

CHAPTER THREE



President Dwight D. Eisenhower with House and Senate Republican leadership.

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Creating a Republican Alternative (1955-1968)



[The Policy Committee in the minority, during the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations under chairmen Styles Bridges (1955-1961) and Bourke Hickenlooper (1961-1968).]

In the mid-1950s, Washington correspondent William S. White commented on how differently the two party policy committees in the Senate operated. “The Republican Senate Policy Committee will meet once a week, but it will do so only upon carefully printed notices circulated to the committee’s members officially to inform them that there *is* to be a meeting,” White wrote in his study of the Senate, *The Citadel*. “The Democratic Policy Committee will meet—perhaps—once a week, and when it does the thing seems simply to happen and members will stroll in, usually late, with the air of a man dropping into another’s office to have a drink and, having nothing better to do at the moment, to pass the time of day.” The Republican Policy Committee’s more formal style of operation reflected both its founder,

Robert Taft, and the party's minority status in all but one Congress during the 1950s and 1960s. Regularly scheduled, formal meetings of the Policy Committee assisted the leadership in maintaining party unity and harmony among Senate Republicans.¹

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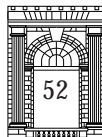
Johnson's Great Society in the 1960s. As the minority party in the Senate, Republicans switched from supporting a Republican president's programs to offering alternatives to the initiatives of two Democrats.

Despite these changes, the basic mission of the Republican Policy Committee remained constant. The committee was charged with preparing party policy statements, keeping records of all votes, circulating analyses of pending bills, acquiring research materials, providing summaries of laws, supplying professional assistance, and distributing minutes of its meetings.

The Committee Under Chairman Bridges

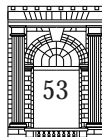
The work of the committee also reflected the personal interest and style of its chairmen. In 1955, Styles Bridges was elected chairman of the Republican Policy Committee. The senior Republican in the Senate at the time, Bridges had first been elected in 1936 and would serve until his death in 1961. By the time he chaired the Policy Committee, he had already served as minority leader, president pro tempore, and chairman of the Appropriations Committee. Some thought that Bridges, who was widely recognized as the real leader of Senate Republicans, might once again seek the floor leadership in 1955.²

Styles Bridges chose instead to follow Robert Taft's model by chairing the Policy Committee. He also adopted Taft's personal and partisan approach to the chairmanship. Described as "one of the most influential and





Senator H. Styles Bridges (R-NH).

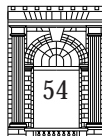


conservative politicians in Congress,” Senator Bridges was “no one to pull punches when he disagreed, which he frequently did.” Yet because of his nature and uncertain health, he preferred operating behind-the-scenes from the cloakrooms and the committee rooms and let others assume the more visible leadership posts. He derived much of his power from his positions as ranking Republican on the Appropriations Committee and second-ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee. As chairman of Policy, he employed its staff to prepare reports and speeches on issues that he hoped would return Republicans to the majority.³

The election of 1954 had left the two parties almost equally divided in the Senate with 48 Democrats, 47 Republicans, and an independent. Wayne Morse, an Oregon maverick, was first elected as a Republican in 1944 (and would serve in the Senate until 1969). He had broken with the party during the 1952 election, declaring himself an independent. If Morse voted with the Republicans, Vice President Richard Nixon stood ready to cast the deciding vote to let Republicans organize the Senate. Instead, Morse switched his party affiliation to give Democrats the majority. With Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower in the White House, the party needed to overcome a split between its conservative and moderate wings. The principled but blunt and humorless Republican floor leader William Knowland often aggravated these factional differences and occasionally found himself at odds with the Eisenhower administration. Senator Bridges meanwhile employed the Policy Committee to reestablish party unity.

