

James Tschudy

Plenty of Advice  
and Not So  
Much Consent:  
Senator Wayne Morse  
and U.S. Policy in  
Latin America

*Second in a Monograph Series  
Celebrating the  
Wayne Morse Legacy*

Published by the  
Wayne Morse Historical Park  
and the Wayne Morse Center  
for Law and Politics,  
University of Oregon  
Eugene, Oregon  
November 2007



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

# Preface

## *The Wayne Morse Legacy: A Monograph Series*

“Wayne Morse is our reminder, forever, that one man with unlimited courage can move mountains of apathy and despair.” Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., attorney, civil rights activist, and former occupant of the Wayne Morse Chair of Law and Politics at the University of Oregon.

The Wayne Morse Legacy series of monographs is intended to honor the life and work of Senator Wayne L. Morse by examining key policy areas in which he was involved and had an impact. The series is a continuing project of the Wayne Morse Historical Park Corporation and the Wayne Morse Center for Law and Politics at the University of Oregon. These two entities are dedicated to preserving the legacy of Wayne Morse through education and outreach.

The monographs will preserve knowledge of Morse’s colleagues and friends as well as interpretations by a new generation of scholars. They are not academic or technical works. Rather, the monographs are intended to be original and accessible essays for the general public, students, and scholars. This is in keeping with the Wayne Morse Center’s role as a “citizen academy” that celebrates through speakers, conferences, and publications the Morse ideals of intellectual independence and integrity. The Wayne Morse Park Board aims to help people learn and understand the legacy of Senator Morse and how he gave to others even as he served them.

The corporation board and the center believe that Wayne Morse’s contributions illustrate the Webster definition of history, which speaks of “acts, ideas, or events that will or can shape the course of the future.” These monographs will examine how Morse affected

education, natural resource policy, foreign affairs, human and civil rights, and labor and industrial relations.

The current monograph is the second of the series and examines Morse's impact and experience in Latin American foreign policy. Senator Morse chaired the Latin American subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for many years during the 1950s and 1960s. This experience helped the senator formulate his strong beliefs about international law and U.S. foreign policy for which he became famous later in his career.

The author is James Tschudy, a second-year student at the University of Oregon School of Law who studied Latin American issues in college. We are thrilled to present a monograph by a young scholar who examines the Morse legacy and its relevance in today's world.

The first monograph focused on natural resource policy. It was authored by the late Robert E. Wolf, a contemporary of Wayne Morse who was involved in every major piece of federal land legislation from the early 1950s to the 1980s.

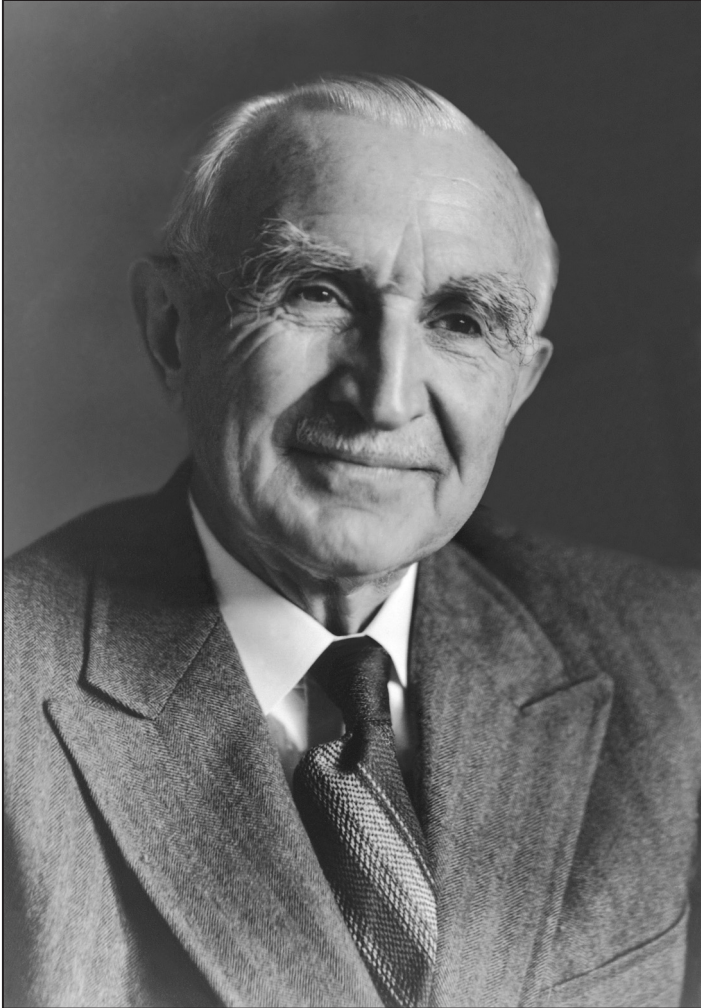
*Laura Olson,  
Wayne Morse Historical  
Park Corporation Board*

*Margaret Hallock, Director,  
Wayne Morse Center  
for Law and Politics*



# Table of Contents

Preface . . . . .	2
About Senator Wayne L. Morse . . . . .	7
Author and Acknowledgements . . . . .	9
Introduction . . . . .	11
Latin America: The Backdrop . . . . .	14
Revolution and Response: The Alliance for Progress . . . . .	20
The Tenacity of Status Quo Policies . . . . .	23
Morse Stands Fast on Principles . . . . .	27
Aftermath and Conclusions . . . . .	31
Bibliography . . . . .	35



# About Senator Wayne L. Morse

**A**s a law professor and dean of the University of Oregon School of Law, a labor arbitrator, and a United States Senator, Wayne Morse left a deep legacy of commitment to democratic representation, the rule of law, and intellectual independence to the University of Oregon, to the State of Oregon, and to the nation and its people.

During Wayne Morse's twenty-four-year tenure in the Senate, from 1944 to 1968, he was a leader in a wide range of issues, including the antiwar movement, education, civil rights, and international law. He is perhaps best remembered for his historic stance as one of two senators who opposed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which initiated U.S. military intervention in Vietnam.

Wayne Morse took his first law professorship at the University of Oregon School of Law and became the dean within nine months. At thirty, he was the youngest dean of any American Bar Association-accredited law school in the country. His extraordinary effectiveness as a labor arbitrator eventually consumed Morse's time and energy to the point where he resigned as dean.

Morse's mission as an arbitrator was to uphold what he saw as the sanctity of the contract, the rule of law in the field of labor relations. Deeply committed to fairness and justice, he was popular both with unions and employers. He later served on the National War Labor Board.

When President Eisenhower adopted Taft's economic policies favoring big business in the early 1950s, Senator Morse left the Republican Party and became an Independent. His reason was succinct: "Principle above politics." Morse joined the Democratic Party in 1955, but two years later he voted against Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson's watered-down Civil Rights Bill, calling it an "unconscionable compromise." And when John F. Kennedy supported the Landrum-Griffin Act, which weakened unions' legal protections in the name of rooting out organized crime, Senator Morse became so outraged that he ran against Kennedy in the 1960 presidential primaries.

