

WAYNE LYMAN MORSE

1900 – 1974

United States Senator – Educator – Arbitrator

“Every American has three Senators. His own and Wayne Morse.”

INTRODUCTION

Wayne Lyman Morse is celebrated for his legacies of independent judgment and integrity throughout his public service as a renowned federal labor arbitrator and four-term United States Senator from Oregon. He led the University of Oregon's School of Law for 14 years, where he was the nation's youngest law school dean at the time of his appointment.

While today most Americans acknowledge the Vietnam War was a serious mistake, forty-six years ago Wayne Morse was a lonely voice opposing it. He and Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska were the only opponents of the 1964 Tonkin Gulf Resolution which increased American involvement in the Vietnam conflict. They stumped the nation challenging the war's constitutionality and morality. Morse went on to vote against every measure that would keep American troops in Vietnam. He never faltered in his belief that the only hope for world peace was to substitute international law for military might.

Morse was a passionate, courageous legislator. He provided vigorous leadership to the effort to strengthen public education in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. He advanced and protected the rights of organized labor and the free collective bargaining process. He worked resolutely for civil rights and the general welfare of the people. He championed the public interest and an individual's constitutional rights. He argued unwaveringly for the pre-eminence of the rule of law in the conduct of national and international affairs. Through his Senate years, he was unyielding on his platform of "principle above politics" and was often referred to as the "conscience of the Senate."

Today we may think of Wayne Morse as a visionary. He was the first Senator to introduce a Medicare bill. He was an early advocate for protecting our environment and natural resources. He co-sponsored the equal rights amendment and offered bills in Congress to establish the principle of equal pay for equal work for women. He fought for an International Court which he believed necessary to world peace. Years before the first nuclear test ban treaty, he urged the U. S. and other world powers to stop testing nuclear weapons in the earth's atmosphere.

The causes that Wayne Morse spoke about so eloquently continue to dominate our national debate. His words and vision provide ongoing inspiration for all who seek to carry on his commitment to public service, integrity, world peace and the rule of law.

I. Biographical Sketch

WAYNE LYMAN MORSE

United States Senator – Educator – Arbitrator - Farmer

Born October 20, 1900, in Verona, Wisconsin. Died July 22, 1974, in Portland, Oregon.

- **Education**

University of Wisconsin (Ph.B., 1923; M.A., 1924). University of Minnesota (LL.B., 1928). Columbia University (J.D., 1932)

Doctoral dissertation: The American Grand Jury System

Affiliations: Pi Kappa Alpha, Delta Sigma Rho, forensics honorary; Gamma Eta Gamma, law honorary; Scabbard and Blade, military honorary

- **Married:** Mildred M. Downie, 1924 (deceased)
- **Children:** Nancy Faye (deceased), Judith Mary (deceased), Amy Ann
- Reserve commission as Second Lieutenant, Field Artillery, U.S. Army, 1923-30.

- **EDUCATOR**

Debate coach, University of Wisconsin, 1923

Assistant Professor of Argumentation, University of Minnesota, 1924

Teaching Fellowship, Columbia University, 1928

Assistant Professor of Law, University of Oregon, 1929. Dean of School of Law, University of Oregon, 1931-44. (Youngest in the nation at age 30)

Distinguished Visiting Scholar, State University of New York, 1969-70

- **LEGAL EXPERTISE**

Co-author, Oregon Crime Study, 1934

Editor in Chief, U. S. Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures, 1936

Chairman, American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Prisons, Probation and Parole

Member, Oregon Crime Commission

Member, (Oregon) Governor's Commission on Judicial Reforms (Chairman, Subcommittee on Criminal Procedure Reform)

Chairman, (Oregon) Governor's Commission on Sentences, Probation and Parole

- **ARBITRATOR**

Arbitrator for Pacific Coast Longshore and Maritime Industry Disputes, 1936-42

Chairman, President's Railway Emergency Board, 1941

Public member and leading opinion writer, National War Labor Board, 1942-44

Chairman, President's Special Board for Atlantic and Gulf Coast Maritime Industry Dispute, 1963

Member, President's Special Emergency Board, East Coast Longshoremen's Dispute, 1965

Member, President's Special Board of Inquiry, Steel Industry Labor Dispute, 1965

Chairman, President's Emergency Board, Airlines Dispute, 1966

Chairman, President's Special Board, Railroad Dispute, 1967

- Involved in over 2000 labor dispute cases through his career. Pioneered the principles that labor's rights are based on law and that arbitration should use judicial procedure.

