

# The Texas Observer

OCT. 30, 1964

A Journal of Free Voices

A Window to The South

25c

## THE HISTORIC TEXAS SENATE RACE

### An Observer Report

The Belden Poll, which showed Senator Ralph Yarborough leading Republican George Bush 60-32% in September, said the Sunday ten days before the voting that Yarborough was still ahead, but 53-38%. If this poll is correct, it confirms the impression one encounters traveling with the two candidates—that Bush has been closing fast in the home stretch and either man can win. On the same day the Houston Chronicle poll said Yarborough leads only 50.2-49.8%.

Yarborough and Bush are both confident and affable as the campaign approaches its close. Asked at a press conference to

predict the outcome, Yarborough said quietly, "Oh, I'll win." A deliberate alarmism radiated outward from the senator's state headquarters in Austin after the Houston Chronicle poll Oct. 11 said Yarborough was barely ahead, 51.5-48.5%, and Yarborough is stressing that while he is confident that a majority of Texans are for him, the outcome itself depends on whether the Democrats vote.

Bush is confidently asserting he will win. He is referring frequently to "the Democrats' official poll," a poll he says he has been told about but has not seen, taken by the State Democratic Executive Committee, showing Bush leading, 43-42%. (He says

the first S.D.E.C. poll showed Yarborough ahead 47-32, and the second one, Yarborough leading 47 to 37, before the most recent one giving the Republican the edge.) In addition, Bush confirms to the Observer, a New York firm ran a poll in Texas and showed Yarborough leading 44-41% a few weeks back.

The identity of the United States senator from Texas who will be elected Tuesday, November the third, for the next six years thus may depend on national events, on the television discussions, or even on the comparative success of the get-out-our-vote campaigns in political headquarters all around the state the last 48 hours.

## Goldwater's Policies, Kennedy's Style

Fort Worth, Austin

George Bush is handsome, personable, conservative, and persuasive. He combines Barry Goldwater's very conservative politics with a witty, conversational style that is reminiscent, in some ways, of Jack Kennedy's. His campaign to become this state's second Republican senator gets a lot of energy and sparkle from the young Republican matrons who are enthusiastic about him personally and have plenty of money for baby sitters and nothing much they have to do with their time. He would have been a more plausible looking guest on Kennedy's yacht than Pierre Salinger by a long shot, and he is the sort of fellow the ladies turn their heads to see at the country club charity ball.

Underneath these appearances, his campaign is powered by the Republicans' growing Texas organization and by large sums of money and the aggregations of power these sums come from. He has been able to attract extra people to rallies with free barbecue, free drinks, and musical entertainers. His year-long campaigning, with stress on organizational preparations, is now paying off, as for example one night last week in Fort Worth when a free home-

made pie-and-soft-drinks rally was attended by perhaps 1,500 persons.

His well-off backers are apparently well pleased with him. Retorting, in the lightly contemptuous style he sometimes adopts toward Senator Yarborough, to a statement attributed in the morning paper to Yarborough that Bush had spent \$300,000 on the multi-colored billboards one sees all over the state, the 40-year-old Houston oilman told the Observer that this wasn't true, the correct sum was either \$66,000 or \$62,000. Whereas Senator Yarborough commented last week, when a luncheon for him was swung around to raising campaign money for him, that "All Democratic meetings, like most church meetings, have become money-raising meetings," there was no organized effort to raise money from the large crowd of partisans at Bush's county-wide rally in Fort Worth.

As a speaker Bush laces a reasoning, seldom cajoling "soft sell" with bursts of flak against Yarborough. He has sought to generate against Yarborough a hostility not much more complicated than plain dislike. He has decided, these last weeks, on a campaign to drive in the charge that Yar-

borough is ineffective, intemperate, and undignified.

While Bush skips lightly over his "six-point industrial program," it is difficult to separate out the six elements when he goes over it; basically he is saying he will work to get new industries into Texas, that this means new jobs, and that new jobs are the answer to poverty, not "left-wing federal spending programs."\*

The real body of his policies abides in his condemnation of "the Reuther-dominated, left-wing philosophy" and policy that "gives assistance to our enemies instead of expanding freedom." He wants the United States to help Cubans-in-exile finance and arm an invasion of Cuba and  
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\*Subsequently, we have noted a press release from Bush specifying the six points: 1) to work with communities and chambers of commerce "in an effort to attract new industry"; 2) "to cooperate with elected state officials" in their similar efforts; 3) "to work with Texas labor groups in their development work"; 4) "to support the program of the Texas Industrial Commission"; 5) "to make personal contacts for Texas communities with corporations, inviting their interest in expanding their operations in Texas"; and 6) "to assist in finding new markets for products presently manufactured in Texas."

# For Johnson and Humphrey

Too much has been said, too little done, no doubt. We have had too much selfishness and too little courage. We have been quick to think the worst and slow to think the best. We have let haters shove us aside, because we are embarrassed to love. Pervasive, the dollar has crinkled itself into our souls, we have let the trend of things

muddy the sweet substance of values we sense from ancient quiet times. It is too late for all this now, our nation is on the brink of itself, and soon will know what it is, at least for some goodly time. Those who believe in Godly things and those who do not, let us pray, in a secular way, for our country. □

## This Man George Bush

Let us look steadily upon this man George Bush, outwardly so graceful and amiable, who is asking to be our senator.

He is opposed to hospital care for the aged under the social security principle, and he argues against it with the sophistry that it requires working men to pay for rich men's medical care, although this is obviously a minor imperfection having nothing to do with the main thrust of the program.

He is opposed to federal aid to build college classrooms.

He is opposed to the area redevelopment act that gives assistance to fledgling industries and to communities in trouble. His theory is that it is not proper to assist "failing industries" and "dying towns," because their failing and dying is simply competition at work.

He is opposed to the entire idea of a war on poverty by government action. He dismisses it with a reference to the "suntan project" of the thirties, the Civilian Conservation Corps, which he says failed, although in fact it built many of our parks and kept many youths from roaming the streets jobless.

Not only a dedicated Republican, he is also a dedicated right-winger in his party. He was a key figure in the Goldwater movement in Houston and helped lead Texas Republicans gung-ho into San Francisco, there to unleash on the country the campaign of fear, hate, and character assassination that has now sickened this land. He introduced Goldwater in Fort Worth, saying he was "honored to be on the ticket with Goldwater." He said last week in Fort Worth that he "enthusiastically supports" Goldwater. He is part and parcel of this Goldwater disaster.

Presenting himself as "responsible," he says his conservatism is "compassionate," yet he has so little sensitivity for the feelings of the needy aged, he wittily compares medical care for the aged with a federal program to air-condition ship holds for apes and baboons, a program which he has dubbed "medical air for the caged."

He represents himself as in favor of equal rights for all, and he opposed, before and after passage, the 1964 civil rights law.

He says he is above a "personal" attack on Yarborough, yet he calls Yarborough a

turncoat and the teller of a filthy lie; far from apologizing, as he should, for his oft-repeated unfair arguments about Yarborough and Estes, he has ventured himself into character assassination by asking, as late as last week, in the Estes context, "What is the price of a United States senator?"

In foreign policy, also, this young man confirms his identification with the far right wing of his party.