Morse held the liberal conviction that the purpose of democratic politics is not to amass wealth, but rather to enable the country's true wealth—its people—to flourish. In Morse's own words: "If you want to understand my political philosophy, here's the basic tenet: I think the job of a U.S. Senator is to seek to translate into legislation values that promote the welfare of people. Because . . . the keystone of the Constitution is the general welfare clause, and the wealth of America is its people, not its materialism."





# Author and Acknowledgements

James Tschudy is a second-year law student at the University of Oregon. He holds a bachelor's degree in history and a master's degree in Latin American history from the University of Arizona. He developed interest in U.S. foreign policy in Latin America while conducting research for a master's thesis on the historical roots of the Cuban Revolution and working with the faculty of the University of Arizona history department. Like Wayne Morse, Tschudy was born and raised in Wisconsin and was led to Oregon by the University of Oregon School of Law.

Special thanks are owed to the following for their input and assistance, both past and present: Onyria Tschudy and our family-to-be; University of Arizona professors Bert Barickman, David Gibbs, Kevin Gosner, and David Ortiz; University of Oregon School of Law professors Adell Amos and Joan Malmud; the staff at the University of Oregon Knight Library Special Collections; and Margaret Hallock and the Wayne Morse Center for Law and Politics.



# Plenty of Advice and Not So Much Consent: Senator Wayne Morse and U.S. Policy in Latin America

## *Introduction*

*The Congress has a great obligation to this administration to put itself at the disposal of this administration in keeping with the spirit and intent of the advice and consent clause of the Constitution. We have stood ready and willing to give that advice and to consult with and cooperate with this administration in respect to the Cuban crisis. The sad fact is that our advice has not been sought.*<sup>1</sup>

**W**ayne Morse spoke these words on the Senate floor in the days following the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion. Throughout his career, Wayne Morse did more than stand ready and willing to give advice on foreign affairs—he simply gave it, whether or not the administration, or his fellow congressmen, wanted to hear it. This practice reached its historical zenith with the political battle over Vietnam.

The advice and consent clause of the Constitution is the only inroad to foreign policy, other than the war powers clause and foreign commerce clause, which the United States Senate has. While treaties with foreign nations must be ratified by the Senate, all other policy making, diplomacy, and negotiation is the sole province of the executive branch. The nature of this division of power, however, has been and continues to be contested by legal scholars, political scientists, presidents and members of Congress. Supreme Court Justice Jackson referred to this grey area of power as a “twilight zone.”<sup>2</sup> Senator Morse was not the first nor was he the last senator to grapple with

---

1     Remarks by Senator Wayne Morse, *Congressional Record*, Proceedings and Debates of the 87th Congress, First Session, April 24, 1961, Morse Collection, B 43, Foreign Relations Cuba 1961.

2     *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579, 635 (1952).

this limited and often unclear aspect of checks and balances in the course of his duties. He continued in his Bay of Pigs speech:

*Madam President, we should not lose sight—and the White house should not lose sight—of the fact that under our Constitution foreign policy does not belong to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State. They are but the administrators of the people’s foreign policy. Foreign policy, under our system of representative government, belongs to the American people.*<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately for Wayne Morse, the Cold War often compelled the American people, as well as their representatives in Congress, to obligingly support the executive’s foreign policy until it was too late. After Morse’s electoral defeat in 1968, it took another five years of assassinations, scandals, protests, riots, war, coups, and ultimately the impeachment of the executive before the American people and Congress fully asserted their influence on the executive domain of foreign policy. The War Powers Act, the Watergate Scandal, and the Church Committee Hearings asserted congressional checks on the executive, but these also did not hold firmly over time.

How did Wayne Morse affect United States foreign policy towards Latin America? The answer lies within Morse’s bedrock principles of democracy, international law, and multilateralism. Morse worked for what we might call a domestic democratization of United States foreign policy. Morse felt that the American people and their representatives in Congress were left out of the decision process and kept in the dark on the facts of foreign affairs. In an era that saw the cloak-and-dagger and covert action raised to unprecedented levels of planning, scope, and sophistication, Wayne Morse was a crucial voice of reason against the cloud of secrecy that surrounded the executive in matters relating to foreign policy. In this respect, Morse was twenty years ahead of the Church Committee Hearings of 1975.

In terms of multilateralism and adherence to international law, Morse was instrumental in the creation and adoption of the Alliance for Progress, which codified these principles into a working policy program for Latin America. Morse’s time with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee coincided with a cascade of events in Latin America that brought unprecedented American attention to the

---

3      Remarks by Senator Wayne Morse, *Congressional Record*, Proceedings and Debates of the 87th Congress, First Session, April 24, 1961, Morse Collection, B 43, Foreign Relations Cuba 1961.

region, ultimately compelling President John F. Kennedy to refer to Latin America as the “most dangerous area in the world.”<sup>4</sup> For a brief time from the late fifties to early sixties, the United States abandoned its traditional policies and embarked on a program of cooperation, support, and understanding in tune with Senator Morse’s bedrock principles. Flawed as it was, the Alliance for Progress was a change that many Latin Americans still recall with fondness.

In the short run, Morse was a powerful and early supporter of the shift in policy that would culminate in the Alliance for Progress. However, by 1965 the United States had returned to the old status quo policies favoring stability and profit over democratic principle and development. Furthermore, the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations vigorously, and at times criminally, reaffirmed the executive’s prerogative for secrecy and sole determination of policy in foreign affairs.

In the long run, Wayne Morse remains a compelling example of the importance of a voice of dissent, even at the height of patriotic fervor, to force the hand of the truth. The Executive Branch is in a unique position when it comes to foreign policy. Through the State Department, the CIA, and the Pentagon, the president has access to intelligence and resources regarding world events and conditions that are beyond the average American and often the average member of Congress. This position has at times been used to shape the truth for political and public consumption in order to achieve foreign policy objectives that were arguably not in the national interest.

Morse recognized this not only as a practice used in the past, but also he was often able to identify it as it was happening. The combined manipulation of facts and the passions of the public often garnered congressional support—except from Wayne Morse. His willingness to ask the hard questions and take the unpopular stance and not “stand behind the president” made him a hero and a pariah at the same time. His instincts were often correct, and his principles stood fast in the face of reactive passions and fears. His legacy reminds us not only of how critically important congressional checks on the executive really are, but also the right and responsibility that average Americans have to ensure their government is accurately representing them to the world.

---

4 Rabe, Stephen G. *The Most Dangerous Area in the World: John F. Kennedy Confronts Communist Revolution in Latin America*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

## *Latin America: The Backdrop*

In 1823, President James Monroe gave a State of the Union address that resulted in what has been called the Monroe Doctrine.<sup>5</sup> This assertion of U.S. influence in the New World came as a reaction to Russian, British, and French maneuvering for new colonies, as well as Spain's desire to reconquer the newly independent Latin American republics. Often seen as the cornerstone for American hegemony in the western hemisphere, the Monroe Doctrine set a pattern of U.S. policy interest in the region. This was a pattern of scant diplomatic attention punctuated by grand statements and actions when issues arose involving the European powers.

