

The Texas Observer

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A Journal of Free Voices

A Window to The South

25c

The Politics of Poll Tax Repeal

Texas politics now is the politics of poll tax repeal. Local committees laden with distinguished and respectable names are being announced all over the state to work for repeal. Opposition is appearing on a last-minute basis. The Belden Poll showed 51% support for repeal against 43% opposed, with the outcome Nov. 9 depending on turnout. Persons close to the repeal campaign have become more optimistic recently than they were but they are still "running scared."

The leading Texas officeholders are all on record for repeal, except Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, who has not committed himself.

Vice President Johnson says the poll tax is "the shame of Texas." Senator Ralph Yarborough says, "The poll tax should go the way of the ducking stool and the whipping post." Sen. John Tower and Cong. Ed Foreman, Odessa, both Republicans, support Texas repeal of the poll tax Nov. 9, conditioned only by enactment of a workable voter registration system (they said at the Corpus Christi GOP conclave they had not evaluated the one that has been passed and would take effect in the event of repeal). The third top Republican, Cong. Bruce Alger, Dallas, is also for repeal Nov. 9. Gov. John Connally warns of "chaos"—two ballots, two poll lists, two voting places—if Texans don't vote for repeal Nov. 9. And the governor, who warned of bloc voting as an issue that menaces repeal, has since said that anyone who doubts that he is for repeal just doesn't understand words—he is for repeal. So are many other congressmen, and senators and representatives in the legislature, who have stepped forward so to say.

The question of *working* for repeal is quite another thing. The League of Women Voters, whose special project repeal has been, has taken an active, forward role in the formation of the local committees for repeal. The state Republican Party is not doing anything. Connally wrote the members of the State Democratic Executive Committee and asked them to set up local committees to work for repeal, even though the League may have set them up locally, too. (The danger is not too much work for repeal, but too little, he said.) The intensity of the response to these letters has

varied to some extent with the politics of the recipients.

Connally held two press conferences last week without bringing up the poll tax (redistricting was very much on his mind); if he spoke of the poll tax in his speech in Amarillo Oct. 24, reporters did not note the fact. Lt. Gov. Smith says the voters may reject repeal because of Crystal City. Vice President Johnson has spoken out for repeal, but has not stumped for it, as some hoped he would.

Sen. Yarborough had as his guest over his radio program, heard on 130 Texas stations, Cong. Jack Brooks, Beaumont. They had this exchange:

Brooks: "... the Democratic members of the House are proud of our senior senator for a good many reasons. But one of the most important is your co-authorship of the proposed amendment [to] abolish the poll tax requirement to vote for all federal officials. . . ."

Yarborough: [If Texas does not abolish its poll tax but the federal repealer passes,] "The voter in Texas would need a Philadelphia lawyer to figure out where he would have to go to vote and what he would have to vote on when he got there. . . ."

Brooks: "I think it's more logical in a democracy to tax a person for not voting than to levy a tax on him so he can qualify to exercise his free choice in an election."

Yarborough: "We levy taxes here to keep a man from voting. I am absolutely opposed to the poll tax. It is inconsistent in a democracy. I am for abolishing the poll tax Nov. 9."

Don Yarborough—whom the Houston Chronicle declares is certain to oppose Connally next year—has been orating all over the state for repeal: he says Nov. 9 is the most important election in 100 years.

The Democratic Coalition—labor, liberals, Negroes, *mexicanos*—are now working all-out for repeal. Their basic plan is the use of block workers, each one responsible for 20 voters, to turn out voters for repeal among Negro and Latin-American voters in 15 selected urban areas. More than 800 such workers have been signed up in Dallas, compared to just 150 or so in Corpus Christi; the goal one hears mentioned statewide exceeds 10,000. These workers will be called on throughout next year for

the various political campaigns; it is the thought of the liberals that if these workers win repeal Nov. 9 they can keep on going through the primaries and November, 1964.

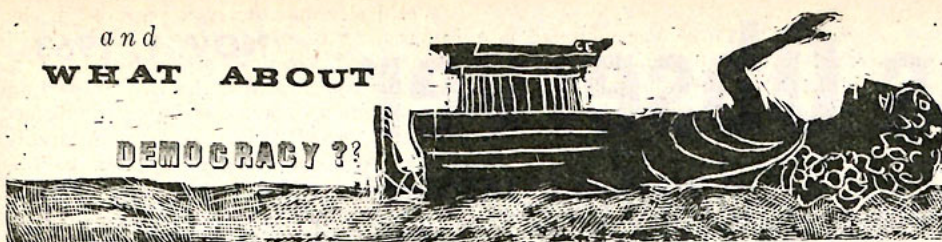
WORKERS FOR REPEAL have been coping with talked-around reasons for retaining the tax, trying to squelch these reasons before they become runaways. For instance, it was heard that the argument was gaining ground that repeal would hurt public school financing. Therefore, D. Richard Bowles of Austin, former president of the Texas State Teachers' Assn., issued a statement that it would not—that under the law, "anything a school district lacks toward its minimum (financial) program will be automatically made up from the minimum foundation fund," and that in any case "the poll tax provides about three-tenths of one percent of the state aid to the local schools."

Reaction among Anglo-Texan voters against the civil rights movement has led to some opposition to repeal. To try to cope with this, specifically in rural East Texas, Bill McIntyre, city commissioner of Navasota and a businessman, as well as the giver of a party during Ralph Yarborough's weekend in Austin attended by many supporters of Don Yarborough for governor, has been telephoning around East Texas arguing for repeal. In a news release, he was announced as the chairman of the "Rural Texans for Poll Tax Repeal Committee."

An example of the local melodrama that is being played out on the issue comes from Fort Worth. Probate Judge A. L. Crouch, a staunch Democrat, decided to press his fellow officials on the question. Accompanied by members of PASO and the unions, he called on a group of officials to speak up, then and there, for or against repeal, and sign or fail to sign a petition for repeal. The sheriff, district attorney, four district judges, a county commissioner, the mayor pro-tem, two state representatives, the tax assessor-collector and county treasurer, the county Democratic chairman, and the state Democratic committeeman and

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and WHAT ABOUT DEMOCRACY??



One of the best reasoned statements of the essential reasons for repealing the poll tax has been made by Senator Walter Richter of Gonzales.

If the federal amendment to repeal the poll tax passes, but we keep ours, the senator writes in his newsletter, "we would have to have dual voting booths, registration lists, election judges and watchers, not to mention much higher costs. Gov. Connally has appropriately described such a development as 'chaotic.' To quote from a recent editorial in the Pleasanton Express, 'We're going to find ourselves in one woollybooger of a mess.'"

"Mainly," Sen. Richter continued, "I'm for poll tax repeal because I do not think it is right to hang a price tag on a man's right to vote in a free society.

"It is clearly impossible, yes humanly impossible, to devise any completely fair and effective means of separating those citizens who are competent to vote from those who are not. Who, short of God Himself, can fully fathom the working of the human mind and spirit?

"In these amazing times a man can hear and see and learn many wondrous things even though he cannot read or write. If we truly fear such men, let us double our resolve to eliminate illiteracy.

"I remember being taught that the basic strength of our American government derives from the fact that it is a government of, for, and by the people. No one ever suggested that this meant just some of the people," said the good senator from South Texas.

As the Jacksonville Daily Progress, over in East Texas, said on the same point:

"The argument over who should rule America—all the people or a few—has been going on since the beginning. Jefferson advocated general franchise, while Hamilton advocated rule by the landed gentry. The whole political history of America is wrapped up in this same subject. If, indeed, all men are created equal, they have a right to participate in their government on an equal basis."

The vote on Saturday, November 9th, is about democracy. Either we do believe in it, or we do not. Conservatives, liberals, Democrats, Republicans, moderates, schmoderates: on November the 9th, democracy is looking down our throats.

As we go to press, we hear the growlings of the Hamiltonians of our state and our time: General Weathered, Rep. Horace Houston, Sen. George Parkhouse. They pace their Adolphus Towers and their Turtle Creek mansions and proclaim that the people have no right to vote, one man—one vote, on the issues of the times, with-

out a price-tag on manhood, without having to choose, if they are poor, between meat for their children tonight and citizenship for the rest of the year.

The handful of crotchety old men who have taken their stand for the poll tax in

Not Mr. Pickle

In our opinion, no Democrat should vote for Jake Pickle for Congress. He is disqualified by his past from receiving the votes of Democrats.

This man carried water for Allan Shivers in 1950 and was still hauling it for him in 1954. In 1952, Shivers, although the elected chief of the Democratic Party in this state, officially endorsed the Republican candidate for President and campaigned the state against the Democratic Party that had honored him. Yet Jake Pickle continued right on through 1954 as a professional Shivercrat.

In 1954, in fact, the PR firm in which Pickle was a member agreed to handle Shivers' second primary campaign for a flat fee and produced, for Turncoat-Democrat Shivers, one of the most scurrilous, cheapest, most demagogic tricks in the history of Texas politics, the "Port Arthur story." This mish-mash of anti-unionism and Red scare was just enough to get Shivers back in office.

In 1955, Bill Brammer, the Observer's associate editor at the time, interviewed Pickle and reported that the agency with which Pickle was associated "claims credit for the mechanics [of the Port Arthur story]. 'We're a working organization,' said Pickle." Later in the story, Brammer quoted Pickle: "'We're not cut throats,' Pickle told me. 'We're not propagandists

Texas do not speak for democracy. On this question, men and women of many kinds of politics do speak for democracy—Vice President Johnson, Senator Goldwater, Senators Yarborough and Tower, Governor Connally, the League of Women Voters, the groups of the Democratic Coalition.

Some of them believe that their party or their cause will gain ground in 1964 because of repeal—and they are probably right. Some of them believe that their party or their cause will lose ground in 1964 because of repeal—and they are probably right. But they are agreed on the repeal of the poll tax, because it is the right thing. It is democracy, the way we believe in. □

or fixers.'"

Later, when Pickle became Price Daniel's organization director for the state Democratic committee, that committee mounted vicious conservative attacks against the elements that make up the Democratic Party of the country. In its newsletter dated June 17, 1957, the Pickle-run committee specifically called the three chief leaders of Texas labor, as well as Negro attorney W. J. Durham, "leftwing" and "extreme liberals." Little wonder the liberal Democrats refused to send contributions for Pickle's committee to handle, adopting the motto: "Dollars for Democrats, but not a nickel for Pickle."

As employer representative of the Texas Employment Cmsn., Pickle has led that agency's work in cutting down the rights of jobless workers, and he went to Washington to lobby against their interests.

Central Texas Democrats do not want this professional Shivercrat representing them in Washington. There might be a case for Republicans voting for him, if they didn't have a candidate in the race—there might be anyway, considering Jim Dobbs' recent propaganda work for H. L. Hunt of Dallas. But there is no sound case for any good Democrat voting for Jake Pickle. We don't know all we would like to about Jack Ritter; he sounds like a pretty good Democrat. □

Opinions Are Not Crimes

The Stanford case calls for certain reaffirmations. In a free society, no man can be punished by the government because of the opinions he holds. If these opinions are communist, still, he is entitled to them; with Jefferson, we hold that error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it. We agree with former President Truman that the law which defines membership in the Communist Party as per se subversive and punishable by criminal penalties constitutes suppression of political opinion, and is therefore offensive to the civil liberties of the people. Obviously in these days and this country, a man's joining the Communist Party is a

reasonable basis for conjecture whether he has or has not committed subversive acts; but in such a case, as in any case in a nation of laws, a jury of the man's peers—not a body of politicians—is the judge of his guilt or his innocence. If the government has evidence that a specific person has himself committed acts that are designed to overthrow the government by force and violence, its proper course is to present this evidence to a grand jury, and if an indictment is secured, to have a jury decide if he is guilty or not, and have him bear his punishment if he is guilty. Whenever, and just to the extent that, a society makes an opinion criminal, it is not a free society. □

(Continued from Page 1)

woman signed. Their names were to appear on an ad for repeal.

