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PAUL H. DOUGLAS LECTURE ON ETHICS
NEW SCHOOL
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DELIVERING THIS LECTURE IS AN HONOR FOR WHICH I AM GRATEFUL AND INADEQUATE. PAUL DOUGLAS' MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL INTEGRITY WAS UNCOMPROMISING - EVEN BY THE STANDARDS OF HIS TIME. HE WAS A GIANT IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE.

RECALLING HIS LIFE, BRINGS BACK ANOTHER POLITICS, ANOTHER ETHICS - ANOTHER AMERICA WHICH I HAVE TRIED TO RECORD IN A BOOK BASED ON A FAMILY POLITICAL ARCHIVE WHICH REFLECTS OUR FAMILY EXPERIENCE IN POLITICS ON THE GROUND, IN THE REAL WORLD, STARTING WITH LINCOLN IN CENTRAL ILLINOIS AND ENDING WITH ME IN MODERN CHINA. LINCOLN HAD A HABIT OF RECORDING HUMOR, ANECDOTE AND STORY AND INSPIRED ADLAI I TO DO LIKEWISE IN A BINDER WHICH EXPANDED OVER FIVE GENERATIONS AND WAS KNOWN IN THE BLACK BOOK. IT WAS USED TO ENLIVEN OUR SPEECHES. (MINE NEEDED IT MORE THAN MY GREAT GRAND FATHER AND GRAND FATHER.) IT IS NOW PUBLISHED AT THE BLACK BOOK WITH THIS ARCHIVE IMBEDDED IN CHAPTERS ON EDUCATION, THE PRESS, ECONOMICS AND FINANCE, WAR AND PEACE, RELIGION - AND SO ON - LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE FROM THE PAST LITTLE OF GREAT MOMENT THAT WAS NOT FORETOLD, INCLUDING TERRORISM

IN THE BLACK BOOK AMERICA EXPERIENCED BURSTS OF POLITICAL ENERGY AND IDEALISM - AND THEN REACTION. THE FIRST GILDED AGE WAS FOLLOWED BY POPULISTS, PROGRESSIVES - BY ROOSEVELT AND WILSON. THE TWENTIES BY DEPRESSION AND WAR AND ANOTHER ROOSEVELT. DEMOCRATS RAN UNDER BANNERS OF A NEW FREEDOM, NEW DEAL, FAIR DEAL, GREAT SOCIETY AND NEW AMERICA OF ADLAI STEVENSON. PRESIDENT CLINTON WAS THE FIRST DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT OF THE NEW ERA - THE ERA OF THE DEAL. THE WALL BETWEEN COMMERCIAL BANKING AND INVESTMENT BANKING AND INSURANCE WAS REPEALED UNDER CLINTON. HIS ADMINISTRATION REJECTED REGULATION OF

FINANCIAL DERIVATIVES. THE REPEAL OF AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN WAS REPEALED AND MILLIONS OF CHILDREN DUMPED FROM THE WELFARE ROLLS IN THE NAME OF REFORM UNDER CLINTON. NATO WAS EXPANDED, SERBIA ATTACKED UNDER CLINTON. MONEY RULED. AS IDEOLOGUES WERE DEPARTING CHINA, IDEOLOGUES BEGAN ARRIVING IN WASHINGTON.

AMERICA'S FOUNDERS WERE CREATURES OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT, CONDITIONED BY CENTURIES OF DYNASTIC AND RELIGIOUS WARFARE IN EUROPE - AND THE INTOLERANCE OF CALVINISM IN THE COLONIES. THEY HAD READ THEIR, LOCKE, MONTESQUIEU AND VOLTAIRE. AFTER LOCKING THE DOORS TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION IN 1787 AND PLEDGING THEMSELVES TO SECRECY, THEY BUILT A WALL BETWEEN MAN'S SPIRITUAL HOUSE WHERE GOD REIGNED AND MAN'S TEMPORAL HOUSE WHERE REASON REIGNED. THEY CREATED A REPRESENTATIVE FORM OF DEMOCRACY WITH A LIMITED FRANCHISE OVER TIME MADE UNIVERSAL.

