

# Ex-Senator Morse to

*By Jim Mann*

Washington Post Staff Writer

LYNDON JOHNSON WENT there to buy a good Devon bull. The late Drew Pearson went there often to swap hay, calves and political stories.

But those times are gone, and now former Oregon Senator and cattle breeder Wayne L. Morse is selling the farm he has worked near the western Montgomery County town of Poolesville for the past 25 years.

He says he will now spend about 90 per cent of his time in Oregon, although he will maintain an apartment at the Watergate as a base of operations here.

And at the age of 70, the first and

foremost Congressional critic of the Vietnam war is laying the groundwork for another race for the Senate, where he served for 24 years before losing his seat in 1968.

He is meeting with potential financial supporters and drawing up a campaign budget, and he says the chances are "seven in ten" he will run in 1972 against Republican Sen. Mark Hatfield.

A reporter who made an unexpected visit to the farm recently found Morse dressed in faded dungarees, brown cowboy boots and an old shirt. With his bushy eyebrows, white hair and light white moustache, he looked very much like a David Levine caricature of a statesman-turned-hippie.

## Swap Farm for Politics

He can still draw out a story or speech longer than even Hubert Humphrey. And so, for more than four hours — while sweeping out his cottages, showing off his cattle and caring for a sick calf — Morse interwove anecdotes about his farm with stories about his days in the Senate.

There are two subjects about which Morse is particularly passionate: his Devon cows and the Vietnam war. He talks about both in the same senatorial rhetoric. (If this calf were to die, Wayne Morse declaims, it would be "a great tragedy.")

And even in the serenity of his Poolesville surroundings, Morse can still make the war thousands of miles away seem as real as the cattle nearby.

The Pentagon papers, Morse says, produced "nothing that surprised me. I know the State Department, I know the Pentagon."

"The war started when Eisenhower and Nixon and Dulles announced their containment policy for Asia. A lot of people think they had nothing to do with the war. They hatched the war with the war. They hatched the war."

The record shows that in 1954, Morse announced that the United States was "in great danger of being catapulted into the Indochinese war."

Morse's voice rises. "They wanted war in Indochina. They did everything to stir one up. Where did Diem come

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# ANORAMA

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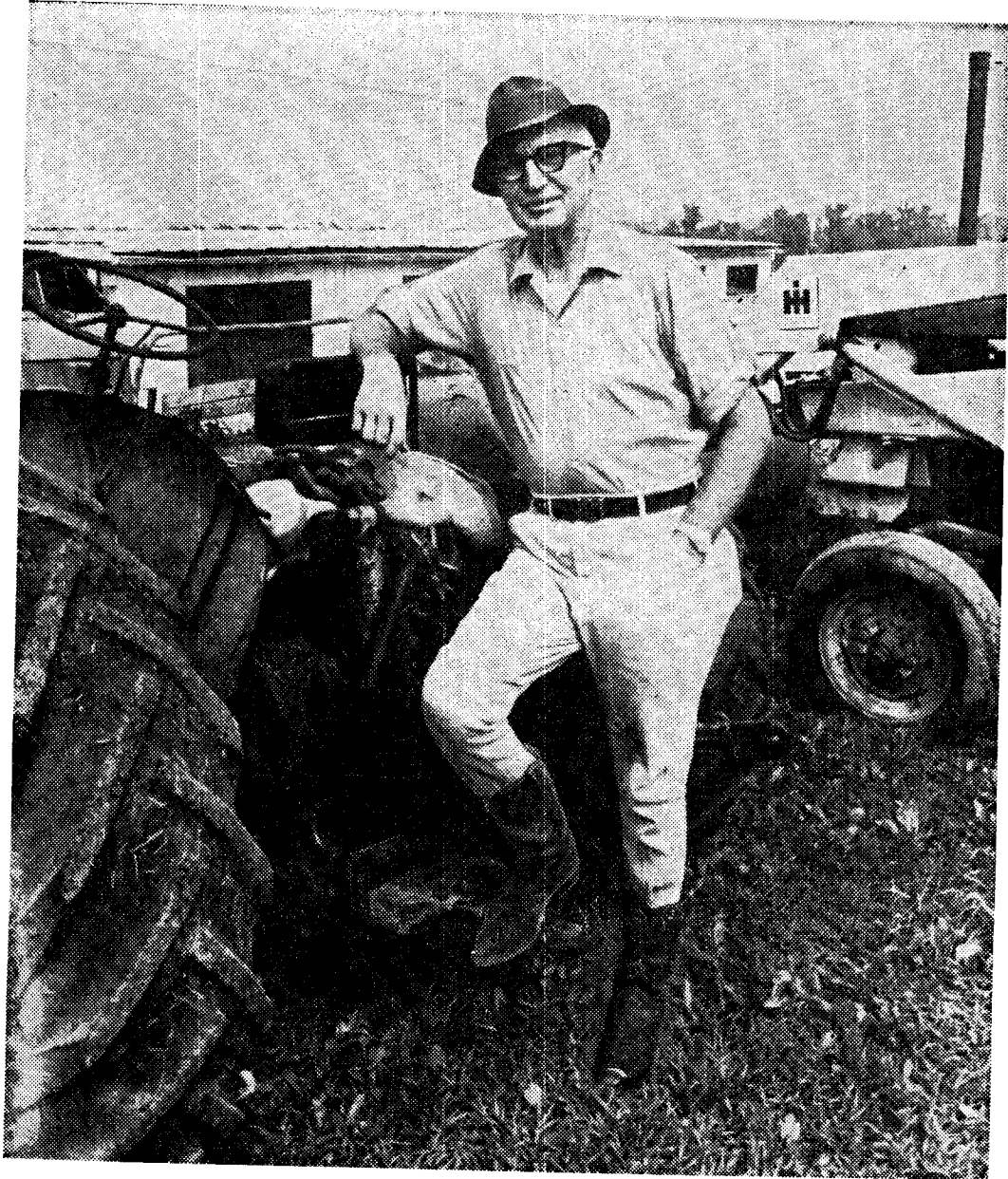