While official diplomacy did not give priority to the region, the private sector was keenly interested in Latin American resources and markets, particularly in the Caribbean. Tin, copper, coffee, bananas, oil, and sugar were mainstay products that drew international business and investment. To pursue these interests, U.S. businesses built railroads and ports, created steamship lines, and established political alliances with local authorities.

The absence of centralized governmental authorities in the wake of independence from Spain gave these American firms enormous latitude in dictating the terms of their presence in a given nation. This latitude included monopolies on resources, land, and passage rights. These U.S. firms could count on the United States government to allow them to operate unhindered, as well as offer occasional assistance in pressing their interest. This often involved a low profile treaty with a competing colonial power such as Great Britain, or the use of U.S. Navy vessels to persuade Latin Americans to pay their debts or respect private property.

The 1898 Spanish American War represented a consolidation of power in the region. With increased military, political, and economic power, the United States was able to press its interests in Latin America with greater frequency and depth. This new power was useful to private American business interests in dealing with the often politically unstable, and sometimes uncooperative, Latin American republics.

The resulting partnership between U.S. political power and private business interests that shaped the pattern of involvement for the twentieth century was best evidenced by the Panama Canal.

---

5 May, Ernest R. *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press (Harvard), 1975.

Although the general low priority given the region during the nineteenth century continued, new viable strategic interests in the region emerged, most notably the canal across the Isthmus of Panama. In 1903, the Roosevelt Administration participated in aiding the Panamanian Independence movement after Colombia rejected the treaty that would have allowed for the canal to be built. U.S. forces blocked the Colombian military from putting down the rebellion, and President Theodore Roosevelt immediately recognized the independent state of Panama. A canal treaty was drawn up and signed shortly thereafter.<sup>6</sup>

This episode is the first of many U.S. military and political interventions carried out in Latin America in the first third of the twentieth century. The critical ingredient in this case was the strategic, as well as economic, value of the canal project. In order for the United States to maintain a two-ocean navy, the canal was crucial for rapid deployment. The canal thus became the primary concern for U.S. strategic planning and diplomacy in the hemisphere. Any perceived threat to the canal became a matter of great importance. For example, when the president of Nicaragua proposed a European-funded, Japanese-controlled canal through Nicaragua in 1909, he was overthrown by a U.S. sponsored coup.<sup>7</sup> Interventions became common not only to ensure stability in the region surrounding the canal, but also to block competition from outside powers.

The Monroe Doctrine remained at the heart of these actions. As European power gradually receded from the western hemisphere, U.S. policy makers became evermore determined to prevent any new footholds. This sentiment was made policy in the 1905 Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, which explicitly declared the United States' right to police the hemisphere. The most crucial point of this doctrine was the U.S. right to intervene in a Latin American republic in the event of internal political or economic instability. The rationale given for this was the U.S. Navy's recent repulsion of German warships that were intending to bombard Venezuela and seize its customs house for nonpayment of loans. The U.S. made clear that it could and would intervene if the Latin American republics were not behaving as the North Americans felt they should be.

The next thirty years saw dozens of armed interventions and

---

6 Morris, Edmund. *Theodore Rex*. (New York: Random House, 2002).

7 Walter, Knut. *The Regime of Anastasio Somoza, 1936-1956*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 10.

occupations of the Latin American republics. This included periods of direct U.S. military rule of Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Panama. Despite Franklin Roosevelt's disavowal of these practices in 1934 with the Good Neighbor Policy, they reappeared in the aftermath of the Second World War.

As the Cold War was born in Berlin following the Second World War and the Communists gained momentum in China, the United States became ever more focused on events in Europe and Asia. Latin America once again took a back seat for American policymakers. As a result, the establishment of new dictatorships and the corruption encouraged by U.S. business interests were largely ignored.

In 1958, policy makers and average Americans alike received a wake up call regarding feelings towards the United States. Richard Nixon, on tour in South America, made a stop in Caracas, Venezuela. As his motorcade left the airport, it was met by scores of angry Venezuelans. Much of their anger derived from U.S. support of a recently deposed dictator that favored U.S. oil interests. The crowd hurled insults and spit upon the vice president's limousine, and ultimately began throwing rocks and other debris. Americans were shocked at the incident, many completely unaware of why Venezuelans would have any reason to hate the United States so fervently. Among those wanting an answer was Senator Wayne Morse.

### *Wayne Morse Addresses Latin America*

After the Caracas incident in 1958, Senator Morse, as the chairman on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Subcommittee for Latin American Affairs, set in motion a comprehensive two-year study of U.S. foreign policy in the region. In the press release announcing the hearings, Morse said the attack was "only symptomatic of a more basic problem."<sup>8</sup> He declared, "Our basic policies in Latin America have been unwise and inadequate."<sup>9</sup> The senator already had a good sense of the specific reasons for the reaction in Caracas. Morse recognized how the U.S. had "virtually ignored Latin America for a decade while we concentrated on helping our friends in Western Europe."<sup>10</sup>

---

8 Press Release, August 9, 1958, "Senator Morse Commends 2 Year Study Program of Senate Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs."

9 Press Release, May 15, 1958, "Morse Calls Subcommittee Meeting for Latin America Hearings," Morse Collection, I 33, Foreign Relations General.

10 Letter to Arthur Courstion, December 7, 1960, Morse Collection, A 27, Council on Foreign Relations 1959-1961.



More to the point, in a radio address following the incident, Morse observed that oil-inspired U.S. support of the Jimenez regime was indeed a strong motivation.<sup>11</sup> Many officials and commentators accused Communist agitators for the Venezuelan mob, to which Morse replied, “While communists may have lit the fire, U.S. policy provided the fuel.”<sup>12</sup>

The support of the Jimenez regime in Venezuela was anchored in military aid to Latin America that had originated with the Second World War and continued into the Cold War. Senator Morse had long been a vocal critic of military aid to the region and foreign aid in general. In many ways, Morse maintained his stance in relation to the Asia and Middle East policies of the Eisenhower Administration and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. The dramatic political battles regarding those policies are for another study, but they established Morse’s bedrock principles on foreign policy. Speaking in 1958 regarding arms reduction specifically in the western hemisphere, Morse asserted practical concerns:

Frankly, after studying the foreign aid surveys . . . , I can see little value in arms shipments, either by grant or purchase, to most of our South American neighbors. Their military establishments have little connection or relevance to the security system we have devised for our defense against possible Soviet attack.<sup>13</sup>

It is indeed hard to imagine how a Honduran tank unit or the Venezuelan Coast Guard could aid in repelling a Soviet nuclear strike. This obvious notion aside, Morse also firmly believed that the best weapon against Communist subversion, which was the alternative excuse for military aid, was meaningful improvements in the lives of people in the poorer countries. Morse continued:

One excuse given for military aid . . . is that it is needed to guard against Communist subversion. This leads me to observe of South America what is equally true of so many other low income nations in Africa and Asia we also supply with arms: Communist conversion is far more threatening

---

11 Radio Broadcast on U.S. Relations with South America, May 21, 1958, Morse Collection, I 33, Foreign Relations General.