1956: Launching the Policy Committee Luncheons

Bridges opened up the Republican Policy Committee from a small, select body into a more inclusive operation. Junior senators had wanted more frequent party conferences to learn more about current thinking within the White House. Conference Chairman Eugene Millikin responded skeptically, saying that he would call more conferences “provided the Senators would exercise personal restraint in what they said.” Instead,





Senators (left to right) *William F. Knowland (R-CA), Roman L. Hruska (R-NE), H. Styles Bridges (R-NH).*

the Conference expanded the Policy Committee to include all Republican senators running for reelection in 1956, as a tactic to win back the majority (however, since the expansion created “a very unwieldy committee,” Policy Committee membership was later reduced and the practice of adding candidates to the committee was not repeated). The move not only presented these senators with a prestigious appointment, but offered them the opportunity to shape policies that might enhance their chances of reelection. In January 1956, following further requests from the Conference, Policy Committee chairman Bridges proposed invit-

By a unanimous show of hands, committee members agreed to hold a weekly luncheon meeting in the Capitol that all Republican senators would receive invitations to attend.

ing all Republican senators to the weekly Policy Committee meetings “to obtain first hand reports on the meeting which legislative leaders have with the president usually every Tuesday while Congress is in session.” By a unanimous show of

hands, committee members agreed to hold a weekly luncheon meeting in the Capitol that all Republican senators would receive invitations to attend (with senators each paying one dollar to defray the costs of the lunches).⁴

At the first luncheon, on January 17, 1956, Senator Bridges defined their purpose as to “encourage a close alignment of Republican Senators, improve coordination between the Senators and the Executive Branch, and foster Party harmony and unity in this very important election year.” Initially, about eighty percent of all Republican senators regularly attended the luncheons. The gatherings gave Knowland as floor leader a chance to outline the schedule that he anticipated, conduct pending legislation reviews, explain what President Eisenhower wanted, and encourage party members to vote with the administration. Just prior to their second inaugural in 1957, President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon were guests of honor at the Republican Policy luncheon. President Eisenhower noted that it marked the first occasion that a Republican president, or any president, had come to the Capitol to share a luncheon exclusively with Republican

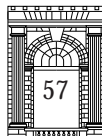
senators. Vice President Nixon returned in 1958 to report on his fateful Latin American tour. Cabinet officers and other representatives of the Eisenhower administration were also frequent guests at the luncheons.⁵

1956: Defending the Eisenhower Administration

As the minority party in Congress with a Republican president in the White House, the Republican Policy Committee adopted a defensive mode. Policy Committee members recommended having two or more Republican senators serve as a “watchdog committee” on a weekly rotating basis, to answer or arrange for answers to Democratic attacks on the president, vice president or any other members of the administration. Chairman Bridges was authorized to designate senators for such watchdog committees, and the Policy Committee staff was made available to work with the watchdogs in “mobilizing data.”⁶

The Policy Committee sought to harmonize relations between Republican senators and the Eisenhower administration, particularly over appointments. When Republican senators complained of not being consulted, Republican National Chairman Leonard Hall advised the committee that the president had given his cabinet officers control over all jobs in their departments. Hall suggested that the Policy Committee meet with executive branch heads, starting with the secretary of the Treasury and the head of the Civil Service Commission, to describe any patronage difficulties that the senators had experienced. Republican senators Frank Carlson of Kansas and James H. Duff of Pennsylvania met with President Eisenhower to relay the Policy Committee’s dissatisfaction with the way the administration was handling patronage matters.⁷

As they faced the critical elections of 1956, Republican senators began the year by rallying behind President Eisenhower’s legislative program, hoping that the president’s reelection would restore them to the majority. The Republican Conference met to review the president’s State of the Union message “and present a position of unity.” The staff of the Republican

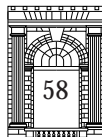


Policy Committee prepared statements in support of the individual recommendations within the president's message. The Committee made these available for individual senators to use in their press releases. Minority Leader Knowland requested good attendance on the Senate floor when the clerk read the president's message. Senator Bridges, as chairman of the Policy Committee, also urged Republicans to avoid issuing joint statements, since they caused some embarrassment to those senators who did not sign the statements and suggested party disunity. Bridges recommended that senators speak for themselves.⁸

