoroughly and clip relevant materials from the New York Times and a Washington paper (Washington Post)-an hour on each.
- 8:00-8:30 A.M. Breakfast with his wife, Emily, while glancing through the home-delivered copy of the Congressional Record, noting what both houses did the previous day.
- 8:30 A.M. Leave with his wife for his office in the Old Senate Office Building. (The Senator does not drive and his wife ordinarily takes him to work and picks him up.)
- 9:00-9:50 A.M. Arrive at the office, greet main staff members and pass out clippings from newspapers from his pockets to his staff, check morning's mail. Reflect on personal actions of past day and formulate conclusions as to what might be done in light of that experience to improve future actions, and "mend any fences." Browse through several Illinois newspapers: Chicago, Springfield, Carbondale, Peoria, Decatur, St. Louis, and several others. Dictate a hasty half dozen replies to letters that require immediate answering--sometimes disposing of them with a single word or reference to a form letter or release of a statement from files that can be adapted for reply. Go back to reading Congressional Record from previous day as time permits. Confer briefly with administrative assistant and/or legislative assistant or other staff. Assemble materials for meeting of Joint Economic Committee. Leave for committee meeting (or to attend one of the other committees on which he serves, or testify before another committee or subcommittee).
- 10:00-12:50 P.M. As chairman, convene the meeting of the Joint Economic Committee and hear testimony and interrogate

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witnesses (this meeting was on steel prices), adjourn meeting and return to office.

1:00-1:30 P.M. Arrive back at office and greet eight to ten constituents in anteroom. Leave for a luncheon date with constituents or Congressional or other government colleagues.

1:35-2:15 P.M. - Lunch.

2:25-2:40 P.M. - Return to office and greet visitors in anteroom and meet with people in inner office who have brief appointments. Leave for Senate chamber to vote, remark or deliver an address, accompanied by his administrative assistant and/or legislative assistant or another key staff member. (The time he spends on the Senate Floor, of course, varies from day to day depending upon the calendar of bills and has priority over other activities.)

2:40-3:10 P.M. Confer with staff members going to and returning from Senate chamber while walking and riding on special subway train, vote on bill [in this case], return to office.

3:10-3:20 P.M. Hold conference with administrative assistant. Leave for meeting to sit with Senate colleague, William Proxmire (D. Wis.) on subcommittee meeting in virtually hidden meeting room--the new "east front" of the Capitol. [Most committee and subcommittee meetings are held in conference rooms in the Senate and House office buildings.]

3:35 P.M. Single ring of summoning bell interrupts meeting and both Douglas and Proxmire rush to the Senate floor for the second vote of the day. Return with Proxmire to subcommittee hearings and finish discussion-debate with Yale economic professors on economic innovations in government.

4:00-4:15 P.M. 10-minute conference in office with expert on defense procurement summoned by Douglas on subcommittee matter. Leave for Capitol basement studio for tape recording.

4:20 P.M. Make radio tape--without script--on credit unions and their usefulness to be played over Illinois stations, at request of Credit Union National Association. While leaving studio, he learns that the Senate has adjourned and two amendments he had planned to introduce right after tape recording session will have to be postponed until the next day.

4:30 P.M. Nap on couch of his office (or in the "den-hide-away" provided for him as a Senator with seniority in the basement of the Capitol under the Senate chamber) just after adjournment of the Senate and before checking the corrections in the Record made by his Legislative Assistant, or assisting in making corrections in the Record. While he rests, representatives from area redevelopment administration are conferring with Administrative Assistant and he will brief the Senator on the matter later in the evening. (The Administrative Assistant, personal secretary,

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¹Douglas,
OE. cit., p. 11 .

I am frank to say that I do not know for how long a man can keep up such a pace. Thus far [three months after arriving in Washington], it has not seemed to slacken. I thought I had reached the ultimate in work when I ran for election.... But the job of serving as a Senator is no less strenuous than running for the office.¹

Hard work alone is not all that places a strain on a member of the U. S. Senate. If he is conscientious in the desire to meet his responsibilities, deliberation in reaching decisions proves wearying, according to Douglas:

It is not merely work, however, but also worry which characterizes a Senator's life. One feels the tug not merely of conflicting forces but also of sharply opposing ideas, in each of which one recognizes some element of truth. On which side does the greater merit lie? Is there a way of resolving the sharp and bitter conflicts in some higher synthesis

and other key staff act on behalf of Douglas on most matters in the office during the day.)

- 5:30 P.M. 10-minute conference in office with Chicago representatives of National Labor Relations Board and a woman active in fight for U.S. approval of krebiozen as a cancer-fighting drug.
- 6:00 P.M. Greet some 35 tourist voters in anteroom.
- 6:40 P.M. Glance through, sign, and note criticisms on large pile of most important mail brought to him by aides.
- 7:10 P.M. Confer with Administrative Assistant, after most of staff have left, while both prepare to attend a dinner honoring an old friend.
- 10:15 P.M. Return home. Read evening papers, weekly journals, clean up correspondence and miscellaneous work.
- 12:30 A.M. Go to bed.

¹Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator,"
op. cit., p. 11.

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¹ Douglas,
cit., p. 112.

² Ross, *OP*,
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³ Douglas,
cit., p. 112.

which will enable the national life to proceed upon a higher level and if so, how can it be found and put into effect?¹

The new Senator has to be prepared for criticism and have conviction for his decisions and acts. He needs the qualities of self-reliance to stand alone with his conscience. No Senator can hope to please all elements of his constituency and satisfy all divergent interests.

Interspersed with these worries there come the reproaches of old friends who feel neglected by decisions which I have had to make concerning appointments and patronage; the criticism of home newspapers who do not like my votes, and the irate letters of citizens who disagree with my real or fancied opinions and acts. Is it small wonder, beneath the surface of a Senator's life there is deep loneliness and also many inquietudes which at night interfere with sleep² and which, were it not for the reassurance of my wife and friends [and staff] , would seem overpowering? Never does a man realize the need for fellowship, for religious faith, and for a sense of humor more than when these worries and decisions pour in upon him as a Senator.

A Senator is not suffering from a persecution complex when he recognizes the sober fact that he has a multitude of enemies who are not only ready to shout to the world when he slips on a banana peel, but who are quite capable of strewing them in his path. And there is also a certain number of correspondents who, with the best will in the world, nevertheless regard a freshman Senator as fair game to fill their columns.³

¹ Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator," op. cit., p. 112.

² Ross, op. cit., p. 134.

"He [Douglas] is indefatigable. A poor sleeper, he does much of reading in snatches during the night...."

³ Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator," op. cit., p. 112.

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²Douglas,
see cit., p. 72.

Douglas, soon after arriving in Washington, found out that the statements of a Senator are "fair game." When asked by a small group of reporters when he thought the Labor Committee would complete hearings on a new labor bill, he replied, they should finish within a set period of time "...if the Senators would only work late afternoons and evenings and forego the cocktail hour.... Cocktail parties are too time consuming."¹

These words were no sooner spoken than the air was filled with debris and the scent of cordite. From somewhere behind a pall of smoke I heard shrill voices tell me through the press that if I didn't like the Washington cocktail hour all I had to do was say, "no, thank you, I can't come today." And to this moment, I cannot understand why a few sentences about labor hearings should have set off such a hubbub in which everyone purged themselves of bile on a lot of irrelevant subjects. But that is what happened. It is why, when I am now asked what day of the week it is, my instinctive reply is "No comment." The whole of this summons to my memory Shakespeare's observation that "Honor alone doth not make a good surgeon." Neither, I add, doth it make a good Senator or keep him out of trouble.²

Honor may be an attribute, but the question of what makes a good Senator defies any simple answer. As the late

¹ Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator," op. cit., p. 72; A. J. Morris, op. cit., p. 110., reporting on this incident, noted that when the reporters began scribbling furious notes, Douglas gazed at them in dismay and turned appealingly to his veteran Congresswoman wife: "Emily, please come help me. I've put my foot in it again."

Mrs. Douglas is reported to have been tart but equal to the occasion. "Don't worry about the invitations dear," she said briskly. "People are curious because you're new, but your glamor will soon wear off."

² Douglas, Report from a Freshman Senator," op. cit., p. 72.

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² Douglas,
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John F. Kennedy, while still a U. S. Senator, stated in 1957:

There are no standard tests to apply to a Senator, no Dun and Bradstreet rating, no scouting reports. His talents may vary with his time, his contributions may be limited by his politics, to judge his true greatness...is nearly an impossible task. ¹

Paul Douglas, as a new Senator, felt that a combination of traits—more than honor—were needed to be a "good" Senator.

Something more--and a great deal of it is needed, something in the way of caution, physical endurance, a sense of selection, sense of maneuver, and the inner tinkle of a bright hell's-bells air. Some of these traits may be inherent in a person prior to his induction into the Senate. Some of them can be absorbed from the memories which hover in the place. And some of them may be acquired through the senior-junior tutorial system. ²

Although a critic of the entrenchment in power positions resulting from the seniority system, Douglas defends it as a source of information for new members. And it is with regard to the small group environment of committee work that he chooses to focus that analysis and defense.

Let me say here that I had arrived in Washington full of misgivings about the Senate's seniority system. Yet the operation of that system, as it has unfolded in the committees to which I have been assigned, has brought home some of the practical ends which it serves. Stated negatively, I am

¹ John F. Kennedy quoted in Davis S. Broder, "What Makes a Great Senator," New York Times Magazine, June 14, 1964, p. 15. In Profiles in Courage (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1957), John F. Kennedy selected Senators for profile on the basis of personal and moral courage.

² Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator," OP. cit., p. 72.

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¹ Ibid., p

convinced that no new Senator can or should be chairman of a Senate committee, even if that unlikely prospect were opened to him. Outside of the Senate, he may be the world's foremost expert in a particular field of interest, but knowledge for its own sake, and knowledge woven into a policy of legislative action are, unfortunately, two different things.

The seniority system provides the Senate with a steady flow of leaders who know the past records of the legislative proposals under their jurisdiction, why they were accepted or rejected, who testified on their behalf or remained silent, who gave way and compromised and who stood firm under fire. And though the Junior Senator can applaud himself for the splendid purity of a scheme he had once devised to remove at least one of the nation's ills, the older hands around the place may know that this same scheme has been examined in detail before, and for many practical reasons was turned down flat. In all these matters, the senior Senator or the senior member serves the junior as a file of memories dealing with the whole catalog of legislative cunning.

For all their wear and tear, the committee hearings themselves are of incalculable importance to a new Senator. These hearings are indeed one of the principal means by which a new Senator can educate himself.¹

In addition to the committee hearings and from other colleagues, Senators are able to educate themselves with information from several sources in the constant quest for facts, ideas, and advice. Most notable of these sources are the President, administrative agencies, interest groups, constituents, their own Library of Congress and its Legislative Reference Service, and many other sources.

¹ Ibid., p. 72.

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If one reviews the Senatorial day, it becomes evident that there is not much chance for a Senator to undertake a profound or cloistered study of a problem. The research personnel in the department may be of some help to him. His own staff will be of greater help. But in the final analysis, he must learn for himself what is true or false. And he can only find that out in the committee hearings. Here, he must argue out his thoughts publicly even as the facts on which they are based are presented to him. Sometimes, he gets tripped up by his improvisations in committee sessions and feels like a fool because of it. Sometimes, his head spins under an attack from an unexpected quarter which tramples down his hastily built defenses. But once his injured pride is mended, the net result is both self-education and a more enlightened public opinion.¹

There are other questions to which a Senator must find personal answers. One which is critical both because of the force, intensity, and consistency of its persuasion on members of Congress, and because of its sometimes derogatory--even unethical--image with the public, is: What role should lobbyists play in shaping legislative opinions?² Again, Douglas has extensive opinions in answer to this question.

What, then, about the effect of lobbies in shaping legislative decisions? I regard it as my duty to listen both courteously and with a judicial mind to the representatives of every responsible group. For every group in a

¹ Ibid., p. 74.

² In 1946, as a part of the Congressional Reorganization Act, Congress passed the Regulation of Lobbying title requiring the registration of those who seek to influence legislation. By 1963, some 6,500 lobbyists had so registered.—Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, op. cit., p. 69.

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²Douglas, "
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democracy has the right to present its case both to the public and to the Legislature. To this degree lobbies are of distinct aid. But it is a very different thing for a legislator to vote with a pressure group either because of fear or because of favors he has allowed himself to receive.¹

Even a brief experience with the lobbying of special interests makes a Senator wish, however, that the members of these groups would practice a greater degree of self-restraint and a lesser degree of a group selfishness. Not only do groups ask for more than they expect to get, but even the sum of all their bed-rock demands amounts to far more than the country can afford. It is properly the job of Congress to select the most urgent of these needs and to discharge those which are most acute.²

The challenge of resolving conflicts of interests is a constant one to any public official. And with a U.S. Senator its complexities are great because of the scope of his constituency.

There are, of course, a number of questions which a Senator, new or old, can only answer by seeking the inner light of conscience. They may involve such matters as the obligations one owes to one's party as against those which are owed to personal convictions. Or they may involve such questions as a reconciliation of the national interest with a state interest.

As to the first question, my tentative answer takes this form: Support one's party in all procedural matters everywhere. Argue substantive programs within party councils in the hope of gaining a majority within a party. But when the chips are down in the Senate, a Senator should vote his profound individual convictions

¹Since 1952, Douglas has held to a policy for himself and his staff that no gift worth more than \$2.50 is to be accepted.

²Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator," Op. cit., p. 74.

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on substantive matters regardless of who is with or against him. Fortunately, I do not expect any sharp conflict between my conscience and party policy, since I believe in the principles of our Philadelphia [Democratic Convention in Philadelphia in 1948] platform and in the general foreign and domestic programs of President Truman.

As to the second question, the answer to it demands that the Senator try to become a teacher; instructing the state as to its function in the nation, and instructing the nation as to the nature of at least one of its states.¹

Even if these questions can be resolved by a Senator, concern for not only his personal image but the image of the body of which he is a part cannot escape him. The Senate, in addition to the basic criticisms already noted, has been described by such perjorative terms in the mid-twentieth century as being a "rich man's club,"² an

¹ Ibid., p. 74.

² In the Second Session of the 89th Congress, July 1964, in the debate over the bill for a congressional pay boost of \$7,500 a year, (which was passed and raised Senators' salaries from \$22,500 to \$30,000) the term, "Rich Man's Club," was frequently used and with considerable evidence from statements of assets by some Senators to substantiate the claim. At least twenty Senators were reported to be millionaires. Paul Douglas's financial statement, noted as one of the most complete, ranked him among the less affluent with assets of \$163,000. See U.S. News and World Report, July 13, 1964, pp. 39-40, "Is the U.S. Congress a 'Rich Man's Club'?" The concern over personal wealth being a requisite to run for high state and national office has become of increasing concern in recent years because of the high cost of campaigns, the inadequacy of salaries in meeting operating expenses--some contend, and the matriculation of independently wealthy citizens to candidacy and election. Moreover, among many segments of the population, during the 1960 Presidential campaign, an implicit trust developed in the ethical standards of rich men in public office "because they will not put their hands in the till," and a mistrust of men of lesser wealth because they might need money and be

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"exclusive club,"¹ a "citadel,"² an "Establishment,"³ a millionaire's club, a lawyer's club, and others. Most of these labels were directed toward the suggestion or direct charge of control by wealth and excessive dominance by certain groups, or by vocations (such as lawyers) conducive to holding office at the expense of the election of more diversified occupational groups to represent a broader spectrum of public interest. Douglas has expressed his concern for the ethos of the body in which he serves and the divergency of interests represented in it:

Edward Everett Hale is known to present day Americans as the author of "The Man Without a Country." But at the turn of the century, he was also known as the wry-tongued chaplain of the U.S. Senate. One day, as he walked to the Senate Chamber to do his duty and offer his noonday prayer, one of his friends fell in step with him and said, "I suppose, Mr. Hale, that you first look at the country and then pray for the Senate." "On the contrary," Hale replied, "I first look at the Senate and then I pray for the country."

tempted to embezzling corruption.

Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, op. cit., p. 61: "Whatever the arrangements, the Congressman must live in two places and travel back and forth between them a great deal. This imposes a heavy financial burden. It costs me money, quite a lot of my own money every year, to be a United States Senator. For those who have nothing in their pocket to take out, ways must be found to supplement the inadequate salary and expenses now paid members of Congress. Usually this means beating one's way along the "honorarium" trail picking up two hundred dollars here, five hundred there, to pay for the groceries and shoes for the kids."

¹Burns and Peltason, op. cit., p. 416.

²William S. White, Citadel: The Story of the U.S. Senate (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957).

³Joseph S. Clark, The Senate Establishment (New York: Hill and Wang, 1963).

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In the day when this barb was first voiced, the Senate seemed little more than a millionaires' club whose members used it as though it were a board of directors room for the corporations which they served. As against what happened in Hale's day, the private vocations of today's Senators offer no clue as to where any one of them will stand on any public issue. The lawyers still hold a comfortable majority of the Senate seats, with former University professors in second place, and a scattered assortment of businessmen, newspaper publishers, doctors, and farmers sharing third place.¹ Some of these men are rich. Some of them have no more wealth than is represented by their

¹Broder, David S., "What Makes a Great Senator?" New York Times Magazine, June 14, 1964, p. 15:

In one basic sense, Washington's belief in the distinctiveness of the Senate is well-justified. The most striking single fact about the Senators we have is that they are uncommon Americans. Prof. Donald R. Matthews described the typical Senator of the post-World War II decade as a "late middle-aged or elderly, white, Protestant, native-born man with rural or small-town and upper-middle-class origins, a college-educated lawyer and a 'joiner'." As Mr. Matthews noted in his classic study, "U.S. Senators and Their World," this combination of characteristics is so far from the norm of American society that "probably less than 5 percent of the American people have any significant chance of ever serving in the Senate so long as the present informal 'requirements' for the office hold."

The major abnormality about Senators, in career terms, is that they are professional officeholders. Mr. Matthews found that almost half the post-war Senators achieved their first public office before they turned 30 and that three-quarters of them were on the public payroll before they were 40. The average member had spent approximately half his adult life in office-holding--even before he became a Senator.

Of the 100 current Senators, 66 came to that body directly from other public offices; 21 more relied chiefly on the fame won in prior public service--service which, in most cases, had terminated only briefly before their Senate campaigns began. That leaves only 13 of today's Senators who launched their campaigns from reputations earned outside public office. Most of these men are "political accidents" of one sort or another.

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¹ Douglas,
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² Douglas,
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government pay. What makes their conduct as a group is their relative independence from the pat views which are commonly identified with fixed classes.¹

The impressions of first-term Senator Paul Douglas after moving into this new world and holding that office only a few weeks convey a feeling of one who is overwhelmed and a little frustrated by the unforeseen demands and complexities of being a Senator but also pleased to have risen to this high office. He summarized his impressions on a positive note:

For all the seeming petty bickering, the vying for partisan advantage and even filibustering, the present Senate of the 81st Congress has a great sense of its function as the supreme forum in the world of free discussion.²

Liabilities and Assets of the Office

The Senator's world is filled with long hours and the frustrations of a complex responsibility. No matter how effective he is he can never satisfy all friends and constituents. His job will not make him rich, and he and the body in which he serves will be constantly open to criticism. Tension and conflict are dominant elements of his life.

¹Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator," op. cit., p. 76.

²Douglas, "Report from a Freshman Senator," op. cit., p. 76. See also Chapter IV, "The Wonderful World of Congress," in Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, op. cit. See also Burns and Peltason, op. cit., pp. 425-439, "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," for a further discussion of the life of Congressmen.

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But with the diversity and complexity of his life and the perplexities, frustrations, disappointments, and indignities which accompany it, there are satisfactions which the Senator finds in his world. He is a member of a select influential group which includes only 100 chosen people in the nation. If he enjoys publicity, it can be had. If he has an active ego and a love for power--and since in a democracy power is related to public acceptance--he can satisfy his ego.¹ An emotional excitement accompanies the challenge of his job which is national in scope, which includes fashioning paths of history, and can provide the satisfaction that comes from helping others and in prescribing a better world for them. It is a unique world which allows a man with a sense of duty to channel his efforts in advancing principles to which he is dedicated. The participation in the interplay of human relations and the struggle for power provides an unusual experience, one in which he can constantly develop new understandings and insights. As the late John F. Kennedy concluded:

He [Senator] cannot ignore the pressure groups, his constituents, his party, the comradeship of his colleagues, the needs of his family, his own pride in office, the necessity for compromise and the importance of remaining in office. He must judge for himself which path to choose,

¹Ben H. Bajdikian, "Bleed, but Bleed Inwardly," New York Times Magazine, August 9, 1964, p. 10.

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which step will most help or hinder the ideals to which he is committed. He realizes that once he begins to weigh each issue in terms of his chances for re-election, once he begins to compromise away his principles on one issue after another for fear that to do otherwise would halt his career and prevent future fights for principle, then he has lost the very freedom of conscience which justifies his continuance in office. But to decide at which point and on which issue he will risk his career is a difficult and soul-searching decision.¹

The U. S. Senate is in many ways a microcosm of the complex social structure and maze of communication barriers of the states and territories under the jurisdiction of its legislation. And one challenge of great single import that constantly confronts the Paul H. Douglasses in their Senatorial world and is essential to their political survival is to communicate within the Senate to the audience of their colleagues and outside the Chamber to the larger national audience, their constituency.

¹Kennedy, Profiles in Courage, op. cit., p. 10.

THE SENATE

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CHAPTER V

THE SENATOR'S WORLD OF COMMUNICATION

A Senator of the United States faces a supreme communication challenge. He is challenged to communicate with the audience of his Senatorial colleagues (and Representatives) to inform them and attempt to evoke their support. His ideas, feelings, and actions must also be communicated to other agencies of the U. S. Government. As a national representative, he also has a responsibility to reach that larger and diverse audience of constituents in his own state and more frequently people in interest groups in several or all of the states and territories of the United States, including party officials and officials of state and local governments. Not only must he transmit meanings and verbal messages as a source, he must also receive them from others. To stay in office and serve as a responsible and effective legislator, the Senator must meet the communication challenge inherent in the office he holds.

The speaking he does in the Senate is only one form of his discourse. In addition to oral discourse, written discourse plays an important role in his work. He uses a variety of available channels to inform, stimulate interest, persuade--and at times entertain--audiences

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Paul Douglas

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within and outside the Senate. Through direct and indirect interaction with others, he must be effective both as a source and receiver of meanings and messages.

Paul Douglas' speaking in the Senate, the focus of this study, gains perspective by examining the other major means by which he transmits meanings and meanings are transmitted to him. The purpose of this chapter is to provide that perspective, first, by viewing the following in separate sections, and in this order: the nature of the communication process with the Senator as the focal point in the flow of messages and meanings, his relationship to audiences and the difficulties of audience analysis, the use of the mass media, and the use of various other message channels. Next, the Senator's discourse and the written record resulting from it in Senate committees are considered. Then, with the foregoing sections as a background to the chapters that follow on Douglas' speaking in the Senate, the final sections of this chapter will briefly take up, in order: the role of speech in the Senate, the Congressional Record, Douglas' rhetorical theory, and his methods in preparing speeches to be delivered in the Senate.

The Senator and The Process

In his world of communication, the Senator is a source, encoder, channel selector and user, decoder,

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and receiver.¹ He is an important source of messages he attempts to transmit inside and outside the Senate, through oral and written verbal communication by speeches, committee hearings, and other face-to-face communication, the telephone, the Congressional Record, transcripts of committee hearings, government memorandas, newsletters, letters, telegrams, and news releases to newspapers and periodicals, articles and books he publishes, and radio and television appearances. His function as a receiver is important, for the responses from his audience serve to transmit messages to him which he decodes and as a consequence ideas are planted, or modified, or stimulated, or action results. He receives the messages of others in the same forms of oral and written discourse which he uses when he is a source of communication.

The need for effective communication in a Senator's life is of increasing importance in an age experiencing the complex and improved development and application of communication methods resulting from the advancement of modern technology, and at the same time experiencing increased population and the growth and complexity of the national government. American democratic-representative

¹For a comprehensive discussion of the nature of the communication process, see David K. Berlo, The Process of Communication (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1960); also see Kenneth G. Hance, David C. Ralph, Milton Wiksell, Principles of Speaking (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1962), pp. 5-12.

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Communication is the process of transmitting meaning from one mind to another. Without an audience there would be no need for communication. Paul Douglas attempts to be audience-oriented; that is, he seeks to learn all he can about his audiences and be responsive to them. Yet, the available channels frequently provide him with inadequate information. He wishes to know the climate of public opinion and attempts to take soundings of it as one criterion in using his office to act in their best interests. Ideally, he would like to determine consensus on every issue. But the increasingly complex and conflicting opinion structure makes it difficult to determine consensus. At times, apathy or a lack of comprehension of the issues results in an absence of opinion. In the absence of such opinion, the Senator frequently finds it necessary to serve as a teacher, and his messages seek to formulate opinion structure consistent with his own. Like most of his colleagues, Paul Douglas feels a compelling urge to speak and act in behalf of the best interests of his audience toward the end of influencing fellow Senators to act in that interest. If the urge is a compelling one, defining best interest, on most issues, becomes a task which is never clear cut, almost always difficult, and frequently an impossible one. Consequently, the Senator's first question in audience analysis becomes, what audience, or represent whom?

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Represent Whom?

Segments of the constituency whose interests can be easily defined and are consistent with those of the Senator naturally receive special attention. A U. S. Senator is motivated to work hardest for those who have been most directly responsible for putting him in office and whose continued support is needed to stay there. He is indebted to state and local party leaders and party members who have personally worked in his behalf. He is highly responsive to the interests of the leadership and members of organized groups--especially occupational interest groups--who have supported his candidacy. A Senator from a state with a mixed industrial and agricultural economy who gained or wishes support from national groups with strong state agencies, representing a large bloc of voters, such as the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and Farm Bureau, will, apart from the fact that they have strong lobbies, attempt to act in their behalf on measures they individually favor, or seek to find a road of compromise action when the interests of two or more powerful interest groups conflict.

Senators from a state dominated primarily by one interest finds his task in determining the prevailing opinion of his audience of constituents easier than those elected from states with a diversity of interests. Senator Paul Douglas, elected from a large state with a

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diverse economic structure, considers his position preferable to the man elected from a narrow, one-interest state. Douglas's state, consisting of many interest groups, serves as a kind of microcosm of the diverse nation.

It is desirable to represent a broad interest because then no one interest is likely to exercise too much control. And I am sorry for people who come from one-industry states, those with silver or gambling interests only. Madison recognized this in the 10th Essay of the Federalist when he pointed out one of the best safeguards of democracy is having a sufficient number of interests so that they act as a check against each other. He applied it to the federal government, but it is also true within a state. And I think it is true that I've been able to be so independent in the Senate, largely because I am fortunate to be from a state with broad interests. Illinois has industries and agriculture, a variety of industries, and also they have the labor movement, and the REA Cooperatives. These different interests tend to neutralize any concentration of power. And there is another point of interest, a third group of interest [agriculture and industry seemingly the broad classification of two groups], the interest of the consumers, and I have served them almost as a special concern. A Senator should consider the entire nation as his constituency and those people coming from broad states who are not subjected primarily to any one control find it easiest to do this.¹

If the Senator from a state with broad interests is less likely to become a "tool" of any one interest, there is no objective formula by which he can determine consensus or personally arrive at clear-cut stands on most issues. This problem is perhaps crystallized best to those

¹Interview with Douglas, op. cit.



in the upper house of Congress when the moment of decision faces them in answering the roll call, which demands a categorical "aye" or "no" vote on important bills--a time which Senator Douglas early in his career called "a searching of the soul."¹

As the clerk called our names.... Many times we felt that the truest answer was neither "aye" nor "no" but "maybe".... When our names are called, the time for objectivity ends.

What lies behind the words that are spoken? What leads one Senator to vote "aye" and another "no"? This question is not only of absorbing interest to a gallery that includes all of America. Men on the Senate floor also ask the same question. "How," we ask, "did we get that way and how did the fellow next to us, or on the other side of the room reach the same or an opposite conclusion?"²

Douglas provides an extended and analytical answer to this basic question, which points up the perplexity and complexity of the challenge which Senators face in dissecting their audience and determining a climate of opinion. In illuminating the situation, Douglas writes as one who has conscientiously "searched his soul" several times in the period of a little over one year in the Senate.

The "realists," as always, have a simple answer. They explain that a Senator either votes according to the weight of his mail or by a rule-of-thumb estimate of how political

¹Paul H. Douglas, "A Senator's Vote: A Searching of the Soul," New York Times Magazine, April 30, 1950, p. 9.

²Ibid., p. 9.



forces are balanced in the home state. The more cynical among the realists add that a Senator votes the way some political boss, some utility or banking magnate, or some labor leader wants him to vote. In this view, a Senator is a moral puppet who responds more or less automatically to external pressures exerted on him by organized groups in the community at large.

Now, there may be Senators who cast votes in this manner. But if there are such, I do not know them. All Senators, of course, are sensitive to the climate of opinion. They must be. How else would representative government function? All Senators, too, read their mail. They are quick to spot and give a special weight to unprompted, open-hearted letters, whether they are scratched on rough paper or written on embossed stationery. They all make tabulations on how the spontaneous mail runs when a controversial issue is approaching a vote.

But experience has taught them that the volume of mail is no true index to public opinion; that the most articulate are often those who have a concentrated special interest; that the great mass of the public, with its diffuse general interest, would, if pressed, frequently state views contrary to those voiced by the "disciplined letter-writers."

In itself, of course, there is nothing virtuous or evil about "disciplined letter-writing." Saints and sinners alike have used the device to influence public policy.¹ Moreover, there is no difference between a thousand identical letters or postcards sent in by individual members of an organization, or a thousand signatures on a document sent in by the secretary of the organization. Both are aspects of the right of petition.²

But the question here is how the best soundings of public opinion can be made by a Senator. In a great state every group interest divides itself into an infinite number of conflicting internal parts, so much so that the

¹"No king ever wielded a scepter more powerful than a nickel pencil in the hands of an American voter." See We, the People: Story of the U.S. Capitol, op. cit., p. 128.

²Douglas, "A Senator's Vote: A Searching of the Soul," op. cit., p. 9.



differences within groups are often greater than the differences between them. To whom, then, should a Senator listen? I believe his most accurate sounding of public opinion comes about in an almost subjective way.

The Senator, returning to his home state, throws himself open to a tidal wave of voices, of heavings and pullings this and that way. Gradually, and almost unobtrusively, the clamor of many voices somehow yields a consensus that is clearly identifiable to him. Whether he agrees with that consensus or whether he tries to change it is another matter. Bill Herndon used to explain this to Abraham Lincoln by saying that "he felt things in his bones." And Lincoln, in reply would comically refer to this as "Herndon's bone philosophy." Yet Herndon was closer to the truth than Lincoln suspected.

Some Senators, overburdened with the routine of office work, are often unable, or forget, to return to their point of origin.¹ Others who make these returns for political soundings expose themselves to the charge that they are neglecting their duties in Washington. But the quality of their decisions inevitably becomes better or worse according to the degree to which they can immerse themselves in the bath of genuine public opinion. Apart from these immersions, a Senator has certain selected points of contact which enter into the complex of forces that shape his vote.²

The "selected points of contact" developed next by Douglas indicate a belief he holds in the concept of responsible opinion leaders and their effectiveness as creditable sources of communication, representing the constituency.

There are people in America of experience, objectivity, a devotion to the common good, and a unique skill in making prudent decisions

¹Douglas regularly returns to Illinois on alternate weekends when Congress is in session.

²Douglas, "A Senator's Vote: A Searching of the Soul," op. cit., pp. 9 and 38.



regarding public matters. No one elected them to their posts of opinion makers. They are that by the sheer force of their arguments. Most generally, they are content to express their viewpoint to a Senator over the telephone or by a brief call at his office. But whether they do it this way, or invite the nation to eavesdrop, they command enormous attention. These devoted servants of the common good may not make up a Senator's mind on how he should vote. But what these men and women say must be answered by a Senator before he casts his vote.¹

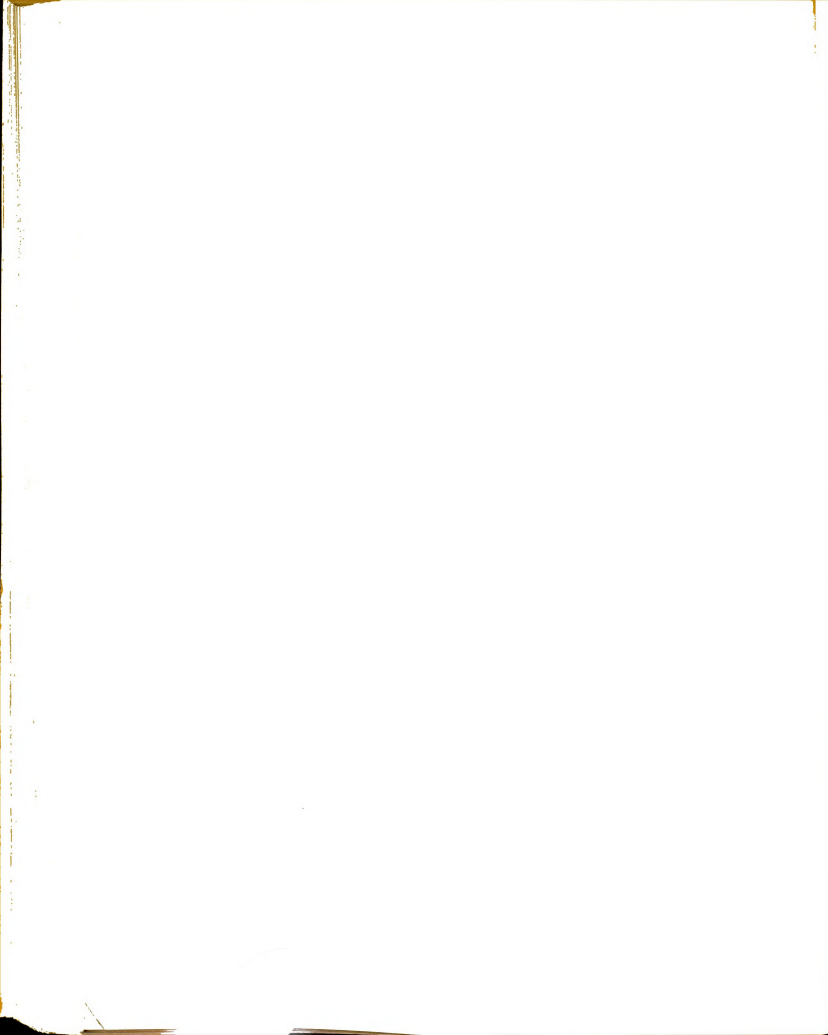
Thirteen years later in 1963, Douglas was more definitive about one group of "opinion makers." He observed that certain lobbyists "...who have been tugging and pulling at you and whose opinion you respect because they are thorough in their analysis of facts related to a bill sit in the gallery as a voice of conscience when you rise on the floor."²

A second important group of opinion leaders which impressed and influenced Douglas as a freshman Senator were colleagues in the Senate whose names were called early in the roll call. More than anything else his discussion of this group as sources points up the difficulty he experiences in deciding which way to vote and the doubt existing even at the beginning of the roll call.

In this connection, [opinion makers] it is America's good fortune that there are several of these aristocratic democrats who

¹Ibid., p. 38.

²Interview with Douglas, op. cit.



are members of the present Senate. One, whom we all deeply respect, is the man whose name is called first at voting time. He is Senator George D. Aiken, Republican of Vermont, who can neither be bought nor bluffed, fooled nor frightened. I openly confess that there have been times in the Senate when my mind has been in great doubt right up to the voting time.

And then Senator Aiken's name would be called. And I, for one, have often been influenced by the character of his sturdy response to the clerk. Like the rest of us, he may err on an issue of fact. But, like his Democratic counterpart, Senator Frank P. Graham of North Carolina, he has never, to my knowledge, erred on a moral principle.¹

However, Douglas concludes he cannot possibly analyze thoroughly each individual issue and therefore must establish general principles to be applied in his vote on particular measures.

Is there any thread that runs through a series of separate votes cast by a Senator? At first glance the answer seems to be a negative one. Yet the appearance of pure pragmatism in Senate voting is highly deceptive. For all the wide range of matters on which they cast their votes, in one way or another, all Senators have repeatedly asked and answered the basic questions in politics.

What, for instance, should be the relationship between the One and the Many? What should be the relationship between the leaders and the people? What should be left to the operation of custom and what should be made the subject of law? Which body of practices should be institutionalized and which ones should be left in a free-floating state? At what point must the system of rights be made to intersect with the system of duties? What is the area in which the right of dissent can operate without subverting the will of

¹Douglas, "A Senator's Vote: A Searching of the Soul," op. cit., p. 38.



the majority? These are timeless questions asked everywhere. In each vote on a particular measure the Senators also vote on a general principle. Indeed, it is the operation of the general principle on their thoughts which gives a discernible inner unity in most of their decisions.¹

The valid application of general principles to particular cases and the need to do so under pressure on the Senate floor Douglas notes to be an added complication and barrier to objective decision making. He notes also that there is a reluctance by Senators to report the factors and inner stresses which surround their decision making.

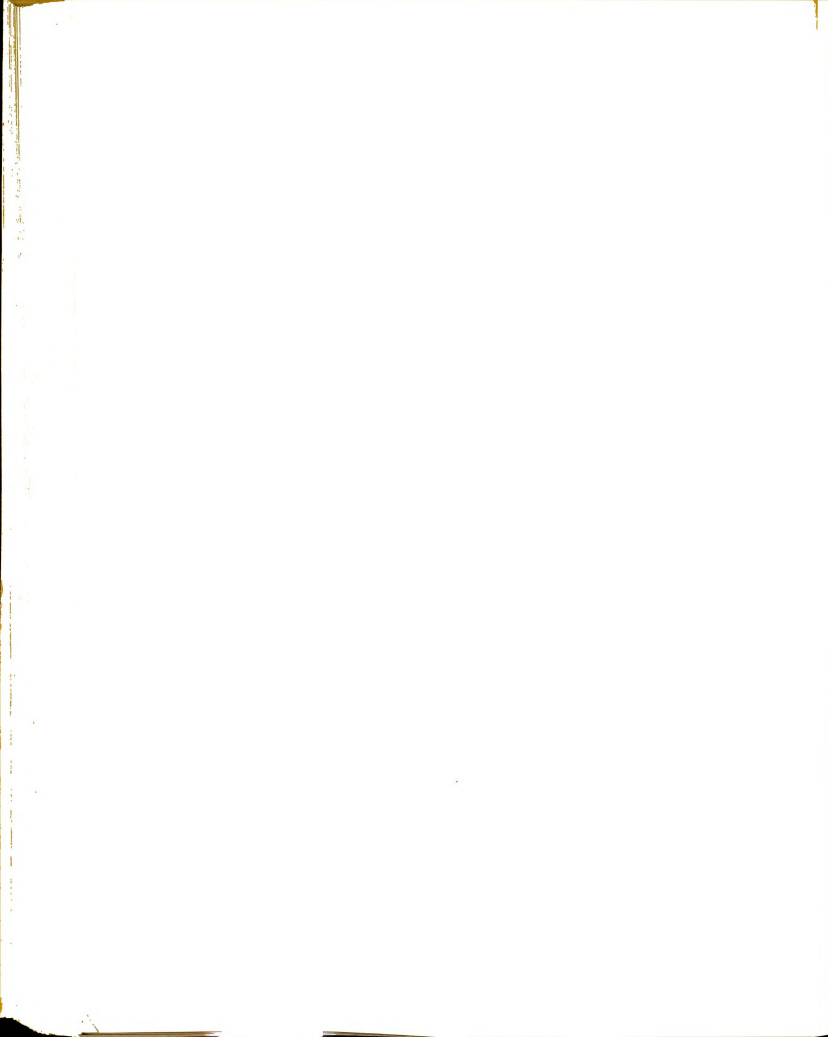
At the same time, while the general principle can be stated and examined objectively, its application to a particular case is often undertaken in a mood of emotional stress. A politician, no less than a surgeon, is commonly reluctant to describe these inner stresses. It is not because his motives are base, or because an open statement of his own struggle would disturb the patient with whose life he is entrusted. It is due more to the reluctance of Americans in all walks of life to expose their inner thoughts and deepest values.²

The decision may come "...after an inner struggle between my heart and my head, between my sympathies and my reason....,"³ in the dead of night, in solitude an hour before the roll call, or from determining the hidden agenda of a bill. He concludes that the

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 42.



vote of a Senator lends itself to no concise explanation.

Yet all the foregoing does not really explain how and why a Senator casts his vote this way instead of that. When the committee hearings and the important books and articles on a proposal are read, when the mail has been appraised, when the briefs and arguments have been weighed, when the wise men, living and dead, have been consulted, the Senator still faces the task of moving his own lips to say yes or no. On the clerk's list, his name stands out in all its solitude. And that is the way he must vote.

It is also, I believe, the primary way in which he decides before hand how he is going to vote. His hour of decision is not seen by the outer world. It can come in the dead of night, in periods of reverie, in one's office after the day's work is done, over the breakfast or dinner table with one's family, or in a taxicab ride to or from the Capitol. It is at these times, I believe, that the final decisions which affect the life of the nation are generally made. The tension of roll-call merely expresses the decisions which ninety-six widely differing men, with different backgrounds, have already made in the quiet of their individual consciences.¹

From Douglas' frank appraisal as a new Senator, three conclusions can be reached: (1) Senators search for evidence to analyze their audiences; (2) they try to analyze rational aspects of actions or decisions facing them; and (3) personal convictions and principles combine with 1 and 2 in the amalgamated opinion structure of the Senator to affect in various degrees his actions at particular times.

There is another consistent influence which determines senatorial behavior. In a word, that

¹Ibid., p. 42.



influence is compromise--that term used more often to define the practice of politics than any other. The Senator finds it necessary to compromise, modify personal position to line up with party, ideological blocs, economic blocs, sectional blocs, or some other group with which he finds it necessary to be associated to marshal consistent support. In his votes and identifications, the Senator knows well that it is necessary to compromise on less vital matters to gain support on those more vital to him. The choice of what is relatively more vital is still strongly influenced by the results of audience analysis--whenever results are possible.

The Senator's raison d'être is the audience, and the web of communication which surrounds Douglas as a Senator has as main strands the channels between him and his audience. Important of those channels are the ones reaching to large audiences in Illinois or the nation.

The Mass Media

Newspapers, periodicals, radio, and television help the Senator meet a positive responsibility to educate the public about his business and the business of the nation. It is a rare Senator who is not anxious to project himself to the voter and have his favorable thoughts and actions transmitted through all channels of the communications media.

Newspapers serve as one important channel of the mass media. However good the press coverage in Washington



may be, most important to a Senator is what gets printed and reported back home. Newspaper coverage is important to Paul Douglas, in spite of his reservations about their ownership and control¹ and the tendency of some reporters to sensationalize minor actions of public officials.² He realizes that the press operates under the constant pressure of deadlines, causing reporters to think in clichés and to write slogans, and, therefore, prefer to have Senators do likewise. He is also aware that, as a rule, the press has no time to listen or discuss and sometimes not even the time to think, and that the result is an inevitable distortion from oversimplification and compression.³ Yet, in spite of these shortcomings and

¹See page 32, footnote 2, in Chapter II.

²See page 124 in Chapter IV.

³"In 1947 a commission on Freedom of the Press headed by Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, recommended that the federal government should set up its own communication agencies--a government-owned newspaper, perhaps--to tell the people of its plans and policies, if private agencies did not do the job. To encourage criticism of the press from within and from outside, it proposed the creation of a "new and independent agency" to "appraise and report annually upon the performance of the press." And the commission called for the maintenance of competition among the larger newspapers by means of the anti-trust laws. (In 1945, during the commission's deliberations, the United States Supreme Court ruled in Associated Press v. United States that the exclusive membership laws of the Associated Press, whereby certain newspapers were denied access to AP facilities violated the Sherman Anti-Trust Act.)" From Burns and Peltason, op. cit., p. 309.

Hutchins' Commission later issued this statement: "The urgent and perplexing issues which confront our country, the new dangers which encompass our free society,



partisan editorial policies of some papers, he realizes the need for press coverage and attempts to get it.

The offices of Senator Douglas have sent out hundreds of press releases each year he has been in office. In his Washington office alone, eighteen legal-size, four-drawer high files, 36 inches deep are filled almost exclusively with chronological file folders containing copies of press releases and speech texts since 1949.¹ Releases go out on all speeches, statements in committee and on the floor of the Senate, special actions on behalf of constituents, some copies of government documents, intra-governmental memos, correspondence, travels of the Senator, reprints from the Record, scripts of radio and television programs, and almost any other actions by him, and sometimes by members of his staff, that are judged worthy of bringing to the attention of government officials or the public and help to keep the man in a favorable public spotlight. Purely state and local news, such as the letting of government contracts, postmaster appointments, awards, and hospital grants receive much more play in the local dailies and weekly press than some major statement on a national issue.

the new fatefulness attaching to every step in foreign policy and to what the press publishes about it, mean that the preservation of democracy and perhaps of civilization may now depend upon a free and responsible press." From A Free and Responsible Press (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 105-106.

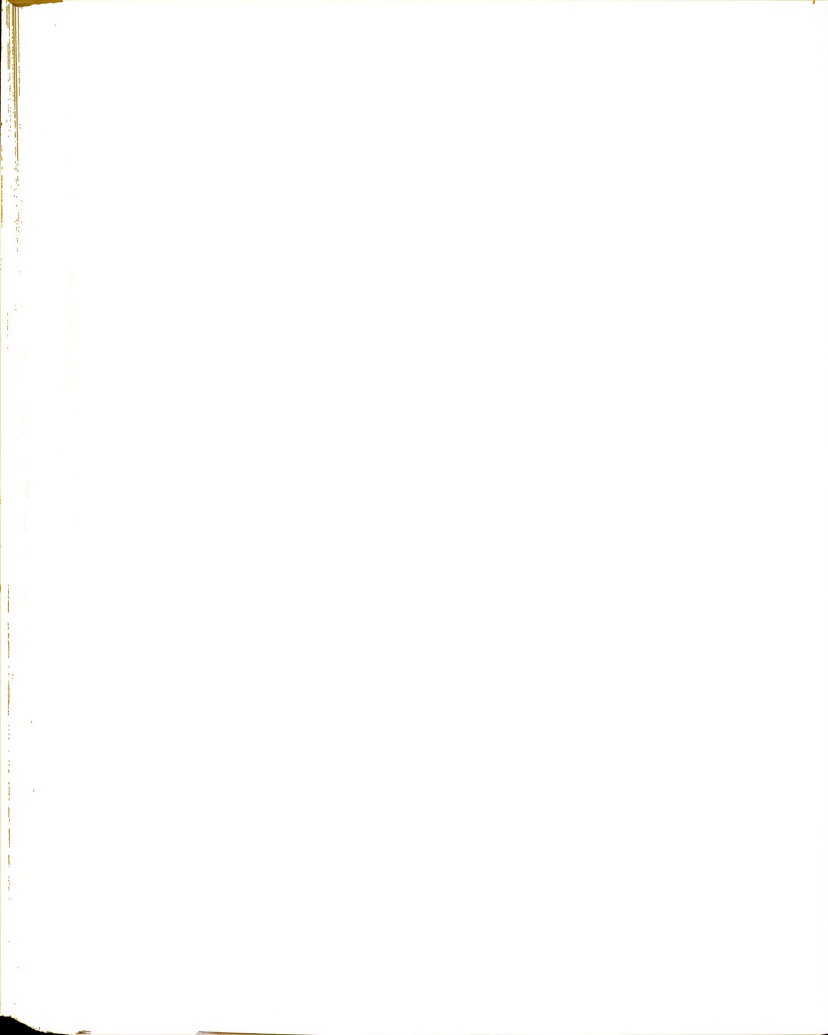
¹From observations of the writer who was given the opportunity to peruse all of the files of Senator Douglas and collect copies of all materials, when more than one file copy was available, during the week of May 20, 1963.



However, releasing the speeches and news items is no guarantee that they will receive effective coverage or receive any print at all. In the highly competitive struggle for press coverage, the effective release of news items has become a kind of strategic game, and timing is the most important maneuver of that strategy. Dr. Howard Shuman, who has been closer to Douglas than any other man on his staff in recent years, and is Douglas' administrative assistant,¹ has explained the procedure in the release of text of speeches.

We submit the text of most speeches to the press the day before they are scheduled to be delivered. This is done at 4:00 P.M. or after for release the following day or it won't get in print. How well and when you distribute the speech is often the key to its importance. This has been especially true with the Chicago papers, our most important source in reaching the Illinois constituency. You are at the mercy of the press's whims. You have no real way of knowing the impact a speech will have. First, that can only be determined after it is delivered, and secondly, the newspapers often just don't print it and the space they give it is a factor in its importance. So, planning ahead and timing become critical in the final impact of a speech. To try to insure that it gets coverage, you try to time it and play every angle.

¹Howard Shuman, B.S., M.A., Ph.D. Howard Shuman, formerly Instructor in Economics at the University of Illinois, was first appointed in 1955 as research assistant to work on tax problems and on economic issues before the Joint Economic Committee, of which Senator Douglas is Chairman. Shuman holds degrees from the University of Illinois, University of Michigan, and Oxford University, England. In 1949 he was awarded a Rotary Foundation Fellowship for graduate study at Oxford, and in 1952 he became the third American to be elected President of the Oxford Union Debating Society in its 130 year history. In that position he debated such well-known figures as Clement Attlee and Paul Reynaud, ex-Prime Ministers of Britain and France.--Press release, 1955.



And you never know what they will print. For example, we released the text of the May 9 (1963) Montana Resources Speech in the Senate, which was important and on a new issue, but the press said "no new exposé," and they gave it back-page coverage. The editors said, "that material came out nine weeks before," or "I heard bits of that before." If they had, it was from reading the transcript of Committee hearings one week before, but it had not been presented in the form of a speech in the Senate and the stand had not received press coverage. The press always insists on new stuff. You never know what they consider will be fresh material. The Senator's speech against the high cost installation of additional garage space under the Capitol was a relatively short, small speech, but made a big splash as new, fresh material.

The press is also motivated to print what they think they can predict as being a failure or success as a speech.

If a press conference is held by the President or another administrative official on the day a speech is delivered in the Senate, the Senate speech gets back page billing.¹

The need to release texts of speeches one day prior to their scheduled delivery may result in other problems. If the agenda is such that the speech cannot be delivered on the day scheduled, any press coverage of the speech appearing that day becomes fictional.² Moreover, if platform adjustments are made in the text of the speech when it is actually delivered to adapt to changes in circumstances occurring since the prepared text had been released or to meet the arguments of previous speakers in the Senate, the text released is inaccurate. Senator Douglas almost always delivers the entire

¹Interview by the writer with Howard Shuman, May 22, 1963.

²Copies of releases of 12 speeches in the Douglas files are marked in long hand "never delivered." There is no evidence that those speeches received press coverage.



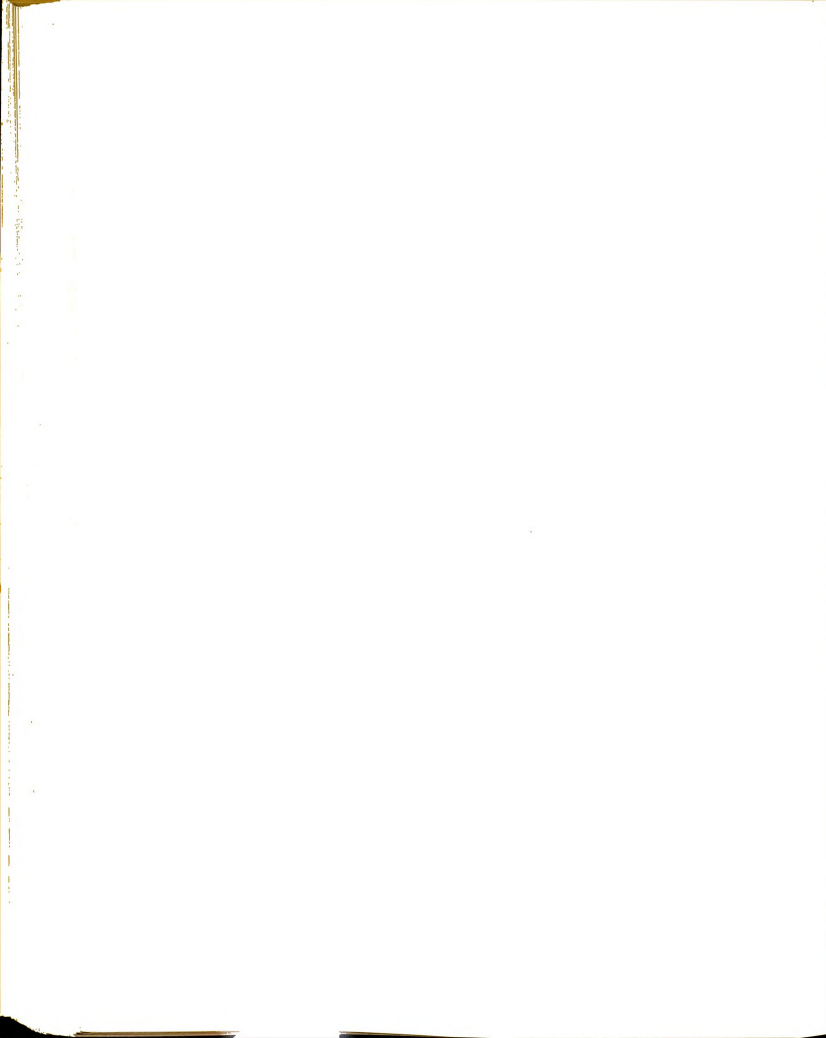
prepared text of a major address on the floor of the Senate, but he frequently makes adjustments in an impromptu manner or from brief notes delivered extemporaneously either before delivering the text, or after the conclusion of it.

Releases to radio and television on the same events are frequently shorter but sometimes the same ones as those sent to newspapers. As a new Senator, Douglas was considered by many to be emerging as the Senate spokesman for the liberals¹ and made frequent appearances on network radio and television. He still uses these media, but the number of his appearances has declined in recent years.

Public affairs programs on radio have been a favorite of Douglas. He has appeared several times on NBC's "American Forum of the Air," the "University of Chicago Roundtable," and Chicago radio station WGN's "The Northwestern University Reviewing Stand."² Douglas has also delivered major addresses over all the national radio networks in his career, and has also been a substitute on news commentary programs from time to time, such as for Drew Pearson on radio in the early nineteen fifties. In recent years, he has been asked to appear more often as an economic and fiscal expert than as a party spokesman.

¹Many articles appearing on Douglas in the Senate in 1949-1952 wrote of Robert Taft and Paul Douglas as the Senate spokesmen for the two major parties.

²Douglas has been called upon several times as an expert in the "Northwestern Reviewing Stand" annual program devoted to an analysis of the national high school debate



Douglas has also used radio to report to the voters of Illinois with a 5-minute bi-weekly radio broadcast, which began by being broadcast over 12 Illinois stations and has increased to over 50 stations.¹ The program, entitled "Senator Douglas Reports," is tape recorded in one of the studios in the basement under the Senate chamber, on the radio and TV gallery just above the chamber, or in his office, and follows an interview format, with special guests interviewed by Douglas. Those guests have ranged from national and state governmental leaders to the children of constituents and Douglas' own children. This program has in recent years included Mrs. Emily Douglas as the Senator's interviewer most of the time. When the program becomes the Paul and Emily show, or features Douglas and one of his staff, the script seems to be worked out very precisely prior to the taping of it.²

In addition to radio, Douglas has used the improved technology and television facilities in the Capitol to video tape special programs to be sent back to Illinois television stations for viewing. When Congress is in session, Paul Douglas and Everett Dirksen video tape a half-hour bi-weekly television program called

¹A 1962 Press Release stated Douglas' weekly radio and semi-monthly television reports to Illinois are broadcast over a network of 52 radio stations and 8 television stations.

²From the writer's perusal of scripts prepared for radio broadcasts.



"Your Senators Report,"¹ for broadcast on Illinois stations. The program helps educate constituents on the issues and controversies of the day, and it gives a platform for each Senator to enunciate his personal and party positions on issues. By mutual consent, the program has gone off the air when either Senator has been up for re-election. Douglas has also appeared frequently on network public affairs specials² and interviews for news broadcasts.

Another mass media channel used by Douglas since 1949 has been popular periodicals. He has contributed articles on analysis of the proceedings of the Senate, operation of the government, elections, politics, philosophy, and on specific issues in such publications as the New York Times Magazine, New Republic, Reporter, and the

¹There is little teamwork between these two partisan adversaries otherwise.

Evidence of this is available from the unusually vigorous campaign Douglas undertook to unseat Dirksen in his successful bid for re-election in 1962, especially up until the time Dirksen's campaign was interrupted by being recalled to Washington as a key Congressional leader to meet with President Kennedy on the Cuban crisis. Further evidence of this breach was the commentary of the press regarding how unusual it was that Douglas and Dirksen had made positive reference to each other's stand in the issue of cloture and on the 1964 Civil Rights Bill.

²Douglas appeared on five different hour-long network television special programs on all three major networks during the period January 1963-June 1964. The writer witnessed the video taping of an interview with Senator Douglas in his office by Howard K. Smith of ABC on May 22, 1963.

Reader's Digest.¹

Senator Douglas has made extensive use of the mass media of communications to educate his constituents and, in the Madison Avenue phrase, "project his image."

Other Message Channels

The telephone is important as a means of expediting business in the complex organization of the national government. Hundreds of local and long distance calls come in and go out of Paul Douglas' office each day from Senate colleagues, people in other agencies of the government, and constituents. The Senator's administrative staff have the most important calls channelled to them by the receptionist who handles calls on matters of Senatorial courtesy. Those calls reaching the Senator have been screened carefully. Calls dealing with legislative policy from other members of the government find one or more of Douglas' key staff on extensions listening, joining in the conversation, and serving as sources of information for the Senator. When the Senator is out of his office, Administrative Assistant Howard Shuman serves as the key spokesman for the Senator on matters of top priority.¹

Another important message channel used by Douglas is the intra-governmental memorandum.²

¹The writer observed that Shuman typically spends 35-minutes of every hour on the phone from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. on weekdays.

²The number of copies of most memos has increased on the average from 7 to 16 in the past decade, which some conclude, reflects the growth of government.



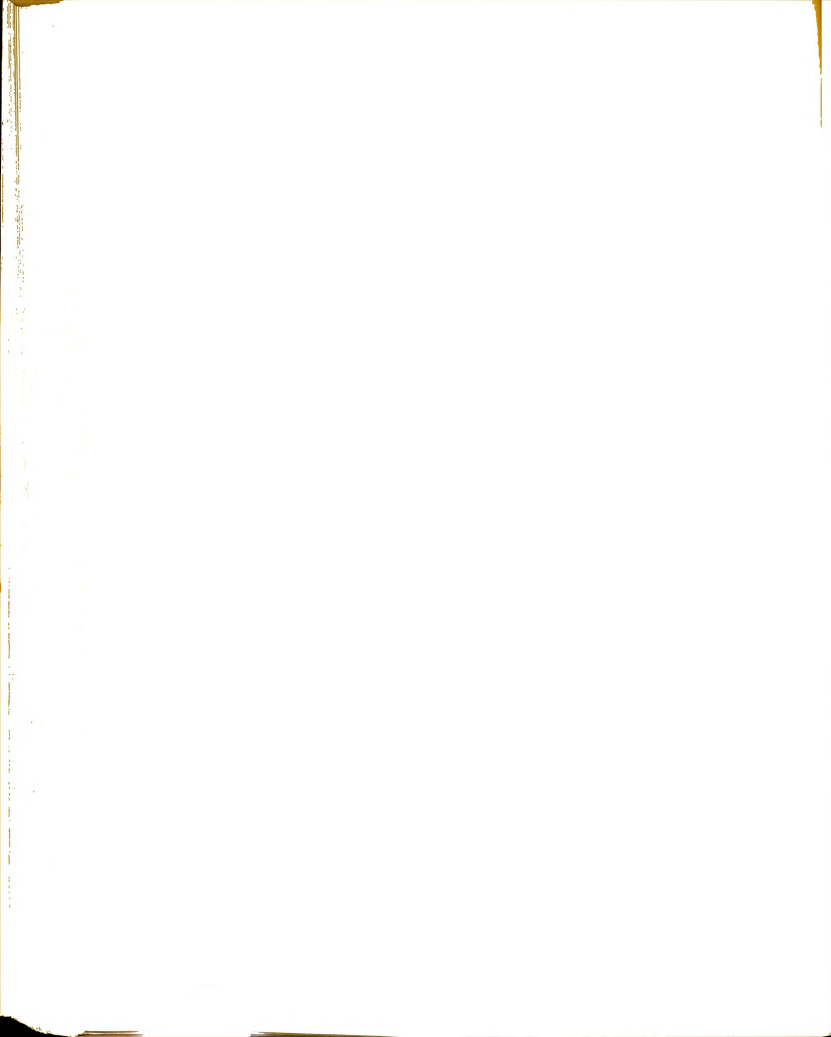
The monthly newsletter is another means used by Douglas to keep his constituents informed. His newsletters since 1949 have varied in length from one to fifteen pages printed on one side and report a variety of his activities or the intensity of his efforts on particular legislation. Circulation of the newsletter is concentrated in covering Illinois voters.

Another channel for communicating ideas and enhancing ethos is provided by occasional speaking opportunities and other public appearances which bring him into direct contact with the public in Illinois and elsewhere. Throughout his Senate career, Douglas has been in constant demand and he has used this platform to good advantage. On almost every bi-weekly trip to Illinois Douglas accepts one or two speaking opportunities.

The mass media, various other indirect message channels and speaking appearances outside of Washington constitute one part of the total communications media important to a Senator. The Senator's direct face-to-face oral communication in carrying out his duties in Washington, D.C., is the other important part of his communication portfolio. The role of his oral discourse and the written record resulting from it in formal legislative proceedings will be considered next.

Speech in Committees

"It is not far from the truth to say that Congress in session is Congress on public exhibition, while Congress



in its committee rooms is Congress at work,"¹ Woodrow Wilson wrote in 1885. Senators do spend a great deal of time in committee rooms.

The hearings of standing committees, sub-committees, joint committees, and ad hoc or special committees open to the public, allow interested citizens and expert spokesmen of special interest to testify and be interrogated by the committee members on pending legislation or special problems. Supposedly a "verbatim record"² of these proceedings is recorded, this record serving as a rich source of

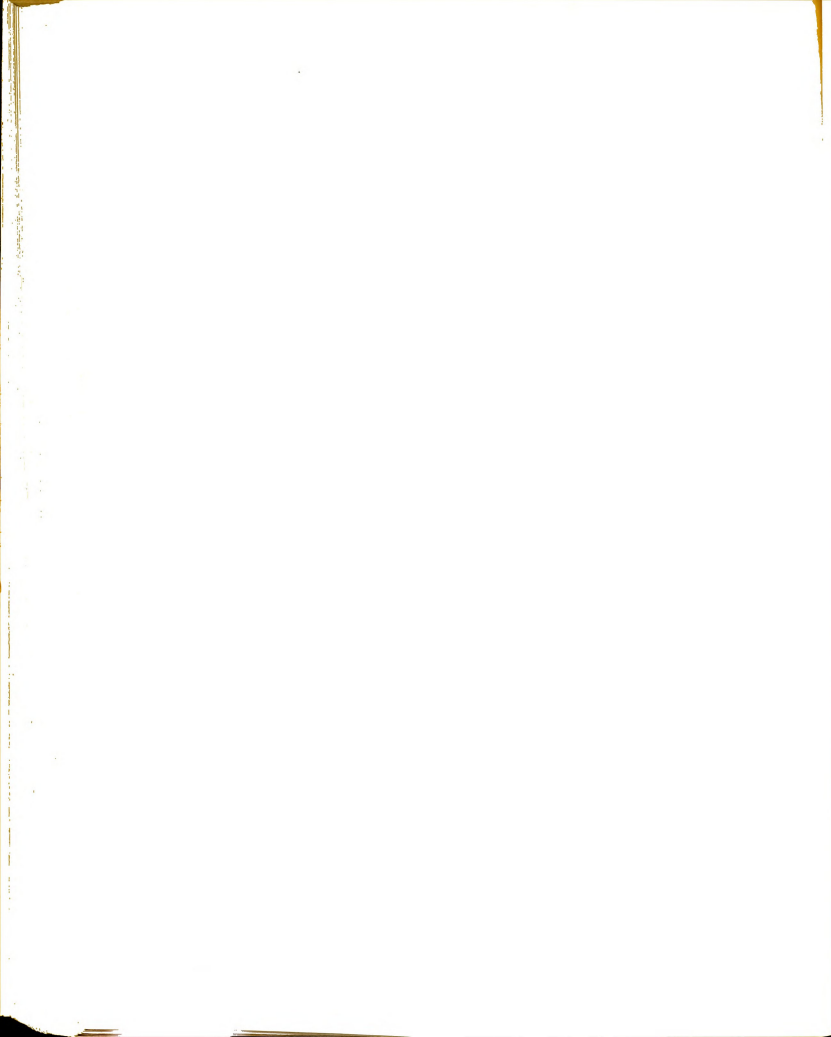
¹Quoted in Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, op. cit., p. 67.

²The record of proceedings is reported by reliable sources (Burns and Peltason, op. cit., p. 411, and others) to be verbatim; however, there are many exceptions when editorial changes are made and additional comments not delivered by a witness may be entered at his request.

For example, the writer witnessed the preparation of a subcommittee statement for Senator Paul Douglas by Kenneth Gray, Legislative Assistant, and the revisions of that statement by Douglas; the combined result of which was the script used by Douglas and which is in the possession of the writer. The writer also witnessed and recorded actual testimony of Douglas before the subcommittee. A comparison of the original text prepared by Gray and Douglas to what Douglas actually said, and compared further to what was later printed as the statement of Douglas in the printed record of the proceedings of the hearings, shows considerable discrepancy both in deletions and additions to the statement.

The statement by Douglas serving as a case in point was delivered at 11:00 A.M. on Wednesday, May 22, 1963. A statement in Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights [chairman Sam J. Ervin, Jr., D. S. Carolina] of the Committee of the Judiciary, United States Senate, Eighty-eighth Congress, First Session on S. 1117 and S. 1219 Bills Relating to the Extension of the [Federal] Civil Rights Commission, and appears as record in the bound printed proceedings titled same, pages 33-39.

After the usual salutation to the chairman, Douglas noted he was a co-sponsor of S. 1117, which he



information for Congressional delegates and providing the general public insight into the operations of government. The hearings help to ferret out facts and provide opinions which have considerable prior influence on Senators' actions when a bill which has been the subject of a hearing comes to the Senate floor for debate.¹ The Congressional hearing or committee report is a mine of useful information to those seeking to be informed on special problems or issues.

specifically was testifying in behalf. These opening remarks do appear verbatim in the record of proceedings.

Then, the Senator said, "I realize that the committee has many witnesses to come before it, and I will merely paraphrase the first five pages of my statement [the first eight pages, 5 typed on legal-sized paper and 3 on 8"x11" paper with penciled corrections in long hand by Gray and Douglas] here, then return to read the concluding section" [three pages of his concluding remarks were those typewritten by Gray and nine more pages were on lined paper from a legal pad written in pencil by the Senator on every other line while he was in the committee room waiting for the witness appearing before him to complete testimony]. The printed record of the Senator's statement includes the exact typed statement of the five pages prepared by Gray (with changes only in paragraph structure) not the paraphrased statement of these pages which Douglas actually presented. Nor does the printed record include Douglas' actual statements regarding the fact he would only paraphrase those 5 pages in the interest of the subcommittee's time, an obvious deletion. There is no reason to believe that such major changes could be any mere oversight or lack of accurate recording by the shorthand reporter.

¹Committee action has more influence in the House of Representatives because debate on bills coming out of committee is so sharply limited in that larger body, while in the Senate, debate is potentially unlimited due to the right of filibuster, and more opportunity exists for bills to be debated.



Committee hearings have served as the primary source in developing the reputations of certain Senators for their educational efforts. For example, the late Senator Estes Kefauver turned the spotlight on connections between interstate and international gangsters and crooked local politicians through his efforts as chairman of the antimonopoly Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate. Through the efforts of his subcommittee in the late 1950's and early 1960's, local law enforcement agencies convicted and sent several corrupt persons to jail. Other Senators recently making their name better known and providing valuable information through the efforts of special committees and subcommittees which they have chaired include: Henry Jackson's Subcommittee on National Security Organization; Hubert Humphrey's Subcommittee on Disarmament; Eugene McCarthy's Special Committee on Unemployment of 1959-1960; Pat McNamara's Special Committee on Problems of the Aging; and Paul Douglas' hearings on the Truth in Lending Bill.

The action of committees to kill bills, pigeon-hole them for weeks, amend them beyond recognition, or speed them on their way is taken in Executive Session, from which visitors are barred, and of which no transcript is available. It is impossible to determine exactly what takes place in these sessions, except with what can be determined from hearsay evidence, but there can be no question that these sessions are important in vital decision

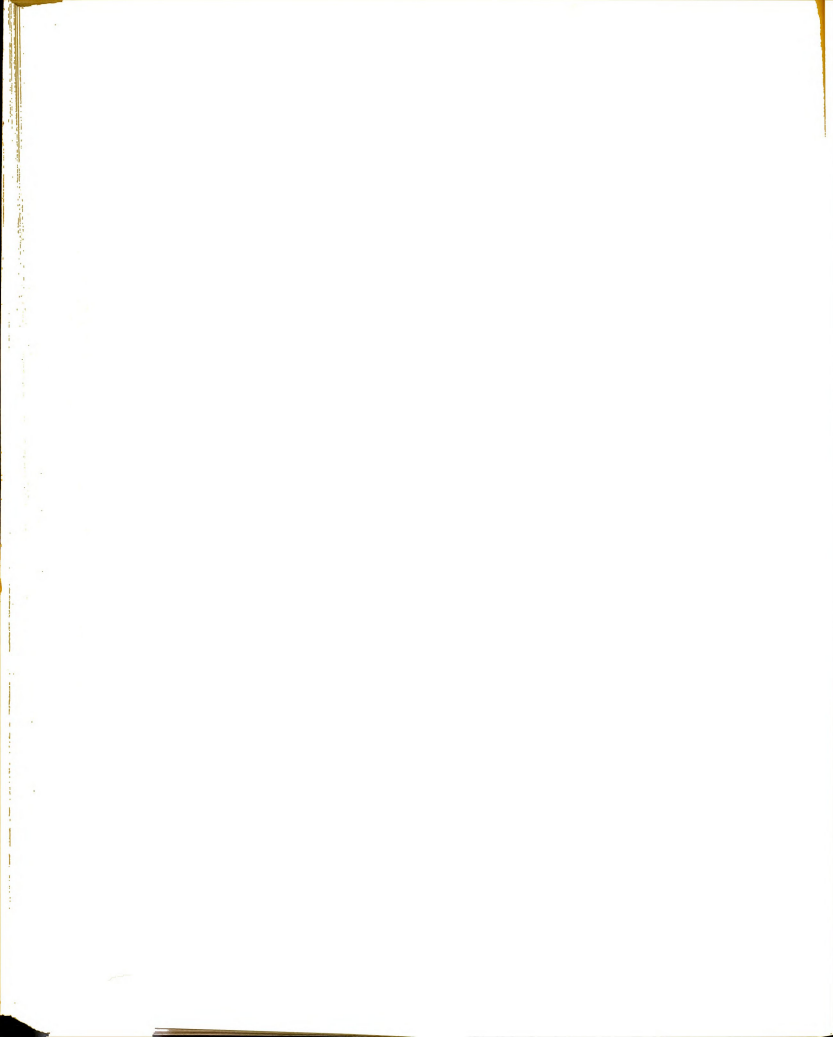


making. Those committee decisions made in Executive Session are by majority vote, and the nonpublic character of these sessions is defended by experts as "promoting the free interplay of ideas among committee members. Compromises and alternatives can be shaped in a fluid environment."¹

Committee work consumes a great deal of Paul Douglas' time. He has served as a member of three standing committees of the Senate, and as the chairman of none of them in his fifteen years of Senate Service. From 1949-1953, he was a member of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee; since 1949, a member of the Banking and Currency Committee; since 1956, a member of the Finance Committee. He is presently alternate chairman of the Joint Economic Committee with Representative Richard Bolling, of Missouri. Douglas has been conscientious in his committee work, but as his liberal colleague Senator Joseph Clark has stated, "The luck of the seniority draw has been unkind to Paul Douglas and Hubert Humphrey, neither of whom chair a committee but both of whom have more seniority than three of their colleagues who came later to the Senate, but are now chairmen of important committees."² A maverick tendency by

¹Bertram M. Gross, The Legislative Struggle (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953), pp. 309-310.

²Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, op. cit., p. 183.



Douglas to bolt from established lines of party voting is a cause of that "unkind luck of the seniority draw."¹

Active as a member and chairman of a variety of subcommittees on legislation and investigating activities of special interest to him, he has nevertheless been readily available and frequently called upon for expert testimony before other subcommittees of which he has not been a member. While on his way to testify in behalf of the four-year extension of the Federal Civil Rights Commission before a subcommittee on Constitutional Rights on May 21, 1963, Douglas summarized the role of speech in committee:

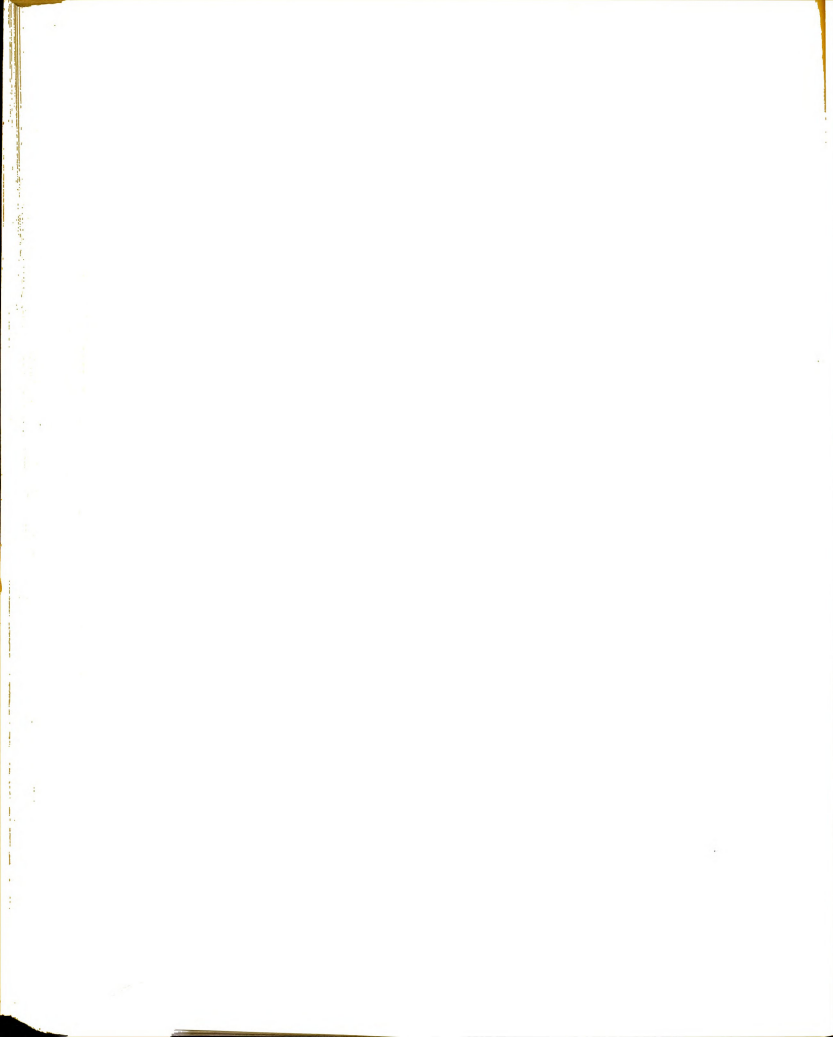
I believe that every effort must be made to find and recognize the facts and get as close to the truth as possible. The work of committees is a very important means by which this can be done. You can get various views and facts from people speaking and being questioned as I will today. Moreover, the report resulting from the give and take in the discussion of the committee members can give direction to bills before they come on the floor. The fact that interested people can be heard and Senators get a chance to verbalize their interests helps to satisfy all parties, no matter what happens to the matter at issue in the end.²

Speech in the Senate

Speech in the Senate, usually associated with formal addresses, must also include impromptu remarks,

¹Evidence of this hereafter in Chapter VI.

²Statement of Douglas to writer while walking through the corridor of the Old Senate Building en route to testify before subcommittee on May 21, 1963.



extemporaneous debate, formal prepared speeches delivered from or without manuscripts--all forms of oral verbal communication.

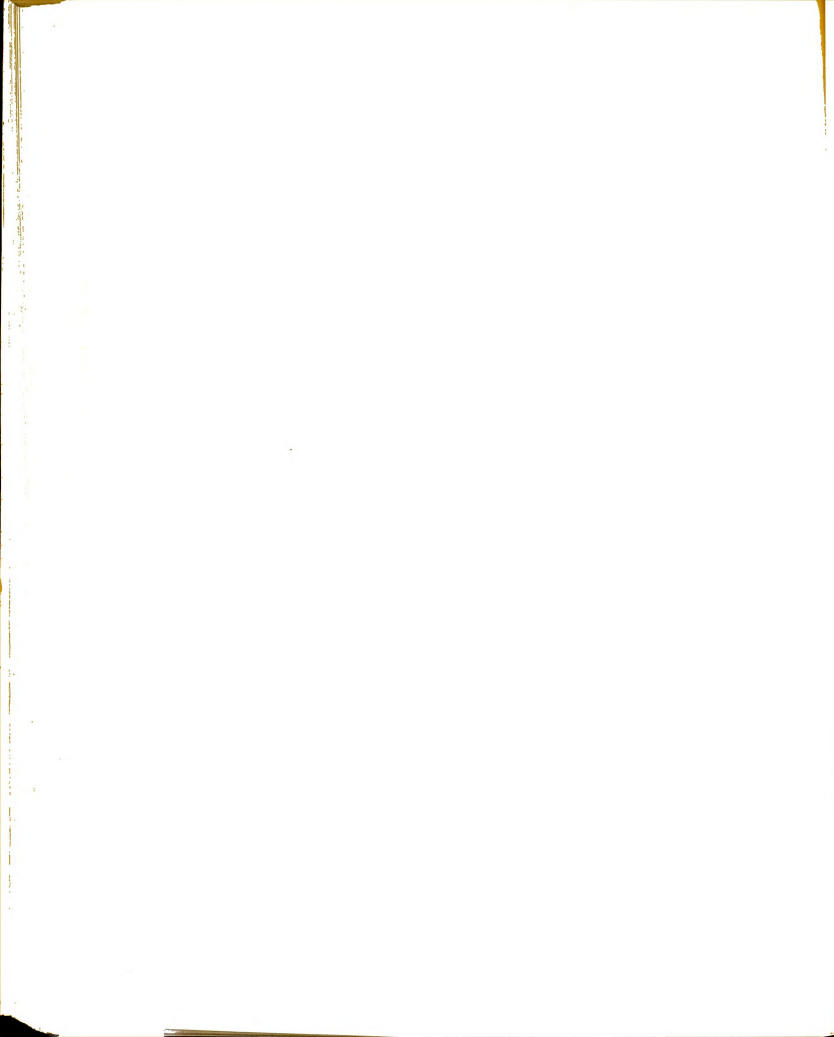
Among those members who have become the most vocal critics of Senate procedure, it has become a handy cliché to say something to the effect that not a single vote is influenced by speeches on the floor.¹ But the causal link between speaking and voting is hard to establish. Another group of Senators who minimize the importance of speech in the Senate are those who feel they are not as effective speakers as some of their colleagues.²

The subject of the importance of speech in the Senate has led Sir Denis Brogan to assert: "Debating in the Senate and still more in the House attracts little public attention since it is expected by millions of voters that the real business is done elsewhere--in the committee rooms. Thus, one of the most important functions of any legislative body--that of being an educational forum--is lost."³ Those who accept Brogan's assertion as valid are quick to characterize the speaking and also attribute causes for the decline.

¹The late Senator Carter Glass found this handy to use in talking about almost every bit of floor action, and more recently, for example, Joseph Clark and William Proxmire have made similar statements.

²See David S. Broder (political reporter for the Washington Post), "Great Speeches aren't Necessarily Good Politics," New York Times Magazine, March 29, 1964, pp. 7, 22, 24, 25.

³Introduction to Congress: The Sapless Branch by Sir Denis Brogan, p. xiii.

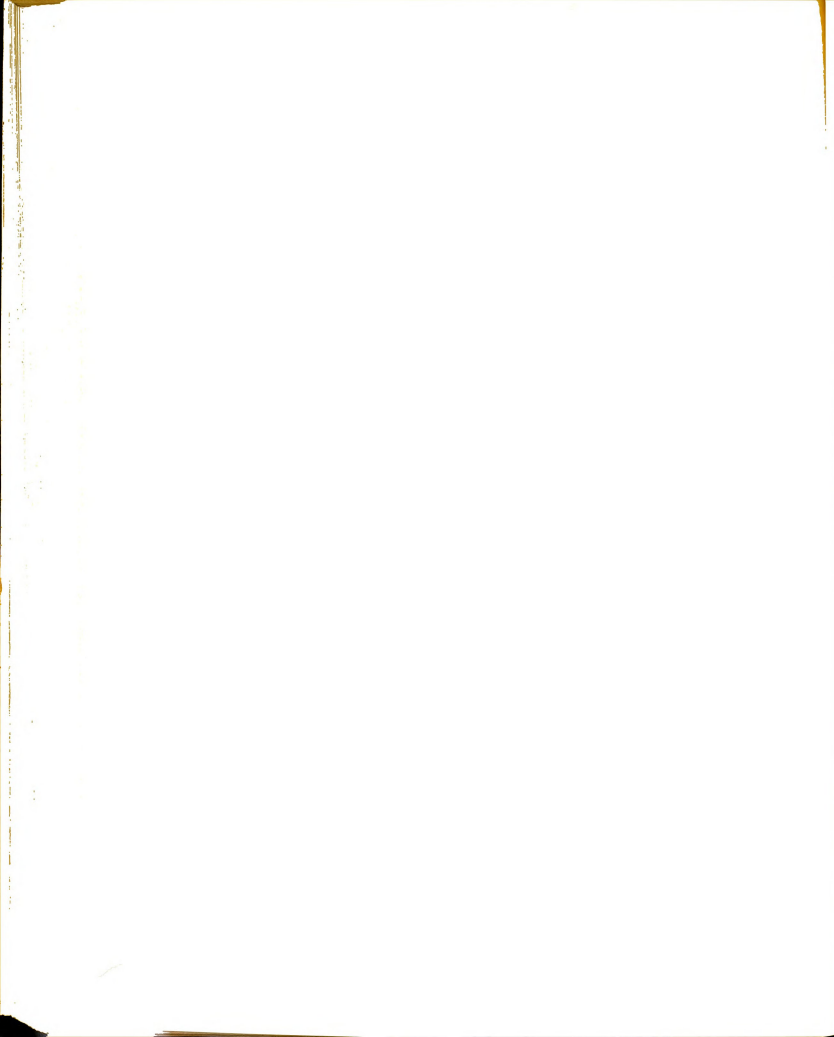


What has happened is that modern politicians have been drawn further and further from the sources of the regional richness of language into the drab uniformity of Federal prose. A variety of styles has tended to merge into a single, shapeless, toneless, and characterless style--a sort of lowest-common-denominator American.

When Webster debated Hayne, the clash was not just of views but of styles--of language as much as of law. But today's New England Yankee inheritors of the Webster mantle stand mute. The region's best orator is probably Senator John Pastore of Rhode Island, an Italian-American who brings a Mediterranean passion to debate. Similarly, the great Southern oratorical tradition is being juggled precariously between generations. Young Russell Long of Louisiana may inherit it from Georgia's Richard Russell, but many question whether he has the intellect and the temperament to carry it well. Sam Ervin of North Carolina and Thruston Morton of Kentucky are almost in the late Alben Barkley's class as storytellers, but who is there in the West or the Midwest who can turn a thought to poetry, as William Jennings Bryan did in this speech on Prohibition? The decline of political oratory is, I believe, directly related to the slovenly standards of speech in Washington. Men come to the capital with some distinctive freshness of expression but their styles are soon ground to pulp by the terrible attrition of communicating in Federal prose with other Congressmen and bureaucrats. Listen to a typical exchange between, say, the Secretary of Treasury in any Administration and the ranking members of the House Ways and Means Committee, and you can believe the English language is dying.¹

No one will debate the fact that speaking in the Senate has changed markedly in the twentieth century--especially in the last decade. Yet speech in the Senate chamber is still an important vehicle in legislative proceedings, as long as the Senate chamber is still the

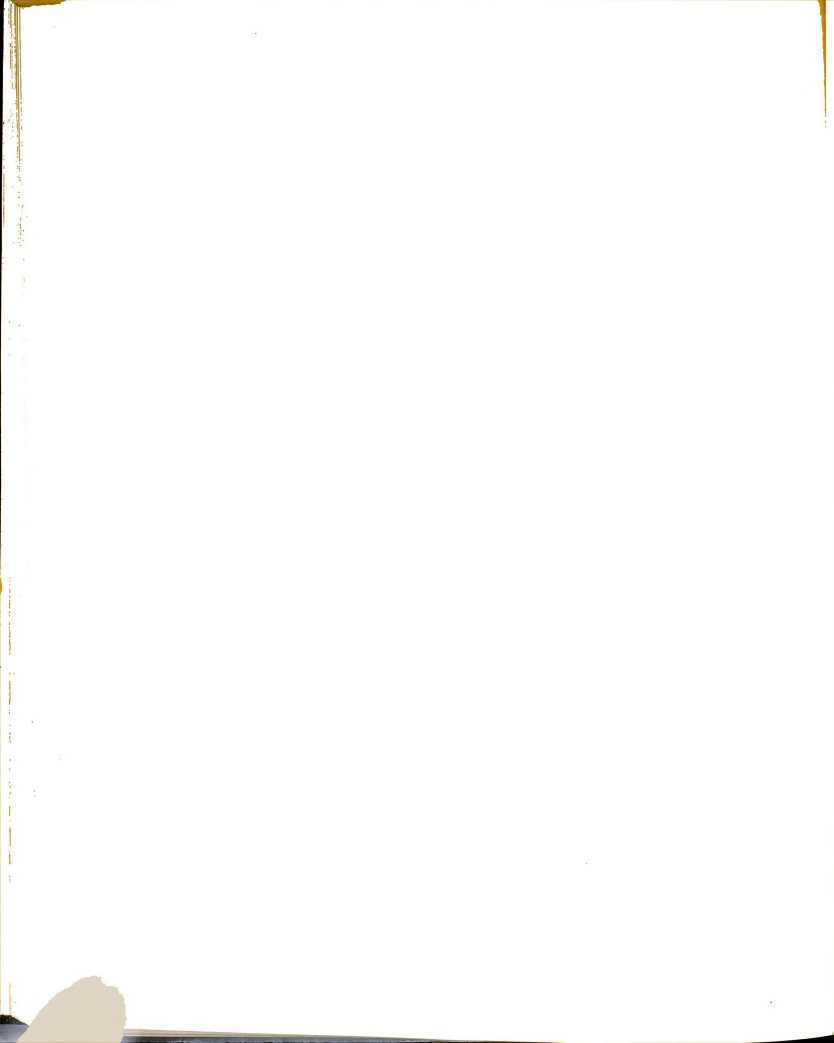
¹Broder, "Great Speeches Aren't Necessarily Good Politics," op. cit., p. 22.



setting for some development, critical evaluation, and finalizing of important legislation. But what changes his public address in the Senate experiment?

History and public education have naturally chosen to enshrine the "finest hours" of the Senate and embellish them: the oratory of Clay, Calhoun, and Webster in the Compromise of 1850 and Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., speaking to halt the armed-ship bill amid a hurricane of denunciation in 1917 are vivid illustrations of great speakers practicing their art in the Senate. These and other memorable occasions of great speaking have become the traditional earmarks of a heritage which mention of the Senate instantaneously connotes to many Americans and sets a standard of expectation by which all speaking in the Senate is to be measured. When Daniel Webster and his colleagues and Fighting Bob LaFollette made their memorable addresses the nation was younger. The number of issues serving as catalytic forces for those speeches, the total number of issues and bills before Congress, the diversity of interests, and pluralistic nature of society represented in the Senate chamber then were less complex than today. It was easier to arrive at a clear-cut stand.¹ Moreover, today competition from the mass media in gaining public

¹Charles Clapp, The Congressman--His Work as He Sees It (The Brookings Institution, December, 1963), p. 127; Clapp asserts that it is a political liability for members of Congress to be too exacting in their stands, because their words in Congress will be used against them by opponents at election time.



attention has called less attention to Senate speaking.

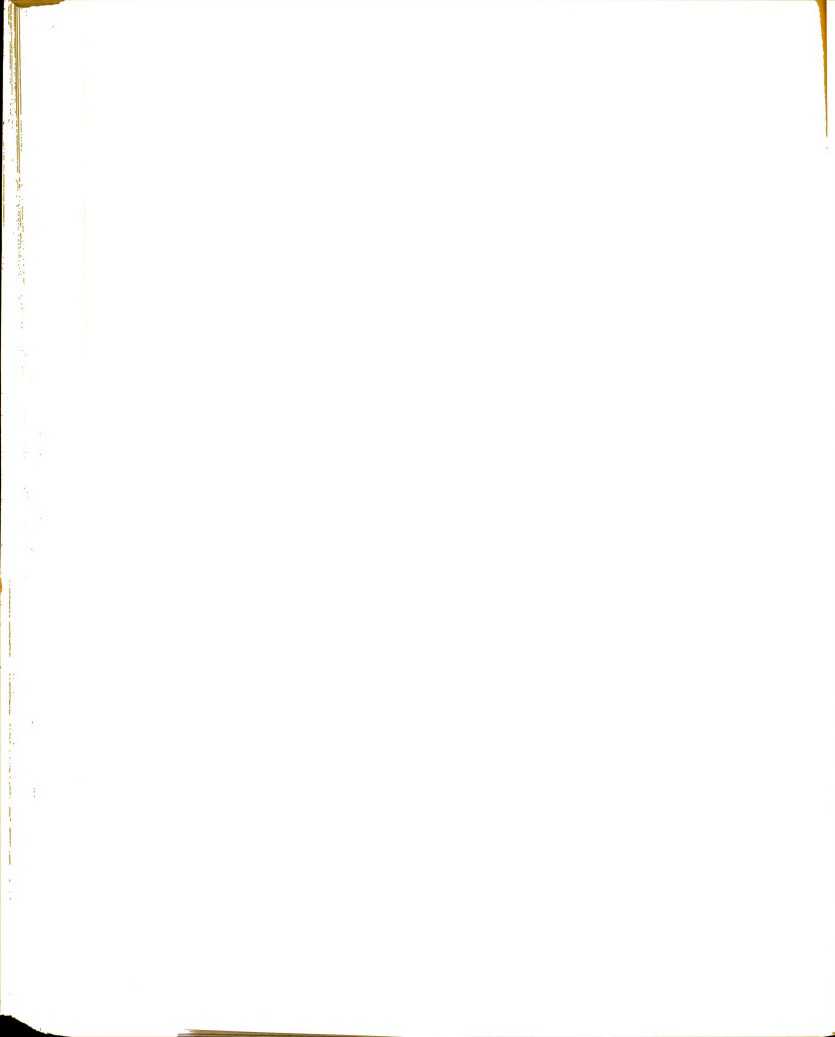
There is no way to measure comparatively how well the top Senate speakers as named by their Senate colleagues in 1959--Hubert Humphrey, Richard Russell, Everett Dirksen, William Knowland, and Paul Douglas--measure up to the great Senate speakers of the past.¹ Nor is there a valid measure to compare the speeches of the past decade, for example, on civil rights, U. S. foreign policy, taxes, reapportionment, and poverty, against great speeches of the past. But compared to the great moments of oratory in the tradition of nineteenth century Senate speaking, the style of speaking in the Senate today, and in America, has become less embellished. Like the speaking in America today outside of the Senate the manner of delivery is more conversational than oratorical.

There is an absence of the grand style of oratory prevalent in nineteenth century oratory and Congressional debate in Congressional speaking. This absence is, however, a reflection of the disappearance of the grand style from all phases of contemporary speaking. This is not to say that Congressional speaking lacks power or substance.²

Most of the old style and delivery went when the Chataaugue

¹Philip K. Thompkins and Wilmer A. Linkugel, "Speech in the Senate," Today's Speech, February, 1959, p. 32.

²Clapp, The Congressman--His Work as He Sees It, p. 126. Congressman Clapp contends that the advent of television has resulted in conversational speaking in Congress--not old-time oratory--because members of Congress become conditioned to the needs of the mass media and the orator does not come through favorably on television. Senator Hubert Humphrey quoted in Broder, "Great Speeches Aren't Necessarily Good Politics," New York Times Magazine, March 29, 1964, p. 25, has reached the same conclusion in nothing that television speaking must be a chat between the politician and the family in their living room, in the manner of the Roosevelt "fireside chats."



Movement was replaced by methods of transmitting information, culture, and entertainment to the public at their doorstep and now in their home.¹ Likewise, the number of occasions in the Senate when a large audience on the floor and in the gallery attentively listen to a speaker has declined as it has in America outside of the Senate.² Is it any less important today?

The 1959 survey by Thompkins and Linkugel in which thirty-six (no names were given) of the ninety-six members of the Senate replied to their questionnaire provides a partial answer.

To what extent does speech influence legislation in the Senate: very little, little, a fair amount, much, very much?

Thirty-four senators answered this question:

Very much	0
Much	4
A fair amount	17
Little	8
Very little	5

Is speech in the Senate today more important, equally important, or less important than one hundred years ago?

Thirty-two senators answered this question. One declined to answer it because, he said, "I wasn't here."

More important	0
Equally important.....	7
Less important.....	25

In the future, do you expect speech in the Senate to be more important, equally important, less important than today?

¹Earl Cain, "Is Senate Debate Significant?" Today's Speech, III (April 1955), pp. 10-12.

²For Douglas' views on the changes in public address in America, see "The Speaker Looks at this Art" in this chapter.



Thirty-one [thirty-two] responded to this question:

More important.....0
Equally important....27
Less important.....5

It is interesting to note that while the senators feel that speech is less important in the Senate than it was 100 years ago, they believe that in the future it will remain as important as it is now.¹

To these open-ended questions, most Senators qualified their answers to indicate that they included speech in committee in defining the questioners' use of "speech in the Senate." There was also evidence of a consensus among the qualified answers that speech in committees had relatively increased a great deal in importance, but no clear conclusion can be drawn from this that speaking on the floor of the Senate has therefore declined.

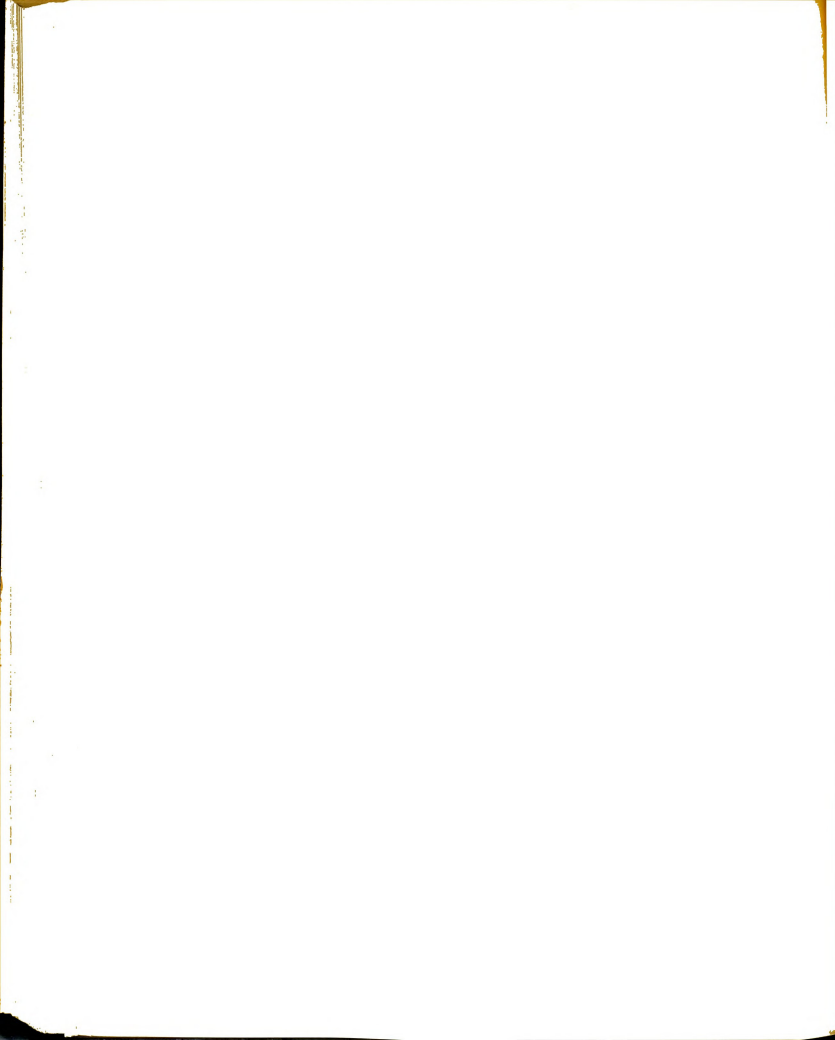
In 1963, Paul Douglas answered the questions:

"What is the role of speech in the Senate today? How significant is public speaking as such today?"²

It is much different than it was, say, twenty or thirty years ago as I know of it, largely due to the tempo of the times and Lyndon Johnson. He was not much of a speaker himself. He wanted to discourage speaking. When you started to speak, he'd come around and tug at your arm and ask you, "How long are you going to speak?" He'd always be pestering you to cut it out [Douglas chuckled], and so forth, and he would leave the floor. He loved to do things in

¹Thompkins and Linkugel, "Speech in the Senate," op. cit., p. 30.

²Questions asked by the writer in interview with Douglas, May 24, 1963.



cloakroom. I would say there has been a steady diminution of the kind of speeches you had thirty years ago. Don't you think so?

Nevertheless, it is very important. You get votes from speaking. And what is very important, you get material across to influence your colleagues and your constituents through the Record. And I would have to say that the indirect influence is more important than the direct influence. But there should be no mistaking the fact that speech is still a very necessary and important form of communication on the Senate floor.¹

Administrative Assistant Shuman has stated "that the quality of speakers in the Senate has declined today because too few of its members are willing to engage in debate and controversy in analyzing issues before them."²

The question of how significant public speaking is in the Senate today defies any clear-cut answer. In setting the scene for critical evaluation of Douglas' speaking to follow, summarily, these broad conclusions can be made at this time: (1) Speaking in the Senate has changed in style and delivery in the past thirty years and especially the past decade, and can be characterized as less "oratorical" and more conversational; (2) the changes in Senate speaking reflect the changes in the public address of the nation; and (3) the role of speech on the Senate floor, if it has taken on new characteristics, is still important in the legislative process.

¹ Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

² Statement by Shuman in Interview with the writer May 22, 1963.



The main facets of decorum, customs, traditions, manners, mores, and procedures--the conditions--encouraging and inhibiting floor speaking warrant some attention in better understanding the speaking of Douglas and speech in the Senate.¹ The opening statement of Douglas in his maiden speech provides an appropriate beginning for that discussion of factors affecting speech in the Senate.

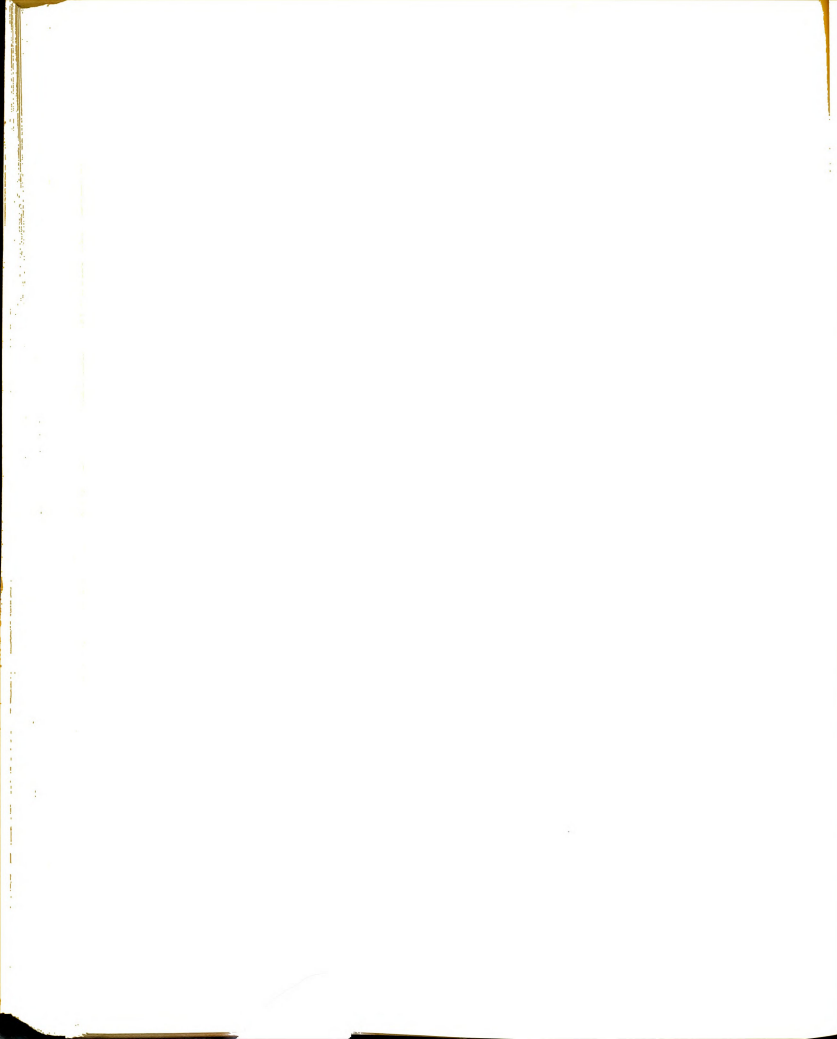
Mr. President, as a freshman Senator, with, I hope some sense of modesty, I had not planned on speaking before this body for some time, and then to speak only on substantive questions, and not on procedural matters.²

By "modesty," Douglas really meant that it was downright brash of him to take the floor for a speech so soon after entering that body. It is common knowledge that a new Senator is, out of respect, expected to direct the use of his communication skills to critical listening and reading, not speaking. On this point, the late President Kennedy recalls of his early days in the Senate:

After I had been in the Senate about two months in 1953, I got up to take part in the debate as a new member. And, after speaking for a few minutes, I sat down near Senator Hayden and said, "Senator, what's the difference between the Senate as you knew it and now?"

¹See also for more detail Clapp, The Congressman--His Work as He Sees It, op. cit., passim, and George H. Haynes, The Senate of the United States (New York: Russell and Russell, 1960), passim.

²Press release of text of speech by Paul H. Douglas, "The Surrender to the Filibuster," delivered March 17, 1949, in the U. S. Senate.



And the Senator said, "New members did not speak in those days." So I went back to my seat.¹

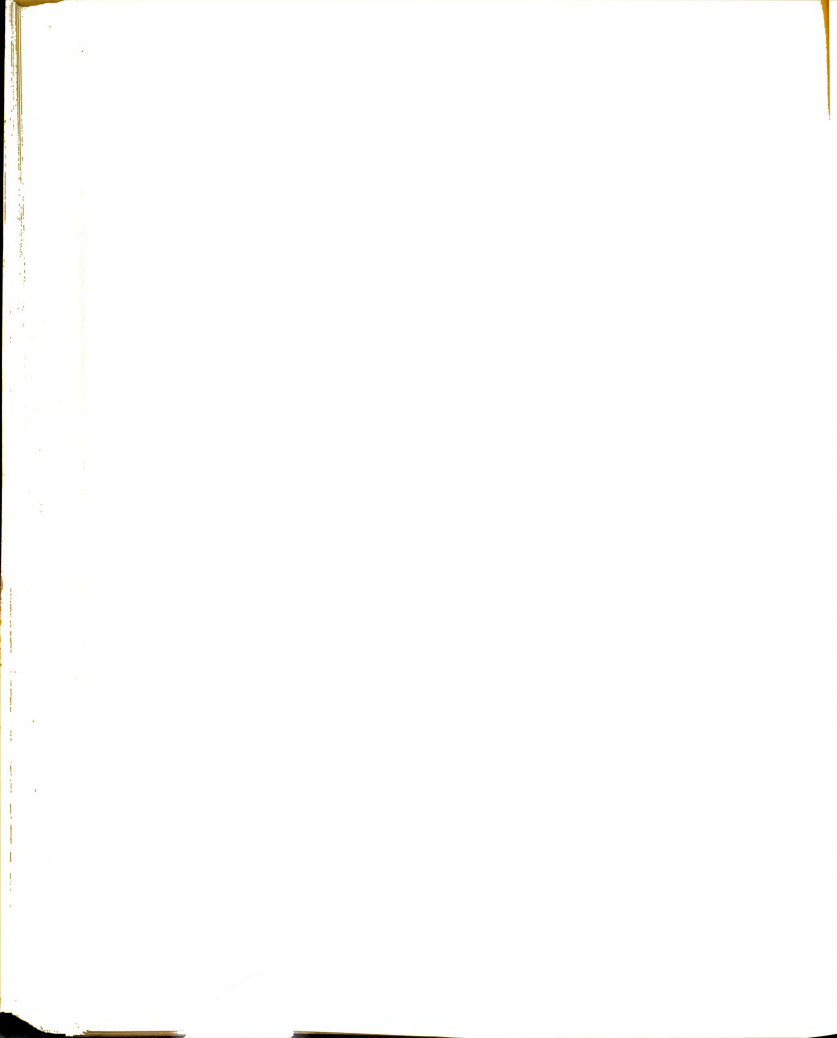
Joseph Clark sums up his recollections of a ninety-minute lesson he received from his self-sought tutor, Senator Humphrey, prior to entering the Senate in 1957. "In essence he [Humphrey] said. 'Keep your mouth shut and your eyes open...Paul Douglas and I will help you. Lyndon Johnson runs the Senate...And above all keep your mouth shut for a while.'"² Thus, in the tradition of the Senate, this one unwritten rule for a new Senator greatly inhibits his participation as a speaker.

Noise on the senate floor may be another cause for discouraging speaking. This situation has led James Reston to comment caustically: "The effect of giving a Senator an opportunity to talk to an attentive audience is much the same as giving a dog a succulent bone. In both instances the reaction is to both drool and bark."³ However, the "barking" has to be louder to compete with the other activities on the floor. Customs such as this one affect speaking in the Senate, so of course do the written rules and procedure.

¹Tom Wicker, "It is the People Who Face the Test," New York Times Magazine, December 8, 1963, p. 115.

²Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

³Ibid., p. 221.



The rules of the Senate¹ allow much more latitude for debate than the House. The traditional assumption has had it that the Senate as the smaller of the two bodies should be the forum for debate--the debating society of Federal Government.

While debate in the House is subject to a strictly enforced rule of germaneness with a time limitation on speeches, the Senate is more lenient.² It is possible for Senators to go on in wearisome and irrelevant talk on the floor, if they wish to do so, such as in the case of filibusters. The current Senate's most outspoken critic of its procedure, Joseph Clark, has this to say about the leniency of Senate rules on debate:

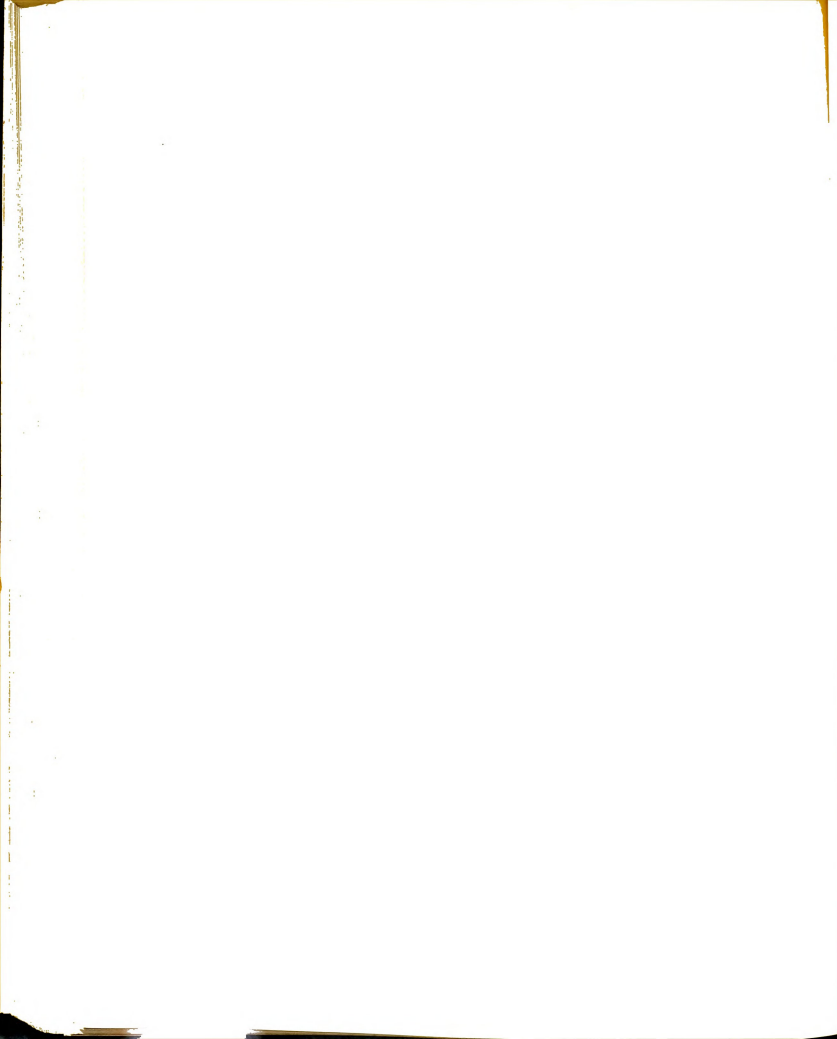
This is not to say that debate does not sometimes rise to high levels, particularly in the short, sharp clash of minds in colloquy just before a controversial bill goes to vote. It does. But there are small oases in a desert of tediousness.³

Another detrimental result of this lack of ruling on germaneness, Clark goes on to say:

¹See Rules and Manual of the United States Senate, annual edition, containing Standing Rules and Orders of the Senate, Jefferson's Manual and Cleaves' Manual, Watkins and Riddick on Senate procedure; also Haynes, The Senate of the United States, op. cit.

²Senator John Pastore of Rhode Island, floor-managed a rules change in January, 1964, which now requires debate to be germane for three hours each day.

³Clark, Congress: The Senseless Branch, op. cit., p. 74.



...is they [Senators] often attempt to communicate when they have nothing to say. This has resulted in those devastating reprints of the Congressional Record appearing from time to time in the New Yorker under the heading "Wind on Capitol Hill." It has also made Congressmen [Senators and Representatives] the butt of many a cartoon, Litchy's "Senator Snort" being the prototype.¹

But one cannot indict the rule for the abuse resulting by irresponsible practitioners. The privileges or opportunity for greater freedom of expression carries with it a responsibility to use it appropriately.

The lack of rules imposing limitations on speaking, epitomized by the right to filibuster, is peculiar only to the U. S. Senate. Once a Senator gains the floor, he has the right to it until he relinquishes it voluntarily or because of exhaustion. This right to unlimited debate, which can be terminated only by cloture, can be used to delay the proceedings in order to prevent a vote.² In August of 1957 Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina set the record for filibuster by holding the floor continuously for twenty-four

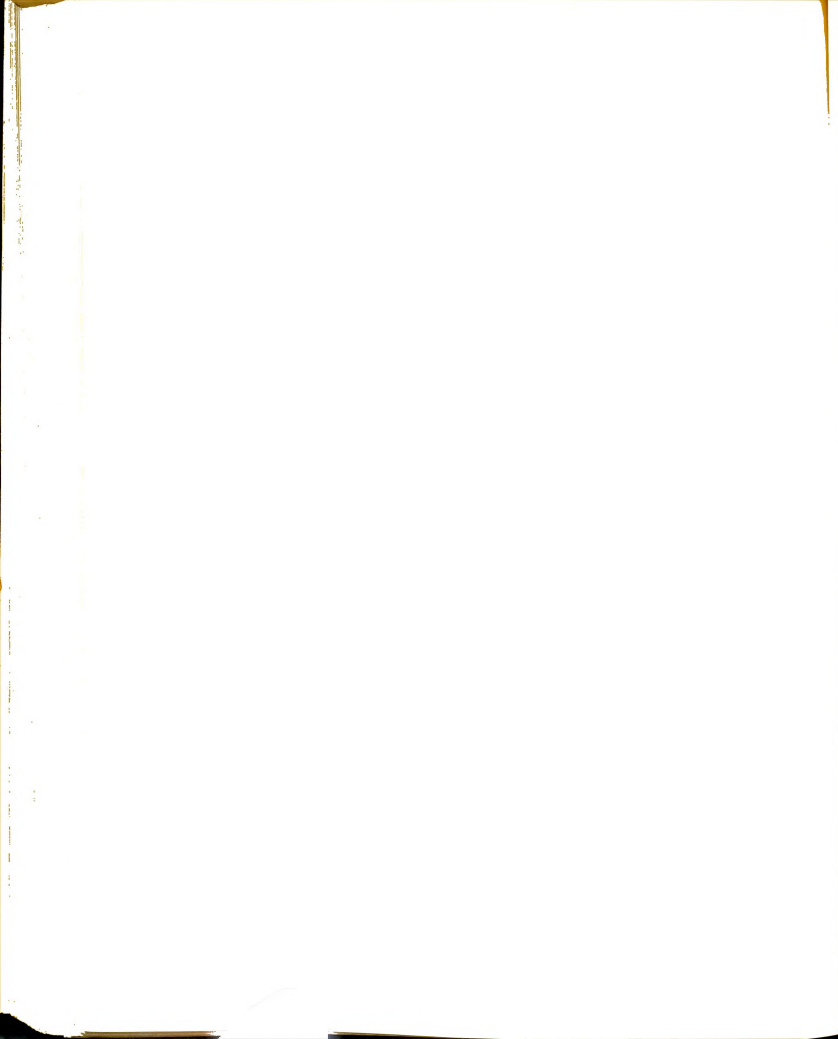
¹Ibid., p. 74.

²In August, 1964, Paul Douglas lead a filibuster against the "Dirksen-Mansfield Amendment-rider" on the 1964 "Foreign Aid Money Bill" designed to delay the effects of the U. S. Supreme Court ruling that both houses of state legislatures must be apportioned by population.

When asked how long talk would go on, Douglas replied, "Until we win this battle." Douglas told the Senate Friday, August 14, 1964, the objective of the Dirksen-Mansfield proposal is to buy time so that a proposed constitutional amendment to nullify the Supreme Court's one-man one-vote decision could be pushed through malapportioned legislatures.

"The attempt to attach the rider to the foreign-aid bill was designed to place it beyond the power of a Presidential veto, he said."

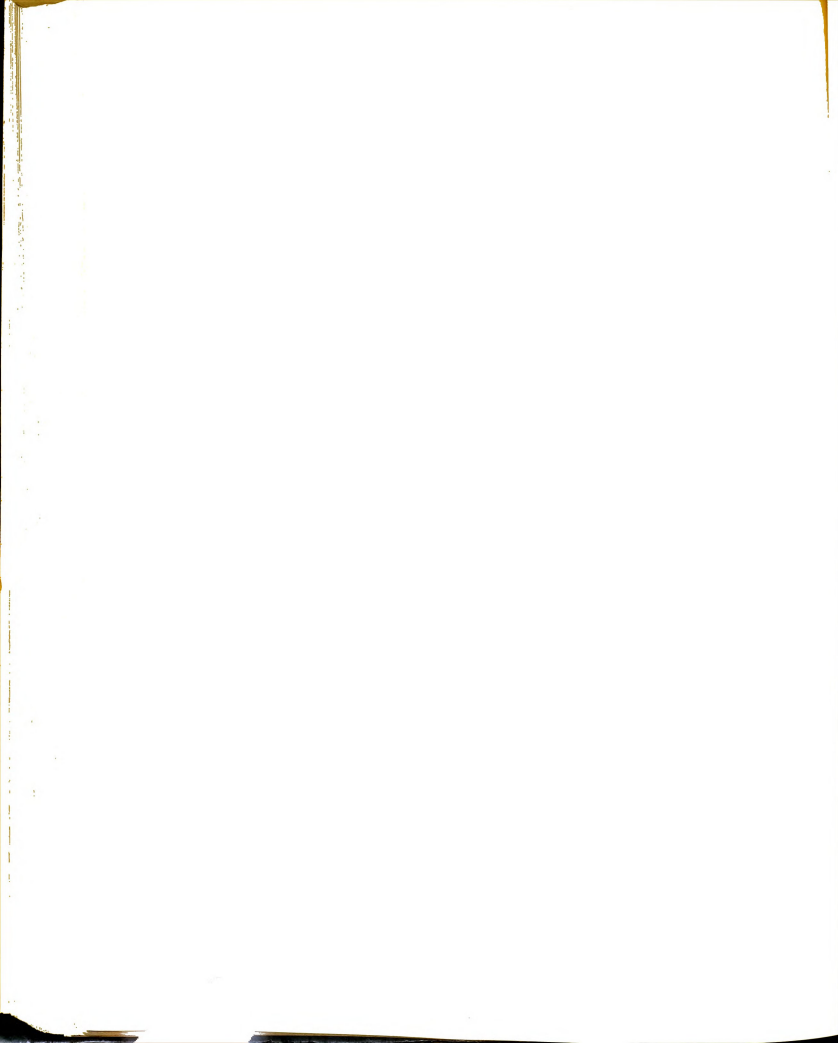
Quoted in Lansing State Journal, Saturday, August 15, 1964 front page.



hours and eighteen minutes¹ during the debate on the 1957 Civil Rights Bill which was floor-managed by Douglas. Under the rule of cloture, adopted in 1917 and contained in famous Rule XXII, members sign a petition, one day later the question of curtailing debate is put to a vote. If two-thirds of the Senators vote for cloture, then Senators wishing to speak on the motion may speak for no more than an hour before the motion is brought to a vote. Cloture can be applied to all motions except those calling for a change in the Senate rules, which means that a filibuster to prevent a vote on a motion to change Senate rules curtailing filibusters could not be terminated by cloture.

If the filibuster is considered undesirable, it can be outlawed only by an advisory ruling from the Chair by the Vice-President at the beginning of each Congress allowing the Senate to adopt its own rules by a majority vote. Vice-President Nixon so ruled in 1959 and 1961, but it did not receive the necessary votes to carry. If such a ruling had passed, it would have allowed the opportunity for debate to be terminated by majority rule and at the same time ended the concept of the Senate being a continuing body whose rules carry over from one Congress to another.

¹Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, op. cit., p. 190. Remarks during a filibuster need not be germane. A 1961 study by Senator Clark and his staff found nongermane speeches occupied one-third of the Record, excluding insertions of printed matter.



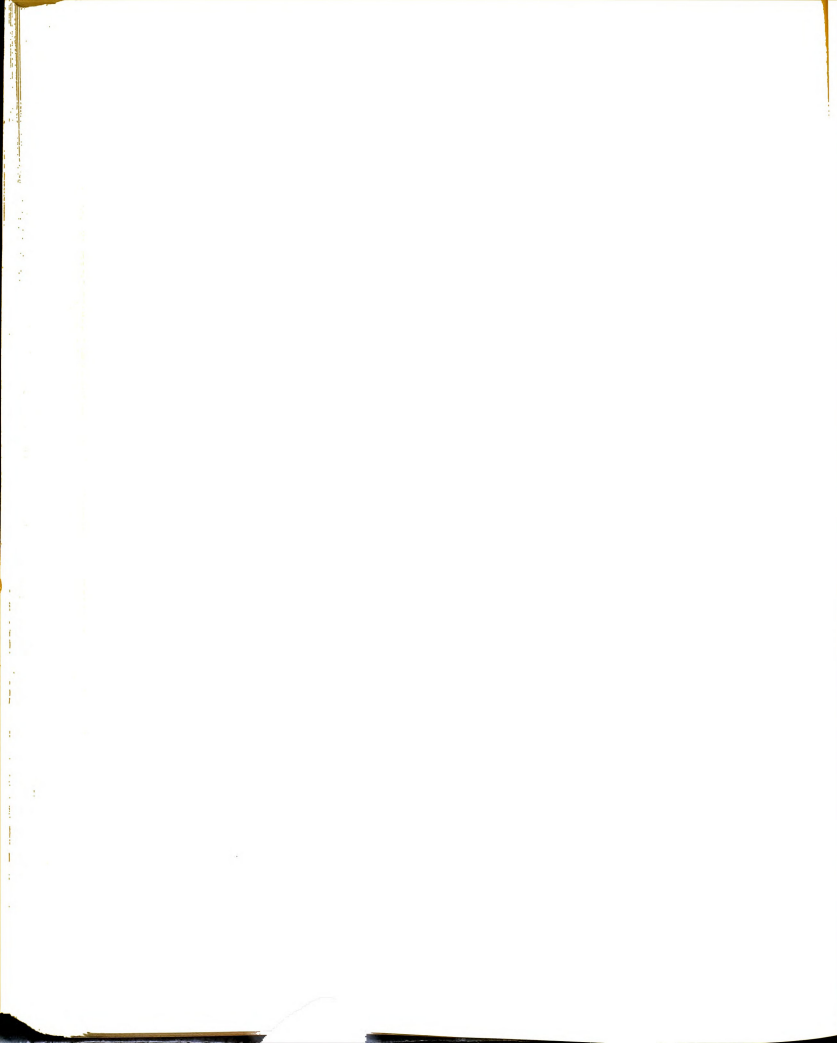
When Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson was asked to rule on this matter in 1963, he took the position that any such constitutional ruling must be made by the Senate itself, not by its constitutional presiding officer, thus, revising the Nixon advisory ruling.

The technicalities of parliamentary law in the Senate affecting speaking are many. The rule that any Senator may raise the question as to the presence of a quorum at any time allows for bringing an audience to the chamber long enough to answer the roll-call.¹ And this

¹Senator Clark, Congress: The Sapless Branch, pp. 192-195, reports an interesting account of the difficulty he experienced in attempting to have Senators in attendance to hear his argument for an amendment he wished to present. On Tuesday, November 26, 1963, I was prepared to call up an amendment to a "continuing resolution" proposed by the Appropriations Committee permitting government departments to continue spending until January 11, 1963, at the rate appropriated for the preceding year. Some such continuing resolution was necessary since at that time only four of the twelve regular appropriations bills had been passed. My amendment would have changed the date to December 31, 1963. Hopefully this would have expedited action on the appropriation bills.... I was anxious to get as many Senators as possible to the floor to hear my argument. Since I was going to ask for a roll call vote I needed at least eleven Senators on the floor to join in my request for the "ayes and nays".

The continuing resolution was called up at around one o'clock, when most Senators were eating lunch. To prevent immediate passage of the resolution by voice vote I had to call up my amendment right away. There were half a dozen Senators on the floor. I suggested the absence of a quorum. The clerk called the roll. The bells rang twice in the Senate side of the Capitol and in the two Senate Office Buildings where committee rooms and Senators' offices are located. A few Senators drifted into the chamber, answered their names and departed....

The clerk having completed calling the roll, a quorum not being present, Danny Incuye, Senator from Hawaii, who was in the chair, directed Ted Mansure, the clerk, to "call the roll of the absentees." The bells rang three



rule is hard to reconcile with another rule stating that no Senator shall interrupt another in debate without his consent, and to obtain consent, he shall first address the chair.

times, more Senators filed in, answered to their names and departed.... I knew then that fifty-one Senators had answered to their names and that a quorum was technically present.... There were only seven Senators in the chamber, four less than the number necessary to get the "ayes and naves."

"A quorum is present," repeated Inouye. I was on my feet. "Mr. President, the Senator from Pennsylvania takes judicial notice of the fact that a quorum is not present and asks the clerk to observe that there are only seven Senators present in the chamber," I said.

Danny consulted Floyd Riddick, the assistant Parliamentarian. Then he announced, "The record shows that a quorum responded."

I was in a quandary. Under the rules I could not ask for another quorum call until the Senate "transacted business." I searched my mind for a quick way out and began to talk rather aimlessly, hoping some bright idea would come to me.

Relief came from an unexpected quarter. Everett Dirksen broke in.

"Mr. President, is it the transaction of business to address a parliamentary inquiry to the chair?" he said.

Danny conferred with Riddick briefly and then told him that it was not.

"Is it the transaction of business to ask unanimous consent to insert a matter in the Record?" Dirksen said.

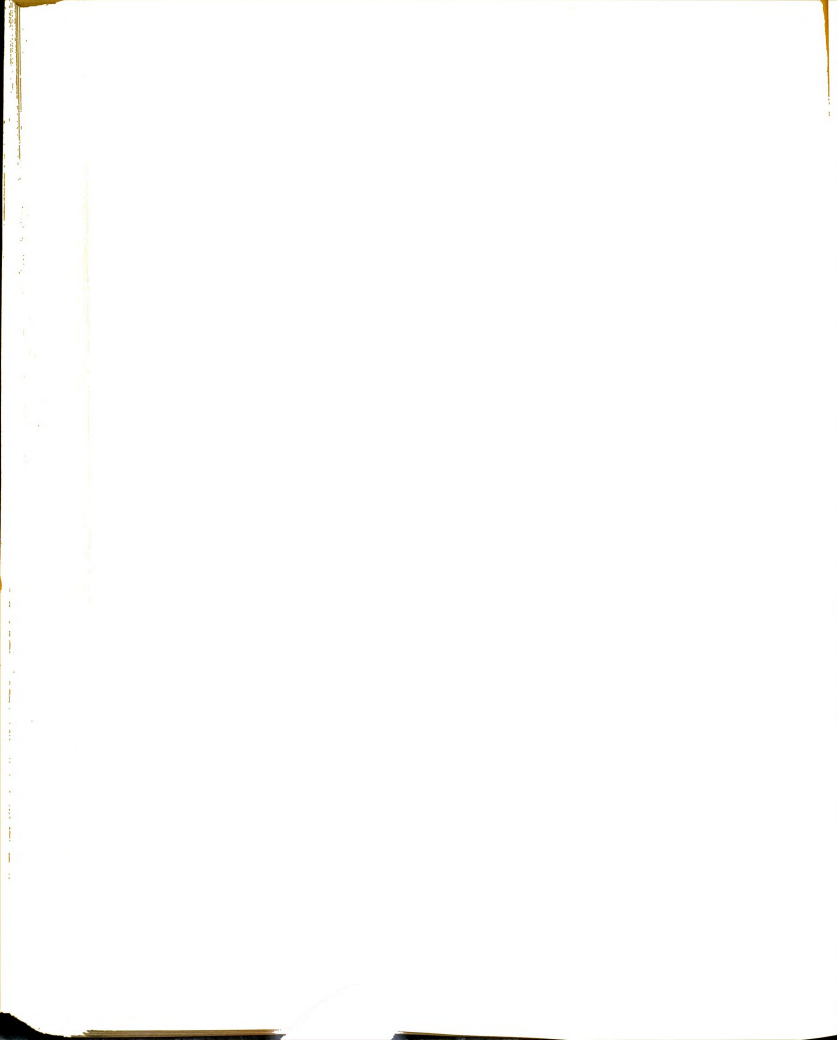
Danny turned to Riddick again. Then he announced that it would be if the request was granted.

Dirksen asked me to yield, which I was glad to do. He then got unanimous consent to make an insertion in the Record and turned to me.

"Go ahead, Joe, get your quorum call," he said, "but call it off when you get enough Senators here to give you the "ayes and naves".

I was happy to comply. Sixteen Senators showed up a few minutes later. I got the ayes and naves ordered, and we went ahead with a two-hour debate on my amendment. It failed to pass 20-63.

This incident is typical. Except just before a roll-call vote which has been announced in advance, Senators will not come to the floor.

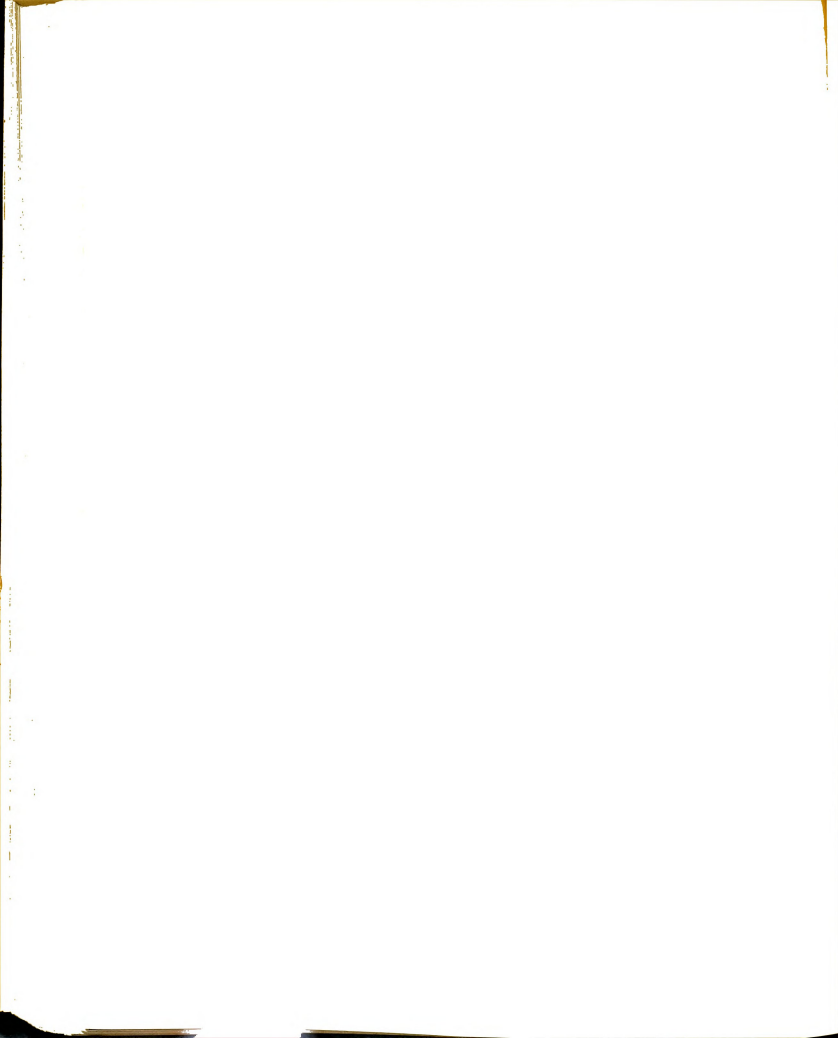


Votes on most decisions are by a simple viva-voce vote in response to the presiding officer's call for "ayes and nays." A division is called on important matters to second the vote. Unanimous consent may be asked from the chair with a near empty chamber, and if no objection is voiced, business may proceed on the matter in question. Senators and the presiding officer usually use discretion in manipulating the rules in the tradition of "live and let live," but because they are loosely interpreted they are sometimes abused. Above all, they do serve in the parliamentary tradition of protecting the individual and minorities, if those desiring protection call for the use and application of the rules for that purpose. There are those who contend that the rules of the Senate are made to be broken because the body of Senators act as a law unto themselves. Perhaps the late Senator Henry Cabot Lodge put it well when he said about the transaction of business and rules to govern the Senate:

Under these century-old rules, for which there is often a fine disregard, the Senate still transacts its business, largely by unanimous consent, and with a consideration for the wishes and convenience of each Senator very agreeable to them, although not a little laughed at by an irreverent public.¹

Yet the rules of this continuous body, many of which date back to 1789 and the first Congress impede

¹Henry Cabot Lodge, Quoted in Haynes, The Senate of the United States, op. cit., p. 338.



constructive speaking and more responsible action. Many of those rules still in existence were intended to serve a body consisting of some twenty members. One is the requirement that the Journal of the preceding day's session is to be read the following day unless unanimous consent to dispense with the reading is obtained. An obsolete rule from the days when the Journal was kept in longhand, the reading is now utilized for purposes of delay. Another is the morning period reserved for minor business called the "morning hour," but which lasts much longer. More expeditious conduct of this non-legislative business would leave more time for the speaking on legislation. Still another, the absence of rules to encourage speaking germane to the matter at issue, is time consuming and in fact drives an audience away from the chamber.

In recent years innumerable proposals to update the parliamentary procedures of the Senate have been unsuccessful. Along with the introduction of reform bills on the floor of the Senate, the Congressional Record has been filled in recent years with news articles attacking Congressional performance and attributing its cause to inadequate rules and procedure. So far this band of reformers--Senators Clinton Anderson, Clark, Douglas, Proxmire, E. L. Bollett, Thomas Kuchel, Clifford Case, Jacob Javits, Pastore, Frank Church, and Leverett Saltonstall--have had to rationalize temporarily their lack of success for improving the conditions of the arena for more constructive public address in statements such as the one made

recently by Charles Clapp. Clapp contends that parliamentary law is not too totally important, only in a few maneuvering cases or in blocking or obstructing bills. It is not basic to success. "Expertness is handy but not significant."¹

On behalf of himself and Paul Douglas, Howard Shuman, drawing upon his speech training and knowledge of debate, has outlined a very definite proposal for improving conditions for debate in the Senate:

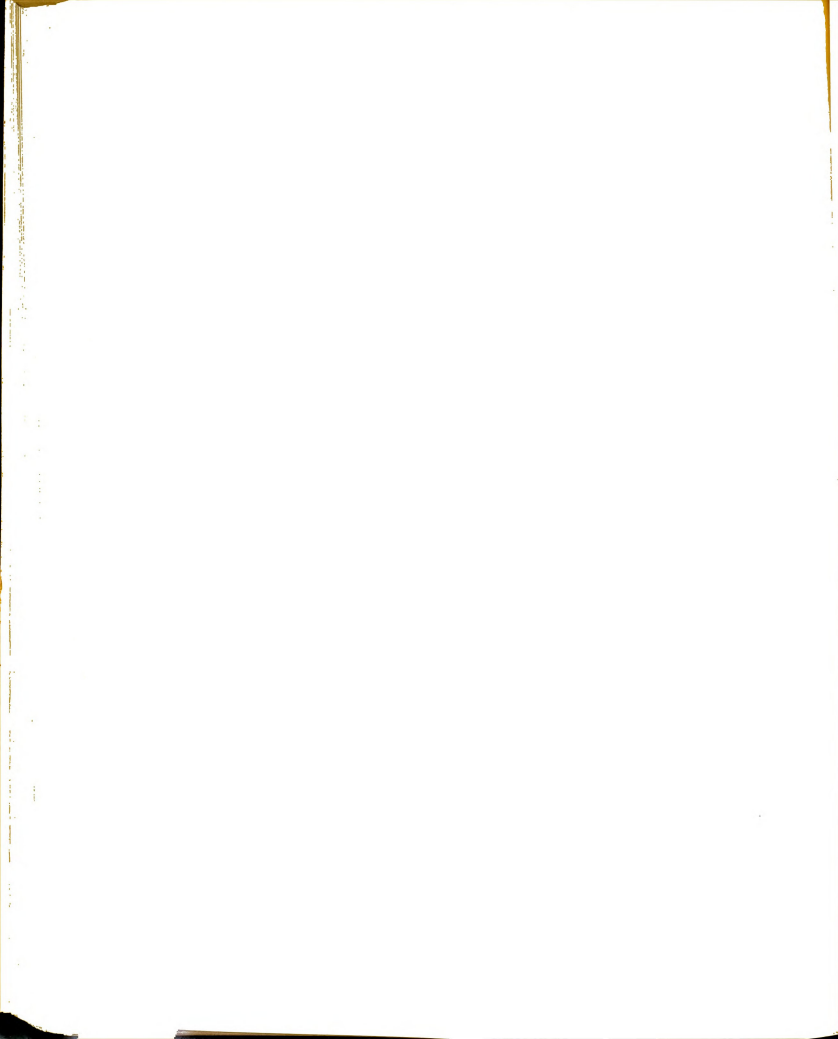
Debates on great issues should be scheduled in the Senate. On such and such a date, a debate on foreign policy should be scheduled with a specific resolution. Each side should pick speakers and limit each of them to speak for say 20 minutes alternatively for and against the resolution. Debates could be scheduled on economic policy, the budget, civil rights, and foreign policy. This would result in the Senate having more influence. It would serve to sharpen party lines in a desirable way. Most importantly, it would make the Senate a better debating institution for which it was intended to be.

Now it tends to be hit and miss in debating. True debating of this kind only takes place now under unanimous consent when a bill is passed.²

Shuman's proposal, like others for improving procedures and conditions for speech and debate in the Senate, assumes that the Senate can and should do much more to fill a potential role it has for great speaking. His proposal, like most of the others, does not presume that speech in

¹Clapp, op. cit., p. 127.

²Interview with Shuman, op. cit.



the Senate is not of significance today, but that it could be much more important, that the Senate is the place for great debating.

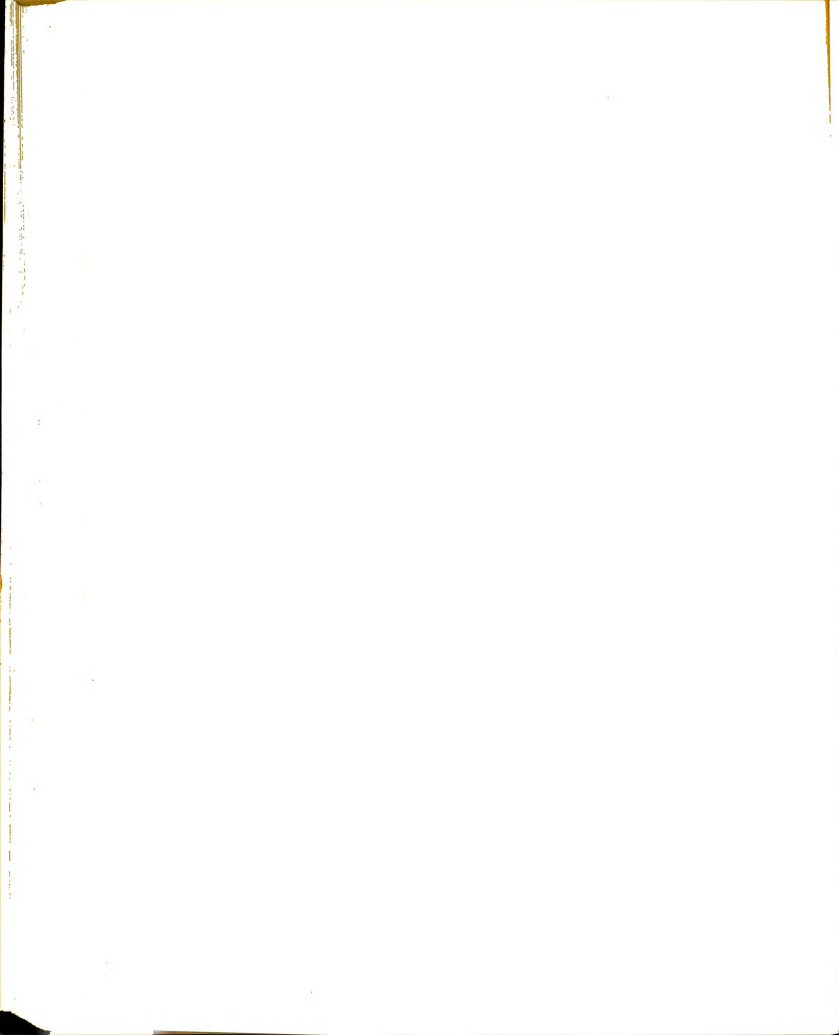
Also affecting the speaking in the Senate is the process by which a proposal becomes a law. The process can take as many as 28 stages with several variations depending upon the type of bill and other variables.¹

Speech is, however, encouraged in the Senate by the absolute immunity members have for whatever they say on the floor, before a Congressional committee, or in connection with Congressional business. They may not be sued for libel or slander nor in any way called to question before any court.

To preserve conditions for this freedom, electronic equipment of the mass media is barred from audibly and visibly recording activities in the Chamber by a rule of the Senate. The fact that voters may and do make known their disapproval and the Senate can discipline members whose remarks are not in good taste does, however, tend to temper public address.

Of particular importance to speaking in Congress is the matter of the ethos of individual speakers. How members perceive a fellow speaker in terms of competence, high character, good will, and also the position of leadership and power he holds, as a result of these factors

¹See, for example, Stephen K. Bailey, Congress Makes a Law (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950).



or others greatly affect responses to his public address. Charles Clapp, in his recent study of the House of Representatives, cites an opinion equally relevant to the Senate and in studying the speaking of any Senate member.

Most House members are more impressed by who is making a speech about a particular proposition than by what is said on the subject. I am not saying that they would just judge by whether or not they like an individual. What is important is their evaluation of his knowledge and mastery of the subject and his experience in the field.¹

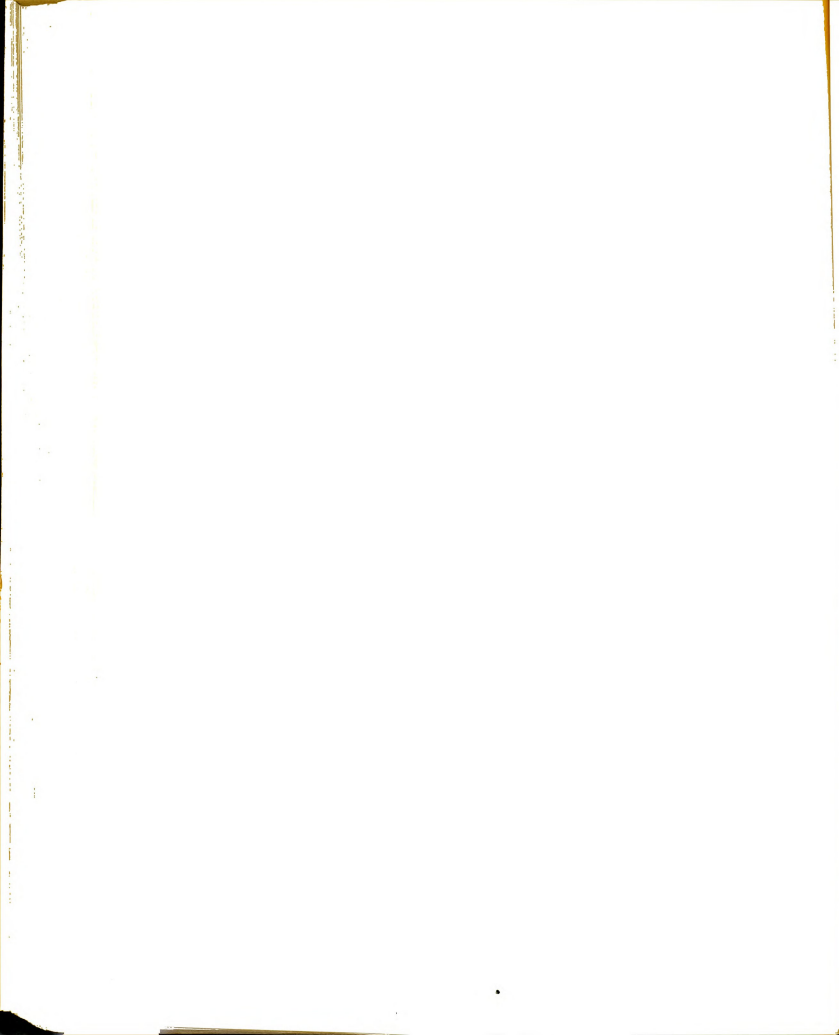
Congressman Jerry Voorhis, however, takes quite a different stand and stresses the importance of the substantive material, although he seems to concur with Clapp that the credibility of the individual speaker is important--especially as perceived by his audience through the confident delivery and substance of the speech.

By and large it may be said that evident sincerity, simple directness and naturalness of delivery, and assumed self-confidence are vital factors in Congressional speaking.

But the most persuasive element of all is persuasive content--fact and argument which are clear and convincing not only to the speaker but to the listening members...the one indispensable factor in effective Congressional speaking is to give the House or the Senate the impression that they are listening to one who has mastered all the essential facts and perfectly certain he is right.

The one paramount desire of the members is to be as certain as possible that they can defend the position they take when the vote is cast.... The want to know as nearly as possible the exact reasons for their own actions. Aside from the desire of a high percentage of members that they have done the right thing, there looms

¹Clapp, op. cit., p. 125.



the absolute necessity [from the Congressman's viewpoint] of persuading his constituents that he did the right thing.

The Congressional audience is composed not of people who come to listen, but of potential speakers, most of whom will, at the beginning of a speech at least, harbor the belief that they themselves could do the job better.¹

Both of these men and referring to factors of ethos, and the ethos of Paul H. Douglas will be a major criterion in judging his effectiveness as a Senate speaker.

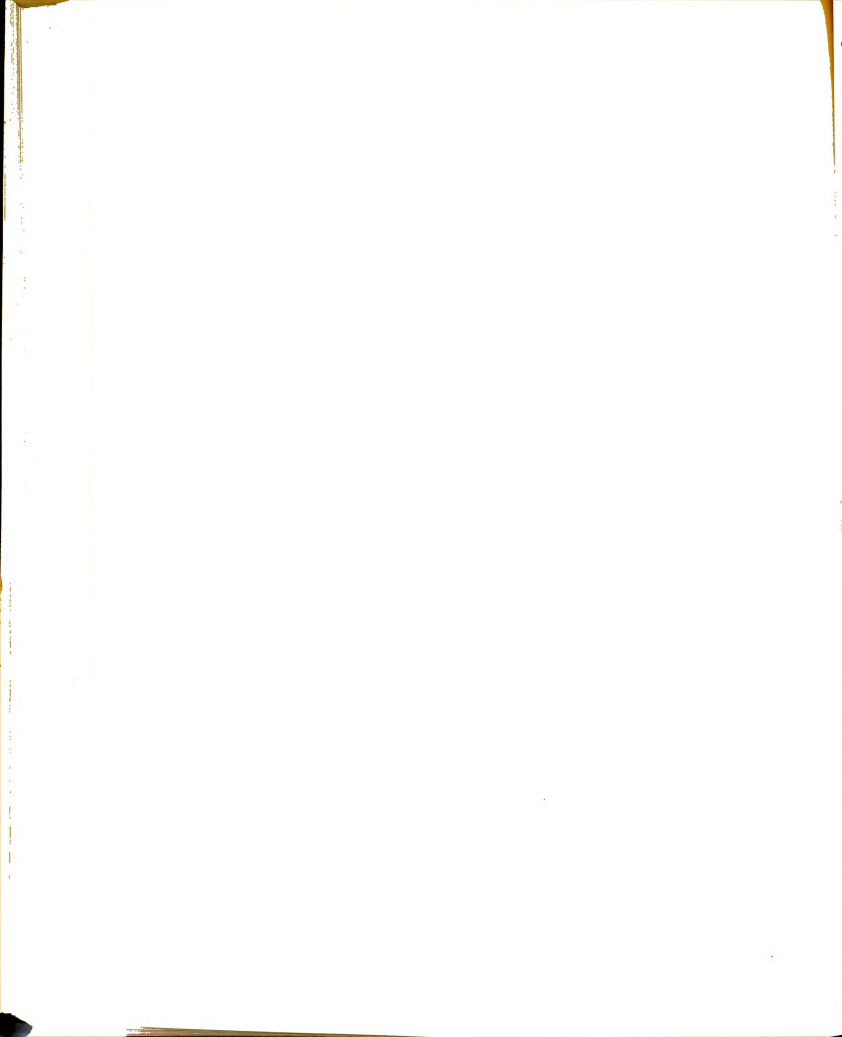
In viewing contemporary speaking in the Senate, one conclusion seems clear. The U. S. Senate Chamber of the mid-twentieth century is more than an ennobling shrine to its past public address. It is a living forum for important speaking of the present and the future. Earl Cain, a rhetorical critic studying debate in the Senate, has concluded:

In our representative system of government, Senate debate serves to function as advice, counsel, and reflection. A Senator may not always seek to persuade his colleagues nor even hope to change public opinion on an issue. But the fact that he has the right of debate and the privilege of publicity in the Congressional Record and in the press guarantees a full hearing for his arguments. In this guarantee lies the significance of contemporary Senate debate.²

The Senator has to adjust the invention of his speeches to focus through two lenses: face-to-face communication and the indirect influence of speaking in the Senate resulting from its written record, the Congressional Record.

¹Jerry Voorhis. "Effective Speaking in Congress," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 34 (December, 1948), p. 463.

²Cain, "Is Senate Debate Significant?" op. cit., p. 27.



The Congressional Record

On a late afternoon in November of 1961, Paul Douglas was on his feet addressing the Senate; Senator Warren Magnuson stopped momentarily as he walked by and in low tones informed him that nobody was listening.¹ To that, Douglas might have replied in effect that he was "speaking for the record."

It is not unusual for any speaker to use the phrase, "speaking for the record," to arrest special attention and cue his audience for a special point, clarify a statement, or refute a misquotation of a statement he has made earlier. But in the houses of Congress, when a speaker says he is speaking for the record, although it could be to rationalize a lack of attention, it usually has a very concise meaning. The record denotes the Congressional Record.²

A Senator uses the Record to project himself, in a favorable way to his colleagues, related individuals and

¹"In the Kitchen with Maggie," Time, November 24, 1961, p. 12.

²For a history and criticism of the Record see Elizabeth Gregory McPherson. "Reporting the Debates of Congress," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. XXVIII (April, 1942), pp. 141-148; Elizabeth Gregory McPherson, "Major Publications of Gales and Seaton," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. XXXI (December 1945), pp. 430-439; Richard L. Neuberger, "The Congressional Record is Not a Record," New York Times Magazine, April 20, 1958, pp. 14, 94-95; Reprinted in the Congressional Record--Senate, Vol. 104:5, April 21, 1958, pp. 6816-118; Lon Robinson, "Are Speeches in Congress Reported Accurately," Quarterly Journal of Speech, Vol. XXVIII (February, 1942), pp. 8-12.

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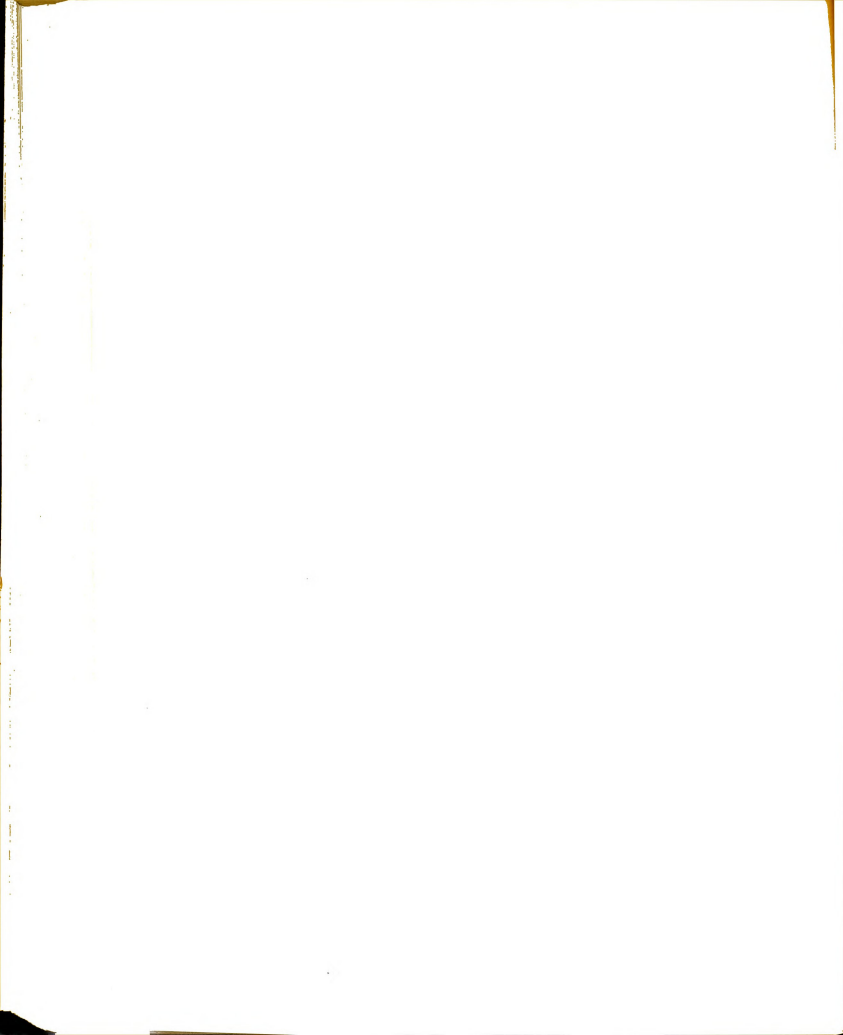
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groups, and constituents. From it he gains ideas for legislation and speeches. Its "Daily Digest" section provides him with a capsule record of current activities in Congress, enabling him to become aware of matters that might otherwise escape his attention.

The Record is divided into four sections: House floor activities, Senate floor activities, an appendix, and the daily digest. Approximately 47,000 copies are circulated each day.¹ The main receivers in this circulation outside of Washington are state politicians, educational institutions, editors, authors, teachers, union officials, interest groups, and opinion leaders in every segment of life. The nature of readership is an important factor in audience adaptation for Congressional delegates in preparing their contributions. Each daily issue, averaging 150 pages of small print, is bound as a "paperback" each two weeks and in hard covers yearly.

