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Senator Cain, Washington Hamlet

DOUGLASS CATER

THE DISARMING—and in a way attractive—thing about Harry Pulliam Cain at first meeting is the fact that he looks so little like a Senator. As he moves among the balding heads and the hefty paunches in the Senate chamber, the junior Senator from Washington might almost be mistaken for a somewhat weather-beaten college boy turned loose among his elders. Cain has managed to keep the lean, wiry body of a youth. His dress leans toward the collegiate—Oxford-cloth shirts with button-down collars, black knit ties, and in spring and summer the white buckskin shoes once popular among undergraduates.

Cain's behavior in the Senate also has its youthful aspects, at times clashing fiercely with Senatorial dignity. On the floor he may frequently be seen with hands thrust deep into pants pockets, one leg perched upon a chair, tie loosened, shirt collar unbuttoned, and, on certain occasions, with shoes removed. Cain's deep, rasping voice and his well-practiced use of it are perhaps the principal evidences of his forty-six years.

Cain has never allowed himself to forget that he is involved in what he probably considers the greatest show of the ages. Unlike some of his colleagues who play their roles with monotonous pomposity, Cain knows that for each scene there must be an appropriate, and different, mood. Even the dull colloquy of a committee hearing can be tremendously enlivened if only someone, e.g., Harry Cain, can work in enough striding to and fro and burying of face in hands before thrusting the telling question at an unsuspecting witness. His committee audiences have been known to burst into spontaneous applause.

Doom and Ticker Tape

On June 30, 1950, Cain gave the Senate one of his most memorable performances. Five days earlier the North Koreans had invaded South Korea. The Senators were considering fiscal 1951's Military Assistance Program, discussing appropriations that they knew were already pitifully outdated. It was a tense and dramatic moment, and Senator Cain was ready for it.

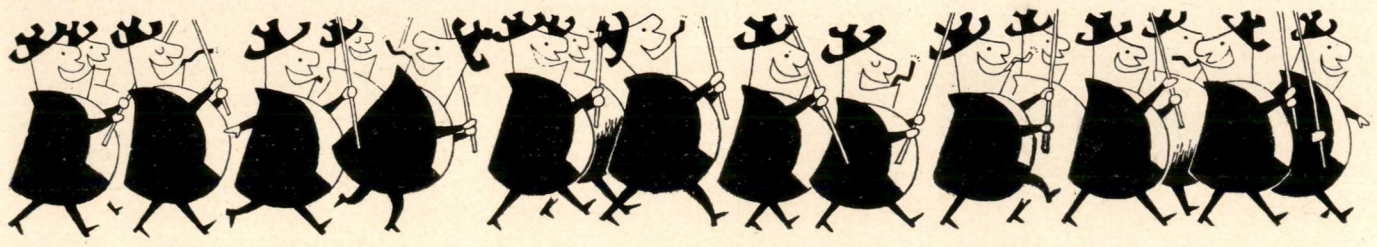
During a part of the Second World War, Cain told the Senators, he had been assigned to an Allied Control Commission in Brindisi, Italy—"months . . . cold, cheerless and miserably dreary but . . . filled with conversations which predicted, in remarkably accurate fashion, the pattern of things to come." Members of the Russian mission attached to the Allied commission, he declared, had revealed "what the Soviets had in mind for the years ahead.

"Because we did not stop what we had an opportunity to stop before the outbreak of war last Saturday," he said, "perhaps now, as a result of what we did not do, we have started mankind moving down a road which quickly will lead back to the Dark Ages . . ."

Of the bill under discussion, Cain could only say regretfully: "To my mind, the bill offers a degree of hope and protection to us in America and to our friends around the world, particularly in the North Atlantic area, which simply does not presently exist."

Suddenly a piece of ticker tape was handed to Senator Cain. He paused to read: "The following is the text of the White House announcement authorizing the use of ground troops in Korea . . ." Cain broke off. "Why should I read any further, Mr. President? Why should *any* man read any further . . . ?"

For a first-time visitor in the Senate gallery, Cain's powerful outline of Armageddon might have called to mind the words of the Delphic oracle or of an Old Testament prophet. Stilted and verbose though the speech may have been, it was undeniably eloquent, and it was uttered in tones of deep, convinc-



ing sincerity. Why, the listener might have asked, hadn't the Senators listened to this man earlier?

'It Frightens Me'

A Washington journalist or a political scientist would have had something of an advantage over the sightseer. One of these men might have referred the latter to the Congressional Record for:

April 16, 1947. Senator Harry Cain announces that he will vote only reluctantly for Greek-Turkish aid funds. "The so-called Truman Doctrine frightens me, Mr. President," says Cain.

