A MAN OF VISION

In the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, Wayne Morse foresaw a chilling future for America. p 2

READ ALL ABOUT IT: Media and Democracy theme launches p. 6
The legacy of Wayne Morse

Morse’s vote 50 years ago left a lasting lesson

By Margaret Hallock

Wayne Morse was known for many policies he championed—labor rights, civil rights, aid to education and conservation. But his most enduring legacy is his consistent and courageous dissent against the Vietnam War.

In 2014, the Wayne Morse Center will mark the 50th anniversary of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution vote with the Wayne Morse Legacy Series. Programs in Oregon and Washington, D.C., will highlight Senator Morse’s opposition to the war and the impact of the Vietnam era on current war powers and military policy.

Senator Morse was one of the first U.S. Senators to recognize that Congress was ceding its war-making powers to the executive branch, which then used these war powers in ways that changed our country forever and that echo in today’s military actions. He warned against “presidential wars” and “government by executive supremacy and secrecy,” and he predicted the war would become a “bloody and shameful page in United States history.” Prescient words indeed.

Prior to the 1964 election, President Johnson needed to obtain Congressional approval for heightened military activities in Vietnam and used a purported attack on U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin to submit a resolution to Congress to approve and support “the determination of the President, as Commander in Chief, to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to take further aggression.”

Senator Morse gave the only speech in opposition to the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin Resolution:

“I rise to speak in opposition to the joint resolution. I do so with a sad heart. But I consider the resolution … to be naught but a resolution which embodies a pre-dated declaration of war.

Senator Morse and Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska were the only members of Congress to vote against the resolution.

Morse correctly predicted that the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution would lead to a long and bloody war that the county would come to regret. He argued from the start that American military action in Vietnam might produce a truce, but never a peace. He consistently opposed sending U.S. soldiers to Southeast Asia, voted against all defense appropriations, and loudly condemned the war as illegal, unconstitutional and immoral.

Morse helped ignite the antiwar movement, speaking at dozens of teach-ins and rallies, urging young people to oppose the war:

“It is urgent that the American people insist that their country return to a respect for law before we create a holocaust in Asia.”

While some criticized Wayne Morse for being strident, he was without doubt the conscience of the Senate and ultimately the nation in the 1960s. That he was at the same time the leader in the Senate of President Johnson’s education platform demonstrates his energy, skill and dedication to the American people.

We thus celebrate Morse’s legacy from the 1960s. As part of the Legacy Series we will be seeking donations for our new Wayne Morse Scholars program described by Professor Dan Tichenor on page 5. The new program for undergraduates interested in public policy will be a fitting tribute to the Senator and his legacy.

Check out what’s going on this year at the Wayne Morse Center—from a new theme to a new undergraduate scholars program, we’ve got exciting news and updates in every area.
In a few months, a group of students at Roosevelt High School in Portland will have a new viewpoint on their community—from behind a video camera.

A 2013-14 Wayne Morse Project Grant headed by Assistant Professor Ed Madison from the UO School of Journalism and Communication (SOJC) aims to give young people in an under served community the tools and experience to tell their stories and become more engaged in their neighborhood.

The project consists of a week-long multimedia course in which teams of students, mentored by six UO student volunteers, will look for stories that might otherwise go untold and learn valuable journalistic skills such as writing, photography, videography and video editing.

“We have an entire generation of young people who are not engaged in civic affairs, and who don’t follow the news,” Madison said. “Our overall intent is to empower students to be effective communicators and informed citizens."

This isn’t the first time Madison has been involved with youth-oriented media projects. His own 30-year media career started with a high school internship at a CBS affiliate in Washington, D.C. A few years ago, he founded the Media Arts Institute, with the mission of “educating and empowering digital learners and future media professionals.” During the last presidential election, the institute created Engage2012.org, which challenged K-12 students to create videos on top issues. During President Obama’s second inauguration, Madison co-taught a multimedia boot camp sponsored by PBS NewsHour for college-age journalists.