He says that the United Nations is "deficient" and has not preserved the peace. He would prejudice a pending controversy in the UN, requiring that all nations pay their dues or get out, at the risk of wrecking the UN completely. Yet Gallup found that nine out of ten Americans approve of the UN.

He proposes that the United States arm a new invasion of Cuba. Specifically, he says we should recognize a Cuban govern-

ment-in-exile, give it economic and military assistance, and then, "When this government goes to liberate its own homeland, let's not be lacking in courage." This is the vacant posturing of Goldwaterism, the adventurism heedless of nuclear risks that we cannot tolerate any longer.

However nice a guy Bush is, however much he sends young matrons who are not well informed on issues, this is no responsible politician; this is a product and creature of the extremist-infected atmosphere of the Texas Republican Party.

We endorse Ralph Webster Yarborough for re-election. □

## Memo to D.C.

Indications are accumulating that Gov. John Connally, hoping probably that he would get the federal patronage in Texas if Sen. Yarborough lost and President Johnson won, has been preventing the state Democratic party machinery, which he controls, from conducting an all-out drive to get voters in the overwhelmingly Democratic areas to the polls next Tuesday.

Memorandum to Clifton Carter at the Democratic National Committee: If Connally and his fellow Tories are permitted to fail to finance and conduct an all-out drive to turn out Negro and Latin-American voters on the theory that this might beat Yarborough but would leave Johnson enough margin to carry Texas, how can you be sure Johnson won't lose Texas, too? □

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A Window to the South

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We will serve no group or party but will head hard to the truth as we find it and the right as we see it. We are dedicated to the whole truth, to human values above all interests, to the rights of man as the foundation of democracy; we will take orders from none but our own conscience, and never will we overlook or misrepresent the truth to serve the interests of the powerful or cater to the ignoble in the human spirit.

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# 'We Never Begged for Quarter'

Austin

## The Yarborough Story—II

If Ralph Yarborough is returned to the United States Senate for a second full term on Tuesday, I believe he will become known, in due time, as one of the very select company of great American progressives in the Senate—men the stamp of LaFollette, Kefauver, and Douglas.

His values, when he was elected to the Senate in 1957, were the values of honest agrarian populism, and his heroes were the best of our Texas heroes, Sam Houston, Jim Hogg, and Jimmy Allred. He had been bred in the politics of a rural time; and although he understood, and related his politics to, the new problems of city life, his rhetoric was that of an old-line, brass-collar Democrat from a small Texas town.

He took with him to the Senate a phenomenally retentive mind, a grasp of the detailed events and the general shapes of history that give his integrity an inner steadiness when events and pressures of the moment buffet him, and an intelligence that is scholarly and logical but is actively concerned most of all with the facts of real situations that people find themselves in.

He was thoroughly committed to the New Deal, but he had been running for state office and had swerved pretty suddenly toward the place where the fundamental national decisions are being made these decades, and where the whole context is different. He had been riddled, too, again and again, by narrow, selfish men, by vicious editorials, by slanders, and by ignorant abuse, in those tiresome campaigns. When he arrived in Washington the summer of 1957 he found suddenly that he had time to study and to think again, not on politics, but on policy. He told the Women's National Democratic Club June 10 that year:

"Coming, as I do, from five years of continual political warfare in Texas where every force of greed and avarice in that state were aligned against us to destroy us, and where we never begged for quarter, I have been stunned almost to silence by the kindness and generosity of the treatment accorded us in Washington. It is comparable to the changes a soldier would feel after fighting in the jungles of guerilla warfare for five years, then suddenly being moved out into new barracks with new uniforms and a parade ground. It takes a little time to adjust to such a changed way of life."

**A**ND SO IT DID. Yarborough must have seemed country to his big-city colleagues, but they learned that he is a man of the people. When the acid tests came along on the real people's amendments—when only 20 or 30 of the Democrats were left to stand together, after particular interests had picked off as many

as they could—when the time came to vote for minimum wages, holding the line against high interest rates, area redevelopment funds, manpower retraining, public works projects of great variety, urban renewal, higher social security benefits and old age pensions, more REA co-ops, lower taxes on ordinary citizens and higher taxes on unreasonable profits, civil liberties, the free right to vote, the youth job corps, medicare, the war on poverty, Yarborough was there; steadfast.

From the first, however, he was skeptical of the foreign aid program, and while it is true that there has been a lot of waste and some corruption abroad in that program, there was also a component in Yarborough's attitude, I think, of hostility to the foreign. It is not anything he said that makes me think so, nor do I mean he felt this personally, but I believe he somehow absorbed this from Texas. He has, indeed, made frequent use of his carving knives to "cut the fat out of foreign aid" and promises to continue to do it. But also he has, as he is inclined to say, "visited every inhabited continent on earth except Australia as a senator, and this must have been sobering.

Few remember now that Yarborough quickly joined Adlai Stevenson in his concern, late in the 1956 presidential campaign, about nuclear fall-out from the tests. Yarborough said in the June, 1957, speech, six years before the nuclear test ban treaty was ratified, "Whether the effects be bone cancer, infertility, malformed babies, stunted children, or any of the other equally dreadful effects on the human race described by the scientists. . . . the human race is waiting for leadership intelligent enough to put a stop to the nuclear explosions before our children and our children's children are doomed by a polluted earth and air."

Sen. Yarborough has been an unwavering advocate of high defense spending; in this he has seemed totally committed to the idea that our safety is our military might. I should not be surprised, however, especially in light of President Johnson's questions the other night in his speech on events in Russia and China, "What if ten or twenty more nations get the nuclear bombs?, to see Sen. Yarborough, carefully and prudently, enter the group of senators among whom Hubert Humphrey and Joe Clark of Pennsylvania have been leaders seeking ways to stop the ceaseless spiralings of overkill.

As an East Texan—that is, as a Southerner—Yarborough had not only provincialism, but also the special burden of his time and place to overcome. Gradually, through many compromises, he has seen this burden in its historical context, and

this year, voting for the civil rights law, he began really to transcend this burden by helping, with great courage, to correct it. Now this, the most nightmarish test of his political integrity, is behind him.

**H**IS STRONG SUITS in the Senate have been education, conservation, and veterans' affairs. As a ranking member of the Senate education subcommittee, he co-authored the education act of 1958 to provide college loans, summer teacher training institutes, and high school and junior college equipment in foreign languages, sciences, engineering, and mathematics. He has led the fight for a college classroom construction program that also includes labs and libraries. And he has been a principal figure in the Senate's work that resulted in the enactment of laws for medical and dental school construction and loans to these schools' students, nurses training, vocational education, mental retardation training, and city library facilities assistance. All this has been unsensational but yeoman work for enlightenment and well being in the United States. His four-year, finally successful effort to have a national seashore area established on Padre Island and his other work for the conservation of our natural heritage are well known. As chairman of the Senate subcommittee on veterans' affairs, he has been responsible for the passage of laws affecting every facet of veterans' affairs his subcommittee handles—education, hospitals and medical care, loans.