Another interesting byplay occurred in Dallas. Maurice Carlson, former Dallas GOP chairman, actively supports repeal. In a letter, Carlson urged state GOP chairman Peter O'Donnell to "take a strong and vigorous position" for repeal. This O'Donnell has not done, preferring to cite the fact that the leading GOP officeholders are on record for repeal.

Carlson stated, in his letter, that in San Antonio, Sen. Barry Goldwater "said that if he were a Texan and had the opportunity to do so on Nov. 9, he would vote for repeal of the poll tax in this state." Carlson may have been writing from press reports; in San Antonio Goldwater did reaffirm his support of the federal repeal of the poll tax, but when the Observer asked him if he favored Texas repeal, he said this was for Texans to decide. In any event, O'Donnell did not hasten into the battle for repeal.

★ ★ ★
Percentage by states of persons of voting age who cast ballots in the 1960 presidential election (the five remaining poll tax states, capital letters; the six former Confederate states that have abolished the poll tax, asterisks):

	Per Cent Voting	Rank 1960	Rank 1956
United States	63.66
The States:			
Idaho	80.64	1	1
Utah	80.12	2	3
New Hampshire	79.35	3	9
North Dakota	78.30	4	22
South Dakota	78.06	5	11
West Virginia	77.37	6	12
Minnesota	77.06	7	20
Connecticut	76.86	8	2
Indiana	76.85	9	7
Massachusetts	76.08	10	4
Illinois	75.73	11	8
Rhode Island	75.18	12	5
Iowa	74.93	13	6
Wyoming	73.68	14	17
Wisconsin	73.44	15	24
Delaware	73.40	16	14
Maine	72.63	17	30
Michigan	72.44	18	25
Washington	72.29	19	23
Vermont	72.29	20	18
Oregon	72.22	21	19
New Jersey	71.82	22	15
Missouri	71.73	23	21
Montana	71.46	24	10
Nebraska	71.44	25	32
Colorado	71.38	26	16
Ohio	71.27	27	27
Pennsylvania	70.52	28	29
Kansas	70.27	29	13
California	67.36	30	34
New York	67.00	31	26
Oklahoma	63.77	32	31
Kentucky	63.71	33	35
New Mexico	62.07	34	33
Nevada	61.14	35	28
Maryland	57.18	36	36
Arizona	54.37	37	37
*North Carolina	53.53	38	39
Hawaii	53.16	39	..
*Tennessee	50.26	40	40
*Florida	50.00	41	38
Alaska	49.19	42	..
*Louisiana	44.78	43	42
TEXAS	41.77	44	43
ARKANSAS	41.13	45	41
VIRGINIA	33.33	46	44
*Georgia	32.85	47	45
ALABAMA	31.07	48	46
*South Carolina	30.56	49	47
MISSISSIPPI	25.44	50	48

(This chart should have run with Henry Gonzalez' article last issue, but was not because of an editorial oversight.)

OPPOSITION was mounted late but seemed to have begun clustering last week. Still, the significant public opponents of repeal could be counted on the fingers of one hand at our press time. They are State Rep. George Hinson of Mineola and State Sen. George Parkhouse of Dallas, both Democrats; State Rep. Horace Houston of Dallas, GOP candidate for lieutenant governor, and Frates Seeligson, Bexar County GOP chairman; and Gen. Preston Weatherred of Dallas.

Weatherred mails out conservative analyses of legislators' voting records to "interested parties." On Oct. 21, Charles E. Simons, the Dallas oilman who is a spokesman for the major oil companies, wrote to "Dear Friend," on his personal letterhead, that Weatherred's analysis of the poll tax was being mailed. Upon request, Weatherred provided the Observer with a copy of his mail-out against repeal.

It is an all-out attack on the Democratic Coalition. Weatherred says that "idealistically, no great issue can be taken" with the position that the poll tax is "an immoral deprivation of the citizen's inherent right to vote," but that "a means, however well-intentioned, to evil ends, itself becomes evil."

With repeal, Weatherred says, the liberals can elect their people—Kennedy-Johnson electors, Ralph and Don Yarborough, and other liberals—and can then attain their goals, which Weatherred specifies to be repeal of the right-to-work law, requiring only one voter's registration in a voter's lifetime, a state wage and hour law, reduction or elimination of the general sales tax and its replacement with a corporate income tax and "a radically graduated personal income tax," and a state civil rights measure that would make pending federal legislation look "mild."

Weatherred denies confusion would result if the poll tax was not required for

federal elections, but was required in elections for state officers. He refers to "easily understood election procedures" in this eventuality. He warns that with repeal and voter registration, voters can be "blocked, herded, brow-beaten, to vote in accordance with the dictates of their political bosses."

Rep. Hinson, a moderate, from an East Texas district, however, was the first politician to speak out against repeal this summer. He says there is "no excuse" for repeal, questions the validity of the 25-cent fee for voter registration, and argues that the revenue loss would not be minor.

Parkhouse called the papers and went down to the courthouse to pay his poll tax. (Austin Report doubted the validity of that payment: Senate records show Parkhouse to be 64, four years past the age after which voters are exempt from it.) Parkhouse warned of dishonesty in voting at "two bits a head" and of "irresponsible bloc voting." He spoke of a "groundswell" against repeal and said "most of the responsible people of Texas want to keep the poll tax." Denying the tax is anti-Negro, he said it's a head tax to support the schools.

Republican Houston says all we'll get is a 25-cent poll tax if repeal prevails. Actually, though, Houston's opposition is frankly political. "Left-leaning politicians will gain a considerable advantage through the use of poll tax repeal to mass-vote uninformed minority groups and thus control virtually every election," he says. "A vote to repeal is a vote for the far left and Kennedy." When he announced for lieutenant governor he said it just as clearly: repeal "will help the liberals more than anyone else."

Rep. Houston spoke of setting up a state wide organization, and with Weatherred entering the fray beside him, there is a strong likelihood of a vigorous last-week campaign against repeal.

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The Observer solicits articles, essays, and creative work of the shorter forms having to do in various ways with this area. The pay depends; at present it is token. Please enclose return postage. Unsigned articles are the editor's.

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The Governor and a Hornet's Nest

Austin

Until Gov. John Connally strode into a clutter of reporters and cameras in his reception room last week, congressional redistricting was just another political subject in Texas, obfuscated by the other complexities of the times and its own multisyllabic name. But by the time the governor finished making his statement on the subject in his anteroom, it had become a major political issue for next year, stark and partisan.

Two federal judges in Houston had proclaimed the Saturday before, as a principle of American constitutional government, that "members of Congress are to be elected on the basis of population and nothing else." They said that all Texas congressmen must run for election in the state as a whole next year if redistricting is not accomplished by the filing deadline for the primaries, February 3.

The Houston order rattled the Connally Democrats who control the Texas political power structure and do not want the situation broken open any sooner than absolutely necessary. Before the press, the governor took his stand against redistricting on the basis of "population and nothing else," specifically mentioning social and political considerations as other factors in representation. He seemed to accuse the two judges of having been motivated by the desire to elect more Republicans to Congress. He said he would not call a special session until he has tried every other legal remedy. He and Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr began seeking a stay of the Houston court order.

Connally had been confident that he could delay redistricting until the 1966 elections. The majority of the special three-man federal court in Houston, however, reasoned that they could not wait for the U.S. Supreme Court to provide them guidelines in pending cases, because if they did, Texas voters would not get relief next year from what the judges called "startling discriminations" and "spectacular" disparities.

The facts are well known to Texas legislators, who earlier this year failed to redistrict despite them. They are well known, also, to Gov. Connally, who did not make redistricting a part of his must legislation earlier this year, but who said last week that he would not deny that redistricting is called for. "All we want is the time to do it," he said.

Texas is now the fourth most populous state in the union, and redistricting it can be expected to have effects that will be felt even in the sponge-like American Congress. Populations in the state's congressional dis-

tricts of the state, the Houston court majority ruled, vary from 216,000 to 952,000 voters to the detriment of the interests of the voters of such big cities as Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, and Fort Worth.

Five Houston Republicans filed the Houston lawsuit that resulted in the court order. Peter O'Donnell, the state Republican chairman, contends that if Goldwater is the GOP presidential nominee next year, Republicans could win more than half the state's 23 seats in statewide elections.

Having to run at large next year would especially endanger incumbents from small rural districts in East and West Texas. It has not escaped the attention of liberal Democrats that some of their leaders in the major cities might have better chances in statewide contests than conservative rural incumbents. In fact, liberal Democrats went forward to key Texas Republicans and discussed the implications of a redistricting lawsuit before the Republicans filed one.

IT STANDS TO REASON that Connally would prefer calling a special session to risking the toll of conservative Democratic congressmen that statewide congressional elections might take.

Generally, the 21 Texas Democrats in Congress vote about 50-50 on key Kennedy programs. This year nine of them supported the \$585 million House cut in foreign aid, which was a severe setback to the Administration; they split, ten to eight, against the Democrats' \$1.2 billion college aid bill; six of them voted against Kennedy's tax cut, and four of them were honored by the right-wing Americans for Constitutional Action for voting as cast-iron conservatives. Such congressmen as Wright Patman of Texarkana, Henry Gonzalez of San Antonio, and Jack Brooks of Beaumont most frequently support the Administration. Nevertheless, the Texas House delegation, 21-2 Democratic, is roughly half pro-Kennedy and half anti-Kennedy.

It can be argued that redistricting on the basis of population would make the Texas delegation more liberal, and this might be the case, given repeal of the poll tax and growing political organization in the cities. In a shorter run, Republicans might well stand to gain the most, since they would have a chance to exploit new situations in shaken-up districting patterns.

Gov. Connally, addressing 825 persons at an appreciation dinner in Amarillo Oct. 23, vowed that he would not "stand by while Texas' authority is taken away by a federal court or any other agency," UPI reported from Amarillo.

However, if the legislature does the redistricting, those Texas congressmen, Republicans and Democrats, who vote against President Kennedy's key legislation ordinarily could expect to be protected.

A rural anti-Kennedy Democrat like John Dowdy of Athens would not expect to be worried by the addition of more liberal counties to his district. Even if San Antonio got another congressman, liberal incumbent Gonzalez might find himself running for re-election partly in San Antonio and partly in Republican counties near the city. Last session State Sen. Franklin Spears, San Antonio, drew a line dividing Dallas into two districts that would have given liberal and moderate Democrats a shot at one of the two seats from Dallas, but whether the legislature would go along with this would depend on a change in its temper from 1963. The politics of a third congressman from Houston likewise might depend on how the legislature drew the lines for the new districts in Harris County.

The idea of redistricting mainly on the basis of population never had a chance in the conservative, rurally-weighted legislature earlier this year. The House-passed bill would have juggled some counties around and created a new district in South Texas. The Senate bill, the one that most nearly passed, would have made only one important change: it would have given the state's one at-large seat to Dallas. Since Dallas is the most conservative metropolis in Texas and has militant Republican Bruce Alger representing it in Congress now, the Senate bill was stalled to death the last night of the session by liberal, moderate, and even some of the conservative Democrats.

The tory Democrats had all their eggs deposited, by Connally and Carr, in one basket labeled "delay." Carr asked U.S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black for a stay of the Houston ruling, and less than a week after the Houston ruling, Black granted it. Since the state has 90 days to file its appeal, Black's ruling makes it less likely than before that the Houston court's order will be effected. If the state delays filing its appeal up toward the end of January, presumably the most the court could do would be to order statewide elections. Gov. Connally told a hastily convened press conference the day Black's order was handed down that the stay "might give us time to work out redistricting in an orderly fashion" and that he is assuming that the Supreme Court will not interfere with an election in progress. There may be a question whether the congressional elections of 1964 will be "in progress" should the high court choose to rule on the state's appeal before Feb. 3; that remains to be seen.

THE TWO JUDGES who enunciated the "population and nothing else" ruling are Circuit Judge John R. Brown and District Judge Joe Ingraham, both Eisenhower appointees. Judge James Noel, the dissenter, was appointed by President Kennedy.

Connally took Brown and Ingraham apart as Republicans. He called them "these Republican judges," "this two-man special court," and "the Republican special court."