May 6, 1948. Cain, in the exclusive company of Senator Glen Taylor of Idaho, votes against a bill to increase the Air Force to seventy groups.

September 22, 1949. Cain rises in the Senate to oppose the first Foreign Military Assistance Act to provide arms to Korea as well as western Europe. "The junior Senator from Washington has had a most difficult time in recent weeks in his effort to determine his vote on the pending business. My only other comparable experience was the seventy air group authorization question. . . . On that vote, I finally said 'No,' because I thought the intended program was beyond our national ability to achieve success . . ."

Similar doubts about "our national ability to achieve success" may have prompted Cain's votes against the Korean Aid Act of 1949, the Point Four Program in 1950, and, only one month before the outbreak of fighting in Korea, his vote in favor of ending the Marshall Plan, which included measures for assistance to Korea, non-Communist China, and Formosa.

Cain's most startling foreign-policy solo flight occurred on April 17, 1951, when he simultaneously laid two resolutions before the Senate. One was entitled "Declaration of State of War Between the North Korean Regime, the Chinese Communist Regime, and the Government of the United States"; the other, "Proposal for the Orderly Withdrawal of the Armed Forces of the United States from Korea." "As for me, sir," Cain declared to the presiding officer, "there is not now, nor will there ever be, any middle ground. Freedom, to which I pledge my allegiance, must either fight and sacrifice, struggle and die, to survive; or freedom —and I think now of Korea—must withdraw in the hope that another opportunity to be successful will be afforded."

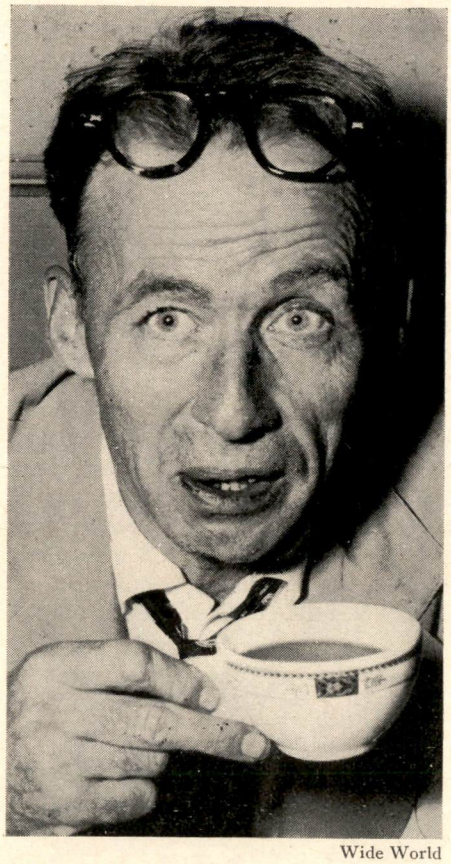
Again Cain was to find that his colleagues failed to see things the way he saw them. Even those who had stood more forthrightly for military preparedness in the past were aghast at the grim alternatives he posed.

Tennessee to Tacoma

Harry Cain and a twin brother were born on January 10, 1906, in Nashville, Tennessee. Not long afterward the family moved to Tacoma, Washington. In his childhood Harry was deeply upset by two events: the death of his mother, to whom he was very close, and an attack of ear and tonsil infection which resulted in partial paralysis of the face. Acquaintances of the Cain family from this period have reported that these afflictions caused Harry to withdraw from the company of other children and to become a silent, moody boy. After schooling in Tacoma, Cain returned South to attend the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee. He then took a job in the Tacoma branch of the Bank of California. He soon moved into politics—as an ardent Democrat—and before very long was elected head of the Young Democrats of Pierce County.

So gradual was Cain's transition from Democrat to Republican that no one seems to be able to pinpoint the time of the switch. In 1940 he ran as a nonpartisan candidate for mayor of Tacoma and came in third in the primary. But the man who had run first dropped dead as he was making a campaign speech. Cain's name was a substituted on the ballot and he won in the runoff. The strange manner in which victory had been thrust upon him made a strong impression on Cain. "Whenever I start to weaken," he has since remarked, "I think of Dr. Kerstetter saying 'thank you' and falling over dead." A religious man, he wonders if it was not someone he usually calls "a Guy in the sky" who was responsible.