The Roosevelt project will allow the SOJC to work toward its goal of increasing the number of minorities who pursue careers in journalism and other media professions. Even if the high school students don’t wind up in journalism, Madison said, the skills they learn will translate into other careers.

“In the 21st century, being an effective communicator is essential, and we honor the opportunity to empower students to develop those skills,” he said. Madison hopes the program will offer more than just skills, though. “We don’t want to ‘helicopter’ into this community for one week and not leave some lasting value,” he said.

To this end, the students’ stories will be published online, and a behind-the-scenes video crew will document the entire week. The footage will be turned into short video modules posted to the web so teachers around the world will be able to replicate the curriculum. In addition, the SOJC will donate all the video cameras used by the students to Roosevelt High School for future multimedia projects.

To learn about other project grant recipients, visit waynemorsecenter.uoregon.edu/grants-and-faculty-support/project-grants.

A student edits video in PBS NewsHour bootcamp co-taught by Ed Madison during President Obama’s second inauguration. Madison and a group of UO students will teach multimedia skills to students at Roosevelt High School with the support of a Wayne Morse Project Grant.

“In the 21st century, being an effective communicator is essential, and we honor the opportunity to empower students to develop those skills.”

—Ed Madison, UO School of Journalism and Communication
Walking to my office after class one day, a smart UO sophomore from San Francisco told me that the difference between small liberal arts colleges and public research universities is similar to the contrast between towns and cities. “Cities have almost everything you could want but they can be too big and impersonal if you don’t find a neighborhood you love,” she explained. “Same thing here—you need an intellectual neighborhood to call your own.”

This fall the Wayne Morse Center is building just such a community for UO undergraduates who want to study public affairs and American politics from practical, analytical and ethical perspectives. In November, we will welcome the first class of Wayne Morse Scholars, comprised of 15 to 20 sophomores and juniors, who will enjoy an intimate and hands-on learning environment to study compelling issues in government and politics.

Students will be selected each year as Wayne Morse Scholars primarily on the basis of academic merit, service experiences, and demonstrated interest in politics or public policy. In turn, this program will offer specialized learning, research and practical experience amid the broader resources of a major public research university.

During their first year in the program, Wayne Morse Scholars will take a new, tailored seminar, “Democratic Dilemmas,” that tackles difficult political and policy choices each week and brings them into contact with policy makers.

They also will participate in targeted research and leadership training workshops; meet regularly for “Food for Thought” gatherings with an impressive lineup of distinguished speakers, government officials, scholars, and political practitioners; and make a trip to Salem to observe the Oregon House, Senate, Supreme Court, and executive branch at work. In their second year, Wayne Morse Scholars will have diverse internship and research options in addition to the other offerings.

The development of the Wayne Morse Scholars program received a huge boost when it was recently named as the recipient of a 2013-2014 grant from the Tom and Carol Williams Fund for Undergraduate Education. I am enormously grateful for this support of an exciting new initiative. To be candid, its future will hinge on donations from friends of the UO and the Wayne Morse Center who recognize the value of encouraging lasting connections between undergraduate students and the work of the center.

For years the Wayne Morse Center has run successful fellowship programs for law and Ph.D. students; worked closely with diverse faculty and graduate students to develop its two-year themes, colloquia, conferences, and other programs; and provided project grants to diverse community organizations, faculty, academic departments and student organizations. The Wayne Morse Scholars program represents a new way for us to strengthen ties with undergraduate students.

We are excited about offering these opportunities to undergraduates, who will in turn bring fresh energy and perspective to the work of the center. My hope is that this new program provides one of those academic “neighborhoods” that my smart sophomore had in mind, an intimate setting where future leaders in law, business, education, government, journalism and other fields can call home during their UO studies.

If we are lucky, the program will foster a more enduring community of like-minded alumni who remain engaged in vital public debates and committed to service near and far.

