

WASH-1/NYK- SEPT.4,1962
(REQUESTED)

TO: PARKER
FROM: MACNEIL(WASHINGTON)(JLS)

DIRKSEN COVER-1(NATION)

ON AUGUST 22,1962, SENATOR PRESCOTT BUSH OF CONNECTICUT TOOK THE SENATE FLOOR TO SPEAK HIS AFFECTION AND ADMIRATION FOR HIS COLLEAGUE,EVERETT MCKINLY DIRKSEN OF ILLINOIS.BUSH, A REPUBLICAN PROGRESSIVE, IS RETIRING FROM THE SENATE THIS YEAR; AND HE DID NOT WISH TO LEAVE WITHOUT PAYING TRIBUTE TO DIRKSEN, A MAN HE OPPOSED FOR THE FLOOR LEADERSHIP OF THE REPUBLICANS LESS THAN FOUR YEARS AGO.

"SENATOR DIRKSEN IS FINISHING HIS FOURTH YEAR AS OUR LEADER," BUSH TOLD THE SENATE,"EACH ONE OF THESE FOUR YEARS HAS ENHANCED HIS PRESTIGE,INCREASED HIS AUTHORITY, AND FURTHER INCREASED THE RESPECT AND AFFECTION THAT SENATORS HOLD FOR HIM. AND I MEAN SENATORS OF BOTH PARTIES."

BUSH, TALL,HANDSOME, AND DISTINGUISHED DESCRIBED THE VIRTUES HE SAW IN DIRKSEN--"ALWAYS HELPFUL, ALWAYS CONSIDERATE OF THE NEEDS OF OTHERS...WARM... HE IS ONE OF THE VERY FEW MEN IN THE SENATE WHO ACTUALLY MAKES VOTES WHEN HE SPEAKS ON AN IMPORTANT ISSUE... WHEN GRAVE NATIONAL ISSUES ARE INVOLVED, EVERETT DIRKSEN IS NOT A PARTISAN... HIS MEMORY IS FANTASTIC, AND HE KNOWS HOW TO USE IT ... A SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE, A PUBLIC SERVANT....THE ELEMENTS OF TRUE GREATNESS. SIMPLE, HOMELY VIRTUES ARE COMBINED WITH DYNAMIC FIGHTING QUALITIES-- QUALITIES THAT INSPIRE THE LOYALTY,ADMIRATION AND COMPLETE RESPECT OF THESE OF US WHO ARE PRIVILEGED TO SALUTE HIM AS OUR LEADER."

BUSH'S SPEECH WAS A GENEROUS AND KINDLY SALUTE TO A PARTY

COLLEAGUE IN THE SENATE, ONE UP FOR RE-ELECTION THIS YEAR FOR HIS THIRD TERM IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES. BUSH'S FELLOW REPUBLICANS QUICKLY JOINED IN THIS EULOGY OF DIRKSEN. GEORGE AIKEN OF VERMONT, FROM 22 YEARS'S PERSPECTIVE, COULD NOT RECALL HIGHER QUALITIES OF LEADERSHIP, AND HE PRAISED DIRKSEN FOR HIS FAIRNESS AND HIS COURAGE. THOMAS KUCHEL OF CALIFORNIA, THE GOP SENATE WHIP, SPOKE OF HIS COURAGE AND INTEGRITY, HIS UNSELFISHNESS, HIS ERUDITION, HUGH SCOTT OF PENNSYLVANIA SPOKE OF DIRKSEN'S ABILITY TO BRING UNITY TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY RANKS IN THE SENATE. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER OF KENTUCKY, WHO HAD BEEN DIRKSEN'S OPPONENT FOR THE FLOOR LEADERSHIP, SPOKE OF HIS PATRIOTISM, HIS GREATNESS AS A REPUBLICAN, HIS GREATNESS AS AN AMERICAN. JACOB JAVITS OF NEW YORK SPOKE OF HIS TOLERANCE, HIS ELOQUENCE, HIS UNDERSTANDING, HIS INTEGRITY, SENSE OF MISSION, HIS SENSE OF HUMOR--"EVERETT DIRKSEN IS A SUPERBLY SUCCESSFUL SENATE LEADER, RANKING WITH THE VERY BEST WHO EVER GRACED THIS CHAMBER, ON EITHER SIDE OF THE AISLE." JOHN TOWER OF TEXAS CAME NEXT, FROM THE OTHER EXTREME WING OF THE PARTY, TO SAY THAT HE HAD SAT AT THE FEET OF EVERETT DIRKSEN TO BE TAUGHT, AND TAUGHT HE HAD BEEN BY DIRKSEN'S WARMTH, GOOD HUMOR, GOOD COUNSEL AND ADVICE. CLIFFORD CASE OF NEW JERSEY PAID TRIBUTE TOO, AS DID SENATORS HICKENLOOPER, PROUTY, YOUNG, JORDAN, BUTLER, BOGGS, FONG, WILLIAMS, AND BENNETT--REPUBLICANS, ALL.

TO THE EXPERIENCED WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT, SUCH PALAVER BY MEMBERS OF THE SENATE WAS BY NO MEANS AN UNUSUAL OCCURENCE. PERIODICALLY, THE FLOOR ERUPTS WITH A FRESHET OF SENATORIAL GENEROUSITY TO A COLLEAGUE. THIS SPATE OF PRAISE FOR DIRKSEN MIGHT SEEM A LITTLE UNUSUAL BY THE INTENTISY OF WARMTH FLOWING ON HIS GREYING HEAD FROM THESE REPUBLICAN MEMBERS ASSOCIATED WITH LIBERALISM OR PROGRESSIVISM, FOR ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO THEY DESPERATELY TRIED TO PREVENT THIS MAN FROM RECEIVING THE JOB THEY NOW PRAISED HIM FOR. YET IT WAS ONLY 76 DAYS BEFORE THE PEOPLE OF ILLINOIS WERE TO DECIDE WHETHER TO EXTEND DIRKSEN'S 12 YEAR STAY IN THE SENATE FOR ANOTHR SIX. IT WAS TIME FOR THE PARTY

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MEMBERS TO JOIN RANKS AND HELP THEIR COLLEAGUE THROUGH THIS ORDEAL.

BUT WAS THAT SO? WAS SO EASY AND PAT AN ANSWER THE REAL REASON FOR THE FLOOD OF PRAISE? FOR WHO IS THIS SEEKING RECOGNITION? THE DEMOCRATIC FLOOR LEADER MIKE MANSFIELD? THIS IS PART OF WHAT MANSFIELD HAD TO SAY?

" MR. PRESIDENT," MANSFIELD SAID, ADDRESSING THE CHAIR," ON THIS OCCASION I WISH THAT I POSSESSED THE ELOQUENCE OF THE DISTINGUISHED SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS. I WISH FOR HIS WIT AND WISDOM. I WISH FOR HIS HUMOR AND POETRY, I WISH FOR HIS SCHOLARLY ERUDITION AND HIS HOMESPUN SIMPLICITY. I WISH FOR THAT IMMENSE RANGE OF LANGUAGE AND VOICE, FROM THE SOFTEST SERENITY TO THE MOST TURBULENT THUNDER.

" HAD I THESE GIFTS, I WOULD UNLEASH THEM IN ORCHESTRATED EXPRESSION OF THE GREAT AFFECTION, RESPECT, ADMIRATION, AND ESTEEM IN WHICH I HOLD THE DISTINGUISHED MINORITY LEADER. I WOULD WEAVE WITH WORDS A MAGIC SPELL OVER THE SENATE AS HE HAS DONE SO MANY TIMES. WITH WORDS, I WOULD LIFE THE EYES OF SENATORS TO THE MOUNTAIN PEAKS AND THE STARS BEYOND, OR I WOULD LEAD THEM GENTLY DOWN A RUSTIC ROAD IN ILLINOIS. WITH WORDS, I WOULD LAY BARE THE HEART OF A FLOWER OR PRY OPEN THE FIERY CORE OF THE ATOM THAT THE SENATE MIGHT APPRECIATE THE DEPTH AND BREADTH OF THE SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS.

"...THERE IS ONLY ONE DEMESTHENES IN THE SENATE, ONE DIRKSEN... EVERETT, I AM HONORED AND GRATEFUL THAT YOU SIT ACROSS THE AISLE FROM ME. YOU ARE A TOWER OF STRENGTH AS A COLLABORATOR IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THIS BODY. FOR 30 YEARS YOU HAVE SERVED YOUR PARTY FAITHFULLY AND BRILLIANTLY. BUT FOR 30 YEARS YOU HAVE SERVED YOUR COUNTRY MORE."

HAS MANSFIELD LOST HIS SENSES? HAS HE FORGOTTEN THAT SIDNEY YATES, THE DEMOCRAT, IS TRYING TO UNSEAT THE WIZARD OF OOZE AND THUS

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ADD ONE MORE VOICE AND VOTE IN THE SENATE TO THE PRESIDENT'S CHORUS THERE? DOES HE NOT KNOW THAT POLITICAL PARTISANS ARE LISTENING, THAT THEY CAN READ AND USE THE PAGES OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD FOR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE? BUT HERE COMES JOHN PASTORE OF RHODE ISLAND, JUST AS DEMOCRATIC AS MANSFIELD. PASTORE WISHED DIRKSEN "MANY MORE YEARS OF SERVICE." DOES THAT MAKE SENSE? AND HERE IS HUBERT HUMPHREY OF MINNESOTA, THE DEMOCRATIC WHIP AND A POLITICAL LIBERAL TOO, TO JOIN THE "SERENADE" AS HE CALLED IT. AND AFTER HUMPHREY CAME ROBERT KERR OF OKLAHOMA, NEWLY POWERFUL IN THE SENATE, TO DESCRIBE DIRKSEN AS "A GREAT PATRIOT, A GREAT STATESMAN, A GREAT SENATOR, AND A MAN OF COURAGE....."

EVEN AS THE WORDS OF PRAISE WENT REVERBERATING THROUGH THE HALL OF THE SENATE, RUMORS WERE MOVING THROUGH THE CITY OF WASHINGTON; BEING PICKED UP BY THE SENSITIVE AND RELAYED OUT TO THE LAND BEYOND: THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, JOHN KENNEDY, THE POLITICAL PARTISAN, FELT SO STRONGLY THE NEED TO KEEP EVERETT DIRKSEN IN THE U.S. SENATE THAT HE WOULD NOT REALLY SUPPORT DIRKSEN'S DEMOCRATIC OPPONENT, SID YATES. WHITE HOUSE AIDES WERE PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY DENYING THAT ANY SUCH COURSE WOULD BE FOLLOWED BY THE PRESIDENT. IT WAS PERFECTLY TRUE THAT DIRKSEN HAD GIVEN THE PRESIDENT INVALUABLE AID FROM HIS STRATEGIC POST IN THE U.S. SENATE; BUT IT WAS NOT TRUE THAT KENNEDY WOULD NOT CAMPAIGN IN GOOD FAITH AND TO GOOD PURPOSE TO HELP ELECT YATES TO THE SENATE.

EVEN IN SO POLITICALLY SOPHISTICATED A TOWN AS WASHINGTON, SUCH PRAISE PASSES THE ORDINARY, HUMDRUM SORT OF THING THAT POLITICIANS ARE ACCUSTOMED TO HEAP ON EACH OTHER. WHERE WAS THE DIRKSEN OF FORMER YEARS--THE FIERCE AND BRUTAL PARTISAN, WHO HAD ROCKED A CONVENTION WITH A BITTER, BITING SPEECH, WHO HAD STOOD IN HIS PLACE ON THE SENATE FLOOR AND DEFENDED THE INTRANSIGENCE AND ARROGANCE OF JOE MCCARTHY BUT A FEW YEARS AGO? THE OLD PRO WITH THE ACID TONGUE, WHO MADE OPPONENTS QUAIL WITH THE FURY OF HIS VERBAL ONSLAUGHTS, WHO MADE EDITORS, EVEN OF THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE, WRITHE AND THINK UP NEW TERMS OF OPPROBRIUM FOR HIM?

EVEN SIDNEY YATES SEEMINGLY HAD DOUBTS OF HIS PARTY LEADER.

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HE CONFERRED WITH KENNEDY PRIVATELY AT THE WHITE HOUSE THE FOLLOWING MONDAY TO URGE HIM TO GIVE MORE TO THE ILLINOIS CAMPAIGN. THE PRESIDENT WOULD COME, AS HE HAD PROMISED, ON OCTOBER 19 TO INDORSE YATES FOR THE SENATE. THERE WERE RUMORS THAT DIRKSEN WOULD BE THE FIRST TO SHAKE HIS HAND AS HE ARRIVED IN THE LINCOLN COUNTRY. YATES WANTED COMMITMENTS FROM THE PRESIDENT TO CONVASS DOWNSTATE ILLINOIS AS WELL AS THE PRIMARY DEMOCRATIC BASE OF CHICAGO. COULD THE PRESIDENT LAND IN ST. LOUIS, CROSS INTO ILLINOIS BY CAR, AND TOUR DOWNSTATE TO SPRINGFIELD? THEN GO ON TO CHICAGO? THAT MIGHT INDEED BE WORKED OUT REPLIED THE PRESIDENT; HE WOULD DISCUSS IT WITH LARRY O'BRIEN.

A PLUMBING OF THE REAL SENATE ATTITUDE TOWARD DIRKSEN-- THE VIEWS PRIVATELY EXPRESSED, AND NOT JUST THE ON-STAGE NICETIES OF THE FLOOR-- MIGHT TURN UP A DIFFERENT READING OF THIS MAN. BUT WHAT DOES ONE FIND THERE? MORE OF THE SAME, AND SOME OF IT WITH EVEN GREATER INTENSITY.

