

The Senate Establishment

By Joseph S. Clark and Other Senators

"The Senate establishment is almost the antithesis of democracy. It is not selected by any democratic process. It appears to be quite unresponsive to the caucuses of the major parties, be they Republican or Democratic. It is what might be called a self-perpetuating oligarchy with only mild overtones of a plutocracy."

With these words Senator Clark of Pennsylvania launched a historic speech which Eric F. Goldman of Princeton University says, "recalls the days of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, when United States Senators really said something."

Senator Clark's speech was delivered during the course of several sessions of the Senate in February of 1963 and is reprinted here in full, together with a dialogue on the subject with Senators Douglas, Proxmire, Mansfield (who cautiously defended the committee system), Javits, and others. The debate concludes with the eloquent address of Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois in support of Senator Clark.

In his detailed, exciting exposé Senator Clark presents irrefutable evidence that a small minority of Senators from both parties control Senate committee appointments and the selection of chairmen, and thereby often succeed in bottling up progressive legislation. He shows how Senators who challenge the establishment by voting for "wrong" measures (such as cloture to cut off filibusters against civil rights legislation) are punished by not being appointed to the committees of their choice.

Senator Clark's attack has already had major repercussions in political circles and will prove to be a landmark in American political history.

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