12 Ibid.

13 Press Release, March 6, 1958, Morse Papers A 85, General Correspondence.

where social and economic poverty are a way of life than where people can see that democracy and free enterprise make tangible improvements in their daily existence.<sup>14</sup>

The fact of the matter was that military aid often went to dictators that used the hardware to maintain power, repress the population, and concentrate wealth in the hands of a small elite. Aside from realizing the consequences of such aid, Morse was morally offended by military support for such unsavory rulers as Fulgencio Batista in Cuba and Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic. In preparing for a Senate hearing regarding such aid, Morse drafted the question, “Do you feel that the military value of arming notorious dictatorial governments should outweigh moral considerations?”<sup>15</sup> This moral sentiment was echoed by Latin Americans themselves. A letter forwarded to Senator Morse from a Haitian illustrates this succinctly:

But what I do not understand—and the U.S. is losing ground here very fast for that—is why in the world the U.S. Government agreed to send and has actually sent to Haiti a military mission of over 60 members to train the Haitian Army. To train the Haitian Army against WHO? Teaching Haitians how to kill Haitians?<sup>16</sup>

Senator Morse was very wary of the United States being in bed with these regimes, and he took his case to the Senate to push for reform of the aid program. On the subject of military aid, Morse spoke before the Senate:

The region is in no danger of external Soviet aggression; internal subversion has not been eliminated by military aid, as we saw in Guatemala; in some South American countries our military aid has been used in struggles between rival “juntas” having nothing to do with communism. Yet from 1949–1957, we spent \$175 million to arm Latin American countries, in addition to the arms they have purchased from us. I suggest that it is time we re-study the question of military aid to South American countries, perhaps with

---

14 Ibid.

15 Draft Questions for James Minotto, Morse Collection, A 75, Latin America.

16 Anonymous letter forwarded to Senator Morse, January 27, 1959, by Mrs. Walter White, Morse Collection, A 56, General Correspondence, Haiti.

a view to shifting more economic assistance through the Organization of American States.<sup>17</sup>

In 1959 Senator Morse was successful in attaching an amendment to the Mutual Security Act that prevented military aid for the purpose of internal security.<sup>18</sup> In addition to the moral and practical criticisms, Morse took this opportunity to attack much of the secrecy surrounding military aid.<sup>19</sup> However, exemptions to the restriction were often found, and military aid for such purposes was not greatly affected.

Morse not only wanted aid money to go to economic assistance rather than military assistance, but he also demanded dramatic alterations in the means by which the money was allocated. In addition to using the Organization of American States as a multilateral platform, Morse objected to the very form of the aid:

First, the disproportionate emphasis on military as against economic aid, especially as these provisions apply to Asia and Latin America. It is certainly painfully clear by now that what the underdeveloped countries really need is economic assistance in a multiplicity of forms. And yet roughly only one-third of the mutual security funds are devoted to purely economic ventures. My second objection concerns our failure to go far enough in shifting from grant aid to loans as our prime vehicle for transmitting the economic assistance which is so urgently required in less fortunate countries.<sup>20</sup>

Seeing the inadequacy of these grants and the misuse of such funds by the recipients, Morse had a specific vision in mind:

It is my opinion that we waste hundreds of millions of dollars each year through the so-called “blanket loans” to

---

17 Speech by Senator Wayne Morse, February 10, 1958, “Is the Senate Heeding the Findings and Recommendations of its own Special Studies on Foreign Aid?” Morse Collection, I 33, Foreign Relations General.

18 Rabe 1999, 130.

19 Abbey, LeRoy and Garner, Rod. *Fighting the Odds: The Life of Senator Frank Church*. (Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 1994), 117.

20 Speech by Senator Wayne Morse, January 29, 1960, Portland, Oregon (Pacific Northwest International Relations Clubs meeting), Morse Collection, O 12.

foreign governments. However, a loan for a specific project . . . or similar wealth creating facility makes much more sense. It gives greater assurance that the people of the borrowing nation will actually be benefited, than does the blanket loan program.<sup>21</sup>

Morse was convinced early on that the old practice of funding dictators for stability and support was not the appropriate means to expand American influence and counter the perceived threat of Communism. Fundamental changes in U.S. policies, however, had to be matched by fundamental changes in the economic, social, and political practices in the Latin American republics themselves. After a 1960 tour of Latin America Morse remarked, "When I visited several South American countries last year, I was greatly impressed by the fact that the many social classifications and customs of the Latin American countries do much to retard the progress of their people."<sup>22</sup> Ironically, changes in one particular Latin American republic became a showcase supporting Morse's views. However, the fundamental changes in this particular republic were not the changes Morse had in mind.

### *Revolution and Response: Morse and The Alliance for Progress*

The Cuban Revolution proved just how counterproductive the support of dictators really was in the long run. Fidel Castro cultivated anti-U.S. sentiment for his revolution and made it impossible for the status quo to prevail. The Eisenhower Administration was unable to effectively bring Castro into the fold, and many argue it helped push him into the Soviet camp. Attempts to overthrow the new Cuban regime were thinly veiled, failed, and only compounded the diplomatic acrimony. However, many Americans, given their own history of revolutionaries overthrowing a tyrannical regime, initially welcomed Castro as an opportunity for new change in Latin America. Throngs of people greeted Castro when he arrived in New York to speak at the United Nations.

Morse was unimpressed with Castro from the start. Specifically, he

---

21 *Senator Morse Reports*, No. 9, November, 1958, Morse Collection, I 33, American Republics Affairs Subcommittee.

22 Letter to Aline Craham, November 23, 1960, Morse Collection, F 42, Foreign Relations 1960.

opposed not the legitimacy of the Cuban Revolution or the validity of the Cuban grievances, but the manner in which the new revolutionary regime meted out punishment to former Batista supporters and officials. He viewed the show trials and summary executions as violations of the Geneva Conference on legal procedures.<sup>23</sup> Morse declined an invitation extended by Castro to come to Cuba and observe the legal proceedings, explaining that the United Nations was better suited to make such observations.<sup>24</sup> However, Senator Morse was also wary of being used to legitimate Castro, and he was critical of Congressman Charles Porter's and others' eagerness to embrace Castro.