HERE IS MIKE MANSFIELD TALKING PRIVATELY OF DIRKSEN, THE OLD WAR HORSE TURNED STATESMAN AND LEADER: "YOU NEED HIS COOPERATION AND COLLABORATION, AND HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN WILLING TO GIVE IT-- SOMETIMES UNDER DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES--BUT HE'S ALWAYS WILLING. HE'S UNDERSTANDING OF MY PROBLEMS, AND I TRY TO BE UNDERSTANDING OF HIS. IN MY OPINION, I COULDN'T HAVE A BETTER MAN AS LEADER ON THAT SIDE OF THE AISLE. WE HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING THAT NEITHER ONE OF US IS CAUGHT FLATFOOTED BY THE OTHER. THERE'S A FAIR EXCHANGE, SCRUPULOUSLY HONORED. IF WE CAN'T WORK TOGETHER, THE SENATE CAN'T WORK.

"HE'S TURNED OUT EXCEEDINGLY WELL AS THE REPUBLICAN LEADER. HE HAS THEIR CONFIDENCE AND TRUST. I'VE ADMIRER HIM AS LEADER-- AT TIMES HE HAS LITERALLY STOOD BY HIMSELF. HIS OWN FEELINGS WERE SECONDARY." (HE'S BEEN CASTIGATED IN THE PRESS FOR POSITIONS HE'S TAKEN AS PARTY LEADER.) " HE IS PRIVY TO INFORMATION, WHICH HE CAN'T

REVEAL. HIS LIPS ARE SEALED. HE CAN'T DEFEND HIMSELF(IN THESE INSTANCES)-- AND YET HE DOES IT WILLINGLY AND WHOLE-HEARTEDLY. HE'S NOT WHAT SOME NEWSPAPERS PICTURE HIM. HE IS A MAN OF RESPONSIBILITY, UNDERSTANDING AND INTEGRITY. IF HE GIVES YOU HIS WORD, THAT'S IT. HE'S NOT DOGMATIC. HE TRIES TO SEE THE OTHER SIDE OF QUESTIONS. HE TRIES TO COME HALF WAY, AND HE'S NOT ADVERSE TO COMING EVEN A LITTLE PAST HALF WAY ON OCCASION."

HERE'S ANOTHER PRIVATE READING FROM A DEMOCRAT(NOT FOR USE: BOBBY BAKER, LONG-TIME INTIMATE OF THE SENATE, AND LYNDON JOHNSON, NOW THE SECRETARY OF THE SENATE DEMOCRATS):" I'VE SEEN A LOT OF REPUBLICAN LEADERS IN THE SENATE IN THE PAST 20 YEARS-- THE MOST DYNAMIC PERIOD IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD. MOST OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS WERE INFLEXIBLE-- MCNARY, WHITE, KEN WHERRY, TAFT AND KNOWLAND. TAKING ALL THINGS INTO CONSIDERATION, DIRKSEN IS BY FAR THE ABLEST LEADER THAT THEY'VE HAD. HE'S BEEN A FANTASTIC HELP TO THE KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION-- AND KENNEDY KNOWS IT. IF HE WAS MEAN, HE COULD BE A SPOILER, LIKE CHARLIE HALLECK. I'VE NEVER DEALT WITH A MORE HONORABLE AND FAIR MAN, A FELLOW WHO WILL GO FURTHER THAN YOU YOURSELF. HE'S CHANGED, AND HE'S DEVELOPED INTO A REAL SENATE MAN, HE'S CLOSE TO BEING THE HEAD OF THE CLUB. WHEN HE CAME HERE, HE WAS A SORT OF DEMAGOGUE. BUT NOW, HE'S TOTALLY UNSELFISH. THE REPUBLICANS HAD A CRISIS A FEW YEARS BACK, A REAL CRISIS, OVER A FELLOW WHO THOUGHT HE WAS ENTITLED TO GO ON THE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE. DIRKSEN GOT OFF THE COMMITTEE. HE GOT OFF THE COMMITTEE, ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL IN CONGRESS, TO HELP A COLLEAGUE OUT AND SOLVE THE CRISIS. I LIKE SID YATES, BUT MY PARTY WOULD BE IN A HELL OF A MESS-- KENNEDY WOULD BE IN A HELL OF A MESS-- IF DIRKSEN GETS DEFEATED. DIRKSEN'S NOT AN OBSTRUCTIONIST. CHARLIE HALLECK IS A GUT FIGHTER, AND IF DIRKSEN ACTED LIKE HALLECK, KENNEDY WOULD BE IN REAL DEEP TROUBLE."

ON THE REPUBLICAN SIDE OF THE AISLE, THE VARIATION OF POLITICAL ORIENTATION IS VAST-- FROM JAVITS TO GOLDWATER--BUT THE WHOLE PARTY

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IN THE SENATE, WITHOUT EXCEPTION, HAVE BEEN DELIGHTED WITH DIRKSEN'S LEADERSHIP. GOLDWATER TELLS US THIS: "DIRKSEN'S BEEN A GOOD LEADER. I THINK HE'S DONE A GOOD JOB. HIS ABILITY TO POINT OUT THE DEFICIENCIES OF THE NEW FRONTIER, HIS ATTACKS ON THE NEW FRONTIER, HAVE ADDED STRENGTH TO THE PARTY ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. HE DESERVES A GREAT PART OF THE CREDIT FOR THE RESURGENCE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ACROSS THE NATION." HERE'S JAVITS: "FROM THE POINT OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM OF ACTION, WITHOUT EVEN IMPLIED DISAPPROVAL, I FIND SENATOR DIRKSEN A MOST SATISFACTORY LEADER. NATURALLY, I HAVE DIFFERENT IDEAS ABOUT CONSTRUCTIVE ALTERNATIVES FOR OUR PARTY TO FOLLOW, BUT THAT IS NOT THE WAY THE LEADERSHIP OF EITHER SIDE WORKS. AND THEREFORE, IN TERMS OF THE SYSTEM UNDER WHICH WE WORK, SENATOR DIRKSEN FILLS THE BILL."

WE DON'T MEAN TO SUGGEST IN THIS FILE THAT DIRKSEN IS A MAN WHO HAS RISEN TO STATESMANSHIP OF THE HIGHEST ORDER, THAT HE HAS REACHED A PLATEAU OF EXCELLENCE THAT FORBIDS CRITICISM. THERE'S ANOTHER MAN TOO, INDEED THERE ARE SEVERAL. THERE'S THE FOURTH-OF-JULY ORATOR UTTERING WHAT SOMEONE HAS CALLED "STEAMBOAT GOTHIC PROSE" TO A WONDERING AND AMUSED WORLD. THERE'S THE CHARGE OF POLITICAL FAKERY AND CHARLATANISM, THE SKILLFUL CATERING TO VOTERS THAT RAISES DOUBTS AS TO WHETHER HE HAS ANY POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OR BELIEFS. THERE'S THE GNAWING AMBITION FOR A PLACE IN THE SUN THAT LED THIS MAN TO RUN ABORTIVELY FOR PRESIDENT. THERE'S THE INCREDIBLY HARD WORKER-- FANTASTIC, PRODIGIOUS WORKER--WITH THE ABILITY TO LET THE WORLD GO BY AS HE TENDS HIS GARDEN OF VEGETABLES. THERE'S A ZEST FOR LIVING AND COMBAT, A SIMPLICITY OF MORALITY, AND RELIGIOUS FAITH, THAT TOUCHES THE CORE OF THE AMERICA OF THE MIDDLE BORDER. THERE'S A SUMMING UP OF THIS FELLOW, PERHAPS BEST EXPRESSED IN THE WORDS OF ONE OF HIS COLLEAGUES, AS "THE COMPLETE POLITICIAN"-- OLD STYLE ENGLISH, PLEASE--OUT OF THE HEARTLAND OF AMERICA. AN AMERICAN PHENOMENON, INDEED.

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THERE'S A MAN INSIDE, AND IN THE FILES TO COME WE HOPE TO SPELL
OUT THE WORKINGS OF THAT MAN AND THE MAKING OF HIM.

(MORE TK))

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WASH-7/NYK- SEPT.4,1962(REQUESTED)

TO: PARKER

FROM: MACNEIL(WASHINGTON)

DIRKSEN COVER VII(NATION))

AS EARLY AS 1953, WHEN EISENHOWER BECAME PRESIDENT, THERE WERE DETECTABLE CHANGES IN DIRKSEN'S VOTING RECORD FROM THE ARCHCONSERVATIVE-ISOLATIONIST RECORD HE RA N UP IN 1951-1952. YET HE CONTINUED TO VOTE HIS OPPOSITION TO MANY APPROPRIATIONS AND TO INTERNATIONAL PROJECTS. HOW TO EXPLAIN THIS RECORD AND ITS CHANGE WE ARE NOT SURE. THE CHANGES IN ANY MAN ARE SUBTLE. THE EXPLANATION FREQUENTLY GIVEN BY THE IDLE AND THE CURIOUS IS THAT DIRKSEN HAD BECOME THE CREATURE OF THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE AND WAS DOING COLONEL MCCORMICK'S BIDDING IN THE SENATE. WE DOUBT THAT. IN ALL HIS YEARS IN ILLINOIS POLITICS, DIRKSEN TELLS US, ONLY ONCE DID THAT PUBLISHER TELEPHONE HIM-- AND THAT CALL WASN'T ABOUT LEGISLATION. NOT ONLY THAT, BUT DIRKSEN BEFORE THIS PERIOD AND AFTER IT APPEARS PERFECTLY READY TO OFFEND THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE WITH HIS SPEECHES AND VOTES.

DIRKSEN'S OWN EXPLANATION IS THAT HE HAD SUPPORTED THE ORIGINAL MARSHALL PLAN BECAUSE IT WAS A RELIEF PROGRAM NEEDED BY THE STRICKEN COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD. BUT THEN TJE PROGRAM BECAME A GIVE-AWAY,

FILLED WITH INCOMPETENCE AND FOOLISHNESS, LIKE SHIPPING 19 TONS OF GUM TO THE CHILDREN OF BELGIUM AND BEER COOLERS TO ITALY(A FAVORITE PAIR OF OBJECTIONS, FOR HE'S USED THEM MORE THAN ONCE.) WHEN THE PROGRAM CHANGED TO A SOUND BASIS OF LOANS INSTEAD OF GRANTS, HE FOUND HE AGAIN COULD SUPPORT IT. ALSO TOOK ON A CAST OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, AND COULD BE DEFENDED.

THIS EXPLANATION LACKS SOMETHING IN CANDOR, WE THINK. IN THE FIRST

PLACE HIS POSITION IN 1951 AND 1952 WAS NOT MERELY HOSTILE TO FOREIGN AID; IT WAS HOSTILE ACROSS THE BOARD TO INTERNATIONALISM, AND IT REMAINED SO THROUGH THE VOTING ON THE BRICKER AMENDMENT IN 1954. HE HAD BECOME AN ISOLATIONIST, NOT MERELY A CRITIC OF WASTEFUL SPENDING ON FOREIGN AID. MORE THAN THAT, WE HAVE FOUND ONE VOTE WHERE HE OPPOSED AN AMENDMENT REQUIRING THREE-QUARTERS OF THE ECONOMIC AID MONEY TO BE IN LOANS INSTEAD OF GRANTS.

OUR EXPLANATION IS MERELY SUGGESTIVE, BUT IT SEEMS TO US THAT DIRKSEN SLIPPED EASILY INTO OPPOSITION ACROSS THE BOARD TO THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION WHEN THE POLITICS OF THE TIME HEATED UP TO WHITE ANGER AS THEY DID ALL THROUGH TRUMAN'S SECOND TERM. THE RISE OF THE COMMUNIST MENACE AS A POLITICAL ISSUE, THE DAMNING AND COUNTERDAMNING THAT WENT ON, HELPED PUSH DIRKSEN INTO THE EXTREMISM OF HIS NATURAL ALLIES. REPUBLICANS WERE EQUATING DEMOCRATS WITH COMMUNISM AND WAR, AND SOME OF THEM WITH TREASON. IT WAS NOT A QUIET TIME, AND MEN ON BOTH SIDES TENDED TO MOVE INTO EXTREME POSITIONS.

BESIDES THIS, DIRKSEN HAD A PROFOUND COMMITMENT TO ROBERT TAFT, AND HE FOUGHT DESPERATELY TO WIN THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION FOR HIM. THAT MADE HIM NOT ONLY AN EXTREME PARTISAN AS AGAINST THE DEMOCRATS, IT ALSO MADE HIM AN EXTREME PARTISAN AS AGAINST A WING OF HIS OWN PARTY FOR TAFT WAS DEFEATED FOR THE NOMINATION. THE SPIRIT OF THAT CONTEST CAN PERHAPS MOST ELOQUENTLY BE DESCRIBED BY THE EISENHOWER SLOGAN THAT RUINED TAFT--"STOP, THIEF!"-- AND DIRKSEN'S BRILLIANTLY ACERBIC SPEECH AT THE 1952 CONVENTION DENOUNCING TOM DEWEY IN PERHAPS THE MOST PERSONALLY OFFENSIVE A MANNER AS HAD BEEN USED SINCE BLAINE UNNERVED CONKLING WAY BACK IN 1866.

THE BITTER ASSAULTS ON MCCARTHY, WHOM DIRKSEN KNEW WELL AND LIKED, HELPED DRIVE DIRKSEN INTO THE POSITION OF BECOMING HIS CHIEF DEFENDER--- AND THAT KEPT HIM IN THE FAR -RIGHT WING OF THE PARTY THAT HAD SURROUNDED MCCARTHY: JENNER, WELKER, MALONE, AND DWORSHAK.