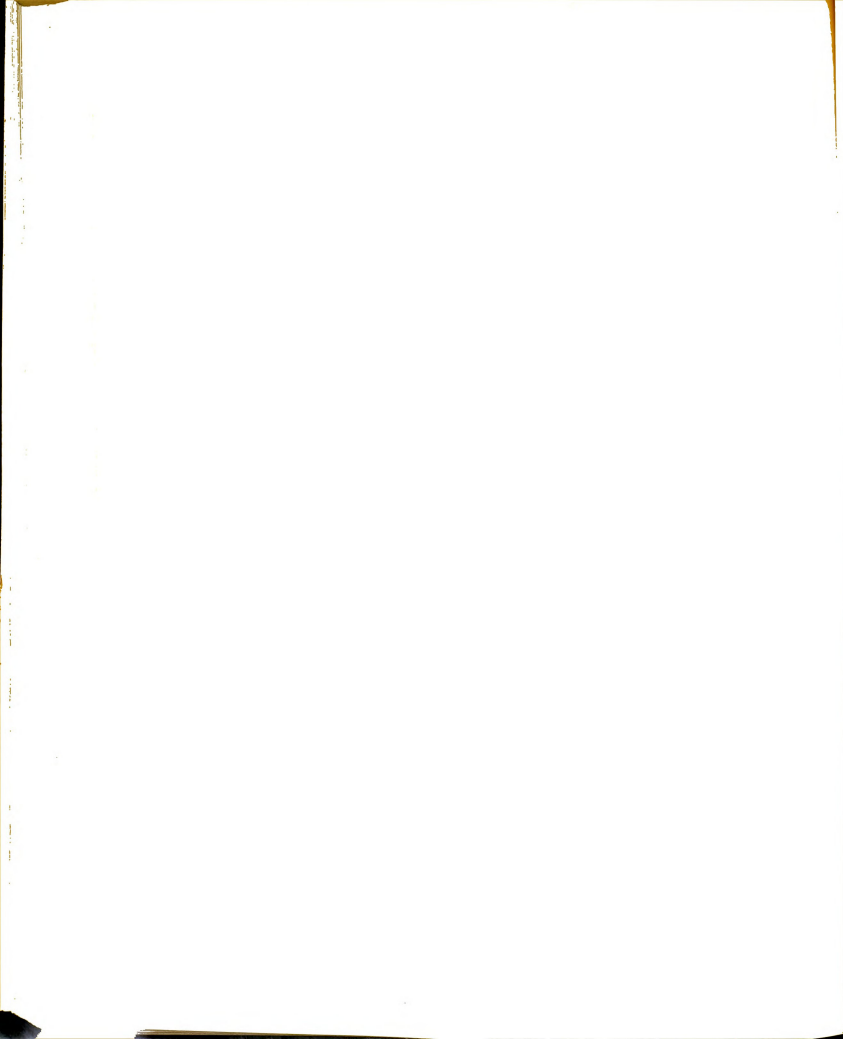
¹Clapp, op. cit., p. 131, and We, the People, op. cit., p. 131; Neuberger, op. cit., p. 95. From 16,000 pages in 1945, the number of pages has increased to about 30,000 pages in 1962. In 1957, with a circulation of 43,000, it cost the Government \$1,700,000 to publish the Record. Each Senator may send the Record free to one hundred of his constituents, and every Representative may place sixty-eight constituents on the mailing list. A paid subscription to the Record costs \$1.50 a month while Congress is in session. There are only about 1,500 total paid subscriptions. "The Record for the first nine months of the Eighty-eighth Congress filled 25,000 pages...." The cost of the Record was brought to the attention of his colleagues by economy-minded Paul Douglas in the third line of his maiden speech, he stated an intent of being brief because "...each page of the Congressional Record costs the taxpayer \$71.00...." The cost of the Record has risen some \$20.00 a page since 1949, now costing slightly over \$90.00 for each printed page.



Theoretically, the Record is the official journal of what takes place in daily floor sessions. It reports the progress of a bill as it goes through reading, debate, perhaps amendment, and voting. Everything said is recorded by official reporters. The recording process moves like a well-oiled machine.¹ "In the old days of steel penpoints, some stenographers worked with tiny ink bottles strapped to their fingers."² Today six skilled shorthand reporters record activities in relays of ten minutes at a stretch, stationing themselves with pen and notebook as near to the speaker as possible to insure the best audible reception. Each reporter records for ten minutes out of every hour; when a reporter has finished his ten minutes, he goes immediately into the Recording Room off the Senate chamber and painstakingly reads his notes into a dictaphone, after which they are typed by one of the experienced typists in an inner room adjacent to the main recording room. As a further precaution the reporter reads the typed transcript for accuracy, and then it is submitted to the chief reporter or his assistant, neither of whom work on the floor, who read carefully every transcript. These final readers possess the authority and knowledge to make such

¹The writer observed a speech delivered by Douglas on May 23, 1963, and visited the Room for Official Reporters of Debate off the Senate chamber to observe the procedure in recording the speech, and sat in with the Senator and the Legislative Assistant Kenneth Gray in re-writing the speech for the Record. See Appendix A. Other information was obtained in a luncheon discussion with Gray and Roy Emerson, Legislative Assistant to Senator Eugene McCarthy, on May 24, 1963.

²We, the People, p. 131.



changes in syntax and grammar as seem necessary to "...preserve Senatorial reputations for profundity. Malapropisms in speech--but not in substance--are eliminated. Contractions get ironed out into finished phrases."¹

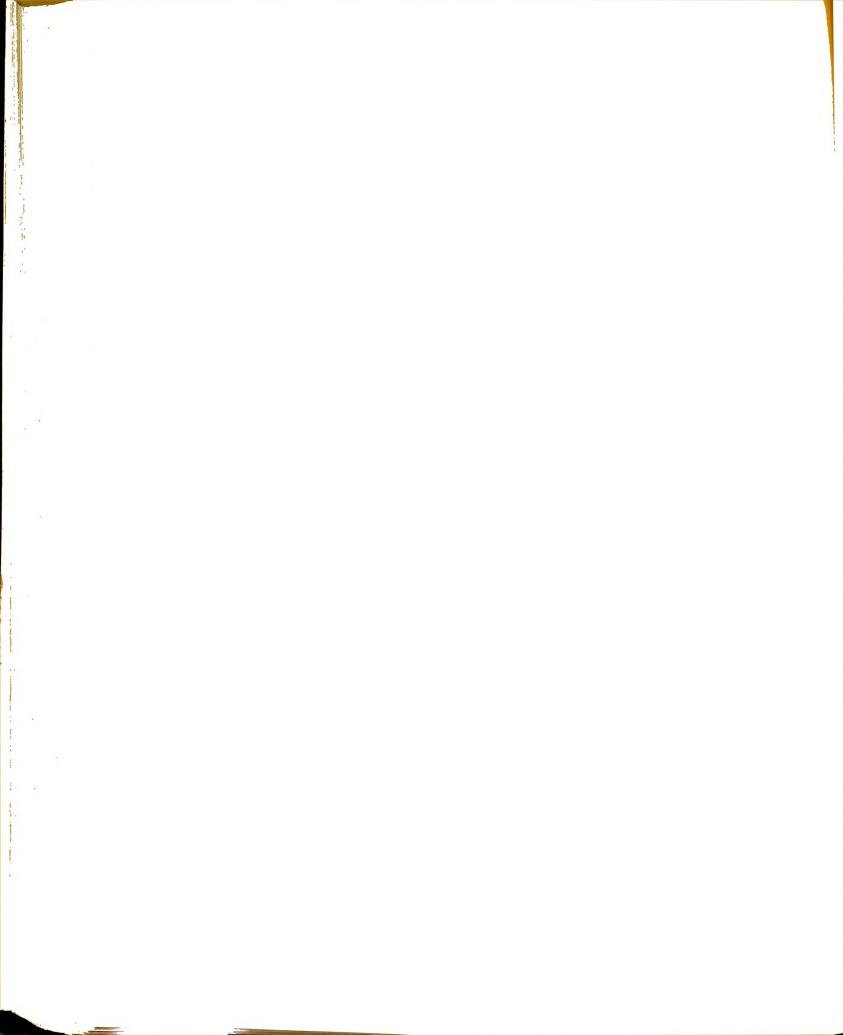
The transcribed sheets are numbered, and then given to Senators or their staff members for revision, usually within thirty minutes after being taken down on the floor. After the Senator revises and alters as he chooses, corrected copies are sent nightly to the Government Printing Office for inclusion in the next morning's daily edition of the Record. The Congressional Record is not copyrighted, therefore the written discourse resulting from speaking gets careful revisions in appraisal and changes because the Record is readily quoted.

The recording procedure by the professional staff of reporters seems as verbatim (except for changes in grammar and syntax) as is humanly possible. It is a remarkably efficient method and "No group working on Capitol Hill is comprised more truly of career people than those who compile the Congressional Record."² But while a major portion of the Record is a record of debate on the floor, it is not a true one, nor is it intended to be. Rather it is "substantially a verbatim reproduction of proceedings."³

¹Neuberger, op. cit., p. 95.

²Ibid.

³Clapp, p. 132.



The problem of authenticity in the report of what was said results from the latitude exercised by Senators and their staff in making changes, after the fact, before the daily Record is printed.

The official transcript of speaking is frequently revised, amended, subtracted from, and embellished with additions. "Senators and Representatives are permitted to doctor and edit their speeches virtually at will."¹ A large glass-topped circular table in the Room for Official Reporters is made available for Senators and their staff to work on revision of the Record.²

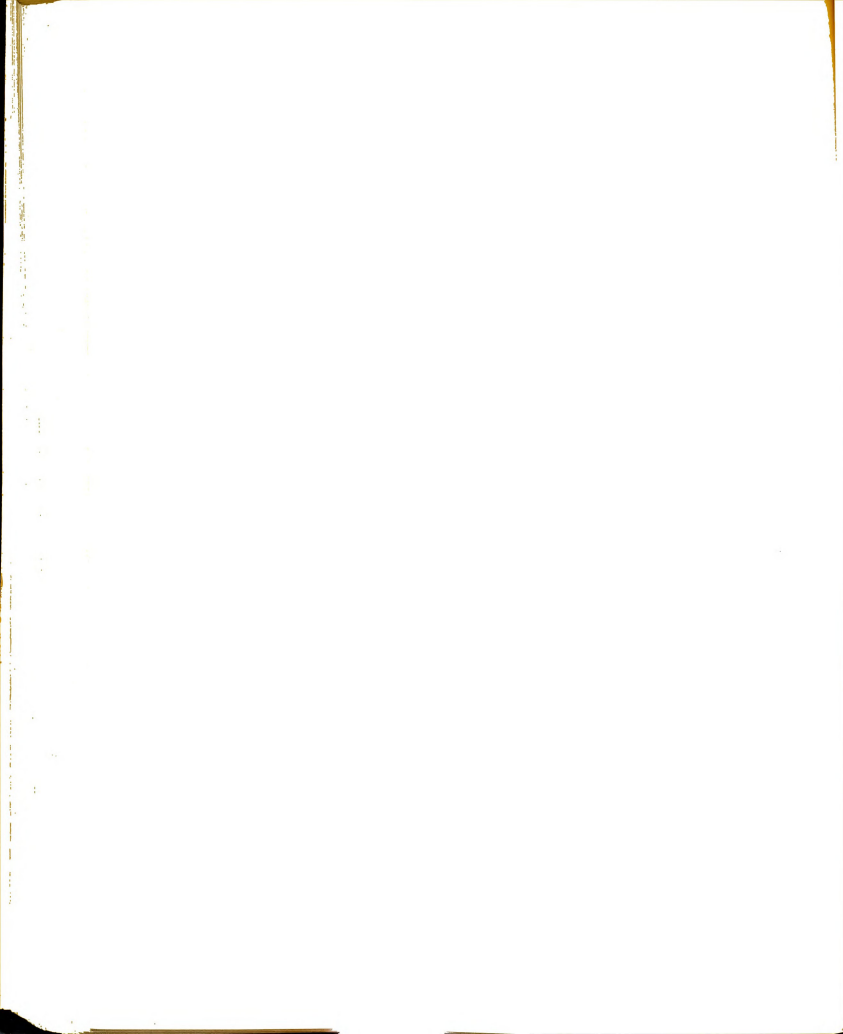
Some people are under the impression that remarks can only be extended in the Appendix of the daily Record. This they may be and usually are placed in the body of the Record along with a statement something like this: "I ask unanimous consent that my remarks may be placed in the Record just after or immediately preceding the remarks made by the gentleman from Missouri."³

The rule which reads that only minor changes are to be made in remarks on the Senate floor is ignored and flagrantly violated. Speeches are often substantially

¹Neuberger, op. cit., p. 14.

²Douglas' staff work at this table and then check out the changes with the Senator, who usually makes additional revisions whenever time permits, either in his seniority den under the Senate chamber or elsewhere.

³Statement by Representative Curtis of Missouri, April 16, 1958, Congressional Record--House, Vol. 104, p. 6594.



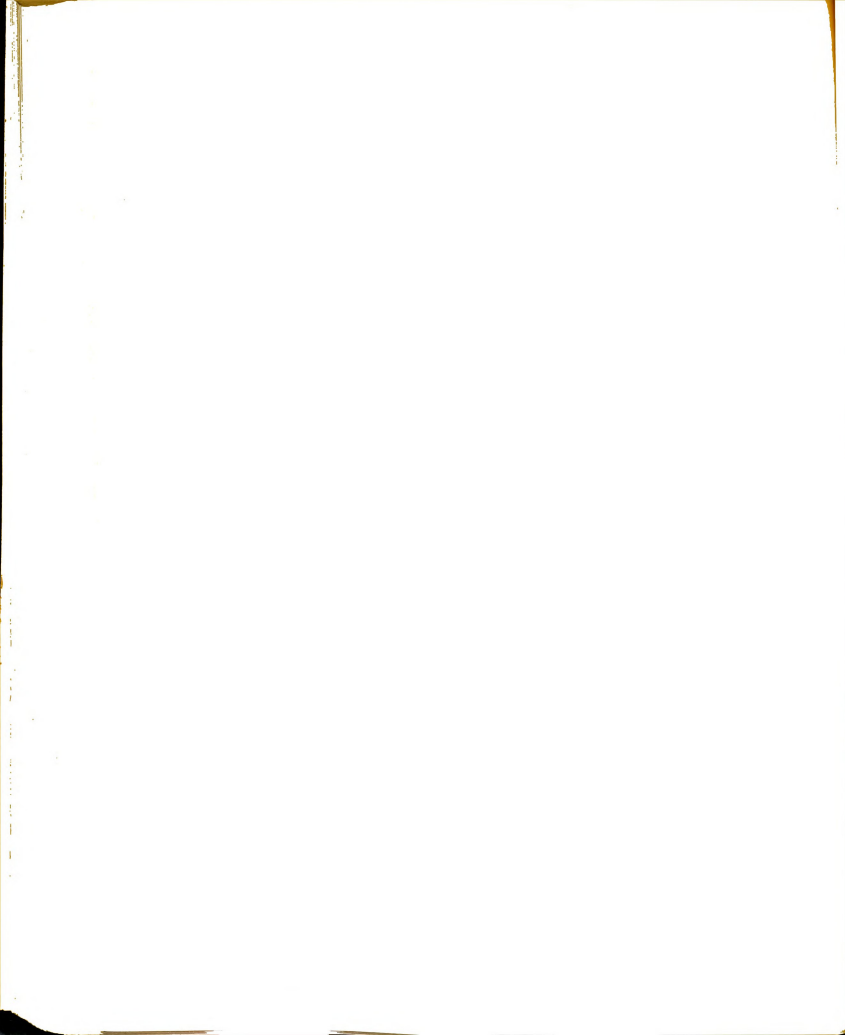
rewritten. Not only are changes made for the daily Record, but frequently changes are made when the two-week "paper-back" Record is sent out to Congressional offices for proofing prior to ~~submitting~~ it for hard binding in the yearly Record. Speeches may also appear in the Appendix, out of context, if Senators delay returning their revised daily edition.

Technically, remarks actually delivered in the Senate are to be printed in bold print and all else in smaller print. However, "...in the actual body of the Record, these inclusions [also in bold print] may be of virtually unlimited length, although, generally speaking, they must be germane to the matter under discussion."¹ In the House a member can speak perfunctorily for two minutes and then receive unanimous consent to extend his remarks to enter material later for a two-hour phantom speech. The editing by Senators must originate, at least, from oral remarks actually made on the Senate floor.

The inclusion of clear afterthoughts may sharpen the force and make arguments more cogent, the speaker wittier, and even make it appear to a reader that a Senator actually vanquished in debate was the victor. "Deletions and additions offset the relevance and meaning of remarks in colloquy and can make others' remarks meaningless."² Members

¹Neuberger, op. cit., p. 94.

²Clapp, op. cit., p. 132.



have even been known to reverse positions, and it is not unusual for criticism in the heat of debate to be removed.¹

These are only some of the problems that accrue from the latitude which is exercised in changing the Record. Why, then, is this policy continued?

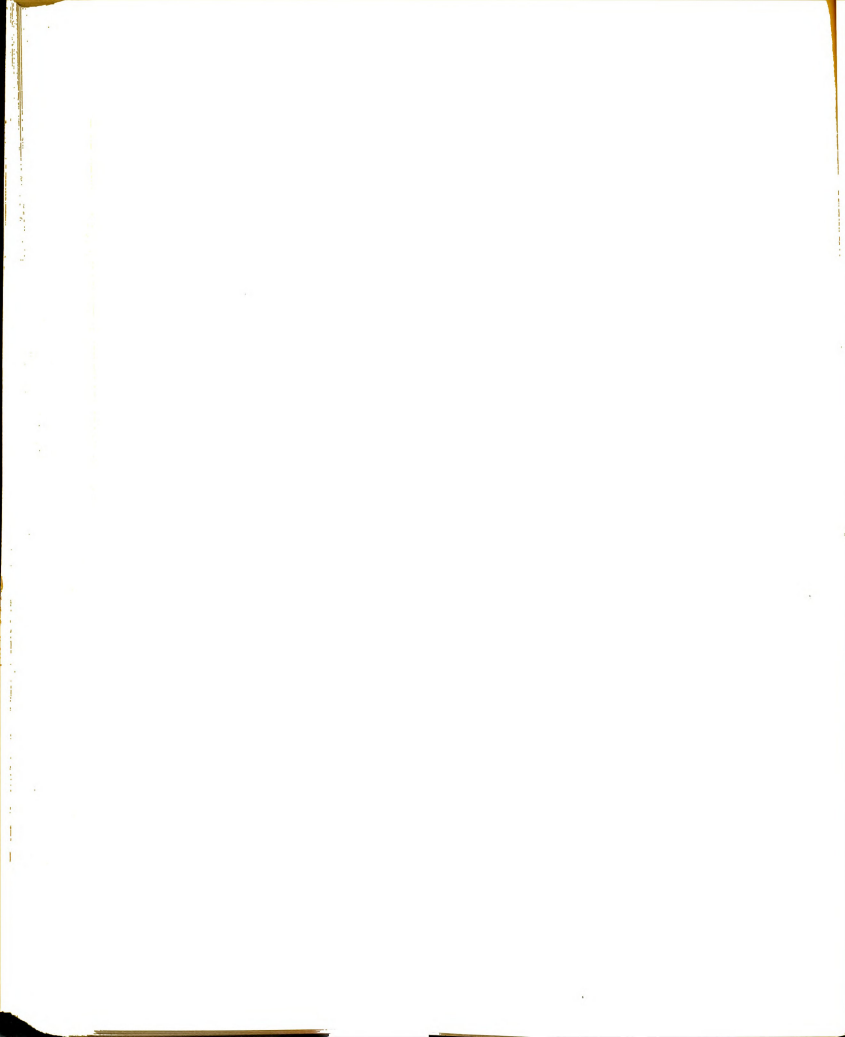
Proponents for preserving the status quo argue:

(1) The opportunity to extend remarks conserves time for speaking on the floor; (2) it permits members to correct grammatical errors and impolitic statements; (3) it gives constituents and colleagues better insight into the real thinking of men when they have the right to sit down and reflect on statements apart from the heat of debate;² (4) it provides an opportunity to add important legislative history to a bill in the Record which takes too long to review on the floor; (5) it imposes less inhibitions on speakers; (6) public education materials can be put in the Appendix; (7) printing the materials of constituents pleases and appeases them, and they pay for the Record; and (8) it is an invaluable research source for speeches. Another argument related to 5 above and sometimes raised is that if the Record was not dressed up it would be very bad reading-- "even a comic book,"³ which is less than complimentary to the quality of speaking in Congress.

¹See Congressional Record--Senate, 193:9, July 16, 1957, pp. 11799-11801, for a heated colloquy on correcting the Record regarding Senator Kerr's comment that President Eisenhower is a man "without fiscal brains."

²Clapp, p. 132.

³Ibid., p. 132.

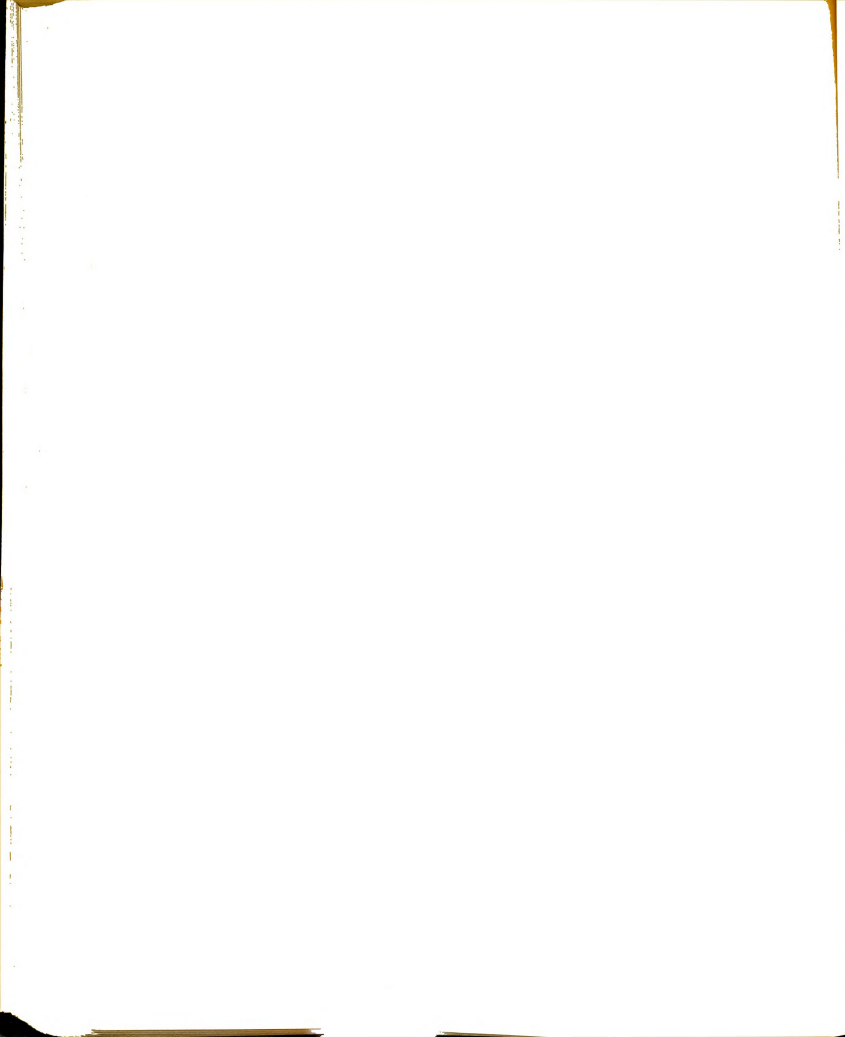


Perhaps the argument not frequently presented is one related to 3 above, and that is, the real stand you want to take but didn't can be accurately conveyed.

There have been a number of indictments levelled at this procedure, especially in the past decade.¹ Those opponents argue: (1) that the Record now presents a false legislative history and after all that is the real reason for it; (2) that a true verbatim transcript would impose a restraint on some personal abuse and character assassinations and elevate the real dignity of the Senate needed in the eyes of the public; (3) the Appendix has become a mere depository for any and all materials, most of which are not relevant to proceedings--editorials, reports, speeches, poems, essays, letters, recipes, and testimonials²; (4) it discourages speaking because members refrain from orally

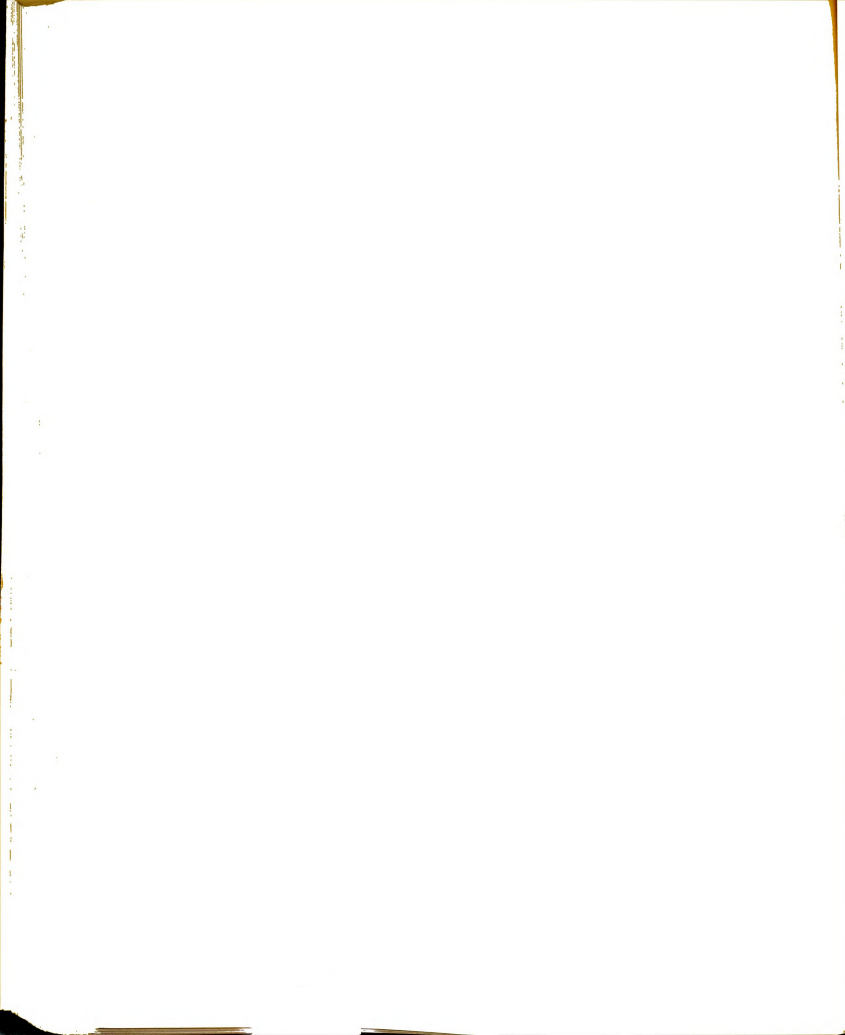
¹Two recent, but unsuccessful, proposals by Senators Clark and Neuberger for changing the Record are noteworthy. See Cong. Record--Senate, Vol. 104:5, April 21, 1958, p. 6818. Also Vol. 103:12, August 22, 1957, pp. 11565-66 for remarks by the late Sen. Richard L. Neuberger of Oregon, the most outspoken critic of the Senate in recent years. He presented a proposal for changing the Record in the form of a resolution (S. Res. 193, 85th Congress) to the Senate in August of 1957. See also Congressional Record--Senate, Vol. 104:5, April 21, 1958, pp. 6816-18, for Senator Allott's remarks relative to issue of reporting in the Record, and reprint of Neuberger's New York Times article "The Congressional Record is not a Record," op. cit. The second resolution (S. Con., Res. 22, 88th Congress) was submitted for a second time (first in 1962) by Senator Joseph Clark on February 21, 1963, and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration. Clark proposed a study he made to streamline the Record. See Clark, The Senate Establishment, op. cit., p. 113, for his resolution.

²Clapp, op. cit., p. 139.



expressing real opinions and wait to get into print a letter popular with interest groups and send reprints to them; (5) by refraining from speaking and taking stands a senator shirks his responsibility; (5) the many extraneous items put in the Appendix clutter up the Record to the degree that it does not serve as well to give the reader insight into the proceedings, serves little educational value because of the difficulty in ferreting out appropriate materials, and discourages public reading; (7) the printing and reprinting of materials from it for distribution to constituents is a cheap and unethical campaign method; (8) the printing of non-germane materials is a wasteful use of taxpayers' money; and (9) likewise, the argument that it becomes a veritable research source for speeches assumes that taxpayers' money should be spent for this when equivalent research could be conducted much more economically. Any speech critic studying public address in Congress and encountering the problems of authenticating what was actually said cannot help but be in sympathy with those members advocating steps toward a more verbatim Record.

Paul Douglas is aware of the Record's use as a vehicle for positive communication and attempts to use it well. He seems constantly aware of its importance, and limitations, and frequently refers to it in remarks on the Senate floor. Typical of these references is one he made on February 21, 1963:



...and I am not speaking to a crowded Senate, either, exactly. Very few of the lords of the press are now in the Press Gallery. But our words will appear in the Congressional Record, which some people read; and voices in this country are not entirely muffled.¹

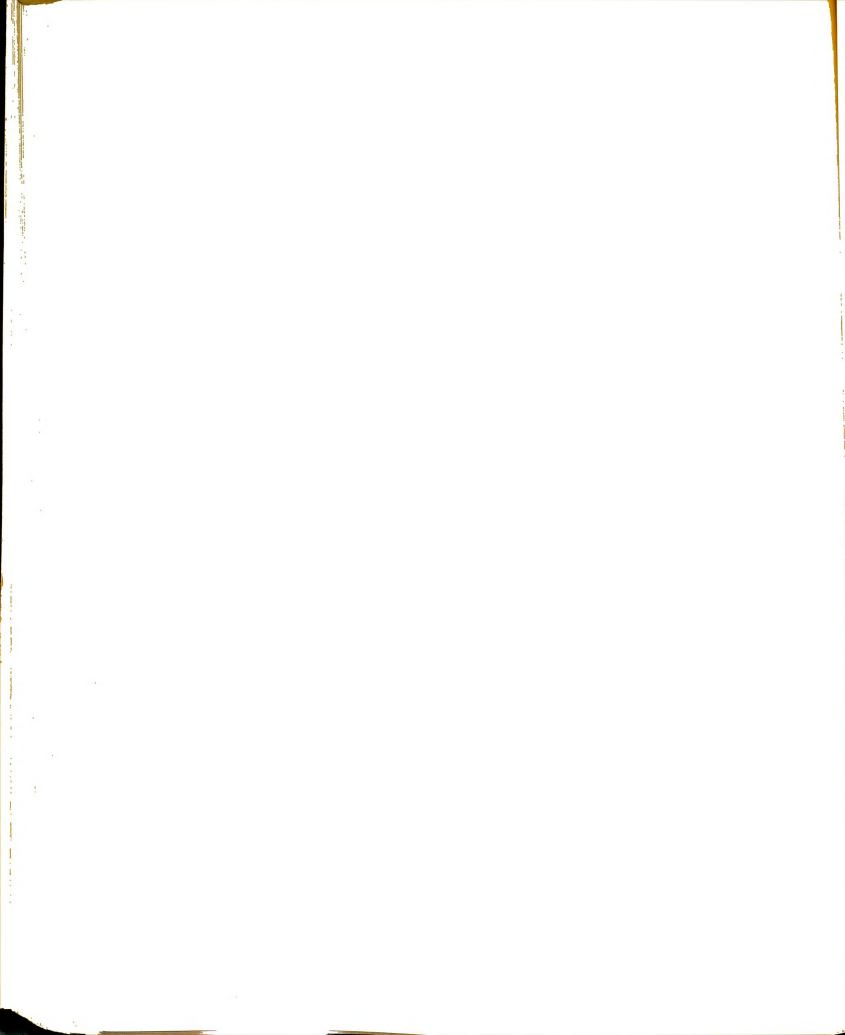
If not as valuable as it could be in recording what is actually said in the Senate, the Record is of considerable value and an integral part and tool in a Senator's work. In a sense, it is the textbook, if an inaccurate one, of a Senator.

The Speaker Looks at His Art

In the U. S. Senator's complex world of communication, being an effective practitioner of the art of public speaking is not only useful but essential to him. Practitioner Senator Paul H. Douglas has enumerated his views on the theory of public speaking, his concept of rhetorical theory. An examination of Douglas' statements on rhetorical theory makes the analysis of his verbal message in Part III more meaningful.

It is perhaps appropriate to examine first Douglas' views on the characteristics of contemporary speaking in America because they reinforce those reached earlier in describing changes in speech in the Senate. In 1958, while touring Illinois to present his annual report

¹Clark, The Senate Establishment, op. cit., p. 131.



to the people in person and lend a hand to Democrats up for election, he stopped to compare the speaking of his world of politics with that of the Lincoln-Douglas era on the centennial of those historic debates.¹

The first difference, Douglas notes, is the length of speeches.

The first and most obvious difference between the political speeches of today and those of a century ago is that today's are much shorter. Television and radio have no doubt limited the tolerance of the listeners. When Lincoln and Douglas crossed words, each was allotted an hour and a half, and, if the contemporary accounts can be believed, the crowds listened with close attention throughout the three hours' struggle. It was not unusual then for orators to speak for two or three hours. In my youth I can remember how "Old Bob" LaFollette would frequently exceed even this limit and once, the legend goes, he started as the moon rose and only stopped as the sun appeared over the Wisconsin prairies.

Today no one dares to speak an hour. If you go over thirty-five minutes you are unpopular, while twenty minutes is considered about right. This is especially hard for those of us who are Senators and accustomed to develop our arguments in some detail. My wife, who served in Congress before me, sometimes remarks, a little wryly, that a Senator can condense into an hour what an ordinary man can say in five minutes. Certainly a political speech today, if it is to bear fruit, needs a lot of pruning.²

¹Statements to the writer by Douglas' key staff members during the week of May 20, 1963, indicate Douglas makes little distinction in rhetorical theory between speeches within and outside of the Senate, except for adapting to particular audiences.

²Paul H. Douglas, "Is Campaign Oratory a Waste of Breath?" New York Times Magazine, October 19, 1958, p. 26.

The difference in the size of audiences and some causes for it are next considered.

A second great difference between the speeches today and those heard by our grand-fathers is that the crowds are now much smaller. In the days of Lincoln and Douglas there were few, if any, competing attractions. Politics and religion were the chief intellectual interests of the people and orators and politicians attracted almost as much attention as do the movie stars and television personalities of today. A Lincoln-Douglas debate in 1958 would not draw the 12,000 who a century ago came to Charleston, or the still greater numbers who listened through a chilling October day at Galesburg. Outside the big cities a gathering of 200 is respectable today and an attendance of 500 is really heartwarming.¹

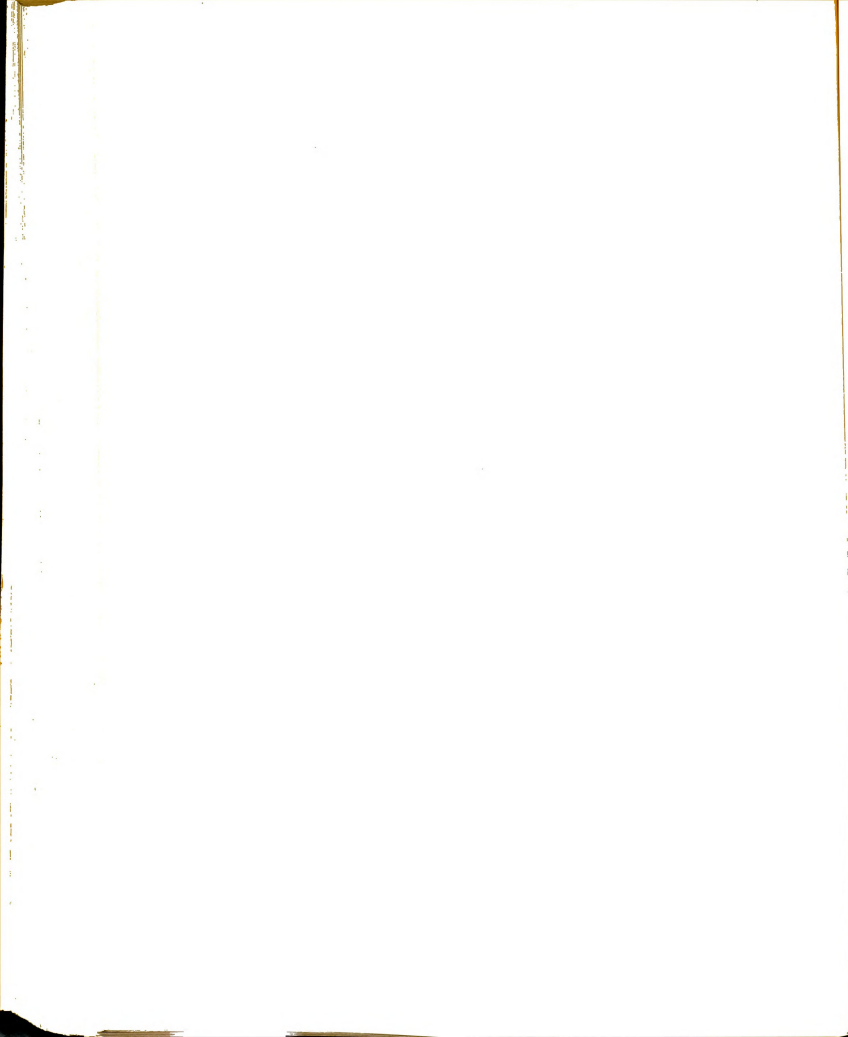
Reflecting on the general complacency of the public and a decline of public interest in politics, Douglas notes changes in the occasions and circumstances of political speeches as motivational devices to attract an audience.

Another notable change is in the places of public meetings. County rallies were formerly held in the courthouses, while the rural precinct meetings were held in the schools. But since the seats were hard, the rooms poorly lighted and either too hot or too cold and always at the top of long flights of stairs, attendance at these meetings declined rapidly during the Forties. Today a more common gathering is the potluck supper put on by women. In warmer weather, the men often take over with their fish fries. At these meetings, good food and sociability give a great lift to political morale.²

Douglas next discusses the changes in style and the relationship of these changes to the general ends of speaking today.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.



Still a third difference between the speeches of today and those of a century or more ago lies in their style. The great pre-Civil War orators in this country, such as Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton and Douglas, were schooled in the literary traditions of the eighteenth century. Their oratory was involved and magniloquent. In the mouth of a Winston Churchill or a Bryan this manner of speaking has, even in modern times, thrilled millions. But it is today almost obsolete. The late Senator Neely of West Virginia was probably the last great extemplar.

Today the emphasis is upon exposition rather than oratory. And here again radio and television have had their effect. Clarity, directness and logic are the qualities which the public wants in a speaker. Short words of Anglo-Saxon origin are preferred to Latinisms and to be effective the sentences and paragraphs should be brief and to the point.¹

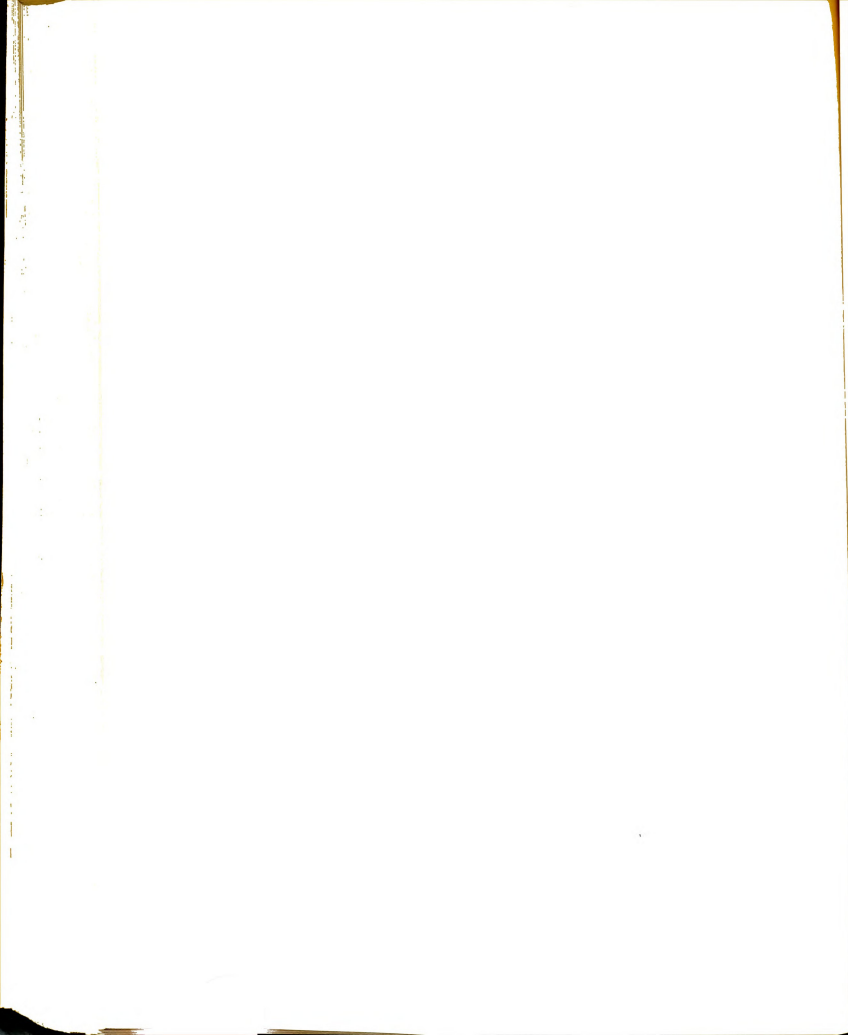
On the subject of style in the Senate, Douglas has commented: "You can say things better in simple and direct language than with big words and complex sentences, and clear logic and sound evidence are crucial."²

The final change to which Douglas points suggests a change not only in the type of speakers in contemporary times but also the complexity of issues.

Finally, the tone of modern speaking is far more moderate than it was. We have had some vituperative speakers in Congress during the last two decades, but even at their height these men could not match the stinging bitterness and personal abuse that marked the speeches of John Randolph and Charles Sumner.

¹Ibid., pp. 26 and 72.

²statement by Douglas to writer, May 23, 1963.



Even the victims of McCarthyism were not heaped with the poisonous epithets that were showered upon William Jennings Bryan when he first ran for the Presidency in 1896.

There is today an increasing desire for fair play and a recognition that no one party or cause is either wholly good or evil. The result is that the bitter demagogue, who seeks to stir up hatred, generally and in the long run destroys himself. Joyce Cary's political character who stated that his aim was not to inform, but to arouse, still has his followers, but I believe they are far fewer than before.¹

Although Douglas does not condone nor himself practice vituperation in his speaking, and he is above all for fair play, yet he expresses concern that the tone of speaking in Congress today does not hit hard at the issues.² This is reflected by another concern that people more capable and interested in debating the issues are not entering the legislative branch of government.

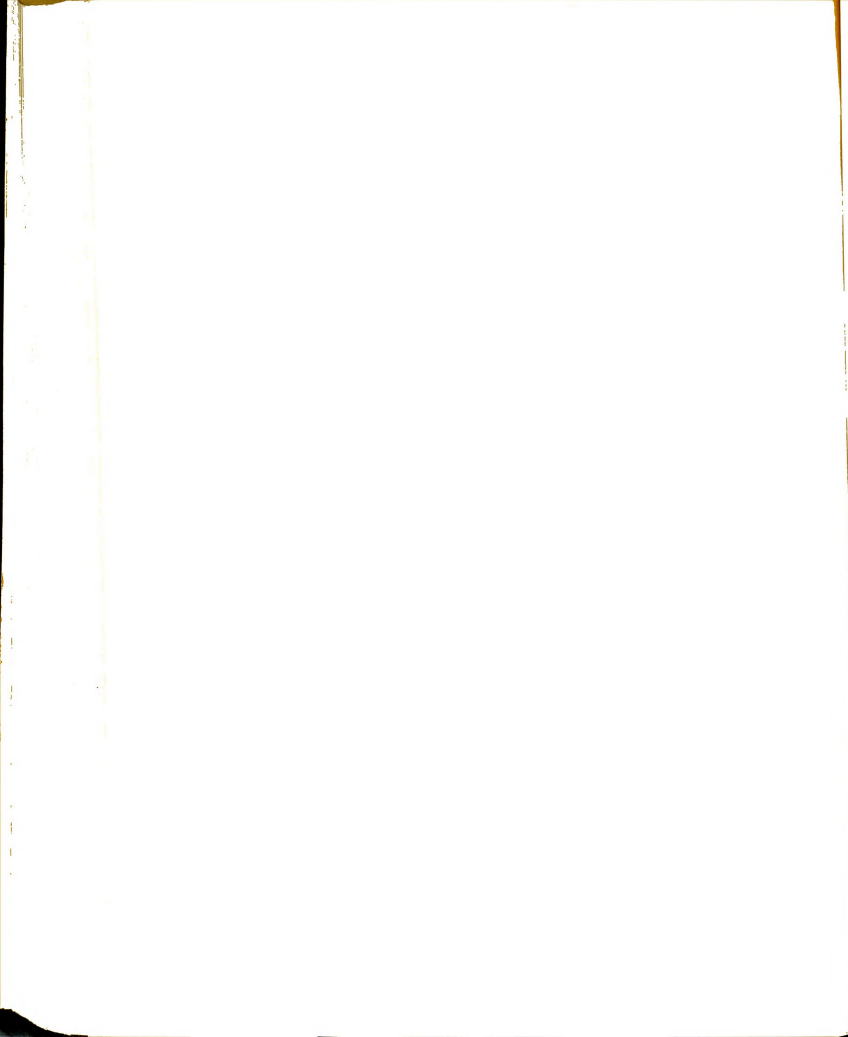
It would be helpful if people with greater intellectual ability would run for office in the legislative branch. There are not enough in the Congress, and it is partly their fault. They think they are too precious to take part in any rough and tumble, and prefer to preserve their virtue.³

The simplicity in style and moderation in tone of public speaking, Douglas suggests, are both an effect and cause of public political apathy.

¹Douglas, "Is Campaign Oratory a Waste of Breath?" op. cit., p. 72.

²Howard Shuman stated on May 22, 1963, "In my nine years with Douglas, I have noted a decline in the number of Senate speakers who could arouse interest, stir up the issues--rabble rouse."

³Interview with Douglas, op. cit.



But perhaps the simplicity of style and the greater moderation in tone have reduced the excitement in politics. The rise of competing interests for men's time and attention has certainly shifted the attention of the public away from questions of foreign and domestic policy. If bitterness and vituperation have fortunately decreased, the search for moderation and a middle ground have produced a rather tepid attitude toward public affairs.

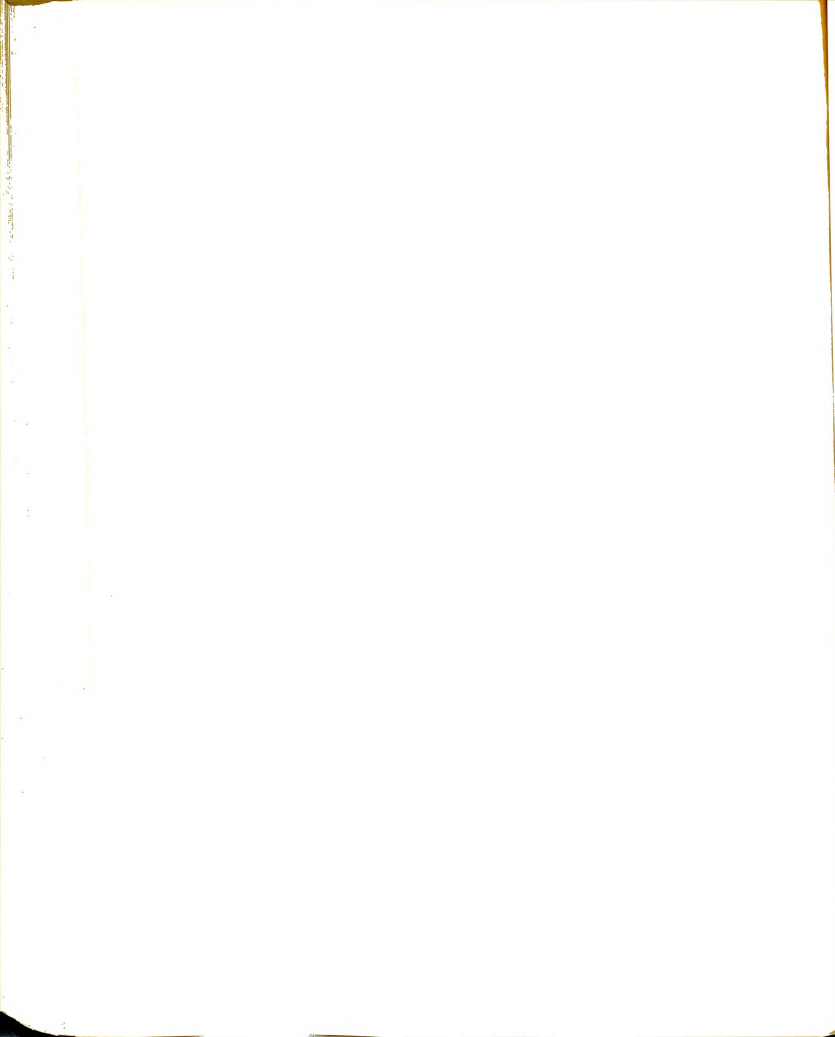
People are interested in these subjects--but not very much! The controversies of sixty years ago over imperialism, free silver, and tariff and the trusts may have been more inflamed but they reflected and produced a greater degree of concern than do the modern discussions about foreign aid, the United Nations, monetary policy and gas rates. It is not quite good form to discuss these issues publicly or to take a deep interest in them.

Despite the valiant efforts of such organizations as the League of Women Voters, numerous public forums and a handful of great newspapers, I am forced to the melancholy conclusion that we, as a people, have slipped in our concern about public affairs.¹

How does Douglas feel about face-to-face communication with his audience as opposed to the more indirect methods of radio and television? He enjoys interaction with an audience in the Senate and, in the case of campaign speaking after he has finished the speech, as Lyndon Johnson put it in 1960, "...a chance to press the flesh...."² First, in considering the relative advantages of speaking directly to the constituency as opposed to more indirect methods, Douglas looks at pollsters, advertising men, and non-rational versus rational appeals.

¹Douglas, "Is Campaign Oratory a Waste of Breath?", op. cit., p. 72.

²Broder, op. cit., p. 22.



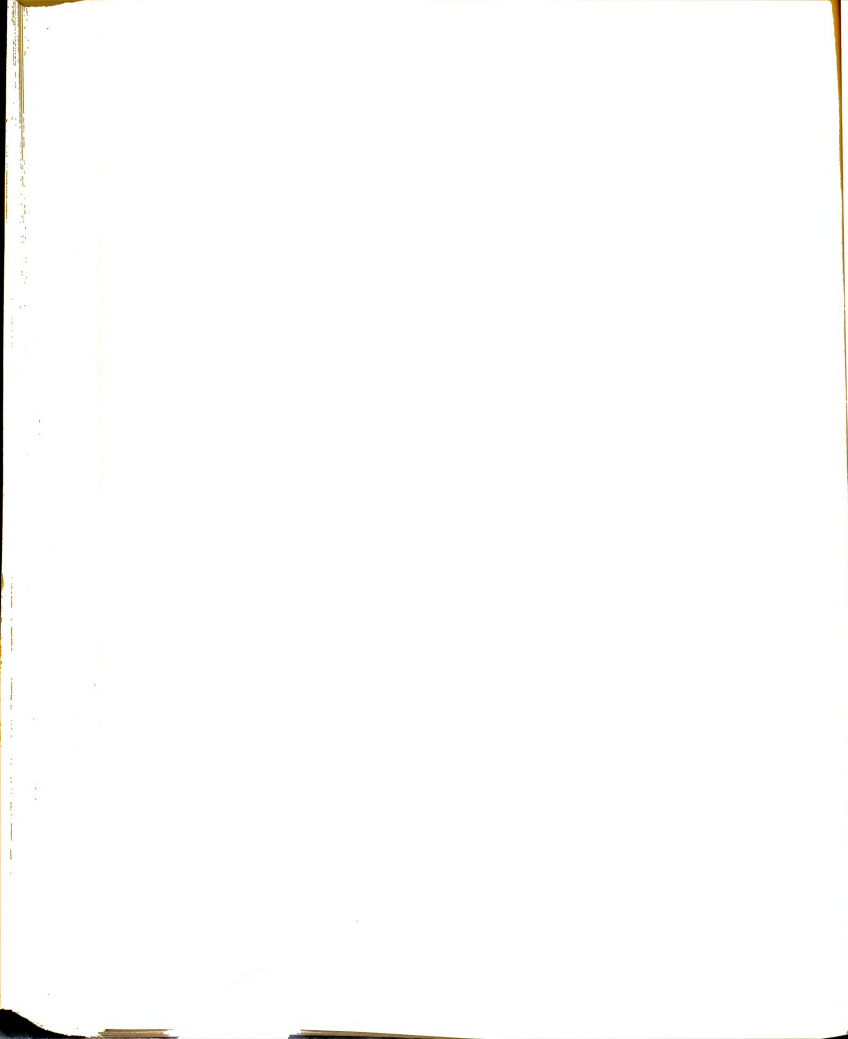
...do we really need political speaking and does it have any effect upon the public mind or upon the final results? There are writers who argue that it does not, since one talks primarily to those already converted. Face-to-face meetings, they say, should be largely cast aside and one should turn instead to other media. The pollsters and the advertising men are the foremost exponents of this point of view.

The pollsters encourage the doctrine of inevitability and hold that the course of an election is set early and that any later talk cannot alter its direction in any appreciable way. All this in spite of 1948! The advertising and public relations men are the expositors of the theory that they can "sell" a candidate of a party in the same way they can sell soap or a beauty lotion. There is, of course, a great deal of truth in this last contention and advertising men are playing an increasing part in political campaigns.

But reliance on such methods at the expense of political argument is unfortunate and not in the public interest. In the first place, such methods seek to exploit the emotional and nonrational and what the mass-motivation group labels "subliminal" factors, rather than the conscious and rational. The progress of humanity has been largely caused by the increasing use of reason and logic and for us to subordinate these qualities to the darker and more emotional sentiments that lie beneath the surface of the mind leads to wrong decisions. Hitler's advice to his fellow Nazis to "think with your blood" claimed tens of millions for its victims. It would have been better to have had free and rational discussion.¹

Douglas also objects to mass media methods because of cost. He notes that the candidate with lesser financial resources is at a disadvantage, and that face-to-face contact with the voter is the best way to offset this inequality.

¹Ibid., p. 72.



The second objection to the mass-communication techniques is that their sheer cost makes them available only to those candidates and parties which have large funds. An evening half-hour nation-wide telecast on one of the national chains costs from \$50,000 to \$60,000 and a similar statewide hookup in Illinois costs about \$4,000. Printing costs are also now almost astronomical and the new postage rates make wide-scale mailing nearly prohibitive.

The contention that there is equal treatment on the air waves because there is a requirement that if one party buys time the other must be offered equal time completely misses the point. The other side can have such equal time only if it can pay the price. The whole situation reminds one of Anatole France's remark in "The Red Lily" about "the majestic equality of the law which forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges and beg in the streets for bread."

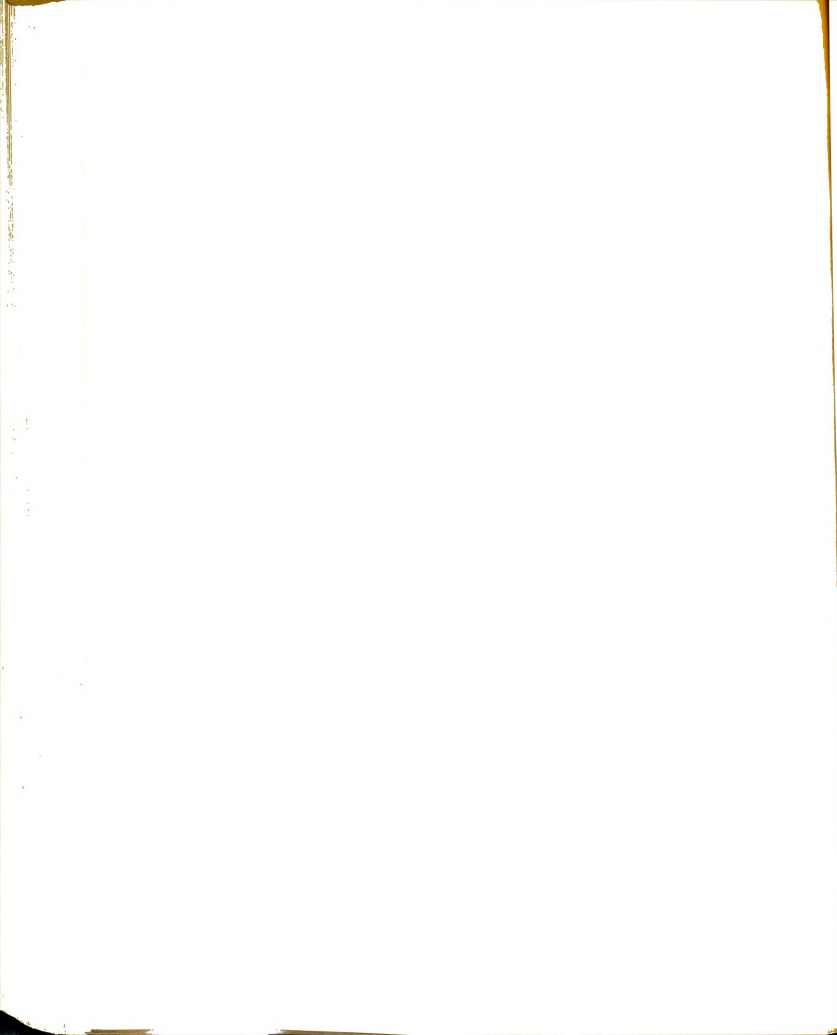
The result is that the well-financed candidate or party will be able to deluge the air waves with propaganda while those with only meager resources will lack the entrance fee which is required to reply.

In such circumstances public meetings and speeches, along with the hand-to-hand distribution of literature, are about the only means that financially impoverished candidates and parties have by which to put their cases before the public.¹

In considering the important question, How effective are political speeches? Douglas answers:

On the basis of many years experience, I am convinced that they are far more effective than the skeptics believe. In a political campaign, the central problem of candidates and parties is to get their own adherents around, working and voting--and to win over as many of the independent voters as possible.... Public meetings are therefore necessary to animate the faithful so that they will spread their interest to others. While not many independent and

¹Ibid., p. 72.



undecided voters come to the formal party meetings, there are generally some and there should be more. These, too, can be influenced by a good speech or repelled by a bad one.

This is one of the reasons I like informal out-of-doors meetings at places where crowds gather for other purposes. For here one finds a true cross-section and can often elicit honest and thoughtful questions as well as the bracing experience of standing up under a barrage of heckling.... Thus, with all their imperfections, campaign speeches contribute to the open dialogue on questions upon which wise public decisions depend. Certainly they are far more worthwhile from the public point of view than the one-minute spot announcements that the advertising men tell us are the most effective in "selling" a candidate. And they allow the voters to see a candidate "in the round" without the highly artificial and contrived impression that is commonly given on radio and television.

My conclusion is that we should strengthen rather than discard our political meetings: that speakers, without sacrificing legitimate emotion, should strive for ever greater accuracy and closer logic, and that meetings should be made more colorful by the injection of more music and greater audience participation. The meetings and speeches can thus be made still more effective instruments for helping Mr. and Mrs. Voter to winnow out the truth in the free competition of ideas.¹

As in speeches outside of it, Paul Douglas also seems to enjoy the face-to-face communication in the Senate. When speaking he is conscious of the circumstances and his immediate audience.

Yes, I am quite aware of my audience and the conditions when I speak. You will recall yesterday that I stopped and called for order² to combat the activity on the floor. It would

¹Ibid., p. 73.

²Reference to a speech of May 23, 1963.



be much more desirable if conditions were such that speakers did not have to compete so for attention. The conversation and activity have to be distracting.¹

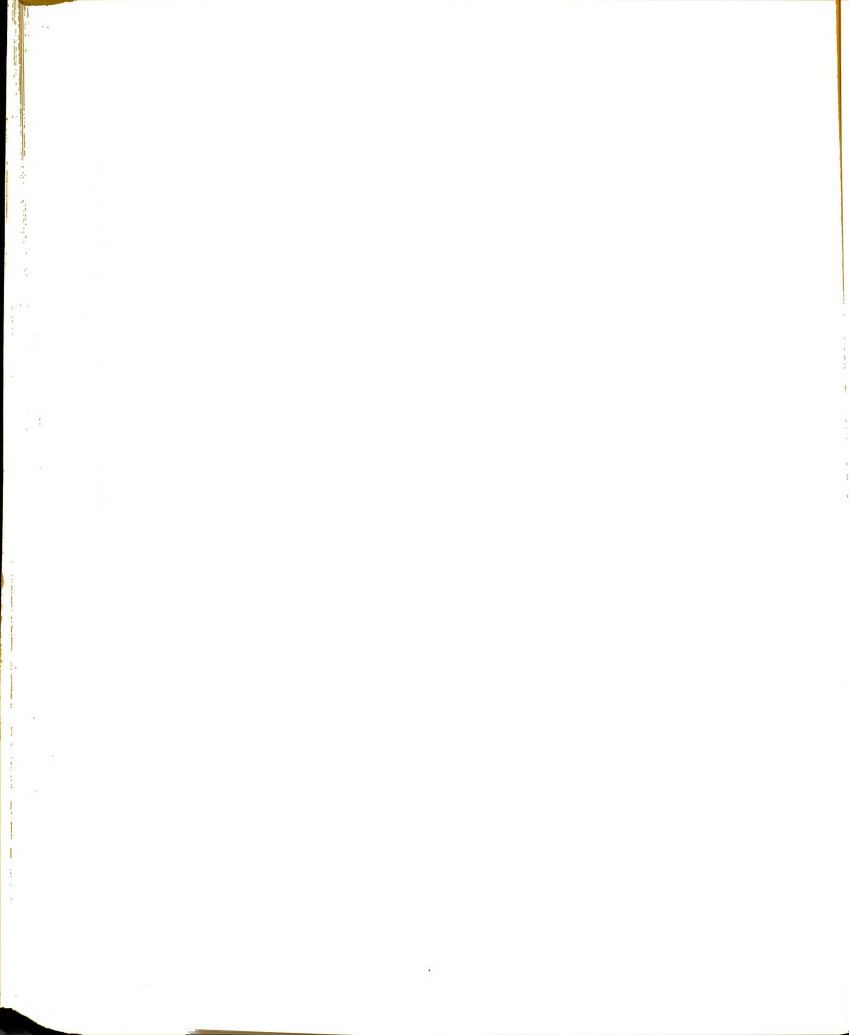
I enjoy speaking in the Senate--especially some of the good colloquies I have been in. And there is one very interesting thing, in addition to the colleagues I am addressing, frequently you are taking a chance taking the positions that you do, I look up in the gallery and see people from the past with whom I have struggled, not on the same side, but people who have been comrades--that's an unfortunate choice of words today--associates, and I seem to see their faces there. I wonder what they would like to have me say, not because my ideas aren't thought out or because I don't know what I plan to say, but because they act as sort of an inspiration and a guide. One remarkable man of this kind was a man named Sifton and he had three or four others with him who represented the United Automobile Workers and he used to be up there--I still see him. He was very critical, but well informed, sort of an informed conscience. And I think of my wife and what she would like me to say; she is frequently there in the gallery when I speak.²

As one who feels a responsibility to be well informed and also highly responsive to his audience, what method of delivery could the Senator be expected to enjoy most? When asked this question, Douglas replied: "Off the cuff! Although I try to prepare thoroughly for major addresses, I still enjoy most rising on the spur of the moment."³

¹Statement by Douglas in interview, op. cit. It is evident also from observing Douglas speak in the Senate and from conversing and interviewing him that he is very conscious of cybernetic feedback and desires complete attention and direct eye contact.

²Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

³Interview with Douglas, May 24, 1963. Howard Shuman on May 22 noted that some of Douglas' best speaking has been "off the cuff." Shuman stated, "In 1962, near the conclusion of the 87th Congress, Douglas delivered one of his best addresses on civil rights off the cuff. He could hold his own against any speaker I've observed in the House of Commons."



Another question giving application to Douglas' views of the criteria of effectiveness in Senate speaking is: What Senator best exemplifies effectiveness? The most effective speaker in the Senate today, according to Douglas, is Hubert Humphrey.¹

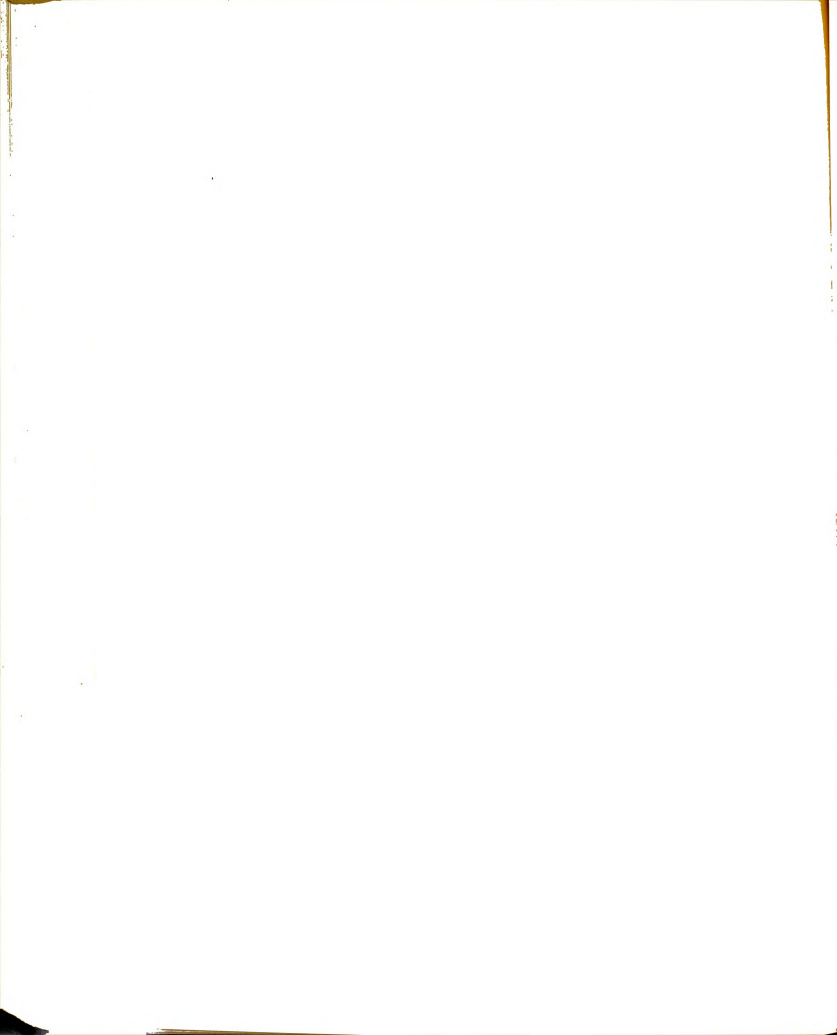
The best speaker, most effective, is Humphrey. He can take more subjects and speak better with good information than anyone I have known in the Senate. Only one man ever came close to being his equal and that was Claude Pepper.²

Implicit in all of Douglas' statements on public speaking is his basic assumption that effective and responsible public speaking is extremely important. Douglas has written more on a theory of the practice of public speaking than most of his colleagues, including former speech teachers Karl Mundt and Jennings Randolph and debate coach, Wayne Morse. How well he practices that theory in the Senate is a question that remains to be answered.

¹The 1959 Survey of Senators by Thompkins and Linkugel, op. cit., p. 32, supports Douglas' choice of Humphrey as the most effective Senate speaker, followed by Richard Russell, Everett Dirksen, William Knowland, and Paul Douglas.

Howard Shuman, on May 22, listed Douglas, Jacob Javits, Hubert Humphrey, Robert Kerr, Earl Long, Wayne Morse and Eugene McCarthy as top speakers, and in no particular rank order after Douglas. He described Humphrey as "the quickest mind with the greatest verbal facility," and Kerr, "the most brutal yet good debater."

²Interview with Douglas, op. cit. Claude Pepper of Florida served in the Senate in the 1940's and 1950's and is now a Congressman.



Preparing to Take the Floor

The final step in providing perspective for Douglas' speaking in the Senate to follow in Part III is an examination of the methods he employs in preparing speeches and the circumstances surrounding that preparation before he addresses the chair. What usually occurs in the preparation of messages prior to the time Paul Douglas rises to deliver them in the Senate?

First it should be noted that the Senator's methods have changed somewhat since his first term. During his first term, Douglas assumed almost full responsibility for preparing his speeches.

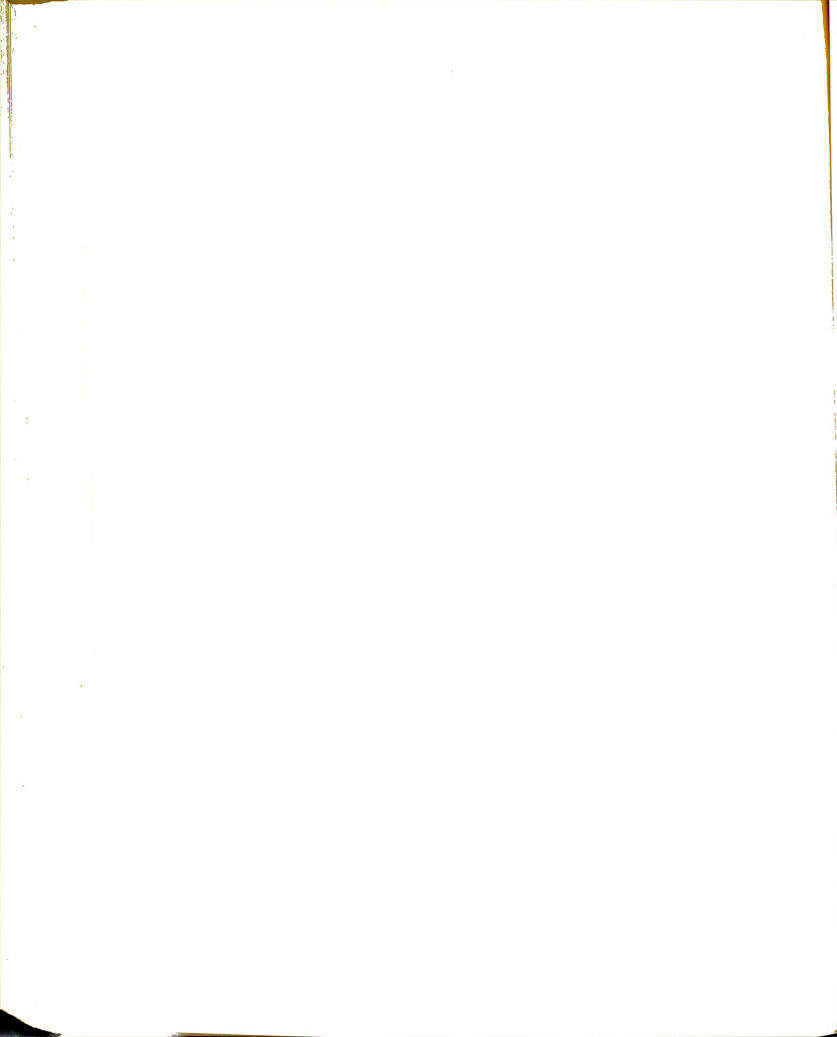
To answer your question of have my methods of speech preparation changed since I have been in the Senate, I would say that during my first term I assumed nearly full responsibility for all my speeches. Since then I have found it necessary to rely more on my staff.¹

Douglas' statement was supported by Howard Shuman in a separate interview: "In the Senator's earlier career he personally wrote the entire text of almost all of his speeches, but now with more responsible leadership positions which keep him busier, he relies more on his staff."²

In recent years, when Douglas decides there is a need for him to deliver a major address, he calls a conference with his administrative assistant, legislative

¹Interview with Douglas, op. cit.

²Interview with Shuman, op. cit.



assistant, and other key staff members to "talk it through."¹ At this conference, a key staff member, usually the legislative assistant, is put in charge of a research staff and is asked to draw up a rough draft. After other conferences between Douglas and staff members occurring during the period in which the research is in progress, a skeletal outline is completed and a first rough draft is made to be submitted to the administrative assistant for appraisal. Following his appraisal and revisions, a second draft is completed and submitted to the Senator, "who looks over the speech most thoroughly and makes corrections."² A third draft is then completed, followed by a conference with Douglas and key staff members and, if necessary, revisions are made for final copy. From this copy press releases are made.³ It is from this copy that Douglas practices the delivery of the speech when his schedule allows. The entire preparation may take a month or a few days depending upon when the decision to speak is made and the magnitude of the address. On speeches of lesser importance, but which can be planned ahead of time, some of these steps are short-circuited.

¹Statement of Kenneth Gray, Legislative Assistant, to the writer on May 24, 1963.

²Interview with Shuman, op. cit.

³Douglas, Shuman, Gray interviews.

An hour or more before a prepared address is to be delivered on the Senate floor, Senator Douglas is usually found seated at his desk, or at the long conference table, in his private office of Suite 109 in the Old Senate Building¹ with coat off and a sharp pencil in hand thumbing through the manuscript of a speech, making changes if necessary.² Following this procedure and time permitting,³ the Senator may then be observed reading the speech aloud to one of his staff beside the portraits of George W. Norris, Robert M. LaFollette, Sr., John P. Altgeld, Jane Addams, Clarence Darrow, and Abraham Lincoln,⁴ "...people I want in my office."⁵ This scene culminates several steps that usually go into the preparation of a Senate address.

There are, however, occasions when Douglas feels the need to present a position in debate of a bill while on the floor and knows that an hour or more will elapse before

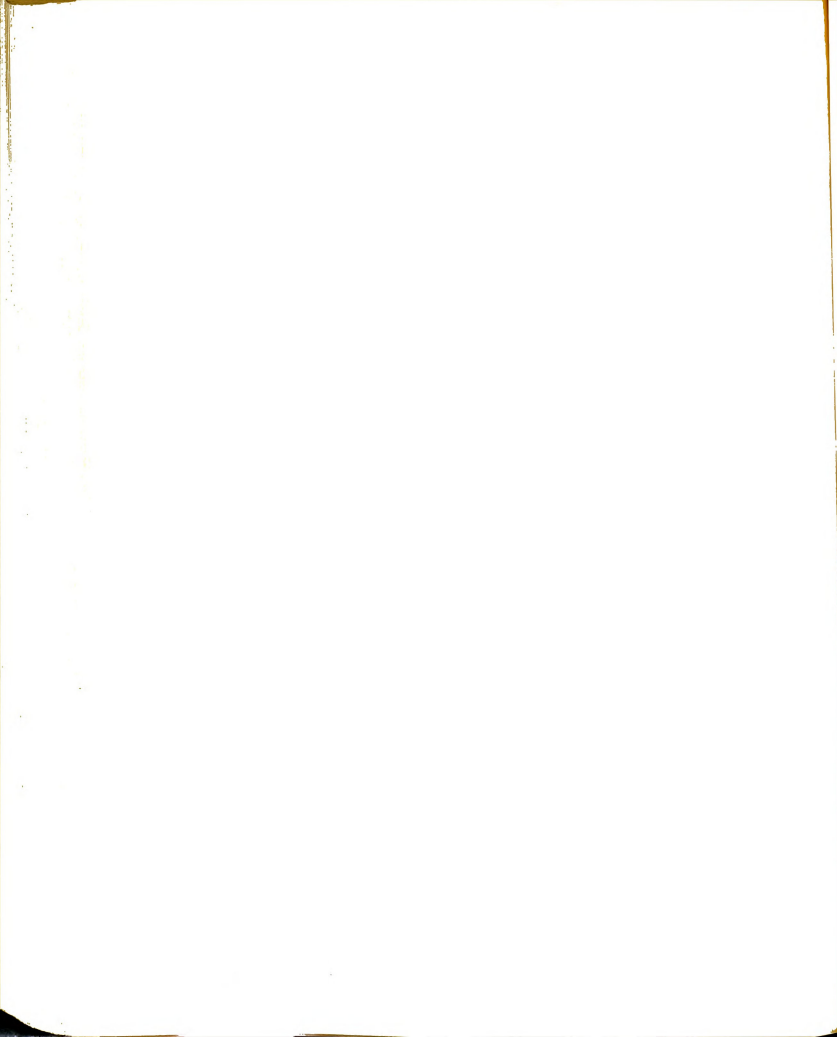
¹Douglas has due to his seniority been offered one of the plush offices in the New Senate Building, but he refused to move because of his objection to the building's extravagance.

²Douglas is able to "block read" a printed page at a glance, and he seemingly has a "photographic" memory.

³Interview with Shuman, May 22, 1963.

⁴On the wall of the ante room flanking the receptionist hang portraits of President and Mrs. Kennedy, a profile of Douglas, Lincoln, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Alexander Hamilton.

⁵William McGrath, "Ferocious Independent at 70," New York Times Magazine, March 25, 1962, p. 36.



he can get the floor for any period of time. In such cases he will summon his legislative assistant, who is usually standing off to the side of the chamber, and instruct him to go back to the office and work out an outline.¹

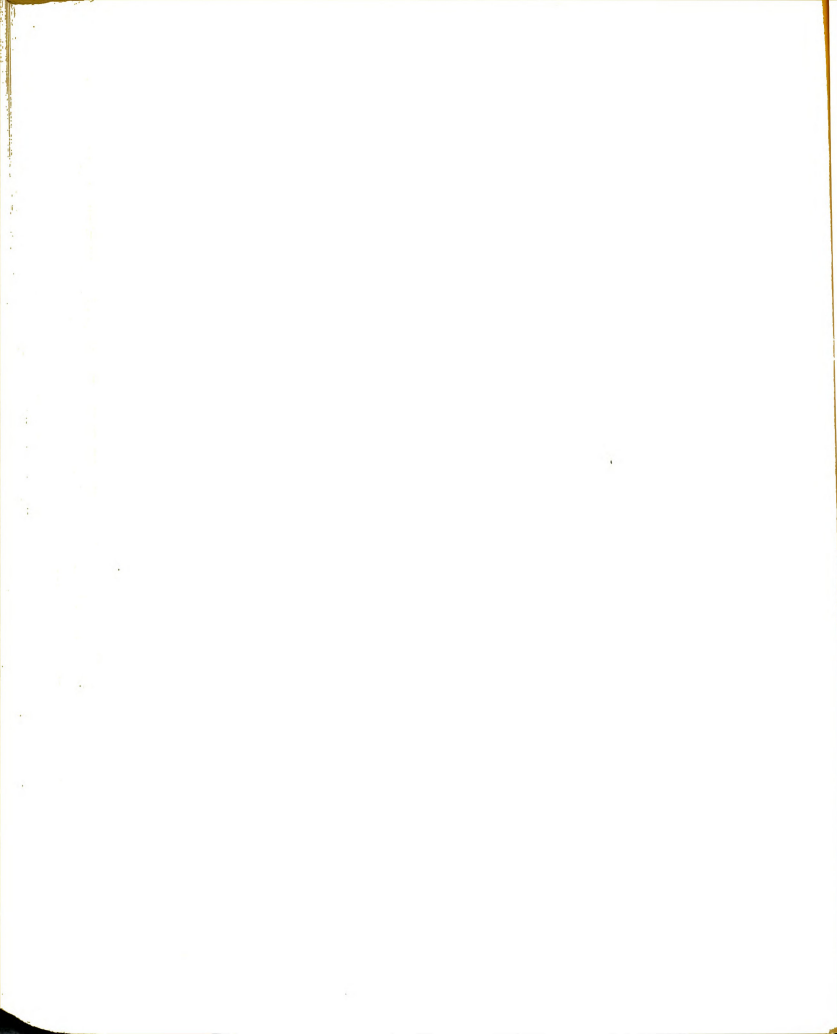
Because the exigency of his schedule necessitates the assistance of his staff in the preparation of the Senator's speeches, a logical question is how much of what Douglas utters are actually his own ideas? The writer asked this question of several staff members in private interviews and conversations. Shuman's response was typical:

You are asking if we are ghost writers. In one sense I am one, but not in the usual way. I write a great deal for the Senator, and we both put our names to it. I have learned to know what he thinks.² That is my job. He confides in me on speeches. We are not ghost writing. He always makes a point to tell us what he thinks and states what he has said previously on the matter, and we read every statement. Moreover, he looks over everything we write before the speech. In conferences, I don't assert, but raise questions on the issues and provide answers when he asks for them.³

¹Interview with Shuman, op. cit.

²The writer spent considerable time during the week of May 20, 1963, checking the consistency of answers between individual staff members and Douglas on procedural and substantive matters, as well as on the close working association of Douglas and his staff. He found only degrees of difference in answers on substantive questions and a close working relationship resulting in a group answer originating usually with Douglas, not by individual staff members.

³Interview with Shuman, op. cit.



The available evidence of his methods of preparation do not permit Douglas to be classified among those governmental officials almost exclusively reliant on others for the preparation of their speeches--and often for ideas.¹ While his early speeches were much more the result of his own work he is still today the main source of ideas and final judge on their composition.

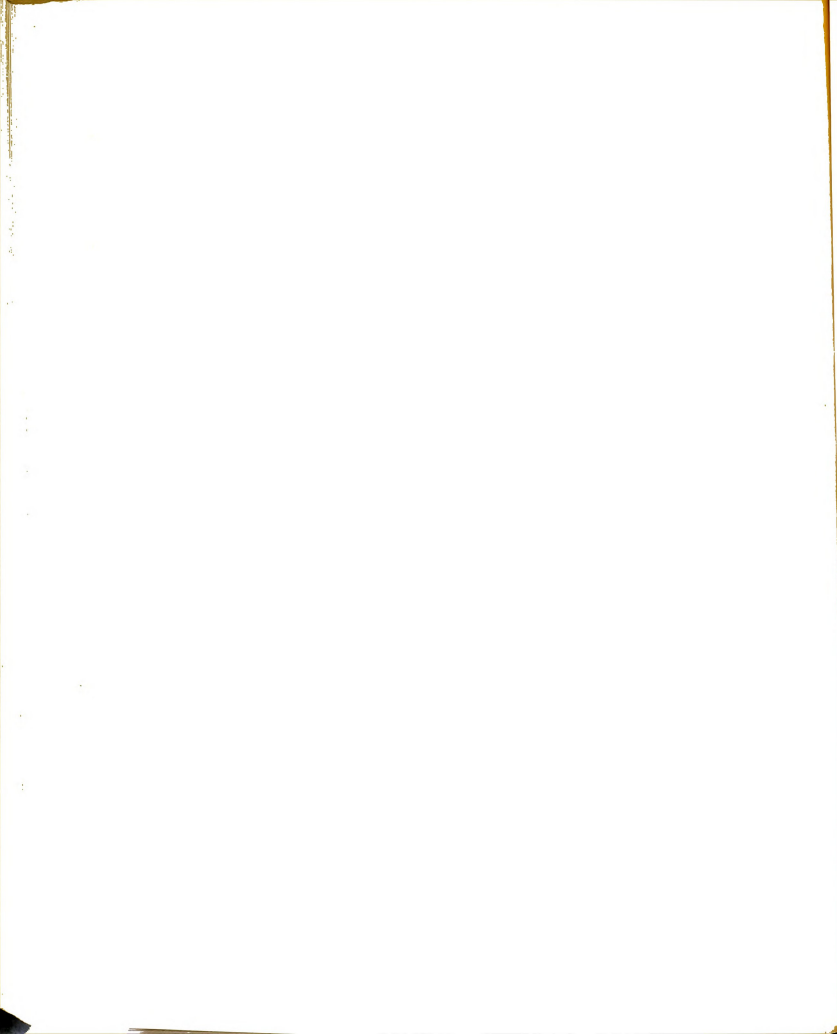
The Senate Forum

The Senator's world of communication is complex and consistently challenging, as is the environment in which he lives as a U. S. Senator. In the words of the late Vice-President Alben W. Barkley addressed to the Senate on Paul Douglas' first day there:

The Senate of the United States comes in for its share of criticism and denunciation, and it comes in now and then for what I think is an overplay of contemptuous asseverations with respect to its processes; but after all, with all its failings and shortcomings--and they are outstanding in some respects--it yet remains the one great forum for the debate of legislation and for the working out of the democratic process among the nations of the world. It will be a sad day in the history of this country if the United States Senate--or, for that matter, the House of Representatives--ceases to be the forum where men express their opinions and advocate whatever appeals to their judgment and their conscience in the process of making our Nation a greater example of democracy and self-government.²

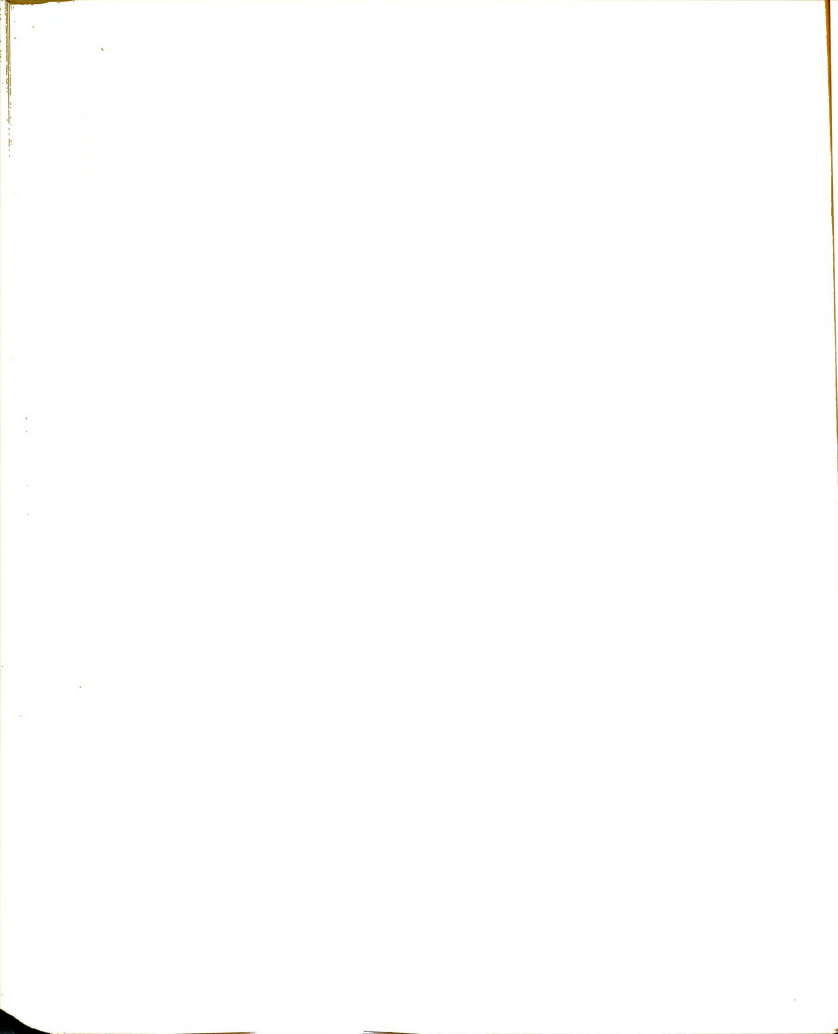
¹Don Oberdorfer, "Vast Ghostland of Washington," New York Times Magazine, April 26, 1964.

²Alben W. Barkley, Speech in Senate, January 3, 1949, Congressional Record, 81st Congress, First Session, 1949, Vol. 90, Part I, p. 4.



PART THREE

THE SENATOR SPEAKS



INTRODUCTION

A Study of Invention

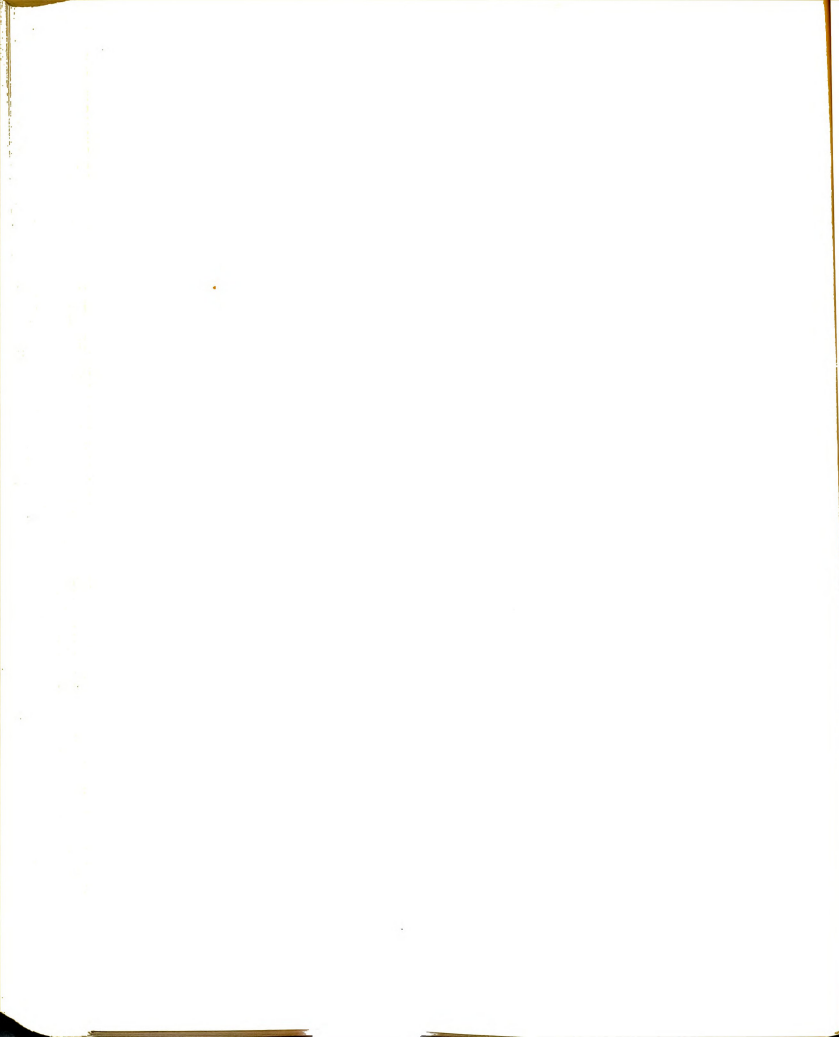
THE APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY OF PART THREE

Bacon on Invention

To paraphrase Sir Francis Bacon: The collection of all a speaker's experiences and knowledge constitutes sources of invention which he may utilize in any given oral communication situation.¹ Bacon's broad definition applies to Parts I and II, wherein an attempt was made to describe, analyze, and interpret the dominant factors (experiences and knowledge gained) of a biographical-historical nature before Douglas went to Washington (Part One) and the milieu in which he functions as a speaker in the Senate chamber, including his rhetorical theory and methods of speech preparation (Part Two).

With Parts One and Two as a "backdrop," the study of Douglas' Senate speeches will be the subject of Part Three. The rationale for the approach and methodology of that study will follow.

¹Basil Montagu (ed.), The Works of Francis Bacon, Vol. II (New ed., London: 1825), p. 185.



Aristotle on Invention

The methodology for analyzing invention (the "content" of speeches) follows or adheres to Aristotle's classification of the "modes of persuasion."¹ Aristotle classified the modes of persuasion according to the effects they were capable of producing in an audience. In the order he discussed them, they have become labeled ethical, pathetic or emotional, and logical.

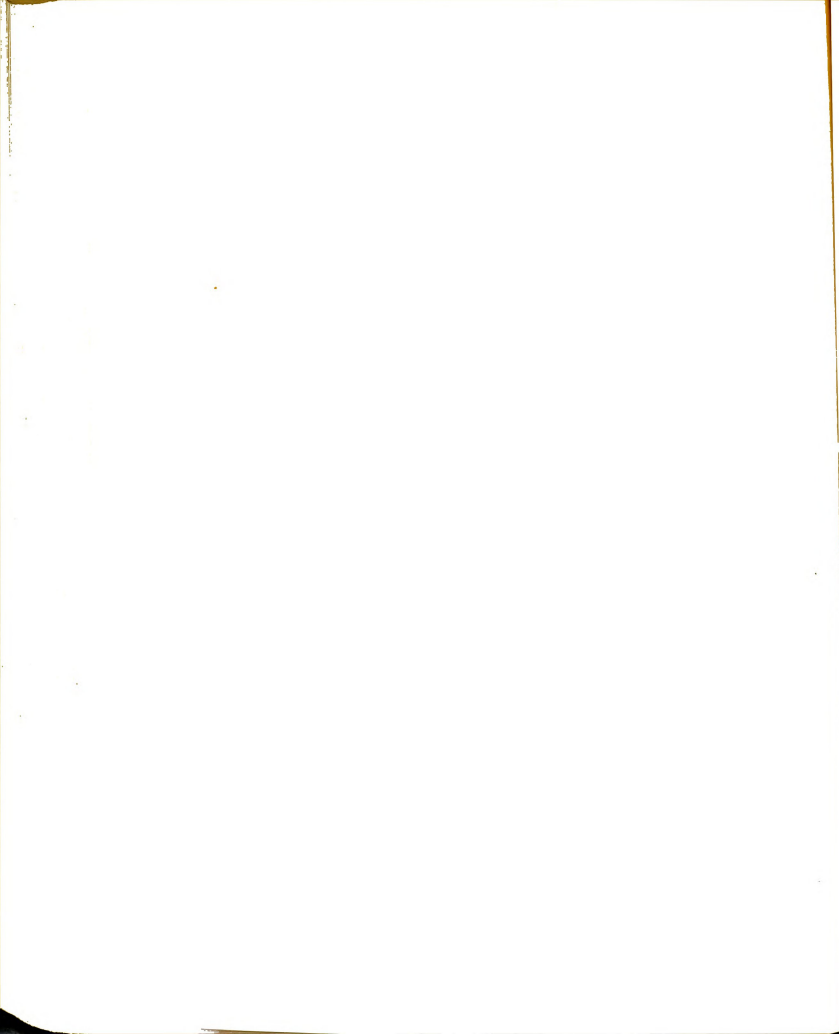
Concept of Invention in This Analysis

The important constituents of invention are (1) the types of speeches, (2) the topics of speeches, (3) the factors of persuasion (modes of proof)², (4) the nature of audiences and occasion, and the selection and adaptation of materials for each, (5) as measured against norms or standards, in this case, norms of rhetorical excellence and utility. Each of these major constituents of invention will be considered in order as it applies to this study.

(1) The classification of types of Douglas' Senate speeches (implicit in chapters six through eight) requires only brief examination and can be done here. In terms of classical analysis, his speeches were, of course, almost

¹From the translation by J. E. C. Welldon, The Rhetoric of Aristotle (London and New York: Macmillan Company, 1886), pp. 10-12.

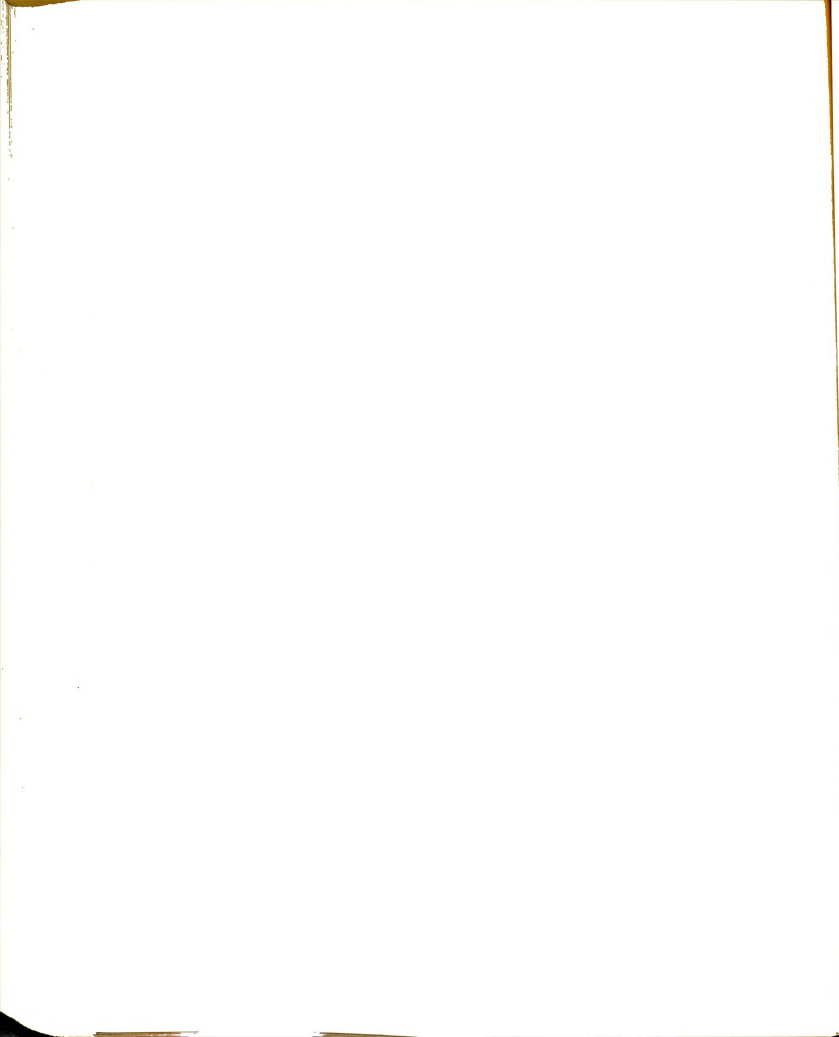
²Sometimes referred to as "speaker appeals."



exclusively deliberative and only infrequently epideictic-- as in the case of eulogies, commemorative remarks, or tributes. In terms of analysis according to the "ends" (to persuade, inform, entertain) of speaking, he sought most often in his speeches to persuade and in fact, because the classifications of "ends" presuppose such categorical exclusiveness and because a speech may serve many functions in transmitting meanings, he may well have had two or more ends in mind in one speech for different segments and individuals of his audience, depending upon various attitudes held. Moreover, he was informing his audiences by the very nature of his speeches because it cannot be assumed that his colleagues were totally informed on all of the materials he presented or of methods he used in ordering and developing arguments and materials to elicit responses. (They learned new information and ways of developing it from Douglas.) If they had, there would have been no need to listen to him or to read the Record.

To persuade, a speaker must usually do some informing. More than one, and perhaps all, of the ends of speaking then could be operative in a speech; for Douglas could in any one speech be informing, persuading, and even entertaining. Minnick gives credence to this concept of simultaneous multiple ends when he defines persuasion as "discourse, written or oral, that is designed to win belief or stimulate action by employing all of the factors that determine human behavior."¹ Yet, it must be concluded

¹Wayne Minnick, The Art of Persuasion (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957), p. 33.



that the ultimate end of most of Douglas' speaking, no doubt, was to persuade his audience to act in behalf of his proposals. Finally, in terms of descriptive classification of types of speeches according to location and circumstances, all of Douglas' speeches delivered in the Senate chamber were clearly legislative.

(2) The second constituent of invention includes the topics of the speaker, consisting of expressed and implied assumptions, values, and propositions. The topics of Douglas' Senate speaking are included in all three chapters of this part of the study,¹ but most comprehensively in Chapters VI, VII. In fact, the rationale for including Chapter VI and VII, which develop a chronological profile of Douglas' Senate speaking since 1949, was almost exclusively determined by a felt need to describe, analyze, interpret, and give perspective to what topics he spoke on, when, and how often. These chapters also make evident the types of speeches and his relative use of different forms of delivery.

(3) The three classifications of factors of persuasion available to a speaker form the structure for Chapter VIII. Although each factor will be operationally defined, a brief definition of each and the concept of their relationship seems appropriate here.

¹Expressed and implied topics, assumptions, values, and propositions were also evident in his speeches, writings, comments and actions in Parts I and II.

(3-a) The first factor of persuasion, ethical persuasion, is concerned with how a speaker is perceived by his audience in terms of competence, good character, and good will (his ethos or credibility), or their opposites. It is essentially what the speaker does to establish "credence in his own probity and character, and, at the same time, is predisposing the minds of the hearers toward the readier acceptance of his cause."¹ In a real sense every choice and action of the speaker before, during, and after he leaves the platform affect his ethical persuasion. All intentional matters have overtones of ethical persuasion. However, for purposes of analysis here, ethical persuasion is defined as those verbal message constituents² discernible (to the critic) in reprints of speeches (intrinsic textual analysis) which may effect a favorable or unfavorable disposition of the audience to accept or reject a speaker's meanings in terms of how they perceive his competence, good character, and good will.

(3-b) The second factor of persuasion for analysis of invention will be termed psychological persuasion. Psychological persuasion for this study consists of those

¹Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 386.

²As one means of distinguishing the ethical from other factors for purposes of analysis, emphasis will be placed on those which seem clearly the conscious effort of the speaker to focus attention on ethical factors, as well as those which (although probably not intentional) detract from his ethical persuasion.

verbal message constituents of a psychological nature discernible (to the critic) in reprints of speeches which may dispose an audience favorably, or unfavorably, to accept, or reject, a speaker's meanings--and which could not be more properly classified as ethical or logical. Psychological persuasion "appeals primarily to the listener's basic motives, his sensory experiences and memories of them, and his hopes, fears, and desires. These materials are used to make the message more real to the listener and to sustain his interest."¹ Examples of the materials of psychological persuasion discernible in the message include vivid description and narration, value labels, motive appeals, attention arousers, suggestion, and stimuli resulting from the audible and visible activities of the speaker when evident in interpolations in speech reprints.

(3-c) The third factor of persuasion, logical persuasion, is defined as those verbal message constituents discernible in reprints of speeches which dispose an audience to accept or reject a speaker's meanings in terms of how they perceive his rational demonstration through

¹Hance, Ralph, and Wiksell, op. cit., p. 7.

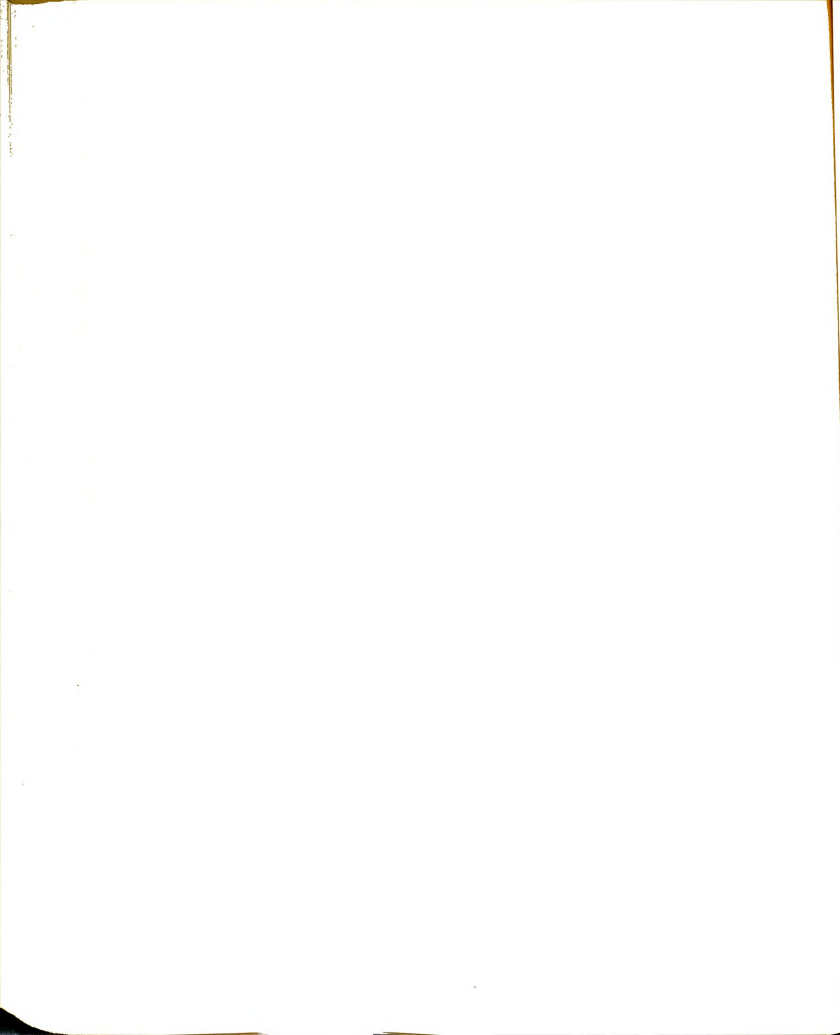
²Lines of "exposition" and "argument" are both included under reasoning because no clear dichotomy for clarification exists and they may serve the end of persuasion singly or together. Explanation often serves as a form of support because materials and data must be understood before a proposition is accepted. Exposition can be used as a method of leading the hearer to draw his own conclusion by what is implied--the "implicative method."

argumentation. The main ingredient of logical persuasion is reasoning, which consists of inferring conclusions from evidence or other conclusions. Types of reasoning, its structure, methods used by the speaker in constructing or refuting conclusions, and evidence, which serves as a basis for reasoning, are all proper matters of logical persuasion. So are the premises and lines of thought and their relationship.

It should be clear that ethical, psychological, and logical classifications of invention are merely defined as categories for analysis and are not mutually exclusive. For, the choice of labels designating things and concepts is a product of arbitrary judgment. The inventional factors of persuasion in a speaking situation are dynamic, and overlap and interact in disposing audiences to respond to the speaker's meanings. The audience member does not ordinarily ferret out the ethical from the psychological or the logical. Edward L. Pross has concluded after an experimental investigation: these factors of invention are a continuum varying from individual to individual in the audience.¹

(4) An understanding of the nature of Douglas' audiences and occasion for which they assembled and his

¹Edward L. Pross, A Critical Analysis of Certain Aspects of Ethical Proof (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1942), quoted in Thonssen and Baird, p. 386.



audience adaptation to each, the fourth constituent of invention, explicitly and implicitly results from the study of his selection and use of major topics and supporting materials in Chapters VI and VIII.¹ Style, a factor of adaptation, will not be considered separately (because of the problems in textual accuracy in most of the speeches) but only as it becomes evident from analyzing inventional factors.² For another measure of audience adaptation is the speaker's use of the visible and audible code. Descriptions from the writer's observations at the beginning of Chapter VI help to visualize "the man seen and heard" (and the physical setting) during the discussions of intrinsic inventional matters in the four chapters that follow. Disposition of materials, another factor of adaptation, is not studied.

(5) Norms for appraisal accrue primarily from the "artistic" and "results" theories.³ However, because it is often difficult to isolate and measure any direct cause to

¹Douglas' statements on audience adaptation in campaign speaking in Chapter III and in his rhetorical theory of Chapter V are also helpful.

²The language usage of the speaker as reported in the reprints should become fairly familiar from the extensive number of quotations from the speeches.

³James H. McBurney and Ernest J. Wraga. The Art of Good Speech (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1953), Chapter II, "Standards of Good Speech," pp. 21-36.

effect relationship between the speech and responses resulting from it, the artistic method - principles of rhetoric - provides the chief structure for appraisal. Interpretation and evaluation of the excellence of Douglas' invention and measurable responses will be considered throughout Chapters VI-VIII.

The Approach

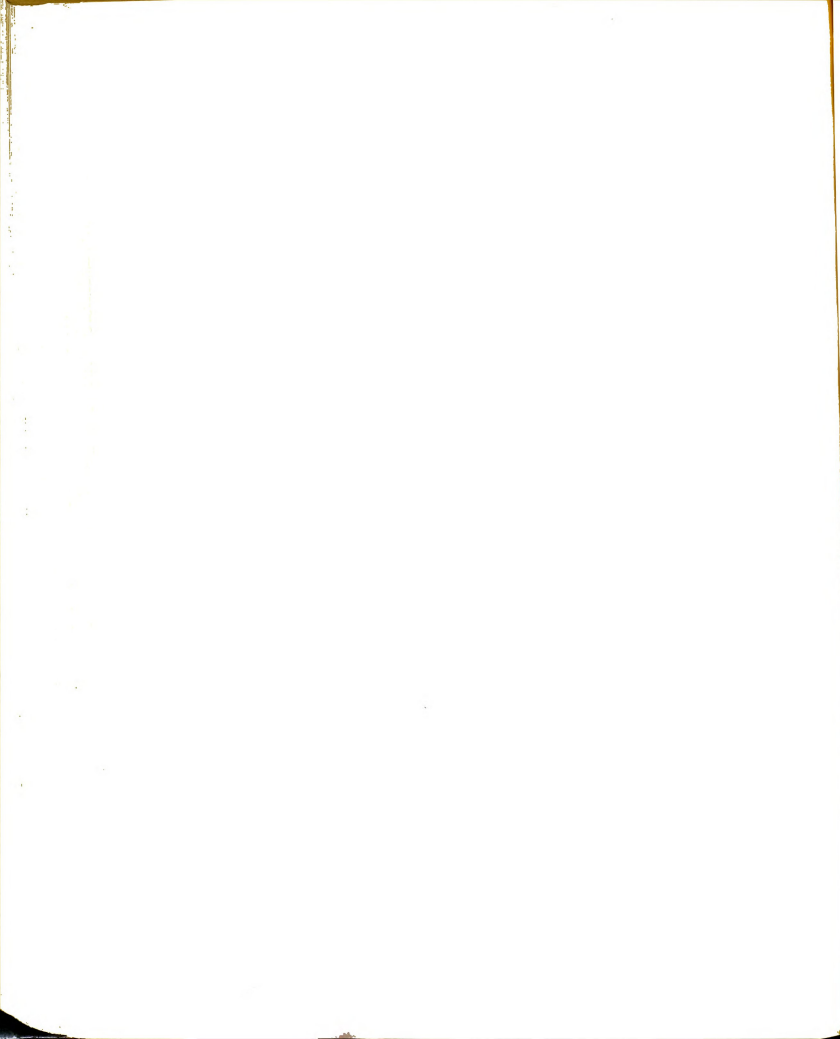
In the preface to Volumes I and II of A History and Criticism of American Public Address, William Norwood Brigance observed:

To those who would prefer that one standardized pattern of rhetorical criticism be followed, we answer that it would have been neither possible nor, in our opinion, desirable. It would not have been possible because the best scholars are not all adherents of the same philosophy of criticism.... Nor do we think it would have been desirable.... The speakers to be appraised lived in different periods and labored in different fields, moved against different backgrounds of history, aimed at different goals, and were influenced by different currents. Monism is the natural disease of philosophers, who hunger and thirst not (as they think) for truth, but for unity.... The formula may become a sort of number-worship.¹

Everett Lee Hunt set forth a similar view in reviewing Volume III of that series (edited by Marie Hochmuth [Nichols]):

For me the excellence of the volume...lies in its variety, and I hope no attempts will be made to standardize the methods of rhetorical

¹William Norwood Brigance (ed.), A History and Criticism of American Public Address (New York: Russell and Russell, 1960), p. x.



criticism. There is danger that we might draw up a list of the qualities of the effective speaker, and simply plot a curve for each orator and let it go at that.¹

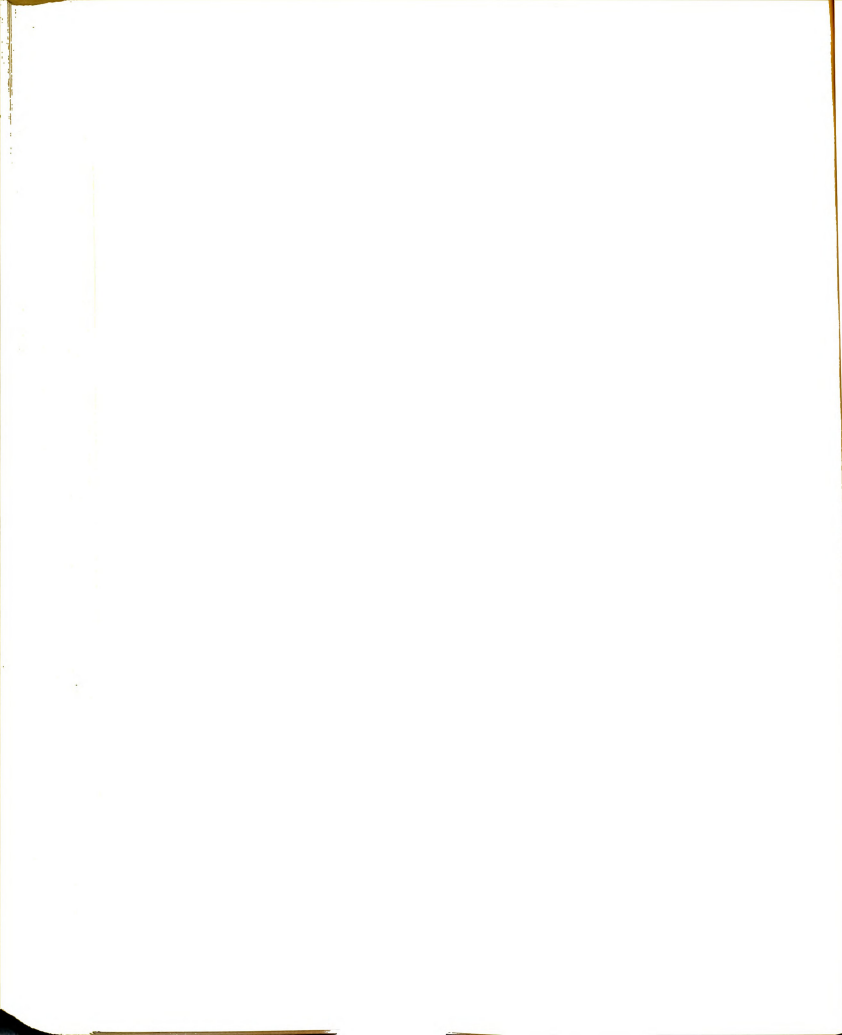
From that advice, the methods of criticism suggested by the subject, time and place factors, and the nature of available information and research material on this subject, the survey or "generalized" approach and a "case study" approach were selected and combined in Part III. Considerable information was available from primary and secondary sources on the subject in some scope and depth as a contemporary speaker. The subject and materials seemed to lend themselves best to the application of the historical-critical method² through both a general and specific approach. First, a general study of Douglas' speaking career in the Senate was possible; and second, the opportunity to review a large number of specimens of his speaking to select an illustrative-example for more definitive study could also be undertaken.

Arrangement in Part III

The arrangement is generally chronological. Chapters VI and VII survey in chronological progression Douglas' public address in the Senate from 1949-1963.

¹Everett L. Hunt, "Thoughts on a History and Criticism of American Public Address," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 42 (1956), pp. 188-189.

²Clyde W. Dow (ed.), An Introduction to Graduate Study in Speech and Theatre (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1961), pp. 53 and 62.

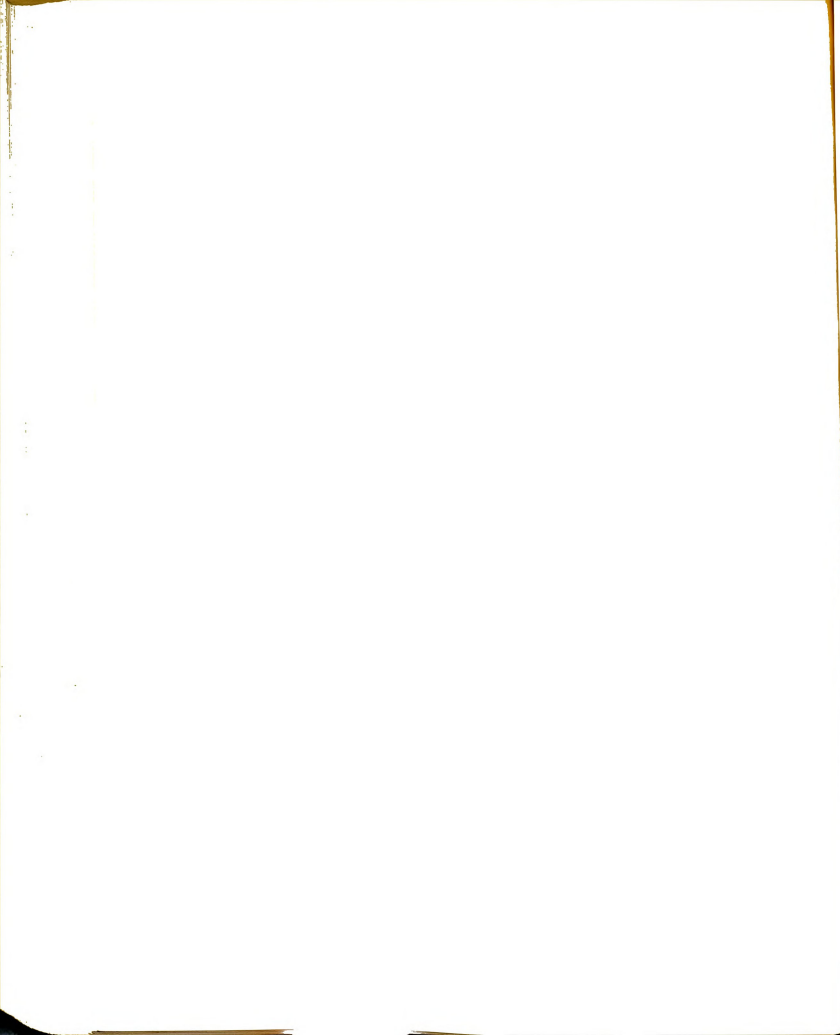


The internal format for the illustrative example of Douglas' speaking is topical, but the analysis of invention is undertaken in the order it appears in the speech text--from the introduction through the conclusion. First, the social-historical setting is briefly described, including, the evolution of the topic, resume of existing circumstances surrounding it, preview of important occurrences in the speech, and the immediate audience--the membership of the Senate at that time. The factors of persuasion are analyzed in the order they occur in the text. A brief summary-interpretation of the findings will follow, and a report of the measurable response to the speech will conclude the chapter.

Selection of An Illustrative-Example

The large number of available cases gave much latitude in choice and consequently made the choice more difficult. It was possible to select from some 190 cases. The question of what criteria to use was a critical one. What determined the selection?

Consideration was given to all possible cases to view the relationship of each to (1) important issues, or (2) issues important to Douglas, (3) historical periods of importance in the Senate, or (4) periods in which he played a more important role; (5) its relation to different modes of delivery for (6) prepared major addresses, (7) debate, and (8) colloquies; (9) its composition, and (10) the completeness and (11) accuracy of reprints in



re-creating what was actually said; and finally its (12) effect as could be measured by the scope and intensity of reports by critics and other sources. The process of selection was a complex and extended one, and therefore will only be briefed here.

In addition to reviewing the available texts and secondary sources in consideration of this general criteria, the primary source, Paul Douglas, and his staff were asked in separate personal interviews¹ a series of questions developed from the twelve-joint criteria above.

Responses showed little discrimination of questions and a great deal of consistency in answers. Almost unhesitatingly, the Senator responded to almost every question with similar answers, and they were generally corroborated by individual staff members. Time and again the answers included the following speeches,² listed in the chronological order of their delivery (and usually the order the interviewees listed them in answers):

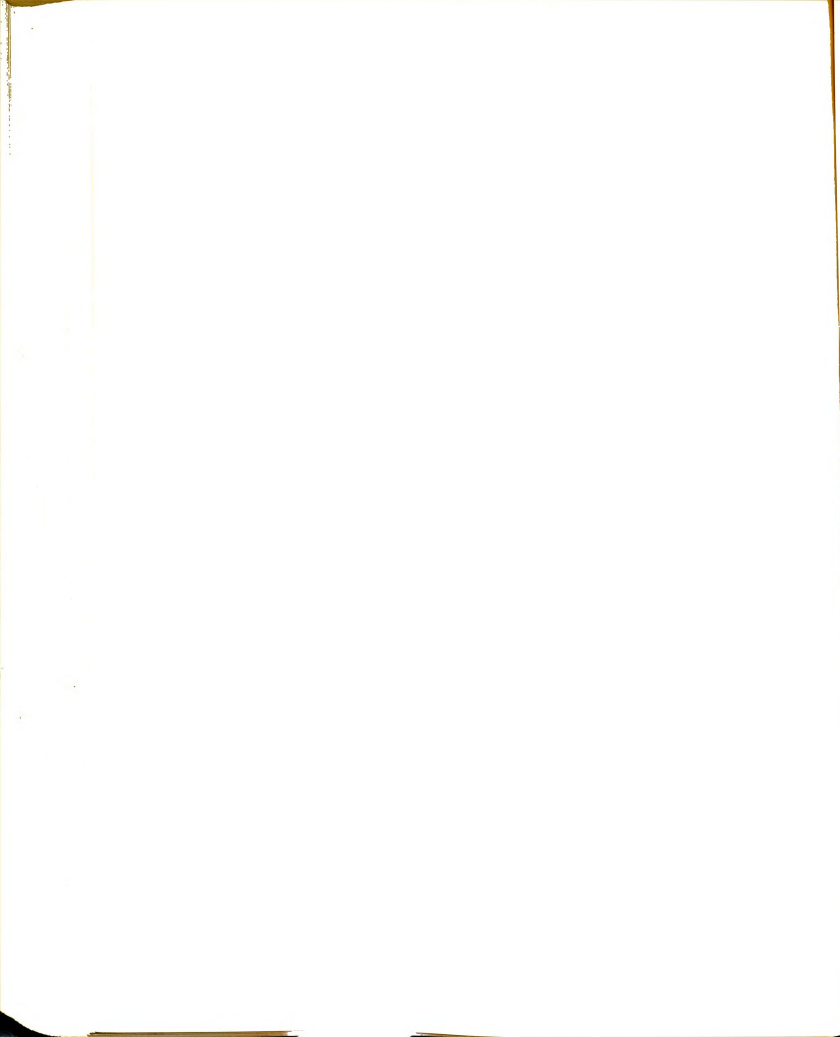
1950 Speech against Kerr's Natural Gas Bill (and the debate with Kerr)

1951 Speech on Foreign Policy

1954 Speech on Offshore Oil

¹Interviews by the writer with Douglas and his staff during the week of May 20, 1963.

²Titles are listed for speeches as paraphrased most often by Douglas and his staff in their answers.



1957 Debate for Civil Rights Bill

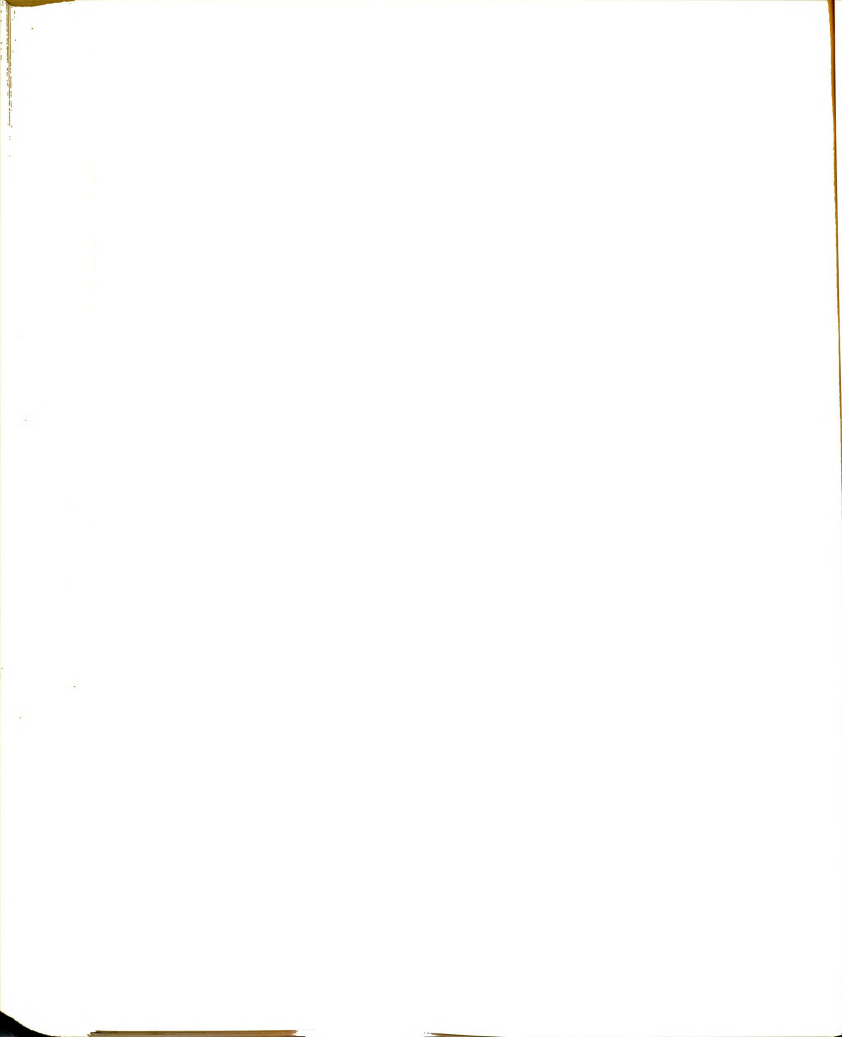
1959-1961 Speeches disclosing Military Waste.

The speech against the Kerr Gas Bill of 1950 was selected as the subject of Chapter VIII. It was selected for the following reasons. It is reasonably long allowing for scope in analysis. Douglas and his staff think it is an important address. It includes a sampling of debate with Kerr, a man with whom Douglas considers he has had his most heated exchanges in the Senate (Milliken ran a close second). It also includes a sample of his speaking in colloquy. The reprint is as accurate and complete as in that of any other speech. It represents a domestic-national issue¹ and the topic areas of protection of the consumers, economy, natural resources, and some reflection of economic and fiscal matters on which he is considered the most authoritative source in the Senate. It is a speech prepared in his first term and therefore is more exclusively the product of his personal efforts than are those later when he has become more reliant on his staff in speech preparation.

Accuracy of the Text

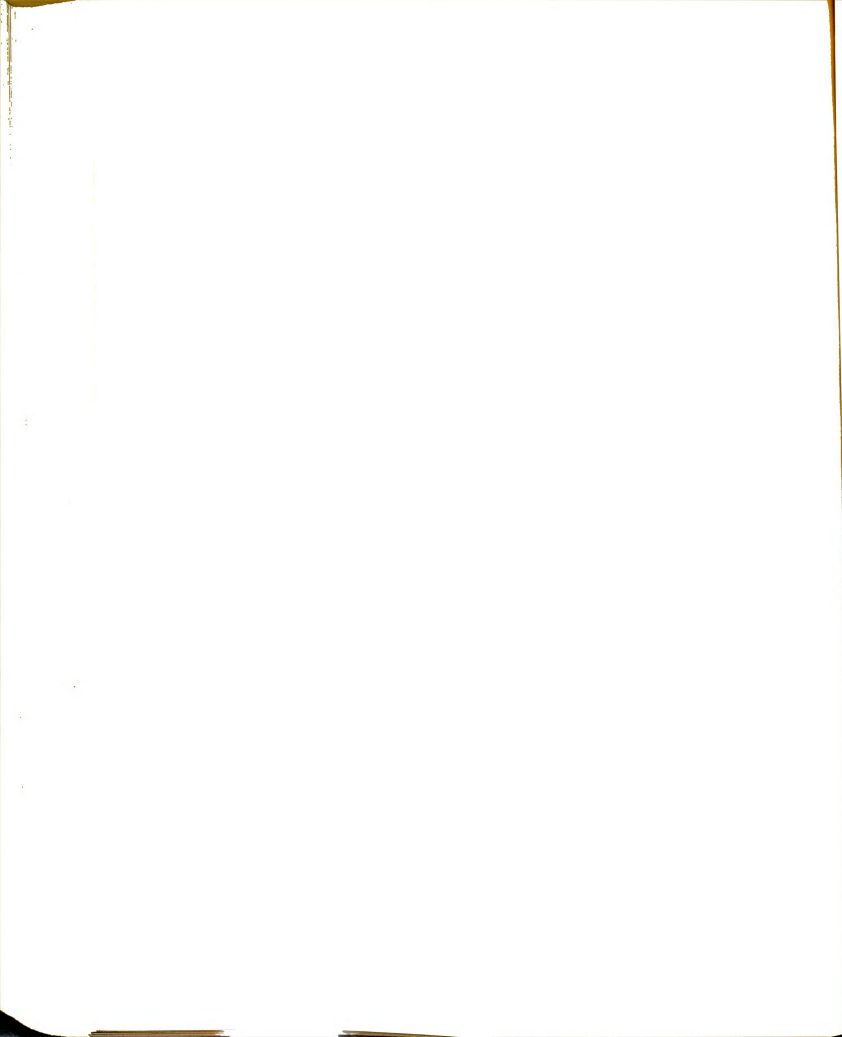
The sources for Chapters VI and VII were almost exclusively reprints of the daily Record and copies of

¹Over the years Douglas has spoken at least twice as often on domestic-national issues as international issues.



releases of texts of prepared speeches and remarks from his files with some cross-checking and supplemental references cited from the yearly Record. The sources of the text for Chapter VIII are the yearly edition of the Congressional Record of 1950, which provides information on interruptions in debate and colloquy while the speech was delivered, and the file copy of the release of the text, which has been cross-checked against the Record.

It is this approach and methodology which will be applied in Part Three to describe, analyze and interpret the speaking of Paul H. Douglas during fifteen years of his career in the U. S. Senate.



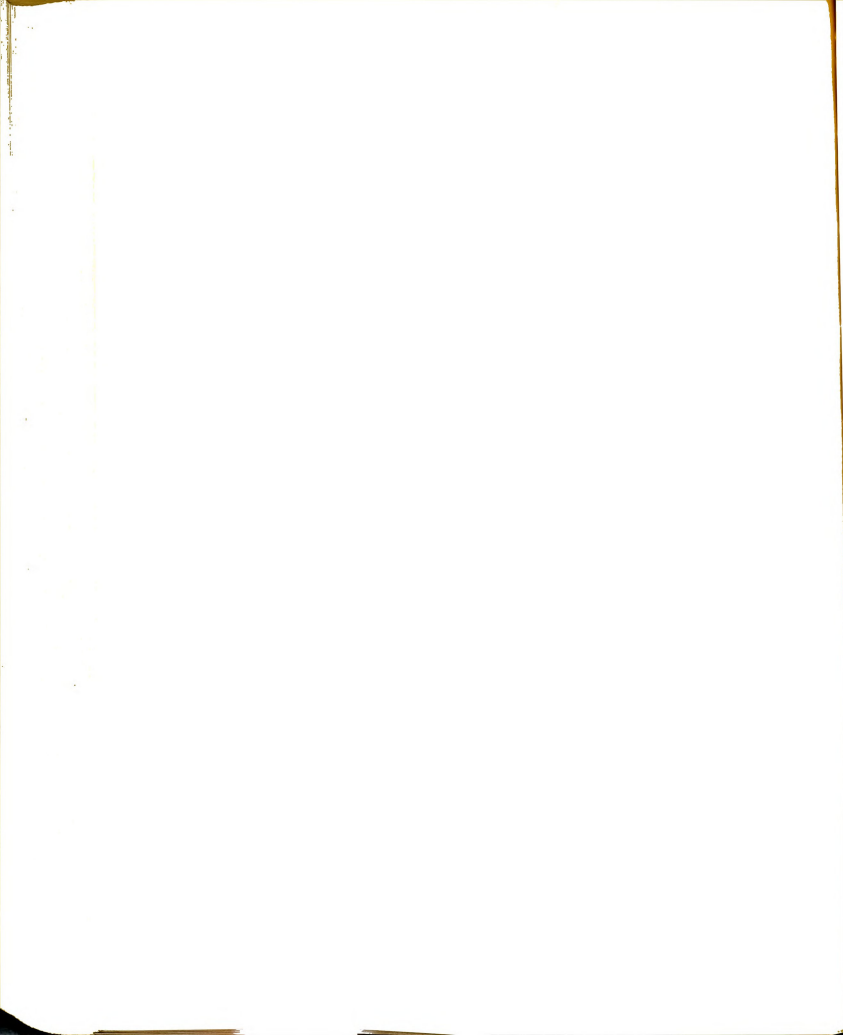
CHAPTER VI

SENATOR WITH IDEAS: 1949-1956

The Man Seen and Heard

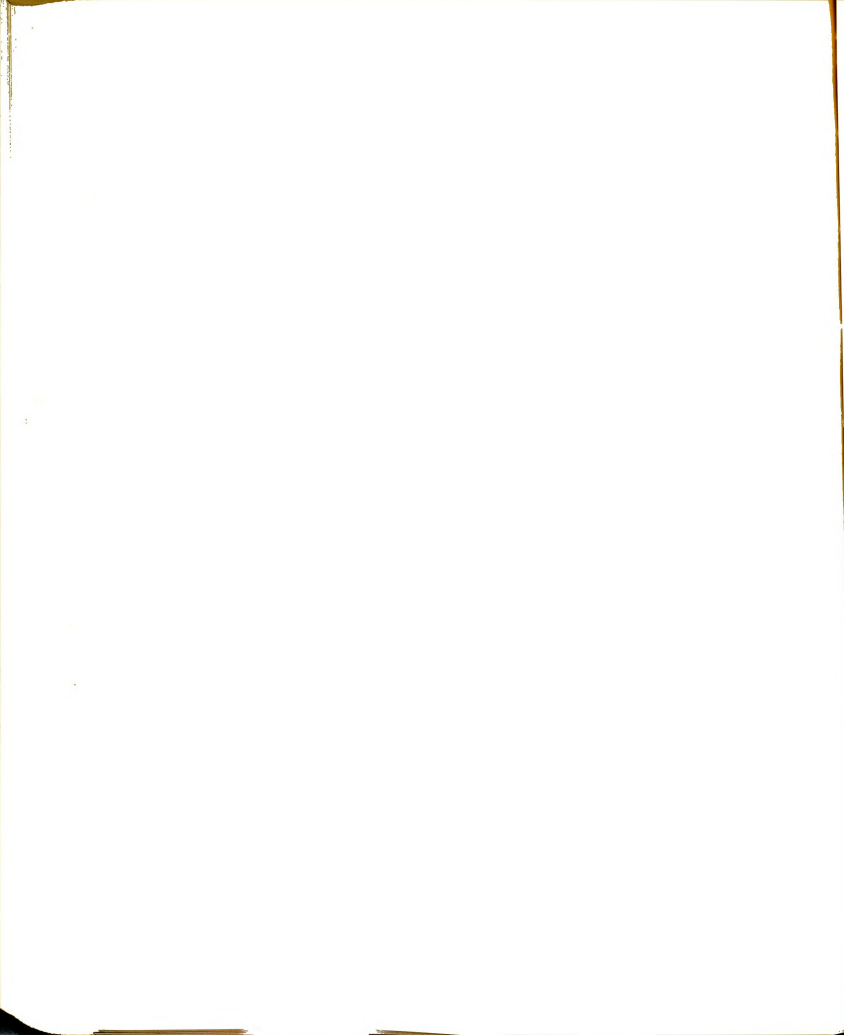
People presiding over the U. S. Senate since 1949 have been able to observe a man with a heavy and unruly thatch of white hair crowning a bespectacled and rough-hewn but expressive face. Seated first in his early years at a desk near the right rear corner of the back row, seniority has moved him up to a desk in the second row on the second aisle of the Democratic side of the Chamber. Over the years he has frequently cued his intensive listening by a facial expression of curious and pleased wonder with brows lifted and eyes widened, marking one who has personally discovered something new and unexpected in the world. Superficially he resembles an absent-minded professor seated at his desk of 1819 American styling.¹ Papers are strewn beside the inkwell, penholder, and glass holder with blotting sand. With that curious expression remaining, his eyes have often left the speaker of the moment to gaze up in thought past the busts of the twenty former Vice-Presidents lining the upper wall of the chamber to scan the public

¹Visitors pamphlet for the Senate, op. cit., pp. 6-7.



gallery or that of the press on the north side, look up even further to the design of the great seal of the United States in the dome, and then back down to the Vice-President's rostrum flanked by red marble columns and pilasters and the two old snuff boxes still filled, on to the motto over the rostrum, E. Pluribus Unum, and down to the speaker and back to his desk. He often grasps a pencil with heavy hands and thick awkward fingers and begins making notes. The upward scanning in thoughtful reflection by this man has frequently come to mean to the presiding officer that sometime soon this Senator will rise for recognition to speak.

On many occasions the chair has heard a clear, resonant, powerful, and flexible voice, but one which sometimes strains near the point of hoarseness, articulate "Mr. President," at a deliberate rate with a "Yankee twang." The words come from a tall, angular, 6'3", austere, and Lincolnesque man standing stooped shouldered, attired in a blue or gray suit and often a "loud" and loose-knotted tie. For over fifteen years on those frequent occasions when the remarks were of a relatively impromptu nature, this man, with an impaired left hand hanging limply, has been observed maintaining attention by walking up and down the aisle in long, loping strides, sometimes with his arm lifted, other times with his unimpaired right arm clutching his left or some rumpled notes, or his right hand mechanically flitting up and down (often monotonously) to emphasize

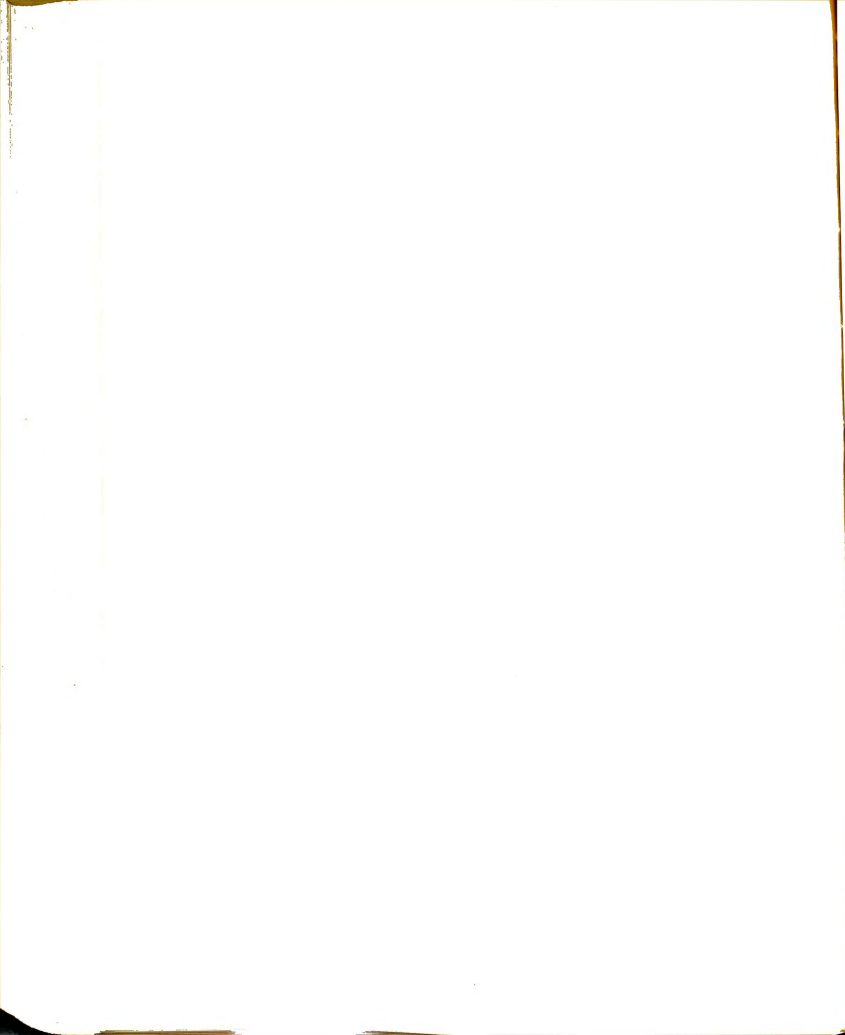


a point, to send home a message to his colleagues. On other occasions in colloquies and debate, the chair has observed the Senator speaking, with his Legislative or Administrative Assistant nearby prompting him in muffled tones to key ideas.¹ Still on other occasions while speaking from a manuscript placed on the portable lectern set on his desk, he could be seen visibly communicating through a variety of facial expressions and good eye contact characteristic of all his speaking. Frequently he sways a step or two to the right within range of the script, speaking as a teacher--a lecturer--with one of his staff members on his left turning the pages for the highly animated speaker.

The Senator's speeches, delivered at a rate of 124 to 145 words per minute,² are frequently loaded with factual evidence, but always sprinkled with figurative language, wit and satire, and a variety of persuasive appeals. He has also been observed on many occasions to become sentimental to the extent that his eyes fill with tears and his voice quivers. With a flare for the dramatic and an appreciation of the use of visual aids, on one occasion he

¹Howard Shuman and Kenneth Gray note that they have a "near mute" language by which they can transmit meanings to the Senator while he is speaking, discernible only to those located within a few feet.

²From Douglas' speech on Philippine War Reparations, May 23, 1963.



was observed in his first year to appear in the Senate with a large magnifying glass, explaining that not even with the aid of the glass could he find some of the places on the map where "pork barrel" projects under the Rivers and Harbors bill were located.¹ On another occasion, shortly after this, his aides talked him out of taking a meat axe and scalpel on the floor to demonstrate that budget cuts should not be made with the crude swipe of a butcher but rather with the precise skill of a surgeon. This speaker has been Paul Douglas, since 1951 the senior Senator from Illinois.

Since 1949, Paul Douglas has been a Senate speaker with a variety of ideas and wide scope of interests. He has been variously described as a "Hard-Boiled Idealist,"² "frustrated Senator,"³ "a Leader for the Hazards of the Future,"⁴ "Instinctive Liberal,"⁵ and "Ferocious Independent."⁶ As a Senator in his first term, he was rated by two polls,⁷ as the best and most effective U. S. Senator,

¹Smith, op. cit., p. 27.

²Morris, op. cit., p. 27.

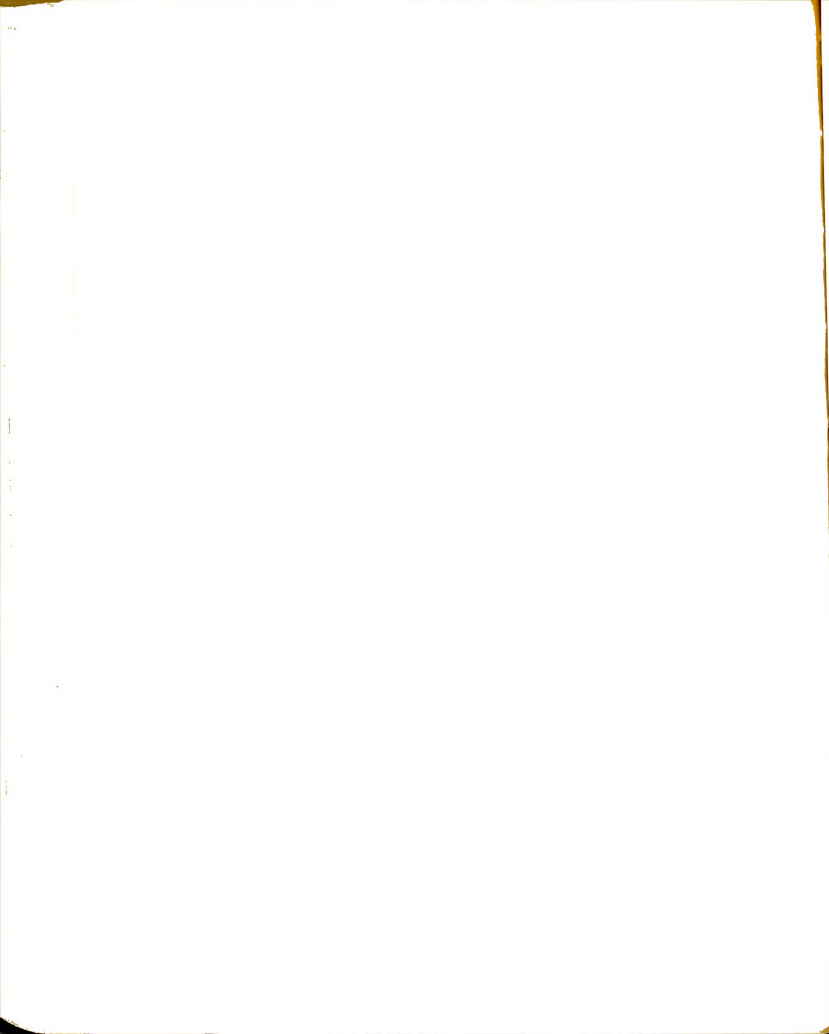
³Commonweal, September 21, 1951, p. 564.

⁴Nevins, op. cit., p. 550765.

⁵Phillips, op. cit., p. 10.

⁶McGrath, op. cit., p. 36.

⁷1951 Pageant poll of Washington newsmen and 1952 poll of members of the American Political Science Association and others.



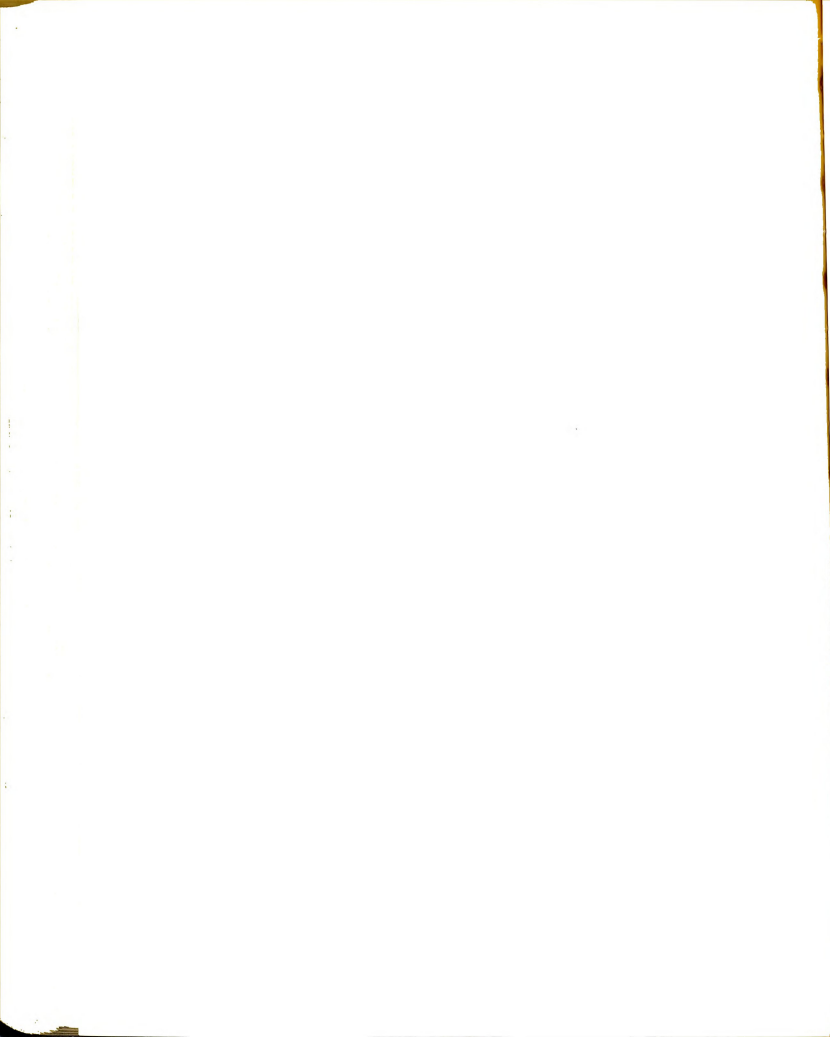
and yet, as noted earlier, he has been bypassed in the chairmanship of standing Senate committees.¹ Above all, he has been quite outspoken on the Senate floor. A discussion and analysis on the topics, the occasions, and intentional constituents of his speeches are the subjects of this chapter.

With this brief description of the Senate chamber and of Douglas, the man seen and heard, the remainder of this chapter and the next will attempt to review his speaking and other major activities as an index for understanding the man and his Senate career. No attempt will be made to follow subsequent proceedings and votes on all of the bills and issues on which Douglas spoke, unless a vote was taken immediately after one of his prepared addresses, for that, indeed, in each instance usually constitutes a study in itself.

Eighty-First Congress: 1949-1950

History will recall that during Paul Douglas' first two years in office, the international front included the ending of the Berlin Blockade in 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed, the Point Four program began, and the Korean Conflict broke out. On the

¹See Chapter V on committees.



national scene, Harry S. Truman in his own right as an elected President was trying to put through his Fair Deal program with a majority of 54 Democrats in the Senate, McCarthy and "McCarthyism" began rising to prominence, and the McCarran Internal Security Act passed Congress.

FIRST SESSION

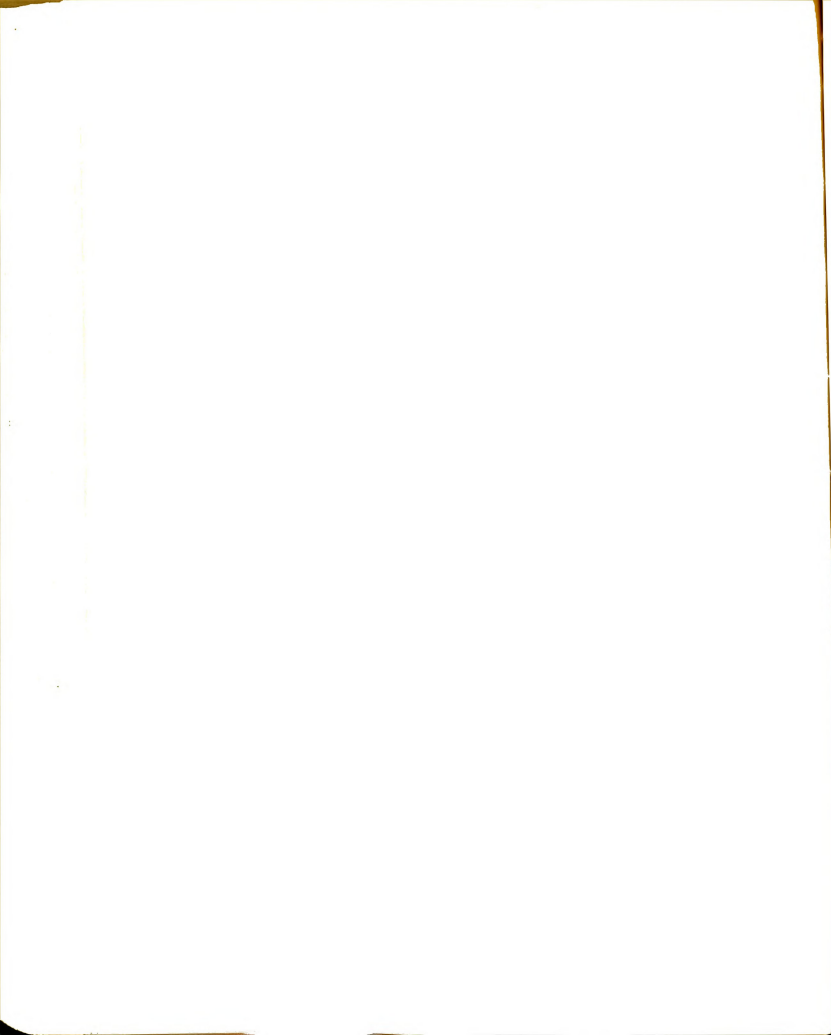
Maiden speech,--Paul Douglas launched his speaking career in the Senate by taking the floor against the Wherry (Kenneth Wherry, R. Nebraska) Resolution on March 17. The Wherry Resolution dealt with the controversial Senate Rule XXII; and maintained the need for a two-thirds vote of all members of the Senate to invoke cloture, holding that cloture could not be invoked on a procedural matter--to bring the bill on the floor and begin debate on the bill--only a substantive one ¹ (only after debate on a bill began on the floor). This overruled a chair recommendation by Vice-President Barkley in 1949.

Douglas' speech, entitled "The Surrender to the Filibuster," was a 35 minute² (he said in the introduction he would conclude in 15), brash, for a new Senator, and direct indictment of the partisan "marriage of conservatism and "sectionalism which has always cursed American political life."³

¹See Chapter V on cloture and filibuster under "Speaking in the Senate."

²The length of speeches and remarks by Douglas is based upon estimates of the time Douglas spoke and do not include interruptions and remarks by others.

³Text of speech from Douglas' file, pp. 1-3.



In Douglas' words:

The Wherry Resolution gives to 33 Senators, now and almost forever more, the power to kill any measure. This means that 17 states can act to preserve a filibuster. This means that a combination of the 17 smallest states, with less than 8 percent or 1/13 of the population and less than 7 percent or 1/15 of the income can tie up the Senate and the country and defeat the will of over 90 percent of the people. If we continue along this line, the great qualifications of a Senator will be his ability to speak for 24 hours without stopping.... Everyone in his heart knows that it is a disgrace.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I urge Senators to think very carefully before they vote for the Wherry Resolution. I urge my good friends from the mountain states to realize that we love them and want to help them, but that they should not drive too hard a bargain with us. I urge our friends from the border states to realize that we love them, and that they should realize that they are at least partly Northern.

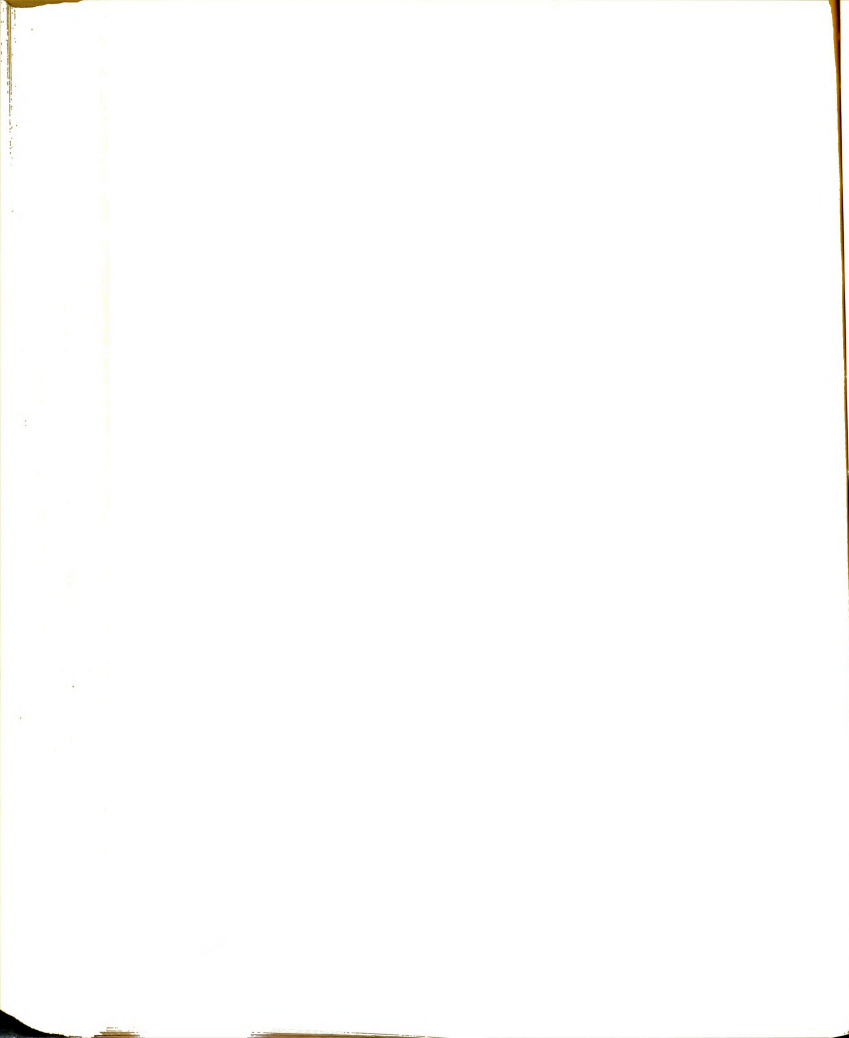
I urge my Southern friends to realize that though we may differ, we are not self-righteous. We, in the North, have many grievous sins and faults which we have not removed to the degree which we should. We love our Southern friends as individuals. We have no bitterness in our hearts towards them.