As the Cuban diplomatic quagmire snowballed, the Eisenhower and then the Kennedy Administration became increasingly reactive. Support of Cuban émigrés and tolerance and support for attacks on Cuba by those émigrés was accompanied by a growing urge to directly intervene militarily. Even after the Soviets established a relationship with Castro, and even after Castro declared the revolution socialist, and even after the Cuban Missile Crisis, Morse remained opposed to using the Cuban émigrés as mercenaries or violating international law and Cuba's sovereignty. In response to Richard Nixon's call to "unleash the exiles" in 1963, Morse retorted:

I am not in favor of keeping this relatively small percentage of its people on a string to use as a convenient pretext for an American invasion of Cuba. After Cuba, what? British Guiana? Brazil? There are voices in America right now who will swear that the government of Brazil, and the government of Venezuela are both Communist dominated. I do not want to see any return to the unilateral American policy of deciding when a government of Latin America is to be overthrown in furtherance of U.S. interests . . . . It would be a return to the 19<sup>th</sup> century diplomacy which made the United States a hated nation in the hemisphere and did damage which has required half a century to repair.<sup>25</sup>

Morse fully endorsed a much different approach to countering the influence of Castro's revolution and Communism in Latin America. The Alliance for Progress was born from the fear of "another Cuba,"

---

23 Letter to Editor, *The World*, Coos Bay, Oregon, February 20, 1959, Morse Collection, A 89, General Correspondence.

24 Ibid.

25 Remarks of Senator Wayne Morse, United States Senate, April 23, 1963, Wayne Morse Collection, B 43, Foreign Relations, Cuba 1961–1963, p. 3.

the Morse subcommittee recommendations from the 1958–1960 examination of U.S. policy, and Brazilian President Juscelino Kubitschek’s proposal for a regional development partnership called Operation Pan-America.

At the Punta Del Este Conference in 1961, delegates from the Latin American republics, including Che Guevara as the delegate for Cuba, came together to mold the goals and means of interregional development and assistance. The resulting charter proclaimed “We, the American Republics, hereby proclaim our decision to unite in a common effort to bring our people accelerated economic progress and broader social justice within the framework of personal dignity and political liberty.”<sup>26</sup> This unity also resolved to exclude Cuba and identify the threat it represented. Morse himself attended the conference and gave an address commending the efforts and results, reflecting the optimism of the moment.

Many in Latin America viewed the Cuban Revolution as a living, breathing example of a political, social, and economic alternative to the status quo as endorsed by the United States. While many Latin American leaders were either unconcerned or realistic about how much of a threat Cuba really was, the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations both saw changes in Cuba as a direct challenge and threat to U.S. hegemony in the region. This was of course fueled by the Cold War emphasis on strength and unity against the Soviet Union. To Kennedy, the alliance was the means to bring Latin Americans back into the fold, much as Franklin Roosevelt’s Good Neighbor Policy had in 1934. Just as Cuba was an alternative to the status quo, the Alliance for Progress was to be a new, cooperative alternative to both.

Morse was proud of his involvement with the birth of the Alliance for Progress. Speaking before the Senate chamber regarding the debate over further funding of the alliance in 1967, Morse reminded everyone that the alliance was “born in my subcommittee.”<sup>27</sup> Morse attended the Punta del Este Conference as an observer and was also an observer at the 1960 Bogotá Conference on economic and social reform. Castro’s revolution had provided the necessary reality check to the foreign policy elite that paved the way for practical application of Morse’s principles.

The Cuban Revolution not only provided a catalyst for Morse’s

---

26 The Charter of Punta del Este Preamble.

27 *Congressional Record*, S 3581, March 13, 1967, Morse Papers B 47, Foreign Relations 5 (Latin American) March, April.

ideas to be given a serious try, it also simultaneously validated his views on military aid. The Eisenhower Administration had finally cut aid to the Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista in the fall of 1958. By New Year's Eve of that year, Batista had fled the country, and the rebels declared victory on January 1, 1959. Military aid had the primary result of propping up an otherwise illegitimate and unsustainable regime and fueling a radicalization of the general population in opposition to that regime and its American supporters. The resulting regime was the very type that was supposed to have been prevented. Despite this evidence of the impact of military aid, Morse would have to continue battling the military aid question for the rest of his senate tenure. In the meantime, the positive aspects of the Alliance for Progress offered a hope and idealism that was the foreign policy complement to Kennedy's New Frontier.

### *The Tenacity of Status Quo Policies*

Despite dramatic declarations of internationalism, faith in democratic movements, and economic modernization, the primary tendencies of U.S. policy in Latin America did not fade away. In June of 1961, the Dominican Republic was experiencing political upheaval regarding the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo. President Kennedy had inherited a U.S. policy of trying to remove the long-time Cold War puppet to avoid another Cuban-style revolution. Kennedy was very specific on how he viewed the situation, telling his aides "There are three possibilities in descending order of preference: a decent democratic regime, a continuation of the Trujillo regime, or a Castro regime. We ought to aim for the first, but we really can't renounce the second until we are sure that we can avoid the third."<sup>28</sup> That often quoted statement sums up the Cold War tightrope on which U.S. foreign policy walked.

Morse was constantly at odds with this position and the unilateral, often covert, means by which it was executed. When it came to regional relations and relations with Cuba itself, Morse declared "No Senator on the other side of the aisle hates Castro and the Communist regime he maintains more than does the Senator from Oregon. But . . . , I shall continue to do everything I can to urge that my Government stay within the framework of international law."<sup>29</sup> In a letter to

---

28 Rabe 1999, 41.

29 *Congressional Record*—Senate 1963, 11601, Morse Collection B 43, Foreign Relations, Cuba 1961–1963.

pacifist Norman Thomas, Senator Morse lamented that “. . . too much American foreign policy is being dictated by the CIA and the Pentagon Building.”<sup>30</sup> Nonintervention in domestic affairs was a tenant of the charter of the Organization of American States and the Alliance for Progress. This principle and the mandates of international law were given lip service, if not ignored, in the execution of Cold War policies. Morse’s opposition to this disregard of international law, while constant, had little effect.

The 1964 Brazilian military coup, however, was a moment of contradiction for Morse. The Kennedy men, who had never entirely ruled out support for and relationships with military dictatorships, were beginning to promote the belief that these military men were forward looking, progressive, and fundamentally pro-democracy. Given the existing institutional stability of the military, they reasoned that a military regime, properly motivated by U.S. aid, provided a better framework for the development of free markets and democratic systems. Morse rejected this analysis, saying that the use of aid to steer the policies of these juntas undercut the spirit and purpose of the alliance.<sup>31</sup> According to Robert McNamara in 1964, “the essential role of Latin American military as a stabilizing force outweighs any risks involved in providing military assistance for internal security purposes.”<sup>32</sup> The training of Latin American military officers in counterinsurgency doctrines at the Panama Canal Zone and at the School of the Americas at Fort Benning, Georgia, had forged significant relationships between high-ranking military men and their American benefactors. The coup in Brazil proved just how effective this relationship could be.

Exactly one month after writing to a constituent that “too much American foreign policy is being dictated by the CIA and the Pentagon Building,” Morse spoke before the Senate regarding the March 31 military coup in Brazil. Morse asserted that it was in fact not a military coup and that the United States was not involved. He supported the immediate recognition of the military government that had

---

30 Letter to Norman Thomas, March 3, 1964, Morse Collection B 46, Foreign Relations 1964 (Latin America, Central, South).

31 Excerpts from remarks of Senator Wayne Morse, Utah State College, Logan, Utah, July 7, 1964, Morse Collection, B 46, Foreign Relations 1964 (Latin America, Central, South).

32 Rabe 1999, 133.



disposed of the constitutional government of João Goulart.<sup>33</sup> These contradictory statements illustrate that Morse probably did not yet know the full extent of U.S. involvement because of the secrecy of major foreign policy decisions.