- **UNITED STATES SENATOR**

1945-69: Republican, 1945-52; Independent, 1952-55; Democrat, from 1955. Campaigned under the banner of "Principle Above Politics," which he characterized as "an experiment in politics."

Committees: Armed Services, Banking and Currency, Foreign Relations, Labor and Public Welfare, Public Works, District of Columbia, Small Business, Special Committee on Aging. Cast deciding vote for Democratic organization of the Senate in 1954 and was awarded 4 committee assignments.

Chairman, Subcommittee on Education, 1961-68. Senate floor leader for all New Frontier and Great Society education legislation, becoming known as "Mr. Education."

Chairman, Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs, 1955-68, which initiated studies that produced the Alliance for Progress. Member, 1960 U. S. Delegation to the Organization of American States, where Alliance for Progress framework was developed. Representative to numerous international meetings and interparliamentary conferences throughout the world.

Member, U. S. Delegation to the United Nations, 1960. Only Democrat appointed by President Eisenhower. Was a strong supporter of the United Nations from outset of his Senate career. Worked to give it international law-making powers, provide a UN Police Force to keep the peace and to strengthen the International Court of Justice.

- Developed Morse Formula requiring equitable disposal through compensation rather than giveaway of federal surplus property, 1946-68.
- One of 7 co-signers of the Declaration of Conscience, written by Senator Margaret Chase Smith, which condemned the McCarthy Permanent Investigating Subcommittee's tactics and lack of judicial due process, 1950. Proposed with Senator Lehman a code to assure judicial fairness in Senate investigations, 1954.
- Offered position of U. S. Attorney General by President Truman, which he declined, 1951.

- Set 1953 filibuster record of 22 hours, 26 minutes against tidelands oil legislation. Organized 1947 filibuster against the Taft-Hartley Act, during which he spoke 9 hours and 51 minutes.
- Known for Senate oratory. Made more Floor speeches in his first year than rest of freshman class combined. In later years gave “five o’clock shadow” speeches on the view of the Independent Party, Vietnam and other pressing issues. Wore a red rose to signal he was preparing to speak at length.
- Candidate for President, 1960.
- Introduced first Senate Medicare bill (1958) and legislation in every Congress from 1945 to provide equal pay for equal work for women.
- Outspoken critic of the Vietnam War, giving countless speeches on the Senate floor and throughout the nation in which he urged the rule of law prevail over “the jungle law of military might.” One of two votes against the 1964 Tonkin Gulf Resolution, warning against excessive presidential power and Congress’ abdication of its constitutional role to make American foreign policy.
- **FARMER**

Raised on family homestead in Wisconsin. Owned farms in Eugene, Oregon, and Poolesville, Maryland.

Bred Shetland ponies (at age eight), registered American saddle horses, registered Romney sheep, poultry, Devon cattle.

Sponsor and manager, first Lane County Fair Horse Show (1931). President and early sponsor, Eugene Hunt Club. Throughout his life, he and his family participated in the Lane County and Oregon State Fairs, Pacific International Livestock Exposition and in East Coast fairs and horse shows.

President, American Devon Cattle Association.

- **OTHER**

Public member, National Employees' Benefit Board of the Electrical Contracting Industry, 1962-74

Member, Editorial Board, Journal of Law and Education

Chairman, National Commission of State Colleges and Universities, 1970-72

- **HONORARY DEGREES**

Cornell College (1946, LL.D.), Drake University (1947, LL.D.), College of South Jersey (1947, LL.D.), Centre College of Kentucky (1952, LL.D.), Suffolk University (1961, D. Jr. SC.), American International College (1962, LL.D.), University of Oregon (1963, Distinguished Service Award), Salem College (1965, Ph.D.), Parsons College (1965, D.C.L.), Wilberforce University (1966, LL.D.), Pacific University (OR) (1969, D.H.L.), Oregon State University (1969, Distinguished Service Award)