I urge my Republican friends on the other side of the aisle not to tie up the United States of America for a little cheap partisan advantage.¹

The filibuster against rule changes "tied-up" the Senate for nearly three weeks and resulted in passage of a compromise resolution. Specifically, the "new" rule required that two-thirds of the total membership² of the Senate may, if they wish, cut off debate on all matters

¹Ibid., p. 8.

²Douglas explained on April 7, 1949, to the delegates to the Americans for Democratic Action Convention that in contrast only two-thirds of the members present and voting was needed for submission of a constitutional amendment, for passing a bill over the veto of the President, and for impeachment proceedings.



except one.¹

Douglas had taken the floor in a firm, clear, and not unexpected stand on the filibuster and had attempted to generate some good will in the process during one of the most heated and bitter debates on the floor in 1949.

Douglas was practicing his philosophy of "act with your party (the Northern "liberals" in this instance) on procedural matters" and "let the facts and your conscience dictate stands on substantive issues."²

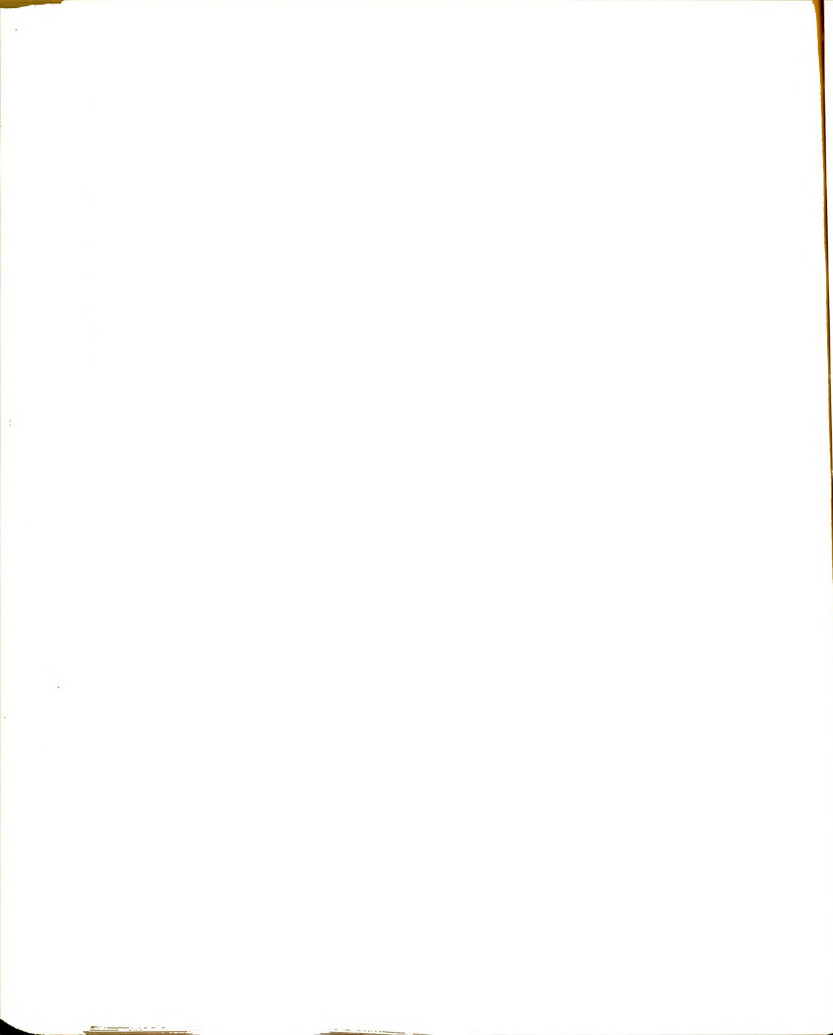
Against Communist oppression.--The junior Senator from Illinois next spoke on April 14 protesting the "brutal and unjustifiable arrest" of a relief worker from Berwyn, Illinois, by the Communist government of Czechoslovakia. He also presented a resolution on that same day calling upon the State Department to take action to secure his release.³

Against the Bricker Amendment.--On April 28, against the advice of friends, Douglas rose in opposition to the

¹The single exception: Debate could not be cut off on any discussion relating to future changes of Senate rules--such as the need for a majority vote to even bring a bill on the floor for debate--and an issue which has come before the Senate at the beginning of nearly every Congress since was born.

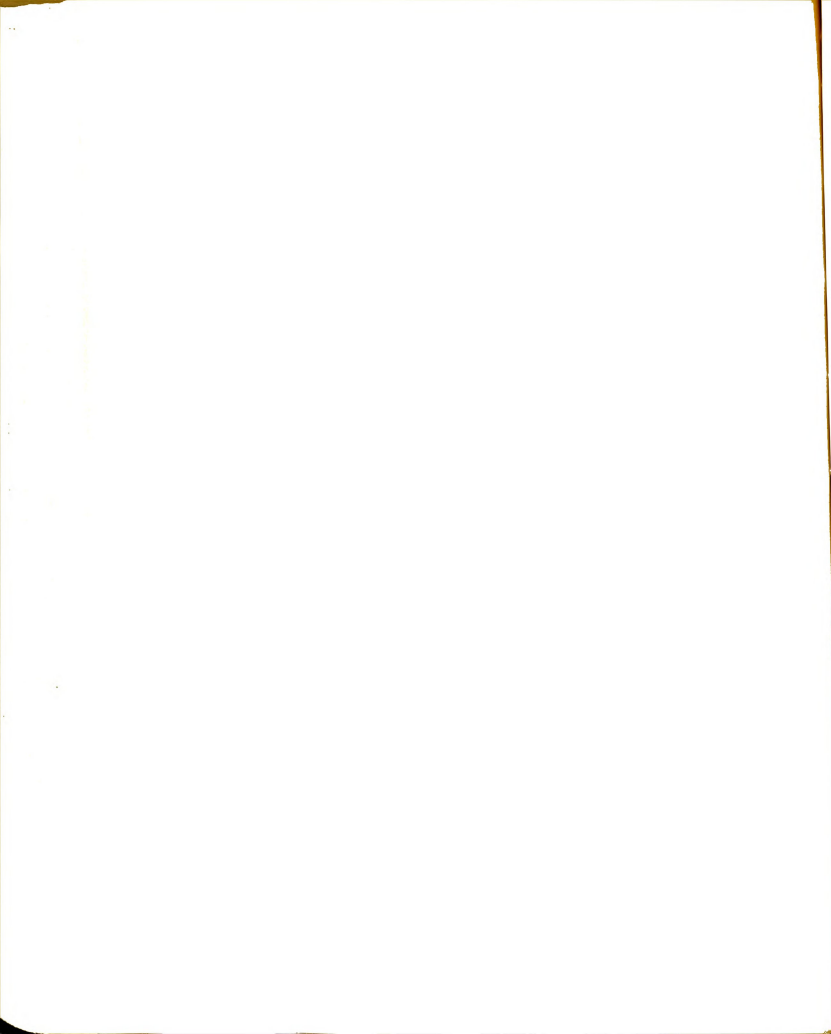
²See Chapter IV, Douglas' "A Senator's Vote: A Searching of the Soul," op. cit.

³News release of text of speech, p. 1.



Bricker (John Bricker), R. Ohio) Amendment to the General Housing Bill. Douglas spoke for 25 minutes between interruptions in a two-hour hazing marked by frequent debate with Senators Ives, Capehart, and Wherry and a favorable colloquy with Senators Pepper, Tobey, and Humphrey, with other comments added by Senators Sparkman, Knowland, and Thye.¹ The amendment was one of those tacked on as a civil rights provision ("rider") calculated to have the Southern bloc vote against their own bill. In this case, as in most, the Southern vote combined with the majority of Republicans would have killed this bill. The Bricker Amendment prohibited segregation in public housing everywhere, while the original bill provided for slum clearance and the construction of 810,000 dwellings with each locality deciding the question of segregation. Speaking against the Amendment, Douglas presented an extended argument agreeing that the matter of segregation (and he always abhorred it) should indeed be taken up, but separately, so as not to impede the passage of this necessary bill. Moreover, he contended that Negroes would benefit from the original bill because they would occupy one-third of the new housing units. Wherry and Capehart then jumped into the fray and on Douglas with the zest of bullies. Douglas

¹Reprint of Congressional Record (daily), April 28, 1949, pp. 1-6.



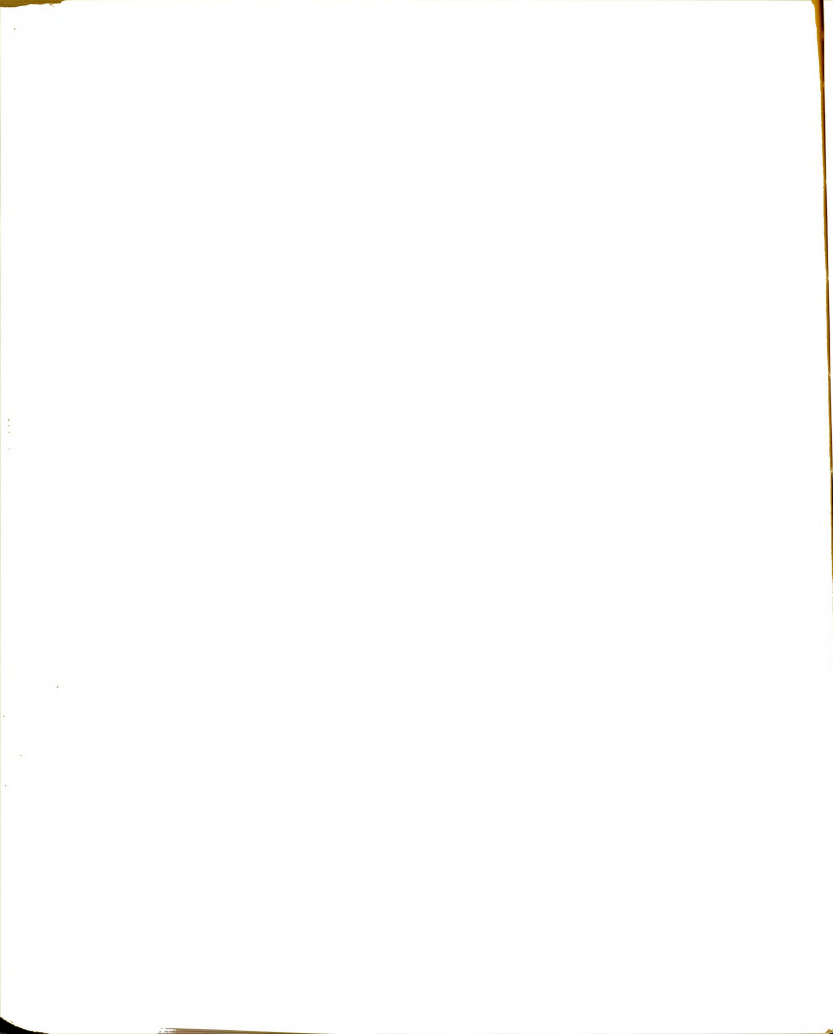
had uttered only one sentence before he courteously yielded, and it was some ten minutes before he could get the floor again and then only with the help of the chair. He was bombarded with a barrage of questions asking for a definition of each term in his opening sentence, and implicatively derogatory statements against him prefaced with inquiries of whether the "new man" was aware of such and such were followed by refutation of anticipated remarks to come in Douglas' speech.¹ Their inference of all this seemed to be that the new Senator should be listening and not leading the fight. Douglas kept his composure and geniality during this scuffle and used firm but moderate language to finish his message. Later, the Bricker Amendment met defeat.

"Pork barrel".--One day in the spring of 1949, Douglas rose to speak with a magnifying glass in hand² to propose a 40 percent cut in the politically sacrosanct Rivers and Harbors Bill. When the Senators repeatedly pointed to the fact that Illinois was getting more funds from this bill than most, Douglas' simple rejoinder was that it is possible to represent a national interest as a Senator as well as the local, explaining that he was willing to have Illinois take its proportional cut.³ His

¹Ibid.

²Douglas' aides talked him out of taking a meat axe and scalpel to the chamber for this speech.

³Strout, op. cit., p. 15.



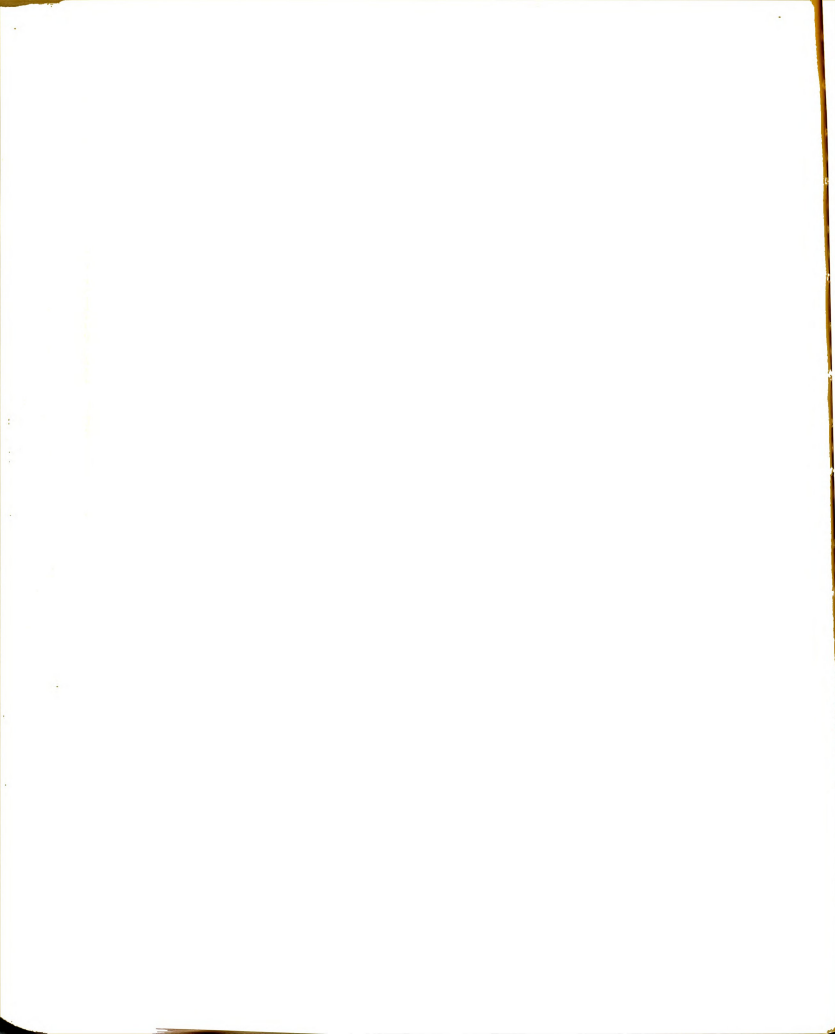
proposed cut was voted down in a resounding manner, and each year since Douglas has attempted to whittle the Rivers and Harbors and reclamation bills, which he calls "pork barrel."

Cut the budget.--In a 50-minute address on May 10, entitled "Why We Must Cut the Budget,"¹ on the President's proposed budget, speaking as the professor of economics, he analyzed major sources of speculative and real federal income, the national debt, waste in government, and the excesses of federal employees, then advocated a cut of 5-6 percent and, on the basis of his analysis, pleaded for a budget cut of \$3 or more billion² from the proposed budget of \$42,200,000,000, which Truman had called all "skin and bones." Douglas argued that when "we are within five to ten percent of 'normal' [and he felt the economy was normal] the budget should at least be balanced...I submit, therefore, that our goal [in 1949] should be to balance our budget and bring receipts and expenditures to an approximate equality."³ He noted that the alternatives were to increase taxes or to decrease expenditures, and that the former was highly undesirable. In concluding, he stated: "Liberalism and conservatism, like 'the flowers that bloom

¹ Release of text, passim.

² Release of text of speech, pp. 1-11.

³ Ibid., p. 3.



in the spring,' have nothing to do with this case.... To be a liberal, one does not have to be a wastrel. We must, in fact, be thrifty if we are to be really humane."¹

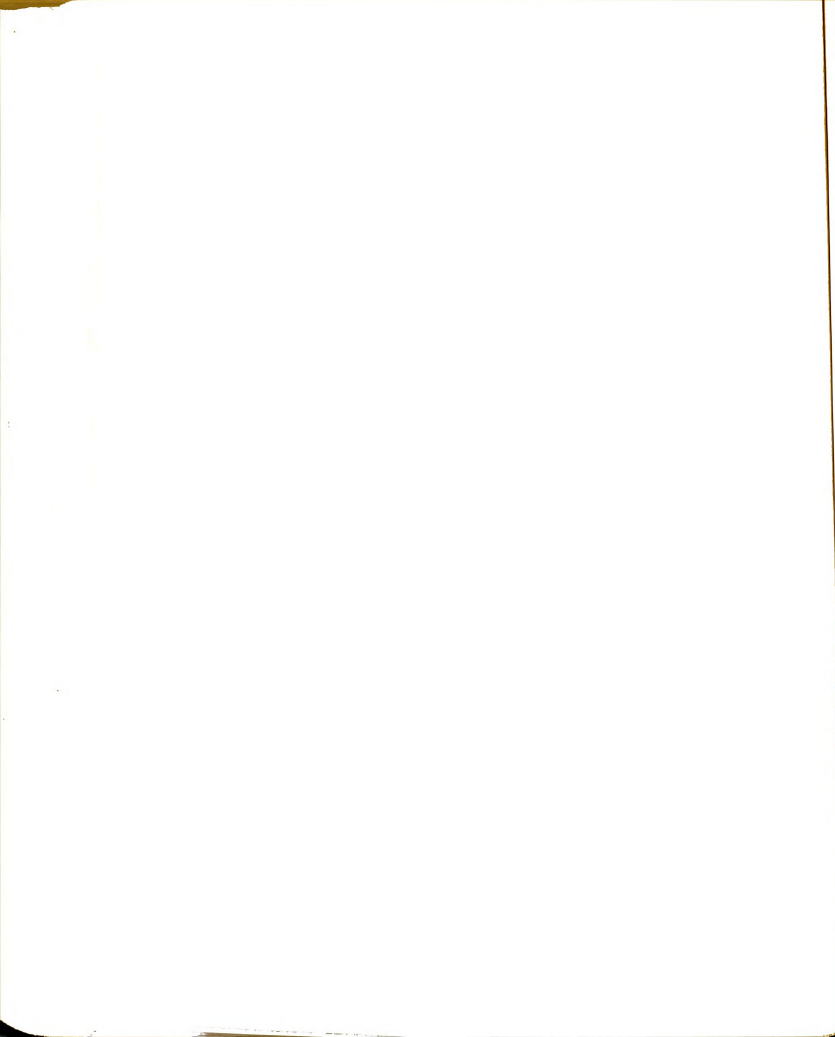
Douglas subsequently voted with the Republicans for a 5 percent budget cut.

This unexpected stand on the budget met with some displeasure from his Democratic colleagues and the Administration, particularly in light of the fact that Truman had not forgotten that Douglas boomed Eisenhower as the Democrat nominee for President in 1948.² This speech clearly marked Paul Douglas for the first time as an insurgent, a maverick, and served notice that he would not be a "down the line" Democrat.

¹Ibid., p. 10.

²On May 25, 1949, Douglas said in a speech before the Annual Dinner of the Liberal Party of New York State in New York City while discussing the budget issue: "I have associated myself with the general idea of trimming the budget to the delight of some conservatives and to the dismay of some liberals. I might say in this connection, that for the past thirty years of my life, I generally found myself described by adjectives drawn from the pages in the political thesaurus that are devoted to the letter 'C.' I was generally called a 'crackpot,' a 'crank,' or upon occasion a 'communist.' But now, after five months in the Senate, I find that I have been advanced in the alphabet. The pages have been turned to the 'D's, the 'F's, the 'I's, and the 'R's.' I am mainly called a 'Dixiecrat,' a 'fence-jumper,' 'impolite,' a 'non-liberal,' and a 'reactionary.'

All these new words have been drawn out in response to the only practical choice I believe a liberal can make, and which I have tried to put forward in Senate discussion. As against a meat-axe cut in the budget aimed not so much at reducing the deficit as at killing the heart of our progressive legislation. I suggested that the primary cuts be made...in the administrative costs of our government [one way] by simply not filling vacancies as they occur or by firing some of the drones [and shortening leaves]." Quoted from pages 8 and 9 of release of speech text.



Drama, and the marines.--Douglas rose on June 29 to speak on behalf of a bill he was co-sponsoring which provided for releasing from a warehouse the Belasco Theatre in Washington, D.C., to be restored under the management of the congressionally chartered American National Theatre and Academy.¹ The next day, on behalf of three other Senators and himself, Douglas took the floor on June 30 to introduce a bill "to guarantee the continuation of the U. S. Marine Corps as a fighting element in our armed forces."² The bill provided that the strength of the Marine Corps should be fixed at 6 percent of the combined strength of the other three branches of the service and that a special Assistant Secretary of Navy should be appointed in charge of Marine Corps activities.³

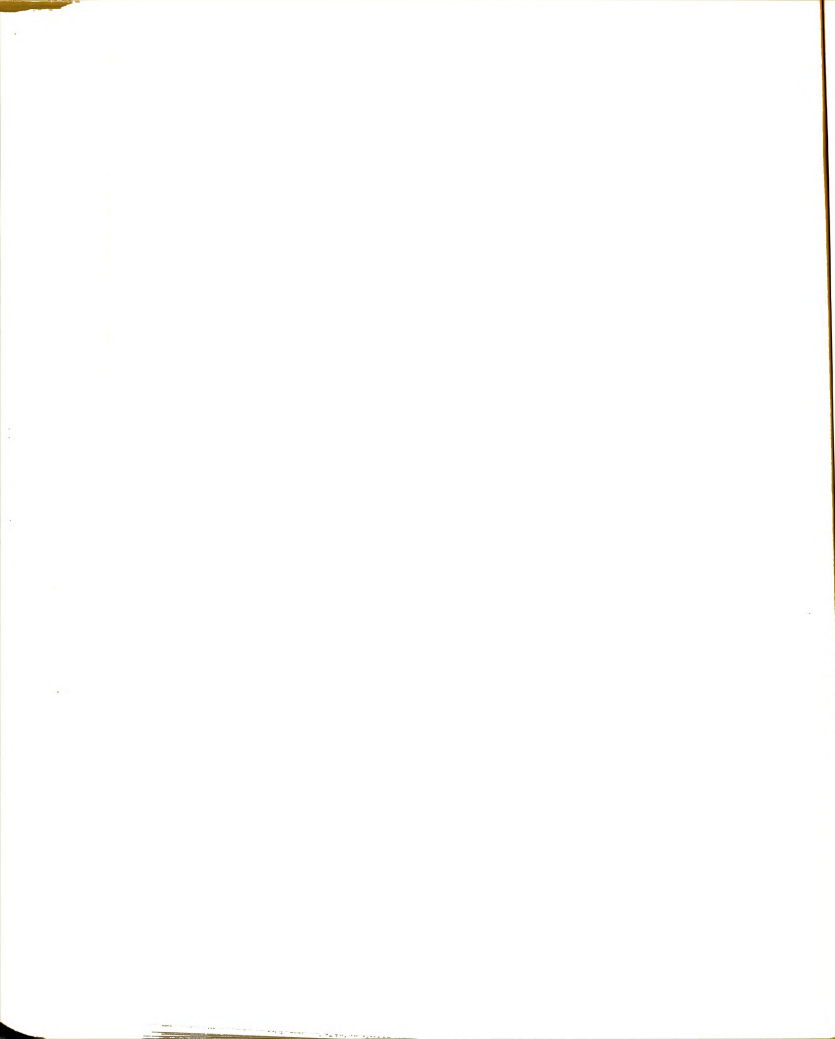
Against monopoly.--The so-called "Basing Point Bill"⁴ to legalize the system of delivered prices was before the Senate. On August 10, Douglas rose to speak for some 45 minutes against it. His aim was to protect the small businessman, "...the so-called independents seldom want to take on

¹Release of text, June 29, 1949.

²Release of text, p. 1. An identical bill was introduced at the same time in the House of Mike Mansfield.

³Ibid., passim.

⁴A similar bill did pass in 1951 over the President's veto.



a fight to the death with the giants and instead go meekly along with them."¹ He summarized the evils he saw resulting from the bill as follows:

If we enacted the basing point system as provided for in this bill it would legitimize monopoly or cartel fixing of prices and we would help strangle competition. And it is no safeguard to say that the use of the basing point system would be unlawful only when there is evidence of collusion to fix prices. Price fixing, as I've said, comes about automatically through the use of freight books and the internal power of monopolistic industries. If we mean seriously to preserve the system of free competition, then we should all work to defeat the passage of the basing point bill which as presented may well be the noose that strangles free competition.

I pray to God that may not happen and that is why those of us who oppose the basing point bill are trying to restore competition so that these matters may be made more self-regulating and operate outside of the control of both big government and big business.²

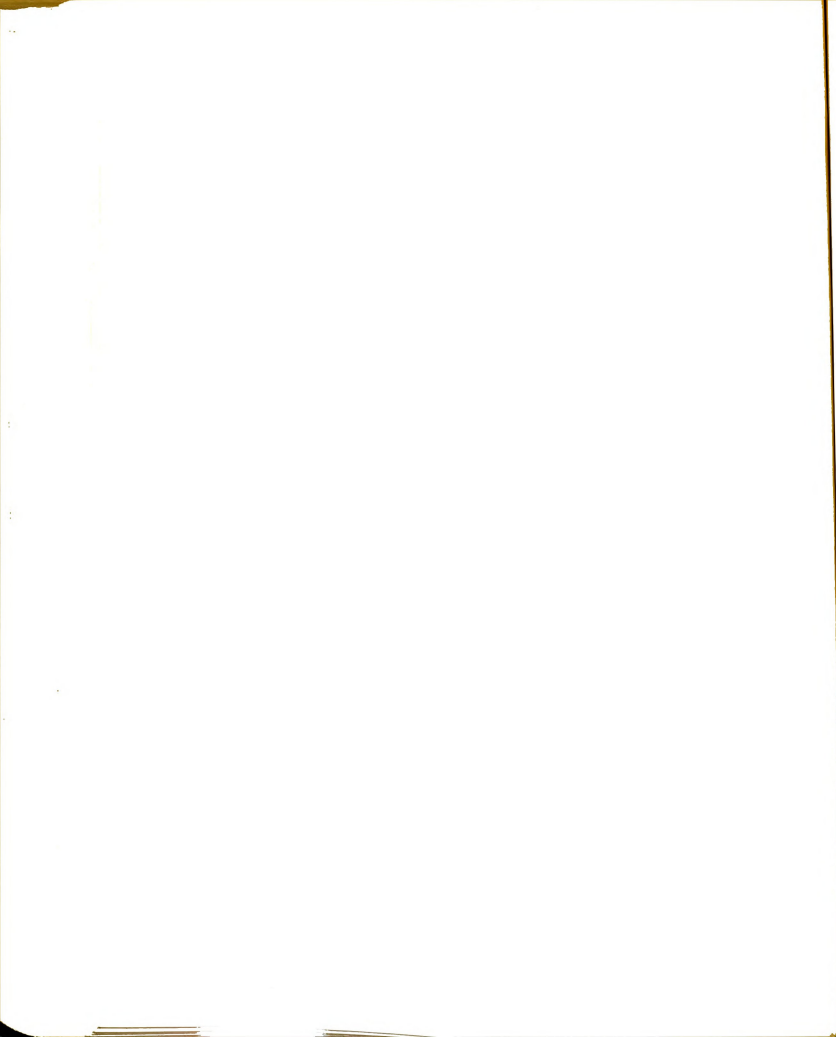
The freshman year.--In 1949 Douglas also collaborated with Senator Robert A. Taft in writing and putting through the Senate the first general Federal Aid for Education program. He also co-sponsored a resolution for transportation to Europe through the use of reserve Maritime Commission troop ships.³ All told, Douglas delivered nine prepared addresses in the Senate⁴ during his first year and took some

¹ Release of text, p. 13.

² Ibid., pp. 12, 14.

³ Release of resolution.

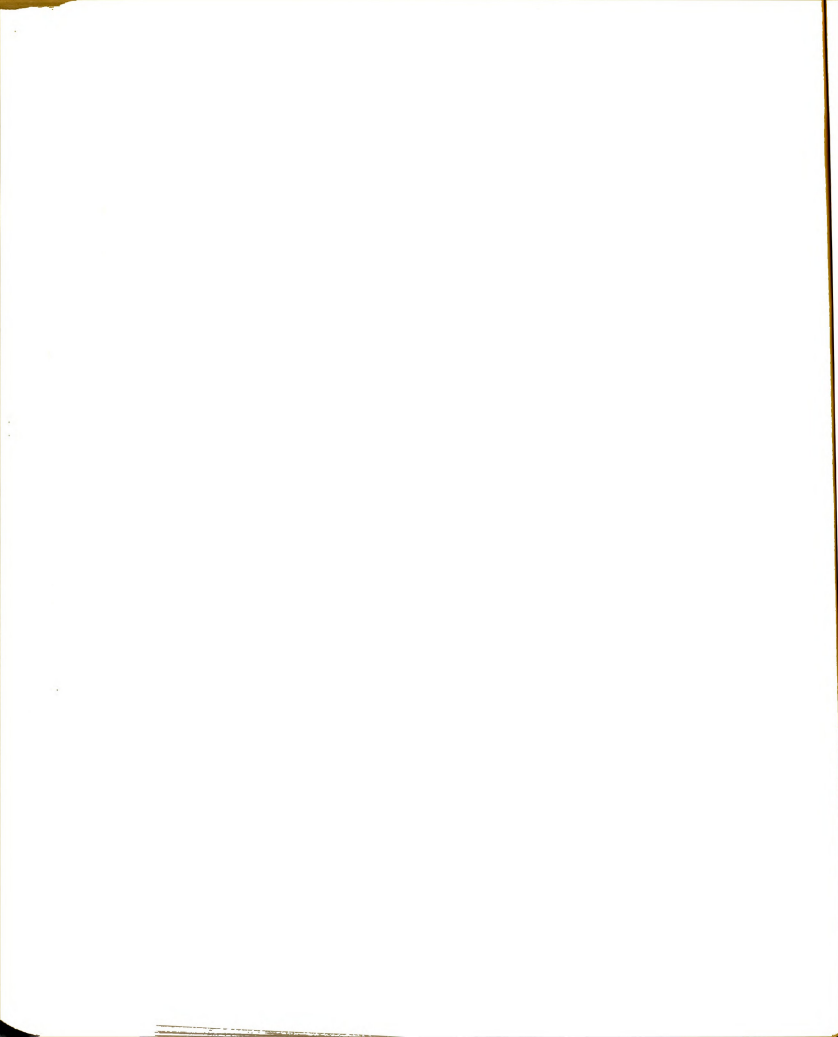
⁴ Extant copies of speeches in his files indicate that he delivered 14 addresses in several parts of the nation outside of the Senate in 1949. In addition, he delivered one speech on network radio.



role in the debate on most of the major legislation passing Congress in 1949: ratification of the North Atlantic Pact, a general foreign aid appropriation of $1\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars and 5 billion for the European Recovery Program, a farm bill, the housing act, a rent control bill, authorization for the President to reorganize the executive branch and the State and Defense Departments, and a raise in the minimum wage for a 22 million segment of the working force from 40 cents to 75 cents an hour. The Index to the Record for 1949 lists 144 separate subject entries under remarks by Douglas and indicates he rose to speak 417 times.¹ Among his most important proposals and resolutions and for which there is no evidence of prepared addresses on the floor were: efforts through the Federal Commission on Reclamation to use irrigation for "small" family farms "not only large land speculators owning more than 160 acres,"² a universal non-aggression pact, an end to social and religious discrimination in unemployment, repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and amendments to the proposed labor law to replace its major provisions, a multilateral treaty for Collective Self-Defense open to all members of the United Nations, and raising the immigration quota to admit more displaced persons from central and eastern Europe.

¹Congressional Record Index, 81st Cong., 1st Session, Vol. 95, Part 17, pp. 161-163.

²Release of proposal, p. 1.



A poll of 211 political correspondents of Washington's press-radio galleries taken by Pageant magazine and published in its October issue rated Douglas in third place among the "best Senators," with 60 first place votes. (Only Robert A. Taft and Arthur Vandenberg rated ahead of Douglas.) He received nine other votes as "most promising." Among the top five in the "best Senator" class, he also enjoyed the distinction of being the only one not to receive a vote for the parallel honor of "worst Senator."¹

SECOND SESSION

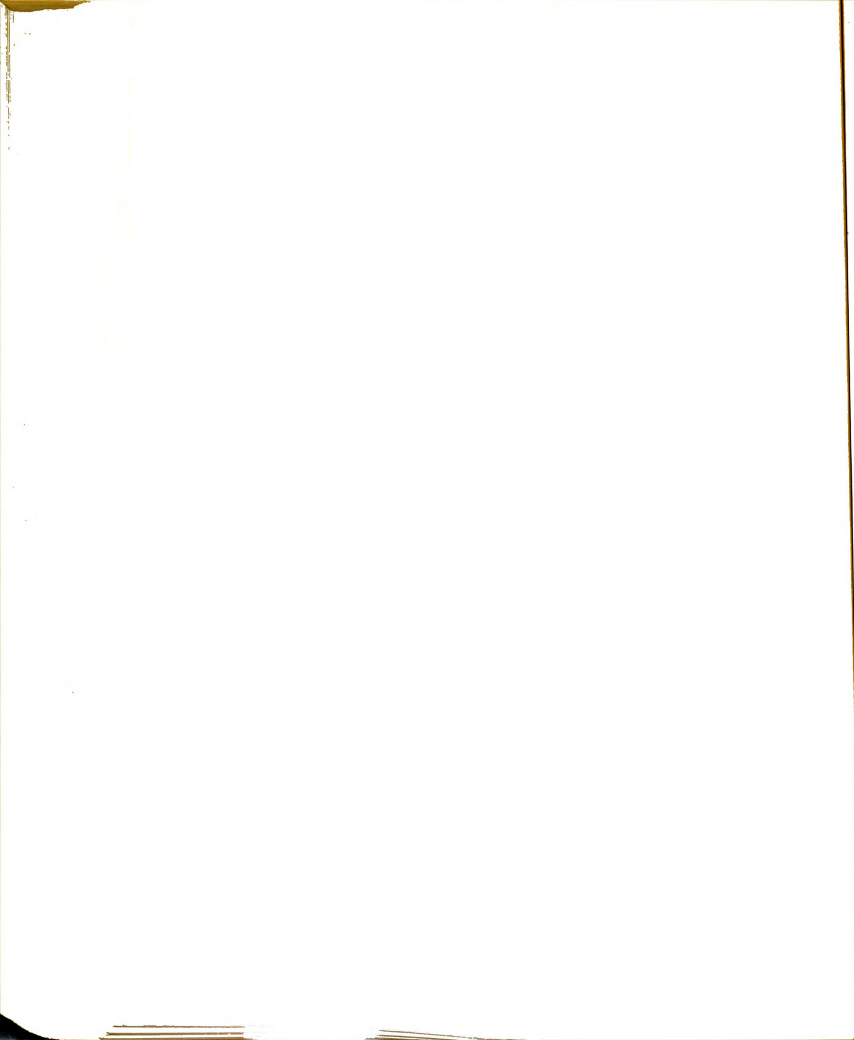
Douglas began his second year in the Senate by appearing with Senator Taft "as spokesman for each party" on NBC's "American Forum of the Air" to analyze the President's State of the Union Message on January 8.²

Economy in government.--His first major Senate address came on March 9 "To Equalize Federal Employee Leave Provisions."³ In a 25-minute speech, Douglas proposed an amendment to the "Deficiency Appropriations" bill to reduce vacations from 26 to 20 working days a year and sick leave from 15 to 12 days. On April 9, he followed this by

¹Paul Dickerson Brandes, "Evidence and Its Use Selected United States Senators," (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech, University of Wisconsin, 1953), p. 1. Senate--Joseph McCarthy ranked last.--"Senate's Most Valuable Men," Time, April 14, 1950, p. 20.

²Reprint of transcript of broadcast.

³From release of text of speech. See also Congressional Record--Senate (daily), March 9, 1950, pp. 3144-3152.



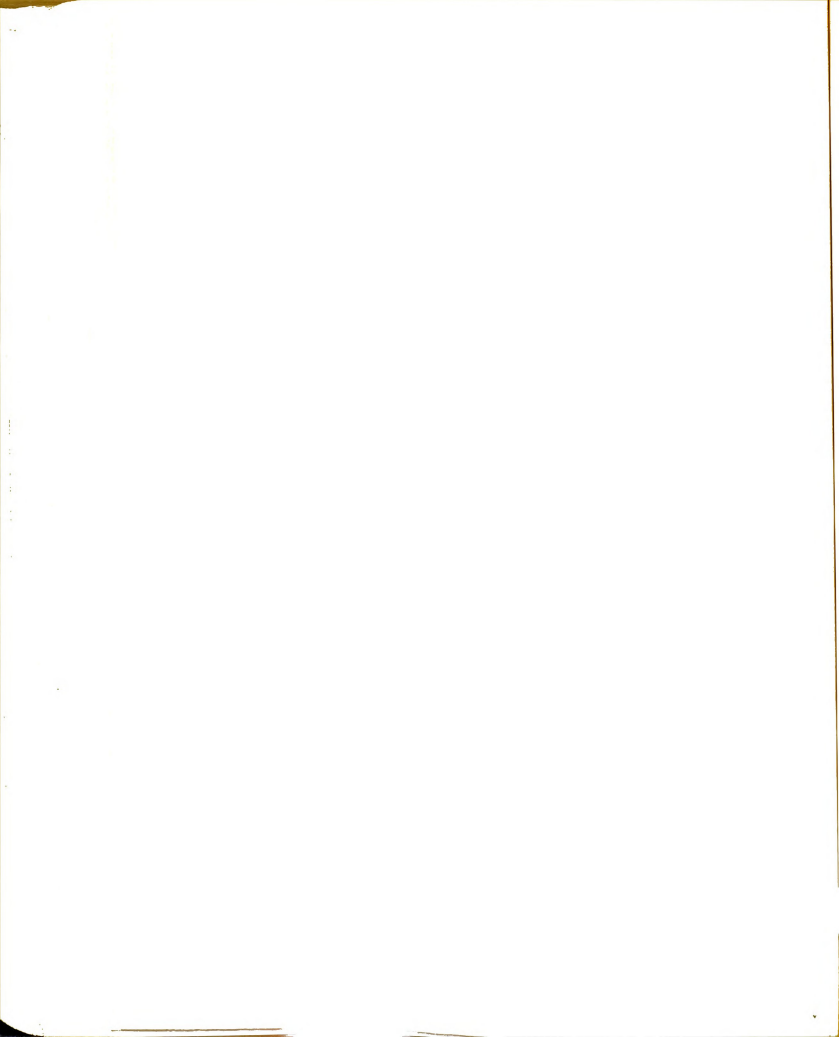
introducing two bills: the first was precisely that of the March 9 amendment, and the second, to "...end present leave discriminations among postal employees...to equalize their sick leave at 12 days but grant vacation allowances by length of service."¹ Continuing his fight for economy in government, Douglas contended, "My proposals are alternative methods of reducing and equalizing federal employees' leave provisions and would save \$100,000,000 or \$150,000,000 annually...."²

Natural gas.--March also marked the beginning of one of Douglas' most important battles, the natural gas issue and the exempting from regulation the price of gas which is charged by producers who are not affiliated with pipelines. He rose to oppose the bill introduced by Senators Kerr and Thomas of Oklahoma and reported by Senator Lyndon Johnson of Texas. (Because this speech will be the subject of Chapter 7, it, therefore, will not be treated further here.)

Basing point again.--On May 31, Douglas attacked the principles of the 1950 Basing Point Bill in a speech of over forty minutes containing a definition of the basing point system, its origin, its purpose, and its effects.

¹Statement of Douglas in press release of April 11, 1950.

²Ibid.



He developed a negative answer to the question he had raised at the outset, namely, "Should Congress pass a bill which would permit the elimination of competition?" To support a negative answer to the question, he used a number of charts in attempting to show resultant detrimental effects.¹

Surgeon's knife versus meat axe.--The Omnibus Appropriations Bill, H.R. 7786, which eventually passed the Senate on August 4, caused Douglas to speak for 40 minutes in the Senate on July 28. In that speech Douglas began:

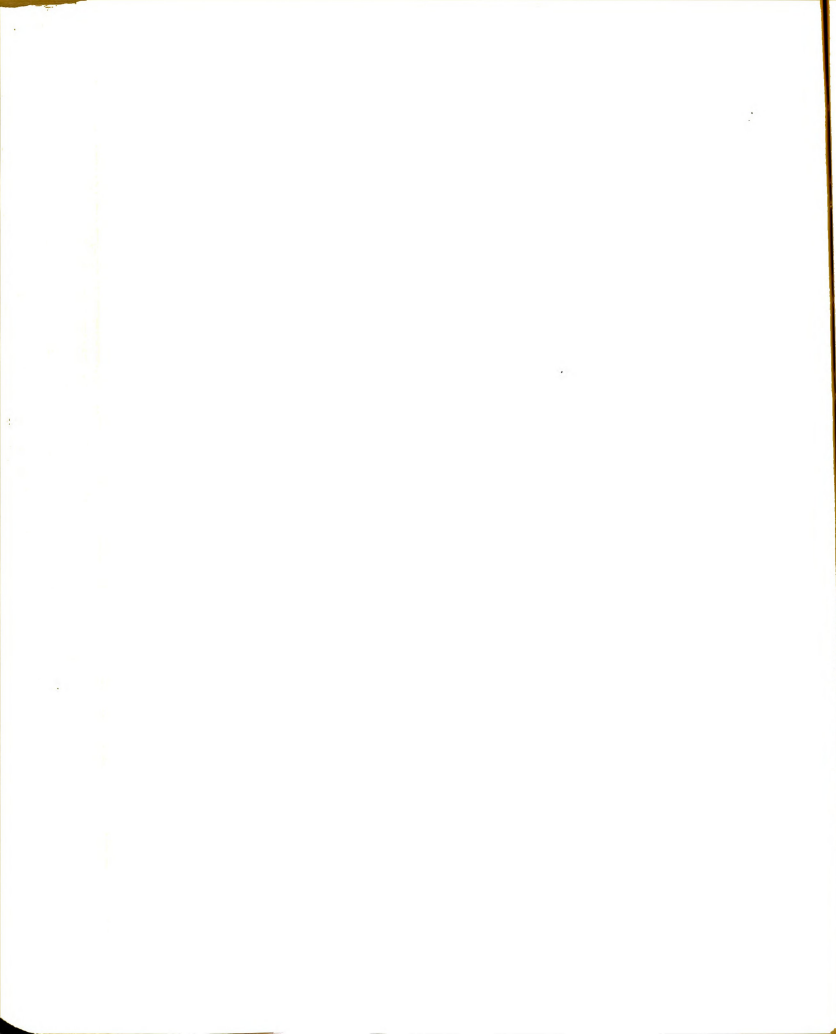
Mr. President, I believe most people will agree that the best way to reduce expenditures is to reduce individual items. A general across the board percentage cut hits all agencies affected equally even though there is bound to be more fat in some agencies than in others. This method is called a "meat axe" because the cutting is done with a broad blade and the actual severing is accomplished by brute force. You cannot trim off excess fat with a meat axe--it cuts in a straight line across the lean as well as the fat.

Trimming selected items more closely resembles the use of a surgeon's knife.²

Douglas then proceeded to act as a surgeon on the bill and found much "fat," analyzing it minutely, proposing an amendment to it, and providing his colleagues with an itemized analysis of appropriations by the House and Senate, together with the needed cuts, including seven departments and agencies and a combined total of 68 items of appropriations ranging from an appropriation for the new Senate Office Building to flood control of the Sacramento River. The total amount of his proposed reduction below budget

¹Release of text, May 31, 1950, pp. 1-16.

²Release of text, July 28, 1950.

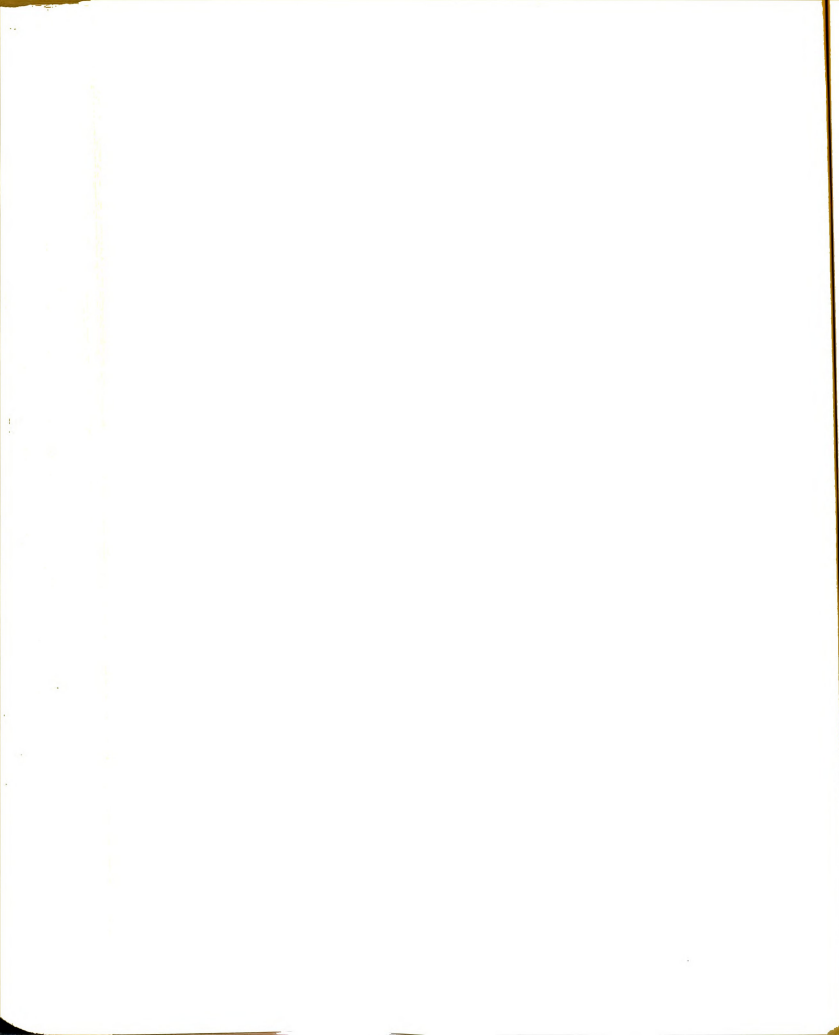


estimates was \$943,426,972.¹

Korean decision.--Until July 5, 1950, Douglas had focused his efforts on domestic issues. On July 5, nine days after Truman's decision to use U. S. troops for "police action" in the Korean conflict, Douglas rose in defense of the President's action. In a half-hour address, Senator Douglas defended the President's actions on legal-constitutional grounds. Quoting James Madison from Hunt's Journal of the Debates from the Constitutional Convention and other sources, he defined the legislative intent of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 regarding the use of armed force in defending Truman's action. He cited the Constitutional legality of the action and its legality under international law and the United Nations. Moreover, Douglas argued, the speed of contemporary war requires quick executive action; and action by Congress might have been too cumbersome in light of the extent to which American security was threatened by the invasion of South Korea. He cited historical precedent in the 18th and 19th century for the President's action.² In the peroration, Douglas stated: "I hope that this review of the issues should be convincing proof that the acts of the President in helping to protect Southern Korea from Communist aggression were in thorough

¹See Congressional Record--Senate, (daily), pp. 11474-75.

²Release of speech text, pp.1-7.



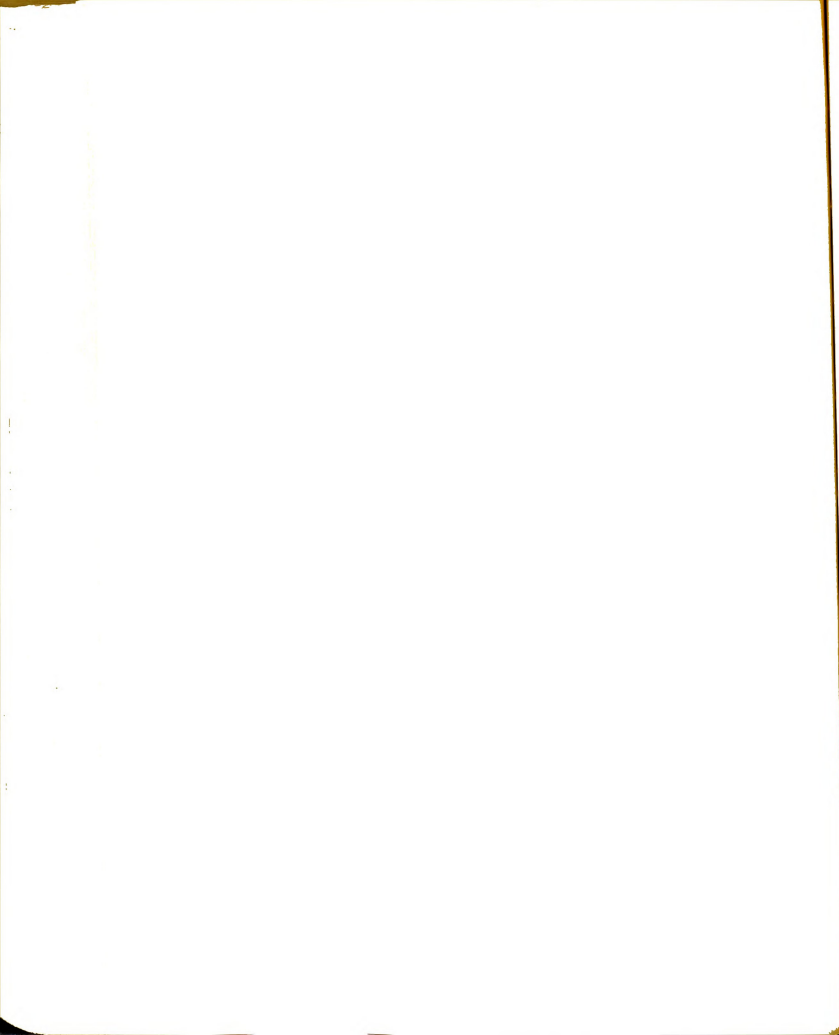
harmony with the legislative intent of the framers of the Constitution, in line with sound historical precedent, in conformity with international law and the rule of the U.N. and in the best interests of our ultimate security and the peace of the world."¹

Internal security.--On September 8, Douglas delivered a major address against the McCarran Internal Security Bill and for the Kilgore Amendment. For nearly five hours, Douglas took the bill apart section by section and refused to yield the floor for the first three hours in spite of the heckling of Milliken from Colorado and Ferguson of Michigan in attempts to get him to yield and to interrupt the continuity of his speech.

Douglas began by stating the magnitude of the bill in view of the "great tug between two separate sets of values, namely, security and freedom," existing in America.² Then, with a clear indictment of possible Communist espionage, not just propaganda, he turned to specific objection to the Bill in question. He had no quarrel with the intent

¹Ibid., p. 7. That same day, July 5, he rose for five minutes to speak in support of the nomination of his former Bowdoin classmate, Sumner Pike, as a member of the Atomic Energy Commission.

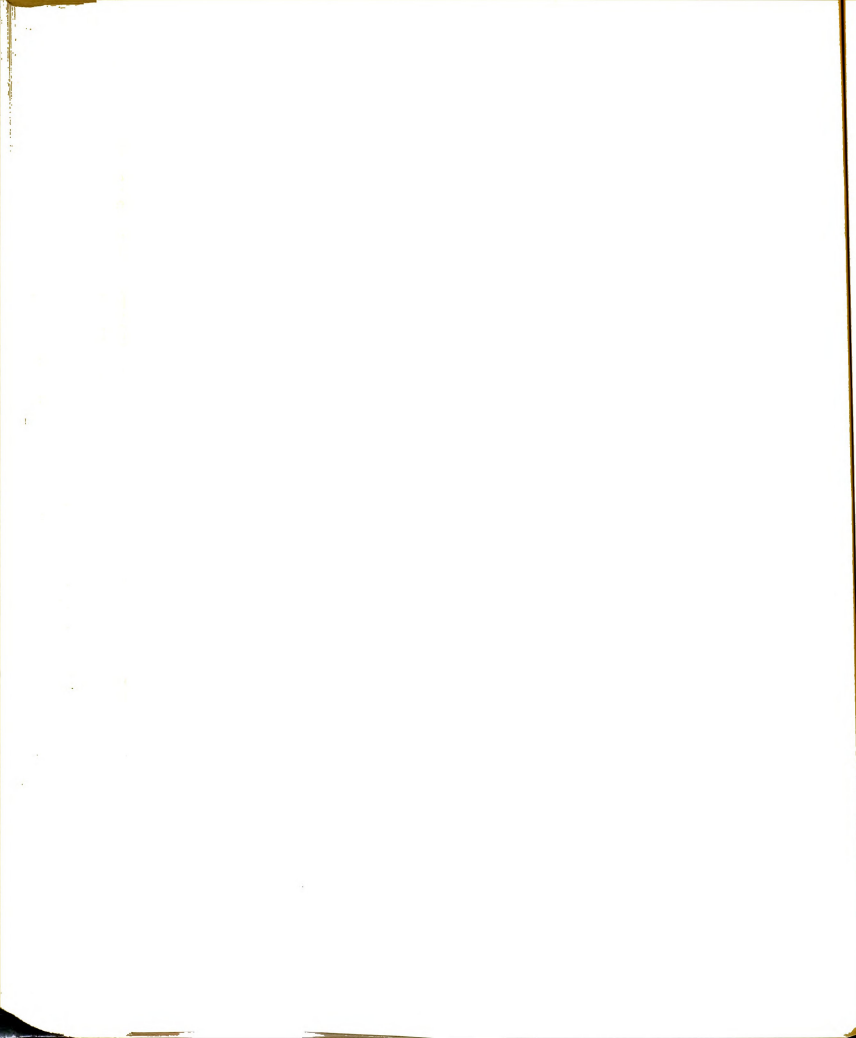
²Congressional Record--Senate, September 8, 1950, p. 14401.



of it to disclose subversives and prevent infiltration, but he objected to the dangers of smearing innocent people because of the lack of any means to define operationally those "undesirable" to America. The criteria he pointed out, for determining a Communist were so vague (and court procedure slow) that those dangerous to security whom the bill was intended to disclose could use it as a shield for continuing their operations. He concluded with a plea for the Kilgore substitute bill, which was more definitive in measuring dangers to security, and noted that if prima facie evidence was available, the President and Attorney General should indeed be given power to take the direct action¹ on the substitute bill. There was no soft-sell in Douglas' remarks: he hit hard at the Communist party and the potential and existent danger to security in the United States. A few days later, the McCarran Act was passed over the President's veto.

The second year.--In the second session of the 81st Congress, Douglas had, among others, proposed bills for a reorganization of the Interior Department with revisions of reclamation laws, and again with fellow ex-Marine Mansfield in the House, a bill to strengthen the Marine Corps. He supported Congressman Patman's bill to kill the basing point legislation. He proposed the "United for Peace" resolution in the Senate, later adopted by the United

¹Ibid., pp. 14401-14420.



Nations enabling the General Assembly to act against aggression when the Security Council is paralyzed by veto. With William Fulbright, he also began an investigation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

He delivered eight prepared addresses in the Senate in 1950¹; the Index to the Record for 1950 lists 266 separate subject entries under remarks and 636 occasions in which he rose to address the chair.²

In the 81st Congress, Douglas set up many of his battle lines on matters dear to him which he would introduce again and again in the succeeding 14 years, along with new ones and new versions of the old ones. He had apparently developed remarkably high personal credibility for a freshman Senator.³ However, his credibility took a drop with

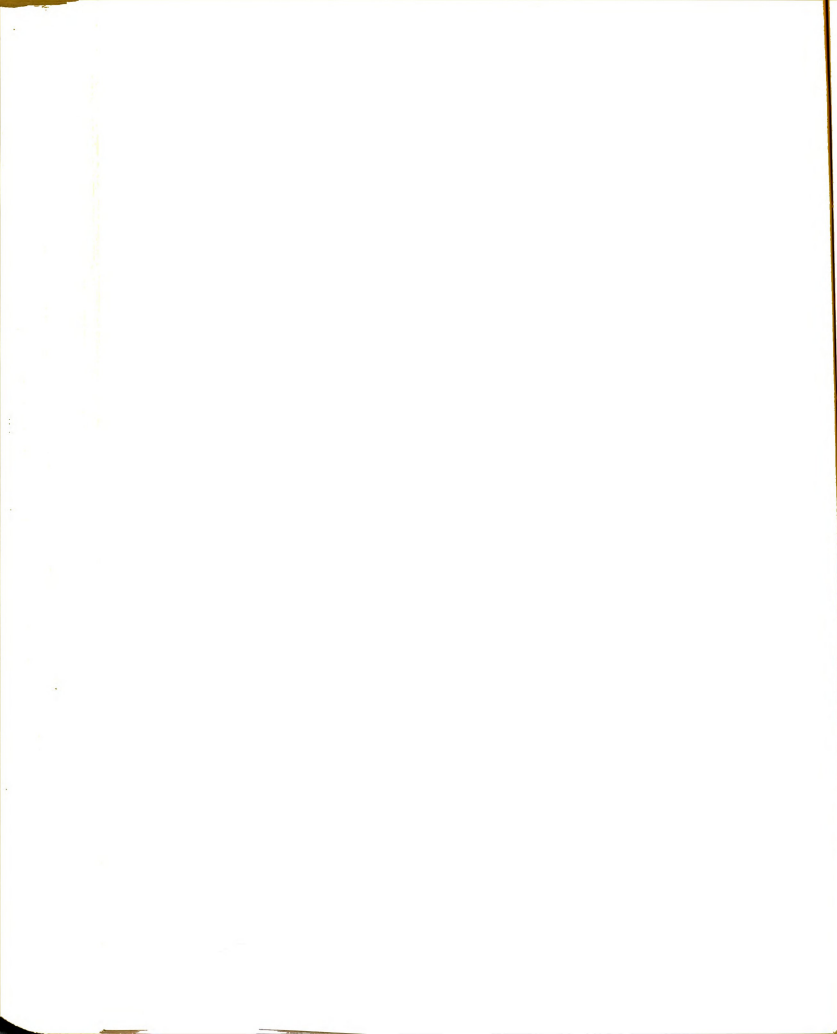
¹Extant copies of speech texts in his files indicate he appeared six times on radio network public affairs programs and delivered 11 addresses outside of Congress, plus those upon returning to Illinois in the fall for the Congressional campaign of 1950. Also a speech by Douglas delivered at the annual dinner of the American Municipal Congress in Washington, D.C., December 5, 1950, was analyzed for Douglas' use of evidence in Paul Dickerson Brandes' dissertation, "Evidence and Its Use by Selected United States Senators."

²Congressional Record Index, 81st Cong., 2nd Session, Vol. 96, Part 19, pp. 162-163.

³In April, Douglas was selected by the editors of Time as being one of the ten most valuable Senators (no rank order was made) on the basis of "ability, devotion and integrity." Their caption read in part:

Douglas...the ablest, best balanced liberal Democrat in the Senate and its most impressive freshman in years. He is a humanitarian who does not believe the government should do all things for all men, a maverick liberal who insists on prudent spending...he has the economist-sociologist mind, a notable capacity for collecting, sifting and appraising facts.

He was also selected for a "Speaker-of-the-Year Award" by Tau Kappa Alpha, National Collegiate Forensic Society in the spring of 1950.



some Democrats in the fall elections of 1950 who asked Douglas to retract or repudiate a statement he had made about his close friend Senator Taft which Taft was using in his campaign literature in a bid for re-election. The statement which Douglas refused to change in any way was: "I think Taft is one of the truly great minds in the Senate."¹

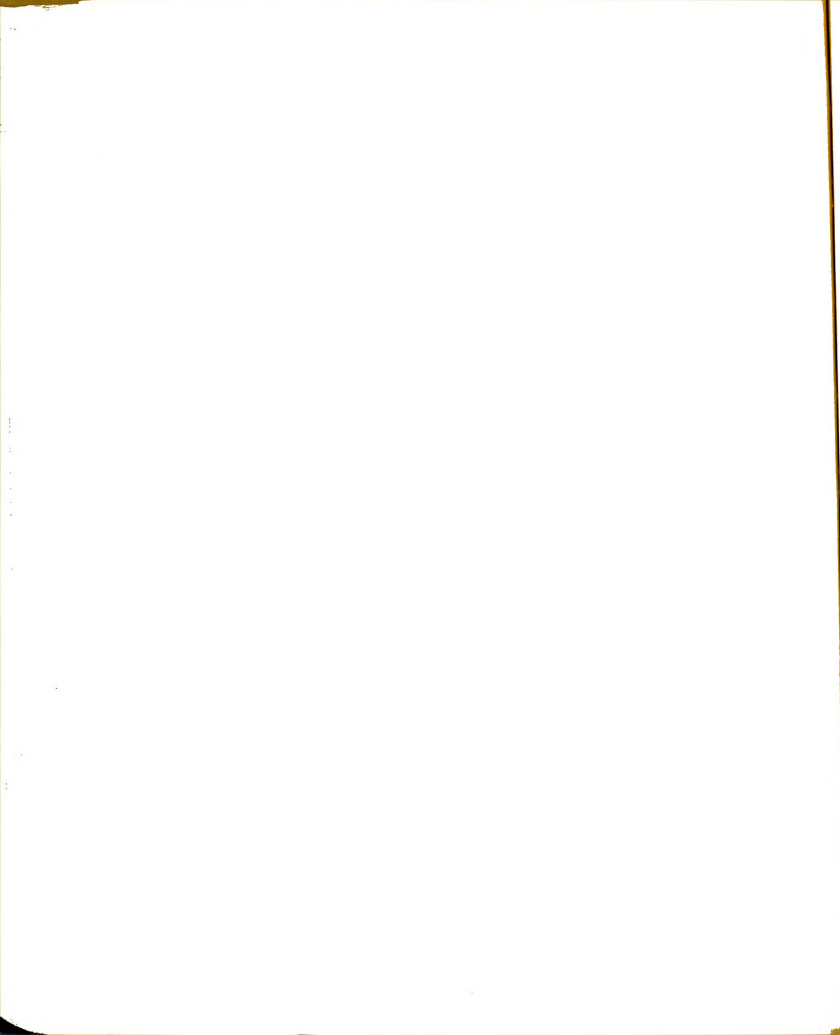
Before leaving Washington at the adjournment of Congress to stump for his colleagues Scott Lucas and other Democrats in Illinois in the fall elections, Douglas received another honor--a "Congressional Distinguished Service Award" presented by the American Political Science Association. The plaque which he received emblematic of that honor hangs today in plain sight for all visitors near the entrance to the anteroom of his office suite. The words inscribed on it glowingly but aptly conclude the discussion of his first two years in the Senate:

Viewing his Senatorial role in the progressive tradition of Norris and LaFollette, Paul H. Douglas has kept on the nation's current agenda many of those enduring problems which otherwise might be accidentally overlooked or deliberately ignored.

Having established himself as one of this nation's most respected economists, he brought to the Senate a breadth of understanding regarding the federal government's role in combating domestic economics and social problems combined with unsparing criticisms of government waste and inefficiency.

Reflecting the courage tempered by his distinguished military service, he has viewed the right to advocate unpopular but crucial

¹Ross, op. cit., p. 130.



causes as a personal duty and he has prophetically raised the eternal problems of human freedom and dignity in terms of our contemporary democratic society.

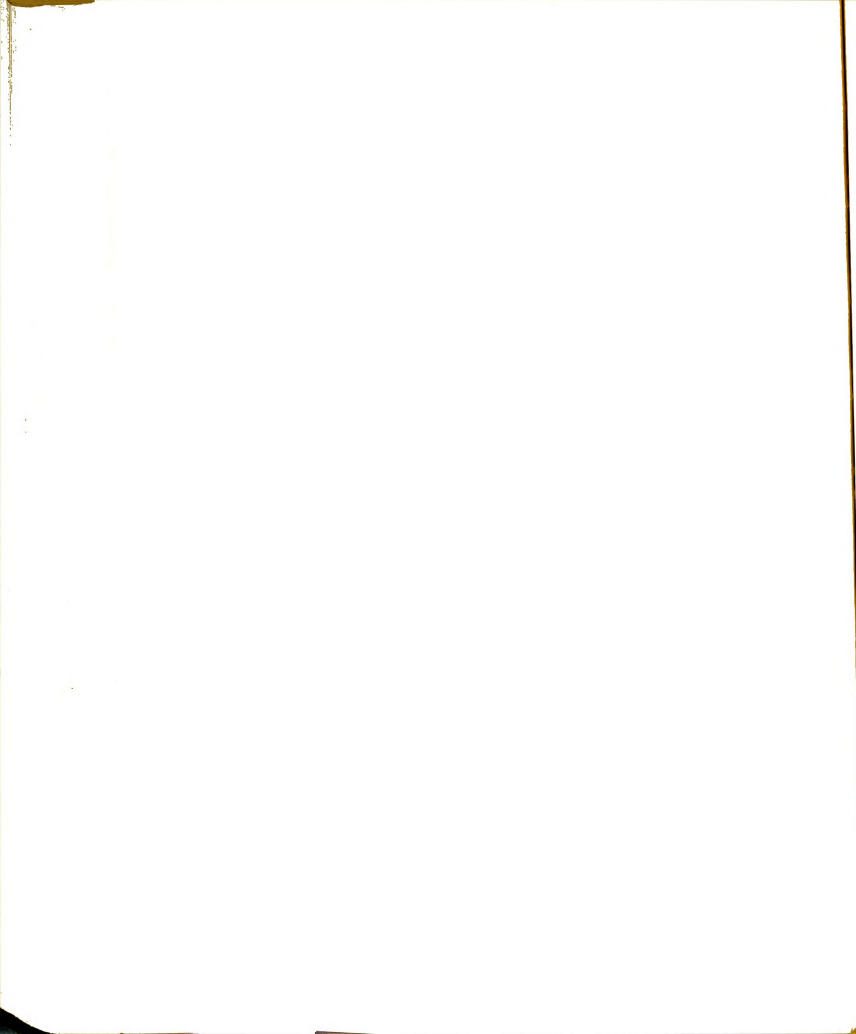
The American Political Science Association is privileged to present this Congressional Distinguished Service Award to Paul H. Douglas, Democrat of Illinois--rigorous intellect, responsible independent, defender of human rights, and consistent advocate of social progress.

Eighty-Second Congress: 1951-1952

During Douglas' second two years in Congress, Truman dismissed General Douglas MacArthur, "McCarthyism" was riding high, the twenty-second amendment was ratified limiting to two terms the number a man may be President, the Japanese Peace Treaty was finally signed, and Korean peace talks began. As has been the case historically in off-year elections, the party out of the presidency gained strength in Congress in 1950. The Democrats still controlled Congress, but they had lost five seats to the Republicans in the Senate and held a slim 49-47 majority. Among the casualties had been Scott W. Lucas, Douglas' tutor and colleague and the majority leader in the 80th Congress. Lucas was defeated by former Congressman Everett McKinley Dirksen, who had stayed out of politics from 1948-1950 due to illness. The near balance on both sides of the aisle gave the Republicans a bigger role in this Congress.

FIRST SESSION

"Great debate" on foreign policy.--Paul Douglas was a major participant in the so-called "Great Debate" on U.S.

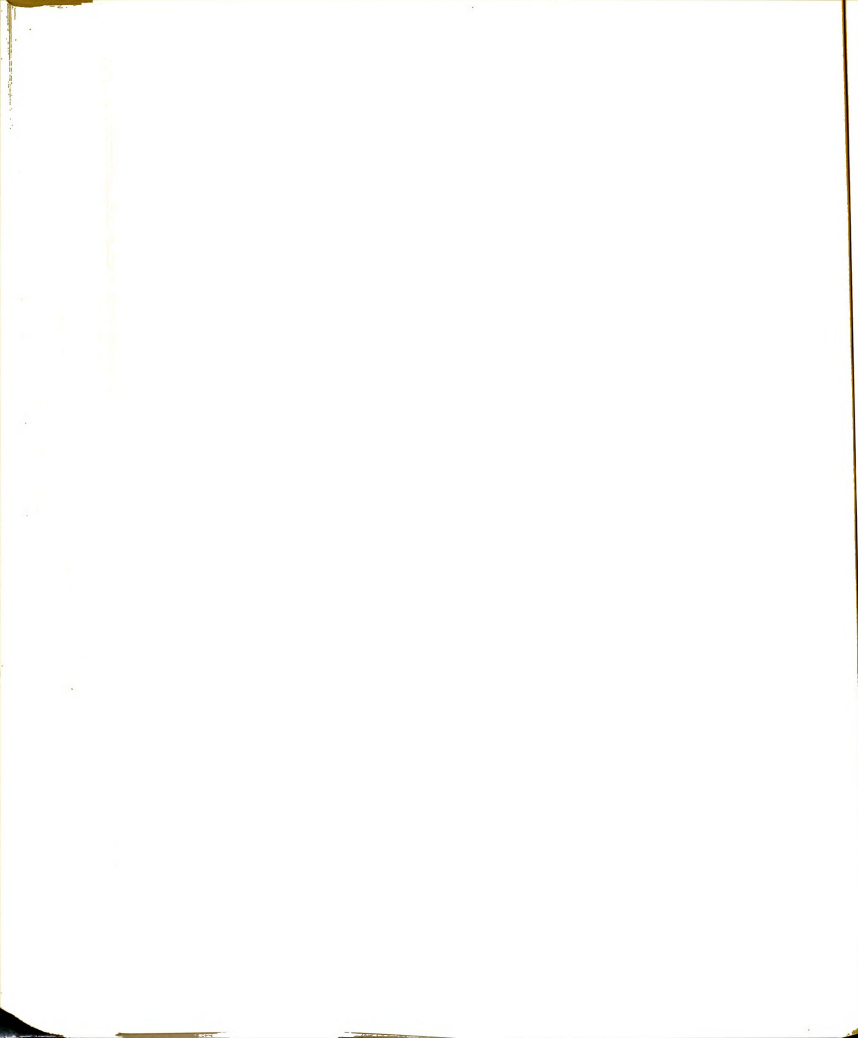


foreign policy in the early fifties. On January 15, 1951, he rose to deliver a major foreign policy address lasting over four hours--with many interruptions--advocating stronger total national defense, troop support for western Europe, and a more vigorous Far Eastern policy to meet the threat of Communist aggression.¹ He was forceful in defending what was the then controversial State Department policy. As a result of this speech, Time carried Douglas' picture on its cover in the June 22 issue and quoted and paraphrased much of the speech.

Committee work and brief remarks on the floor.--If he started out 1951 with a major address, it did not set a precedent for his speaking the rest of the year, most of his efforts being directed to committee work on pending bills. He did take the floor frequently for impromptu remarks and was involved in debates on the major issues of the year. Foremost among those debates were his efforts to cut the budget in the Revenue Act of 1951, defeat the basing-point bill, cut the Federal Security appropriation bill, and support the Mutual Security Act of 1951.

Amidst the disclosure of government corruption through "influence-peddling" and favoritism in the R.F.C., Senator Douglas was appointed chairman of a sub-committee of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee to consider a new

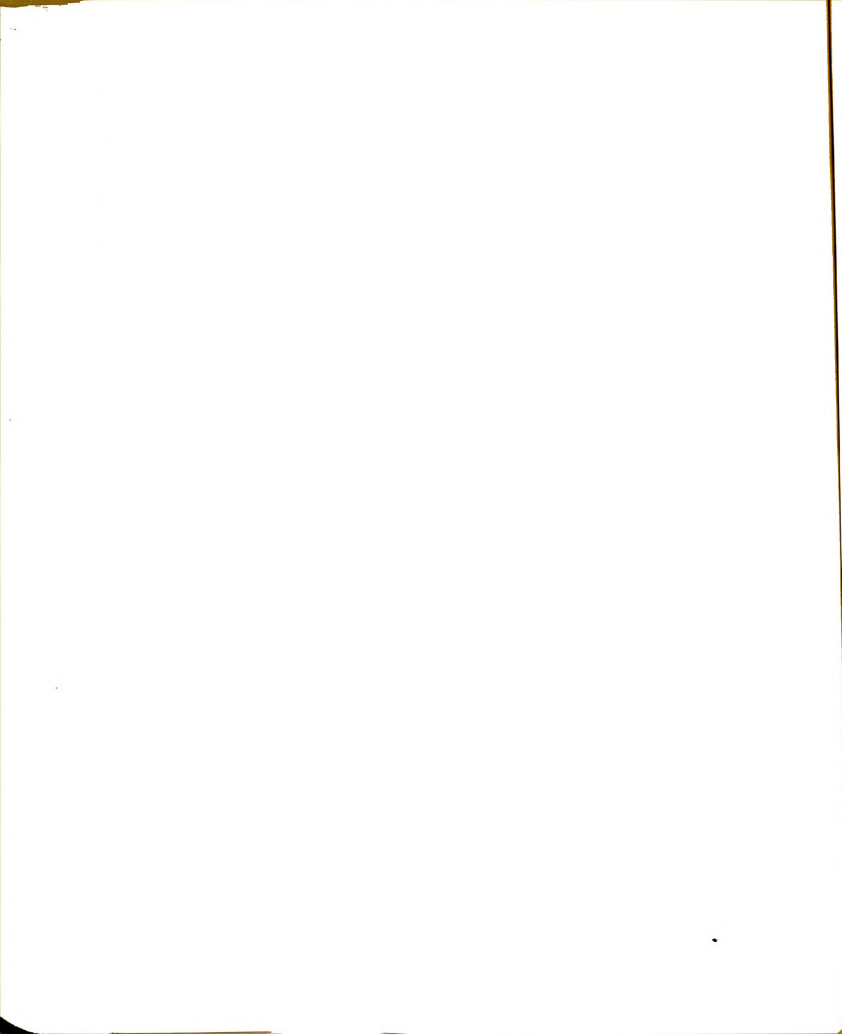
¹Congressional Record--Senate, 82nd Cong., 1st Session, Vol. 97, Part I, pp. 228-252.



code of ethical conduct for government officials. He was a vocal critic of the R.F.C. and was also appointed to a special sub-committee to investigate its operations. He spent considerable time testifying before the Special Committee on Small Business against the basing-point bill, before both the House and Senate Armed Forces Committees on strengthening the Armed Forces, especially the Marine Corps, and before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on a bill he jointly sponsored with Taft for increased assistance to Israel and the Arab states.

Douglas versus Truman.--In July, friction dating back to the 1948 election between Truman and Douglas reached a high point. Three federal judgeship vacancies opened in the Northern District of Illinois, and it seemed routine that as the Democratic and senior member of the Senatorial delegation from Illinois with a Democratic Administration in office, Douglas should advise Truman on the appointments. Douglas recommended three men and Truman rejected two of them (the third was also the choice of Truman's good friend, former Senator Scott Lucas).¹ Douglas fought back and it gained full coverage in the mass media. Seeking support for his recommendations, the Senator asked the Chicago Bar Association and Illinois Bar

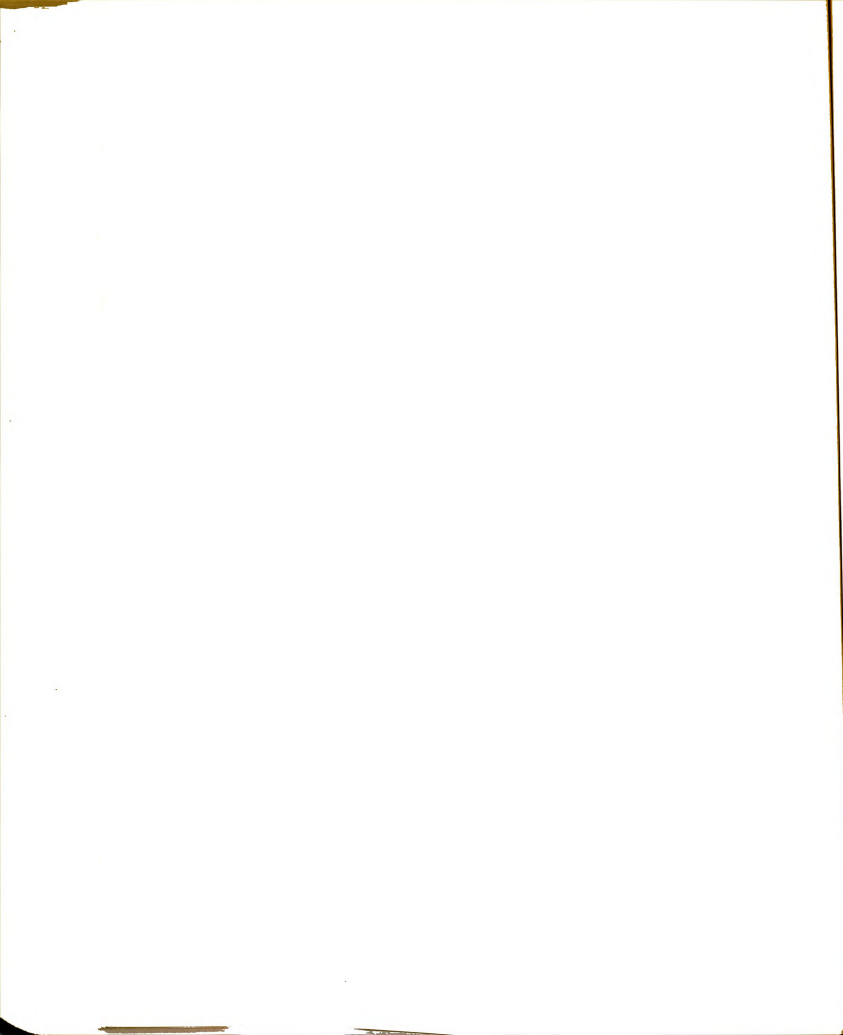
¹See "Gentleman from Illinois," Newsweek, 38 (July 30, 1951), 20. Also see "Douglas vs Truman," Time, 58 (July 30, 1951), 13. Also see E. Gertz, "Truman vs. Douglas," Nation, 173 (August 4, 1951), 86-8; and "People of the Week: Truman--Douglas Fuss," U. S. News, 31 (July 27, 1951), 34+.



Association to take a secret vote on whether his men or the selection of the President's were most qualified, as did the Illinois Bar Association. If they picked his, he planned to ask the Senate to refuse to confirm the President's nominations. The Bar Associations affirmed Douglas' choices, and the Senator appeared before the Senate Judiciary Committee reporting the Bar Association action, as well as corroborating recommendations of the Chicago Crime Commission, the Consensus of "literally hundreds of letters from judges and lawyers" supporting his choices, and the fact that they had been investigated by the Department of Justice and found satisfactory before being sent on to the President.¹ He even went back to a statement of Edward Randolph at the 1787 constitutional convention and the results of the debate on the matter of judicial appointments and subsequent cases in U. S. history up to 1951 to show legality for his position.² Douglas urged the Senate Judiciary Committee to uphold his appointments, and as a result a compromise came about and one of Douglas' men was appointed and the other was a choice of the President. But the fact the Senator stood up to the President only increased the break in relations. Looking back on this relationship in 1958, Douglas said:

¹Release of text of testimony, p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 3.

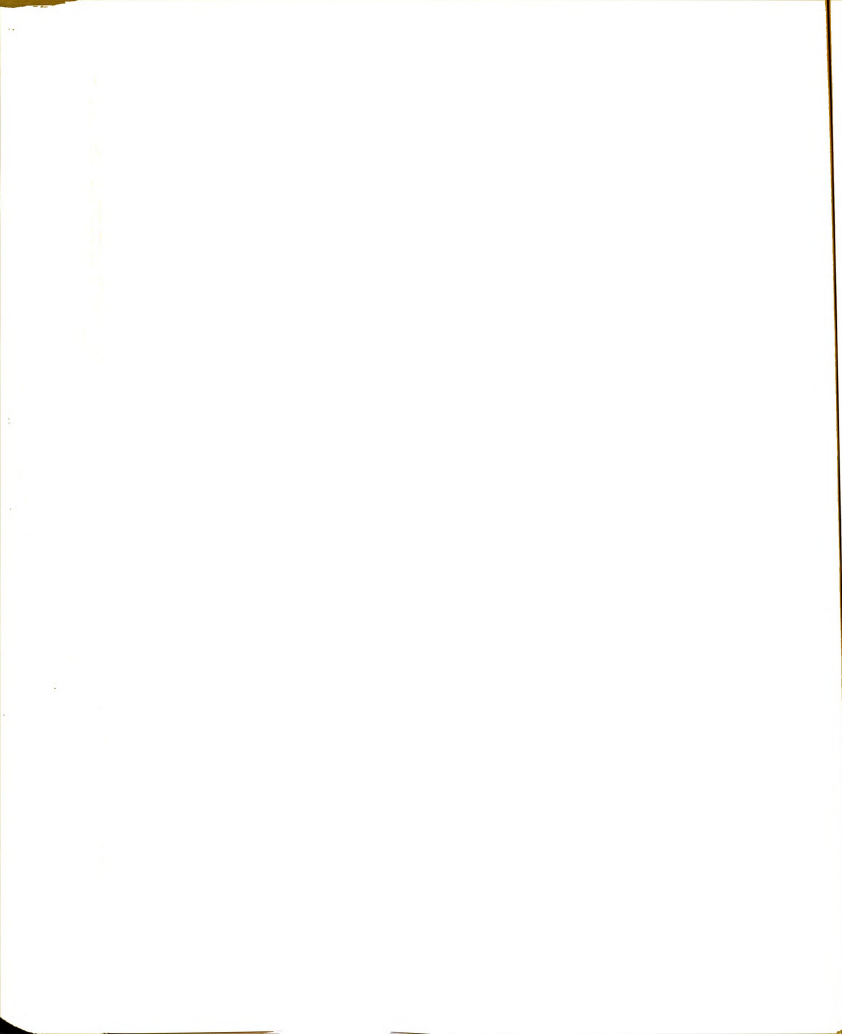


No two men ever got on worse. Truman disliked all Ph.D.'s and he thought Bill Fulbright and I were educated beyond our ability. I got off on the wrong foot with him by backing Eisenhower in 1948. You ask me, do I regret anything in my life, I regret that.¹

Douglas' actions further added to the break when he attempted to slice Truman's budget, criticized the Administration's Ewing Compulsory Health Insurance Bill because it was too extreme,² and supported the Federal Reserve in its differences with the Treasury Department over interest rates which shed unfavorable light on Truman's close friend, the Secretary of the Treasury, John W. Snyder. A further source of irritation that year had been his investigation of the R.F.C. placing Donald Dawson, another of the President's friends, in an unfavorable position. The fact that Douglas had been an administrative stalwart on taxes, civil rights, and most aspects of foreign policy did not compensate for his maverick tendencies. He added fuel to the fire in 1951 by opposing Truman and his Joint Chiefs of Staff in pushing for a stronger policy toward Asia (although he backed Truman's dismissal of MacArthur) and a bigger Marine Corps than they wanted. He called Secretary of State Dean Acheson "a war casualty who should be removed from the political

¹ McGrath, op. cit., p. 44.

² He favored compulsory health insurance for "catastrophic" illness only.



battlefield for his good and the good of the nation."¹

Douglas made little effort to conciliate Truman.

According to Douglas, one result of this conflict was that it inspired an investigation of his income tax returns. The findings of the investigation disclosed the government owed Douglas \$43.14. Douglas asked them to put that finding into writing to refute any implication of cheating that might result from the investigation.² Yet Douglas said: "I still think Truman was a fine President. When the chips were down, he was a brave little man who did a big job.... One day I was called to the White House [in 1951] as I said, 'Mr. President, you have trusted people who have betrayed you.' He remained silent for a long while. Then, he answered slowly. 'I guess you're right.'"³

Shouting out.--The conflict with Truman and other issues provided more than a usual amount of stress for Douglas. Several sources⁴ have attributed that stress as a cause for Douglas' shouting out and hurriedly leaving

¹"Gentleman from Illinois," op. cit., p. 20.

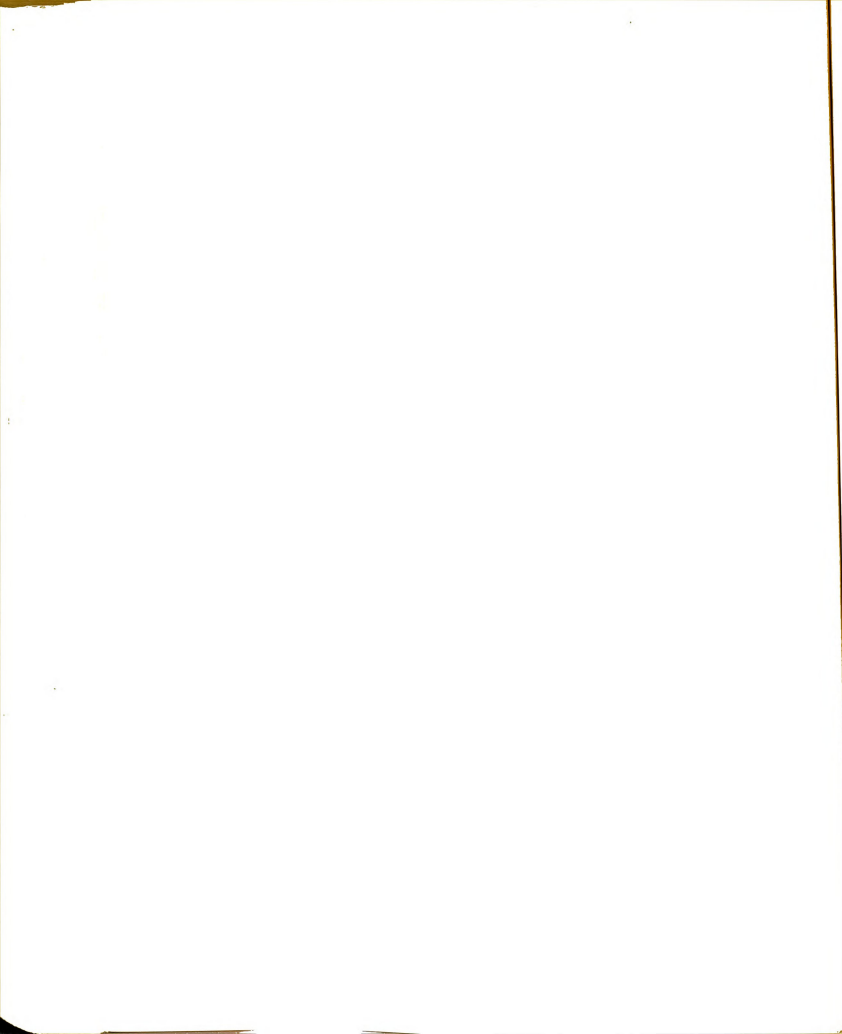
²McGrath, op. cit., p. 44.

³Ibid., Douglas quoted.

⁴See "Frustration in the Senate," Commonweal, 54 (September 21, 1951), p. 564.

See "How Douglas Cracked," Newsweek, 38 (September 24, 1951), p. 24.

Also see "Senator Screams," Time, 58 (September 24, 1951), p. 26.



the Senate while debating Joseph O'Mahoney on military waste in mid-September of 1951. However, his staff explained the irrational behavior of that incident by reporting that the Senator became ill.¹ This action occurred the same week that Douglas and Senator Harry Byrd went down to a resounding defeat on a bill to cut back some \$6,000,000,000 in government expenses.²

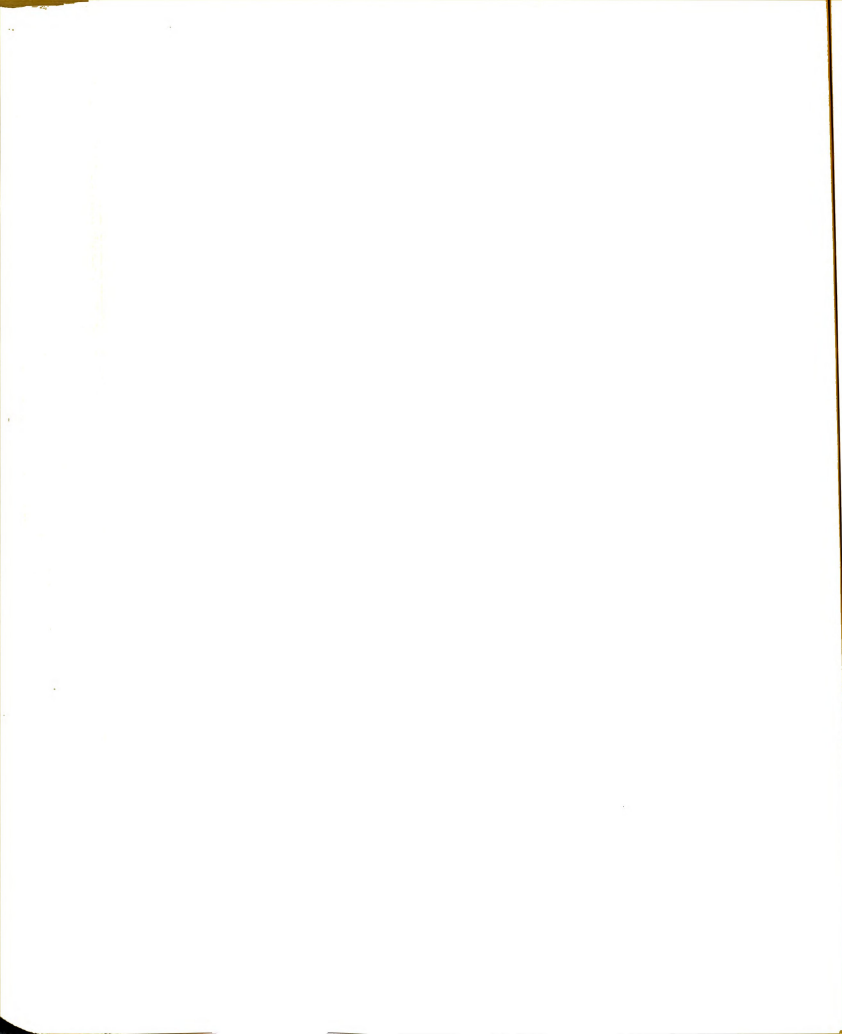
There is evidence too that Douglas was considerably concerned over the "red hunt" and abridgement of individual freedom during this period. A little earlier on August 12, substituting for Drew Pearson on his network radio program, Douglas focused on this subject, and in ending the program alluded to Senator McCarthy using the final words of George Bernard Shaw in his play, Saint Joan, "How long, O Lord, how long?"³

The third year.--These were the major events for Douglas in 1951 and although he delivered few major

¹Interviews with Douglas' staff week of May 22, 1963.

²Raymond Moley, "A Matter of Economy," Newsweek, September 24, 1951, p. 96.

³From release of program script, p. 2. In this program he contrasted the "denunciations and counter-denunciations" of 1951 with biographical sketches of "Five Great Americans," John Woolman, John Peter Altgeld, Jane Addams, Robert LaFollette, and George W. Norris. The matter of the Communist investigations was also the major subject of two of his bi-weekly radio programs in 1951.



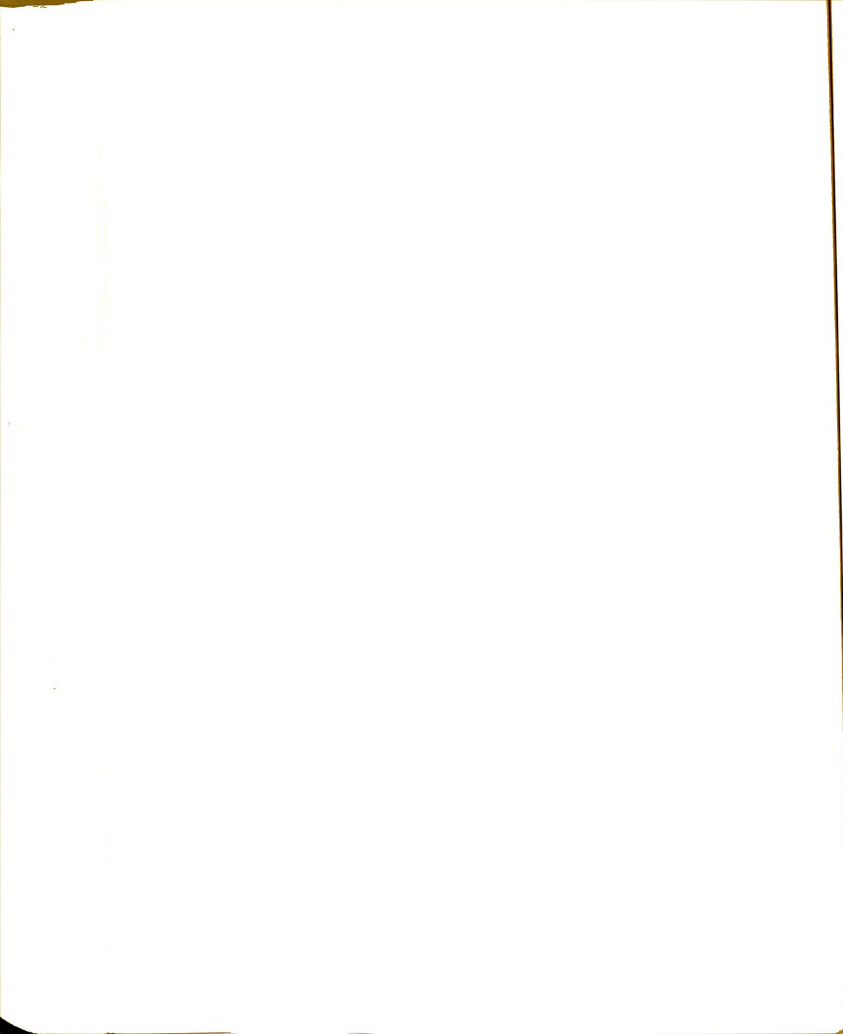
prepared addresses in the Senate, he did, according to the entries in the Index to the Record for 1951, take the floor on 184 different topics, and a total of 523 times.¹ He followed up old stands already noted, and, in addition, spoke for the 18 year-old vote, warned of Russian intervention in the Middle East, began urging that the 40 million dollar profits from Tidelands Oil should not be turned over to Louisiana, Texas, and California- but instead be used for education in the nation, and with Taft proposed increased aid to Israel and the Arab nations. Yet he also indicted Taft for a "Speak very loudly and carry a Small Stick" policy on defense.² He also, with Senator Theodore Green, sponsored the first bill for a St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project,³ and one to facilitate efficient transfer of governmental employees to defense work, opposed a proposed federal sales tax, warned of inflationary price ceilings, and urged war time price controls with more economy in government.

His high ethos continued and increased. Another Pageant magazine poll of Washington newsmen rated him the

¹Congressional Record Index, 82nd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 97, Part 16, 1951, pp. 167-168. He also appeared on 4 network public affairs radio programs and delivered 9 addresses outside of the Senate including one to the National Convention of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

²Reported on his May 7, 1951, radio program to Illinois, (text of, p. 1.).

³Authorization for the St. Lawrence Seaway became law in 1954.



number one Senator, thus moving him ahead of Taft and Vandenberg.¹

Commonweal in referring to Douglas' September outburst in the Senate adequately sums up 1951:

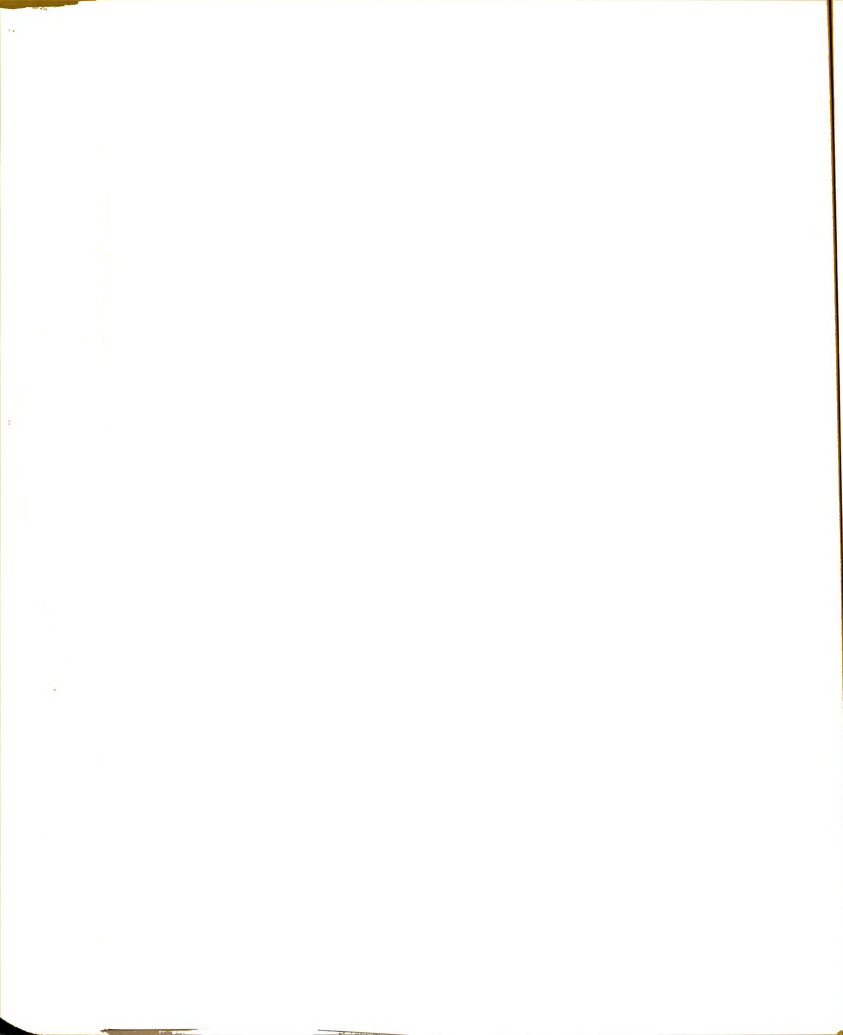
Senator Douglas came to the U.S. Senate after a long and successful career in a great university. Perhaps more than most men he learned to value the clear exposition of belief, the healthy exchange of opinion and the advantages of understanding and of being understood. For such a man the spirit of the age and especially the tone of recent political debate must be a source of many frustrations. For if there were ever a time when deliberate misunderstandings, half-truths, easy accusations, and visceral argumentation gained ascendancy over the more demanding claims of the intellect, the time is now.²

SECOND SESSION

Old causes and presidential politics.--Paul Douglas started 1952 in remarks on the Senate floor and in committee for familiar causes aimed at balancing the budget by preventing government and military waste and closing tax loop holes favoring excess profits for high income citizens and corporations. He began early in the year to boom Senator Estes Kefauver as Presidential timber, and in off-the-floor statements challenged Truman to run against Kefauver in the primaries if Truman planned to seek another term. He introduced a preferential presidential primary

¹Release of results of poll, p. 1.

²"Frustration in the Senate," Commonweal, September 21, 1951, p. 564.



bill in February which guaranteed that the Federal Government would help meet the cost of such elections paying 25¢ a voter to each state and fought for it unsuccessfully throughout the session. He rose to pay tribute, a 10-minute speech, to Wendell Wilkie on February 18, the 60th anniversary of his birth.¹

Expanded statehood.--A new banner which Douglas waved with enthusiasm on the Senate floor was statehood for Hawaii and Alaska. On February 23, he appealed to his Southern colleagues "to place national interest above its prevailing regional concerns" and support their statehood.²

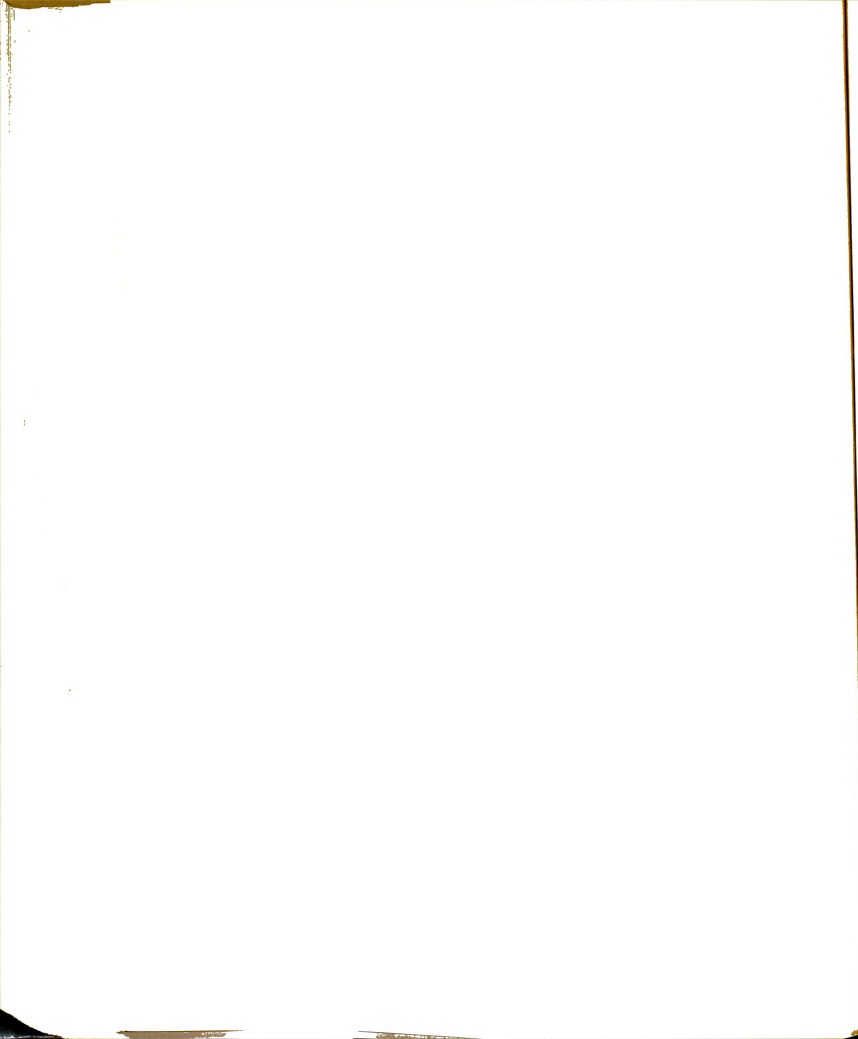
Off-shore oil give away and other matters.--Six days later he stood up to ask, "Will Congress take away the \$140 billion of resources which belong to the 48 states and give them to 3 states?"³ in brief remarks against the off-shore oil "giveaway" rank discrimination by rank⁴ for bonus payments for flying, other forms of hazardous duty, pay, and for medical personnel aimed at saving taxpayers \$200 million dollars. On April 20 he criticized Truman for making "intemperate and exaggerated" statements about the steel industry and the action of the Wage Stabilization Board

¹From release of text.

²Release of text of speech.

³Release of text, p. 1.

⁴Release of text, April 6, p. 1.



and resultant government seizure of steel plants in place of necessary mediations to settle the steel price dispute.¹

Code of ethics.--In the spring of 1952, Douglas presented a code of ethical conduct for government officials as chairman of the special committee on Ethical Conduct and from his work in the R.F.C. investigation. As a result of this report he also gave three lectures at Harvard on the subject which were published in book form, Ethics in Government, which listed seven principal "diseases" of government leading to unethical practices.²

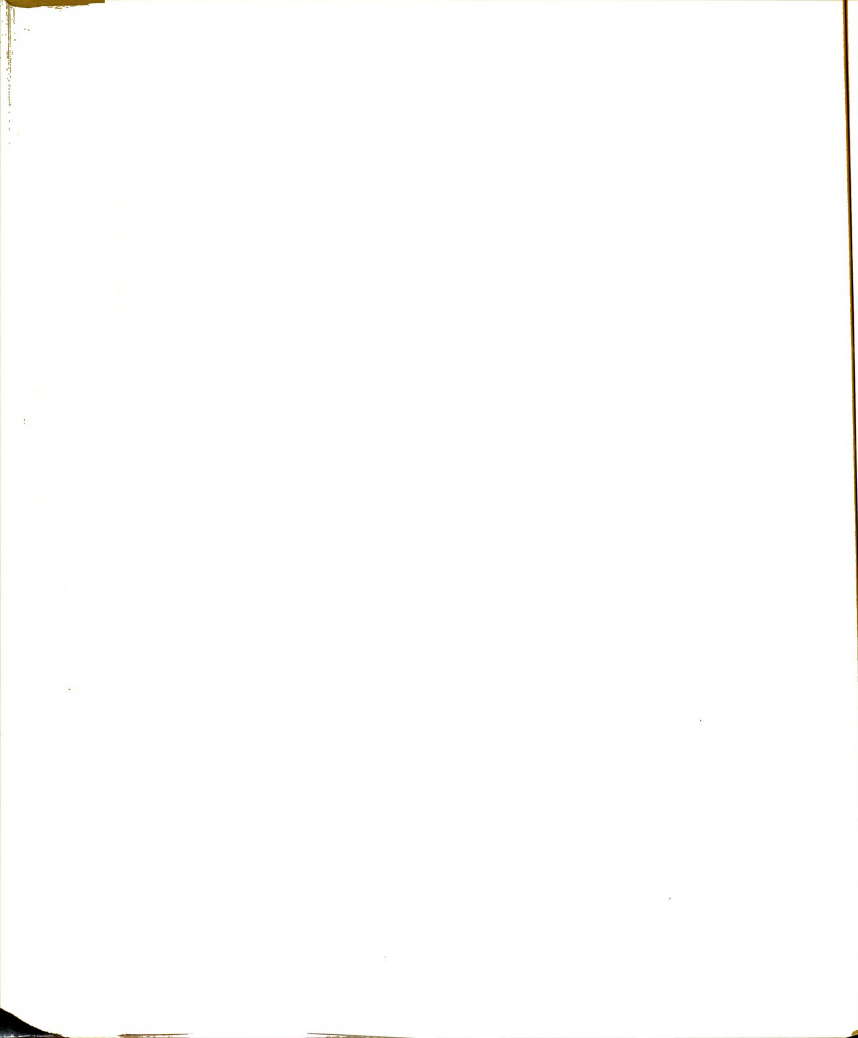
Equality in immigration.--Douglas' longest speech of 1952 came on May 19, when he took the floor for nearly three hours, of which over one-half of the time was spent in colloquies with Senators Lehman and Humphrey and debate with Senator Welker of Idaho, in a speech "Major Defects in the McCarran Immigration Bill."³ Douglas voiced two main objections:

I find that in at least two very vital and crucial matters I cannot accept the fundamental provisions of the bill. The first deals with the determination of the total number of immigrants to be admitted and the nations from

¹Release of text, pp. 1-4.

²Paul H. Douglas, Ethics in Government (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952). In the 1964 Senate efforts and disagreements over drafting a new code of ethics motivated by the Bobby Baker scandals, no reference has been made to Douglas' 1952 code.

³Release of reprint from Record (daily) pp. 1-16.



which such immigrants may come. In my judgment and in the judgment of my colleagues [siding with him], the provisions of the bill are unduly restrictive in comparison both with the needs of the United States and the needs of other specific countries.

The second ground on which I find myself differing sharply from the text of the bill as submitted is that, in my judgment, in dealing with individual cases it does not adequately protect the rights of those subject to deportation, exclusion, and denaturalization, and does not provide the administrative procedures which Congress and the Nation thought were being put into effect when we enacted the Administrative Procedure Act.

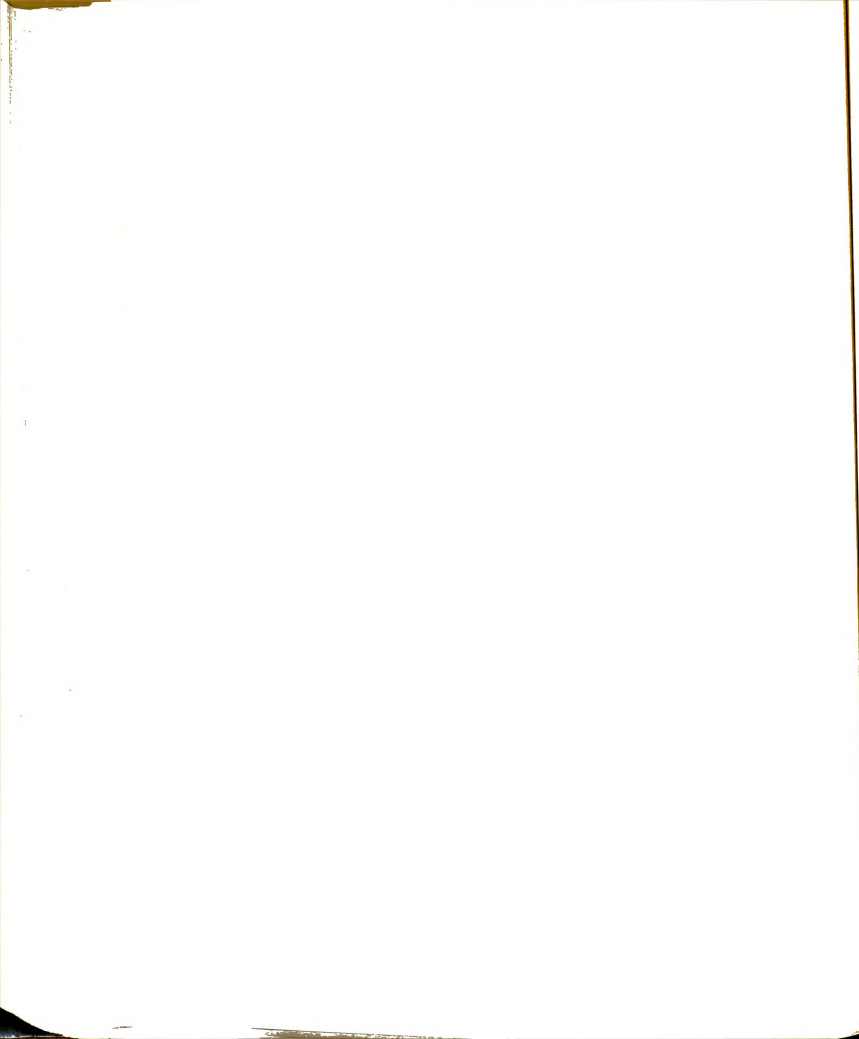
These are my two major objections, and I shall discuss those subjects and only those subjects, although there are other features of the bill to which I would take exception if I felt that I should speak at greater length.¹

He cited the history of immigration policy, the growth of restrictions, the national origin formula, the proportionate increase in northern Europeans, reductions in southern and eastern European quotas, and the "mortgaged" future quotas by them.² He argued on humanitarian grounds "for these people who hope to escape communist tyranny and attempted to refute the "unjustified assumption in the national origin formula" (set up in 1924 and still essentially applied in this bill) which assumes the "inferior stock of people from certain nations and was wrong and outdated, and that differences must not be mistaken for inferiority."³ He cited crime and delinquency figures of immigrants to show that rigid quota limitations on that basis

¹ Ibid., p. 1.

² Ibid., pp. 1-6.

³ Ibid., p. 7.



are not justified, and that there had been inadequate legal rights upheld in deportation cases.¹ Upon concluding the speech, he entered complete tables in the appendix of the Record of yearly immigration statistics for each country since 1820.² The Humphrey-Lehman quota-pooling amendment to the bill was favored by Douglas. Later Truman vetoed the McCarran bill, but Congress over-rode the veto.

Divergent causes.--Douglas and Senator Blair Moody sponsored, and spoke on behalf of, a bill for loans to European businessmen under the European Recovery Program. In May and June he debated in opposition to a "price fixing" bill which contained a provision, prepared by Senator Dirksen, to abolish the Wage Stabilization Board.³ In addition, work for better railroad retirement legislation took much of Douglas' time in the summer of 1952.

The fourth year.--When Congress adjourned on July 7, Douglas had spoken on 124 different subjects and had taken the floor 319 times,⁴ including at least seven prepared addresses.⁵ Douglas claimed on June 29 to have

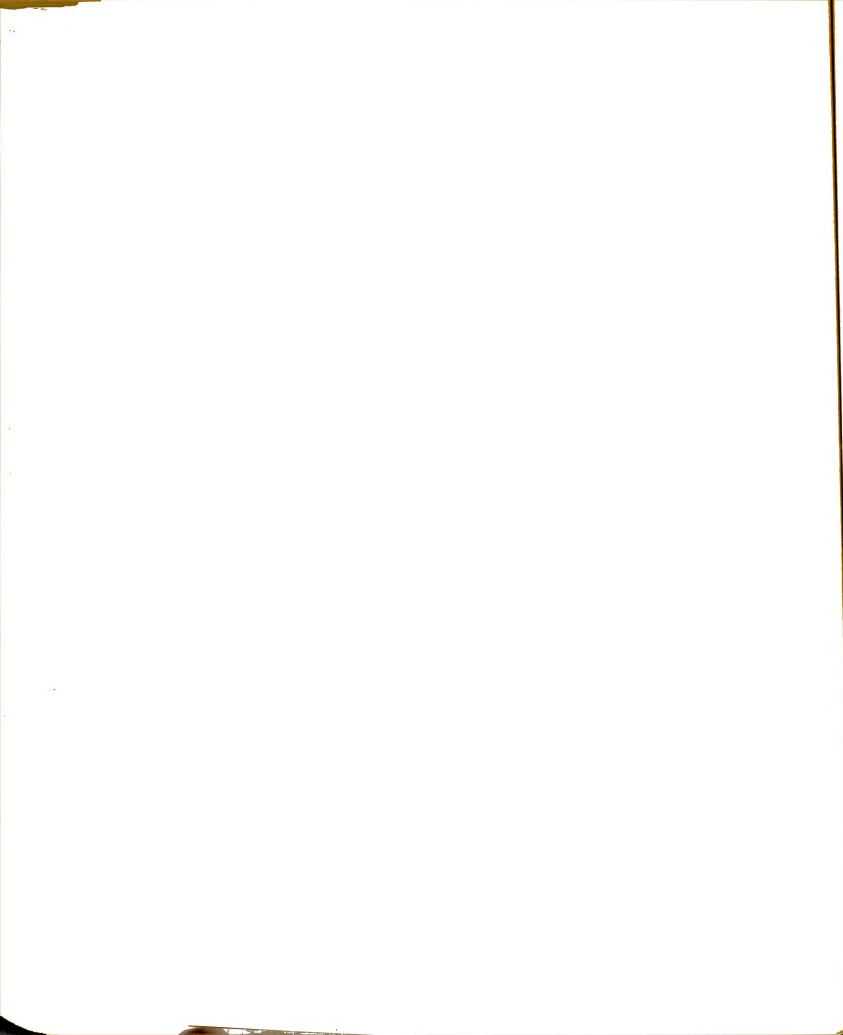
¹Ibid., pp. 7-10.

²Ibid., pp.13-16.

³Release of May 29.

⁴See Congressional Record Index, 82nd Cong., 2nd Session, Vol. 98, Part 12, pp. 121-122.

⁵He delivered only two speeches outside the Senate while Congress was in session, appeared on two network public affairs programs, and gave one radio speech over WGN Chicago. See Brandes, op. cit., for analysis of evidence in July 21, 1952, speech at Chicago in the Democratic National Convention.



saved the taxpayers \$200 million in reductions of budget proposals (his most concerted effort in the 82nd Congress) accepted by Congress for federal spending on "civilian" items alone out of a total of slightly over a billion dollars in reductions he had proposed thus far.¹

In baseball, a man isn't considered a good hitter unless he bats at least .300--or perhaps say .290. My batting average is only .200.

Actually, of course, the reductions are the important thing. Like baseball, it's not who gets the hits, but how many runs are scored.²

On military appropriations, Douglas said:

"I've been hacking away at it.... It will be difficult, however...because the military are now engaged in their annual spring offensive on Capitol Hill. They claim that if a single dollar is cut, dire consequences will follow."³

Looking back, Douglas was less than satisfied with the legislative action of 1951 and 1952. He called that Congress "an utter flop on domestic legislation."⁴

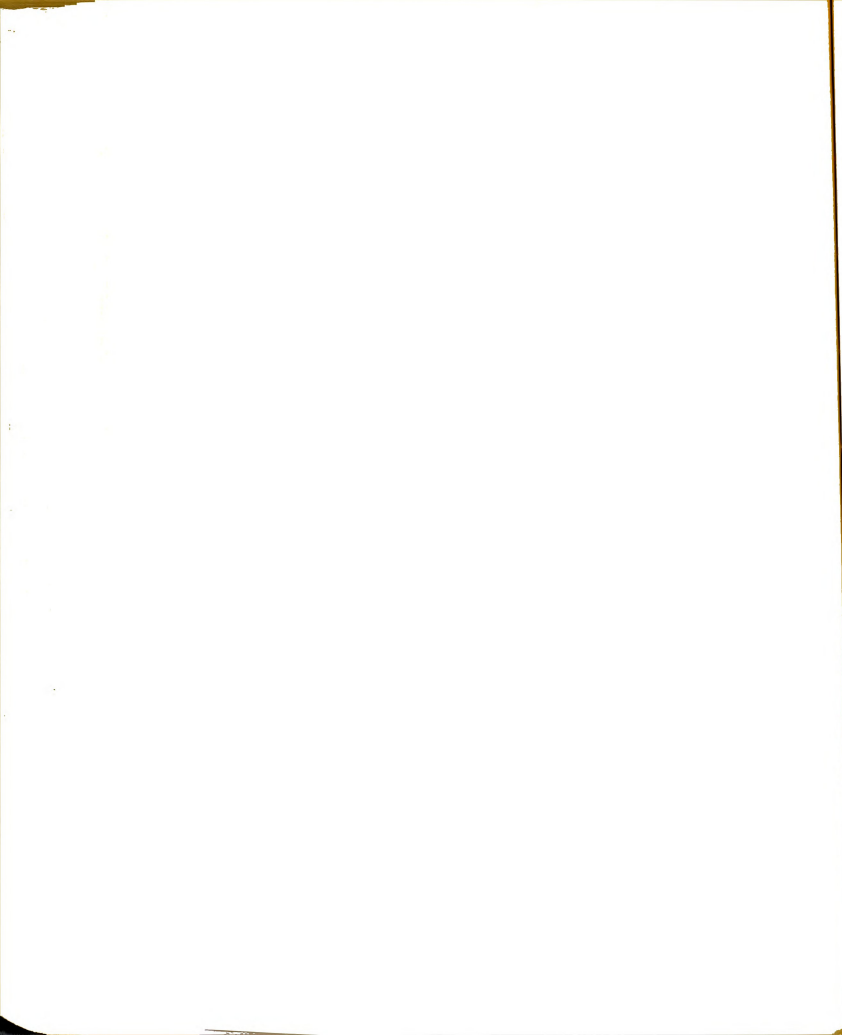
I think on the whole, in the field of domestic legislation, the 82nd Congress has been an utter flop. I say this for the following reasons: first, it failed to bring Alaska and Hawaii into the Union as states; second,

p. 1. ¹Script of bi-weekly radio program, June 29, 1952,

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

p. 1. ⁴Script of bi-weekly radio program, July 13, 1952,



it passed a discriminatory and inadequate immigration bill; third, it failed to plug tax loopholes; fourth, it continued unnecessary subsidies and pork-barrel projects; fifth, it failed to strengthen the Robinson-Patman Acts; sixth, it passed resale price maintenance laws which will permit private price fixing; seventh, it failed to improve the St. Lawrence Seaway; eighth, it failed to enact presidential primary legislation; ninth, it failed to make adequate budget reductions; tenth, it failed to enact a Defense Production Act. It also failed to enact civil rights and other necessary legislation.... In short, the 82nd Congress has a pretty good record on foreign affairs and defense preparedness, but on domestic legislation, it was buried in a driving snow storm of special interest.¹

An election year.--Leaving Washington, the Senator addressed the Democratic National Convention in Chicago during the morning session of July 21 in a highly partisan defense of United States action in the Korean War.² He ended the 45-minute address by pleading: "With the unity of the American people, let us go forward to the victory of democratic principles at home and abroad."³

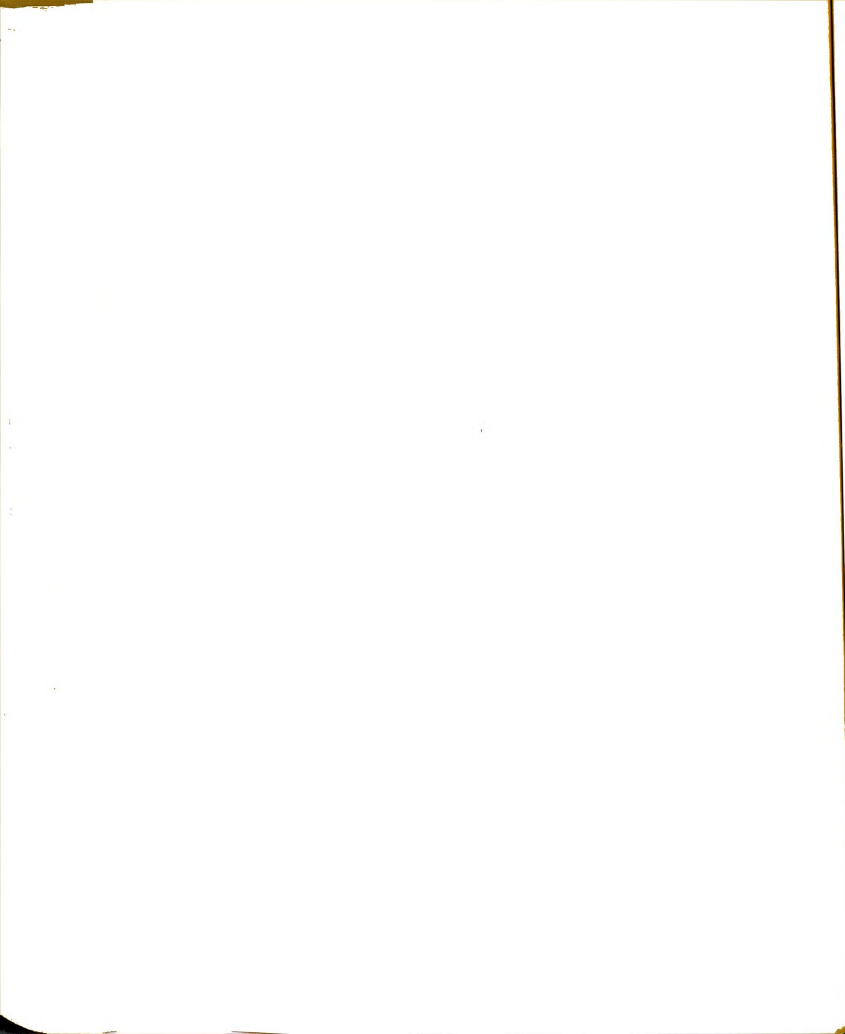
At the convention Douglas was a leading lieutenant of the Kefauver forces, after being assured that Adlai Stevenson was not a candidate.⁴ It became clear on the

¹"Senator Douglas Reports," newsletter at the end of the session.

²See Brandes dissertation for a study of Douglas' use of evidence in the 1952 Democratic Convention speech.

³Text of speech, July 21, 1952, p. 11.

⁴Stevenson announced in February he was withdrawing from consideration before Douglas began to boom Kefauver. Douglas himself had been prominently mentioned as a candidate for President, but quelled that movement early in 1952.



second night of the Convention that the Kefauver forces would have to stop what looked like an all night session in order to stay in the running because they needed time to marshal more delegate support.

Chairman Sam Rayburn would not recognize Douglas as he sought to move for adjournment. Douglas shouted for two hours until he lost his voice. When he finally won Rayburn's recognition, he went down on his knees, and pressing his hands against his chest, squeezed out a hoarse plea for adjournment. To many of his critics, this was an instance of Douglas making a spectacle of himself.¹

As it turned out, of course, Stevenson won the nomination on the third ballot. After the convention, Douglas took to the hustings to report to his constituents, support the state party ticket and defend the Democrats against the Republican campaigns attacks of "Korea, communism, and corruption."

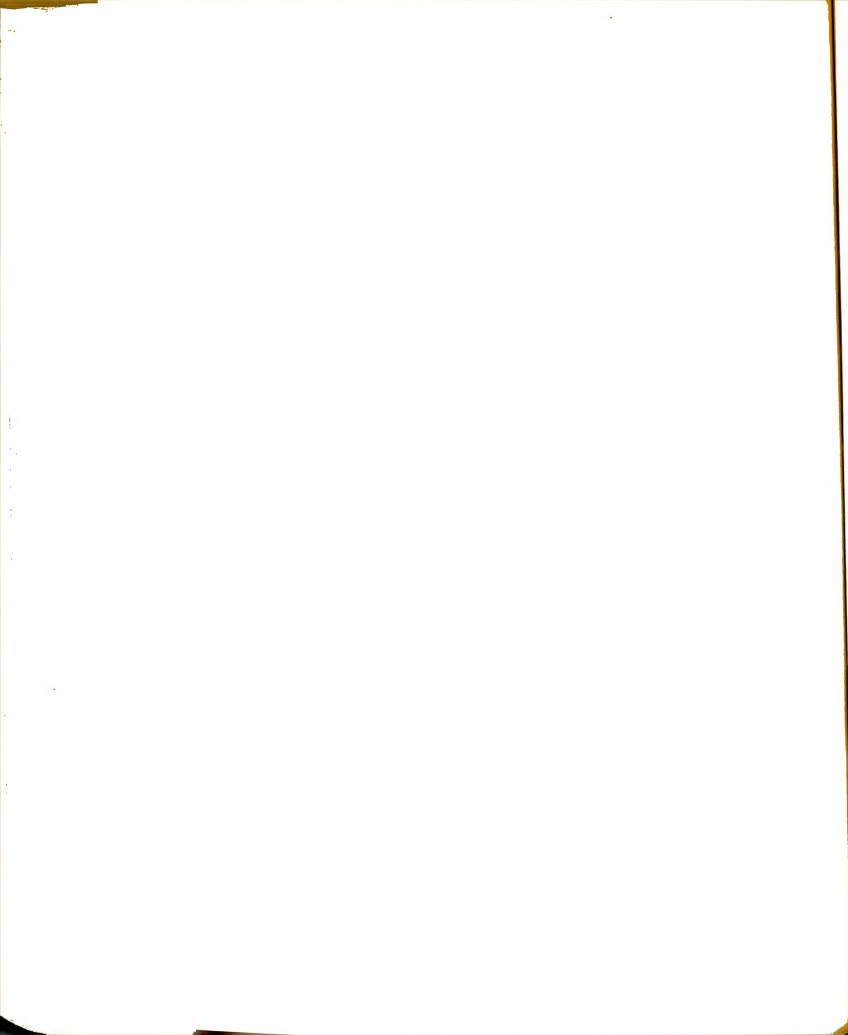
Number one senator.--The popularity of Douglas, especially among political analysts, continued in 1952. In a nationwide poll of members of the American Political Science Association, he was voted "number one Senator."²

Eighty-third Congress: 1953-1954

General Dwight Eisenhower and Senator Richard Nixon became the President and Vice-President of the United States in January of 1953. In their first two years, they witnessed

¹McGrath, op. cit., p. 44.

²1952 Press release.



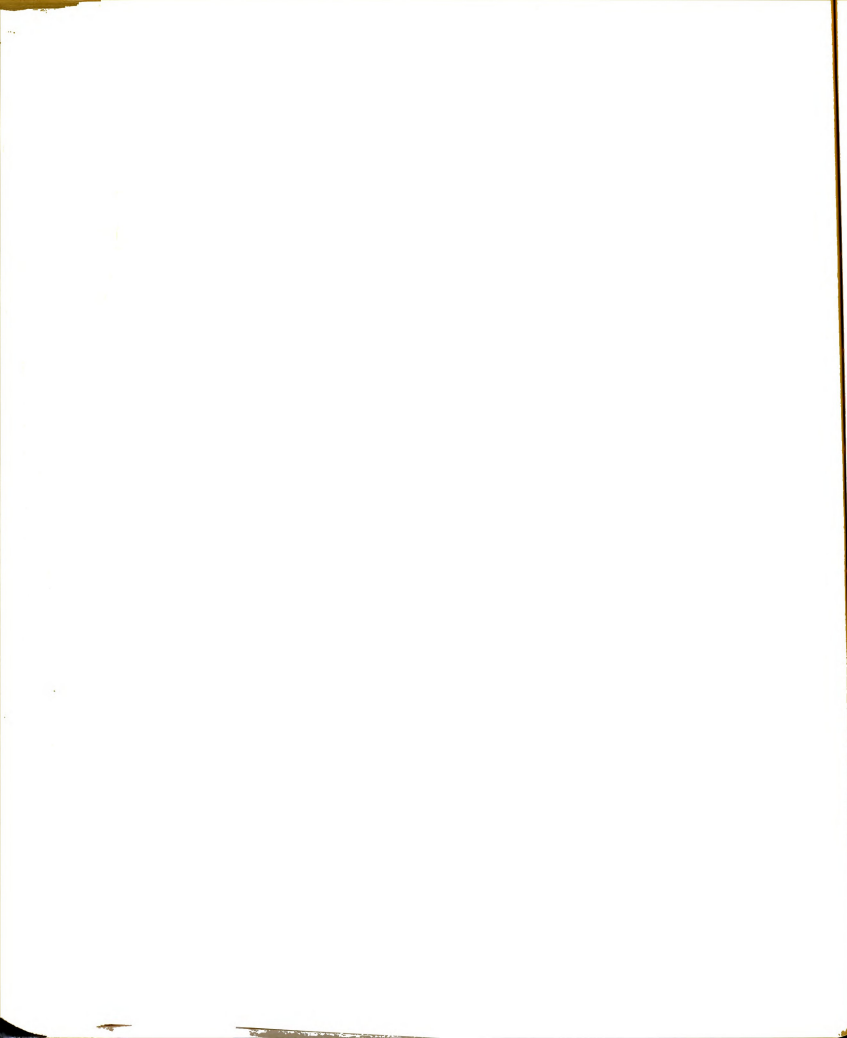
the defeat of the isolationist Bricker Amendment, the Army-McCarthy hearings and the Senate's condemnation of Senator Joseph McCarthy by a 67-22 vote. During this period they also saw the creation of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court school desegregation ruling, also, the Korean Armistice, formation of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, and the continuation of the "cold war." Eisenhower's popularity helped to win the Republicans a 49-47 majority in the Senate.

FIRST SESSION

Change rule XXII.--At the beginning of each session, Douglas has been a stalwart member of the team to change the rules on the filibuster and in 1953 with a new Vice President, his efforts for change were no less restrained. For the better part of three days on January 3, 6, and 7, the rules and particularly Rule XXII were debated, with Douglas in the thick of the fray.¹ The motion to amend the rule was tabled, and the Senators got on with the business of legislation.

"Better Teachers' Salaries with Offshore Oil Resources" was the title of a fifteen minute speech in the

¹See Congressional Record, Vol. 99, Part I, pp. 11-32. The January 12, 1953, issue of New Republic featured Douglas on the cover and carried a three-page article by him, "The Fight Against the Filibuster," pp. 6-8.



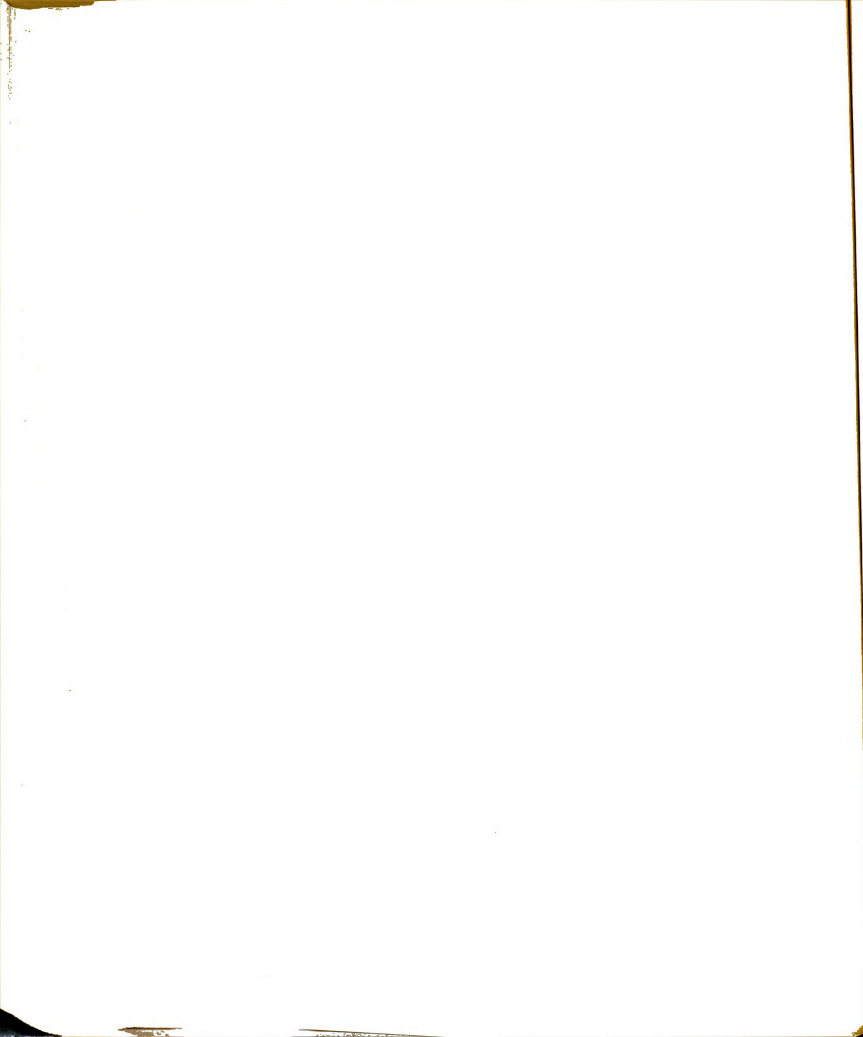
Senate on February 6. He cited comparative salary figures to show the inferiority of teacher salaries and noted it was imperative to channel the offshore oil profits into the salaries of this group, using the Morrill Act as one legislative precedent for this action.¹

Two days of speaking on offshore oil.--On April 1 the debate on the submerged lands controversy of offshore oil rights to the states began. Before the Senate was the Holland (D. Florida) Bill, similar to the one vetoed in 1952.² It sought to grant title to the states; in the fall campaign Eisenhower had committed himself unequivocally to the states' views. On April 9, Paul Douglas began delivery of a fifty-two page speech against the bill which lasted six hours the first day and four hours and forty minutes the second, April 10, including interruptions. There were a total of 162 interruptions for support, question, or attack made by various members of the Senate.³ The substance of the speech was a direct attack on the bill which Douglas claimed "would largely give to the coastal states, and primarily to California, Louisiana, and Texas, the oil

¹Release of text.

²Similar legislation had been passed by both houses in 1946 and vetoed by Truman. The veto was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1947 over a California claim to submerged lands, and in subsequent decisions in 1950 rejecting claims of Louisiana and Texas.

³Release of text, and Congressional Record (daily), Vol. 99, April 9 & 10, 1953, pp. 2862-3050. (See also MacRae thesis).

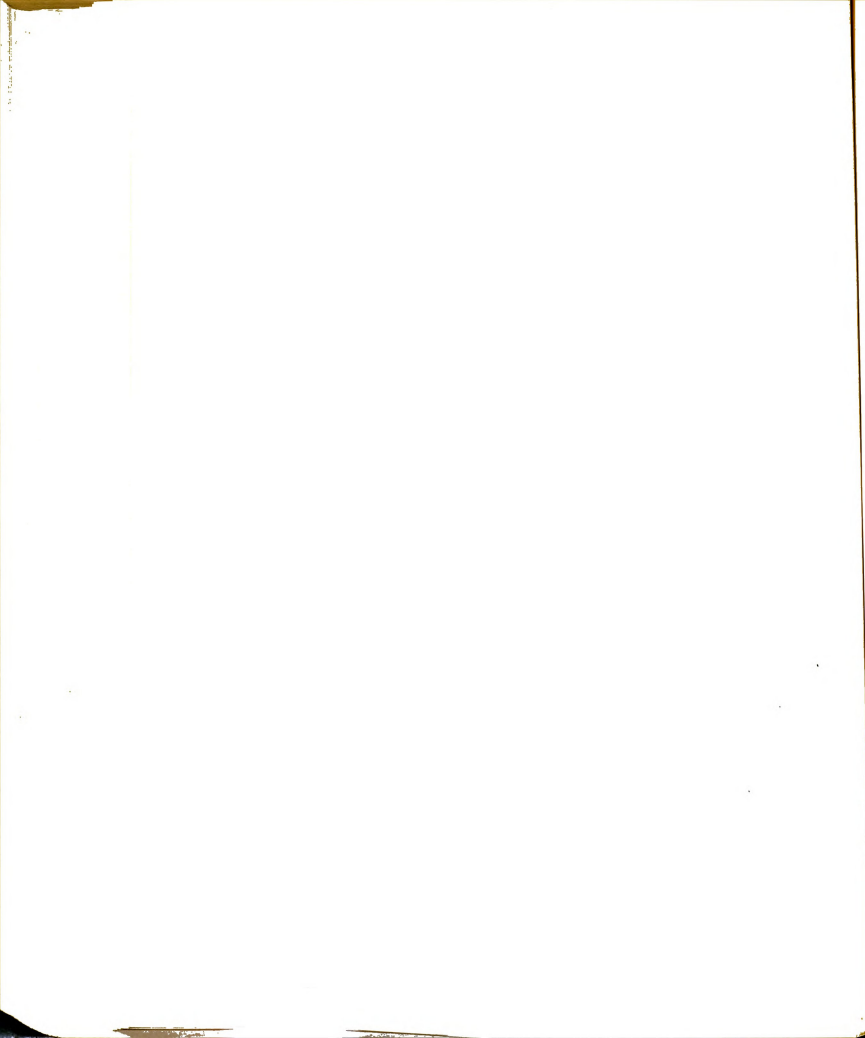


and gas rights in the offshore submerged lands which lie seaward from the low-water mark."¹ After four hours of Douglas' address on April 9, majority leader Taft suggested the absence of a quorum which necessitated a roll call, for the expressed purpose of giving Douglas a rest.²

It was a weighty speech in which Douglas presented a voluminous amount of well-documented fact and opinion evidence, from Supreme Court cases, hearings, illustrations of legal precedence from all parts of the nation, and the quoted testimony of authorities from several parts of the nation. He attempted to show the illegality of the bill and the evils which would accrue from it. It ended with a proportionately short conclusion, limited to a simple listing of eight major contentions against passage of the bill: (1) that assets would go to a few states rather than to all; (2) that assets could be used to diminish the national debt; (3) that assets could be used to fight illiteracy in the country; (4) that passage of the bill would weaken the national interest and increase the feeling of separation when the nation needs to be united; (5) that the bill would lead to further drives on other natural resources, resulting in floods and soil erosions; (6) that the bill would endanger the rights of fishermen; (7) that the bill would touch off indeterminable legal disputes between some of the

¹Record, (daily), Vol. 99, April 9, 1958, p. 2862.

²Ibid., p. 2884.



states and the Federal Government and raise grave questions of international concern;(8) that development of the resources in question would be held back. These eight contentions constituted a concise summary of the arguments which Douglas had developed and emphasized time and again in the course of the two days.¹ "The order was logical and psychologically effective, with the strongest appeal at the beginning...."² Douglas ended with this appeal:

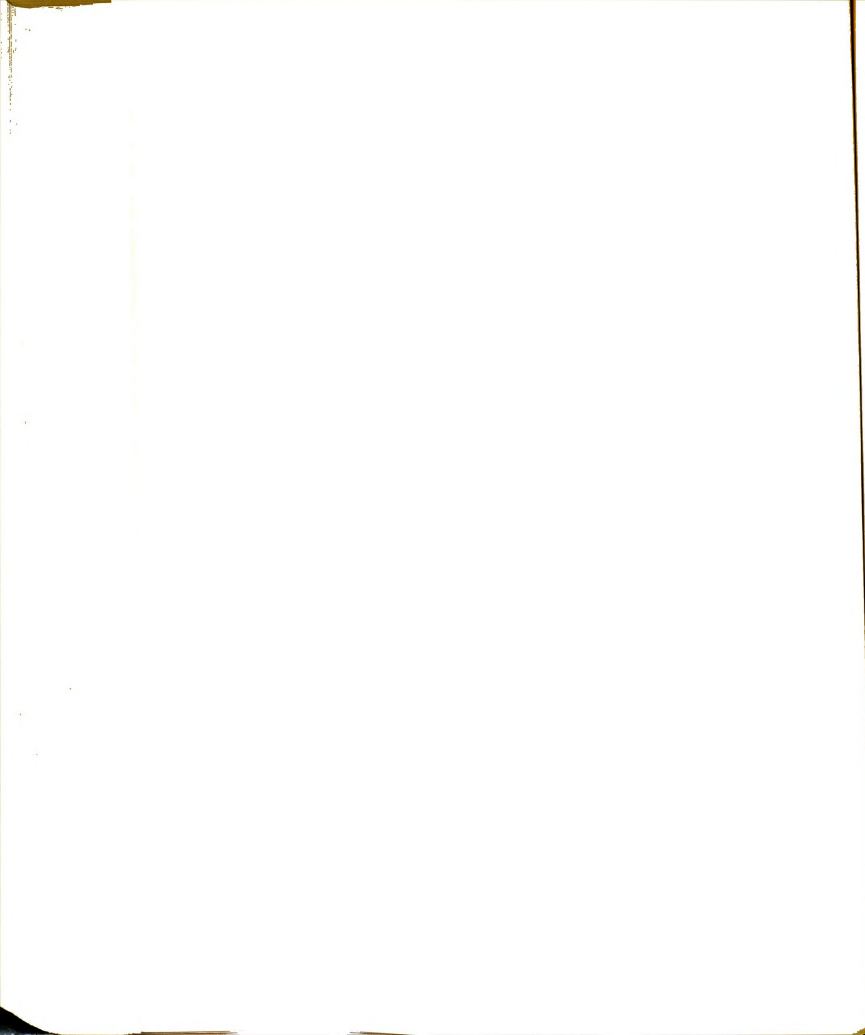
Before we do irretrievable damage to our country, let us ponder these facts and considerations and then vote as our consciences decide. And in the long run it will be the informed conscience of the people who will pass judgment on this issue and upon us. Into their hands we place this question with confidence in the ultimate result.³

After more debate, the ultimate action on this bill was its passage in early May. Nothing short of a renunciation of support by Eisenhower could have changed the votes already clearly stacked for the bill when Douglas took the floor on April 9, because more than 40 Senators were signers in sponsoring the bill and their votes were assured. However, it should be noted that Douglas' arguments may have helped in effecting the passage of the bill on June 25 providing for the development of the remainder

¹ Ibid., April 10, p. 3050.

² MacRae thesis, op. cit., p. 116

³ Record (daily), April 10, 1953, p. 3050 and page 52 of release of text.



of the Continental Shelf by the Federal Government,¹ and thereby cutting off future claims by any states. This second bill was signed by Eisenhower on August 7.²

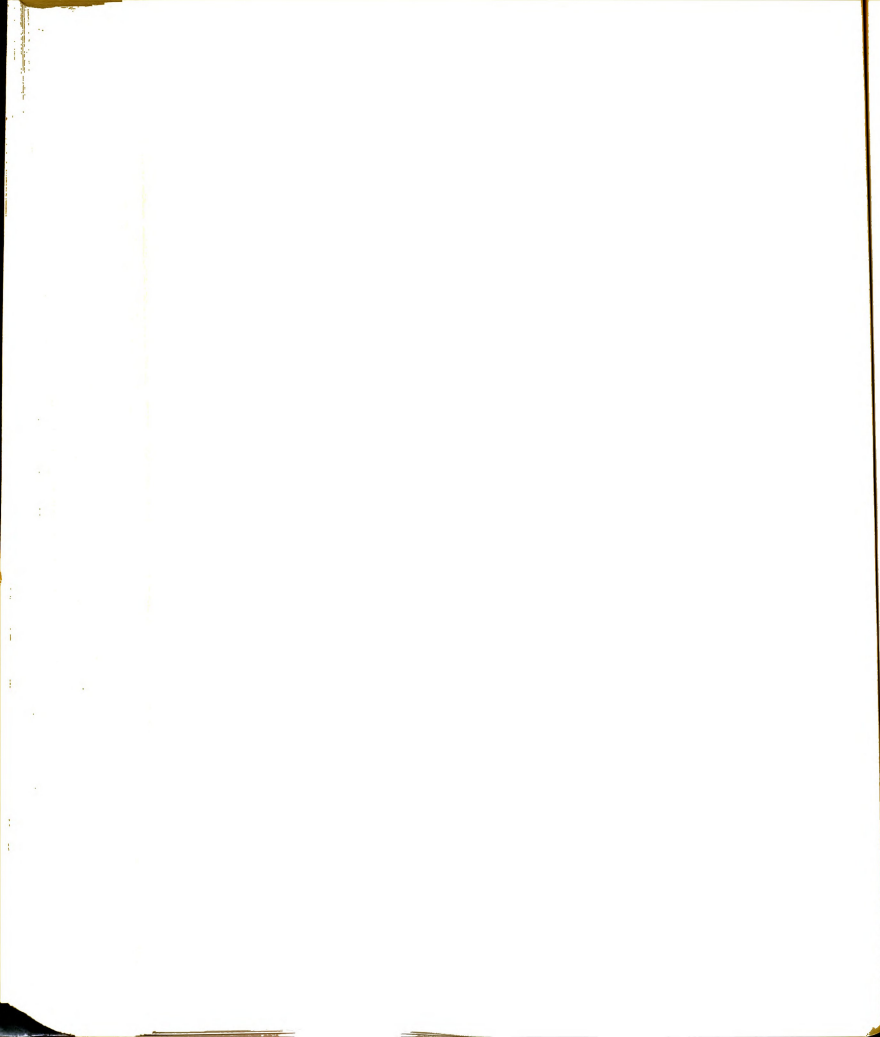
On this issue, there is absolutely no question after reading the Record of the debates that Douglas' research made him the most informed speaker. He received some back-stopping from other colleagues, but he was the "fact and idea man" they deferred at critical moments and the man who stood out in this month-long confrontation in 1953.

The R.F.C. private business.--After the offshore speech, Douglas spoke briefly on May 15 on behalf of a bill which he and Senator Flanders (R. Vermont) were sponsoring to prevent the R.F.C. from making direct loans to private enterprises (at a time when the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency was beginning hearings on the abolition of the R.F.C.). Douglas credited colleague Symington (D. Missouri) with having "cleaned up" the R.F.C., but he nevertheless concluded that government agencies should not be in the business of direct loans to private business. To alleviate this, the Douglas-Flanders bill provided for a regional system of capital banks or investment companies working as private banking systems with no direct federal aid involved.³

¹New York Times, June 26, 1953, p. 10.

²Ibid., August 8, 1953, p. 27.

³Release of text, May 15, 1953, pp. 1-4.



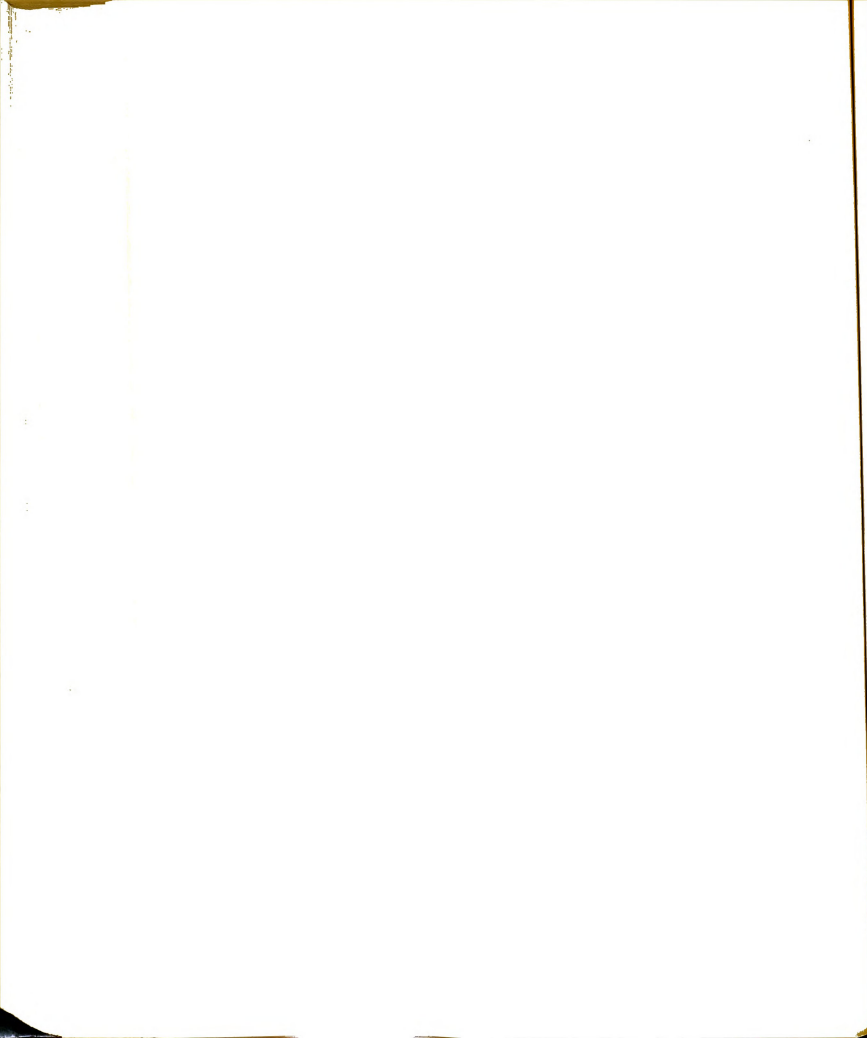
Fair play in investigations.--"Fair Play in Congressional Investigations" was the subject of a twenty-minute speech by Douglas on July 16. He cited "ten commandments for Fair Play" calling for a greater screening of public disclosure of derogatory remarks to safeguard reputations of witnesses and others, for procedural changes in calling witnesses, for witnesses to have the right to counsel, for witnesses to be able to interrogate other witnesses, and for general protection of the rights of witnesses and more expeditious procedures.¹

On the debt limit.--On August 1, he may have caused some embarrassment for the President by rising to note that the administration "in the waning hours of the first session of the 83rd Congress...has suddenly asked us to raise the debt limit from 275 to 290 billion dollars...."²

It is impossible for me to understand why they have waited so long to submit such a request. Ostensibly the proposal was held up in order to see what appropriations would be passed by Congress. The ridiculousness of this justification is obvious. Appropriations could have some effect in squeezing down spending, but not by any more than a billion dollars in six months at the very most [not \$15 billion] Mr. President, I am not going to say "I told you so" [he then pointed out he had] There is a simple solution to the problem.... Let us increase

¹Release of text, July 16, 1953.

²Release of text, p. 1.



the limit just enough to cover emergency situations, namely the \$2 billion now.¹

Small business and employee protection.--On the last day of the first session, August 3, he spoke briefly on behalf of the protection of the small businessman in strengthening the Robinson-Patman Act,² and on the need for greater enforcement of civil service codes against "job-hungry patronage boys."³ He also spoke on this day for better working conditions for postal employees, including furnishing them with uniforms.⁴

The fifth year.--During 1953 he had also spoken for such new causes as the shipping of farm surpluses to the Netherlands, a U. N. embargo on goods to Red China, the enactment of a standing price control bill for future wars, and a revision of the 1952 Immigration Act.

The first session of the 83rd had found Douglas a busy speaker delivering no less than six prepared speeches, presenting remarks on 224 different items in 639 times on the floor.⁵ In addition, he gave speeches on seven occasions

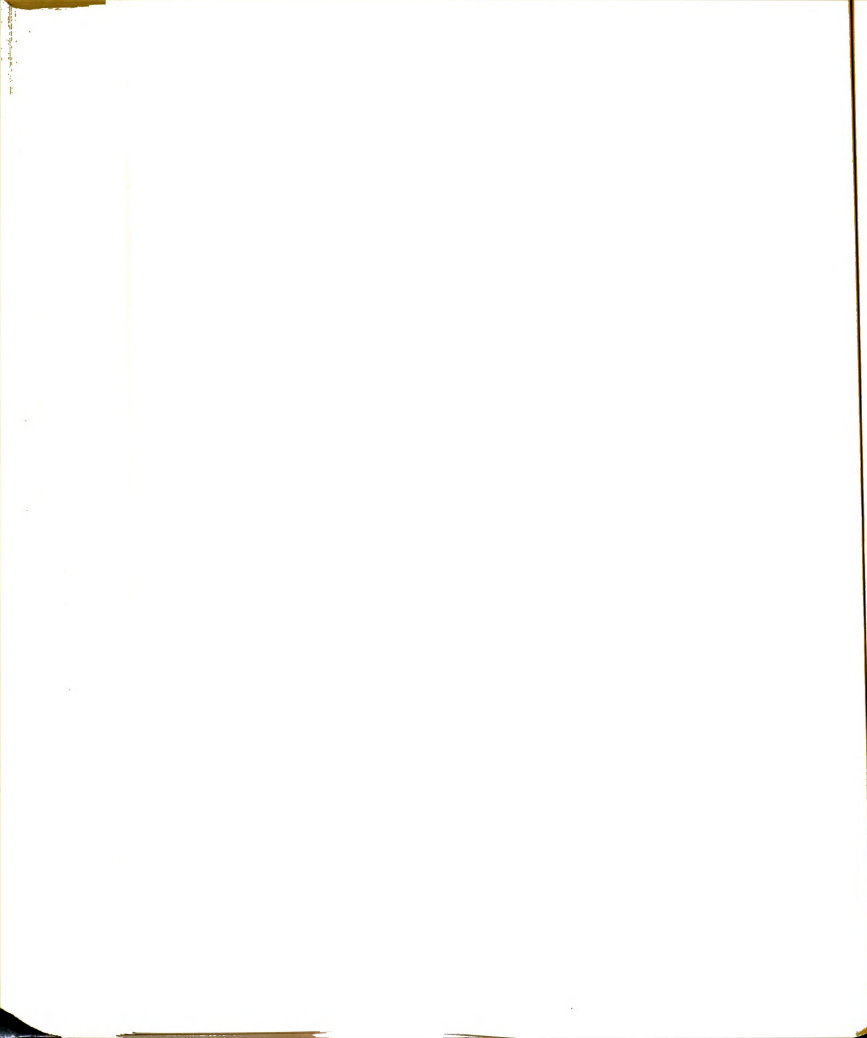
¹ Ibid.