After being re-elected in 1942, Cain took a leave of absence to go to war. He served in North Africa and Europe, then returned to Tacoma in 1945 as a colonel with several decorations. In 1946, now a registered Republican, he ran against Hugh Mitchell for the Senate. He carried twenty-nine of Wash-



Wide World

Cain

Cain and Cain

ington's thirty-nine cities, but lost his home town of Tacoma as well as the surrounding Pierce County.

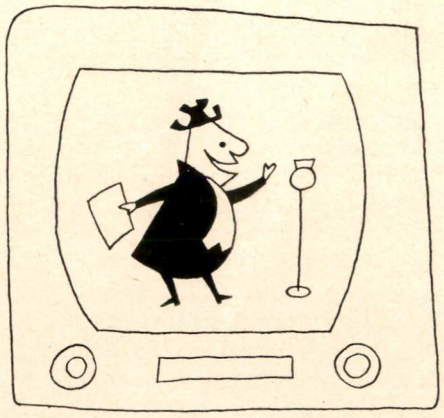
In 1946 the voters, disgruntled with unsettled postwar conditions, elected a Republican majority to both houses of Congress. Joseph McCarthy, James P. Kem, William Jenner, and Zales Ecton, other Senatorial products of this discontent, rapidly gained the title of "The Meat Shortage Boys." Harry Cain was not included in this group when he first arrived in Washington. For one thing, Cain had induced Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, spokesman for the most liberal segment of the Republican Party, to speak in his behalf. In 1946 there was every reason to accept the conclusion of *U.S. News* that "Harry Cain, of Washington, is expected to be active in the liberal, prolabor Republican bloc . . ."

High Priest of Housing

Wayne Morse was not the only man in the capital who was expecting great things of the new Senator from Washington. Wilson Wyatt, then Housing Expediter and National Housing Administrator, had known Cain when they were both members of the American Mayors Association. On learning of Cain's election, he remarked to a friend that Cain was one Republican at least who would understand something about housing problems.

The conflict over housing in Congress was not a simple fight between those who believed in the free-enterprise system and those who believed in government participation. It was a dispute over how the nation's housing industry and its supporting credit institutions could be prodded into meeting the nation's housing demands. In one camp was the group that fought under the banner of the National Association of Real Estate Boards. These men rallied behind such mysterious symbols as Section 608 (FHA-insured rental housing) and "Fanny May," a colloquialism for the Federal National Mortgage Association, which provides a secondary market for the housing loans made by credit institutions. And they fought like bloody zealots for the abolition of rent controls.

In another camp were those who believed that the government's housing program should have a larger purpose than simply the enrichment of the real-estate interests. They recognized that



Section 608 housing was often based on phony cost estimates, resulting in inflated rents and, as one expert later remarked, "more postwar millionaires than any other single enterprise in America." Members of this group also had doubts about the way "Fanny May" was being used to foist a lot of bad credit risks on the Federal government. But they were willing to go along with these programs if, in turn, provisions were worked out for meeting the needs of low- and middle-income groups. They also demanded that rent controls be retained until the pent-up pressure for housing had been alleviated.

Falling Flat on Fanny May

Senator Harry Cain moved into this complicated field with a sureness of purpose that has been missing from his foreign-policy ventures. Almost his first act as a Senator was the co-sponsorship of a bill proposing a blanket fifteen per cent rent increase. Cain's second speech in the Senate opposed the nomination of Dillon S. Myer as U.S. Housing Authority Administrator. "The questions I have asked Mr. Myer," said Cain, ". . . were not answered to my satisfaction." Cain had asked Myer if he was prepared to place some 166,000 defense housing units on the public market—an act which would have brought untold joy to real-estate speculators.

The acid test of the Senator's housing views came in 1948. Senator Taft, then chairman of the Senate Majority Policy Committee and an aspirant for the Republican Presidential nomination, had joined with Senators Ellender of Louisiana and Wagner of New York to sponsor a housing bill which included provision for public low-rental housing. Cain and Joseph R. McCarthy (then more preoccupied with housing than with Communists) lined themselves up in bitter opposition. When, despite their best efforts, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill passed the Senate, Senator Cain attempted a final stratagem of sabotage that violated every concept of Senatorial courtesy and aroused the wrath even of those who agreed with him.

The incident occurred on Friday, April 30, 1948—the day before the Kentucky Derby. By an agreement too sacred to be mentioned aloud, no business of any consequence is ever brought up in the Senate on such a day. Indeed, it is highly possible that if Cain had waited a little later in the afternoon, a quorum might not have been found within the environs of Washington, and the nation might have witnessed the mortifying spectacle of the Senate's sergeant at arms being dispatched to Louisville to arrest and return frolicking Senators.