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TAFT DIED IN 1953. MCCARTHY LOST ALL FACE IN 1954. KNOWLAND HAD TAKEN OVER THE PARTY LEADERSHIP ON THE SENATE FLOOR, AND DIRKSEN HAD BEEN MADE WHIP. KNOWLAND WAS AN INDEPENDENT PARTY LEADER-- WHO FELT UTTERLY FREE TO BOLT AT ANY TIME FROM THE ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION. DIRKSEN WAS FREQUENTLY GOING TO THE WHITE HOUSE FOR THE LEADERSHIP MEETINGS. THE WORLD WAS CHANGING. THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS THAT EISENHOWER BROUGHT TO AMERICAN POLITICS-- THE GOOD FELLOWSHIP AND THE FRIENDLINESS IN PLACE OF THE RECENT ACID-- WAS AT WORK. THE RADICALS IN THE REPUBLICAN RIGHT SUBSIDED, WITH MCCARTHY'S HUMILIATION, AND EISENHOWER MOVED INTO A NATIONAL POPULARITY THAT WAS SIMPLY OVERWHELMING. NO POLITICIAN OF DIRKSEN'S SKILL AND INTUITION HAD TO BE TOLD WHAT THAT MEANT. THERE WAS NO POINT IN HOLDING TO THE DEAD GRUDGES OF THE DEAD PAST. VERY WELL HE COULD HAVE DETESTED EISENHOWER FOR STEALING THE RIGHTFUL CLAIM OF TAFT TO THE PRESIDENCY, BUT THAT WAS GONE. DIRKSEN FACED REALITY.

BY 1955, DIRKSEN HAD BECOME AN EISENHOWER MAN. HIS RECORD, WHICH WE ARE SENDING YOU, SHOWS HIM VOTING TIME AFTER TIME, IN 1955, 1956, 1957 AND 1958 IN SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION. IN 1955 AND 1956, DIRKSEN WAS UP FOR RE-ELECTION. IF HE HAD BEEN FOLLOWING IKE MERELY ON INTUITION, IT WAS A CURIOUSLY ACCURATE GAGE OF THAT ELECTION. EISENHOWER CARRIED ILLINOIS-- STEVENSON'S HOME STATE-- BY 850,000 VOTES IN 1956. DIRKSEN WON RE-ELECTION BY 385,000. IT'S NOT TOO MUCH TO ASSUME THAT EISENHOWER'S CANDIDACY AND HIS SUPPORT OF EISENHOWER IN THE SENATE HAD A LARGE SHARE IN BRINGING DIRKSEN SAFELY BACK FOR A SECOND TERM.

THE 1958 ELECTIONS THREW THE CONGRESS HEAVILY DEMOCRATIC AND REMOVED KNOWLAND AS THE REPUBLICAN FLOOR LEADER. A FIGHT DEVELOPED OVER HIS SUCCESSION, THE CONSERVATIVES VERSUS THE LIBERALS AND PROGRESSIVES. STYLES BRIDGES AND THE SENIOR CONSERVATIVES DECIDED ON EV DIRKSEN FOR THE JOB AND THE LIBERALS AFTER SOME PUSHING AND PULLING PUT UP JOHN SHERMAN COOPER. ON THE VOTE IN THE REPUBLICAN CAUCUS, DIRKSEN WON 20 TO 14-- A VOTE WHICH INDICATED THE DIVISION

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POLITICALLY OF THE REPUBLICANS IN THE SENATE; AND THE PROBLEM DIRKSEN WOULD HAVE IN BEING LEADER OF THEM ALL.

HE CAME TO OFFICE AS MINORITY FLOOR LEADER IN JANUARY, 1959-- AND HE BROUGHT A STARTLING CHANGE TO THE JOB. TAFT HAD BRIEFLY BEEN IKE'S SENATE FLOOR LEADER, IN A TRYING PERIOD, AND TAFT HAD COOPERATED WITH HIM AS WELL AS HE COULD. KNOWLAND HAD SEEN THE POST DIFFERENTLY AND COULD NOT BE CALLED A LOYAL MAN TO THE PRESIDENT. HE OPPOSED THE PRESIDENT FREQUENTLY, EVEN LEAVING HIS LEADERSHIP CHAIR TO TAKE A POSITION IN THE BACK OF THE HALL TO DRAMATIZE THE FACT THAT HE DID NOT SPEAK FOR THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION. WHATEVER HOSTILITY IKE MIGHT HAVE HAD FOR DIRKSEN OR DIRKSEN FOR IKE, HAD LONG SINCE VANISHED. HE AND DIRKSEN BECAME GOOD FRIENDS; AND, INDEED THE TESTIMONY OF EVERYONE WE TALKED TO THESE PAST DAYS CONFIRMS THAT IT'S MIGHTY DIFFICULT NOT TO LIKE EVERETT DIRKSEN. THAT MAY NOT HAVE BEEN SO TRUE 10 YEARS AGO, BUT IT WAS BY 1959.

DIRKSEN SIMPLY TOOK OVER THE JOB OF REPRESENTING EISENHOWER ON THE FLOOR." I CARRIED THE FLAG FOR HIM," SAID DIRKSEN, IN A PHRASE BOTH HE AND EISENHOWER LOVE. ON ONE OCCASION, DIRKSEN WAS THE ONLY REPUBLICAN TO VOTE FOR THE POSITION IKE WANTED. HE CONCEIVED HIS OFFICE AS ONE OF A LIEUTENANT TO THIS IMMENSELY POPULAR PRESIDENT, AND THAT'S THE WAY IT WAS.

WITH HIS PARTY RANK AND FILE, THE PROBLEM WAS MORE DIFFICULT. HOW COULD ANY MAN PULL TOGETHER THE DISCORDANT BRANCHES OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE SENATE, WITH GOLDWATER ON ONE EXTREME AND JAVITS ON THE OTHER? OF COURSE, IT COULDN'T BE DONE. BUT THAT DIDN'T MEAN THAT DIRKSEN COULD NOT WORK TO SERVE THEM, TO ACCOMMODATE THEM. TO HELP THEM WHENEVER HE COULD, AND TO LESSEN THE DIVISIVE DRIVES INSIDE THE PARTY AND WORK THEM TOWARDS A MIDDLE UNITY. THIS HE DID. BEFORE 1959 WAS FINISHED, DIRKSEN HAD WON OVER THE LIBERALS WHO HAD OPPOSED HIM." HE'S BEEN MARVELOUS," SAID ONE OF THEM AT THE TIME. WHAT DIRKSEN DID, FAIRLY AND GENEROUSLY, WAS TO REPRESENT THEIR VIEWS TO THE WHITE HOUSE, TO GIVE THEM A FULL SHOW AND FULL CONSIDERATION;

AND THEN TO RELAY BACK TO THEM WITH GREAT CONSIDERATION AND TACT THE POSITIONS OF THE WHITE HOUSE. HE BECAME A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE WHITE HOUSE AND ALL THE REPUBLICANS IN THE SENATE. WE WILL DISCUSS IN DETAIL IN ANOTHER FILE SOME OF HIS LEADERSHIP'S PHILOSOPHY AND PRACTICE, IT IS ENOUGH TO SAY HERE THAT HE CONVINCED THE MEMBERS OF HIS PARTY THAT HE MEANT THEM THE VERY BEST HE COULD- AND THEY APPRECIATED IT.

THE OLD POLITICAL HATCHET MAN, THE BITING CRITIC, AND THE DEMAGOGIC ORATOR HAD SLOWLY VANISHED; AND THE SHAPE OF DIRKSEN WAS CHANGING IN THE MINDS OF THOSE WHO KNEW HIM-- ALTHOUGH LONG AFTERWARDS HE WOULD STILL BE REMEMBERED FOR HIS MOST VIOLENT UTTERANCE AGAINST DEWEY IN '52. WHERE HE ONCE TALKED IN BOMBASTIC HOMILIES, INDEED, WHERE HE ONCE CARRIED PURE FUSTIAN TO AN ART AND EARNED THE TITLE "THE WIXARD OF OOZE," HE NOW BECAME A MAN OF FLOWERY PHRASES, TO BE SURE, BUT PHRASE MEANT TO CHARM AND AMUSE. DISTINCTLY, THE ACID AND THE POMPOUSITY HAD GONE. WE'VE SEEN THIS OURSELVES, A SLOW MIRACLE WORKING IN THE MAN, A GENTLING OF HIS BEING. WHERE ONCE DIRKSEN WAS TO BE AVOIDED BY REPORTERS FOR HIS FULSOMENESS, HIS LACK OF CANDOR, AND HIS ARROGANCE, HE BECAME A MAN WHOM IT WAS A PLEASURE TO VISIT; HE ALWAYS FOUND TIME TO SEE YOU--WHERE BEFORE HE HADN'T; HE GAVE YOU WHAT INFORMATION HE COULD--WHERE BEFORE HE TRIED TO CONFUSE YOU.

THERE HAD BEEN A VIOLENT CHANGE IN DIRKSEN WHEN HE CAME FIRST TO THE SENATE, THEN A GRADUAL CHANGE AS HE MOVED INTO THE DIRECTION OF EISENHOWER. NOW CAME STILL ANOTHER CHANGE; AND IT WAS A CHANGE UNMISTAKABLY CONNECTED WITH THE FACT THAT DIRKSEN, AFTER SO MANY YEARS OF FRUSTRATION IN HIS DESIRE TO HOLD RESPONSIBLE OFFICE, SO MANY YEARS OF SIMPLY BEING ANOTHER ONE OF THE "OUTS" A- HE WAS EVEN AN "OUT" WHEN EISENHOWER WAS ELECTED FOR HE HAD BACKED TAFT-- HAD REACHED A POSITION OF GREAT POWER AND PRESTIGE. HE HAD REACHED IT, WHAT'S MORE, AT A TIME IN HIS LIFE (HE WAS 62) WHEN HE HAD TO CONSIDER IT THE ULTIMATE POLITICAL POSITION HE COULD HOPE TO HOLD.

DIRKSEN, AFTER A LIFETIME, BORE GREAT PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY IN A POSITION OF GREAT POWER AND OF GREAT INFLUENCE OVER THE COURSE

WASH7/NYK - MACNEIL - PAGE 6

OF THE NATION. THE LONG HUNGER WAS SATIED, AND HE COULD SHOW HIS COLLEAGUES THE STUFF OF WHICH HE WAS MADE.

(MORE TK))

FPK4:40P

WASHO/NYK - SEPT. 4, 1962 (REQUESTED)

TO: PARKER

FROM: MACNEIL (WASHINGTON) (RTS)

DIRKSEN COVER VIII (NATION)

FROM HIS EARLIEST DAYS IN POLITICS, DIRKSEN HAS BEEN BESET WITH AN ENORMOUS AMBITION. HE HAD NO INTEREST IN STATE POLITICS, FOR THE CONIVING AND MACHINATIONS OF BUILDING A LOCAL HILL FOR HIMSELF. HE WANTED TO GET INTO "THE BIG SHOW" IN WASHINGTON FROM THE START, AS WE HAVE ALREADY FILED, AND HE USED HIS POLITICKING ON THE PEKIN CITY COUNCIL AND IN THE AMERICAN LEGION TO THRUST HIMSELF INTO NATIONAL POLITICS BY WAY OF A SEAT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. HE HAD TO KNOCK OFF AN INCUMBENT AND WEALTHY REPUBLICAN REPRESENTATIVE TO DO SO -- AND HE DID.

WHAT GOOD DID IT DO A YOUNG, INTELLIGENT AND ENERGETIC MAN TO WIN A SEAT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES? HE BECAME ONE OF 434 OTHERS, ALMOST ALL OF WHOM WERE UNKNOWN TO THE NATION AT LARGE. IT WAS TRUE HE HAD SOME LOCAL FAME AS AN ORATOR; HE HAD SOME TRAINING AS A LAWYER ALTHOUGH HE HAD YET TO QUALIFY AT THE BAR. HE WAS FROM A POOR FAMILY, WHO HAD TO PROVIDE HIS OWN EDUCATION. HE WAS A BAKER BOY. WELL, WHAT QUALIFICATIONS DID ABE LINCOLN HAVE FOR NATIONAL FAME? HE TOO WAS POOR, SELF EDUCATED, A LAWYER, OUT OF ILLINOIS' RURAL AMERICA, WITH A TOUCH OF ELOQUENCE, AND A BIG FEELING ABOUT HIS FELLOWS. LINCOLN HAD GONE TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN 1847, FOR ONLY ONE TERM. HE WAS A RAIL SPLITTER.

LINCOLN WAS ON DIRKSEN'S MIND EVEN BEFORE HE TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE IN THE HOUSE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 1933. HERE IS WHAT HE WROTE OF HIMSELF, WHILE STILL ONLY A REPRESENTATIVE-ELECT:

"WHAT CAN A YOUNG, INEXPERIENCED, REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMAN... DO FOR HIS COUNTRY AND HIS DISTRICT...? UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES,

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OPPORTUNITIES FOR SERVICE ARE CERTAIN TO RISE. IN 1846 WHEN POLK WAS PRESIDENT, ILLINOIS WAS REPRESENTED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES BY SEVEN DEMOCRATS AND ONE REPUBLICAN. THAT LONE REPUBLICAN SERVED ONLY ONE TERM IN CONGRESS AND YET THAT TERM PRODUCED AN OPPORTUNITY WHICH ELEVATED HIM TO HIGH STATION. HE WAS ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

HIS OWN PEOPLE IN ILLINOIS, EVEN THEN, TOYED WITH THE IDEA THAT DIRKSEN MIGHT HAVE BEFORE HIM A SIMILAR CAREER. IN A LAND LIKE THIS, WHAT WERE THE LIMITS TO A MAN'S OPPORTUNITIES? AND DIRKSEN OBVIOUSLY HAD SUCH DREAMS. HE SPOKE OFTEN IN LINCOLNIAN TERMS. HE STILL DOES, AND LINCOLN'S PHRASES, LIKE "THE LAST BEST HOPE" AND "WE MUST DISENTHRAL OURSELVES," FALL EASILY FROM HIS LIPS. HE HAS STILL A PASSION FOR OUTDOING LINCOLN, AND HIS SPEECHES AND CONVERSATIONS ARE STUDDED WITH LINCOLN'S WORDS. TO US, SO MANY YEARS AFTER HIS POLITICAL BEGINNING, HE DESCRIBED HIS EARLY YEARS IN LINCOLN'S PRECISE WORDS -- "THE SHORT AND SIMPLE ANAL OF THE POOR."