² Release of text, pp. 1-3, and Reprint of Record (daily) August 3, 1953.

³ Release of text and reprint of Record (daily), Aug. 3, 1953.

⁴ Release of text, pp. 1-2, and Reprint of Record (daily), August 3, 1953.

⁵ Congressional Record Index, 83rd Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 99, Part 13, pp. 169-170.



outside the Senate in Illinois.¹ With re-election facing him in just one year, he returned to Illinois at the end of the session to report to the people and accept several speaking requests.

SECOND SESSION

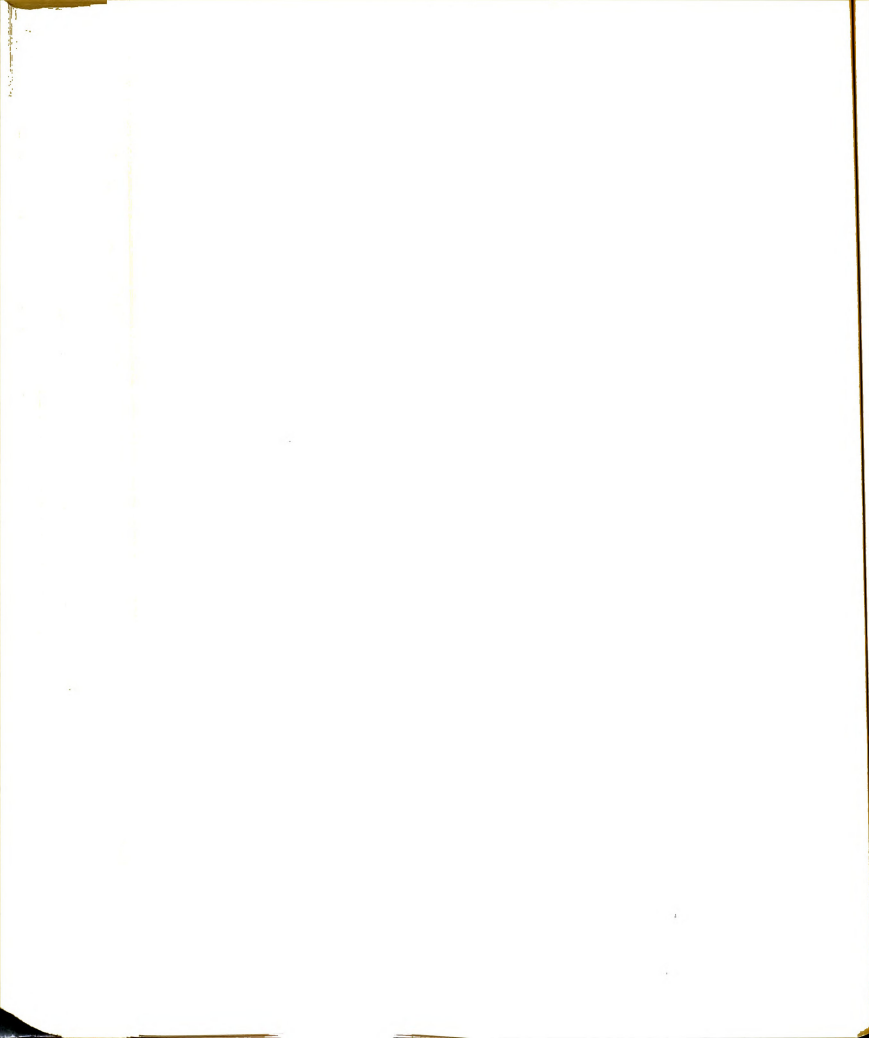
Six months of brief remarks.--In the second session, Douglas did not speak in the Senate at any length until March 24, 1954. On that date for some 40 minutes he urged excise tax reductions as a part of the pending tax program to provide more consumer buying power and to stimulate the economy.² On March 31, he talked for nearly twenty minutes to support the Administration's action on the Indo-China crisis, applauding Secretary of State Dulles and Eisenhower for the firm stand in that critical area.³ With the support of thirteen other Senators, Douglas reopened the off-shore oil battle in the Senate on April 2 with a bill to repeal the "giveaway" but he met with no success.

In a brief Senate speech on May 5, he demanded that the Securities and Exchange Commission retain the system of

¹Douglas and Dirksen shared a 15 minute weekly TV program in 1953. The "Douglas Reports" program became known as the "Husband-Wife" program with his wife serving as an interviewer in a five-minute weekly program over radio and TV stations in Illinois (it had been bi-weekly).

²Release of text, March 24, 1954, pp. 1-11.

³Release of text, March 31, 1954, pp. 1-5.



competitive bidding by banks in marketing public utilities securities, citing as one source of proof the malpractice he uncovered of "Insullism", stating that Harold Ickes had also joined him.¹ On the same day, Douglas and Senator John F. Kennedy introduced legislation to grant more power to states in collective bargaining during labor disputes, repealing Section 14 (b) and amending Section 8 of the Taft-Hartley Act.² A few days later, Senators Humphrey and Douglas introduced a bill for a tightening of the ban on communists in trade unions on May 14.³ On May 20, a Douglas amendment "to provide savings and loans institutions the same privileges as other financial institutions" was debated for nearly three hours and rejected by a vote of 58-14.⁴

Tax protection for the many.--The Senate's "economic expert" dominated the floor for nearly eight hours on June 29⁵ (one of three days of hard debate) in an analysis of the 1954 tax bill in an effort to amend the "many provisions for the few, and few provisions for the many."⁶ Douglas

¹Release of text, May 5, 1954, passim.

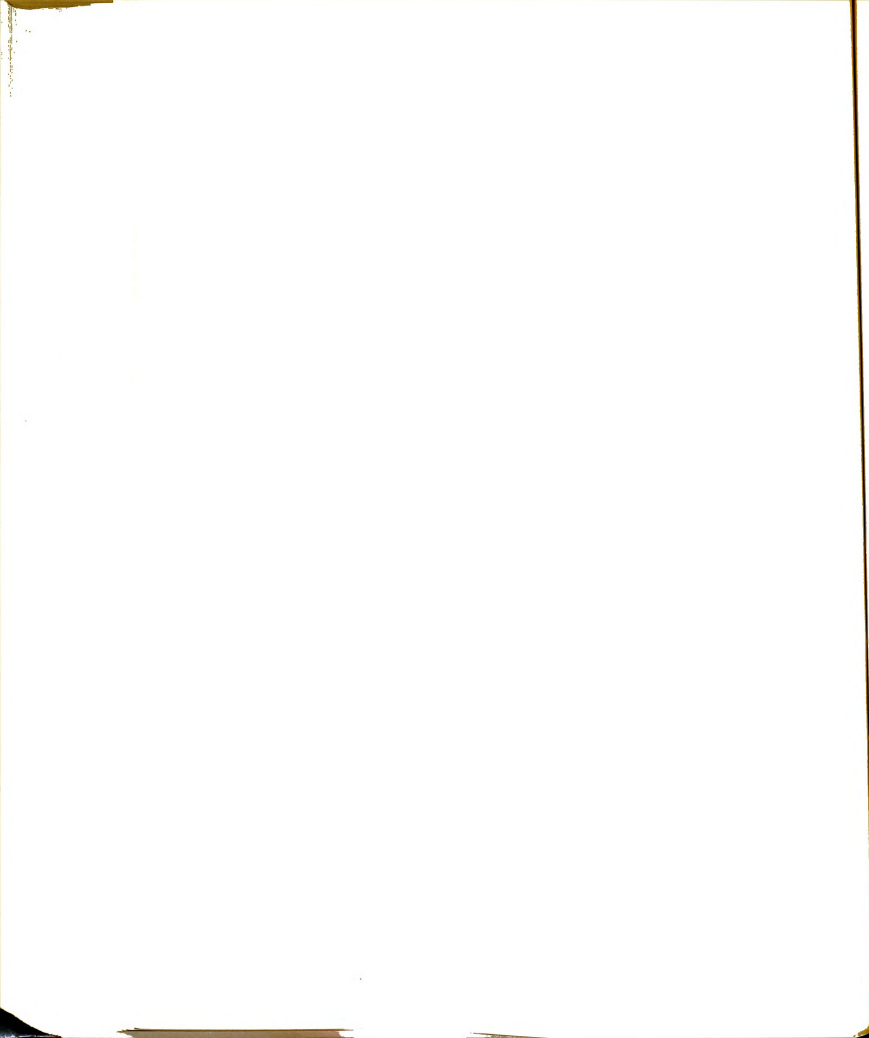
²Release of text, passim.

³Release of text of remarks from office of Sen. Humphrey.

⁴Reprint of Record (daily), May 20, 1954, pp. 1-12.

⁵Record-Senate (daily), June 29, 1954, pp. 8774-8793.

⁶News Release of text, June 29, 1954, p. 1.



succeeded in having the bill remodelled in several ways, the most important of which was to knock out completely the proposed 10 percent credit on stockholder's dividends to apply against taxes due.

Committee reform.--A ten-minute speech on increasing powers of the Senate Small Business Committee to equal those of other committees was made by Douglas on July 13. He unsuccessfully urged standing committee status for this special committee.¹

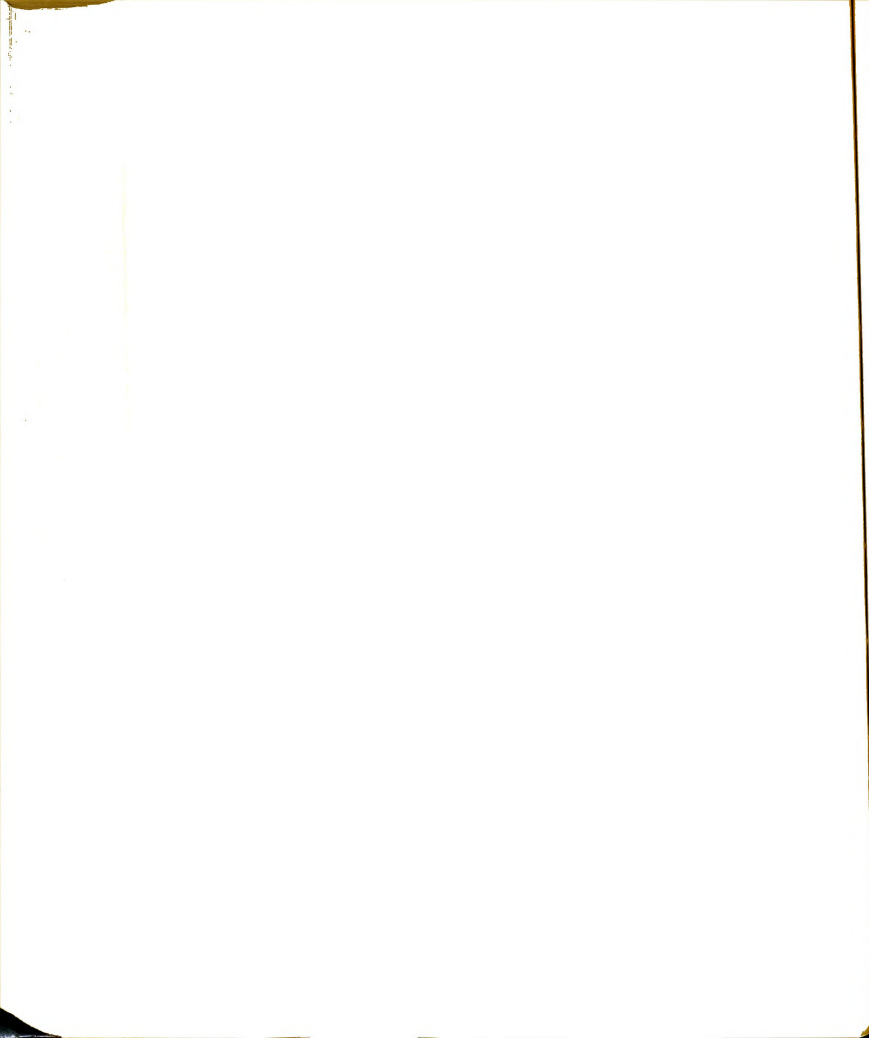
The sixth year.--In the second session of the 83rd Congress, Douglas became increasingly concerned with the increase in cold war tension and oppressions of the people living under communism.² This concern resulted in his proposing an embargo on Communist Poland (rejected by the State Department), a resolution condemning Soviet Russia's violation of pledges to permit free elections, one urging religious, press and civil liberties in satellite countries and a request to the Secretary of State to bring these violations before the Berlin Conferences.³

In a series of letters to the President, Douglas urged withdrawal of diplomatic recognition to communist

¹Release of text, July 13, 1954, pp. 1-4.

²Evidence of this is a statement he released in February entitled "This I Believe," which reflected that concern and defined a firm stand, but not the use of weapons of destruction against the Communist nations, rather good will and benevolence to the captive people under Communist tyrannical rule--From release of text.

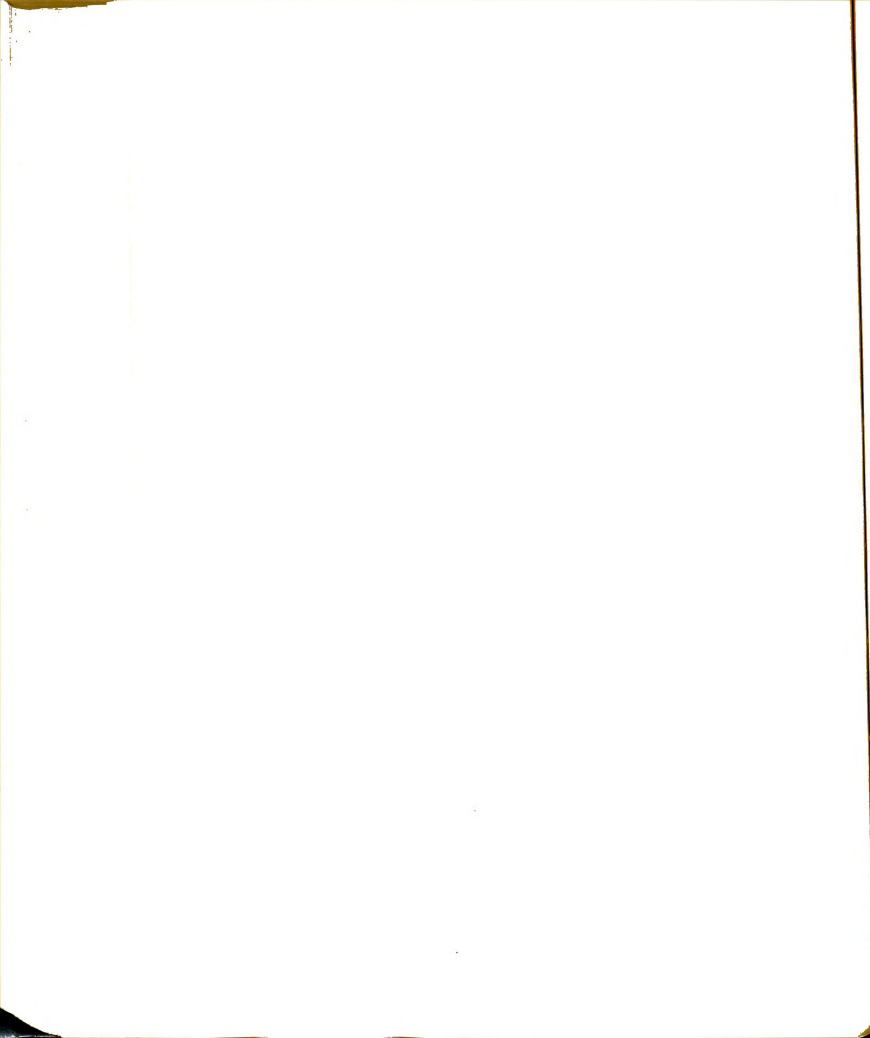
³Release of February 4, 1954.



satellite countries and the "exertion of persuasion" on the United Nations to do likewise, and he urged that the United States offers asylum and employment to people fleeing from Communist controlled nations. On domestic matters, he also personally urged the President to advocate a \$200 increase in personal tax exemptions to increase buying power and consumption of goods as a deterrent to serious business declines. On the twin issues of Communist infiltration and government corruption yet before the nation, Douglas continued his efforts to protect the rights of citizens against smear and conviction from guilt by association,¹ and with Humphrey sponsored legislation to create a single House-Senate committee to conduct all investigations of subversive activities. Continuing his crusade for ethics in government he disclosed fraudulent practices in Federal Housing Administration loans. He also proposed legislation requiring all members of Congress and government officials paid over \$10,000 a year to publish statements of all income and assets.

Facing re-election, he focused his efforts this year on the state interests of Illinois. He was successful in having enacted legislation he sponsored to allow farmers to deduct the cost of grain storage construction and the

¹Douglas presented a definitive statement of his concern in a speech, "Individual Rights and Security," at the St. Louis University Law Day, April 24, 1954.



development of irrigation ponds, from their income tax, and he also advocated deductions for purchases of farm machinery. He also proposed legislation to trade farm food surpluses for needed strategic raw materials from other nations and to provide federal relief to drought-stricken areas.

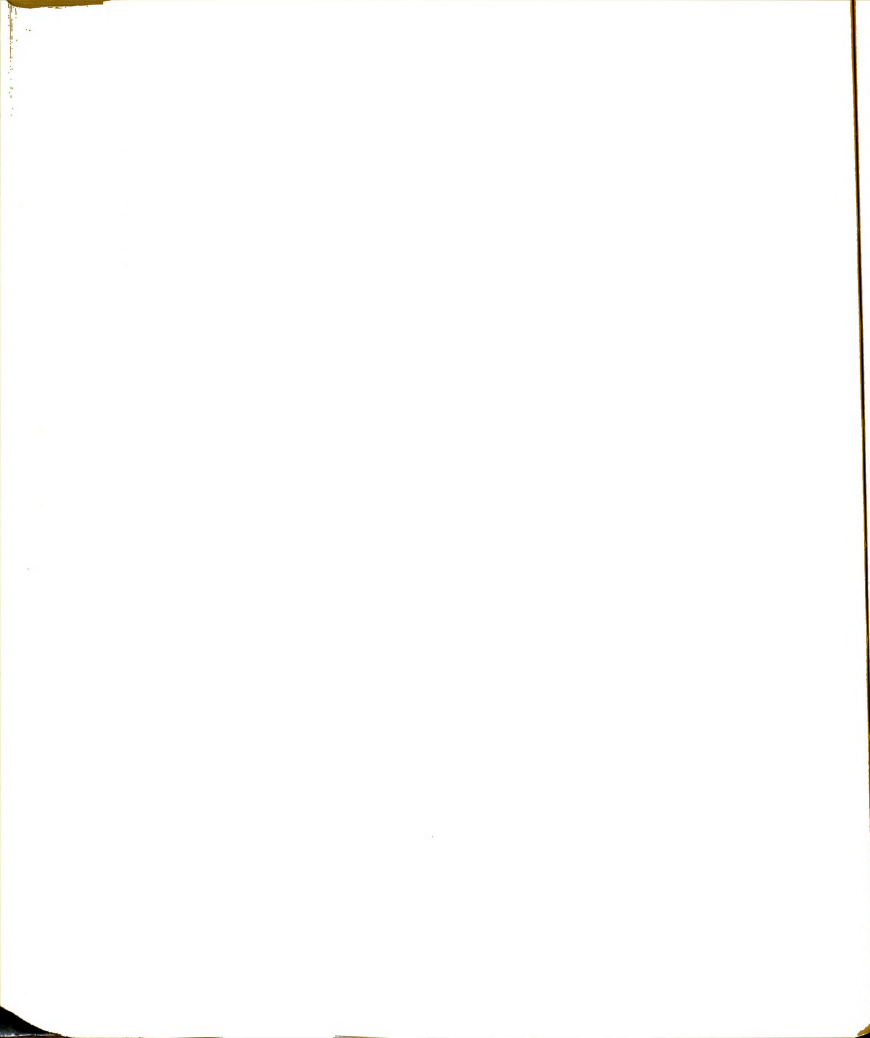
It was a long session to the displeasure of those members up for election. Congress did not convene until December 2 in 1954. But campaigning was, as usual, a continuing effort for most of them requiring special effort the months immediately preceding election. Douglas, although very active in the Senate proceedings (he spoke on 123 different items in 1954 and 400 times; 14 prepared speeches),¹ was literally a "Senator on the go" as he was back in Illinois at every available opportunity to make well over 20 speeches from January to August and to make several special radio and television² appearances in the state.

Largest margin of victory.--From September 8 to November 2, Douglas was almost almost exclusively on the campaign trail in Illinois. Apart from television playing a prominent role,³ Douglas campaigned much as he had in 1948

¹Congressional Record Index, 83rd Cong., 2nd Session, Vol. 100, Part 13, pp. 155-156.

²The Dirksen-Douglas program is suspended by mutual consent when either is up for re-election in the months just prior to election.

³See Hugh Cordier, "Paul Douglas as 1954 Senatorial Campaign with Special Reference to Television," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech, University of Illinois, 1955): Douglas campaigned on TV ten hours, eight minutes, and fifty seconds [Sept. 8-Nov. 2]. He made 610 television spot announcements,...appeared on five panels and



and 1942, in his contest with businessman Joseph Meek who had emerged victorious in the Republican primary. Meek had Eisenhower and several other national party leaders come into the state in the closing days of the campaign.¹ This, plus an extensive purchase of advertising space in the press during the closing days suggesting that Douglas was a "war monger" for his firm stand on foreign policy and association with the "party of war," ate into Douglas' margin of victory.² However, he was returned for a second term by a

forums, gave eight straight speeches, had seven interviews and one documentary film,...addressing 3,024,000 voters... 251 street corner rallies and plant gate speeches to 146,605 people.

¹When Douglas's old enemies entered the campaign, he replied on May 21 with a telegram to the editor of the Communist Daily Worker which began, "Your scurrilous and utterly rotten attack on my political opponent in the Illinois campaign, Mr. Meek, has just been brought to my attention." It ended: "I challenge you to print these views." (from release of telegram).

²See "Ten Try for Chance to Replace Douglas," Life, 36 (February 22, 1954), p. 34.

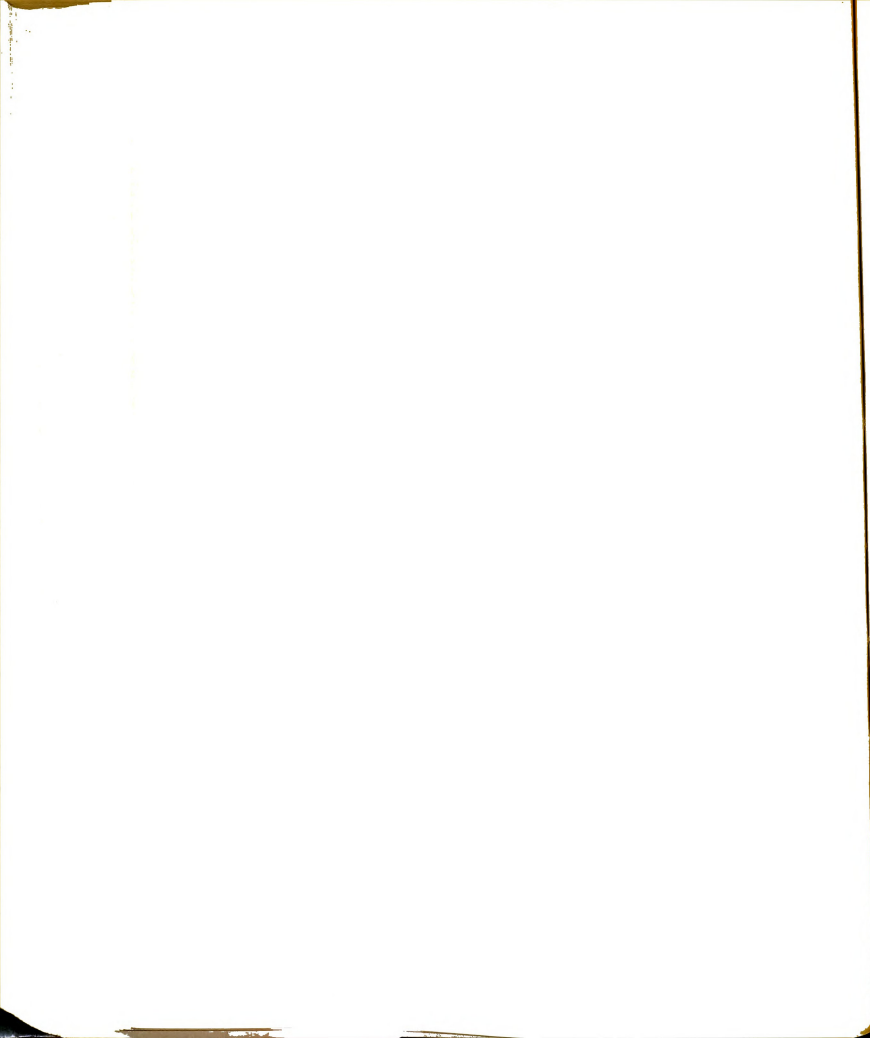
"Tip-off for the 1954 Elections: Illinois Primary," U.S. News, 36 (April 23, 1954), pp. 35-37.

"Mr. Retail v. the Professor," Time, 63 (April 26, 1954), p. 28.

"Opposites in Illinois," Time, 64 (October 25, 1954), p. 15.

"Shall the Meek Inherit?" Nation, 179 (October 23, 1954), pp. 361-2.

"Bushwackers Work on Douglas," New Republic, 131 (November 1, 1954), p. 5.



241,000 plurality, the largest of any Democratic congressional candidate that year.

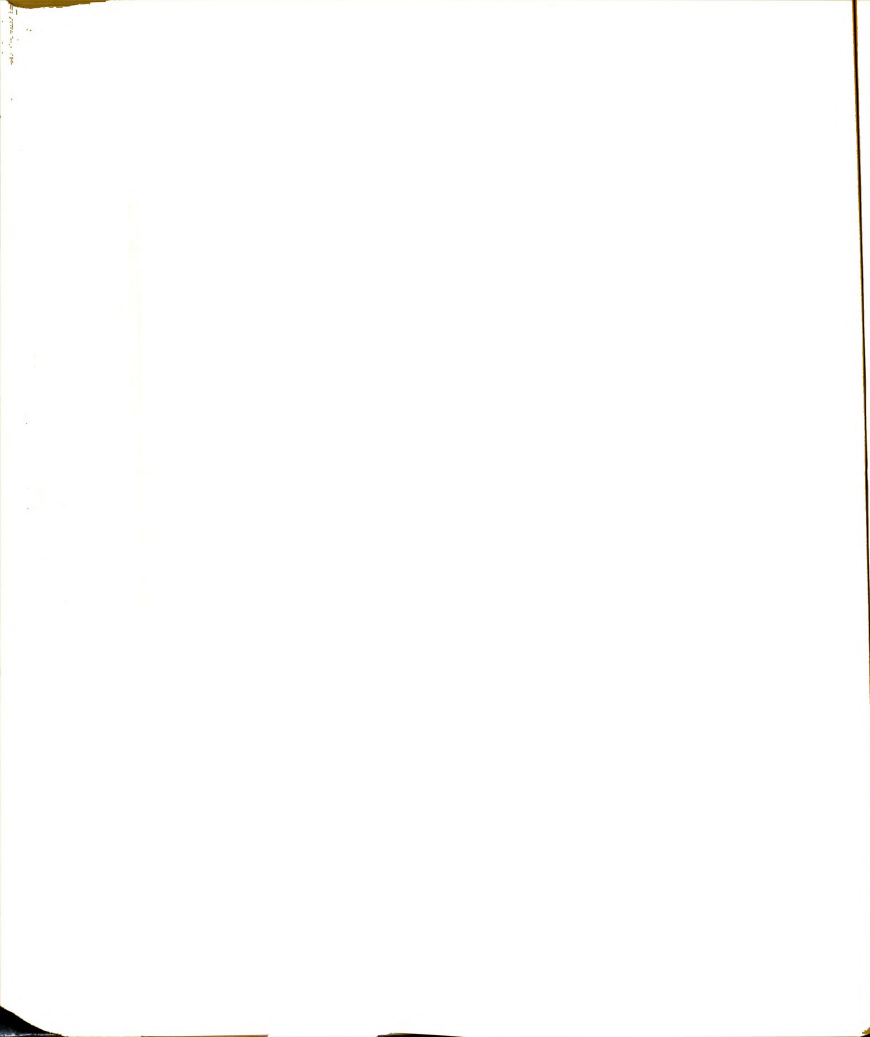
Eighty-fourth Congress: 1955-1956

In the 1954 election, the Democrats regained a majority in the Senate by a margin of 49-47. Major Congressional acts during these two years included passage of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, the Revision of the Fair Labor Standards Act raising the minimum wage to \$1.00 an hour, and the Agricultural Adjustment Act with the Soil Bank provision. During the same period the merger of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. occurred, the Cold War focused on the Middle East, and the Eisenhower Doctrine and Geneva Summit Conference made the bold headlines.

FIRST SESSION

Three months of varied causes.--A change in Rule XXII, the Presidential preferential primary, and trimming the budget were the subjects, in that order, of Douglas' first speech efforts in the Senate in 1955. He also urged a drought relief program for farmers. In February the question of natural gas came up again, and Douglas was no less vehement but less active in his opposition in the debates to follow than he had been in the 81st Congress of the Kerr Bill.

In the spring he wrote Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson asking that farmers be allowed a postponement



in payment of Commodity Credit Corporation loans to assist in the economic fight against drought. He also worked for better welfare pension plans for labor. During the same period Douglas produced the results of a study he had made, and recommended Illinois as the Midwest site for a proposed Federal maximum security prison, approaching Alcatraz in size.¹

For foreign aid.--On April 1, he rose for a two-hour major address in behalf of technical assistance to the Near and Far East²--an address conspicuous for its cogent reasoning with much less fact evidence than usual. He stated that,

...as an economy man who, I fear, has offended many colleagues on both sides of the aisle by trying to prune expenses for many favorite local projects, I am supporting a program which has mistakenly been called a 'give-away!'"³

And after a comprehensive analysis of every aspect of the need, ranging from the use of dried skim milk to mass industrial expansion, he concluded "We must help the people to help themselves" and ended "with advice from Kipling."

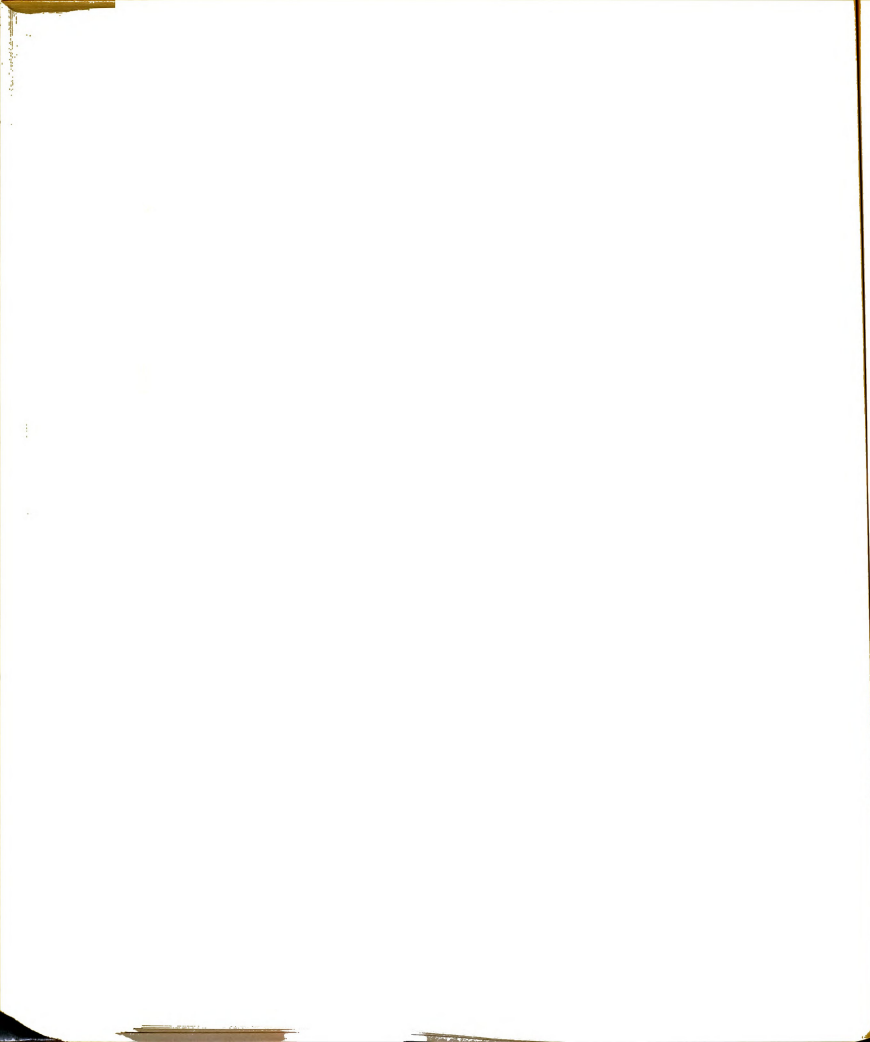
For heathen heart, that puts its trust
In seeking tube and iron shard
All valiant dust, that builds on dust,
And guarding calls not thee to guard,
For frantic boast and foolish word,
Thy mercy on Thy people, Lord.⁴

¹Such a prison is being built near Carbondale.

²Release of text, May 1, 1955, pp. 1-22.

³Ibid., p. 2.

⁴Ibid., p. 22.



Natural resources.--On April 18 and 19, he opposed in debate the Administration's proposed one to five billion dollar upper Colorado irrigation program, maintaining that it would not be economically sound, would destroy the Dinosaur National Park, and should not have priority to a lake and reservoir system for drought states.¹

Reciprocal trade.--As the debates over the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act got underway, Douglas took the floor on May 3 for over three hours in a major address, "A History of the Tariff."² It was indeed a thorough history tracing the abusive tariff policies of Great Britain leading to the revolt of the colonies up to the present legislation under discussion. He did not hesitate to draw partisan lines in attacking (because he had been attacked) what he felt was a "watered-down" bill.³ The conclusion of the speech incisively transmits Douglas' attitude:

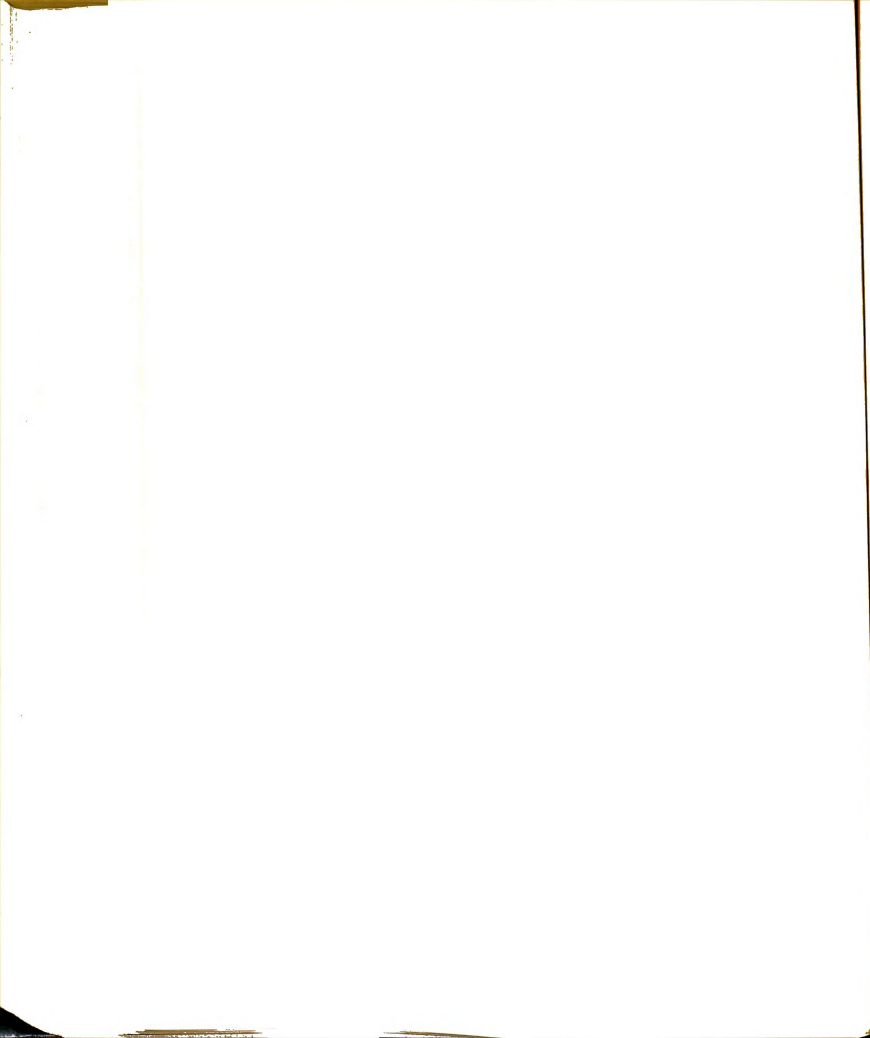
And we of the Democratic Party whose individual and collective good names have been attacked, by the very administration leaders who now depend upon us for the passage of their weak and watered-down bill--what are we expected to do?

We could hardly be blamed if we yielded to the natural human impulse to let them stew in their own juice. But I do not intend to do so and I do not believe that the members of my Party will do so. I am going to put the interests of the country first and vote for this bill, although I think it has been so weakened that its chief value is symbolic.

¹ Reprint of Record (daily), April 18-19, 1955, pp. 1-26.

² Release of text, May 3, 1955, pp. 1-39.

³ Ibid., p. 39.



As I think of the recent conversion of some Republicans to the cause of very limited freer trade bound around with crippling restrictions, I am reminded of our Saviour's story of the Prodigal Son, who left his father's house, wallowed in sin, lost his money, his reputation and his character. Then when he was down in the very gutter, feeding with lowly animals and indeed sleeping with them, he repented and came back to his father's house. Now we as elder brothers would have been glad to receive the erstwhile sinners graciously, to give them a bath, furnish them with a clean raiment, put a ring on their finger and give them a full meal. But it would have been becoming had they, like the Prodigal of old, had said "Father, I have sinned against Heaven and in Thy sight, and am no longer worthy to be called Thy son. Make me as one of Thy humble servants."

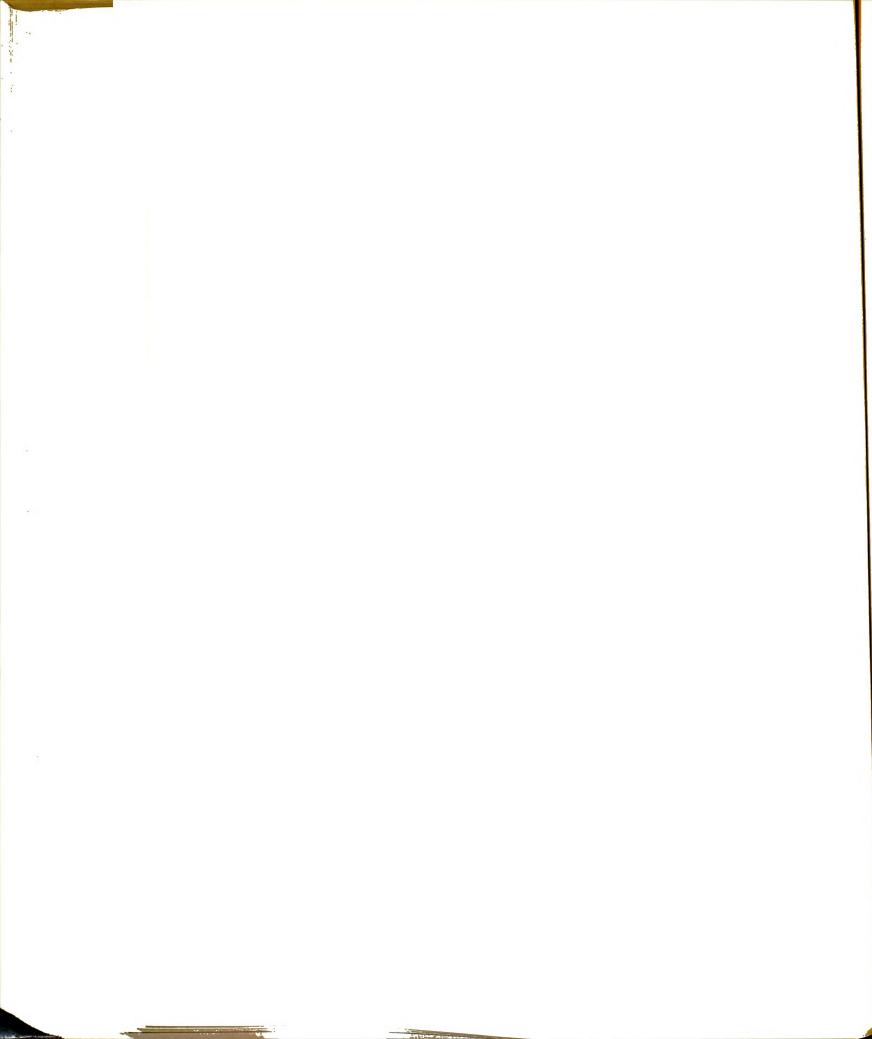
But unfortunately no such repentance has occurred. Instead the newcomers espouse only a partial and limited virtue, yet demand that they shall be regarded as the long-time practitioners of the good and heap abuse upon their elder brothers who remained faithful during the years of strain and upon whom the new converts really lean for protection and support. I suggest that our friends should read a new Emily Post on Political Etiquette and Good Manners.¹

The "watered-down" version of the Act was passed, extending the trade agreements for three years.

Illness in the seventh year.--In the summer of 1955, Douglas' activities were limited when he became extremely ill with undulant fever. During most of the summer he was bed-ridden, but with the assistance of his staff he did attempt to go in a wheel chair from the bed placed in his office to the Senate floor for important roll calls.²

¹Ibid., p. 39.

²Interview with Shuman, op. cit., May 22, 1963.



Nevertheless, it was a bill written and sponsored by Douglas which increased the minimum hourly wage to \$1.00 in non-agricultural jobs. He also introduced an Area Re-development Bill on July 28 to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment in economically depressed areas. His efforts in the spring and early summer in conducting an inquiry into the allotment of welfare and pension funds led to proposals for legislation to eliminate the abuses revealed.

In spite of his illness, Douglas played an active role in the major legislative proposals of the year. He rose in the chamber to speak 253 times on 92 separate issues.¹

Following a period of convalescence after Congress adjourned on August 27, Douglas regained his health sufficiently to accept a limited number of speaking invitations in Illinois before returning to Washington for the second session.

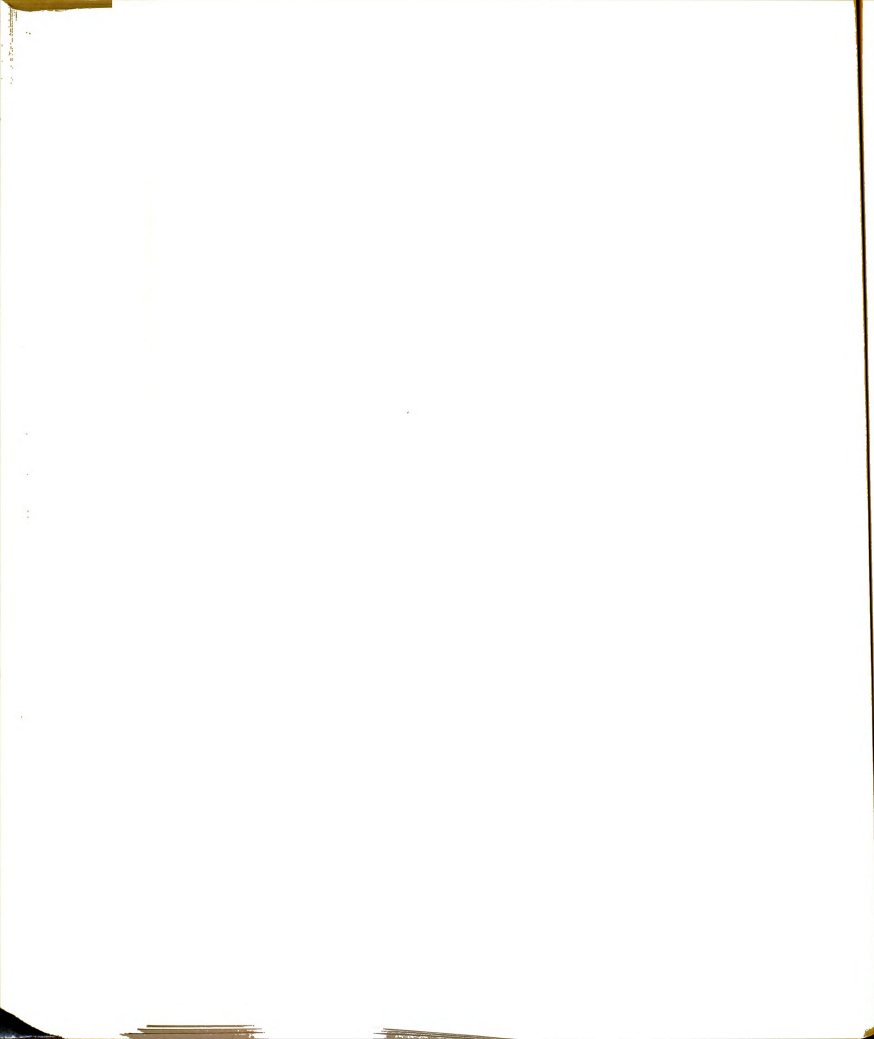
SECOND SESSION

Against the Harris-Fulbright natural gas bill.--

After an unusually vigorous but unsuccessful opening round fight² over the question of the continuity of the rules of

¹See Congressional Record Index, 84th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 101, Part 11, pp. 175-176. He had delivered two speeches outside the Senate and appeared on one network public affairs radio program prior to his illness.

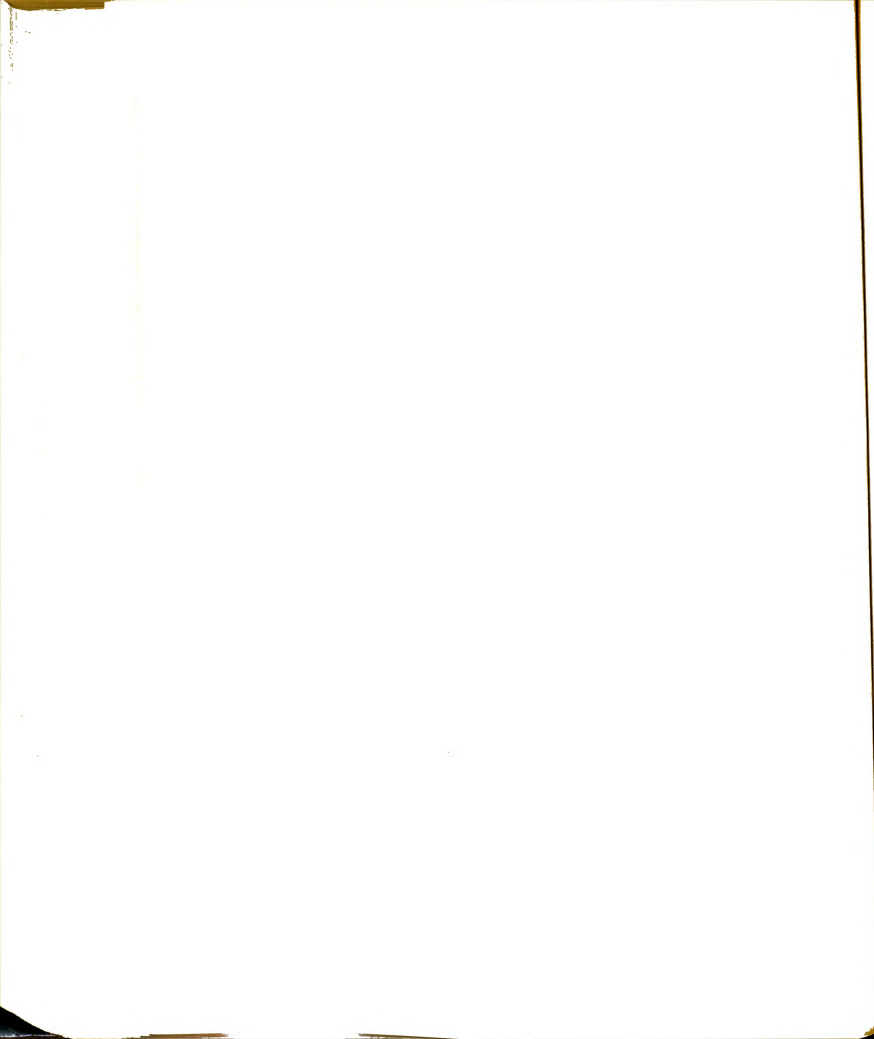
²Nixon did rule from the chair that new rules could be established, but the vote of the members did not sustain the ruling.



the Senate from one session to another relating to the filibuster, Douglas focused persuasion against the Harris-Fulbright Natural Gas Bill, which had passed the House and was before the Senate in January of 1956. He held the floor for most of January 23 and 24 in a seven part presentation. He began by a general analysis of the issue; second, cited the main characteristics of the gas industry; third, presented the legal history of the issue; fourth, presented support for the following contentions: (1) Alleged competition in the purchase and sale of gas in the field is grossly inadequate to protect the consumer; (2) the big producers rank high among America's industrial giants; (3) major oil companies own the bulk of the nation's natural gas reserves; and (4) increases in the field have already increased the cost of gas to consumers. Fifth, he cited seven evils which would result from large company protection and asserted that the status quo is more desirable, and sixth, there are no consumer protections alleged to be in the bill; and finally that the bill is a "bonanza" for pipeline companies. The text of the speech covered 161 legal-sized pages double-spaced, plus supporting charts.¹

Poverty legislation.--In January, Douglas was chairing hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Labor in behalf

¹Release of text, pp. 1-161.



of his "depressed areas" bill. He had also introduced a companion "Domestic Point IV" bill to provide \$200 million of federal loans and grants to revive business and employment in depressed areas. And it was later that year, in June, that Douglas and Kennedy introduced an expanded "depressed areas-area redevelopment" bill,¹ which contained the essential features of the 1964 Anti-Poverty Act, especially in terms of unemployment provisions and manpower retraining. However, there is no evidence that Douglas delivered a major address in the Senate in 1956 on this poverty legislation.

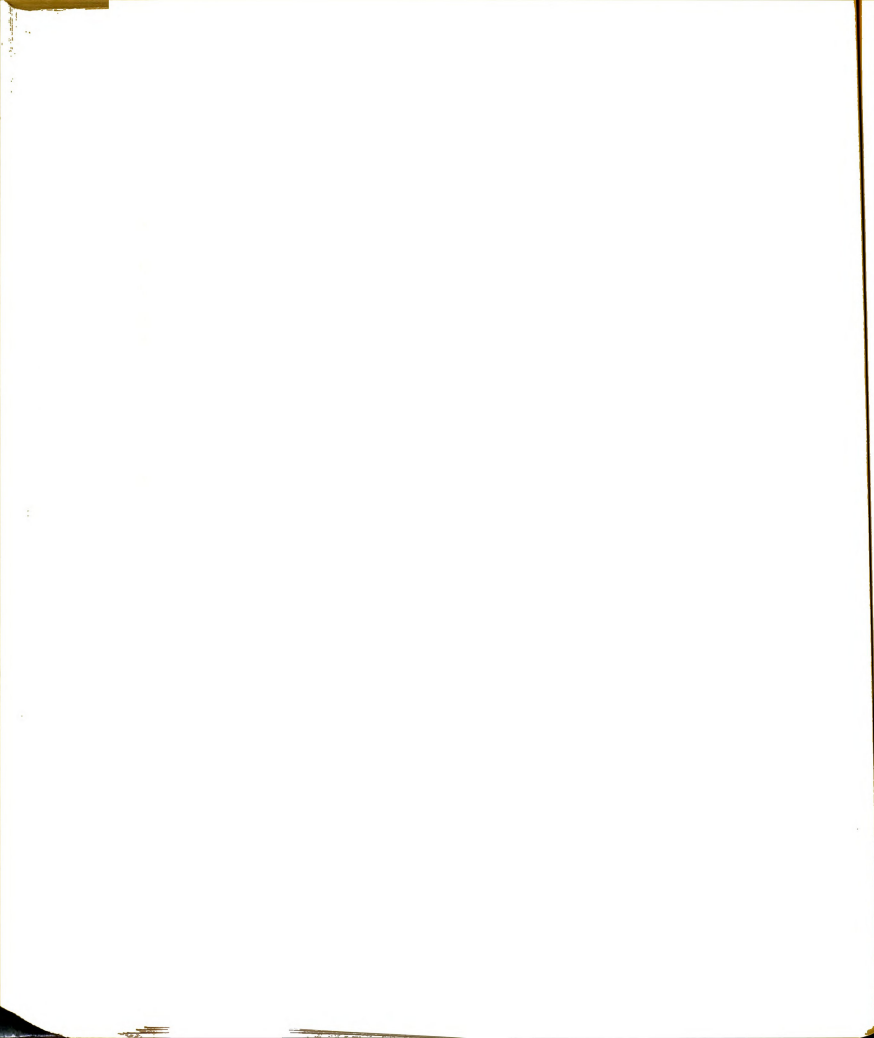
Concern for the protection of labor caused him to introduce a bill to provide for the registration, reporting, and disclosure of employee welfare and pension benefit plans, in an address on February 7.² On March 13, he rose to defend the patriotism of the Farmers Union against, as he stated it, "implied innuendo that the National Farmers Union was unpatriotic...."³ On the same day he spoke in defense of the Supreme Court ruling in Brown v. Board of Education and appealed for more expedient application of that decision and for better law enforcement.⁴ These brief remarks were mere articulation exercises when compared to

¹The bill failed to pass the House in 1956.

²Release of text, pp. 1-5.

³Release of text, p. 1.

⁴Release of text, pp. 1-2.

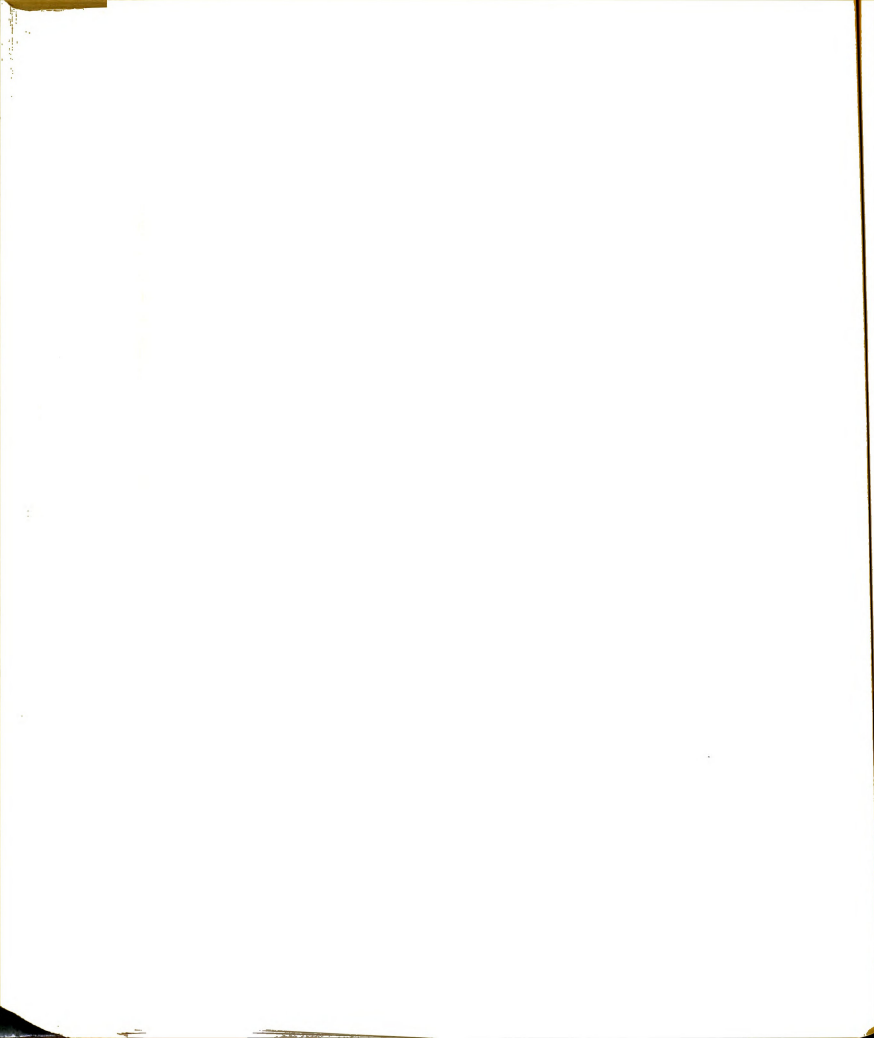


the length of two speeches which were to follow on March 26 and 29.

National gerrymandering.--On those dates he rose in opposition to the Daniel-Mundt-Thurmond Resolution then before the Senate for a constitutional amendment, which he called an "attempt at National Gerrymandering."¹ Douglas argued in opposition to the amendment that gerrymandering presently existed in the boundaries of Congressional districts favoring the rural over urban population, plus the fact that constant changes which would result from the actions of the state legislatures might necessitate checking the statute books of each state before determining the legality of an election of a President. He began with a direct frontal attack on the resolution in colloquies with Senators Long and Lehman helping to crystallize his arguments.² Most of his early arguments were calculated to refute the provisions of the resolution in a reductio ad absurdum manner. After that, he analyzed all the state legislatures in terms of their urban under-representation, their urban under-representation in the House of Representatives, the lack of voter participation in the South, and a

¹Release of March 26 text, p. 2. The basic provisions of the bill proposed that the electoral vote of a state be cast proportionate to the popular vote. It also provided that state legislature could decide on methods to be used in elections.

²Release of text, March 26 and 29, pp. 1-114, and reprint of Record (daily), pp. 1-40.



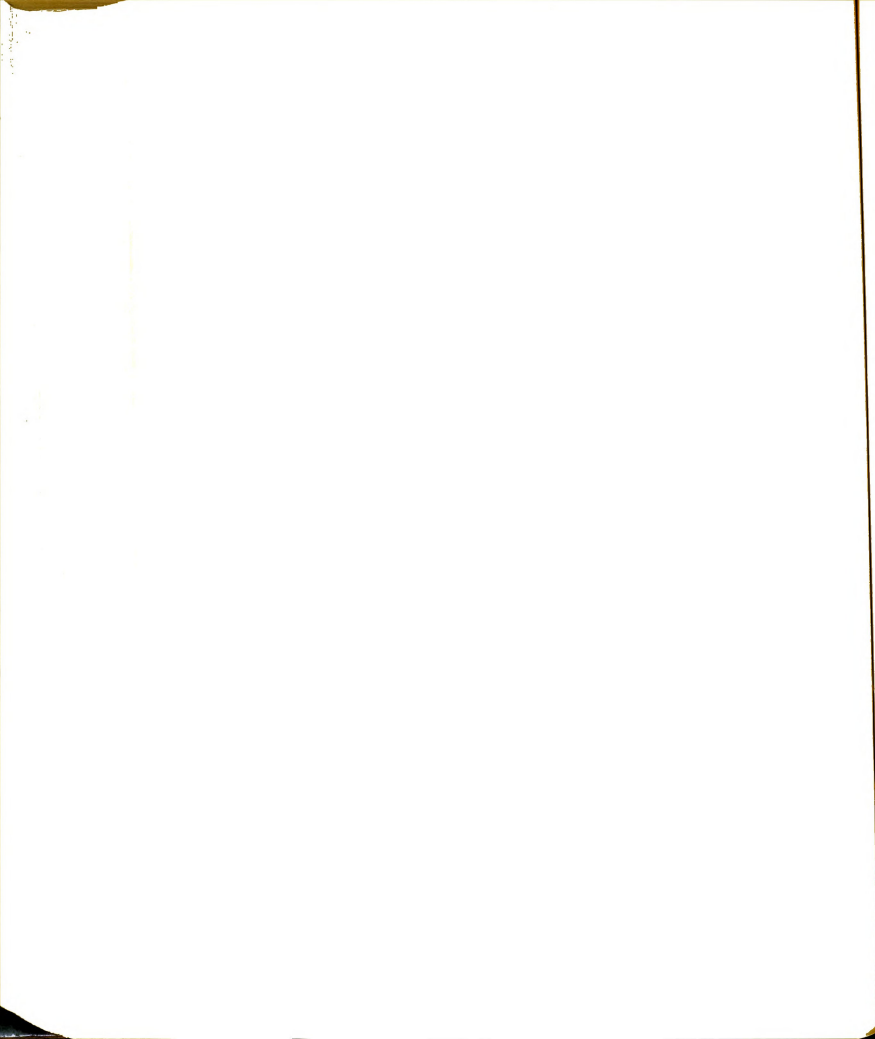
review of all previous corrective plans which had been proposed. Charts, compiled by his son John, and other sources were used as support. His rationale in opposing the bill was based on objections that the probable result would be the enhancement of power of the anti-civil rights Democratic party in the one-party Southern states and of the Republican party in several states. Douglas was opposed to the present electoral college system, but when he had finished with resolution in question, the status quo to him looked like a panacea in comparison. But in the final analysis, what Douglas really wanted, as Long had pointed out on the first day, was a one man-one vote system. The resolution in question, of course, failed.

Parity and the soil bank.--In April,¹ the President's vehement veto of the Democratic-sponsored farm bill in which he charged the Democrats to be playing politics with the American farmers over 90% parity ruffled Douglas. On April 25, Douglas rose to disclose inconsistencies in the President's thinking by quoting extensively from "candidate Eisenhower's" speeches in the 1952 campaign.² Subsequently in May the compromise Agricultural Act containing 82.5-89% parity and the soil bank became law.

Proposals in May.--In May, Douglas proposed a "Freedom Administration" to communicate ideas from the free

¹In April Douglas and Humphrey proposed an international labor organization, and Douglas began hearings on the bill before the Senate subcommittee which he chaired.--Release of text, April 20, 1956.

²Release of text, April 25, pp. 1-5.



world to the subjugated people of the Communist nations.¹ He also introduced an expanded welfare and pension disclosure bill,² and called for an investigation to increase traffic safety.³

Old-age assistance.--In a 50-minute speech on June 20, Douglas supported an amendment to the Social Security Bill to provide benefits to insured Americans over 50 years old for "relatively total disabilities."⁴ Later in June he proposed amendments for the extension of social security to provide for added insurance and medical care for the aged.

Civil rights.--Before Congress adjourned, Lehman and Douglas made a gallant attempt to bring the "stripped down" civil rights bill passed by the House on to the floor for debate on July 16 and again on July 25, but they were blocked in a heated debate with Richard Russell, Lyndon Johnson, and by Rule XXII.⁵ Congress adjourned at midnight on July 27.

The eighth year.--In the second session of the 84th Congress, Douglas had spent many hours on his feet speaking

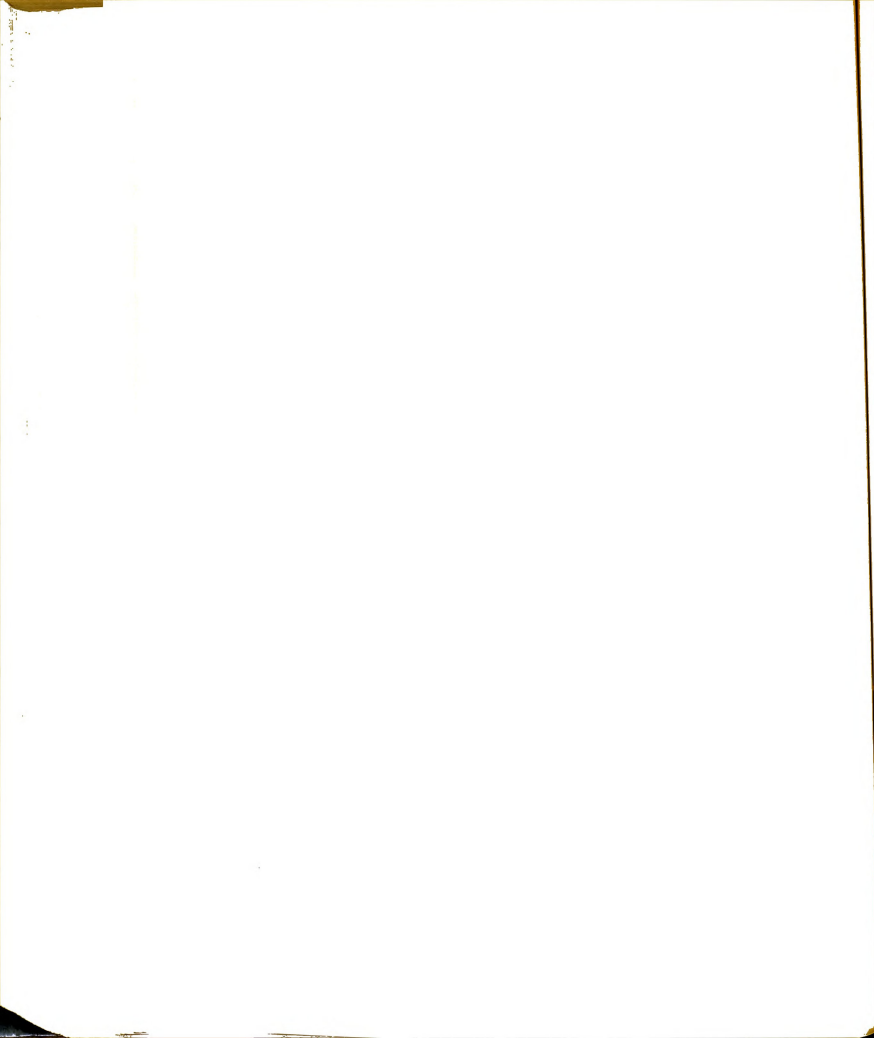
¹Release of text, May 10, pp. 1-5.

²Release of text, May 17, pp. 1-2.

³Release of text, May 23, pp. 1-2.

⁴Release of text, p. 1.

⁵Congressional Record (daily), 84th Congress, 2nd Session, July 25, Vol. 102, No. 128, pp. 13063-13068.



in the Senate. All told, he rose 338 times, and for several extended periods, to speak on 123 different topics.¹

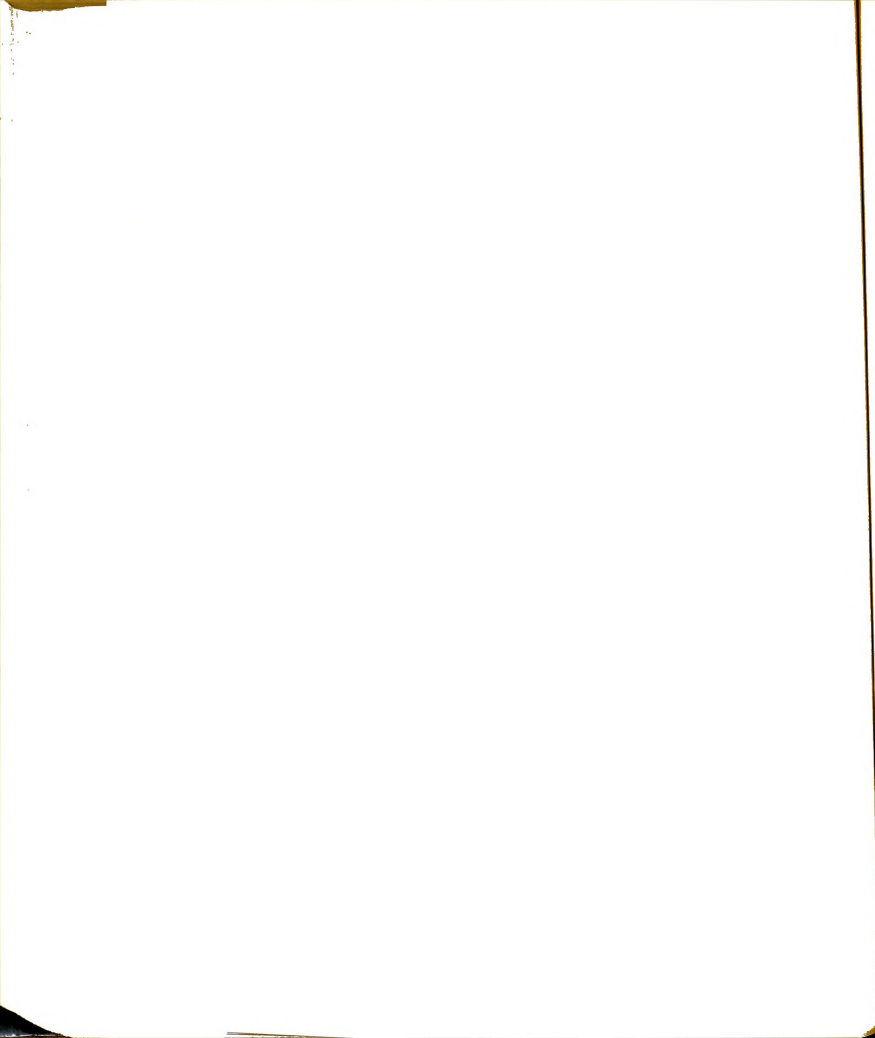
Reviewing this Congress in his year-end newsletter of 1956, Douglas noted with qualification three main accomplishments of the 84th: (1) the Social Security laws were strengthened (his disability provision for persons over fifty was adopted); (2) the Federal highway program was improved (90%-10% ratio of Federal to state funds); and (3) the minimum wage was raised (his bill).²

Between sessions,--Returning to Illinois, Douglas gave the welcoming speech at the Democratic National Convention on August 13 in Chicago, which he called "our lucky city."³ The Convention again nominated former Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson and chose Senator Kefauver as his running mate. Douglas took his usual role in the Illinois campaign electioneering for Democratic candidates and worked unsuccessfully to unseat Republican Senator Everett Dirksen. After the elections, he travelled to western Europe and the Middle East to appraise trade and financial matters, and to assess first-hand American

¹Congressional Record Index, 84th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 102, Part 12, pp. 182-183. There is no evidence that Douglas gave any speeches outside the Senate while Congress was in session, and he made only one appearance on a public affairs radio program.

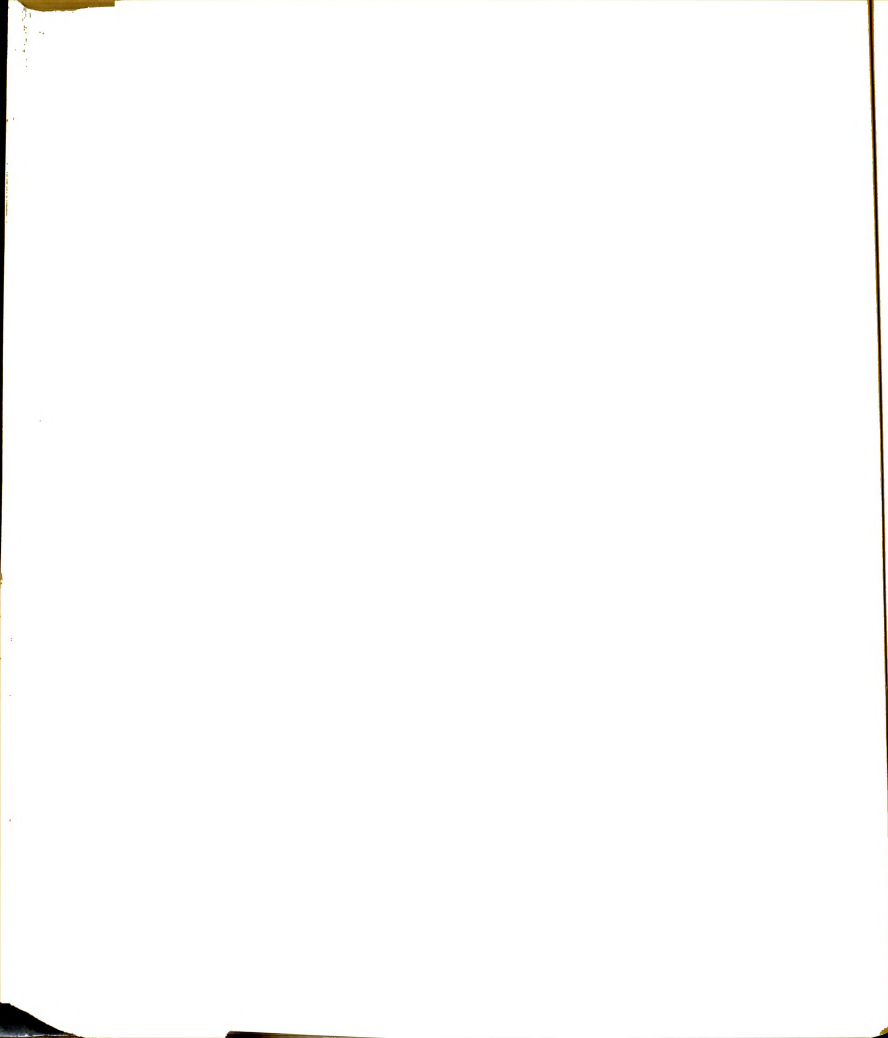
²"Senator Douglas Reports," Copy of newsletter, pp. 1-5.

³Release of text of speech, p. 1.



prestige. He returned from that trip convinced that better protective civil rights legislation was necessary to strengthen U. S. prestige abroad.⁴

¹Release of January 9, 1957.



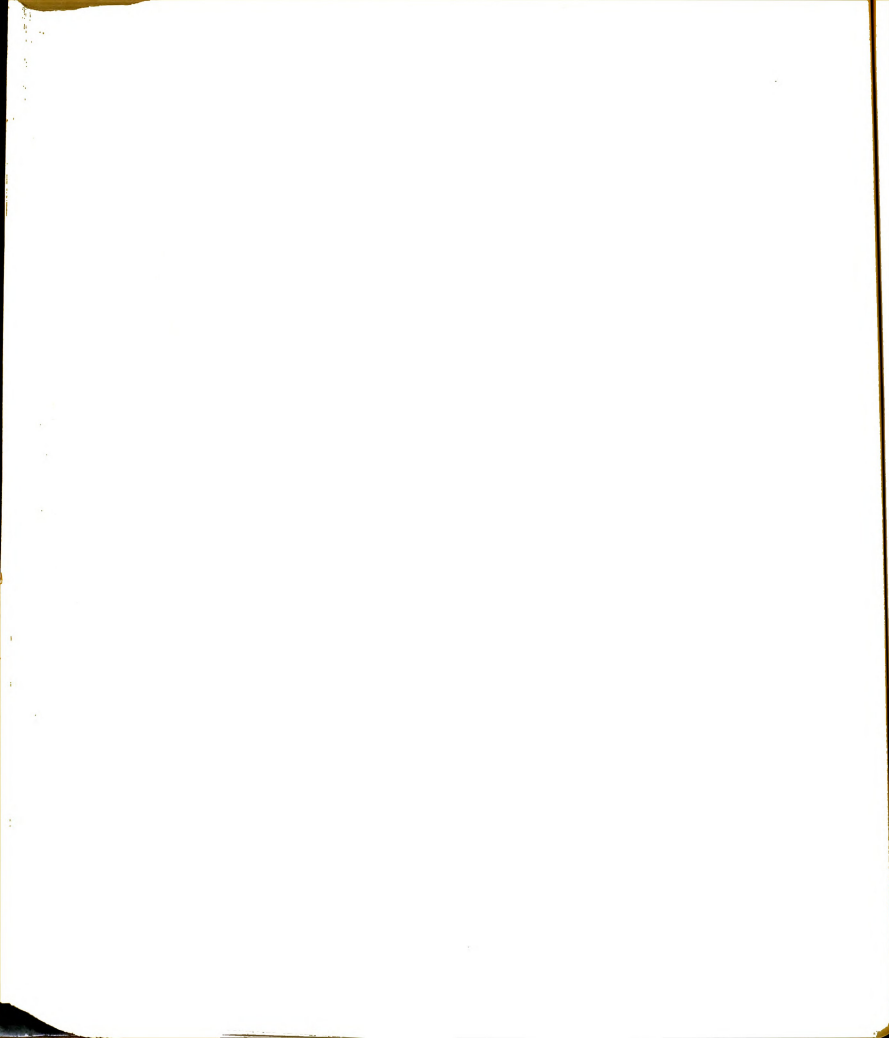
CHAPTER VII

SENATOR WITH IDEAS: 1957-1963

Eighty-fifth Congress: 1957-1958

In the 1956 election Republicans Dwight Eisenhower and Richard Nixon retained the White House. The Democrats maintained control of the Senate 49-47, and kept the majority in the House that they had held every term since 1948.

In 1957, the President asked for the largest budget in peacetime history--\$71.8 billion; a Civil Rights Act, which included the creation of a Federal Commission on Civil Rights, was passed; the National Defense Education Act became law; and the nation faced a school integration crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas. It was a year when the immigration quota was liberalized; the arms race took on new dimensions with the Russian launching of Sputnik I; and the U. S. and Britain announced the suspension of nuclear testing. The U. S. also vowed to defend the islands of Quemoy and Matsu in face of the threat of Red China invading Formosa. In 1958, Alaska became a state; influence-peddling by Sherman Adams was exposed in the Eisenhower Administration; and the nation experienced a minor recession.



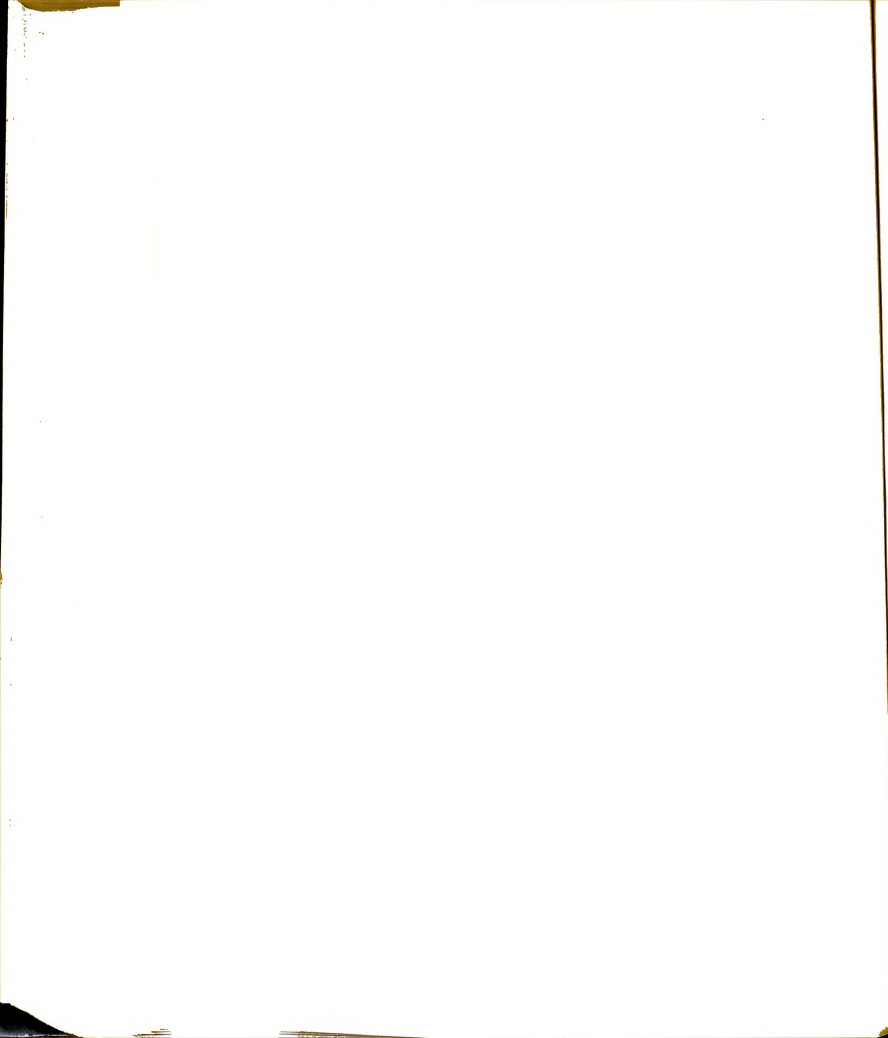
FIRST SESSION

Major theme.--Starting off the 85th Congress on the same theme which he had ended the 84th, Douglas emerged as the leading advocate for civil rights on the floor during this session. His efforts for civil rights legislation largely subordinated all others from January, beginning with the usual and unsuccessful fight on Rule XXII, to the passage of the 1957 Civil Rights Act in August.

Bills introduced.--In addition to civil rights, Douglas took the floor on January 29 to introduce again his area redevelopment bill,¹ which later passed both houses and was vetoed. On January 29, he also rose to present a resolution for sending United Nations forces to the Sinai peninsula to prevent further Israeli-Egyptian troop confrontations, and which was really intended to block the impending U.N. action to compel Israel to withdraw from the Gaza Strip and Gulf of Aqaba.² He also introduced bills in January for the enforcement of the Pure Food and Drug Act to protect consumers, and for liberalization of medical care provisions under social security (a bill which had passed the Senate the year before but had been lost in conference). Another bill he introduced to allow Illinois to divert water from Lake Michigan to lessen sewage problems

¹Release of text, pp. 1-3.

²Release of text, pp. 1-8.



was vetoed later by the President.

Against aggression.--On February 11, in a thirty-minute speech, Douglas warned of imminent dangers in the Near East with critical pipelines being blown up while the Suez Canal was blocked, the danger of Egyptian occupation of the canal, and of border raids on the Gaza Strip. He cited these real and potential incidents as proof of the worsening situation and of the need for U.N. troop occupation to protect Israel.¹ Eight days later he introduced a resolution that nations receiving U.S. assistance in the Middle East make a "binding commitment against aggression and negotiate matters in controversy with neighboring nations, and failing agreement, to submit such matters to arbitration."² He spoke for over twenty minutes on March 5 in behalf of this amendment.³

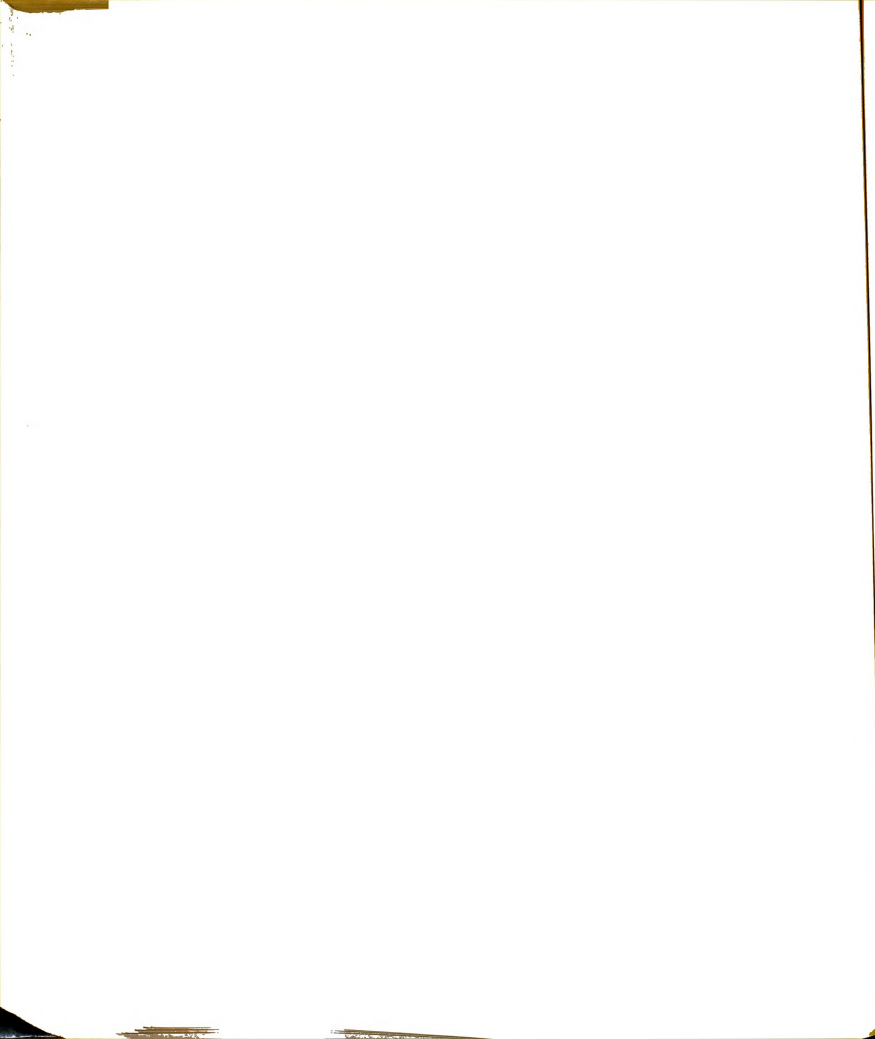
Amendments.--An amendment to the 1957 bill recodifying and tightening the federal statutes dealing with financial institutions was the subject of an address of over an hour on March 14.⁴ This bill, largely precipitated by the conviction of Illinois State Auditor Orville Hodge for fraudulent financial practices, was to be amended by the Douglas proposal to "foster savings, home-financing and more equal protection among the financial

¹Release of text, pp. 1-8.

²Release of text, p. 1.

³Release of text, pp. 1-6.

⁴Release of text, pp. 1-19.



institutions which offer these needed services."¹

Another amendment in behalf of an old cause was defeated by a voice vote on April 5. He proposed to reduce the oil depletion allowance from 27½% to a graduated basis of 27½% for those earning \$1 million or less in gross income, 21% for those earning between \$1 million and \$5 million, and 15% if the earnings exceeded \$5 million.²

For economy--appropriation cuts.--Economy was the theme of a one-hour speech proposing a \$100 million cut from the post office appropriation. He reasoned that the amount should be saved if the Postmaster General instructed the railroads (through the Interstate Commerce Commission) to carry other than first class mail at cheaper rates as provided in the U. S. Code, section 557.³

Economy was also the theme of what must have been one of the most amusing debates of the year. Douglas started the debate on May 20 by attempting to block a supplemental appropriation bill for the operation of the Senate restaurant. Douglas argued that the restaurant should be more self supporting by raising the extremely low prices on the menu which, he said, the lobbyists, public, government employees--and the Senators--could easily afford. The supplemental bill was Lyndon Johnson's, but the voices

¹Ibid., p. 19.

²Release of text, p. 1.

³Ibid.

of serious opposition and wit were those of Senators Magnuson, Neuberger, Javits, Johnston, and Carroll. No one disagreed that the bean soup was the best and could be raised in price from 15¢. However, since the clam chowder had no clams in it, the price of it should not go up. The "debate" lasted nearly two hours and Douglas was voted down.¹

Civil rights bill.--In May the stage was being set for the civil rights battle. The Southern strategists in Congress had used their political longevity and shrewdness to stall the civil rights legislation in the Constitutional Rights Committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee and the House Judiciary and Rules Committee. In debate on May 28, Douglas rose to state:

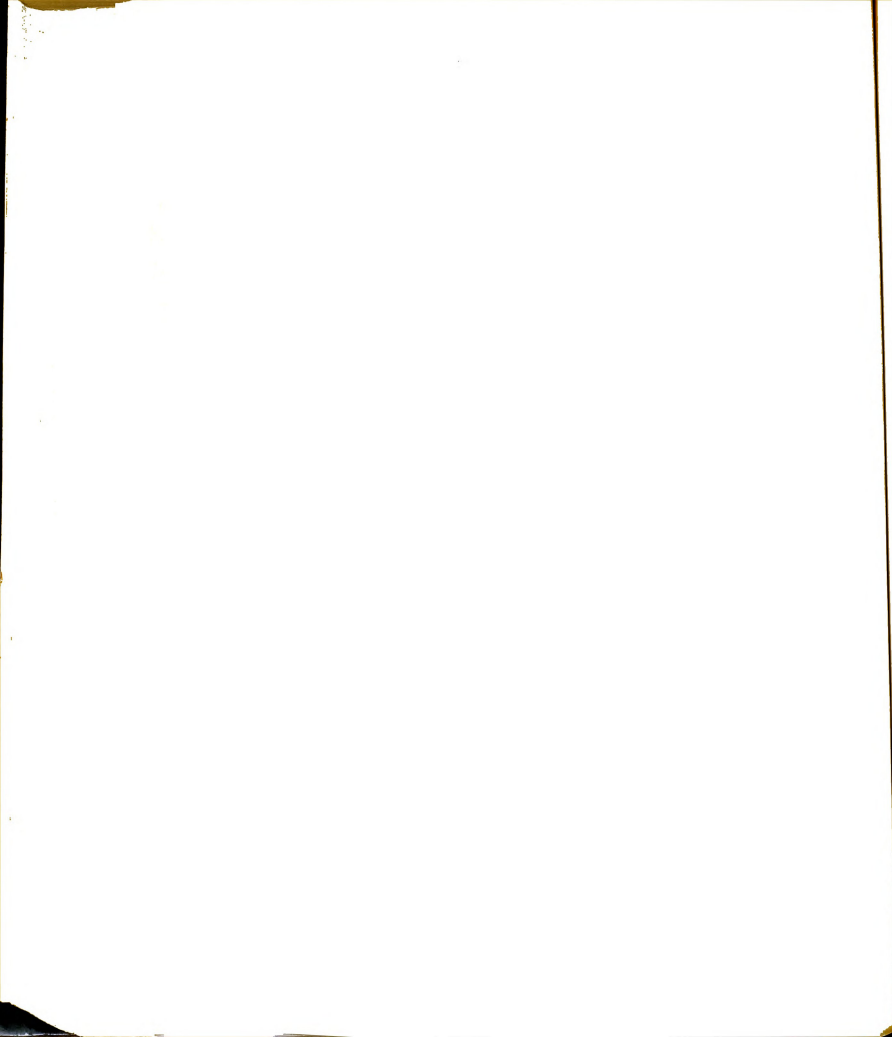
The plain matter of fact is that this bill has been before the committee since January. Hearings were started in February. The hearings were concluded in March. It is now nearly the end of May. If we do not get a bill on the floor very soon, we know exactly what will happen. There will be extended debate for week after week. Then the argument will be made, "Will you hold up the appropriations? Will you hold up the national defense?" So a determined drive will then be made to lay civil rights aside and let the filibuster win.²

After passage by the House, the bill was placed on the Senate calendar on June 20.³ During the continuous

¹Congressional Record--Senate (daily), May 20, 1957, 85th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 103, Part 7, pp. 6457-6452.

²Ibid., May 28, 1957, p. 7825.

³Ibid., June 20, 1957, p. 9828.

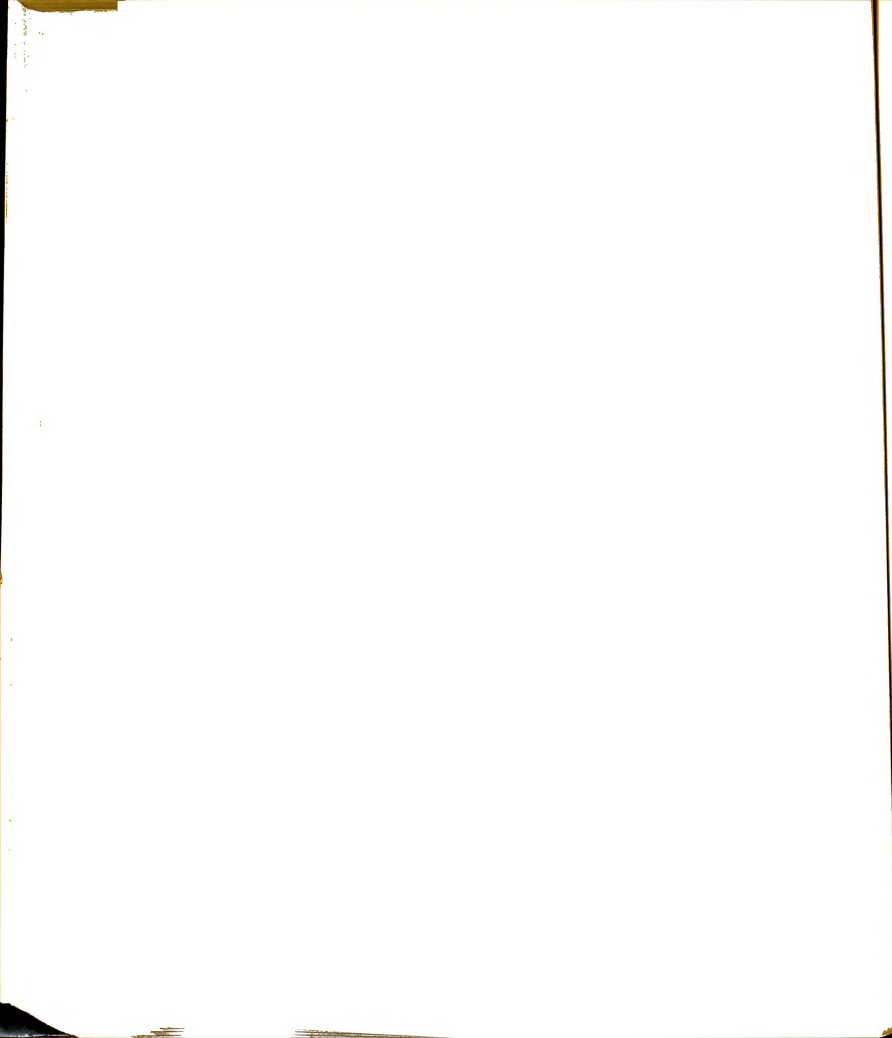


debates and filibuster and defeat of Northern-sponsored strengthening amendments, Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson sought a surprise roll call on August calculated to catch several "yea" votes for the bill unable to reach the Chamber to register their votes. Led by Douglas, the Northerners were able to table the Johnson effort for the quick and unexpected vote. When the bill finally came to a vote on August 7, it became law by a 72-18 vote.¹ The Civil Rights Act of 1957 created a Commission on Civil Rights to investigate the denial of voting privileges because of race, color, or religion and empowered the Attorney General to initiate injunction proceedings in federal courts to assure equal rights at the polls.

The golden corn tassel.--A resolution presented by Douglas on June 17 for the first time was one he was to introduce each succeeding year. Noting that no less than thirty countries have official national flowers and the United States does not, he urged the adoption of the golden corn tassel as the national floral emblem to remedy this. He pointed out that it was an emblem meaningful, beautiful, and characteristic of our country; it saved the Pilgrims from starvation. The Senator from the state which had led in bushels of corn production in 1956 ended his speech thusly:

The beauty of the pale green tassel waving in the early summer breeze is an emblem

¹Ibid., Part 10, p. 13,900.



of the coming victory of the fruitfulness of the earth over the despair of hunger. Then, the tassel, in the late summer and early fall, turns a beautiful gold representing the wealth to come after harvest.¹

The ninth year.--In the 85th Congress, Douglas rose 314 times to speak on 130 subjects,² dominated by the topic of civil rights. He also delivered five speeches outside of Washington during that period. In addition to the speeches reported, he had on more than one occasion made clear in remarks a reaffirmation³ of his stand against any diplomatic recognition of Red China (considered a militant conservative by many) at a time when there was a resurgence of opinion to extend recognition. He also offered amendments to cut appropriation bills by more than \$1 billion.

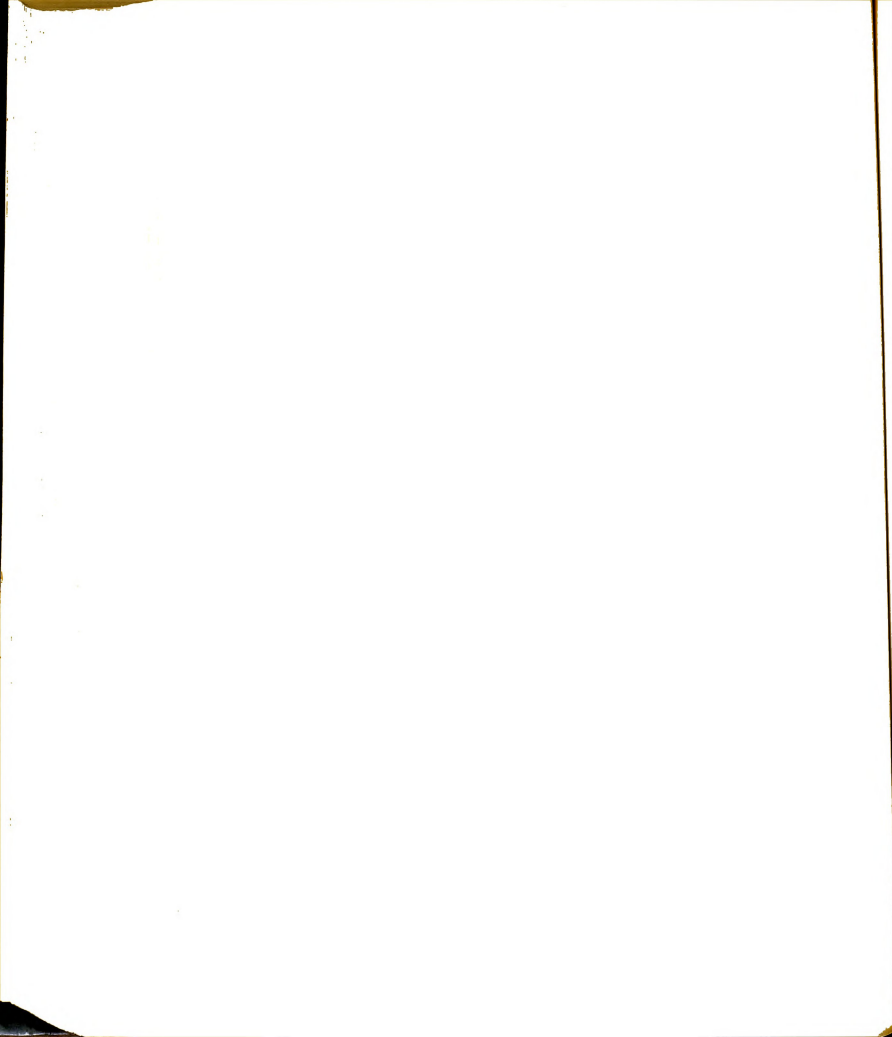
Before he left Washington at the end of the session, Douglas was awarded a plaque by the Capitol Press Club, an organization of Negro newspapermen. The award was given in appreciation of his labors in behalf of the 1957 Civil Rights Act. This plaque still hangs in his office.

Inquiry into Illinois problems.--Upon returning to Illinois, Douglas spent considerable time holding public

¹Release of text, p. 1.

²Congressional Record Index, 85th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 103, Part 13, pp. 233-234.

³Douglas was one of the charter members in 1953 of what became known as the "Committee of One Million" opposing recognition of Red China.



meetings in southern Illinois to gain information on the economic problems of that area. He held similar meetings of inquiry in Chicago on that city's sewage disposal problem and need for Lake Michigan water diversion.

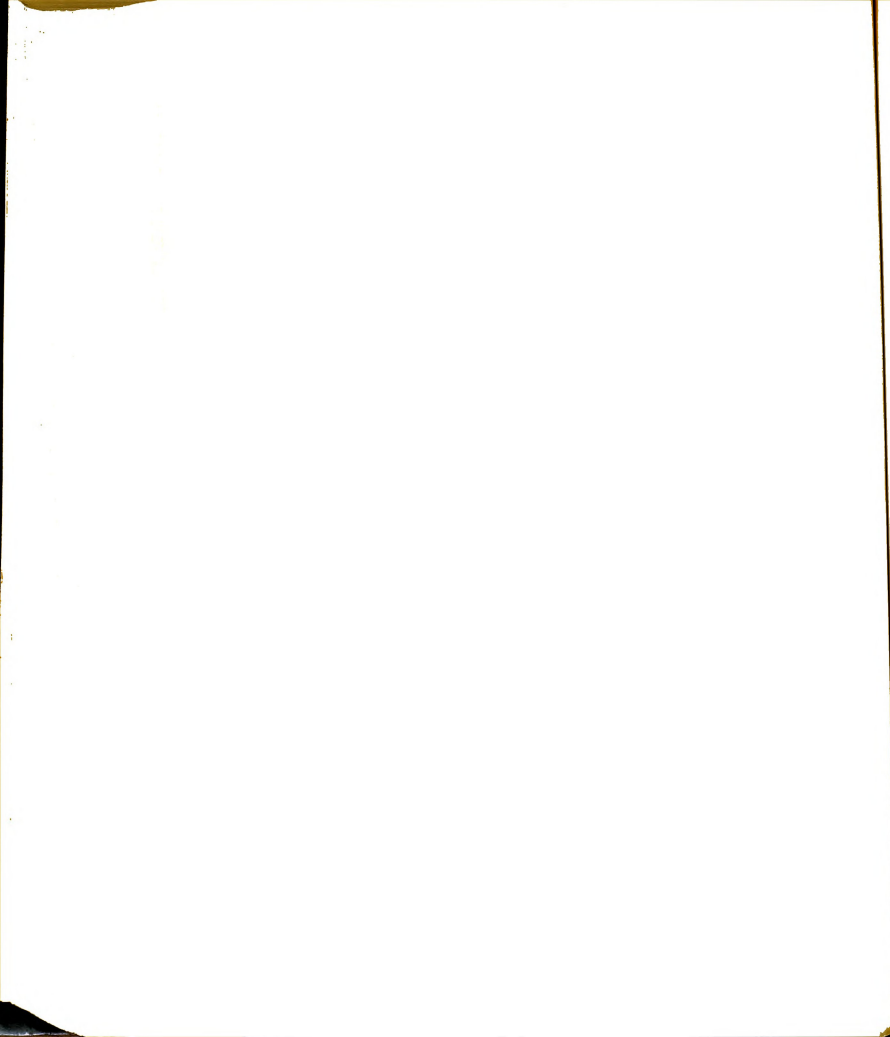
SECOND SESSION

Reciprocal trade.--Douglas' first extended and major speech in the second session was delivered on February 3. In this speech, he urged a four-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act, "without crippling tariff barriers" and quotas, and U. S. membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation. For over two hours, Douglas went from Ricardo's theories to the current European Economic Community to urge adoption of the bill.¹ Douglas followed this up in debate, and became one of the successful floor leaders maneuvering the bill through as a four-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade programs with a lessening of restrictions. After the passage of the bill in August, the Chicago Sun Times commented: "If everybody got his just desserts, Senator Paul H. Douglas would receive a citation from President Eisenhower for rescuing the Administration's Reciprocal Trade Bill."²

Civil rights.--Civil rights was the subject of a floor address on February 10, Douglas speaking on behalf

¹Release of text, pp. 1-27.

²"Trade Act Passed," Chicago Sun Times, August 10, 1958, p. 1.



of a jointly sponsored bill to put back in Part III of the 1957 bill a section which had been passed then by the House but stricken by the Senate. Douglas outlined the bill for over thirty minutes;¹ the bill "put teeth" into federal responsibility clauses in denials of equal justice cases and sought fuller cooperation with state and local government in school integration.

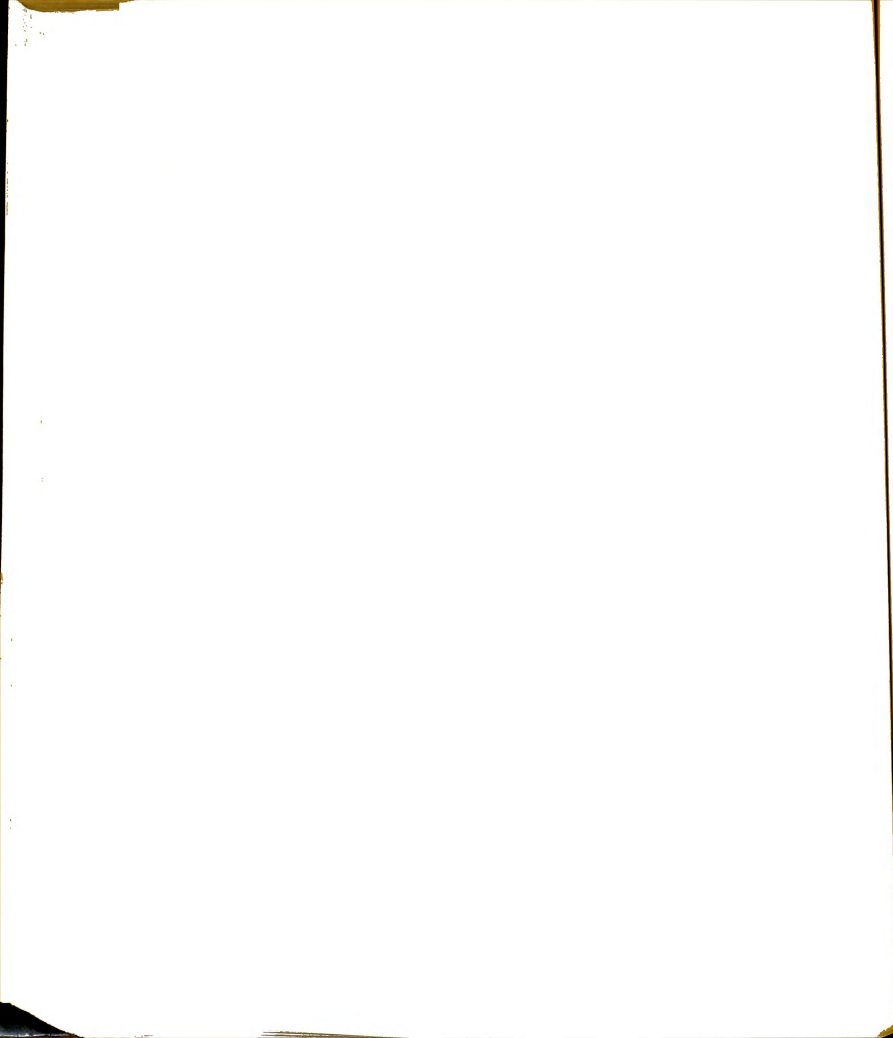
Recession measures.--First in February and throughout the session, the Illinois Democrat pushed for immediate tax cuts for low and middle income workers in order to increase their purchasing power. He also urged more school, highway, and other construction to provide jobs in lowering the unemployment statistics which hovered around 6%. The public housing bills of 1957 and 1958 and the road construction bill of 1958 were supported by Douglas, but he felt they should have gone further to combat the recession.

Ethical standards.--In March he expressed concern over the crowds attracted to see the celebrities called to the investigations of the Federal Communications Commission, "the big Washington show."² He emphasized that the application of the code of ethics which he drafted should prevent such crowds because "it could cloud objectivity in decision making."³

¹Release of text, pp. 1-9, and Record (daily) 85th Congress, 2nd Session, February 10, 1958, pp. 1655-1667.

²Release of text, March 5, 1958, p. 1.

³Ibid.



Legislative proposals.--Concern over a bill reducing taxes for insurance companies without a proportionate decrease for the American public prompted him to present an amendment to the bill on March 13. He entered into colloquies with Senators Carroll, Proxmire, and others, on behalf of the bill and debated with Williams, Capehart, and Potter.¹ In the same month Douglas also supported a pay raise for postal workers.² In a speech on March 31, he pressed again for a tax cut citing increasing unemployment, and closed with lines from Shakespeare's Henry IV:

"O gentlemen, the time of life is short!
To spend that shortness basely were too long
If life did ride upon a dial's point,
Still ending at the arrival of an hour."³

Save the dunes.--On May 2, Douglas introduced for the first time his bill to authorize the establishment of the Indiana Dunes National Monument (public recreation area) to be put under the jurisdiction of the National Parks Service. The Dunes is an area of 3500 acres, of which 3-4 miles border the shore of Lake Michigan near the Burns Ditch area, owned by the Bethlehem Steel Company and National Steel Company.⁴ Another speech of over twenty minutes in support of the bill was delivered by Douglas on May 26.⁵ The bill did not get out of committee.

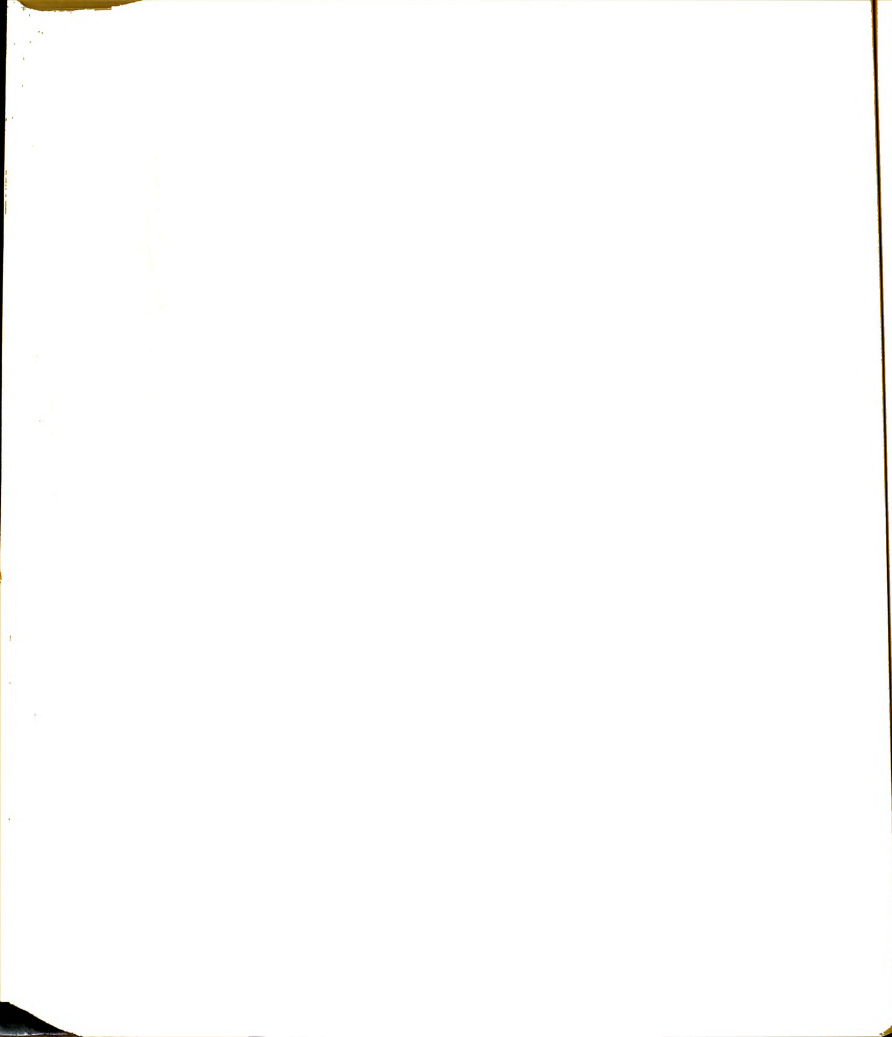
¹Congressional Record (daily), 85th Congress, 2nd Session, March 13, 1958, pp. 3845-3864.

²Release of March 19, 1958, p. 1.

³Release of text, p. 2, March 31, 1958.

⁴Release of text, pp. 1-2.

⁵Release of text, pp. 1-6.



Area redevelopment.--A speech in support of the Area Redevelopment Bill lasting over fifty minutes was presented on May 8. In the speech which opened debate on the bill (later vetoed), he used the unemployment statistics of that year as a major source of evidence.¹

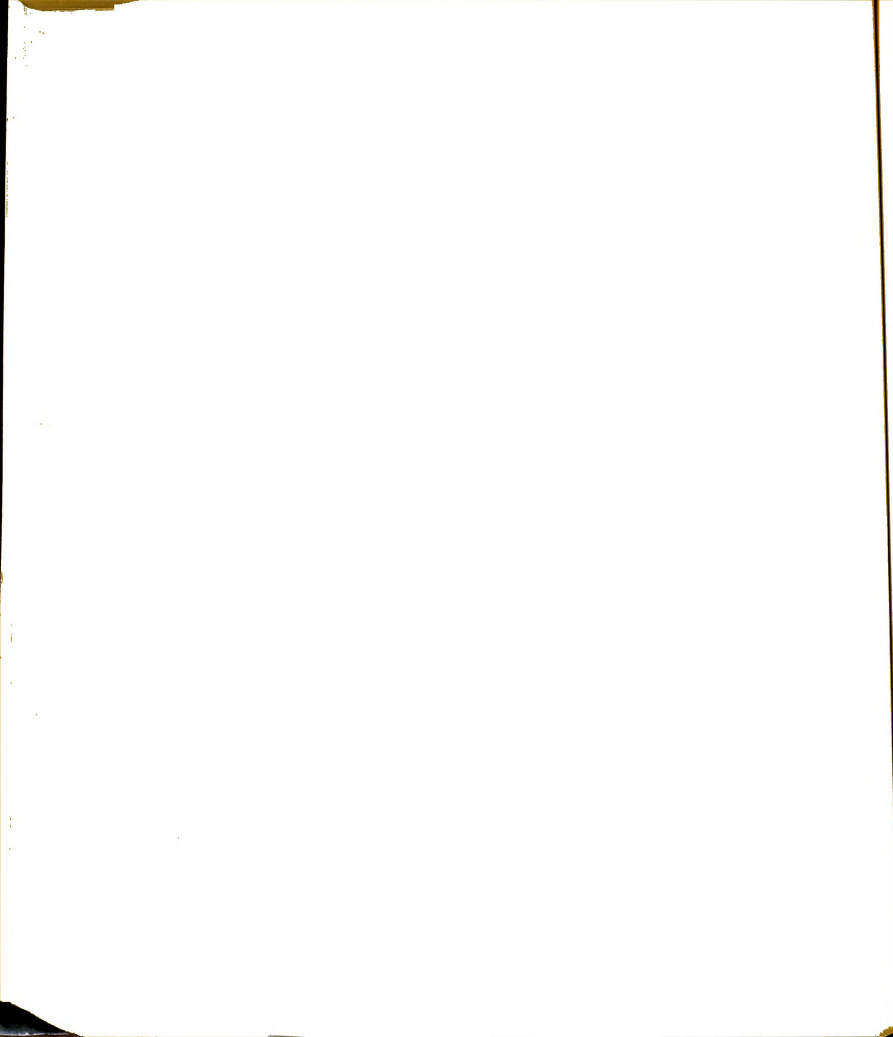
Fiscal, dunes, and military matters.--A bill to give business concerns displaced by urban renewal areas priority to purchase or lease commercial or industrial facilities when relocated was introduced by Douglas on May 15. Twelve days later on May 27, John F. Kennedy and Douglas introduced an amendment to extend unemployment compensation for persons exhausting their rights.² Next, a major address of over 40 minutes for a general tax cut was given on June 18.³ "Saving the Dunes," crime in the United States, and a plea for revision of the House-passed Defense Reorganization Act to insure civilian control over the military were considered in three separate and brief speeches on June 27.⁴ He followed up his urgings for changes in the Defense Reorganization Act with a speech of

¹Release of text, pp. 1-14.

²Release of text, pp. 1-2.

³Release of text, pp. 1-14.

⁴Congressional Record (daily), 85th Congress, 2nd Session, June 27, 1958, pp. 113320-11326.



over two hours on July 8.¹

Oil favoritism.--In July, at the conclusion of debate on a protectionist amendment to the Trade Agreements Act of 1958 by Kerr and Thurmond, Douglas hit hard at his old natural gas opponent Kerr for providing an "escape clause for the oil industry."² These comments on July 16 led him into a brief debate with Senator Long of Louisiana.³

Rule XXII again.--On July 28 and 29, Douglas and eleven other Senators served notice in speeches that they would "go all out" to amend Rule XXII at the beginning of the next session.⁴ They hit hard with the clear intent to serve notice to their colleagues that five months were available to consider the undemocratic nature of the rule-- "Sands in the Gears of Democracy."⁵ During his more than an hour on the floor, Douglas, speaking second after Javits, reviewed the history of action to change the rule during the last four Congresses,⁶ including an interesting

¹Congressional Record, (daily), July 8, 1958, pp. 11915-11924.

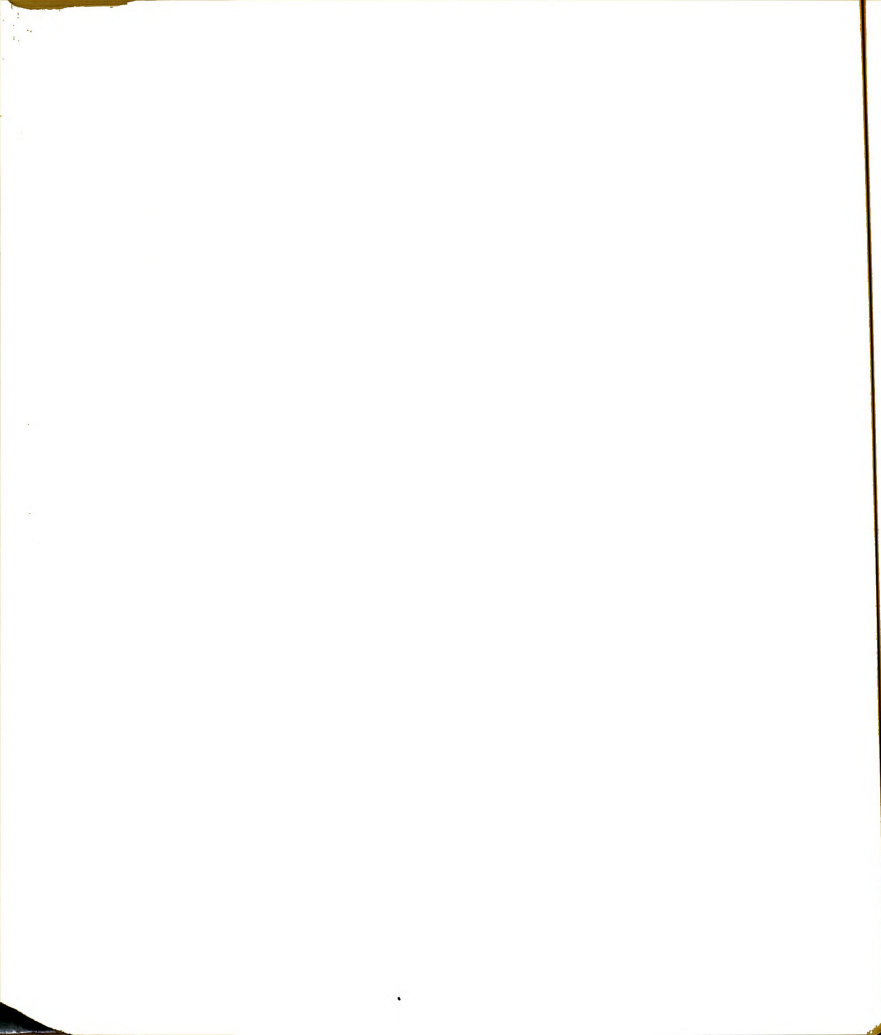
²Release of text, p. 3.

³Congressional Record (daily), July 16, 1958, pp. 12689-12691.

⁴Reprint of Record (daily), July 28 and 29, 1958, pp. 1-54.

⁵Ibid., p. 1.

⁶Ibid., pp. 6-11.



paraphrase from Lewis Carrol:

A rule XXII change every other day
 A rule XXII change yesterday
 A rule XXII change tomorrow
 But never a rule XII change today.¹

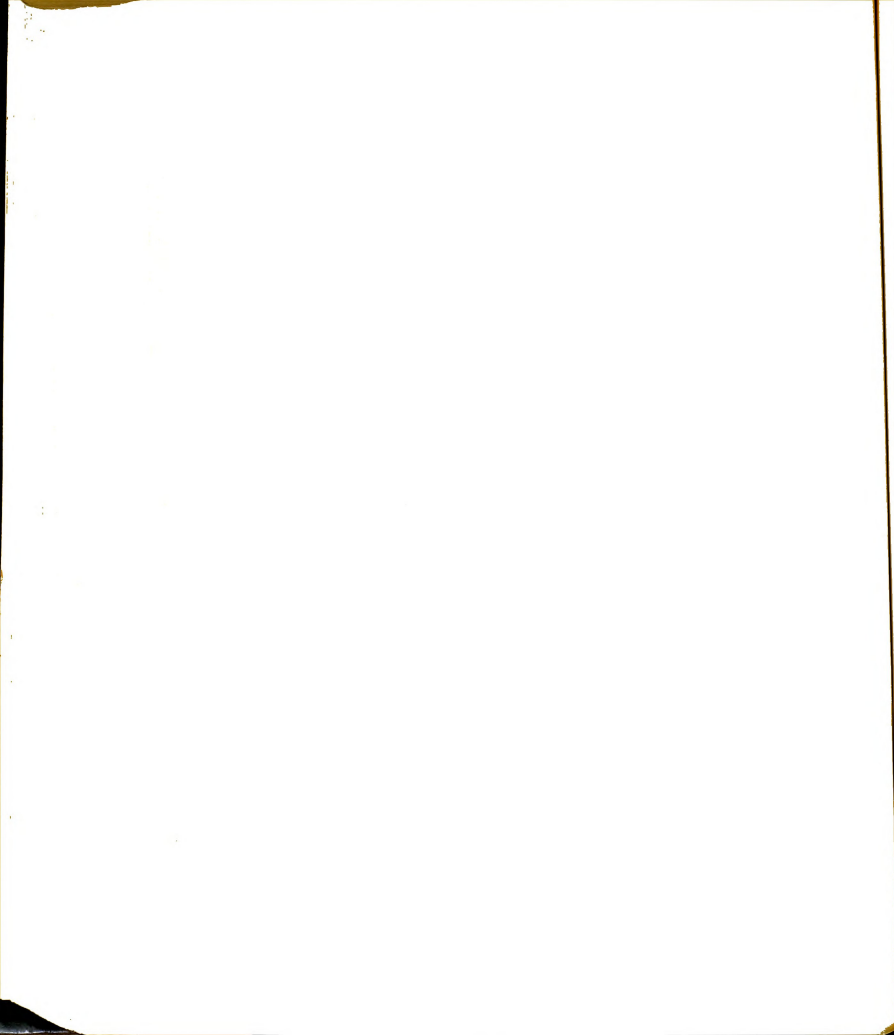
Final efforts in the 85th.--On August 12, Douglas introduced an amendment to change the wording in a provision of the tax bill which would enable heads of families to be exempt from tax regulations up to 200 gallons of home beer each year for family consumption. After suggestions by Dirksen and others to change the wording and some classic comments about home brewing and questions of its definition, the bill was passed on to committee.² Another amendment for a tax cut was voted down after limited debate with Harry Byrd.³ In a brief speech on August 22, two days before adjournment, Douglas introduced for the first of many times, a proposal for the testing and potential use of the Krebiozen drug as a cure for cancer.⁴ Douglas also actively opposed Richard Russell's proposed legislation which would give Congress the power to over-rule the Supreme Court. Following the debates on this proposal, it was voted down. Finally, Douglas was successful in slicing the

¹Ibid., p. 7.

²Congressional Record (daily), August 12, pp. 15795-15796.

³Ibid., pp. 15709-15710.

⁴Release of text, pp. 1-2.



subsidy to overseas airlines from over \$40 million to \$6 million for the fiscal year 1958-1959.

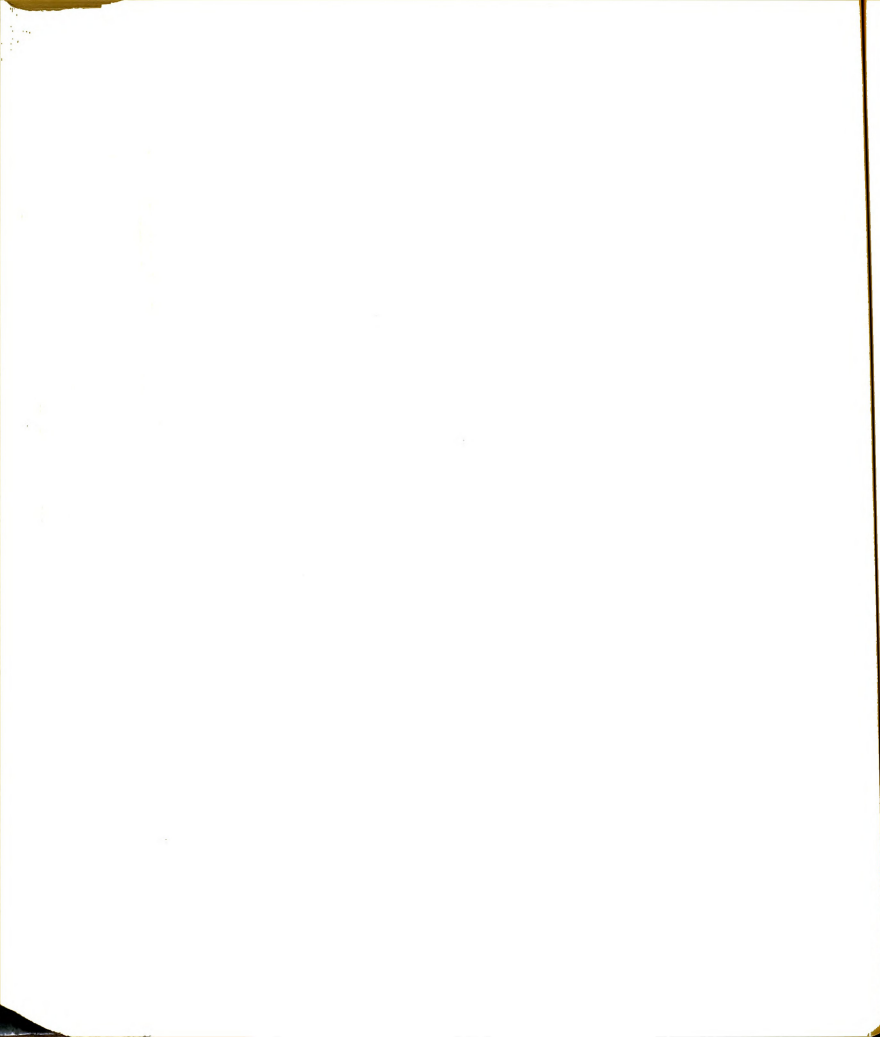
Speaking during the 85th.--Douglas took the floor 351 times, speaking on 138 subjects.¹ He also gave four addresses outside of Washington while Congress was in session in 1958 and appeared on one radio network public affairs program.

A "constructive Congress."--In his 1958 fall newsletter, "Senator Douglas Reports," he called the 85th a "constructive Congress." In summing up its record, he reported the following action:

Very little really bad legislation was passed and a great many bills which made modest forward steps became law, or at least were passed by both houses of Congress. When one considers the conservative coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats which has ruled Congress since 1938; that we Democrats had only a majority of one in the Senate and only a slight majority in the House; and that the White House gave little or no leadership, it is amazing that Congress took as many forward steps as it did.

I would list as the major achievements in the second session of the Congress some or all of the following bills: The four-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade program, the Area Re-development bill, the Union Pension and Welfare Fund disclosure bill, the Defense Reorganization Act, Statehood for Alaska, the seven percent increase in benefits for social security, and a workable foreign aid program. I would list as important achievements--but not as important as those listed above--the passage of the Euron treaty, the increase in highway funds, the passage of additional funds for unemployment compensation, and the National Defense Education Act. I would also add to this list five bills

¹Congressional Record Index, 85th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 104, Part 16, p. 204.



or appropriations where some real, though minor, progress was made in favor of the consumer and the general public who all too often are left out of the constructive legislative process. These were the passage of the humane slaughter bill, the passage of a new textile labeling act, the bill calling for protection against food additives, the auto price labeling bill, and an increase of about 50 percent in funds for medical research from an amount just over \$200 million--as asked for by the President--to just under \$300 million. These latter increases will go for general research and for research in the areas of cancer, mental health, heart disease, arthritis, dental diseases, allergies, and diseases of the nervous system.¹

Between sessions.--The "liberals" of both parties left little question that they intended to "go all out" in changing Rule XXII at the beginning of the 86th Congress. Douglas and Humphrey sent a joint letter to all Democratic candidates for the Senate in September, including a brief of impending action and a plea for their thought and support.² Senators Case and Javits sent a similar letter and brief to all Republican candidates.³

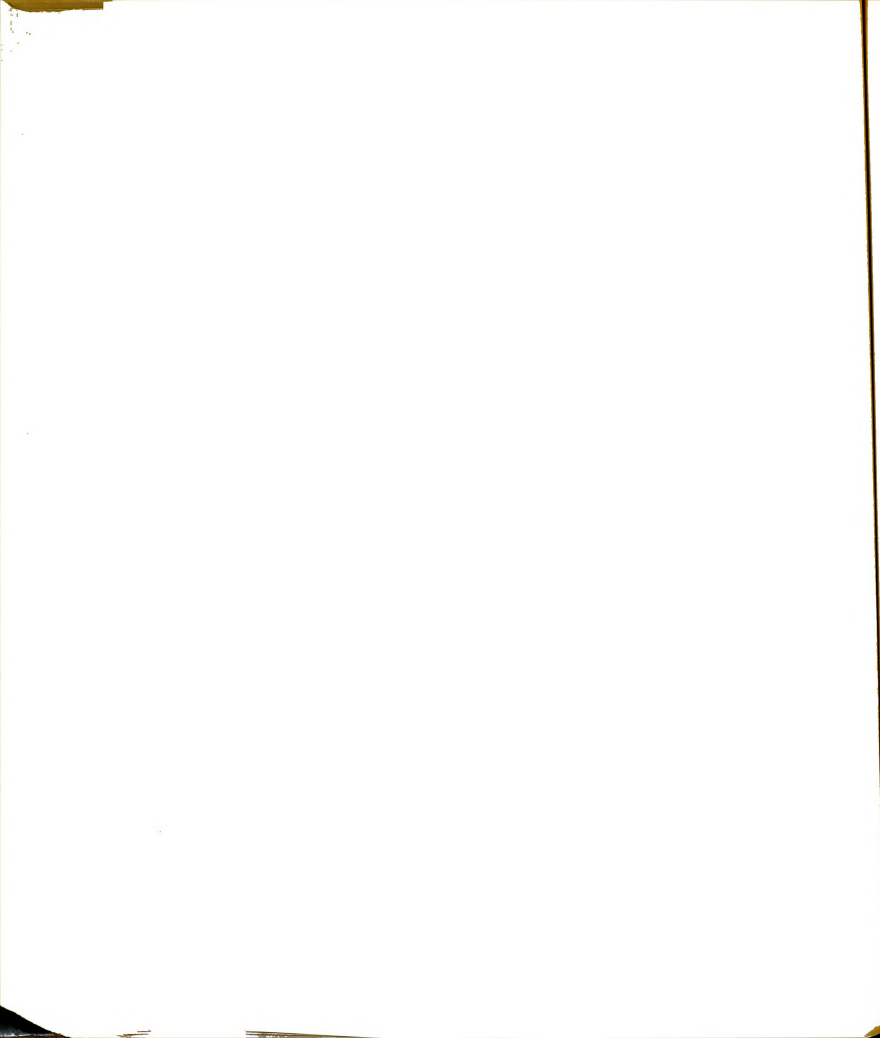
Eighty-sixth Congress: 1959-1960

In the 1958 "off-year" elections, the Senate Democrats gained sixteen seats, raising their majority to 65-35. The Democrats held a margin of 283-153 in the House of Representatives.

¹Newsletter, p. 1.

²Release of text of letter, p. 1.

³Copy of news release on letter.



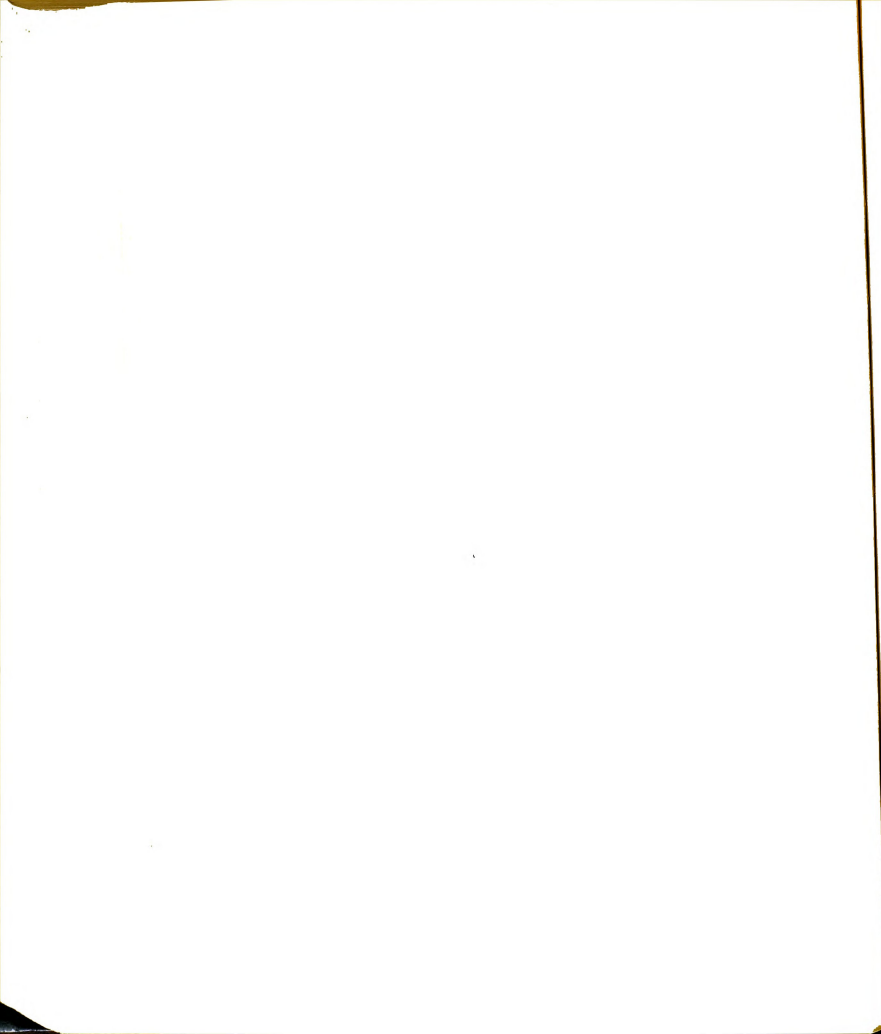
During the 86th Congress the cold war continued with "hotspots" in Viet Nam, Cuba, the Congo, and Lebanon. Russia's Premier Krushchev showed signs of a desire for "peaceful co-existence" by accepting Eisenhower's invitation to visit the United States in the fall of 1959. But relations were tense and plans for a Paris Summit Conference collapsed when an American U-2 spy plane was brought down in Russia. In 1959, Hawaii became a state, and the Landrum-Griffin Bill, strongly guiding labor union conduct, also passed. The next year, with racial violence in New Orleans in the background, the Civil Rights Act of 1960 was passed.

FIRST SESSION

Rule XXII.--Just as expected, the 88th convened with debate on Rule XXII. The result of a week of debate and maneuvering was that filibusters on substantive matters (once the bill was on the floor for debate) could be checked by a two-thirds vote of members present and voting rather than a vote of two-thirds of all the membership. The resultant rule change was a compromise between the Douglas-Javits led forces and those led by Majority Leader Johnson and Minority Leader Dirksen. Like his "liberal" colleagues in both parties who had hoped for a greater victory against the filibuster, Douglas was somewhat disappointed.

Old causes renewed.--Introduction again of his Area Redevelopment Bill¹ on behalf of 38 other sponsors was the

¹Congressional Record (daily), 86th Cong., 1st Session, January 27, 1959, pp. 1087-1096, and release of text, pp. 1-15.



subject of his hour-long stand on the floor on January 27. A bill to develop the Des Plaines Public Refuge and Wildlife Area in Illinois was presented in a ten-minute speech the next day.¹ On January 29, he spoke for nearly an hour on behalf of the 1959 Civil Right Act which he sponsored with thirteen other Northern Senators. It was a speech stressing the same provisions as the 1958 proposal and the effects of segregation on the U. S. image abroad.² Later, on February 6, while referring his Dunes Bill again to the appropriate committee, he spoke for 25 minutes in its behalf.³

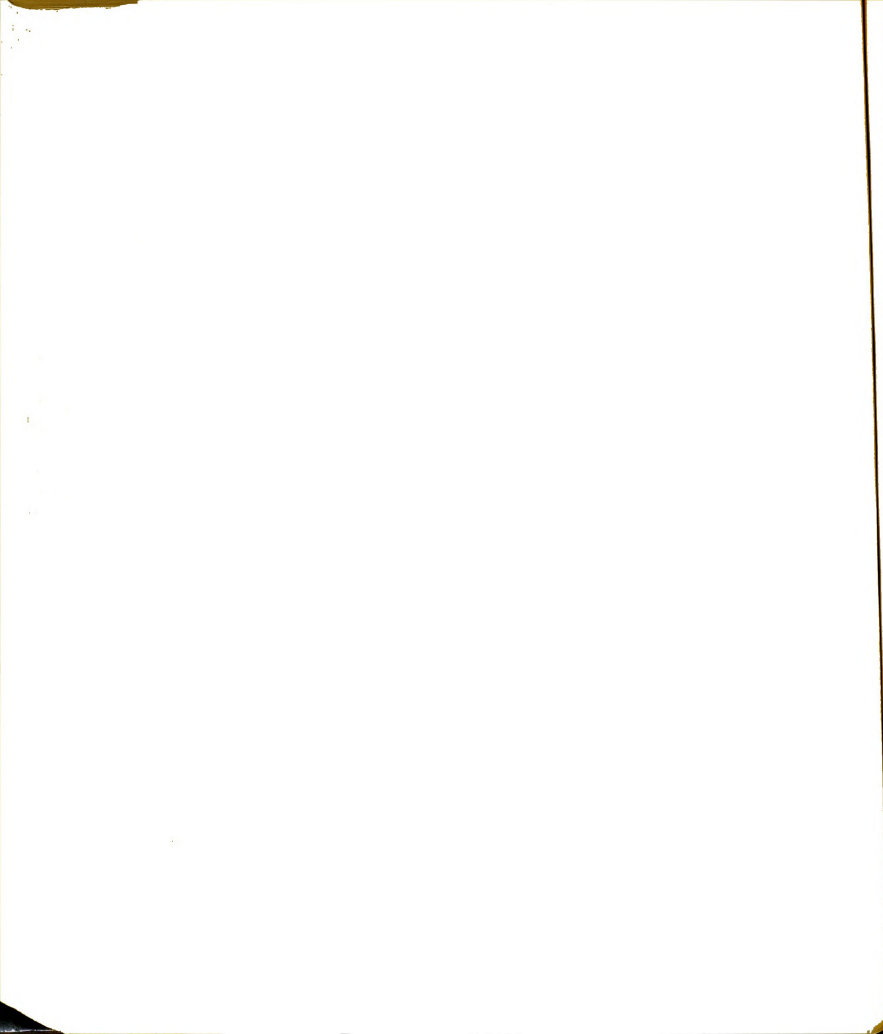
Traffic jams at taxpayer's expense.--Economy-minded Douglas received good press coverage of an evidence-laden, well-documented one-half hour speech on March 20 pointing out the excessive number of limousines in executive agencies.

We should seek to prevent waste wherever it can be found.... Like most members of Congress, I have been appalled by the traffic jams created on Capitol Hill when the administrative officials and the high brass of the Pentagon come up on business. Our streets and parking areas fairly swarm with huge limousines

¹Congressional Record (daily), 86th Cong., 1st Session, January 28, 1959, pp. 1151-1152.

²Release of text, pp. 1-15.

³Release of text, pp. 1-4, and Cong. Record (daily), 86th Cong., 1st Session, February 6, 1959, pp. 1891-1892. On February 11 in Milwaukee and February 18 in Chicago (heard by the writer), he debated Senator Proxmire on the three-year trial period for 1,000 cubic feet of water diversion per second from Lake Michigan.



each with their stone-faced chauffeurs.... I have...received a reply from the Director of the Bureau of the Budget which shows that some 99 limousines or comparable heavy sedans are assigned to administrative officials or agency heads in the Washington area. These limousines are in addition to some 1,450 government-owned passenger automobiles which were in the Washington area as of June 30, 1958.... I believe we could quite properly reduce the total number from 99 to 35, or a reduction of 64.¹

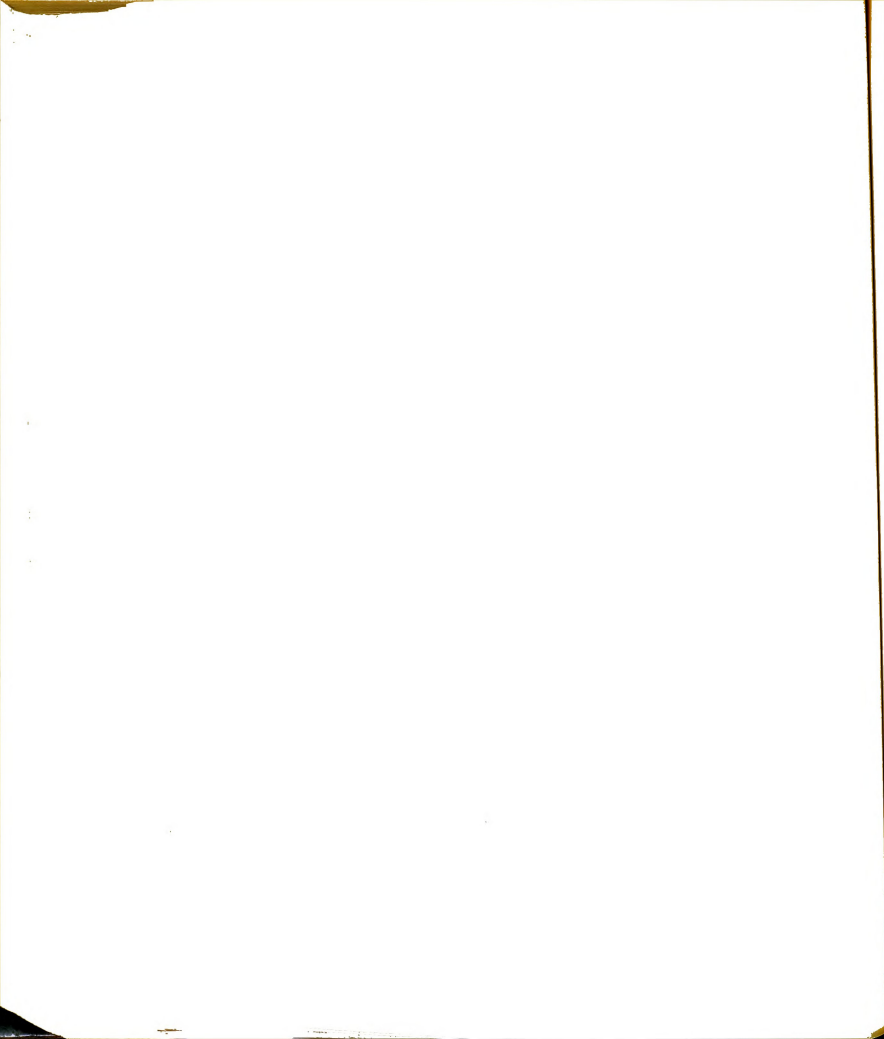
Military waste.--On March 26, Douglas launched a renewed crusade to prevent waste in the military with a twenty-minute speech on "free" trips for "influential citizens" by the military services.² He had investigated this through the comptroller general and turned up the fact "...that 161 military aircraft were used to transport 1,393 military personnel and 1,460 civilians to a demonstration at Elgin Air Force Base."³ He noted that the Federal government was largely at fault in their encouraging people to see for themselves how their tax defense dollar was being spent. He went on to cite many other such cases of excess expense. Continuing on the same theme on April 17, for fifteen minutes he attacked excessive procurement of military supplies and equipment.⁴ Again, in a ten-minute speech on April 22, he cited further evidence of

¹Douglas, "Excessive Number of Limousines in Executive Agencies," release of text of speech, March 20, 1959, p. 1.

²Release of text, pp. 1-6.

³Ibid.

⁴Release of text, pp. 1-4.

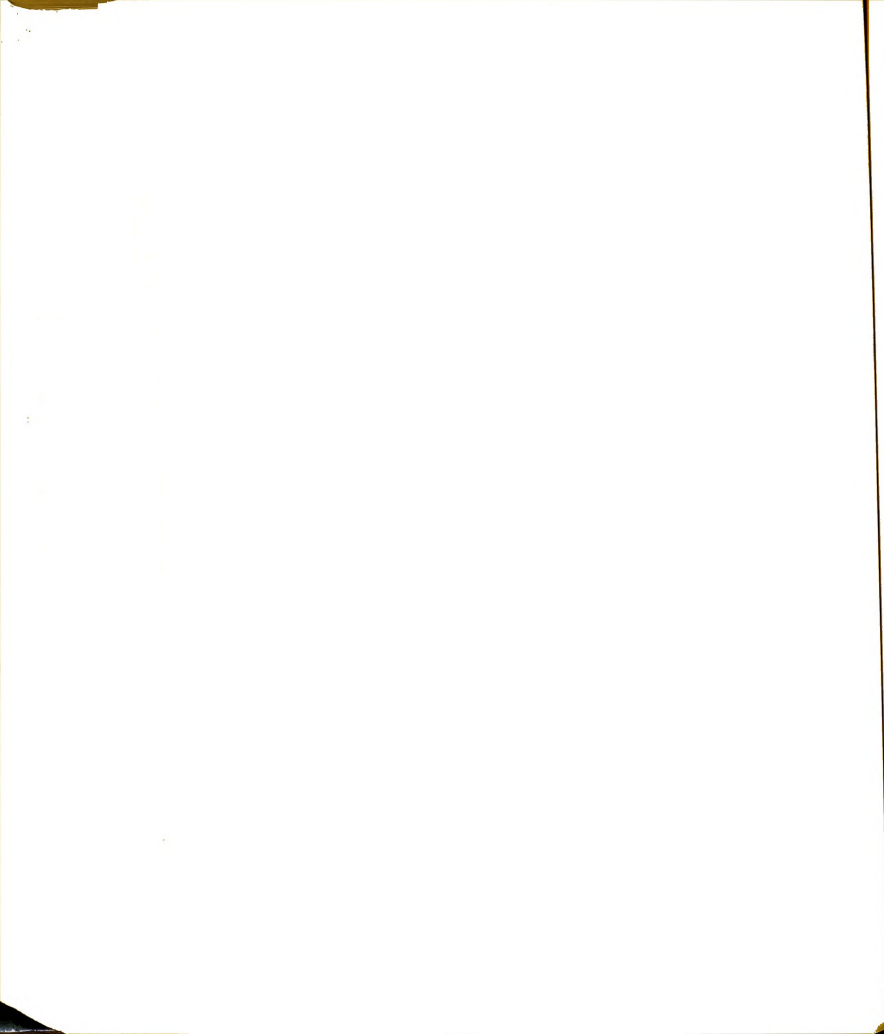


the uneconomical military procurement of surpluses--some perishable and wasted. The Senator, who contends a liberal does not have to be a wastrel, cited several areas of waste in the military in 1959 (and more in 1960). Another noteworthy speech on this matter and the related subjects of influence and corruption came on June 17, when he disclosed the names of 721 retired military officers above the rank of colonel or navy captain employed by the 100 corporations with 74 percent of defense contracts.¹ These disclosures led to some subsequent shake-ups in military spending and later caused Howard Shuman (Douglas' Legislative Assistant in 1959) to say: "This was one of Douglas' major accomplishments and the causal relationship of his speeches to the changes made is clear."²

No "wastrel."--Military economy was not the only effort he made in his 1959 drive to save the taxpayer money. He was a member of the Senate team which was successful in cutting the President's budget by \$2 million dollars. Other economy moves by Douglas included speeches and other unsuccessful persuasive efforts in the spring to substitute the use of non-slip floor polish for expensive carpeting for the 207 offices of the New Senate Building. Arguing that \$150,000 would be saved by using the wax, he

¹Release of text, pp. 1-4.

²Interview with Shuman, May 21, 1963.



even offered to furnish enough of the polish for a trial basis at his personal expense.¹ Later on June 24, Douglas did not help his popularity in the White House, when he proposed a series of amendments to cut back \$375,000 for "special White House projects,.... \$100,000 in the appropriation for pay for super-grade personnel in the White House office, and a cut of \$200,000 in the pay for super-grade personnel in the Bureau of the Budget."² A fourth amendment asked for a statement from the White House and President of expenses which were charged-off to other appropriations.³

Still working for better tax legislation, with Clark, McCarthy (D. Minn.), and Proxmire, Douglas spoke again in a speech of May 21, on behalf of amendments to "plug tax loopholes and insure that those with equal income... pay equal taxes."⁴ The same day he proposed a reduction in the oil depletion allowance to be determined on the basis of gross income.⁵

Farm proposal.--Several amendments to the Agriculture Appropriation bill to "cut cost by over a billion per

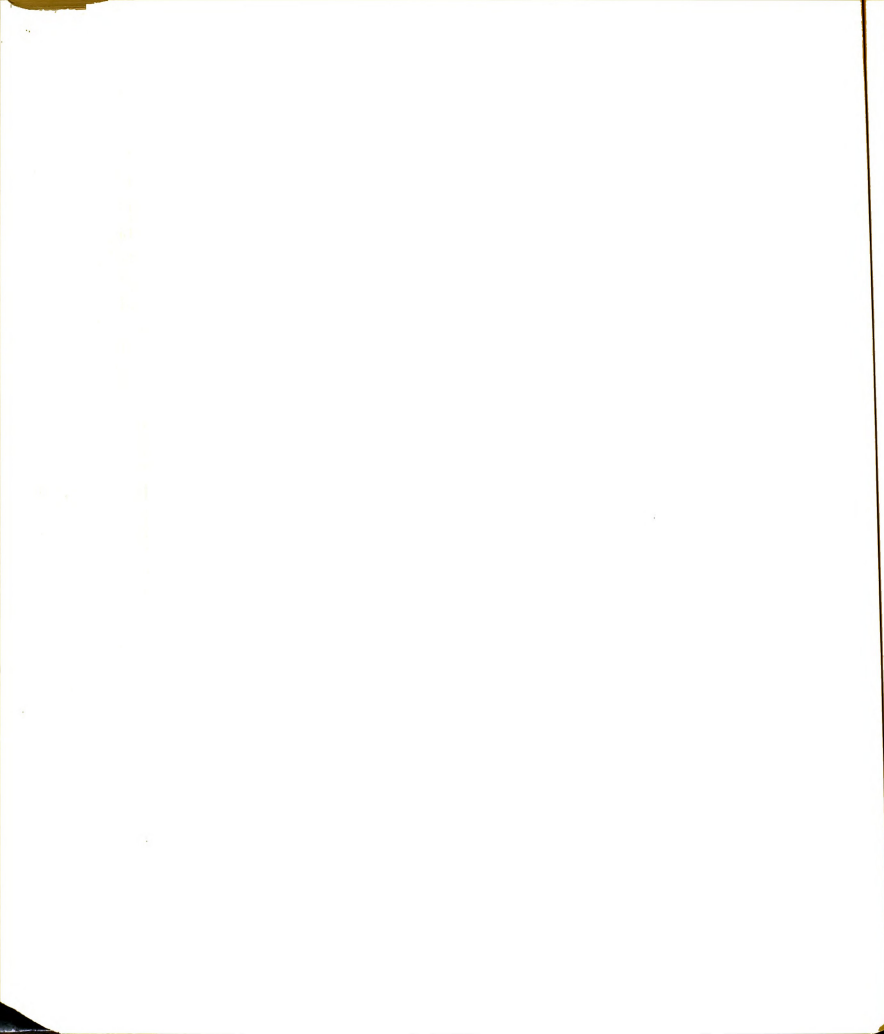
¹Release of texts and news releases, April and May 1959.

²Release of June 24, p. 1.

³Ibid.

⁴Release of text, pp. 1-2.

⁵Release of text, pp. 1-8.



year,"¹ were presented by Douglas on June 2. He also criticized the Administration's farm bill because of its low price supports and lack of any provisions for control of production to control the market. The Administration's bill, he said, favored the big farmer in the basic problem of inelastic demand caused by overproduction. To emphasize the need for control of production he noted the fact that a three percent increase in production by farmers would bring a fall in price of about 10 percent.² Douglas' farm proposal set forth a plan to protect small farms, lower cost to consumers, and control production:

If the big farmers want no controls or price supports - as they and their representatives advocate - then let us have a program where the big farmers are allowed to produce for the free market and accept the low prices for which they clamor.

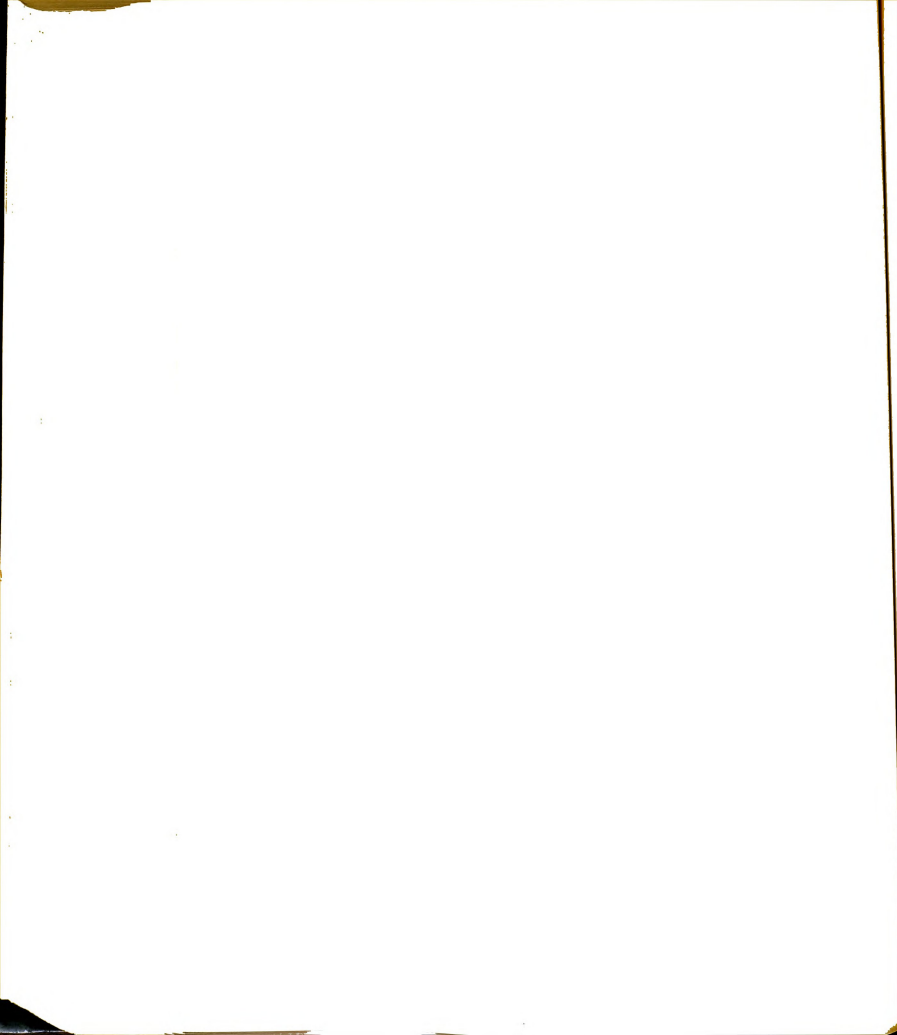
However, let us use some of the funds which now go in the main to the big farms to protect the family-sized farm - the farm of 160 to 250 acres in the corn belt.