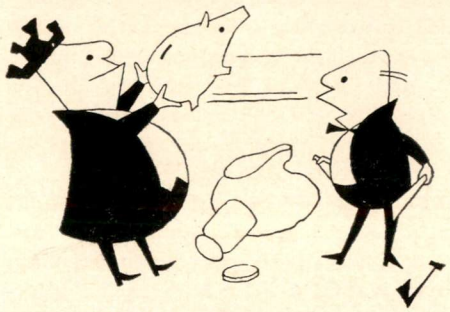
Cain's stratagem was fairly complicated, though his motive was quite simple. Funds for Fanny May were running out, and there was a routine motion before the Senate to provide supplemental funds for a three-month period until the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, which also contained provisions for Fanny May, could be acted on by the House of Representatives. Without warning, Cain suddenly introduced an amendment to extend Fanny May for a full year; and with the active connivance of Floor Leader Wherry, he pushed through a half-hour adjournment to meet parliamentary requirements and then called for a vote on his amendment. If separate enactment of beloved Fanny May could thus be secured, the real-estate lobby would be left free to attack the remaining provisions of the T.-E.-W. bill in the House, where its members knew they had ready allies.

Senator Burnet R. Maybank of South Carolina suddenly became suspicious and sounded the alarm. Aided by others, he resorted to several lengthy quorum calls to force delay; finally Cain was obliged to yield. When his amendment came up for consideration the following Wednesday, it was soundly defeated.

Realtors vs. Voters

For four years the junior Senator from Washington worked constantly to force the sale of defense housing to private groups, despite the combined

opposition of the city councils of Bremerton, Seattle, and Spokane, and, later, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the League of Woman Voters. He fought a series



of losing battles to abolish rent control, finally, in June, 1950, staging an exhausting twelve-hour-and-eight-minute filibuster against its further extension. Cain's office was considered one of the principal conduits for the flow of confidential material from the Office of the Housing Expediter to the National Association of Real Estate Boards. "Whenever NAREB wanted anything which we refused to give them," one man in the Expediter's office commented, "we knew that in a matter of hours Cain would be on the phone demanding it."

At the opening of the Eighty-Second Congress, Harry Cain switched from the Banking Committee to the Armed Services Committee. Since that time, he has been curiously silent on the subject of housing. Several explanations have been offered, the best coming from a man who worked closely with him during his period on the Banking Committee. "Being the nation's No. 1 real-estate lobbyist," he said, "is no way to become a second-term Senator from Washington or any other state."

Slander by Denial

A survey of Cain's record in the Senate indicates little else that will be attractive to Washingtonians when he comes up for re-election in November. His votes on labor issues have earned the promise of Ed Weston, president of the Washington State Federation of Labor (which supported him in 1946), to "slit . . . Cain's political throat from ear to ear." On public power, an issue of vital importance to the Pacific Northwest, Cain has voted continually for curtailment and restriction. He professes to be neutral on the subject of the Columbia Valley Authority. "I have presented both sides of this very interesting and absorbing story," he wrote constituents, "in an effort to inform you and have refrained from taking a position at this time on the issue."

A government administrator who has dealt with Cain rather frequently across the committee table once remarked, "You know, I cannot help but feel when I am facing that man that he is not completely serious. No matter how he carries on, he seems to me to have his tongue in cheek, to be perfectly aware that he is acting a part."

There is an element of truth in this observation. A veneer seems to coat Cain's true emotion even when he undertakes the heavy burden of backstopping his friend Joe McCarthy. (Cain has attacked Drew Pearson for attacking McCarthy for attacking General George Marshall.) It was cunning, not heat, that characterized his skillfully indirect smear of his Republican colleague, Senator Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, last April because Wiley had indicated in a speech that not everything about U.S. foreign policy was wrong. Cain solemnly announced that he wished to deny saying that "the senior Senator from Wisconsin was an illiterate country bumpkin, inflated to the point of bombast by the fact that the purely automatic processes of seniority had hoisted him to the dizzy height of senior Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee and that it would be a simple matter to take him to the cleaners."

There have been times during the past few years, however, when no one could deny that the real Harry Cain was deeply and unhappily involved in the life about him.

There was the strange, tense period in November, 1948, when Cain disappeared from his room at the Bethesda Naval Hospital, where he had gone for observation, summoned a press conference at his office two days later, and announced that he and his wife planned to be divorced. The divorce never took place.