DIRKSEN AIMED AT THE PRESIDENCY FROM THE START, AND HE WORKED FOR THIS HIGH STATION FROM THE START. IN A BODY LIKE THE HOUSE, THERE COULD BE GREAT REWARDS FOR A MAN OF INTELLIGENCE WHO WORKED HARD, FOR THE REWARDS IN THE HOUSE ARE DISPENSED FOR MERIT. DIRKSEN WAS NOT THE LEAST SHY IN ASKING FOR THE CHOICEST ASSIGNMENTS EVEN AS A GREEN FRESHMAN. HE DID MOVE UP RAPIDLY, AS WE HAVE SEEN, WON THE REPUTATION OF BEING ONE OF THE ABLEST MEN IN THE HOUSE. HE SAW THE WRITING ON THE WALL IN 1941, MOVED TO TAKE LEADERSHIP IN THE HOUSE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, FOLLOWED THE COURSE LED BY WENDELL WILLKIE LONG BEFORE HIS FELLOWS IN UPHOLDING FDR'S HAND IN THE FACE OF INTERNATIONAL CATACLYSM, THEN MOVED IN THE EARLY WAR DAYS TO TRY TO TAKE THE LEAD IN PROPOSALS TO SETTLE THE PEACE -- ON AN INTERNATIONAL BASIS, ABANDONING THE LONG-REVERED AMERICAN TRADITION OF ISOLATIONISM. TOM DEWEY, AT THE STATE HOUSE IN ALBANY, AT JUST THIS TIME WAS ALTERING HIS OWN STAND ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MOVING RAPIDLY INTO THE STANCE OF AN INTERNATIONALIST. WHY? DEWEY WAS AIMING AT THE 1944 PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION. SO WAS DIRKSEN.

DIRKSEN ANNOUNCED HIS CANDIDACY FOR THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION IN DECEMBER, 1943. EVEN EARLIER HE HAD MISFIRED ON TWO HIGHER OFFICES THAN REPRESENTATIVE. THERE HAD BEEN TALK OF RUNNING HIM FOR THE U.S. SENATE IN 1938, TALK OF RUNNING HIM FOR GOVERNOR OF ILLINOIS IN 1940. DID IT SEEM RIDICULOUS NOW IN 1943 TO SHOOT FOR THE HIGHEST OFFICE OF ALL. THE TIMES WERE OUT OF JOINT; THE NATION WAS AT WAR. DIRKSEN HAD A SOLID REPUTATION BEHIND HIM IN CONGRESS, AND HE HAD CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT FROM HIS FELLOWS IN THE HOUSE FOR THE PRESIDENCY. THE CONGRESS HAD A UNIQUE POLITICAL ROLE IN THIS PERIOD: FINANCING THE WAR, BRACING THE NATION WITH BIPARTISAN FOREIGN POLICY, LOOKING TO THE INTERNATIONAL SETTLEMENT TO FOLLOW THE WAR. THE NATION'S ATTENTION WAS ON NATIONAL AFFAIRS -- AND THERE WERE NO REPUBLICANS IN NATIONAL POLITICS SEEMINGLY QUALIFIED OR INTERESTED IN THE PRESIDENCY. THE PRINCIPLE CANDIDATES FOR THE 1944 GOP NOMINATION WERE ALL OUT OF WAR-TIME WASHINGTON: VILLKIE, DEWEY, GOVERNOR JOHN BRICKER OF OHIO AND GOVERNOR EARL WARREN OF CALIFORNIA. IF THE PARTY DECIDED IT NEEDED A CANDIDATE WITH RICH WASHINGTON EXPERIENCE, WHY NOT DIRKSEN? IT WAS A LONG SHOT -- BUT HOW LONG A SHOT WAS ABE LINCOLN IN 1860?

"I'M NOT AGAINST ANYBODY," DIRKSEN SAID AT THE TIME OF HIS ENTRY INTO THE RACE. "I'M A SERIOUS CANDIDATE."

SOME OF THE GOP POLS IN WASHINGTON WERE GUESSING THAT DIRKSEN WAS USING THE PRESIDENTIAL TARGET AS A MEANS OF BUILDING STATURE IN THE HOUSE FOR A RACE FOR THE SPEAKERSHIP, SHOULD THE HOUSE SWING TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. THERE WERE OTHERS, HOWEVER -- 38 REPRESENTATIVES SIGNED A PETITION ASKING HIM TO GET INTO THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE -- WHO THOUGHT OTHERWISE.

DIRKSEN HIMSELF THOUGHT ENOUGH OF HIS CHANCES TO UNDERTAKE AN INTENSIVE 50-STATE CANVAS TO TRY TO ROUND UP DELEGATES TO THE GOP CONVENTION AT CHICAGO IN THE SUMMER OF 1944. IT DIDN'T GO OFF,

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CORR: LAST PARA FIRST LINE - UNDERTAKE -

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BUT NOT UNTIL JUNE DID DIRKSEN FINALLY WITHDRAW HIS CANDIDACY FOR THE PRESIDENCY. AT THE TIME, THERE WAS SPECULATION THAT HIS REAL TARGET WAS 1948 -- THAT 1944 WAS NOT A PROPITITIOUS TIME FOR A REPUBLICAN TO WIN THE PRESIDENCY, WHAT WITH THE WAR IN FULL SWING. DIRKSEN, HOWEVER, SWITCHED FROM A PRESIDENTIAL RACE TO TRY TO WIN THE VICE PRESIDENCY. DEWEY ALREADY WAS CERTAIN TO WIN THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION, AND DIRKSEN FOUND HIMSELF ACTUALLY IN LINE TO GET THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL NOD FROM DEWEY -- FOR HE WAS IN DIRECT LINE FOR IT, AFTER WARREN AND BRICKER. WARREN DECLINED TO LEAVE HIS GOVERNORSHIP, BUT BRICKER HAD NO SUCH COMMITMENT TO OHIO. DIRKSEN MISSED OUT.

THAT DID NOT DETER HIS AMBITIONS. IN 1946, HE MOVED AGAIN FOR HIGHER OFFICE -- THIS TIME CAMPAIGNING FOR THE REPUBLICAN FLOOR LEADERSHIP IN THE HOUSE. THE REPUBLICANS WON THE HOUSE IN 1946, AND IMMEDIATELY A SCRAMBLE BEGAN FOR THE PARTY'S FLOOR LEADERSHIP. THERE WAS NO ATTEMPT TO FIGHT JOE MARTIN FOR THE SPEAKERSHIP, BUT THERE WERE THREE MAIN CANDIDATES FOR THE FLOOR LEADERSHIP: DIRKSEN, CHARLES HALLECK OF INDIANA AND CLARENCE BROWN OF OHIO. HALLECK'S FORCES CRIPPLED BROWN BY PERSUADING THOMAS JENKINS OF OHIO, WHO RANKED BROWN IN SENIORITY, TO GET INTO THE RACE. THAT SPLIT THE OHIO DELEGATION AND TOOK AWAY BROWN'S POLITICAL BASE. WITH DIRKSEN, IT WAS SIMPLY A MATTER OF OUTPOLLING HIM WITH THE REPUBLICAN MEMBERS. HALLECK TELLS US NOW THAT HE CONSIDERED DIRKSEN A MORE SERIOUS RIVAL THAN BROWN, BUT DIRKSEN WITHDREW WHEN HE DISCOVERED HE COULDN'T DEFEAT HALLECK IN A PARTY CAUCUS. "I'VE LOOKED AROUND, CHARLIE," DIRKSEN THEN SAID TO HALLECK, "AND YOU HAVE THE VOTES."

THAT FRUSTRATED DIRKSEN'S SECOND PUSH FOR POWER, JUST AT THE POINT IN HIS CAREER WHEN HE HAD TO MAKE A MAJOR MOVE TO GET INTO POSITION FOR A THRUST FOR NATIONAL OFFICE. HE WAS 50 YEARS OLD. OF COURSE, HIS FAILURE TO BEAT HALLECK AND HIS FORCED RETIREMENT FROM POLITICS YET SHORTLY THEREAFTER, REMOVED HIM FROM ANY POSSIBILITY OF ANYTHING IN 1948 -- AND THEREAFTER. HIS RECOVERY IN THE SUMMER OF 1948 MADE DEWEY THINK OF HIM FOR A CABINET POST,

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AND HIS ELECTION TO THE SENATE IN 1930 AGAIN OPENED POSSIBILITIES FOR AT LEAST THE SECOND SPOT ON A NATIONAL TICKET. DIRKSEN HIMSELF MADE A TOTAL COMMITMENT TO TAFT FOR 1952 -- BUT HE HAD IT DEEP IN MIND THAT TAFT JUST MIGHT CHOOSE HIM AS HIS RUNNING MATE, IF TAFT WON THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION. CURIOUSLY, DIRKSEN DID NOT SEEM TO CONSIDER THAT HIS GEOGRAPHICAL PROXIMITY TO TAFT'S OHIO ELIMINATED HIM FROM SERIOUS CONSIDERATION, THAT TAFT WOULD HAVE TO GO TO THE WEST COAST OR THE EAST TO FIND A RUNNING MATE. EVEN NOW, DIRKSEN KEEPS A FADING MEMORY OF THE LOST CHANCE THEN. HE TOLD US THAT IN THE HEIGHT OF THE CAMPAIGN IN 1952 TO WIN THE NOMINATION FOR TAFT, HE WENT TO TAFT ABOUT THE VICE PRESIDENCY. HE TOLD TAFT THAT HE HAD BUT ONE INTEREST IN HIS WORK FOR TAFT: TAFT'S NOMINATION. "IF AFTER YOU ARE NOMINATED, I LOOK LIKE A LIKELY..." WELL, THAT WOULD BE ENTIRELY UP TO TAFT; DIRKSEN WAS AVAILABLE IF WANTED, BUT TAFT SHOULD MAKE HIS DECISION ON HIS OWN BEST INTERESTS. DIRKSEN SAID HE TOOK THE MATTER UP WITH TAFT ONLY BECAUSE DIRKSEN'S FRIENDS WERE DOING A LOT OF TALKING ABOUT A TAFT-DIRKSEN TICKET AND IT HAD BECOME SOMEWHAT EMBARRASSING TO DIRKSEN AND HE FEARED IT WOULD EMBARRASS TAFT.

DIRKSEN INCIDENTALLY TELLS US A CHARMING STORY ABOUT TAFT'S POLITICAL NAIVETY. THEY WERE WALKING TOGETHER DOWN A SENATE CORRIDOR, WHEN DIRKSEN SPOTTED A WEST VIRGINIA DELEGATION COMING ALONG WHO HAD INVITED TAFT TO A MEETING IN WEST VIRGINIA. TAFT HAD DECLINED TO COME TO THE MEETING AND HAD SENT A TELEGRAM INSTEAD. DIRKSEN INTRODUCED TAFT TO THE GROUP NOW, AND ONE OF THEM THANKED TAFT FOR SENDING THE TELEGRAM. "OH, THAT'S ALL RIGHT," TAFT BLURTED OUT, "WE SEND THOSE TELEGRAMS TO EVERYBODY."

"I COULD HAVE KILLED HIM," LAUGHED DIRKSEN AT TAFT'S FAUX PAS.

DIRKSEN, OF COURSE, BELIEVED TAFT TO BE EMINENTLY SUITED TO BE PRESIDENT. HE ADMIRED IMMENSELY TAFT'S INTELLIGENCE, INTEGRITY, AND "DEPTH OF CONVICTION." WHEN TAFT'S AMBITION WAS FRUSTRATED BY EISENHOWER, AS SUPPORTED BY TOM DEWEY, DIRKSEN VENTED ON DEWEY NOT ONLY HIS BITTERNESS AGAINST DEWEY FOR DESTROYING TAFT'S

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LAST HOPE OF THE PRESIDENCY, BUT DIRKSEN'S OWN HOPES FOR GREAT OFFICE. THE BITTERNESS WELL ED UP IN HIM IN THAT EXTRAORDINARY SPEECH AT THE CONVENTION -- AND IT STAYED WITH HIM INTO THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. THE YEAR 1952 SEEMED WELL IN ADVANCE LIKE A REPUBLICAN YEAR, MUCH AS 1948 HAD. THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION NOT ONLY HAD BEEN SHOWN POCKMARKED WITH CORRUPTION AND VENALITY, BUT WAS ALSO UNDER A TERRIBLE CROSSFIRE OF BEING SOFT TO COMMUNISM, AT AN HOUR WHEN AMERICAN BOYS WERE BEING KILLED BY COMMUNISTS IN KOREA. THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WOULD WIN -- AND INEVITABLY BE RE-NOMINATED IN 1956. THERE WOULD BE NO HOPE FOR ANY OTHER REPUBLICAN UNTIL 1960, AND BY THAT TIME, TAFT WOULD BE 71 YEARS OLD, DIRKSEN WOULD BE 64, BOTH TOO OLD FOR THE "BIG" OFFICE. DOUBTLESSLY, THAT ADDED ACID TO THE DIRKSEN OF THIS TIME.

DIRKSEN RETURNED TO THE SENATE IN 1953, AS A MEMBER OF THE OPPOSITION MINORITY OF HIS OWN PARTY, AND THAT OPPOSITION FOUND A CENTER IN JOE MCCARTHY. NOT UNTIL MCCARTHY'S PASSING FROM THE SCENE, WHICH WAS MORE THAN A YEAR AFTER TAFT DIED, DID DIRKSEN BEGIN TO MOVE INTO A NEW ORBIT WHOSE CENTER WAS THAT REMARKABLE MAN, DWIGHT EISENHOWER. EISENHOWER WAS NOT A MAN ADMIRER BY THE REPUBLICAN CONSERVATIVES. EVEN BESIDES THE DESTRUCTION OF TAFT'S AMBITION, IKE ENTERED THE WHITE HOUSE WITH PROGRAMS AND POLICIES THAT SHACKED TOO MUCH FOR THE CONSERVATIVES OF THE ROOSEVELT NEW DEAL AND THE TRUMAN FAIR DEAL. IT TOOK A LITTLE TIME FOR DIRKSEN -- FOR MANY OF THE GOP CONSERVATIVES IT TOOK UNTIL 1959 AND IKE'S DRAMATIC SHIFT TO STRICT CONSERVATISM -- TO MOVE TOWARDS IKE. HIS RECORD SHOWS DIRKSEN BECOMING AN EISENHOWER MAN AS EARLY AS 1955 -- AND THEN IN 1959 HE BECAME THE GOP FLOOR LEADER, THE PRESIDENT'S LIEUTENANT IN THE SENATE, A GREAT OFFICE INDEED. IF NOT THE PRESIDENCY OR THE VICE PRESIDENCY.