While the Policy Committee staff devoted the bulk of its attention to preparing legislative status reports, Senator Bridges pressed for more aggressively partisan material to use for debating and campaigning against Democrats. Drawing attention to a report on the Democrats' record, Bridges called it good material for Republican senators to use "to refute the Democratic Party claim that it is the party of the common man." Yet, since all Republican senators did not think alike, all staff publications of the Policy Committee carried a disclaimer: "Note: Neither the Members of the Republican Policy Committee nor other Republican Senators are responsible for the statements herein contained, except such as they are willing to endorse and make their own." Lloyd W. Jones and Arthur E. Burgess in turn served as staff directors of the Policy Committee under Senator Bridges. Both were former newspapermen who sought greater publicity for Republican positions.⁹

1957: A Change in Republican Leadership

With Conference Chairman Millikin increasingly immobilized by arthritis, Policy Committee Chairman Bridges often presided over the Conference meetings in his absence. Millikin's announcement that he would not seek reelection in 1956 opened the Conference chairmanship. At the same time, Republican Minority Leader William Knowland determined to leave the Senate in 1958 and campaign instead to become governor of California. Not in good health himself, Senator Bridges preferred to retain the Policy Committee chair rather than become floor leader, but





Senators H. Styles Bridges (R-NH) and Leverett Saltonstall (R-MA).

he grew concerned that the more moderate Republican whip, Massachusetts Senator Saltonstall, might succeed Knowland. Senators Bridges and Knowland instead persuaded Saltonstall to stand for election as Conference chairman in January 1957. That enabled Illinois Senator Everett M. Dirksen (who served from 1951 to 1969) to replace Saltonstall as whip.¹⁰

By then, Policy Committee luncheons had preempted Conference meetings, since most Republican senators attended the Policy lunches. If a vote was needed, short Conferences were called immediately after the Policy Committee lunch. Following the Policy Committee's luncheons, Senator Bridges often convened smaller sessions—in 1957, Policy

Committee membership had been reduced to fourteen—to plan floor strategy, identify speakers, and weigh amendments. In addition to Policy Committee members, those senators most interested in the pending legislation would attend. These meetings gave the leadership an opportunity to encourage committee members to report legislation “in a satisfactory manner,” and to discourage unwanted amendments. However, the leadership refrained from taking “a party position” on legislation on the grounds that neither the Policy Committee nor the Conference could bind any Republican senator. The approach seemed to give the party “a higher degree of unity and effectiveness than in the past.”¹¹

Observing the process, the political scientist Malcolm Jewell concluded that “the Committee has proved flexible enough to adapt to the requirements of a Republican Administration.”¹²

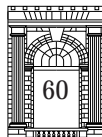
1959: Dawn of the Dirksen Era

A severe economic recession in 1958 triggered Republican setbacks in the congressional elections and resulted in the staggering loss of a dozen Senate seats. As the party reorganized, Senate Republicans elected Everett Dirksen as floor leader, defeating Senator Saltonstall for the post. Senator Dirksen continued to use Policy Committee luncheons as a vehicle for relaying messages from President Eisenhower to Republican senators regarding pending issues, and for reporting on those issues to the press. Given the depleted Republican ranks in Congress, Eisenhower re-

As Eisenhower reminded Dirksen at a White House meeting: “One-third and one. That is the watchword for this year.”

solved to work more closely with his congressional leaders to maintain party unity and prevent Democrats from overriding his vetoes. As Eisenhower reminded Dirksen at a White House meeting: “One-third and one. That is

the watchword for this year.” The need for unity made it all the more essential for Dirksen to heal some of the antagonisms between the wings of the party that were at times aggravated by Knowland.¹³





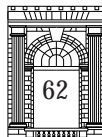
Republican Leaders Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R-IL) and Representative Gerald R. Ford speak in the Capitol.