Pick on a Pygmy Your Own Size

There was another occasion, on April 10, 1950, when Cain arose on the Senate floor to answer an assertion by *Time* magazine that he was among the Senate's "expendables." He began his speech with some of his best sarcasms. When he held up to ridicule *Time's* technique of encapsulating a man in one gaudy adjectival phrase, no one could deny that *Time* had it coming.

But then Cain's mood and manner changed, from the biting to the bitter. He began to discuss the correspondent he thought had treated him so badly.

The reporter's name was Frank McNaughton. It seemed that McNaughton had not finished college (for financial reasons), that he had not been in the armed service (because of ulcers), and that he was not a voter (because as a political writer he believes he should not participate in partisan politics).

Cain told the Senators he had summoned McNaughton to his office and was anxious to tell them about the ensuing interview. For the better part of the afternoon Cain concentrated his best talents on McNaughton. "If ever I sat with a human being who was smug, arrogant, self-centered, vain and frustrated, that man bore the name of McNaughton. . . . This ulcer-burdened young American who could neither vote nor fight. . . . The agent *Time* magazine has today was a 4-F in war and stands out as a 4-F in peace. . . . McNaughton has undoubtedly encouraged other men to die, but he has never stood on the sidelines and watched them die.

"During our conversation," Cain concluded, "I lost the rich anger and indignation which has possessed me for several weeks. I lost even what had been my desire to laugh in the face of this pygmy. I did not even want to bat him around physically because that would have been like punching a bag of mush."

When he had finished, the Senate was hushed. In the press gallery, Frank McNaughton had sat imperturbably throughout. Those who had watched Cain got an uneasy feeling that at last he had dropped all pretense and revealed what lay beneath.

Vaughan

$2200/yr max inc. allowed in public units. Goes up to 2,700 if you get in early.

Min. rent $12/mo, for inc. of $100

Then rent rises $12/yr for every $60/yr of inc.

Ave. rent c. $30, incl. elect., heat, range & refrig.

Tax payments were $2,000, on area. Now his pays $6,000 in lieu of taxes.

Fed gov't guarantees bonds, then helps pay them off when rents increase.

Halifax Ct white
Chevis Hts black

Many hv moved up
in income, had to leave.
Bought own homes.

Govt has paid 7 1/2
annual refunds so far?

Objective - keep disease
& crime away from
nice people
Clear slums as well as
house people.

2-10-56

Housing Board Urges 'Go Ahead' On Local Project

Around the City

will struction of a storage room at
ptist 1623 Old Louisburg Highway at
to- an estimated cost of $17,244.

Water will be cut off from residences on Pecan Road, Hickory Road and the Carolina Pines area this morning from 9:30 until noon, provided the weather permits outside work needed to tie in a water main, the City Water Department announced yesterday

The Bishop McGuinness General Assembly, Fourth Degree, Knights of Columbus, will meet at 8 tonight at the Columbus Club. All visiting fourth-degree Knights are invited to attend.

Dr. W. L. Clegg of Durham, Methodist district superintendent, will speak at a dinner meeting of the Methodist Men at 6:30 o'clock Monday evening at the Edenton Street Methodist Church here. Dr. Clegg's topic will be "The History of the Methodist Church."

Marriage licenses were issued yesterday by the Wake County Register of Deeds to the following persons: Kenneth J. Barth Jr., and Elaine Rosenblalt, both of White Plains, N. Y.; William O. Crawford of Wake Forest and Jo Anne Powell of Raeigh; Claude T. Hare and Alice Faye Ward, both of Varina; James L. Gurkin and Evelyn Elizabeth Jensen, both of Raleigh.

Withdraws Request.

The Railway Express Agency yesterday asked the State Utilities Commission to withdraw its request for permission to close its agency at Hominy in Buncombe County. Southern Railway was authorized to close its station there January 25.

India imported 730,000 tons of ood grains in 1955 compared to ,725,000 tons in 1951.

...se Cured

Gives Stand After Citing City's Need

The Raleigh Housing Authority yesterday issued a statement that in its considered opinion the site for 300 low rent housing units for Negroes "was properly and wisely selected with due notice" and, in effect, it asked the City Council to cancel its action of last Monday in disapproving the location.

It was pointed out in a prepared statement that "the site was selected after five months of conscientious study by the Authority, and after careful consideration was given to numerous possible locations," and that the site was recommended by the City Planning Board, the Raleigh School Board, the Parent Teacher Association of Washington School, and architects and engineers employed by the Authority.