Photos by Jim McNamara—The Washington Post

*Former U.S. Senator Wayne Morse, right, has put his Poolesville, Md., farm up for sale for \$2,000 per acre and will concentrate on Oregon politics in the immediate future. Above, he feeds a calf he was trying to nurse back to health.*

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porter the mementos of his farming days, particularly pictures of Morse with his favorite horses and bulls. There is also a riding saddle given to him in 1956 by several Democratic senators — including Johnson, Humphrey, Fulbright and Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) — to honor his conversion from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party.

"I've had an interest in a farm all my life, was born on one myself (in Wisconsin)," Morse explains. "Devon cattle have been in the Morse family for 100 years. My great grandfather migrated from Vermont to Wisconsin in a caravan of covered wagons pulled by Devon oxen. My father was

a farmer. He was a good livestock man... I've never seen a mean Devon bull in my life."

One of his bulls, he says, was "among the greatest show cattle in this country in a hundred years." While he was in the Senate, he says, breeding Devons was a form of relaxation.

"My wife used to say that a lot of people relax by playing solitaire, but that I relax by taking out my registration papers, shuffling them and saying, 'Midge, I just produced a great bull.'

"Breeding is the best medicine I've ever had, kept me in top shape."

Those days when he

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## MORSE, From G1

from? We set him up in office and we militarized him."

Morse is firmly convinced that John F. Kennedy would have gotten the country out of Vietnam, because one day in November of 1963, Kennedy told Morse he was commissioning an "intense review" of the country's Vietnam policy.

"I kept talking to him (that day) about the effect of our policies, and Kennedy kept saying, That's not my intention," Morse recalls.

"I made all my points. I told him he was continuing the Eisenhower policy. He said he was de-emphasizing the military policy — that was the time when they were beginning to talk about pacification. I said, Mr. President, there's just one way to de-emphasize the

military in Vietnam and that's to eliminate it.' He said, 'I'm far from convinced you're wrong.'"

Ten days after that meeting, Kennedy was assassinated, and Morse says any evidence of an "intense study" of Vietnam policy by the Kennedy administration is probably under lock and key with the Kennedy Library papers.