In fact, the United States was a moving force in the Brazilian coup. Brazil had followed an independent, nonaligned foreign policy that included trade relations with Eastern Bloc countries. Within the Brazilian military, there were “pro-U.S.” generals and “nationalistic” generals that supported the constitution and Brazilian autonomy.<sup>34</sup> This autonomy included not only independent trading policies, but also independent voting in the United Nations and Organization of American States, as illustrated by Brazil’s abstention on a vote in the OAS regarding the threat from Cuba.<sup>35</sup>

Through military attachés and the Central Intelligence Agency, the Kennedy, and then the Johnson Administration, first began funding opposition groups in Brazil and courting the “pro-U.S.” generals while Goulart’s predecessor, Janio Quadros was in office. Quadros resigned early in his term following intense pressure from U.S. officials who had tried to use foreign aid to encourage changes in Brazilian foreign and domestic policies. Goulart was not a suitable replacement in the eyes of the conspirators and their sponsors. The coup was planned and United States Navy support, including aircraft carriers, was promised to those planning the coup. When the generals moved on Rio de Janeiro, a civil war between the factions of the armed services appeared imminent. Rather than undergo violence, Goulart fled to Uruguay. President Johnson recognized the junta immediately.<sup>36</sup>

Given Brazil’s foreign relations with the Eastern Bloc and its domestic tolerance of Communist politicians, as well as Goulart’s reforms that benefited the lower classes, many in the U.S. did believe that the official line that the coup was a preemptive, patriotic act to protect the constitution from a pending communist inspired dictatorship. Although Morse had been skeptical in 1963 about the reality of communist domination in Brazil, he endorsed both President Johnson’s actions and the official explanation regarding the coup in

---

33 *Congressional Record*, April 3, 1964, 6638, Morse Collection B 46, Foreign Relations (Latin America—Central and South) 1966.

34 Blum, William. *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*. Common Courage, 1995, 164.

35 *Ibid.*, 165.

36 *Ibid.*, 166.

1964. The May 1964 issue of *Wayne Morse Reports* depicts his trust of President Johnson in the wake of the Brazilian coup. A photo of the two conversing is captioned:

President Johnson frequently confers with me on Alliance for Progress programs . . . He is carrying forward, as Pres. Kennedy did, a sound cooperative United States-Latin American policy aimed at the goal of more rapid development of economic freedom for the people of Latin America. He, too, recognizes, as Pres. Kennedy did, that people cannot be politically free unless they are also able to enjoy as individuals economic freedom of choice.<sup>37</sup>

Morse's support for Johnson probably was related to the fact that he was among many who were unaware of the depth to which U.S. money and military doctrine had penetrated the Brazilian military. It bears mentioning that this incident predated the Gulf of Tonkin incident by three months.

Morse later realized what had transpired and vigorously blocked the appointment of the former U.S. Ambassador to Brazil to the under Secretary of State for American Affairs in 1967 due to his collaboration with the military junta.<sup>38</sup> In that same year, Morse wrote to a constituent, "The people of Brazil are quite right in feeling that the U.S. is as much responsible for this government as they are, for I doubt that without our backing it could have seized control or survived as long as it has."<sup>39</sup> The optimism of the early alliance period had thus come under serious pressure.

Morse believed that the Alliance for Progress really could change the quality of life for average Latin Americans, counter the forces of communism, and improve the moral standing of the United States in the world. However, policy makers and their prevailing interests—as illustrated by the Brazilian coup and later the U.S. military intervention in the Dominican Republic—resisted all along the way,

---

37 *Wayne Morse Reports*, No. 4, May 6, 1964, Morse Collection, B 47, Foreign Relations 5 (Latin America).

38 Letter to Altamir Silva, March 27, 1967, Morse Collection, B 47, Foreign Relations 5 (Latin America).

39 Letter to Hoyt Haddock, June 23, 1967, Morse Collection, B 47, Foreign Relations 5 (Latin America).

often behind the scenes.<sup>40</sup> The optimism of the early alliance years was fading rapidly, and Morse was among those who criticized the root problems of the alliance, namely that it had not been enacted within the spirit of the Punta del Este charter. Morse stood fast in his principles and was vigilant in his belief that multilateral, cooperative development based on the North American economic model was the answer.

### *Morse Stands Fast on Principles*

Notwithstanding his pride and belief in the goals of the alliance, Morse was constantly evaluating the progress and the evolution of policies. While he continued to take every opportunity to denounce the continuation of military aid to dictators and despots, he also maintained a watchful eye on the real progress and shortfalls of the alliance. His office commissioned reports on the effect of alliance programs on the ground. A 1962 Morse report expresses concerns regarding the ability of Latin American republics to carry through the economic goals set forth at the Punta del Este Conference.<sup>41</sup> With each passing year, Morse's frustrations grew more pronounced and demonstrated a larger trend of diminishing belief in the ability of the alliance to achieve the goals set at Punta del Este.

Morse's frustrations with the results of the alliance were two-fold. First, the continuing military aid undermined the spirit and purpose of the alliance. Second, Latin Americans, particularly elites, refused to implement economic and social reforms necessary for the alliance's vision of economic and democratic development.

As explained above, Morse had been critical of military aid long before the Alliance for Progress, and he took every opportunity to oppose further military funding. In 1962, the Morse Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act required an official determination of national interest by the president of "defense articles" for internal

---

40 Blum, William. *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*. Common Courage, 1995, 181. On April 28, 1965, President Johnson sent in U.S. Marines to quell an uprising in the Dominican Republic. U.S. troop numbers reached 23,000 at the peak of the ensuing occupation, which lasted until September of 1966.

41 Gambone, Michael D. *Capturing the Revolution: The Untied States, Central America, and Nicaragua, 1961-1972*. (New York: Preager, 2001), 99.

security.<sup>42</sup> The issue was revisited in 1964, with Morse adding a “junta amendment” to a foreign aid bill.<sup>43</sup> Had it survived, the junta amendment would have blocked aid to any government that came to power by overthrowing a democratically elected government. Unlike Morse’s early support of recognizing the Brazilian junta, this resolution occurred after the Gulf of Tonkin incident.

In terms of domestic Latin American reforms, Morse had always been critical of the stalwart adherence to traditional social and political orders. In a 1961 speech, Morse observed:

The real obstacle which nations of Latin America must overcome is not simply one of apathy and disinterest in the United States; it is the obstacle of their own stratified social and economic structures. It is this stratification that has left them so far behind the countries of North America and Europe in the march towards better living conditions.<sup>44</sup>

Symptomatic of these structures, and for Morse, the most crucial issues to overcome were the:

. . . exorbitant interest rates which prevail by custom in many South American countries make it almost impossible for home or farm improvements to be undertaken by the average farmer. A similar obstacle to progress . . . is the refusal of their ruling classes to adopt a progressive income tax, which would have the effect of taxing the great wealthy landowners for the needed public services, such as highways, schools, and hospitals so badly needed . . .<sup>45</sup>

Underlying all this was the need for multilateralism among the participating nations. Morse’s vision of the alliance was more of a cooperative effort at development rather than a loose association of loan customers. Morse criticized this collection of bilateral relationships

---

42 Ibid.

43 Letter to Norman Thomas, August 12, 1964, Morse Collection, B 46, Foreign Relations 1964 (Latin America, Central, South).