Sometimes it was not clear whether the governor was castigating the judges or Republicans in general. He spoke contemptuously of "the utopia so eagerly sought by our Republican friends and these Republican judges." He recalled that "the bill sponsored by the Republicans in our last legislative session would have merely given the present at-large member to Dallas County." He said the only emergency demand for redistricting came from "a few militant Republicans with obvious self-interest involved."

The governor's attacks ramified into criticisms of the judiciary itself. "I think," he said, "this is just one more example of a court attempting to make laws, rather than interpret them. . . . This is but one example of the confusion and chaos created by hasty actions of an uninformed judiciary."

The principle of basing congressional districts on population and nothing else "has never been announced by any federal court," and the ruling was an "unprecedented extension of federal power," Connally said. He contended the U.S. Supreme Court has never said a federal court could interfere with judicial redistricting.

"It has long been supposed," Connally said in the crucial statement of his own position, "that in addition to a population count, state legislatures, in drawing congressional districts, can take into account other factors, such as geographical, area, economic, social, topographical, sociological, and political considerations." Ad libbing under questioning, he summarized these factors as "social and political."

He wants the question "left in the hands of our elected representatives, who are answerable to the people every two years, rather than to these Republican judges, who are not answerable to anyone for the rest of their lives," he said. Two, three, or four special sessions might be required, and their cost would be the judges' fault, not his, the governor said.

At one point in his conference, Connally dropped the cannonade against the Republicans and said, "Now seriously, I'm not willing to throw aside 334 years of experience and seniority of the Texas delegation in Congress. That's what I'm basically concerned about—I'm not too concerned about these two federal judges."

"What you do," he said, "you throw 23 seats in a game of Republican roulette up for grabs."

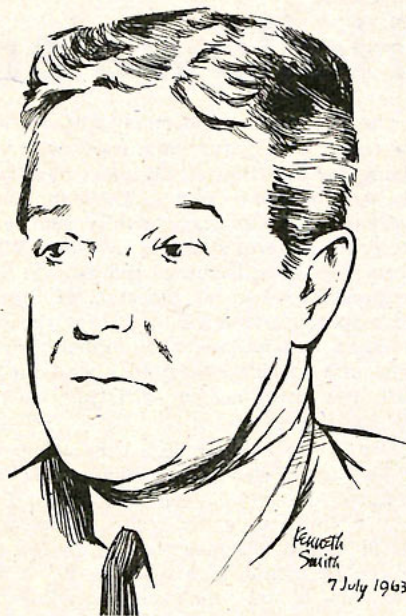
The ruling did not affect the Nov. 9 election to replace Cong. Homer Thornberry, Austin. Connally jumped the judges on this, too, saying their original order was effective Nov. 1, but that they first

modified it to exclude the Nov. 9 election in a statement to the press, which the governor called "unheard of."

POLITICIANS' public reactions to the governor's position were generally critical and in a few cases severely so. Few rushed to Connally's defense; many, of many political complexions, did, to the judges'.

Republicans, who saw in the episode an opportunity for slicing some tory Democrats away from Connally into their party, represented Connally as a foe of fair redistricting who had impugned the integrity of a federal court.

George H. W. Bush, GOP candidate for the U.S. Senate, said the governor had made a "vitriolic," "mean, personal attack" on the judges. Republican state chairman Peter O'Donnell said Texas is one of the worst



districted states in the union, but "Connally apparently intends to use the tax monies of all to fight fair and equal representation." The GOP chairman charged that the governor is using the issue as a club to keep Texas congressmen in line for Kennedy-Johnson next year. The governor "is casting doubt on the integrity of the federal judges because they have reached a decision contrary to his wishes," O'Donnell also said. (One of the "Republican" judges, Ingraham, was quoted by the AP saying, "He made some intemperate remarks. I do not wish to respond.") GOP Rep. Dick Morgan, Dallas, said that the decision threatened "the death grip which [Connally] and President Kennedy have on the Democratic Party in Texas," and Connally had screamed "like a wounded banshee." The Dallas GOP chairman called the charge about politics "a discredit to the high position of governor" that "borders on an effort to discredit due process of law." National GOP Committeeman Albert Fay, Houston, delivered the unkindest cut: "Gov. Connally will have to answer to the people of Texas in November (provided he wins the Democratic primary) for his vigorous opposition to the equal representation we Americans so firmly believe in."

Connally was defended by Dallas Cty. Judge Lew Sterrett, who said the governor "will save Texas taxpayers thousands of dollars" by averting the special session. Cong. Patman favored appealing the decision and thought the high court would not act on it in time to change the 1964 situation. Cong. Omar Burleson, Anson, a conservative Democrat, had anticipated Connally's charge of political motivation by saying, as to the court's 2-1 Republican-Democratic composition, "it does look rather strange."

Connally had these defenders among incumbent Democrats, but he had almost none at all, even among conservative officeholders, in Houston. Cong. Bob Casey, conservative, and Albert Thomas, who is pro-union and pro-business on the basis of a complex voting record, both opposed appealing the ruling and favored a special session. Conservative State Reps. W. H. Miller, Herbert Shutt, Henry Grover, F. Lee Duggan, Willis J. Whatley, and Donald K. Shipley all took the position that a special session is required. Rep. Paul Floyd, Houston, shot off an angry wire to Connally, that his stand was "shocking and disgusting to me. . . . You have deliberately taken the side of those in this state who would perpetuate an evil. . . ." Liberal Reps. Bob Eckhardt and Tom Bass defended the judges against the political charge.

The Harris County Democratic chairman, Bill Kilgarlin, said the politics charge was "not only absurd but irresponsible." "To accuse these judges of playing politics simply because they were appointed by President Eisenhower is wrong, and Gov. Connally, as a lawyer, knows it is wrong," he said. Citizens should applaud the court for upholding the idea that every person's vote "should be equal," Kilgarlin said. In the background is the fact that Kilgarlin has heretofore been closer to Connally politically than many of liberal Democrats have wanted him to be.

Hank Brown, state labor president, entered the fray, too; in a public letter to the governor, he defended the judges against the charge they acted politically, said labor was sympathetic with the position of the Republican plaintiffs in the suit, and told Connally that he was the only man who could prevent chaos in the '64 elections by calling a special session.

"We find difficult to understand, also," Brown told Connally, no doubt tongue-in-cheek, "your statement that 'political considerations' should be taken into account when a congressional district is drawn. It has always been our understanding that gerrymandering districts for 'political considerations' was to be avoided at all costs, that districting for congressional and legislative purposes was a non-partisan matter."

Harris County Judge Bill Elliot, a Democrat, said he will seek to oppose Connally's motions for delays before the high court and warned Connally he will have to answer to Houston voters if he does not change course.

After his first statement Kilgarlin may

have gone into a slow burn, for shortly before Justice Black handed down his stay, the Democratic chairman of the largest city in the South broke with the Democratic governor of his state and announced he will oppose him in the spring primary.

Connally, Kilgarlin said, had embarrassed and brought discredit upon the Democratic Party by his shocking and irresponsible action, opposing redistricting. Kilgarlin said he had worked fairly diligently for Connally last November, but had remained silent too long while Connally "for the past few months attacked every element that served to put him into office in 1962, specifically labor and minority groups."

"It's my feeling that Gov. Connally, by his repeated course of conduct, would

seriously endanger the chances of the Democratic Party carrying Texas in 1964," Kilgarlin said. "It is my hope that the Democratic voters in the primary elections will call him to task for his systematic attacks upon elements of the Democratic Party, but most particularly for his shocking conduct. . . . In my opinion, he has ceased to speak for the Democratic Party."

At his conference in Austin, Connally said his position had been misinterpreted by his critics: he supports re-districting, when it can be done in an acceptable way. He denied implying the Houston court was politically motivated—"I say it is Republican dominated, everyone knows that," he averred again. Would the state take all 90 days to file its appeal? It might, he said; he hadn't talked with Carr about that yet.

MEANWHILE, the liberal legislators' lawsuit in Houston for state legislative redistricting pends. In this suit, the federal court will be asked to have the five-man legislative redistricting board, provided for in the state constitution, redistrict the state on grounds that the legislature has failed to do so as and when required. By this stratagem, the plaintiffs in this suit hope to circumvent the need for a special session and to persuade the court to require redistricting of legislative districts in time for the 1964 primaries. Attorneys for the plaintiffs hoped to be in the courtroom on pre-trial preliminaries this week.

Federal courts have already intervened in several states to compel legislative reapportionment. R.D.

An Early Hallowe'en in Big D

Dallas

When Ambassador Stevenson arrived in Dallas Oct. 24, he was asked by a reporter if he expected a friendly crowd at his speech that night. He said, "I don't know why not." That night at his UN Day speech he faced the radical right of Dallas.

Nearly 2,000 Dallas citizens who came to hear Stevenson out of curiosity, admiration, or respect for a representative of the United States government also faced the radical right of Dallas. They saw a mob made of individuals out of the wildest dreams of Charles Addams or Popsy Hunt. They saw a nadir of courtesy, decency, and civilized behavior.

This night of shame for Dallas, with its spitting, booing, and placard-hitting, has been documented in the newspapers and other media. I, as an ordinary Dallas citizen, would like to give some personal impressions to try to capture for others some idea of what it is like to be part of a mob of people sick in mind and soul.

The evening started normally enough (for Dallas). The picketers out front carrying their messages of "UN, Red Front" and such were mostly ordinary-looking people, many of them teen-agers. They did wear the grim faces one often sees on people who want to impeach Earl Warren. A variety of printed matter was passed out. Some of it was rightist; one was a modest card from Pepper Garcia, Democrat running in the up-coming special election.

Inside the auditorium the crowd was interspersed with small groups carrying toy American flags and aisle-paraders with toy American and Confederate flags.

After the program started, it was obvious that another well-planned program was being set in motion. Its ingredients were booing, coughing, laughing, jangling of charm bracelets with tiny bells, the yelling of insults, and clicking Hallowe'en noise-makers. About half-way through Stevenson's speech the Dramatic Exits started; one by one they paraded up the aisle with loud, muttered comments.

The Stevenson supporters, who were in the large majority, countered with applause for him that surely must have been heard in Tarrant County. They applauded everyone on the stage wildly and gave Stevenson several standing ovations. When Frank McGehee, leader of Indignation Conventions, stood up at the start of Stevenson's speech and tried to disrupt the proceedings, he was in turn disrupted by boos, yells, and a small, elderly man who tried to push the much heavier McGehee back in his seat.

Before the program ended the group was divided into Friends and Enemies. Friends included not only Stevenson's personal admirers, but also many who disagree with his ideas but are horrified by hatred and execrable manners. Many of the female members of the audience, including me, were torn between fury and fear. Everyone was excited, angry, half or all the way scared, and many were spoiling for a fight as the group left the auditorium to be faced by Friends, Enemies, a Bircher pep rally, and a group of Cuban refugees apparently recruiting for an invasion of Castro.

Here are some representative faces and voices in the crowd:

Bobby Joiner, Grand Prairie racist, wore an Uncle Sam costume with red, white, and blue festooning almost every part of his person.

A man hollered, "Aren't you fellows celebrating Hallowe'en a bit early?"

A man in the grip of religious mania kept screaming, "Kennedy will get his reward in Hell. Stevenson is going to die. His heart will stop, stop, stop. And he will burn, burn, burn."

A man in a clerical collar, one of the few

on either side whose faces by now weren't distorted by fury, was patiently saying over and over, "There's no excuse for bad manners."

"Stevenson, that traitor, he makes me sick."

"You look it."

"What about Cuber?"

"This must be what it was like in Munich during the Beer Hall Putsch."

This is what it was like Oct. 24, 1963 in Dallas, Texas. The poise and personal dignity of Adlai Stevenson throughout were amazing. Equally astonishing were the large numbers of Dallasites who attended and rallied to his support.

The biggest shock was the naked faces of hate. If the Birchers had not been in the minority, the Stevenson Riot would have had blood as well as spit. Once seen, a mob is not easily forgotten. No words can properly describe the shame, the alarm, and the ugliness one feels. Let us not cease to laugh at the radical right, for the sense of humor these people have lost is one of their greatest shortcomings. But let us not delude ourselves that they are harmless, letter-writing cranks. In Dallas, at least, they are well-organized, well-financed, well-led, dedicated, and dangerous. They, as well as the Communists, are enemies to democracy. D.E.S.