But, let us apply certain principles. First, let us control production on a bushel basis rather than by limiting acres. Second, let us support farm income rather than farm prices through a system of production payments. Let us make a direct payment of the difference between the market price and a certain percentage of parity. Thus, if the market price for corn were \$1.10 per bushel and if 85 percent of parity were chosen and amounted to \$1.50 per bushel, the subsidy would be 40 cents per bushel.

This would bring a great savings, for at the present time the consumer pays twice for the farm program. He pays first of all in taxes for the payments which go to farmers.

¹Release of June 2.

²Ibid.



Second, he pays in higher prices for farm products. Under such an income support plan, however, the consumer would at least get some benefit from lower farm prices and he would also make a second savings through lower taxes for the income support payments.

But, let us limit the payments to any one farm or farmer. At the present time some farmers are receiving over \$100,000 per year in loans or subsidies. This is ridiculous and costly and does not help those who need the help most.

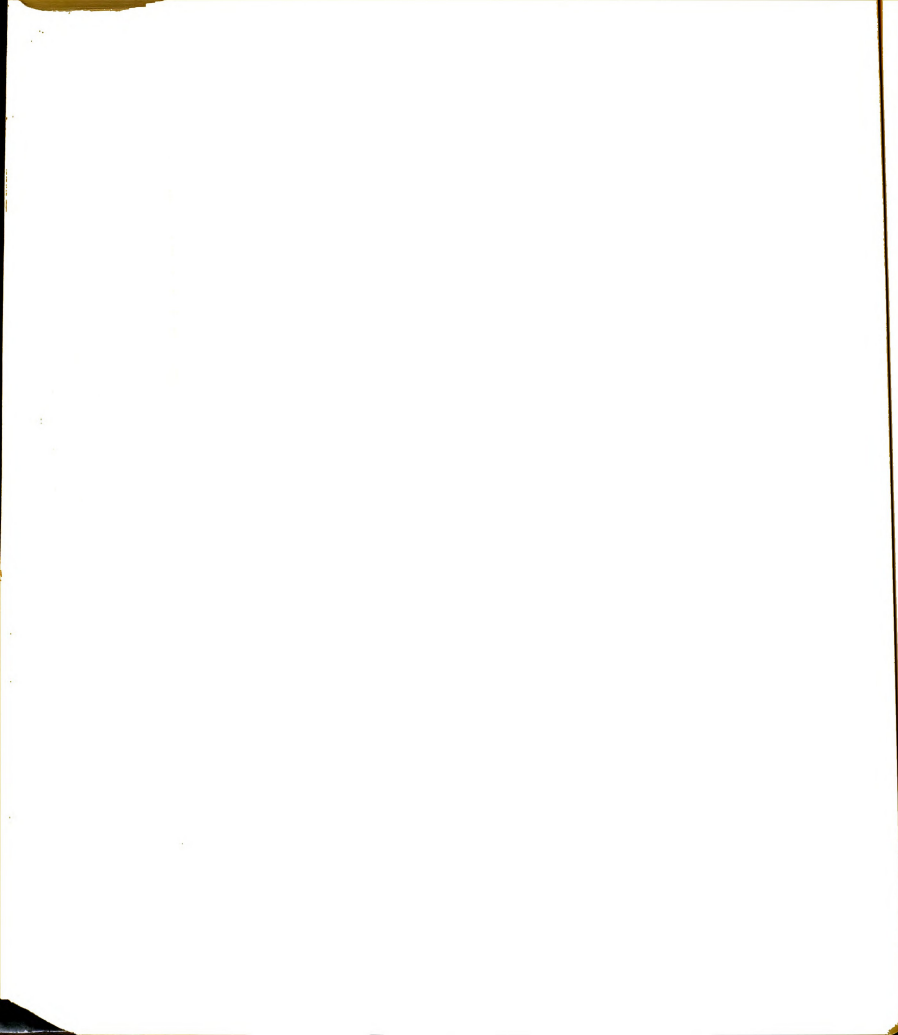
I would limit payments on the following lines: (a) No farm or farmer should receive a direct payment of more than \$2,000 per year. (b) Further, his payments should be cut back when such payments bring his net income above \$4,000 per year. This is 80 percent above the present net income per farm. Further, some 91 percent of the commercial farms receive less than \$4,000 per year net income. Thus, this proposal would cover all but the very largest farms and farmers. (c) Finally, no payment should be made which would bring his gross income above a figure between \$12,000 and \$15,000. In any case, no farm or farmer should receive as an actual subsidy more than \$2,000 per year.

Such a program would provide a floor under farm income much as the minimum wage and unemployment compensation provide a floor under the factory workers' income. However, the farmer could produce in excess of these amounts for the market and increase his total income so that the program would not be an incentive to indolence or idleness.

I believe that some such a system would be just. It would protect the family-sized farm. It would reduce the cost of the farm program by at least a billion dollars per year. It would help to prevent the rush towards the huge, corporate farm and would provide a stable family agriculture which has meant so much to our society and to the country.¹

Interest rates.--In a 35-minute speech on June 8 he attacked three Administrative proposals to increase the

¹Release of text, November 4, 1959, pp. 2-3.



ceiling on rates of U. S. savings bonds from 3.26 percent to 3.75 percent, to increase the permanent debt limit from \$283 to \$288 billion and the temporary debt limit from \$288 to \$295 billion, and to remove the 4½ percent interest rate ceiling on long term loans.¹

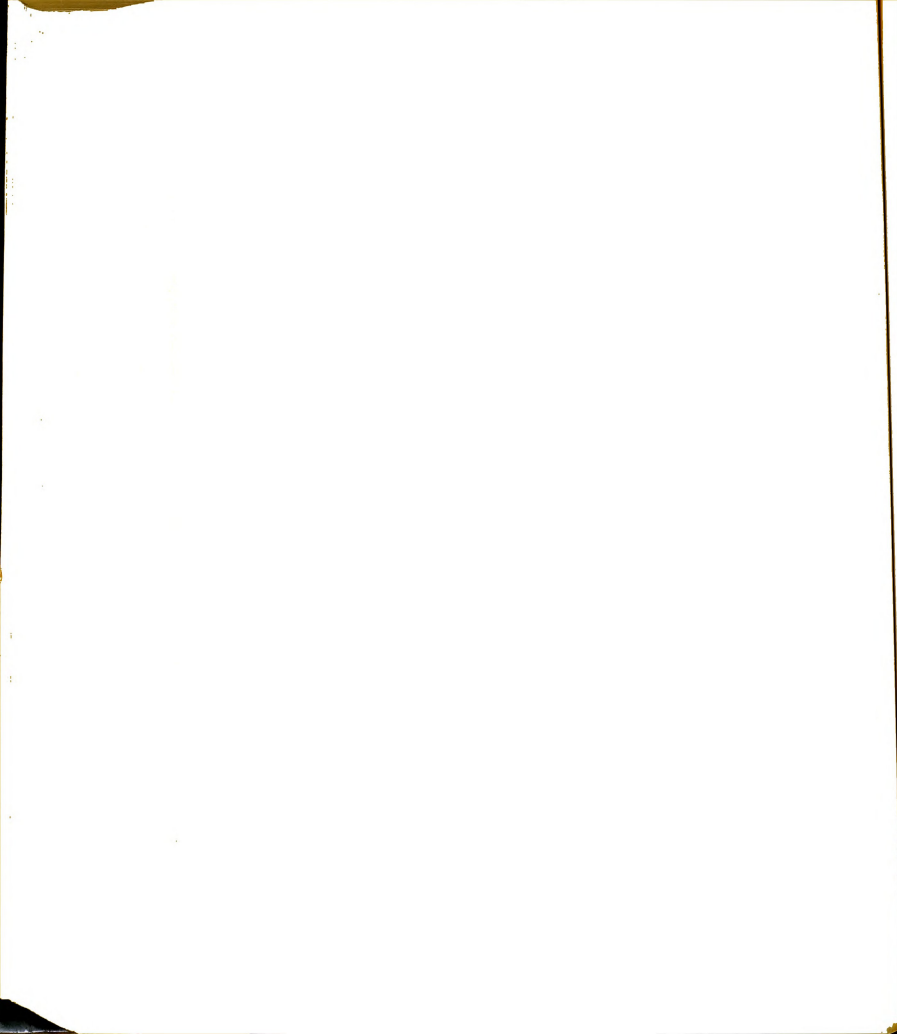
Water diversion bill.--His final prepared address in the first session came on August 26.² It was a thirty-minute final effort on behalf of his water diversion bill for the city of Chicago. However, no action was taken on the bill.

The eleventh year.--During this session, which lasted from January 7 to September 14, Douglas kept all of his old causes in clear view through his speeches and introduced some new ones in rising 416 times on 149 different topics.³ In addition to the speeches noted, he was in the main stream of debate on other major legislative proposals of that year. Such major legislative proposals included: the bill vetoed by Eisenhower to make the Rural Electrical Association independent of a Secretary of

¹Release of text, June 8, 1959, pp. 1-8.

²Later on that same day the writer witnessed Douglas rise in the Senate and in three sentences pinpoint a misunderstanding over interpretation of a foreign aid proposal, which had caused some twenty minutes of debate between Senators Proxmire and Symington. Douglas established "common ground" between them, and thus ended the debate.

³Congressional Record Index, 86th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 105, Part 16, pp. 263-265. He also made eight speeches outside the Senate while Congress was in session.

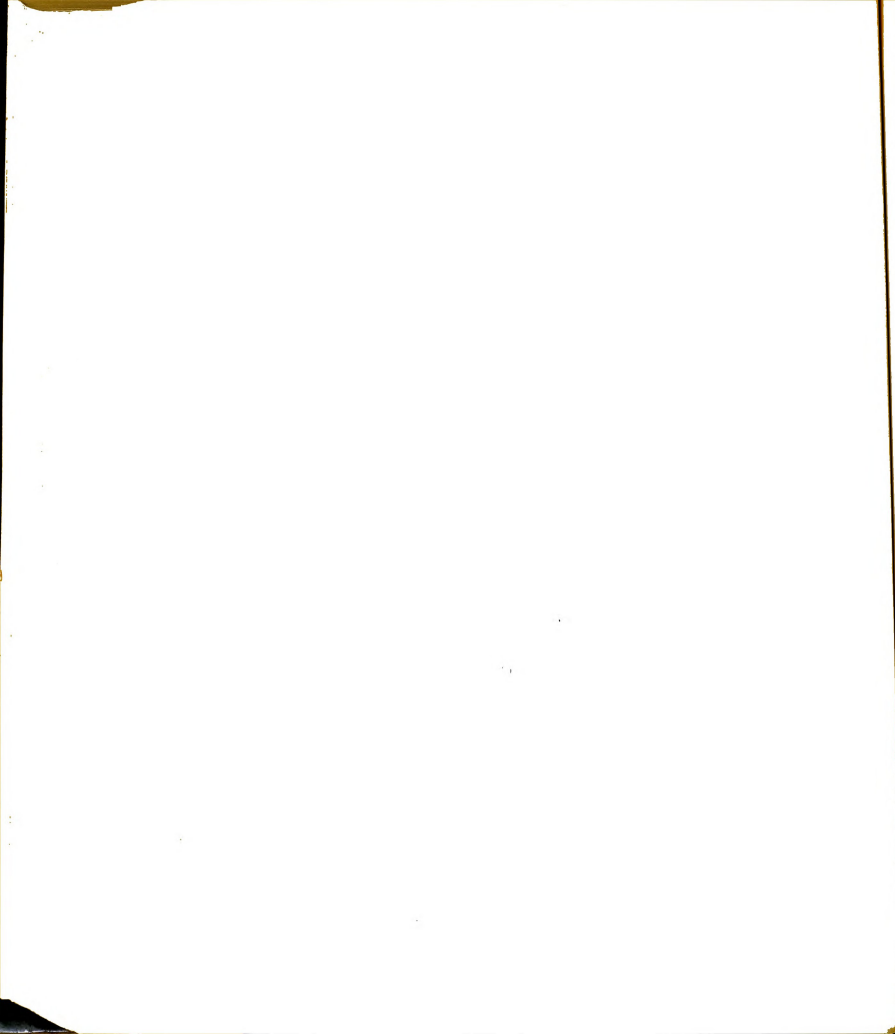


Agriculture unsympathetic to the R.E.A.; proposals for a wheat subsidy and for Federal housing, both vetoed; and a public works bill in which the Senate overrode the veto. Among other major measures adopted was the admission of Hawaii to statehood in March. Many parliamentary maneuvers led to the passage of labor legislation, a compromise of the Kennedy and original Landrum-Griffin bills. Douglas had drawn-up and secured Congressional approval for the "captive nations resolution" to re-affirm U. S. interest in working for recovery of freedom and independence for the captive people behind the Iron Curtain. He had also spoken out because the Senate had not been consulted before the President extended an invitation to Krushchev to visit the United States.

SECOND SESSION

Campaign year.--The year 1960 was a Presidential election year and also the year that Paul Douglas faced re-election for a second time. Because of those facts both parties and the Senator took extra efforts to establish a good record which would be fresh in the voter's memory in November. Douglas returned to Illinois on week-ends more frequently than in non-election years and delivered four to six speeches. However, there is no evidence that he neglected his Senatorial duties, but for a 67 year old man he did test his physical stamina.

A year of disappointments.--He saw his Area

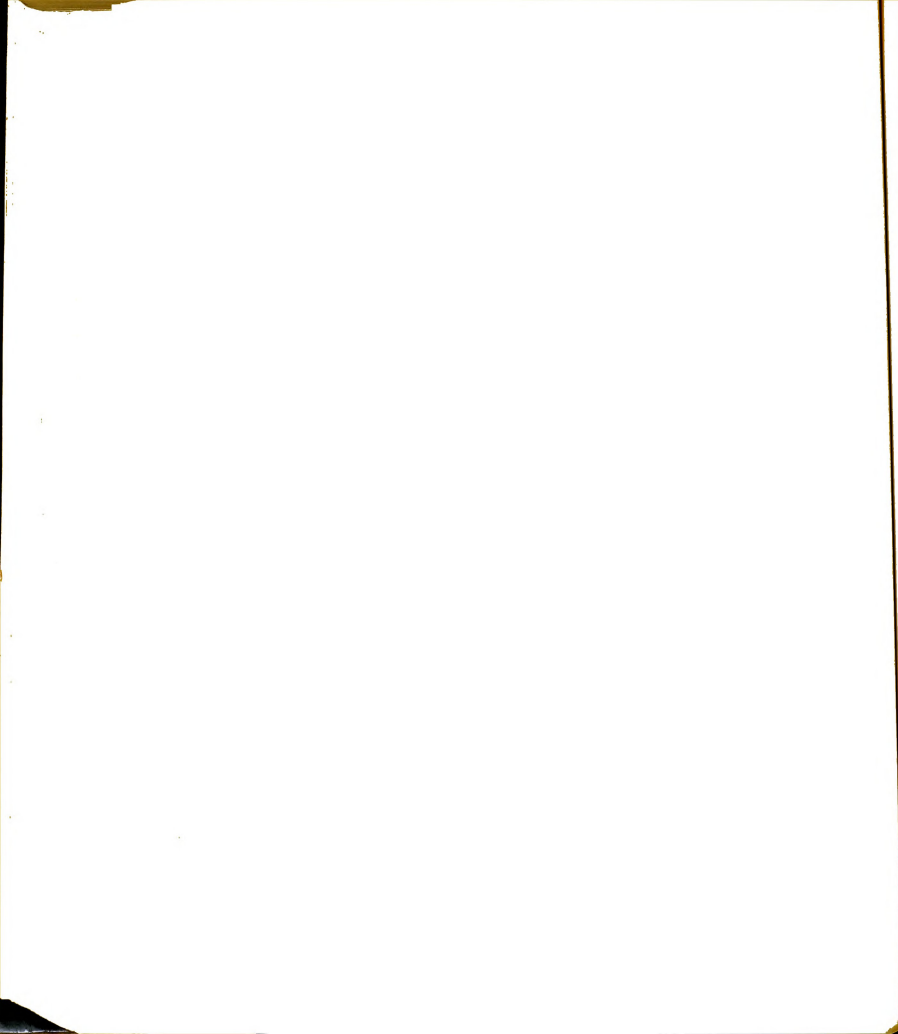


Redevelopment Bill vetoed for a second time, his Water Diversion Bill also vetoed, and a Federal Pay Raise Bill vetoed and then the necessary two-thirds vote override the veto; and he felt the pressures of a threat of veto which took their toll of many other measures. Douglas worked with Kennedy on a bill to raise the minimum wage from \$1.00 to \$1.25 an hour; the bill passed the Senate but was blocked in the House. Comprehensive housing legislation supported by Douglas also passed the Senate but did not get out of committee in the House. Another disappointment was the passage of a "trimmed-down" bill for medical care for the aged and indigent. His personal efforts to close tax loopholes by amendments to repeal dividend credit and provide withholding taxes on corporate dividends and interest, reduce the percentage of oil depletion, and reduce business entertainment tax deduction by businessmen, also failed to pass. The lack of any effective farm legislation was another disappointment to Douglas.¹

Sources of encouragement.--Amid the disappointments, one encouraging piece of legislation, was the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1960. According to Douglas, its passage was achievement "because of its symbolic importance as another step toward equal justice for all our citizens, more than its probable, actual effectiveness...."² The appropriation for increased national defense funds and the

¹From "Senator Douglas Reports," newsletter on 86th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 1-7.

²Ibid., p. 4.



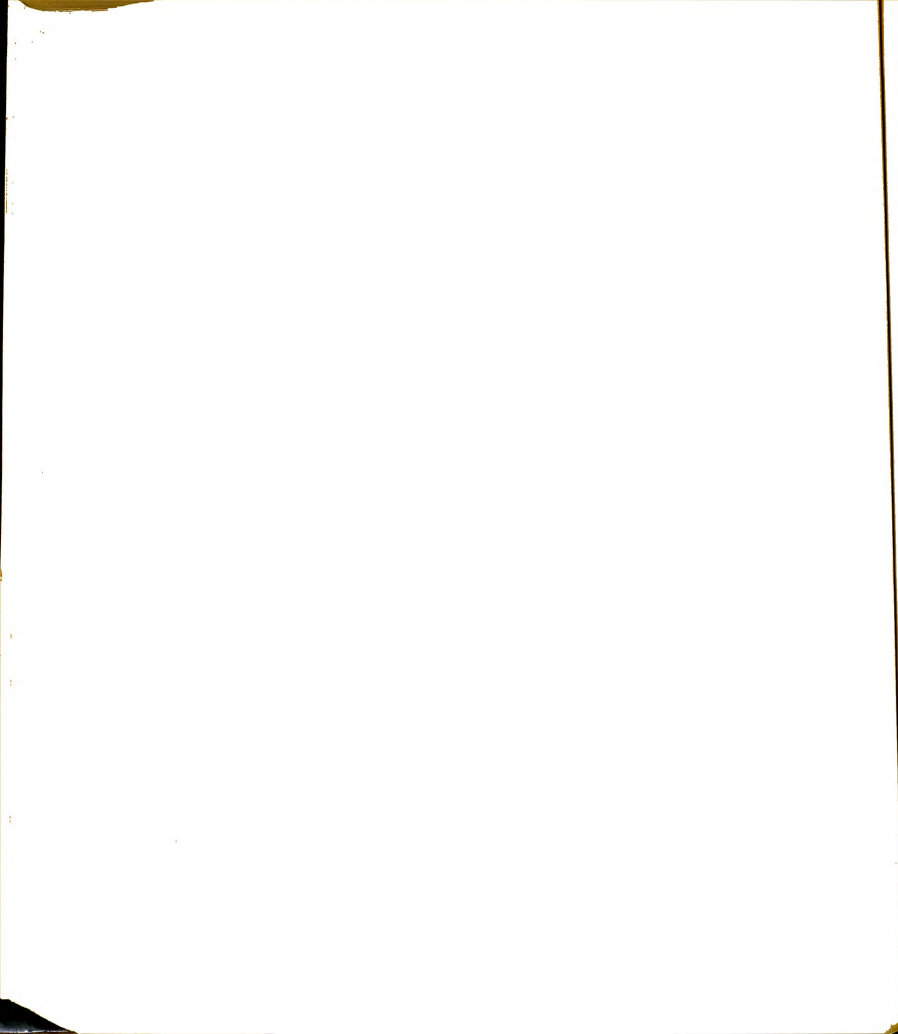
economy in defense-spending measures further pleased Douglas. Nor was he disappointed at the \$211 million cut from the President's budget request.

Other measures passed which he had supported were: the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security with Japan, the Antarctic Treaty, Mutual Security Act, bills to channel foreign aid to underdeveloped areas of stress in Latin America and the Far East, and Freedom Commission and Academy Act. He also witnessed passage of a Savings and Loan Holding Company Act to prevent monopoly in lending institutions, and the passage of his Des Plaines Wildlife and Recreation Area Bill.¹ As chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, he directed large-scale economic studies of unemployment and prices. In 1960, the committee produced recommendations to encourage faster growth, reduce unemployment, and prevent inflation. Many of these recommendations had been the subject of legislation proposed by Douglas in previous years.

Although his one-man crusades had not put him in the Senate's "inner circle," he was exercising more and more influence, especially on taxation, trade, and welfare legislation. Douglas was frequently referred to, as did Ned Brooks in introducing him on "Meet the Press" in December of 1960, as the "idea man" of the Democratic party.²

¹Ibid., passim.

²NBC's "Meet the Press," Vol. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Merkle Press, December 11, 1960), p. 1.

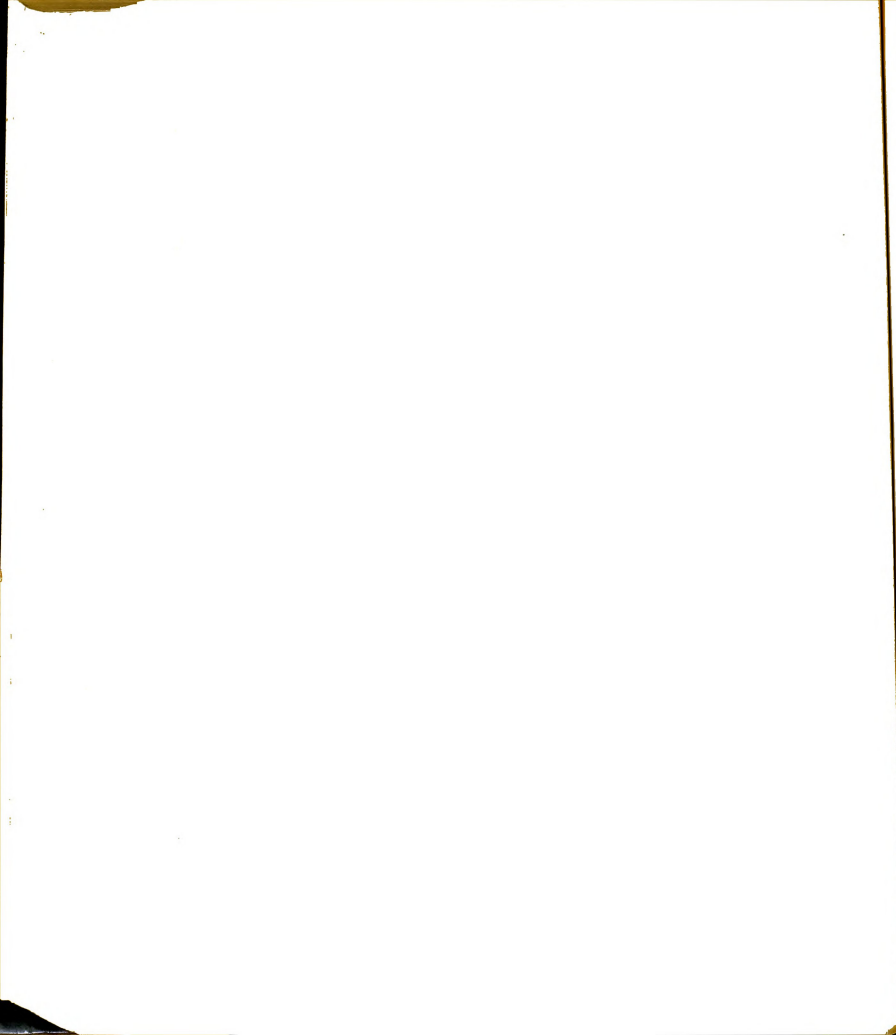


Consumer and economic growth measures.--As a Senate speaker, he introduced in a speech of January 6 another "truth in lending bill" requiring retail lenders to disclose in writing the price of credit to the customers before any transaction is consummated. In a speech of four hours on January 7, he reported the results of a year-long study by the Joint Economic Committee entitled, "How We Can Best Attain Maximum Growth, Full Employment and Stable Prices."¹ In that speech, unusually free from technical terminology, he first defended the state of the economy, then he presented the following proposals to boost the economy: a taxation program based on the ability to pay, area redevelopment, interest rates, and other economic measures he had previously introduced. He concluded that the country was not experiencing an inflationary situation at that time. This report became an important source to both presidential candidates in the 1960 campaign.

More humane causes.--Striking out at the Administration for "abandoning" the captive peoples of the world, Douglas spoke on the basic theme of the "deep longing for liberty" by the people of Lithuania.² The twenty-five minute speech was delivered on February 16. That same day, Douglas and Javits introduced omnibus civil rights legislation on

¹Release of text, pp. 1-54.

²Reprint of Record, pp. 1-2.



which Javits gave the supporting speech. On February 27, Ervin took on Douglas, Javits, and Case in a debate on civil rights which ended on the issue of the procedures of the Civil Rights Commission.¹ On March 18, civil rights was again in the forefront as a Douglas-Javits amendment for enforcement of Negro voting rights to be attached to a Dirksen proposal was debated at length and finally tabled by a Dirksen motion.²

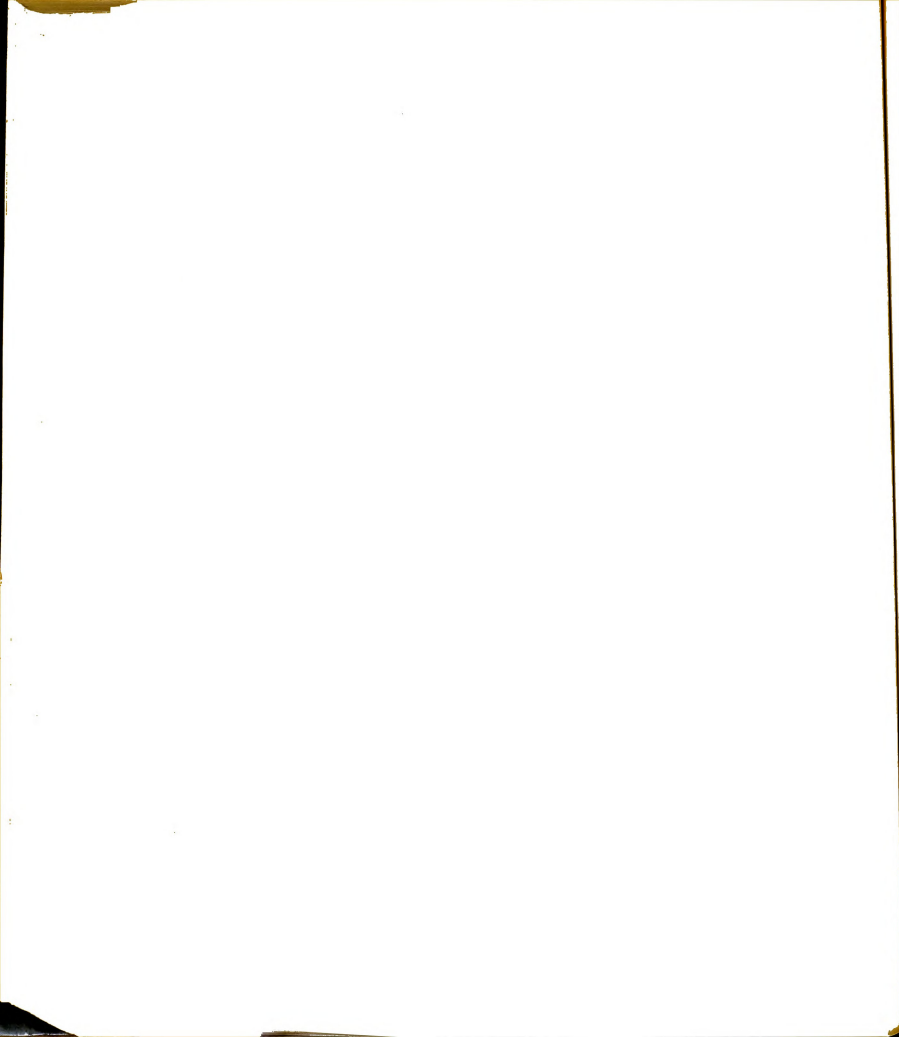
Mutual security.--An amendment to the Mutual Security Act of 1954, stating that the U. S. favors the free navigation of all international waterways and economic cooperation between all nations, was presented in a May 2 speech by Douglas on behalf of twenty-eight other Senators.³

Economy and orange juice.--A few days later, an interesting sidelight to proceedings on economy involved a case of orange juice. On May 5 Douglas sent a case of orange juice to the Secretary of Commerce, Fred Mueller. It was sent to make good a January promise that he would succeed in shaving the Secretary's \$5,000 entertainment allowance and the requested increase in personal office staff funds. (Mueller had been complaining about excessive spending by Congress, yet had asked for an increase.) If

¹Congressional Record--Senate (daily), 86th Congress, 2nd Session, February 27, 1960, pp. 3405-3408.

²Ibid., March 18, 1960, pp. 5547-5566.

³Reprint of Congressional Record--Senate (daily), May 2, 1960, pp. 1-7.



successful, Douglas had promised to send Mueller a case of orange juice to make up in part for the cutback and to suggest the appropriate entertainment refreshments to be used in the future. After Douglas' urging, the appropriations for the Secretary were cut in the Commerce Appropriation Bill.¹

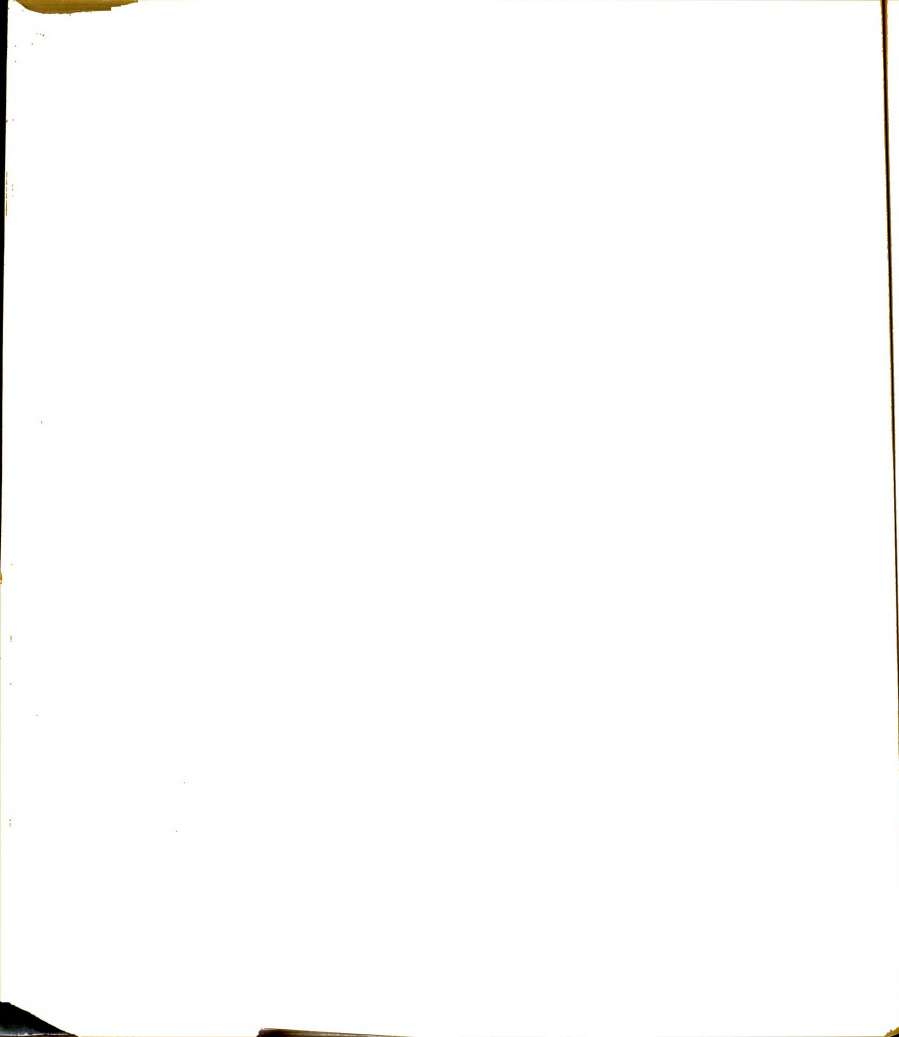
More economy measures.--A speech lasting several minutes against the President's veto of the redevelopment bill was followed by a debate along partisan lines between Dirksen, Douglas, Clark, Scott, and others for several hours. In the end, the vote that day, May 24, was 45-39 for the bill, but not enough to over-ride the veto.²

Douglas continued his economy efforts in the military in a striking speech of June 13, citing ten examples of grossly excessive wastes by the Defense Department amounting to \$2 billion. Those examples included the purchase at excessive prices in negotiated contracts, wrench sets, small pieces of aluminum, and lamp sockets.³ In another speech and colloquy with Proxmire on June 18,

¹Release of May 5, including text of "chiding" letter from Douglas to Mueller which began: "I am very happy to be able to send you a case of orange juice for your use in entertaining guests and visiting dignitaries."

²Congressional Record--Senate (daily), May 24, 1960, pp. 10104-10134.

³Ibid., June 13, 1960, pp. 11525-11546.



Douglas attacked the depletion allowance.¹ Six days later he rose to speak for area redevelopment and entered into a debate with Hugh Scott over the amount needed and the difference in principle between area assistance and redevelopment.² Expanding on the "military waste in procurement" theme, Douglas spoke on general waste in purchasing on July 1.³

Flood control.--An extended debate between Douglas and Senator Hartke of Indiana took place on August 10. Douglas opposed a proposal backed by Hartke to put levees on the Indiana side of the Wabash River which, therefore, would cause greater flood damage in Illinois. A later Douglas amendment to the Hartke bill to stop funds for levee projects was voted down.⁴

Equal time.--Before adjournment, Congress passed legislation to amend for one year the Federal Communication Code "equal time" clause. This amendment led the way to the 1960 network television debates between the presidential candidates Nixon and Kennedy.

The twelfth year.--Douglas rose to speak 301 times on 103 topics between January and the adjournment of the 86th Congress on September 1.⁵

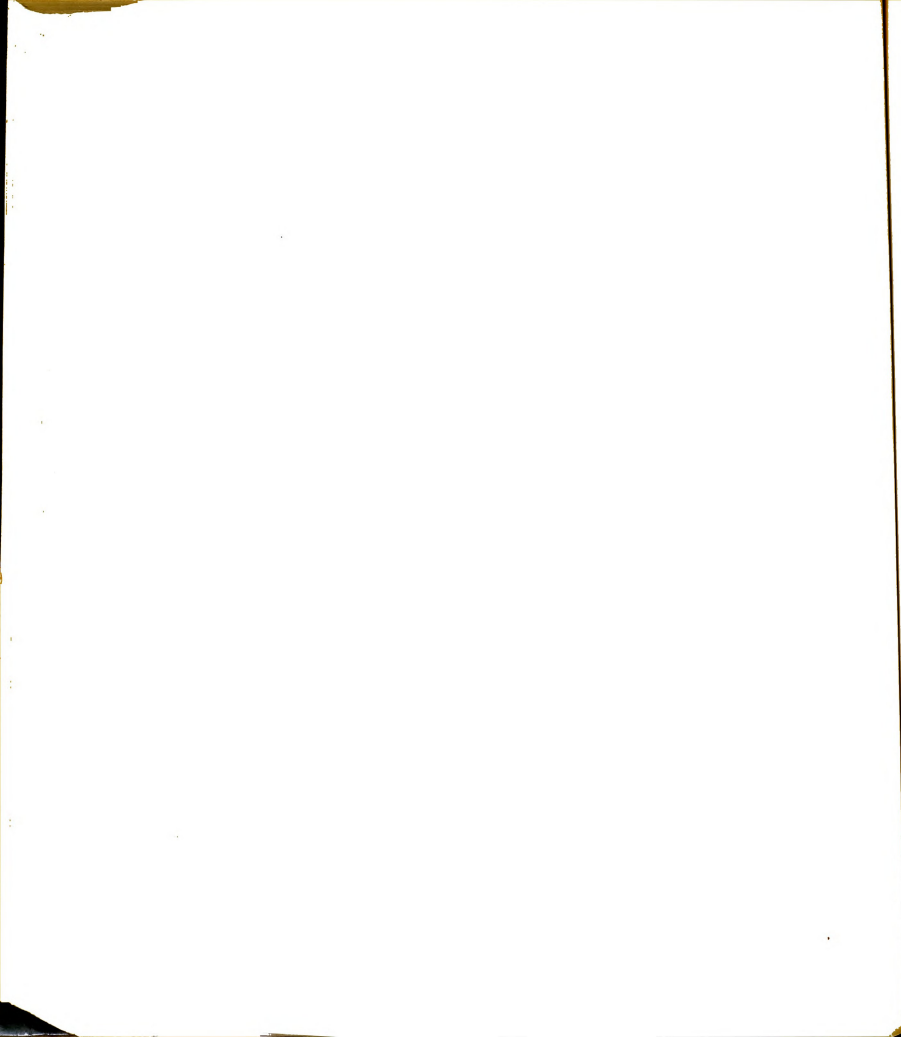
¹Ibid., June 18, 1960, pp. 12345-12368.

²Reprint of Record--Senate (daily), June 24, 1960, pp. 1-4.

³Release of text, pp. 1-6.

⁴Congressional Record-Senate (daily), August 10, 1960, pp. 14964-14977.

⁵Congressional Record Index, 86th Cong., 2nd Session, Vol. 106, Part 15, p. 202.



On Eisenhower.--The adjournment of the 86th Congress marked the end of an interesting eight-year relationship with President Eisenhower, who was stepping down as President. Commenting later in 1962, Douglas appraised Eisenhower as "a gentle person, not a bad man. His main fault was lack of vigorous leadership. His Presidency was bland like my diet, cup custard and soup."¹

Running for re-election.--Upon returning to Illinois, Douglas conducted an exhausting campaign for a third term.²

¹Douglas quoted in McGrath, op. cit., pp. 44 and 48.

²An interesting piece of campaign literature was compiled by Mrs. Douglas in 1960:

(title): Senator Douglas' Bright Lexicon

A strictly biased compilation by his wife, Emily Taft Douglas.

P stands for People's Senator. That is his aim to

represent the whole state, not just one group or section.

A stands for Alderman. In his first office he saved Chicago millions of dollars by cutting out waste.

U stands for University. He taught economics, wrote books, won an international award and was president of the American Economic Association.

L stands for Liberal. He helps promote the "General Welfare," as set forth in our Constitution, but he asserts that, "A liberal need not be a wastrel." Almost alone he attacks the giant waste in the Pentagon, and altogether he has saved the nation many billions.

H stands for Honest. He introduced the first Code of Ethics, which has been adopted by some federal agencies and New York, Ohio and other states. The Code, which he personally follows, bars acceptance of gifts or entertainment from those seeking government favors.

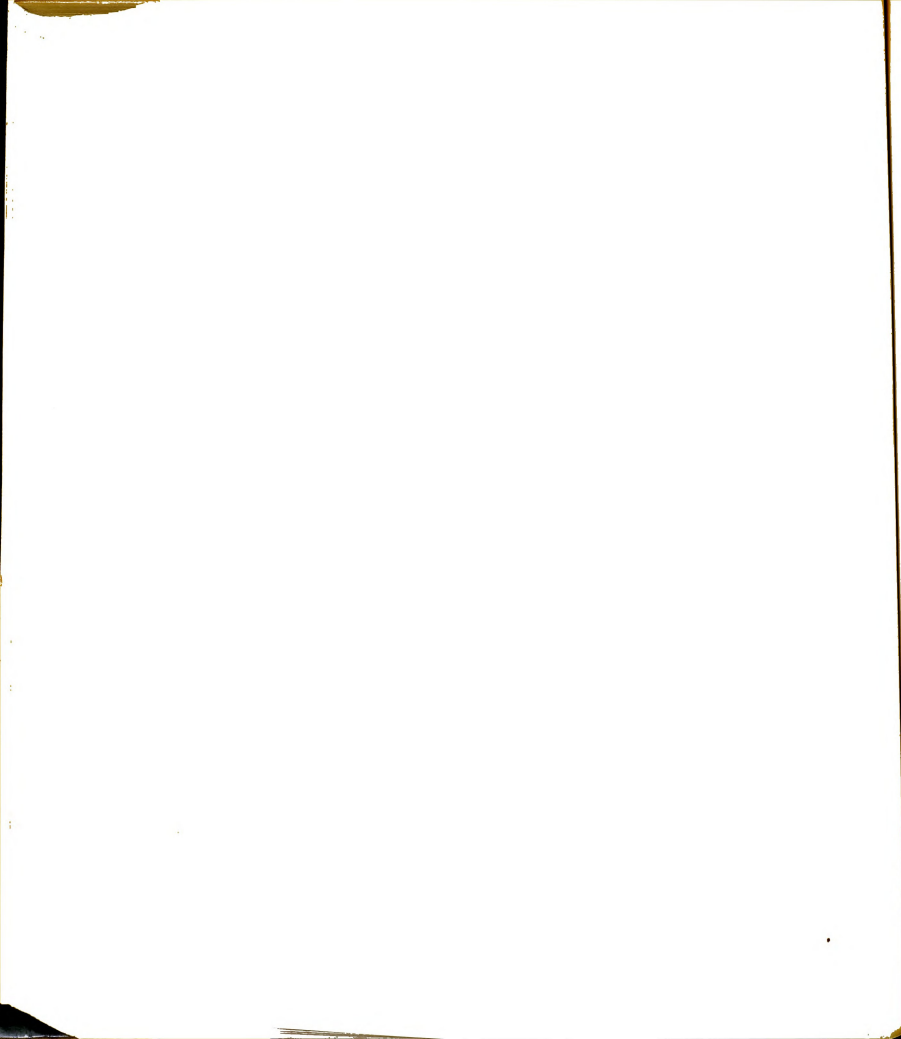
D stands for Democrat with both a large and small D.

This means "government of the people, by the people, for the people," and it means that all of the people have "certain inalienable rights," such as civil rights.

O stands for Outstanding. This is the word which the newspaper men covering Capitol Hill voted him from among all of his colleagues.

U stands for Unspoiled. The power of office has never changed his manner or character.

G stands for Grit. He had it as a combat Marine when he



Running on his record, he travelled approximately 40,000 miles in Illinois, made some 300 speeches before about one-half million people, and estimated that he had shaken the hands of 250,000 of them by the eve of election.¹ The campaign included two debates with his challenger on WGN television and one before the State Chamber of Commerce Convention. He was careful not to mention his opponent by name and boosted John F. Kennedy for President at every turn.² Douglas was returned to the Senate by a 437,000 vote plurality.

was wounded and decorated for bravery. He has it when he battles for the people's interest against powerful lobbies.

L stands for Legislation. He drafted the first Illinois Old Age Pension Act and has sponsored important bills, including the Urban Redevelopment program which is helping our cities substitute decent housing for slums, the 1956 Minimum Wage Law, the Employees Welfare and Pension Fund and Public Act 480 to expand the use of farm surpluses at home and abroad.

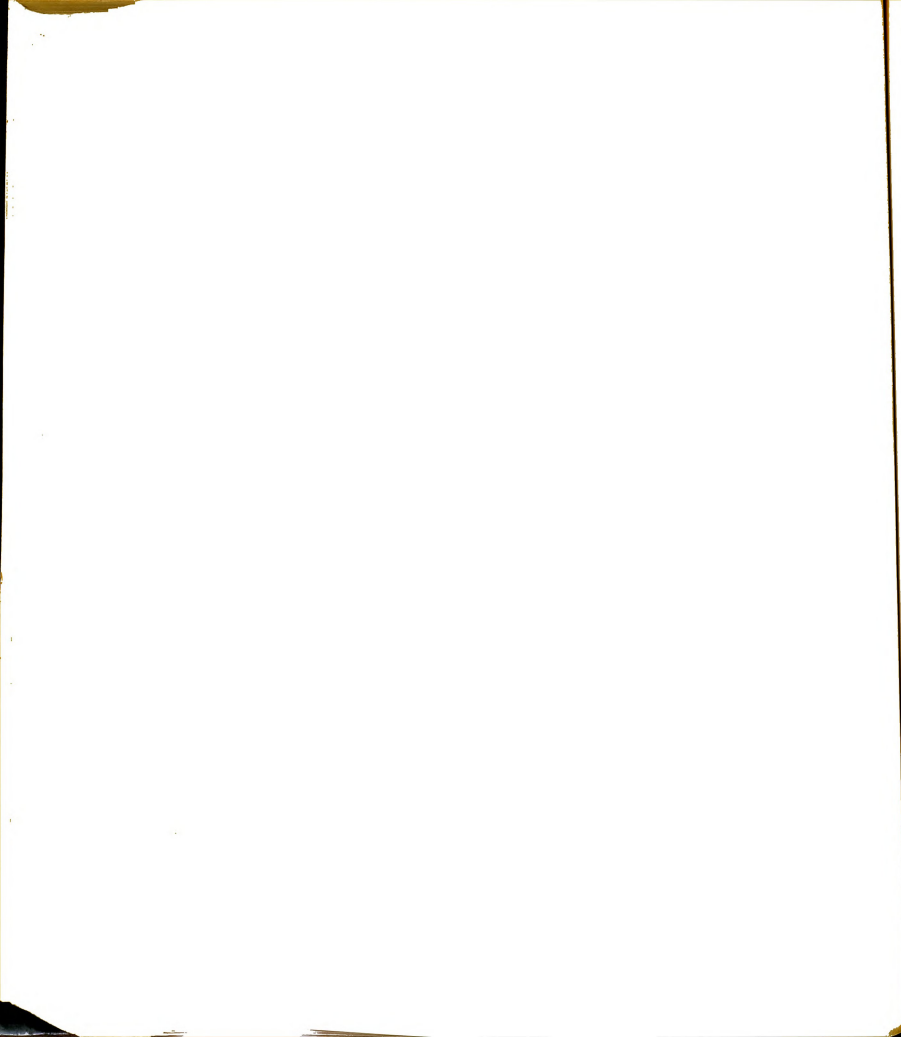
A stands for America. He wants his country strong in the cold war, compassionate towards the weak and ready to build a just peace with all nations.

S stands for Seniority. This is important in Congress. When he enters his third term, he will sit on the powerful Finance and Banking Committees and head the Joint Economic Committee.

PUT THESE TOGETHER AND YOU HAVE THE SENIOR SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS!

¹Release of November 7, 1960.

²From campaign releases and reprints of press coverage, September 8-November 8, 1960.



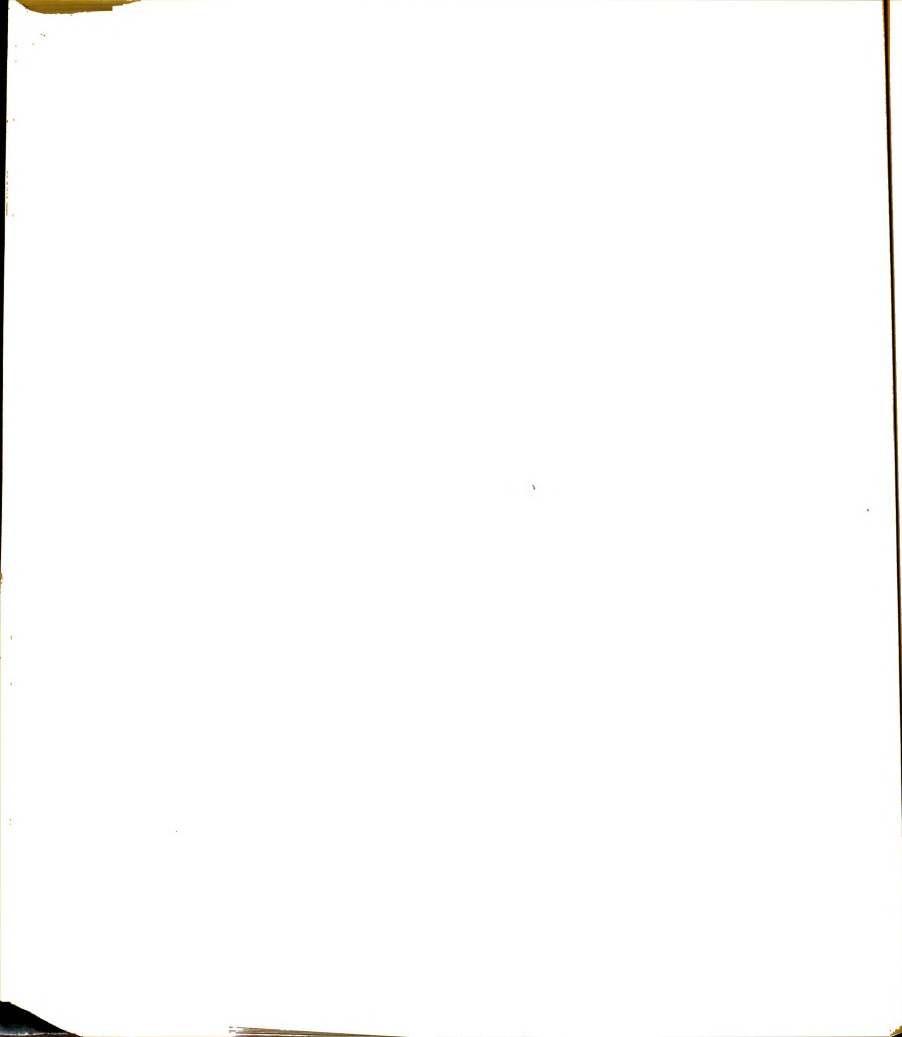
Eighty-seventh Congress: 1961-1962

Democratic victory.--Senator John F. Kennedy and his running mate Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson won the 1960 Presidential election from Vice-President Nixon and former Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in a narrow margin of 73 electoral votes and a little over 100,000 popular votes. The Democrats lost one seat in the Senate, cutting their margin to 64-36, and maintained control of the House 261-176.

The headlines.--The eighty-seventh Congress dealt with the Kennedy "New Frontier" program. To open the door to more progressive legislation, Speaker Sam Rayburn early in 1961 was able to maneuver the passage of a bill to add three members to the powerful House Rules Committee (two of whom would be liberal Democrats). In addition to legislative proceedings, the U. S. witnessed further tension over Cuba when a band of Cuban refugees unsuccessfully attempted to invade and overthrow the Castro regime in 1961 in what became known as the "Bay of Pigs Invasion." The formation of the Alliance for Progress Program in Latin America, and growing civil rights demands by Negroes also made the headlines.

FIRST SESSION

Unemployment committee.--President Kennedy immediately appointed his old Senate colleague, Douglas, to chair



a task force to deal with the problem of unemployment. The meetings of this task force were then held in West Virginia and Washington. As a result, the committee, or task force, reported the need for area redevelopment legislation for technical assistance, federal loans, manpower training and retraining, and other measures to stimulate the economy, provide jobs, and increase purchasing power.¹

Old causes renewed.--The first bill introduced (S.1) in the Senate for the 87th Congress was the Douglas Area Redevelopment Bill; Douglas spoke on behalf of 43 other signers in a ten-minute speech on January 5.² On March 24, Douglas introduced the Civil Rights Bill of 1961 in a speech of thirty minutes and pointed out the similarities of this bill with the one he had introduced in 1959 and 1960.³ He rose again on April 14, for a speech proposing an amendment to the Social Security Act to permit men to retire at age 62.⁴ On the same day, he followed with a speech that expressed concern over technological changes and automation causing unemployment in the meatpacking industry.⁵ He spoke against the admittance of Red China into the UN in a speech of April 19.⁶ Only eight days later

¹Release of text of Task Force Report issued by the President, January 2, 1961, pp. 1-19.

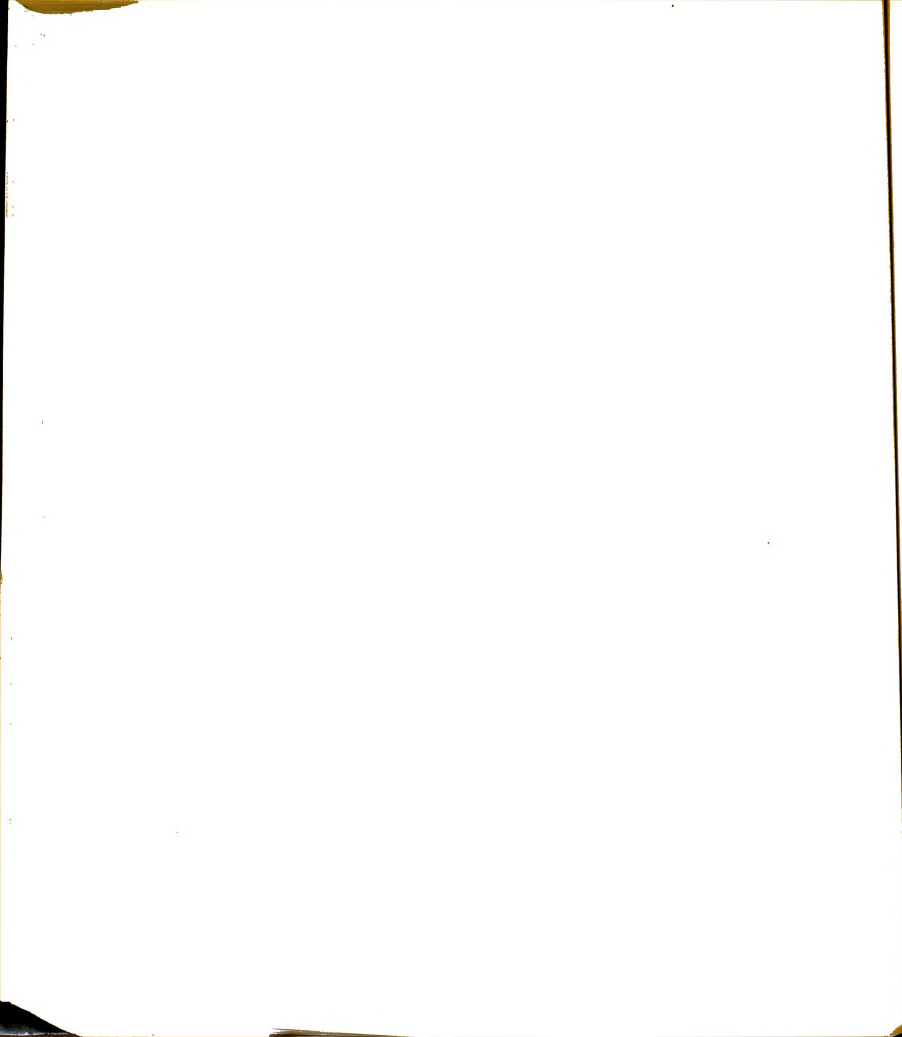
²Reprint of Record--Senate (daily), Jan. 5, 1960, pp. 1-14.

³Release of text, pp. 1-8, and Congressional Record (daily), March 24, 1960, pp. 4459-4461.

⁴Congressional Record--Senate (daily), April 14, 1961, pp. 5556-55566.

⁵Ibid., pp. 5565-5566.

⁶Ibid., April 19, 1961, pp. 5848-5849.



he reintroduced his truth in lending bill and spoke for nearly forty minutes.¹ Later on May 4, he brought the Dunes Bill on the floor once again.²

The first address of length was delivered on May 26, when for three hours he pleaded in one unified presentation for the separate tax and economy reforms he had previously advocated.³ He gave follow-up speeches on unemployment on July 12⁴ and tax reforms on July 14.⁵

A new role.--Douglas' speaking on the floor during this session is limited because he seemed to be serving a new role off the floor in helping more than ever to push legislation through committee. His testimony on behalf of his own and Administration bills dominates his files for this session. Moreover, he had spoken so many times previously on many of his bills in the Senate and had them lost in committee or vetoed that he did not need to repeat in detail much of that persuasion in their behalf in the Senate. Moreover, with a Democratic Administration (and a new Senate Democratic leader-Mansfield), his ethos had climbed because he was one of the core contributors in the

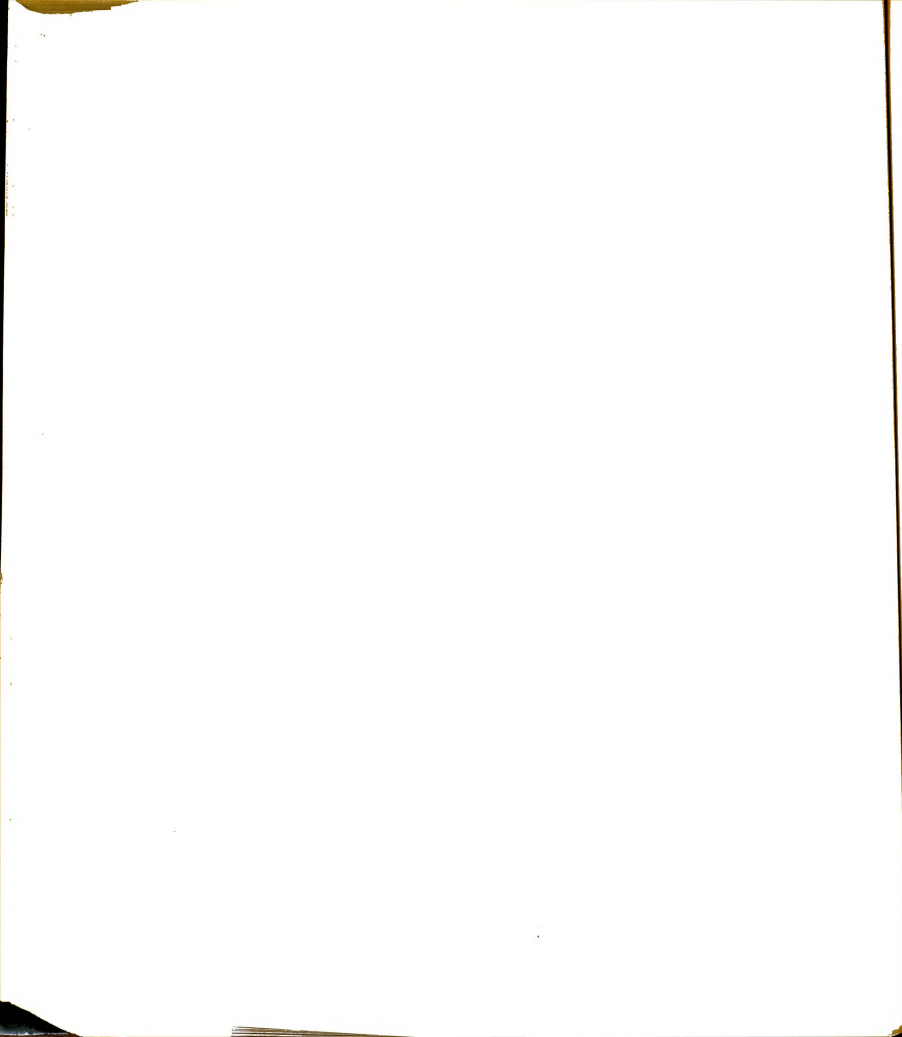
¹ Reprint of Record (daily), April 27, 1961, pp. 1-16.

² Release of text, pp. 1-6.

³ Release of text, pp. 1-36 and Congressional Record--Senate (daily), May 26, 1961, pp. 8500-8615.

⁴ Release of text, pp. 1-6.

⁵ Release of text, pp. 1-13.



formulation of the "New Frontier."

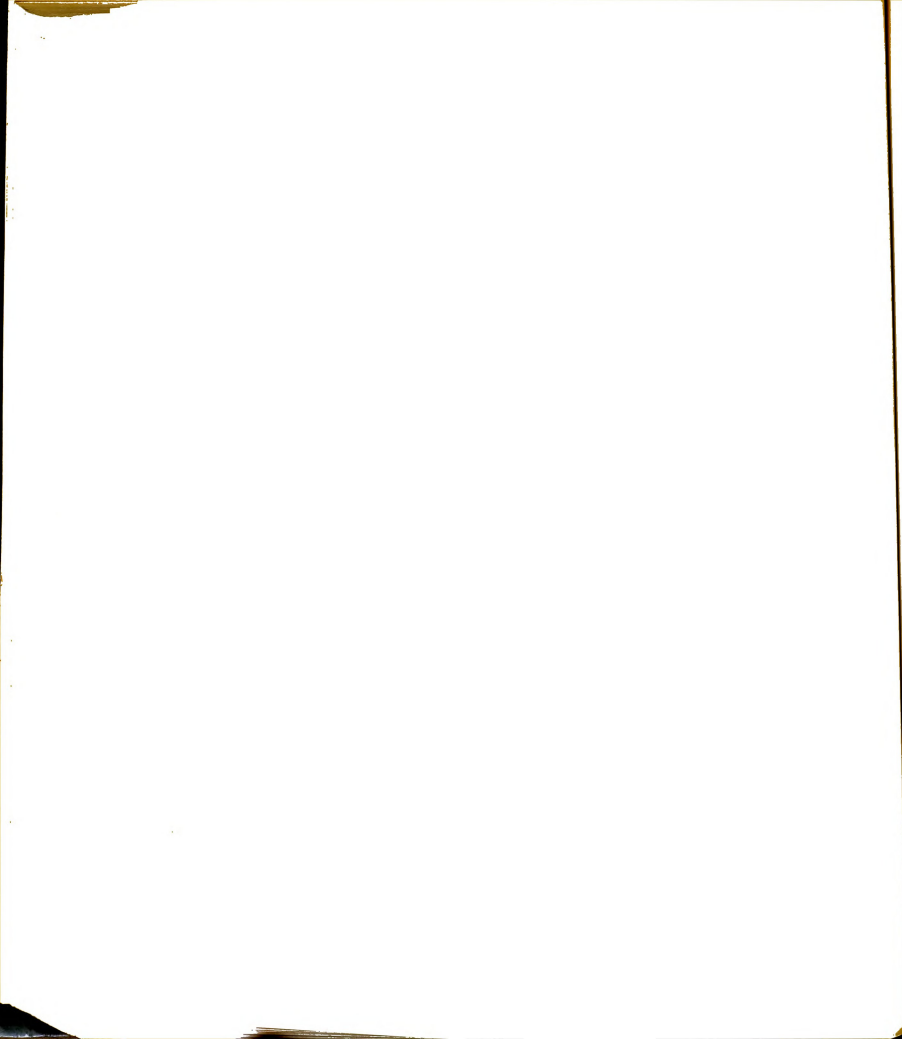
What a difference a President makes. Instead of battling upstream to achieve those things which I have felt were necessary, the President's support is like having the current of a mighty river flowing in the direction one wishes to go.¹

However, because of his maverick tendencies, he was still not among those frequently called in by the President for consultation. Although the number of speeches he gave in the Senate had declined, he took the floor at critical times to lead legislation and floor-manage his bills, and he found it less necessary to repeat all the "facts" on each one just "for the record." He did, however, take the floor 213 times on 92 subjects from January 3 to September 27, 1961.²

The thirteenth year.--In a year when the U. S. viewed with alarm crises over Berlin, the Congo, Cuba, Latin America, and Laos, and Russia's resumption of nuclear testing above ground, Douglas experienced long-awaited success on several of the bills important to him, and he received encouraging signs for the future of others. On May 1, President Kennedy signed into law the Depressed Area Bill. Other Douglas-sponsored bills which passed

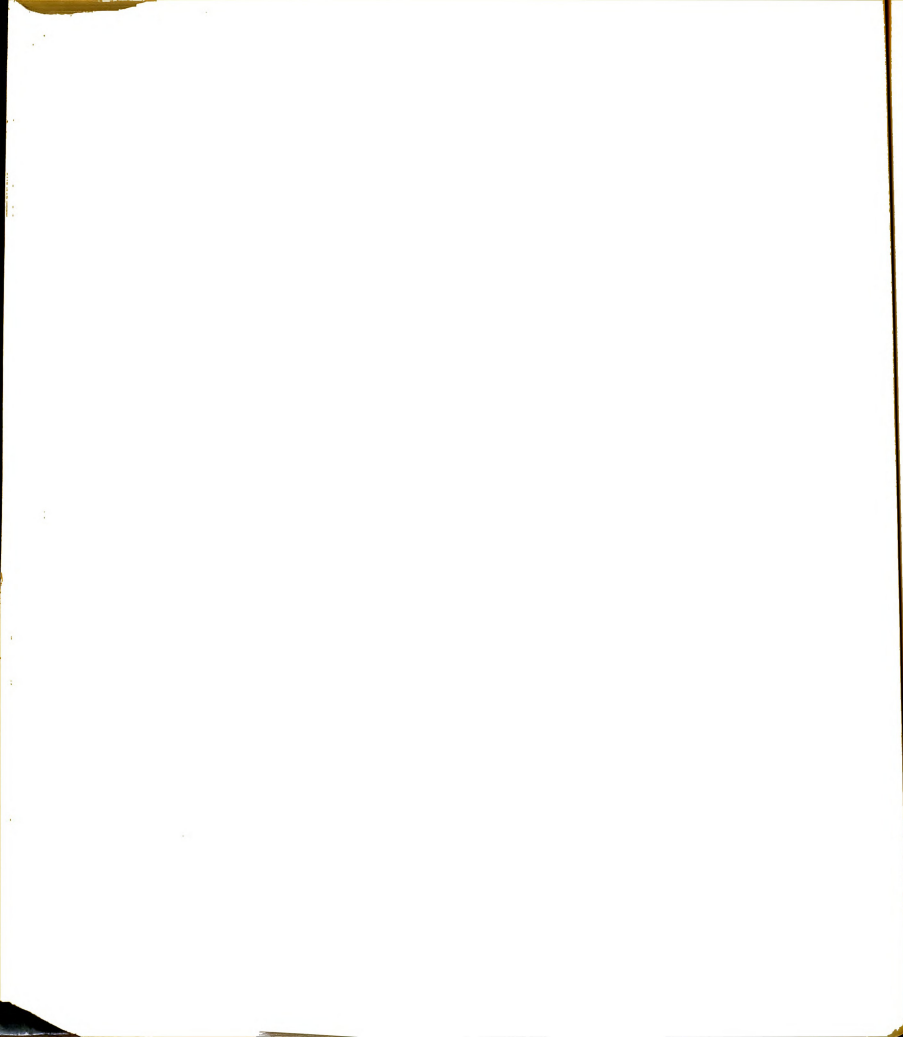
¹Paul H. Douglas. "Senator Douglas Reports," newsletter, December 1961, p. 2.

²Congressional Record Index, 87th Cong., 1st Session, Vol. 107, Part 17, p. 278.



included: the increase of the minimum wage to \$1.25 and the extension of its coverage to about 4 million additional people; the housing bill which included large increases for public housing, urban renewal, housing for the aged, and middle income housing. Additional Douglas' legislation was new or increased social security benefits to 4.4 million people with an increase of the minimum payment from \$33.00 to \$40.00, a reduction in the retirement age of men to 62, and an increase in the benefits for widows, the disabled, and those on public assistance. Bills providing for supplemental unemployment benefits under national standards and, for the first time, aid to the dependent children of the unemployed were passed. A new and greatly improved farm, feed grain, and wheat program also passed. Other measures approved by Congress were: the authorization of development loan funds on a long-term basis under the foreign aid program; the establishment of a Food for Peace Agency to help feed the hungry of the world; the establishment of the Peace Corps; the full appropriation asked for the Alliance for Progress; the ratification of membership in the OECD, in which the U. S. and NATO allies combined to promote economic growth and the sharing of foreign aid; and the establishment of a Disarmament Agency. The civil defense program, the increase in space efforts under the National Aeronautical and Space Agency, and the increase in funds for missiles and combat troops ¹ rounded out the

¹"Douglas Reports," newsletter, December 1961, p. 2.



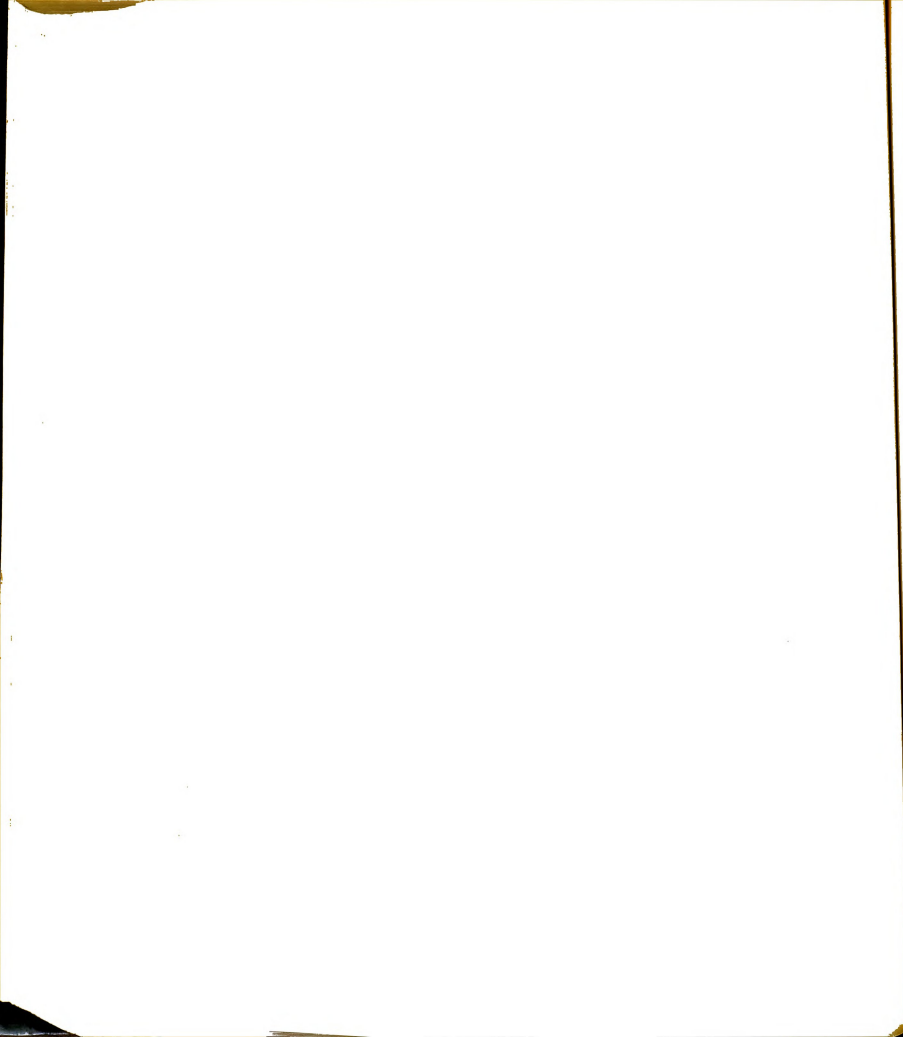
successful legislation supported by Paul Douglas.

Off to Europe,--The day Congress adjourned Douglas left for western Europe to focus attention on Germany and the Berlin crisis. He had always stood for a firm policy in keeping Berlin free as the critical point in holding together the NATO Alliance.

SECOND SESSION

Preview 1962.--In the second session Paul Douglas' off-the-floor role was similar to that of the previous session, but his successes were less obvious. The Trade Expansion Act, passed in the closing days of 1962, was the only major piece of legislation he had championed.

He did achieve some measurable successes on other matters, including a Sugar Act amendment which would return \$100 million to the American Treasury. He also disclosed some malpractices of sugar lobbyists. The Treasury Department adopted Douglas' off-repeated urgings to put long-term bonds at auction to the highest bidder rather than disposing of them at a fixed rate and a fixed yield. He was able to block, at least temporarily, a new proposal (at a higher cost per car than in the proposal he had fought in 1957) for the construction of an extravagant underground capitol garage. His Truth in Lending Bill picked up added support in Congress, was endorsed by Kennedy in a March speech, but was not enacted. His amendment, introduced in the Finance Committee, giving the President the power to raise as well

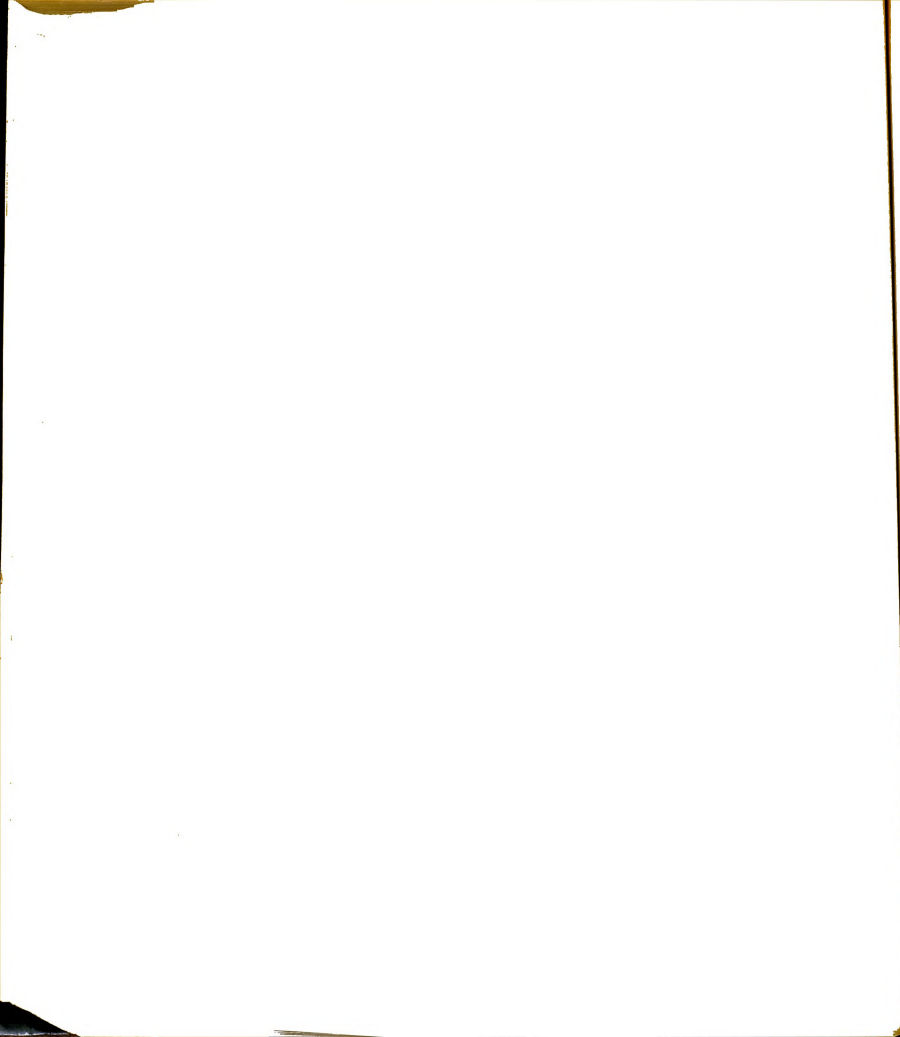


as lower tariffs and quotas in negotiations became a part of the Trade Expansion Act. In another amendment to this act, Douglas proposed that in dealing with any country of the Common Market or European Free Trade Association controlling 80% of the world's trade on a given commodity, reciprocal tariffs could be bargained down to zero. The amendment aimed at protecting Great Britain if she were left out of the Common Market, as Douglas predicted. It failed to pass the Conference Committee due to State Department pressure against it. He was also active in debates on the Communications Satellite Bill and sought legislation to protect citizens' rights in the District of Columbia. The enactment of his protection of pension and welfare funds amendments (to the Welfare and Pension Funds Disclosure Act)--were really the fruition of his hearings on this subject beginning in 1955-56. His old-age welfare amendment, allowing old-age assistance recipients to earn up to \$25 a month without any reduction in their grants, was revised in conference. A \$30 earning exemption for the aged was recommended by the Conference Committee working on the Public Welfare Amendments Act of 1962.¹

Senate speaking.--Douglas introduced his Dunes bill on February 26 in a speech of fifteen minutes.² On March 1,

¹From copies of four 1962 "Senator Douglas Reports," newsletters.

²Release of text, pp. 1-3.

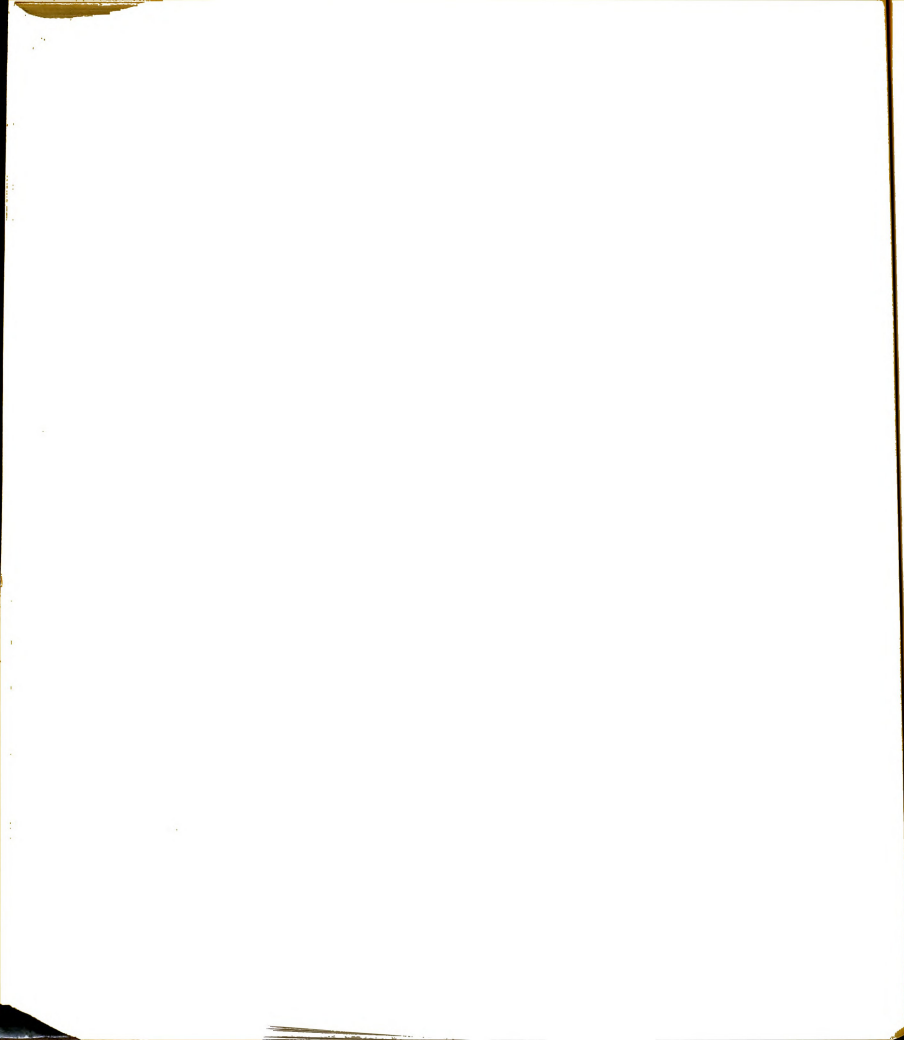


he reported to the Senate for five minutes on the endorsement of the Dunes bill by the President in his message on natural resources of that day. The Senator with diverse interests had begun a campaign in January for the Food and Drug Administration to get whole fish flour declared legal so that it could be used to combat protein deficiencies in backward countries. It was also on March 1 that in a speech of nearly twenty minutes, he called for a halt to building the Capitol garage.

On March 13, he and five other Senators spoke in behalf of five bi-partisan resolutions and bills they were introducing to carry out the 1961 recommendations of the Civil Rights Commission to insure voting rights, equal education opportunities, the end of employment discrimination, non-discriminatory housing, and better administration of justice. In March Douglas was named the chief co-sponsor by each of the five Senators for bills they were speaking on behalf.¹ On March 15, he called his colleagues' attention to the fact that Kennedy had recommended the Truth in Lending Bill in his consumer message forwarded to Congress.² On March 31, Douglas was stirred by the sale of a million cubic yards of sand from the Dunes by Bethlehem

¹ Reprint of Record--Senate (daily), March 13, 1962, pp. 1-15. (These were largely included in the 1964 Civil Rights Act.)

² Release of text, pp. 1-2.



Steel to Northwestern University to fill in its lakefront, and he spoke out against this as a "brutal and anti-social act."¹

"Proposed withholding on taxes owed on dividends and interest income" was the subject of a twenty-five minute speech on May 21 in which he reported the findings of personal investigations he had conducted.² He said he had found most people were "misinformed" on the proposed collection of taxes "by withholding 20% at the source.... So once again I take the opportunity of speaking about this to the country through the medium of the Congressional Record."³

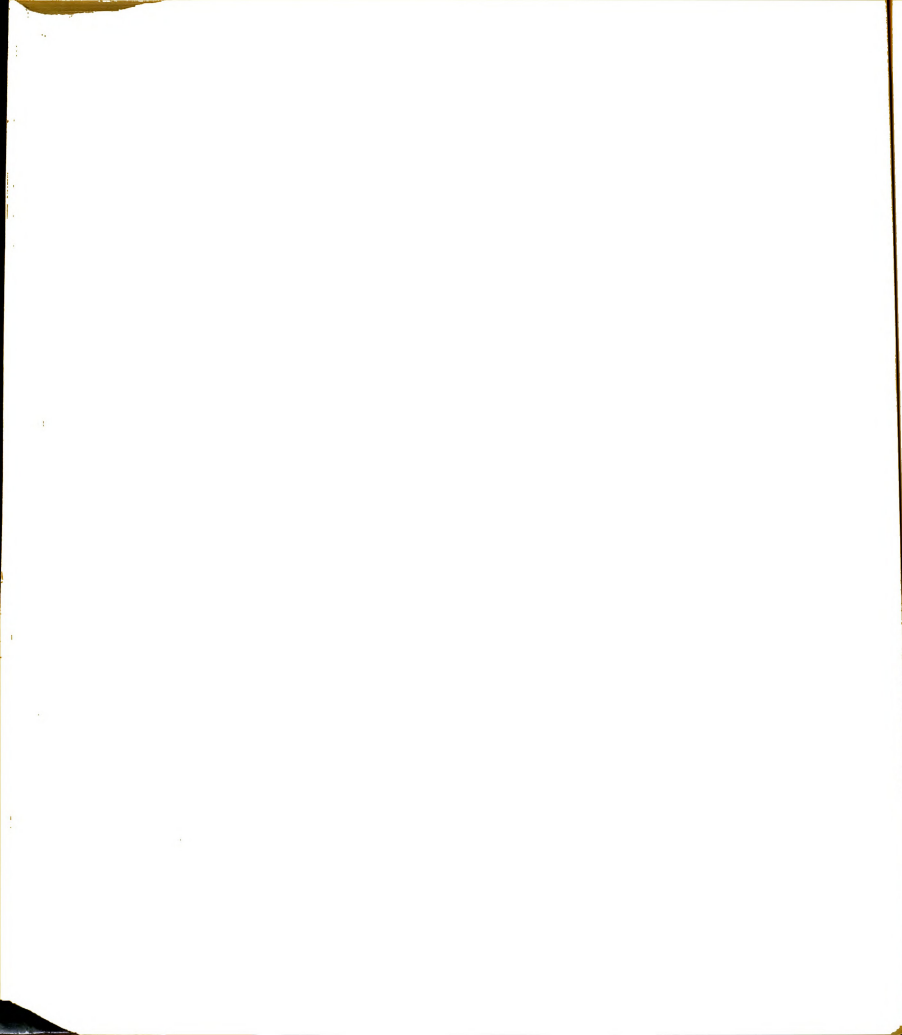
On July 20, Senator Hill (D. Alabama) asked Douglas not to "kill me with kindness" in opposition to his Hill-Burton Bill to build hospitals.⁴ In reality Douglas was objecting to the excess of the appropriation to the National Institute of Health as part of that bill and had heaped more praise on Senator Hill than was necessary before he got to his objection.

¹Release of text, p. 1.

²Reprint of Record (daily), May 21, 1962, p. 1.

³Ibid., and see "The Tax Bill Battle: Withhold-or Not?" Newsweek, June 4, 1962, pp. 78-79 (features Douglas for withholding, Byrd of Virginia against it).

⁴Congressional Record (daily), July 20, 1962, pp. 13325-13332.



Beginning on August 1,¹ and again on August 3,² 14 15,³ and 16,⁴ Douglas was actively involved in the debate on the Communications Satellite Bill. First, he voted against cloture on it on August 16, having served notice for his reasons to do that on August 1 and 3, but cloture was invoked. In the debates on the bill, his objections were based on an assumption that the bill created a private monopoly for the upcoming multibillion dollar space communication industry. Ultimately, the leadership of both parties over-rode the objections of the liberals by invoking cloture. It was a peculiar case in which Douglas found himself desiring to use the filibuster to his own advantage.

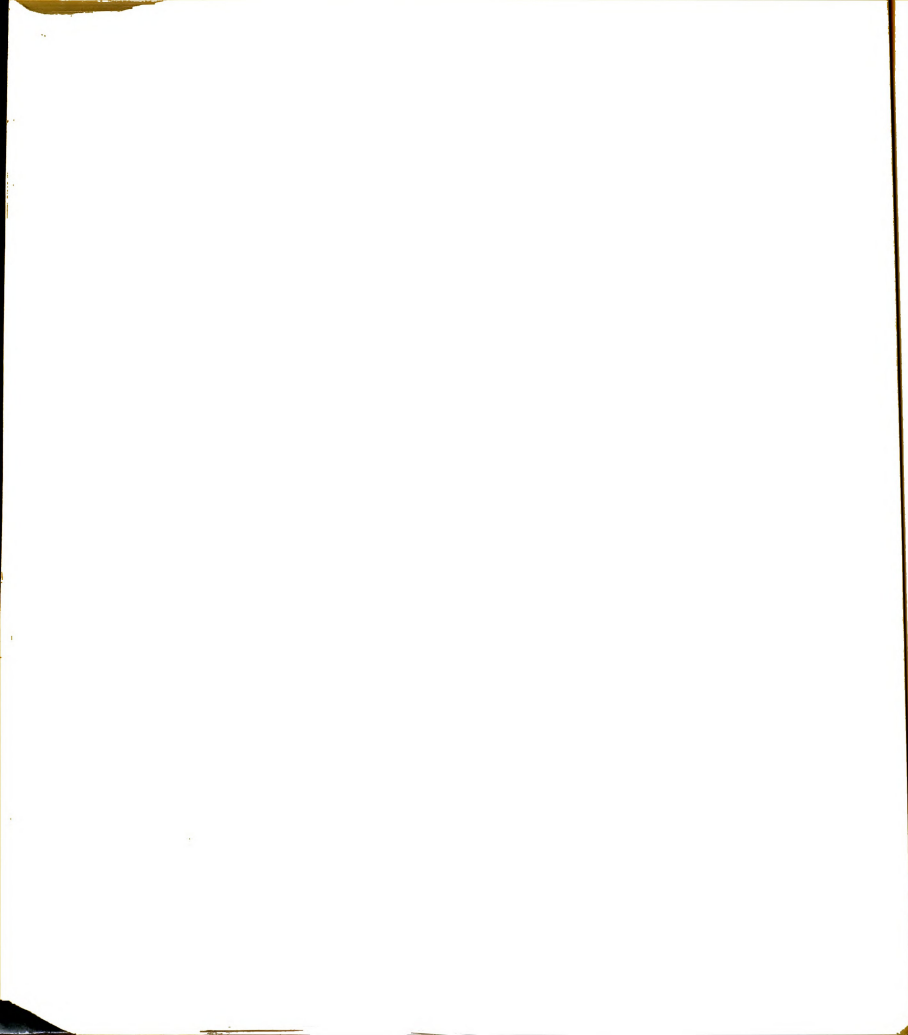
In 1962, encouragement had been coming on his fondest personal cause of saving the Dunes. On August 15 an appropriation was approved for an Army Engineer Corps investigation of the area to make recommendations as to whether the area should be preserved as a 9,000 acre National Lakeshore Park as stipulated in the Douglas Bill. The preservation of this area had been approved by the Bureau of the Budget and endorsed by the Secretary of Interior. The alternative the engineers were to consider

¹Ibid., August 1, 1962, pp. 14214-14218.

²Ibid., August 3, pp. 14565-14572.

³Ibid., August 14 and 15, pp. 15529-15536.

⁴Ibid., August 16, pp. 15644-15650.



was the construction of a public harbor at the Burns Ditch site which would destroy the recreation area value of the Dunes but would facilitate the proposed expansion of the steel companies. The Indiana Congressional delegation and Governor backed the steel companies in the issue.¹

In late August he and Albert Gore led a fight for amendments to close more tax loopholes and block other amendments and riders to the Administration Tax Bill.² In essence, the two Senators were backing the President and they were unsuccessful. As Douglas noted: "More loopholes were opened than were closed in the new tax bill and in the various other tax bills and riders which followed in its wake or which were sneaked through at the last minute."³

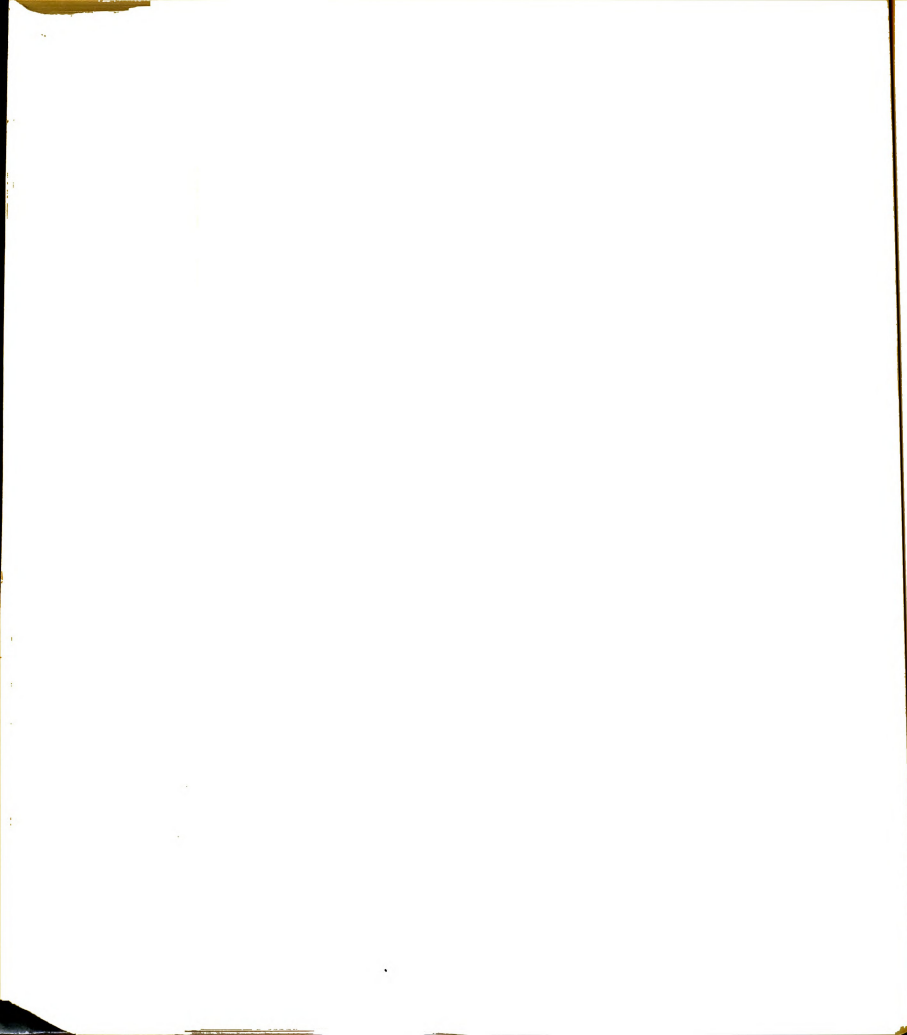
Fourteenth year report to the people.--After the adjournment⁴ Douglas went back to Illinois. He reported in person to the people and campaigned for Democrats and unsuccessfully against Republican Minority Leader Dirksen, with whom he had found a growing lack of any teamwork in the Senate. Besides electioneering, Douglas also gave

¹Release of August 15, 1962, pp. 1-2.

²Congressional Record (daily), August 27, 1962, pp. 16697-16736.

³"Senator Douglas Reports," Newsletter at the end of the 87th Congress, p. 1.

⁴In the second session Douglas had spoken on 334 different occasions and on 108 topics.--Congressional Record Index, 87th Cong., 2nd Session, Vol. 108, Part 18, pp. 236-237.



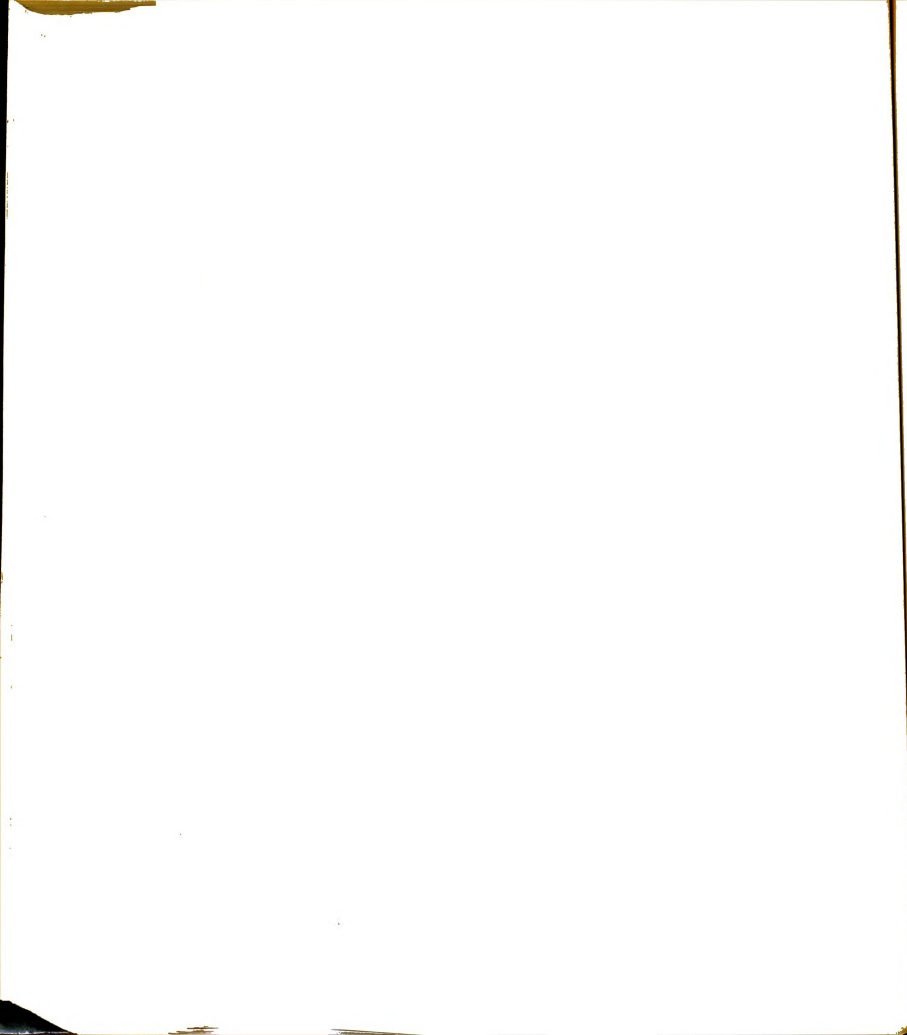
guided jeep tours through the Dunes Area to influential persons as he had done previously and would continue to do.

Eighty-eighth Congress: First Session, 1963

Preview of 1963.--In the off-year election, the people returned 68 Democrats and 32 Republicans in the Senate (a gain of four seats for the Democrats) and 258 Democrats and 176 Republicans in the House. Near the end of the longest session in peacetime history at 2:19 P.M. on December 20, 1963, the Senate passed a hotly debated \$3 billion foreign aid measure with a provision giving the President discretionary authority to approve government guarantees of credit for private commodity sales to the Soviet bloc. The House made the measure official by passing it at 2:51 P.M. after a one-minute session on December 30.¹

Other major accomplishments of that session were: ratification of a limited nuclear test ban treaty; a \$231 million medical education bill; three education bills appropriating \$1.2 billion for college building construction, \$1.56 billion for omnibus vocational education and student loans, and funds for a one-year extension of the National Defense Education Act. An \$11 billion tax cut passed by the House in September was still in Douglas'

¹"Congress Ends Longest Stand," Lansing State Journal, Tuesday, December 31, 1963, pp. 1, 7.



Senate Finance Committee as the session ended.

FIRST SESSION

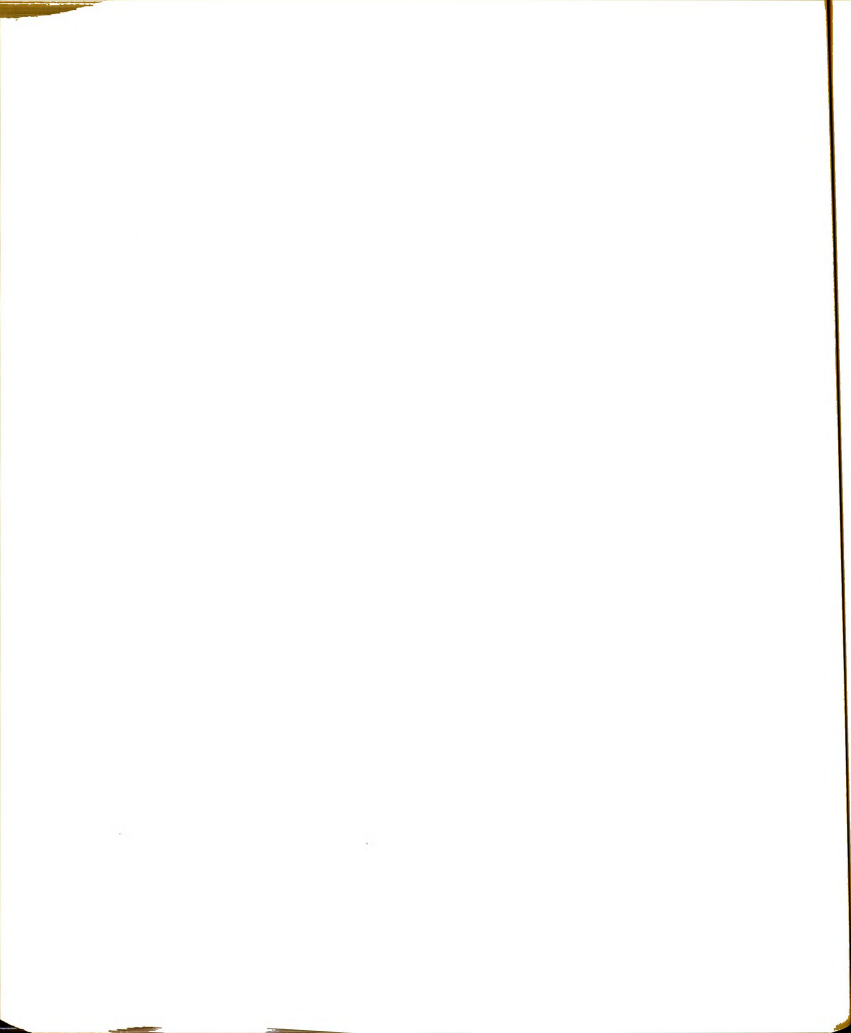
Major appointment.--At the start of the 88th Congress, Douglas received an important and long-awaited appointment to the steering committee, "Committee on Committees," by Majority Leader Mansfield.

Floor fights.--Shortly after convening, from January 15 to January 31, the Senate was tied up in the biennial fight on the filibuster which ended up with the passage of a motion to table the question. Douglas was active in the floor fight to increase the Finance and Foreign Relations Committee from 17 to 21 members and the Appropriations Committee from 27 to 29 members. All of these bills, brought on the floor by Clark, were backed by the Administration in an attempt to get the "New Frontier" program through, and they all failed.

Other measures.--Douglas was also an active speaker at the beginning of the session for Humphrey's Youth Conservation Corps Bill and renewal of the N.D.E.A. Act. On February 4 he introduced the Dunes bill again, with 16 co-signers, and 10 exhibits to be entered in the Record.¹ With 19 other sponsors, he presented his Truth in Lending

¹Reprint of Record (daily), February 4, 1963, pp. 1-7.

In June of 1964, The Dunes Bill came out of committee to be listed on the Senate Calendar for the first time.



ill again on February 7.¹

The Dunes battle.--The Dunes issue flared up in mid-February when President Kennedy issued a statement that Douglas and other supporters were inaccurate in saying on February 12 that "the Burns Ditch Harbor Project was dead" because the matter was still under study.² The following day, Indiana Republican State Senator Bontrager read to the Indiana legislature:

"It is President Kennedy and nobody else who has established the blockade of the Port"... the delay in federal action on the port is "another installment payment to the Senator Paul Douglas-Chicago Mayor Richard Daley machine for having delivered enough votes from Chicago to give Kennedy his eyelash victory in 1960."³

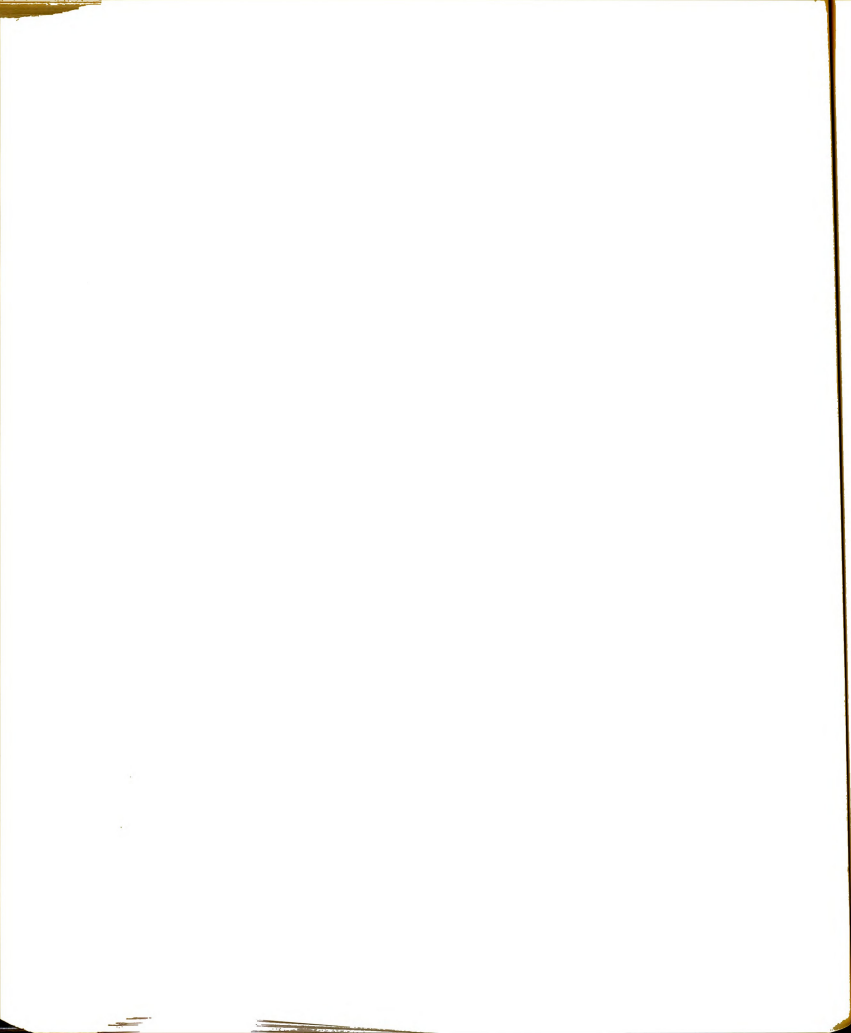
Two days later, Indiana's U. S. Democratic Senator Bayh, noting that the previous weekend Udall had sent a team of three Congressional delegates with Douglas to the Dunes, blasted Douglas as the instigator of Interior Secretary Udall's rescinding an invitation to Bethlehem Steel representatives to come to Washington to talk about the Harbor project. Bayh went on to note that Indiana was doing quite well with two Senators and did not need a third.⁴

¹Release of text, pp. 1-3; and reprint of Record (daily), February 7, 1963, pp. 1-4.

²"Dunes Harbor not Dead--White House," Chicago's American, February 13, 1963, p. 3.

³Ibid., February 14, 1963, p. 3.

⁴Chicago's American, February 16, 1963, p. 3.



The next day House Republican leader Halleck (the Dunes is in his district) reported that he had assurances from Bethlehem Steel that they intended to level the Dunes to develop a mill as scheduled, in spite of Douglas' protests.¹ Then on February 21, Governor Welsh of Indiana indicted Douglas and the Budget Bureau for holding up special reports from the Army Corps of Engineers.² Welsh favored the harbor being built by state or even Federal funds.³ But it was Bethlehem Steel which helped clear up the matter on February 26 by issuing a statement that their plant and total development of the harbor was ten years away--"if it's built."⁴ After this, on March 6 the Indiana Senate withdrew a \$21 million bill to start development of the harbor.⁵ Douglas had been very quiet during this period. The harbor project seemed to be dead and the Dunes saved when the Army Engineers ordered a delay in the moving of sand from the Dunes to Northwestern University and told the contracting firms to clean up the harbor.⁶

¹Ibid., February 17, p. 11.

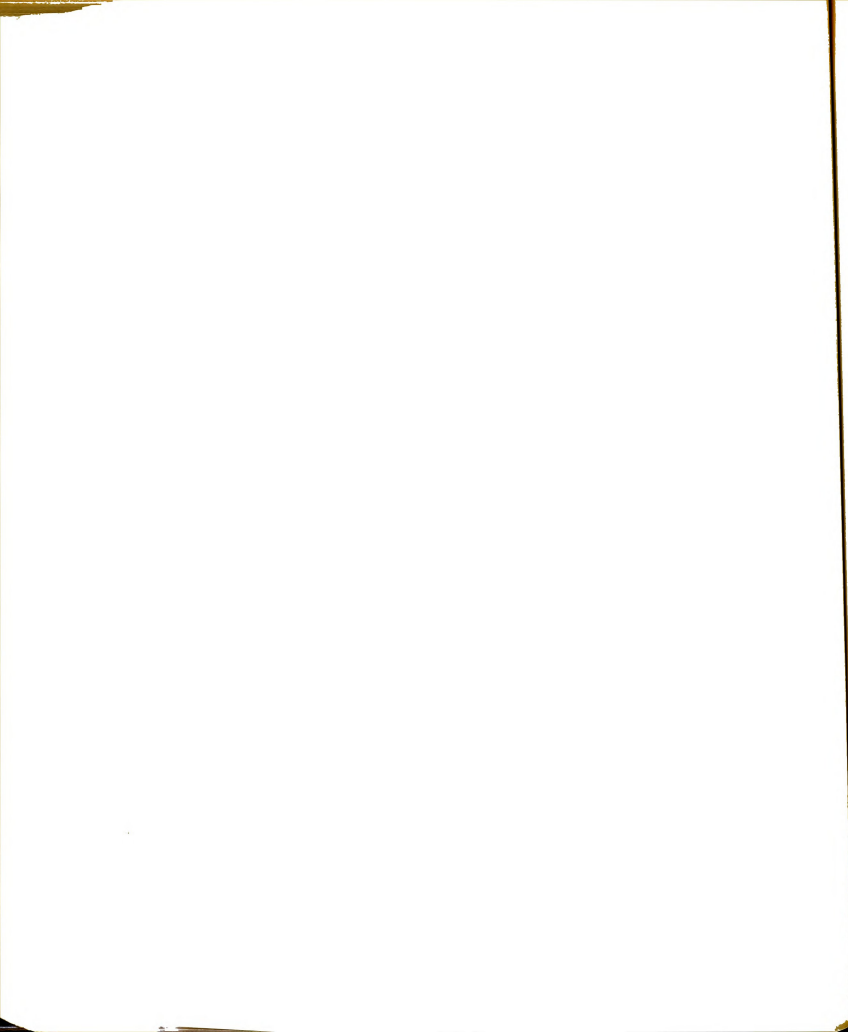
²Ibid., February 21, pp. 1 & 4.

³In a front page story on February 23, "Dunes Harbor Issue: Who Pays, Profits?" Chicago's American indicted the use of federal funds, pp. 1, 5.

⁴Chicago's American, February 26, pp. 1 & 4.

⁵Ibid., March 6, p. 3.

⁶"Halt Removal of Sands," Chicago's American, April 18, 1963, p. 1.



Hearings.--During March, the Illinois Senator was again holding hearings on defense procurement. On April 15,¹ he gave a twenty-five minute speech in tribute to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and his program reducing costs in defense procurement in the Senate. In April he was also urging Finance Committee chairman under-way on the tax cut bill.

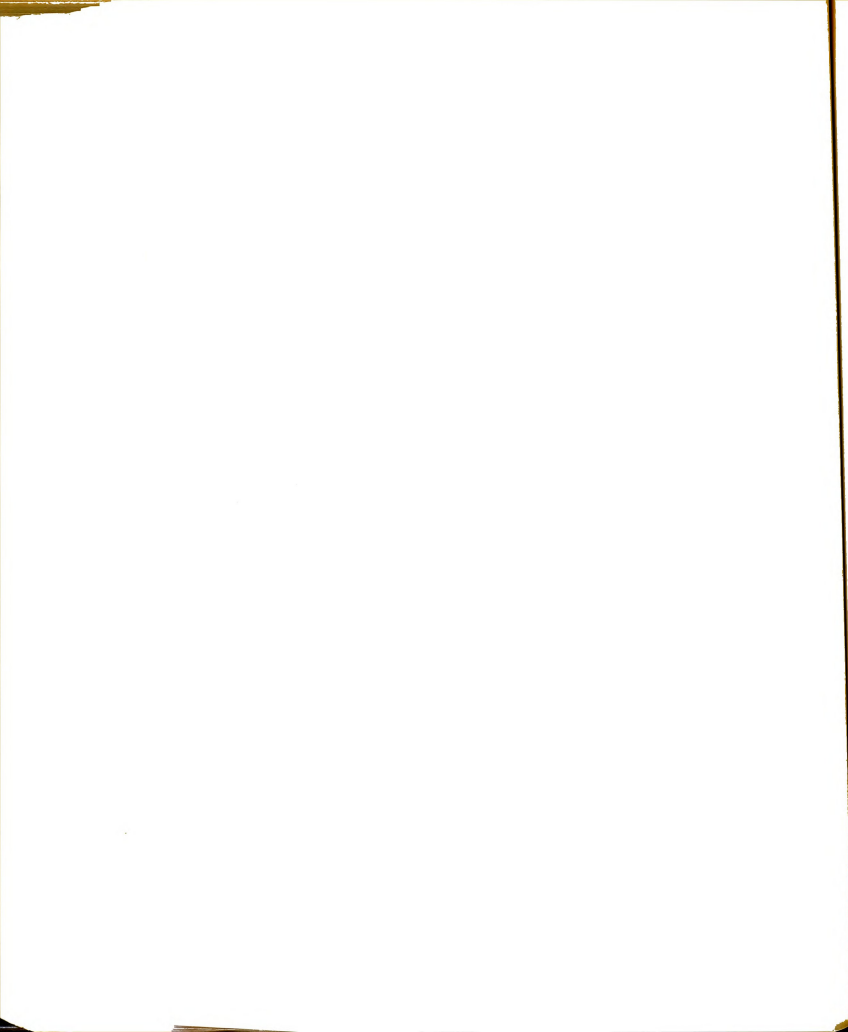
On steel prices.--In April, at the request of President Kennedy, Douglas began hearings on steel prices. Chaired by Douglas, this special Joint Economic Subcommittee on steel industry prices attracted much attention.² The committee hearings on steel ended on May 2, and on May 9 Douglas addressed the Senate for some thirty minutes.³ Armed with numerous tables for support of his arguments, he explained that higher shipping rates were being paid by nations for steel imported from the U. S. than from other countries, thus leaving the U.S. in a disadvantageous competitive position on the world steel market. He suggested possible collusion between steel companies and shipping companies, but apparent discrimination against American

¹Release of text, pp. 1-5.

²See "Congress to Hold Inquiry on Steel More Prices Rise." New York Times, April 16, 1963, p. A 1 & 45; also Ibid., April 17, p. 36, "Steel Under Study," (editorial); and "JFK Silent, But 'Backs' Douglas' Steel Probe," Chicago's American, April 17, 1963, p. 8.

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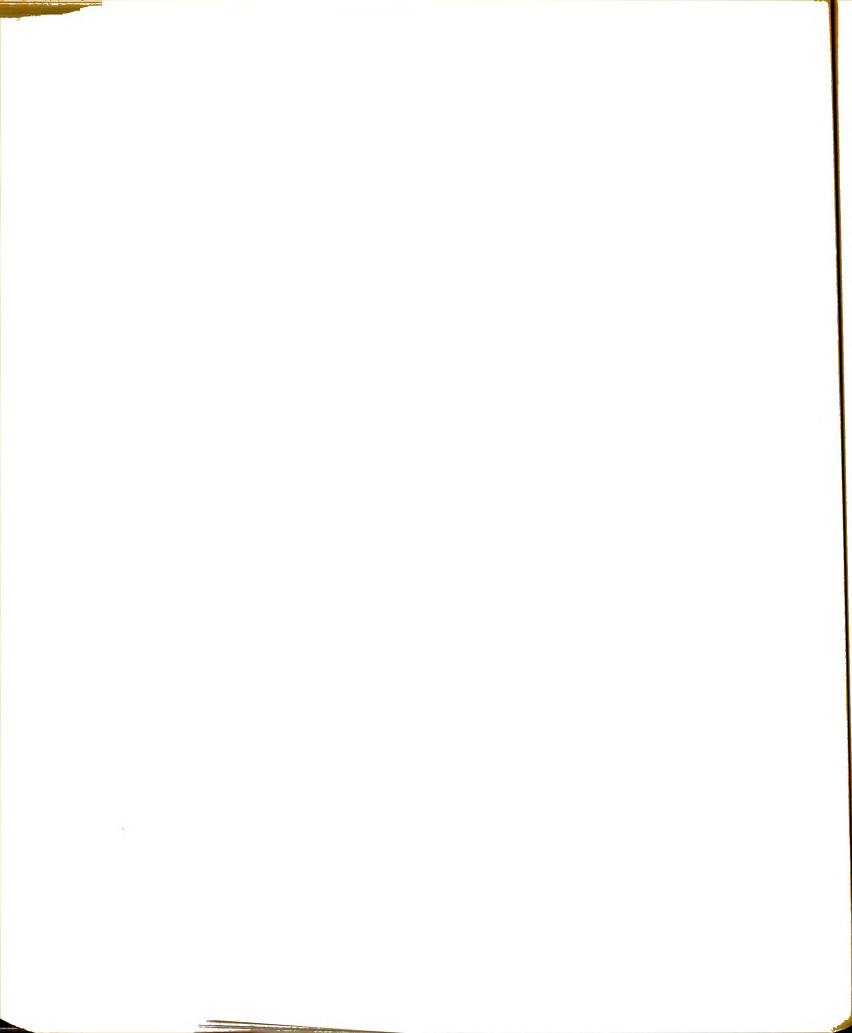
Release of text, pp. 1-10.



products by international cartels had not been investigated by the U. S. Agency with jurisdiction in these matters--The Maritime Commission. Finally, he noted that the Maritime Commission could produce no satisfactory answer for the higher shipping costs, and Douglas ended by urging that the Senate charge the Commission to do more than "look" into this matter.

Philippine war reparations.--Late in the afternoon of May 23, he gave a speech, which lasted for more than an hour and included a colloquy with Senator Russell Long, of Louisiana. Douglas and Long were presenting an amendment to disallow appropriations for a 1946 act on Philippine War reparations. In his speech, the Illinois Senator argued that additional appropriations should not be granted for fulfillment of the terms of the Philippine War Reparations Act of 1946 to pay damages of World War II to that country. Douglas contended that the U. S. had already amply fulfilled its responsibility in this matter, pointing out that previous amendments cutting appropriations for the 1946 Act should be considered. He argued that corruption and the fulfillment of unauthorized promises by lobbyists seemed to be the only rationale for the continued payment. Moreover, he cited the fact that the Philippines had long since recovered from war damage and had long since gained its independence from the U. S. territorial status it held at the time of the 1946 Act.¹ Douglas and Long were voted down

¹ See Congressional Daily Record, May 23, 1963, pp. 866-8870 and Appendix B.



as their amendment failed at 6:40 P.M. by 45-22.¹

Civil rights.--He continued his work on civil rights and other concerns with testimony before committees during May and June. Strategy was developing for Senate debate on the Administration's civil rights bill presented to Congress in June, a time of outbreaks in Birmingham and elsewhere. Work was slow on the civil rights bill. Debate in committee began in June, with Douglas actively supporting the omnibus bill for equal access for Negroes to all public facilities, authority for the Government to bring suits against school segregation, and the elimination of job discrimination.² But it was not until June of 1964 that major civil rights legislation was passed.

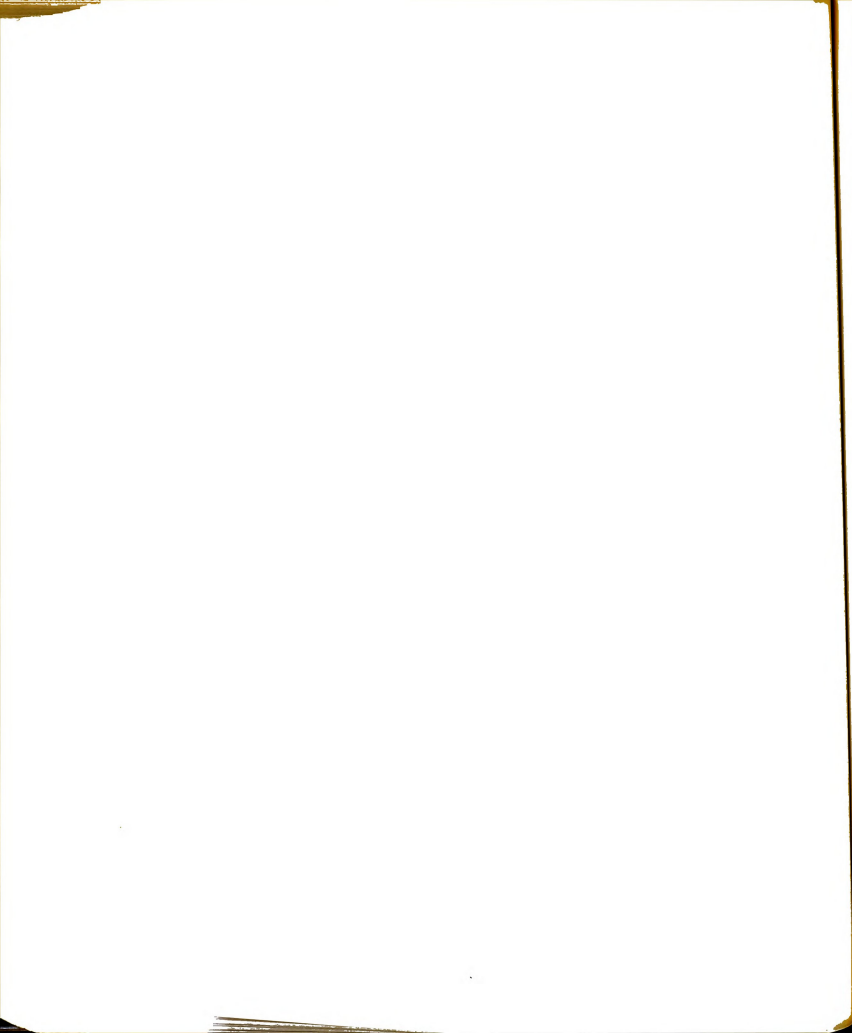
While the debates continued, the Negro population was making plans for a massive march on Washington in August. He and his wife joined in the orderly civil rights march of 200,000 in Washington on August 29.

Area redevelopment.--On June 12, the House rejected Douglas' bill for an additional \$450 million for area redevelopment by a vote of 209-205. Douglas pushed for Senate debate on the bill.³

¹Ibid., p. 8870.

²On July 5, Chicago's American reported that Mayor Daley was jeered and Douglas cheered at an NAACP rally.

³"Jobs Bill is Revised in Senate," Chicago's American, June 16, 1963, p. 7.



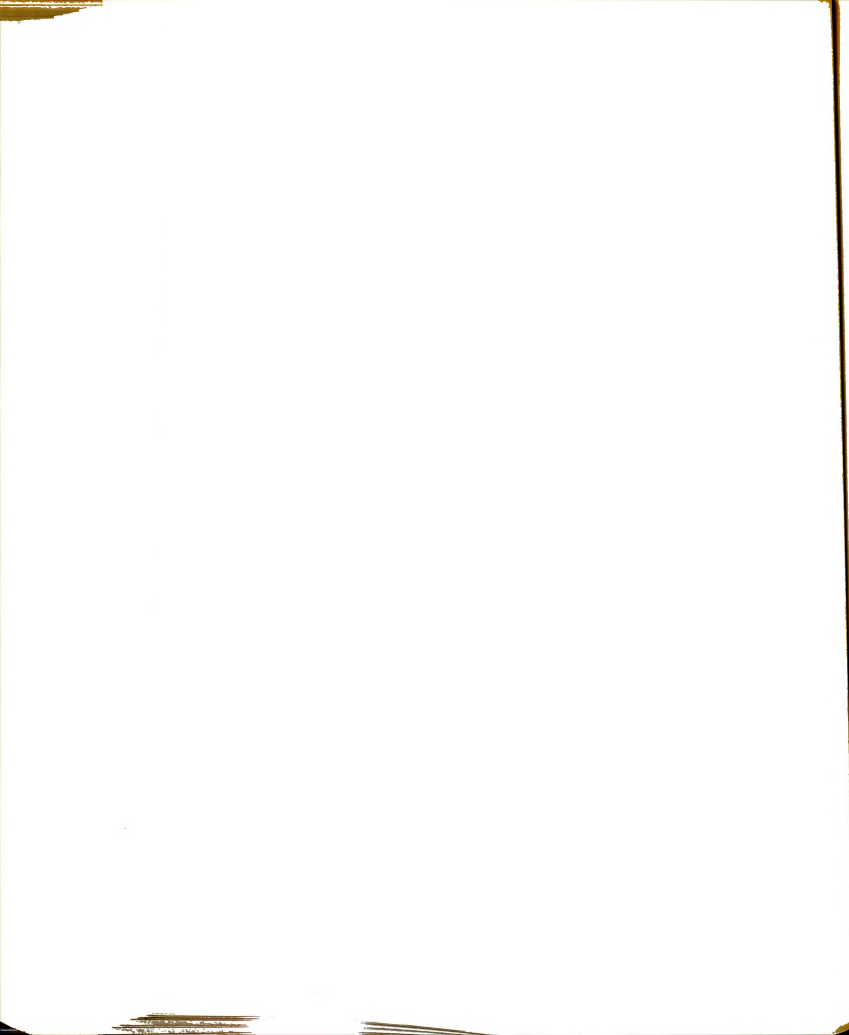
Test ban treaty.--In late July the East-West Test Ban Treaty was negotiated and then subsequently passed in the Senate by the necessary two-thirds vote. Douglas wholeheartedly supported this treaty.

Committee work.--Just as civil rights dominated the news, it also dominated Douglas' work--most of it off the floor in committees. Douglas was also working for the Administration's foreign aid and tax cut bills which were bogged down in committee.

The final days.--The Senate, involved in floor debate on the Administration's Foreign Aid Bill, was shocked on November 22 to learn of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Paul Douglas, who had worked with Kennedy, joined those presenting an eulogy to him in the Senate. In March of 1962, Douglas had said of Kennedy: "I like him very much...and since he has become President he has adopted with fervor many of the things that are close to my heart."¹

Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson, sworn in as President immediately, stated in an address to a joint session that he would continue the Kennedy program. The Congress responded by passing the Foreign Aid Bill just before adjournment, but the thorny civil rights and tax cut

¹Douglas quoted in McGrath, op. cit., p. 44. During the first four years, Theodore Sorensen, was on Douglas' Wash. staff. Sorensen joined the staff of Sen. John F. Kennedy in 1953, after Douglas recommended him to Kennedy.



bills¹ remained for the next session.

It was not a satisfying session for Douglas. He had worked especially hard in committee to get the Kennedy program through, but was only moderately successful. With the death of Kennedy, future support from the White House for causes of personal concern to him, especially those related to Illinois, looked dim, for the new President and Douglas had seldom seen eye-to-eye in the Senate.²

Summary³

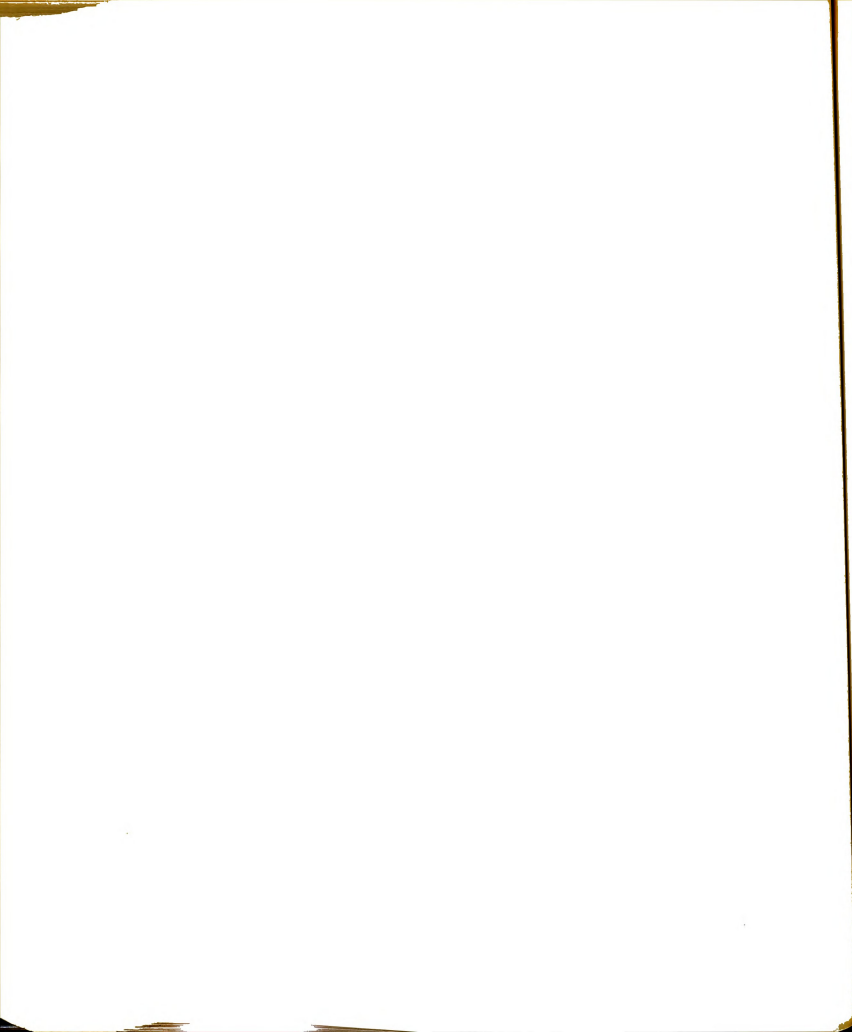
Speeches : 1949-1963

Extant items in his Washington file since 1949 indicate that Senator Douglas delivered over 190 Senate speeches

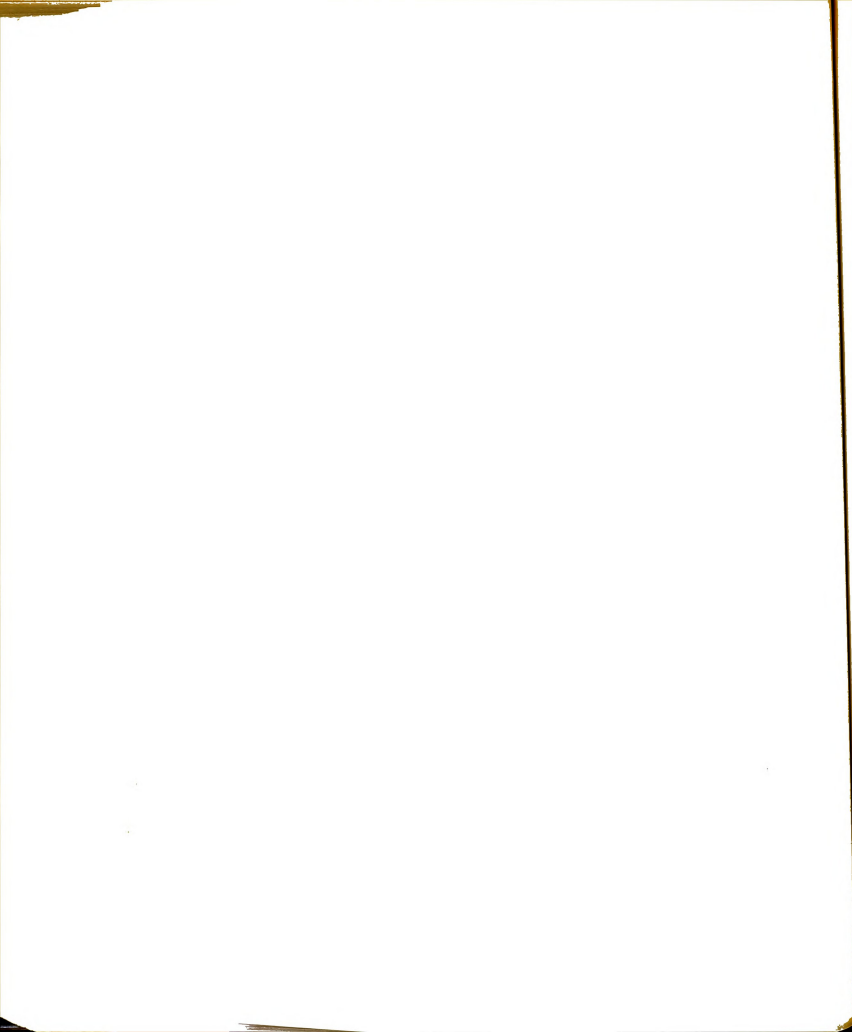
¹Douglas was interviewed on CBS television news broadcasts on December 12, 1963, disclosing a dozen oil millionaires paid little or no income tax in 1963 due to tax loophole. "People," Sports Illustrated, December 13, 1963, p. 50, lightly reported that Douglas had given lukewarm endorsement to professional football player Pete Retzliff's suggestion that the new tax bill allow professional athletes a deduction for depletion of their physical strength, stamina, and skills, "but that Douglas did not accept a fellow Senator's suggestion for similar allowances to legislators because 'when a legislator outlives his usefulness, he becomes a lobbyist and his earning power increases.'"

²Howard Shuman reports "that one time (no date given) after Johnson had mopped-up the floor against us, the Senator turned to me as we reached the elevator and said, 'Punch that button three times and let's pretend we are Senators.' "--From Shuman interview of May 22, 1963.

³During his Senate career, Paul Douglas has been awarded honorary Doctor of Law degrees by 19 colleges and universities including Lake Forest, MacMurray, Knox, DePaul, Brandeis, Swarthmore, Bowdoin and Oberlin, a Doctor of Literature degree from Rollins and a Doctor of Civil Law degree from Bucknell.



from prepared manuscripts ranging in length from five minutes to the better part of three days, an average of thirteen each session. Entries in the indexes of the Record during that same period indicate he addressed the chair nearly 6,000 times, an average of close to 400 each year, ranging in length from multi-day addresses to brief remarks requesting entry of some printed material into the Record. He spoke on an average of over 140 different subjects each year, repeating many of them every session.



CHAPTER VIII

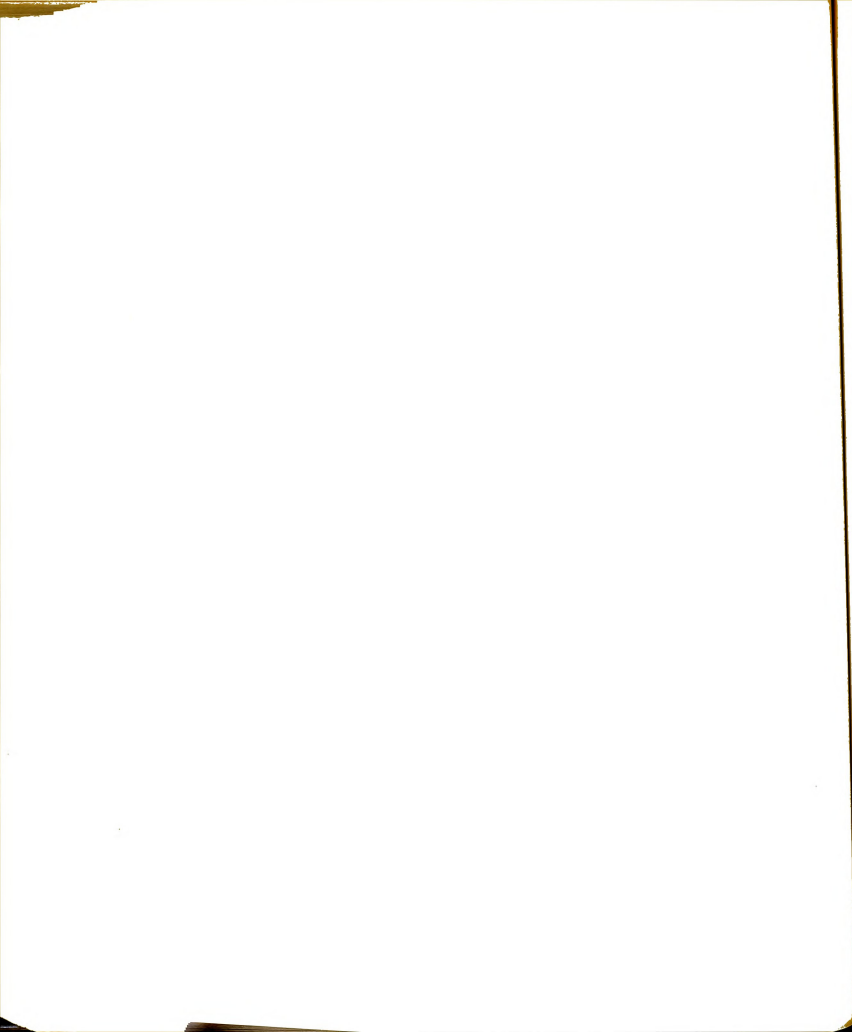
AGAINST THE NATURAL GAS BILL

March 21-22, 1950

Setting and Circumstances

Natural gas as a public utility has become of increasing importance in the last three decades. The discovery of several new sources of natural gas, plus the awareness that it was cheap, competitive with coal, a clean fuel with a higher heat content than manufactured gas, and was going to waste because of a lack of means to transport it to industrial centers, especially those in the Midwest, caused an extensive network of pipe lines to be built. This network has made gas available to millions of homes and to industrial centers. The control of the networks became critical because gas could be most economically transported only by pipe line, and the crossing of pipe lines over state lines led to the question of the role which the Federal Government should assume in the potential monopoly of this resource by those concerns controlling pipe lines.

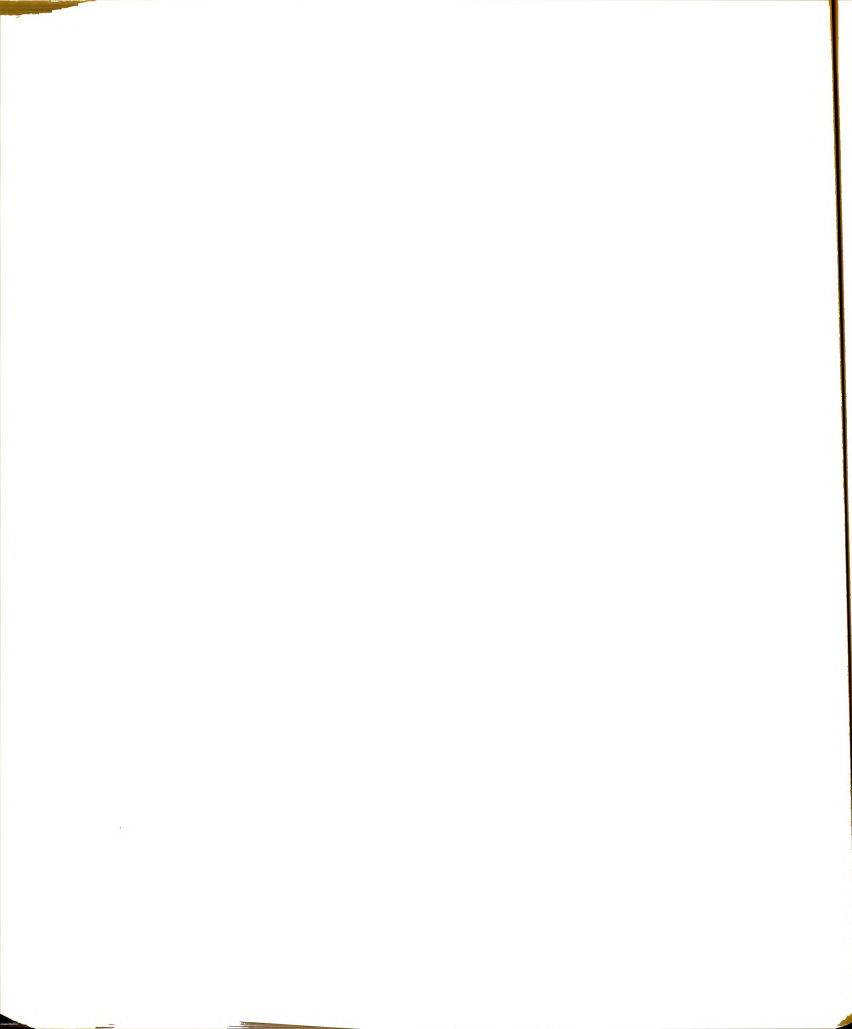
The natural gas bill of 1950 in question (S. 1498) was jointly sponsored by Senators Kerr and Thomas from Oklahoma, a state rich in gas resources, and reported by



Johnson of Texas from another state noted for its natural gas reserve. S. 1498 was a bill to amend the Natural Gas Act of 1938 by repealing regulatory price rates fixed by the Federal Power Commission for non-transporters (independent producers and gatherers) of natural gas in interstate sales. The provisions of the act and the evolution of the issue are developed in Paul Douglas' speech and therefore will be examined in the analysis of his speech.

After the normal proceedings of hearings on the bill in February and March, the bill came on to the floor on March 16 and was the subject of debate for three days prior to the delivery of Douglas' major address on March 21-22. Paul Douglas had been active in the previous debates and had risen briefly late on the afternoon of March 20, using explanation as argument in preliminary remarks to his major address, "Against the Natural Gas Bill," to set the stage for his speech of the next day for his audience of 54 Democrats and 42 Republicans.

On the afternoon of March 21, Douglas held the floor for over five hours, of which two hours were taken up in debate and colloquy. He made brief reference to the previous day's (March 20) statement in "off-the-cuff" remarks in the introduction to this speech. He continued his prepared remarks for an hour the next afternoon, March 22, and amidst constant heckling, yielded the floor, and requested "the conclusion of my remarks" (about two hours' worth) be



printed in the Record.¹

Factors of Persuasion

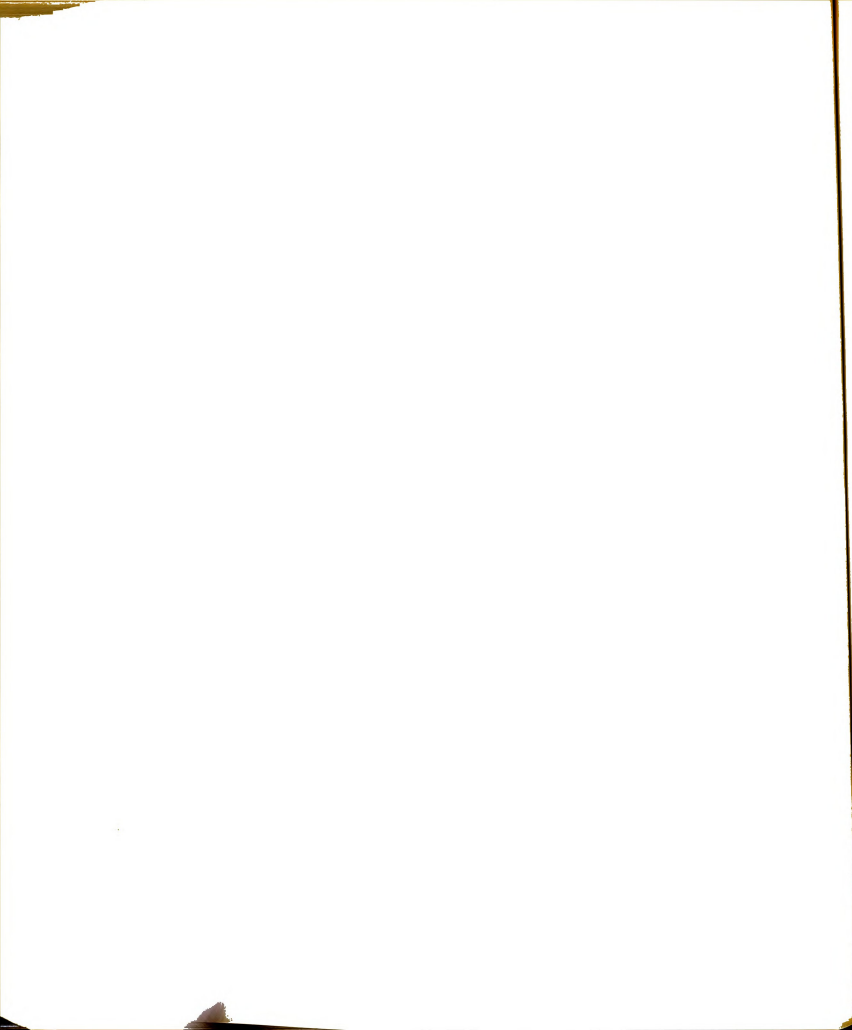
With a neutral or hostile audience a persuasive speaker usually makes some attempt to establish or reinforce his ethical persuasion by creating rapport and good will, establishing good character and transmitting an image of competence. Douglas did this by comparison to his opposition. He attempted to convey comparatively better ethos by both logical and psychological methods of persuasion.

He began by a capsule review of his remarks of the previous day and of the debate to date, and contended that the proponents of the bill had been notably silent in presenting any affirmative case.

...except for the brief opening statement made by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Johnson], the proponents of the Kerr bill had not advanced any direct, coherent, or connected series of arguments for their measure. While we have had three full days of debate upon the Kerr bill, the proponents have apparently been sitting back and not presenting their case. Seven opponents of the measure have taken the floor and, as they have done so, have been subjected to a barrage of questioning. But, aside from the senior Senator from Colorado, the proponents of the measure have not themselves presented arguments for the bill in any coherent and concrete manner.²

¹See Congressional Record--Senate, 81st Cong., 2nd Sess., Vol. 96, Part 3, March 21, 1950, pp. 3710-3736, and March 22, 1950, pp. 3778-3784. Douglas had delivered all of the text of the extant copy of the speech in his file, but added several remarks in platform adjustments.

²Ibid., March 21, 1950, p. 3710.



With this introduction of his refutation based upon an attack on negative evidence (a lack of it) by the opposition, he continued along this line by implicatively showing fair play on his part in fulfilling his responsibility as an advocate, added invective and the clear implication of the weakness and a lack of responsibility in meeting a burden of proof in the defense of the bill by the opposition. He recalled that yesterday "in the interest of clarity, fair play and Christian charity.... I devoted my time then to stating the arguments which might be advanced in support of the Kerr Bill."¹

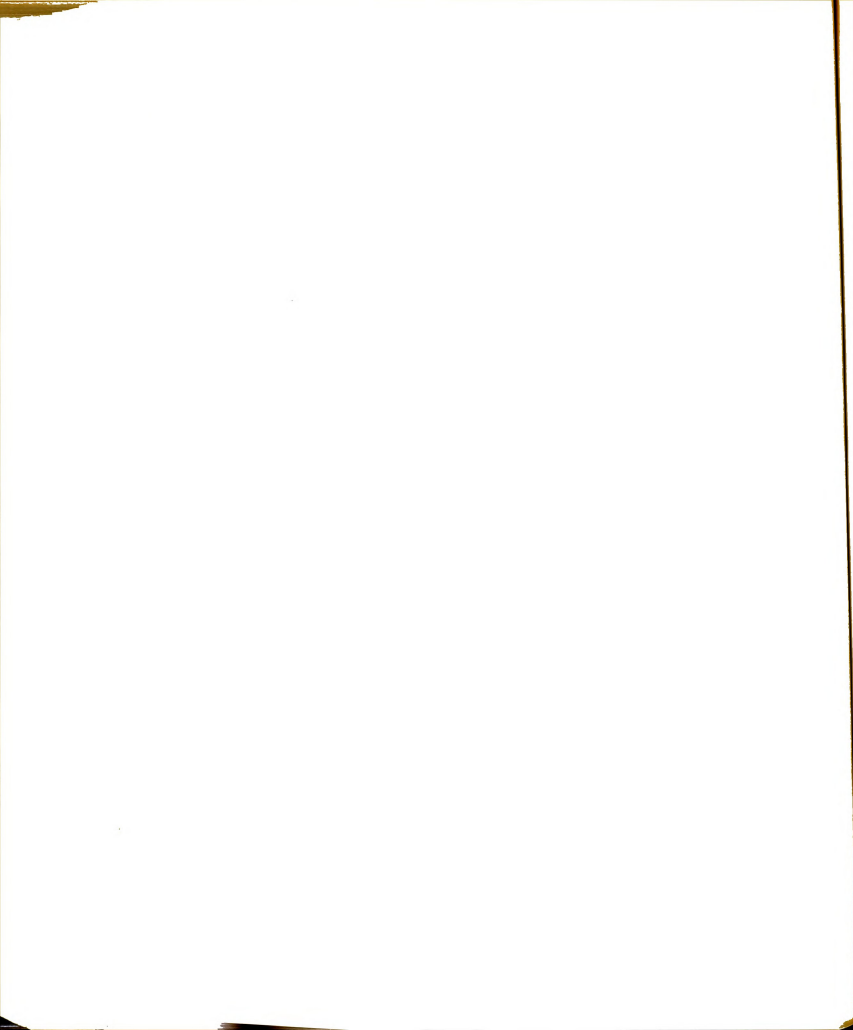
The speaker chose to continue with this appeal, and with a "straw man" technique restated the top arguments he had constructed and refuted for the opposition the previous day.

In the time which I then had available, I was able to take up only two arguments which the proponents of this bill might advance; namely, first, that it was designed to end confusion; and, second, that the Kerr bill is sharply differentiated from the Moore-Rizley bill of unhappy memory. I tried to state those two arguments accurately and fairly. But, inasmuch as those two contentions are, to my mind, unsound and lead to wrong conclusions, I also felt compelled to show the fallacy of those arguments.²

In his attempt at personal image-building by being altruistic, kind, and charitable, he went on to note that he would be pleased to mention other arguments for the opposition "to show their incorrectness, should the proponents of the

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.



bill continue to be coy."¹ He was attempting to establish negative ethical persuasion for the opposition at this point (thus building up his own) and with clear sarcasm challenge them to speak out, if they could, on behalf of their bill. He next used an analogy playing on the term "disease" to attack the opponents:

It is sometimes valuable to inoculate a person with a small dose of the disease against which one is trying to protect him, in order that his system may become immune to further attack. Should the proponents of this measure continue to hold back and not present their arguments, I may be compelled to hold the floor for a brief additional time on their behalf, and then to try as best I may to demolish the arguments which they themselves should have brought forward.²

After this attempt to discredit, he made his transition to introduce the real purpose of his stand on the floor:

...to discuss this measure itself and to indicate the reasons why in my judgment it is a bad bill and why the Senate should not pass it, and why, if by any chance the Senate does pass it, the President of the United States should veto it.³

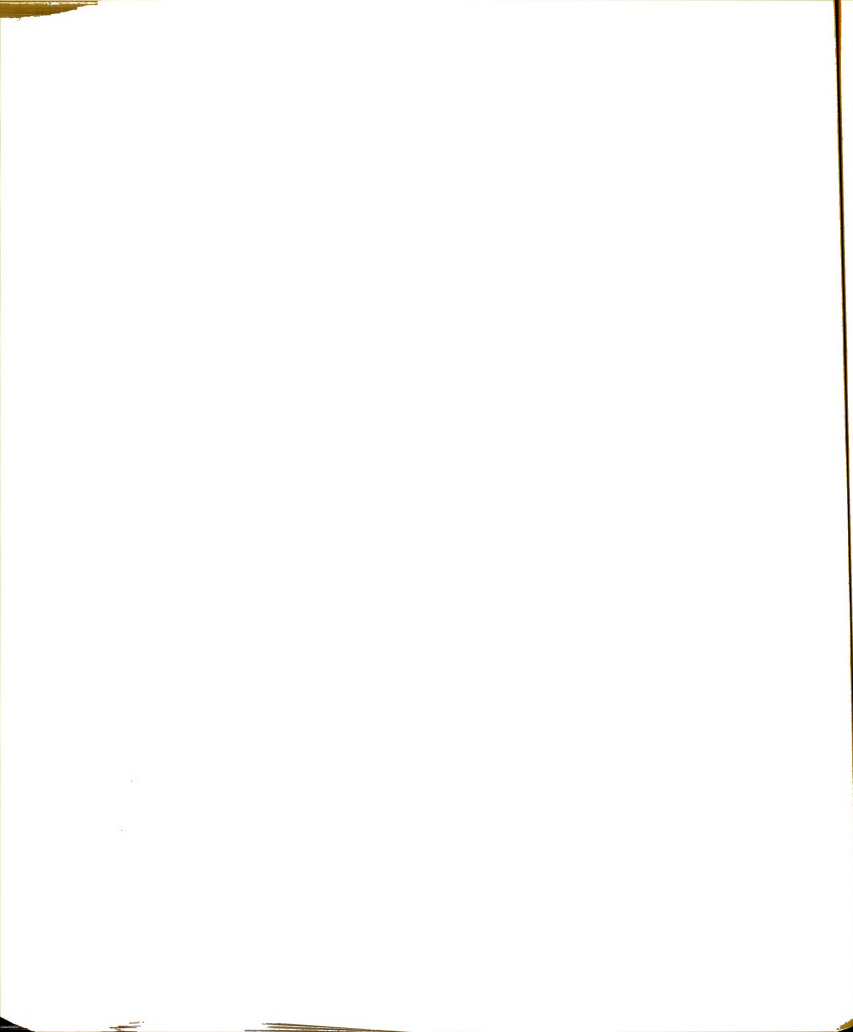
It was then that Douglas clearly attempted to develop positive ethos; first, by the method of common ground, and second by making even more succinct the division of opinion between himself and the opposition. He commended the three Senators for presenting the bill because it was a germane matter for Congress,⁴ not administrative agencies, to handle

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., pp. 3710-3711.