An early example of the problems the party faced involved President Eisenhower's nomination of Admiral Lewis Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, to be Secretary of Commerce. Senator Dirksen reported to the Policy Committee lunches that Senate Democrats had conducted a "nose count" and concluded that they could defeat the nomination in a floor vote. Senator Bridges asked the staff director of the Policy Committee to meet with Republican members of the Commerce Committee to coordinate the floor fight for Strauss. The Policy Committee staff provided twenty-three different speeches for senators to use during the debate. Despite these efforts, the Senate rejected Strauss' nomination.¹⁴

Policy Committee Declines in Visibility

As Senator Bridges' health declined, so did the Policy Committee's visibility. As the journalist Neil MacNeil observed: "Although Bridges was chairman of the Republican Policy Committee in the Senate, the post from which Taft had led the party, Bridges permitted Dirksen in effect to take over that position too." Bridges deferred to Dirksen as party spokesman. After each Policy Committee lunch, Dirksen would head for the Senate press gallery, where he would summarize the luncheon discussion and the White House positions, give his general commentary on events, spear the opposition party, and banter with the press. Dirksen also would report to President Eisenhower on the mood of Senate Republicans, keeping him informed about the issues Republicans were divided on and where they were unified. Quickly, Dirksen won respect from the White House, the Senate, and the press. When Senator Bridges died in 1961, Dirksen became the sole Republican leader for the rest of the decade.¹⁵

When the Republican Conference met to elect Bridges' successor as Policy Committee chairman, a contest developed between the acting chairman, Leverett Saltonstall, who represented the moderate wing, and the more conservative Bourke B. Hickenlooper (a senator from Iowa from 1945 to 1969). After Hickenlooper won the election, Dirksen's



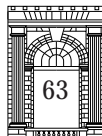
“soothing ministrations” helped avoid deeper party divisions. Saltonstall remained in the leadership as chairman of the Conference.¹⁶

Bourke Hickenlooper’s Quiet Leadership

Chairman Hickenlooper explored the possibilities of having the Policy Committee issue broad policy statements to help Republican senators by outlining or clearly delineating party policy, but found that differences among Republican senators prevented all but the most general statements on specific issues. In September 1962, he distributed a draft “Policy Statement on United States Economy” to all Republican senators, who adopted it after debate and amendment. The statement proposed substantial reductions in the federal workforce, abolition of overlapping programs, and elimination of nonessential spending, but made no specific recommendations of programs to be cut.¹⁷

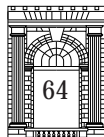
Hickenlooper’s quiet leadership style also contrasted noticeably with Styles Bridges’ more assertive command of the Policy Committee. Unlike Bridges, Hickenlooper neither used the Policy Committee staff to promote his own views of the Republican agenda in the Senate nor assigned them to conduct research for his own speeches. Also by contrast to Bridges, who had often called “members only” Policy Committee meetings to prepare the agenda for the Tuesday luncheon, Hickenlooper rarely called committee meetings other than the weekly lunches, which were open to all Republican senators. Attendance at these lunches continued to be high, since they offered a chance for Republicans to voice their opinions and attempt to reach common agreement. Hickenlooper generally deferred to Minority Leader Dirksen to brief the press after each luncheon. As a result, Hickenlooper’s name rarely appeared in the media.¹⁸

With the election of John F. Kennedy as president in 1960, the Policy Committee switched from a defensive to an offensive stance. The party leadership replaced their weekly meetings with the president with meetings of a Republican Coordinating Committee composed of the





Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R-IA).



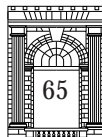
Senate and House party leaders. The results of these meetings were reported at the Policy Committee luncheons at the Capitol. As Senator

With the election of Kennedy as president in 1960, the Policy Committee switched from a defensive to an offensive stance.