44 Remarks of Senator Wayne Morse, February 19, 1961, Miami Beach, Florida, Morse Collection, O 13.

45 Letter to Aline Craham, November 23, 1960, Morse Collection, F 42, Foreign Relations, Latin America 1960.

saying that, “we should have worked through a hemispheric organization, or panel, to make the decisions about where the money is to go and under what circumstances.”<sup>46</sup>

Ultimately, Morse represented in his actions and words the ideals of the Alliance for Progress, as well as its fundamental flaws. Morse believed that with education, reform, and assistance, real change could be brought about in Latin America. However, while Morse was aware of the cultural differences within Latin America and between Latin America and the United States, he assumed that the programs could and would undo that culture because it stood in the way of modernization. In other words, the alliance presupposed that Latin Americans could be taught to be North Americans.

By 1966, it seemed that Morse had recognized the fallacy saying, “We cannot export a free society to them.”<sup>47</sup> Morse increasingly laid blame upon Latin Americans for not engaging in the “self help” requirement of the alliance, saying “I have become concerned from my discussions with many Latin American officials recently because they apparently think the American dollar is the answer. The American dollar, improperly used, can cause much more trouble than help.”<sup>48</sup> Morse did what he could to control those dollars.

In late 1967, Morse took a strong stand on what he called “pure international blackmail” regarding foreign aid to Peru.<sup>49</sup> After the Johnson Administration denied the sale of supersonic jet bombers to Peru, the Peruvian military sought to purchase the planes from France. In typical Monroe Doctrine fashion, the Johnson Administration went back and approved the deal. Morse’s criticism was scathing: “Ah, we said to Peru, which has a per capita income for the masses of its people of \$170 per year, “we will sell you the bombers because if we do not, you are about to consummate the purchase of supersonic bombers from France. And do not forget, we will supply you with foreign aid too.”<sup>50</sup> The deal went through nonetheless.

---

46 Remarks of Senator Wayne Morse, United State Senate, June 25, 1963, Morse Collection, B 47, Foreign Relations 1-1 (Alliance for Progress).

47 Remarks of Senator Wayne Morse, *Congressional Record*, May 9, 1966, 9621.

48 Ibid.

49 Remarks of Senator Wayne Morse, *Congressional Record*, S14969, October 18, 1967, Morse Collection, B 47, Foreign Relations 5 (Latin America) June to August.

50 Ibid.

In 1967, Morse was more successful in his efforts to block an increase in funds for Latin America prior to Johnson's trip to an OAS summit renewing the alliance.<sup>51</sup> He believed the request for funds resembled the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in that it gave the president a blank check before the Congress had all the facts. The growing problem of Vietnam had more implications than merely a mistrust of the executive. In many ways, the foreign policy attention span had come full circle back to Asia. Just as in the 1950s, Asia had come to dominate the foreign policy discourse at the expense of Latin America.

With attention being diverted to Vietnam, less fuss was being made about Latin American military governments. The Kennedy administration's hierarchy of preferred Latin American regimes continued to be the boilerplate of U.S. policy in the region. Good faith efforts of the Alliance for Progress were continually undermined by Cold War paranoia and overreaction to Latin American nationalism. The increasing comfort with military governments in Latin America, as indicated by McNamara's statements on how the "essential role of Latin American military as a stabilizing force outweighs any risks involved in providing military assistance for internal security purposes," was complemented by the presence of popular socialist politicians in the few functioning democracies.<sup>52</sup> Just as in Brazil, domestic tolerance of leftists in Chile's democratic system made U.S. policymakers uneasy about the possibility of a Castro-like regime. Since this possibility arose within a decent democratic regime in Chile, there was only one other option under Kennedy's three-tier hierarchy, replacing the regime itself.

In Chile, Socialist Party candidate Salvador Allende made a significant run for the presidency in 1964, which caused a reaction by more conservative Chilean politicians and military officers, as well as officials in the CIA, the U.S. State Department, and the Johnson Administration. The specter of a democratically elected Socialist president was a public relations and strategic nightmare for the Cold War policy makers. Allende was ultimately elected to the presidency in 1970. In three short years, he was overthrown—and committed "suicide"—in a coup in 1973 that was sponsored, funded, and encouraged by the Nixon Administration. This coup brought General Augusto Pinochet to power, effectively ending the longest running democracy in Latin America and replacing it with a brutal dictatorship.

---

51 Gambone 2001, 155.

52 Rabe 1999, 133.

While this event occurred after Morse's departure from the Senate, Allende's early victories only strengthened the hardliner resolve to counter any politicians or policies that had the slightest hue of red. It represented further erosion of a good-faith effort to realize the goals of the Alliance for Progress. Certainly the tumultuous year of 1968 eclipsed any concerns for faraway Chile. The mass escalation in Vietnam and the explosion of the antiwar movement relegated Latin America to its low-priority status of the 1950s. Morse himself became immersed in the Vietnam issue. The fact that Vietnam dominates Morse's legacy, and that even his biography barely touches on Latin America, shows how greatly Latin America was ultimately eclipsed by Vietnam.<sup>53</sup>

### *Aftermath and Conclusions*

The Alliance for Progress was all but dead by this time. As a foreign policy endeavor, it has been viewed as both a good idea and an abject failure. Although some economic growth was achieved, population growth, inflation, and insufficient investment outpaced the effectiveness and resources of the programs. In addition to the failure of the development goals, nearly every Latin American country was under a dictatorship or military rule by the mid 1970s. Furthermore, there was a radical revolution in Nicaragua in 1979, which renewed unilateral U.S. aggression in the region in the 1980s.

Morse's legacy on Latin America mirrors his much more prominent legacy regarding Vietnam. Across the board, Morse opposed unilateralism, particularly militaristic unilateralism. He stood fast in defense of congressional checks on the executive's ability—officially and covertly—to wage war and conduct foreign policy. Morse and his contemporaries believed in the power of the United States as a moving factor in the world, that indeed the world could be shaped according to the American model. However, Morse departed from his contemporaries in that he thought American power offered a position of leadership within a collective international effort to better the lives of people, rather than a blunt instrument to enforce geopolitical and economic doctrines.

In the context of the Cold War, the politics of fear prevailed. The fear of losing ground, or even face, in the public relations battle with the Soviet Union trumped the idea of inclusive internationalism and

---

53 Druckman, Mason. *Wayne Morse: A Political Biography*. (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1997).

cooperative development. The age-old policy of jealously guarding the western hemisphere from the Old World persisted in the Cold War context. The U.S. demanded unwavering support from the Latin American republics in economic policies as well as a supportive voting block in the United Nations.