**An ‘intellectual neighborhood’**

For undergraduates, Wayne Morse Scholars program will provide an academic home

By Dan Tichenor

Senior Faculty Fellow and Philip H. Knight Professor of Political Science

Interested in applying or know someone who should apply for the Wayne Morse Scholars program? Visit waynemorsecenter.uoregon.edu/for-students/scholars-program-2/
MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY
Wayne Morse Center for Law and Politics 2013-15 theme

The changing landscape of media offers many openings and challenges for political identities, social movements and institutions, and the intersections of technology and privacy. This is the largest revolution in the modern history of human communications and deserves a serious exploration of the changes and their impacts. We will examine the changes in our contemporary media as well as the dramatic cultural, political, and legal transitions.

Meet William “Terry” Fisher, 2013-14 Wayne Morse Chair

This year we welcome Professor Terry Fisher, director of the Berkman Center for Internet and Society at Harvard, as our Wayne Morse Chair of Law and Politics. He will co-teach a class on intellectual property in the fall and help host the RE-WIRED: How Law and Technology Shape Social Progress symposium, which is based on his new project, “Good Life/Good Law” in January.

Terry Fisher at a glance

He clerked for Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall.

When Shepard Fairey went to trial over copyright issues related to his iconic “Hope” poster, Terry Fisher represented him, pro bono.

Fisher co-founded Noank Media, a company that provided access to music, videos and other media under a flat-licensing plan. While it ultimately wasn’t successful, Fisher has hope that such a system will someday be implemented in the U.S. The industry has to be on board, though: “If everyone plays, everyone wins,” Fisher said. “Partial versions of the system don’t work well.”

Fisher has been the director of the Berkman Center for 12 years. Even if you don’t recognize the name, you might recognize some of the center’s groundbreaking work: producing the first-ever podcast and founding Creative Commons, Global Voices, the Digital Library of America and many other innovative projects.

After teaching property law for a decade, starting in 1984, Fisher decided to turn his focus to intellectual property law. “I gradually became convinced both economic power and intellectual foment was being concentrated in IP,” he said.

While he has made his raw course materials available online for years, Fisher for the first time offered a free online course in spring 2013. Within three weeks, he received more than 4,000 applications for 500 spots in the class. High-quality online education is one way technology is facilitating social progress around the world, Fisher said. “Vastly more could be done along these lines that would dramatically improve the quality of life and employment opportunities for people in developing countries.”
Morse on the media

Robert W. McChesney and John Nichols were thinking about Wayne Morse and his connection to media before they even knew they would be coming to Oregon to speak at our Nov. 14 event, as evinced by this excerpt from their 2010 book *The Death and Life of American Journalism: The Media Revolution that Will Begin the World Again*:

A great dissident Democrat, Oregon Senator Wayne Morse broke with both his own party and the Republicans to warn against imperialistic endeavors in places such as Vietnam. His perspective, which history has shown to be accurate, was marginalized in mainstream news media.

Morse recognized the lack of critical coverage and debate in the news media was undermining popular involvement in foreign policy: 'The American people need to be warned before it is too late about the threat which is arising as a result of monopolistic practices (in newspaper ownership.)'
The Wayne Morse Center’s Migration Project organized a series of three symposia this past spring focusing on contemporary struggles over immigrant rights, porous borders, and U.S. policy. The series, titled “The Borders Within,” brought together renowned migration scholars, practitioners, advocates, faculty, students, and community members. Each symposium featured a workshop for experts to share research, as well as a public panel and keynote address for broader audiences. Speakers and participants discussed a wide range of issues that are now center stage in national debates over comprehensive immigration reform, including legalization for undocumented immigrants, enforcement, border control, guest workers and future flows.

The first symposium devoted special attention to the subject of U.S. detention and deportation programs, which have expanded significantly during the past decade. Immigration lawyers and immigrants spoke on how these policies affect the lives of newcomers and their families, and Tanya Golash-Boza, University of California, gave the keynote on “Mass Deportation and Global Capitalism.”

The second symposium focused on how national security priorities after 9/11 shaped conceptions of immigrant rights. Participants explored how immigration policymaking and experiences have been transformed in times of war and emergency. In particular, they discussed the impact of official programs of surveillance and profiling on the lives of Muslim and Arab Americans. The keynote address by Hina Shamsi, director of the ACLU’s National Security Project, provided analysis of legal challenges to these policies and their importance for civil rights.