The New Republic rated the performance of congressmen in 1964 and concluded that Yarborough had voted wrongly to uphold the oil depletion allowance and to require higher interest rates and a maximum maturity period for U.S. foreign loans, but had favored ten of the twelve proposals N.R. thought most vital to the general welfare—mass transportation, the youth conservation corps, the test ban treaty, vocational education, the wheat sale, the tax cut, the civil rights act, the war on poverty, hospital care for the aged, and the watering down of the conservative attack on the reapportionment ruling.

It is true, as President Kennedy said, that this senator speaks for Texas, the nation, and progress for our people, and it is true, as President Johnson said, that Texas has never had a senator who has voted for the people more than Ralph Yarborough. That is why the fat-cats of the state are out to get him now. But if they do not, and he is returned to the Senate, then, I believe, we may expect Senator Yarborough's influence through the Senate, from which most of the few great liberals have taken, or will soon take, their leave, to become part of the national history. R.D.

(Continued From Page 1)

accuses Yarborough of siding with "a militant, mean band of left-wingers" by voting to continue foreign aid to Sukarno in Indonesia.

Sen. Yarborough has needled him for being skittish about all-out support for Barry Goldwater. No doubt Sen. Yarborough hoped this line of attack would force Bush to assure his supporters he is for Goldwater, and whatever the reason for it may be, Bush is now going out of his way to mention his total support of Goldwater and to defend him.

In Fort Worth—during a day of campaigning as the Observer man followed along—Bush was asked, during a 30-minute TV taping session with a KTVT newsmen, about Goldwater. "Of the two, I am strongly for Senator Goldwater for President," he replied. "He's a warm, friendly man, a reasonable man — extremely reasonable." Charges that Goldwater has his finger on the trigger or is "a madman" are "just unfair," Bush said.

Pressed to specify policies on which he might differ with Goldwater, Bush said, "I don't like to probe around for differences with people with whom I philosophically disagree," he replied (evidently having meant to say "agree," but he did not notice the slip, and went on.) "I'm sure I could find differences with Senator Goldwater, but I don't elect to do this," he said firmly, putting his questioner down.

"I don't believe in terror, finger-on-the-trigger," he said during a speech in Fort Worth. "I don't think that's the philosophy of the leader on the Republican ticket, by the way. I know him and know him well and believe he's a reasonable man."

**T**HIS DAY on the campaign tour began for Bush at 7 a.m. and did not end until 10 at night. He had come in, what's more, from a rally in Corpus Christi the night before, and left for East Texas the morning after Fort Worth. He tired, and he tapped out an hour or so before his TV taping in the afternoon, but he is a strong, steady campaigner who goes forward to shake hands with everyone in range.

Fifty or so Optimists attended a breakfast for him, and he made them a somewhat muted speech. He said of Yarborough that he had "not called him 'Smilin' Ralph' or 'Rasslin' Ralph'" in the interests of discussing the issues.

His basic argument that he is winning tots up what he takes to be "the ingredients of victory." He had been endorsed at this point, he said, by 17 daily papers, to Yarborough's three or four; he said polls show him ahead; he said Republican canvassing and organization helps him; he said leading Democrats are supporting him—he names Governor Allan Shivers, Marshall Formby of Plainview, Ed Drake, "for ten years county Democratic chairman in Dallas," (a leader in Democrats-for-Republican movements there during the period, of course,) and Abner McCall, president of Baylor University. And, he said,

"You feel the crowds—enthusiasm—it's building up."

On ineffectiveness, Bush said, "Three times Sen. Yarborough got seniority on the appropriations committee, and three times his own colleagues turned their backs on him." He also said Yarborough has a "rift" with state Democratic officials—obviously a reference to Governor John Connally. "I think I can get along with both sides of the aisle in simple human relations," Bush said.

He faults Yarborough for calling Lyndon Johnson, as vice-president, a "power-mad Texas politician," Connally "a viceroy of Texas," Dallas "a citadel of reaction," and the Fort Worth Star-Telegram "worse than Pravda." He recites the senator's publicized set-to with Sen. Strom Thurmond a few months ago as a matter first to be laughed at, then to be indignant about because it is "beneath the dignity of Texans and the U.S. Senate."

To the Optimists he said, "The answer to poverty doesn't lie in a hand-out, a billion-dollar program," such as "this CCC program in the thirties that failed." New industry, jobs, and free enterprise are the answer, he said. "I admit this is a vast oversimplification," he said, but it is a better answer for Texas than trying to "prop up ailing businesses."

In every speech of much length, Bush recites two cases prosecuted, one-two, in the September and October Reader's Digest: the new industry in Crockett, Tex., that was backed for a while by the Area Recovery Administration, President Kennedy, and Sen. Yarborough, but stalled and failed; and the Yarborough-announced \$1.8-million urban renewal program in Wink, Tex., which the Digest said subsequently lost popularity, business, and real estate valuations.

"I don't think you can prop up the ailing economy of a dying town," he told the Optimists. "Sometimes you've got to have a man who will resist a hand-out for political gain. I think it's a question of balance."

In place of federal aid to "failing communities" and "failing businesses," Bush would work with the Texas Industrial Cmsn., chambers of commerce, and others to attract new industries to Texas, "find export markets for Texas products," uphold "enlightened self-interest" in U.S. tariff and import policy, favor a "meaningful oil import program," free natural gas companies from "utility-type regulation."

He said that the seven years Yarborough has been in the Senate, oil prices have gone down, imports have gone up, and Texas drilling rigs have decreased 55%, while cattle prices are "crucifyingly low" and imports are higher. To the Optimists he said, "Surely it's not fair to blame him [Yarborough] for all this," but in other speeches that day he did not add this qualification.

"I'm not a 'hate-the-government creep,'" Bush said of a charge against him he attributes to Yarborough, "I believe in a decentralized federal government—and in the separation of powers—and I don't like



George Bush

to see the encroachment of these agencies into our lives."

He couches his opposition to medicare—medical care for the aged—in a flow of argument he follows somewhat closely each time. "I would vote to strengthen the social security system," he said, "but I would vote against medical care under social security. I favor medical care for the aged, but under Kerr-Mills and 'Texas 65,'" he said. "I would not say to this fella working with his hands, 'Look, you've got to pay for medical care for this rich fella over here, whether you want to or not.' This isn't fair. This isn't the American system."

"I don't believe that we conservatives should be placed in the position of being opposed to compassion for our fellow men," he said. "The philosophy of the left is to stick a hyphen in everybody's name, and give a little something for every special group."

He said there's a government program that brings apes and baboons from Africa for experiments in space science, but they have been dying in the ship holds because the air is dank. "The federal government has a new program, a very cheap one, \$585 million," to air condition the holds, Bush said, and the program is called "medical air for the caged." (He pronounced the word "caged" as one would pronounce the noun, "aged," if it had a "c" in front of it.) The Optimists laughed. "I would hope it's one program the federal government will stay out of," he said.

In Cuba, Bush said, we were right when we had "the courage to turn back those Russian ships," and taking a more forceful position in Viet Nam, "we did the right thing." He would not castigate the President's loyalty when he disagreed with him, he said.

As for now, he said, the United States should "recognize a Cuban government-in-

exile," and the United States should then commit itself to "the support of it militarily and economically." To this he added, "I think we should not be found wanting in courage to help them liberate their country."