NOTE TO SUBSCRIBERS

We still get some complaints that the Observer is not reaching some subscribers until the week after it is dated. It is mailed from Austin Wednesday before the date of the issue, Friday, and ought to be delivered nearly all places in Texas not any later than Saturday. We have had excellent cooperative relationships with the postal authorities, and we are assured that delays can be righted if our subscribers will send to the editor "the name and address and the actual time of receipt of any particular issue." We shall then take up any difficulties with the authorities. It will be a service to us if you will communicate with us about any such delay.



A Number of Unseen Salutes

Austin

The Observer did not see, in any of the many Texas daily newspapers its staff clips, any quotation, direct or indirect, from President Kennedy's significant statement on Senator Yarborough, recorded for the Yarborough dinner Oct. 19, except for two brief paragraphs in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram in a story objecting to the way the statement was released.

Yarborough told the throng at the dinner that Kennedy recorded this message once, watched the play-back, and decided to record it a second time, because, Yarborough quoted the President, "it isn't good enough for the loyal Democrats who'll be there. It ought to be the best." The message was delivered with a film of the President speaking it. The film was projected onto a huge screen that was dropped from above the head table on the stage; the President spoke earnestly and with feeling. Here is the transcription of what he said:

"I am delighted to have this opportunity to join all of you in paying tribute to our mutual friend Ralph Yarborough, the senior senator from the state of Texas. Ralph Yarborough speaks for Texas in the United States Senate, and he also speaks for our nation, and he speaks for progress for our people.

"I could talk about some of the things that Ralph Yarborough has done, about his work in education, education for all Americans, for veterans, for hospital care under social security, for an income tax cut to stimulate our economy and provide jobs for our people, for the nuclear test ban treaty, a step towards peace, for human liberties, for the goals that bind Democrats together in this state and all over the Union.

"But I shall mention two items which you might remember.

"The first is my recollection of September, 1961, when hurricane Carla struck Texas. Before the tidal waves receded Ralph Yarborough was at the door of the White House; before the winds died down, he was walking in the debris of the battered cities and towns on the Gulf Coast of Texas, asking, 'What can I do to help?'

"Secondly, I remember his fight for the bill to establish a national seashore recreational area on Padre Island. It's a shocking fact that this nation, this great country of ours with over 60,000 miles of seashore, has only a few hundred miles of shoreline actually available for the enjoyment and the use of most of our people—for the general public. That's why I took such pleasure on September 28 of last year in sign-

ing into law the bill establishing the Padre Island National Seashore Park, and I took pleasure also in handing one of the pens to Ralph Yarborough.

"My fellow Democrats, this is a time when all of us who believe in government for the people, who believe in progress for our country, who believe in a fair chance for all of our citizens, who believe in the growth of Texas, who believe in the development of the United States as a great bulwark for freedom, who believe in a United States which is second to none in space, on the sea, on the land, a United States which stands for progress—all of those—I think Ralph Yarborough stands with them.

"And it's a pleasure to salute all of you who are working with Ralph Yarborough to make a better state and a better country.

"Thank you."

THE PRESIDENT'S message was printed in the program for the dinner. So were letters on Yarborough from a number of senators who were not present. Excerpts from these:

Sen. Mike Mansfield, Montana, the majority leader: "Ralph is a man of vigor, intelligence and integrity, and there is no harder worker, more diligent or conscientious member of the Senate. Texas is indeed fortunate to have a man of the caliber of Ralph Yarborough representing it because he has showed courage and conviction on matters in which he believes, and he has done so regardless of what the effects might be on him personally."

Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Minn., the majority whip: "Ralph is an intelligent man; he is also a tireless worker and a fighter for the things in which he believes. As a consequence, he gets things done . . . a singularly effective representative of Texas . . . a man of sound, mature judgment and of absolute integrity . . . this warm, good man . . ."

Sen. Warren Magnuson, Wash., chairman, commerce committee: "It is my hope that the people of Texas will keep Senator Yarborough in the Senate for many, many years to come."

Sen. Lister Hill, Ala., chairman, labor and public welfare committee: "Champion of America's veterans, defender of the working man, the farmer, the young and the old, leader in the struggle for federal aid to education, and ardent supporter of every effort to improve the nation's health . . ."

Sen. Paul Douglas, Ill., chairman, joint economic committee of the House and Senate: "He is a marvelous man and a splendid senator and abundantly deserves to be re-elected."

Sen. John Sparkman, Ala., chairman, select committee on small business: "I have had an opportunity to know something of his dedication . . . a fine and devoted public servant."

Sen. Phillip A. Hart, Mich.: "He is truly one of the indispensable men on our side of the aisle."

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, Mass.: "He has become noted for his depth of vision, his enlightened spirit and his hard work for the benefit of the people. Texas could have no better representative of all its finest traditions."

If any Texas daily newspaper quoted from any of these letters on Yarborough, the Observer did not see the quotations.

THE YARBOROUGH program also included a written salute from J. Frank Dobie, the writer:

"... I have known Ralph Yarborough as friend and man for many years. He is perhaps the best read man that Texas has ever sent to Washington. His cultivated and disciplined mind is always seeking information on subjects that government must act upon. Like other individuals, he travels in a certain direction, but his mind is not closed to facts and conditions warranting a change of mind. The power of intellect to weigh knowledge and to judge justly is his.

"We are all for gain. I myself should not always promise and vote as Senator Ralph Yarborough has promised and voted, but mark this: The only gain he has ever sought, consistently or inconsistently, has been public gain. He does not try to milk the public for private profit. He seeks the good of people. Nor is his consideration of humanity provincial-minded.

"... When values of life—values beyond money, values that express civilization, enlightenment and justice for the human race come up, we can count on Senator Ralph Yarborough to stand for those values.

"I salute him for his sense of civilized values, for his sense of justice, for his enlightened intellect, for his decency as a human being, and for his integrity."

The Observer did not see this statement by Texas' senior man of letters quoted, or referred to, in any Texas daily newspaper.

Yarborough Clan Girds for 1964

The Yarborough party were greeted at Austin airport by a goodly crowd and the press. Yarborough's movement away from Southern ways was symbolized in his shaking the hand of a Negro greeter there (as well, later, as by the program of his supporters, naming many Negroes).

Mike Manatos, special White House assistant for senatorial relations, "comes to represent the White House," Yarborough told the press. The senator also introduced the four Senate colleagues who had come to join in saluting him, describing them as the largest group of U.S. senators ever to visit Texas at one time: Sens. Frank Church, Idaho; Ernest Gruening, Alaska, perhaps Yarborough's closest friend in the Senate since Estes Kefauver's death; Daniel Inouye, Hawaii; and Lee Metcalf, Montana. Not introduced, but in the party, were two staff members of the Democratic senatorial campaign committee.

Yarborough stressed, at the airport, Senate passage, and his support, of legislation to build more medical schools, create a youth conservation corps and a domestic service corps, give funds to depressed areas, build more public works quickly, and construct school classrooms. He said put together these can mean more for the people than either of the two most-discussed bills, civil rights and the tax cut.

The senators said glowing things about Yarborough's effectiveness and courage. A reporter asked Yarborough about the civil rights bill, and he said, "I cannot tell you any more than you have read in the press. It is probably the best reporting we have had in the press on any subject."

Had the Vice-President been invited? Yarborough had called his office, but had not got him; but he was sure the Vice-President got the message. He assumed Johnson was in Boston at a New England rally, where the President was also. Gov. Connally had said he had not been invited; this did not come up.

During the afternoon there was a reception for larger contributors. Manatos was exposed, then and later, to anti-Connally remarks. Cliff Carter, the Vice President's man, stuck close to Manatos at the reception. In a hotel lobby, Carter was advised by a leader in the Democratic Coalition in the presence of a number of people to get the message to Kennedy and Johnson that if Yarborough is opposed by someone such as Cong. Jim Wright, they should brace for a hellacious fight in Texas next year, which would not benefit them.

THE ATTENDANCE at the salute to Yarborough was impressive. The caterer told reporters 3,800 places were set, and since only about 200 places were vacant—way back in the municipal auditorium, the diners stretching out across the huge hall—the crowd was set at 3,600. This seemed lower than expected for two reasons. Somebody had predicted 6,000, a boo-

boo. Also, the figure 5,000 was bandied around for the recent Daniel and Connally dinners in the same hall. Leaders of the dinner for Yarborough conceded the caterer's figure was correct, but observed that the caterer's figures for the Daniel and Connally dinners were several hundred below those for the Yarborough dinner. Some inflation of the crowd by speakers is normal; U.S. Postmaster General John Gronouski said 5,000 were at the Yarborough dinner, and the same figure was freely used at the earlier dinners. But it appears that if theretofore the Connally dinner was the largest seated meal in Texas history, as state Democratic chairman Eugene Locke said it was at the time, the Yarborough dinner can now claim that designation.

The Rev. John Barclay of Austin's Central Christian Church opened the dinner with a prayer giving thanks for Yarborough's "courage to speak, vote, work, and struggle for causes that are just" and praise of God that Yarborough "speaks for many of those who are not articulate." Mayor Lester Palmer of Austin, who had led the city council into designating Oct. 19 Yarborough Day, welcomed the crowd and spoke well of the senator.

The chairman of the salute, Walter Hall, said opposition was expected for Yarborough next year, in the primary and from business and Republicans in combination in November, but that Yarborough would win. Mrs. R. D. Randolph, Houston, the co-chairman, was given an ovation, and did not speak. Dr. Richard O. Albert, president of the Texas Ornithological Society, gave Yarborough an award from the society for successfully sponsoring the legislation creating Padre Island national seashore area.

Only two members of the Texas delega-

tion in Washington were present, Cong. Jack Brooks, Beaumont, and Henry Gonzalez, San Antonio. Wires had been received, Dickinson said, from Cong. Thomas, Thompson, Roberts, Thornberry, Rogers, Casey, and Poage of Texas (as well as cabinet members Hodges, Udall, and Celebrezze and U.S. Sens. McGee, Clark, McGovern, and Morse).

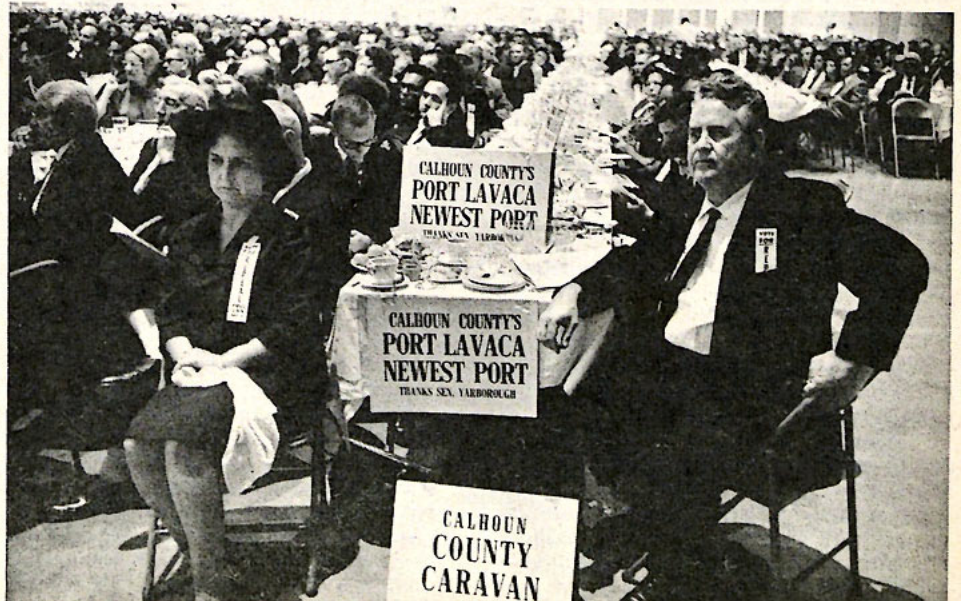
Cong. Brooks said, "We have a man among us now who lives and works in the proud, the valiant, the progressive tradition of Houston, of Hogg and Allred. This man's name is Ralph Yarborough." Helping re-elect him will be "one of the proudest investments that we can make in the future . . . [He] doesn't need us half as much as we in this country need him."