The final symposium of the series turned to immigration reform at the state and local levels. The failure of Congress to enact comprehensive immigration reform for many years has meant that U.S. states and locales have taken very different approaches. Some states have concentrated on building strong integration programs for immigrants. Other states have enacted laws that make noncitizens ineligible for many public benefits and crack down on undocumented immigrants. While political scientist Karthick Ramakrishnan, University of California, Riverside, highlighted significant partisan, ideological, and grass roots forces driving these nationwide trends, Larry Kleinman of PCUN, Oregon’s Farmworker Union offered insights about recent legislation in Oregon making in-state tuition and driver’s cards available to undocumented immigrants.

“The Borders Within” series would not have been possible without co-sponsorship from the Savage Endowment for International Relations and Peace, The Americas in a Globalized World Initiative, the Global Oregon Initiative, the Center for Latino/a and Latin American Studies, and the Department of Geography. We are grateful for their support.

For 2013 UO Law graduate Elizabeth Brown, the newly established Hans Linde Fellowship was an opportunity to explore areas of law she wasn’t exposed to in her law school classes.

“It really enabled me to expand my research,” said Brown, who studied damage and permanent loss—particularly in developing countries—associated with climate change.

Her paper, “The Need For An International Mechanism To Address Loss And Damage From Climate Change: Effectuating Existing International Legal Obligations,” summarizes the existing legal obligations of countries and their application to loss and damage from climate change and contributes to the debate on whether an international mechanism should be established to address these issues.

The fellowship, which provides a stipend to a second- or third-year UO Law student who is interested in addressing legal problems that extend beyond national or state borders, was established in honor of Hans Linde, who served as justice of the Oregon Supreme Court from 1977 to 1990.

Justice Linde is a former professor of law at the University of Oregon and held the Wayne Morse Chair of Law and Politics. He is currently the Distinguished Scholar in Residence at Willamette University College of Law.
Aaron Kraft

After graduating from UO in May 2011, I left Eugene for my hometown of Boise, Idaho. The year after law school I clerked for Justice Jim Jones of the Idaho Supreme Court, which was a wonderful experience. I worked on several interesting cases at the court, including a controversial legislative redistricting matter.

I married Morgen Reynolds, my partner of several years, in September 2011. We had a small wedding at Redfish Lake, on the edge of the Sawtooth Wilderness in central Idaho. And we went to Italy for a belated honeymoon last fall. We spent most of the time exploring—and eating our way through—Sicily.

After my clerkship, I started with a small intellectual property firm in Boise, where I worked until March of this year. In search of another challenge, we moved to Boulder, Colorado, and I took a patent attorney position with Holland & Hart LLP.

We recently had another life-changing event: Our son Edward “Teddy” Matthew Reynolds Kraft arrived on August 25!

Karen Ellis Carr

After graduating from UO law in 2005, I clerked for Hon. James P. Jones, then-Chief Judge for the U.S. District Court for the Western District Virginia. Following my clerkship, my husband, Patrick, and I moved to Washington, D.C., where I am currently a senior associate for Arent Fox LLP.

My commercial litigation practice has been broad-ranging, but I’ve also been able to maintain an active pro bono practice. I sit on the firm’s Employment and Pro Bono Committees, serve as co-chair for the Generous Associates Campaign for the Legal Aid Society of Washington, D.C., and chair the firm’s Legal Aid Volunteer Intake program.

After six years in D.C., Patrick, Annie (nearly 4), and I moved last summer to Alexandria, Virginia, and are happily awaiting the arrival of a second daughter in October.

Earlier in the spring I was able to host Margaret Hallock, D.C.-based former law fellows, and Wayne Morse Center friends at a reception during Margaret’s trip to plan for the upcoming Wayne Morse Legacy Series. That opportunity to reconnect reminded me how important the law fellow community was to us when we first moved to D.C., and I was excited to share that experience with more recent fellows. I hope that fellows headed to D.C. continue to reach out to the fellow community here.