He opposes, he said, seeking a neutral government in South Viet Nam, giving away Guantanamo on Cuba, or letting Red China into the United Nations, causes, he said, that "our opponents are forcing for every day." "I recognize the complexities of foreign affairs," he said. But, he said, Sen. Yarborough just hasn't got them sized up correctly.

Closing his full exposition of his themes before the civic clubmen, Bush referred to his opponent's "vicious personal attacks on my family. Nobody likes that sort of thing." His father served in the Senate ten years from Connecticut with dignity, he said. As for the carpetbagger issue, he'd been in Texas all his adult life and is a Texan by choice. Sam Rayburn, Sam Houston, Austin, Travis, Crockett, Bowie—none of these were native Texans, he said. Yarborough does not object to Salinger or Robert Kennedy, so he guessed it "depends on whose bag is being carpeted. If you're a left-wing carpetbagger who can't vote in the state where he's running," it seems to be all right. (Kennedy cannot vote for himself in New York.)

If elected, Bush concluded, "I will work my level best to give you sound, compassionate, sensible, responsible, conservative government." There was hard applause, and he shook every right hand in the place—"Sir, I'm George Bush, running for the U.S. Senate," he says—and took out with his campaign aides and a couple of reporters following along.

**N**EXT STOP was the cattle auction at the stockyards. Bush sat a while watching the groups of cattle being stirred around the auction ring by a cowman popping a whip among them and listening to the auctioneer rattle his lips and call out the bids. ("How can yuh set there?" the fat auctioneer cried out—"sixteen's all.") Then Bush was introduced to the hundred or so cowmen, all of whom were wearing rough clothes, western hats, boots, and he said very briefly:

"I appreciate the opportunity of being here and just sayin' hello to you gentlemen." As senator, he said, at least he'd have the courage to "vote on the Hruska amendment to decrease beef imports." (Yarborough paired for the amendment; Bush objects to the fact he was not physically present to vote for it.) The answer to present situations, Bush went on, is "less federal control. I am a conservative, I am proud of it. Government should look after those who *can't* look after themselves," but more should be left to "individual freedom and individual incentive."

Outside the auction hall, he posed for pictures in a pen with a rather large herd of cattle. Two tough looking men who had business in the stockyards stood on each side of him. They walked around the pen, looking at the cattle, which at one point

were startled by the photographer and stomped and rushed past the three men. Clowning an instant Bush threw a rattled glance to a spectator outside the pen. Climbing up and vaulting down from the fence, he said, "I hope you'll record for posterity the look of confidence on my face as they charged me."

He encountered a Negro workman and shook his hand. "Is that right?" the Negro said. "I saw you on TV last night." Bush said he hoped he'd vote for him. "Oh, we'll fix it up, yeah," the Negro man said. The humor of this response was not lost on Jim Allison, the newspaper executive who is part of Bush's campaign troupe, and who repeated it with a laugh when the voter was out of range.

Next on the agenda, in fact, was a mid-morning confabulation booked as "Amigos for Bush" at Joe Garcia's restaurant. Now this restaurant is an interesting place. Garcia must be a Shivers Republican, if one may adapt an old category to describe him. Around the walls of his restaurant one sees photographs of Allan Shivers, Bruce Alger, Sam Rayburn, John Tower, Dwight Eisenhower, and the President of Mexico.

As the appointed hour arrived it became painfully apparent to the dozen or so Anglos present that the only Latin-American there was the manager of Garcia's, Joe Lancorte, who handed out pamphlets in Spanish entitled "George Bush, Candidato Para U.S. Senate." Allison looked around and asked, "Where're the Amigos?" A few days before this the Bush campaign had had a similar miscue, a meeting of Negroes for Bush with a fund-raising purpose. About 50 Negroes came, and 30 whites, Allison recalled; Bush wound up giving them \$50 to help make up their financial losses on the affair. After a while this morning, one more Latin-American woman came in, apparently Lancorte's wife, with two babes in arms, but otherwise the Amigos didn't show.

Bush did not seem depressed—to the contrary, a gang of about 25 sporty young matrons, bedecked in Bush signs, congregated at Garcia's Restaurant, there to board a Bush special bus for a tour of the county court-house and some shopping centers in suburban areas of the county. "Oh girls! You all look great! You look terrific! All dolled up," Bush told them. They were ga-ga about him in return, and the day's campaigning took on a new aspect.

It's Bush's custom to go forward to people he knows are probably against him. In Jacksonville, where the Daily Progress has endorsed Yarborough, Bush called on editor Barnes Broiles anyway and thanked him for running a letter he had written answering the editorial. Despite very chilly receptions at some of them, he has charged county courthouses. At this one, in Tarrant County, one conservative county commissioner, Byron Henderson, rather conspicuously posed for cameras with Bush, and Bush went on a tour of the offices, shaking hands. It was "pretty fruitful," he said.

The Bush girls include a goodly number

of matrons in their late twenties and thirties, with sorority ties and common college and social experiences. (There was one among them, anyway, who was bitterly anti-communist and in the same breath anti-Johnson and anti-Yarborough, a Birch type; something of an embarrassment to them, one gathered.) They are wives of business people, doctors, insurance salesmen. This was the third bus tour of the Fort Worth group to suburbs and small towns, handing out literature. Bush says there's been a lot such activity for him out of the major cities, and it has enabled his campaign to hit many small towns it would not, otherwise. This afternoon, though, the girls didn't find many voters in the shopping centers.

In the afternoon Bush circled through four industrial plants in the area between Dallas and Fort Worth. The first one—the Menasco Manufacturing Co.—was somewhat of a laugh because a company official told him "no campaigning" and in some kind of awkward non-partisanship pulled out a handful of buttons for everyone from Goldwater to Yarborough. Bush got to shake the hand of the machinists' union president, who, however, had on a Johnson button. At the other three plants, however, Bush went through at a fast clip, shaking hands.

**I**N THE TV TAPING, Bush struck again the principal themes of his campaign—there is an insufferable quantity of repetition on a campaign trail for reporters following candidates—but in his asides he conveyed new tones and dimensions.

"Sen. Yarborough's brand of politics is too far left . . . too extreme" for Texans, he said. He, Bush, was running for the first time, whereas until 1958 Yarborough ran "perennially," and "Some of his people seem a little tired in campaigning—I dunno."

He favored the federal government doing some things—developing navigable rivers such as the Trinity, interstate highways, financing flood control and soil conservation—but not federal assistance to failing towns and industries, as with the A.R.A. and urban renewal. "You don't *save* a community," he said. "This takes courage—to oppose wasteful federal spending," he said.

He had been quoted, his interviewer reminded him, that Yarborough served special interest groups. Which ones?

"I think Senator Yarborough's special group he serves is labor," Bush replied. "He goes right down the line with the recommendations of the Walter Reuther type." Many union members won't vote "the way the labor bosses say." Yarborough was wrong voting for the civil rights bill, too, Bush said. "I'm not opposed to equal rights for all, I favor 'em, but I want to see we don't violate the rights of 86% to try to correct the grievances—and legitimate ones, often—of the other 14%. Sen. Yarborough does stand at the extreme left."