As for fellow cattle breeder Lyndon Johnson, Morse believes he was "deceived" about Vietnam in the early stages of his administration. "But they turned him into a deceiver himself," he said.

And who are "they?" Morse is asked. "The Rostows, the Bundys, the Joint Chiefs, the CIA, the whole crowd."

In August of 1964, when the Gulf of Tonkin resolu-

tion, sponsored by Sen. J. William Fulbright (D—Ark.), passed the Senate, 88 to 2, the two were Morse and Sen. Ernest Gruening (D—Alaska). The record shows that Morse characterized the United States as the "provocateur" in the Tonkin incident, saying, "We have been making covert war in Southeast Asia for some time, instead of seeking to keep the peace."

When Johnson escalated the war, Morse escalated his verbal attacks on the country's policies. He acknowledges now that he became known in the Senate as the "five o'clock shadow" because of the frequency with which he rose on the Senate floor late in the afternoon to berate the war policy.

Did Johnson ever rebuke Morse for his opposition? "No," replies Morse. "He

knew his men. The basis on which we operated was complete frankness. I never hesitated to tell the President what I thought."

But that was then, and this is now—on the farm.

Morse decided to sell his farm last June, he says, when his farm manager for years left him on five days' notice to accept a job at the farm of Montgomery Circuit Court Judge Kathryn Shook DuFour. Morse is sensitive to questions about the loss, but concedes his manager accepted a better job.

"I cut hay for 10 hours a day when the guy left," says Morse, who is six times a grandfather. "It's difficult to get help, so I put the farm on the market."

He acknowledges that financial reasons also contributed to his decision. "You can't be away from a place

like this without losing your shirt," he explains.

At one time, while he was in the Senate, he was operating about 610 acres of farmland in the Poolesville area, growing oats and barley along with the hay and cattle. For a time, he had over 400 head of cattle.

He sold most of the cattle after leaving the Senate because he could no longer afford to keep them and confined his Poolesville farming to the 73.9 acres he personally owns.

Now, he is asking \$2,000 an acre for the farm, which has two small spring-fed ponds on it.

He is also selling most of the 105 head of Devon cattle on the farm, although he plans to maintain 35 of the best in a rented barn across the road. Out in Oregon, he says, he will rent another farm near his home in Eu-

gene and will keep another 35 Devon there.

Morse will also maintain a small apartment at the Watergate downtown as a base for law work here. He seemed somewhat embarrassed about living in such an Establishment symbol, but explained that it was close to the Senate and that he had bought the apartment before the building was constructed.

The cottage at Morse's farm, fashioned out of an old milking barn and hen house, is filled with simple old wood furniture. The walls are covered with banners and pennants from the fairs and cattle shows he has won: the Maryland and Oregon State Fairs, the Montgomery County Fair. On one wall is an old, touristy Sportsman's Map of Oregon.

Morse quickly shows a re-

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needed relaxation are never far from his mind.

"There never was a time that Johnson wouldn't have changed his policy if Gruening and I could have produced 25 votes on the Senate floor," Morse says.

He believes that many of his fellow senators agreed with his criticisms of the war.

"They'd come out into the cloakroom and pat us on the back, and tell us we were right.

"But where were their votes? The stock answer was, 'Wayne, you know I can't do any good outside the Senate' (Meaning they were fearful that a vote against the war would mean electoral defeat). I told them, 'You're not doing any good inside the Senate'.

"They were afraid to vote their convictions. They went along. I don't know how they could do what they did and live with themselves."

When he began to give speeches over and over again on the Senate floor, he recalls, a lot of people asked why.

"It's because I was a teacher. (He was a law professor at the University of Oregon.) A teacher knows the value of repetition and the capacity of his class. And it takes speeches four or five times a week to raise doubts in the mind of a United States Senator."

Of his loss to Sen. Robert Packwood (R-Ore.) Morse asserts, "The war beat me. I refused to honor Johnson's policies... The Senate was hawkish in 1968. Why shouldn't the people of Oregon be?"

There is an element of pathos to a Senator who has lost office—like that of an athlete who has lost his legs—but Morse out of office has managed to be as much of a maverick and iconoclast as he always was.