FROM THE BEGINNING, DIRKSEN HAD HIS EYE ON THE MAIN CHANCE. HIS AMBITION WAS ENORMOUS. ALL THROUGH HIS CAREER HE HAD CALCULATED FOR HIS OWN ADVANCEMENT: THE PRESIDENCY, THE VICE-PRESIDENCY, THE SPEAKERSHIP. HIS VOTING RECORD HAD SHOWN VIOLENT FLUCTUATIONS. HE IS STILL CAPABLE OF SPINNING AROUND COMPLETELY ON SUBJECTS -- AND WE WILL CITE A FEW IN A LATER FILE -- AND HE HAD

VON FOR HIMSELF, AMONG HIS HARSHTEST CRITICS, A PLAUSIBLE RECORD OF A MAN WITH NO POLITICAL PRINCIPLES. HE DID WHAT HELPED DIRKSEN MOST, NO MATTER THE AWKWARDNESS OF THE SHIFTS AND TURNINGS INVOLVED. THIS IS THE READING OF THOSE WHO HAVE WATCHED PARTICULARLY HIS RECORD IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, BUT THERE HAVE BEEN SIMILAR GYRATIONS ON OTHER SUBJECTS AS WELL.

HIS ABILITY, HIS REPUTATION AS A POLITICAL SPINNER, HIS ACIDITY, AND HIS OBVIOUS ADMIRATION OF HIMSELF IN HIS EARLY YEARS IN THE SENATE, BROUGHT ON HIM A LARGE BODY OF CONTEMPT FROM HIS POLITICAL OPPONENTS. THEY HAD THAT ERRATIC VOTING RECORD TO POINT TO AND THE CIRCUENCE AND VENOM OF THE MAN IN ACTION AND SPOKEN WORD.

THAT REPUTATION NOW HAS LARGELY VANISHED AMONG HIS OWN COLLEAGUES, THE MEN WHO KNOW HIM BEST. AT THE TIME OF HIS ELEVATION TO THE PARTY'S FLOOR LEADER, THE REPUBLICAN LIBERALS AND PROGRESSIVE DESPAIRED OF THE "IMAGE" DIRKSEN WOULD GIVE THE PARTY NATIONALLY, OF THEMSELVES AS SENATE REPUBLICANS. THAT HAS VANISHED. EVEN THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS, THE ONES WHO DESPISED DIRKSEN FOR HIS DEFENSE OF MCCARTHY AS WELL AS HIS FLUCTUATING VOTING RECORD, BEGAN TO CHANGE IN THEIR VIEWS OF DIRKSEN. ONE OF THEM SAID TO US THE OTHER DAY: "HE'S A MAN OF NO PRINCIPLES." THIS WAS THE OLD, RAW CONTEMPT FOR DIRKSEN. ANOTHER, EQUALLY LIBERAL, SAID PRECISELY THE SAME THING: "HE'S A MAN OF NO PRINCIPLES." THEN THIS ONE ADDED: "NO, THAT'S NOT FAIR. HE DOES BELIEVE IN SOME THINGS." WE THOUGHT THE QUALIFICATION FASCINATING. (THE SENATOR, NO USE: JOE CLARK.)

FROM DIRKSEN'S OWN REPUBLICANS, HOWEVER, THE VIEW TODAY HAS BEEN AS WE'VE FILED IN TAKE ONE: UNANIMOUS ENDORSEMENT OF THE MAN AS LEADER. FROM DIRKSEN'S OPPOSITERS IN THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP: PRECISELY THE SAME ENDORSEMENT OF DIRKSEN AS LEADER.

REPEATEDLY, WHEN WE TOLD SENATORS, IN PRELIMINARY TO INTERVIEW-

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WASH/WHV - MACFILL - PAGE 8

ING THEM ABOUT DIRKSEN, THAT THIS WAS FOR A TIME COVER ON DIRKSEN, THEIR RESPONSE WAS: "GOD." FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE AISLE. THEY THOUGHT HE DESERVED THIS FORM OF RECOGNITION.

REPEATEDLY TOO, FROM THE RANKS OF HIS OWN PARTY AND FROM THE DEMOCRATS ALSO (EXCEPT THE NORTHERN LIBERALS) CAME VARIATIONS ON ONE BASIC THEME: "HE'S GROWN." "HE'S SETTLED DOWN."

DIRKSEN'S AMBITIONS HAVE BEEN SATISFIED. HE HAS STOPPED THINKING OF HIMSELF AS AN END IN HIMSELF. THIS HAS BEEN MORE THAN MERELY BECOMING IKE'S LIEUTENANT ON THE HILL -- FOR IKE IS NOW TWO YEARS GONE AND DIRKSEN ACTS WITH THE SAME PROFOUND SENSE OF THE RESPONSIBLE PUBLIC OFFICER NOW AS HE DID THEN, ALBEIT WITH THE OLD SKILL TO MANEUVER OF HIS EARLIER YEARS, NOW THAT KENNEDY IS PRESIDENT. WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO DIRKSEN, WE SUGGEST, IS THAT HE HAS BECOME A SENATE MAN, A MAN COMMITTED TO THE MYSTIQUE OF THE SENATE, AN EVERVESCENT, ENNOBLING SOMETHING THAT MAKES ITS PRACTITIONERS BELIEVE THAT BEYOND PARTY, BEYOND SELF, THEIR TASK IS SOMETHING RICHLY REWARDING, IMMENSELY SIGNIFICANT IN MAKING THE SENATE, THE NOBLEST WORK OF MAN, OPERATE IN ITS OWN HIGHEST TRADITIONS, THE VERY TOUCHSTONE OF THE AMERICAN IDEA OF RESPONSIBILITY AND FREEDOM ITSELF.

(MORE TV.)

WM...6:07P

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WASH19/NYK - SEPT. 4, 1962 (REQUESTED)

TO: PARKER

FROM: MACNEIL (WASHINGTON) (RTS)

DIRKSEN COVER - IX - (NATION)

A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO, WHEN LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON OF TEXAS WAS RUNNING THE U.S. SENATE AS HIS OWN PRIVATE BAILIWICK, IN A STYLE NEVER BEFORE SEEN ON CAPITOL HILL OF SELF-GRATULATION AND COMMAND, AN APOCROPHAL STORY WENT THE ROUNDS OF WASHINGTON ABOUT THE RIVALRY BETWEEN HIM AND EVERETT DIRKSEN FOR PERSONAL MARKS OF PRESTIGE. THE STORY HAD IT THAT DIRKSEN WAS EXCEEDINGLY JEALOUS OF LYNDON'S TELEPHONE IN LYNDON'S CADILLACK LIMOUSINE. AFTER MUCH FINANGLING, DIRKSEN GOT ONE TOO, AND PROMPTLY USED IT TO TELEPHONE LYNDON AS THEY WERE BOTH BEING DRIVEN FROM CAPITOL HILL TO THEIR HOMES. THE CONVERSATION WENT LIKE THIS:

"HELLO, LYNDON, THIS IS EVERETT DIRKSEN. I'M CALLING YOU FROM MY LIMOUSINE WITH MY NEW PHONE."

"WAIT A MINUTE, EVERETT. THE OTHER PHONE IS RINGING."

THE STORY, ALTHOUGH TOTALLY FABRICATED (DIRKSEN ACTUALLY HAD THE PHONE AUTOMATICALLY PROVIDED IN HIS OFFICIAL CAR REMOVED, SO HE WOULDN'T BE BOTHERED ON HIS RIDES BACK AND FORTH), HAS A PROFOUND MEANING FOR US, FOR THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT DIRKSEN DID LEARN MUCH FROM LYNDON'S STYLE OF LEADERSHIP AND DID, WITH VERY IMPORTANT EXCEPTIONS, MODEL HIS OWN LEADERSHIP ON THAT OF LYNDON'S. THERE WAS A CONSIDERABLE MINICKRY BY DIRKSEN OF JOHNSON.

DIRKSEN AND JOHNSON DID NOT DISAGREE ONE IOTA IN THEIR CONCEPT OF THE SENATE, ONCE DIRKSEN MOVED INTO THE PHILOSOPHY THAT THE SENATE, AS AN INSTITUTION, IS AN END UNTO ITSELF. "LYNDON PROCEEDED ON THE SOUND THEORY," SAID DIRKSEN TO US, "THAT THE SENATE IS A TWO-WAY STREET AND THAT IF THE SENATE DID NOT GET ALONG, THE SENATE WOULD

HE QUICKLY REDUCED TO A SHAMBLES.

THE SENATE'S PRIMARY FUNCTION IS TO SERVE THE WHOLE COUNTRY. FOR THAT REASON, IT IS THE DUTY ON THE PART OF THE SENATE LEADERS NEVER TO FORGET THE NATIONAL INTEREST IN SEEKING ACTION IN ANY LEGISLATIVE FIELD. FIELD. AS A RESULT, WHEN SEEMINGLY INSURMOUNTABLE DIFFERENCE AROSE, IT WAS NECESSARY TO SIT DOWN AND EXPLAIN ALL POSSIBILITIES IN ORDER TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM.

"THE COURSE TO PURSUE IS THE COURSE OF GENTLE PERSUASION."

THE SENATE CANNOT PROCEED IN ITS BUSINESS WITHOUT, ESSENTIALLY, A CONSENSUS OF THE SENATE READY AND WILLING TO PROCEED. BY ITS VERY RULES, ANY SENATOR CAN BLOCK IMMEDIATE ACTION ON ANYTHING. AND ANY DETERMINED GROUP OF MEMBERS ALMOST SURELY CAN BLOCK ANY ACTION INDEFINITELY. DIRKSEN, LIKE JOHNSON, HAS PREDICATED HIS LEADERSHIP OF THE SENATE ON "FORBEARANCE AND FLEXIBILITY." HE HAS BEEN, LIKE JOHNSON, A SEEKER OF COMPROMISE IN THE MIDDLE GROUND -- AND LIKE JOHNSON, DIRKSEN HAS BEEN COMMITTED TO THE CENTRAL IDEA THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF BOTH PARTIES MUST COORDINATE THEIR OWN ACTIVITIES, SO ACCOMMODATE EACH OTHER, THAT THE SENATE CAN ACT.

DIRKSEN GAVE TO JOHNSON THAT TOTAL COOPERATION, AND HE HAS CONTINUED TO GIVE IT TO MIKE MANSFIELD, JOHNSON'S SUCCESSOR AS MAJORITY LEADER. THAT ESSENTIALLY EXPLAINS THE ADMIRATION OF DIRKSEN BY MANSFIELD AND THE WHOLE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP. HE HAS GIVEN HIS VERY BEST TO THEM -- NOT AGREEING ON HOW TO VOTE, OF COURSE -- IN KEEPING THE SENATE FUNCTIONING. HAD HE BEEN A POLITICAL SPOILER LIKE CHARLES HALLECK, HAD HE BEEN AS INFLEXIBLE AS HALLECK, THE SENATE COULD NOT HAVE ACTED AS A FORUM OF NATIONAL JUDGMENT, FOR A POLITICAL GUT-FIGHTER AND OBSTRUCTIONIST IN THE ROLE OF A PARTY LEADER IN THE SENATE COULD PREVENT ACTION AT WILL.

DIRKSEN LEARNED SELF-ABNEGATION IN TWO WAYS, AND THIS FACT OF HIS SELF-ABNEGATION, WE SUGGEST, HAS BEEN THE SECRET OF HIS CURRENT

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CORR: FOURTY PARA SECOND LINE - JOHNSON'S SUCCESSOR -

SAME PARA FIFTH LINE - KEEPING -

POPULARITY IN THE SENATE. THE FIRST AND OBVIOUS WAY WAS IN RECOGNIZING HIMSELF AS EISENHOWER'S MAN IN THE SENATE. HE GAVE TO EISENHOWER HIS TOTAL DEVOTION TO THE EXTENT OF ALTERING HIS OWN POSITIONS (AS IN FOREIGN AID) TO BACK EISENHOWER FULLY. THE SECOND -- AND THIS IS THE IMPORTANT WAY NOW -- WAS TO SUBLIMATE HIMSELF FOR THE SAKE OF HIS PARTY IN THE SENATE AND THE SENATE ITSELF.

HE CONCEDES THAT IN RECENT YEARS, HE HAS FELT HIS OWN BELLOWING. THIS IS NOT AGE ALONE, BUT A GROWING CONTENTMENT INSIDE THE MAN, THE LOSS OF UNSATISFIED AMBITION.

"THE LONGER ONE IS IDENTIFIED WITH PUBLIC LIFE, ESPECIALLY AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL," HE SAID TO US, "THE MORE ONE IS PERSUADED, AS AN ANCIENT PHILOSOPHER SAID, THAT POLITICS IS THE ART OF THE POSSIBLE."

(LYNDON JOHNSON READ THAT SAME ANCIENT PHILOSOPHER.)

"IN ANY PARLIAMENTARY BODY," DIRKSEN WENT ON, "YOU DEAL WITH MANY INDIVIDUALS WHO EMBRACE DIFFERENT PHILOSOPHIES AND REPRESENT DIFFERENT LOCAL INTERESTS. IT WOULD BE STRANGE INDEED IF MEMBERS DID NOT GIVE ATTENTION TO THOSE ITEMS WHICH MEANT THE WELLBEING AND PROSPERITY OF THEIR STATE AND DISTRICTS.

"SO, IN COMPOUNDING LEGISLATION ON THE NATIONAL FIELD, THERE MUST BE GIVE AND TAKE. NOTHING IS EVER BLACK OR WHITE. IF IT WERE NOT FOR THE ADJUSTMENTS MADE, IT'S DOUBTFUL THAT THE LEGISLATIVE MACHINERY COULD EVER OPERATE SMOOTHLY AND EFFECTIVELY."