Again he denied Yarborough's persistent inquiry whether any of his companies import foreign oil or benefit from such imports. He called the charge that they do "a filthy lie." He was having an audit run on all businesses he has interests in to prove none of them import oil or participate in profits from importing oil, he said. "I just don't understand Sen. Yarborough's ranting on this subject."

On foreign policy, he said "I have seen no evidence that the communists want to live peacefully with the free world." On his theme of arming a Cuban government-in-exile, he made it clear he intends invasion: "When this government goes to liberate its own homeland, let's not be lacking in courage," he said.

Nothing else this day matched in length or harshness Bush's response to the 1,500 stomping partisans at his county-wide rally near Will Rogers Coliseum.

Tiny Gooch, who introduced Bush, provided a jagged context. "Never have there been two candidates who have offered themselves for public office—I'll make it three—who have a more miserable record for honesty," he said. He did not say what three he meant.

However, in the context of the literature being given, free, to the Bush partisans, this was a minor matter. For no charge, one could pick up off a table J. Evetts Haley's book, *A Texan Looks at Lyndon*; *The Inside on LBJ and Lyndon's Legacy*, both by Clyde Kluckhohn; *None Dare Call It Treason*, by John A. Stormer, and *A Choice Not An Echo*, by Phyllis Schlafly, as well as *Where I Stand*, by Sen. Goldwater.

Neither was there any charge for "The Communist Party Supports Lyndon B. Johnson," a reprint based on an article in the Worker. Oddly, however, one was asked to shell out a nickel for two cards showing Johnson beside the slogan, familiar from the 1960 campaign as to Nixon: "Would you buy a used car from this man?"

Bush assured his supporters he is leading and "the Goldwater campaign, which I enthusiastically support, is coming on strong."

On the subject of oil imports, which he said he wants to restrict, he threw in as an aside, "I've been a leader of the oil industry, if I might immodestly so classify myself. I've been in the business sixteen years." He dismissed Yarborough's remarks on this subject as "the rantings of some left-wing demagogue." He said Yarborough serves "some left-wing planners in Washington, D.C."

He would require UN members to "pay their dues or lose their vote." The UN should be "a freedom-extending force rather than always compromising." "We just cannot continue the negative, give-in forces of the ADA supported by Sen. Yarborough." ADA "is indeed a dangerous force, no matter what Hubert Humphrey says about it," advocating letting Red China into the UN and recognizing Cuba. "We don't want Red China in the UN," he said.

As for the nuclear test ban treaty, "I do not favor junking it," but he had been afraid there would be a loophole for Red China to test, and sure enough. "I resent Sen. Yarborough saying I was in favor of leukemia for children, as he so viciously accused me."

Yarborough was "overpaid" at \$22,500 a year but has raised his own pay to \$30,000 while opposing wage increases for labor, Bush charged. "His own son" is on the federal payroll at \$12,911 per year. By this Bush said he did not mean to criticize Yarborough's son, whom he understood to be "a capable young man." But Bush asked if the poverty program meant putting your son on the payroll and "your brother-in-law in Houston with the FHA."

"I simply believe that it's wrong to ask what your country can do for you, and not what you can do for your country. Do you remember those words?" Bush asked.

"I am proudly a Texan by choice and I'm a far better Texan than Ralph Yarborough is," Bush said to cheers that drowned him out. "There's one thing that's worse than a carpetbagger, Senator Yarborough, and that's a turncoat—that's a man who turns his back on the people.

"Reject this Reuther-dominated left-wing philosophy that's selling Texas down the river!" he exhorted the throng, who rose at this and gave him a standing send-off.

**B**USH RESPONDS to highly partisan audiences, all right. His speech to the Republican state convention in Austin was another example of this. The crowd of 5,000 was raucous and boisterous; this was the occasion when they almost came apart in response to vice-presidential can-

didate Bill Miller's charges against Johnson on the one Austin TV station and an anti-Negro clause in a Johnson property deed two decades ago.

"Things are going well," Bush told them. "There is a tremendous anti-Yarborough sentiment across the state." It "does not have to do with the fact that Ralph Yarborough lost his rassing match. The people simply don't like his Reuther-dominated philosophy. They don't like his vote against John Tower's amendment to cut off aid to Indonesia. Sukarno had said You can take your foreign aid money and you can go to hell with it."

But, said Bush, "it's not enough to be anti-Yarborough. It's not enough to capitalize on the venom that this man spreads across Texas. We hold the key to prosperity in our hands that Yarborough, Schlesinger, Salinger, Kennedy, Humphrey, Morse, have never even dreamed about—a system responsive to the needs of Texas, not responsive to the needs of Washington, D.C. . . . We can show the left-wingers a prosperity they never dreamed about."

"Texas has a responsible record in civil rights," Bush told the Texas Republicans, "and sure there's need for improvement, and each of us should strive for it, but we don't need sweeping federal compulsion."

His campaign, Bush said, offered "hope instead of the left-wing defeatist campaign of the left-wingers in Washington, D.C." He said he would fight "on the issues and not in the gutter—and he's gonna have to crawl out now I plan to take his Reuther-dominated voting record and wrap it around his neck," Bush exclaimed. "We can beat him and return sound constitutional government to the people of Texas."

## Estes' Explanation

Austin

It is the Observer's understanding, here represented entirely on our own responsibility, that Billie Sol Estes says he was told that if he would hurt Sen. Ralph Yarborough politically by telling the \$50,000 story, he could thereby gain pardons from his convictions in federal and state courts from President Johnson and Governor Connally, respectively.

In fact, the President traditionally does not use his personal power to pardon without the recommendation of the Department of Justice, and under Texas law the governor has no such power, but Estes did not know or think of this at the time the idea was advanced to him.

Estes' story goes like this:

Two men, one a key Austin supporter of a candidate for office, another a man from South Texas, telephoned Estes, who was then in Macon, Ga., and asked him to meet them in New Orleans. He did, and they had a conference in an airplane leased by the Austin man. A second meeting oc-

curred in a Dallas motel room with two additional men present—one a person closely associated with the aforementioned candidate for office, another closely associated with Estes—making five men in all, counting Estes. Estes was provided yet one more motive, an obvious one. It was agreed that the South Texas man would locate persons who would aver they saw the money pass.

The possibility should now be suggested that the two "lie detector" (polygraph) tests given to the two "witnesses" to Estes' story were not given by the Department of Public Safety in Austin, although they may have been arranged by a person connected with DPS and given by a private party.

The Observer does not wish to leave an impression that we know the information in the foregoing paragraphs to be true, since, as our wording should indicate, we do not. At the same time, we have substantial grounds for publishing it. □

# A 'Pull One Lever' Democrat

*San Antonio, Longview*

Senator Yarborough "thrives on it," as his friends say, and his spirits were high on the campaign trail when the Observer man was along. He is flying in a leased twin-engine Beechcraft, ducking into Austin for strategy sessions and over to Houston for TV productions between jaunts into every part of the state. Bush is setting him a hard pace, but since Congress adjourned he has been matching it.