Dirksen noted, the party's "center of gravity" had now shifted to Capitol Hill. Bourke Hickenlooper felt deeply skeptical of all large-scale social welfare programs, and during the 1960s, he opposed most of the domestic initiatives of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. By contrast, as a

member of the Foreign Relations Committee, he generally supported a bipartisan foreign policy. Known as a senator who "reached his own conclusions reflectively," Hickenlooper carefully scrutinized every statement issued by the Policy Committee, often paying more attention to the legal aspects of the issue than its political implications. Where Senator Bridges simply presented proposals to the Policy Committee for a vote, Senator Hickenlooper circulated them in advance. While this practice ensured a consensus, it also slowed the issuance of statements considerably.¹⁹

Hickenlooper made the Policy Committee staff available to all Republican senators, and lent them as well to the Republican Calendar Committee. A Policy Committee staff member reviewed the calendar daily for anything potentially objectionable to Republican senators, and to alert senators who might want to offer amendments. The staff produced, mimeographed, and distributed a weekly *Senate Republican Memo*, for Republican senators to use in speeches, press releases, and constituent newsletters. They wrote issue reports, analyzed record votes, prepared official biographies of each Republican senator, maintained a specialized library, and distributed policy statements to the media. In general, the Policy Committee under Hickenlooper reflected Senator Dirksen's more circumspect style of leadership rather than Styles Bridges' aggressiveness. As Dirksen commented in 1962, he had proposed an increase in the staffs of both of the policy committees as necessary because of the quality of work they had done.²⁰





Senator Leverett Saltonstall (R-MA) addresses Senate Republican Leadership in the Policy Committee hearing room.

Republicans Respond to the “Great Society”

With Democrats possessing almost a two-to-one majority in the Senate, Republicans struggled against mighty odds in making themselves heard in policymaking. The task was made even more difficult by having a former Senate majority leader, Lyndon Johnson, in the White House. From his years in the Senate, Johnson knew that “when people have a hand in shaping projects, these projects are more likely to be successful than the ones simply handed down from the top.” But Johnson only gave the semblance of consulting Congress. The trick, he later explained, was “to crack the wall of separation enough to give the Congress a feeling of participation in creating my bills without exposing my plans at the same time to advance Congressional opposition before they even saw the light of day.” Tapping the public sentiment that followed the assassination of

President Kennedy, and the large numbers of new Democrats elected to Congress in 1964, Johnson rushed his Great Society legislative program through Congress in 1965.²¹

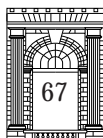
Senator Dirksen's close relationship with President Johnson gave the party at least some voice in the policymaking process and contributed to Dirksen's public standing as the chief Republican spokesman on Capitol Hill. As Mary McGrory wrote in the *Washington Star*:

The Tuesday press conferences of the Senate minority leader are in theory only his report of what has transpired at the Republican Policy Committee meeting just before. Actually, they are heady excursions through the marvelous mind of Everett McKinley Dirksen. . . . His colleagues never complain because, like everybody else on Capitol Hill, they realize that Dirksen alone stands between them and oblivion. Without him, a Senate that has become the docile handmaiden of President Johnson would simply slip out of the public consciousness entirely.²²

To bolster party spirits, the Policy Committee invited former President Eisenhower to address its luncheon on August 17, 1965. Disdaining massive federal spending, Eisenhower predicted that the Great Society "would go down in history as the society that was paid for by its great grandchildren." On the war in Vietnam, Eisenhower counseled support of the president as the one responsible for U.S. foreign policy, but added that he "did not feel we were precluded from making examination of what we are doing in Viet Nam, and how we got there." The following month, former Vice President Nixon reported on his recent trip to Asia, criticized the civilian interference in military actions, and concluded that "American foreign policy failures since 1960" would make a strong issue for Republicans in the next elections.²³

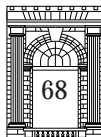
Friction Between Hickenlooper and Dirksen

At times, the relationship between the floor leader and the Policy Committee chairman grew strained. During the debate over the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Senator Dirksen worked to persuade Republican



senators to vote for cloture against a Southern filibuster. But Senator Hickenlooper, as chairman of the Policy Committee, urged Republicans to vote against cloture. As Hickenlooper explained: “I have never believed in trying to kill a cold by cutting off the patient’s head.” Hickenlooper’s opposition may have stemmed from his annoyance over Dirksen’s tendency to monopolize the leadership and to assume the prerogatives that previous Policy Committee chairmen had enjoyed. As Dirksen’s biographer Neil MacNeil observed, “by the very force of his own driving personality” Dirksen prevented Hickenlooper from playing a larger role in the Republican leadership.²⁴