II. Morse Career Highlights

- **Wayne Morse refused to practice partisan politics.**
- **Wayne Morse never faltered in opposition to the Vietnam War.**
- **Wayne Morse managed passage of the landmark education bills of the 1960s.**
- **Four U.S. Presidents called on Wayne Morse to settle labor disputes.**
- **Wayne Morse worked for civil rights and equal opportunity for all Americans.**
- **Wayne Morse led the movements for home rule in the Nation's capital and establishment of the District of Columbia's higher education system.**
- **Wayne Morse called for a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty more than fifty years ago.**
- **Wayne Morse sponsored a first Senate Medicare bill in 1958 working relentlessly for its passage until 1965 when it finally became law.**

- **Wayne Morse refused to practice partisan politics.**

This was his pledge to constituents:

I will exercise an independence of judgment based on the evidence of each issue. I will weigh the views of my constituents and party, but cast my vote free of political pressure and unmoved by threats of loss of political support.

Wayne Morse was known for his fierce oratory, his fearless and vigorous defense of positions he believed in and his rock-solid integrity. “*Don't send me back to Washington,*” he would warn constituents, “*unless you want me to exercise honest independence of judgment based upon the facts as I find them. If the facts are not going in the same direction as partisan politics, then it's just too bad for partisan politics.*”

Morse had been steeped in the values of the Progressive movement since his birth in 1900 in Wisconsin and he worked throughout his life inspired by the key tenets of that movement. Important among these were protective labor laws, approval of women's suffrage, control of corporate power and of monopolies; in fact, any legislation that placed the public interest first and promised greater freedom for the ordinary citizen.

Morse spent four terms in the Senate (1945-1969) -- his first ten years as a Republican. During his second term he declared himself an Independent protesting the direction the 1952 Republican campaign was taking. In 1955, Morse joined the Democratic Party, winning elections to the Senate in 1956 and 1962.

Morse's belief that the primary concern of government should be the public interest guided his legislative agenda throughout the Senate years. An example was his "Morse Formula" devised at the end of World War II. It provided that surplus federal property must be purchased for a portion of its appraised value. This prevented what had been "giveaways" of Federal property and saved hundreds of millions of tax dollars over the 25 years of its use.

Lyndon Johnson, then a Senator, recognized Morse: “*Members of this body are familiar with the tireless work of the senior Senator from Oregon as a watchdog for the Treasury, particularly in connection with land conveyance matters.*”

Wayne Morse could be counted on to oppose "giveaways" of tax dollars for any enterprise that was not in the public interest. About the Tel-Star proposal to put the American satellite communications in private hands, he said, "*We are convinced that the plan is to have the American taxpayers pay millions of dollars year after year to subsidize a private monopoly.*"

Over a number of years Morse tenaciously supported building of a Hell's Canyon high dam by the federal government. This was in keeping with his belief that the government should not give to private interest what rightfully belong to all the people. The opposition to the high dam had favored several smaller dams which would be developed by private utilities.

In a speech given the day he became a Democrat, Morse spelled out his concept of representative government:

"Ever since I have been in politics I have tried to keep faith with the abiding principle of representative government which has motivated my actions in the Senate of the United States. It is the principle enunciated by Edmund Burke in 1774, namely that the primary obligation which an elected representative of a free people owes to his constituents is to keep faith with his gift from Providence -- his conscience. It was this sound liberal principle of political philosophy which framed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States."

"Wayne Morse is one of the great dissenters, and we need dissenters, not only in the Senate we ought to have them in the House. We should have them in the legislatures of the various states. Many of the things we have were voted down by the majority and finally had to be adopted for the benefit and welfare of the people. You may not agree with (Senator Morse). You don't have to agree with him when he's right. What he advocates usually becomes what the people want." **President Harry Truman**

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

- **Wayne Morse never faltered in his opposition to the Vietnam War.**

“The only hope of advancing the cause of peace in our time lies in the substitution of the rules of international law for the jungle law of military might.”

“The formulation of American foreign policy under our Constitution belongs to the people of the United States, not exclusively to the President and the State Department.”

“We have a moral duty to see to it that some way, somehow, we lead mankind to peace.”

Throughout his career Wayne Morse opposed unilateral U. S. military action. He believed in an International Court of Justice and a United Nations police force. His vote against the ill-advised Tonkin Gulf Resolution provides the most memorable and dramatic example of his positions. Only he and Senator Gruening of Alaska opposed the resolution which gave President Lyndon Johnson basis for acceleration of the war effort. Morse continued to vote against every bill that would continue the war, including all appropriation bills.