Until the first Chronicle poll, the spirit was somewhat relaxed in the Yarborough headquarters, but that poll apparently jarred some of them and was used to jar others. Yarborough headquarters in Austin has been abuzz seven days and seven nights a week for the last two weeks, and it's staffed with volunteers who were not in evidence until recently. Yarborough's campaign seemed to be slow in building up, but is fast now in the wind-up. One senses that it is much more improvised than Bush's, from the daily itinerary to the preparations made for Yarborough's activities on the road, but the senator has been pulling large crowds anyway. He goes constantly, talks a great deal to those around him, and copes with TV crews and procedures with a veteranship fairly free of impatience and free also of irritability while the Observer watched.

Although Yarborough's and Bush's remarks collide and skirmish at many points on a variety of subjects, the major battles each is waging do not seem joined, because they have not agreed, for obvious reasons, where the major battles ought to be fought. Bush is attacking Yarborough as a "left-winger," running through the spectrum of issues and slogans that cognomen suggests: Yarborough prefers to stress, not such issues as these, but his accomplishments in education-building legislation, conservation, and veterans' affairs. Yet plenty of sparks are struck in the skirmishes, too.

Flying from Austin to San Antonio, Yarborough pulled out a writing board from the craft's side wall and wrote out a press release on a legal-size yellow tablet. The Observer may be mistaken about it, but this very release seems to convey the anti-Yankee, populist thrust of Yarborough's campaign. Not pausing even to buckle his seat belt as the plane touched down, Yarborough wrote in large and swirling hand:

"It has been ten years since Texans have seen as much money spent on one statewide campaign as my opponent is spending in trying to buy a seat in the United States Senate, U.S. Senator Ralph W. Yarborough declared. . . .

"The massive number of billboards, the continuous radio and TV spots, tapes,

panels, and programs; the massive advertising through every media, show that the New York and Connecticut money has arrived in Texas,' Senator Yarborough said. 'It beat the starlings in this year,' he said.

"Senator Yarborough said 'The spirit of the great people of Texas will meet every test, and the millions in out-of-state monies being spent by my opponent will not enable him to smear me out of my good record; or buy a seat in the United States Senate.

"The Bush family, father and son, are attempting to buy a Texas seat in the Senate, just as they would buy a seat on the New York Stock Exchange, where my opponent's father's investment banking firm operates.

"They will find on November 3rd that the people of Texas have a pride and an honor that is not for sale, and neither is their Senate place.'"

Yarborough handed the three sheets of paper to Ralph Collins, the clean-cut University of Texas government student who is traveling with him, and Collins reached a phone as soon as he could in San Antonio and telephoned the release to Austin headquarters for dissemination to the press from there. In this episode one can see the improvisation of the campaign, but also Yarborough's close control of it.

Both Yarborough and Bush are interested watching the stickers on cars as they drive through cities. Yarborough says that when he sees a Bush sticker, he likes to see a Goldwater sticker on the same car. He wonders if anyone has seen a Johnson-Bush sticker; he has not. Bush says he has heard of such stickers, but has not himself seen them, while some of his aides say they have. Yarborough was pleased with plain "Johnson-Yarborough" stickers that are being used in Texas, and was pleased also when Sam Bennett, who had arranged a meeting of governmental figures for him at lunch in San Antonio, called his attention to a sticker being used in San Antonio, "LBJ" at the left side of it and "Gonzalez-Yarborough" on the right. (Cong. Henry Gonzalez of San Antonio has a nominal Republican opponent.)

**P**AUSING at the San Antonio Democratic headquarters, Yarborough was waylaid by reporters for an unscheduled news conference. He said Bush has been campaigning since September, 1963, and Yarborough full-time only the last few weeks because Congress was in session, but believed his campaign has "improved vastly" since he has been able to get through the major areas and communities and tone up his organization.

Changes in Russia and China recently help President Johnson, he said, "because the people are less likely to take an untested man who talks glibly of dropping a couple of atomic bombs on supply lines to shake 'em up. That would shake 'em up all right—it would shake up the whole world."

Yarborough said he felt that if the people "knew what I had done, I'd win by a landslide," but that "I've had a very poor press, not in San Antonio, but in the Dallas-Fort Worth area." Furthermore, he said, "We have very limited money. We can't afford billboards. We had six in Galveston-Houston, that's all we've had in the state. We had them for just three weeks, and it cost us \$1,000. My opponent's first contract called for 200 of them in Harris County alone. Six hundred of them, figure it out, that would cost \$100,000. He must have hundreds of thousands of dollars for them."

State-wide TV programs cost about \$10,000 each in Texas, and Yarborough said he hopes for three of these. Yarborough said people tell him everywhere he goes they saw his opponent on TV the night before, from which he concludes Bush must be spending an-awful lot on this, too.

(Bush told an Austin press conference he plans three statewide TV programs in the last week.)

A reporter asked if funds for the war on poverty would become available in San Antonio soon, and Yarborough thought probably they would. He said the programs under the war on poverty are not impractical or especially visionary, but are instead essentially training programs to qualify people for jobs in youth camps like the old C.C.C. camps or youth camps located in the places where young people work; in work-training programs whereby people work half a day and are trained half a day; and in work-study programs in which youths work at federal projects on campus half a day and can go to school the other half on what they are paid. Literacy programs, too, are provided, literacy being necessary for most semi-skilled jobs these days, Yarborough explained.

**A**FTER A STOP to visit officials of HemisFair, the project to stage a hemispheric fair in San Antonio in 1968, Yarborough proceeded to WOAI to record a "conversation" with two newsmen. He encountered there Dr. August O. Spain, a government professor from Texas Christian University, and recognized him as the great grandson of Gov. Oran Roberts, who

Yarborough told Spain he thought was one of the five great Texas governors.

"He got the first free public schools organized in Texas. He built the present capitol," Yarborough told the somewhat surprised professor. "He was hanged in effigy in Houston for his part in establishing the school at Prairie View," (that is, the Negro college,) Yarborough added.

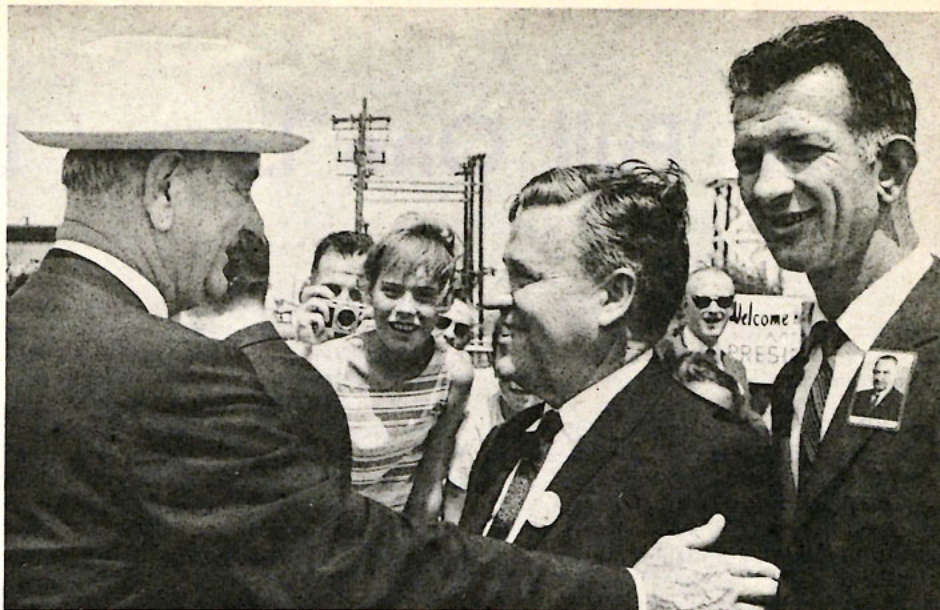
Yarborough stressed, in the TV conversation, his party loyalty and his view that splitting a ballot to vote for a Republican after having voted in the Democratic primary and pledging to support its nominees is "intellectual dishonesty" that involves breaking a "solemn pledge."