"It has always been a pleasure to be for Ralph Yarborough," Gonzalez said. "You know, that senator talks like he's from East Texas, but he acts like he's from West Texas, and he rides tall in the saddle like we like 'em in Texas. . . . We know what we have to do in '64 for Sen. Yarborough."

MONTANA'S METCALF spoke highly of Yarborough's knowledge in education and the orderly development of natural resources. "The nation needs Sen. Yarborough," he said.

Alaska's Gruening, once editor of the Nation, said there's no excuse for the Democratic Party "unless it's a liberal party, a progressive party, and concerned with the welfare of all Americans, and not just a few."

Yarborough, he said, is "a man of rare courage, of absolute integrity, of compassion, an indefatigable worker for every good cause," and legislative creator of "the greatest national seashore which we have and which we'll ever have." His record is



—Photograph by Russell Lee

The Crowd at the Salute to Yarborough

written in the federal housing, airport, and highway acts and all the education bills he has supported.

When Yarborough is re-elected, Gruening said, his GI Bill of Rights will become law. "You Texans think you need Ralph Yarborough in the Senate. I want to tell you the nation needs him. He's not merely a great Texas senator, a great Southwestern senator, he's a great national figure. Send him back."

Alaska's Inouye lost an arm in the war. He was made an honorary Texan in 1944 for his heroism in Italy in support of Texas' 36th Division. Yarborough, he said, is "a great and courageous man" who speaks up for unpopular causes, is a dissenter, will "stand up to protect the rights of others, even when the majority is against them."

Residents of the District of Columbia have no votes, but in that district, Inouye said, "Ralph Yarborough walks around the slums, meeting people, listening to their problems."

Sam Rayburn, Inouye remembered, said the greatest praise is to call a man a good man, "it's a simple and a very sincere thing. . . . Ralph Yarborough is a good man."

In Alaska, Inouye said, aloha means hello, and it means goodbye, but most important, it means I love you. "So to Opal and Ralph, aloha."

This was the speech that moved them most.

Idaho's Church, after complimenting the meal, especially the Idaho potatoes, said Yarborough is more interested in people than in power, and that while he is devoted to the cause of a militarily strong America, he is also dedicated to world peace. "That's why the senior senator from Texas stood up to and spoke up and voted for, not against, the nuclear test ban treaty."

Postmaster General Gronouski (on whose account postal workers in Dallas, the Dallas News reported, had been advised of the dinner, with a suggestion they attend, by their assistant regional director,) was the only speaker from Washington with a set paper. He commended Vice President Johnson as a magnificent ambassador, a space leader, and chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities.

He said Yarborough had kept close communication with his constituents; fought for "the underdog"; makes up his own mind, and has never been swerved "by special pressures or special interests"; and is "a steadfast supporter of President Kennedy's programs." He reviewed Yarborough's accomplishments — Padre Island, education and farmers' bills, enactment of 15 laws for veterans bearing his name. "Sen. Yarborough is a man who is doing things, and who is accomplishing things," the cabinet member said.

"The American people will not be fooled by the radical right's fraudulent brand of patriotism," he said. "Ralph Yarborough's views are the direct antithesis of theirs—liberal, democratic, and for people. . . . I wish Ralph many more years of success. With your help he will be able to continue

his magnificent work for the people of Texas and for his country."

This amounted to endorsement for reelection by the senior Democratic official present. Then came Kennedy's recorded message, saying Yarborough "speaks for progress for our people" and stands with those who stand for the things the President thinks are good.

YARBOROUGH responded briefly. He thought of an East Texas war hero who was feted extravagantly at a banquet and said as he came away, "If I hadn't read the program I wouldn't have known it was me." He said the biggest honor that can come to him in life is to be associated with company like the senators, and other men like them in the Senate. They had come, he said, not for him, but for ideals, because the Democratic Party is the party of hope, reason, and progress.

Pointing to the throng, he told the guests from other states, "These are the loyal

Democrats of Texas. These are the loyal Democrats who carried Texas for the Democratic Party in 1960 . . . and will in 1964. You are the shock troops who have done the work. You can see here the idealism of Texas at its high point in Texas."

He asked that they be full of knowledge of the enormity of the task to be accomplished. Eleven years ago, he said, he ran for governor, and Texas was 29th in education and 29th in average per capita income. Eleven years later, Texas is still 29th in both. "I ask you to rededicate yourselves to a greater Texas," he said.

There was something nostalgic: from Chief Justice Hughes, about the dream of a politician, coming together with the kindred spirits who have not become estranged or deluded. Then, abruptly, Yarborough closed:

"This was better than an obituary. You had more time to think about what you could say—and I could hear it so much better." R.D.

The Wright Question

It is unlikely that Cong. Jim Wright, Fort Worth, will oppose Sen. Ralph Yarborough for the Democratic nomination. Wright has been sitting back, listening to those urging him to do so, but has noticed that they are not the folks who ordinarily support him. Many of them, he suspects, don't want him for senator—they are just against Yarborough. Most of his regular supporters do not want him to make the race.

Despite argumentation by the Fort Worth Star-Telegram to the contrary, Ray Zauber commented recently in the Oak Cliff Tribune that Wright has a serious difficulty with conservatives—namely, his liberal voting record. Liberals take exception to parts of that record; but Wright would have difficulty exciting the kind of allegiance he would need to defeat Yarborough, when Americans for Constitutional Action gives Wright only 8% on its scoring of 1963 votes. Yarborough was given 0%; what, a race between an 8% man and a 0% man?

Reflecting on this problem, Wright has concluded that the only kind of race he could mount against Yarborough would be a personal, rather raw kind; and he does not want to run it. Mind, there is no love lost between the two men. The fact that Wright has lent his name to anti-Yarborough speculation has angered Yarborough; Wright still has his suspicions about Yarborough's role in the U.S. Senate race in which Wright ran third. Wright criticizes Yarborough in private conversation and lets his associates be quoted slamming Yarborough. But on one score, an important one, Wright admires Yarborough: as an absolutely honest and dedicated man.

Wright is ambitious and a savvy politician; he is young, and 1966 is the Democrats' get-Tower year. In a related connection, the Observer understands that Gov. John Connally has told Wright that he, Connally, won't run for the Senate in 1966.

The conservatives' dilemma has not re-

ceived more accurate statement than in a column by the Star-Telegram's Sam Kinch, to wit: "An ideal opponent for U.S. Senator Ralph Yarborough would be far enough to the right to keep conservative Democrats from going into the Republican primary and liberal enough to cut into the core of Yarborough's strength. He's hard to find."

Yarborough's one announced opponent in the Democratic primary, John Van Cronkhite, is far enough to the right, but certainly could get no liberal support and is not, so far, taken seriously. The Houston Post did not even give the story of his announcement a headline, running it as a "folo" to a Washington dispatch. Van Cronkhite, as the Observer reported in 1956, handled public relations for Gov. Allan Shivers and openly campaigned for Eisenhower for president. He is in the public relations business in Dallas now. He said he had not consulted with Shivers or anyone else about his announcement.

Though he has not been directly so quoted, Lloyd Bentsen, Jr., the wealthy Houston insurance executive, is widely reported to have given up the idea of running against Yarborough. His father opposed his running. The younger Bentsen made a trip to Austin in mid-October to see the governor and spent an hour and forty minutes with him. Jon Ford of the San Antonio Express, who had this story exclusively and stopped Bentsen for an interview before he left the Capitol, quoted Bentsen on his hesitancy about running: "The main reason is that I am pretty busy trying to run an insurance company."

The Houston Chronicle's Bo Byers was told by a source close to Shivers that an emissary from Vice President Johnson went to Shivers about two months ago and encouraged him to run. Shivers denied the story to Byers, but Byers wrote it anyway.

Political Intelligence

✓ It can be stated, without any doubt, that President Kennedy has said in private recently that he wants Lyndon Johnson on the ticket with him next year.

✓ Apparently relying on sources just as definite as the Observer's, the Washington Post reported that "it can be said" that Kennedy still wants Johnson on the ticket. The Post said, "While his [Johnson's] strength in Texas may be less than in the past, he continues to be so strong there that the state would be lost to the party if he were dumped next year, Democratic politicians believe."

✓ But there is a question whether Johnson may be purged, charged Republican Sen. Thruston Morton of Kentucky. "There are some funny things going on in Washington," Morton said in Baltimore. "The Secretary of the Navy [Fred Korth] left town rather hurriedly. Lyndon Johnson's boy Bobby Baker [secretary of the Senate majority] resigned. Now I wonder if Lyndon is expecting the purge. I don't think Lyndon expects it, but it might happen."

✓ Clark Mollenhoff of the Des Moines Register reported in a copyrighted story that Korth acknowledged in a court deposition last year that he was recommended for a business deal in 1955, which brought him more than \$250,000 profit in insurance stock, by a high official of the General Dynamics Corp., which got the controverted TFX contract. The insurance deal was promoted by B. F. Biggers of Dallas.

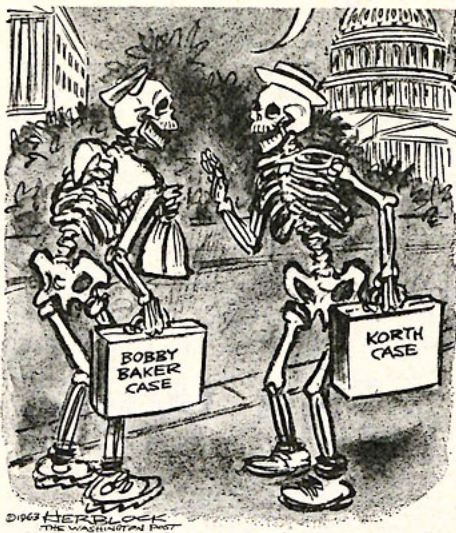
Korth wrote, on Secretary of Navy stationery, many letters having to do with his private interests. These found their way into the files of Senate investigators. For an example, in 1962, Korth wrote to an official of the Fort Worth bank, Continental National, in which he served as president before he became Secretary of the Navy, that he would have "a little party aboard the Sequoia," his official yacht, and wondered whether the bank official, other friends, and "some extra good customers" might be coming through at that time.

In his defense, Korth let it out that he has sold 5000 of his 5200 shares of the bank stock, his public service has been so costly to him.

Reports from Washington indicated that the Administration, taking into account the mishaps as to other Texans in Washington, are reconsidering whether to approve Larry Jones of Dallas as federal maritime administrator. Jones has been a supporter of the Vice President's.

✓ The question of Johnson and Baker was taken up by Washington columnist Mary McGrory: "Nobody knows how [Baker] feels about his present plight, nor if he worries about its possible effect on his most prominent patron, Vice President Johnson. Theirs was a close relation-

'Man, It Looks Like a Real Old-Fashioned Hallowe'en'



ship. Bobby was the Johnson right-hand man not only in the Senate, but in the 1960 campaign."

Baker has now formally denied the charges against him, which are in effect that he sold his influence to get vending machine contracts for aero-space contracts and then went back on such an agreement.

The Washington Post has traced the fact that Baker's \$125,000 home was sold to his last partner in May by the mammoth gas pipeline company, Tennessee Gas Transmission Co., and has discovered that the deed of trust to the home's current owner is not recorded in the District of Columbia land records office.

ACA (vs. ADA)

✓ Followers of the Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) line will find its latest ratings on Texas congressmen instructive; followers of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) line will, too, in opposite ways. Considering Texans on selected votes the first eight months of 1963, ACA ranks the Texans this way:

Tower, Alger, Foreman, 100%; Pool, 87; Dowdy, Fisher, Casey, 80; Burleson and Kilgore, 67; Mahon, 47; Rogers, 43; Beckworth, 40; Poage, Roberts, and Teague, 33; Purcell, 20; Wright, 8; Thomas, 7; Yarborough, Brooks, Gonzalez, Patman, Thompson, Thornberry, and Young, 0.