THAT'S DIRKSEN'S PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH TO THE NEEDS OF OPERATING WITH A FLEXIBLE APPROACH THE U.S. SENATE. IT'S IDENTICAL TO LYNDON JOHNSON'S. ALL RIGHT, THEN, BUT HOW DOES DIRKSEN APPROACH THE PROBLEM OF FINDING THE "POSSIBLE."

"WHAT YOU DO," HE SAID, "IS SEE HOW MUCH COMMON GROUND THERE

IS ON WHICH EVERY MEMBER OF THE PARTY (IN THE SENATE) CAN STAND. YOU NOTE WHAT THE DIFFERENCES MIGHT BE. WHEN THAT'S BEEN DONE, THEN YOU TRY TO CLOSE THE GAP, AND THIS IS DIFFERENT WITH EVERY SITUATION THAT ARISES."

HOW ABOUT AN EXAMPLE? WELL, TAKE THE RECENT SATELLITE BILL. THAT BILL, SUPPORTED BASICALLY BY MOST OF THE CONGRESS, WAS ASSAULTED IN THE SENATE BY A BAND OF DEMOCRATIC LIBERALS WHO REGARDED IT AS A "GIVEAWAY" AND ATTEMPTED TO PREVENT ITS PASSAGE BY FILIBUSTERING. THE FILIBUSTER HAD TO BE BROKEN, IF THE BILL WERE TO BE PASSED, AND CLOTURE -- A FORMAL VOTE BY TWO THIRDS OF THE SENATE TO END DEBATE -- WAS THE ONLY FEASIBLE POSSIBILITY. CLOTURE HAD NOT BEEN INVOKED IN 35 YEARS. CLOTURE IS NORMALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO INVOKE IN THE SENATE.

"THE MEMBERS," SAID DIRKSEN, "AS A GENERAL THING, SIMPLY REFUSE TO INVOKE CLOTURE AGAINST THEMSELVES. NORMALLY, IN SOME STATES THE QUESTION AT ISSUE IS ONLY OF ACADEMIC INTEREST." (THEREFORE THERE COULD BE NO PRESSURE ON THE SENATORS FROM THOSE STATES TO VOTE FOR CLOTURE.) "WHEN IT CAME TO THE SATELLITE BILL, HOWEVER, THERE WERE QUESTIONS OF NATIONAL SECURITY AS WELL AS THE PROGRESS BEING MADE BY THE SOVIET UNION. QUITE ASIDE FROM THE BASIC PROBLEM OF SPACE COMMUNICATION, OTHER APPEALS COULD BE MADE. I USED THEM AS EFFECTIVELY AS I KNEW HOW."

THAT IS, DIRKSEN COULD ARGUE WITH HIS REPUBLICANS THAT THE FILIBUSTER HAD TO BE HALTED IN THE INTERESTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY. HE WAS SO SUCCESSFUL THAT HE LOST ONLY TWO REPUBLICAN VOTES ON THE CLOTURE VOTE, GOLDWATER AND TOWER, AND OF THESE, ONE, GOLDWATER, WAITED IN THE CLOAKROOM READY TO SIDESTEP THE VOTE UNTIL DIRKSEN

SENT HIM WORD THAT CLOTURE WOULD BE INVOKED WHETHER HE VOTED OR NOT. GOLDWATER FELT HE COULD NOT VOTE FOR CLOTURE, BUT HE WAS WILLING TO

GO ALONG WITH DIRKSEN TO THE EXTENT OF NOT VOTING AT ALL.

HOW ABOUT DIRKSEN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE DEMOCRATS?

"EVEN IN A PREDOMINANTLY DEMOCRATIC SENATE," HE SAID, "THE MINORITY HAS ITS INTERESTS AND ITS POLICIES, WHICH IT TRIES TO EFFECTUATE. VERY OBVIOUSLY TO DO SO REQUIRES VOTERS FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE AISLE. AS A GENERAL THING, MINORITY POLICY COMES ABOUT IN THE FORM OF AMENDMENTS OR SUBSTITUTES FOR ADMINISTRATION BILLS."

WHAT DIRKSEN DOES IS CONSULT WITH THOSE DEMOCRATS KNOWN TO OPPOSE A GIVEN ADMINISTRATION BILL AND TRY TO WORK OUT A COALITION POSITION BETWEEN THOSE DEMOCRATS AND THE REPUBLICANS. HIS BEST INSTANCE OF SUCCESS THIS YEAR WAS THE VOTE BY WHICH THE SENATE KILLED THE PRESIDENT'S MEDICAL CARE PROGRAM. HE WORKED CLOSELY WITH ROBERT KERR OF OKLAHOMA, AND BETWEEN THEM THEY MUSTERED 52 VOTES AGAINST THE BILL. ONLY FIVE REPUBLICANS VOTED FOR THE BILL. DIRKSEN MUST ATTRACT SOUTHERN AND CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS IF HE IS TO WIN IN A TEST VOTE AGAINST THE ADMINISTRATION DEMOCRATS. TO DO SO, HE, OF COURSE, CONSULTS IN DETAIL WITH THE LEADERS OF THOSE OPPOSITION DEMOCRATS.

IN GENERAL, DIRKSEN APPROACHES HIS JOB OF LEADERSHIP IN A MOST ELEMENTARY WAY. HE GOES TO MEMBERS OF HIS PARTY, NORMALLY EVERY ONE OF THEM, WHEN A CONTROVERSIAL QUESTION IS ABOUT TO COME BEFORE THE SENATE. "HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THIS?" HE ASKS HIS COLLEAGUES, ONE BY ONE. MANY OF HIS RANK AND FILE MEMBERS FEEL STRONGLY FOR OR AGAINST A GIVEN BILL. THESE DIRKSEN DOES NOT NORMALLY ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE. THOSE WITH MIXED IDEAS, HE WILL TRY TO PERSUADE TO A POSITION FOUND AND SET BY HIMSELF. HE HAS BEEN EMINENTLY SUCCESSFUL AT THIS.

TAKE FOR EXAMPLE THE VOTE A WEEK AGO ON THE PRESIDENT'S TAX CREDIT FOR BUSINESS. THAT PROPOSAL RECEIVED THE OPPOSITION OF EVERY SINGLE REPUBLICAN MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THEY ESTABLISHED A FIRM PARTY POSITION AGAINST IT. DIRKSEN SAW THE QUESTION

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DIFFERENTLY. HE KNEW THAT MAJOR INDUSTRIES, LIKE THE RAILROADS, IN HIS HOME STATE WANTED THAT TAX CREDIT. HE BEGAN TO WORK FOR IT. HE STARTED BY TELLING REPUBLICANS THAT HE THOUGHT THE SECTION WOULD REMAIN IN THE TAX BILL AS REPORTED FROM HARRY BYRD'S FINANCE COMMITTEE, DESPITE BYRD'S OPPOSITION TO IT. THE CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICANS TOOK ALARM AT THIS HINT BY DIRKSEN THAT HE FAVORED IT. THEY BEGAN TO BRING PRESSURE ON DIRKSEN TO SWITCH HIS POSITION. BY THE TIME THEY DID, IT WAS ALREADY TOO LATE. DIRKSEN HAD HIMSELF ALREADY WORKED OVER THE RANKS OF THE REPUBLICANS IN THE SENATE, AND HE HAD 13 REPUBLICANS BESIDES HIMSELF COMMITTED TO VOTE FOR IT. "I NEED YOUR VOTE," HE TOLD HIS SENATE REPUBLICANS. "CAN YOU HELP ME?" HE TALKED TO GOLDWATER, TOO, AND GOLDWATER WAS AGAINST THE TAX CREDIT -- BUT TO GOLDWATER IT WASN'T A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH. "IF YOU NEED MY VOTE," GOLDWATER SAID TO DIRKSEN, "I'LL GO WITH YOU." WE FIND THAT A DRAMATIC PROOF OF DIRKSEN'S WOOING OF HIS OWN PEOPLE. DIRKSEN DIDN'T NEED GOLDWATER'S VOTE, AND GOLDWATER VOTED AGAINST THE TAX CREDIT. BUT HE WOULD HAVE, IF IT MEANT THE DIFFERENCE TO DIRKSEN.

THIS ITEM, OF COURSE, WAS HIGH ON THE ADMINISTRATION'S LIST -- AND ITS APPROVAL BY THE SENATE RESTED SOLELY ON DIRKSEN'S ABILITY TO BRING REPUBLICANS TO SUPPORT IT. THE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP IN THE SENATE CONFIRMS TO US THAT WITHOUT DIRKSEN'S ACTIVE SUPPORT ON THIS ONE, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN REJECTED BY THE SENATE.

NORMALLY, DIRKSEN HAS NOT PROVIDED SUCH COOPERATION FOR THE KENNEDY LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS AFFECTING THE ECONOMY. HE HAS, IN FACT, LED THE OPPOSITION TO MOST OF THESE ECONOMIC MEASURES OFFERED BY THE PRESIDENT, AMONG THEM: MEDICAL CARE, THE FARM BILLS, URBAN AFFAIRS, PUBLIC WORKS. HIS COOPERATION WITH THE ADMINISTRATION NORMALLY ENCOMPASSES NATIONAL DEFENSE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS -- AND THAT'S A LARGE AREA. WE CAN EXPECT HIM TO BACK THE TRADE BILL, STILL TO COME BEFORE THE SENATE, AND THE FOREIGN AID BILL APPROPRIATION, AS HE HAS IN THE RECENT PAST. "HIS LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY," SAID ONE DEMOCRATIC OBSERVER OF DIRKSEN, "HAS MADE HIM RESPONSIBLE ON FOREIGN AID." HIS SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL TO BUY U.N. BONDS, AS

A MEANS OF FINANCING THAT INTERNATIONAL BODY, WAS THE CRITICAL SUPPORT NEEDED TO GET THAT PAST THE SENATE -- AS WAS HIS SUPPORT ON THE SATELLITE BILL AND TAX CREDIT.

DIRKSEN DID MORE THAN HUSTLE A FEW VOTES FROM THE REPUBLICANS ON THAT ONE. HE WORKED HAND IN HAND WITH MIKE MANSFIELD TO PUT TOGETHER AMENDMENTS THAT WOULD ASSUAGE THE SENATE'S OBJECTIONS TO THE PROPOSAL, THEN GOT THEM CLEARED BY KENNEDY HIMSELF. THEN, AS A FINAL CAPSTONE TO HIS WORK, HE MADE A REMARKABLE SPEECH ON THE BILL, JUST BEFORE THE VOTE, A SPEECH THAT SENATOR CARROLL ACKNOWLEDGED CHANGED HIS VOTE ON THE BILL.

"WE HAD SOME FAITH IN DWIGHT EISENHOWER," DIRKSEN TOLD THE SENATE, IN HIS RINGING VOICE, "AND I HAVE NOT FORFEITED MY FAITH IN JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY. I AM WILLING ALWAYS TO TRUST THE PRESIDENT, BECAUSE I THINK HE HAS A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY." (WE SUGGEST THIS SPEECH -- PP 3616-3617, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, APRIL 5, 1962 -- TO YOUR FULL ATTENTION). AS HE CONCLUDED, RHODE ISLAND'S DEMOCRAT JOHN PASTORE, A TOUGH, ELOQUENT MAN IN HIS OWN RIGHT, JUMPED TO HIS FEET. "I HAVE BEEN A MEMBER OF THE SENATE FOR 11 YEARS" HE TOLD THE SENATE, "THIS EVENING I HAVE HEARD ONE OF THE FINEST SPEECHES EVER DELIVERED IN THE SENATE. I CONGRATULATE THE SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS." AFTER THE VOTE, MANSFIELD TOOK THE FLOOR AND HE TOO COMMENDED DIRKSEN FOR BEING "A TOWER OF STRENGTH IN THE CONSIDERATION OF THIS MEASURE."

THIS IS A FINE EXAMPLE OF THE NEW DIRKSEN AND THE NEW RESPECT HE COMMANDS IN THE SENATE FROM HIS COLLEAGUES. IT'S A FAR DIFFERENT ATTITUDE THAN A FEW YEARS AGO WHEN HE WAS REGARDED AS SOMETHING OF A DEMAGOGUE AND POLITICAL HATCHETMAN.

"I THINK HE'S DEVELOPED INTO A VERY RESPONSIBLE LEADER OF HIS PARTY," SAID CLIFF CASE OF NEW JERSEY, "AND OF THE SENATE."

"HE'S GROWN VERY RAPIDLY IN STATURE WITH THE JOB OF LEADER," SAID PRES BUSH OF CONNECTICUT. "I THINK HE'S GROWN TREMENDOUSLY IN

THE PAST FOUR YEARS."

HIS MASTERY OF DETAIL ON LEGISLATION, HIS READY MEMORY, HIS READY WIT, HIS FLAMBOYANCE, AND BOISTEROUS GOOD WILL, HIS FRIENDLINESS, HIS CHARM, HIS SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS OF HIS COLLEAGUES AND ASSOCIATES -- ALL ATTESTED TO MANY TIMES OVER TO US -- HAVE WON HIM THE AFFECTIONS OF HIS COLLEAGUES AND THEIR RESPECT. AND THIS HAS BEEN REFLECTED IN THE WHITE HOUSE OF JOHN KENNEDY AS IT WAS IN THE WHITE HOUSE OF EISENHOWER. "WHO THE HELL COULD DISLIKE DIRKSEN?" A KENNEDY LIEUTENANT ASKED. "HE GETS HIS ARM AROUND YOUR SHOULDER, AND, WELL...HE'S A TOTAL PRO, ABLE, CUTE AND CLEVER."

THE WHITE HOUSE OF KENNEDY HAS LEARNED TO RESPECT DIRKSEN, AS DOES THE PRESIDENT, AS WELL AS LIKE HIM. AT THE TIME OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCES WITH THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP ON THE GATHERING LAOS CRISIS, THE PRESIDENT'S AIDES WERE ASTONISHED TO FIND THAT THE MOST PENETRATING QUESTIONS ASKED BY THE MEN FROM THE HILL CAME FROM SENATOR DIRKSEN. ALL THE FOREIGN POLICY EXPERTS WERE THERE -- FULBRIGHT, SPARKMAN, JUDD, MANSFIELD, BUT DIRKSEN OUTSHONE THEM ALL IN HIS KNOWLEDGE AND RANGE OF THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN ENDOGGLIO.