Another occasion of friction took place in 1967, when a Policy Committee staff report on the Vietnam war was leaked to the press. New York Senator Jacob Javits had called for a “Vietnam White Paper” to help Republican senators achieve some consensus about the war. While Javits had originally envisioned that a special task force of Republican senators would prepare a Vietnam report, Senator Hickenlooper persuaded him that the Policy Committee staff could handle the assignment. Hickenlooper promised a comprehensive paper that would reflect the pros and cons of the war. Almost all staff effort for a month concentrated on preparing the Vietnam paper, which the chairman promised to place in the hands of all Republican senators on a strictly confidential basis for their review prior to a Republican Conference. Unfortunately, the news media obtained the report before it was reviewed by the Republican leader, Senator Dirksen, who was hospitalized at the time. Since the report questioned Republicans’ obligations to a bipartisan foreign policy during the Vietnam war, critics of the war embraced it. After he heard the Policy Committee’s report cited on a television news broadcast, Senator Dirksen issued a statement supporting President Johnson’s conduct of the war, thereby tacitly repudiating the report. When Hickenlooper retired from the Senate in 1968, Dirksen supported a closer ally, Senator Gordon Allott (a senator from Colorado from 1955 to 1973), to replace him as Republican Policy Committee chairman.²⁵





Senators Everett M. Dirksen (R-IL) and Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R-IA).

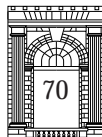
Defining the Committee Staff's Mission

Prior to the 1970s, the Senate's standing committees lacked minority staffs. Republican senators therefore turned to the Republican Policy Committee staff for assistance in researching legislative issues, drafting bills, and writing speeches. In a 1970 study of how the Republican party operated in Congress, political scientist Charles O. Jones found that the committee received between 125 and 150 requests each month. The staff

director assigned these requests to staff members, depending on their areas of specialization. But Republicans' use of the Policy Committee varied widely from office to office. Some senators and their staffs routinely called the Policy Committee and expressed satisfaction with their work. "They are a capable bunch down there," one staff member reported. "I can get quick answers to questions down there because they have an extensive library."

The staffs of the Policy Committee and the Conference shared common office space in the Russell Senate Office Building from 1947 through 1983. Professional staff members kept their desks in the ornate Conference room, which they vacated whenever a Policy Committee meeting took place (the weekly lunches, however, were always held in the Capitol). A partition erected at the end of the corridor near the suite created space for a reference library for both the Conference and the Policy Committee. Reference librarian Elizabeth Bryden clipped newspapers and filed articles and reports under some three to four hundred headings, which Republican senators and their staffs could use for research, and which the Policy Committee staff used in compiling the *Weekly Memo* that went to all Republican offices. The Policy Committee staff was "a hard-working crew," recalled Miss Bryden, whose objective was to serve as "a clearinghouse for honest information." The reference library provided basic facts backed up by clippings in the files. The information was so readily available and considered so reliable that at times Democratic staff also asked to use it—a practice Republicans tolerated if it involved only public information.²⁶

Yet some senators' offices rarely turned to the Policy Committee for help. As one Republican staff member complained: "They put themselves in the position of trying to accommodate everybody, trying to keep everybody happy. They could put out lots of stuff, but they try to reach the lowest common denominator." Policy Committee reports in the mid-1970s tended to be extensive but not specific enough for individual members' use. In 1976, Jones concluded that the Policy Committee's mission had grown too diffuse and its staff served too many masters.²⁷



Notes

¹ William S. White, *Citadel: The Story of the U.S. Senate* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), 210.