✓ Yarborough voted yes, Tower no, on the college aid bill as it passed the Senate. Patman let go another blast at the Internal Revenue Service for not cracking down on tax-exempt foundations. Gonzalez broke his usual liberal stride to oppose the wheat sale to Russia, mentioning the price of tortillas in Texas. He also called for federal protection of civil rights demonstrators in the South.

Tower's Cause

✓ Sen. Tower has been felt out about running for vice-president on a ticket with someone other than Goldwater, but has declined, regarding the Goldwater cause as the higher one, Bob Hollingsworth reports to the Times-Herald from Washington.

✓ Sen. Tower said he had nothing to hide about the fact that he and Mrs. Tower were guests for two days on a cruise as he made a speech to a trade association and accepted payment of his expenses by the New York Savings Bank Assn.

✓ The Republican establishment is having a little trouble controlling things the way they would like to. George Bush is their candidate for the U.S. Senate. They figure they can take Dr. Milton Davis, the Dallas surgeon; but they mortally fear Jack Cox, the Houston vote-getter, entering the primary. This, they figure, would attract a lot of tory Democrats into their primary, and they might lose Bush. Cox continues turning up at GOP rallies in Houston, running Goldwater for president. At one such rally last month, he said, "Kennedy must take the responsibility for racial warfare. He is an instrument of evil, turning American against American."

✓ Tarrant County GOP chairman John Edwards says 1,000 people have volunteered to work for the GOP in the county in the 1964 campaigns. . . . John Knaggs, UPI Austin reporter, has become the GOP's state PR director. . . . A 20-county East Texas rally for Goldwater will be held in Tyler Dec. 6. . . . National Y.R. chairman Donald E. Lukens has finished a tour of Texas—to Amarillo, Austin, Corpus, Houston, and Dallas.

To What Extent?

✓ Eugene Locke, state Democratic chairman, says, "I don't think there's been a drain-out from the Democratic Party toward the Republican Party. . . . Of course, the Republican organization has gotten stronger. To what extent, I don't know. You have a Republican Party organization now, and Republicans elected. Dallas has a two-party situation. But I think there are a lot more Democrats than there are Republicans in Texas."

Locke believes Goldwater would run better in Texas than Rockefeller, but Rockefeller would get teamster votes, which Goldwater would not.

✓ Texas Democratic national committeeman Byron Skelton, Temple, takes the position that Kennedy can beat Goldwater in Texas and that Goldwater would be the easiest GOP nominee to beat nationally. The old GOP pros are too smart to nominate Goldwater—they know he'd lose, Skelton says.

✓ What is the Dallas News up to, with its editorial editor Dick West low-rating Goldwater on WFAA? West slammed Goldwater around for saying he believes "world government is inevitable," admitting he would use federal soldiers to enforce school integration decisions, favoring letting more Chinese and Koreans in

the country and fluoridating local water supplies, backing off from an immediate reversal of welfare-state trends, and saying Harry Truman is "one of the greater presidents."

✓ Judge W. N. Stokes of Amarillo, cited (in "The Racial Reaction," Obs. Sept. 20) as an example of a New Deal Democrat who has become bitterly critical of the Kennedys over civil rights, writes us, "I have consistently voted the Democratic ticket and expect to continue to do so the rest of my life."

In a letter to his son, which we are authorized to quote, Judge Stokes said the Observer did not misquote and was not unfair to him in its account, but that he saw no substantial inconsistency in his position. He noted that the publication of his letter to Cong. Rogers castigating the Kennedys on civil rights was not his idea, but that he consented to its publication because of the importunations of others.

After the letter came out, the judge said, he was amazed by the "tremendous approbative response"—letters from almost every community in his section of the state, telegrams, long distance and local calls, and many comments from passers-by on the street and in the cafes. It seemed to the judge that Kennedy will lose the state if he is renominated—but the judge will "vote 'er straight" as he always has.

✓ Gov. Connally's politically significant appointees recently include Leslie Burnett, trades council figure, to the Texas Industrial Cmsn., and Jack Drake, executive vice-president of the Lower Rio Grande Valley chamber of commerce, to the Good Neighbor Cmsn. . . . U.P.O. state treasurer George Washington, Jr., said in a Washington interview that Kennedy is more popular in Texas with Negroes than Connally but Connally will be more popular by next election; he shrugged off Sen. Yarborough's vote for public accommodations as "a little bit late."

✓ The Houston Press has been crusading like everybody's business against the new Texas Wildlife Cmsn. authorizing shell companies to dredge irreplaceable shell reefs in Galveston and Trinity bays. The Press called on Connally "to step in" and stop his appointees from authorizing it. Whether he did or not, the commission adopted a compromise order putting off the decision on the matter.

✓ An intermediate appeals court has ruled the gas pipeline tax of 1961 unconstitutional; Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr will take it to the State Supreme Court on appeal if necessary.

Breakthrough

✓ An important break-through in union history can be inferred from remarks which Hank Brown, Texas AFL-CIO president, made in Mexico City at the end of discussions there with the top Mexican labor leaders.

It was agreed, Brown said, that Americans and Mexican workers alike on the U.S. side of the U.S.-Mexican border should get at least \$1.25 an hour. "As far as the AFL-CIO is concerned," Brown said, "we

want no fences, no barbed wire, no armed guards, to bar Mexicans coming into Texas to work. But what we are insisting upon, and what we do want to achieve, is a rise in living standards not only for the American workers, but for the Mexicans who cross into Texas every day to work."

Heretofore Texas labor has set itself hard against border commuters. Brown said he had received "every cooperation" from Mexico's labor chiefs in moves to improve the lot of Mexican and American laborers. Watch this: Brown returns to Mexico City in January for more talks.

Evans in Valley

✓ The turn-out was again modest in the Valley Oct. 23 as Roy Evans, state secretary-treasurer of Texas AFL-CIO, conducted more seminars in unionism in Brownsville and McAllen. This, Evans blamed on the fear of reprisals for attending.

He said some things that may become important in the evolution of the lower Valley's economy. First, he revealed that 1,000 persons have signed up, apparently for subsequent union organizing campaigns. Second, he said that labor councils will be formed, will meet in secret if necessary to avoid reprisals, and will conduct consumer boycotts of anti-union businesses or businesses that fire workers for membership in PASO. A PASO spokesman said PASO backs up the unions' organizing plans.

"What the Valley needs is a Jimmy Hoffa, Martin Luther King, and Walter Reuther—all rolled into one," Evans said in the Valley. He said that 50,000 Valley workers make less than half a dollar an hour; some make 13 and 17 cents an hour; "I never visit this valley unless I see truckloads of workers packed like sardines"; in Brownsville, "almost half" the people live in hovels, and infant mortality and TB rates reflect the fact.

✓ The dailies discovered that Dave Shapiro, who formerly worked for Sen. Yarborough, is working for George Ozuna, the Crystal City manager. Copious stories quoting Shapiro contained no surprises.

Candidates

✓ Austin PASO endorsed Obie Jones for the House in the contest here. Labor's

COPE is also backing Jones. Bob Armstrong, Jr., made an earnest pitch to Austin COPE, saying he is opposed to any sales tax and is in favor of industrial safety legislation, as well as being liberal on race, although he is conservative in economics. Jones, of course, has a liberal voting record behind him, which gave him the edge with COPE. The Republican, Wiley Hord, is on the top of the ballot, an advantage in the large field. One of the candidates withdrew in favor of Clyde (Country) Butter, the former House reading clerk, leaving 14 candidates running.

✓ In Dallas, the GOP has only one candidate running for each of two vacancies, while Democrats are divided among many candidates. Conservative Demos are supposed to be backing John Harrison and John Field, but the Dallas Young Democrats stress that no one has been officially endorsed. Field contends that "Electing a Republican to Austin is like firing a blank cartridge. It makes a lot of noise, but it has no effect."

✓ Apparently things are pretty serious for the Dallas Democrats: the Times-Herald quotes tory Democrat Rep. Ben Atwell saying: "It's gotten to the point where Democrats have no alternative but party unity. I'm to the point where I'll make a campaign speech for Bob Eckhardt against the Republicans."

✓ Politicians began counting their vacancies before they hatch. Rep. V. E. (Red) Berry, San Antonio, said he'll run for the state Senate if Sen. Franklin Spears runs for lieutenant governor. Rep. Don Gladden and ex-Sen. Doyle Willis made politically lascivious sounds about the Senate position now held by Sen. Don Kennard, Fort Worth, who would be expected to go to Congress to replace Jim Wright if Wright ran against Sen. Yarborough.

✓ Much more definite is the decision of Rep. Joe Cannon, Mexia, to oppose Sen. Bill Moore, Bryan, next spring. Do not be surprised if Moore, a veteran survivor of the Senate's cynical ways, has lost labor's backing. He voted for confirmation of J. Ed Lyles to the Texas Employment Cmsn. under circumstances which angered some labor people.

November 1, 1963

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Goldwater in 1864

In recognition of Free Enterprise Week—if this isn't Free Enterprise Week, it ought to be; in fact, every week ought to be—the Observer is selling "Goldwater in 1864" bumper stickers. They are a foot long and two and a half inches high, black letters on a sickening yellow-green background.

These bumper stickers announce the slogan for our national salvation. Give them to your friends—the movement may sweep the state in time for the end of the Civil War. The Observer is not patenting the slogan (it being somebody

else's Freudian slip.) but we are selling the bumper stickers at prices figured on the basis of standard business practices at Barry Goldwater's Arizona store:

4—\$ 1.00
10—\$ 2.00
100—\$10.00
500—\$40.00
1,000—\$80.00

Write Box Y (for Yesterday), the Texas Observer, 504 W. 24th St., Austin, Tex. Send the dough—That's what really counts. (Adv.)

✓ Rep. Malcolm McGregor, El Paso, has a very practical problem about running for Congress. GOP Cong. Ed Foreman, Odessa, is a fierce, persuasive campaigner, and not only comes out of the Midland-Odessa matrix with a 10,000 lead, but actually carried El Paso against incumbent J. T. Rutherford of that city last year. To have a fair shot at Foreman, McGregor (or anyone else) would just about have to come out of El Paso with a 10,000 lead to offset Foreman's in his Republican lair to the northeast.

✓ It has become clear that the Dallas Times-Herald is bent on beating Cong. Bruce Alger, Dallas, in 1964. The paper continues to lampoon Alger as ineffective and far-out.

✓ The liberal coalition in Harris County—which has five elements—voted 3-2 to support Robert W. Hervey for mayor,

instead of Rep. Charles Whitfield. Whitfield is liberal; Hervey is represented as more a moderate. Apparently counsels that Hervey could get more conservative votes had a bearing. The Harris County Council of (Negro) Organizations, the Harris County AFL-CIO Council, and the teamsters' union backed Hervey, while the Committee for Better Local Government and PASO backed Whitfield. Then it was made unanimous for Hervey. Incumbent Mayor Lewis Cutrer is said to have some labor support. Rep. Whitfield withdrew. The county labor council, reportedly because of support for Cutrer, voted to "lay off" endorsements.

The Right Wing

✓ About 85 John Birchers have been expelled in Houston as anti-Semites, Phillip Blair Jones, the society's area coordinator, told a Chronicle reporter. In the course of making this revelation, Jones dropped an interesting detail: Birchers in Houston have their "second largest concentration of membership in the country." First: Los Angeles.

✓ Rev. Billy James Hargis, right-wing Christian Crusade founder, speaks in Austin Nov. 6.

✓ The Harris County Farm Bureau has endorsed the impeachment of Earl Warren and the withdrawal of the United States from the United Nations. These resolutions will be submitted to the Texas Farm Bureau convention in Fort Worth Nov. 10.

✓ Free-lance textbook scourgers had their say on pending textbooks, and the State Textbook Committee approved the only economics book they did not protest, and two that they did. Fifteen high school students in Harlingen petitioned their school board please not to ban an economics textbook the board was about to

ban. "Let us learn both sides," the students asked. Next day R. D. Haines, general contractor in Harlingen, wanted to know: "Since when . . . was it given to children to choose their own destiny?"