HIS SUPPORT OF THE PRESIDENT IN FOREIGN AND DEFENSE MATTERS HAS NOT BEEN A ME-TOO APPROACH, EVEN THOUGH HIS DEFENSE OF THE U.N. BONDS CAUSED DEEP RESENTMENT AMONG THE REPUBLICAN RANKS, BOTH IN THE HOUSE AND THE SENATE. HE HAS, IN RECENT WEEKS, BEEN FIRING AT THE PRESIDENT ON THE BERLIN SITUATION, AND THE GENERAL FOREIGN PICTURE, AND WE ARE PACKETING TO YOU SOME OF THESE STATEMENTS. IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD, HE HAS ALSO BEEN ROUGH ON THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENT'S OFFERED CONCESSIONS TO THE RUSSIANS ON TESTING.

THAT, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN PART OF THE GREAT GAME OF POLITICS AND POLICY, FREELY ACCEPTED BY THE DEMOCRATS ON THE HILL AND THE WHITE HOUSE WITHOUT RESENTMENT, OR THEY KNOW FROM DIRKSEN'S ACTIONS THAT THEY CAN COUNT ON HIM IN THE TIGHT AREAS OF FOREIGN AND DEFENSE BILLS, EVEN WHEN HIS OWN RANKS SWING INTO OPPOSITION. AND IT IS IN

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THIS AREA PRIMARILY -- DESPITE CONTRIBUTIONS TO KENNEDY ON THE SATELLITE
BILL AND TAX CREDIT -- THAT THE DEMOCRATS ARE MOST GRATEFUL TO DIRKSEN,
WHY MAUSFIELD IN PARTICULAR RATES DIRKSEN SO HIGH AMONG ALL HIS
COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE.

(MORE TK.)

NN...8:01P

WASH-1/NYK- SEPT.4,1962

(REQUESTED)

TO: PARKER

FROM: MACNEIL(WASHINGTON)

DIRKSEN COVER XI(NATION))

AND WHAT ABOUT DIRKSEN'S OPPONENT THIS YEAR, SIDNEY R.

YATES OF CHICAGO, 52- YEAR-OLD LAWYER AND REPRESENTATIVE OF ILLINOIS IN THE HOUSE FOR SEVEN TERMS? YATES IS A HANDSOME, VERY INTELLIGENT, MACHINE-ORIENTATED POLITICIAN OF THE LIBERAL PERSUASION, WHO LONG HAS WANTED TO BECOME A FEDERAL JUDGE. (HE CLAIMS THIS DESIRE FOR A JUDGESHIP HAS WANED NOW, BUT THE REPUBLICANS IN ILLINOIS ARE REFERRING TO AN UNFILLED DISTRICT JUDGESHIP AS THE "YATES APPOINTMENT" TO BE FILLED AFTER THE VOTES ARE COUNTED.) YATES RANKS SECOND TO EDDIE BOLAND AS THE REPRESENTATIVE WHO HAS MOST CLOSELY SUPPORTED PRESIDENT KENNEDY IN CONGRESS.

YATES GOT THE NOD FROM DICK DALEY AND THE DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION EARLY THIS YEAR, AFTER ADLAI E. STEVENSON TURNED DOWN THE CHANCE TO RUN AGAINST DIRKSEN. ADLAI CONSULTED WITH KENNEDY AT THE WHITE HOUSE, THEN ANNOUNCED FROM THE STEPS THAT THE PRESIDENT WANTED HIM TO STAY AT THE UNITED NATIONS. IT MADE YATES PUBLICLY A SECOND CHOICE BY THE PARTY, BUT THAT HASN'T STOPPED YATES FROM CAMPAIGNING FURIOUSLY ALL OVER THE STATE.

YATES, BASICALLY, HAS BEEN TRYING TO DO WHAT DIRKSEN DID TO SCOTT LUCAS IN 1950. IN THAT RACE, LUCAS COULDN'T LEAVE WASHINGTON, WHILE DIRKSEN WAS FREE TO CANVASS THE STATE AT WILL. YATES HAS HAD NO REASON TO STICK TO WASHINGTON, AND HE HAS BEEN FLYING IN ONLY LONG ENOUGH TO CAST A CRITICAL VOTE, AND THEN FLY BACK TO ILLINOIS TO GET BACK TO SHAKING HANDS.

YATES FREELY CONCEDES THAT HE STARTED AS A DECIDED UNDERDOG IN THE RACE AGAINST DIRKSEN; THAT DIRKSEN WAS WIDELY KNOWN THROUGHOUT THE STATE, AND THAT HE, YATES, WAS KNOWN SCARCELY FURTHER THAN THE BORDERS OF CHICAGO. YATES, HOWEVER BELIEVES HE IS CLOSING THE GAP BETWEEN HIM AND DIRKSEN. HE HAS HAD THE HELP OF KENNEDY-POLSTER LOU HARRIS, AND HARRIS'S FIGURES INDICATE THAT YATES IS "WITHIN STRIKING DISTANCE" OF DIRKSEN. WHAT THAT MEANS, WE ARE NOT SURE. YATES TELLS US THAT HE DOESN'T EXACTLY REMEMBER THE PRECISE RELATIONSHIP, PERCENTAGEWISE, BETWEEN HIM AND DIRKSEN, BUT HE THINKS IT WAS ABOUT 52 TO 48 IN JULY. WE DON'T BELIEVE THAT FIGURE FROM YATES-- HE HIMSELF WAS ACTING EVASIVELY WHEN HE SAID IT; AND WE'RE ALMOST CERTAIN THAT YATES IS FAR WORSE OFF THAN THAT, AND JUST DOESN'T WANT TO DISCOURAGE HIS OWN PEOPLE BY GIVING THE EXACT FIGURES.

YATES HAS BEEN CONCENTRATING HIS EFFORTS SO FAR ON DOWNSTATE ILLINOIS, ALL THOSE COUNTIES BEYOND COOK WHERE HE IS NOT KNOWN. HE APPEARS, FROM THIS DISTANCE, TO BE WORKING VERY VERY HARD AT THE BUSINESS OF GETTING HIS NAME KNOWN TO THE VOTERS. SO FAR HE HAS CANVASSED 63 OF THE STATE'S 102 COUNTIES, AND HE CLAIMS THAT HE NOW HAS PULLED EVEN WITH DIRKSEN IN THE COUNTIES ALONG AND JUST SOUTH OF U.S. ROUTE 40. THIS IS AN AREA THAT IS NOW SENDING SOME DEMOCRATS TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

YATES IS USING ALL THE MODERN TECHNIQUES OF CAMPAIGNING: LABOR MEETINGS, WOMEN'S GROUPS, SHOPPING CENTERS, COFFEE KLACHES, LUNCHEONS, DINNERS, CARAVANS, FACTORY GATES, RAILROAD STATIONS, NEWS INTERVIEWS, LOCAL RADIO, AND TV, COLLEGE CAMPUSES, CRAFT UNIONS, COURT HOUSES-- AND CONTINUING THIS RIGHT THROUGH THE WEEK FROM 6 A.M. TO AFTER 10. THIS HE IS DOING WHILE DIRKSEN IS HELD IN WASHINGTON

PO X LAST PARA 2ND LINE "COFFEE KLATCHES," ETC

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AND GETS OUT TO ILLINOIS ONLY ON WEEKENDS.

YATES TELLS US HE'S FOUND LITTLE ENTHUSIASM FOR DIRKSEN AND CONSIDERABLE HOSTILITY FOR HIM IN THE STATE, AND YATES IS HITTING DIRKSEN HARD ON SEVERAL ISSUES. HERE'S ONE SAMPLE OF A SPEECH:

"THE PEOPLE OF ILLINOIS WON'T SEND A MAN TO WASHINGTON AGAIN WHO VOTES ONE WAY IN WASHINGTON, AND TALKS ANOTHER WAY IN ILLINOIS. SENATOR DIRKSEN MAY USE HIS FLOWING PHRASES, HIS SOOTHING OOZY, SYRUPY WORDS; BUT HIS RECORD IS COMING OUT, AND I'M GOING TO HELP IT COME OUT...."

YATES CHARGED THAT DIRKSEN "SABOTAGED" THE DRUG BILL, AND THEN "THE OUTCRY OVER THALIDOMIDE CHANGED HIS MIND AFTER HE HAD TOLD ME: 'THE PRESENT LAW IS ADEQUATE.'"

YATES ALSO HAS BEEN HITTING DIRKSEN ON THESE POINTS:

PARMARK: MEDICAL CARE." I HEAR TELL THAT DIRKSEN IS BEING CONSIDERED FOR AN HONORARY DEGREE AS MASTER OF SURGERY FROM THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION FOR CUTTING UP THE MEDICAL CARE BILL."

PARMARK: MINIMUM WAGES: "CAN A FAMILY BE SUPPORTED ON LESS THAN \$50 A WEEK. DIRKSEN VOTED AGAINST IT."

PARMARK: AREA DEVELOPMENT. "THIS IS THE BILL THAT MEANT SO MUCH TO SOUTHERN ILLINOIS. DIRKSEN WAS AGAINST IT."

PARMARK: HOUSING BILL FOR LOW-RENT UNITS FOR THE POOR AND THE ELDERLY, WHICH DIRKSEN OPPOSED.

PARMARK: RURAL ELECTRIFICATION: "DIRKSEN HAS VOTED AGAINST EVERY RURAL ELECTRIFICATION BILL."

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YATES HAS ALSO ACCUSED DIRKSEN OF DOING NOTHING FOR ILLINOIS AS A SENATOR. HE CLAIMS THAT DIRKSEN CAN ONLY POINT TO ONE STATE PROJECT-- A NAVIGATION PROJECT ON THE KASKASKIA RIVER; AND THAT BILL HASN'T BEEN PASSED YET BY THE HOUSE-- DIRKSEN'S SOLE CLAIM FOR 12 YEARS IN THE SENATE.

YATES HAS HAD SOME FILM CLIPS MADE WITH JFK THAT HE'LL USE IN THE CAMPAIGN, AND A PICTURE OF HIMSELF WITH KENNEDY." HE'S HELPING AL HE CAN," SAID YATES OF KENNEDY." HE'S BEEN COMPLETELY COOPERATIVE."

YATES TAKES HOPE FROM SOME STATISTICS ON ILLINOIS. IN RECENT ELECTIONS, THERE HAS BEEN A STATEWIDE PREPONDERANCE FOR THE DEMOCRATS. DIRKSEN RAN FAR BEHIND IKE IN 1956. CHICAGO GAVE THE DEMOCRATS A 400,000 MARGIN IN 1958. IN 1960, KENNEDY WON WITH ONLY THE MAJORITY VOTES OF 9 COUNTIES, WHILE DOUGLAS WON THAT YEAR WITH A 500,000 MAJORITY. DEMOCRATIC REGISTRATION IS GOING WELL, AND THE DALEY MACHINE IS WORKING HARD.

THE DEMOCRATS HERE IN WASHINGTON HAVE NOT GIVEN UP ON YATES. KENNEDY WILL CAMPAIGN VIGOROUSLY FOR HIM, HITTING BOTH DOWNSTATE AND CHICAGO IN OCTOBER, THE BEST TIME TO STIR UP THE DEMOCRATS TO VOTE. YATES DOES HAVE A CHANCE, IN THE VIEW OF THE DEMOCRATS; BUT HE IS ONLY ON THEIR "HOPE" LIST, NOT THE "POSSIBLE" LIST, OR THE "PROBABLE" LIST, CERTAINLY NOT THE "SURE" LIST.

BARRY GOLDWATER, THE GOP SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN CHAIRMAN, WRITES ILLINOIS AS CERTAIN FOR DIRKSEN."YATES DOESN'T HAVE A CHANCE,"SAYS GOLDWATER.

(MORE TK)

8.10 FPK

WASH-2/NYK- SEPT.5,1962
(REQUESTED)

TO: PARKER
FROM: MACNEIL(WASHINGTON)(MB)

DIRKSEN COVER X11(NATION)

EVERETT DIRKSEN MOVES WITH GREAT PHYSICAL ENERGY. A RESTLESS, NERVOUS MAN HE EXALTS IN THE FURIOUS PACE THAT HE NOW IS KEEPING, A MORE ENERGETIC PACE THAN HE HAS EVER KEPT BEFORE-- AND HE HAS BEEN KNOWN THROUGH HIS ADULT LIFE AS A "PRODIGIOUS"WORKER. HE'S A MAN WHO LOVES ACTION, ACTIVITY OF ANY KIND, SO LONG AS ITS POLITICS OR THE BUSINESS OF RUNNING THE U.S. SENATE.

HIS SECRETARY, MRS. GLEE GOMIEN, KEEPS A POT OF COFFEE WARM THE WHOLE TIME HE IS IN THE VICINITY. JUST ABOUT EVERY TIME HE SLIPS AWAY FROM THE SENATE FLOOR TO HIS NEARBY OFFICE(ONCE THE SUPREME COURT'S DRESSING ROOM, LATER BILL KNOWLAND'S OFFICE), HE CALLS FOR A CUP OF COFFEE,WHICH HE DRINKS BLACK. PERHAPS TEN A DAY. HIS DOCTORS TOLD HIM TO CUT DOWN ON CIGARETTES WHEN HE CONFESSED TO THEM THAT HE WAS SMOKING THREE PACKS(KENTS USUALLY) A DAY. DIRKSEN'S SOLUTION: HE NO LONGER CARRIES CIGARETTES ON HIM, FREELY BUMS CIGARETTES ANY PLACE HE CAN GET THEM, USUALLY HIS STAFF AIDES, AND THUS HAS NO LONGER ANY MEANS OF TELLING HOW MANY HE SMOKES A DAY. THERE'S NO RECORD,BUT HE GUESSES ABOUT TWO PACKS.