THIS DEMOCRACY WAS MADE MORE DIRECT OVER THE YEARS. SENATORS WOULD BE ELECTED DIRECTLY. BUT AS DEMOCRACY WAS REFORMED, USUALLY IN THE NAME OF MORE DEMOCRACY, TO MAKE IT MORE DIRECT AND ACCOUNTABLE, IT BECAME LESS ACCOUNTABLE, LESS DEMOCRATIC IN RESPECTS. A PARADOX EMERGES FROM THE BLACK BOOK. MORE DEMOCRACY MADE IT LESS DEMOCRATIC - AND ACCOUNTABLE EVEN AS THE DEMANDS OF GOVERNANCE BECAME MORE CHALLENGING IN AN INTERDEPENDENT, DYNAMIC, NUCLEAR WORLD - WHERE PEACE BECAME A CONDITION OF HUMAN SURVIVAL.

I WAS A 17 YEAR OLD SERGEANT AT ARMS AT THE 1948 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA STATIONED BENEATH THE ROSTRUM AND CHARGED WITH MAINTAINING ORDER WHEN A YOUNG UNKNOWN MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS AND CANDIDATE FOR THE U.S. SENATE CHALLENGED THAT SMOKE FILLED ROOM FULL OF HOT, SWEATY POLITICIANS TO DO THEIR DUTY AND ADOPT A STRONG CIVIL RIGHTS PLANK. THEY ROSE TO HUBERT HUMPHREY'S CHALLENGE - AND DROVE MUCH OF THE SOUTH OUT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. 1948 WAS SHAPING UP TO BE A BAD YEAR FOR

THE DEMOCRATS. THEY HAD OCCUPIED THE PRESIDENCY SINCE 1933.

HARRY TRUMAN WAS NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT AND COUSIN ALBEN BARKLEY FOR VICE PRESIDENT. IN ILLINOIS, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY LEADERS GATHERED BEHIND CLOSED DOORS TO ENDORSE A FORMER NEW DEAL BUREAUCRAT, SENIOR OFFICIAL OF THE ROOSEVELT AND TRUMAN ADMINISTRATIONS DURING WORLD WAR II, AN ARCHITECT OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN ISOLATIONIST MID AMERICA FOR GOVERNOR. FOR U.S. SENATOR THEY ENDORSED AN EMINENT PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, A MARINE CORPS VETERAN OF THE PACIFIC AND REFORM CHICAGO ALDERMAN (THAT'S AN OXYMORON) FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE. ADLAI STEVENSON AND PAUL DOUGLAS WERE CANDIDATES OF THE REGULAR DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION - THE MACHINE. THEIR NOMINATIONS REQUIRED NO CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS. PRIMARY ELECTIONS WERE FORMALITIES WELL INTO MY DAY. PARTY ORGANIZATION WAS STRONG - AND PARTY LOYALTIES.

EACH HEADED A CARAVAN WHICH BARNSTORMED THE STATE DAY IN AND OUT, AT FACTORY GATES AND COUNTY SQUARES THEY RAILED AGAINST THE CORRUPT ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR GREEN IN SPRINGFIELD, THE DO NOTHING REPUBLICAN CONGRESS IN WASHINGTON, THE FLESH, THE DEVIL AND ALL THE OTHER ENEMIES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. AT NIGHT IN COUNTY MEETINGS DOWN STATE AND WARD MEETINGS IN COOK COUNTY THEY EXHORTED THE FAITHFUL, MANY OF THEM ON PUBLIC PAY ROLLS, TO GET EVERY ONE REGISTERED AND OUT TO VOTE THE STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC TICKET. DEMOCRATS WAGED BATTLES IN THE PRECINCTS AND WITH SHOE LEATHER. AND THAT'S THE WAY IT WAS WELL INTO MY TIME - NO POLLS, NO CONSULTANTS. PRIMARY ELECTIONS WERE FORMALITIES. I WAS THE GUV'S DRIVER AND REMEMBER NO FUND RAISERS. DOLLARS WERE RAISED DOOR TO DOOR. FROM THE BLACK BOOK, A LITTLE BOY'S PRAYER IN AN IRISH CHICAGO WARD BEGAN: OUR FATHER WHO ART IN HEAVEN, O'HALLORAN BE THY NAME. O'HALLORAN WAS THE DEMOCRATIC WARD COMMITTEEMAN.