✓ The incoming president of the Texas State Teachers' Assn., Mrs. Elizabeth Little of Corpus Christi, (who endorses total school integration,) says about attempts to defeat attacks against the textbook program, "We suggest that the first battles have been won, but all interested groups must remain alert to the possibility of future attacks."

✓ Madame Nhu came to Texas and left it as it was. She wowed 6,000 at the University of Texas by complimenting them on their football team. Also by declining to interfere in our domestic affairs by commenting on racial discrimination. At millionaire Dudley Dougherty's ranch near Beeville, she joined the neighbors (and Houston millionaires Wright Morrow and Bob Smith) in a posh party—all the men in their cummerbunds, the darkies serving drinks and the mariachis strumming and clicking—with the conversation having to do with just about anything but Viet Nam, which some of the guests seeming to think was some place down near Cuba.

Other Morsels

✓ The U.S. Senate has ratified a protocol that guarantees that BenJack Cage will not be extradited from Brazil.

✓ Warren Woodward, vice-president of LBJ Corp. that owns Mrs. L. B. Johnson's KTBC, has become vice president of American Airlines and has moved to Washington, where he will be in charge of the airline's office.

✓ E. B. Germany, union labor's nemesis in East Texas, has retired as board chairman of Lone Star Steel.

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The Texas Observer

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What have YOU done to help REPEAL THE POLL TAX?

Any first-class historian will tell you November 9th is the most *important* election day in Texas in decades—for it shapes the entire political environment under which Texans will live in the years ahead. Through the internal communications established among the four "legs" of the Democratic Coalition, a devoted effort to get-out-the-vote is now under way in Democratic precincts for the November 9th election. As always, this costs money.

As an integral part of the liberal community in Texas, Observer readers are asked to help . . . to defray costs of mailings, telephones, printing. You have the security of knowing that *any* contribution . . . \$1 . . . \$5 . . . or \$25 . . . is going into the most crucial political battle of the 1960's and represents the best possible investment in more civilized government for Texas.

November 9th is Freedom Day in Texas. It is approaching rapidly. Before it slips your mind, could you sit down right now and write us a check?

Students now in school, migrants in the fields, aged persons wasting in inadequate mental hospitals and generations yet unborn . . . all will thank you. We thank you too. (Make check payable to Democratic Coalition, 1710 Rabb Road, Austin, Texas.)

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Albert Pena Hank Brown W. J. Durham Franklin Jones
Co-Chairman Co-Chairman Co-Chairman Co-Chairman

Political advertisement, purchased by . . .

Observations

Do We Get the Message

What most impressed me about the salute to Ralph Yarborough was the intense, unmistakably personal conviction with which other U.S. senators there urged that he be re-elected. These were men with working, daily knowledge of his integrity and his fearlessness: his honesty and his dedication. And this is what, collectively, they said to me that night, through their speeches:

"Look, Texans, you may think you've got to re-elect this man for your own sakes, and for the sake of the Democratic Party; what we want to tell you is that *the nation* needs him, and *we* need him, in the United States Senate—need him to fight the good fight, to stand for principles no matter how hard it is to do, to uphold the rights of the people day and night in and out. We must have him back!"

And we must send him back. Kefauver's gone, and God knows the South needs statesmen. As a practical matter, this is probably the one most important thing we can do in our own state for our country in 1964: give this man Yarborough six more years in the Senate, there to keep on growing in wisdom and influence; there to keep on fighting the good fight for us all.

Aid, Race, Peace

I have been concerned about Yarborough's wanting to "cut the fat" out of foreign aid, but let us admit that most liberals tend to respond reflexively on this subject, even though we do not have in hand the data on which to base intelligent decisions about how these billions are being spent. Surely it is not an idle circumstance that such liberals as Wayne Morse and Yarborough are calling for a profound second look. We have seen how federal money can be mis-spent inside the United States, enriching millionaires many times over, because the people cannot watch closely, and they are not helped to watch by the mass media. Why then should we disbelieve it when we are told by the likes of Yarborough and Morse that the foreign aid program has become a haven for corrupt profiteering—and maybe for reactionary policies, too? I for one am ready to listen to the evidence. Okay, gentlemen: what is it?

By his vote for equal access to public accommodations, Yarborough dragged what was no doubt his struggling East Texas conscience into the bright and painful lights of the twentieth century. Considering the accumulating evidence of a racial reaction against the civil rights movement, I for one do not blame him for keeping his own counsel on the merits of the matter. Just as the lawyers say an original document is the best evidence of a transaction, Yarborough's vote is the best evidence of his convictions. If he declines now,

by statements, to make himself a public symbol of civil rights crusading, one cannot fairly say that he is behaving improperly or contrary to principle. He *voted* according to high principle. He also has a specific duty, in his situation, at this place and time, to do his level best to get re-elected, without compromising principle. I'd say that in his case, in view of his historic vote, a public statement on civil rights now is a question of tactics, not of principle.

On civil rights, he's right; on testing, he's also right, and better and better. Listen to this from his statement on the Senate floor during the oratory on the test ban treaty:

"We must base our legislation on our hopes, rather than on our fears. We must have faith that mankind has the intelligence to march into a better future, and not, like a mass of lemmings, plunge over a cliff of no return, to a place of self-destruction.

"The treaty is a very tiny light in a very dark woods; let us see if it will light our way through these woods before we put it out."

In October he made a speech to the Air Traffic Control Assn. in Dallas. "The airplane was given its first great boost in World War I as an instrument of destruction," he said, "and its development was given another great boost for exactly the same reason in World War II. Like the nuclear bomb it has served a major role in national security. We have made little progress in making the atom a weapon for the good of humanity in time of peace, but at least in [safety control in] the air lane we are moving ahead like people with a concern for the future of civilization."

An Inner Directed Journal

I don't want to be suspected of being other-directed, but I did feel good when I read this paragraph in the Daily Texan, in a story about sociologist David Riesman's remarks during his visit to the University of Texas:

"He described the Texas Observer as 'one of a small group of papers, old-fashioned, free swinging, almost like in the Nineteenth Century, with its spirit of independence and liberated character.'"

A student who attended a joint meeting of sociology classes to hear Riesman tells me that Riesman advanced this interesting theory about the Observer: that once Texas-bred liberals break away from their parents and peers on such a question as race, they tend to feel free to do their own thinking on everything, and the result is a kind of "free-swinging liberalism" Riesman said he finds in the Observer.

Classified

INTERNATIONAL PEACE / Disarmament Directory. Third edition, fall 1963. 1750 organizational and 450 periodical addresses. \$1 per copy; 6 for \$5. 10 for \$7.50, 50 for \$25. 711 South Duke St., York, Penna., U.S.A.

While this is probably sound theory, I am more inclined to this explanation: that the Observer has a free feeling because the owner, Mrs. R. D. Randolph, believes in and practices the idea that newspapermen ought to run the newspapers. The editor has always run the Observer, and made all the decisions about its contents and its editorials. Mrs. Randolph would assert her prerogative as owner only by firing the editor.

A. J. Liebling told a Neiman Fellow of my acquaintance that the Observer has a role in the future development of journalism, that it is some kind of return to what journalism ought to be. If this is true, it is true because the Observer's newspapermen and writers have found here a journal through which they can report and speak with the kind of freedom that a community of scholars is supposed to have.

Goldwater in 1984

There's something unfunny about the deluge of orders we've received for our "Goldwater in 1864" stickers. Here is a letter from Amarillo, written from the man's place of work:

"Please rush me a dollar's worth of 'Goldwater in 1864' bumper stickers. I must cut this short, but I feel I am being watched. You know how it is here in Amarillo, with a John Bircher behind every bush there is no room for any communists."

Well, it is funny. Isn't it?

The Dallas Times-Herald thought it was joking when it ran a cartoon in advance of Adlai Stevenson's visit to Dallas to speak on the U.N. Lyndon Johnson, who was mobbed by a raucous, insulting crowd there in 1960, is patting Adlai on the shoulder and saying, "Be Brave."

But Stevenson *did* need courage: 75 or so people demonstrated loudly against him, and the press reports say a lady hit him over the head with a sign; two men spat on him. One of his Dallas hosts quoted him saying that nothing like this had ever happened to him anywhere; that he was shocked.

November 1, 1963

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"... the students and the professors, the politicians and the lobbyists, dine or drink beer in rather unfamiliar proximity." Willie Morris in Harper's.

1607 San Jacinto

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In Houston, meanwhile, there was an organized walk-out of about 40 persons, leaving in twos and threes, during James Wadsworth's speech on the U.N. before about 250 people. Those who walked out—causing Wadsworth to stumble and to flush—met outside. One of them shouted to a Chronicle reporter, "I'm an American patriot!" Then they left the vicinity together.

Stevenson and Wadsworth were embarrassed, but not as much as Texans are. We bring Stevenson, one of the nation's and the world's most civilized men, to Dallas, and he is spat upon. We bring Wadsworth, a world-known ambassador, to Houston, and he is systematically, tastelessly affronted.

The deeper question is, how far has this thing gone in Texas? The day before Stevenson's visit to Dallas, Edwin Walker drew a huge crowd to the same hall and delivered his usual speech, that the UN was invented by communists. The morning after the anti-Stevenson demonstration, the Dallas News ran a cartoon showing Uncle Sam giving corn into Communist hands dripping with blood. How widespread does sickness have to become before it stops being funny?

A Texas Red Hunt

We may have a Red Hunt in Texas early next year, just in time to preserve the one-party system.

Two volunteer, but paid informers for the FBI turned up at the Washington hearing on whether John Stanford of San Antonio must register as a communist. One of them, William J. Lowery, said he's been a spy for the FBI in the Texas Communist Party in Dallas since 1945; the other, Mrs. Rosalie Urquiza said she's been doing the same work in San Antonio since 1961.

They said they had, at the Communist

Party's suggestion, joined some liberal Texas organizations — specifically the NAACP, PASO, the American GI Forum, and a Unitarian Church social action group.

It's been represented to the press that there are fewer than 200 Communist Party members in Texas, but this is enough of them to cause lots of trouble.

Especially in Texas. We have had building in this state, almost unresisted, a deep, fearful paranoia about communism. Purveyors of economic conservatism and thematic anti-communism as patriotism have insinuated themselves into far too many of our public schools, until now they are endorsed by the state commissioner of education—a shocking fact that must be entered into J. W. Edgar's permanent record as a professional educator.

We have Birch chapters, textbook vigilantes, Christian Anti-communist Crusaders; we have Life Line, Party Line, the Hargis line, and the Benson line; now we have Cong. Ed Foreman, the Odessa Republican, who says those who support foreign aid "border on treason"; who calls a Democratic congressman from San Jose "pinko," is threatened with libel, retracts his statement, reasserts it.

Perhaps it was inevitable, in this accumulating miasma, that the Stanford case would tempt those Texans who watched closely the operations of the late Sen. Joe McCarthy and remembered what they learned. Listen to this editorial in the Dallas Morning News, "Unveiled Threat," Sept. 30:

"Sweet-sounding, supposedly harmless organizations scream to the high heavens when they are accused of being communist fronts, or dupes of this international conspiracy.

"Even though their intentions are of the highest, too many are sucked into the Red whirlpool and unwittingly become an advance guard for the Kremlin. Such an organization may have 100,000 members—but it takes only one communist to convert it into an instrument of Soviet power.

"This is what Lowery referred to. This is what the late Joe McCarthy tried to show. Lowery is right. Joe was right."

The Dallas News has unveiled its threat; but a threat has been made by a more relevant party that has not yet been unveiled. It was very plain and blunt and expressly cynical. The matter is now common talk among some of those who know what is going on in Texas politics.

If the threat was not an empty one, as

it may have been, we shall see tests of manhood, and the character of men. We shall see who the demagogues are, and who the men.