As the war escalated, Morse and Gruening took their views to the people excoriating the President's Vietnam policy. It was an historic national crusade. They spoke in churches, classrooms and town halls. Of the anti-war demonstrations which swept the nation at the same time, Morse said, *“Protest rallies...ought to be multiplied by the hundreds across America...The People want the facts, and they want a justification, which they have not been getting, because all they have been getting is propaganda.”* Such fierce anti-war positions contributed to the pair's losing their 1968 re-election bids.

Morse objected to the Vietnam War on the grounds that it was illegal, unconstitutional, and immoral. On constitutional grounds, he opposed giving approval to the President to make war in the absence of a declaration of war by Congress. And he had consistently held the strong position that the U.S. should not engage in unilateral action but should join with other nations through the United Nations and other such joint efforts.

Morse believed that there could be no hope for permanent peace in the world until all nations were willing to set up a system of international justice before which threats to world peace could be heard for a final and binding decision by an international organization such as the United Nations.

Senate colleagues who supported the Tonkin Gulf Resolution later often paid tribute to Morse as they reconsidered the earlier debate. Among them was Senator William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

“The time that has elapsed since then has proved him to be practically the only one who was correct in the position he took with regard to that resolution in August, 1964. And, in spite of the sadness and tragedy that has afflicted the country, as a member of the Senate, he ought to be very proud of his foresight at that time.”

In Mason Drukman's 1997 biography of Morse he notes Robert McNamara's admission of how “terribly wrong” he and his colleagues were in the decisions they made at critical junctures before and during the Vietnam War. Drukman says:

“One suspects that had he been alive, Morse would have been astonished and gratified at the sight of the former whiz kid of American defense admitting that he had helped lead the country into one of the greatest disasters in American history. Morse's prediction that those supporting the war would live to regret it is certainly fulfilled in the person of McNamara, and one feels that Morse would have kindly left unnoted the fact that it took the former head of defense thirty years to deliver his heartfelt mea culpa.

- **Wayne Morse managed passage of the landmark education bills of the 1960s.**

“I hold to the proposition that an enlightened citizenry is democracy’s greatest strength and our nation’s greatest potential wealth.”

“We have the duty laid upon us to open to the widest the door of education to all who have the innate capacity to step over that threshold.”

Most Americans were shocked into concern over the weakness in our educational system when the Russians launched the first satellite in 1957. But Wayne Morse had been calling the nation’s attention to the need for a new emphasis in education since his entry into the Senate. He joined Senator Robert A. Taft in achieving passage of the first general aid to education bill in the Senate in 1946. Over twelve succeeding years he kept the pressure on, introducing a bill in every session, educating Senators and the public.

The 1958 National Defense Education Act was a response to the Russians’ space success and Congress’s long overdue acknowledgement that the Federal Government should support the nation’s educational system. Morse cosponsored and worked for enactment of what he termed *“a great landmark in federal aid to education.”*

In the 1960s, President Johnson and Senate colleagues hailed Morse as “Mr. Education” for his impressive record in getting education legislation passed. With Morse’s leadership as chair of the Senate Subcommittee on Education and Senate floor manager for education bills, the Congress passed more education legislation than in the entire preceding history of the U. S. Johnson described it as *“a legislative miracle.”*

Under the banners of Kennedy's New Frontier and Johnson's Great Society, Morse was the architect of Senate legislation which strengthened education at all levels and in all areas of the country. He held the principle that every American child, as a matter of right, is entitled to the educational opportunities for maximum development of his or her intellectual potential.

Landmark legislation passed during this period included:

- Morse-Perkins Vocational Education Act of 1963 (P.L. 88-210), which strengthened vocational training programs. The bill, to Morse, was *“...in keeping with the American tradition that the many tasks of the world are equally important – that a man who works with his hands should be just as well trained, have as many opportunities, be just as respected as the man who works at a desk.”*