⁴Ibid., p. 3711. This represents the beginning of his prepared text as indicated by the file copy.



with "shifting personnel and at times their somewhat changing viewpoints."¹ However, he went on to say:

I happen to believe that the Senators from Oklahoma and Texas are mistaken in wanting to exempt from regulation the price of gas which is charged by producers and gatherers who are not affiliated with the pipe lines.... In my judgment this group might better be termed "nontransporting producers and gatherers," rather than independent producers, inasmuch as the word "independent" suggests that they are companies small in size or individuals in overalls, which they distinctly are not. The nontransporting producers and gatherers, as I shall show in the course of my address, are, in the main, the big oil and gas companies, subsidiaries and affiliates of Standard Oil, Shell, Gulf, Skelly, Phillips, Republic, and so on. The attempt to put overalls on these companies and to dress them up as independents is at variance with the facts.²

Having noted that he had quite a different referent for the key terms, he said, "in the interest of clarity of language--believe, semantic clarity...we should refer to this group...as nontransporting producers and gatherers."³

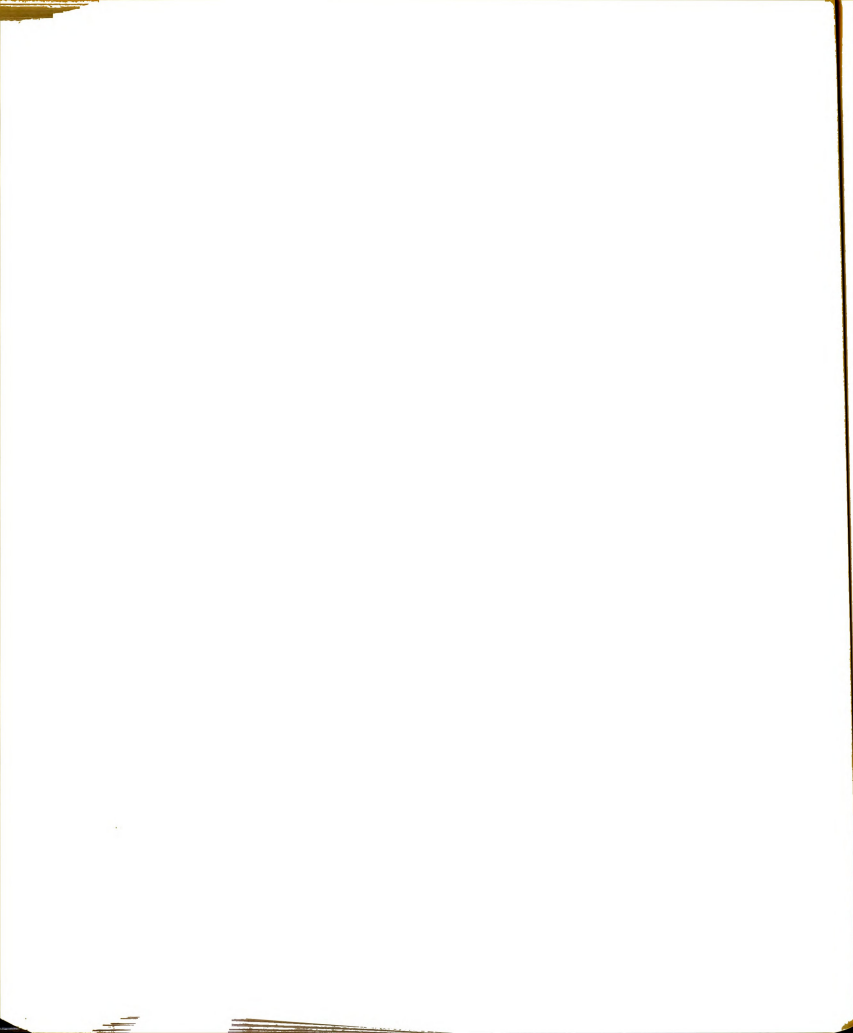
He then concluded his general introduction by preparing his audience for what was to come by an initial summary and partitioning of what he intended to do. He told them: "I have a somewhat lengthy speech," which they already expected, "divided into a series of issues."⁴ Next,

¹Ibid., p. 3711.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.



in an attempt to "goad" the opposition yet explicitly show consideration for the audience while implicitly desiring to prevent interruption and maintain continuity, he continued:

...and I know that the proponents of the measure, though they may be coy about taking the floor directly, are expert and pertinacious in questioning. I suggest to them that I shall be very glad to yield at the conclusion of each one of the subdivisions of my address, and to submit to questioning on the subject matter of the subdivision completed. But I hope that I may be permitted to develop a coherent argument within each subdivision and then, after a decent period of time has passed in questioning on one subdivision, that I may pass to another.¹

Thus, he was really planning to present four separate speeches.

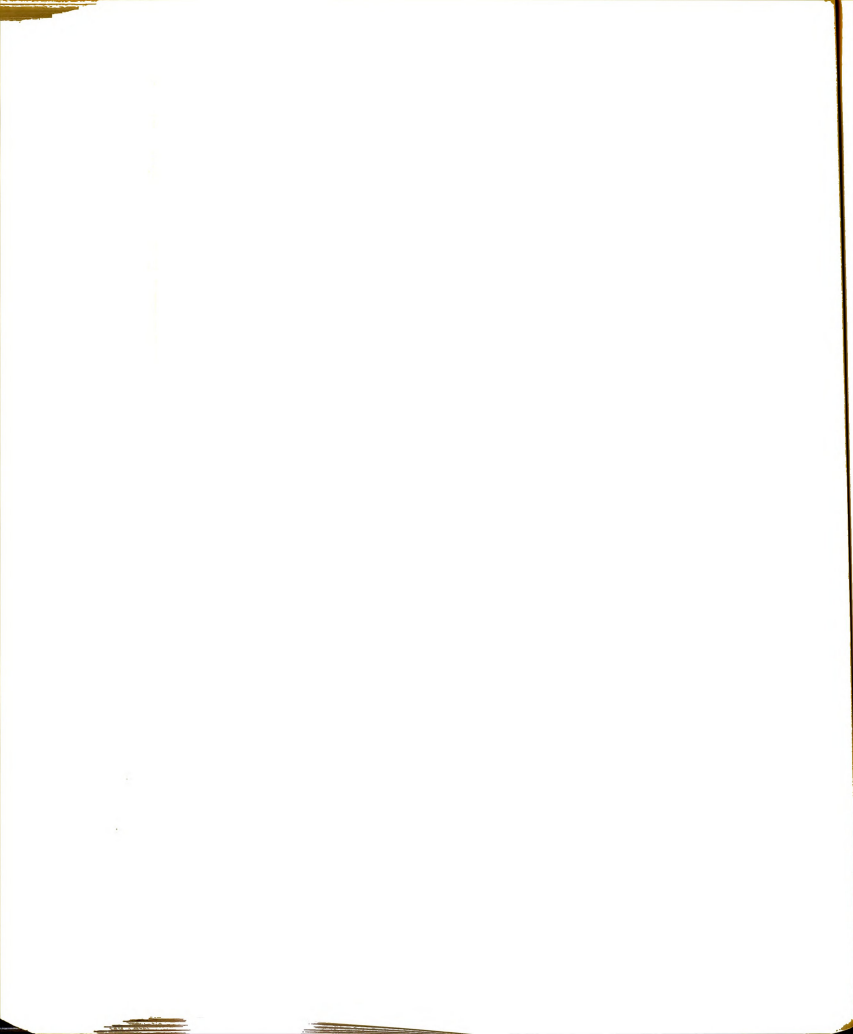
He went on with an appeal to fair play by stating that he had placed the text of his first speech into their [the sponsors] hands to enable them to follow him on the basic issue so that "their questioning may be closer and more precise."² Finally, he used direct and positive suggestion and an appeal to pride in requesting that two of the principal opponents might stay to listen:

I shall appreciate it if the distinguished junior Senator from Oklahoma and the distinguished junior Senator from Texas, if they are in the Chamber, may now listen to the first part of my speech, so that their questioning may³ be even more vigorous than it would be otherwise.

¹ Ibid.

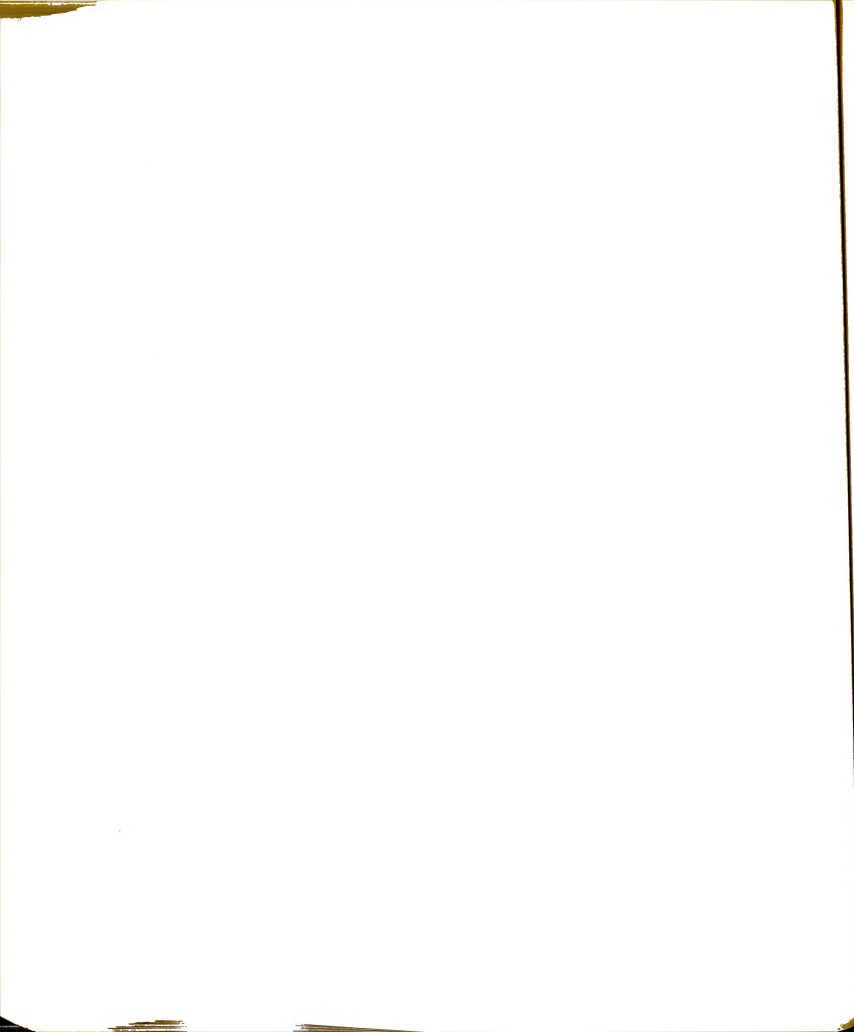
² Ibid.

³ Ibid.



In a ten-minute introduction he had built his ethical appeal by suggesting the absence of apparent competence on the part of the sponsors of the bill, blitzing them with shame appeals, direct indictments, and challenges. Logically, he generalized about the lack of evidence and the fallacious nature of any rationale for the bill, and lastly attempted to convey his comparative intellectual strength (and integrity) by defining terms and partitioning his speech in an orderly manner. It was a harsh beginning that probably arrested attention and seemed to set the stage for a battle, if the affirmative could be provoked into assuming a burden of proof for their proposal. He had concentrated on stimulating and arousing interest. He may also have felt the need to arouse his audience because on this issue neither were the lines as clear cut nor was there as much deep concern by a majority of members as there would be on some other issue such as civil rights. But Douglas felt strongly about the issue and wanted to make sure he did justice to the case for his side, and he hoped to provoke the sponsors of the bill to stand up and be heard so that the Senate would weigh the evidence.

He began the body of the first of his four speeches with a rhetorical question: "Mr. President, what are the basic issues which are involved in the bill?" His answers to the question came in the form of a contention, followed by support through a chain of deductive reasoning and a conclusion about the need for price regulation for the monopoly of the gas line. He stated that the Kerr Bill made that

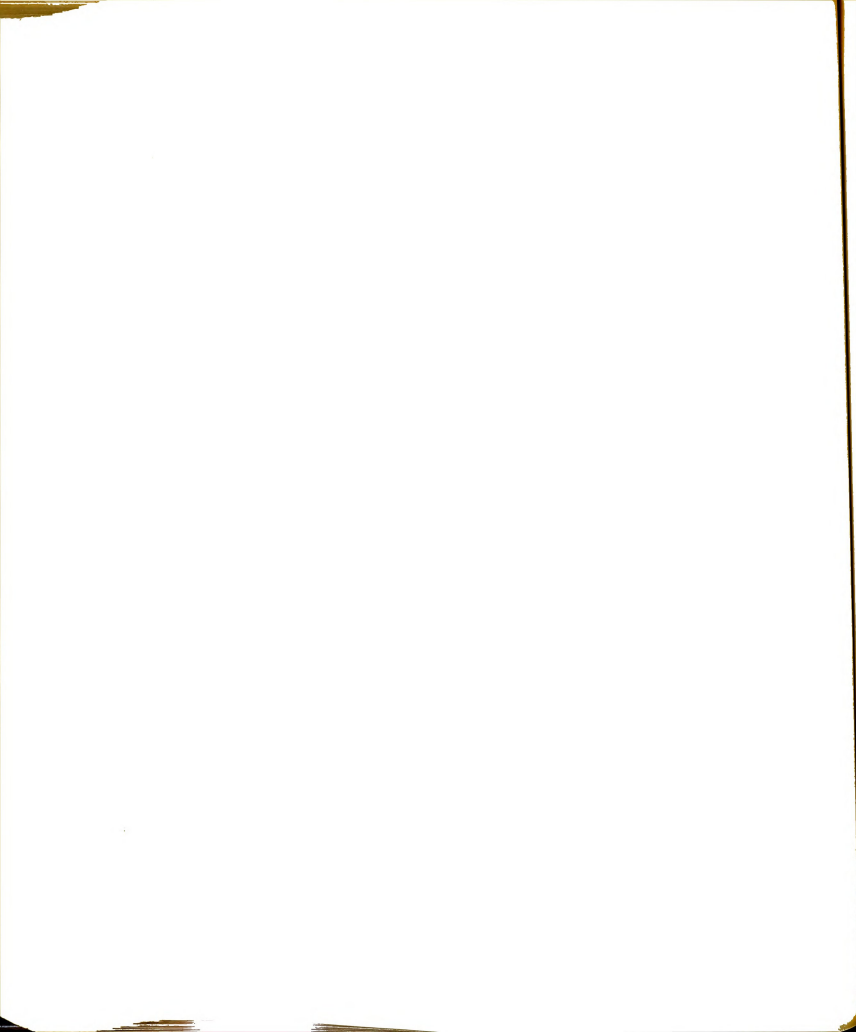


regulation impossible.

I think it will be shown that natural gas is basically dissimilar to coal, oil, copper and other raw materials since all elements in the industry from the producers and gatherers through the pipe-line companies to the distributors to the ultimate consumers are bound irretrievably and organically to each other by the pipe lines and mains which carry the gas and which effectively prevent anyone along the way from disengaging himself and getting his supplies elsewhere. If a producer of coal or fuel oil raises his price, a buyer can have trucks or railroads haul his supplies from another producer which charges a lower price. Thus competition is feasible in the case of coal or fuel oil. But gas can be economically transported only by pipe lines, and if a gas producer raises his price, the expense of tearing up a pipe line, and laying a new one prevents a buyer from taking advantage of a lower price in a different field. Since the transportation of gas is therefore in its nature monopolistic and not competitive, I believe that price regulation should be applied to the nontransporting producers as well as the interstate pipe lines themselves. But the Kerr-Thomas bill would prevent this and does so specifically. It specifically prevents the nontransporting producers and gatherers from having the price of the gas which they sell to the interstate pipe lines regulated by the Federal Power Commission.¹

Another argument in the debate to date against price regulation of gas had been to make gas analogous to coal: if coal was not regulated, why then should gas be so regulated? Douglas answered by testing the analogy and showing that compared cases were not alike in all respects and differences must be accounted for. Coal, as pointed out, could be transported in any number of ways, but gas could not; and with that he had hoped to eliminate that argument. However, at that point Senator Earl Long of Louisiana was on his feet to

¹Ibid.



contend that Douglas "persists in making the same error, and I should like to ask a question...."¹ Douglas would not yield and tersely said so. He said that he regretted that Long had not been in the Chamber when it was made clear that he would only yield at the end of subdivisions of his speech.

A challenge to Lyndon Johnson to show that gas can be economically shipped some other way to give consumers a choice followed.

When the distinguished Senator from Texas is able to demonstrate that gas can be so transported economically, I shall then propose that the Federal Natural Gas Act be repealed. But so long as gas goes through a gas main, then it is my belief that we should retain regulation all the way through.²

Concluding his stand on that core issue in question, he went on to develop sub-propositions.

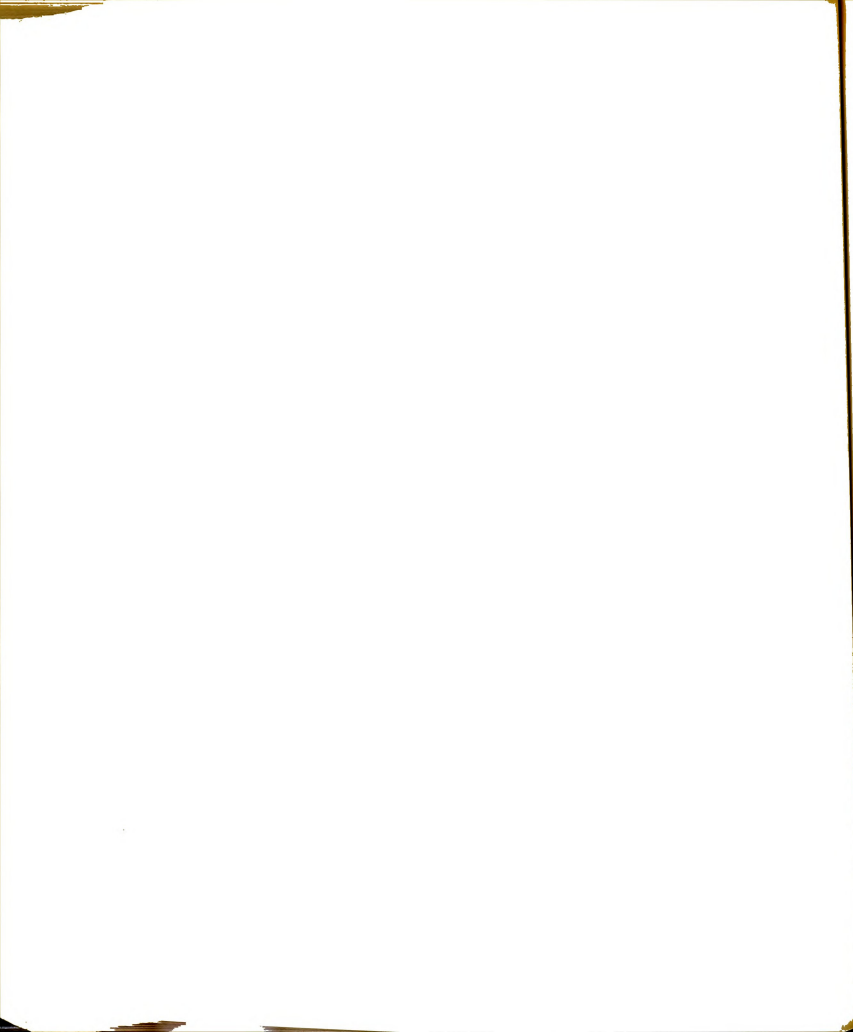
The first of those sub-propositions was that "producers, pipe-line companies, distributors, and consumers are bound together." He argued:

That is the way in which the gathering lines or mains connecting the producing wells with the pipe lines tie in the nontransporting producers and gatherers and the pipe lines together and hence also bind the distributing companies and the consumers together with them in an organic unity from which none of them can withdraw. It costs a great deal of money to lay the gathering lines which connect the gas wells with the pipe line. It does not pay to lay duplicating lines so that the same well or group of wells supplies different pipe lines.³

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.



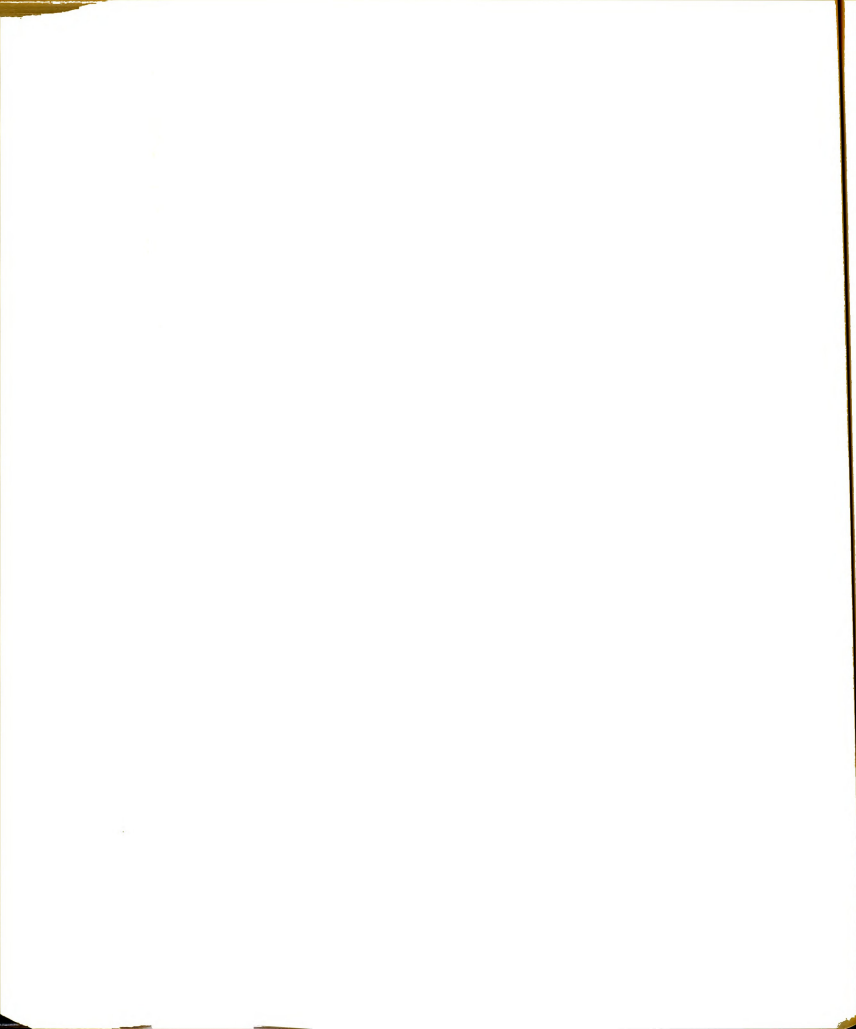
After an expression of modesty at being familiar with gas only as a consumer from his home usage, he next cited statistical evidence on the cost of pipelines and gathering lines which he challenged "should therefore be subject to correction by the very distinguished experts in this industry, who happen to be proponents of the bill."¹

Without documentation, he stated that "it is my understanding from the figures I have worked out"² that a mile of major pipeline accompanied by compressor stations would cost \$70,000, without stations between \$25,000 and \$50,000, and that "small main lines" (the terms "small" and "main" were not defined) cost \$3,500 to \$5,000 a mile, and the cost of lateral pipelines from wells to the main line between \$5,000 and \$20,000 a mile. He used restatement to request the "experts show him where he is in error," stated again that once the lines are laid, the cost is so great it does not pay to lay duplicating lines, nor tear them up. This, he concluded by analogy, "is not a trial marriage: it is a contract until death do them part." Thus far he had merely shown they are bound together, but had shown no evil.

The evil, he concluded, is shown by two instances: in the thirties when supply exceeded demand, the pipe lines by monopoly kept prices up; and when demand exceeds supply and new lines are being laid to newly discovered supplies,

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.



the nontransporting producers can "call the shots" on prices because of the need for his supply, and it is the consumers who must "foot the bill."

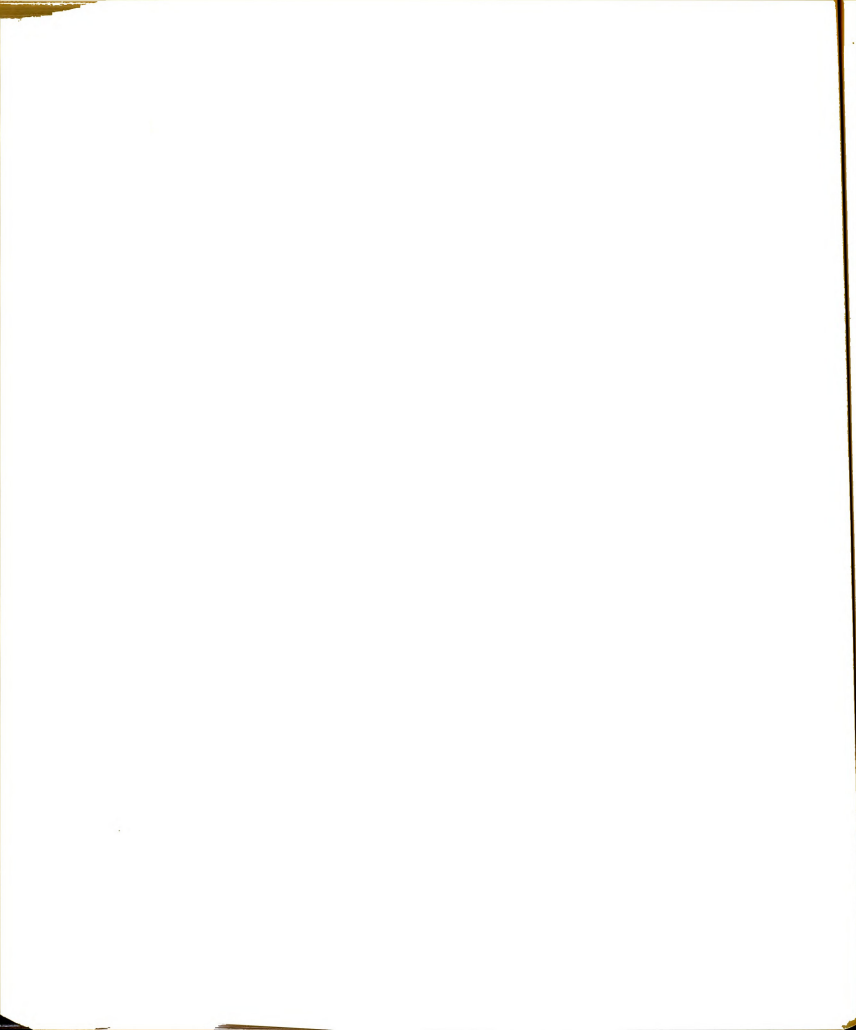
He turned to the result of higher prices next in an attempt to pull his reasoning together. Displaying the typical Senate decorum which nevertheless can so kindly ridicule and even suggest deceit, he turned again to Lyndon Johnson to have it out with him rather than Kerr (Thomas seems to have been a "silent partner" in the issue).

Mr. President, in this connection I should like to call attention to a statement which I am sure was inadvertently made by the distinguished junior Senator from Texas (Mr. Johnson) when we were debating last week. He said there had not been a single instance of higher prices being charged by nontransporting producers and gatherers in connection with a request by a pipe line for higher prices.¹

Johnson may have been the focal point of the opposition because Kerr was a more formidable debater than Johnson. Having little regard for any positive persuasion, Johnson preferred coercing rather than leading thoughts in his persuasion, and attacking not conciliating. Kerr's attacks were not restricted to issues but were equally personal. In correcting Lyndon Johnson, Douglas cited he did go to the Federal Power Commission for evidence and reported that in thirteen cases pipelines had been forced to increase prices due to increased costs.² He concluded: "Higher costs at the beginning of the process represent, therefore,

¹Ibid., p. 3712.

²Ibid.



higher gas prices at its end."¹ The argument became clearer, but the connection between cause and effect presupposes considerable faith by the audience in the proof of the advocate. Although Douglas had in a little over a year in the Senate established that he was highly competent as a researcher and possessed great ability to reason, in this case he was so vehemently opposed it could be asked, did he draw a valid link between the cause and effect: It was at best a form of reasoning from sign and it was not clear whether the relationship was accidental or coincidental and reciprocal.

Once again, Douglas returned to appeals of good will by explaining that he did not question the "good faith" of the bill's proponents.²

I am convinced that they sincerely feel they are right, that they are merely spelling out what they believe to be the original intent of Congress, and what in the summer of 1947 was the tentative opinion of the majority of the Federal Power Commission.³

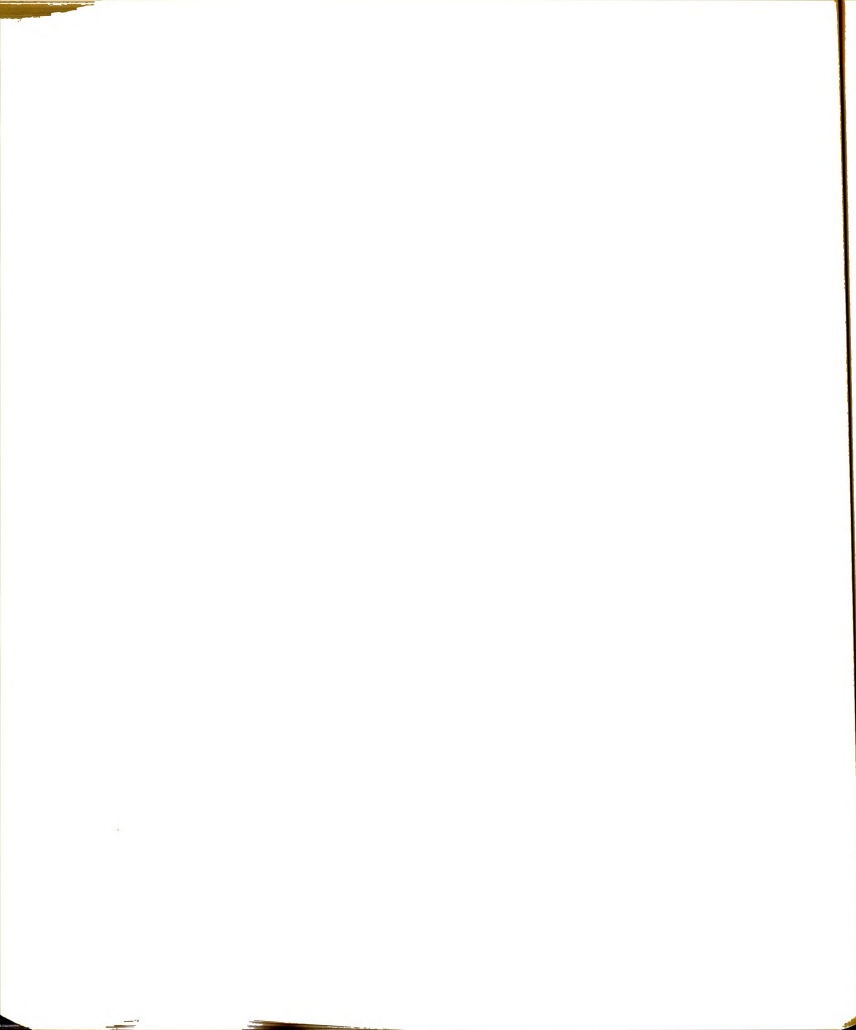
However, he went on to note again that he disagreed with emotive language, he attempted to reinforce his ties with those who had spoken out against the bill, listing their names in re-identifying them with his cause and showing by implication that the number on his side rising to oppose had outweighed those in support.

I should like to assure those Senators that while I feel compelled to draw my sword in behalf of what I believe to be the interest of the public, I shall tip my rapier with a

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.



rose, and I can assure them that there is no venom on its point. I hope they will, in turn, give those of us who are opposed to this measure equal credit for good intentions. I hope they will believe that the junior Senator from Missouri [Mr. Kem], whose very able address on this subject last Friday should be read by every Senator, was swayed by the public interest when he rose to attack the Kerr bill, and that the same principle swayed the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. Brewster] yesterday when he spoke, the junior Senator from Tennessee [Mr. Kefauver], the senior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Langer], the junior Senator from Iowa [Mr. Gillette], and all the other Members of the Senate.¹

Next, in a concise initial summary-analysis in a twofold partition, he prepared his audience for what was to come by referring to the next two issues as "simple, yet crucial in their nature. They can be stated in two forms. I shall state the first form, and then the second form. The first form is this."

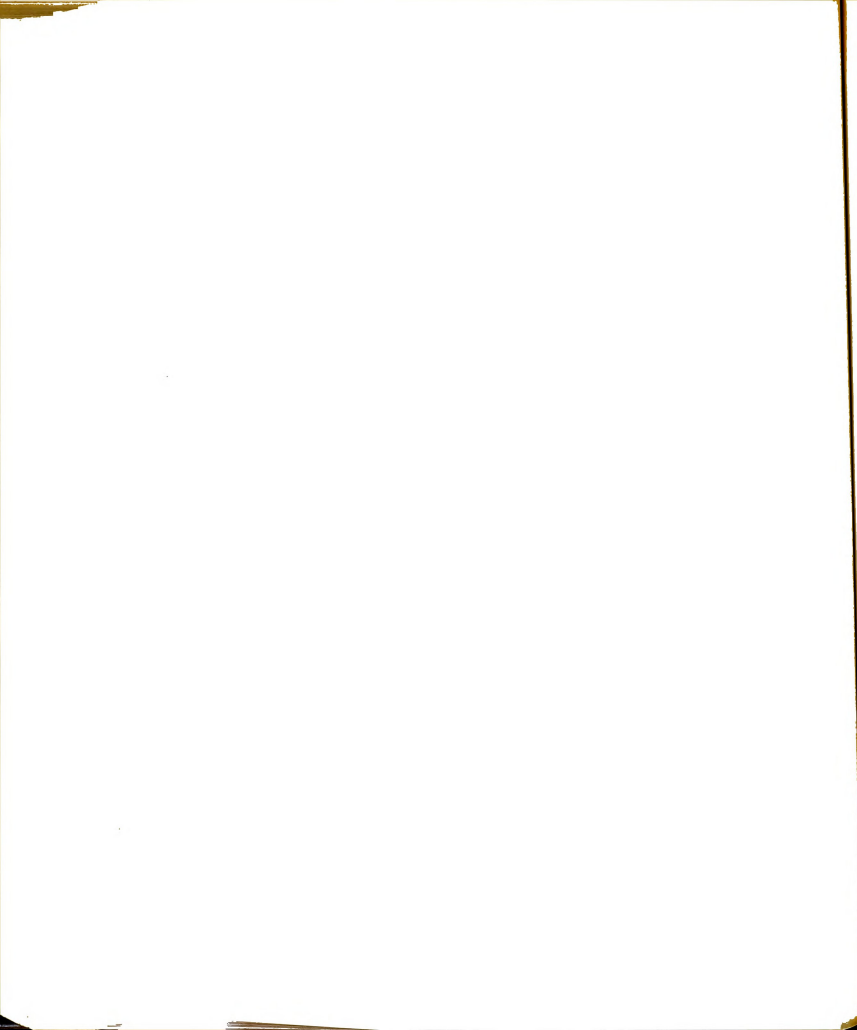
Should (a) the field price of natural gas going into the interstate pipe lines be allowed to rise to the full extent of what the domestic and industrial markets for gas will bear?²

On this proposition of policy, he argued that it should not be enacted because it would allow owners of reserves to "pocket" virtually all the cost advantages of gas over coal or fuel oil. Then, "turning the tables," he noted that since the proponents have produced some "handsome charts" which served to support his point, he had also prepared some which further supported the point.³ The evidence he cited

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.



was from a 1948 report of a Texas pipe-line company showing that for industrial purposes in its "service area" it could sell gas for half the price per B.t.u. as coal and one-third of fuel oil cost.¹ He flattered his audience by inferring their apparent knowledge of what a B.t.u. was, but then proceeded to define it to insure clarity. The point he wished to make, reasoning apparently from this 1948 evidence, one example, was that the Kerr bill would remove the regulation and the result would be that gas would lose its cost advantage on the market. Multiplying a presumed raise of 20-30 cents per 1000 cubic feet, he estimated that a raise in gas prices to the fuel-oil equivalent would cost \$500 million in 1952.²

At this point Senator Long attempted to interrupt Douglas, but he graciously refused to yield and went on to the second "real" issue, stated as an alternative in the form of a prejudiced proposition of policy.

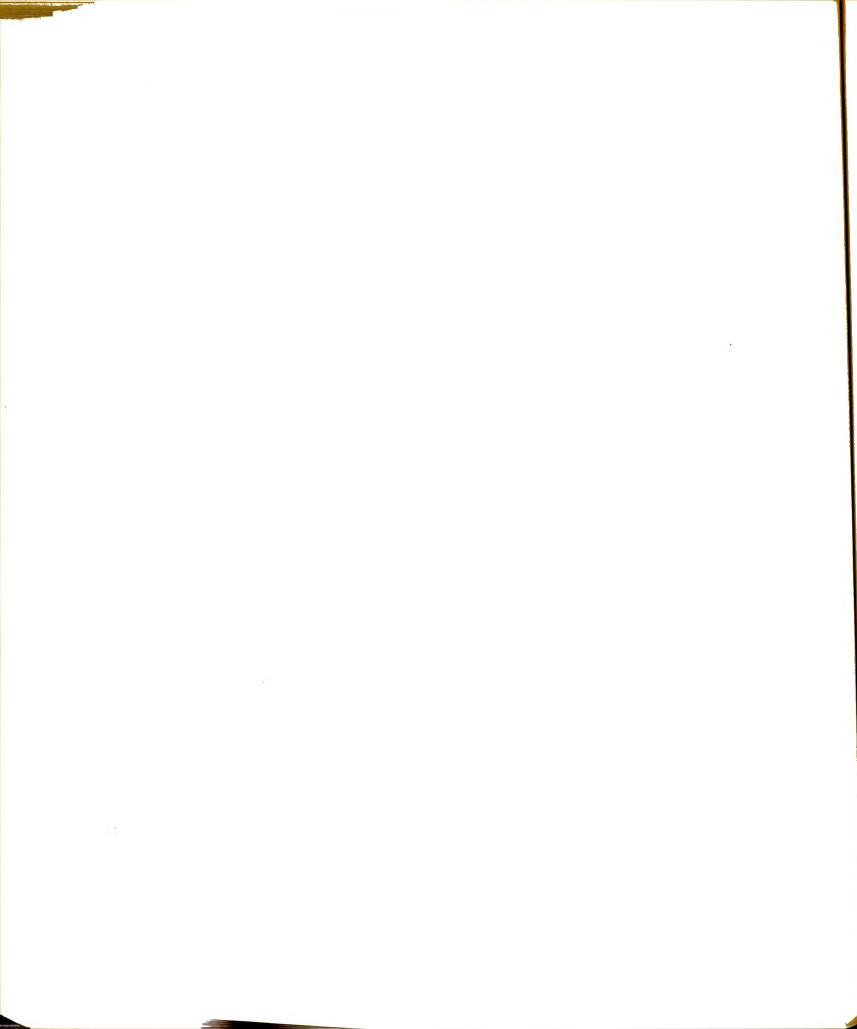
I shall now state the other alternative or (b) should the field price of natural gas sold in interstate commerce be subject to regulation which, while yielding an adequate return on the legitimate amounts invested, would give the consumers the benefits which the use of gas brings in excess of these legitimate costs and returns.³

In an apparent attempt to display good character through fairness, he made sure the audience understood that

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 3712



he and his colleagues wanted to see a "reasonable" profit but not an "excessive" one.¹ This was his support for the second proposition, which really constituted his personal answer to the first and assumed that the same evidence rejecting the first, therefore, affirmed the second.

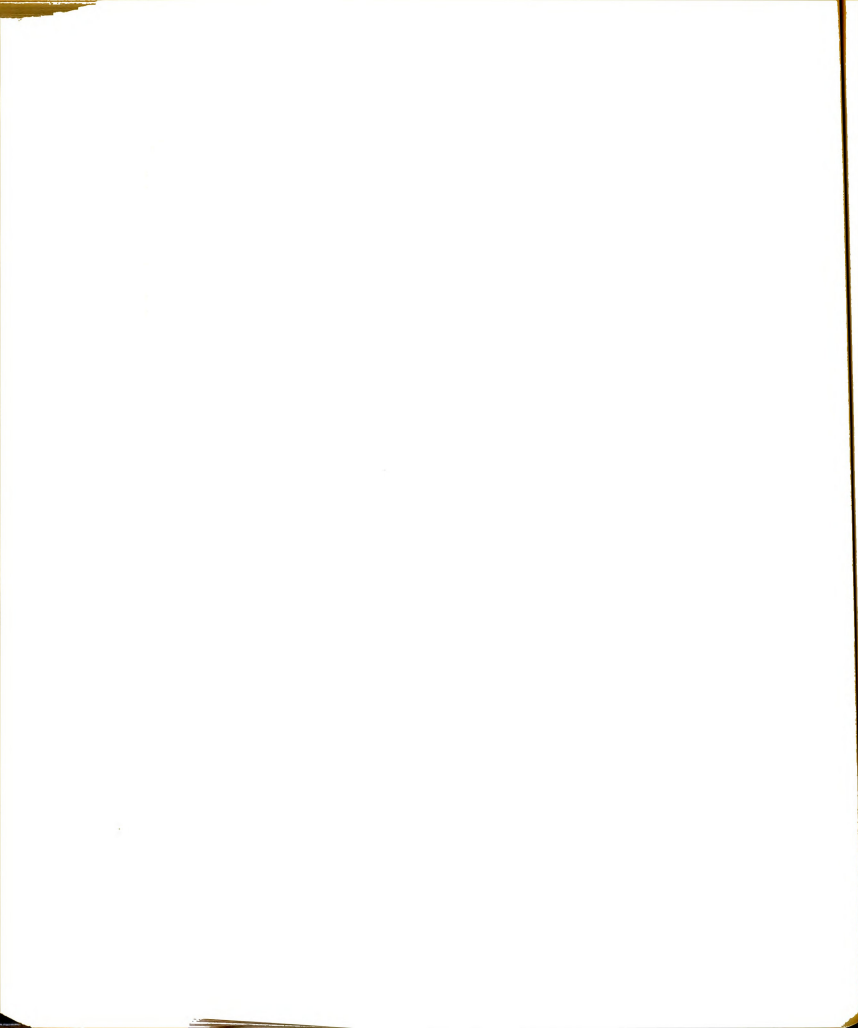
He had spoken for some twenty-five minutes in his "first speech," which was essentially an introduction to the other three. After the history and origin and development of some points of clash, he was ready to conclude the first part. In a conclusion of ten minutes, he first reiterated that he had presented the economic and legal problems of the bill and then in a mixed psychological-logical appeal stated the alternatives.

If we believe that the producers of gas should be allowed to charge whatever the traffic will bear, we should vote for the Kerr-Thomas bill. If we believe that gas is a utility, we should vote against it and give a mandate to the Federal Power Commission to regulate the field prices of gas for interstate commerce subject, of course, to review by the courts.²

Next, he chose to state the alternatives to the bill in a psychological appeal aimed not only at their Christian sense of altruism and fair play and democratic patriotic principles by language loaded with value labels in "human terms," but also implicitly their sense of self-preservation and job security by his emphasis on serving the wealthy

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.



few or the 40,000,000.

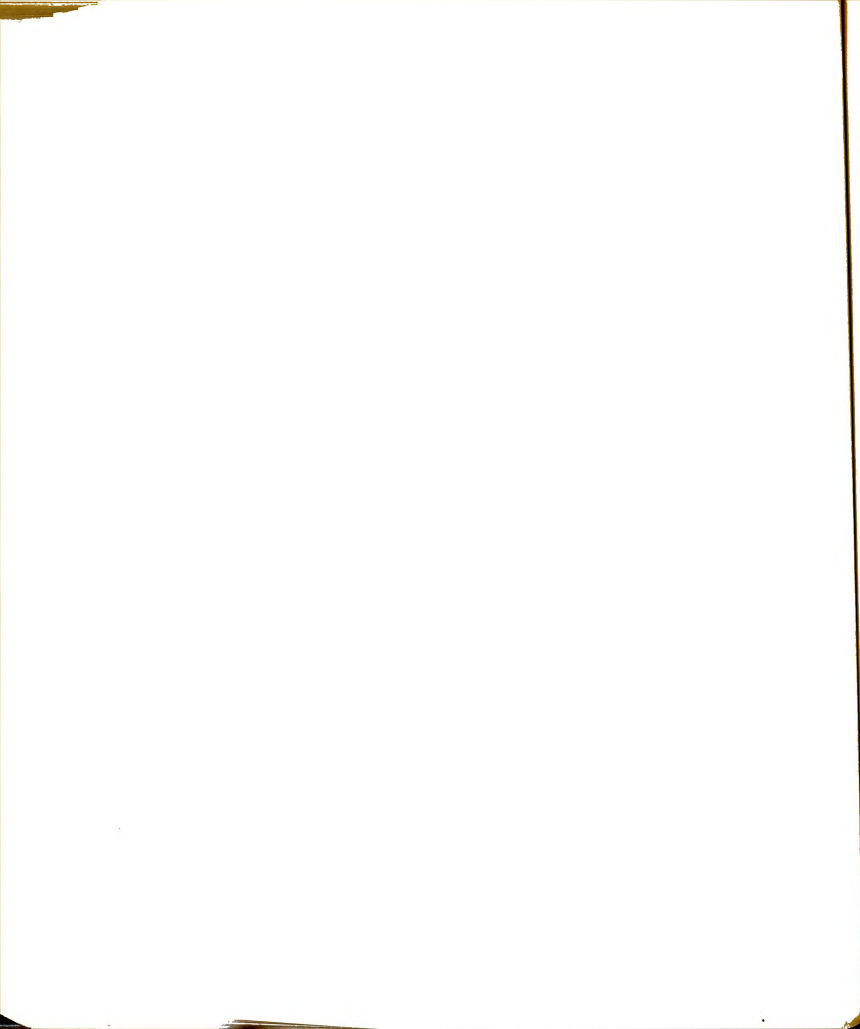
Stated in human rather than in abstract terms, it is a question of whether we should allow these concentrated gains to fall into the hands of the small groups of big and wealthy oil companies and oilmen who now control the vast preponderance of the oil and gas resources of the Nation or whether these advantages should be shared with the 40,000,000 and more consumers and the thousands of industrial users. Phrased still more simply, it is whether the great gifts of nature, placed here, we believe, by divine power, are to be appropriated by the few or be administered as a trusteeship for the people of the Nation when these resources are essential to consumers but do not lend themselves to competitive methods of sales and distribution. If we believe they should be appropriated by the wealthy few, we should vote for the Kerr-Thomas bill. If we believe they should be utilized for the many, we should vote against it.¹

To this, he added an appeal to economy and magnified the importance of the decision before them. "The stakes are large" and could amount to billions of dollars, he told his audience. "We should not allow personalities to obscure our judgments," these are the issues. Then using the appeal of a legal precedent, he noted that the Supreme Court in 1947 unanimously ruled in favor of protection of the consumers in a case dealing with a similar set of facts. He concluded by arguing that the 1938 act was meant to do what the Kerr bill is trying to repeal.²

In the final plea of his conclusion he sought to refute what had become a key issue. In 1947, Mr. Olds, a member of the Federal Power Commission, had voted with the

¹Ibid., pp. 3712-3713.

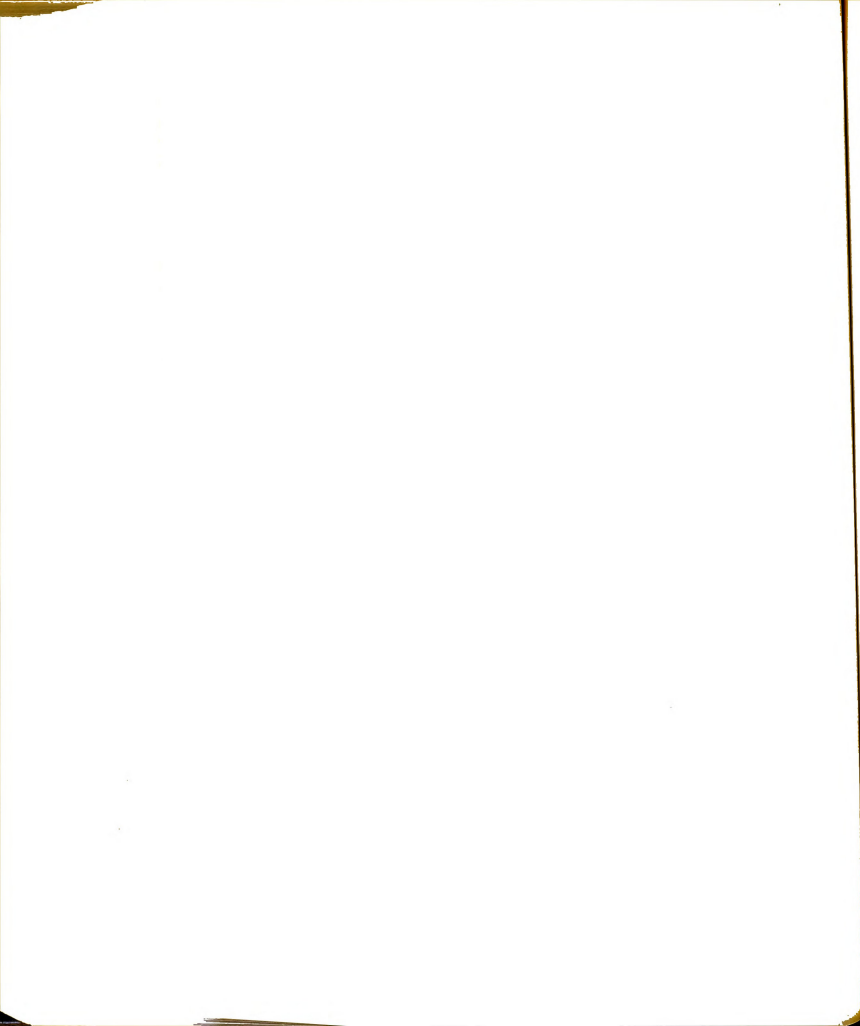
²Ibid., p. 3713.



other members of the Commission to rule tentatively against regulation of the nontransporting producers but then had reversed positions a year later. In both the reference to the decision of the court and Mr. Olds' change of mind, Douglas seemed to be reasoning: I shall not make judgments on those incidents but they do support our case, don't they? You draw the conclusion. Moreover, we can, of course, see that past legal and human evidence compel the rejection of the bill, but even more, we must act on the facts of here and now and they only reinforce its rejection. He concluded with the plea: "...we should not try to evade the basic decision which only we must now make by blaming the Supreme Court or the Federal Power Commission. We must make up our own minds."

The one basic issue developed in this first speech was: should the price of gas by "independents" sold to interstate pipelines be regulated? Douglas used all three factors of persuasion with particular reliance on psychological appeals to attempt to move his audience to an affirmative position.

At the conclusion of "Speech I," Senator Long, who had been anxiously waiting, was the first to take the floor in interrogation. He began by presenting 1935 statistics from the U. S. Bureau of Mines and the Department of Labor to show that the cost of fuel oil and coal for heating had been cheaper than the cost of gas in 1935, and argued it was only because gas (under the regulation of prices by



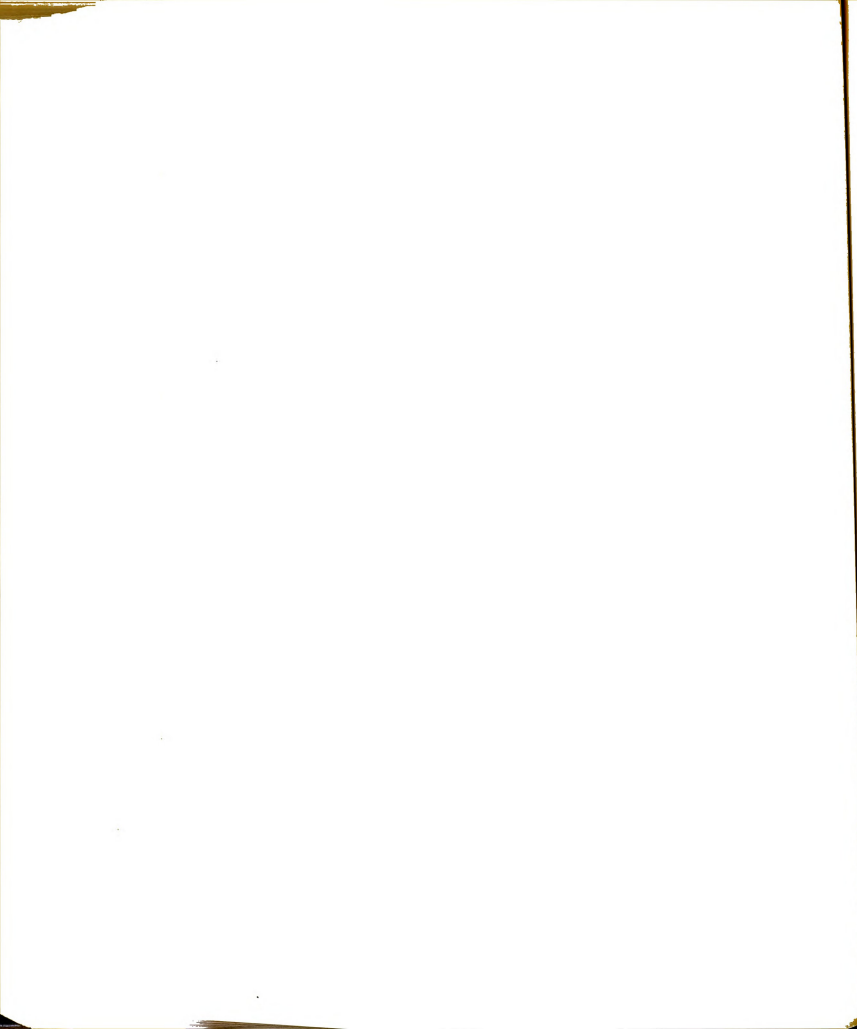
nontransporting producers up to 1947) had gone down while the other two had risen that it was cheaper now, and asked Douglas if he was aware of that fact. Douglas answered Long by stating Long had cited prices paid by domestic consumers, not prices paid commercially or industrially. But Long rejoindered. "I was under the impression that the Senator was seeking to protect the housewife, not major industries."¹ Douglas replied that he sought to protect both, and curiously noted that Long had quoted higher prices to the consumer in 1948 than he had. Douglas then requoted his figures which showed gas prices were less than those stated by Long. Douglas was obviously trying to establish facts. When Long accused him of "being kinder" to the gas interests than Lyndon Johnson had been in statistics, Douglas replied:

I am not trying to be kind or unkind. I am merely trying to give the facts. And here are figures drawn from the volume, Gas Facts,² published by the American Gas Association.

Long asked: "Those figures relate to what?" Douglas replied "to residential natural-gas service." Long asked, if they were based on per million B.t.u.'s. Douglas replied: "To per thousand cubic feet, but that is a million B.t.u.'s." Long said Douglas' computation "was not exactly correct" and that the two units are different; Douglas replied that Mr. Kerr, who sits two chairs away, is an expert and can correct

¹Ibid., p. 3713.

²Ibid.



me if I am wrong.¹ Kerr, however, did not respond.

Long then went back to the contention that coal and oil rose to twice the price of gas while gas prices dropped. He questioned why gas should be denied the same advantage that coal and oil have. Douglas argued that coal and oil can be regulated on the basis of competition--neither has to go through pipe lines. Long then dropped this line of argument and moved to a slightly different one.

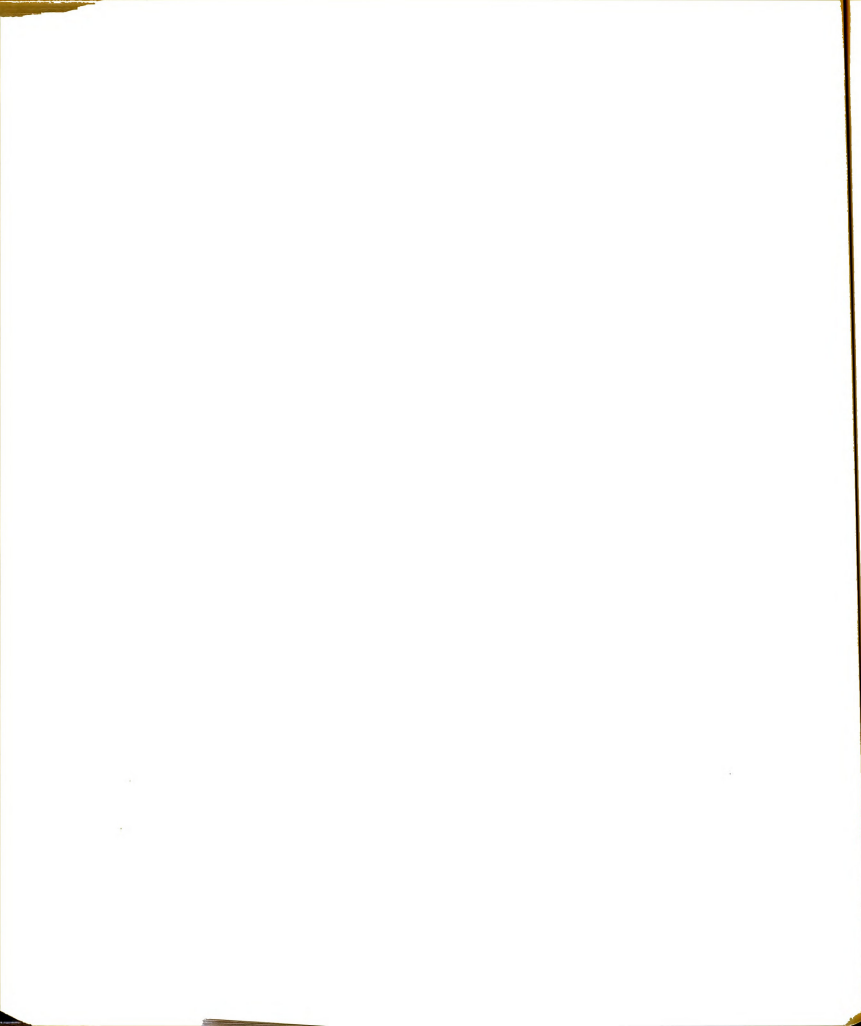
He argued that because gas is transported only by pipe line it costs less, and going back again to the same statistics from 1935, charged that Douglas was wrong. Douglas replied that Long's figures were inaccurately excessive and referred him to a hearing report. But Long retorted that the lower gas prices figures stated by Douglas would support his arguments. Douglas admitted this to be "unintentionally" true but asked him to look at hearing reports for average figures which supported those presented in his speech. Long then noted that the hearing reports also showed that gas prices had gone down while oil and coal prices had risen "enormously."²

Then Long asked Douglas to admit that the facts show pipe lines made gas prices go down. Economist Douglas replied with a more complete analysis of supply and demand:

Mr. President, I do not need to explain to gentlemen in the gas fields what has

¹Ibid.,

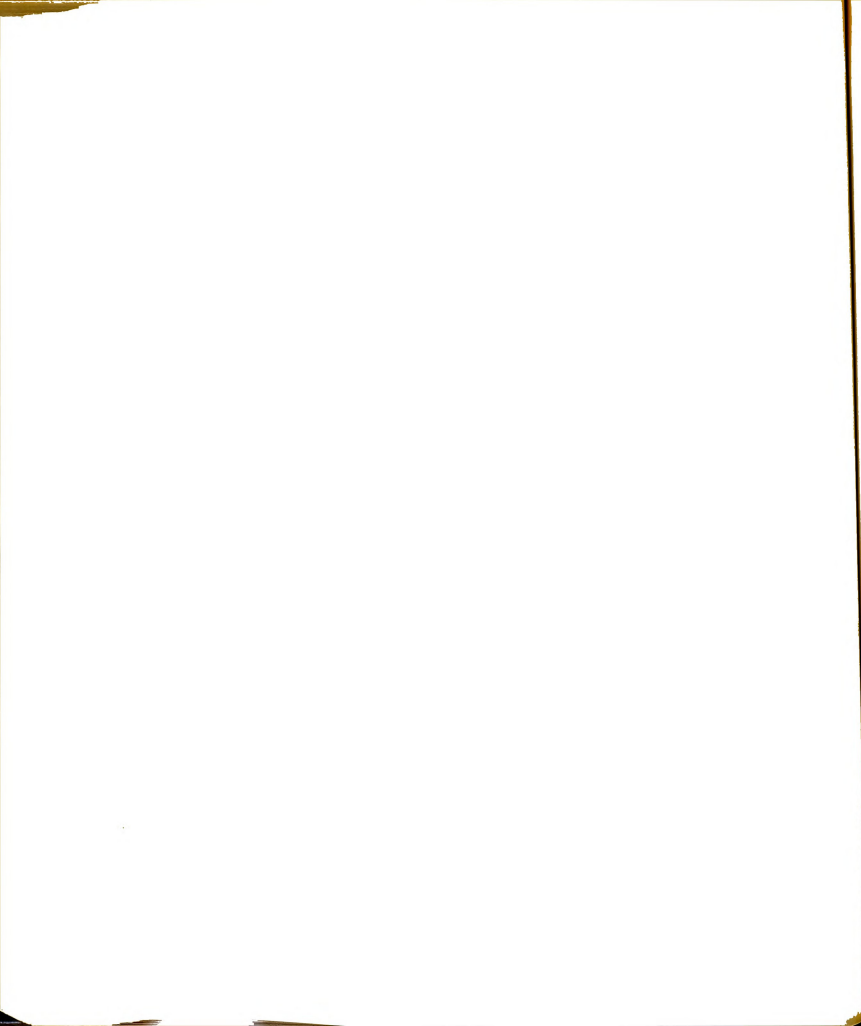
²Ibid., p. 3714.



happened in the gas industry during the past 15 years. What has happened is that a great natural resource has been made available in large quantities by the introduction of pipe lines and gathering lines, and that these resources have been made available to the consumers. I think that is very fine. Incidentally, the pipe lines have done very well out of it, and the nontransporting producers and gatherers have done extremely well out of it. No one has been hurt. But now what the proponents of the bill would allow is to let the price of natural gas increase and thus give unconscionable profit to the producers in the field, to the detriment of the consumer. Why should Senators resent the consumer receiving a break from the low prices of natural gas so long as the producers and gatherers and pipeline companies have done well? If economies are possible, why not help the consumer.¹

Following this the two Senators exchanged superlatives in tribute to the greatness of each other, and Long asked Douglas to look at a particular chart in the back of the Chamber. The chart showed that the gas industry had had the smallest price rise of any consumer product, including food and housing, since 1939. Douglas then shifted the burden of proof to Long in asking if he was contending that gas prices should have risen as fast as coal and oil? No, Long replied, but it shows that gas without control went down in price while everything else was increasing in price. To this Douglas replied that everyone was happy from 1939-1947, but look at the upward movement in gas prices since then. Long noted that all prices have gone up. Douglas then commended Long's work on the basing-point bill, which

¹Ibid., p. 3714.



Long had mentioned. However, it appears Douglas felt this debate had gone far enough, for he heaped on the prestige suggestion to Long and noted how they had fought "shoulder-to shoulder" on other matters which is one of the great attributes of the Senate body, and he attempted to conclude by saying:

Mr. President, we are not attempting to make our case on the basis of relative profits in the gas industry at the present time, as compared with previous times. Later I shall submit evidence to show that profits in relationship to invested capital are extremely high, so far as this industry is concerned. It is on that basis, and on that basis alone, that I shall present my discussion, not on the basis of profits made to-day as compared with those made in 1939.¹

But Long was not willing to conclude yet, and pointed out that he knew Douglas was not opposed to high profit.

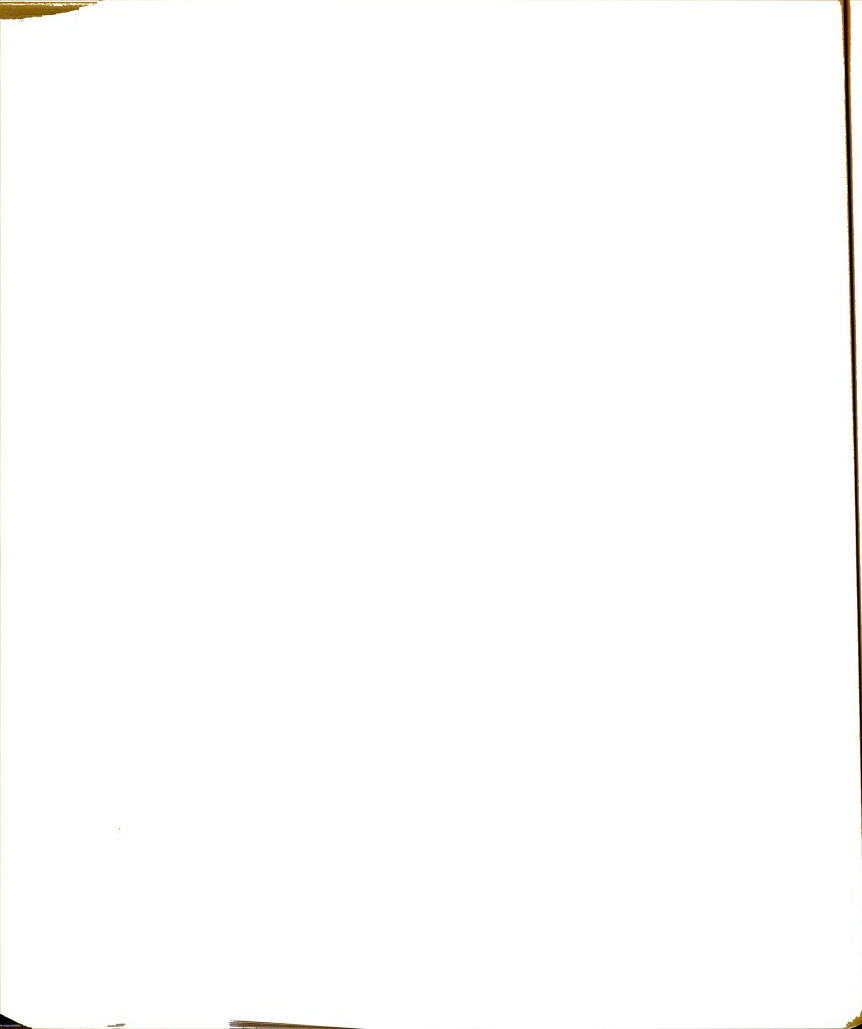
Douglas qualified, "if there is competition...but in the case of a natural monopoly, such as gas, high profits under those conditions are an indication that the consumer is being not only temporarily gouged but permanently gouged."²

Long next cited the case of his home state where poor people have wells drilled but no pipe line; certainly that is not a monopoly? Douglas' only reply was that he would deal with that later.

Then, Senator Kerr rose for the first time and asked if Douglas was aware that the introduction of natural gas into an area reduced the combined price of natural and manufactured gas. Douglas said he was. Kerr then pointed

¹Ibid., p. 3715.

²Ibid.



out that Douglas had neglected to show this in his analysis and has used charts that gave only natural gas price figures, not combined figures; Douglas countered that he had been referring to charts the proponents of the bill had advanced in debate. Then, referring to a particular chart to answer Kerr's question Douglas said the chart "relates to a mixture. No, I withdraw that statement. The chart only relates to natural gas itself."¹ Kerr pressed the mistake and asked, "Does the Senator from Illinois believe that he will find that he was wrong in that regard?"² Douglas responded: "Yes; and whenever I am wrong, I am glad to admit it."³ He then admitted that "the record will show" that natural gas prices had declined up to 1947, but it will also show that mixed gases in several locations resulted in reduction of price.⁴ And Kerr concluded "And its price will do so in the future, when it is permitted to be used."⁵ Douglas then informed Kerr that he was not arguing against natural gas, "it is one of God's blessings. But...the benefits of natural gas should be shared with consumers...."⁶ To support his position further, Kerr brought up again the fact that the 1939-1947 gas prices Douglas had stated were lower than those presented by the proponents of the bill. Admitted that was so up to 1947, Douglas said he would give

¹Ibid., p. 3715.

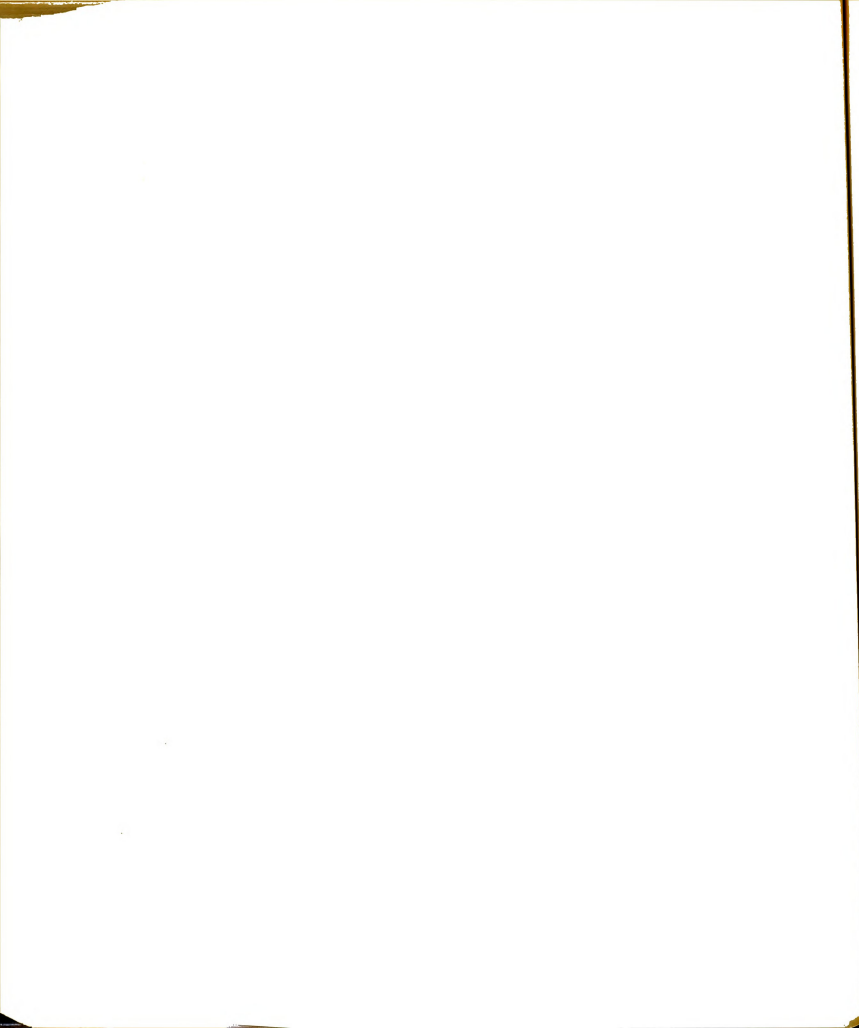
²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

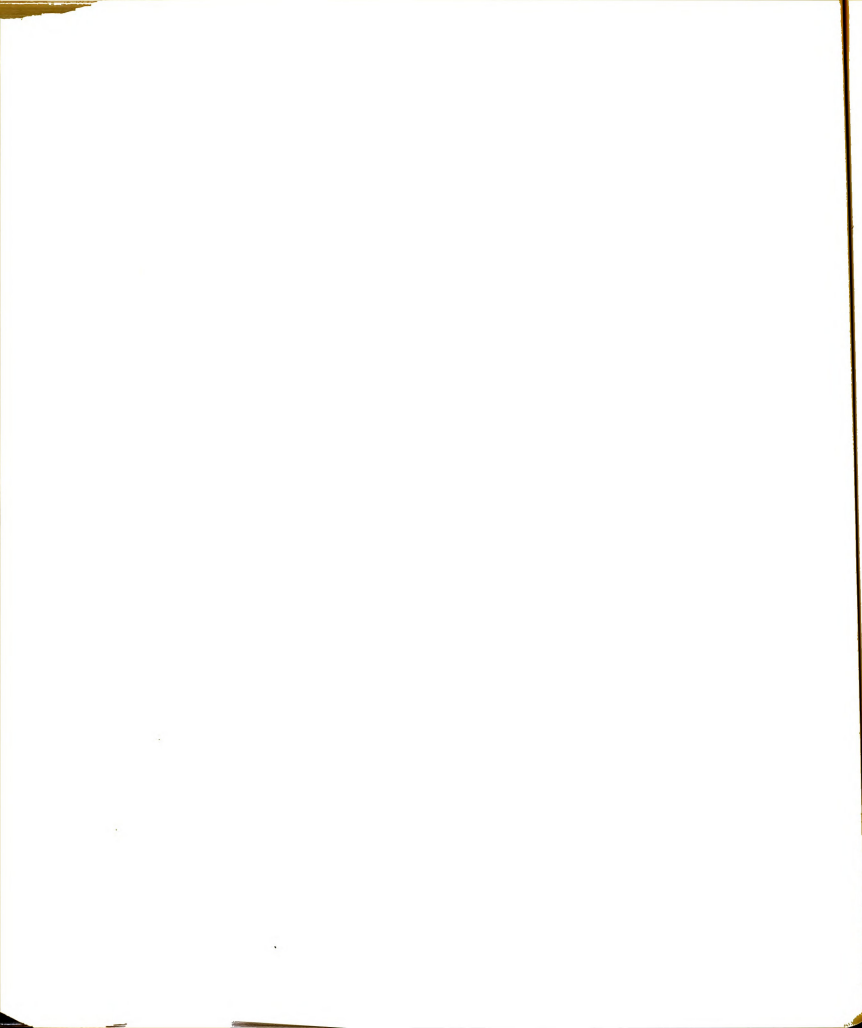


Kerr later figures in the balance of his speech. But he had enough of this debate and wanted to get the rest of his case on the floor.

Douglas had made no headway in this thirty-minute debate and, in fact, lost ground because of the persistent magnification by Long and Kerr of five-year old prices he had quoted which tended to indicate his conclusions were inconsistent with the evidence. His honest approach of "Yes, but" in admitting that those figures from before 1947 indicated natural gas prices had gone down while others rose should have helped develop his good character by showing honesty, integrity, sincerity, and earnestness to the critical listeners. However, since Long and Kerr largely ignored the "but" part of his answers or the qualifications, the casual listener may have concluded that the speaker was fallacious in his reasoning.

Before moving to Part II of his address, Douglas attempted to synthesize the debate in his favor by pointing out that Long's conclusion that gas prices had gone down while the price of unregulated prices had gone up only proved that there was regulation at the consumers end. He pointed out that the price of electricity from 1935-1948 fell 13% indicating that the regulatory system does work. Finally, he said a look at the financial statements of big gas and electrical companies would show they are both doing well.¹ This implicative refutation may have helped to

¹Ibid., p. 3715.



clarify his position, but it was not sharply adapted to the conclusions of the opposition to which Douglas hoped to counter. At least it appears that Douglas had some knowledge of the fact that one can afford to admit minor vulnerable points to avoid committing the fallacy of "pigheadedness" and being illogical for mere defense sake.

The second speech, or subdivision of this speech, dealt with the historical development of natural-gas regulation. It was an attempt through historical precedent and events to show cause for rejection of the bill.

As a rationale for dealing with the evolution of the issue, he began:

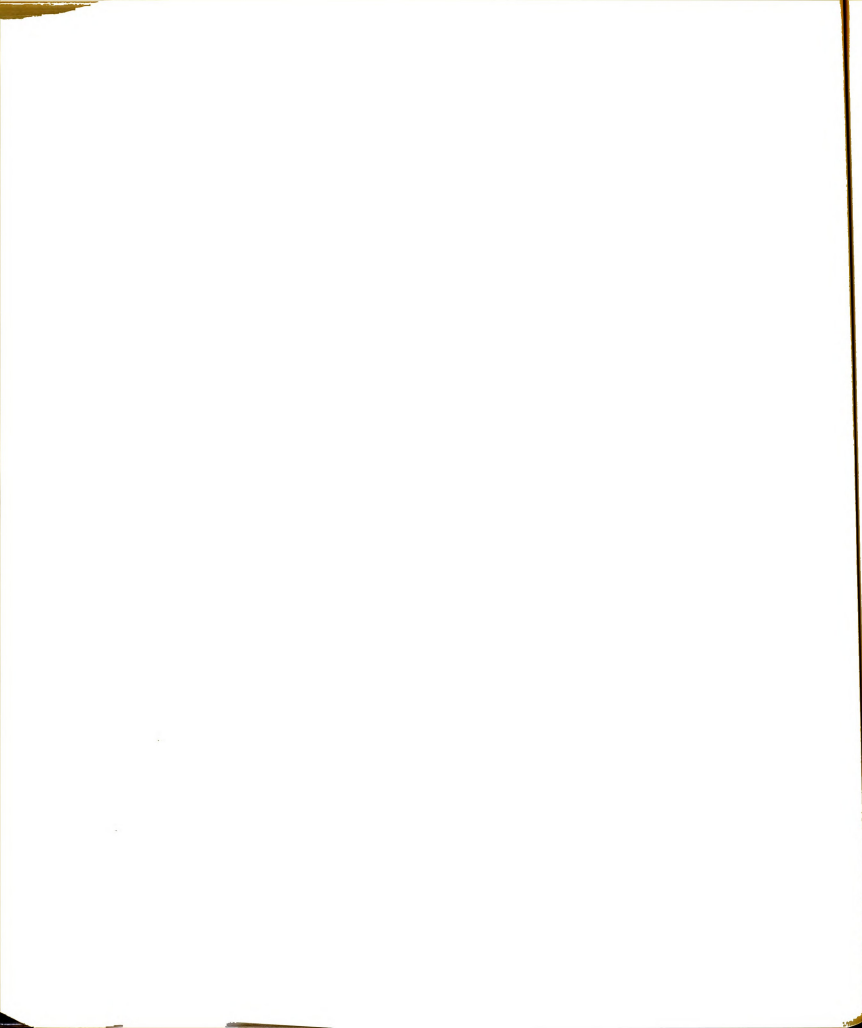
I wish now to take up the historical development of natural-gas regulation, because I think it will clear up some of the misapprehensions which have developed, and which have been expressed on the floor of the Senate by the proponents of the bill.

While our decision must primarily look forward to what is best for our country in the future rather than backward in an effort to find inconsistencies of interpretation, it will help to put our problems more sharply in focus if we briefly review some of the history, and see how they came into being.¹

This presentation of the history of natural-gas regulation indicated competence and knowledge of the subject, but Douglas may also have lost much attention, for there is a natural disinterest among many impatient listeners that results from anticipation of having to hear a prolonged historical development. Nevertheless, Douglas went on.

First, he re-created the early recognition of the monopolistic nature of gas sales to consumers,

¹Ibid., p. 3715.



"...like that of electrical power and water...consumers were given a Hobson's choice. They had to take gas from one company or go without."¹ In concluding, he exclaimed that the gas-distributing companies, charged the consumer what the traffic could bear and "reaped monopolistic profits."² Moreover, they were analogous before regulation to power, water, traction, and telephone companies (already regulated).

Second, as a result of this monopoly, the states tried to meet the problem by regulation in "an attempt to avoid public ownership...but public regulation to protect consumers."³ State regulatory commissions were set up to regulate private ownership and operation. Anticipating argument, he stated: "It was not socialism, as some may imply, but America's answer to socialism."⁴ The state commissions operated with varying success, he concluded, because often the big companies to be controlled instead controlled the commission. At least regulation did keep prices somewhat lower on intrastate transporting than what they would have been by private monopoly alone. However, difficulty arose over interstate transporting. The first interstate problem occurred in the Ohio River Valley where gas was shipped from West Virginia to Ohio and Pennsylvania, and the coal distributing companies "became tied to the gas lines in the same manner the consumers were tied to them."⁵ From this start,

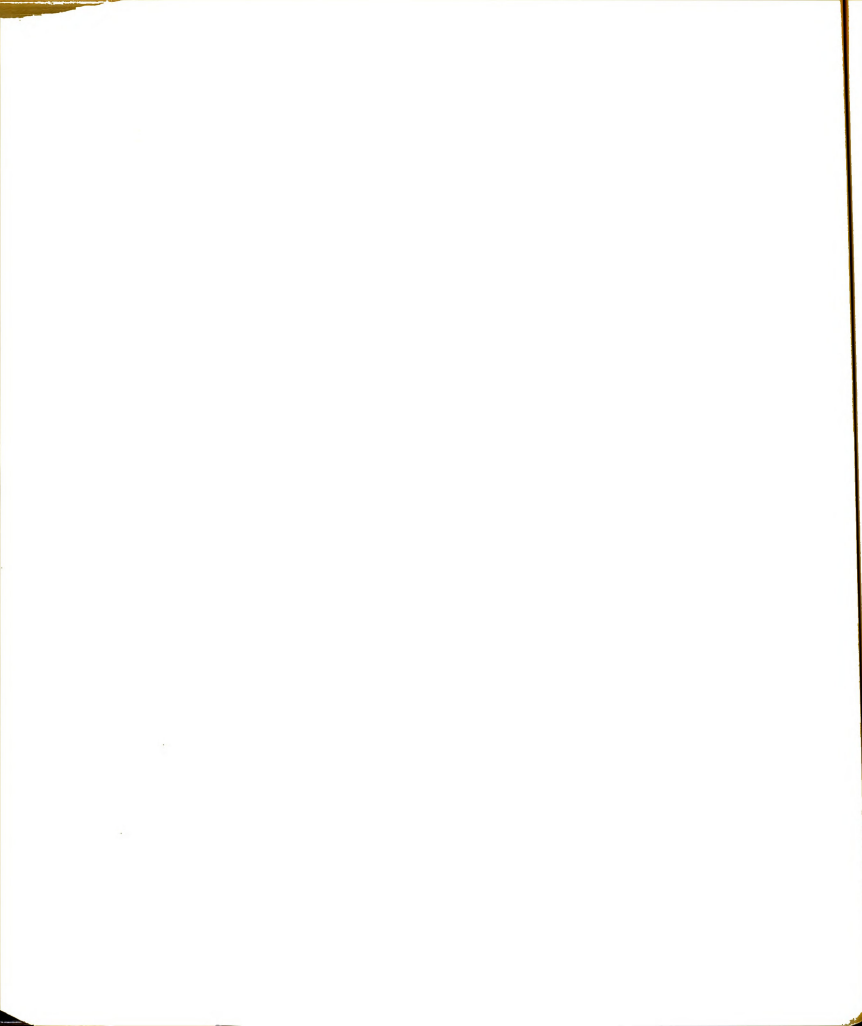
¹ Ibid. p. 3715.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.



glas continued, the prelude was set and "the battle we
 e now waging over the gas fields of the Southwest had its
 al run."¹

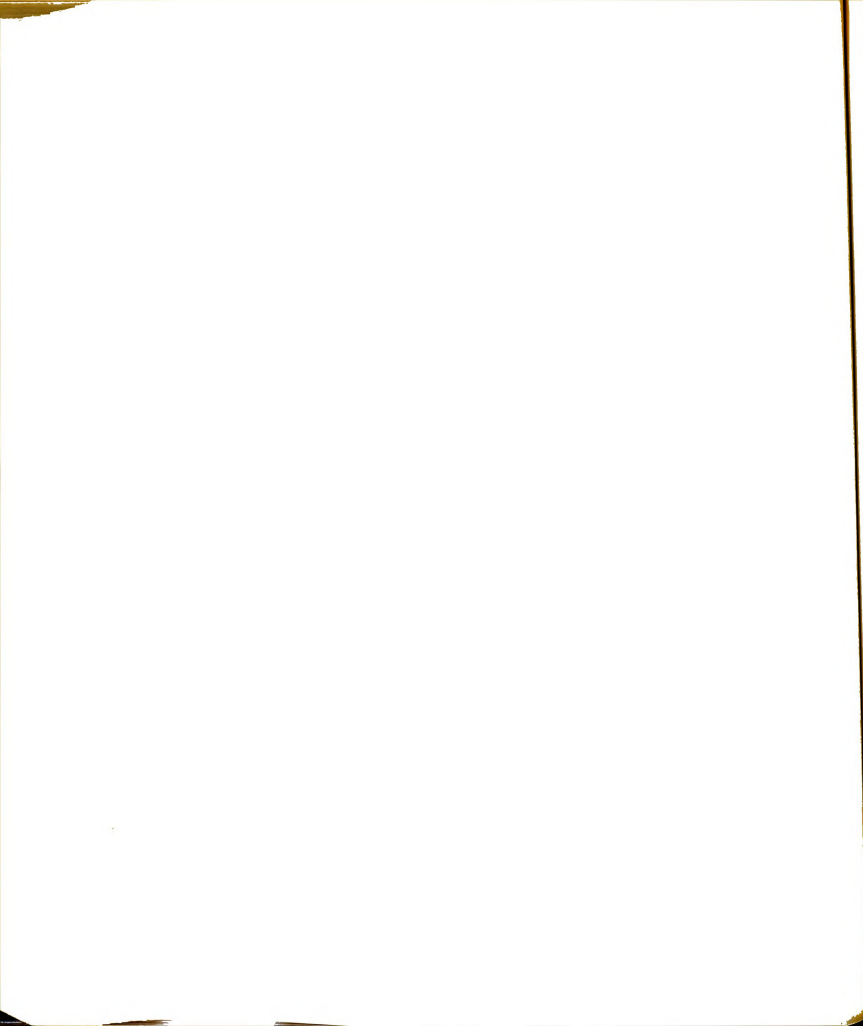
Next, he focused on the events which rendered the
 ate regulatory commission legally ineffective by the U.S.
 preme Court decision negating their power to regulate gas
 a product in interstate commerce.

While the sale of gas was recognized as a
 public utility, a no-man's land was thus
 created which was exempt from regulation
 in which the private companies were thus
 enabled to charge monopoly prices and hence
 were allowed to reap unreasonable profits
 at the expense of the consumers.²

e followed this by showing how the discovery of the Texas
 unhandle, Oklahoma, and Kansas reserves highlighted the need
 or Federal action. Gas was going to waste in many cases
 at pipe lines were built to transport it to the industrial
 ties. "The pipe-line companies thus formed often came
 nto being as a joint enterprise of the big city utilities
 ith the owners of the gas reserves." Citing several
 amples of this joint enterprise in the 1920's and 1930's,
 e ended with the case of Samuel Insull, and alluded to his
 ight against Insull's monopolistic activities. Insull, in
 addition to traction ventures, also controlled the Peoples
 as Company of Chicago which had a monopoly. It was, Douglas
 easoned, because of these and similar cases that the 1938
 atural Gas Act was passed "to occupy this field in which

¹Ibid., p. 3716.

²Ibid.



reme Court has held that the States may not act."¹

[Section 1 (B)] "the transportation of natural gas in interstate commerce,"..."the sale in interstate commerce of natural gas for resale for ultimate public consumption"..."and natural gas companies engaged in such transportation or sale." Furthermore the act defined a natural-gas company to be "a person engaged in the transportation of natural gas in interstate commerce or the sale in interstate commerce of such gas for resale"--section 2 (6).²

then argued and deduced:

...while attention was primarily centered on the pipe-line companies which were at that time, 1938, the main producers, Congress also granted the Federal Power Commission the power to regulate the price which the nontransporting producers and gatherers got for their gas when it was sold to the interstate pipe lines, because the sale in interstate commerce of natural gas for resale for ultimate public consumption was to be regulated.³

Nor does the fact that the act exempted the production and gathering of natural gas from regulation mean that Congress intended this exemption to apply to the sale of the natural gas after it has been gathered and as it started to flow into the pipe lines on its subterranean journey to the ultimate consumers in other States.⁴

In tracing the results of this legislation, the

maker concluded:

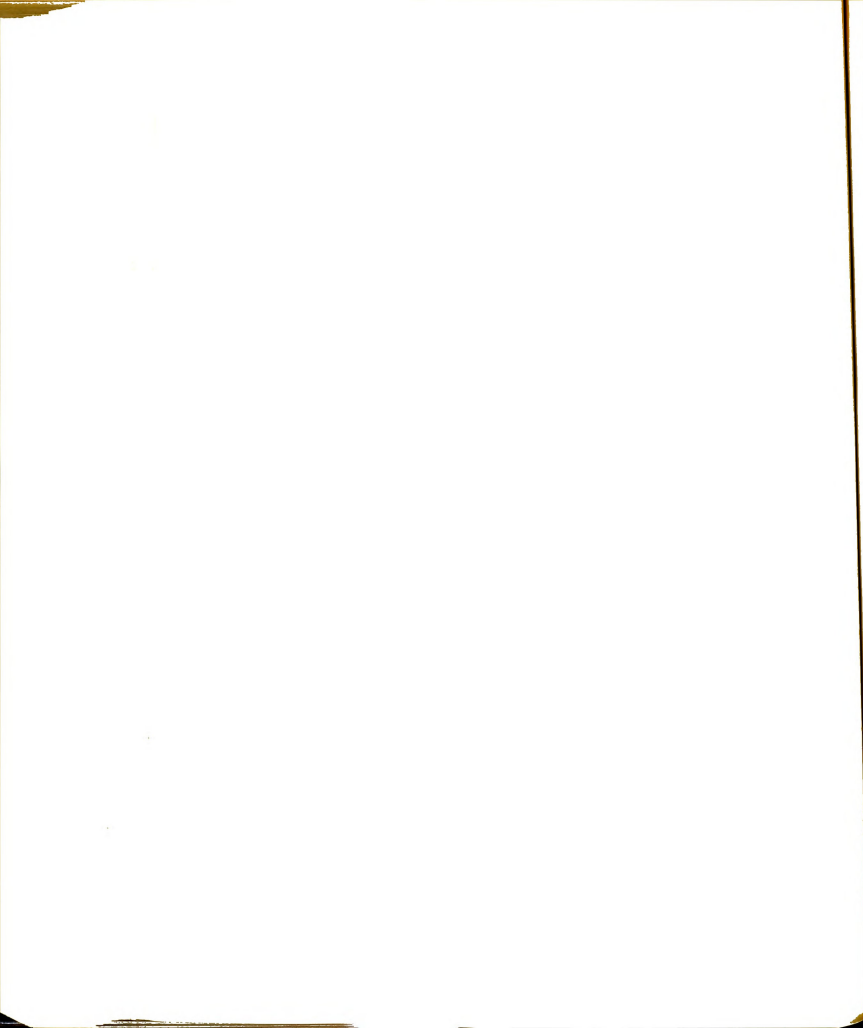
But whatever may have been its intrinsic authority, whether from the very beginning the Federal Power Commission believed it had the authority to deal with prices charged by non-transporting producers and gatherers, or whether

¹Ibid., p. 3716.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.



it did not believe it had that power, the Federal Power Commission wisely chose to attack the immediate evil in its course of procedure. That was the great discrepancy between the cost of the gas which the pipeline companies produced and transported,¹ and the final charge which they made for it.

on to cite examples of jurisdiction by the FPC and
ned its role then:

It is perfectly true that the Commission during this period did not attempt to take jurisdiction over the prices charged for gas by the nontransporting producers and gatherers. That is perfectly true. But I submit that it was largely true because the Commission was busy with the pipe lines, which were then the primary problem.²

orted that the price of natural gas remained low and
e, linking that effect to the Commission's good work.
mmission did not, he contended, find time to deal with
en subordinate problem of nontransporting producers.

This feeling was strengthened by the common belief which was then cultivated that the nontransporting producers were genuine small-scale independents who, competing fiercely with each other, did not need regulation.³

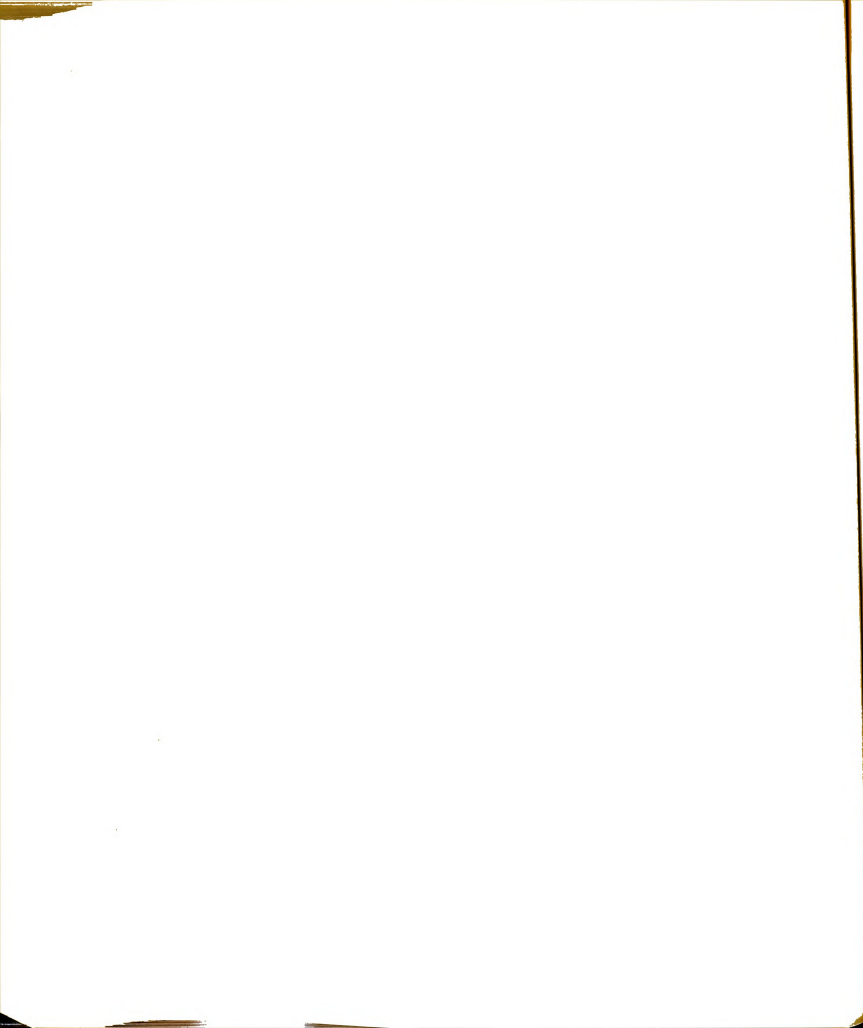
e stated that the Appalachian nontransporting producers
therers do tend to be small and independent, but the
independent producer is generally not the case else-
in the nation.

In answer to Long and Kerr, Douglas considered these
"natural reasons" why the FPC had not attempted to

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.



ate the group in question from 1940-1947. Turning to a review of the court cases showing jurisdiction of 1938 act to regulate in the area which the Kerr bill attempts to repeal, he then followed with an analysis of 1947 FPC tentative ruling that, in spite of Supreme Court rulings, they would not attempt to take jurisdiction over sales in interstate commerce by nontransporting producers and gatherers. He went on to analyze the membership of the commission, noting that the one dissenter was a Republican and had never been charged with "radicalism," Kerr and his colleagues would contend,¹ and that another reversed his position in 1948 after a study by the commission showed monopoly.

He had now reached the portion of his prepared text which contained his analysis of the rising prices and increasing degree of concentration:

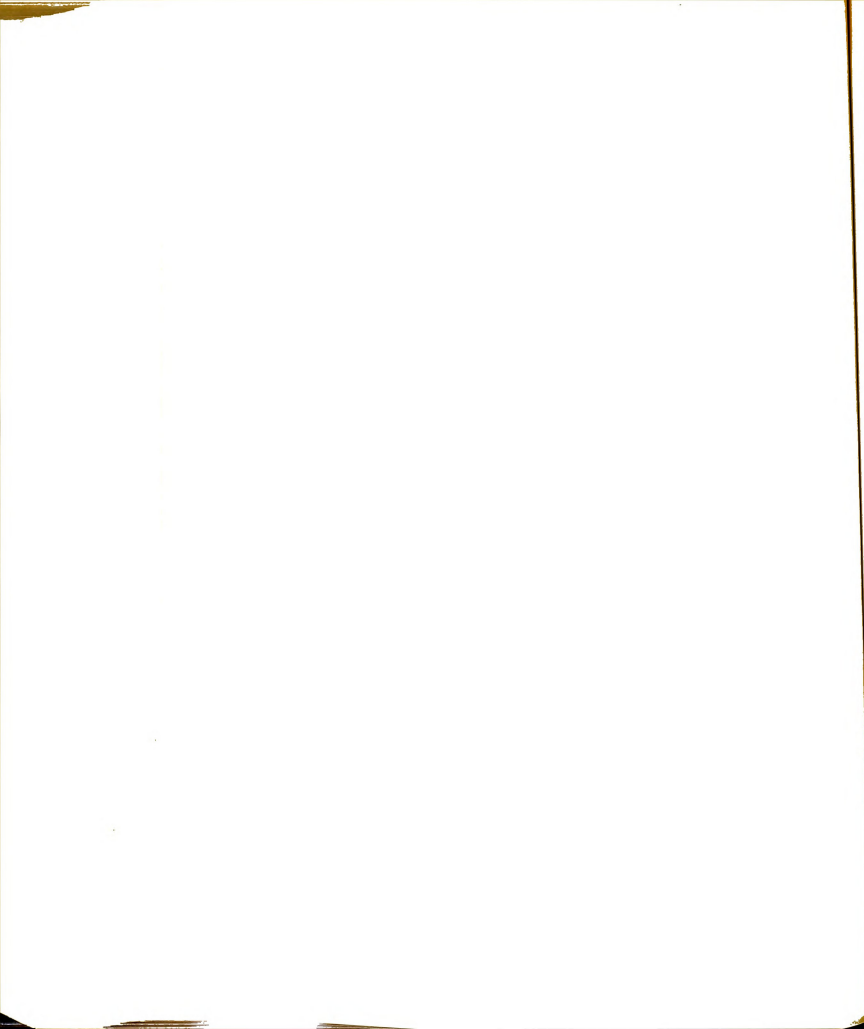
Whatever report we take, if we go back to the basis of agreed-upon facts, it is perfectly clear that the reports revealed that one change was going on in the field, and that the Commission's views had been erroneous in respect to two other matters.²

Working down his argument, he first contended: "the investigation showed that the price of natural gas in the field, which had been relatively stable for the preceding years, was just beginning to move up rather rapidly."³

¹Ibid., p. 3717.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.



this he concluded the Commission had to then, in 1948, this matter.

Second, he posited:

...they found that gas was being produced in the southwestern field primarily not so much by small independents in overalls, as had been true in the Appalachians, or by the sturdy wildcatters, as by the big companies, such as Phillips, Skelly, the Standard companies, Sun, Texas, Republic, Magnolia, and the like.¹

he contended that it was becoming evident that gas controlled, not by the pipe-line companies under operation, but by the big nontransporters and gatherers.

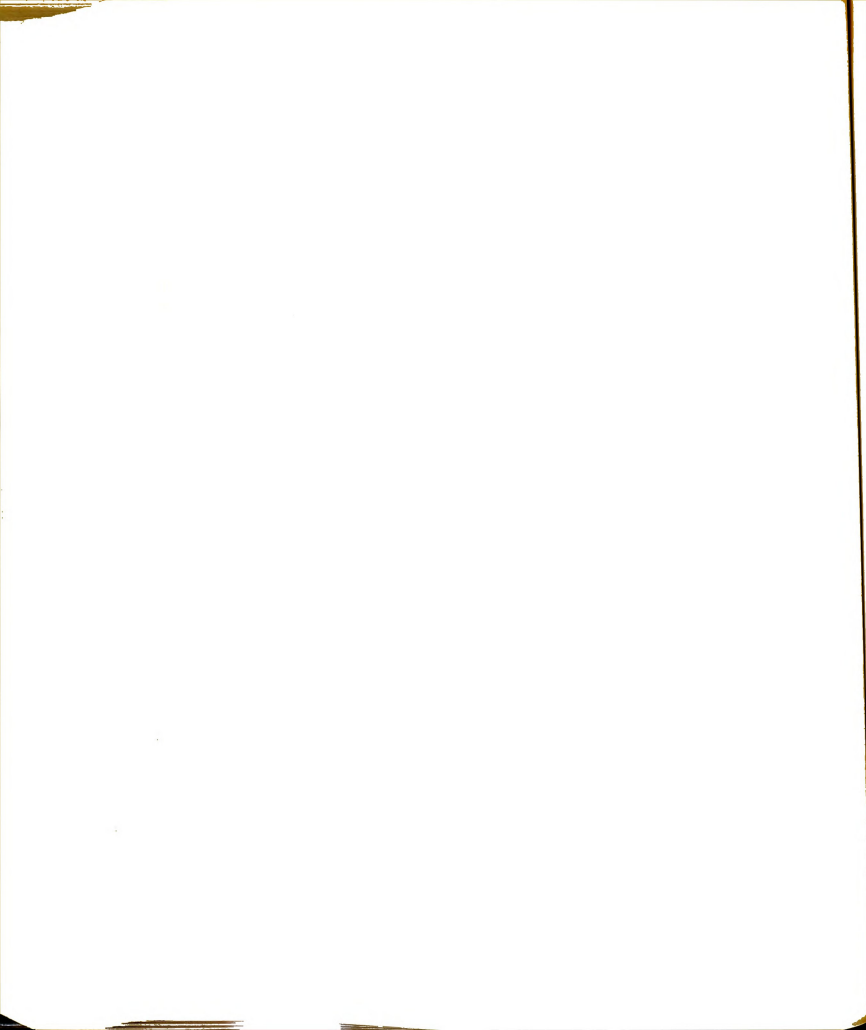
The inference he drew from these three points was to protect gas consumers by interstate regulation with-regulating the price of dominant nontransporting producers was "like trying to make an omelet without eggs or say Hamlet without the Dane."² Apparently Senator Kefauver agreed with this conclusion, because Douglas asked him for a question. Kefauver's question, supporting Douglas' argument, simply pointed up the magnitude of the problem for the nontransporters of the Kerr bill.

Kefauver, as a lawyer, then pointed out that the Clayton Act did not cover any proven violations of fair prices, but that the violation was difficult. Long rose and stated that the wording of the 1938 bill was intentionally vague and was used against as well as for unfair prices, and concluded that Kerr was merely trying to clarify it. At this

¹Ibid., p. 3718.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.



Douglas said: "I am ready to buy a bouquet of
 rs and present them to the distinguished junior
 or from Oklahoma (Mr. Kerr) for bringing this matter
 e the Congress,"¹ but that he did not agree with
 s opinion, and he appealed for all Senators to vote
 st the bill. Directing a final statement on this
 to Kerr, he queried: "Now I should like to ask the
 nguished junior Senator from Oklahoma whether he would
 r violets or crocuses?"² Kerr, according to the Record,
 laughter when he responded: "...let me say that inasmuch
 have not yet seen either one tendered to me, I am
 in a position to decide."³

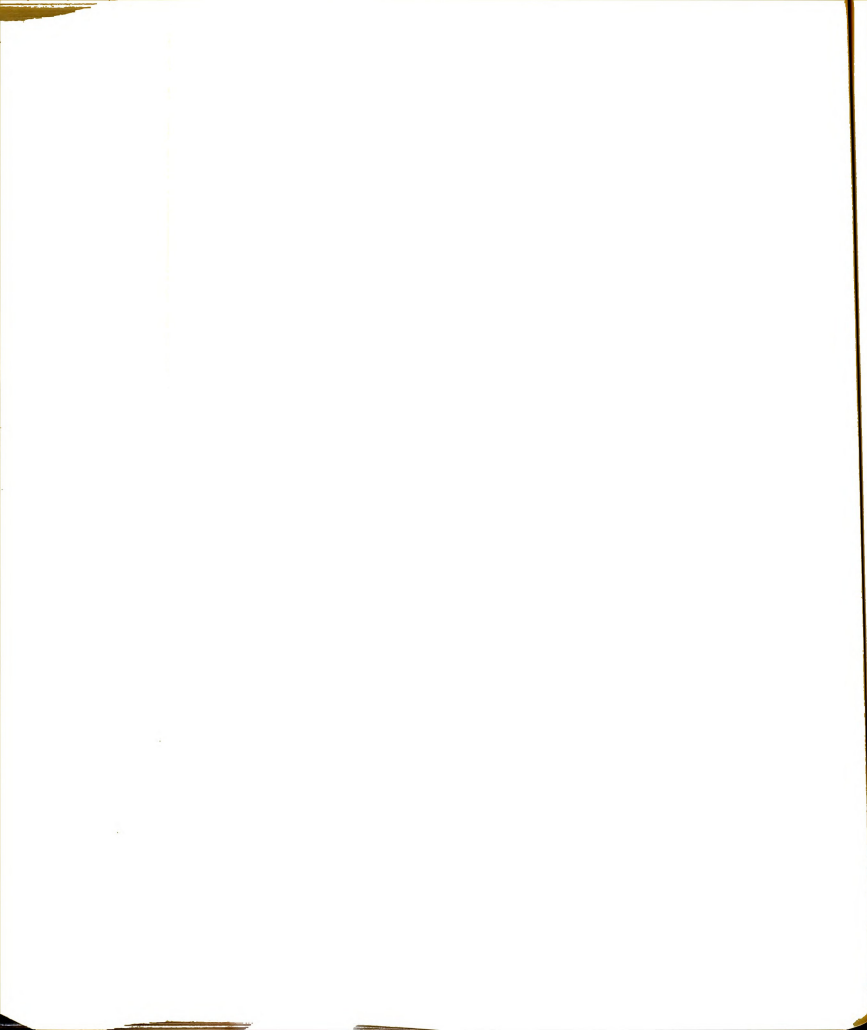
In a brief colloquy with Kefauver, who was generally
 chetic to the bill, Douglas made explicit for the first
 that he would like to see the Kerr bill voted down and
 ative action taken to insure price control because the
 d shirked its responsibility in this matter. Before
 ng the floor to Kefauver later, he said he wanted to
 uce a wisecrack, which according to the Record produced
 er; at best it showed that Douglas was still congenial
 s point. He "wisecracked" that appointing Congressmen
 Supreme Court would be the only way of having the
 follow intent of Congress in decisions.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 3718.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.



Long and Douglas exchanged interpretations of a
 tion by a present member of the FPC used by Kerr in
 ks on the bill. When they neared the end of this con-
 , Kerr rose and suggested that Douglas should "quote
 not misquote him." Douglas replied that he had no in-
 of misquoting him. Kerr said he would give the quota-
 again and then paraphrased it; Douglas, with the
 d in hand, followed him word for word, stopped and
 rted him four times, in an obvious attempt to seek
 acy to avoid having Kerr shift ground in interpolations,
 o also show he was better prepared than Kerr and more
 ate.¹

Kerr then asked Douglas if he knew the difference
 en a "distributing company" and a "transporting"
 ay. Douglas answered: "I should say that a pipe line
 so a distributing company."² To this, Kerr said:

The only reason the Senator would say that
 is because he does not know. If the Senator is
 interested in any kind of an explanation of the
 language, the Senator from Oklahoma would be
 delighted to give it to him.³

s, Douglas said: "I hope the Senator from Oklahoma on
 m time will take up that question."⁴ Kerr saw this
 g to suggest that Douglas feared debating him by say-
 "The Senator asked me not to leave, and I thought he
 d a discussion."⁵ With personality attacks by these

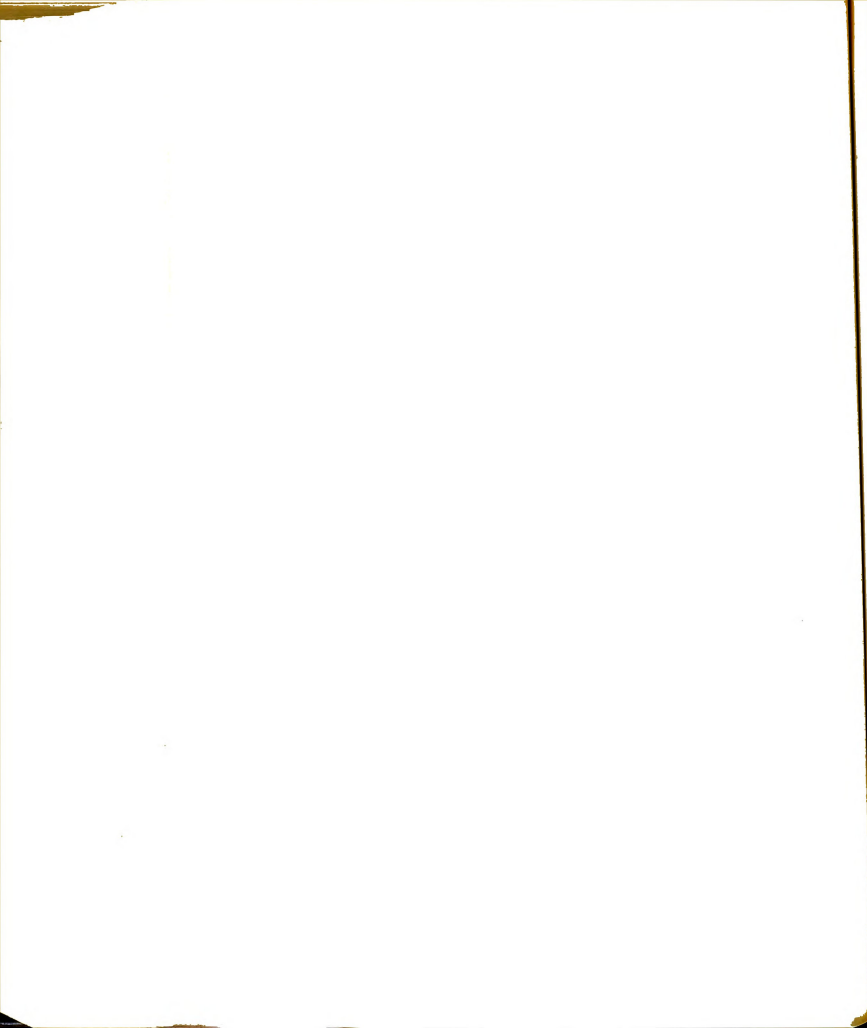
¹ Ibid., p. 3719.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., p. 3720

⁵ Ibid.



midable adversaries in the forefront, Douglas
 and his position with: "I am not going to turn over the
 for a speech by the Senator from Oklahoma,"¹ point-
 that Senator Brewster from Maine had allowed this
 en to him the day before and lost the floor. Kerr
 and that he didn't blame Douglas for not wanting to
 the same position as Brewster. To this, Douglas
 and that he had occupied the same room at Bowdoin that
 er once had and it was left in good order. After
 exchange, Kerr decided to move back to the role of
 gator on questions relevant to the issue.²

The most heated debate between Douglas and Kerr was
 begin. Kerr began the confrontation by attempting
 credit Douglas' knowledge and competence on the issue.

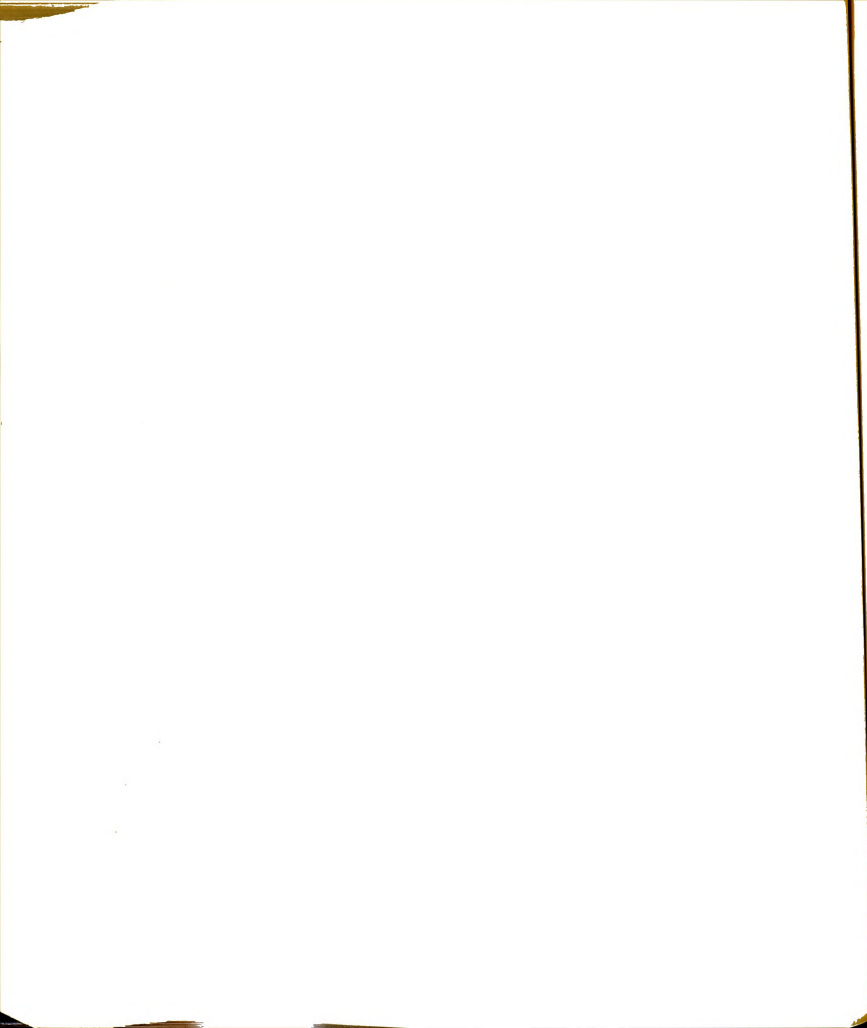
Mr. KERR. I asked the Senator if he
 understood the difference between sales for
 resale or so-called wholesale sales, and the
 ordinary sale of gas by a producer.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I should say that a
 wholesale sale would be a sale in large
 quantities to a company which did not con-
 sume the product itself, but passed it on
 and resold the large quantities to a number
 of other purchasers. Therefore, I should say
 that a sale at wholesale would be a sale by
 a gas producer and gatherer to an interstate
 pipe line, in large quantities, which the pipe
 line then transports and distributes.

Mr. KERR. Is not the junior Senator
 from Illinois aware of the fact that the
 average producer does not sell either to a

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.



pipe-line company or to a distributor or a gatherer for resale? Is he not aware of the fact that when a producer sells gas to a gatherer who comes to the wells to buy, he has no more control over whether that gas is resold, manufacturer into fertilizer, or manufactured into carbon black, than if he had had no part in it what ever?¹

Douglas, not content to allow Kerr to be the aggress-
tempted to shift the burden of proof with questions
point.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Is it not a fact that a great part of it does go for resale? Some of it is diverted for local industrial uses around Texas, but most of it is resold.

Mr. KERR. Quite the contrary. Most of it is not resold.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Are all the gas figures wrong, then?

Mr. KERR. No; but we are often wrong when we try to read them and do not understand them, as is the junior Senator from Illinois when he refers to the sale by a producer to a gatherer as being a wholesale sale of gas. It has about the same resemblance to the whole-sale sale of gas as would the sale by a farmer of a carload of wheat, when he sells it to the miller who makes it into flour.²

At that point Kerr sharply took every advantage of
politeness.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am somewhat at a loss--

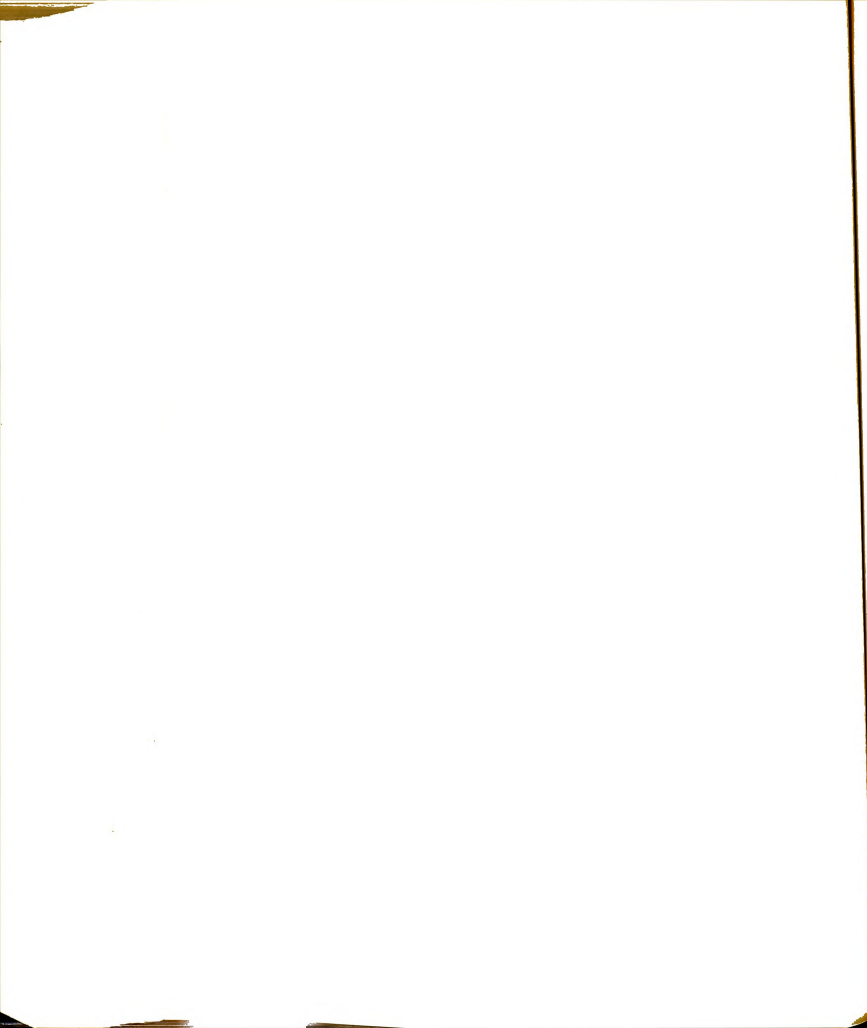
Mr. KERR. I am aware of that fact.

[Laughter] Bear in mind that the junior Senator from Oklahoma came into this debate only at what he thought was the Senator's invitation.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am always delighted to have the Senator from Oklahoma participate. I was going to say that I am somewhat at a loss to understand some of the points which the Senator has introduced. Is he maintaining that the gas which is gathered in Oklahoma and Texas

¹ Ibid., p. 3720.

² Ibid.



does not go North through pipe lines for commercial or industrial use? If not, what happens to it?

Mr. KERR. Most of the gas produced, even in the great State of Texas, is consumed in Texas. Most of the gas produced in all the gas-producing States is consumed in the States in which it is produced.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The able junior Senator from Oklahoma is perfectly aware of the fact that we are not saying that intrastate sales should be federally regulated. We are merely saying that interstate sales should be regulated.

Mr. KERR. The junior Senator from Oklahoma came into this discussion when it was apparent that the junior Senator from Illinois was confusing the language of the act which refers to sales by a producer to a local gatherer over which the producer has no more control than has the producer of wheat or corn over the product made and the action taken by the grist mill or the miller to whom the product is sold.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I would again reply to my very able friend that we are saying only that sales for resale in interstate commerce should be federally regulated. Sales in intrastate commerce for local consumption should not be thus regulated, but sales for resale in interstate commerce should be regulated. We submit that gas sold by producers and gatherers to pipe lines, which goes across State lines and is resold, comes under the provision of the act, and should come under its provisions.

Mr. KERR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I shall be glad to yield for a question.

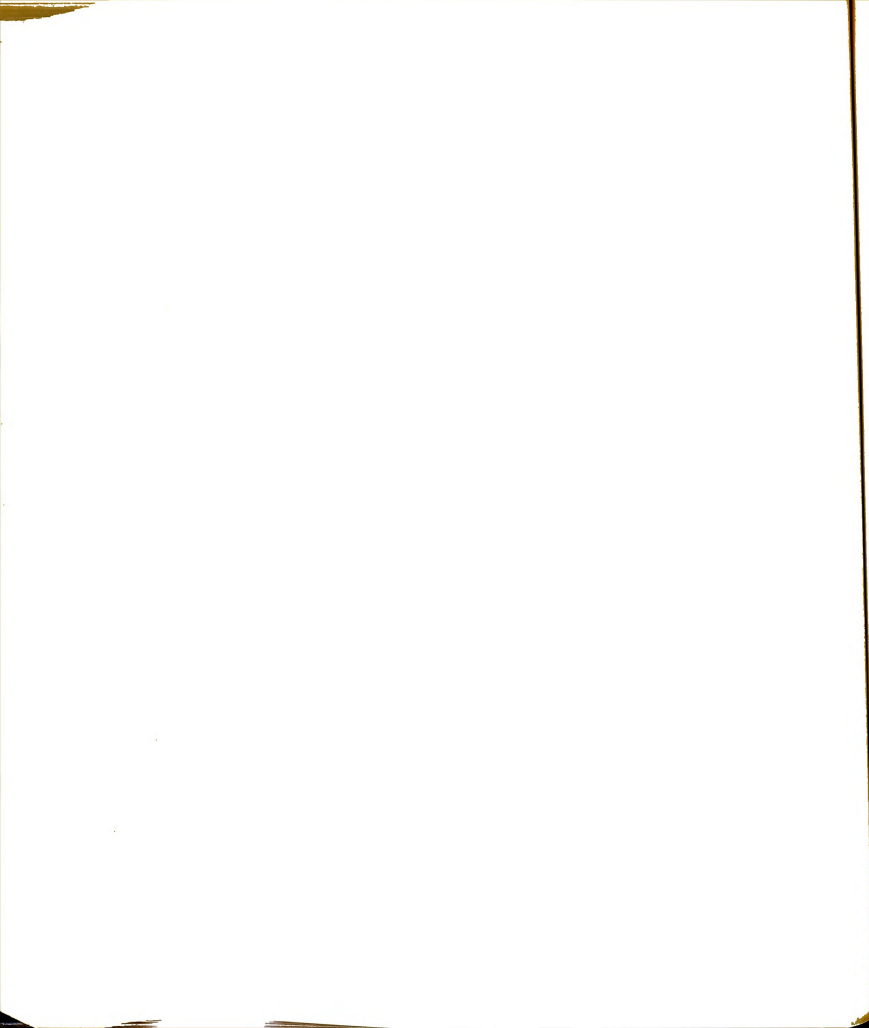
Mr. KERR. The average producer never sells either to a transporter, an interstate pipe line, or a distributor.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Does he sell to a gatherer?¹

The emnity grew, with Douglas willing to meet Kerr ground.

Mr. KERR. He sells to a gatherer, to a carbon-black plant, or a gasoline-extraction

¹ Ibid., p. 3720.



plant, having complete control over it. In that regard, the Senator from Illinois made a proposal the result of which, if he were serious, or if the junior Senator from Oklahoma were technical, would cause the junior Senator from Illinois to become a joint author of the bill.

Mr. DOUGLAS. God deliver us from that!

Mr. KERR. I am sure that He will, to our mutual gratification.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The mutual gratification of both the good Lord and the junior Senator from Oklahoma? The Senator can include me in that. I should like to be with the Lord, and I should like to be with the junior Senator from Oklahoma, but not on this particular question.

Mr. KERR. When the producer sells the gas, the purchaser may make it into liquid, which may be transported in trucks, boxcars, wagons, or any other vehicle. Much of it is so transported, and much of it in that form goes into the State of the junior Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DOUGLAS. In the form of carbon black, in trucks?

Mr. KERR. No; in the form of liquefied gas, transported in trucks or cars.

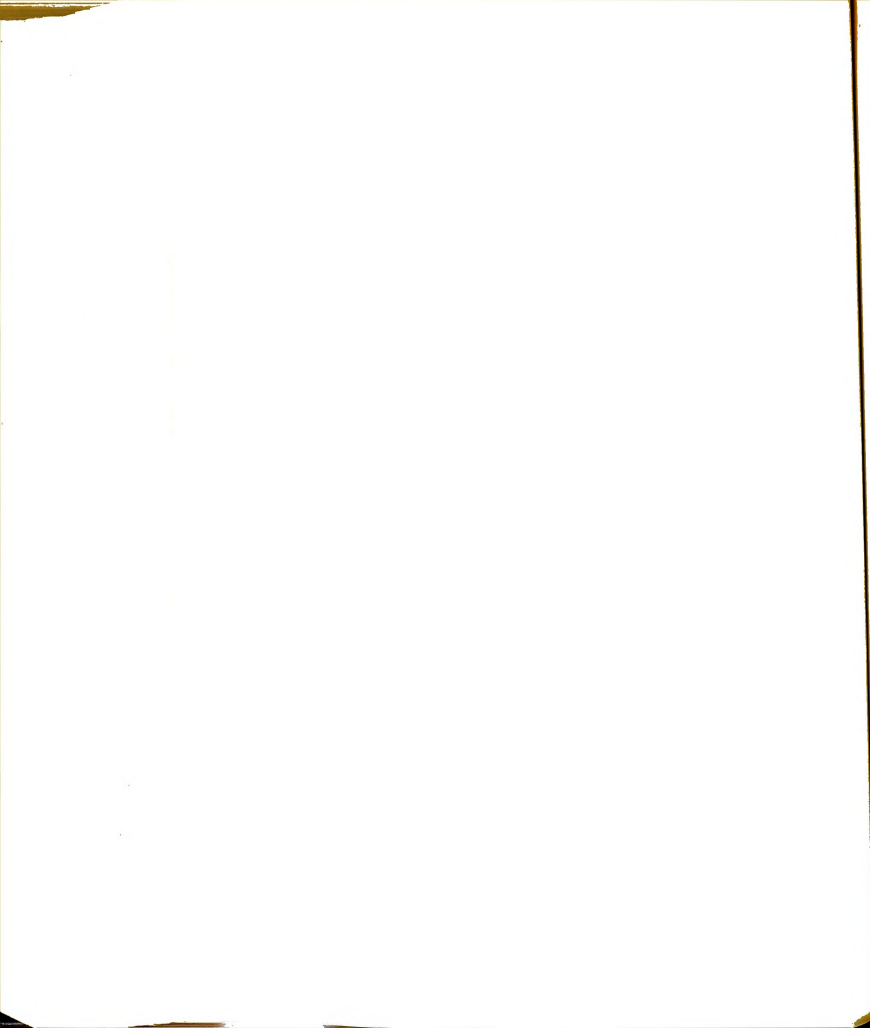
Mr. DOUGLAS. That exactly brings out the point I have been trying to establish. When gas can be shipped economically by truck, by railroad, or by barge, so as to compete with gas shipped in pipe lines, we do not want to regulate it, because the purchaser can buy from any one of a number of possible suppliers. But when it comes in by pipe line without effective competition, we do want to regulate it, because the purchaser is tied to the seller. That is all we are trying to do, and that is what the Senator from Oklahoma is trying to prevent.

Mr. KERR. Therein is the basic error on the part of the junior Senator from Illinois, because he can never accomplish what he has referred to. One hundred percent of the gas which the producer sells may be carried in trucks, barges, or boxcars--

Mr. DOUGLAS. I have a gas range in my house. If I can get gas which is shipped by truck, as cheaply as it can be transported through a pipe line that will be fine. But that gas range is hitched up to a gas main.

Mr. KERR. If it is, it was hitched up by the junior Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I did not hitch it up. The company hitched it up.



Mr. KERR. There are hundreds of distributors in Cook County, Ill., who will sell to the junior Senator from Illinois all the gas he wants in liquid form, in steel containers, which has been shipped into the State by truck, barge, or boxcar, and is available for him to purchase at any time he wants it.¹

According to the rules, as the speaker holding the Douglas was not supposed to be asking questions but to go to them. However he chose to interrogate in self defense and keep the issues in perspective.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I have two questions. First, what is the relative amount of gas which is shipped by truck for household and industrial uses, as compared with gas sent through pipe lines? Second, what are the comparative prices of the two?

Mr. KERR. I am glad the junior Senator from Illinois asked me the question.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The junior Senator from Illinois would be glad if the junior Senator from Oklahoma would answer the question.

Mr. KERR. He aims to. I thought I had the exact figures. Tens of millions of dollars worth of natural gas is shipped in that way.

Mr. DOUGLAS. For domestic use?

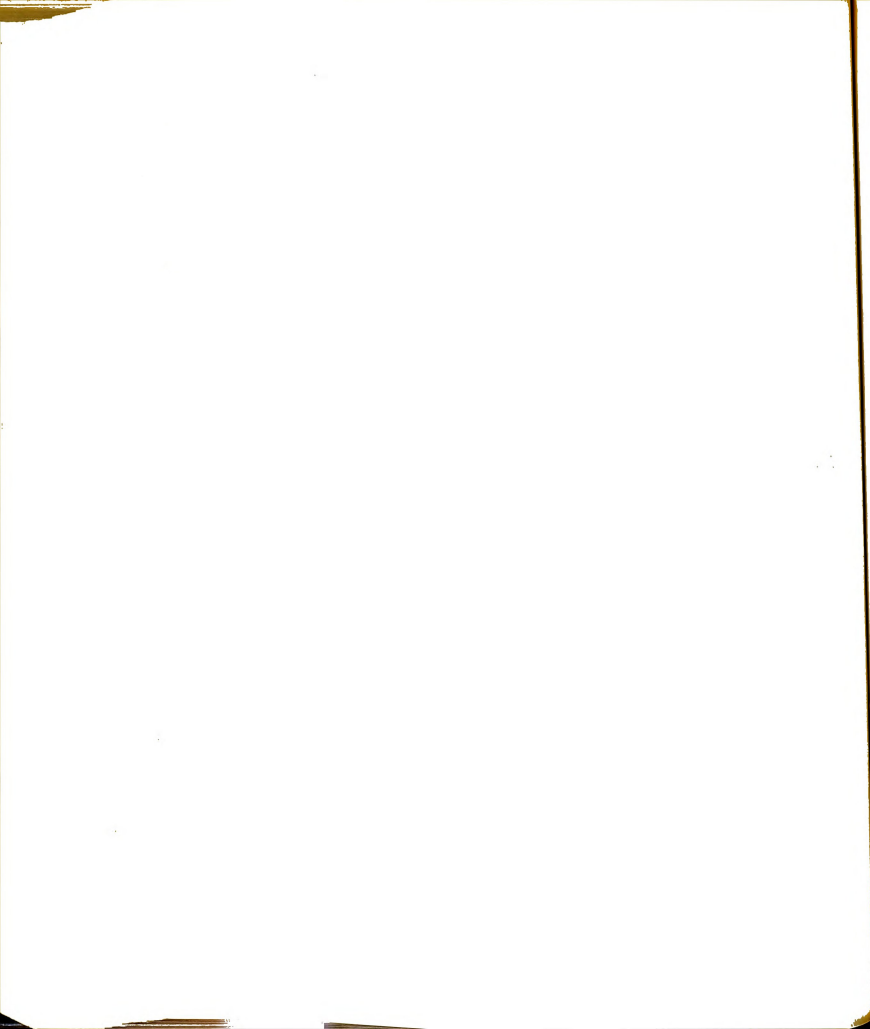
Mr. KERR. For domestic use.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Not industrial use? Not in the form of carbon black?

Mr. KERR. Not in the form of carbon black. Carbon black is the result of natural gas which has been used. Liquefied gas is gas in a different form, and may be used for either industrial or household purposes. It is available, and is being shipped by thousands of carloads all over the Nation. It is being shipped into the State which is so ably represented by the junior Senator from Illinois, and is used by tens of thousands of his constituents, and is available at any time to any of them.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I inquired about shipments by railroads, as compared with shipments by pipe line, and about comparative prices.

¹ Ibid., p. 3720.



Mr. KERR. There is much more shipped by pipe line.

Mr. DOUGLAS. How much more?

Mr. KERR. There is much more shipped by pipe line than in the other way. After all, I am giving the junior Senator from Illinois more knowledge in a few minutes than he has in some weeks. If he will give me a list of questions he has in mind, I shall give him detailed answers. However, every cubic foot of gas can be liquefied and can be shipped in the manner which has been described by the junior Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. DOUGLAS. At what cost? Is it commercially practicable for the consumer to buy it in that form in competition with gas delivered through a main?

Mr. KERR. Yes; it is commercially practicable to do it.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Why is investment being made in the construction of pipe lines? Why is not gas shipped by truck and railroad, if that is the best way to ship it?

Mr. KERR. I am glad to have that question asked. Pipe lines are built for the benefit of consumers.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Is it merely a philanthropic venture?

Mr. KERR. No; not at all; far from it. Pipe lines are built for the benefit of the consumer and not for the benefit of the producer.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I thought pipe lines were built for the benefit of the consumer, and also to get a return on the capital invested in their construction.

Mr. KERR. Not at all. The producers do not own them. They do not build them and they have no purpose in building them.

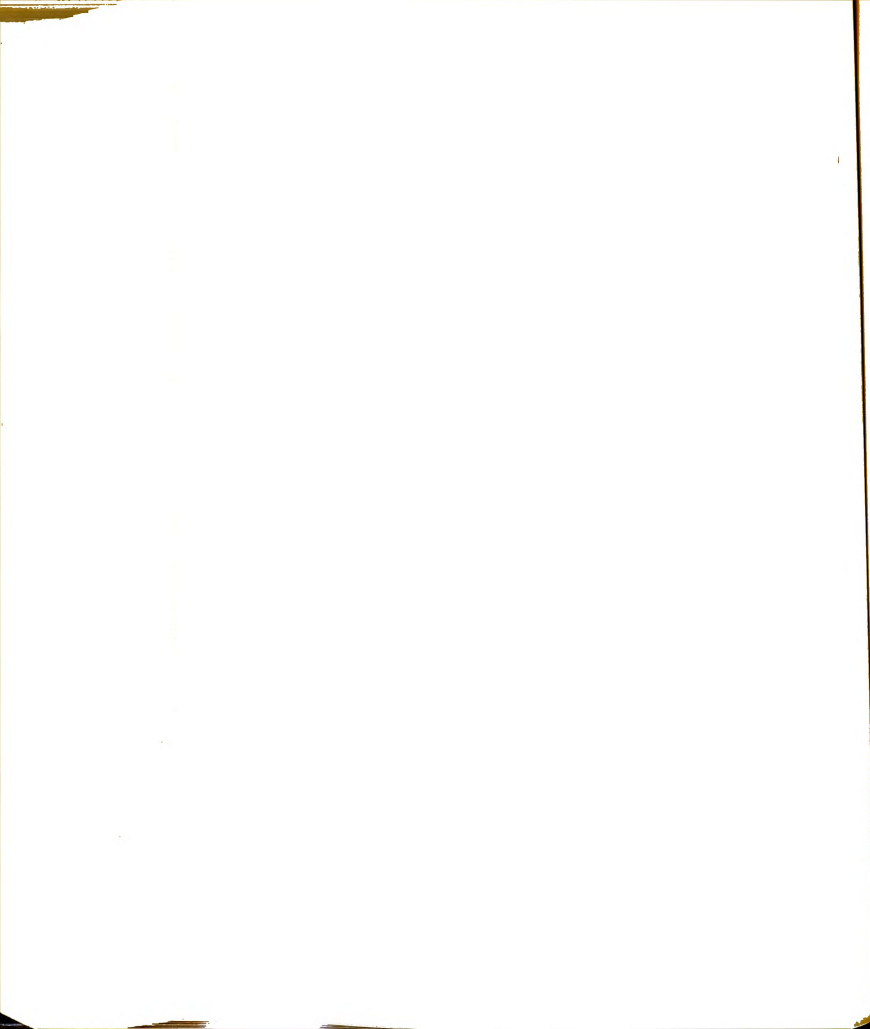
Mr. DOUGLAS. I refer to the companies which organized them.

Mr. KERR. They are built for the benefit of the consumer. However, when the junior Senator from Illinois makes the broad statement that he will become a joint author of the bill when gas can be transported by any other method, I wish to state to him that he will either have to retract the statement or become a joint author of the bill.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I should have said when gas can be transported economically in that manner in any appreciable quantity.

Mr. KERR. It is now.

Mr. DOUGLAS. For urban consumption?



Mr. KERR. It is now.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield for a question, but I would like to say that, first, gas which is liquefied is much more expensive than that sent by pipe lines, and, second, it is not used for domestic consumption where pipe lines are available. Therefore, it cannot compete.¹

It is interesting that other Senators tended to t of the debate when these two adversaries were in- in battle. Douglas obviously had shown a superiority ence, but Kerr probably felt his lack of preparation debate was explained by the fact that he had d at Douglas' request--even though Kerr was the key of the bill.

Then, Senator Robertson of Virginia directed a n to both Douglas and Kerr to explain the reason for Federal Government Control at the point of origin of ct before it is ever moved. A ten-minute period of tion by Douglas was followed by another Kerr-Douglas e.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield to the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. KERR. Is not the Senator from Illinois aware of the fact that section 1 (b) of the Natural Gas Act does not say that certain things shall be and certain other things shall not be regulated, but that the provision to which he refers reads as follows--

Mr. DOUGLAS. Is the Senator about to quote section 1 (b)?

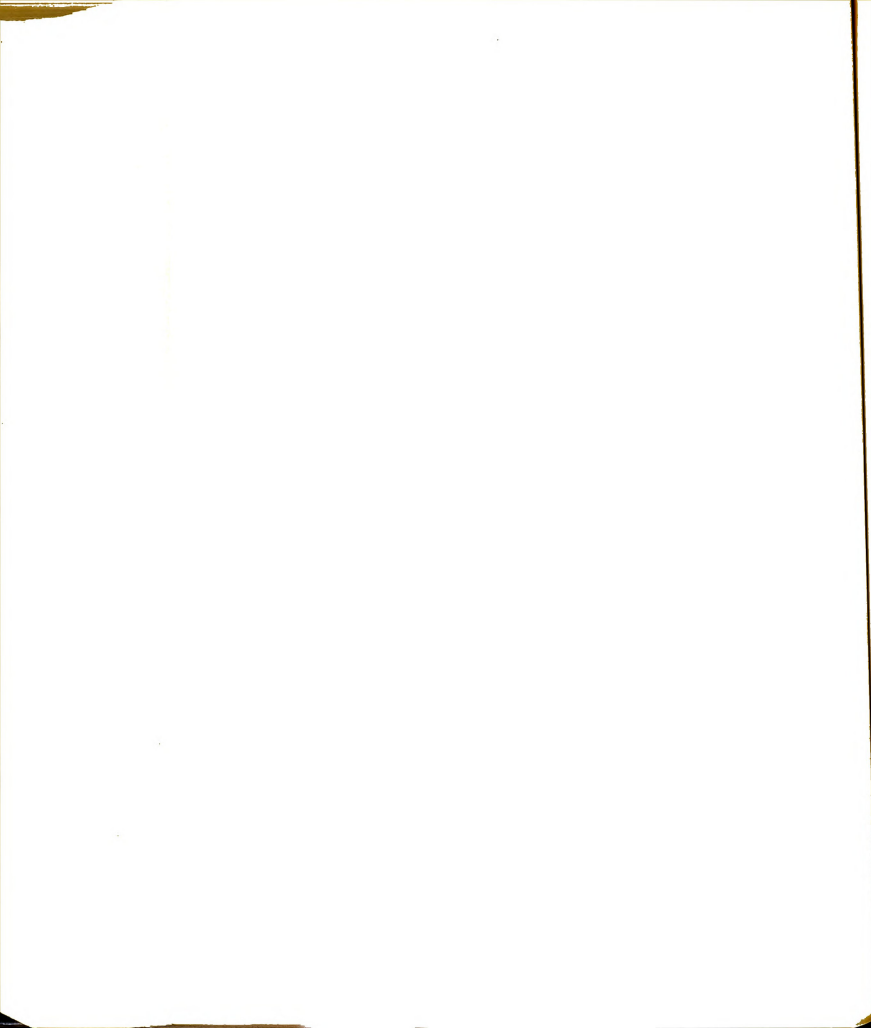
Mr. KERR. Yes.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Which chapter?

Mr. KERR. The act is not divided into chapters. It is section 1 (b) of the act.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I have it. I have the United States Code, which is divided into

¹Ibid., pp. 3720-3721.



chapters. I beg the Senator's pardon. I did not wish to score a point on the Senator. I have the provision here.

Mr. KERR. I know it by heart. I will ask the Senator to follow it in the law:

The provisions of this act shall apply to the transportation of natural gas in interstate commerce, to the sale of natural gas in interstate commerce--

Mr. DOUGLAS. There is no "natural gas" at that point.

Mr. KERR. The section continues:

to the sale in interstate commerce of natural gas for resale for ultimate public consumption for commercial, industrial, and domestic purposes--

Mr. DOUGLAS. Or any other use.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Did not the Senator from Oklahoma leave out a comma? (Laughter)

Mr. KERR. I may have--

and to natural-gas companies engaged in such transportation or sale, but--

And I will interpolate a little here, and if it is incorrect, the Senator from Illinois will correct me.

The provisions of this act--

shall not apply to any other transportation or sale...or to the local distribution of natural gas or to the facilities used for such local distribution.

Mr. DOUGLAS. It says "distribution," rather than "local distribution."

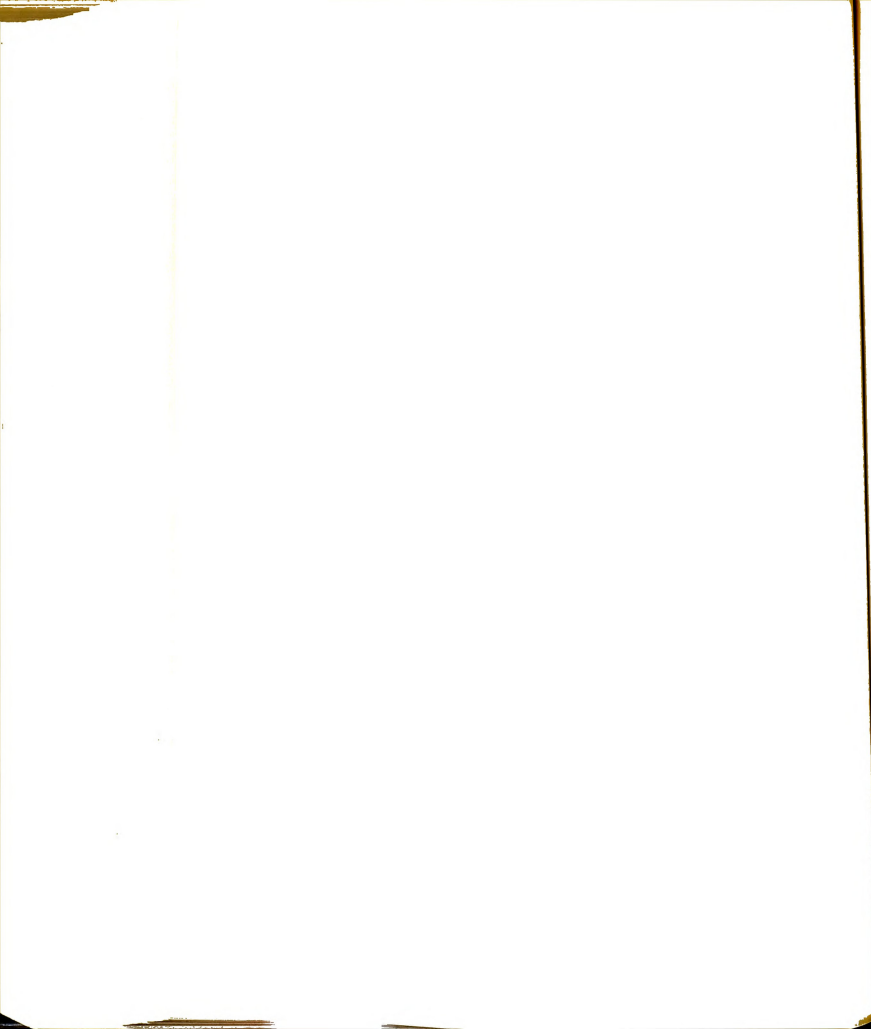
Mr. KERR. "Local" was by interpolation.

Mr. DOUGLAS. That is all right.

Mr. KERR. "Or to the production or gathering of natural gas."

Mr. DOUGLAS. Period.

Mr. KERR. Period. The end of section 1 (b). In other words, the provision does not set forth that certain regulations shall be had with reference to certain operations. It specifically states that the provisions of the act shall apply on the one hand to certain designated operations and on the other hand it says that the sections of the act shall not



even apply to the production or gathering of gas. Is that not correct?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I find myself in a very difficult position. Yesterday the Presiding Officer compelled the Senator from Maine (Mr. Brewster), or tried to compel the Senator from Maine, to take his seat because he permitted a fellow Senator to make a speech under the guise of a question. I hope the distinguished Presiding Officer at the present time does not compel me to take my seat, because the very able junior Senator from Oklahoma made a speech under the guise of a question.

I therefore ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to reply to this question without losing my rights to the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Lyndon B. Johnson) As the Senator is no doubt aware, he does not need such consent.

Mr. DOUGLAS. No; the ruling which was made yesterday was that a Senator did need such consent. Do I understand, therefore, that the Senator from Illinois--

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Parliamentarian advises the Chair that the Senator has that privilege.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I thank the Chair! I should like to ask the junior Senator from Oklahoma what conclusion he draws from section 1 (b) which he quoted with great accuracy, or with relative accuracy.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will say to the Senator from Illinois that he is prohibited from asking a question of the Senator from Oklahoma.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Since I am prohibited from asking a question I will say that I cannot understand at all what the Senator from Oklahoma means by his reference to this passage of the act.

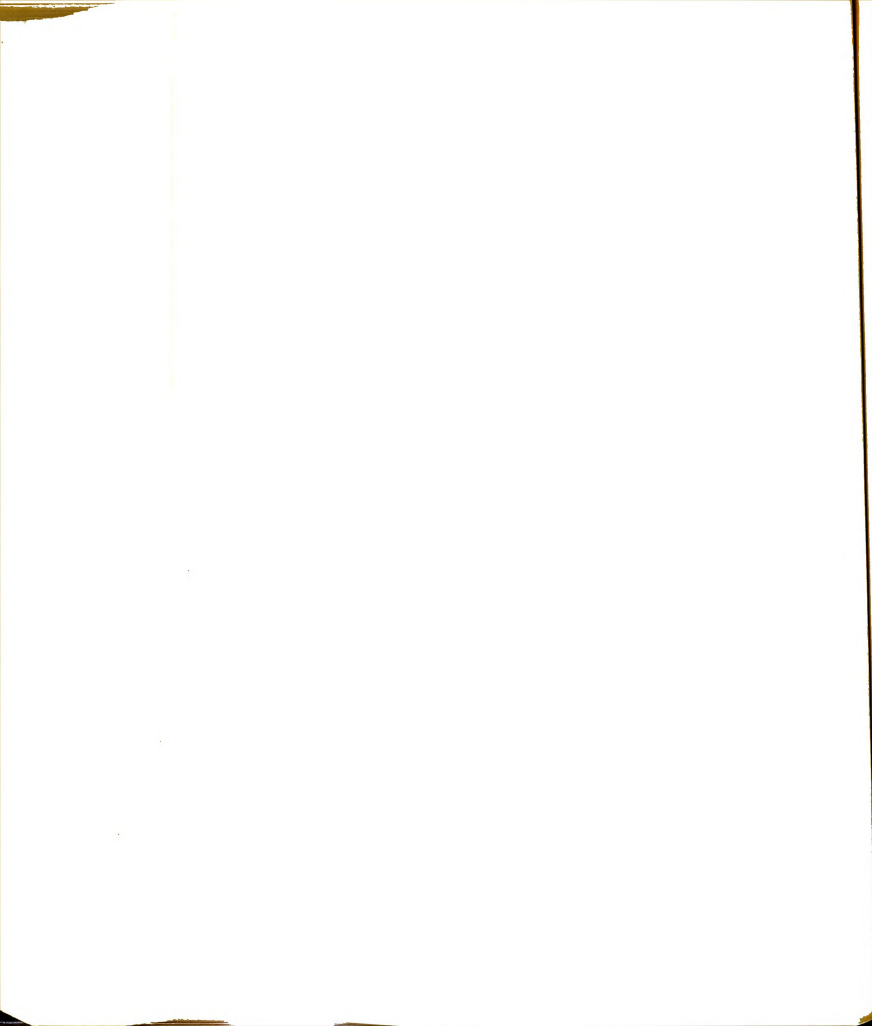
Mr. KERR. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question there?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am glad to yield for a question.

Mr. KERR. The Senator from Illinois thinks the provisions of the act have some relevancy to this matter, does he not?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Of course they do.

Mr. KERR. The Senator from Illinois has been setting forth, has he not--and this is another question, if the Senator will yield--certain conclusions based upon the language of the act?



Mr. DOUGLAS. The conclusion which the Senator from Illinois has been setting forth only goes as far as the unanimous opinions handed down by the United States Supreme Court in the Interstate case. The United States Supreme Court in the Interstate case, in the unanimous opinion, handed down by the United States Supreme Court in the Interstate case. The United States Supreme Court in the Interstate case, in the unanimous opinion, said that this phrase from the act--

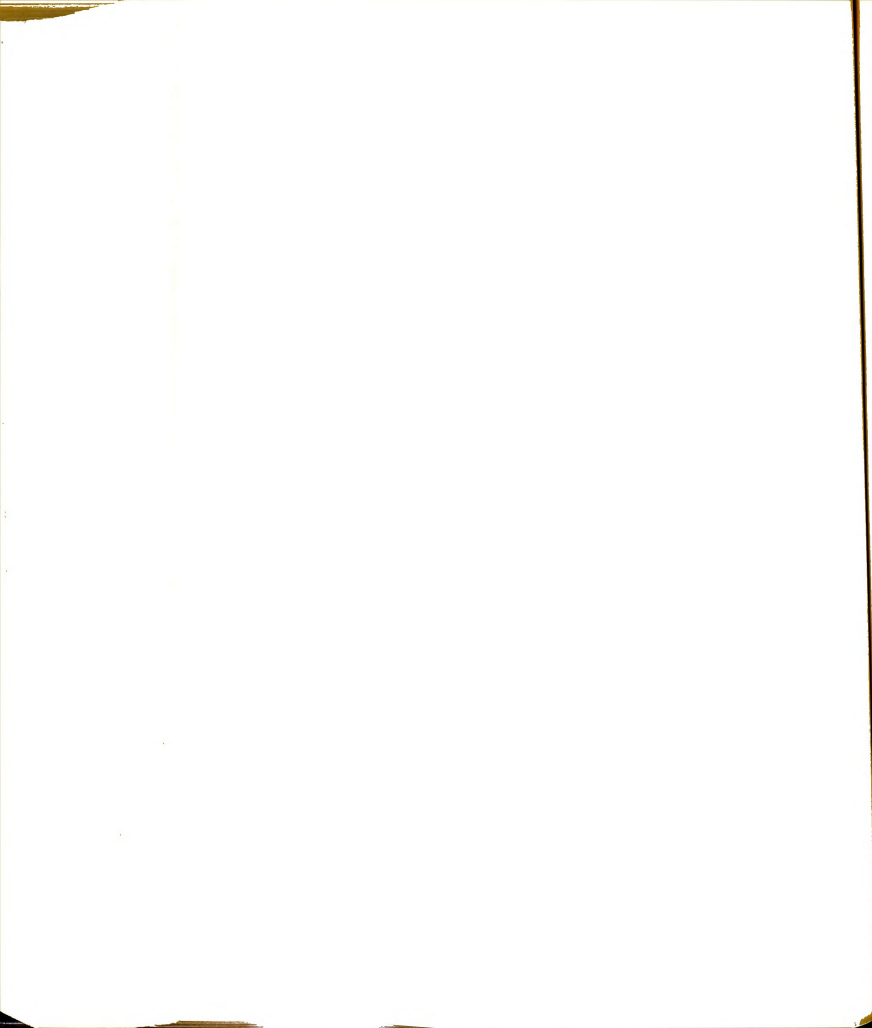
"The provisions of this act shall apply to the transportation of natural gas in interstate commerce, to the sale in the interstate commerce of natural gas for resale for ultimate public consumption for domestic, commercial, industrial, or any other use--"

Constituted authority for the Federal Power Commission to fix the price of gas at which one producing company could sell gas to other pipeline companies in the field. That is all I have said and it is not for me to pronounce a unanimous opinion of the United States Supreme Court to be foolish.¹

Robertson then indicated that neither Douglas nor I clearly answered his original question on federalism at the point of origin. Douglas replied that he preferred federal control, but it was a lesser evil when compared to private price fixing. He went on to err from the Record as having said: "I will tell frankly the purpose of the Kerr Act is to take people out from under the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission, not put them under it."² Douglas said that Kerr discerned that the Commission had jurisdiction over interstate commerce at present. Kerr responded by asking Douglas, "Don't

¹Ibid., pp. 3721-3722.

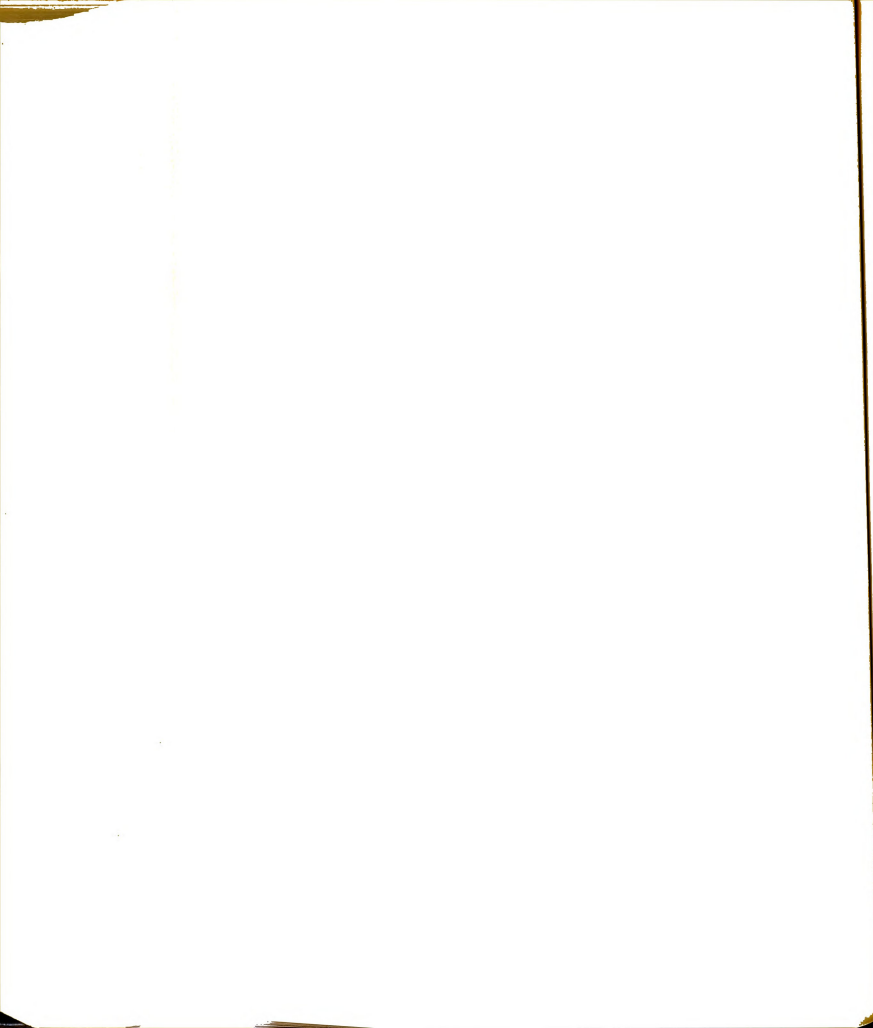
²Ibid., p. 3723.



men know" that in the Committee my bill was changed on provision you refer to. In his reply, Douglas pointed out that in the debates of the day before Lyndon Johnson seemed to nod assent to Douglas' remarks that the purpose of the variants of the Kerr bill was the same. Johnson was at this time presiding, and Douglas asked him to nod assent (so as not break parliamentary rules) that Douglas had said was accurate. Johnson replied "at the proper time and proper place" he would make his views on the matter known--"the Senator from Illinois will have ample opportunity to understand, if possible, the views of the Senator from Texas." Douglas returned the compliment: "I may say that I do hope the junior Senator from Texas will present his views and that he will be able to express them clearly." A moment later, Johnson again ruled Douglas out of order for directing a question to Kerr.¹

At this time, after a 35-minute speech and nearly an hour and one-half of debate, Douglas said to the surprise, no doubt, of those who thought he was between parts of his speech that he would now like to finish his second speech. In about four minutes he gave a brief summary and directed his audience's attention to the FPC hearing going on currently in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, to determine whether the Phillips Petroleum Company was justified in raising its price five cents per 1,000 cubic feet to the

¹Ibid.



an-Wisconsin Pipe Line Company. Concluding, he said
 f the Kerr bill is enacted, the Commission will not
 jurisdiction over sales of natural gas to pipe lines
 transporting producers and gatherers.¹

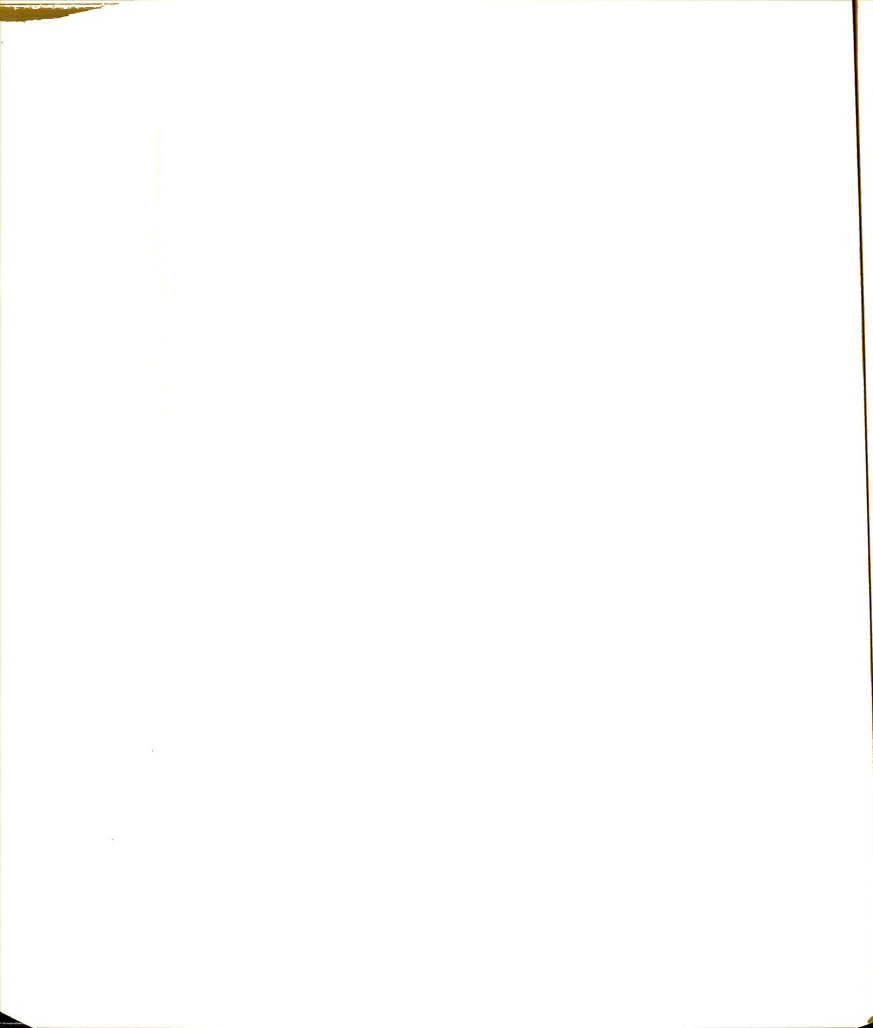
This concluding part of his second speech was
 ough but redundant in the analysis of the history of the
 . His main appeals were directed against the inten-
 of the Kerr bill. Perhaps his most important accom-
 ment had been to draw Kerr into the debate, although
 as spent most of the time on the defensive when would
 preferred Kerr to assume that position. There is evi-
 in the Record that Kerr was in the Chamber during the
 of Douglas' stand on the floor, but he refrained from
 ontation and rose only occasionally during debate and
 quoy for clarifying comments.