The Balm of Embalming

Some Austin people are communicating with each other about forming a cooperative memorial society to outwit the death business and have our cadavers disposed of with simplicity, dignity, and minimum expense. A Dallas subscriber informs us that a memorial society is being organized by the Laymen's League of the Unitarian Church in that city. We are also advised that those who wish to do so may be able to leave their eyes to the Dallas Eye Bank for the use of the living through transplantings, and their bodies to the Southwestern Medical School for medical research. Under the latter circumstances there are no burial costs.

Four funeral "homes" in Hunt county—in Greenville, Commerce, and Wolfe City—took a full page ad in the Greenville Herald-Banner rationalizing, in funereal tones, the high cost of dying, and warning against memorial societies "in which you are denied discretion or decision." (As though joining one did not itself entail discretion and decision.) The ad is an ordinary example of unctious, but the ad-writer had difficulty getting past the subject of embalming gracefully. Responding to criticisms, alleging that embalming is offensive to hygiene, the ad stated: "Medical experts will testify that embalming is a sanitary precaution not inconsistent with the rules of good health."

Reassuring, is it not.

Happy Days Are Here Again

The ranks of the tory Democrats must be thinning out, the way they've been reaching back to the scandalizing Shivers period for their lead nags this season. First, Shivers himself. (*Quick fade*.) Then, Shivers handyman Jack Pickle. ("I worked for Shivers. I just did a job." *Slow fade*.) Now, John Van Cronkhite. Really, gentlemen, this is where we came in.

Take Van Cronkhite, who is running for the Senate, as a "Democrat," against Ralph Yarborough. We turn over to you, in a nostalgic glow, this article from the Texas Observer of January 11, 1956, page eight:

"John Van Cronkhite is in the news once again. Reuben Senterfitt has hired him as public relations adviser in his campaign for governor. [Senterfitt ran fifth in the Democratic primary that July, getting one out of every 40 votes.—Ed.]

"Van Cronkhite came to Austin in 1950 as a campaign aide to Governor Shivers. He handled publicity and organization work for Shivers and for Democrats-for-Eisenhower in the 1952 campaigns.

"In 1954, Ralph Hammonds, president of defunct Lloyds of North America Insurance Co., presented checks he said he had paid Van Cronkhite of \$1,000 a month (one was \$2,000). Van Cronkhite said . . . that he did public relations work for the company but quit because it 'could not get its affairs in order.'"

Ah, those were the days.

R.D.

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The Texas Observer

MARTIN ELFANT

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Houston, Texas

CA 4-0686

"Their eyes are fixed on you, their hearts go out to you, and their hopes hang on your verdict."

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Contributing membership: \$10.00

A Dialogue

Professor:

"If a tree is struck by lightning and falls in the forest
And there is no one there to observe this hypothetical event
Does there exist an arc of blinding light and a thunderous electrical crack?
Does there exist a sound of breaking limbs before the descending weight of the trunk
And a quake of the impacted forest floor?"

Student:

"If a starving child cries three nights and falls dead in the forest of Calcutta
And there is no one there to observe this hypothetical event
Does there exist the piercing gasps of a frightened child
And in the absence of a stethoscope is there a heartbeat?
Does there exist a minute quake from the impacted forest floor?"

Professor:

"Your statement is diversionary.
Though the content of my proposition is trivial
You must not belittle the important principles at question."

Student:

"You misunderstand my statement which is not diversionary.
Though the content of my proposition is not trivial
I did not intend to belittle the important principles at question."

BILL HARRELL

Dallas

Dialogue

After All, Fair's Fair

Your "Goldwater in 1864" stickers grossly insult Abraham Lincoln. Why not make it "Goldwater in 1764," for it is not unfair to King George III to compare him at least to the new "moderate" Goldwater.—Thomas Black, attorney, Box 1073, Austin, Tex.

Shivers and Pickle

1950: Proxy Pickle!

1954: Port Arthur Story Pickle!

1958: Not a Nickel for Pickle!

1963: Congressman Pickle? Oh, no!

1950: In Mineral Wells the State Democratic Committee which had helped Jester engineer Truman's Texas triumph was doing an about-face to help Shivers show the big lobbyists how completely he dominated the state convention. On the roll call the one-to-five-vote counties were answering with one voice, that of "Jake Pickle, proxy." We might never have known whether Pickle's ubiquitous influence resulted from a spontaneous surge of absent delegates to Shivers' banner or from Pickle's privileged position at the convention microphone, if he hadn't overplayed his hand. He answered for Walker County, represented by doughty Minnie Fisher Cun-

ningham, who was present to contradict Proxy Pickle's suave commitment of her delegation.

1954: Shivers was due to pay the penalty for taking the entire state Democratic organization officially into the Eisenhower campaign, when Pickle invented the Port Arthur Story to slander organized labor and lure the unwary into the governor's camp. . . .

1958: Pickle, in charge of the headquarters of the State Democratic Committee, had raised and spent an amount equal to the Texas quota for the Democratic National Committee. This money had been squandered in Texas fighting the loyal Democrats who had organized themselves into the Democrats of Texas. When the S.D.E.C. was called upon to participate in the national Dollars for Democrats drive, the D.O.T. was expected to send what its members could raise for the national party through the S.D.E.C., which would be permitted to keep part of the take. The D.O.T. chose to by-pass the state office. Its slogan was "Dollars for Democrats, but not a nickel for Pickle!"

1963: A seat in Congress for Pickle, who has been well paid for perpetual perfidious performance, both with money and with appointive office? From the district that includes the state capital, the district of Buchanan and Johnson and Thornberry?

With the announcements of Van Cronkhite for the Senate and Pickle for the House, the Back Room Boys are emerging into the ranks of the Front Men. If the Big Lobbyists are finding manageable candidates in such short supply, surely the voters of the Austin district will send a representative Democrat to Congress.

Margaret Carter, 2816 Sixth Ave., Fort Worth.

A Southern Observer

I have just finished reading the Oct. 4 issue. It is really true to its new subtitle, "A Window to the South." With very little change, that particular issue could be a prototype for a Southern Observer instead of a Texas Observer. It is a great and memorable issue—I especially liked your letter from Selma, a revealing spot-light on one of the many sores of the Southern leprosy; and Mrs. Klipple's second anecdote of the children's assignment; and the analysis of Johnson's present position.

I realize that finances would be the biggest problem in converting to the Southern Observer. Also, the fact that people think of Texas as Southwest more than South should be thought through.

Looking forward to more windows from Texas.

November 1, 1963

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AMERICAN INCOME LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF INDIANA

Underwriters of the American Income Labor

Disability Policy

Executive Offices:

P. O. Box 208

Waco, Texas

Bernard Rapoport, President

Charlotte Kraft, 12 Knollwood, Morris-town, N.J.

(This is fundamentally a Texas publication; it is the fact that the Southern problem is very real in East Texas, in some of our cities, and in our politics that gives us an intimate, personal concern with the South. We will run stories from the South every time we have good ones; we would welcome more circulation from the South; we can visualize occasions when we might publish all-Southern issues. We would like to hear from other readers on this general subject.—Ed.)

The Henchmen Have The Power

"Lyndon and the Griffins" [Obs. Oct. 4] is far the best thing I have read on Johnson and sets out my thoughts on the subject to perfection.

I have watched Lyndon "operate" through Fort Worth, Dallas, and San Antonio conventions in other years. . . . My back has always been 'stiff.' I like my politics according to the written law. I've sat in precinct and county conventions in Collin County—have seen my side win by the number of votes—but the henchmen of LBJ have the power and gig us out of it every time.

Virginia L. Ragsdale, Box 732, San Andreas, Cal.

At Least We're Necessary

Because of the small print, long windedness, and few photographs in the Observer—non-renewal was contemplated.

But HECK; how could I do without the "history of the income tax," "PASO persists," and the realities, satire, and humor a la "How to Go First Class" and "Memorialization" [Obs. Oct. 18].

Here's \$5 to keep the otherwise unpub-

lished news of Texas a-comin' and disseminated.

Sidney Craft, 4418 Buena Vista, Dallas 5, Tex.

Some Facts Are Needed

In a very well-taken article ["An Appalling Waste," Obs. Aug. 25], Jacques Wilson pointed out that the inept Texas educational system wastes the talents of many Mexican-Americans. After citing figures taken from the federal 1960 census, Mr. Wilson notes that "... the Texas Education Agency does not collect or evaluate annually such elementary statistics as the number of Mexican-American drop-outs by grade."

Mr. Wilson is right. But he does not go far enough. The inept Texas educational system wastes the talents of children of all colors and races. Any figures that might reveal the waste are withheld:

Item—The percentage of college freshmen fail-outs broken down by high school of origin is a measure of a high school's effectiveness. The T.E.A. does not compile this data.

Item—Percentage of teacher turnover by school and school district is a measure of effectiveness of school management. The T.E.A. does not compile this data.

Item—The T.E.A. does not audit the "non-budget" portion of school district expenditures. In Port Arthur, "non-budget" expenditures are double the amount spent under the budget. Lack of an outside audit leaves a door open to irregularities.

Item—The T.E.A. cooperates with school districts in concealing information. Despite many efforts last year, I never learned when T.E.A. accreditation people had inspected or planned to inspect Port Arthur schools.

Samuel Schiffer, 3700 Franklin Ave., Groves, Tex.

September 15, 1963

Four children died today. The news had scarcely stilled the room

When in the crush of violence six children were gone.

Four were in song, eyes lifted up in hope, and two were warring against hate.

I thought that cheeks were for smoothing and eyes for innocence;

That children came to name the flowers and to laugh into the sky.

How wonderful, I thought, that each is different;

How many forms can man's love create.

But there are men who hate color and rage against it to destroy.

Better to scream defiance at the sky until vastness overcomes man's cry,
And he weeps to learn what most men see—

That blue is a lovely color and becomes the sky.

Must men go blind and shut out light before children can be free?

Or will more light free tortured minds so all men may see

That children are a lovely color and become mankind.

—Anita Roberts, Fort Worth

Texans Chose to Humiliate

I first met Jim Crow on a beautiful Sunday morning more than 25 years ago. I was riding in a Houston city bus with many double seats vacant and many others occupied by only one person. At one of the stops, a group of young Negro girls boarded the bus. I was surprised when they walked past the empty seats and huddled on the few seats and very small floor space in the rear. Quite by chance, I glanced up at a sign in the front of the bus. After reading the phrase, "prohibited by state law," I knew I was seeing the evil Jim Crow face to face.

Filled with anger and shame, I turned my face toward the window. As the bus sped on, I saw streams of people pouring from several splendid church buildings. I wondered if they ever had paused to connect the meaning of the inspiring words of their religious faith with the words of the sign hanging in the bus—the ugly words of hate for their neighbor whose skin was darker.

Born and educated in the North, I had learned that the lofty words, "with liberty and justice for all," in the pledge of allegiance to the flag of our country meant little to many. I had seen discrimination and injustice against groups and individuals because of their nationality, religion, and economic status; but never had I encountered these evils authorized by law. . . . White voters of every state had a choice. Texans had chosen to humiliate human beings.

Today, opponents of the public accommodations section of the proposed civil rights legislation base their protest on infringement of property rights. The bus on which I was riding so long ago in Houston was private property. But a state law prevented the owners from seating the young Negro girls in the vacant seats. They had paid the same fare as I and the other passengers. Why is one side of the coin a violation of property rights and the other, the morally and spiritually wrong side, not as much a violation? . . .

The pages of history prove that the white race is not the only guilty party in the centuries old record of man's injustice to man. . . . But today, the white race is on stage. The audience outnumbers the actors nearly three to one. In hostile mood, the audience forgets the many, many good performances.

Is this now the hour for our country, with its multiracial, multinational, and multireligious population, to be the star of a world premiere?

Eileen Tisdale, 914 W. Mulberry, Apt. 2, San Antonio 1, Tex.

We, very thoroughly enjoy the Texas Observer; wouldn't discard a single copy. We appreciate your standing firm on your convictions; it takes a great deal of courage to speak up for causes that are unpopular to many in power.—Mr. and Mrs. Henry Labaj, Route 1, Granger, Tex.

I like your paper, but don't care for the strong language you use at times.—Mrs. W. D. Wood, Highlands, Tex.