NORMALLY HE FLIES OUT TO ILLINOIS EVERY WEEKEND, EVEN WITHOUT A CAMPAIGN UNDERWAY. AND EVERY TIME HE GETS INTO A PLANE, HE SITS IN THE SAME SEAT,THE SECOND SEAT BACK FROM THE FRONT OF THE PLANE ON THE LEFT SIDE. IT'S JUST A HABIT, BUT OF COURSE IT'S OVER THE

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PLANE'S WING, AND THEREFORE SUBJECT TO THE LEAST DISTURBANCE ON THE FLIGHT. HE HAS NO AMUSEMENT ABOUT HIM IN A PLANE, DOESN'T WANT TO TALK TO ANYONE: HE WORKS ON HIS PAPERS THE MOMENT HE SITS DOWN UNTIL THE PLANE LANDS. HE NORMALLY CARRIES A BRIEF CASE SO PACKED WITH PAPERS THAT HE HAS TO PAY EXTRA CHARGES FOR IT. USUALLY IT WEIGHS ABOUT 35 POUNDS, MORE THAN THE CLOTHES HE TAKS. PLANE RIDES ARE ONE OF HIS PRINCIPAL TIMES FOR CATCHING UP ON HIS WORK.

DIRKSEN NORMALLY RISES AT 5:30 IN THE MORNING, AND STILL IN HIS PAJAMAS, HEATS UP A LITTLE COFFEE TO GET HIM STARTED ON THE DAY. HIS TWO BEDROOM APARTMENT AT THE BERKSHIRE, OUT MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE IN THE NORTHWEST, IS MODEST, AND ONE OF THE BEDROOMS HAS BEEN FIXED UP AS AN OFFICE FOR HIM.

HE GETS RIGHT TO WORK ON HIS READING, AND HIS MAIL. HE DEVELOPED THIS HABIT OF EARLY RISING AS PART OF HIS ADULT LIFE WHEN HE WAS WORKING IN THE BAKERY; THEN HE GOT UP AT 4:30 EVERY MORNING TO GET THE OVENS GOING. DIRKSEN LIKES THESE EARLY HOURS TO WORK BECAUSE HE CAN'T BE INTERRUPTED IN HIS WORK." "THERE ARE NO PHONE CALLS," HE SAYS;" AND THERE'S NO ONE WALKING IN ON YOU. IT'S THE MOST FRUITFUL TIME OF THE DAY FOR ME." BY 8:30 OR SO HE'S READY TO GO TO THE CAPITOL, AND HE CONTINUES WORKING ON HIS PAPERS ON THIS CHAUFFEUR RIDE. HE'S GOING ALL DAY LONG. FIRST COMES HIS OFFICE ROUTINE, PERHAPS A CALL OR TWO FROM COLLEAGUES, THEN USUALLY OFF TO A COMMITTEE. ALTHOUGH THE MINORITY LEADER, HE SERVES ON THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, AND THE COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS, AS WELL AS TWO MINOR JOINT COMMITTEES.

HE'S ON THE FLOOR AT THE OPENING OF THE SENATE, USUALLY AT NOON, BUT FREQUENTLY EARLIER. THEN HE KEEPS TO THE FLOOR, OR NEARBY, FOR THE REST OF THE SESSION, NORMALLY NOT LEAVING UNTIL THE SENATE QUITS FOR THE DAY. THERE'S ALWAYS A HEAVY STREAM OF PEOPLE WANTING TO TALK TO HIM, LOBBYISTS, HOME STATE PEOPLE, CONSTITUENTS OF ONE KIND OR ANOTHER; AND HE POPS INTO HIS OFFICE TO SEE THEM AS HE CAN. HE

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EATS A SANDWICH FOR LUNCH, FREQUENTLY ON HIS DESK; AND KEEPS IN OPERATION AND IN MIND ALL THE BILLS, REPORTS, RESOLUTIONS, AND STRATEGIES OF ALL THE LEGISLATION ON ITS WAY TO THE FLOOR. HE FREQUENTLY CONSULTS WITH BOB HUMPHRIES, STAFF MAN FOR THE JOINT GOP LEADERSHIP, OFTEN TYPING OUT NOTES OR SCRAWLING IN LONGHAND IDEAS HE HAS FOR FORMAL LEADERSHIP POSITIONS ON VARIOUS QUESTIONS AND ISSUES. HE HAS THE GOP CONFERENCE EVERY TUESDAY OR WEDNESDAY AT NOON, THE LEADERSHIP MEETING EVERY WEEK, TOO.

THEN HE'S FREQUENTLY INVITED TO DINNERS; AND BECAUSE OF HIS OFFICIAL RANK, HE OFTEN HESITATES TO REFUSE THE OFFICIAL ONES:

I.E., CABINET, WHITE HOUSE, EMBASSIES, AND OF COURSE THE BIG CONVENTIONS. A YEAR AGO, WE INVITED HIM TO THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS DINNER FOR THE PRESIDENT. HE REFUSED BECAUSE HE HAD A BIG DINNER THE SAME NIGHT OUT IN ILLINOIS THAT WAS IMPORTANT TO HIM POLITICALLY. HE CALLED BACK A FEW MINUTES LATER; HE WAS WORRIED THAT IF HE DIDN'T GO TO THE WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS DINNER, HE MIGHT BE MISSED, AND HIS ABSENCE MIGHT SUGGEST THAT HE WAS SNUBBING THE PRESIDENT. COULD HE ACCEPT AFTER ALL? IT FASCINATED US THAT HE WAS SO CONCERNED THAT HE MIGHT INADVERTENTLY CAUSE EMBARRASSMENT TO THIS DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT.

ON THOSE NIGHTS HE DOESN'T HAVE TO GO OUT TO DINNER, HE HEADS FOR HIS APARTMENT FOR DINNER WITH HIS WIFE-- AND MORE HOMEWORK ON HIS BILLS, REPORTS, AND ALL THE REST." I'D BE LOST IN A FOG IF I DIDN'T DO IT," HE SAYS OF THIS ENORMOUS EFFORT TO KEEP UP WITH EVERY DETAIL OF HIS OPERATIONS. HE'S IN BED BY 11, BUT SOMETIMES HE RUNS A LITTLE LATER. HE'S UP AT 5:30 THE NEXT MORNING ANYWAY. HE DOESN'T NEED MUCH SLEEP.

FREQUENTLY IN THE LATE AFTERNOON OR EARLY EVENING AT THE
E-PO 4H FULL PARA-3D LINE "I'D BE LOST IN A FOG IF I"ETC ETC..

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ENATE, HE WILL MEET WITH OTHER SENATORS IN HIS OWN "HIDEAWAY." THIS IS ACTUALLY AN OFFICE ADJOINING THE ONE HE USES AS MINORITY LEADER. THERE, A BAR IS SET UP OFF TO THE RIGHT OF THE HANDSOME MARBLE FIREPLACE, AND THE ROOM IS COMFORTABLY FURNISHED WITH CUSHIONED CHAIRS AND SOFAS. DIRKSEN USUALLY TAKES A COUPLE OF OUNCES OF JACK DANIELS WITH SODA BEFORE DINNER; BUT HE'S A LIGHT DRINKER, AND UNINTERESTED IN WINES. HE LIKES TO EAT FISH, AND HE LIKES STEAK.

DIRKSEN HAS ALMOST NO INTEREST IN THINGS ON RADIO, TELEVISION EXCEPT AN OCCASIONAL WESTERN ("HAVE GUN WILL TRAVEL" IS A FAVORITE). HE WON'T GO TO MOVIES, HAS LITTLE INTEREST IN ATHLETICS OF ANY KIND, RARELY GOES TO MORE THAN THE OPENING BASEBALL GAME IN WASHINGTON, NO INTEREST IN THE THEATER.

CURIOUSLY, DIRKSEN'S PANTS POCKETS ARE AS FILLED WITH ODDS AND ENDS AS ANY COUNTRY BOY'S. WE HEARD OF THIS AND SIMPLY DEMANDED THAT HE EMPTY HIS POCKETS ON HIS DESK. THIS IS WHAT HE UNEARTHED: A POCKET KNIFE, A CHRISTOPHER MEDAL, AN EMPTY LEATHER PILL BOX (HE USUALLY CARRIES ASPIRIN IN CASE OF AN ONCOMING COLD, EYE STRAIN, ETC), A COLD SNIFFER, A MAGNIFYING READING GLASS IN CASE (FOR SMALL TYPE), AN ODD SHAPE PIECE OF ROUGH JADE (GIVEN TO HIM YEARS AGO), A 1955 MEDAL OF THE KEWANEE LODGE, A SILVER DOLLAR CASH CLIP, TWO HEAVILY BURDENED KEY RINGS, AND ONE QUARTER.

ON WEEKENDS, WHEN HE DOESN'T FLY TO CHICAGO AND ILLINOIS, DIRKSEN SLIPS OUT TO LEESBURG, VIRGINIA WHERE A FEW MILES OUT OF TOWN HE HAS A FOUR-ACRE FARM. THERE HE STILL LIKES TO GARDEN; AND WHAT HE'S GARDENING USUALLY ARE THE SAME TRUCK VEGETABLES HE USED TO GARDEN AS A BOY IN PEKIN. HE LOAFS AND RESTS OUT THERE-- A PROCESS HE CALLS "SYSTEM REPAIR." "IT FRESHENS YOU UP FOR THE COMBAT OF THE NEXT WEEK."

HE USED TO PLAY GOLF, AND HE USED TO SWIM, BUT THIS DO DOES NO

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LONGER. OCCASIONALLY HE GOES FISHING; AND HE'S A FISHERMAN WHO LIKES TO SIT ON A WHARF AND LET THE FISH COME TO HIM: NO ATHLETICS IN CHASING THEM."FISHING SHOULD BE RELAXATION. WHEN YOU FISH, YOU CAN THINK,PUZZLE AND PHILOSOPHIZE."

WHAT ABOUT OUR THESIS THAT DIRKSEN IS A CHANGED MAN SINCE HE TOOK OVER THE LEADERSHIP,SINCE THE THIRST FOR POER AND OFFICE WAS SATISFIED,SINCE HE FOUND A LARGER SELF IN SELF-ABNEGATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF HIS PARTY AND THE SENATE.DIRKSEN SCARCELY COULD BE EXPECTED TO AGREE THAT BEFORE THIS HE WAS A DEMAGOGUE OR A CHARLATAN,A BITTER, BITING PARTISAN, A POLITICAL HATCHETMAN. BUT HERE IS HOW HE SUMS HIMSELF UP,WHAT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADERSHIP DID TO HIM.

"WHEN YOU ASSUME LEADERSHIP," HE SAID TO US," YOU HAVE TO BECOME DECISIVE,WHETHER YOU LIKE IT OR NOT.DECISIONS HAVE TO BE MADE EVERY DAY. YOU CAN'T DAWDLE. THE PACE IS FAST.

" LIFE IS A MATTER OF DEVELOPMENT OR DECAY. YOU EITHER GROW OR YOU RETROGRESS. THERE'S NO STANDING STILL. YOU GO BACKWARD OR FORWARD. THE CHALLENGE WILL MAKE YOU GROW, IF YOU ARE WILLING TO ASSERT A LEADERSHIP AND LOOK ON THE CHALLENGE AS SOMETHING TO BE MET AND DISPOSED OF.

PO 3D FULL PARA-3D LINE XX " YOU CAN'T ~~DAWDL~~ DAWDLE."ETC.

"I DID NOT ALWAYS SEE EYE TO EYE WITH PRESIDENT EISENHOWER; BUT IF YOU'RE GOING TO BE A LEADER AND CARRY THE FLAG, YOU OUGHT TO TO DO IT WITH LOYALTY AND DEVOTION, OR YOU SHOULD SURRENDER THE LEADERSHIP FLAG.

"EVERY YEAR THAT YOU ARE IN PUBLIC SERVICE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL BROADENS YOUR HORIZONS, YOUR BACKGROUND, AND THE RESERVOIR OF INFORMATION THAT YOU ACCUMULATE, AND THEREBY GIVES YOU A BETTER PREDICATE FROM WHICH TO MAKE DECISIONS."

AND WHAT ABOUT YOUR CHANGE?

"TIME SHARPENS YOUR CHARITABLE INSTINCTS. I MADE A PRACTICE FOR A TIME OF READING A PORTION OF THE FIRST DOZEN VERSES OF PAUL'S LETTER TO THE CORINTHIANS...' THOUGH I SPEAK WITH THE VOICE OF MEN AND OF ANGELS...' HE ENDS BY SAYING THAT THERE ARE THREE THINGS, FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY, BUT THE GREATEST OF THESE IS CHARITY... THAT SPIRIT SORT OF GOES WITH YOU AS THE YEARS UNFOLD, AND YOU LOOK WITH MORE CHARITABLE EYES. YOU FINALLY DISCOVER THAT YOU DO NOT WANT TO BUILD UP ANGER WITH ANYBODY. NEVER LET THE ACID OF ANGER IN YOUR SOUL."

AND WHAT ARE YOUR THOUGHTS AGAINST THE DAY WHEN THE GREAT PRESIDING OFFICER OF THEM ALL RECOGNIZES THE SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS AND CALLS HIM TO A FINAL ACCOUNT?

"I THINK THAT AT ANY GIVEN TIME, EVERY INDIVIDUAL THINKS OF THE DAY OF HIS PHYSICAL DISSOLUTION-- AND A VERY POINTED PHILOSOPHY HAS BUILT UP IN ME WHICH IS BASED ON THE ADMONITION CARRIED IN THE BOOK OF MATTHEW. THERE THE GOSPEL POINTS OUT: IT'S NOT YOUR SINS OF COMMISSION; BUT YOUR SINS OF OMISSION THAT WILL BE THE BASIS OF THE FINAL JUDGMENT. HE SAYS: ' YE DID IT NOT.' YOU TAKE THAT TO HEART A LITTLE. YOU HOPED YOU HAVEN'T OVERLOOKED TOO MANY THINGS AND BEING CHARITABLE WHEN THAT DAY COMES."