In addition, the entrenched powers within Latin America, as well as the social and cultural traditions, created a dissonance between what Morse sought to accomplish and what was being done. The limitations of the greater global situation were exacerbated by local conditions that many policy makers failed to understand or adequately heed. Many modern commentators suggest that U.S. policies during this era were imperialistic in nature and only served to benefit economic and political elites.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, Morse is remembered for maintaining his maverick stance and standing by his principles.

The 1973 coup in Chile, the Iran-Contra Affair, and the second Iraq war illustrate that while Wayne Morse provided a guiding voice and principle, the foreign policy system is very much the same. When the chips are down, Congress and the public will defer to the president to make important policy decisions. Just as criticism and questioning of Johnson's assertions regarding the Gulf of Tonkin incident were marginalized or muted in 1964, Congress and the mainstream media were largely silent on criticism of George W. Bush's assertions regarding Iraq's weapons programs and links to terrorism prior to the 2003 invasion.

The Church Committee hearings of 1975 provided an unprecedented view of what was going on behind such deferment to the Executive Branch. The range of covert actions—such as the assassination of Congolese President Patrice Lumumba, fixing postwar Italian national elections, supporting various unsavory South Vietnamese regimes, and the now legendary series of assassination attempts on Fidel Castro—was a shock to many American who felt that these were not the tactics of the “good guys.” Indeed, these sounded to many like the tactics of Moscow.

The secrecy and the prerogative of the Executive created the space in which such acts and policies could be undertaken. In 1957, in the midst of a political firestorm over the foreign policy of President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Morse gave a speech entitled “Foreign Policy and the Constitution,” in which he commented:

---

54 Grandin, Greg. *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, The United States and the Rise of the New Imperialism*. (New York: Owl Books, 2007).



Congress has through legislation endowed the president with great latitude in foreign affairs. He has frequently been empowered to act after making certain findings of fact or simply in the security interests of the United States. The Supreme Court has approved such delegations of power to the executive in foreign policy fields in the cases that have reached it. Most of this expansion has been necessary and desirable, and I myself voted for and advocated some of it.

But the expansion of the President's domination of foreign policy has not been entirely healthy . . . insofar as it has tended to make foreign policy formulation more remote from the check and balance system of our constitution.<sup>55</sup>

The War Powers Act, which was a result of the same debacle in Vietnam that brought about the Church Committee Hearings, attempted to put Morse's ideas into effect by requiring greater congressional oversight of declarations of war. While the act was passed in November of 1973, it ultimately had little effect on how policy was executed, particularly involving the armed forces and covert operations such as in the Iran-Contra Affair.

Foreign policy remains one of the few areas of government that Americans are comfortable having dominated by elites. Wayne Morse decried this arrangement, expressing his full belief in the right and ability of the American public to make foreign policy. On the television show *Meet the Press*, in response to the statement that American people do not have the capacity to develop foreign policy, Morse asserted such a statement was a sign of "little faith in democracy" and also stated "I have complete faith in the ability of the American people to follow the facts you'll give them."<sup>56</sup>

To those who argued that the executive had to be able to freely act in an emergency, Morse replied "that argument is only one of expediency; . . . the same Constitution that gave us an elected President gave Congress checks on his activities. Specifically, it vested in Congress, not the President, the power over war and peace. That was not done casually, or by accident, or as a temporary arrangement. It was done

---

55 Excerpts from Senator Morse's Remarks to Summer School Program, University of Pennsylvania, July 2, 1957, Morse Collection, A 44, Foreign Policy 1956–1957.

56 Remarks by Senator Wayne Morse on *Meet the Press*, as included in the documentaries "The Last Angry Man" (1999) and "War Made Easy" (2005).

because the decision to go to war is too basic to a people in any age to be made by a single official, even if a popularly elected one.”<sup>57</sup>

Morse, regarded by many as a maverick, was often marginalized because of his views and the tenacity with which he stood by them. Senator Frank Church depicted Morse in 1965 as in “never-never land, holding forth in the Senate late in the afternoon with only his wife listening.”<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, Senator Morse asked questions and demanded answers that are critical to defining just how a modern democracy is to function in a rapidly changing world.

Morse’s bedrock principles of multilateralism, adherence to international law, and meaningful and cooperative democratic, economic, and political development are as relevant today as they ever were. When it came to Latin America, Morse felt that his definition of democracy could truly improve the lives of others as well as strengthen the moral standing of the United States as a leader in the world. The mistakes Morse and his contemporaries made in assuming that North American political and economic values could be transplanted were not unique to them, nor are they the sole province of history.

These lessons of Morse’s legacy from this period are built on the foundation of his interpretation of the Constitution. While the subject of the Constitution and foreign policy is a large, separate study, Morse’s convictions regarding the checks of Congress are critical. The American people and their representatives have a constitutional means with which to mold foreign policy. When these means are not pursued, the executive has free range. Morse felt the efficiency of executive deference ultimately could never outweigh the risks, as he explained, “. . . if our checks and balances and separations of power save the American people from involvement in a preventative war, or from making a surprise attack on another country, they are well worth the inefficiency or inconvenience they may cause our diplomats. They are for our protection, not our convenience, and I thank God we have them.”<sup>59</sup>

---

57 Excerpts from Senator Morse’s Remarks to Summer School Program, University of Pennsylvania, July 2, 1957, Morse Collection, A 44, Foreign Policy 1956–1957.

58 Abby & Graner 1984, 22.

59 Excerpts from Senator Morse’s Remarks to Summer School Program, University of Pennsylvania, July 2, 1957, Morse Collection, A 44, Foreign Policy 1956–1957.

## Bibliography

- Abbey, LeRoy and Garner, Rod. *Fighting the Odds: The Life of Senator Frank Church*. Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 1984.
- Ambrose, Stephen and Brinkley, Douglas. *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938*. New York: Penguin, 1997.
- Blum, William. *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since World War II*. Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1995.
- Druckman, Mason. *Wayne Morse: A Political Biography*. (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1997).
- Gambone, Michael D. *Capturing the Revolution: The United States, Central America, and Nicaragua, 1961-1972*. New York: Praeger, 2001.
- Grandin, Greg. *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, The United States and the Rise of the New Imperialism*. (New York: Owl Books, 2007).
- LaFeber, Walter. *Inevitable Revolutions*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1983.
- Lafeber, Walter. "The Evolution of the Monroe Doctrine," in Gardner, Lloyd C., *Redefining the Past: Essays in Diplomatic History in Honor of William Appleman Williams*. Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 1986.
- May, Ernest R. *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press (Harvard), 1975.
- Morris, Edmund. *Theodore Rex*. New York: Random House, 2002.
- Perez-Stable, Marifeli. *The Cuban Revolution: Origins, Course, and Legacy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, second ed.
- Pike, Fredrick B. *FDR's Good Neighbor Policy: Sixty Years of Generally Gentle Chaos*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.

Rabe, Stephen G. *The Most Dangerous Area in the World: John F. Kennedy Confronts Communist Revolution in Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Walter, Knut. *The Regime of Anastasio Somoza, 1936-1956*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Wright, Thomas C. *Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution*. New York: Praeger Press, 1991.