Law Fellow Alumni Updates

Dina Dubson

Since graduating from law school in 2008, I have been deploying the bulk of my energy on energy—specifically, that of the renewable variety. I spent the first few years of my career at the law firm of Stoel Rives LLP, where I focused on the legal issues associated with developing and operating renewable energy projects.

In 2012, I went to work for one of my clients, Renewable Northwest Project (RNP). RNP is a nonprofit advocacy group that facilitates responsibly developed renewable energy for a healthier economy and environment. I work to create new opportunities to expand our renewable energy supply and make it more efficient and cost-effective to integrate renewables into our electric grid.

I currently serve on the boards of Women of Wind Energy (Portland Chapter) and the Oregon Area Jewish Committee. The former works to promote the advancement of women in the renewable energy industry, and the latter seeks to advance social justice and human rights issues and build bridges between the Jewish community and other groups.

Karen Ellis Carr

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2013-14 Wayne Morse Law Fellows

Sharia Mayfield
Franz Bruggemeier
Will Gent

Erin Burris
Christopher Jirges
Patricia Rincon
Hailey McAllister

Nathan Bellinger
Haley Rosenthal
Will Johnson

waynemorsecenter.uoregon.edu
In the second year of our 2011-13 theme, we explored many different facets of our economic system and how it can be fixed. We discussed fundamental issues as well as specific regulatory reforms, moving beyond a critique of past institutions to examine proposals, experiments, theories and actions that promote new thinking about the economy.

“I enjoyed Bob Kuttner’s visit and particularly getting to spend time with him. I thought his three public addresses were very insightful and well-reasoned, and I enjoyed how he would address a problem but also suggest a way forward and outline solutions.”

—Nate Bellinger, Wayne Morse Law Fellow
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**CAPITALISM AND THE COMMON GOOD**

NOVEMBER 8, 2012

TO BEGIN THE WORLD OVER AGAIN: THE LIFE OF THOMAS PAINE

This one-man play starring actor Ian Ruskin focused on the democratic and equalitarian ideals of Thomas Paine.

JANUARY 8, 2013

THE ECONOMIC WAR ON WOMEN: TAXES, AUSTERITY AND DEBT

This panel discussion focused on the impact of austerity, tax and spending policies on women.

JANUARY 22, 2013

INEQUALITY, THE MIDDLE CLASS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Economist Jared Bernstein talked about the economic challenges facing the middle class and how we can mitigate them.

JANUARY 28, 2013

SLOW MONEY: INVESTING AS IF FOOD, FARMS AND FERTILITY MATTERED

This event featured Woody Tasch of the Slow Money network, who focused on investment in the local food economy.

FEBRUARY 19, 2013

FEATURED GUESTS

ROBERT KUTTNER
Wayne Morse Chair

SENATOR JEFF MERKLEY
Distinguished Speaker

JARED BERNSTEIN
Distinguished Speaker

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RESIDENT SCHOLAR REPORT

It was an honor and a pleasure to be one of the Wayne Morse Center’s Resident Scholars for academic year 2012-2013. The center provided financial support to reduce my teaching load this past year, allowing me to finish my manuscript, “The Limits of Political Change.”

I happily received word of a book contract offer from Cambridge University Press this past spring, which I accepted. “The Limits of Political Change” will be included in a legal history book series within Cambridge Press: the “Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law and Society” series under the editorship of Professor Chris Tomlins from the U.C. Irvine School of Law. My reduced teaching load also allowed me to continue work on my next set of projects involving conceptions of class politics in American political history.

My current paper on class politics and the Brown v. Board of Education decision is nearing completion, and the Wayne Morse Center generously provided funds allowing me to invite two distinguished scholars to visit the UO and comment on my paper: Professor Bill Wiecek of Syracuse University, and Professor Robert Tsai of the American University Washington College of Law.

—Asst. Prof. Stuart Chinn, 2012-13 Wayne Morse Resident Scholar