- Morse-Green Higher Educational Facilities Act of 1963 (P.L. 88-204), which authorized a landmark \$1.2 billion program for the construction of college classrooms, laboratories and libraries
- National Defense Education Act Amendments of 1964 (P.L. 88-665), which quintupled the number of NDEA graduate fellowships
- Educational and Training Aspects of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, to which Morse added the college work study program and the adult basic education program
- Morse-Perkins Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (P.L. 89-10) providing a breakthrough to resolve First Amendment difficulties which hindered efforts to enact broad federal support for elementary and secondary students (President Johnson commented upon signing this bill: “*I believe deeply no law I have signed or will ever sign means more to the future of America.*”)
- Higher Education Act of 1965, (P.L. 89-329) which authorized a student loan program, created the Teachers Corps and established the Morse fellowship program
- International Education Act of 1966 (P.L. 89-752) which supported language centers as well as centers for advanced international studies and research
- National Sea Grant College Act of 1966 (P.L. 90-35), which extended the land-grant college principle to the untapped resources of the marine world
- Extension of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which initiated new programs in bilingual education, special education for handicapped persons and school bus safety.

The Morse record in education also included efforts to help veterans through the G.I. Bill, the Korean G.I. Bill, and the Cold War G.I. Bill. One of his first efforts in the Senate was to push through reforms to the GI Bill to remove age limitations and liberalize benefits. He fought valiantly from 1952 to 1954 to retain the nation’s wealth in offshore oil to finance education, setting a Senate filibuster record in the process.

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

- **Four U.S. Presidents called on Wayne Morse to settle labor disputes.**

“What I consider to be the greatest objective of representative government...is that government at all times must see to it that there are set up those...standards and protections which will protect the economic weak from the economic strong.”

Wayne Morse gained a national reputation for successful handling of labor disputes in the 1930s while he was still Dean of the University of Oregon's Law School. During his career four U. S. Presidents called on him to settle crucial labor-management disputes.

In 1936 Morse arbitrated his first longshore dispute. Shortly after that, **President Roosevelt** named him arbitrator for the longshore industry on the West Coast. In 1941 Roosevelt appointed Morse chair of the Special Emergency Board to settle a nationwide railway dispute. Successful settlement was reached the day before Pearl Harbor and thus averted a national railway stoppage on the eve of World War II. (It was this case that established today's generally accepted concept of paid vacations for workers.)

Later Morse served for three years as a public member on Roosevelt's National War Labor Board which was charged to see that management and labor worked together to ensure maximum output of war supplies. In those three years the Board effectively settled several hundred cases with Morse as the most prolific opinion writer. While on the Board, he helped establish the principle of equal pay for equal work for women.

In the Senate, Morse supported **President Truman** throughout his fight against passage of the 1947 Taft-Hartley bill, legislation that placed heavy restrictions on labor unions. He organized a filibuster against the override of Truman's veto, speaking over nine hours. Although Morse was a Republican, Truman later offered him the cabinet position of Attorney General because, Truman said, *"I thought he would clean things up. I thought he would do the job, do the work, as it should be done."*

In 1963 **President Kennedy** appointed Morse chair of a special board to mediate a longshore strike by the International Longshoremen's Association which was tying up Atlantic and Gulf Ports. The Board made its recommendations in just over a month. The terms of the settlement were accepted and received high praise from both sides.

President Johnson appointed Morse to four special and emergency labor dispute boards. In 1967, Johnson chose Morse to head his Special Railroad Mediation Panel and said "*that in the previous thirty years Morse had been probably involved in more major labor disputes in the country than any other living American.*"

Over Morse's 30 plus years as arbitrator, mediator or negotiator, he was involved in more than 2,000 labor dispute cases, including War Labor Board opinions. He pioneered the principles that labor's rights are based in law and that arbitration should use judicial procedures.

"The public service you have rendered in these especially trying times resulting in maintenance of peace in the railroad industry is greatly appreciated." **President Franklin D. Roosevelt**

Wayne Morse "*was a friend of labor, not because he was beholden to labor, but because his largeness of heart and mind made him a champion of the plain people, the advocate of the little man surrounded by forces and aspirations beyond his reach.*" **George Meany, President, AFL-CIO**

- **Wayne Morse led the movement for home rule in the Nation's capital and establishment of the District of Columbia's higher education system.**

“Home rule for the District may not solve all of our problems, but the idea of democracy embedded in it is the best tool we have ever found for solving problems of a social and political nature.”

Wayne Morse was known nationally as one of the strongest advocates of home rule for the Nation's capital. His commitment to the people of Washington began after his resignation from the Republican Party in 1952 and subsequent "punishment" -i.e. removal from prestigious committees and appointment to the Committees on Public Works and the District of Columbia. He soon applied his energy and strong concern for civil rights and liberties to Washington's problems and made important differences.