ADLAI II WON BY THE LARGEST PLURALITY IN THE HISTORY OF ILLINOIS WITH DOUGLAS NOT FAR BEHIND. HIS CAMPAIGN COST \$157 THOUSAND. I SUSPECT DOUGLAS'S COST LESS. LIKE ME LATER, THE PARTY LEADERS WERE GETTING DOUGLAS, THE REFORMER, OUT OF TOWN. THE PATRONAGE WAS IN SPRINGFIELD. BETTER TO BET ON STEVENSON FOR GOVERNOR, THE UNKNOWN QUANTITY, THAN DOUGLAS, THE KNOWN REFORMER. TOGETHER DOUGLAS AND STEVENSON HELPED CARRY HARRY TRUMAN TO A NARROW VICTORY IN THE COUNTRY. IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR THE STRAIGHT DEMOCRATIC TICKET, THOMAS DEWEY MIGHT HAVE BEEN ELECTED PRESIDENT.

THE GOVERNOR ELECT SEARCHED OUT AND RECRUITED PROFESSIONALS FOR HIS ADMINISTRATION. THEY DID NOT COME WITH ENDORSEMENTS OF CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTORS AND PARTY LEADERS. THEY DID NOT PAY TO PLAY, AS THE SAYING NOW GOES. THEY SACRIFICED TO SERVE, AS THEY HAD IN THE NEW DEAL. THE REVOLVING DOOR WAS A SOURCE OF VITALITY FOR GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE SECTOR - RARELY ABUSED. NOW IT IS REGULATED. WILLARD WIRTZ RECALLS A TELEPHONE CALL FROM THE GOVERNOR ELECT ASKING HIM TO SERVE AS CHAIRMAN OF THE LIQUOR CONTROL COMMISSION. "THE WHAT" HE EXCLAIMED, "I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT LIQUOR CONTROL." TO WHICH THE GUV REPLIED "YOU KNOW HOW TO KEEP YOUR HANDS OUT OF OTHER PEOPLE'S POCKETS, DON'T YOU? THAT'S ALL YOU NEED TO KNOW." WIRTZ SERVED. HE AND MOST WENT ON TO SERVE IN HIGH PLACES IN THE KENNEDY AND JOHNSON ADMINISTRATIONS - NOT ONE WENT ON TO BE A LOBBYIST - OR A CONVICT. THREE GOVERNORS HAVE GONE TO JAIL SINCE THEN - ALREADY. ROD BLAGJOVICH WAS NOT THE CHOICE OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATION. HE WAS THE POPULAR CHOICE, RAKING IN THE MOST MONEY AND WINNING THE PRIMARY.

THE GUV, AS HE WAS KNOWN TO FRIENDS, REFORMED STATE GOVERNMENT . BLOCKED IN THE LEGISLATURE HE APPEALED TO THE PEOPLE IN WEEKLY RADIO BROADCASTS, AND THEY RESPONDED. WIRTZ CALLED IT "IDEALISM WITH MUSCLE. "THE GUV EXPLAINED THAT CLEANLINESS WAS NEXT TO GODLINESS EXCEPT IN THE ILLINOIS LEGISLATURE WHERE IT WAS NEXT TO IMPOSSIBLE". BUT THEY WENT ALONG. HE REPLACED SOME 30,000