² “Functions of the U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee and Work of Its Staff,” January 1960, Senate Historical Office; “Senate Republican Policy Committee Minutes, 17 January 1963,” from the Bourke Hickenlooper papers, Herbert Hoover Library, cited in Edward L. Schapsmeier and Frederick H. Schapsmeier, “A Strong Voice for Keeping America Strong: A Profile of Senator Bourke Hickenlooper,” *The Annals of Iowa* 47 (Spring 1984), 364.

³ Charles O. Jones, *The Minority Party in Congress* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970), 162; “Neil MacNeil, *Dirksen: Portrait of a Public Man* (New York: The World Publishing Co., 1970), 185; *Washington Post*, November 27, 1961; *Roll Call*, November 29, 1961.

⁴ Republican Conference Minutes, January 4, 1955, January 7, 1957; Republican Policy Committee Minutes, January 10, 1956.

⁵ Republican Policy Committee Minutes, January 17, 29, 1957, May 27, 1958.

⁶ Republican Policy Committee Minutes, January 12, 1955.

⁷ Republican Policy Committee Minutes, February 1, 24, July 13, 1955.

⁸ Republican Conference Minutes, January 5, 1956.

⁹ Republican Policy Committee Minutes, June 12, 1956; Hugh A. Bone, *Party Committees and National Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1958), 178.

¹⁰ MacNeil, *Dirksen: Portrait of a Public Man*, 147–148.

¹¹ Senate Republican Policy Committee Minutes, May 8, June 18, 1957;

¹² Malcolm E. Jewell, “The Senate Republican Policy Committee and Foreign Policy,” *Western Political Quarterly* 12 (December 1959), 975; Bone, *Party Committees and National Politics*, 184.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 160.

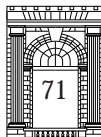
¹⁴ Republican Policy Committee Minutes, May 19, June 2, 1959; see Richard Allan Baker, “A Slap at the ‘Hidden-Hand Presidency’: The Senate and the Lewis Strauss Affair,” *Congress and the Presidency* 14 (Spring 1987), 1–16.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 167, 168, 185.

¹⁶ *Washington Post*, November 28, December 24, 1961.

¹⁷ Republican Policy Committee Minutes, January 10, September 5, 1962; “Policy Statement on United States Economy.”

¹⁸ *Memorial Addresses and Other Tributes in the Congress of the United States on the Life and Contributions of Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Ninety-second Congress, Second Session* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1972), 18–19; Charles O. Jones, *The*



Minority Party in Congress (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970), 162; see also, Edward L. Schapsmeier and Frederick H. Schapsmeier, "A Strong Voice for Keeping America Strong: A Profile of Senator Bourke Hickenlooper," *The Annals of Iowa* 47 (Spring 1984), 362–376.

¹⁹ Republican Policy Committee Minutes, January 10, 24, 1961; Thomas Burnell Colbert, "Bourke Blakemore Hickenlooper," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York; Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994), Supplement 9: 387–388; *Memorial Addresses . . . on the Life and Contributions of Bourke B. Hickenlooper*, 19; Jones, *The Minority Party in Congress*, 162–163.

²⁰ Republican Policy Committee Minutes, January 17, 1963; Bone, *Party Committees and National Politics*, 177; *Congressional Record*, 87th Cong., 2nd sess., 15011.

In 1966, the Policy Committee inaugurated a telephone tape recording system to inform Republican senators of the floor schedule and pending votes. Republican Policy Committee Minutes, January 11, 25, 1966.

²¹ Anthony King, ed., *Both Ends of the Avenue: The Presidency, the Executive Branch, and Congress in the 1980s* (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1983), 89.

²² *Washington Star*, August 4, 1965.

²³ Republican Policy Committee Minutes, August 17, September 14, 1965.

²⁴ MacNeil, *Dirksen: Portrait of a Public Man*, 257–258.

²⁵ Republican Policy Committee Minutes, March 14, April 18, May 2, 1967; MacNeil, *Dirksen: Portrait of a Public Man*, 298.

²⁶ Interview with E. Elizabeth Bryden, September 27, 1996, Senate Historical Office.

²⁷ Jones, *The Minority Party in Congress*, 163–166.