Knew All Facts.

It was further stated that "an informal meeting of the City Council was held on January 17 to review the site selection. The Authority officially reported to the members of the Council that were present the full and complete facts in connection with the site selection. The City Planning Commission officially approved the site. The members of the Council that were present indicated their approval. The selection was immediately publicized, constituting notice to everyone concerned."

The site of approximately 25 acres in south Raleigh is located north of Hoke Street, south of Lee Street, east of Walnut Street, and west of the right of way for Highway 70 and 15-A.

It took the City Council less than 15 minutes Monday to stamp its disapproval on the site after hearing about a dozen speakers among a delegation of approximately 40 Negroes living in the area. They contended that the percentage of home owners there is greater than the 40 per cent figure given by the Housing Authority, and that they would be unable to obtain comparable home ownership in other sections of the city. It also was stated by the delegation that around 400 children are in approximately 150 families living in the location, and that many of those owning homes there had life savings invested.

It was the first public protest by the people who would be displaced if the housing project is located on the selected site. No public hearings were held by the Housing Authority or other groups at which protests could be made against the site.

"The Housing Authority desires

URGE HOUSING 'GO AHEAD'—Members of the Raleigh Housing Authority shown above met yesterday to state their position on the City Council disapproved site for a proposed 300-unit, $3,000,000 housing project for Negroes here. Seated, left to right, are Mrs. Micou F. Browne, Vice-Chairman R. Mayne Albright, and Chairman L. L. Vaughan. Standing, left to right, are: Gary M. Underhill and E. G. Cothran.

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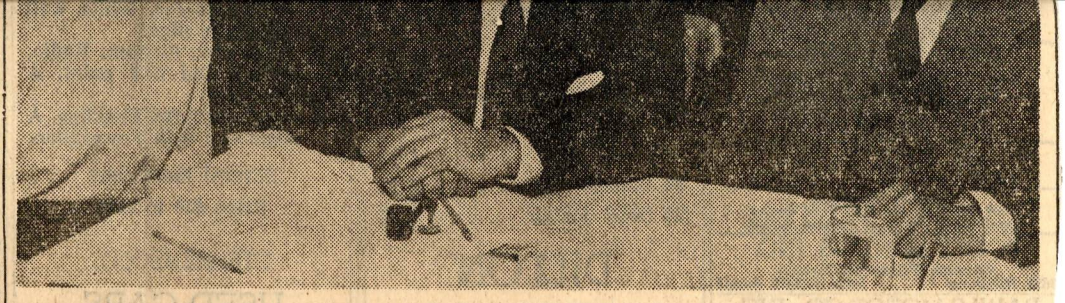

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It was the first public protest by the people who would be displaced if the housing project is located on the selected site. No public hearings were held by the Housing Authority or other groups at which protests could be made against the site.

"The Housing Authority desires to proceed immediately with the discharge of its duties and responsibilities to the people of the City of Raleigh," according to its statement yesterday.

It has been stopped temporarily by the Council's action, and apparently is leaving the way open for the Council to arrange a meeting with the Authority and other interested groups on the matter.

The Authority's statement pointed out that "the Public Housing Law is an Act of Congress, implemented by State Legislation and action of the City of Raleigh. It is our job to see that the benefits available to Raleigh are properly utilized and soundly administered."

"Congress has appropriated the funds and 300 low rent housing units have been allocated to Raleigh," continued the statement. "The people of our city have contributed their Federal tax money to this program. If the money is not properly used for the benefit of this community, it will be spent elsewhere quickly.

"The need for the project has been established by the City Council, reaffirmed by the City Council, and approved by the Federal Government."

After location of the site was announced, it was stated, it "was subsequently visited, inspected and approved by officials of the Public Housing Administration.

"In good faith with everyone concerned, architects have been selected; and survey and preliminary plans have been undertaken.

"The whole program is based on the greatest good to the greatest number of people. No such program can be undertaken without personal inconvenience to people or families directly involved. Eligible low-income families now residing in the area of the site selected will receive first preference for occupancy in the new modern housing units.

"At the City Council meeting when the need for this project was reaffirmed, opposition was expressed by members of the Council to the selection of an unoccupied site."

The estimated cost of the project is $3,000,000, and the Authority has stated that it should be well underway by next July 1 in order for the federal funds to be obtained.

Mayor Fred B. Wheeler said last night, after being informed of the Authority's action, that he would try to arrange a meeting of city officials with the Authority to "work out the matter for the good and betterment of the city."

Alaska has more than seven million acres of national parks.