The third "speech"² began with opening remarks
 ering further the original question from Robertson. In
 ping, Douglas made it clear that he was not casting
 sions on the members of any of the wealthy families
 vere the beneficiaries of family fortunes controlling
 al gas, but answered that the Kerr bill would primarily
 it "the Leviathans such as Standard Oil, Phillips, the
 s Company, Gulf, Sun Oil, Shell,...and the Rockefellers,
 ellons, the Pews, the Phillipses and Queen Wilhelmina
 olland."³ He concluded that Federal Control would be

¹ Ibid., p. 3723.

² See Appendix C for text of this speech.

³ Congressional Record--Senate, op. cit., p. 3724.



ser of evils.

Moving to the third speech, he told his audience "I depart slightly from the advance copies of my speech."¹

I now want to take up three rather closely related points, first the degree of concentration of ownership and control in the sales of gas; second, the concentration and control in the gas reserves; and third, the question of the profits made by these companies to see whether or not they are suffering.²

Following this deductive pattern of two propositions and what appeared to be the results from the proof

two facts, he showed inherent evil in the third.

He proceeded to examine the degree of concentration of ownership and control in production.

With his evidence merely prefaced with "it is true" and hearings as documentation in the table entered (Record), he moved to the core of his analysis by

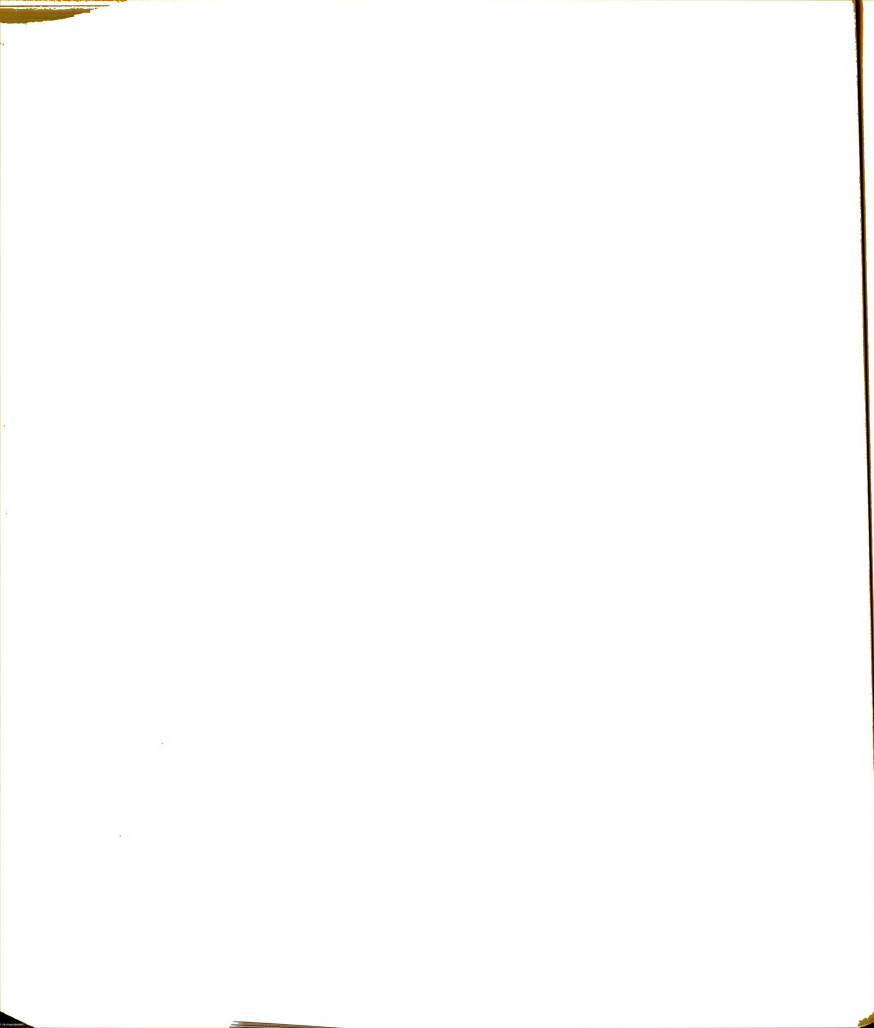
...there are 2,300 producers of natural gas in the country who sell to the interstate pipe lines--1,600 of those are in the Appalachian area. I call particularly to the attention of the Senate the fact that 3 percent of the 2,300 or 69, accounted for 70 percent of all the sales in 1947. But the most important thing to remember is that the seven Southwestern States, Arkansas, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas contain nearly 90 percent of all the gas reserves in the country.³

The evidence he cited was from 1947, but he continued by citing projected figures for 1952 "printed in the bill and...not challenged by the proponents of the bill,"

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.



analyzed twelve companies, headed by Phillips Petroleum
 1/2 percent, control over 50 percent of the sales.

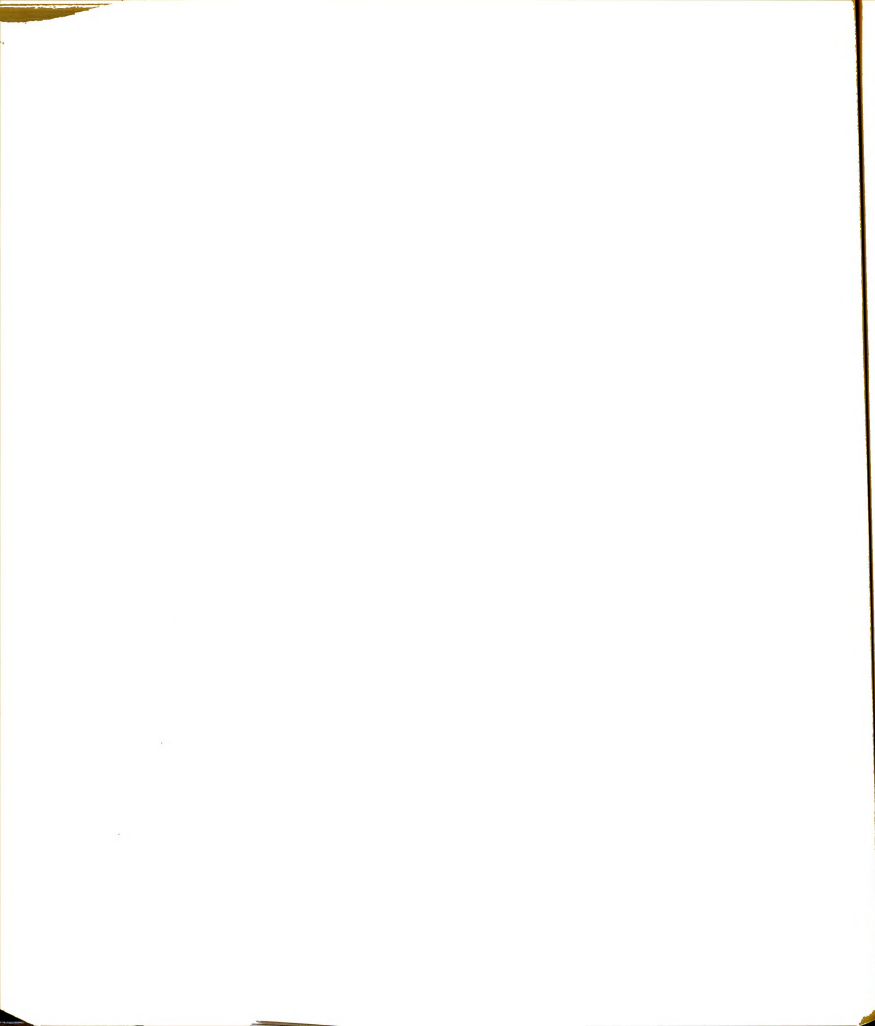
The first twelve companies, which I have read, will sell in all, more than 50 percent of all the gas which will be transported in two years out of the southwestern area and sold to pipe lines, and the 23 remaining companies will sell a further 22 percent; so that the first 35 companies will sell 72 percent of the total, or 1,671,000,000,000 cubic feet, leaving to the remaining 565 producers 654,000,000,000 cubic feet, or 28 percent of the total.¹

Mr. President, the table is interesting because the majority of the companies shown on it are either the major oil and gas companies or their affiliates. Stanolind, Humble, and Magnolia, which are No. 3, No. 6, and No. 7, respectively in the list, are affiliates of Standard Oil of Indiana, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and Socony-Vacuum, which is, of course, Standard of New York.²

The proponents insist, according to Douglas, that
 tion among these companies will keep prices and hence
 down. But to understand the degree that competition
 st among nontransporting producers, the degree of
 ration in individual fields must be examined, because
 be economically transported only through pipe lines.
 If the audience concurred with Douglas' premise on
 ngle transportation limitation and not with Kerr on
 e forms of transportation for gas, the persuasion is
 He continued his analysis by citing more statisti-
 dence:

¹ Ibid., p. 3724.

² Ibid., p. 3725.



...in Louisiana, nine fields with a combined reserve of one and one-half trillion cubic feet are 100 percent owned by the Texas Co. No company other than the Texas Co. has ownership in those nine fields. The pipe-line companies will have to go to the Texas Co. for natural gas in those fields, if they are to get any natural gas from those fields. In Texas, three fields with reserves of three-fourths of a billion cubic feet are owned by the Shell Co. in percentages of 71, 96, and 100 percent. The study of 80 individual fields with combined reserves of 15,500,000,000 cubic feet which I have just inserted shows that they are all owned in amounts varying from 50 to 100 percent by one, two, or three companies.¹

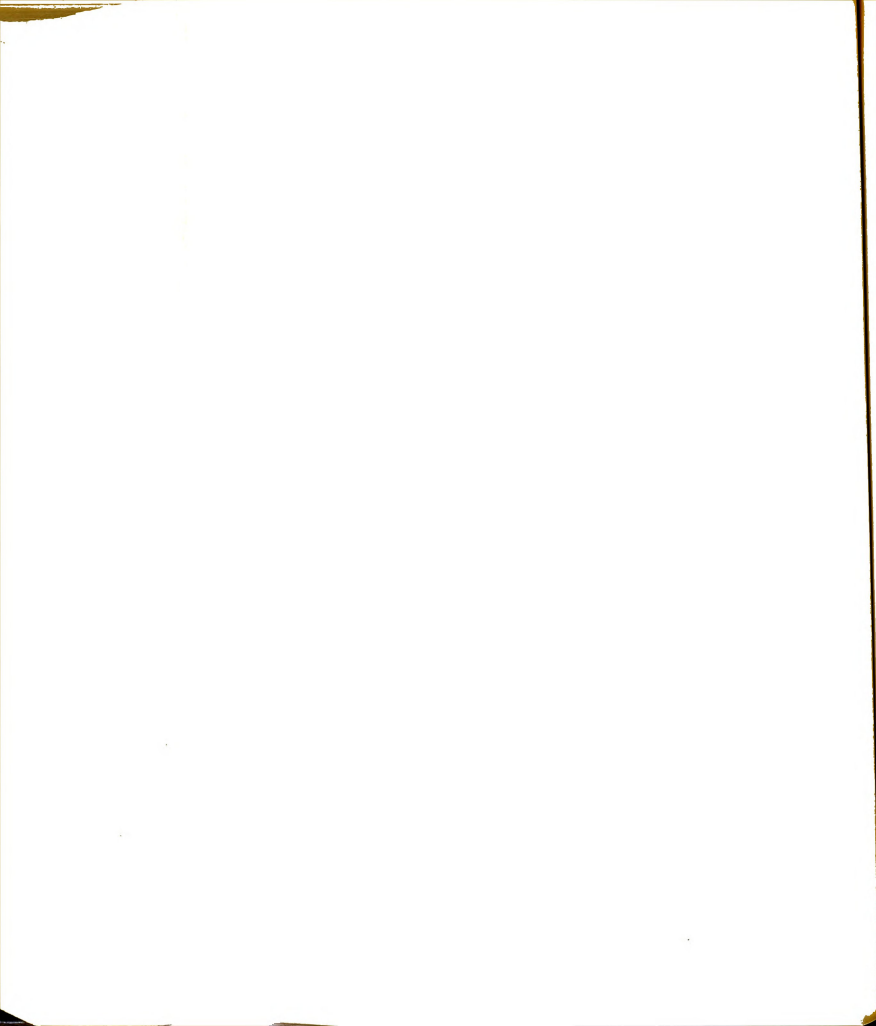
From these examples, he moved to a geographic study of production with tables to show that the two largest natural gas fields in the United States, Texas Panhandle and Hugoton have one-fourth of the entire reserves of the country and that only 10 companies, led by Phillips Petroleum, control three-fifths of these reserves.² "As a matter of fact, 33 companies hold 62½ percent of all oil and gas acreage in the entire United States."³ Were these companies making profits? The Senator entered extensive evidence to show that in one year in 1948 the top 100 companies averaged a 24 percent profit after taxes on stock and surplus. Making a comparative analysis, he concluded: "These profits can only be called excellent in view of the 7 or 8 percent normally considered an excellent return."⁴ To use total dollar profits as further

¹ Ibid., p. 3727.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 3728.

⁴ Ibid., p. 3729.

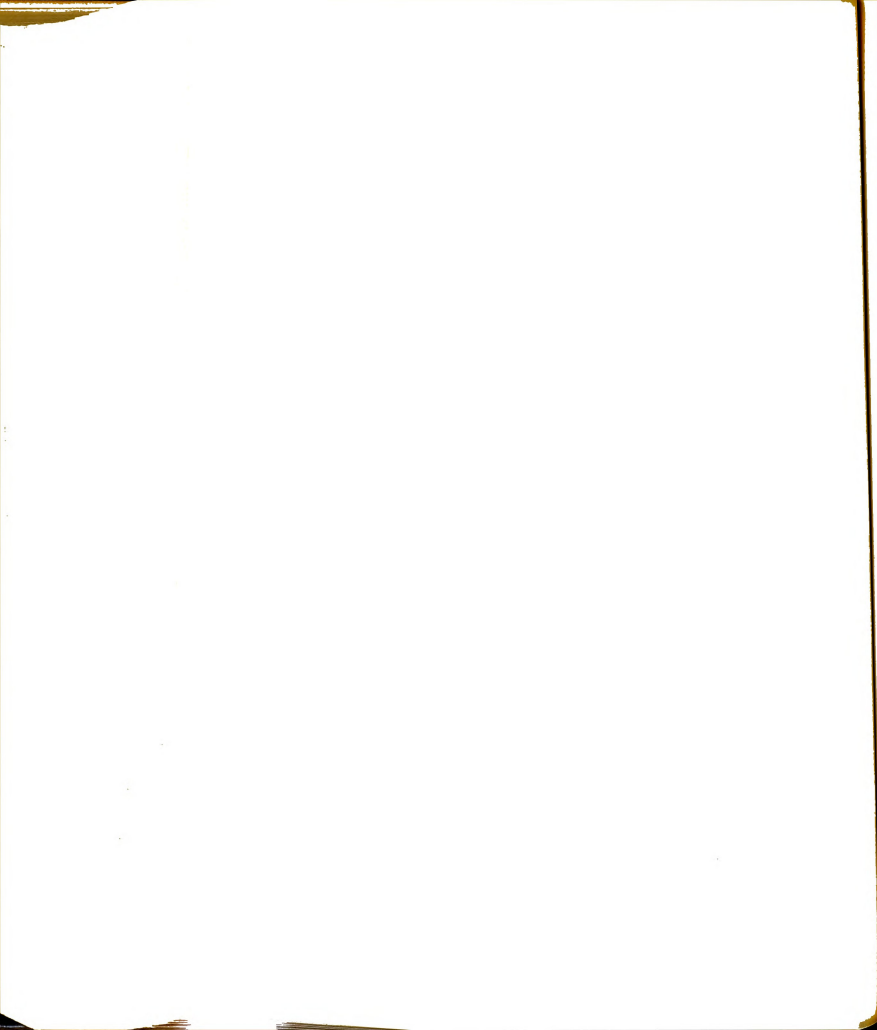


rt of his contention of excess profits, Douglas showed
 cs ranging from \$186 million for the Humble-Standard
 ay of New Jersey, which ranked fourth in interstate
 of natural gas, to a low of \$73 million for Phillips,
 ranked first in sales of natural gas. Concluding that
 s bill would skyrocket these profits, he stated in
 age designed to evoke sympathy for the small operator
 as being exploited by the "Robber Barons": "These are
 small potatoes. It is not the kind of money made by
 operators wearing overalls."¹

This evidence probably reinforced a presupposition
 by most of his colleagues in the audience and the
 a. However, the profit figures were industry-wide
 figures and not those specifically from gas sales.
 point being made, however, was probably that these
 ies in control of natural gas were "well-heeled" and
 nicely and it was hardly necessary to give them more
 tion to control their market. On the question of gas
 , Douglas explained in response to a question from
 r Holland of Florida that profit figures on gas alone
 ot available and that he was not trying to overstate
 idence.

Thus, he had sought to establish the basic case
 said he would at the outset, using the rough fact
 ce and what seemed to be valid conclusions delivered

¹Ibid., p. 3729.



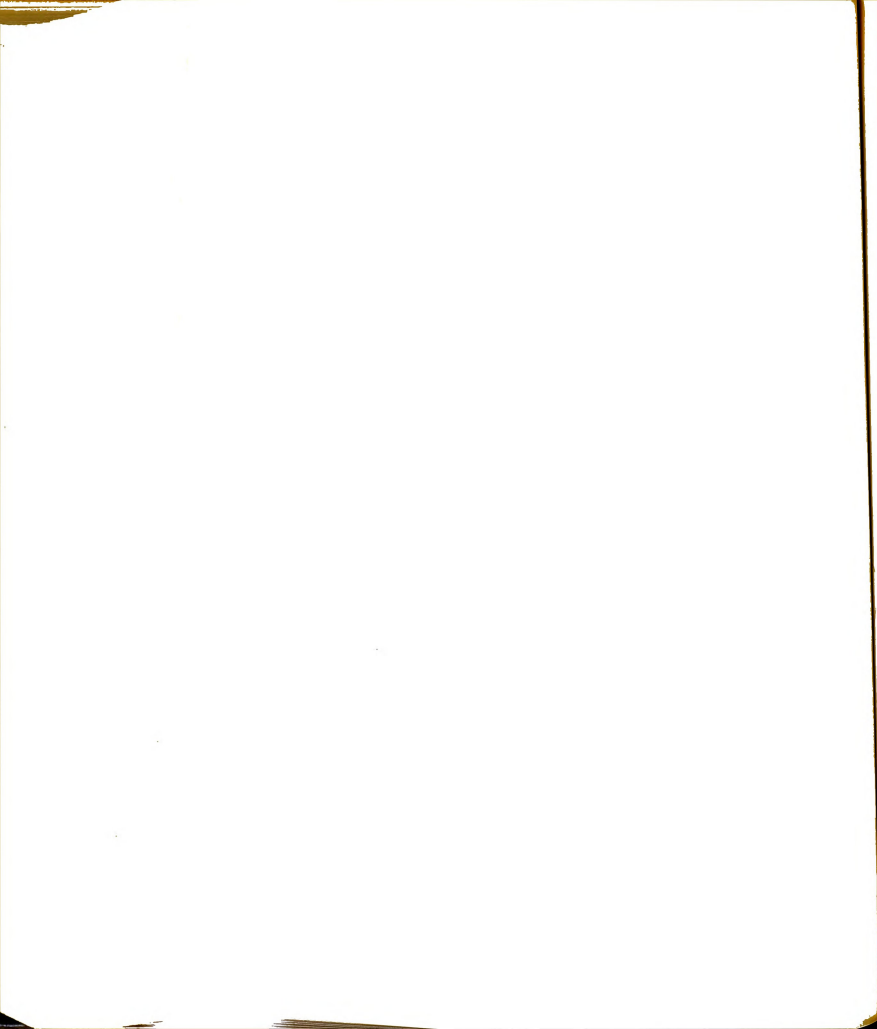
uage familiar to his audience and psychologically
ng their sympathy and faith in his case. But he was
ough yet.

Next, he went on to show how under the status quo
ere other symptoms of artificial means of eliminating
tion by informal price agreements (in spite of the
Anti-Trust Act) and "most-favored-nation" contracts
re a stipulated minimum price which all pipe-line
es must pay in a given area. Moreover, he cited
price figures in natural gas since 1948--"doubling
pling prices."¹ He also noted "escalator clauses"
tracts providing for automatic increases in prices at
ls of 1, 2, 4, or 5 years between oil companies and
rtation companies.

Senator Humphrey then rose to reinforce the Senator's
ts by asking leading questions which would restate
clusions in analysis of what Douglas had presented
ch would illustrate as further proof additional
ons where what the speaker said was happening
y was. Long then attempted to show that Douglas had
atypical period in citing price rises since 1948.
One last piece of evidence was a table to show how
gas prices had gone up disproportionately to the
production, including gross and net profits.
y again served as counsel for the defense in a colloquy
material.²

¹ Ibid., p. 3729.

² Ibid., p. 3733.

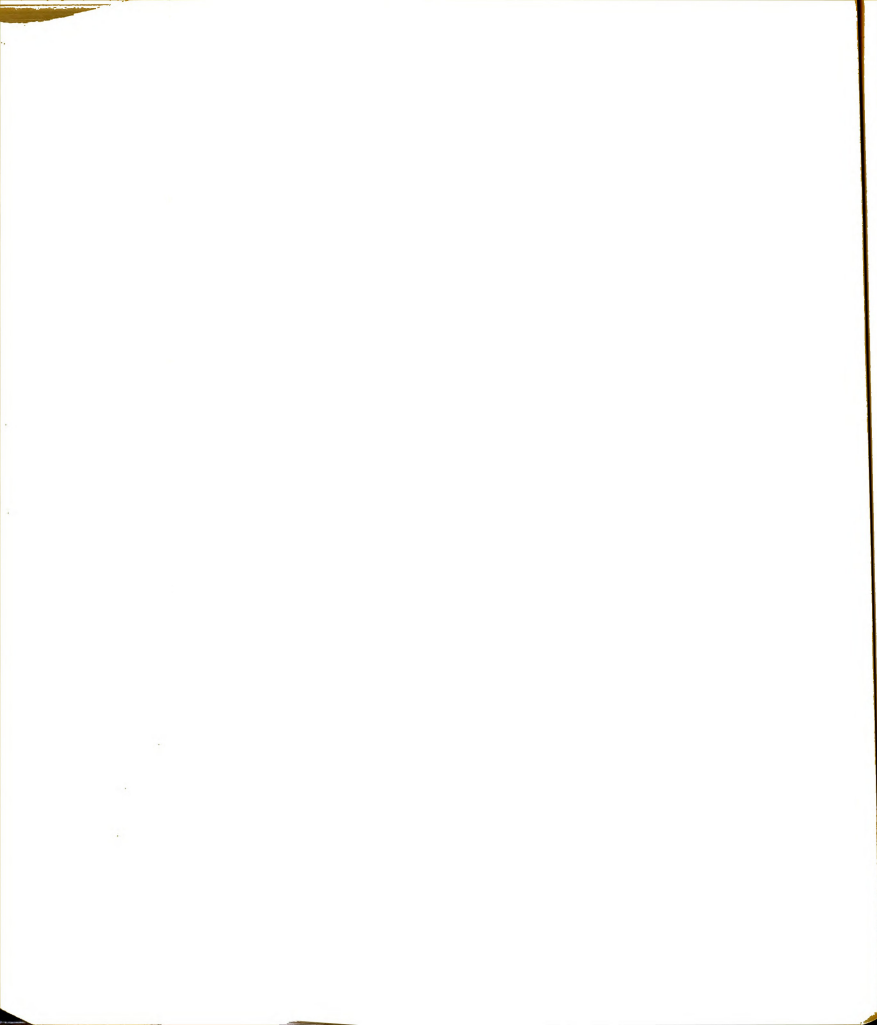


This ended Douglas' third speech. It was relatively clear and concise considering the voluminous statistical evidence. He interpreted the evidence effectively so that the audience should have had little difficulty in comprehending it. It was a cogently logical speech in its development and well supported. As to the third proposition related to his first two, as to whether the companies controlling gas reserves and sales "were suffering," the answer would seem to be a resounding "no" after the ninety-minute case.

The hour of 6:00 P.M. which had been agreed upon for adjournment was approaching, so debate on the issues followed this third speech. However, there was what amounted to a minor debate on whether Douglas should retain the floor the following day to continue his speech. In an unexpected maneuver, that was probably as much calculated to slow Douglas down and get him to shorten his speech as it was to rescind his privilege to hold the floor, Senator McFarland of Arizona rose to challenge Douglas' right to maintain the floor, which McFarland did only after persistent effort to get Douglas to yield as he was finishing the colloquy with Humphrey.¹

McFarland advised the chair that this was the second day (counting the brief remarks of the day previous) that the Senator from Illinois had spoken on this bill.

¹Ibid., p. 3734.



He used an hour yesterday and has spoken all day, going into the second day, he is charged with filibustering. Certainly I should not want to see the Senator from Illinois charged with filibustering.¹

He has today farmed out the time, and we have been rather lenient with him; we have permitted him to farm out time to other Senators...

I shall not object, Mr. President, to the request, but tomorrow I may decide--and I expect to be on the floor--that it is necessary to object if the regular order is not followed, because I do not think it is a good precedent to allow one Senator to farm out time and conduct the business of the Senate by occupying the floor. I consider that a poor policy.²

The Illinois Senator was ready with refutation of these charges.

First, Mr. President, let me deal with the statements made by the junior Senator from Arizona to the effect that I have farmed out my time to a number of other Members of the Senate. I yielded as a matter of courtesy to Members of the Senate. I would have much preferred to speak continuously and to develop my arguments.³

I have tried to comport myself according to the standards of the Senate, and I have not farmed out my time...

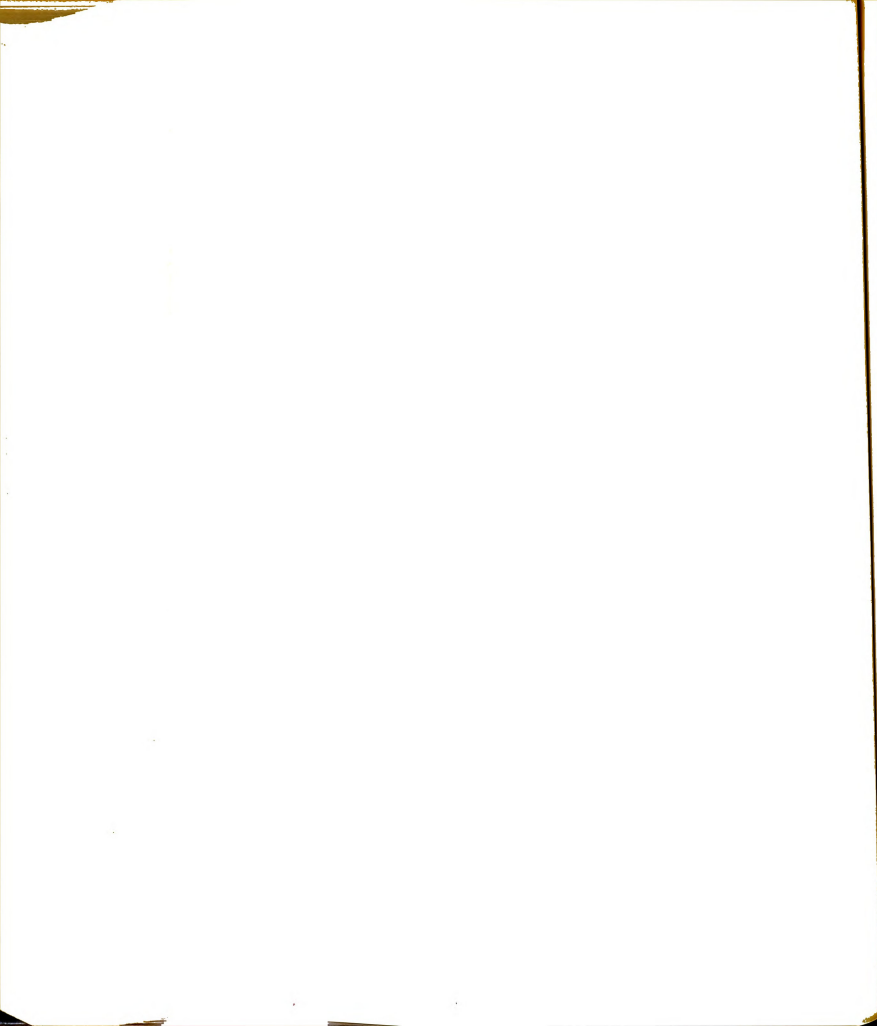
While I know that the Senator from Arizona meant nothing ill in his references, I wish to make it perfectly clear that I have not been tying up the business of the Senate. I have been attempting to let the business of the Senate proceed. That is my first point.

The second point I wish to make concerns filibustering. So far as filibustering is concerned, it is not my intention, nor is it my practice, to filibuster. We have before us an important bill, and it needs to be discussed, and it needs to be discussed thoroughly--very thoroughly, indeed. I challenge any Member of the Senate to say that I have spoken extraneously.

¹Ibid., p. 3734.

²Ibid., p. 3735.

³Ibid.



I have not given any recipes for "pot likker" and I have not thrown anything else into my speech; neither have I given any quotations from obscure southern writers. I have tried to stick to the point. I am sure that when the people of the country know the facts they will not accuse me of filibustering.¹

After this speech, Lyndon Johnson took the floor for first time, his remarks giving some evidence that he had great liking for what Douglas had been saying or doing:

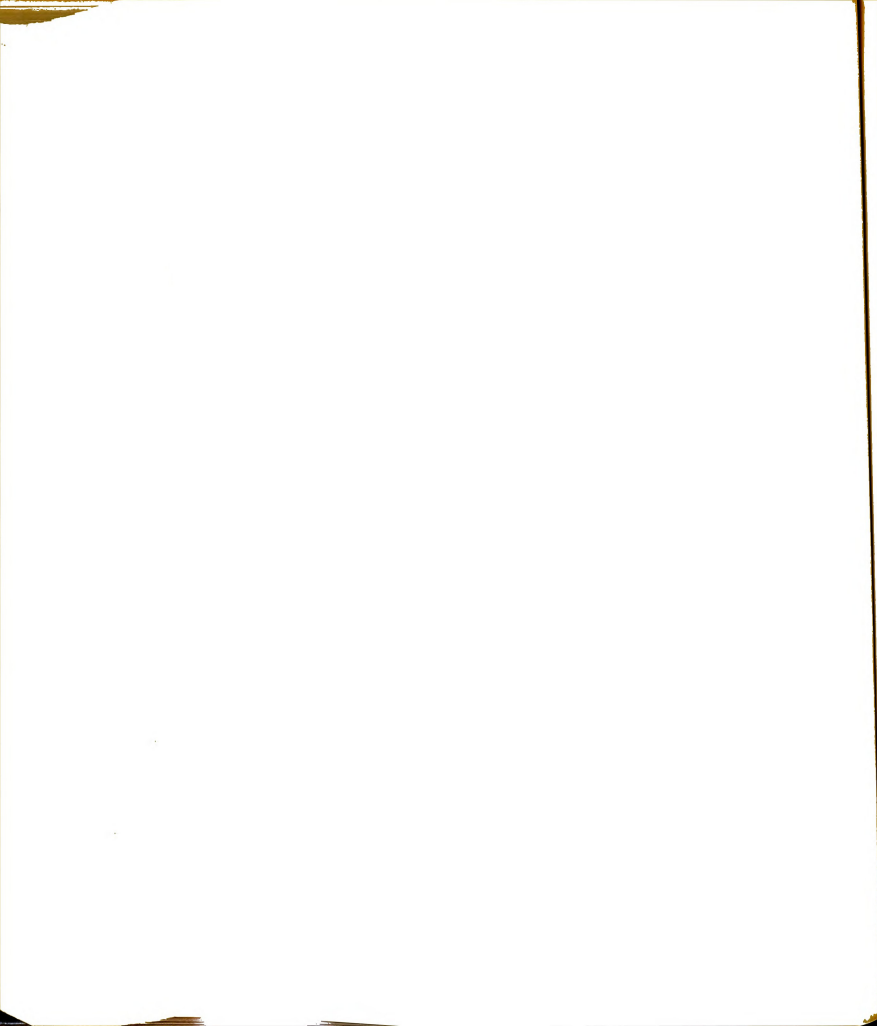
I wish to make the observation that it is a matter of no concern to me how the Senator from Illinois and those opposed to the bill conduct themselves on this floor. I hope that his seniority in this body does not entitle him to determine how the proponents of the bill shall conduct themselves. The chairman of the full committee, a long-respected Member of this body, explained the bill, and while it was not explained to the complete satisfaction of the junior Senator from Illinois, it was explained to the Senate. We have no desire to influence the opinion of the Senator from Illinois, but the proponents of the bill are prepared to say whatever they desire to say, when they desire to say it.²

After some sampling of opinion from Long, Humphrey, others, McFarland agreed not to object to Douglas' right the floor the next day.

The next day as the session convened on March 22 after routine business had been set aside, Paul Douglas on his feet presenting the fourth of his speeches, beginning with a brief review of the third speech which was to provide continuity.

¹Ibid., p. 3735.

²Ibid., pp. 3735-3736.



His theme was still that of increased prices, and began by analyzing price rises by states. After presenting the figures from a table state by state, he concluded:

It is an interesting fact that the consumers of the four West South Central States--Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas--would pay out very large sums to the already swollen profits of the big nontransporting gas producers. In other words, there are consumers in Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas, as well as gas producers, although this fact is sometimes lost sight of.

The point may, perhaps, be made that the opponents of this bill are denying to the gas-producing States certain things to which they are entitled. It might be claimed, for example, that we are preventing those States from building up their schools, their road systems, or other necessary State services, by placing a ceiling on the earning power of their gas wells. That is not the case. I want to make it clear that we have no desire to hold down the tax revenues of the Southwestern States, nor are we doing so in opposing this bill. It is perfectly all right for those States to impose severance taxes on the oil and gas and to collect some of the money from the people of consuming States through the sale of their natural resources.¹

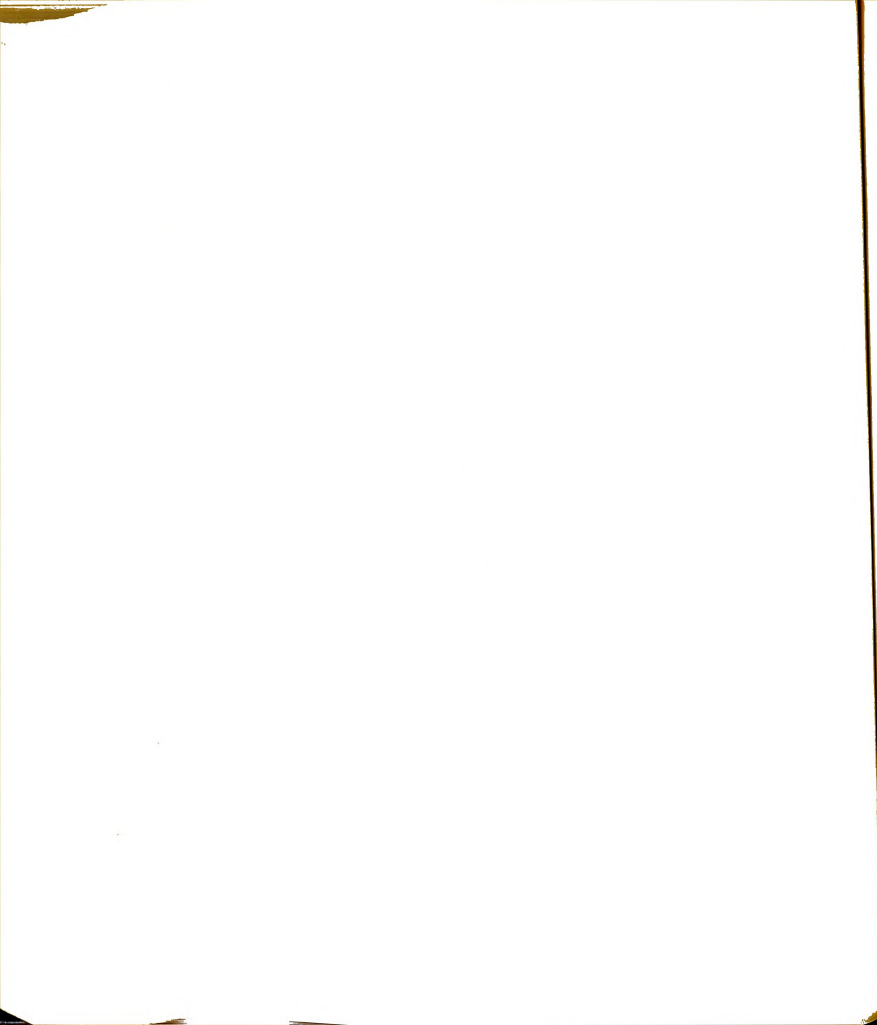
He followed this up by what appears to be an attempt to discredit the sponsors of the bill through implication.

The same interests who are pushing the Kerr bill are, I feel sure, opposing the enactment of severance taxes which might be levied by the States. I think it would be a fine thing if the people of those States could get a larger share of the return from the great natural resources which lie under the soil.²

With a note of concern for the South, he appealed:

¹Ibid., March 22, 1950, p. 3779.

²Ibid.

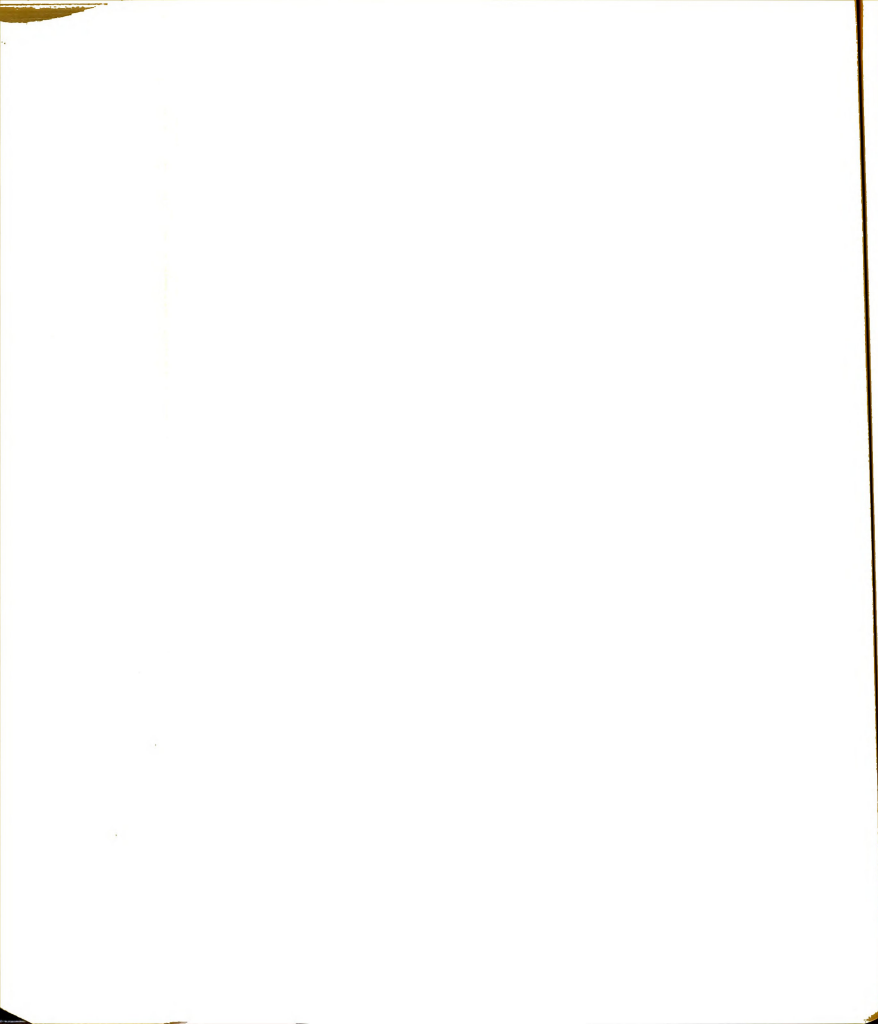


...it is a sad story, how the financial interests of the North and East have helped to gut the natural resources of the South. Although I come from the Midwest, I want to see the South get the benefit of the natural resources which lie there.¹

In leading up to his statement of concern for the South, the speaker had again made personal reference to the good work of Mr. Long, this time in helping Long's Louisiana get a just return from outside financial interests. This amounted to an invitation for Long to take the floor, and he did, to amplify the amount of public capital gained from gas taxes and severance taxes in Louisiana. When Long concluded, Douglas reviewed the bills Long had voted for, such as federal aid to education, which gave special financial help to the South, thereby creating more good will perhaps to pull supporting votes from that area toward him.

This was the extent of the fourth part of his presentation. Either his time had elapsed or cloakroom pressure or strategy had caused the Presiding Officer to ask if he would yield the floor. Douglas made one final plea summarily for his colleagues to view logically the comparative, reasoning and evidence supporting his position, and with a psychological appeal, to be humanitarian, and seek economic equalitarianism by a vote of "no." He ended on an appeal to his audience as rational thinkers and high-minded statesmen acting in behalf of the nation.

¹Ibid.

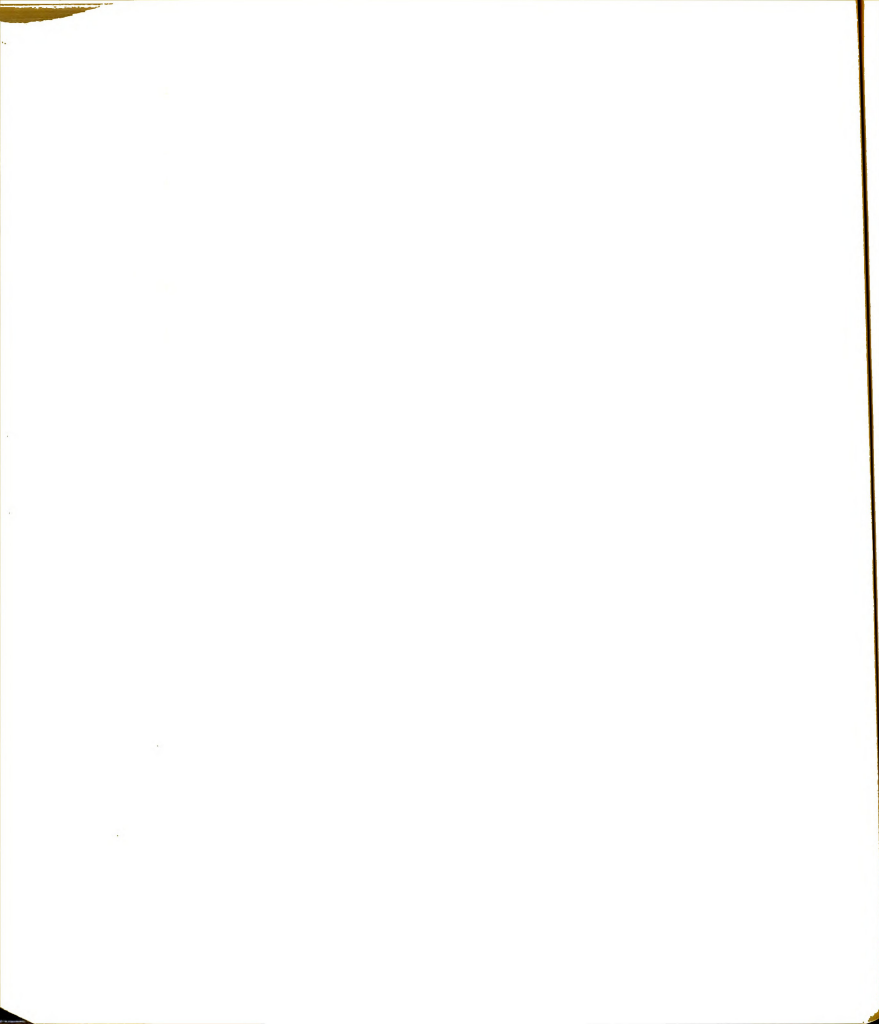


I ask Members of the Senate to consider the issue, that they read the debates and the testimony, and that, as I hope and I am sure will happen they will decide the issue according to what they believe to be for the best interests of the United States as a whole.¹

The other two hours of his prepared text were entered in the Record and included these topical headings: Comparison with Previous Bills; Profit Possibilities if Regulatory Power is Withdrawn; Possible Price Increases Despite Long-Term Contracts; Fairness of FPC Rate-Making Policy; General FPC Policies on Rates; Allowance of Dry-hole Drilling and Exploration Costs; FPC Statement; Fairness of Prudent Investment Rate Procedure; Threats of Gas Producers' Strike; Inadequacy of State Regulation; Advantages of Serving the Utility Market; No Danger of Oil Industry Regulation; Reported Views of the Executive; Natural Gas in Congress; Exempting Nontransporting Producers Exempts Great Bulk of Gas from Price Regulation.

The fourth speech had ended abruptly just as the first had begun by moving immediately to the issue in question. In this final speech, Paul H. Douglas, seemed to be full of conviction for his subject, and had used a variety of appeals from all three rhetorical factors of proof in attempting to move his colleagues to believe as he did and vote as he would on this bill.

¹Ibid., p. 3780.

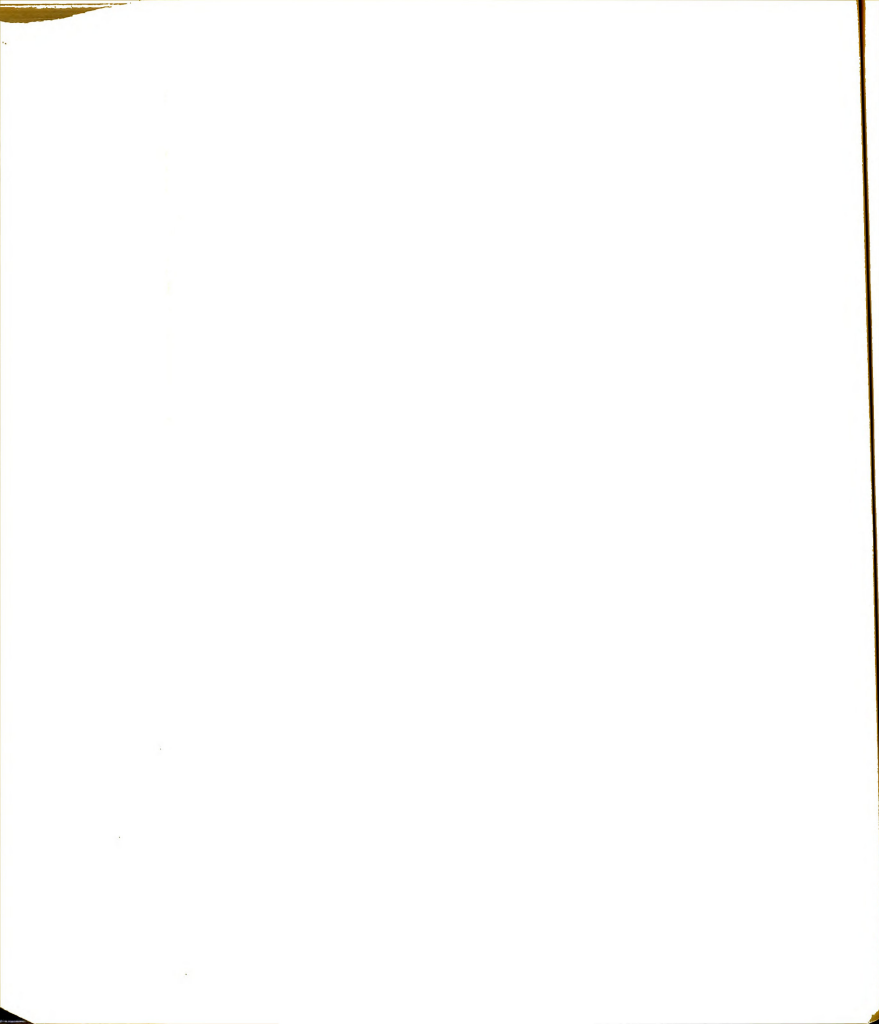


Summary - Interpretations

The issues relating to the 1950 natural gas bill were complex. In his opposition to the bill, Senator Douglas employed ethical, psychological, and logical factors of persuasion in his speech.

His ethical proof was aimed at establishing comparatively greater competence than his opponents by thorough and responsible analysis of the available evidence. He sought to establish good character through integrity, sincerity, fairness, and earnestness. The speaker's understanding of the need for creating good will and establishing rapport with his audience--and even his opponents in debate--was obvious throughout. His attempts at creating good will, however, did not preclude being firm and aggressive when necessary in attacking the case of the proponents of the bill and meeting them personally in the give-and-take of debate.

The psychological proof included attention devices, although he frequently became so immersed in fact evidence and historical detail that he probably lost attention and impeded the clear perception and understanding of his hearers. Motive appeals, the use of suggestion and vivid description were employed in an attempt to stimulate and favorably dispose his colleagues. The use of his charts and analysis of the visual charts of the opposition helped to clarify and to make vivid his stand.



More than anything else he employed logical factors of persuasion. He made extensive use of statistical fact evidence and, to a lesser degree, expert and credible opinion evidence from sources such as the Supreme Court and FPC, and, through supportive interpretations, applied it to his stand. The structure of reasoning was deductive and inductive. Deductively, he reasoned from main propositions through subpropositions applied to specific cases in the form of arguments against the bill. His inductive reasoning included the use of analogy, causal relation, example, and sign.

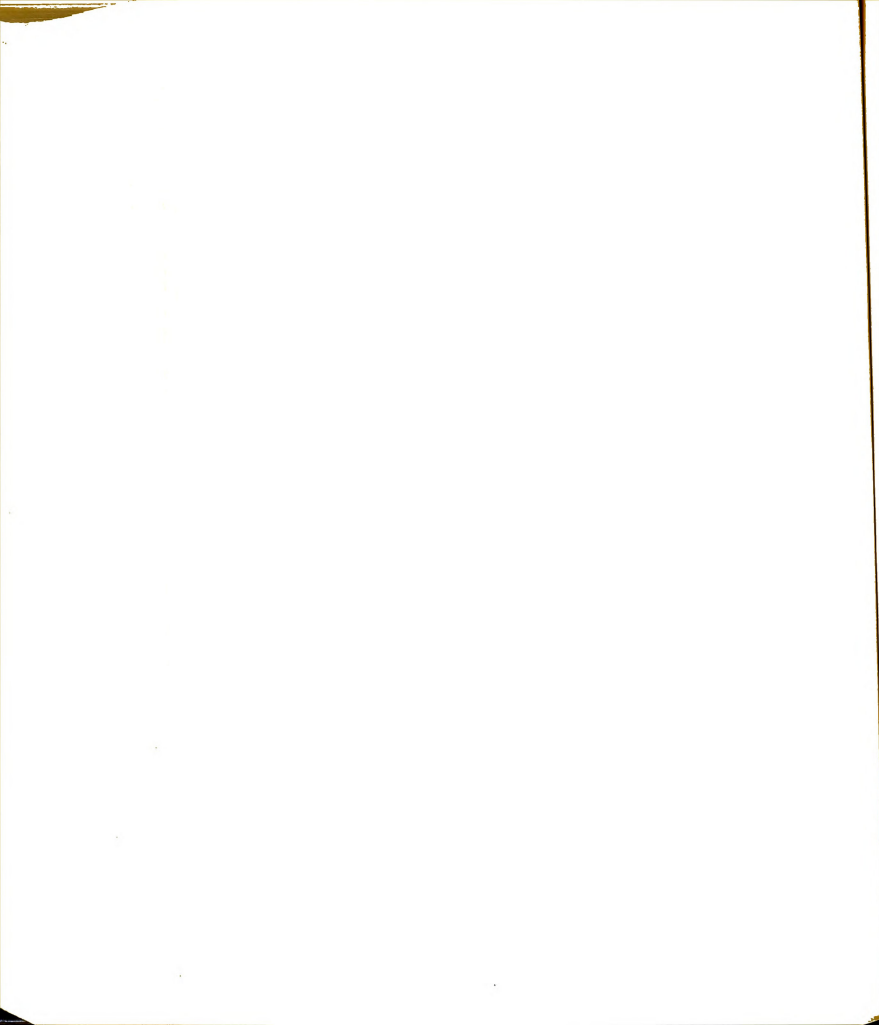
In short, Paul H. Douglas marshaled all three factors of inventional proof as available means of persuasion in opposing S. 1498. While other speeches by Douglas might be characterized as ones primarily emphasizing ethical or psychological factors of invention, this speech was clearly one of logical proof based on rational demonstration through argumentation.

Measurable Response

Following Douglas' address, the longest speech on the bill, debate continued on March 23 and 24.¹ Senator Kerr rose for a brief address in defense of the bill on March 25, followed by debate on March 27 and 28.² Agreement

¹Congressional Record--Senate, op. cit., pp. 3897-3899, 3910-3919, 3921, 4000-4042.

²Ibid., pp. 4086-4098, 4116, 4189-4223, 4228-4230.



was reached for a vote on the bill on March 29 at 4:00 P.M. The efforts of the Senators from the natural gas states seemed successful when the bill was passed by a 44-38 vote; and a subsequent motion by Douglas to recommit was rejected by 45-37, as were amendments by O'Mahoney and Kefauver.¹ The House moved rapidly on the bill, passing it three days later by a slim 176-174 margin.²

The Kerr measure was vetoed by President Truman on April 15.³ The New York Times reported the text of Truman's veto message on April 16, in which Truman contended that the bill puts "curbs on the FPC which are not in the public interest."⁴ However, Kerr did not try to have the veto overridden, but did assail the President in a series of press releases.⁵ Douglas, as might be expected, released a statement on April 16 hailing the veto.⁶

Apart from the vote on the bill and Truman's veto, not directly attributable to Douglas' speech⁷, there was

¹ Ibid., pp. 4270-4304; New York Times, April 3, 1950, p. 3.

² New York Times, April 1, 1950, p. 8.

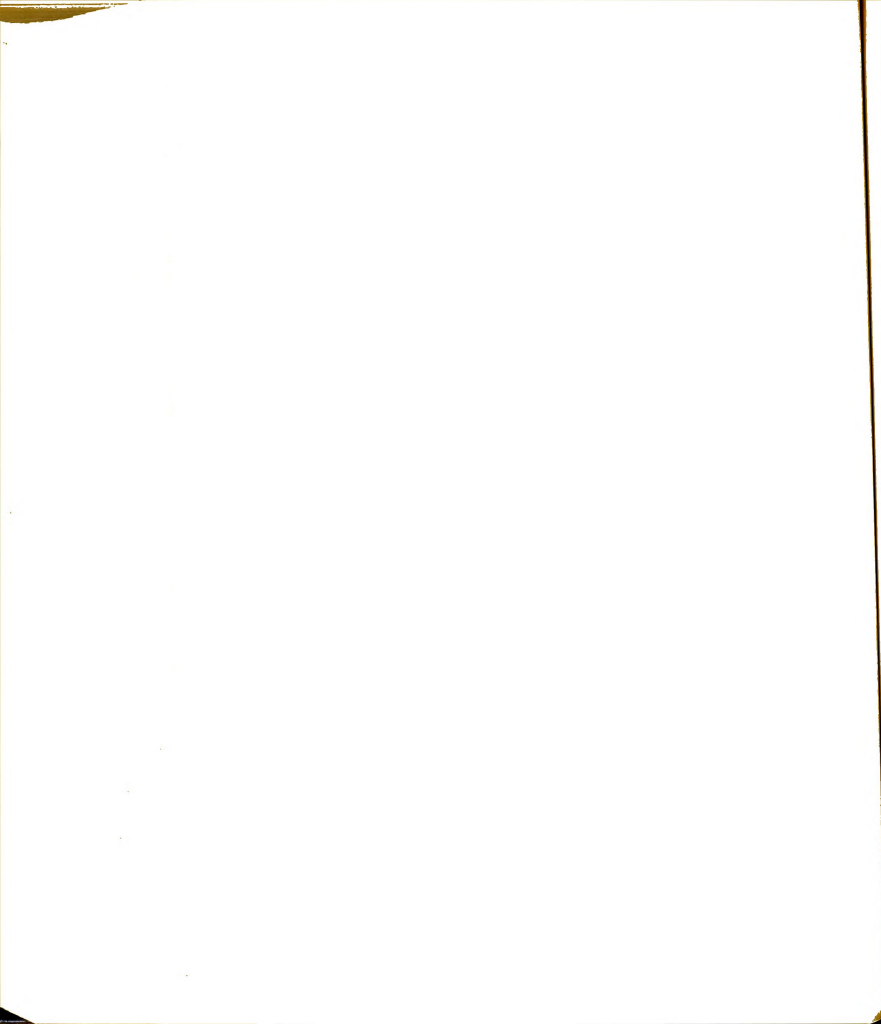
³ Ibid., April 16, 1950, p. 1.

⁴ Ibid., p. 51.

⁵ Ibid., April 16, 1950, p. 16, April 17, p. 22, April 28, p. 32.

⁶ Ibid., April 16, 1950, p. 1.

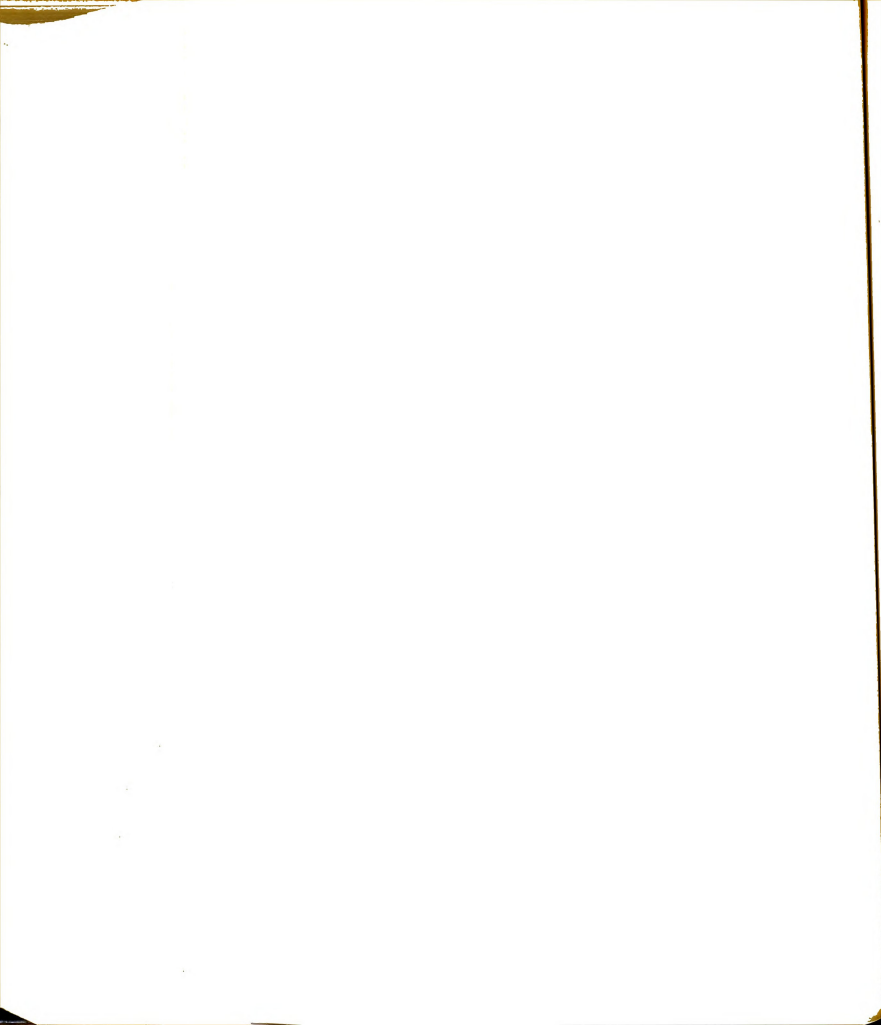
⁷ Americans for Democratic Action urged Truman to veto (New York Times, April 3, p. 2) as did the C.I.O. and 16 mayors of major cities (New York Times, April 6, p. 54). Speaker Sam Rayburn and other close party friends from the gas producing states, plus the gas lobbyists, were urging Truman to sign the bill into law.



little measurable response to Douglas' address and the debates and colloquies in which he engaged on March 21-22. The New York Times reported in paraphrased form the arguments presented by Douglas and noted the debate with Kerr on March 22, page three. In periodicals and newspapers accounts of the debate on the gas issue, Douglas was recognized as a leader of the opposition, but little special attention was given to his remarks on March 21 and 22.¹

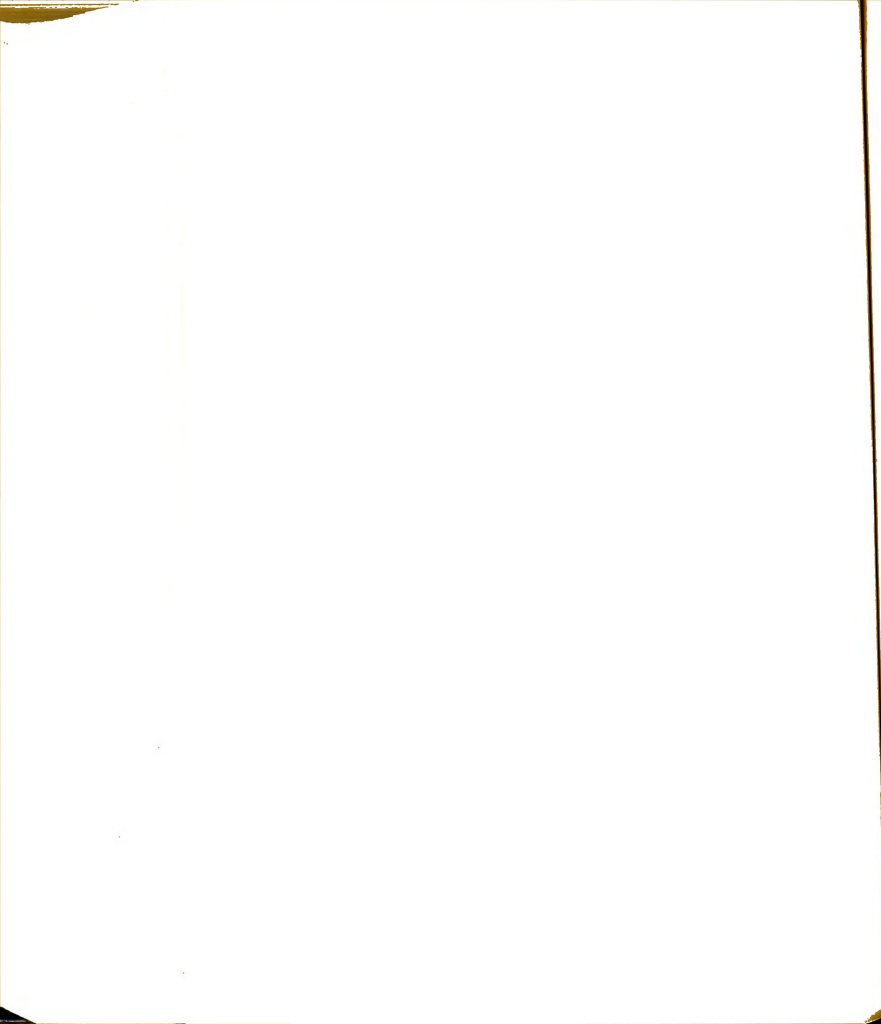
The speech serves to illustrate Douglas' Senate speaking, but also, as in most legislative speeches, its effect on the outcome of impending legislation is difficult to isolate and measure. However, if causal relationships to voting behavior are not clear, the artistic merit of the speech as analyzed for its constituents of proof can be weighed and that has been the primary purpose of this chapter.

¹See for example Time, Newsweek, U. S. News and World Report issues of March and April, 1950.



PART FOUR

THE VITAL SIGNS

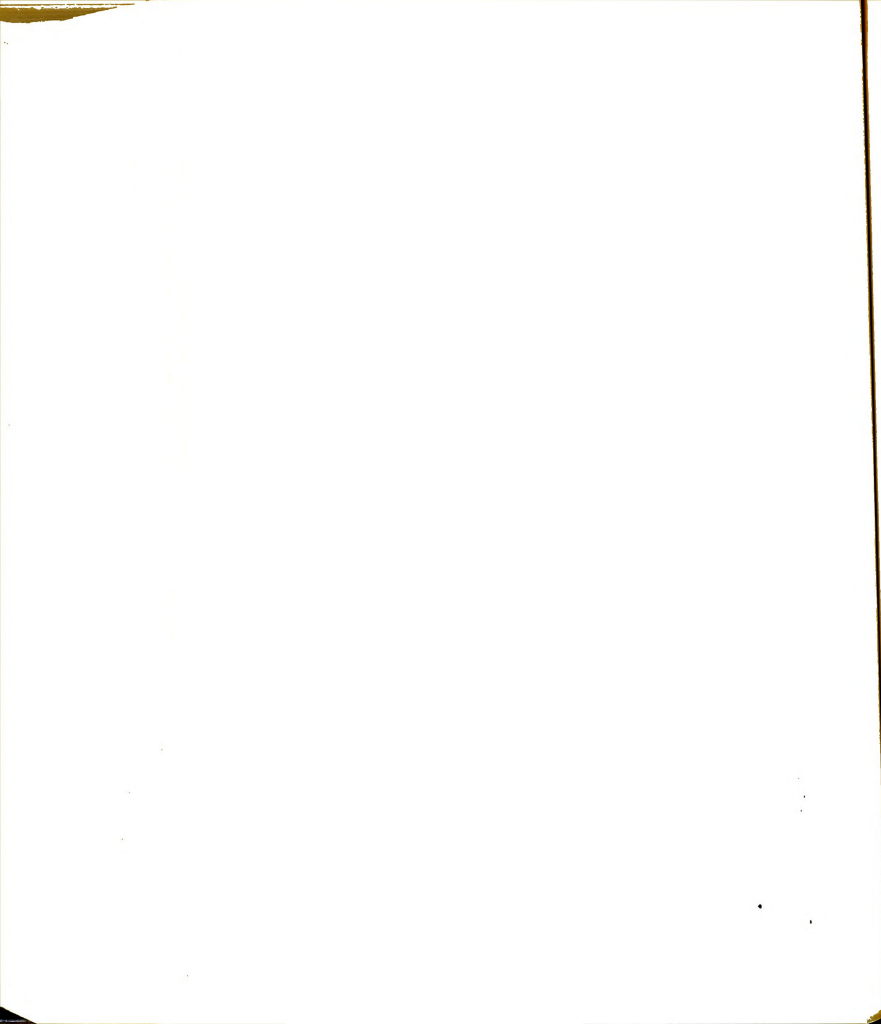


CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study of the Senate speaking of Paul H. Douglas, as noted in the Introduction, has been developed within the framework of a philosophy of rhetorical criticism which assumes that oral communication is a social act and the product of all conditions and forces which are brought to bear on the speaker. Moreover, it is a philosophy which holds that speech is an art reducible to principles, and the proper object of the study is to make judgments about the effectiveness of the speaker based on norms arising from rhetorical principles, derived from the theory of rhetoric and related fields from classical to modern times.

It assumes, therefore, that criticism should emphasize the "artistic" methods of appraisal with a framework for evaluation based on rhetorical principles, not solely "results" or outcomes of a speaker's efforts, nor by attempting to ascertain the "truth" of the message he uttered, nor by merely evaluating the ethos of the speaker. If ideally criticism should include consideration of all of the elements of every speaking situation, limitations must be imposed to emphasize certain elements for purposes of evaluation relevant to the subject and the available

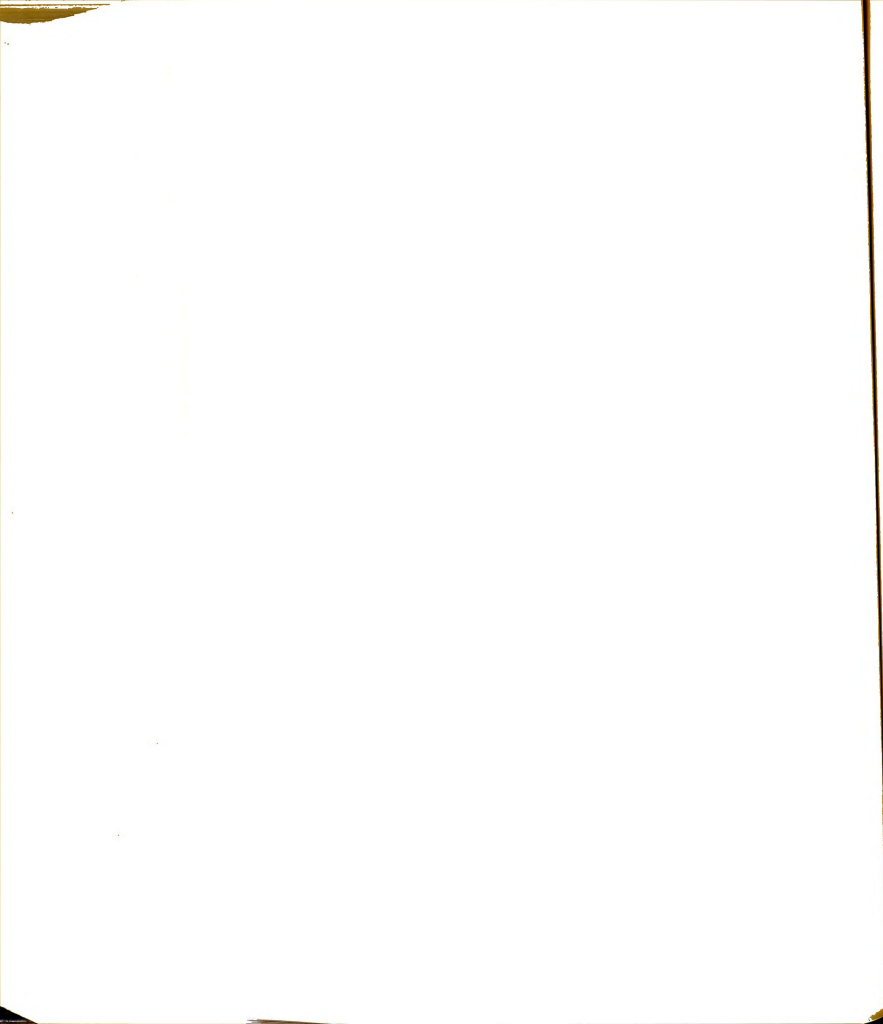


materials of the study. Douglas' Senate speaking has been viewed with emphasis on his rhetorical invention in oral messages, with related consideration given to the speaker, his audiences, and the environment and occasions of his speaking.

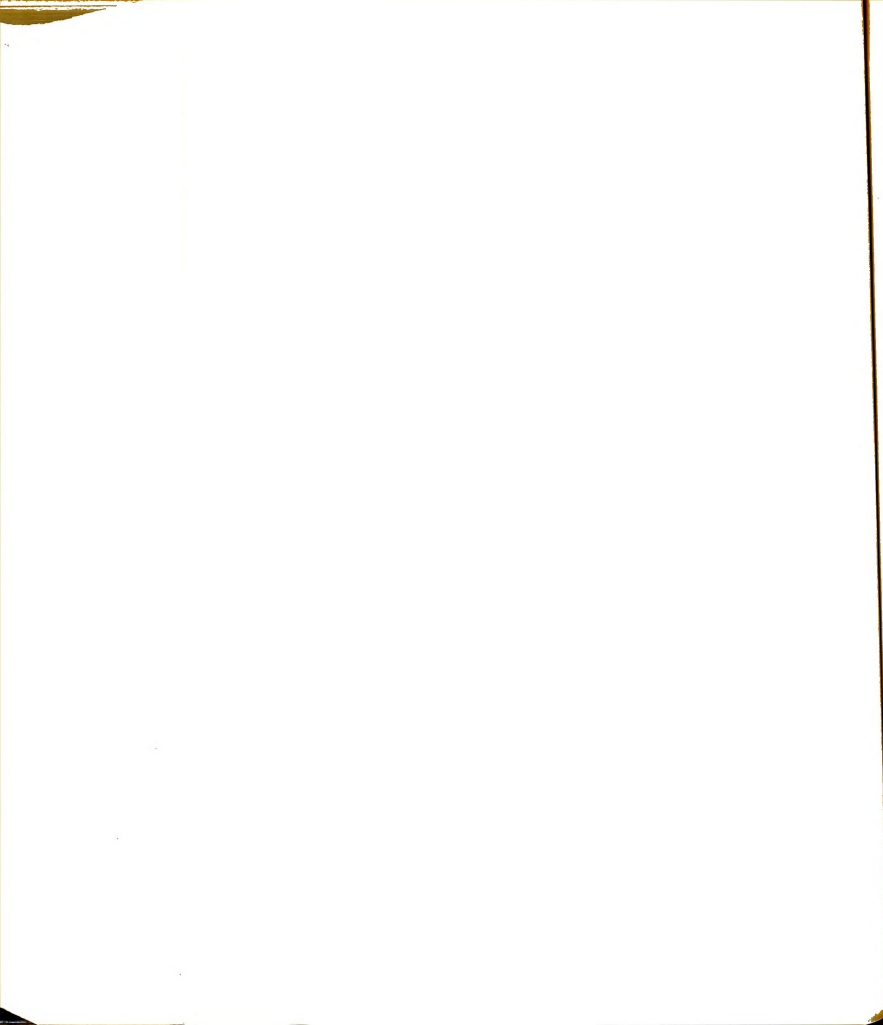
As a speaker in the U. S. Senate, Paul Douglas provided evidence for his expressed belief that public speaking is an important form of communication and is necessary in effecting political action. He delivered over 190 speeches from prepared manuscripts and rose to address the chair more than 6,000 times in the fifteen-year period studied. His speaking has reflected his respect for public speaking, and understanding of rhetorical principles.

From thorough investigation and analysis, the Senator held firm convictions that the topics on which he spoke - the legislative causes he advocated - served to provide a better world for his fellow man. They incorporated the liberal philosophy he has held since his formative years, that the proper role of government is to lower the barriers to man's personality development.

The topics of the Senator's speaking and legislative efforts during his career may be grouped under nine general subject headings: (1) the preservation of individual and civil rights--by ending discrimination in voting rights, and providing equality of opportunity in employment; (2) the improvement of social welfare for all people--by increased educational opportunities, slum clearance and adequate housing, urban redevelopment, area



redevelopment and reduced unemployment protection of pension and welfare funds, and improved retirement benefits and health care for the aged; (3) the protection of consumers' interests and rights--by stable prices and interest rates, a progressive income tax and ending unnecessary excise taxes; (4) the protection of small business, labor, and the family farm--by checks against monopoly and price fixing, labor benefits and higher minimum wage, and protection of the small farms against low prices from market flooding by corporation-sized farms; (5) the promotion of "sound" fiscal policy--by a balanced budget in normal times, checks against inflation, closing tax loopholes, and improved federal debt management; (6) the need for economy in government and high ethical standards--Douglas was a "watchdog" over the economy and wanted protection against government waste in military and civilian activities, and the prevention of costly subsidies; (7) the improvement of practices of "good" government and internal security--by promoting measures to insure representative government, improved election methods, internal reorganization of the Senate and Congress, and by combatting espionage and subversive activities while safeguarding citizens' rights; (8) the preservation of natural resources; and (9) the enforcement of a humane and firm foreign policy accompanied by low tariffs--by strong national defense against communist aggression, economic, technical, and social assistance to underprivileged peoples, efforts to insure the civil rights of captive

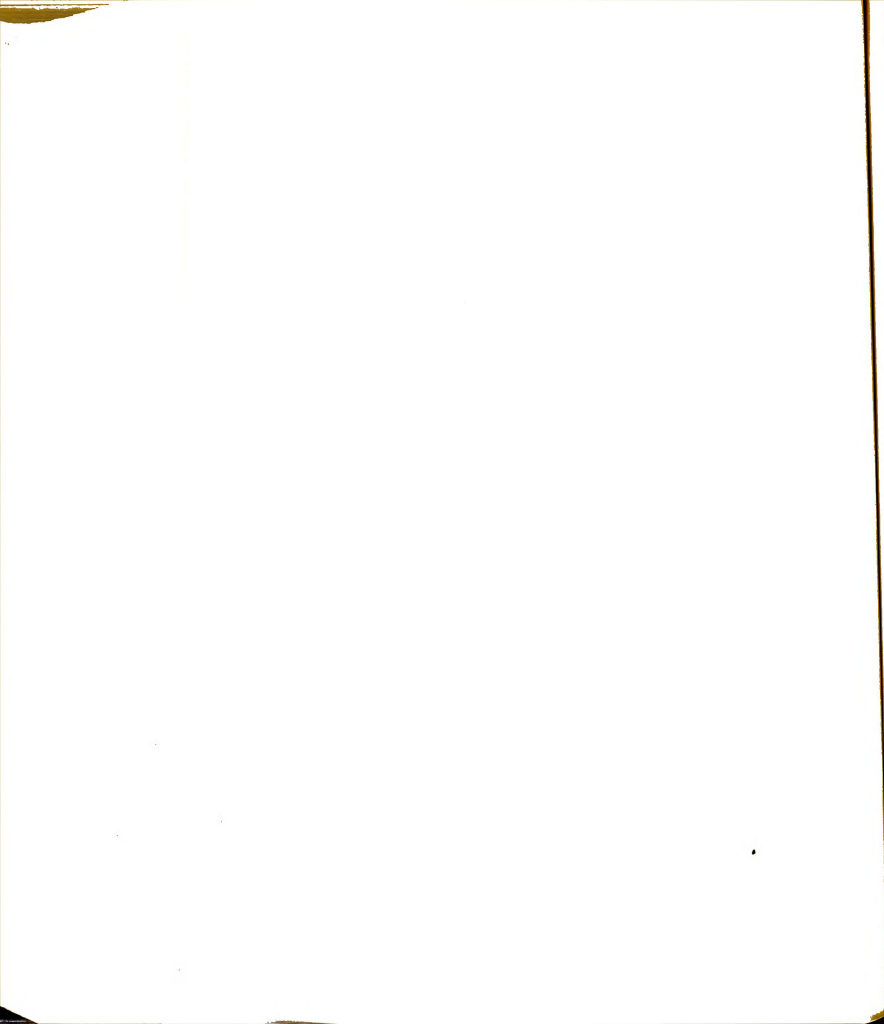


peoples, strong regional alliances and support of the United Nations, and reciprocal trade agreements.

Assumptions about the nature of man and the role of government (political philosophy) are revealed in the actions of an elected representative charged with legislating and speaking for the nation's people. The topics and propositions of Senator Douglas' speeches and writings both express and imply the underlying value standards and basic assumptions of the man, and they have direct bearing on his rhetorical invention. The six propositions to follow attempt to uncover and crystallize the personal philosophy of Paul H. Douglas.

Douglas held: (1) that government should serve to protect the dignity and freedom of the individual; (2) that government should promote man's moral and intellectual development in priority to the acquisition of wealth; (3) that man is the master of his economy and through government can achieve national economic goals; (4) that government should be the agent of collective national wisdom, not an impersonal monster; (5) that government should be dynamic, flexible and pragmatic in seeking and testing new methods to serve man more effectively; and (6) that men and governments are capable of living together in peace by negotiating differences (man is rational).

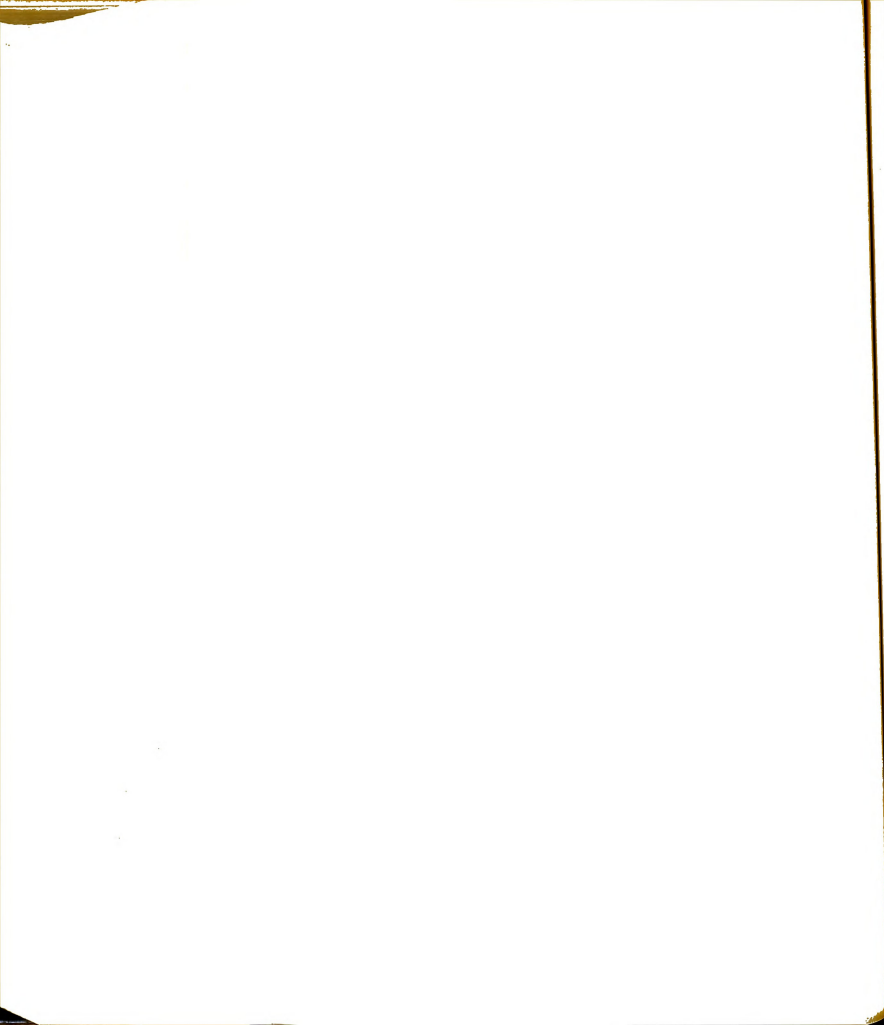
These broad beliefs regarding ends of government might be claimed by "conservatives," "moderates," or "liberals," for these labels are relative and they shift



with the context of a given situation in a given period. But these assumptions are the belief and value structure of a man--Paul Douglas--not a political label, and have been reflected by his actions for the past fifteen years.

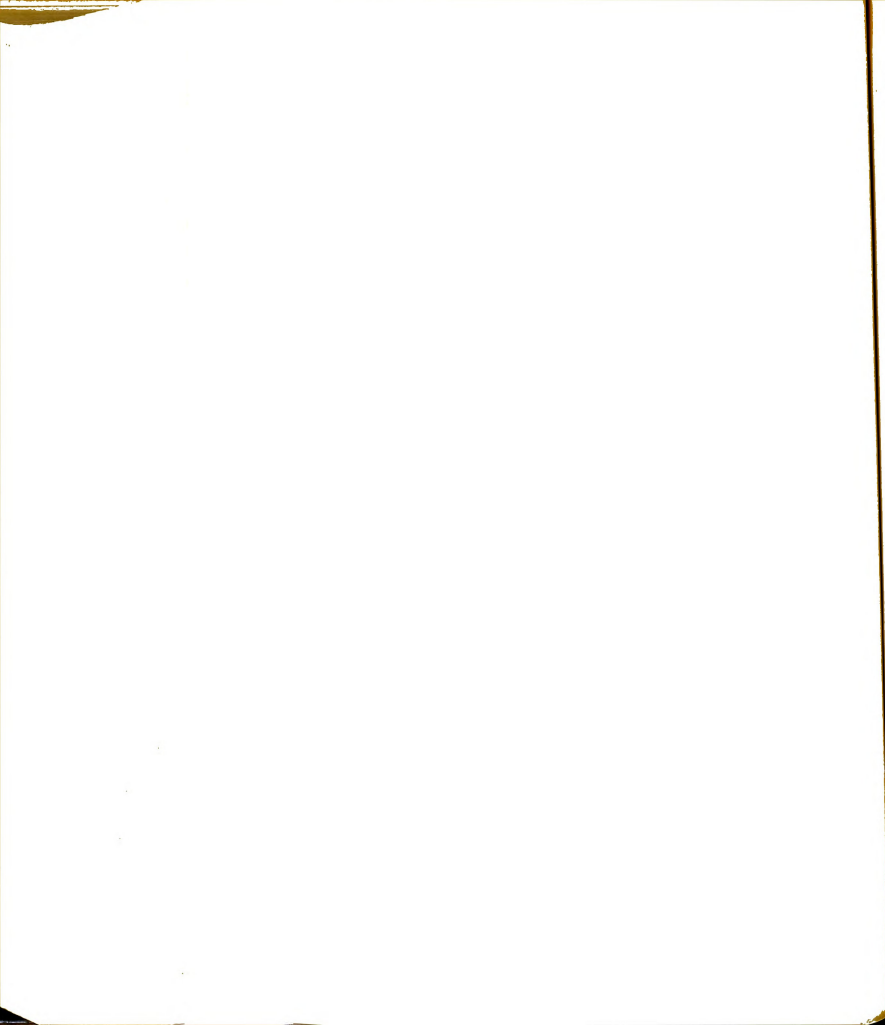
Douglas was never able to enjoy the rewards of a holding a moderate position nor engage in the practice of compromise considered necessary to a Senator and politician in order to line up necessary support for his cause. Nor did he have any great liking for the "wheeling and dealing" of the cloakroom, but sought to bring the issue to the forefront and staked his principled stands on the facts as he saw them, in the give and take of competing oral persuasion in the Chamber of the Senate. Time after time he backed heartfelt, high-minded, and seemingly hopeless crusades and went down to defeat when the votes were tallied.

Influenced by the reform spirit of the Progressive Movement, Douglas has remained throughout his life, both as a professor and Senator, an outspoken, constructive critic of society in his writings and actions. In the Senate, it was almost always clear to his Senate colleagues from the outset where he stood on particular issues. In the tradition of George W. Norris, after whom he patterned his Senate career, he spoke out plainly and uncompromisingly for his "liberal" causes. His whole background, from being reared in a Democratic family in a Republican society to the assaults on him as a "Red baiter" in the 1948 campaign, had kindled his spirit as an insurgent reformer in the Senate. His colleagues knew that



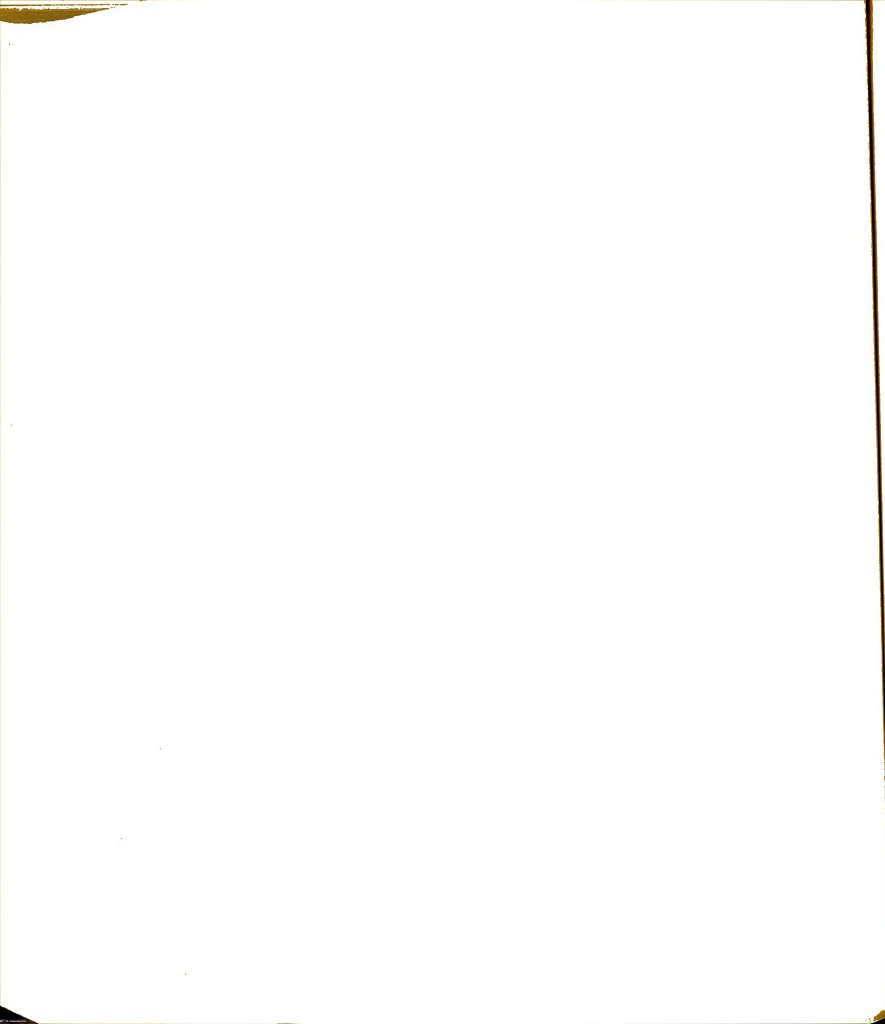
Douglas would vote, as he indicated, with his conscience on any given substantive issue, but as a member of his party of Northern Democrats on procedural matters. And while there is no evidence to indicate that his integrity was ever questioned by his colleagues, some, such as Milliken and Kerr, have found fault and become distraught with his high-minded approach.

In the mid-twentieth century, Paul Douglas is remarkably unique - an oddity - in the U. S. Senate. He has taken exacting stands showing little concern for the political liability involved in such actions. If his measurable legislative successes have been relatively few over the years as measured by the number of bills he sponsored which have been enacted into law under his name, he has served much the same role as a strong third party in American political history, a voice of ideological protest. Douglas has been a Senate conscience of reform, and one of the forces which has kept that body from steering a consistent middle course of political action in an era of conformity from which even the membership of the Senate, in reflecting the will or lack of it by constituents, cannot be immune. Douglas has served to offset the influence of his counterparts on the extreme right, the Robert Tafts, Barry Goldwaters, perhaps Strom Thurmonds. As a speaker who believes that substance should subordinate form, and that discussion of the "issues" is good and can be digested by all members of the audience, he has not been an insurgent



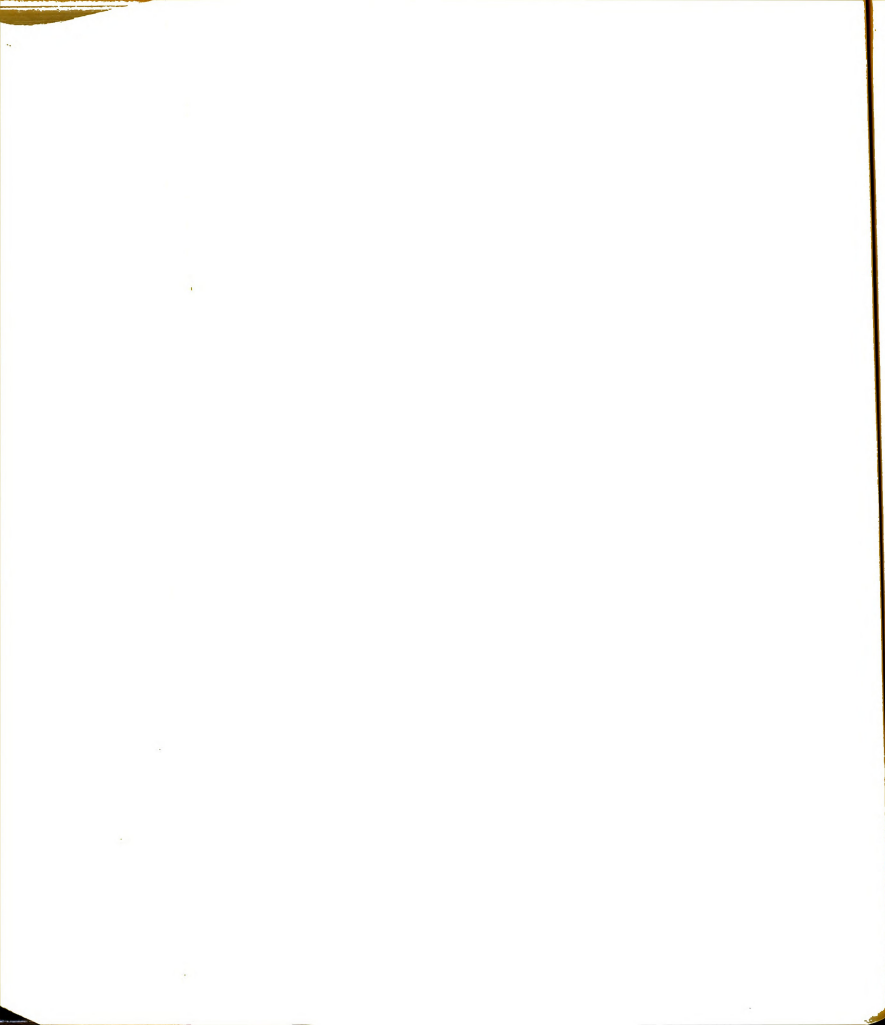
for that sake alone, but a constructive force as an idealist for substantive reasons as he sees them and interprets them.

Early in his career, Douglas enjoyed unusual prestige in the Senate because of the unusual background of scholarly, political, and military experiences and accomplishments he brought to it. As a crusader for humane causes in his first term with little reverence for the Senate's unwritten rules of seniority relating to the conduct of a new man, and with his ability to practice the Quaker tenet of creating infectious good will and possessing little or no animosity, he was tolerated and even respected. Perhaps he was respected for another reason, the ends he sought for his fellow man stirred the hearts of most of his colleagues, for they could idealistically identify with the causes even though they could not argue that it was feasible to enact most of the measures he advocated. Moreover, he was welcomed and respected from the start as a special expert and the ranking authority on fiscal and economic affairs needed in the Senate. Yet, from a position by one evaluation which ranked him as number one among the "most effective U.S. Senators" in 1951, he has in the most recent rating of 1964 declined and moved to the other end of the ratings to be listed among the top four "least effective U. S. Senators" by the same rating system, consisting of a combined opinion survey of his colleagues and the Washington Press corps conducted by Pageant



Magazine. No definition has been given in either rating for the term "effective." If effective is equated with the number of bills introduced and passed or by some "batting average" determined by the number of times such bills have been introduced and failed, Douglas is one of the "least effective." Likewise, if "effective" is defined with relation to the number of key committee positions held according to eligibility by seniority, Douglas does not stack up well in their "results" measure either; and the reasons he does not are obvious.

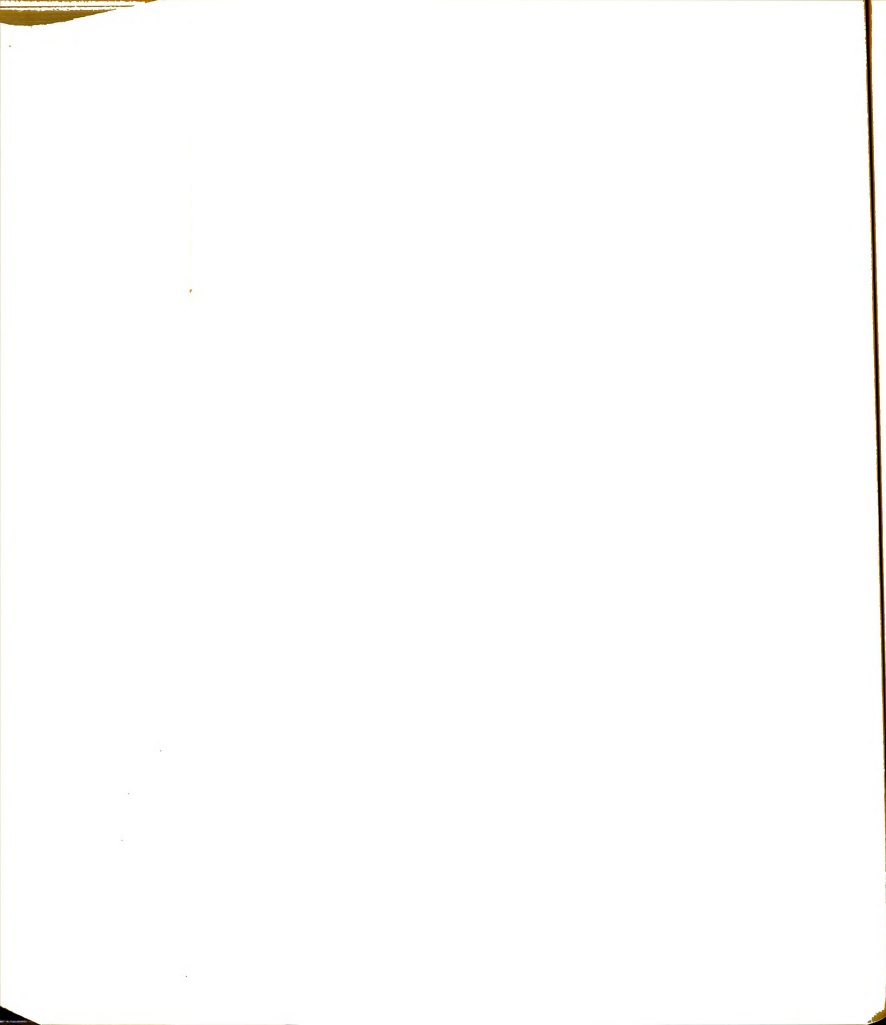
He has chosen too often to be a maverick to bolt and stand apart from the party line, even align himself with the opposition as he did frequently with the Eisenhower Administration in stands on several issues he thought were right. As an independent divorced from a moderate doctrine, he has not been able to maximize vote support from divergent elements in the Senate, and he is not perceived as a man to have championing a bill; consequently, his colleagues do not now turn to him as much for this role. No doubt with the passage of years and his militant minority stand, he has, even though highly respected as a man and colleague, become suspect so that even on bills in which he stands with a majority, he has conditioned his colleagues to become reluctant to call upon him as a leader. At the same time he has made several adjustments in his stands to meet shifts in economic, social, political, national, and world conditions, but his positions remain extreme as compared to those of most of his



colleagues. His leadership has been sought more in recent years as an expert on economic and fiscal matters than as a prestige source to lead legislation. He is in constant demand as an expert source in testimony before committees. He is also consulted as a source by fellow members from all parts of the nation as a well-informed national-interest Senator who, when the nation and Illinois come into conflict, puts the nation above the voters he is dependent upon for re-election in Illinois.

Paul Douglas has also made a necessary adjustment to the Senate environment and although sometimes frustrated by its rules--which he has tried to change--he has learned to work within it. He also seeks to use with maximum effectiveness, the message channels available in the Senator's world of communication. If his prestige as a legislator has declined, the relation of his speaking to this decline in a perceived leadership role among his colleagues defies measurement. The Thompkins and Linkugel survey, however, of 1959 indicated that Douglas' colleagues ranked him among the top speakers in the Senate.

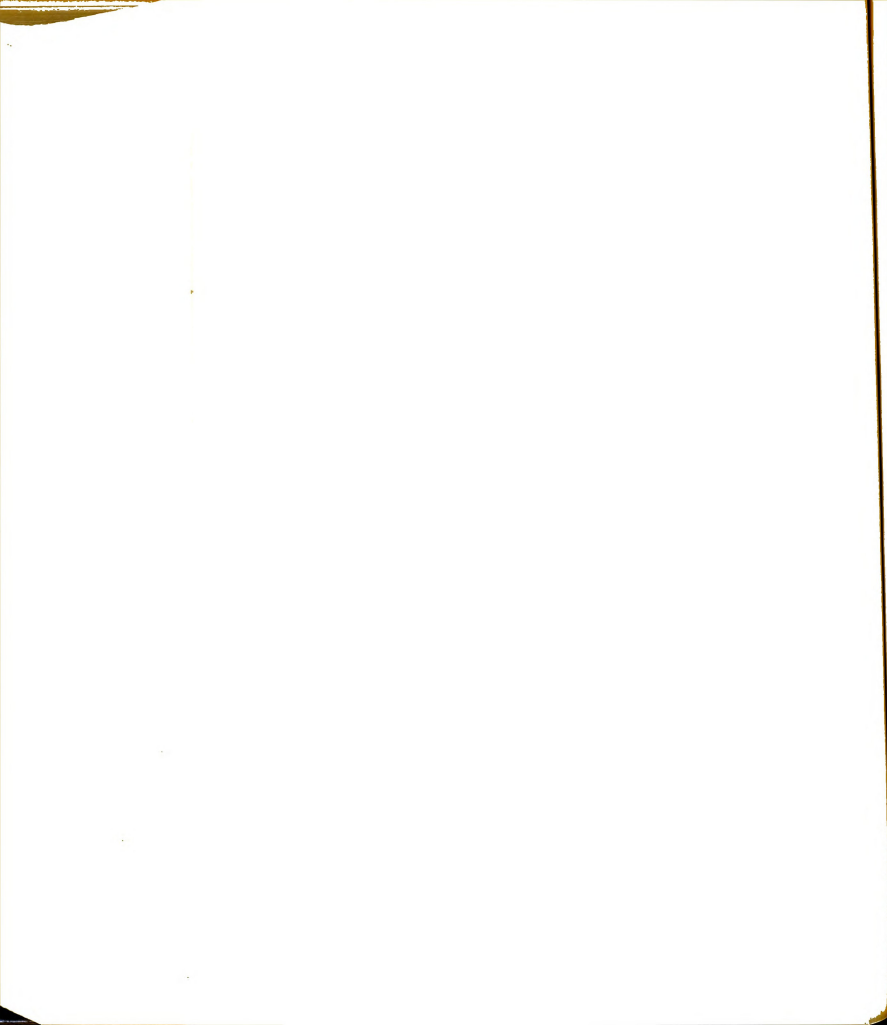
As a legislator who speaks most frequently with a persuasive end in sight, Douglas has had the opportunity to speak to an audience which has consisted of more Democrats than Republicans. Although there is a sharp division between the northern and southern wings of the Democratic Senate delegation on such matters as civil rights and state's rights, this audience makeup should



have provided a favorable reception to Douglas on many matters. The alignment between the northern liberals from both parties on civil rights and other policies when the Democratic ranks were split was also helpful.

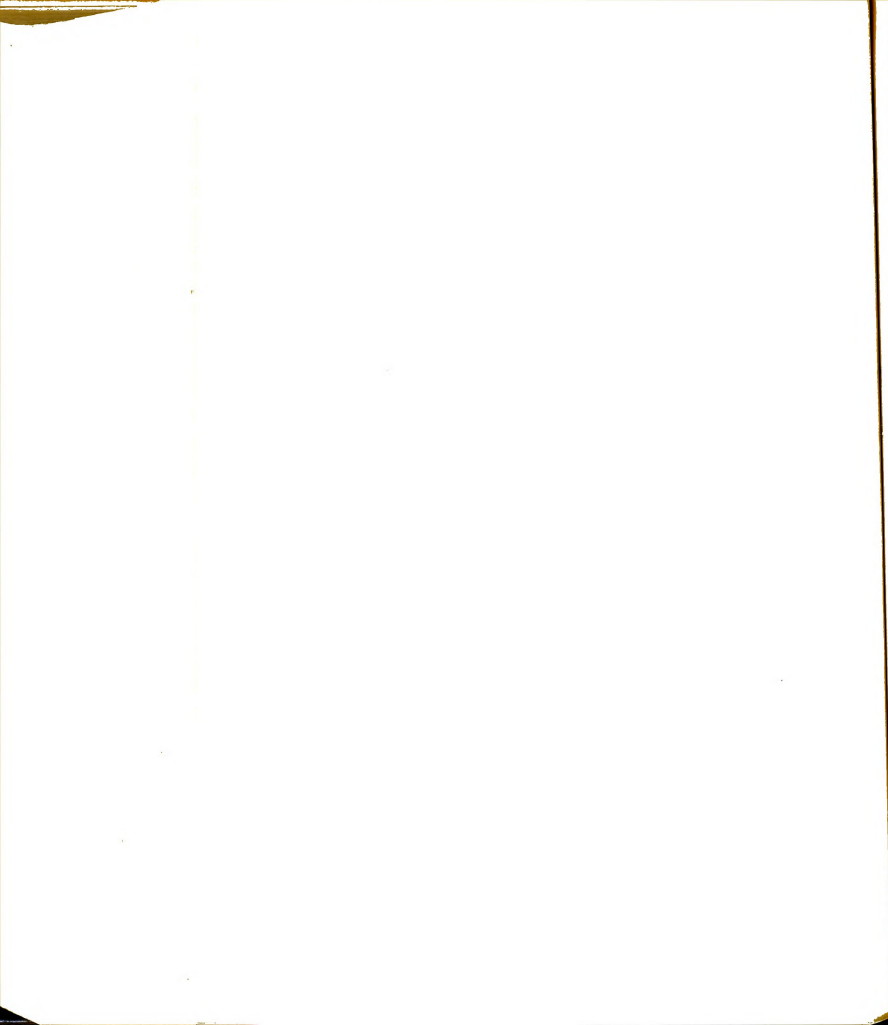
In seeking the support of this audience, Douglas has blended ethical, psychological, and logical proofs in his speeches. As a man highly respected for qualities of personal integrity, knowledge, and expert analysis of his subjects, although an extreme liberal out of the mainstream of Senate thinking, Douglas chose to incorporate strong ethical proofs in the introduction of his speeches to strengthen his credibility. Psychological proofs were generally evident throughout his speeches, but most notably in the conclusions where he sought to reach a climax in evoking his desired response. Logical proofs were especially packed into the body of speeches and were drawn from historical precedent, personal observations and experiences, and particularly voluminous fact and credible opinion evidence from official documents, government officials, and experts on the topics under consideration.

In providing ethical proof, Douglas frequently began his speeches by calling attention to the thorough research undertaken on the topic under consideration either through the use of suggestion or by direct statements. This method coupled with explicit evidence of his effort by the very nature of the scope and depth of the substance of the material he went on to present, helped him to be



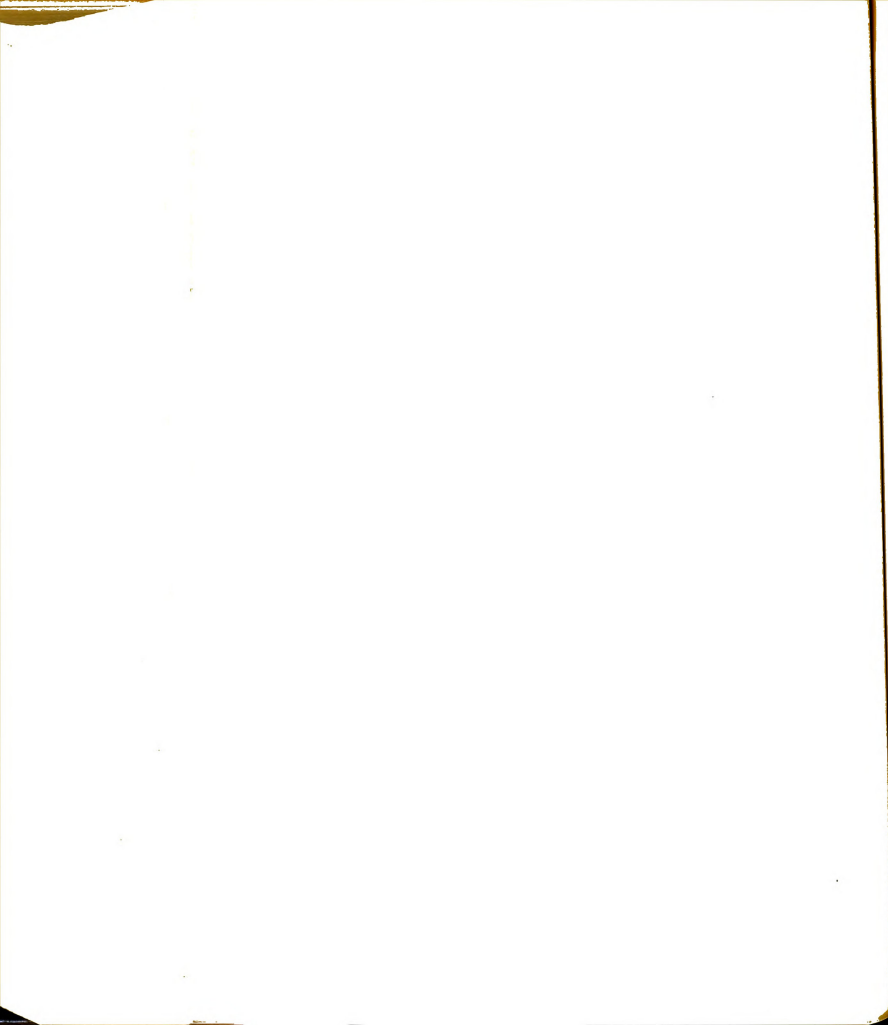
perceived as a man of competence. His intelligence, knowledge, scholarly reputation, and the evidence of preparedness from previous speaking added to his reputation of competency. When Douglas spoke, even in debate and colloquy, the audience prepared itself for a "mind-filling" session. He gave the impression of one who has mastered all the basic facts and is sure he is right.

The reputation of this man for good character and good will has overshadowed that of most of his colleagues during his fifteen years of Senate service. This has been an immeasurable asset to him as a man who has been a frequent spokesman for minority causes. He has developed a reputation on and off the Senate floor as a man of integrity, who is friendly, likable, warm, earnest and sincere. Although he has never been in the "inner circle" because of his maverick stands, he is well liked by most of his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. In his speeches he seeks to establish good will by very personal reference to his colleagues in glowing superlatives that go beyond those of the norms of Senate decorum. The first portion of many speeches consists of a paragraph stressing the good character of one or more of his colleagues standing with him or against him on an issue. There are times when it would appear he could kill off support with too much kindness. A man possessing a fine sense of intellectual wit, he intersperses it well throughout a speech. He is generous in the give-and-take of debate, never taking unfair advantage because he adheres to a strict code of



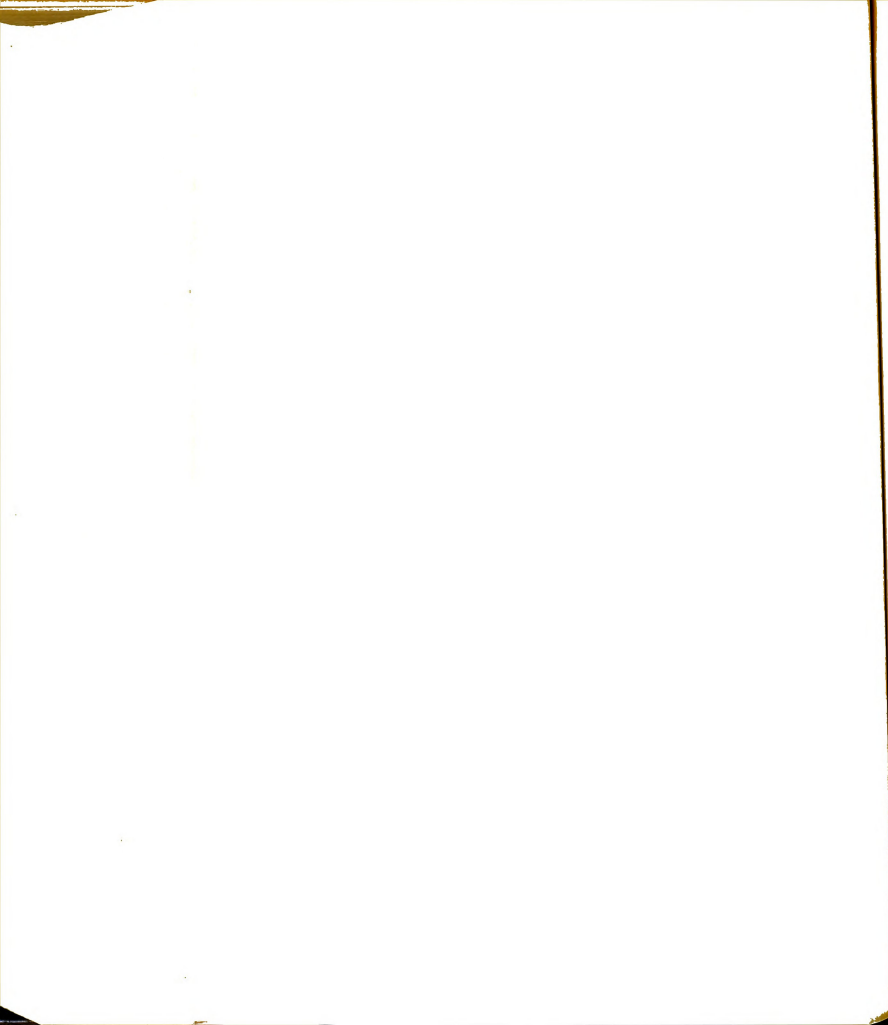
ethics which carries over to debating issues, not personalities. He has been known on frequent occasions to suggest to colleagues indulging in personal attack that such tactics are not in keeping with accepted American standards of fair debating. His belief in the importance of preserving the dignity and worth of the individual can be seen in his speaking.

His use of psychological proof includes extensive use of figurative language, especially in the form of analogies. He enjoys using vivid narration and description. Hortatorical appeals frequently dominate the conclusion of his speeches in an attempt to create desire by challenges to patriotism and altruism. Attempting to employ his concept of simple style, he employs familiar terms and also multisensory words, even slang, and colloquialisms. In sharp contrast to cogent reasoning and quantity of evidence, Douglas will often make a sharp change of pace in a speech to arrest attention, then return intensely to the serious point he is making. Although he uses primarily a direct approach in developing his arguments, it is obvious he is aware of the value of indirect suggestion as he includes it as part of the conclusion of argument. The use of negative suggestion is not a part of his rhetorical methods, but positive suggestion is and in keeping with his positive approach to problems. Rhetorical questions are another means by which he seeks attention and audience involvement in attempts to lead his hearers to conclusions



consistent with his own. In short, Senate speaker Douglas adapts most of the available materials of psychological proof into his speeches, the amount and kind is largely determined by the audience's attitude toward his topics.

There arises considerable doubt as to the "instantaneous intelligibility" and accurate perception possible by his audience, because of his tendency to overburden them with complex evidence. Even considering that his Senate audiences were a critical audience of potential speakers on the same topics and supposedly informed, there is no reason to believe that most of them had the necessary economic background to grasp the theoretical principles upon which many of Douglas' assumptions and contentions were based. It is evident that Douglas was aware there did not exist any consistent frame of reference by many of his colleagues equal to his own, for he carefully partitioned his speeches, using initial summaries and internal summaries, and tried to key the audience for what was to come and conclude in fairly simple terms the results of his evidence. However, often his arrangement called attention to itself because he belabored it for clarity. Even though he practiced his belief that plain language and simple sentences make it possible for all listeners to understand "good stuff," as he put it, on basic issues, it is doubtful whether the majority of his listeners comprehended his analysis of evidence but rather only the conclusions drawn from it. The listeners' faith in the

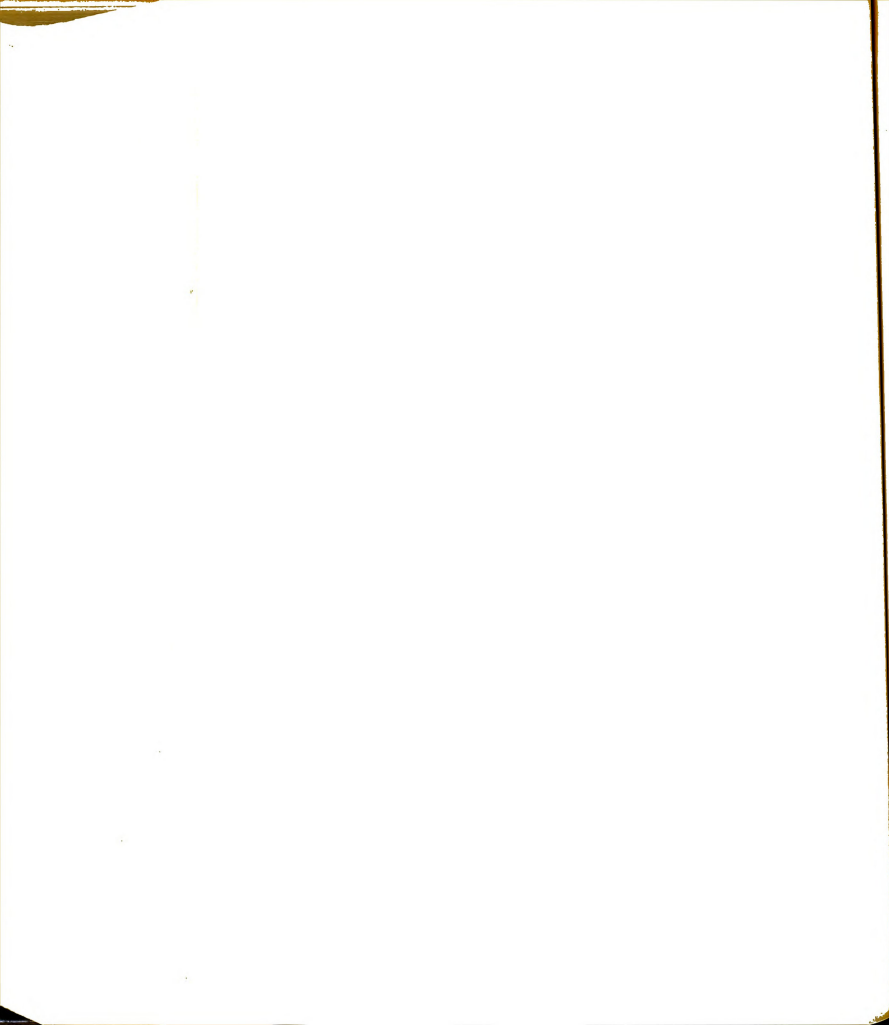


credibility of Douglas to analyze the material with competence was a critical factor in determining his ability to create belief for his propositions. The frequent use of restatement, examples, illustrations, and visual aids helped to compensate for the inherent complexity of most of his topics because they dealt with economic and fiscal matters.

The thorough research and remarkable storehouse of knowledge of this well-read intellectual with an excellent memory set him above other speakers in the Senate of his time, Douglas provided his audience with a weighty development of content in almost every speech during the fifteen years.

As an advocate, Douglas always took full responsibility for the burden of proof on new proposals he advocated and did not attempt to shift ground. He was careful to define terms, but frequently used prejudiced language in so doing, i.e., the speech against the Kerr gas bill. He relied mainly on definitions by example, explanation, and common usage. However, on occasion, he employed comparison and contrast and authority from government experts or documents for definition.

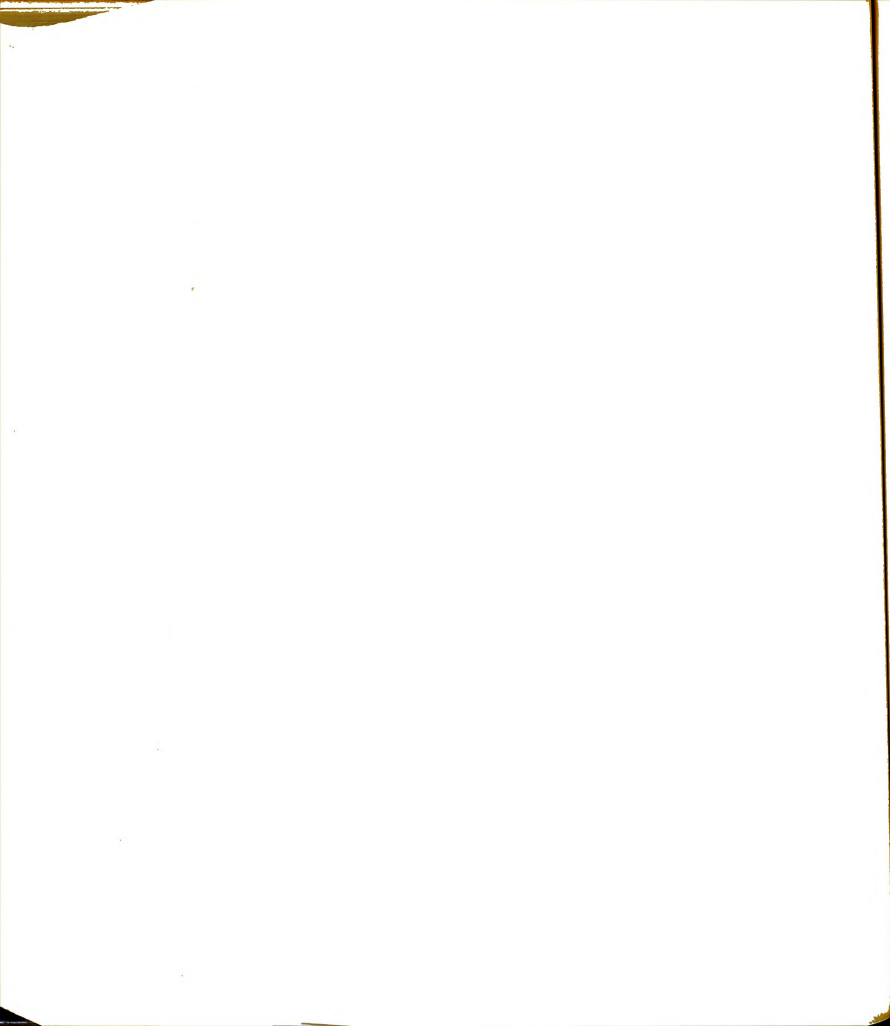
The over-all structure of reasoning in his speeches was most frequently deductive, employing an extended syllogism. Internally, he used the four available types of inductive argument: from sign, causal relation, example, and analogy to develop his contentions. Sign reasoning was employed less frequently than the others,



while the connections between cause and effects was usually unbroken, free of intervening causes, and the effect designated was usually attributed as being produced by the cause. He was seemingly careful in reasoning from example to select those apparent and representative from an adequate sampling, but he did not always account for negative instances. The literal analogy was a special favorite of Douglas, and he was careful in most instances to select essentially comparable cases and account for differences. His breadth of literary knowledge often caused him to overwork figurative analogies for illustrative and attention purposes in order to add variety and spice to heavily burdened statistical factual development.

The two common fallacies of his reasoning were a tendency to overstate his evidence by an unreasonable extension of his argument from "some" to "all" situations when not warranted, and to force into arbitrary categories ideas that were somewhere between. He enjoyed applying reductio ad absurdum methods to opponents' cases in a spirit of friendly competition and had some repair available in almost all cases to follow up a direct refutation approach by having the ability to think quickly, critically, and develop cogent lines of reasoning.

In speeches outside the Senate, as corroborated by Brandes' findings, Douglas was often careless about documenting his evidence, but on the Senate floor he carefully qualified most of his sources and dated them. Perhaps as a former debater and one who had to defend his



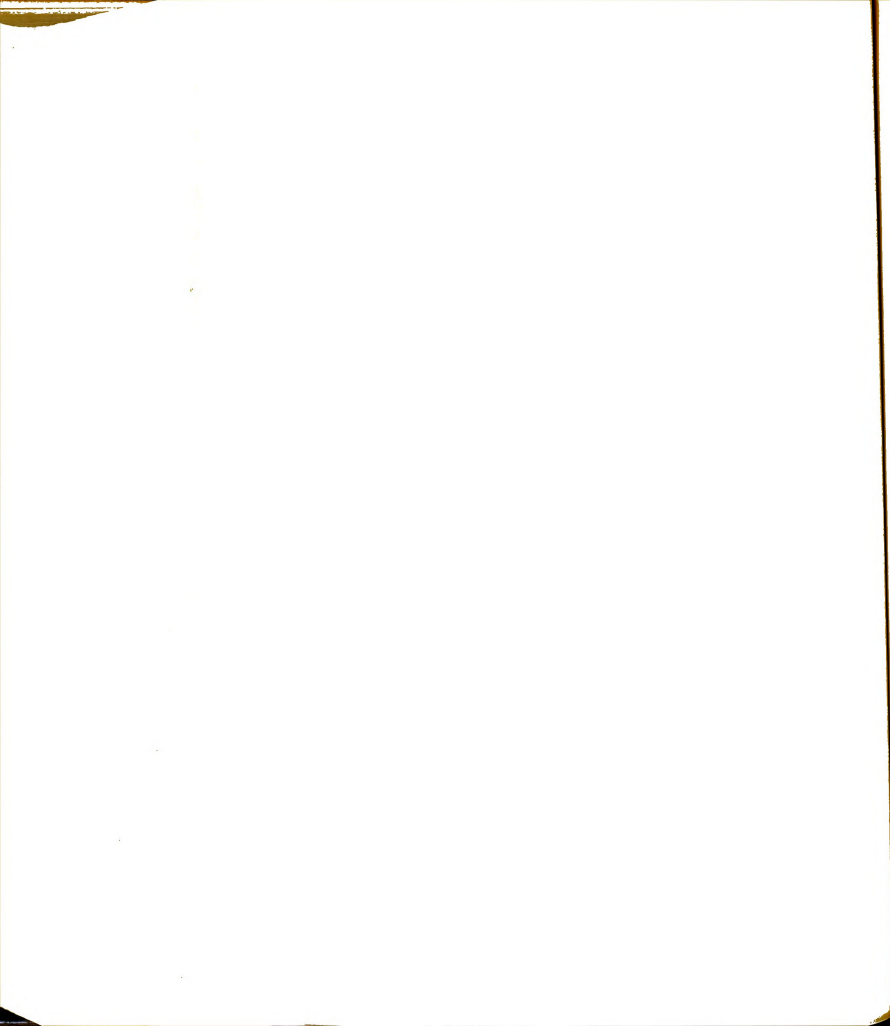
position frequently, he had become highly conscious of the need to test thoroughly his evidence and reasoning.

The greatest problem Douglas encountered was in selecting situations from which to reason and sources familiar to his audience. Because of this, he found it necessary to employ exposition as argument in most of his speeches.

In terms of preparation, each prepared address went through a thorough period of research, followed by a period of gestation in which several revisions were made whenever time permitted. The combined effort of Douglas and his key staff members resulted in a product which essentially included the original intent and ideas of the speaker.

When he rose to speak, apart from his Yankee twang and a tendency to overwork the chopping right hand gesture, critics have found little of an objectionable nature in Douglas' speaking. His voice is clear and resonant, but sometimes strains to a point of harshness when he seeks by volume to stress a point. The deliberate rate of his speaking with adequate variety in pitch and force, made his messages easily audible in the Senate chamber.

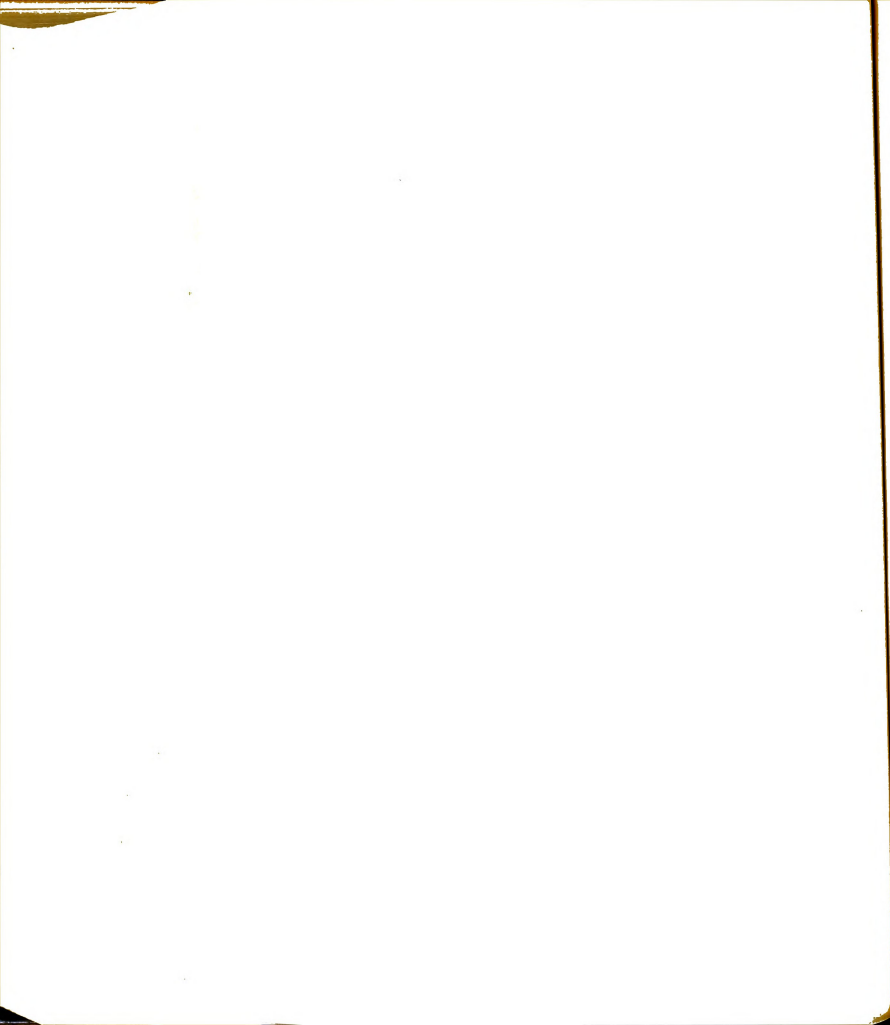
His audiences have viewed an imposing figure of 6'4" whose posture tends to detract from his stature because he stands stooped over most of the time. His "rumpled suit" appearance and unkempt dress have not



positively enforced his ethos, except for those who accept this as the intellectual image. In impromptu speeches, which he enjoys the most, he has a tendency to be over-animated and roams up and down the aisle of the Senate. In reading from prepared texts, he vocally interprets the material well and maintains good eye contact. At times he tends to speak at a high emotional pitch and appears to "rant" for brief periods. The visible and audible aspects of his delivery are on the whole quite good and allow him to communicate effectively in the Senate Chamber.

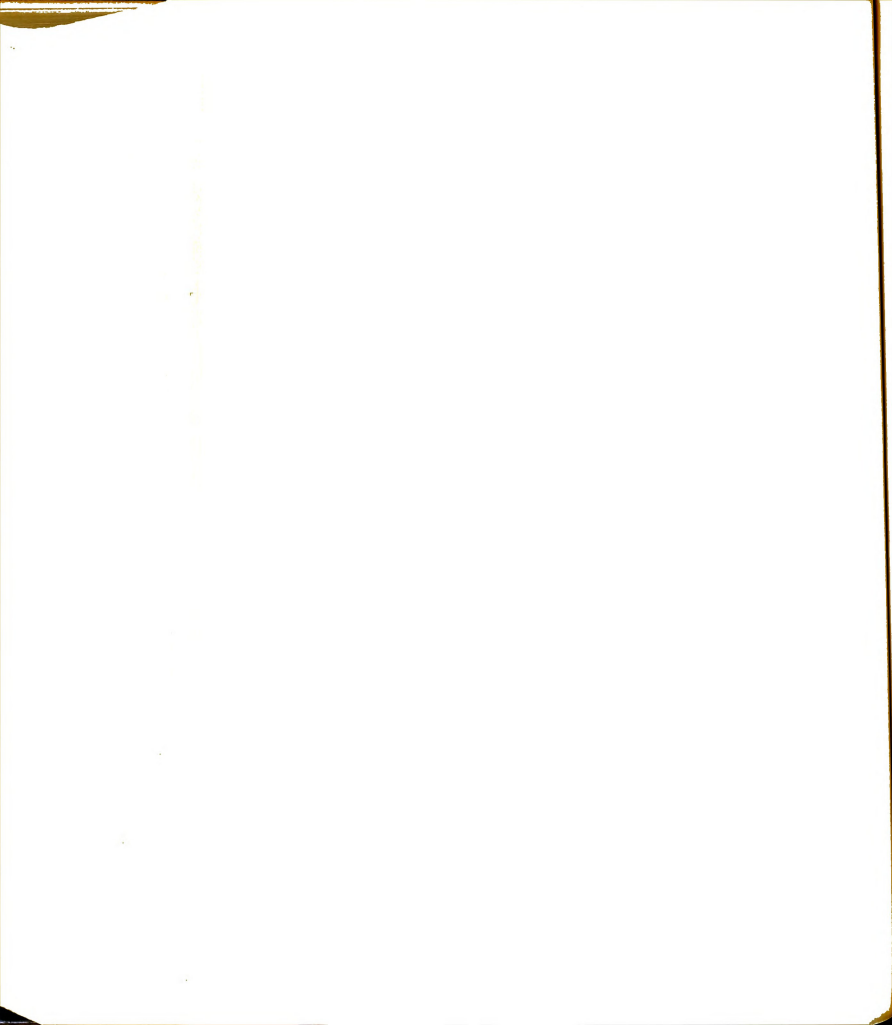
This study of Paul Douglas' Senate speaking has necessarily given consideration to the environment of his speaking. Therefore some conclusions about speech in the Senate and recommendations to improve its role and function as a vehicle for legislation action naturally grow out of this study. These conclusions and recommendations seem appropriate here prior to summarily appraising the Senate speaking of Douglas, the major subject of the study, and drawing it to a close.

Three general conclusions about speaking in the Senate stand out: (1) Speech in the U. S. Senate today is no less necessary to legislative action than in times past; however, the prestige of the Senate as an important organ of national government may have declined and as a natural result minimized the importance of the speaking of its members. (2) There is evidence that the role and function of speech in committee work and related legislative

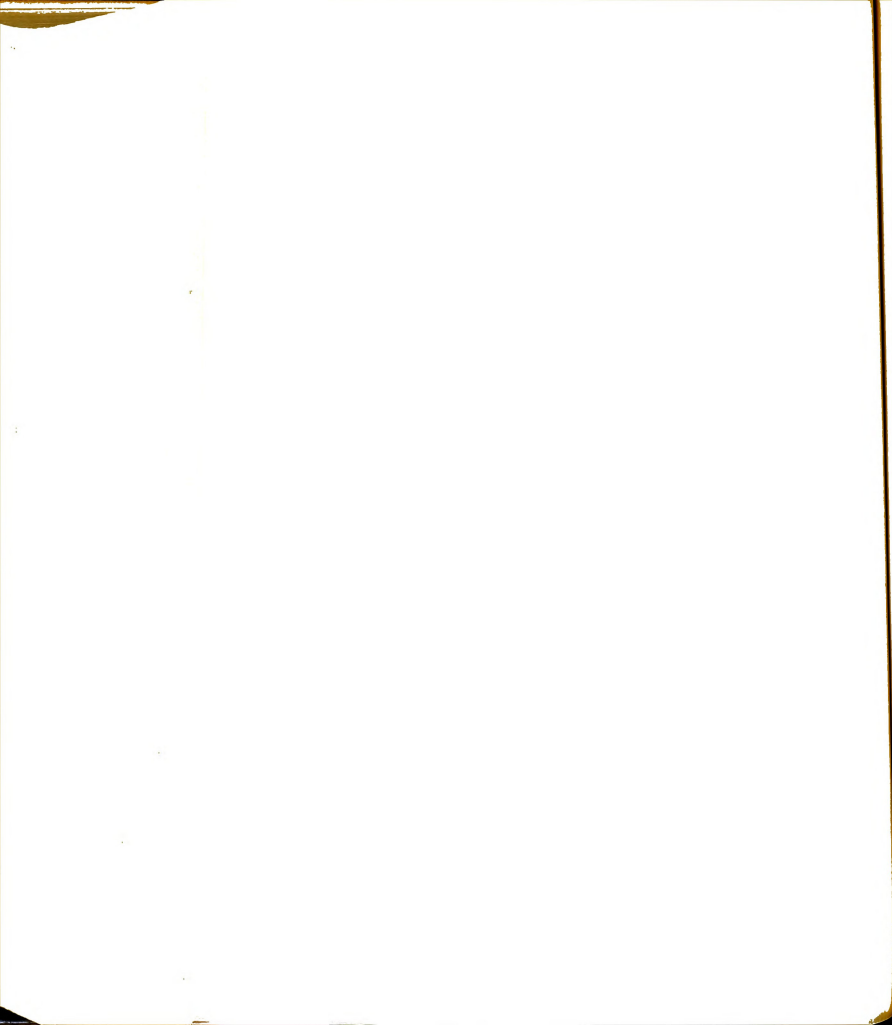


activities and duties of Senators has increased proportionately to speaking in floor business due to the increased amount of legislation under consideration and increases in the scope of members' duties. (3) Speaking in the Senate reflects the same changes as speech outside of it in contemporary America: Speeches are shorter in length, less embellished and simpler in style, delivered in a conversational manner in contrast with the more formal oratorical tendencies of the past, and more expository in tone, as contrasted with the more fervent persuasive efforts of bygone years due to the increasing complexity of issues and opinion structure and the absence of readily discernible clear-cut positions from which firm and vigorous stands can be taken.

If speech in the Senate is no less necessary today than in times past, it could, however, serve a more important role and function in the legislative proceedings than it does presently by some changes in the rules, procedures, and attitudes affecting it. First, by revisions in the Senate rules to encourage remarks to be more germane and thus focus on the issues related to legislation under consideration. Second, by rule changes providing for a more orderly procedure and exact scheduling of times for debate on legislation to allow Senators to reserve time in their schedule to plan better and prepare more thoroughly for participation in floor proceedings. Third, speech in the Senate could be significantly improved by rule changes

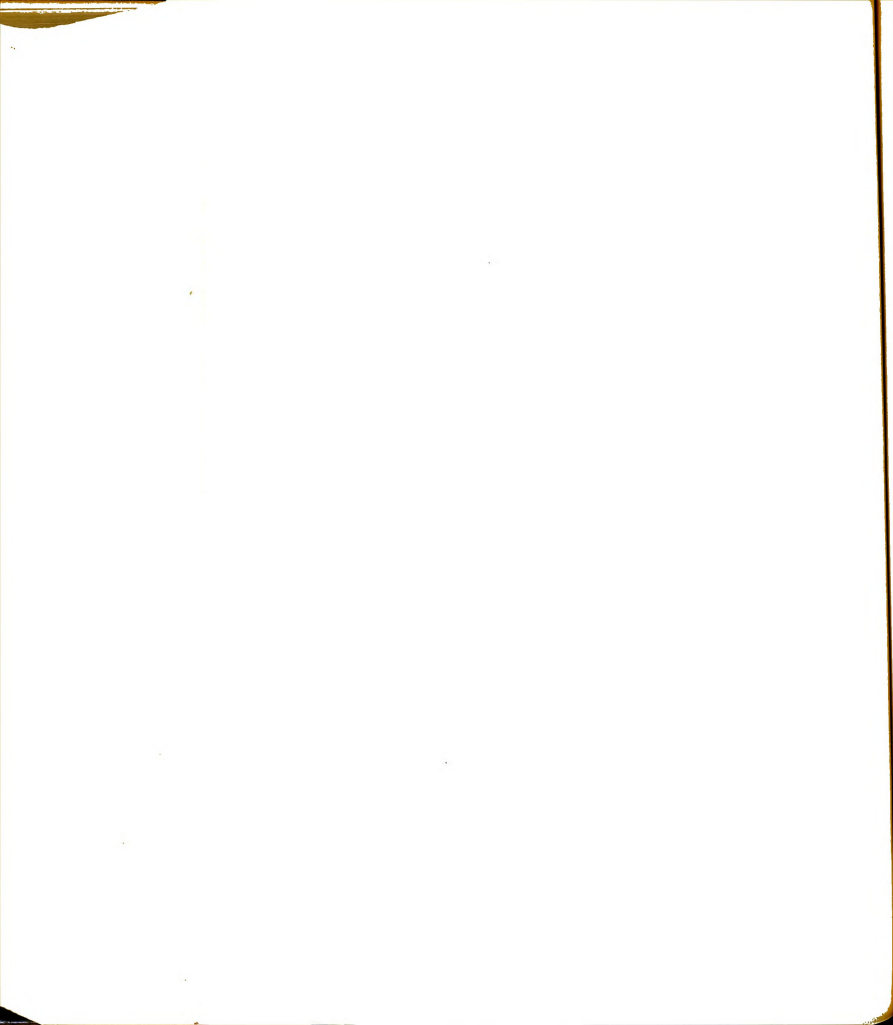


encouraging members to be on the floor more frequently and for longer periods each day that the Senate is in session. Fourth, increased staff assistance to Senators in handling constituent and other necessary duties would allow members more time for participation in floor activities and consideration of legislation. Five, speech in the Senate could be improved by an enlightened organization of committees and committee rules to encourage more extensive and intensive consideration of legislation on the floor of the Senate rather than outside of it. Six, a revision of the cumbersome route which a bill may take before it reaches the floor for debate would allow consideration of more issues by all members. Seven, by better partisan and non-partisan organization through more frequent conferences of members in party, regional and other interest groups to plan strategy on legislation and select principal speakers on impending legislation, issues could be more readily focused upon and debate encouraged. Eight, the lessening of restrictions placed on the participation of new members through unwritten rules of seniority would encourage them to speak out and be more active in the proceedings, as would better orientation procedures to prepare them to take an active role earlier in their career. Nine, speaking in the Senate could also be improved by rotating important committee and other positions to eliminate members from one-party states insured of re-election term after term from dominating powerful

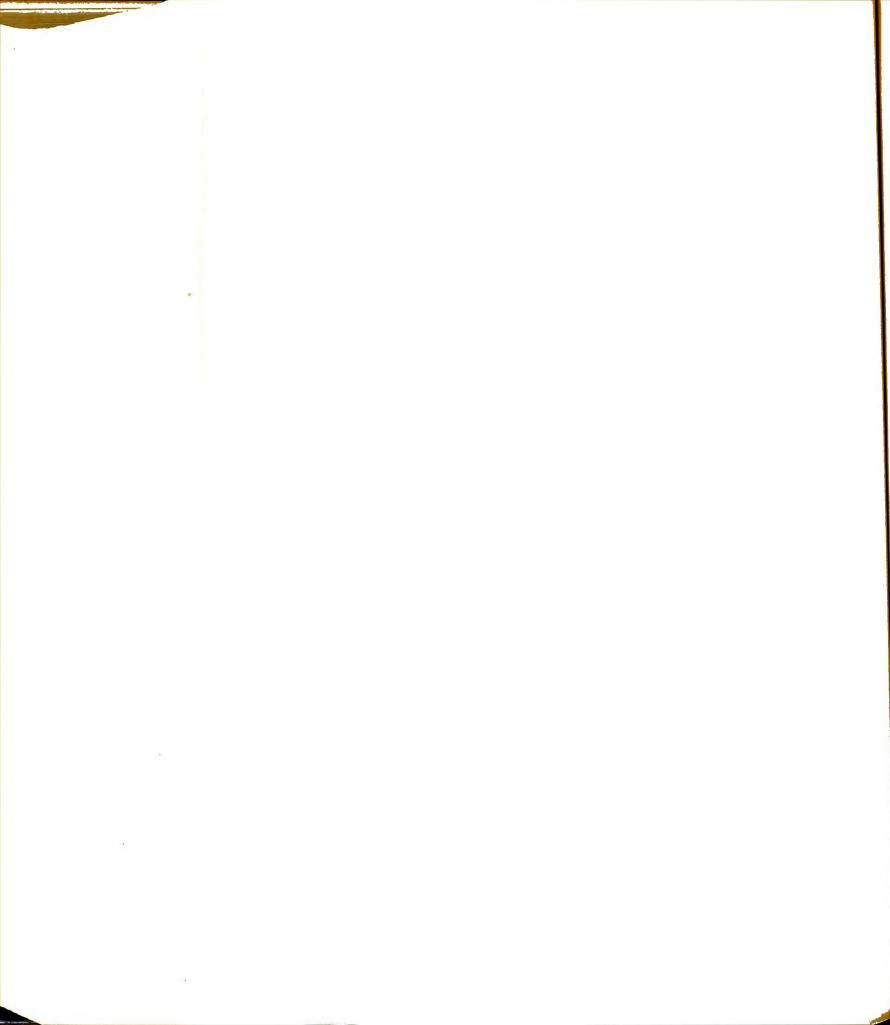


positions through seniority and, because of their power, discouraging voices of opposition to them on the floor of the Senate. Ten, the image of the Senate as a forum for responsible and effective public address could be improved by a concerted effort by the membership as a whole to use their rhetorical and dialectical abilities more skillfully in preparing and presenting speeches in the Senate, and at the same time encourage agents of the mass media to provide more enlightened and extensive coverage of Senate activities. Eleven, speech in the Senate would be more influential in the nation if its membership as a whole would exert more influence in exercising the Senate's potential and legal power as the upper house in exerting itself more firmly to the President and agencies of the Executive branch of government and the Supreme Court. Lastly, speech in the Senate could be improved by revising the rules governing the recording of official proceedings to eliminate the inclusion of extraneous materials in the Congressional Record, to provide an accurate and complete verbatim transcript of proceedings, and to copyright the Record in order to protect members from being excessively quoted and misquoted.

If the foregoing recommendations could be implemented in the U. S. Senate, more open discussion and debate on the issues might be encouraged. Moreover, such changes could help the Senate to come closer to resembling a model for democracy, freedom of speech, and debating, and become the supreme educational forum many people expect it to be.



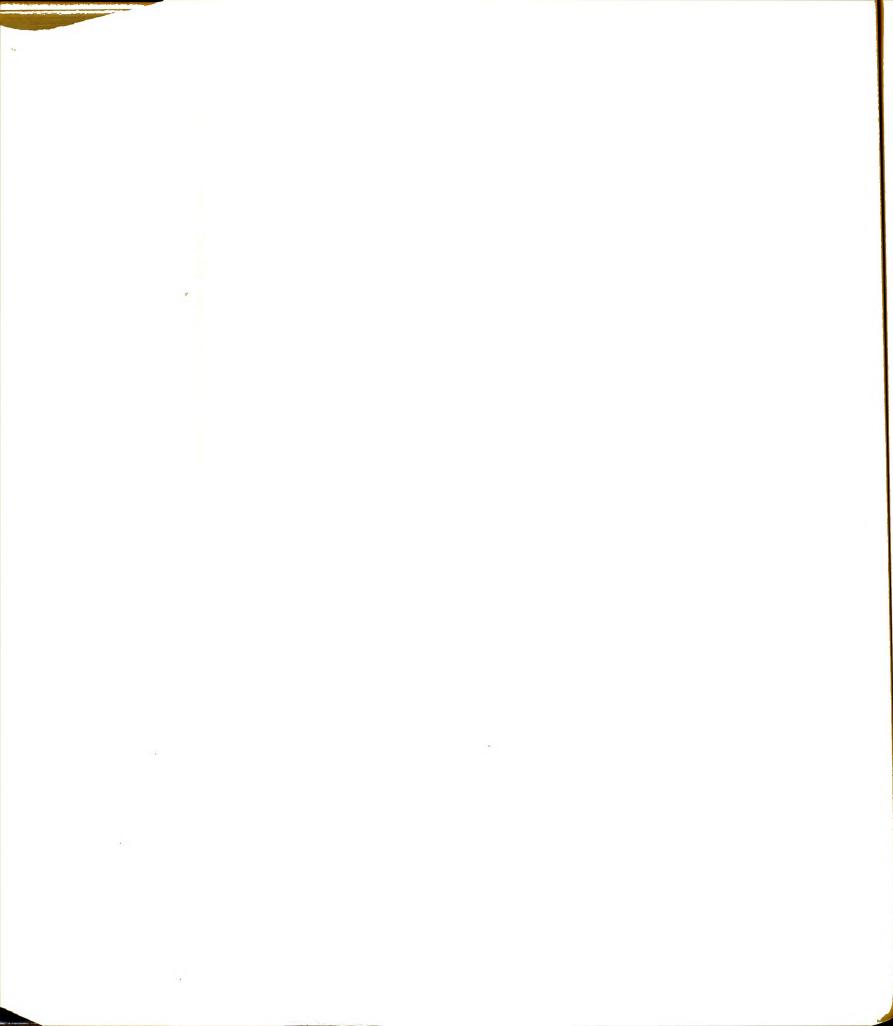
As a Senate speaker, Paul H. Douglas has made an effective adjustment to the limitations and opportunities for speaking in that environment. Since 1949 he has used the medium of public speaking to present a variety of ideas in a wide scope of interests. The most persistent topics in his Senate speeches have been those dealing with means to improve the conditions and opportunities for man to develop himself socially, economically, intellectually, and spiritually--humane causes. As a speaker, he has been effective as measured by his understanding and appreciation of the oral communication process and his ability to apply sound rhetorical principles as a practitioner of public address. In speaking to the immediate audience of Senators and to the people outside the Senate Chamber through the Congressional Record and the agents of the mass media, he has attempted to adjust his meaning to both audiences without sacrificing personal principles on topics for which he had conviction and was competently prepared to speak. He employs well all three factors of rhetorical invention, with rational demonstration through argument his forte. An ethical and responsible speaker, his speeches possess breadth of knowledge, careful reasoning, and argumentative skill, the most essential qualities of an effective legislative speaker. Serving in a body where the potential privilege and opportunity exist for a speaker to express his opinions openly, Douglas has been an outspoken insurgent in the U. S. Senate, and has played a significant



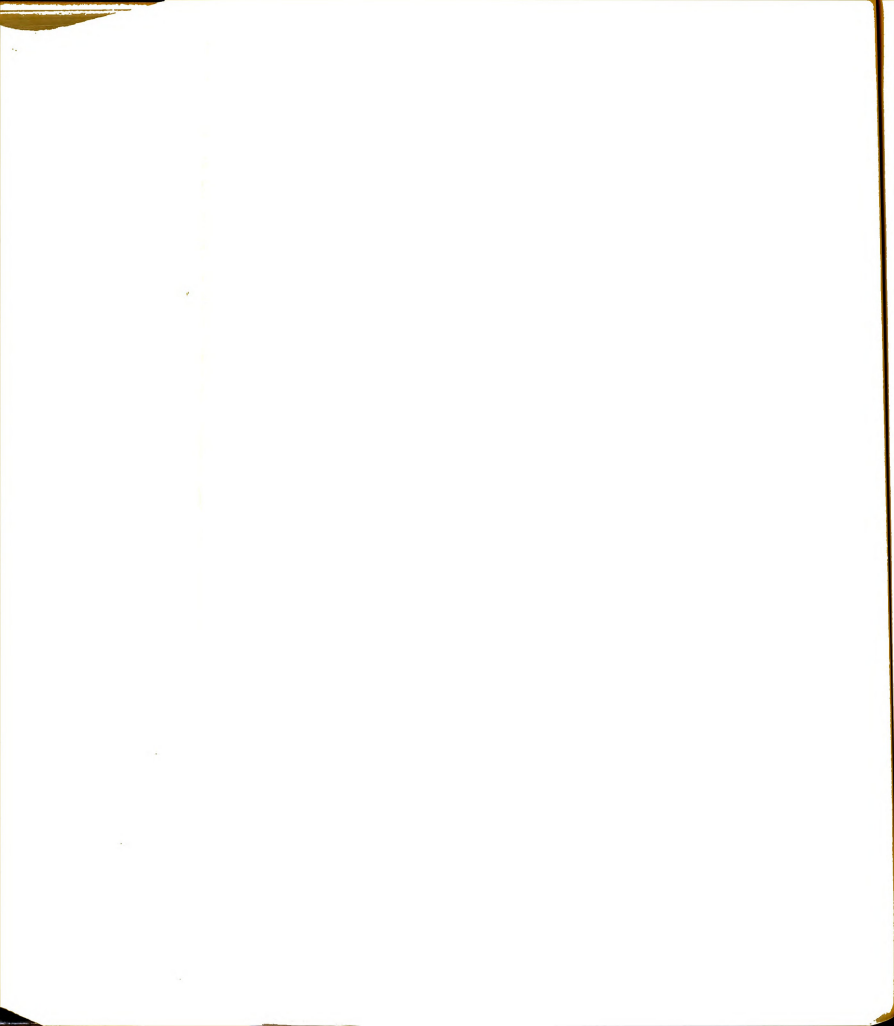
role in influencing legislative action, public opinion, and American history since 1949.