He says he has had opportunities to enter private law practice in Washington. A prominent Washington firm he won't say which one—offered him a job represent-

ing the interests of Latin American companies trying to export sugar into the United States. (Morse would be useful in such a role because he was the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Latin American subcommittee.)

But, says Morse, "I won't do it. They want what amounts to legal lobbying, and that's not what my responsibilities are as an ex-Senator. I do not propose to commercialize on my 24 years as a Senator to become a lawyer-lobbyist.

"They said to me, 'You're not in the Senate any more. There's nothing wrong with this, is there?' But I couldn't do it and be happy with myself."

Instead, Morse has spent his time as a legal consultant on appellate issues and arbitrating labor cases. (He was the Senate's leading expert on labor law.) He has also devoted considerable time to academic work, traveling from campus to campus for two or three weeks at a time to give seminars. (He sends a reading list ahead in advance, so that the students are prepared.)

He says he will publish two or three books within the next three or four years: one on foreign policy, one on education and one on labor. "No hurry about it," he explains.

Now, he is planning his campaign for re-election. "Fund-raising is my present job. Without the financial backing, I wouldn't run. I spent \$400,000 on my 1968 campaign, but I don't think I'll need that much next time."

He will be 72 years old at election day, 1972, but Morse is sure he will be the youth candidate. There is already a registration drive on his behalf among young people in Oregon, he says.

As for his family, Morse says, "I think the family is always more concerned than the candidate. The family doesn't like to see the candidate defeated. I always served in the Senate as if the term would be my last. That's the only way to serve."

What would he say now on the Senate floor if he were re-elected?

"You don't think we're

getting out of Asia, do you?" Morse snaps back. "You know what the Nixon doctrine is? There's no difference between the Nixon doctrine and the Eisenhower doctrine. The American people are beginning to see that we're moving more and more to executive supremacy and secrecy."

There is another issue that bothers Wayne Morse these days: What he believes to be an erosion of civil liberties.

The courts and the executive branch, he says, "just take the Bill of Rights away from you procedurally ... How much do you think is

left of the search-and-seizure provisions of the Constitution?

"Ten years before the Third Reich, the German people were as free as we once were ... They permitted the German courts and executive branch to do what's happening here today—limit their freedoms."

Morse believes the Supreme Court should step in and stop the assumption of power by the executive

branch of the federal government. He becomes enraged when discussing President Nixon's impounding of funds already appropriated by Congress.

Morse also remains convinced that the war in Indochina is unconstitutional.

"You still don't have a decision of the Supreme Court that says the government has a right to kill American boys over there ... I think young men are

completely justified to evade the draft. The issue is not patriotism—99 and nine-tenths per cent of them would have rallied to the flag if American security were really at stake. But we've been the aggressor, we've been the outlaw."

While he talked of cataclysmic issues, Morse administered to a calf that had contracted an infection from its mother's milk. He regards

nimself as an amateur veterinarian.

He wanted badly to save the animal. "It's obviously a born show calf ... it's worth \$1,000 now and in three years it would be worth \$10,000. Devon breeders would compete to buy him. But I wouldn't sell him."

Carefully, Morse puts milk into a Coke bottle and forces it into the calf's throat. The calf kicks and struggles, and most of the

milk falls out. Morse jumps into his truck and drives into downtown Poolesville to buy a rubber contraption that will trickle the milk down the calf's throat. In the small, empty Poolesville drug store, the woman at the counter gives Morse a nod of recognition.

Morse drives back to the farm and gives the calf milk. The calf swallows and Morse announces triumphantly, "I think my calf is

saved." Feeling the calf's nose, he explains to the interviewer: "Not as hot as it was last night. He's not out of danger until his nose cools off."

It is getting late. Morse is due back in town at his Watergate apartment for dinner. The interviewer, seeing that Morse has only the truck for transportation, asks him whether he needs a lift downtown.

Morse refuses. Referring

to his prominent Watergate neighbors, Attorney General John Mitchell and Sen. Russell Long, he says:

"I get a great deal of satisfaction out of driving the farm truck into the Watergate East. When Mitchell and Long see it, they see there's another part of society.

"My wife says, 'Wayne, why don't you hide that thing?' I say, why hide it?"