REPUBLICAN STATE EMPLOYEES WITH GOOD DEMOCRATS ONE OF WHOM ASSURED HIM HE HAD BEEN A LIFE LONG DEMOCRAT EVER SINCE HE GOT HIS STATE JOB. THIS WAS SOMETHING OF A COME DOWN IN MY FAMILY. GREAT GRANDFATHER ADLAI I, AS ASSISTANT POSTMASTER GENERAL IN GROVER CLEVELAND'S FIRST TERM REPLACED 40,000 REPUBLICANS WITH GOOD DEMOCRATS, A PUBLIC SERVICE FOR WHICH HE WAS REWARDED WITH HIS PARTY'S NOMINATION FOR VICE PRESIDENT IN 1892.

IN 1952, AFTER AN ELOQUENT WELCOMING ADDRESS TO THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION, ADLAI II WAS NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT. HE ENTERED NO PRIMARIES AND STARTED THAT CAMPAIGN AT THE CONVENTION WITH NO MONEY, NO STAFF, NO PROGRAM. VOLUNTEERS ASSEMBLED AT THE ELKS CLUB IN SPRINGFIELD AND STAFFED THE CAMPAIGN - MEN LIKE JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH AND ARTHUR SCHLESINGER. DOOR TO DOOR MONEY WAS RAISED FOR HALF HOUR ELOQUENT, SUBSTANTIVE SPEECHES TO CHEERING PARTISANS. IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS OF 1952 AND 1956 THE CANDIDATE AND TITULAR LEADER OF THE PARTY DURING THE EISENHOWER INTERREGNUM BEGAN THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS PROCESS AND LAID THE PROGRAMMATIC FOUNDATION FOR THE NEW FRONTIER AND THE GREAT SOCIETY. ARTHUR SCHLESINGER CALLED KENNEDY THE EXECUTOR OF THE STEVENSON REVOLUTION.

THE OPPOSITION DID MORE THAN OPPOSE. EISENHOWER RAN FOR PRESIDENT ON A PROMISE OF CHANGE, STEVENSON DELIVERED IT. HE BECAME VOICE OF AMERICA TO THE WORLD. FOR HIM DEMOCRACY WAS FRAGILE. IT WAS NOT A MEANS TO POWER. IT WAS A MEANS TO INFORM THE PEOPLE SO THEY COULD MAKE A SOUND JUDGMENT. WHAT WON WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN WHO WON. TRUST THE PEOPLE WITH THE TRUTH, HE SAID, ALL THE TRUTH. AND WHEN HE SPOKE HE KNEW THE WORLD WAS LISTENING.

DEMOCRACY IS FRAGILE. HAMILTON WARNED OF THE WAR FEVERS IN THE HUMAN BREAST. IT TOOK LITTLE MORE THAN A FICTITIOUS EXPLOSION IN HAVANA HARBOR, A FICTITIOUS EXPLOSION IN THE BAY OF TONKIN OR FICTITIOUS WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION IN IRAQ TO EXCITE THE FEVERS. RARE IS THE CONGRESSMAN ABRAHAM LINCOLN WHO DEMANDS EVIDENCE OF THE CASSUS

BELLI. DEMOCRACY'S ROUTE TO AUTOCRACY IS WELL TRAVELED - FROM ANCIENT ATHENS TO THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC TO NAZI GERMANY. HITLER CAME TO POWER THROUGH THE BALLOT BOX.