If the causes on which Paul Douglas has focused his speaking efforts have diminished in scope in recent years, the intensity of his efforts for causes remaining has increased. The burst of enthusiasm for his new job which marked the entrance of this man into the Senate over fifteen years ago has decreased slightly, if any. He seems to enjoy his independent role and the opportunity to be a leading spokesman to a gallery that includes all of America. The Senate Chamber to Douglas is not an ennobling shrine to its past public address, but rather a living forum for important speaking of the present and future.

Senator Paul H. Douglas of sound mind and physical condition is a man who has lived an extremely active life. Elected to the U. S. Senate later in life than most of its members, he will be seventy-four years old when his present term expires in 1966. Men older than he have sought reelection and been returned to Capitol Hill. Unless a desire to live a less active life away from the pressures and frustrations of a Senator's work subordinates the call for continued public service, there is no reason to believe that Senator Douglas will not seek another term and continue to serve as an insurgent Senate spokesman for humane causes.



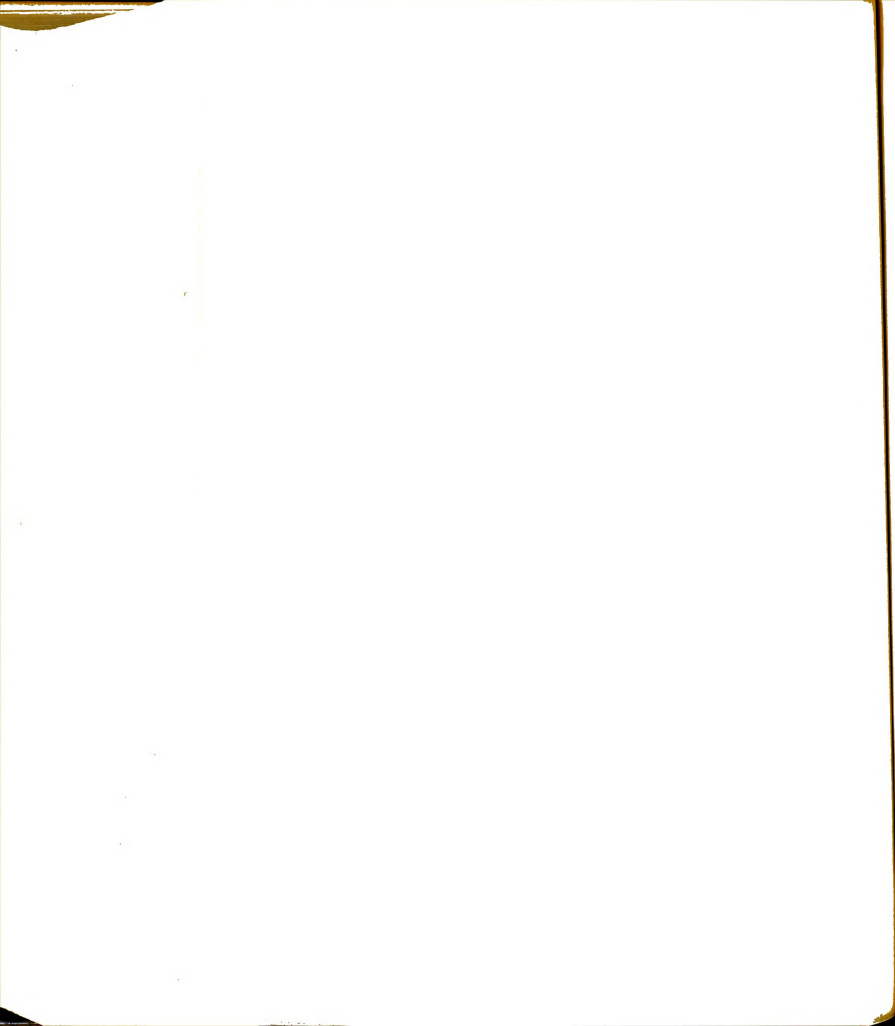
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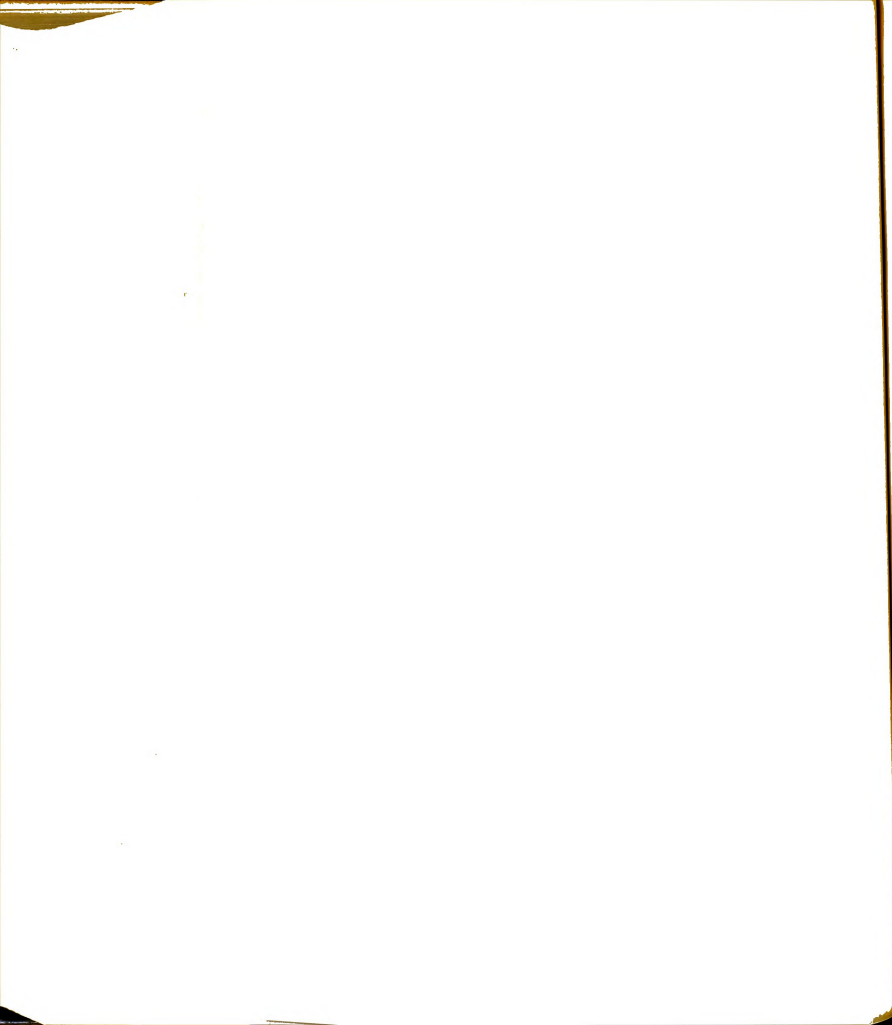
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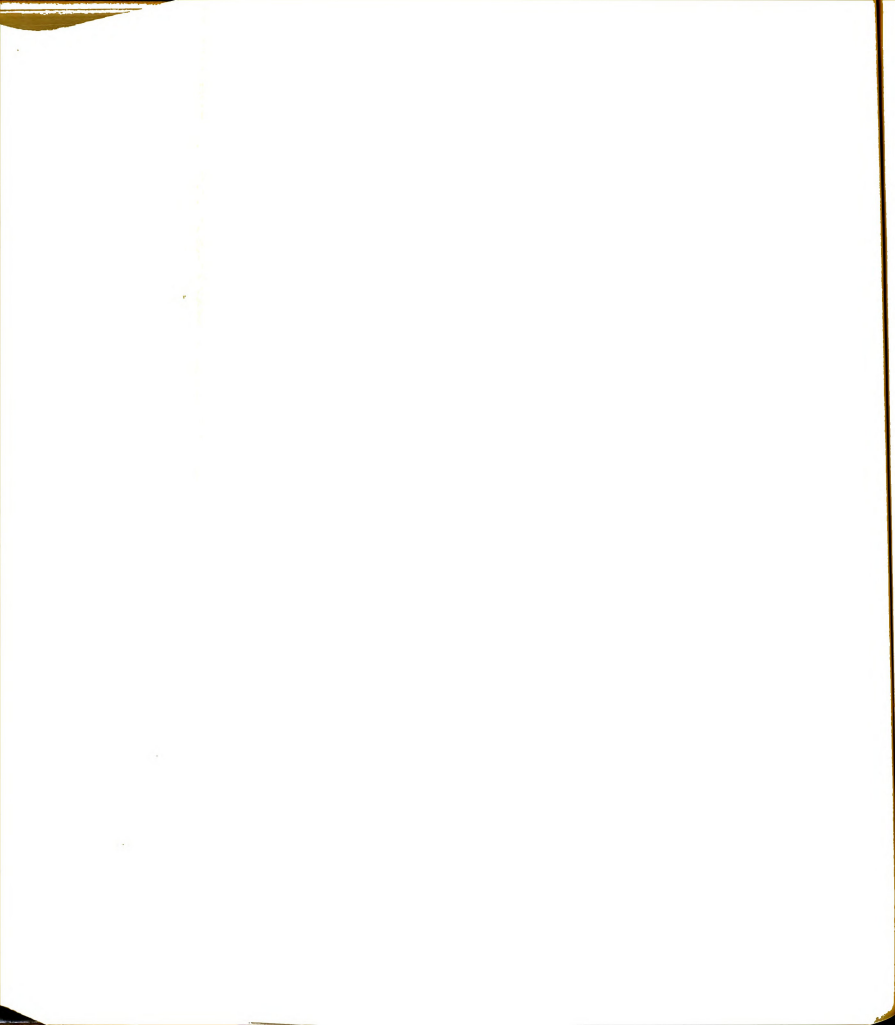
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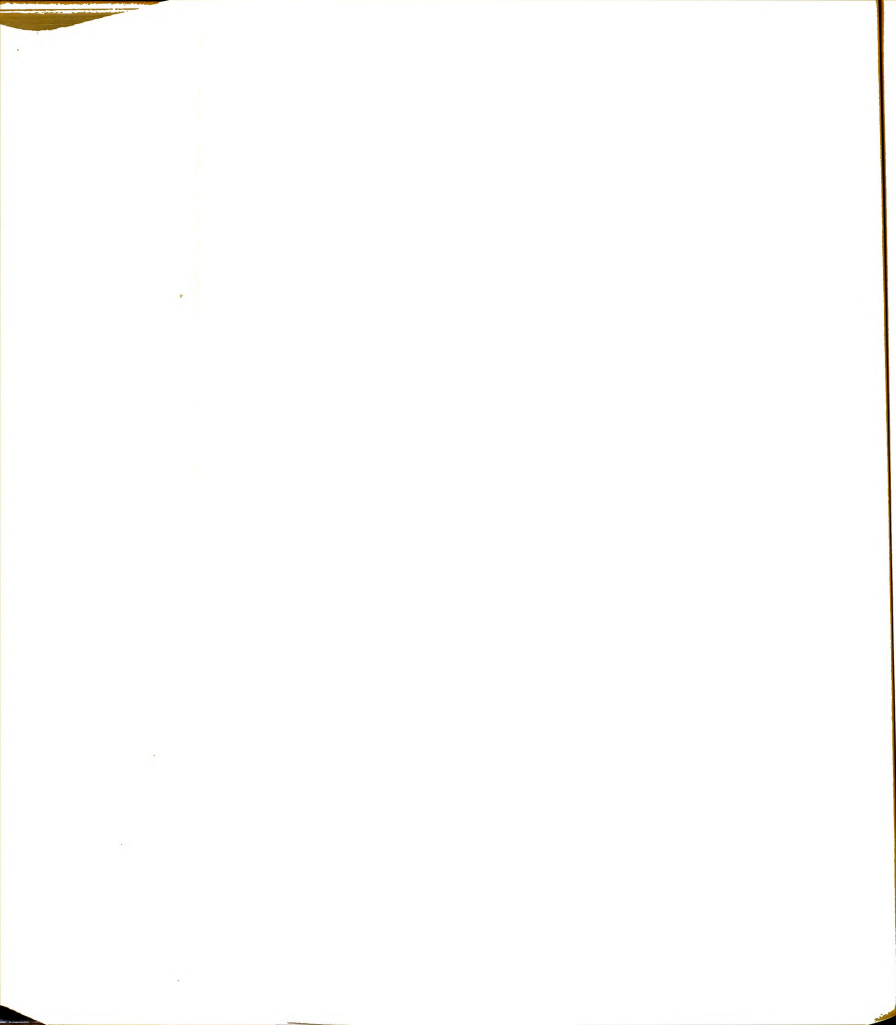
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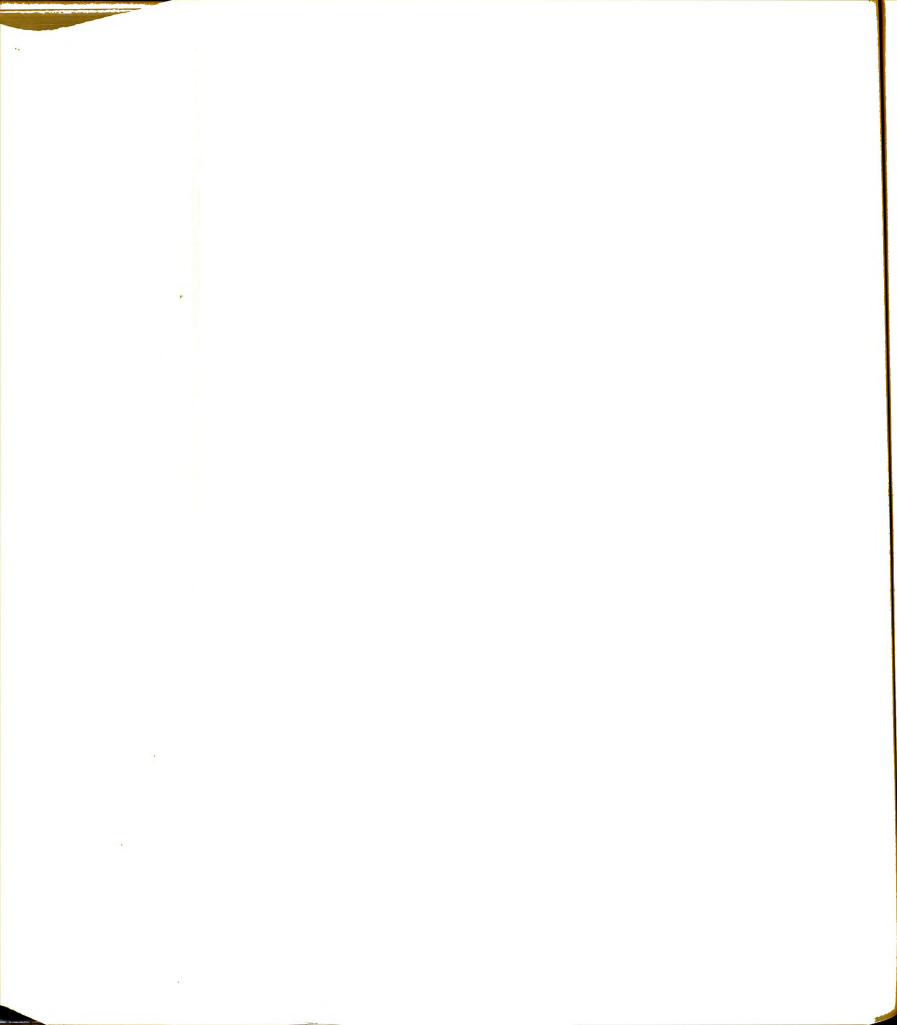
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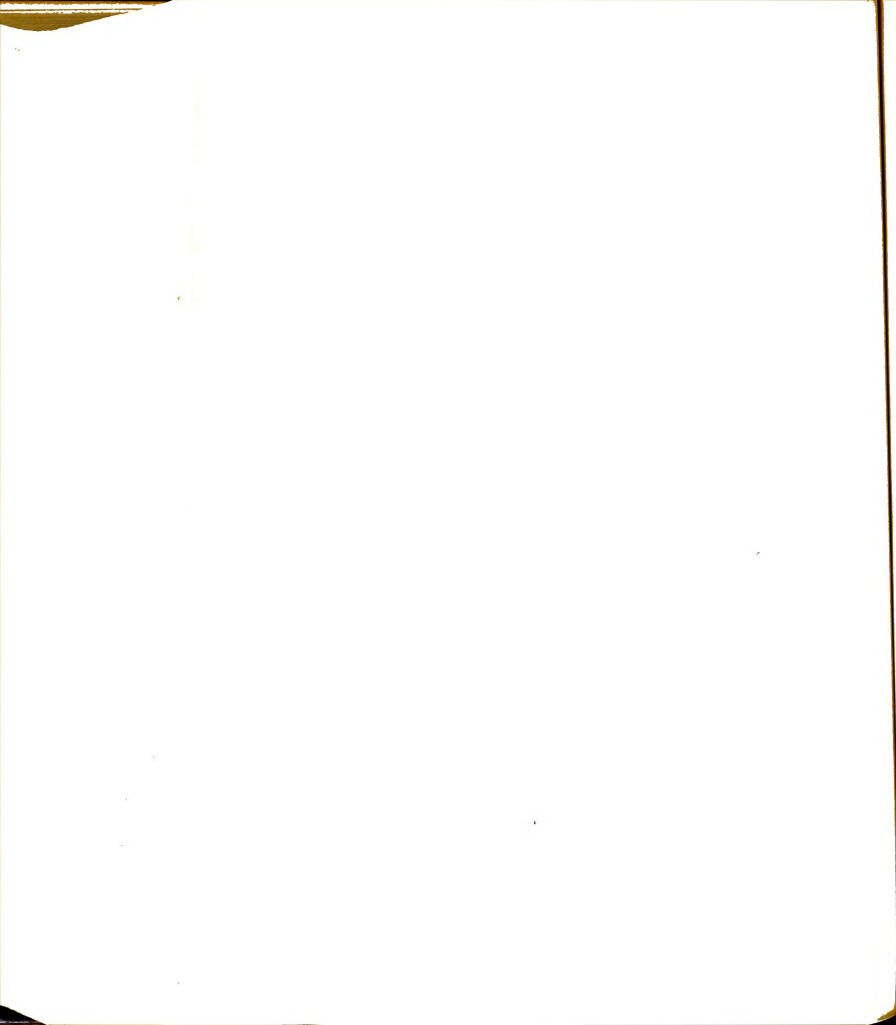
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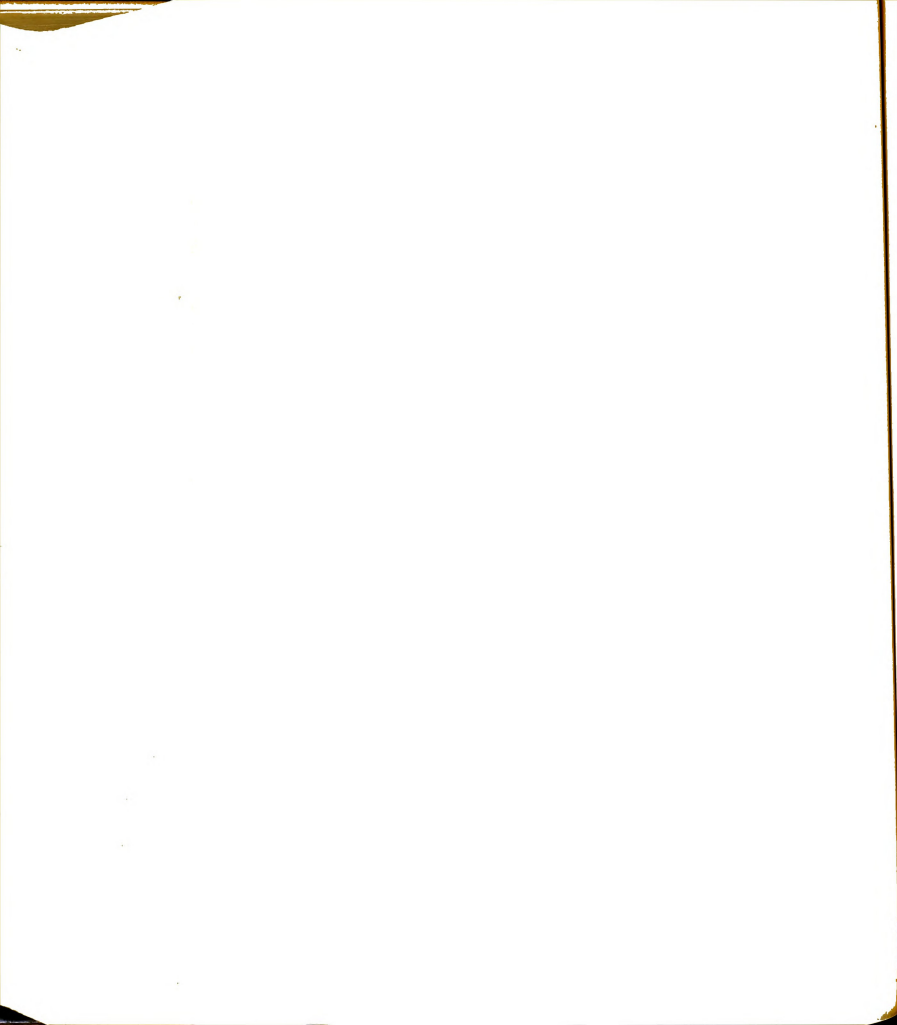
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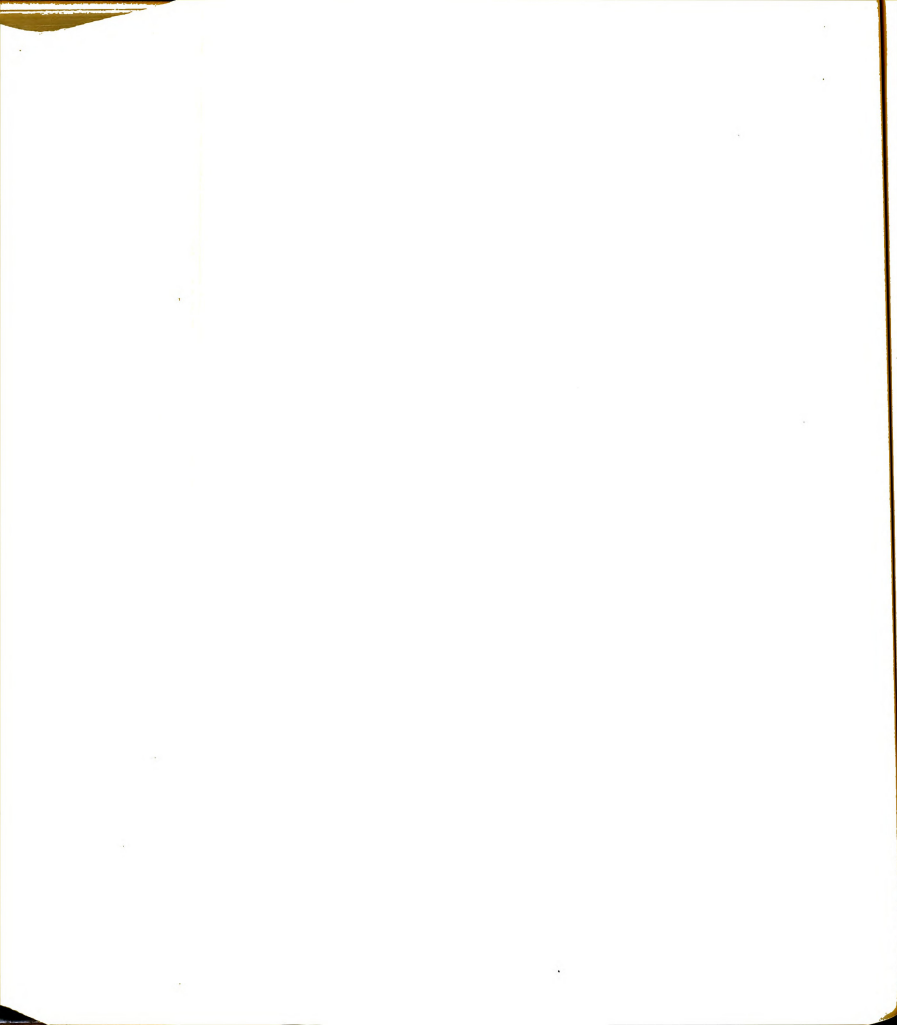
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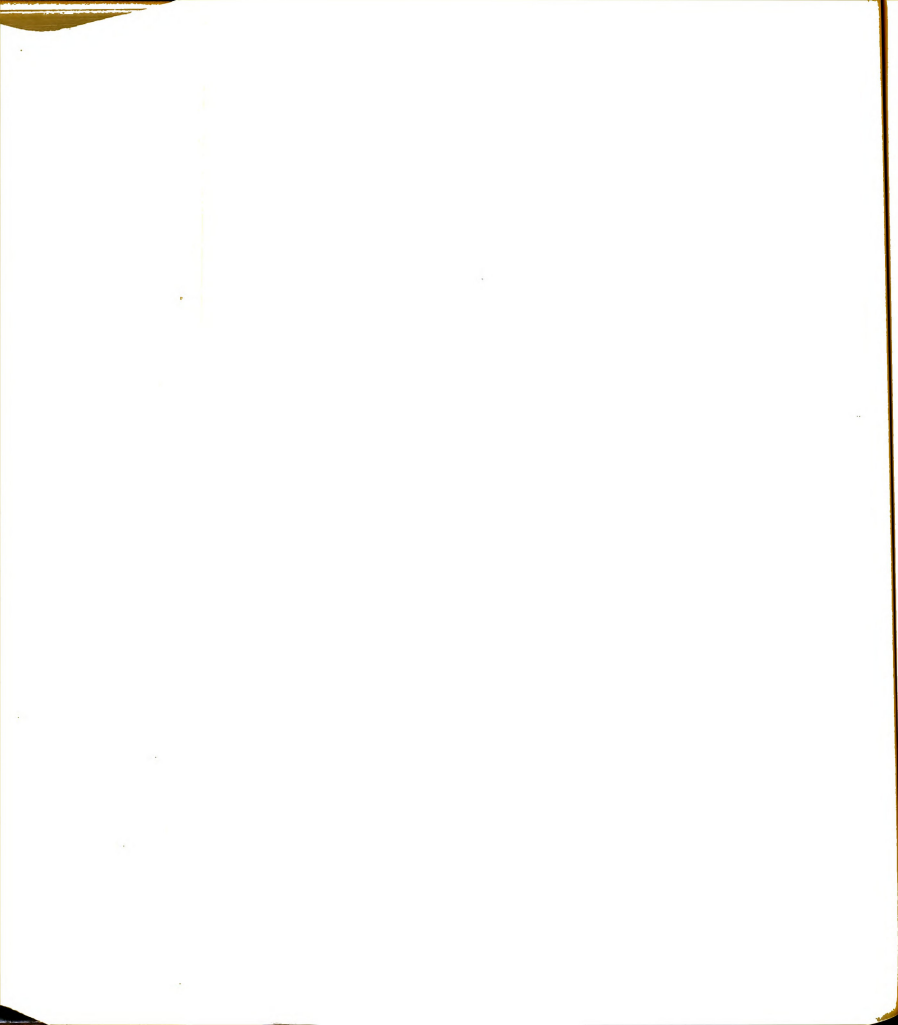
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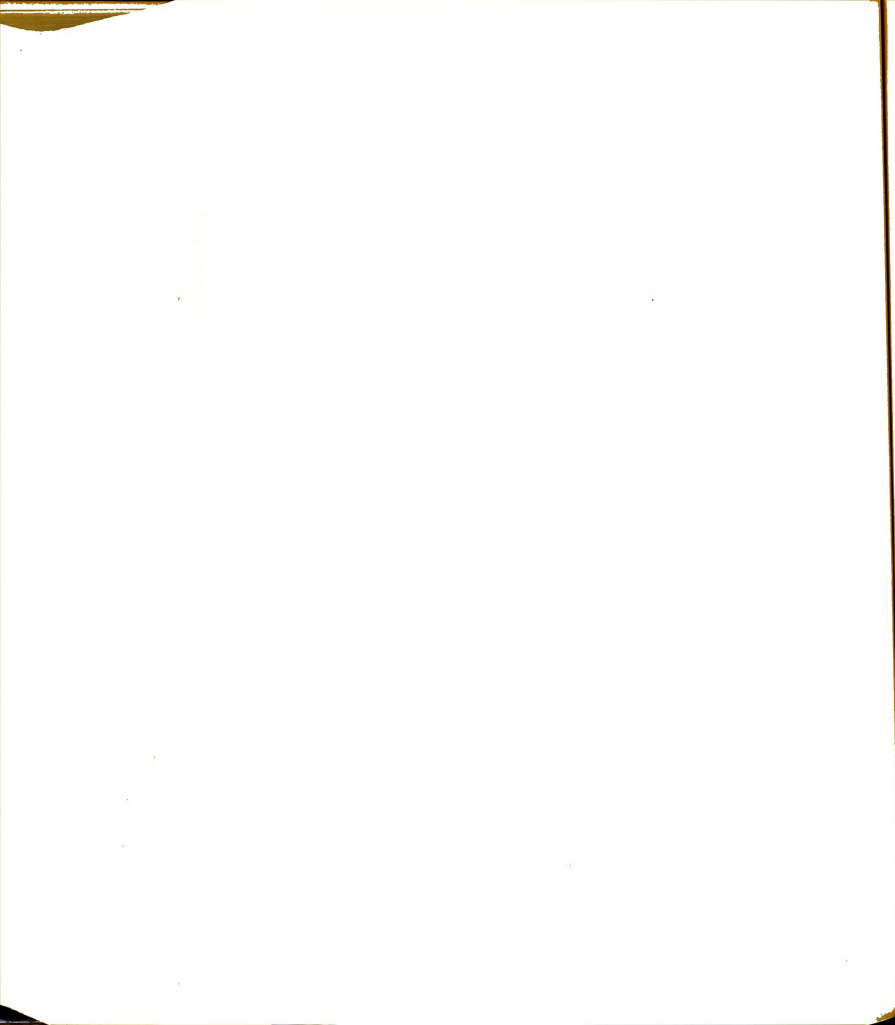
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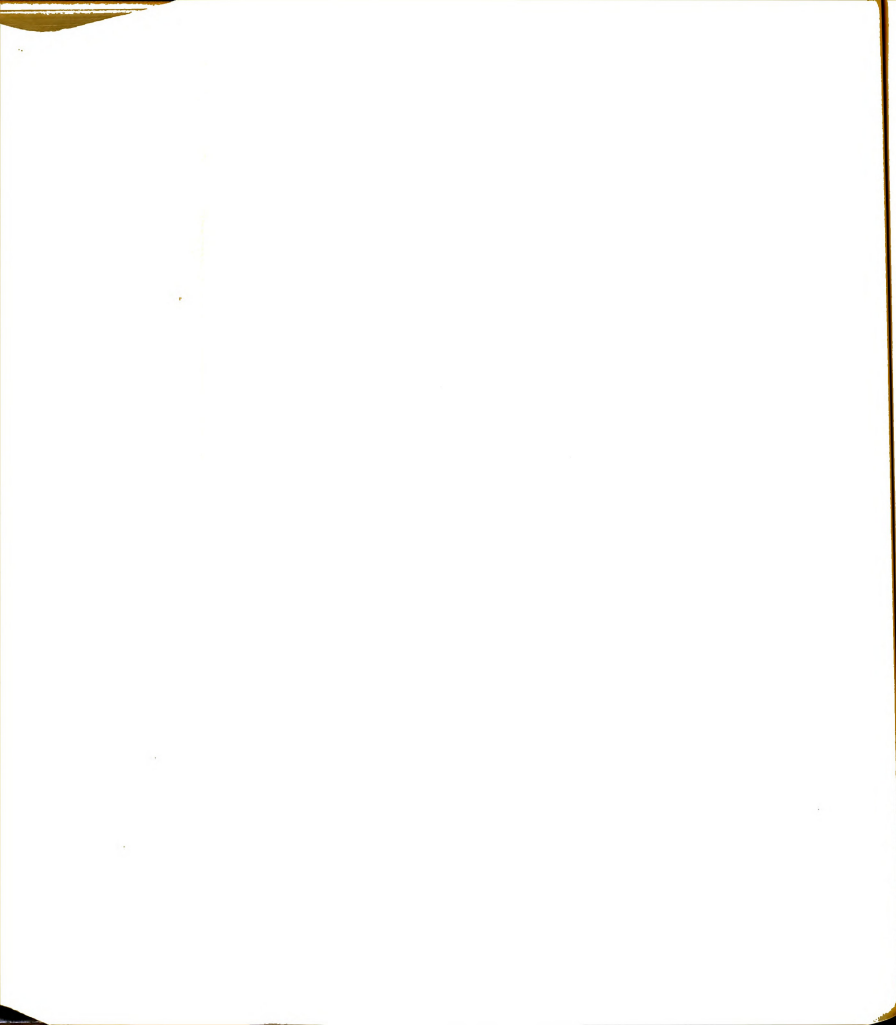
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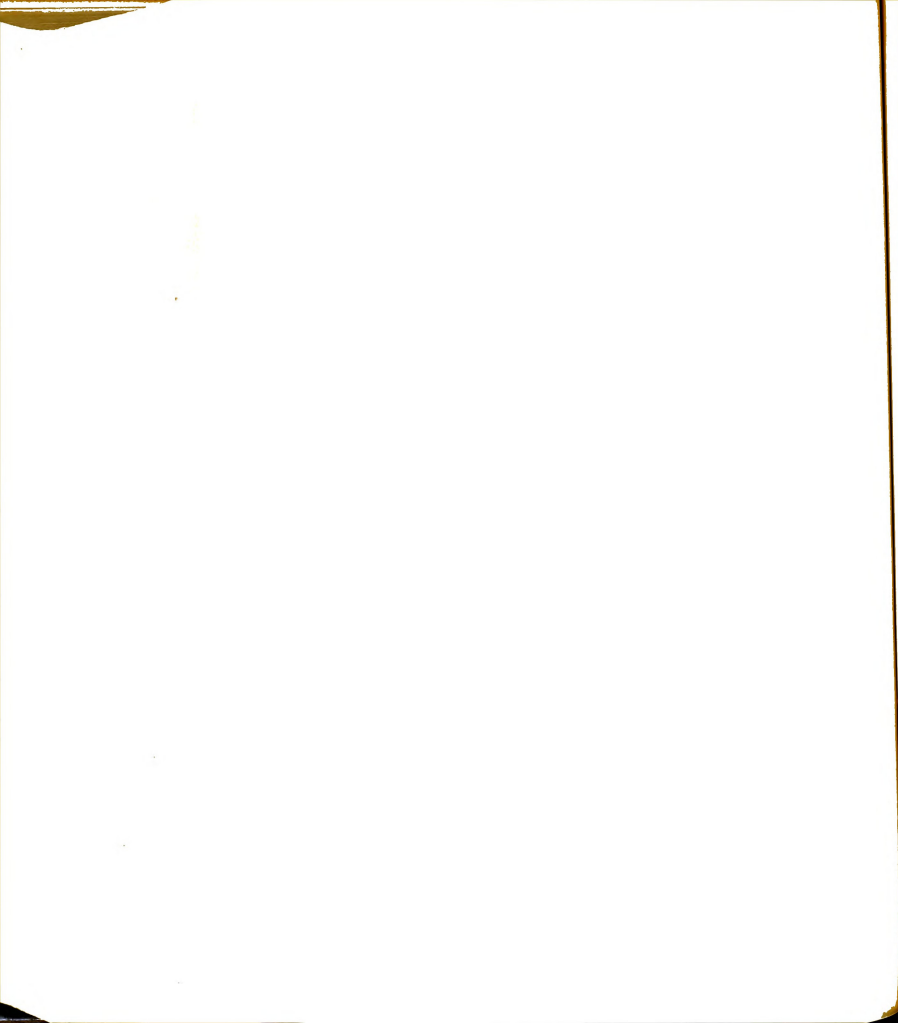
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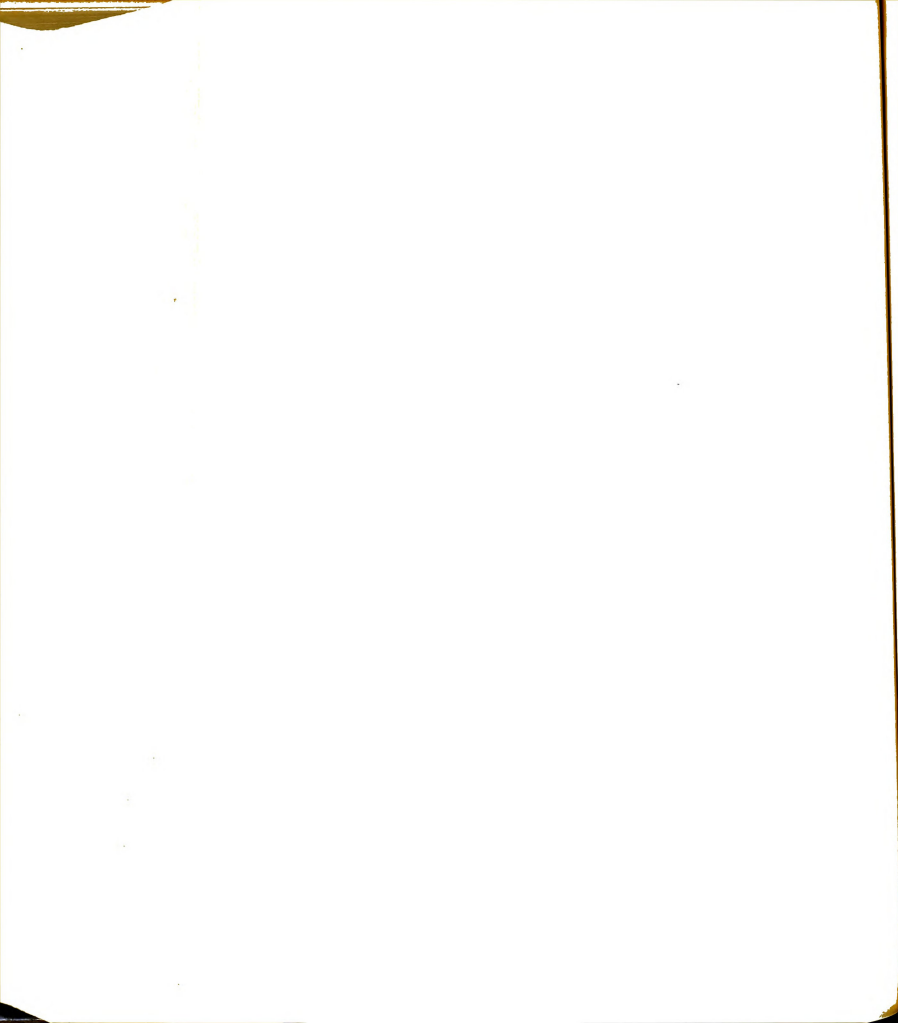
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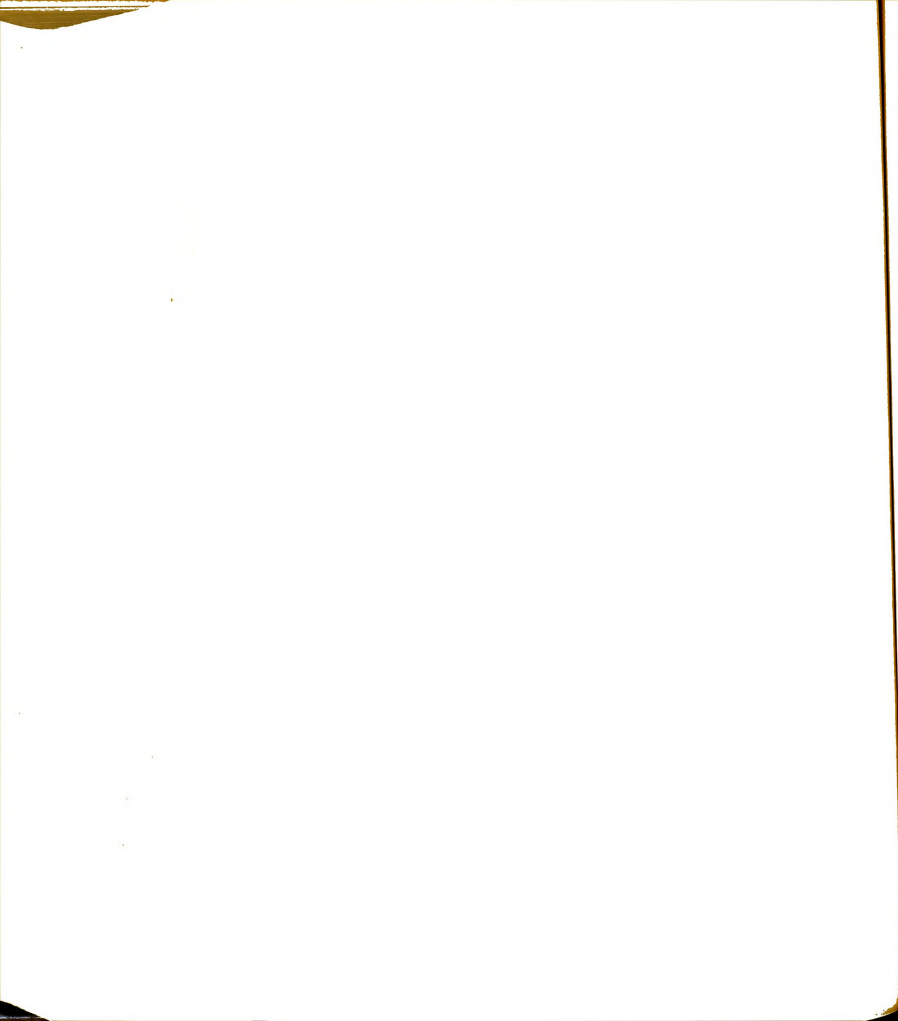
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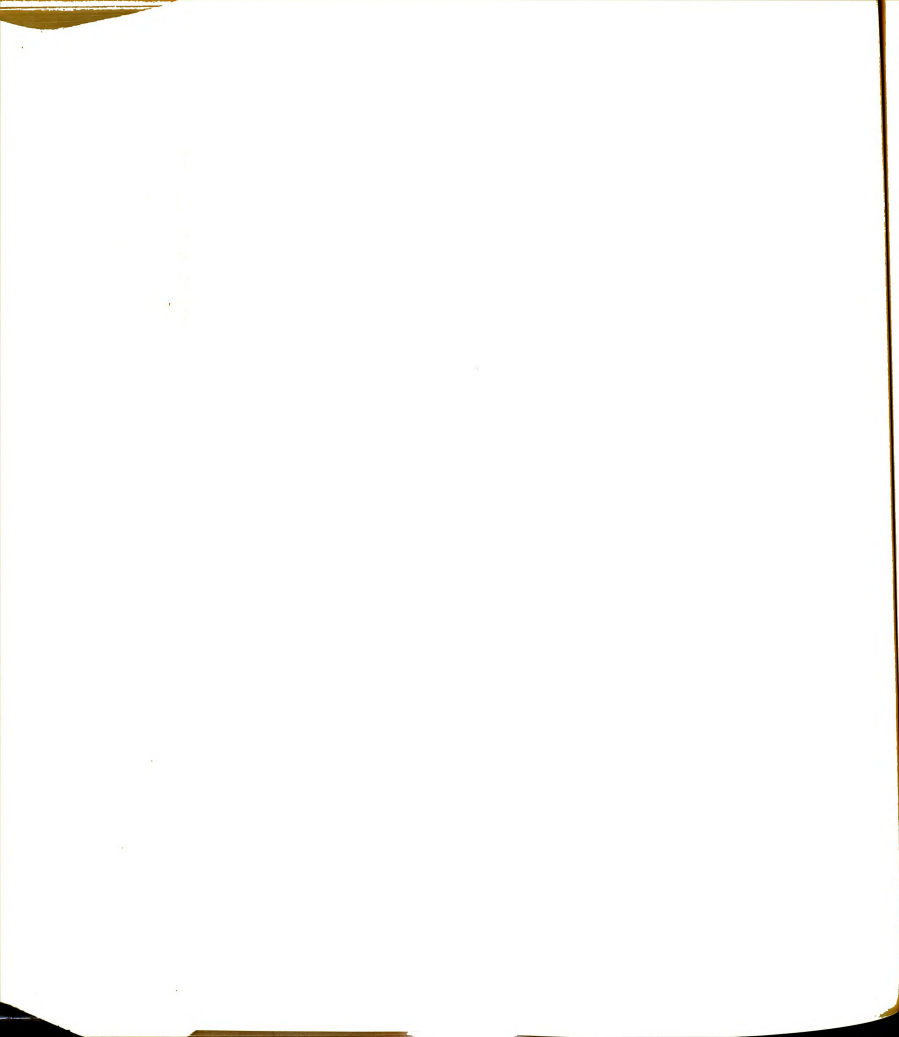
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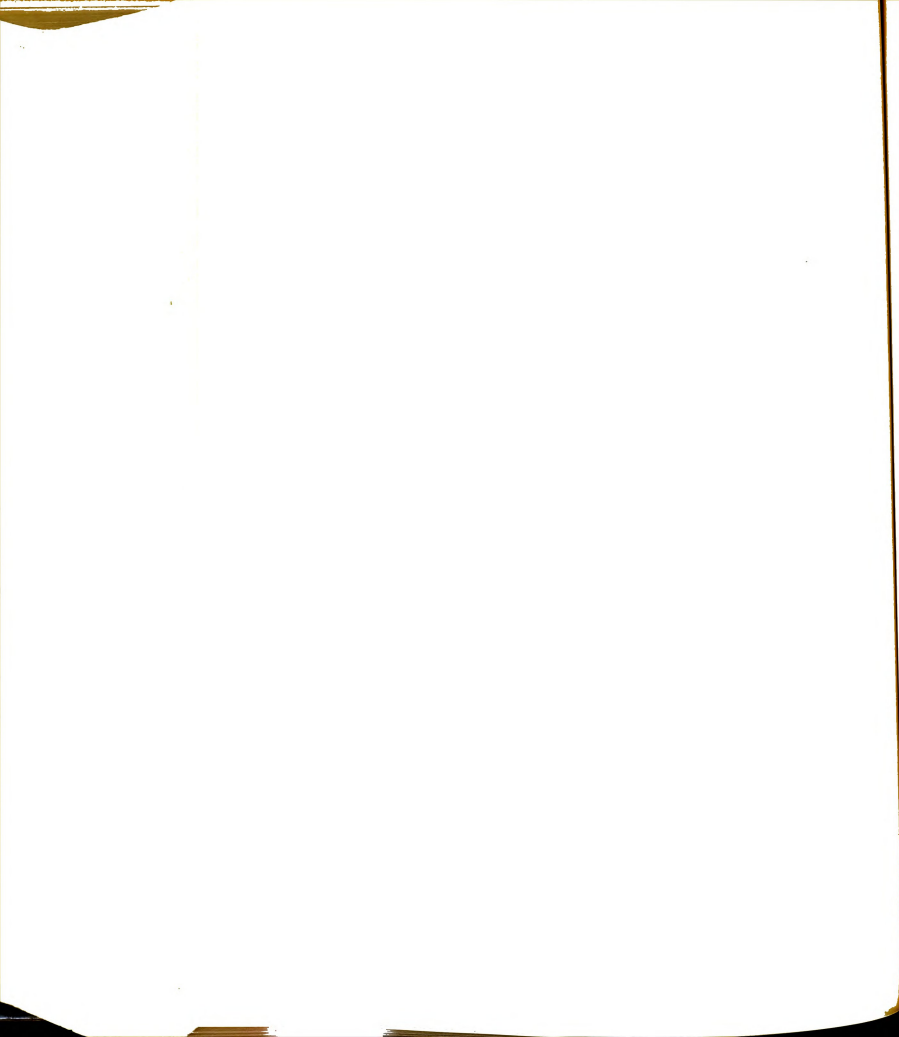
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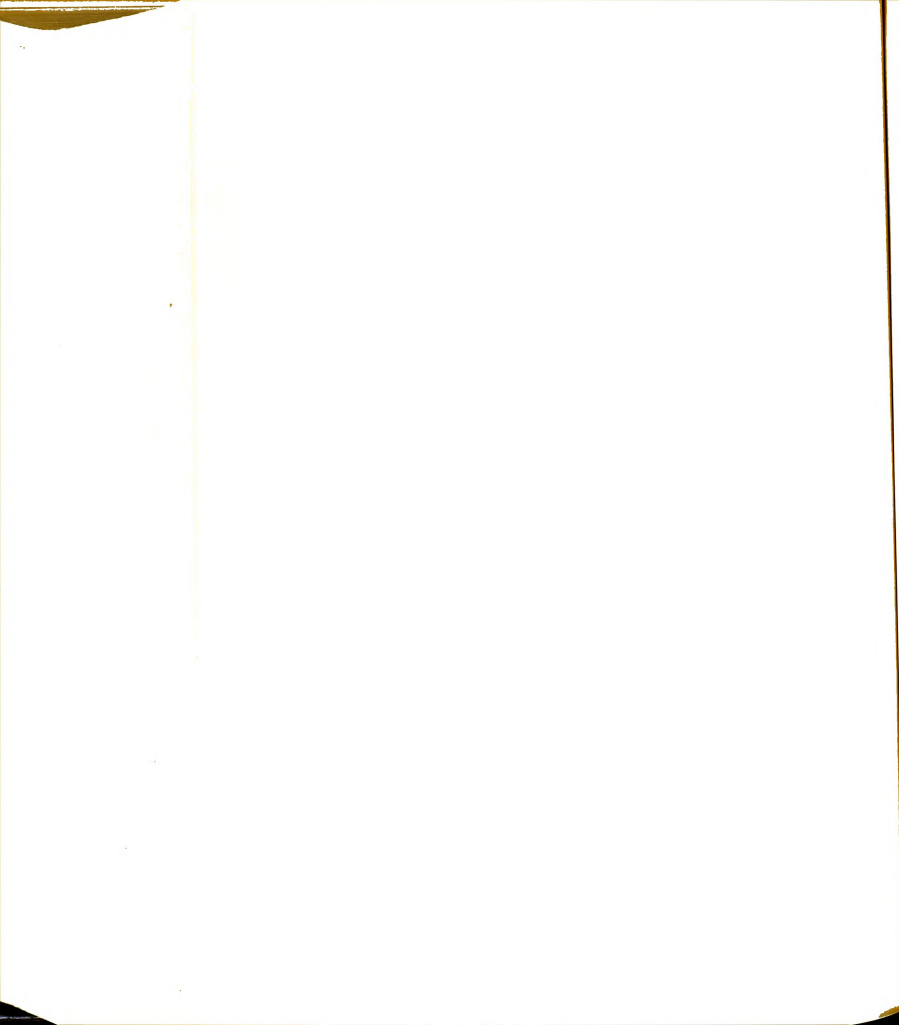
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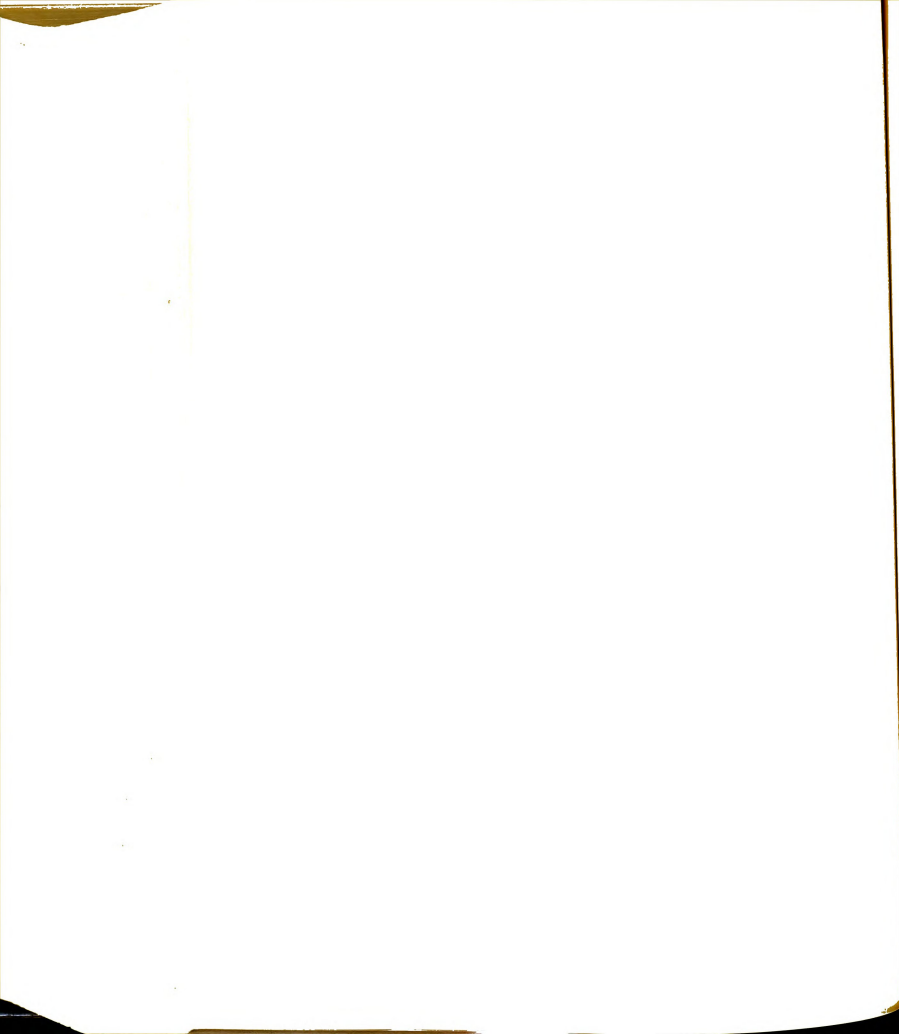
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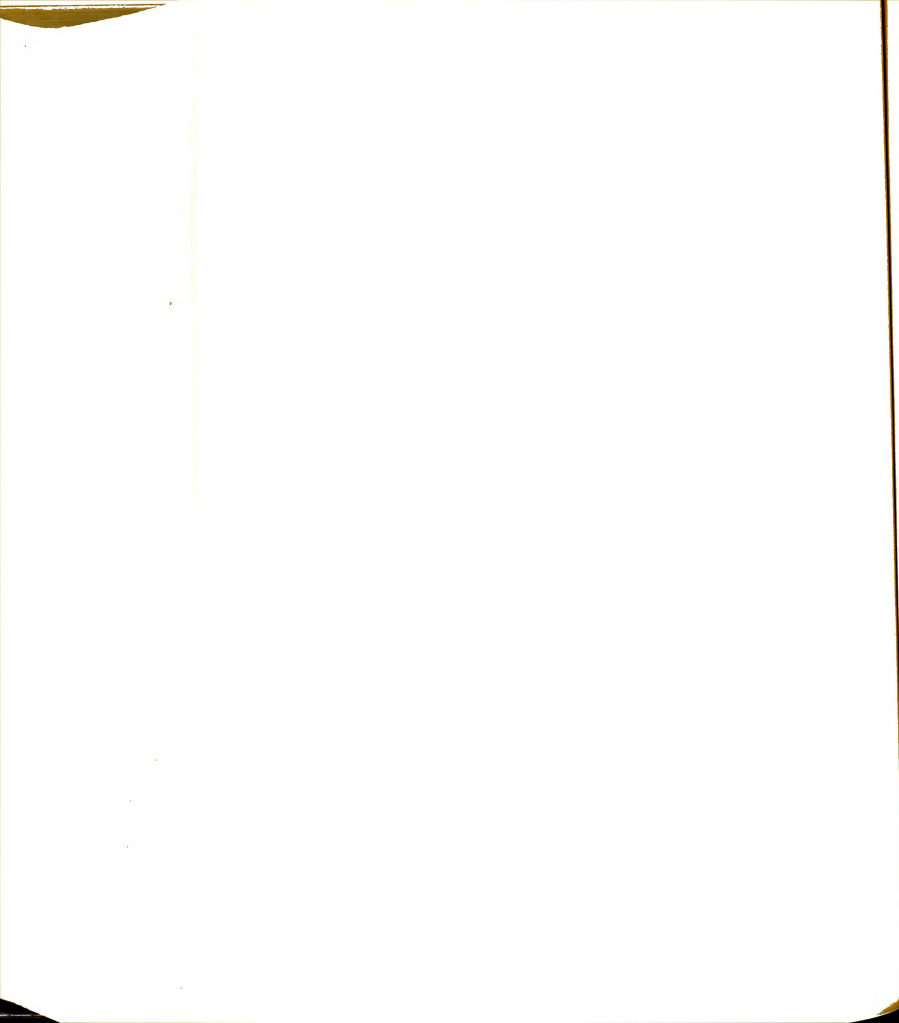
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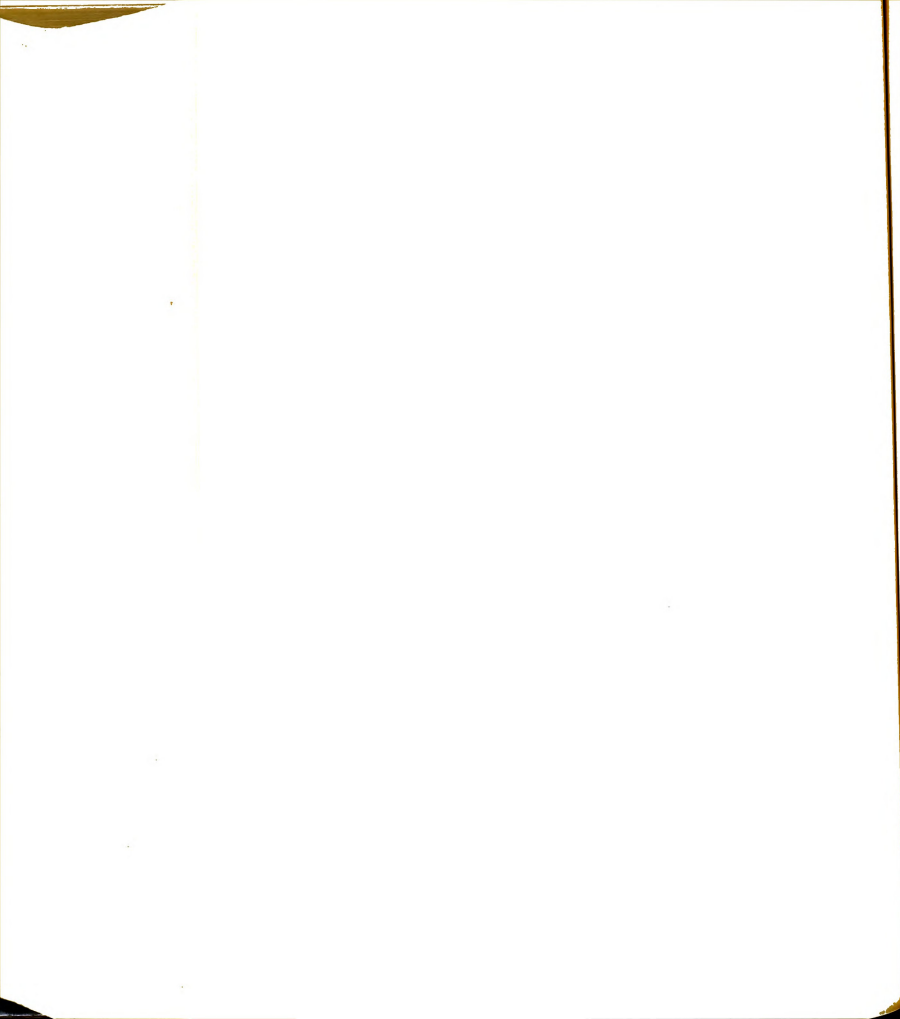
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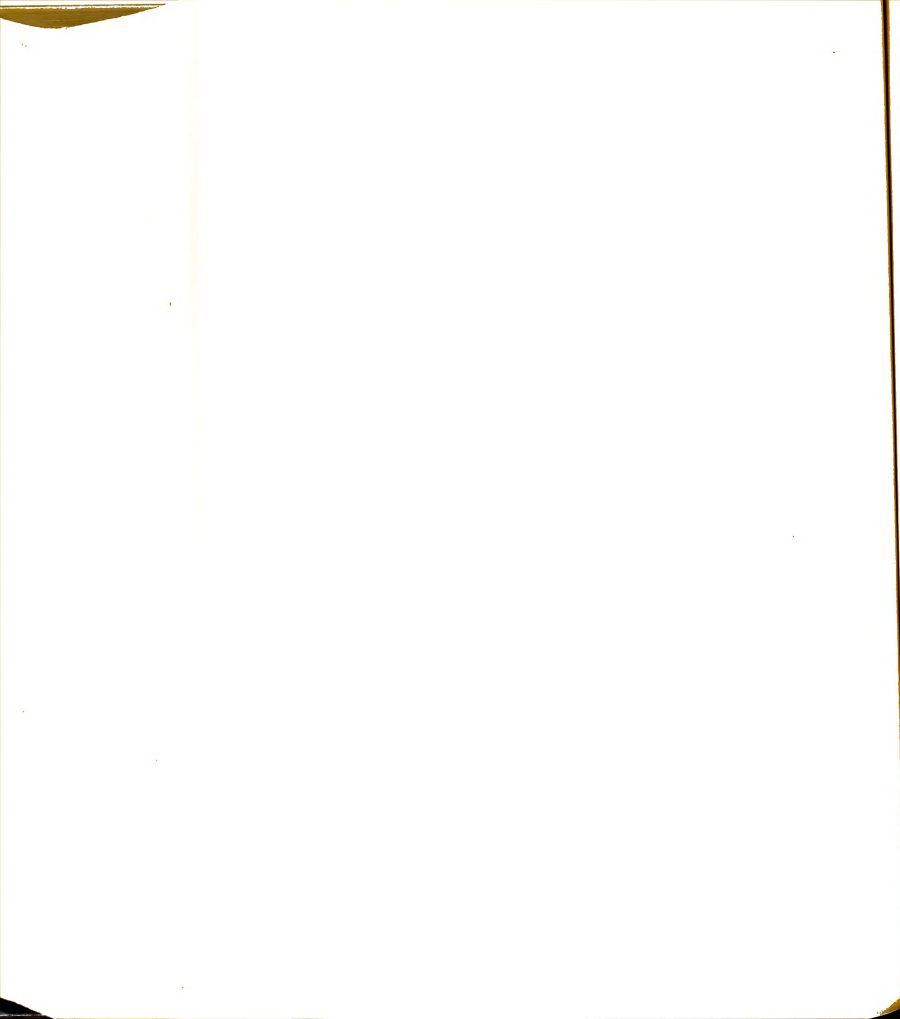
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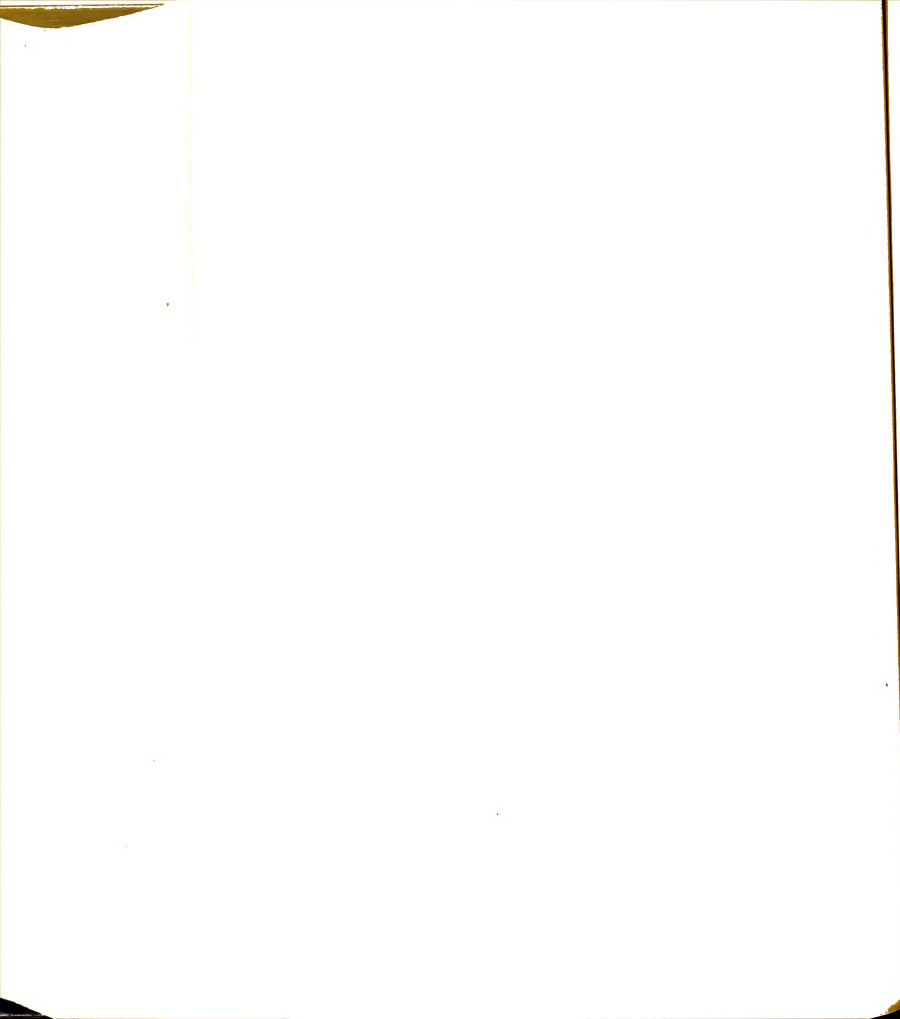
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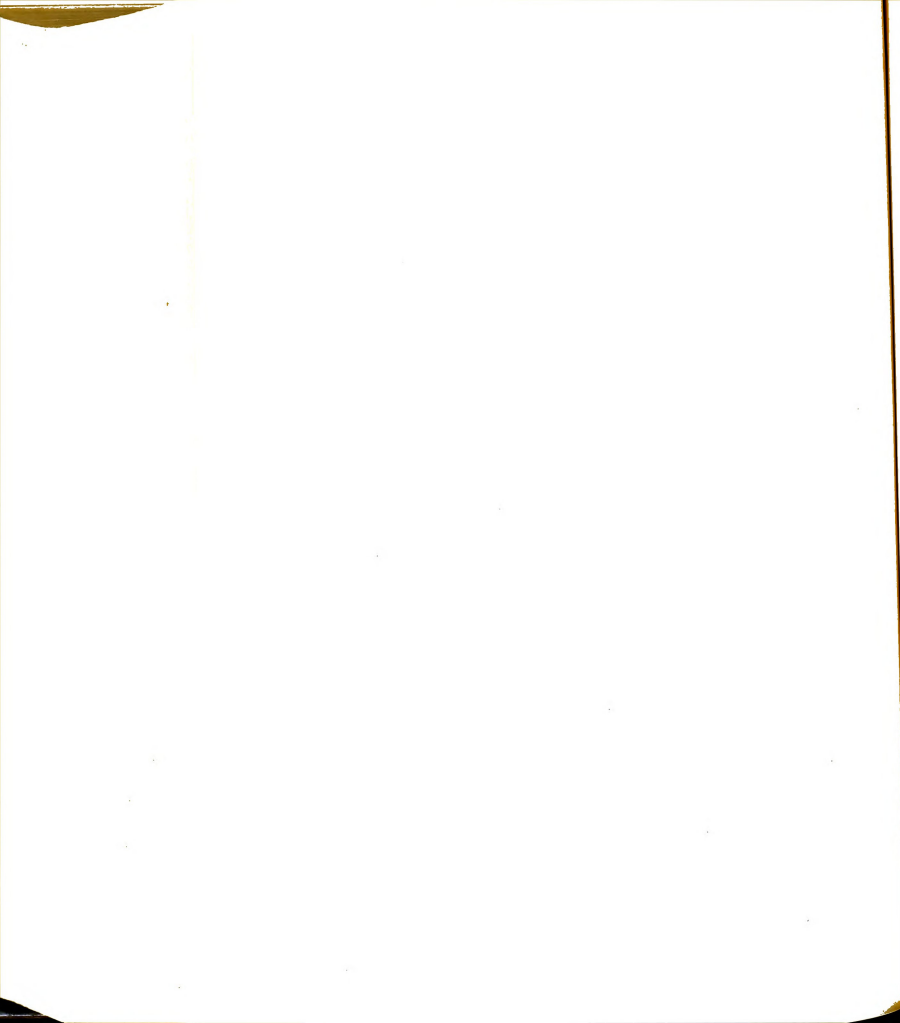
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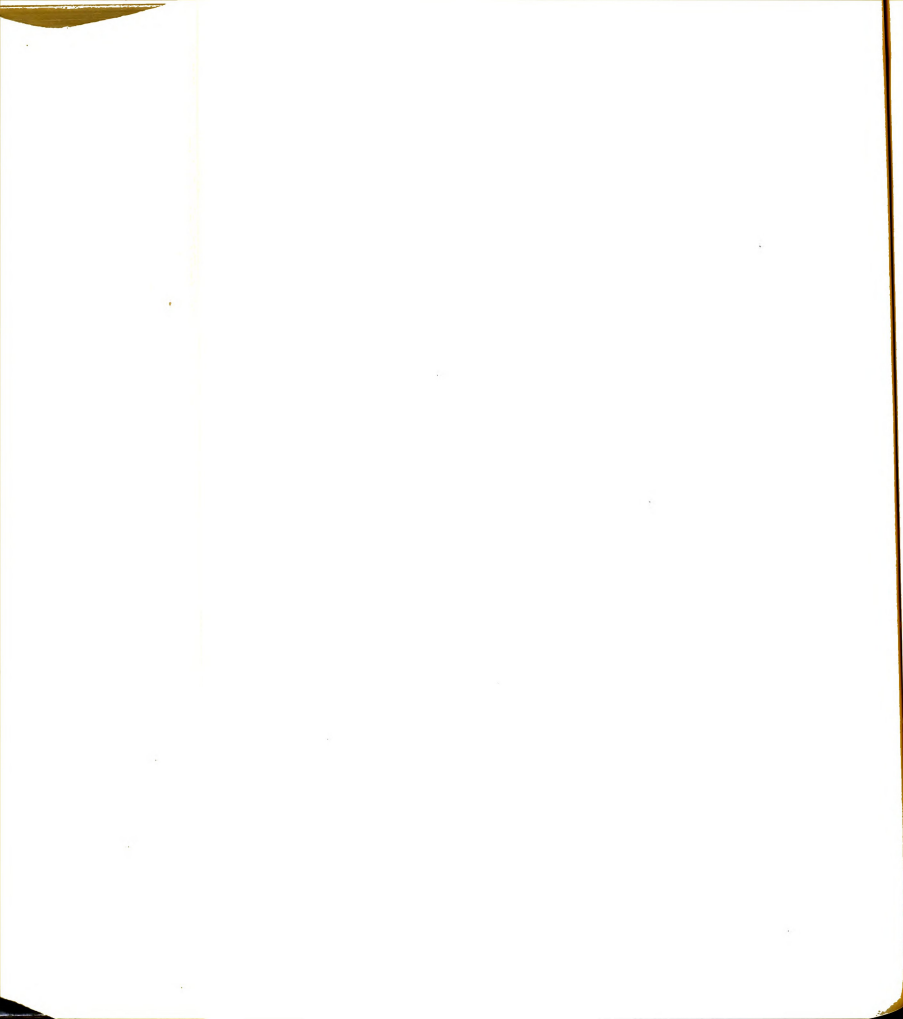
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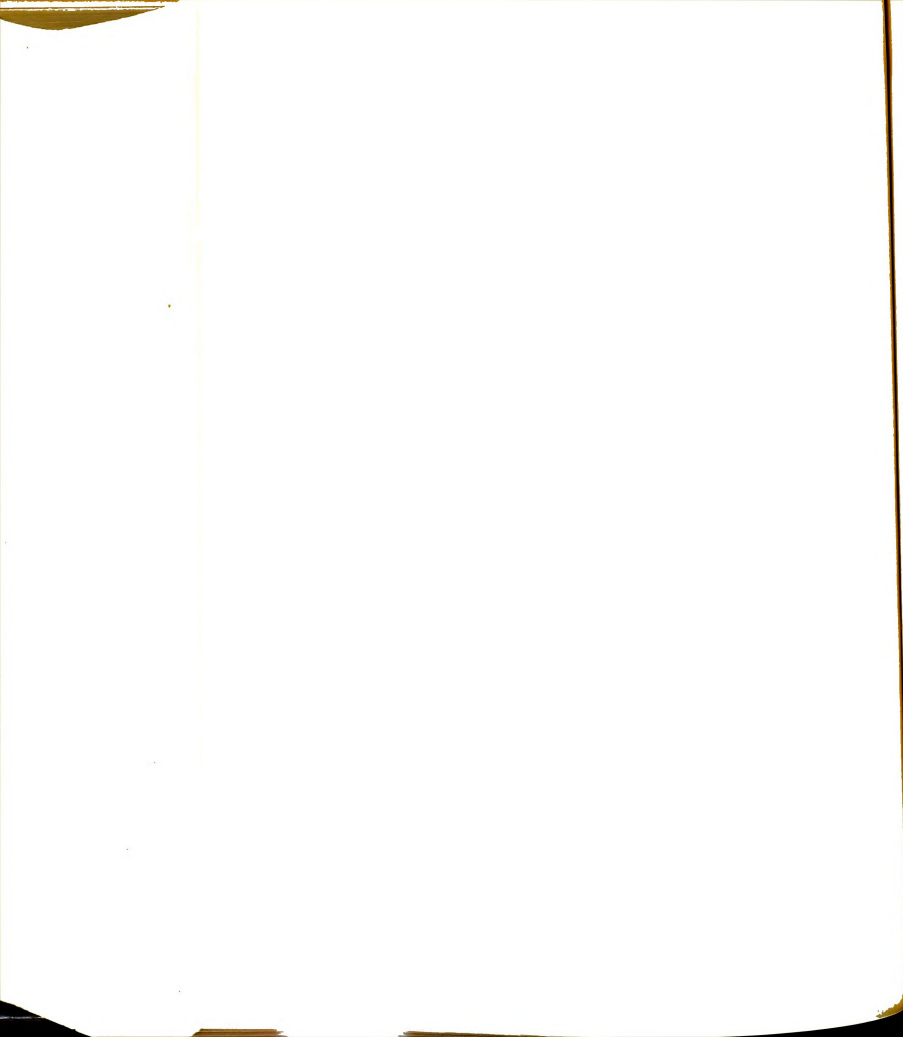
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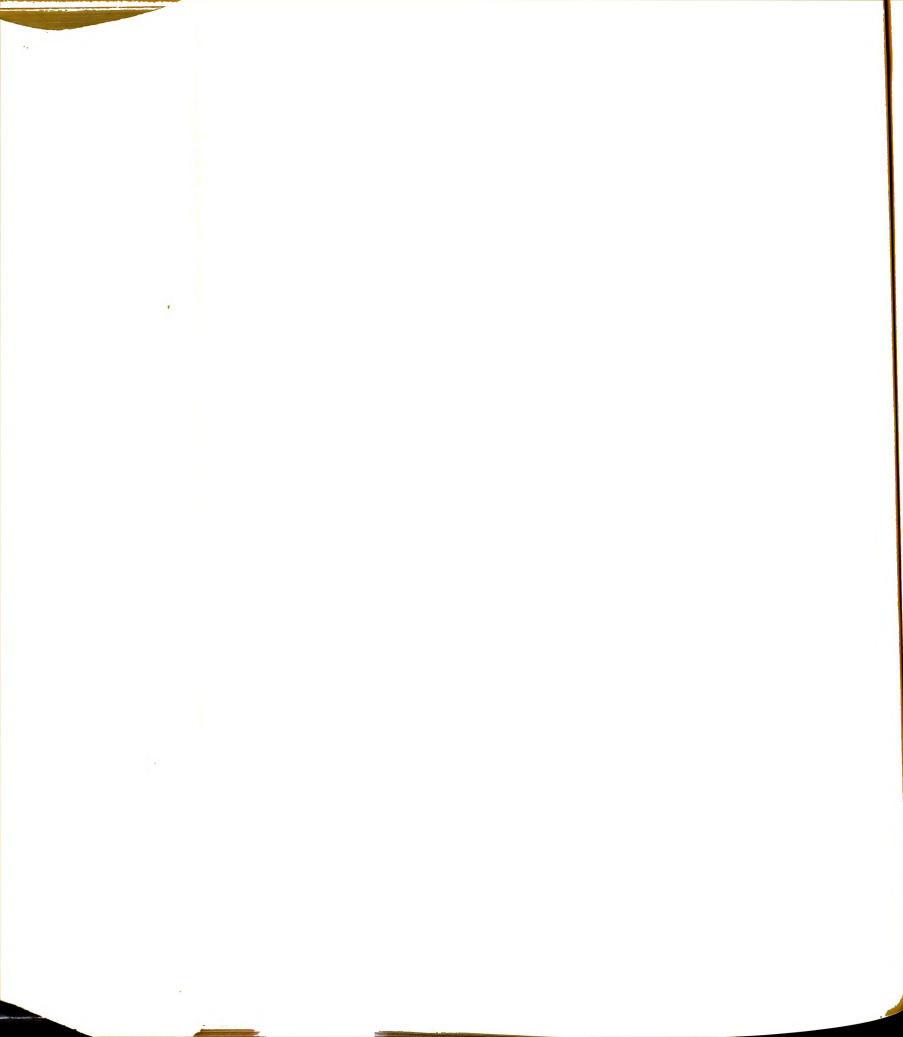
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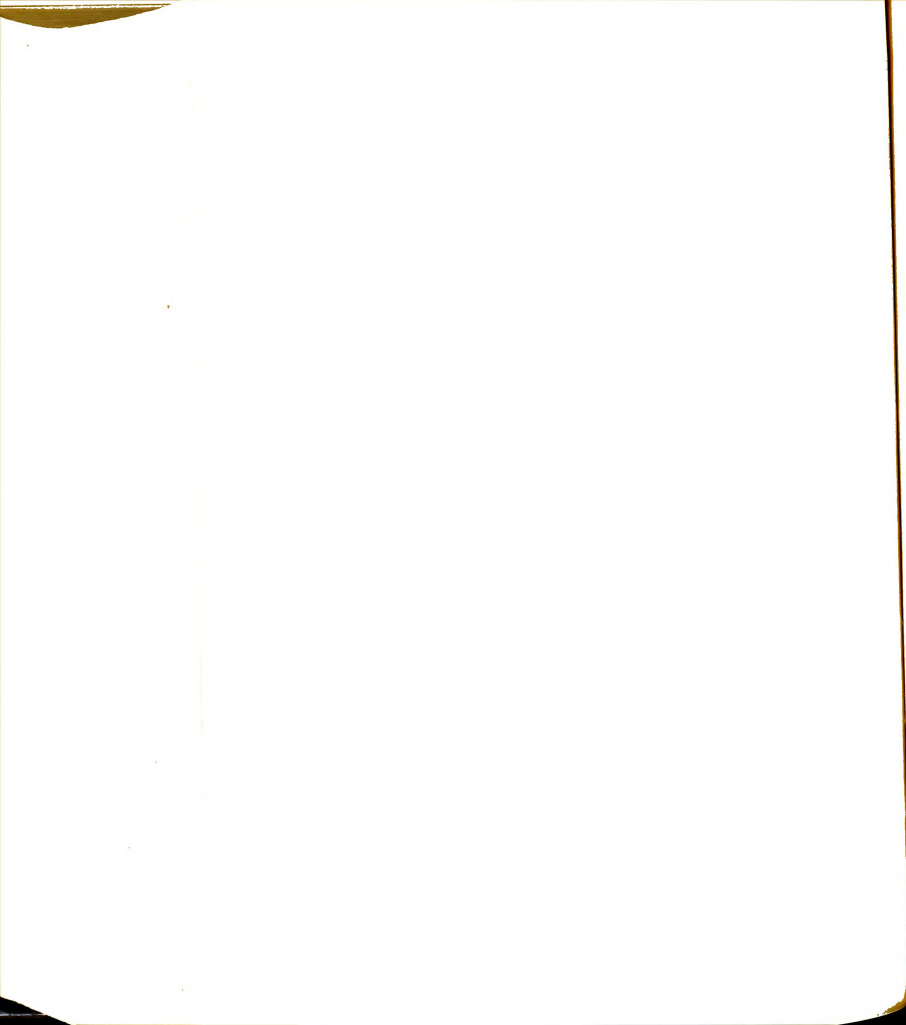
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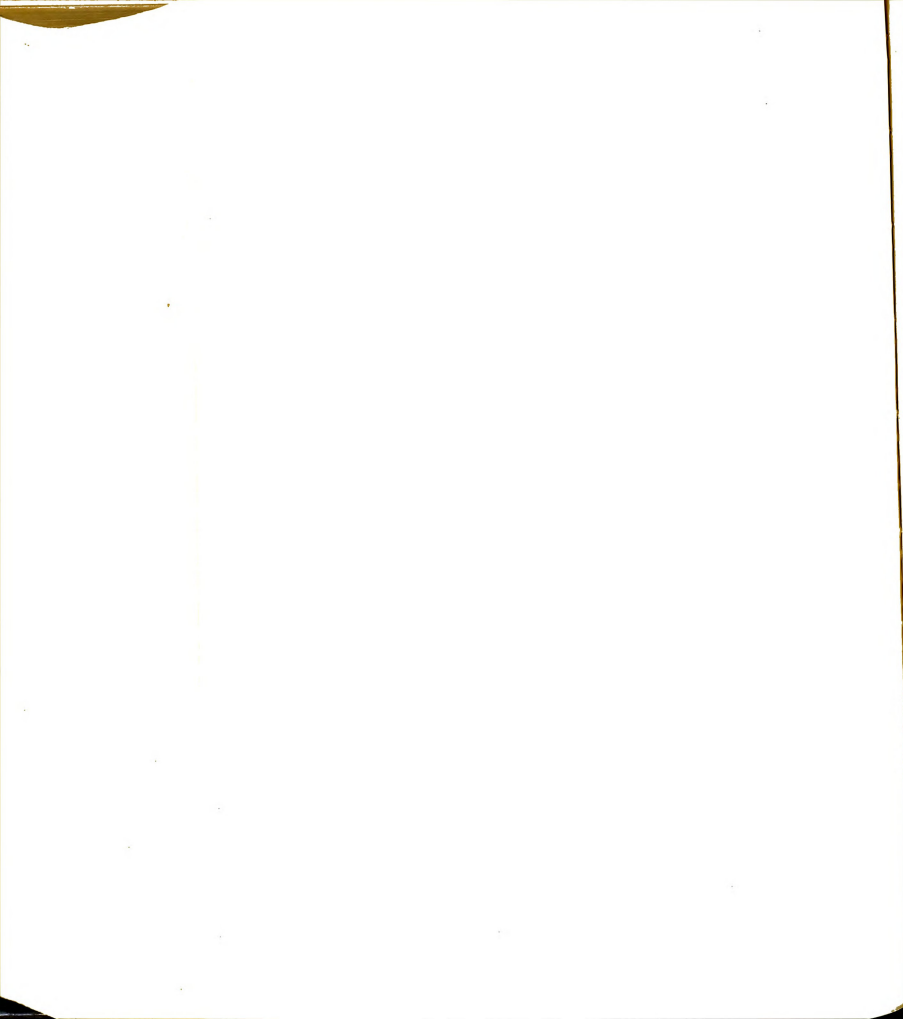
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APPENDIX A

SPECIMEN OF CHANGES FROM DAILY EDITION TO YEARLY EDITION
OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

"Speech Against the Payment of Philippine War Reparations"
May 23, 1963



was the error? We were misled, we were defrauded, we were hoodwinked into passing a bill that never should have been passed.

My argument is that the simple way to correct that mess is to repeal the fool thing and be done with it. Otherwise we will pay \$73 million that we do not owe to the Philippines for no good reason.

The President of the Philippines had scheduled a trip to the United States for no other purpose than to cancel it. Yet we now propose to reward the Philippines with \$73 million. Why should we? Why not repeal the act and tell the Philippine Government that we do not appreciate what was done.

At one time the Philippines were a part of the United States. The Filipinos were treated like citizens of the United States. They ought to understand what corruption means. They ought to prevent the doing of something that is corrupt in their own country.

Mr. President, in due course I shall ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment I offered for the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DOUGLAS) and myself. However, I believe other Senators wish to discuss the amendment, so I yield the floor.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I rise to support the amendment offered by the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. DELAGADO) and myself. The Senator from Louisiana has made a very cogent and a very truthful argument.

If we examine the legislative history of the 1946 act, it will be found that it was expressly stated, over and over again, that its purpose was to aid in the rehabilitation of the Philippines, and not specifically to satisfy claims for war damages. That was later emphasized in a very clear fashion in the views of a minority of the House Committee on Education, headed by Representatives HAYS of Ohio, CURTIS, and BARRY in 1962.

It was also clearly spelled out in the 1946 House committee report. The 1962 House committee minority report quoted from the report of the committee in 1946 which accompanied the bill in the House which became the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946. That report stated:

The bill is not a private claims measure to reimburse individuals or organizations for damage incurred in war. The primary function of the payments is to assist and encourage rehabilitation and rebuilding of the economy and social structure of the nation. Some individual hardships may be caused by insistence on the rehabilitation principle, but your committee felt that no other considerations should be provided in this legislation. * * *

The claims here involved are not war damage claims in the sense in which those words are usually taken, for example where property has been seized for use in war and should be paid for. What is here involved is aid for rehabilitation of a war-torn country.

The sum of \$400 million was appropriated in 1946. Claims up to \$500 which were approved, were paid. And as the 1962 Senate report correctly states, the law provided authority for payment on claims above \$500 of—and I emphasize this—up to a maximum of 75 percent. But no promise was made that the maximum be paid.

Actually, after the \$500 was paid to each authorized claimant, there was left, out of the \$400 million, enough to pay 52½ percent of the amounts of the claims above \$500.

The bill which Congress approved last year was designed to raise the percentage of payment from 52½ percent to the maximum of 75 percent. I emphasize the word "maximum" over and over again, because there was never any explicit or implicit promise that we would pay 75 percent. That was merely the ceiling; it was not the floor.

The Philippine War Damage Commission completed its work and filed its final report on March 31, 1951. What happened then? Just about nothing. The Filipinos were grateful. There were no complaints, except that in the final report the Commission noted simply that some had expressed disappointment because the entire amount of the claims had not been paid.

The Commission had recommended that the 81st Congress approve legislation to permit payments up to the statutory maximum, but Congress did not do so. Therefore, the Commission report notes, other missions, notably the Bell mission, went to the Philippines and offered suggestions for other ways of aid.

While I am about this matter, let me read from an editorial published in the Philippine Sentinel, which is an organ of the national Catholic Church of that country. I read from page 85 of the final report of the Philippine War Damage Commission:

The rehabilitated public and private buildings, roads, bridges, and public works * * *

Incidentally, those were paid for in addition to the \$400 million; I think \$120 million was paid for them—

stand as an eloquent testimony to the all too widely known trait of American generosity. But these monuments to American philanthropy are unique in the sense that this is the first case in recorded history where a sovereign nation has shouldered the losses suffered by its subject. True enough the \$60 million pesos—

The equivalent of \$400 million—cannot be looked at as an outright gift but as a commensurate return for the steadfast loyalty of the Filipino nation throughout the duration of the war. The fact still remains that the United States was in no way obligated to make up for misfortunes occasioned by the indeterminate workings of a fortuitous event. Without taking credit away from the Filipino people's true balance of the War Damage Commission's work must show that it was in the main sustained by driving motivation of American generosity.

The editorial goes on to compliment Commissioners Waring, O'Donnell, and Delgado. Then:

It is true that there have been dissatisfactions in the manner the percentages of different claimants had been awarded. There can only be attributed to the unavoidable misdirections in such a prodigious traffic of money and to considerations of priorities based on the potential value of the beneficiary to the needs of the country.

The editorial concludes:—

And the Filipino people should be properly appreciative of the benefits they have received from the U. S. people.

Mr. President, these claims seem to have largely slept for 10 years. It is true that bills were introduced in 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957, and 1959; but there was no testimony in behalf of them, and they were dormant. But then as the Senator from Louisiana has implied, apparently some of the big claimants felt that there was a chance to get additional money, and possibly they may have been solicited by Messrs. O'Donnell, and Delgado, and by Mr. Schein—who had been the chief examiner; and in 1960, hearings were held on two of the bills by the Far East Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield? The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CURRY in the chair). Does the Senator from Illinois yield to the Senator from Louisiana?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I believe the Record will show that some of the claimants have agreed to retain Mr. Delgado and Mr. O'Donnell on a contingent-fee basis; and if they could get an act through Congress, they would be compensated in very large fashion, although of course if they could not get such an act through Congress, they would not be paid as much.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Yes.

I now wish to compliment the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. FOLKSWORTH) for placing in the Record—although perhaps belatedly—the testimony of Mr. Waring which appears at page 14 of those hearings. I hold in my hand the 1960 testimony of Mr. Waring; and I wish to compliment him for making a completely honest and honorable statement.

Representative Judd of Minnesota, asked:

Did the U. S. personnel on your War Damage Commission have the understanding that it was not only the purpose and intent of the Congress to take care in full of all claims up to \$500, as made clear in the act, but also to pay up to 75 percent of the approved amount of larger claims?

Mr. WARING. I think the wording of the act itself leaves some doubt as to that. The act did say "up to a maximum of 75 percent." But it did say "maximum," and it did provide for the pro rata distribution of the funds authorized.

I think the feeling, certainly my feeling, and I believe that of the other members of the Commission and the staff, was that our Philippine friends hoped—and I emphasize his word "hoped"—for payment up to 75 percent, and perhaps even anticipated it.

And now listen:

I think it fair to say that in our public utterances there was no action on our part that would have enforced such hopes.

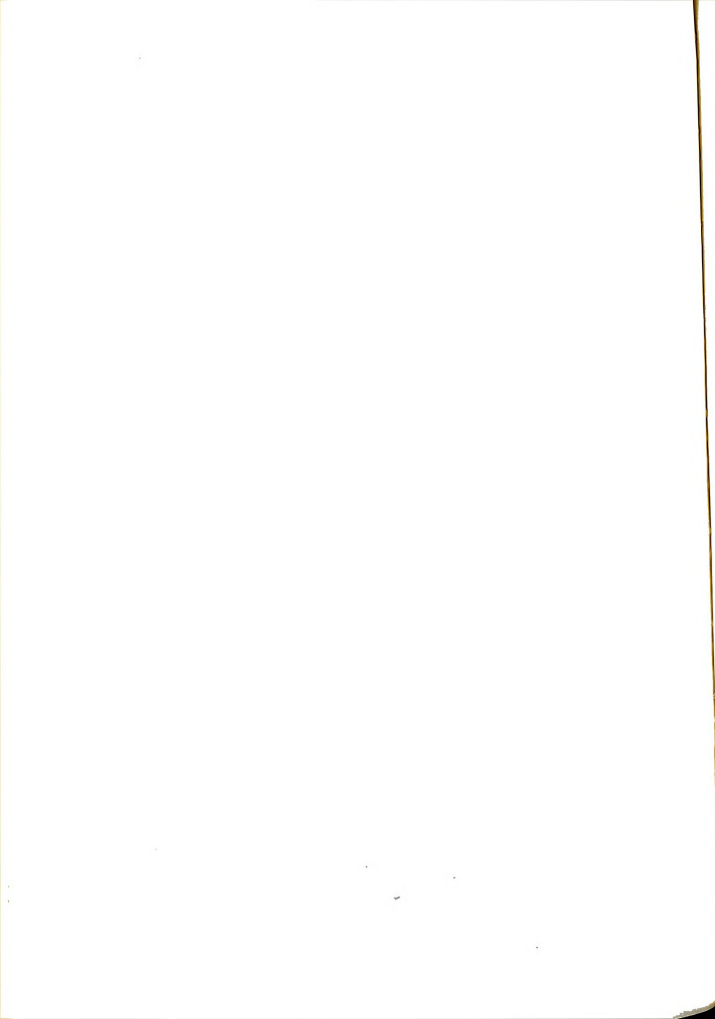
Mr. Judd. There were no commitments?

Mr. WARING. None to my knowledge.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield again to me?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Written notations are changes to be made noted by Douglas and Shuman.



Mr. LONG of Louisiana. The Senator so well knows that on these claims bills it is unusual for someone to be paid 100 cents on the dollar by the Government. More often than not, these claims are settled for only a certain percentage of the amounts claimed.

For example, on the Czech claim resulting from seizure of a steel mill which had been built by the Benes government, \$10 million was gotten for it; but when the fund was distributed to the claimants, they received only about 10 cents on the dollar.

Last year there was a bill for claims of Germany and Japan; and, as the Senator knows, the average claimant will get perhaps 10 cents on the dollar, or less, even though some will be paid up to \$1,000, or something of that sort.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The Senator is correct; it certainly is unusual for claimants to get the maximum authorized. And the fact is the maximum was not expected in these cases and there was no commitment the maximum would be paid. In 1961, further hearings were held by the House committee; and as part of the record of those hearings, the testimony in 1960 of Messrs. O'Donnell, Schein, Calhoun, Gideon, and Anderson was reprinted, but the testimony of Mr. Waring was not reprinted.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Can the Senator from Illinois explain why that happened?

Mr. DOUGLAS. No; I do not know why. I simply say it was not reprinted. In 1962, the House turned down the proposal to pay \$73 million. The House turned it down after very stirring speeches by Representative Hays, of Ohio, and others.

Then the bill went back to the committee; and the committee reported the bill again. And, as the Senator from Louisiana has said, then the President of the Philippines announced that he would not come unless it was paid.

Now I have to say something that I regret to say, but it is true: Our State Department backed down, and then urged that the payment be made; and the great newspapers of the Atlantic seaboard and elsewhere insisted that the payment be made—newspapers which we properly honor. They published editorials denouncing the House for trying to save \$73 million. I hope the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright] will not take it amiss if I say that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yielded to that clamor. Apparently the committee did not go behind the testimony of 1962 or 1961, and did not go back to the 1960 testimony of Mr. Waring, but accepted the assertion that there was a commitment in good faith.

I had been more than skeptical about the bill and had intended to vote against it. But when our Government, the great journals of information and, most of all, our own Committee of Foreign Relations, all argue that we pay the \$73 million, I lost confidence in my own judgment. Had the Foreign Relations Committee publicized the Waring testimony of 1960 I would not have done so. I feel let down. We were failed by

groups on whom we have the right to rely.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It required about 3 months and the subpoena power to find out what we now know.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I understand.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. It was not easy. Mr. DOUGLAS. I understand, and I am not criticizing the committee. It was under pressure. The State Department was pressuring it. The great newspapers and columnists were thundering at the committee, and were thundering at the Members of Congress for not passing the bill. Although the testimony of Mr. Waring was included in the 1960 report of the hearings of the House committee, it was not included in the 1961 reprint. Whether the staff should have gone back to 1960 is something else again; but we shall not put them on trial for not having done so. It was a slip. Perhaps they will do better next time.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, will the Senator from Illinois yield again?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I think it is true that in 1959, as part of an overall agreement, the previous administration agreed to pay this amount—in which other elements were involved. There was a reverse amount, I think, of \$20 million that the Philippines owed us.

Mr. DOUGLAS. The administration tried to offset \$24 million as a claim against the \$73 million.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. But I point out that that agreement was a government-to-government agreement. That is why I say the recommendation of this committee to pay it to the Government is in accord with the Eisenhower administration's agreement.

Mr. DOUGLAS. But they did ask for \$24 million as a counterclaim?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Yes; but I do not want to have all of it blamed on the State Department. It is a commitment, so to speak, to which several things contributed; and one was the agreement made in 1958 or 1959. I believe, by the previous administration.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I would like to point out that in addition to the \$400 million our Government has paid to the people of the Philippines enormous sums of money in foreign economic and military aid, according to a table which I hold in my hand, which is entitled "U.S. Foreign Assistance Obligations, Loans, and Loan Authority up to June 30, 1962," published by AID. It shows a total of \$1,737 million from 1946 to 1962, in economic and military aid from the United States to the Philippines.

In addition, I have checked with the Department of Agriculture and its officials report that the surplus payments which American sugar consumers paid to the producers of Philippine sugar under the quota premium system over and above the world price level from 1948 to 1962 amounted to \$433,900,000. Therefore, the people of the United

States furnished to the Philippines a total of \$2,170,900,000, in approximately 16 years, in economic and military assistance. That is certainly great generosity.

And now some interests in the Philippines appear to want \$73 million more. Mr. President, I appreciate the efforts of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright] to prevent Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Schein, and possibly Mr. Delgado from collecting their 5- or 10-percent fees. But, in my judgment, the committee's provision will be inoperative, because even though the Philippine Government receives the funds, these gentlemen will be able to collect from the private claims which individuals file against the Philippine Government; and the U.S. law will not be operative inside the Republic of the Philippines.

I am afraid the Fulbright amendment is a delusion and a snare. I do not want to be led down the garden lane.

So that while I appreciate the effort of the Senator from Arkansas and wish to commend him for it, the provision is inoperative. The only way to strike at the abuse of lawyers' fees as well as at the abuse of the \$73 million itself is to adopt the substitute amendment, which I have the honor of sponsoring with the Senator from Louisiana. That will really deal with the question.

Now, Mr. President, I think we should also examine who the claimants are who would benefit under the law we seek to repeal. In the main, they are the large claimants. I read from page 3 of the 1962 Senate report, which shows that corporations with claims of over \$100,000 number only 83, but the total amount of their claims is \$21,766,000. There are no individuals in that group.

There are 55 corporations with claims between \$50,000 and \$100,000. The total of those claims is \$3,874,000. I am reading to the nearest thousand dollars. There are 16 private individuals in that group with claims of \$1,933,000.

There are 85 corporations with claims from \$25,000 to \$50,000, the total of which amounts to \$3,012,000, and 48 individuals in that group with claims of \$1,692,000.

There is a total of only 233 corporations with claims of \$25,000 or more. There are 64 individuals with total claims of \$2,724,000, making a total of \$31,375,000.

All other claimants—presumably individuals—were less than \$25,000 bringing the total to \$36,455,000. So in the main it will be the large corporations that will get the money.

In the 1962 report of the House of Representatives, on pages 16 and 17, appears an itemization of some of those corporations. The figures are given in pesos, but, of course, a dollar figure would be just one-half of the peso figure. I shall read the figures to the nearest 1,000.

San Miguel Brewery, Inc., 799,000.
Manila Hotel Co., 500,753.

Philippine Packing Corp., 755,000.

Talissay-Slay Milling Co., Inc., 666,000.

I hesitate to read the dollar figures. I am giving are pesos. To translate

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

May 23

8868

them into dollars, the figures should be divided by 2.

Masbate Consolidated Co., 928,000 pesos.

Philippine Refining Co., 1,298,000, which would be \$649,000.

Philippine Long Distance Telephone Co., 1,765,000 pesos, or \$882,500.

The Atlantic Gulf and Pacific Co., of Manila, \$66,044.

Benguet Consolidated Mining Co., 2,248,289.

Compania Maritima, 652,365.

Luzon Stevedoring Co., Inc., 782,996.

Elizalde and Co., Inc., 873,888.

Yutivo Sons Hardware Co., \$17,425.

Mao Sugar Central Co., Inc., 663,514.

The Hawaiian-Philippine Co., to which reference was made by the Senator from Louisiana, 1,243,128.

Spencer Kellogg & Sons, 600,439, or \$300,000.

Maramba Trading Corp., 343,529.

Manila Electric Co., 1,835,623.

Pampanga Sugar Mills, 660,151.

Irogan Mining Co., 1,041,392.

United Paracale Mining Co., \$16,925.

So approximately 83 companies have presented claims, which will be paid if the Long-Douglas amendment is not passed, totaling 43,531,000 pesos, or \$21,765,000.

Mr. President, that is a rank steal. The bill should never have been passed. It was put over by pressure. A careful examination of the legislative history shows that the United States has no legal or moral commitment to pay the additional \$73 million to claimants under the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946. We have never made such commitments.

Mr. Waring, an honorable man, in his testimony told the truth. The Commission never made any commitments; nor did the Congress. We have already assisted with the Philippines with U.S. funds, taxpayers' funds, to the extent of over \$2 billion.

I wish to pause at this point to remark that there is altogether too great a tendency on the part of our Government to approve unjust claims and unjust payments to foreign governments and foreign nationals in the name of international amity. In the case of sugar, in the last 15 years these overpayments have amounted to billions of dollars. Two years ago, when some of us attempted to cut off those payments, we saw the sugar lobby send its people from Central and South America. They proceeded to carry on the most elaborate lobbying campaign anyone could imagine and with the aid of the State Department defeated my amendment which would have saved our Government over \$250 million.

We have something of the difficulties that we had last year. Trying even to reduce the amount even with the help of the State Department. Some of us believe that the coffee agreement, which was approved by the Senate only a few days ago, will ultimately cost the American consumer hundreds of millions of dollars, because each cent increase on a pound of coffee results in an increase of \$1.33 a bag. We import approximately 21 million bags of coffee a year. Each 1-

cent increase in the price of coffee results in a return to someone other than the consumer of \$30 million.

As our representative said at Punta del Este, the purpose of the agreement was to raise the price of coffee. That is what will happen. The increase will not be merely 1 cent a pound; it will be more than that. The agreement which was approved the other day, and which I opposed, will cost American consumers hundreds of millions of dollars.

Now it is proposed to give \$73 million to the Philippines, chiefly to the large corporations, American and Philippine, and enrich the pockets of those groups and of the attorneys. In the offering is cocoa. We are shoring up South America by the Coffee Act. Soon a treaty will be proposed to shore up Africa with a Cocoa Act. Very appealing arguments can be made.

After that will come jute. It will be pointed out that labor conditions in India and Pakistan are deplorable—and they are—and that therefore we should support the world price of jute.

So we will support the ruling and wealthy groups of South America with coffee of Africa with cocoa, and of Asia with jute. Alas, himself, would faint under such a load as that.

I do not attack the motives of the people who are urging these expenditures. They wish to have us play our part in diminishing poverty all over the world. They would like to encourage the backward nations. Their motives are good. But it is very easy to be reckless with American dollars.

I have supported foreign aid throughout my 15 years in the Senate. I have taken much punishment from Chicago newspapers for doing so. I still believe it is in the main a good program. I intend to continue to support it with some changes and some moderation—but I submit that we cannot let ourselves continue to be taken for a ride time after time after time. We do not win the respect of other countries by doing that. We can not buy their respect. They believe they can take us for a ride. There are always people inside our country ready to promote claims, at a 5- or 10-percent fee for themselves, and to use political influence to do it.

Mr. President, I reproach no one. I am sure all have acted with the best of motives. I merely say there is only one way to cope with this problem, and that is to stop the payments. Fortunately, no payments have as yet been made. We were told that the Senator from Arkansas was able to prevent disbursements from being made. The Senator deserves credit for that. Fortunately, therefore, no payments have been made.

I do not think we should take the attitude, "well, it is done; there is nothing we can do about it; let us make the payment."

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. President, I wish to say to the Senator from Illinois that one argument is, I feel fairly sure the House is not likely to accept it. The Senate should attach the amendment to the bill. Then we might end up with no bill at all.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I yield.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I think the conscience of the House is very uneasy in this matter. I remind the Senator from Arkansas that the House once defeated a proposal to pay anything. It was turned down. The conscience of the House is very uneasy.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I agree that I cannot speak for the House. I was thinking of the likelihood and probabilities.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Each House must act for itself.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. That is one argument.

I agree that there is no commitment to the claimants, but I remind the Senate again that on August 4, 1959, the Department of State issued a press release, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record, which is entitled "U.S. Replies to Philippine 'Omnibus' Claims," section 1 of which says in part:

The U.S. Government will, at the next regular session of the Congress and in connection with the legislative program for fiscal year 1961, request appropriate legislation enabling the settlement of the Philippine claim for payment of additional war damage compensation.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.
Washington, August 4, 1959.

U.S. REPLIES TO PHILIPPINE "OMNIBUS" CLAIMS

The United States today replied to the Philippine Government's "omnibus" claims. The reply was contained in a note handed to Philippine Ambassador Carlos P. Romulo by the Acting Secretary of State. The note also replied to Philippine claims presented separately regarding U.S. coconut oil and sugar processing taxes.

The Acting Secretary presented to Ambassador Romulo a check for \$23,862,751 representing final satisfaction of the Philippine claim arising from the revaluation of the dollar in 1934.

The claims of the Philippine Government to which the note replies were submitted to the U.S. Government during the period January-April 1958. Since then they have been the subject of the most exhaustive and sympathetic study by the agencies concerned, as a result of which the United States has informed the Republic of the Philippines that:

1. The U.S. Government will, at the next regular session of the Congress and in connection with the legislative program for fiscal year 1961, request appropriate legislation enabling the settlement of the Philippine claim for payment of additional war damage compensation in accordance with the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946 (Public Law 870, 79th Cong.). The amount of \$73 million, according to the records of the War Damage Commission, reflects the statutory maximum of such unpaid private claims authorized by the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946.

2. The United States has prepared to discuss in detail with the Philippine Government possible adjustments of the amount owed by the Philippines under the Romulo-Snyder Agreement of November 6, 1950.

3. In view of the fragmentary and general nature of evidence submitted in support of the Philippine claim for reimbursement of expenses incurred in connection with the Recovered Persons Division, the United States is willing to consider any further evidence in support of the claim that the

Spencer

although in this case

Philippine Government might wish to make available.

4. With respect to the remaining 13 claims formally presented by the Philippine Economic Mission of 1963 and the 3 presented separately requesting refunds of the payments of U.S. coconut oil and sugar processing taxes, the United States considers these claims are invalid. The U.S. Government has examined exhaustively all of the arguments and evidence submitted in support of each of these claims. When it concluded that it was under no legal obligation, the U.S. Government further considered the claims in an effort to determine whether there might exist any basis for their approval as a matter of equity. The most careful and sympathetic study led the United States to the conclusion that none of the rejected claims warranted approval on this basis. They have thus been finally rejected.

The United States has noted that most of the claims submitted dealt with payments to the Philippine veterans who served in the U.S. Armed Forces or as guerrillas during World War II. From the end of that war through 1958 payments to Philippine veterans and dependents as well as survivors by the U.S. Veterans' Administration totaled about \$700 million. These payments are continuing. They are made to approximately 130,000 individuals in the Philippines each month, and currently amount to about \$80 million annually. In addition, payments made by the United States for arrears in pay, redemption of guerrilla currency, and other matters, have totaled approximately \$250 million.

A list of the claims is attached.

LIST OF OMBUDS CLAIMS

1. Import duties and other customs charges.
2. Claim under Executive Order No. 22.
3. Deductions from arrears in pay of the equivalent of 3 months' advance pay.
4. Payment of arrears in pay to members of the Army of the Philippines who were suspended from duty because of criminal charges preferred against them.
5. Expenses of the Recovered Personnel Division.
6. Deductions for clothing issued upon return to military control.
7. Deductions from arrears in pay on account of guerrilla or emergency notes received during the Japanese occupation.
8. Arrears in pay canceled by the Adjutant General records depository after previous approval by the Recovered Personnel Division.
9. Deductions from arrears in pay of personnel who failed to report to military control on or before August 15, 1945.
10. Arrears in pay under the Missing Persons Act of 1942.
11. Currencies confiscated by Japanese authorities during World War II.
12. Unpaid quarters allowances.
13. Additional war damages.
14. Erroneous deductions of national service life insurance premiums from arrears in pay.
15. Dollar devaluation (gold revaluation claim, 1944).
16. Adjustment of accounts under the Romulo-Snyder loan agreement.
17. The case of the Philippine Army veteran (service determination and other matters).
18. Request for refund of processing tax on Philippine sugar.
19. Request for refund of the 3-cent processing tax on coconut oil.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. If I may finish, then I will yield to the Senator.

In pursuance of that, that administration offered a bill providing for pay-

ment to the Philippine Government. I introduced the bill at the request of the administration.

That is the commitment which I feel has some validity, because it was a part of an omnibus claims settlement.

Last, the amendment of the committee on this bill would not require the Philippine Government to pay the claimants of large sums, to whom the Senator referred, and I hope very much it would not pay them. If some of the smaller claims are still worthy, payment would be all right.

That is all I have to say.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, this is the first time I have heard that a press release issued by the U.S. Government, unratified by Congress, can be presumed to have the effect of a treaty. We are supposed to have a representative government in which the legislature makes the decisions on appropriations. If we have reached the point where any press release issued by the Department of State constitutes a binding obligation upon the people of the United States, we might as well abandon representative Government. This is about the lowest point to which legislative responsibility can fall.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield, so that the yeas and nays may be ordered on the amendment?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Yes, but I do not know that I have finished speaking.

Mr. HUMPHREY. That is all right. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the pending amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I thank the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. President, apparently the argument of the Senator from Arkansas is, "We have done it; there is nothing we can do about it."

I submit that we can do something about it. Not a dollar has been paid. No commitments have been made.

When we do something improper, something lavish, something wrong, we have a right to correct ourselves. Fortunately, we can do that in our private lives. We certainly can do it in our public lives.

To regard \$73 million as not important is wrong, in all charity. It is the type of thinking which has crept into our relationships with foreign countries. We are torn between those who would do nothing for foreign countries and who would adopt a selfish, insular attitude, and those who have such an inferiority complex in dealing with foreign countries that they would give them everything.

There must be some middle way. If there is not a middle way, we are going to lose the road in foreign aid. We will lose it, and there will be a public revolt which will sweep all the good measures into the discard.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Does the Senator not think that it would set a bad precedent for this Nation to pay out \$73 million because somebody had the misguided impression he might get something out of Uncle Sam?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I think it is a terrible proposal.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I must agree.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I think it is terrible. I read all the great eastern newspapers and most of the other leading journals of the country. They raise the level of journalism. They are accurate. They are humane in spirit. But they contributed to this problem by the drumfire which they set up, of constant attacks on the House for turning down the appropriation in the first place, and urging the Senate to take a different point of view. Their research was faulty, too. They did not go back to the Warrenton testimony I hope Mr. Waring will be properly rewarded by the Foreign Service, of which he is a member, for the honesty with which he testified. But I fear there will be groups which will try to discipline him.

I do not know that there is much good to be accomplished by talking loose. I suppose "the establishment" in the Senate is determined to accept the Fulbright amendment and continue the error, but I must protest. I urge the Senate to adopt the substitute amendment and repeal the 1962 act.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to Long of Louisiana-Douglas amendment, numbered 95 to the committee amendment on page 3. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Alaska (Mr. BARTLETT), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BAYNE), the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. BURDICK), the Senator from Virginia (Mr. BYRD), the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. BYRD), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CRUTCH), the Senator from California (Mr. ENGLE), the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. GORE), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. HAYDEN), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KEENE), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. LAusche), the Senator from Missouri (Mr. LONG), the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGWOOD), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. McCLELLAN), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGREGG), the Senator from Michigan (Mr. McNAMARA), the Senator from Montana (Mr. METCALF), the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MONROE), the Senator from Oregon (Mrs. NEUBERG), the Senator from Virginia (Mr. ROBERTSON), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. RUSSELL), the Senator from Florida (Mr. SMITH), the Senator from Missouri (Mr. SYMINGTON), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. TALMADGE), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH) are absent on official business.

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Maryland (Mr. BEALL), the Senators from Kansas (Mr. CARLSON and Mr. PEARSON), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. PONG), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDFWATER), the Senator from New York (Mr. JAVTS) and the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. MICHELS) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOPER) is detained on official business.

8870

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- SENATE

May 23

If present and voting, the Senator from Maryland (Mr. BEALL), the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOPER), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. FONG), and the Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDWATER) would each vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 22, nays 45, as follows:

(No. 95 Leg.)

YEAS—22

Anderson
Canon
Clark
Cotton
Curran
Douglas
Edmondson
Ellender

Ervin
Gruening
Hart
Jordan, N.C.
Long, La.
McGovern
McIntyre
Morse

Nelson
Proxmire
Ribicoff
Simpson
Thurmond
Young, Ohio

NAYS—45

Aiken
Allott
Bennett
Bible
Boyes
Brewster
Case
Dirksen
Dodge
Eastland
Fulbright
Harris
Hatcher
McKickenroper
Hill

Holland
Hruska
Humphrey
Inouye
Javits
Johnson
Kahn, Idaho
Kefauver
Kuciel
Kuchel
Kutler
McCarthy
Miller
Morse
Morton

Mundt
Muskie
Pastore
Pell
Prosser
Randolph
Saltonstall
Scott
Scheidt
Spartan
Stennis
Tavel
Towers
Williams, N.J.
Williams, Del.
Young, N. Dak.

NOT VOTING—33

Barlett
Gale
Gore
Hart
Hendrick
Byrd, W. Va.
Cannon
Church
Cooper
Eagle
Fong

Goldswater
Mehner
Metcalf
Neuberger
Pearson
Rosen
Russell
Sullivan
Symington
Talmadge
Trotter
McNamara

So the Long-Douglas amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment to the committee amendment was rejected.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, I call up the amendment numbered 96 which I introduced for myself and the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DOUGLAS).

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 5, in the committee amendment, in lieu of the matter beginning on line 3 and ending on line 10, page 6, it is proposed to insert the following:

Sec. 3. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the payment of the balance of awards for war damage compensation made by the Philippine War Damage Commission under the terms of the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of April 30, 1946, and to authorize the appropriation of \$75,000,000 for that purpose," approved August 30, 1962 (Public Law 87-618), or any other provision of law, no payment shall be made to any claimant under such Act unless otherwise hereafter provided by the Congress.

(b) The Foreign Claims Settlement Commission shall transmit to the Congress at the earliest practicable date a report concerning each application approved by it under such Act, which shall include a statement of the pertinent facts upon which the claim of the applicant is based, the amount

heretofore paid to the applicant under the provisions of title I of the Philippine Rehabilitation Act, or any other provision of law by reason of such claim, and the amount paid or agreed to be paid by the claimant to any person for services as attorney or agent in connection with such claim.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I have discussed the amendment with the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. LONG). He is very considerate of the situation which prevails tonight, in that many of our colleagues in the Senate are scheduled to attend a dinner which is of some importance to me. I wonder if the Senator from Louisiana would be willing to accept a limitation on time with respect to this amendment.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I would suggest 15 minutes to a side.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I ask unanimous consent that the time on the amendment be limited to 15 minutes to each side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. (Mr. BRAWLEY in the chair). Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, we shall be asked next week to raise the national debt limit to \$309 billion. One reason we shall be asked to do so is that Congress has insisted time and again on voting money for things for which there is really no need to spend money at all. The Senator from Illinois (Mr. DOUGLAS) and I have just completed spelling out the fact, in connection with the amendment which the Senate has rejected, that with regard to the \$73 million.

There is no need whatever and no obligation to pay this money on any of these claims. The whole thing was put over by improper representations that were made to Congress.

If we cannot save the whole \$73 million, we should save some part of it. This is how I suggest doing that:

We should leave the act as it is, and let the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission report to us what the claims are, what the nature of the claims is, how much the claimants paid for representation; in other words, to bring all the facts to us, so that we can take a look at them, and in that way act on them as we should. We should act on them in the same way in which we act on private relief claims of our own claimants in this country.

The amendment would require that the claims be carefully examined. Not one cent would be paid out until Congress has acted subsequently.

Insofar as some people have been led to believe that they will get something, they can still entertain that hope, but Congress will have an opportunity to say how many of the claims shall be paid.

If Senators do not want to save the whole \$73 million, they should vote to save a part of it, by saying that we will honor a claim if it is an honest claim. That is all that the amendment seeks to do.

I ask for the yeas and nays on the amendment.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. I yield back the remainder of my time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time for debate has been yielded back.

The question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. LONG) and the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DOUGLAS) to the committee amendment on page 5. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I announce that the Senator from Alaska (Mr. BARTLETT), the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BAYNE), the Senator from North Dakota (Mr. BURROCK), the Senator from Virginia (Mr. BYRD), the Senator from West Virginia (Mr. BYRD), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. CHURCH), the Senator from California (Mr. EAGLE), the Senator from Tennessee (Mr. GORE), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. HAYDEN), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KNOWLES), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. LAusche), the Senator from Missouri (Mr. LONG), the Senator from Washington (Mr. MAGNUSON), the Senator from Arkansas (Mr. McCLELLAN), the Senator from Wyoming (Mr. McGUIRE), the Senator from Michigan (Mr. McNAMARA), the Senator from Montana (Mr. METCALFE), the Senator from Oregon (Mr. MORSE), the Senator from Oregon (Mrs. NEUBERGER), the Senator from Virginia (Mr. ROBERTSON), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. RUSSELL), the Senator from Florida (Mr. SMITH), the Senator from Missouri (Mr. SYMINGTON), the Senator from Georgia (Mr. TALMADGE), and the Senator from Texas (Mr. YARBOROUGH) are absent on official business.

Mr. KUCHEL. I announce that the Senator from Maryland (Mr. BEALL), the Senators from Kansas (Mr. CARLSON and Mr. PEARSON), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. FONG), the Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDWATER), the Senator from New York (Mr. JAVITS), and the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. MICHEN) are necessarily absent.

The Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOPER) and the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. SALTONSTALL) are detained on official business.

If present and voting, the Senator from Kentucky (Mr. COOPER), the Senator from Hawaii (Mr. FONG), and the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. SALTONSTALL) would each vote "nay."

On this vote, the Senator from Arizona (Mr. GOLDWATER) is paired with the Senator from Maryland (Mr. BEALL). If present and voting, the Senator from Arizona would vote "yea," and the Senator from Maryland would vote "nay."

The result was announced—yeas 25, nays 41, as follows:

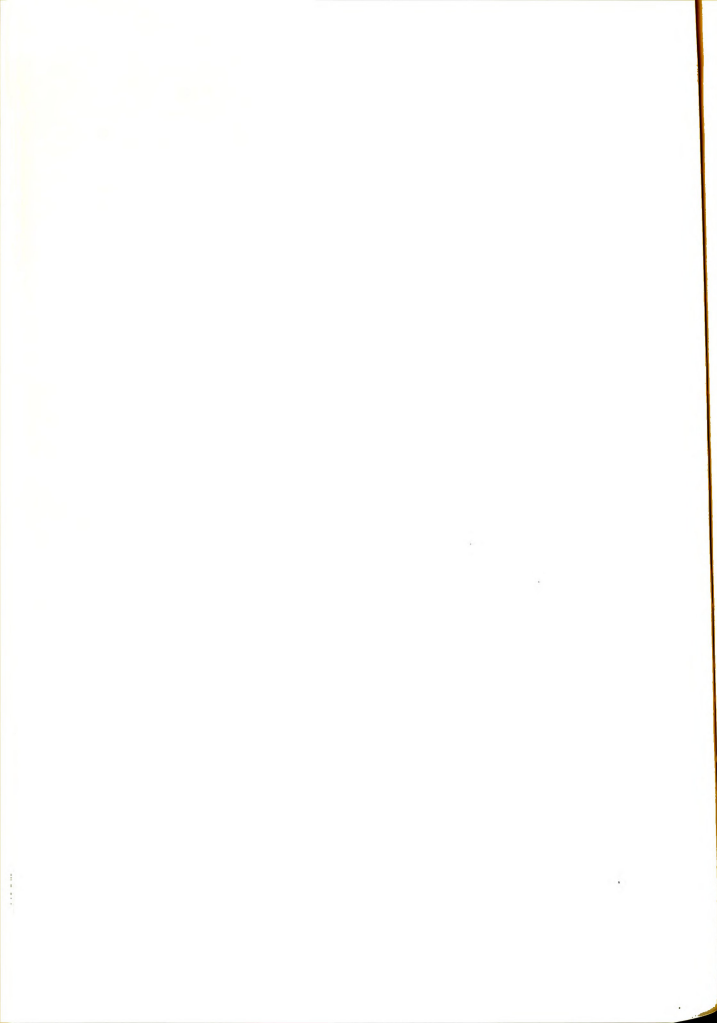
(No. 96 Leg.)

YEAS—25

Anderson
Boyes
Canon
Clark
Cotton
Curran
Douglas
Ellender

Ervin
Gruening
Hart
Jordan, N.C.
Long, La.
McGovern
McIntyre
Morse

Simpson
Stennis
Thurmond
Towers
Williams, Del.
Young, Ohio
Young, N. Dak.



APPENDIX B

SPECIMEN OF A FORM LETTER TO CONSTITUENTS

PAUL H. DOUGLAS, "I.", CHAIRMAN
JOHN SPARKMAN, ALA.
J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
JOSEPH C. O'DONOHUE, WYO.
RALPH E. FLANDERS, VT.
ARTHUR V. WATSON, ILL.
BARRY GOLDWATER, ARIZ.
GROVER W. ENLEY, STAFF DIRECTOR

WRIGHT PATMAN, TEX., VICE CHAIRMAN
RICHARD BOLLING, MD.
WILBUR D. MILES, ARK.
AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY, PA.
JESSE P. WOLCOTT, MICH.
HENRY D. TALLE, IOWA
THOMAS B. CURTIS, MO.
JOHN W. LEHMAN, CLERK

Congress of the United States
JOINT COMMITTEE ON THE ECONOMIC REPORT
(CREATED PURSUANT TO SEC. 1 (A) OF PUBLIC LAW 84, 75TH CONGRESS)

April 11, 1955

Dear Friend:

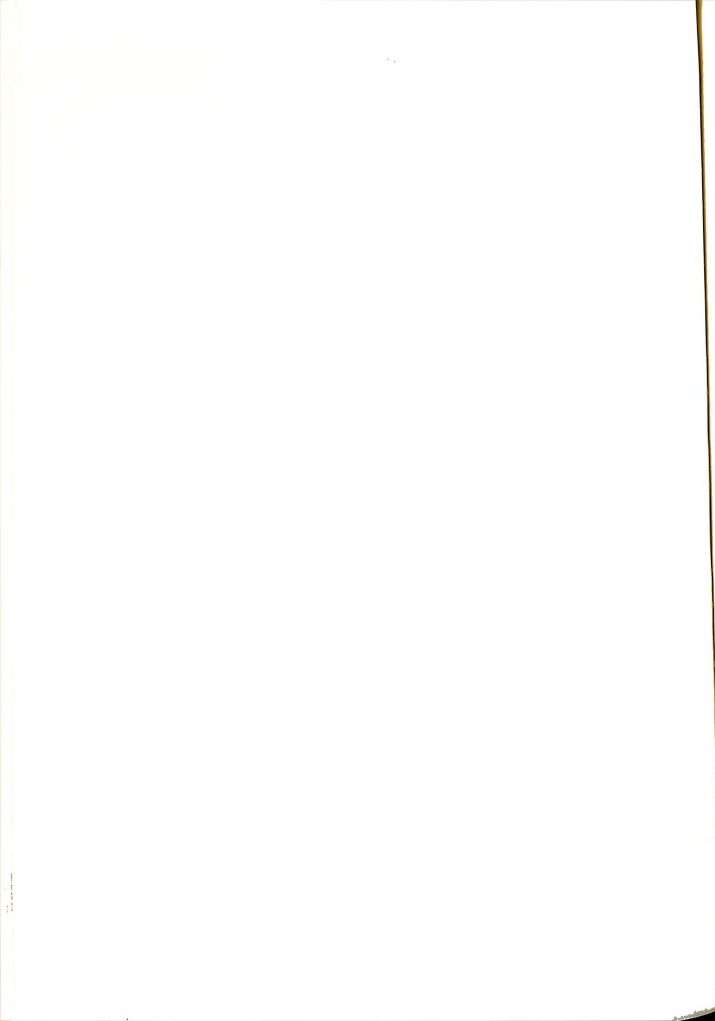
I have received many letters asking me to vote against the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act (H.R. 1) because, it is said, the law would endanger the jobs of American workmen by allowing rubber soled footwear to enter this country "duty free."

I have checked into this matter very thoroughly and I can say that:

1. There is no provision in the Reciprocal Trade Act which would allow foreign rubber soled footwear to come in "duty free."
2. That the industry now has one of the highest tariff rates of any American industry and receives special protection under the present rates.
3. That the new law would give more protection, even, than the present law by lessening the President's authority to reduce rates.
4. That almost no foreign rubber soled footwear enters the United States—17 pairs for each ten thousand pairs produced in the United States.
5. That the "escape clause" and "peril point" provisions in the present act and the proposed extension give protection to any industry which is actually harmed by our trade agreements.

I believe that the "protectionists" have deliberately attempted to arouse the fears of workers in this industry. Believe me, as one who has worked all my life to help America's working people I find that the protectionists are largely from industries which already pay low wages, who oppose every important law which would help the American worker but who, strangely, claim to have the interest of our working people at heart on this issue.

I am enclosing a fact sheet which I have brought together from information from the Tariff Commission, the Department of Commerce, and the Senate Finance Committee. I hope it will help answer your questions and put to rest the false fears which the protectionists have aroused.



- 2 -

As you know a tariff is really a tax which the American consumer pays on the product he buys. In addition, many people in Illinois, such as wheat and soybean farmers sell from 25 to 40 percent of their product abroad. Our machine tool and agricultural implement industries also depend on foreign trade for their survival. Therefore, trade is important to American workers.

It is also important to our friends and allies in the free world. We have the choice of trading with them, so they can pay their own way, or aiding them as we have done since World War II, in amounts exceeding \$32 billion. If we fail to trade with them we run the risk of driving them into trade with the Reds.

Because the benefits from trade are shared generally—by American consumers, by American producers, and by our friends and allies in the free world—I believe that any hardships from trade agreements should be shared equally, too, and not by any single group or industry.

I can say to you, categorically, that I will vote for provisions in the law which do share such burdens fairly. However, I believe that proposed extension would not injure the rubber soled footwear industry.

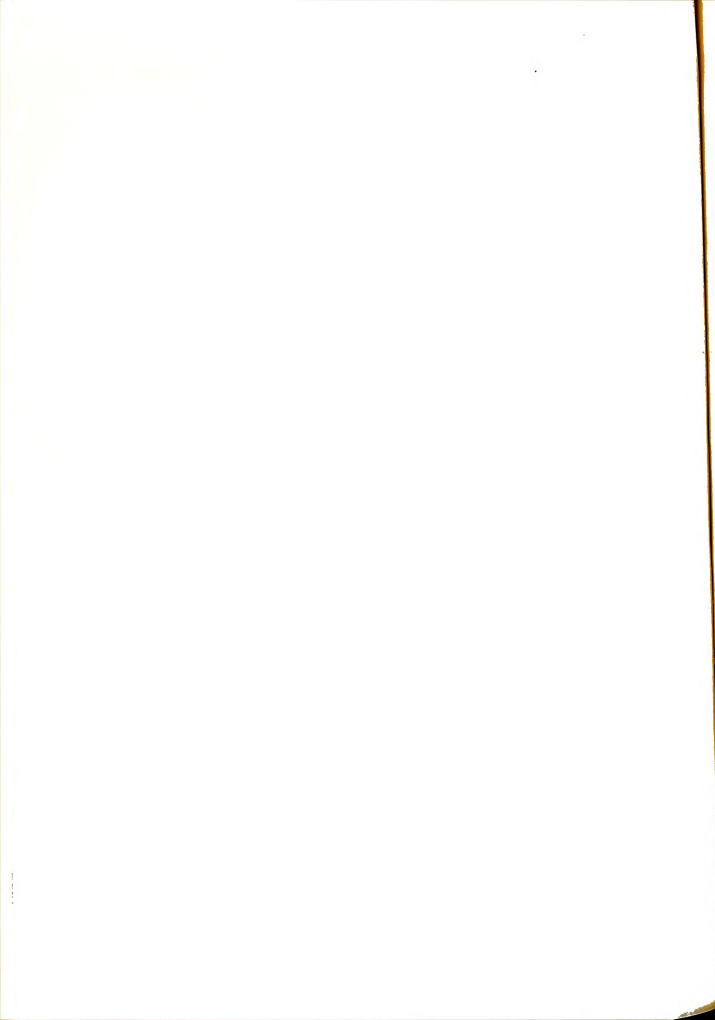
I wanted you to have the facts on this question and I want to assure you that I will continue my efforts to keep the working people of America fully employed.

With best wishes,

Faithfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Paul H. Douglas". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Paul H. Douglas



APPENDIX C

SPECIMEN OF SENATE ADDRESS AGAINST THE 1950
KERR GAS BILL

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Specimen of Senate Address Against the 1950 Kerr Gas Bill¹

Mr. President, I now want to take up three rather closely related points, first the degree of concentration of ownership and control in the sales of gas; second, the concentration and control in the gas reserves; and third, the question of the profits made by these companies to see whether or not they are suffering. In this respect I shall depart slightly from the advance copies of my speech.

DEGREE OF CONCENTRATION OF OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL IN NATURAL GAS PRODUCTION

To determine the extent to which we can depend on competition to regulate prices we should note the degree of concentration of ownership and control in the field of natural-gas production. It is true that there are 2,300 producers of natural gas in the country who sell to the interstate pipe lines--1,600 of those are in the Appalachian area. I call particularly to the attention of the Senate the fact that 3 percent of the 2,300, or 69, accounted for 70 percent of all the sales in 1947. But the most important thing to remember is that the seven Southwestern States, Arkansas, Kansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas contain nearly 90 percent of all the gas reserves in the country. The official figure is 88.8 percent, which appears on page 13 of the hearings, in table No. 1. (Table I, pp. 3724-25)

Moreover, the percentage sales by individual companies in this area is even more revealing. It is estimated that by 1952 the Phillips Petroleum Co. will sell approximately 287,000,000,000 cubic feet, or 12½ percent, of all the gas moving out of this area. I may say that these estimates were printed in the hearings and have not been challenged by the proponents of the bill.

The Chicago Corp. will sell 163,000,000,000 cubic feet, or 7 percent of the total.

¹Congressional Record--Senate, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 96, Part 3, March 21, 1950, pp. 3724-3730.

The Stanolind Oil & Gas Co., which is a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana, will sell 135,000,000,000 cubic feet, or 6 percent of the total.

The Republic Natural Gas Co. will sell 90,500,000,000 cubic feet, or 4 percent of the total.

The Shell Oil Co. will sell 81,700,000,000 cubic feet, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the total. It is well known that one of the leading stockholders in the Royal Dutch Shell Co., which controls the Shell Oil Co. is Queen Wilhelmina, of Holland.

The Humble Oil & Refining Co. will sell 79,100,000,000 cubic feet, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ percent.

The Magnolia Petroleum Co. will sell 74,700,000,000 cubic feet, or 3 percent of the total. Both Humble and Magnolia are subsidiaries of Standard Oil companies.

The Sun Oil Co. will sell 73,100,000,000 cubic feet, or 3 percent of the total. It is well known that the Sun Oil Co. is dominated by the Pew family of Chester and Philadelphia.

Hagy, Harrington & Marsh will sell 62,500,000,000 cubic feet, or $2\text{-}3\frac{3}{4}$ percent of the total.

Skelly Oil Co. will sell 47,700,000,000 cubic feet, or 2 percent of the total.

Glassell & Glassell will sell 39,400,000,000 cubic feet, or $1\text{-}3\frac{3}{4}$ percent of the total.

The Gulf Oil Corp. and subsidiary will sell 35,700,000,000 cubic feet, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ percent of the total.

The first 12 companies, which I have read, will sell in all, more than 50 percent of all the gas which will be transported in 2 years out of the southwestern area and sold to pipe lines, and the 23 remaining companies will sell a further 22 percent; so that the first 35 companies will sell 72 percent of the total, or 1,671,000,000,000 cubic feet, leaving to the remaining 565 producers 654,000,000,000 cubic feet, or 28 percent of the total.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have placed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks table No. 1 (Table 1, pp. 3724-25), which shows the degree of concentration in the south-western gas fields.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. [Table I, pp. 3724-25]

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the table is interesting because the majority of the companies shown on it are either the major oil and gas companies or their affiliates, Stanolind, Humble, and Magnolia, which are No. 3, No. 6, and No. 7, respectively in the list, are affiliates of Standard Oil of Indiana, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and Socony-Vacuum, which is, of course, Standard of New York.

Mr. President, by allowing these companies to charge whatever the traffic will bear, which is the exact intent of Senate bill 1498, profits will expand enormously.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am glad to yield for a question.

Mr. MORSE. Does the Senator have in the list the Phillips Petroleum Co.?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Yes. The Phillips Petroleum Co. is the largest seller of natural gas of all. The estimated sales of the Phillips Petroleum Co. for 1952 to interstate pipe lines are 287,000,000,000 cubic feet, or 12½ percent of the total.

Mr. MORSE. Is it true, then, that the Phillips Petroleum Co. would be one of the principal beneficiaries of the freedom from regulation the bill seeks to provide?

Mr. DOUGLAS. That is correct.

Mr. MORSE. Does the Senator from Illinois agree with the Senator from Oregon that it would appear that once again we have before us an issue in which big business seeks once more to get himself into a preferred position so that it can carry out what seems to be one of its dominating principles, namely, more and more for the few and less and less for the many?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I think that would be the effect of the bill. In connection with the question of the distinguished Senator from Oregon, I should like to read from the thirty-second annual report, for 1949, of the Phillips Petroleum Co., on page 10, as follows:

There is pending before Congress legislation designed to make it clear that an independent producer and gatherer of gas, like the company--

Namely--and this is my interjection--like the Phillips Petroleum Co.--

is not subject to the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission.

Mr. President, profits will expand enormously. I am going to introduce some figures into the RECORD shortly showing that profits are already very high, but they will be made even higher. These profits will primarily go into the pockets of the big families and others. I would say that these people are hiding behind the skirts or, should I say, the overalls of the poor but honest, hard-working, small entrepreneur.

COMPETITION CANNOT OPERATE TO REGULATE PRICES

But, the bill's proponents insist, competition among these companies will keep prices and hence profits down. In order to understand the degree to which competition can come into play among the nontransporting producers of natural gas, we must look at the degree of concentration in individual fields, for we must remember, as I have said, that gas is economically transported only through pipe lines. As I have said again and again, it is an expensive undertaking for a pipe-line company to lay a pipe line to an individual field; and if the producers in that field raise their price, the pipe-line company must pay it or must face the alternative of tearing out the pipe line and laying a new one to another field.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am glad to yield.

Mr. MORSE. Is it not true that if these companies are subjected to the type of regulation which the Federal Power Commission would impose, there is nothing in the field of competition which would prevent them from giving many even more reasonable prices?

Mr. DOUGLAS. Not at all.

Mr. MORSE. Therefore, is it not true that there is no restriction on competition, but there is restriction on exploitation?

Mr. DOUGLAS. That is correct.

Mr. President, the nontransporting producers have the pipe line companies over a barrel, and they know it. The situation has changed from that which existed in the thirties. The nature of the sale and distribution of natural gas, therefore, renders it monopolistic, not only because it would be uneconomical to have duplicating lines,

but also because once laid, it is uneconomical to change pipe lines. Thus, if an individual field is controlled by one producer or by a very few producers, and if a pipe line has been laid to that field, the prices they charge are not subject to competition from other fields. Furthermore, if no pipe line has been laid, the transporting companies are limited in their bargaining to the producers in those fields which are close to their supply lines.

Let us look at some of the individual fields to get an indication of the degree of concentration of ownership. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted at this point in the RECORD, table II (pp. 3725-27), showing a partial list of fields which are dominated by a few companies; and I should like to comment upon the table.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. [Table II, pp. 2725-27]

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, in Louisiana, nine fields with a combined reserve of one and one-half trillion cubic feet are 100 percent owned by the Texas Co. No company other than the Texas Co. has ownership in those nine fields. The pipe line companies will have to go to the Texas Co. for natural gas in those fields, if they are to get any natural gas from those fields. In Texas, three fields with reserves of three-fourths of a billion cubic feet are owned by the Shell Co. in percentages of 71, 96, and 100 percent. The study of 80 individual fields with combined reserves of 15,500,000,000,000 cubic feet which I have just inserted shows that they are all owned in amounts varying from 50 to 100 percent by one, two, or three companies.

(At this point Mr. Douglas yielded to Mrs. Smith of Maine, who addressed the Senate on the treatment of disabled veterans and regulars at military hospitals. On request of Mr. Douglas, and, by unanimous consent, the remarks of Mrs. Smith of Maine were ordered to be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of the speech of Mr. Douglas.)

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I discussed previously the concentration in 80 specific fields which have reserves in all of 15,500,000,000,000 feet. I have covered them in the table which is printed in the text, and to which I ask the attention of Senators. I now want to take up the two largest fields in the United States the Texas Panhandle field and the Hugoton field, which together have reserves of 42,000,000,000,000 cubic feet, or nearly one-fourth of the reserves of the entire country. I should like to point out in this connection that 10 companies control three-fifths of these reserves. I ask unanimous consent

to insert a table bearing out this fact at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. [Table III, p. 3727-28]

Mr. DOUGLAS. Let us identify some of the companies. Phillips Petroleum Co. is estimated to have reserves in the Panhandle and Hugoton fields of 905,880 acres; the Republic Natural Gas Co., 220,501 acres; Shamrock Oil & Gas Corp., 221,700 acres; Skelly Oil Co., 171,520 acres; Stanolind Oil & Gas Co., 600,000 acres; Hagy, Harrington & Marsh, 182,838 acres; Magnolia Petroleum Co., 118,480 acres; Peerless Oil & Gas Co., 116,000 acres, and so on. The entire group of nontransporting producers which I list, all of whom are large holders, have 2,887,472 acres of a total listed acreage of 4,310,611, or almost two-thirds of the listed acreage.

As a matter of fact, 33 companies hold 62½ percent of all oil and gas acreage in the entire United States.

This is borne out by a table I placed in the RECORD yesterday. This table is a part of Exhibit II and may be found on page 3630.

Mr. President, the control of individual fields by one, two, or three companies is the greatest factor in making the selling of gas monopolistic in nature because once lines are laid, the bargaining power of the pipe line company is so diminished that it is practically extinct.

If these big businesses were only making small profits, I would not object to a further increase of price. But the truth of the matter is that they are making enormous profits. I ask unanimous consent to insert a table at this point in my remarks showing a list of the 24 large producers, whose interstate sales of natural gas would be exempt from regulation under Senate bill 1498. The table shows the total assets of the companies, the total gross operating revenues in 1948, and the percentage of return on common stock and surplus in 1948, after taxes have been paid.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. [Table IV, p. 3728]

Mr. DOUGLAS. I invite attention to some of the rates of profit which are made: Barnsdall Oil Co., 31.6 percent; the Chicago Corp., one of the large groups, 22.6 percent; Cities Service Co., 25.7 percent; Continental Oil Co., 25.8 percent; Gulf Oil Corp., 20 percent; Humble Oil & Refining Co., 27.7 percent. I may say that Humble Oil & Refining Co. is a subsidiary of Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey

which itself made 16.1 percent. Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., which controls the Magnolia Petroleum Co., 12.4 percent; Ohio Oil Co., 28.4 percent; Phillips Petroleum Co., 18.7 percent; the Pure Oil Co., 23.6 percent; Republic Natural Gas Co., 24.1 percent; Shamrock Oil & Gas Corp., 40.8 percent; Shell Union Oil Co., 29.5 percent; Sinclair Oil Corp. 19.4 percent; Skelly Oil Co., 30.4 percent; Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, which controls Stanolind Oil & Gas Co., 13.7 percent; Sun Oil Co., 19.4 percent; Sunray Oil Co., 30 percent; Superior Oil Co., 32 percent; Texas Gulf Producing Co., 31 percent; the Texas Co., 17.9 percent; Union Oil Co. of California, 16.3 percent; United Carbon Co., 12 percent; and Warren Petroleum Corp., 28.2 percent.

This material was given in a speech by Representative Crosser, on August 4, 1949, and appears at page 10795 of the RECORD.

Mr. President, that shows that these profits are really phenomenal. It shows three affiliates of Standard Oil companies who, in 1947, ranked fourth, fifth, and sixteenth in interstate sales of natural gas. The assets of these three Standard Oil companies alone total nearly \$6,500,000,000 and their gross operating revenues amounted to nearly \$6,000,000,000. In this list of 24 companies as I have shown, we find the names Standard, Gulf, Shell, Sinclair, Phillips, Texas, and Cities Service. Others, such as Union, Sun, Barnsdall, Sunray, Skelly, and Pure Oil companies are small only in comparison to those previously mentioned, but they are all mammoth corporations with assets ranging from \$19,000,000 to \$3,500,000,000. The total assets of these 24 companies alone amount to about \$14,000,000,000 with gross operating revenues of over \$12,500,000,000. Nor are these companies having a tough time making ends meet. Profits after taxes ranged from 12- to over 40-percent return on common stock and surplus, and averaged 24 percent in 1948. These profits can only be called phenomenal in view of the 7 or 8 percent normally considered an excellent return.

But perhaps we can get a better idea of the extent of these profits if we see how much individual companies made after taxes. According to published financial statements, Humble, affiliated with Standard of New Jersey, which ranked fourth in interstate sales of natural gas, made \$186,000,000; Standard of Indiana, ranking fifth, made \$140,000,000. Gulf, ranking eighth, made \$153,500,000 Phillips ranking first, made nearly \$73,000,000. These are not small potatoes. It is not the kind of money made by small operators wearing overalls. But it does indicate the size of the companies who will profit most if regulation is removed.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am very glad to yield for a question.

Mr. HOLLAND. I ask the Senator whether the table which he has just placed in the RECORD shows the earnings of the listed companies derived solely from their handling of natural gas?

Mr. DOUGLAS. The answer is no. These are profits made from the combined gas and oil business, and I want to make that clear. But the combined profits do indicate that the companies are doing very well.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am very glad to yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Does the Senator have a similar list showing the profits based on sales of natural gas alone?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I may say in reply to the Senator from Florida that those figures are not available as the companies report their earnings only on a consolidated basis. If they were available, I would put them in the RECORD. I want to assure the Senator from Florida to that effect. But they are not available.

(At this point Mr. DOUGLAS yielded to Mr. LEHMAN, who addressed the Senate on the effect of the repeal of Oleomargarine taxes. On request of Mr. DOUGLAS, and by unanimous consent, the remarks of Mr. Lehman were ordered to be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of the speech of Mr. Douglas.)

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, there are also artificial means of eliminating competition, in a number of ways.

While gas sales are monopolistic in nature there are also artificial means of eliminating competition. Thus when the number of producers is small it is a simple matter to eliminate competition and even raise prices through informal price agreements. I know that the bill's proponents will say that this is contrary to the Sherman Act, since such agreements are conspiracies in restraint of trade and it is the duty of the Department of Justice to prosecute those violating the law. But, in fact, it is extremely difficult to prove conspiracy, since agreements are not written and the participating companies will not leave documentary evidence lying around.

The ability to reach common price agreements is dependent upon the number of companies operating in a given field. The smaller the number of companies, the greater opportunity there is to set prices at which gas will be sold to pipe lines.

One method of eliminating competition without even making agreements is the so-called most-favored-nation contract. These contracts may provide either that the pipe line company must always pay as high a price to the contracting producer as it does to any other producer or as high a price as any other pipe line company pays in a given area. Thus when several producers within an area have this clause in their contract, the pipe line company will pay them all the same price. The best proof that there is an actual lack of competition however is the fact that producers' prices almost without exception have not varied within individual fields in recent years. I think that was borne out by the facts in the Interstate case.

Thus, it is evident that passage of the bill would primarily benefit the gigantic oil and gas companies rather than the small enterprises and that competition will not regulate prices charged by non-transporting producers because of the expense of ripping out and laying new pipe lines.

RECENT PRICE INCREASE

Mr. President, I now want to turn to the question of the facts with reference to recent price increases.

The Natural Gas Act of 1938 as interpreted by the Supreme Court in the Interstate case, would seem to give the Federal Power Commission the authority to regulate the sales of the nontransporting producers to the interstate pipe line companies. No attempt was made, however, to regulate these sales until the Phillips case in 1948 when prices began to skyrocket. I think we should commend the FPC for not regulating these sales when there was no necessity for it; but we should no less encourage the Commission to step in with regulation when these prices begin to rise with rapidity. Certainly we should not pass a bill denying them the authority the moment the exercise of such authority becomes necessary to protect the public interest.

There is no doubt that natural-gas prices have risen considerably in the past few years and are continuing to spiral upward. In this connection, I should like to read an excerpt from Southwest Boom, an article in Chemical Engineering for April 1949:

Gas, as the scramble for it by trans-continental pipe line companies has intensified, has risen in price. Several years ago its price at the well ranged between 3 and 4 cents per thousand cubic feet in Texas, Louisiana and Oklahoma. Today along the Gulf coast it ranges at the well from 8 to 19 cents per thousand cubic feet.

A few large owners of gas reserves in Texas--

I invite the attention of the Senate to this portion of the statement--

A few large owners of gas reserves in Texas are known to be sitting on their holdings in a chess game where present taxes and prospects for future higher prices are pieces on the board. Right now these companies are not particularly hard pressed for the revenue.

This indicates that prices have in many cases doubled, and sometimes tripled. Concerning those large owners who are sitting on their holdings in the expectation of future higher prices, I think it is pretty obvious that they are waiting for the passage of this bill.

In other words, some of the reluctance on the part of producing and gathering companies to sell to gas lines, upon which comment has been made on the floor of the Senate in the past few days, is due to the belief on the part of the companies that if only they hold tight, Congress will pass, and the President will sign, the Kerr bill, which will remove them from the field of regulation, and they will be able to charge much higher prices. They are speculating on the fact that Congress and the President will put the Kerr bill into effect. I have no objection to speculation as such, which is a part of the free-enterprise system, but I do object to speculating in commodities which are monopolistic in nature. However, it also seems obvious that most speculation in gas will end with the final disposition of this bill. If it shall be enacted, the gas now held off the market will be sold to interstate pipe lines at monopoly prices. If we beat the bill, these holders will know that regulation will be forthcoming, and that there will be no point in hoping to charge whatever the traffic will bear. The situation will be clarified. The gas will begin to move from these particular holdings into the market.

A further indication of how gas prices have recently risen to high levels can be seen in a statement by Dr. E. DeGolyer, a director of Republic Natural Gas Co., one of the largest of the nontransporting producers whose sales

would be exempt from regulation by this bill, and who seems to be a completely honest man. Dr. DeGolyer, in a speech before the National Security Traders' Association, at Dallas, Tex., on November 16, 1948, said:

Gas, which only a few short years ago, could not be sold at the wells for 1 cent a thousand cubic feet, is now bringing prices as high as 8 to 15 cents a thousand cubic feet.

I invite the attention of my good friends who have been talking about how the natural-gas industry has been exploited by low prices to what Dr. DeGolyer further said:

What other industry has enjoyed such price increases for its product with an ever-increasing demand which should at least assure maintenance of existing price levels for years to come?

That was not said by a United States Senator; it was not said by an opponent of the Kerr bill; it is not a quotation from a Washington columnist; it is what was said by a great geologist, who is a director of one of the largest companies in the country which would be freed from regulation by the enactment of the pending bill.

Contracts which have been negotiated in recent years bear out this statement in reference to recent price increases. I shall be glad to analyze the contracts in detail somewhat later, if the Senate wishes to continue in session. However, it is small wonder that the Federal Power Commission became concerned early in 1948 about protecting natural-gas consumers from exploitation by the big non-transporting producers.

SPECIFIC CASES OF RECENT PRICE INCREASES

Another factor contributing to increased gas prices follows from the monopolistic nature of conditions surrounding the sales and transportation process. Once a pipe line company lays a line to a field, it loses bargaining power in dealing with the producer to get increasing amounts of gas.

A good illustration of such a situation is that of the Michigan-Wisconsin pipe line company, which contracted in 1945 with the Phillips Co. as the sole supplier for its natural gas. The contract originally set a price of 5 cents per thousand cubic feet. But when contracts were renegotiated, after pipe line construction was well under way, to take care of the company's growing requirements, the minimum price reached 8½ cents, with some additional gas going at 10 and 11 cents per thousand cubic feet. The

Commission's staff has estimated that the additional costs to consumers will reach \$5,000,000 as a minimum in this case alone. In other words, the cost of gas doubled in 4 years.

In the Gulf Coast area of Texas, Piedmont Pipeline recently contracted for a price of 10 cents per thousand cubic feet of gas, rising to an eventual 14½ cents. Skelly and Sun Oil Co. are the producers of this gas, some of which is presently under contract to the United and the Arkansas-Louisiana pipe line companies for 3½ cents.

Thus we can see that gas prices have increased enormously in individual cases. Taking the Southwest as a whole, which, we should remember, contains about 90 percent of the Nation's reserves, we find that the producer's price of gas has gone from a low of 3 cents to a high ranging from 9 to 13½ cents. The source for these figures is the staff memorandum of the Federal Power Commission dated September 9, 1949.

(At this point Mr. DOUGLAS yielded to Mr. FERGUSON who submitted a report on the protection of the United States against subversive activities. On request of Mr. Douglas, and by unanimous consent, the report and the remarks of Mr. Ferguson were ordered to be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of the speech of Mr. Douglas.)

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, it has been frequently said in the course of these debates that the price of natural gas in the field will not rise because there are already existing contracts which contain a fixed and stated price, and which will run for long periods of time, and therefore we who fear price increases are really seeing spooks which are not there.

CONTRACTS WILL NOT KEEP PRICES FROM RISING

Mr. President, I should like to call to the attention of the Senate a table which was printed on pages 3630 to in the RECORD of yesterday, listing 100 contracts which had been entered into by nontransporting producers and gatherers with interstate pipe line companies since July 1, 1947, for the sale of gas from producing wells in the Southwest. I urge that, in addition to going through the list, a summary view of what these contracts provide be obtained. I may say that the Federal Power Commission furnished me with this tabulation.

The 100 gas-purchase contracts included in it represent an annual aggregate purchase of 1,320,000,000,000 cubic feet from 53 separate producers. That is an enormous quantity of gas--1,320,000,000,000 cubic feet a year. It

is approximately 57 percent of the natural gas which the Federal Power Commission estimated will be purchased by pipe line companies from all nontransporting producers in the Southwest in the year 1952.

Now let us look at these contracts. In the first place, the 10 largest producers account for 750,000,000,000 cubic feet, or 57 percent of the total covered under these contracts. The 15 largest sellers account for 68 percent of all the gas disposed of under these contracts.

THE ESCALATOR CLAUSES

As to the pricing provisions of the 100 contracts, 95--all but 5--contain escalator clauses which provide for automatic increases in prices at intervals of 1, 2, 4, or 5 years. For example, on page 3639 there is shown a contract between the Sun Oil Co. and the Texas Eastern Transportation Corp. providing for the following contract-rate adjustments; the first 5 years, 6 cents; second 5 years, 7 cents; third 5 years, 8 cents; fourth 5 years, 9 cents.

Then there is shown on the same page another contract of the Sun Oil Co. with the Transcontinental Gas Pipeline Corp.; First 5 years, 8½ cents, second 5 years, 9½ cents; third 5 years, 10½ cents, and so on.

I pick out another contract, shown on page 3638, of the Stanolind Oil & Gas Co. with the Piedmont Natural Gas Corp.; First 2 years, 10 cents; second 2 years, 10½ cents; third 2 years, 11 cents; fourth 2 years, 11½ cents; fifth 2 years, 12 cents; sixth 2 years, 12½ cents; seventh 2 years, 13 cents; eighth 2 years, 13½ cents; ninth 2 years, 14 cents; tenth 2 years, 14½ cents.

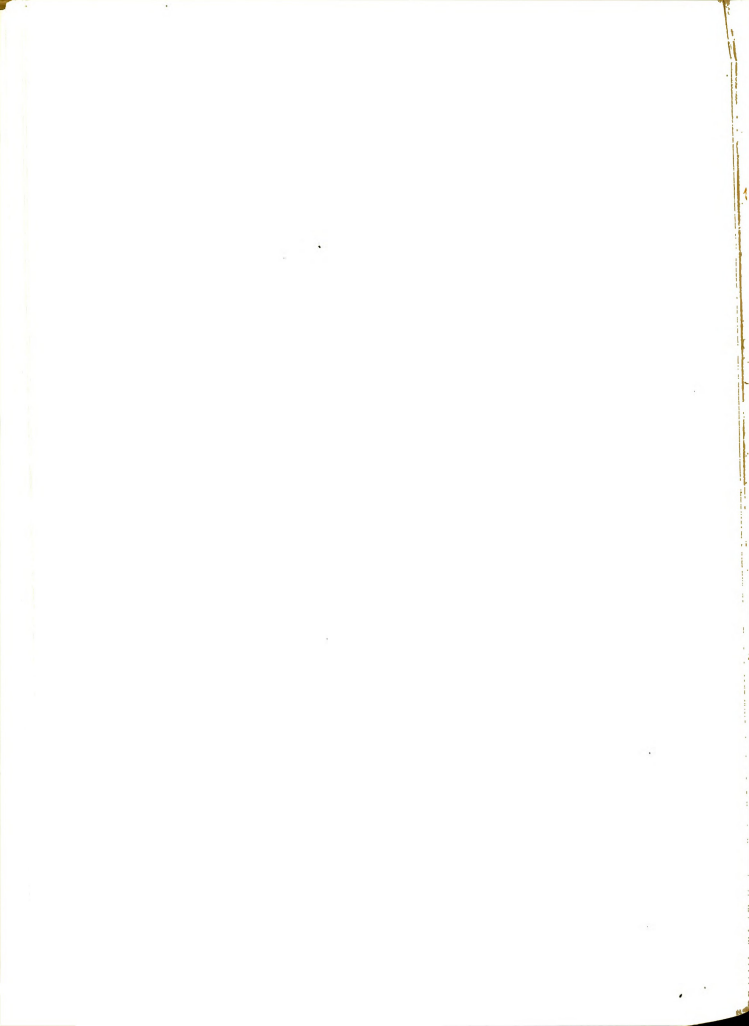
I emphasize that 95 of the 100 contracts contain escalator clauses providing for automatic increases at intervals of 1, 2, 4, or 5 years. There can be no question that these clauses will result in higher prices to the producer, higher costs to the pipe lines and distributing companies, and increased rates to the consumers.

RENEGOTIATION CLAUSES

In addition to the escalator clauses, there are also renegotiation clauses, and the analysis shows that 46, or nearly one-half of these contracts provide for renegotiation of price during the term of the contract, sometimes at the end of the first, second, third, or fourth 5-year periods.

But, Mr. President, do these clauses provide for price renegotiations at a lower price? Is there any provision that the contracts can be renegotiated at a lower price than is contained in the contract? Not according to the contracts, for there are stated minimums below which the price cannot go. The escalator moves upward. It does not move downward. Prices can also go up by renegotiation, but under these contracts, unless they are checked by the Federal Power Commission, the prices can never go down.





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