He pressed for many improvements in the public school system and was Senate sponsor of legislation that established the Federal City College and the Washington Technical Institute, now the University of the District of Columbia. He was responsible for improving the District's school lunch, public assistance, family aid and minimum wage programs.

After his reelection in 1956 as a Democrat he asked to stay on the D.C. Committee because it gave him *“a special opportunity for public service.”*

The people of the District repaid Morse's commitment with a 1968 open letter to the people of Oregon. *“It is because Senator Morse has been the one shining light in our government here in the District of Columbia that we appeal to you now not to take him away from us. ... When self government finally comes to DC, your Senator Morse will be the man who did the most to bring this about.”*

Senator Alan Bible of Nevada who chaired the District Committee credited Morse with leading the successful fight for an elected school board for the District and said Morse was prime mover of the legislation that established Washington's higher education system. *“Over and over he demonstrated his deep concern for the rights and welfare of our people--particularly our disadvantaged people.”*

“In addition to his lasting interest in civil rights, Senator Morse was among the earliest proponents of home rule for the District of Columbia.” – **Congressman John Conyers, Jr.**

- **Wayne Morse sponsored a first Senate Medicare bill in 1958 working relentlessly for its passage until 1965 when it finally became law.**

“We must remove the great fear that hovers over almost every family chimney in the land; namely, the fear of what will happen when illness or disease strikes. These people are fearful of what will happen, they wonder whether they are to be denied the best medical care the medical science can provide.”

Wayne Morse was a member of the Senate Special Committee on Aging which produced more than three dozen studies and reports on the problems faced by elderly Americans.

Committee recommendations brought about many advances in governmental policy and led to establishment of the Older Americans Act and creation of the Administration on Aging in the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Morse drafted and worked for passage of legislation to improve nursing home services for public assistance patients. Legislation he sponsored required licensing and regular inspection of qualified nursing homes.

Morse also led the battle for extending social security coverage to the disabled of any age. Earlier coverage had been restricted to those over fifty years of age. Of the Medicare bill which took seven years from drafting to passage, Morse said, *“After all, fighting for this type of legislation is part of the political process... We introduce measures one year and fight for them the next year and the next year and the next year. And finally our number increases, and a minority eventually turns into a majority.”*

“On every . . . issue, at home and overseas, Wayne Morse was daily proof in the Halls of Congress that an individual can make a difference, that a single voice of integrity, insight, understanding and compassion can change America and alter the flow of history.” **U. S. Senator Edward Kennedy**

- **Wayne Morse called for a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty more than forty years ago.**

“I agree that the United States, in the interests of peace and human survival, should take the lead in arranging an end to the H-bomb testing. Hundreds of nuclear scientists plus other national leaders also agree. Increased radioactivity caused by H-bomb fallout could easily become disastrous to life on earth. It would be a great boost to our world prestige. . . if we proposed and obtained a worldwide ban on H-bomb testing.” Letter to constituent, 1956.

Wayne Morse believed that the only hope of advancing the cause of world peace lay in the substitution of the rules of international law for military build up and confrontation. He believed that the United Nations could be the organization through which permanent peace could be established. As one friend put it, "*Wayne Morse didn't come early or late to the peace movement. There was a time when he was the peace movement.*"

On the day in 1945 when the Senate ratified the United Nations Charter treaty, Morse introduced a resolution providing for adherence by the U.S. to the Statute of the International Court of Justice, which was adopted by a vote of 60 to 2. He saw as few others did that the atomic bomb could not remain the sole property of the U.S. and that an international system for conflict resolution may be essential to survival.

As early as 1957 Morse introduced a resolution in the Senate calling upon the U.S. to seek agreement with other great powers to stop testing nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. Radiation pollution in the world's atmosphere was the immediate concern, growing to proportions that alarmed health authorities.

Prior to this Morse had joined the 1950 effort by Senator McMahon to “stop the armaments race by speeding agreement upon effective and enforceable disarmament and control covering conventional armaments, biological and chemical agents, and atomic hydrogen bombs.” A special session of the United Nations was to be the vehicle for negotiating such an agreement, with an added caveat that after worldwide disarmament and control took effect monies which “which would otherwise have been

spent upon weapons for a period of five years... would be expended by the United Nations for peaceful developments of atomic energy, technical assistance to underdeveloped areas and general economic aid and assistance to war-ravaged countries.”