IN 1966, I, A STATE REPRESENTATIVE, WAS PAUL DOUGLAS' RUNNING MATE. BEHIND CLOSED DOORS THE PARTY ORGANIZATION LED BY RICHARD J. DALEY, MAYOR OF CHICAGO, AND MORE TO THE POINT, CHAIRMAN OF THE COOK COUNTY DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION, SLATED ME FOR STATE TREASURER, AN OFFICE I NEVER THOUGHT TO SEEK. BUT 1966 WAS SHAPING UP TO BE ANOTHER BAD YEAR FOR THE DEMOCRATS. AN AGING PAUL DOUGLAS WAS UP FOR REELECTION AND FACING A BRIGHT YOUNG, MODERATE REPUBLICAN NAMED CHARLES PERCY. I ALONE, AND NARROWLY, SURVIVED A REPUBLICAN LAND SLIDE. I WOULDN'T BE SURPRISED IF PAUL HAD ASKED MAYOR DALEY TO HAVE ME SLATED IN HOPES OF SHORING UP THE TICKET. THE SENATE FOLLOWED IN 1970 WHERE HUBERT HUMPHREY, FORMER VICE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. AND FORMER U.S. SENATOR, WAS MY SEAT MATE - AND JUNIOR.

THE SENATE PAUL DOUGLAS AND I SERVED IN BEARS LITTLE RESEMBLANCE TO THE SENATE OF TODAY. THE CENTER WAS BROAD AND FIRM. I RECALL NO PARTISANSHIP EVEN DURING WATERGATE AND VIETNAM. SENATOR DOUGLAS TOLD ME HE SENT HIS REPUBLICAN COLLEAGUE, CARL AIKEN, OF VERMONT A \$50 CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION. AIKEN RETURNED HALF THE AMOUNT WITH HIS THANKS, EXPLAINING THAT WITH THE \$500 HE HAD RAISED HE HAD ENOUGH TO ASSURE HIS RE ELECTION. WE WORKED TOGETHER ACROSS THE AISLE. I SERVED ON THE DEMOCRATIC POLICY COMMITTEE AND REMEMBER NO PARTISANSHIP, NO INCIVILITY, LET ALONE EARMARKS, MONEY AND MEMBERSHIP DUES FOR THE LEADERSHIP. WE DISCUSSED POLICY AND THE LEGISLATIVE AGENDA. THE LEADERS WHEN I ENTERED THE SENATE WERE MIKE MANSFIELD AND HUGH SCOTT, GENTLEMEN AND SCHOLARS.

THE 70'S WAS A TRANSITIONAL DECADE. THE MASS MEDIA AND ITS TRIVIALIZATION OF THE DIALOGUE, THE MONEY FOR ADVERTISING, BREAK DOWN OF PARTY ORGANIZATION, THE ARTS OF THE CONSULTANTS, PUBLICISTS AND MONEY RAISERS BEGAN TO CONVERGE - AND AT ALL LEVELS. THE STATE GOVERNMENT I RETURNED TO IN 1982 AS A CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR BORE

LITTLE RESEMBLANCE TO THE STATE GOVERNMENT I LEFT AS STATE TREASURER IN 1970. IT WAS OVER RUN BY LOBBYISTS AND INTEREST GROUPS. LAW FIRMS AND INVESTMENT BANKS WERE CASHING IN - PARTY ORGANIZATION WAS BECOMING A MONEY RAISING OPERATION. STRAIGHT TICKET VOTING HAD BEEN OUTLAWED. THE OLD PATRONAGE OF MENIAL JOBS FOR PRECINCT CAPTAINS WAS OUTLAWED. PATRONAGE WAS RISING TO A LEVEL OF AUDACITY AND MAGNITUDE NEVER EXPERIENCED IN MY FAMILY, OUR ROOTS IN THE FIRST GILDED AGE AND COOK COUNTY NOTWITHSTANDING.

THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE IN 2008 COST \$1.8 BILLION. THE HOUSE AND SENATE SEATS AT STAKE COST ROUGHLY \$2 BILLION. AND THAT IS ONLY A PART OF IT - AND AT ONE LEVEL. EVEN THE JUDICIARY IS INFECTED. A SEAT ON THE ILLINOIS SUPREME COURT CAN FETCH AS MUCH AS \$4MILLION DOLLARS FROM CONTENDING TRIAL LAWYERS AND CORPORATE INTERESTS. THE US UNIQUELY IN THE WORLD ELECTS JUDGES - EXCEPT FOR THE NEW RADICAL GOVERNMENT OF BOLIVIA. POLICY IS ON THE BLOCK IN THE NEW AMERICA. BETWEEN 1998 AND 2008 BANKS, INSURANCE COMPANIES, HEDGE FUNDS AND THE LIKE PAID AN ESTIMATED \$1.7 BILLION IN POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND \$3.4 BILLION IN POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND \$3.4 BILLION ON LOBBYISTS - FIVE FOR EVERY MEMBER OF CONGRESS. THE CREDIT CRISIS FOLLOWED. A JUICY HEALTH CARE PIE IS BEING CARVED UP BY THE INSURANCE, HOSPITAL AND PROFESSIONALS. EVEN FOREIGN POLICY IS ON THE BLOCK. THE ISRAELI LOBBY IS FAMOUS. BUT IT HAS BECOME A MODEL. INDIA HAS A LOBBY - THE TRANSFER OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY TO INDIA FOLLOWS, UNDERMINING THE NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION TREATY. INDIA IS DEVELOPING WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. ONE OF THE FIRST ACTS OF THE DEFACTO GOVERNMENT OF HONDURAS WAS TO HIRE WELL CONNECTED LOBBYISTS. EVEN CHINA IS REPORTED TO BE HIRING PUBLIC RELATIONS FIRMS.

AFTER THE STORMY 1968 DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION WE REQUIRED MORE REPRESENTATIVE DELEGATIONS. MAYOR DALEY AND HIS DELEGATION WAS EVICTED FROM THE 1972 CONVENTION. DELEGATES WOULD BE PLEDGED TO CANDIDATES AND SELECTED BY THEM ON THE BASIS OF RACE, RELIGION, GENDER AND EXPRESSED SEXUAL PREFERENCE. PRIMARY ELECTIONS

PROLIFERATED. CAMPAIGNS WERE LENGTHENED, INVITING MORE MONEY - AND EVER THE PHOTO OP AND THE FUND RAISER. MANY OF OUR REFORMS WERE SOUND. WE ADOPTED IN THE SENATE A BROAD CODE OF ETHICS, REQUIRED FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE, LIMITED CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION AND CREATED AN ETHICS COMMITTEE TO ENFORCE THE NEW RULES. WE TOOK ITS DUTIES SERIOUSLY. BUT RARE WAS THE CREDIBLE EVIDENCE OF MISCONDUCT. WE CREATED A SPECIAL COMMITTEE WHICH REORGANIZED THE SENATE FOR THE FIRST TIME RE ALIGNING COMMITTEE JURISDICTIONS WITH CONTEMPORANEOUS ISSUES LIKE ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENT. BUT SOME OF OUR REFORMS HAD UNEXPECTED CONSEQUENCES. WE HAD CLOSED THE DOORS WHEN IT CAME ACTUALLY WRITING LEGISLATION TO EXPRESS THE WILL OF THE CONGRESS. WE OPENED THEM TO LET IN THE SUN SHINE AND IN FLOWED THE LOBBYISTS, LAWYERS AND CONSULTANTS - RARELY THE AMERICAN MASS MEDIA UNLESS IT WAS A HEARING OF THE ETHICS COMMITTEE ON THE PECADILLOES OF A SENATOR. THE INTEREST GROUPS PROLIFERATED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE NEW ACCESS - AND THE MONEY FLOWED.

THE HISTORY OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY FROM ANCIENT ATHENS TO THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC TO MODERN CALIFORNIA IS CAUTIONARY. THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT OF CALIFORNIA RECENTLY DELIVERED AN EXTRAORDINARY STATEMENT BY A SITTING JUSTICE. HE PRONOUNCED THE GOVERNMENT OF CALIFORNIA DYSFUNCTIONAL BECAUSE OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNMENT BY REFERENDA. IN THE LIFE CYCLE OF NATIONS AND EMPIRES, NOT SO DEMOCRATIC CHINA RISES.