"I don't bolt a ticket. I'm not a bolter. I've read the ticket. I know who's running," Yarborough said. "There's a moral issue, whether when a man signs that pledge he means it or takes it deceitfully." Further, he said, there is a need for a good two-party system, of which the primary pledge is a part. Asked if he has the support of Gov. Connally, Yarborough said Connally would have to be asked about that, but "He's made many speeches that he is voting the straight Democratic ticket" this year. As for E. B. Germany, the Dallas industrialist heading East Texas Democrats for Bush, Yarborough said Germany had been fined \$39,000 "for drilling deviated oil wells." Would Yarborough oppose a Republican primary participant voting for him Nov. 3? Some have done it, and "it's his option," but party loyalty is the senator's code, he said.

Asked about the "wrestling match" with Sen. Strom Thurmond, Yarborough said it wasn't that, but that in any event "Senator Thurmond has quit the Democratic Party and joined the Republican Party, so we'll never have the problem of getting him to form a Democratic quorum again. I tried to urge him to come on in [to form the quorum]. He had a rather violent response."

Asked about Bush's hostility toward federal aid, Yarborough said the issue of federal control is a false one, because all the federal government does is audit the spending of the money to be sure it is spent for the purposes it is appropriated to advance. "Would [Bush] repeal vocational education? Would he repeal school lunch money? Would he repeal my National Defense Education Act under which 621 Texas high schools have obtained scientific equipment? Would he repeal the medical education act, which provided \$11 million for the medical school in San Antonio?" Yarborough asked. "My name," he added, "is on every education bill passed in the last six years" by the Congress.

What about Bush's opposition to excessive federal spending? "For the last two years," the senator said, "52 cents of every dollar has gone for the defense program." Spending for welfare and education—"only about a fourth of the budget" after \$73 billion of the \$102 billion budget is allocated for past, present, and future wars—is not excessive, he said. Does it not follow from the heavy defense spending, he was



PHOTOGRAPH BY RUSSELL LEE

### President Johnson, Senator Yarborough, and Hank Brown, President, Texas AFL-CIO

asked, that spending on other programs ought be cut down? "Absolutely not. If you don't educate the people, you can put a wall of missiles around this country and you'd still fall," Yarborough snapped, citing then Russia's graduation of nearly twice as many scientists and engineers in recent years as in the entire West.

He said that after seven years in the Senate he is chairman of three subcommittees and has racked up solid attainments in education, conservation, and veterans' affairs legislation. He recited education bills he has passed or co-authored, his Padre Island and Fort Davis park bills that have passed, his support of wilderness and reclamation legislation, and his role, as chairman of the veterans' affairs subcommittee, in shepherding through the Senate 42 bills affecting veterans. He likes to hold out a letter he has received from the president of the American Legion, commending him on this latter work.

He ran on a platform of cutting taxes, and this has been done; he advocated to voters in 1958 cutting fat out of foreign aid, and this has been done, but vigilance against foreign aid waste has to continue; he favors economy in government, and as chairman of the civil service subcommittee participates in the constant contest with inefficiency and waste, he said.

**F**OR LUNCH Yarborough had to make a decision. Bennett, a county commissioner for 14 years who has now retired from the courthouse, had arranged a luncheon for him with about 40 key San Antonio politicians; Bill Sinkin wanted him to attend a chamber of commerce luncheon. Yarborough chose the meeting Bennett had arranged, opening his speech to them by reading, *pro forma*, the statement he had written for press release earlier on the plane.

The Republicans have the most modern

IBM machines to turn out voters, organize sign-placard campaigns, and do other political work in Texas now, Yarborough said. Kennedy barely won Texas in 1960, Nixon receiving more Texas votes than Eisenhower did in 1952 or 1956, Yarborough recalled: Republicans will have 90% of their members voting, and the election depends on how many Democrats vote. In 1960, he recalled, only 43% of Texans did vote, and if this recurs, "the Democratic ticket could be in jeopardy."

Texas has only one Democratic senator now and should keep him, what with a Democratic administration, a 2-1 Democratic Senate, and the House nearly 2-1 Democratic, Yarborough said.

His opponent, Yarborough said, is 100% for Goldwater, and actually "to the right of Goldwater." In evidence on this contention, Yarborough holds up the Houston Post of Oct. 11, which quoted Bush saying he takes "no position" on the John Birch Society but welcomes the support of its members. ["I wouldn't want my children to join the teen age Birch group. I'd rather see them join the Young Republicans. The society is not an important element in Texas politics. If it were, Jack Cox would have beaten me in the primary. And it's of no great influence in Harris County. . . . But I want their support," Bush was quoted here.] Weeks ago, Yarborough said, Goldwater and Miller repudiated the support of the Birch Society. "Twice he [Bush] appeals for the support of the John Birch Society," Yarborough said. "This shows he's more in league with extremism than Goldwater and Miller."

In this connection, Yarborough is riding Bush for saying in speeches and his literature that the nuclear test ban treaty "won't work." "There are enough cobalt and other type bombs manufactured and in our stockpiles to kill all the Russians 500 times over," the senator said. "Two thirds of the

Democrats and two-thirds of the Republicans in the Senate voted to ratify the test ban treaty. Bush would be in a minority in his own party."

Yarborough said San Antonians, living in a city where 44 cents of every payroll dollar is federal money, are not hostile to federal programs, as some in other areas may be. He said that for every dollar paid into the federal government from Texas, \$1.08 is spent here, because Texas is 36th in average per capita income. Referring to Bush's opposition to federal funds to "keep cages clean for baboons, or something like that," Yarborough asked if Bush opposes the aero-space medical research program in San Antonio.

He believes in HemisFair and will help it as a member of the Senate commerce committee, Yarborough said. More than a contribution to trade, culture, and education, "It will be a binding together of the Americas," he said.

Bryan Jordan, Yarborough's local finance chairman, said he needed \$2,000 to finance a newspaper ad listing 1,014 university professors endorsing Sen. Yarborough, whereupon Charles Murray, a real estate man who said he used to be a member of Yarborough's Baptist Sunday school class in Austin, pledged \$1,000. Others gave Jordan checks.

In a press conference then at the Gunter Hotel, Yarborough noted that the only way a senator gets on a House-Senate conference committee is by having been one of three or four who have done the most work on a bill. "I have been on every conference on an education bill in the last six years," during which eight major education bills have passed, he said.