With Morse’s support, the Senate in 1955 created a Special Subcommittee on Disarmament. The Subcommittee completed its work in 1958, with Morse crediting it as “*filling a vacuum in American knowledge of the obstacles to disarmament at a time when there was little interest in the matter by the Eisenhower Administration.*”

In the first months of the Kennedy Administration, Morse lent his strong support to its controversial proposal to create an Arms Control and Disarmament Agency which he saw as expanding and elevating the work of the Subcommittee.

Morse spoke out forcefully on behalf of the nuclear test ban treaty which the Kennedy Administration negotiated in 1963. It was to him “*one of the Administration’s outstanding accomplishments.*” He likewise joined in support of subsequent measures to avert the use of nuclear weapons, including the “hot line” between Washington and Moscow.

Morse passionately believed that peace could only come about through such proposals, never through a nuclear armament race which he termed “*immoral.*” He argued endlessly that throughout history arms races produced wars, not peace.

- **Wayne Morse worked for Civil Rights and equal opportunity for all Americans.**

“Many people are looking to see whether or not we can practice our principles as expressed by us over and over again that in this country we stand for equality of opportunity for all, that we stand for non-discrimination among our citizens insofar as race, color and creed are concerned.”

“It has been a shocking thing to receive letters from businessmen who have the idea that economic activity is a white monopoly and that they have some right derived from property that enables whites to decide who shall share it and who shall not.”

Wayne Morse was a pioneer and crusader for fair employment and antidiscrimination legislation which reached fulfillment in the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964. He joined the Executive Board of the NAACP during his first Senate term, and served as a Vice President for two decades. He was one of the first Senators to appoint an African American to a Senate patronage position and often brought black friends to the Senate Dining Room, despite the discomfort of some of his Southern colleagues. He refused to patronize establishments which had a discrimination policy.

Morse participated in the “*inspirational*” August 1963 march on Washington and gave a place of honor on his office walls to a certificate from the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership which acknowledged “*his devoted efforts, his inspired leadership in the national interest and, above all, his dedication to American principles in helping to secure passage of the historic Civil Rights bill of 1964 which offers new hope of equality and opportunity for constructive citizenship to millions of Americans.*”

He believed that all Americans should have the full practice and enjoyment of their constitutional rights without having to hire a lawyer and take a case to court and that real equal protection and real equal opportunity would never be achieved without adequate enforcement of those rights. He believed that the people of the United States had a moral obligation to do something about the intolerable conditions in American ghettos. Protesting 1967 cuts in programs assisting the inner cities, Morse pleaded, “*If it would help, I would get down on both knees in this plea. We should put this special assistance into the ghettos of America where we know one of the great social and economic crises confronts us.*”

Morse worked for passage of legislative proposals which set up programs in the War on Poverty: Head Start, Upward Bound, the community action programs and the Job Corps. He urged swift action on emergency employment programs to put youths with limited skills to work immediately.

As early as 1946 Morse had begun introducing legislation to prohibit discrimination in employment. He also attempted to bar segregation in the District of Columbia in places of public education, accommodation, entertainment or amusement. He strongly protested the enforcement flaws in the 1957 Civil Rights Act, working against its adoption. In 1963 he offered a bill to prohibit disbursement of federal funds to any federal program in which racial exclusion or discrimination occurred, which later became the basis for Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Morse worked to guarantee equal rights for women, co-sponsoring a constitutional amendment. He offered bills in every Congress to establish the principle of equal pay for equal work for women.

Morse was constant in his battle against intolerance, fighting to create meaningful laws to enforce the rights guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution.

"It was Wayne Morse in the late Forties and Fifties, who outlined the constitutional bases for the broad civil rights laws of the Sixties." **Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.**

"Morse was a strong supporter of the civil rights movement in the early 1950s when to do so was not only unfashionable but sometimes dangerous. He was a firm believer in civil liberties and worked hard on civil rights legislation. He fought for home rule for Washington, D.C. trade unionism, and Federal support for education. In short, he was a fierce fighter for the common people." – **Congresswoman Bella Absug**

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