Margaret Mayer of the Dallas Times-Herald asked Yarborough, "Have you felt any slight from Governor Connally in this campaign?" "No," Yarborough replied, and after a pause added, "Governor Connally and I are just as close together as we've ever been." "How close is that, senator?" asked a radio reporter. "Well, I've endorsed the straight Democratic ticket. He's endorsed the straight Democratic ticket," Yarborough said.

**I**N THE AFTERNOON Yarborough taped a TV conversation with Cong. Henry Gonzalez, State Sen. Franklin Spears, and Mrs. O'Neil Ford of San Antonio. Gonzalez, on this program, told him he's "liked and loved in San Antonio" as a proven friend of the city. "You didn't have to be briefed to know what HemisFair is" and had helped rescue appropriations for Randolph and Kelly fields that had been lost in the House, Gonzalez told the senator.

Spears said that only because of Yarborough's work for the federal medical school construction bill was it feasible for the legislature to authorize the new medical school in San Antonio. "People talk about more controversial issues like civil rights or the tax cut," Yarborough responded, but they forget about the Congress having provided medical education loans, college classroom construction, library assistance, vocational education funds, funds for edu-

cation of the mentally retarded, and the like. "I cannot imagine how we could make the progress in education" Gov. Connally wants at the state level without Yarborough's work in Washington, Spears said.

Mrs. Ford, formerly chairman of the San Antonio Conservation Society, said every conservationist and preservationist in San Antonio would get a lift from Yarborough's visit there because of his advocacy of "the things that nourish the spirit." Yarborough then touched on the Padre and Fort Davis bills and bills he has pending for a Guadalupe Mountains national park and an Alibates national monument on the Canadian River in Texas at flint quarries that have been worked for 12,000 years.

On a minute-long spot, Spears boosted Yarborough and said, voters, "I ask the people of San Antonio to give me a Democratic senator." On another minute spot, Yarborough told Gonzalez, "You and I see eye to eye on practically everything," to which Gonzalez responded, "There's no question of it senator. Your help is indispensable" to San Antonio.

Yarborough attended a cocktail party in his honor at the Patio Club of the Menger. About 150 or 200 people were present. The senator made a short, high-spirited talk.

Pageant Magazine, he started out, had reported a poll of the Washington press corps rating John Tower and Bruce Alger as two of the ten least effective congressmen in Washington. "You can't afford putting a third one in there" who "welcomes the support of the John Birch Society," Yarborough said.

Bush having said the nuclear test ban treaty won't work, Yarborough said fallout had been poisoning the soil, and "babies in Eskimoland were being born with leukemia and cancer." Violations of the treaty can be detected in 20 minutes, Yarborough said. "I believe in a livable world," the senator said. "After all, Barry Goldwater was a freshman drop-out. My opponent advertises that he was a graduate of Yale with high honors—He oughta know better than that."

He'd heard, Yarborough said, of a bumper sticker being used in Tennessee saying, "Keep the TVA. Sell Arizona." He would rather just retire Goldwater there, he said.

**Y**ARBOROUGH has been attending as many straight party functions as he can. His theory here appears to be that the "Vote 'er straight" program is thereby emphasized and benefits him directly. San Antonio Democrats had planned a local party night, with Judge Jim Sewell of Corsicana as the main speaker; a few days beforehand it was learned Yarborough would attend. He was fitted into the program to present a certificate of appreciation from President Johnson and Governor Connally (in Washington at the time) to Sam Fore, Jr., Floresville publisher and Democrat. About 750 attended the event, held in the new assembly hall across the street from La Villita. Large photographs of all the Democratic candidates were displayed, and literature for the major candi-

dates was available. In San Antonio there is substantial emphasis on the "Pull One Lever" program.

Making his presentation to Fore, Yarborough stressed this program. Fore, he said, is "a straight ticket Democrat. He's a loyal Democrat. He votes that ticket as he pledges to do." Yarborough also noted that two of Gov. Connally's brothers were there and thanked them for being at the reception for him earlier in the afternoon, also. "A lot of people are trying to divide us Democrats," he said, but "There's a lot more unity in the Democratic Party than they hoped for." In response, Fore said he has never deviated from voting the straight ticket, "from president down to public weigher."

A certificate was presented to Grover C. Morris, a locally well known Democrat, who urged, "Go in the polls with your hat on and pull that lever one time—and when you do that, [you'll vote for] Senator Yarborough, who has the same philosophy of government that my good late friend Jimmy Allred had."

Judge Sewell, in his speech for the Democrats, took up Yarborough's cause. "I know that he's a man of integrity, an honest man," Sewell said. Voting aye for the civil rights bill, he proved himself a statesman, Sewell said. "I know," said the Corsicana judge, "that every third man who walks the street of my area is a Negro. It takes a man of courage to stand up and fight bigotry and prejudice in East Texas, and I'm proud of him. Let's go all out for him and see he's re-elected. Wouldn't it be a shame to have that little old fella Shrub, or Bush, or whatever his name is . . ."

Sewell also touched base endorsing as great men Governor Connally and President Johnson, saying of Goldwater, "I think what he wants to do is to repeal the past and to veto the future."

Again he said of the civil rights bill, "I'm proud, for one, that it was passed because I know of the circumstances under which some people lived, and live and still live in this country."

Closing the program. Democratic chairman John Daniels said, "There is a great deal of apathy. If the Democrats don't vote Nov. 3, we've lost, we've lost."

**Y**ARBOROUGH'S INTENSIVE campaigning in East Texas is of special interest. Bush's polls have not indicated that the civil rights subject is as important in Texas this election as it has been expected to be; Bush has not been leaning heavily on it.

A speech Yarborough made before East Texas postal clerks in Longview may be taken as characteristic of his emphasis in that region on economic issues in the accents of populism.

Reviewing Democratic accomplishments, he said fat had been cut out of foreign aid, decreasing the appropriation from \$4.9 billion year before last to \$3 billion. The Democrats' tax cut meant \$406 million additional income in Texas alone, he said. Government workers have had many pay

raises the last four years, he told the postal clerks, and a health care program has been established for federal employees.

Bush, Yarborough said, bragged his company drilled oil in Kuwait, Borneo, the East and West Indies, but foreign oil is dealing "a body blow to the independent oil operator." Reading off the name of the managing partner of Zapata Offshore Co. from "New York, New York," Yarborough remarked, "They said, 'Sonny boy, go down there and run this thing'—and they're managing it in New York." The company, he said, had a net income of \$1.3 million the first nine months of this year, and in fiscal 1963 obtained a \$4.9 million loan to finance a mobile offshore drilling barge, four of which the firm had as of Sept. 30, 1963. Yarborough read off the names of many companies Bush is affiliated with whose names specify, "S.A.," for South America, and Yarborough charged this is a standard gimmick for tax avoidance.

"For the first time in our history," he said, "we have these interests sending a representative down here to take our United States Senate seat."

Attempting to identify the nuclear test ban treaty with what he understands to be Texas attitudes, Yarborough said fallout of strontium 90 was causing sterility and leukemia, yet Bush was spreading the word "to Texans that it won't work. What kind of vision is that? The atom rocket-rattlers who are threatening that they'll blow up everybody—to say that we're gonna be dropping atom bombs every time they don't agree with us mistakes Texans for uncivilized people. We're civilized people in Texas. He [Bush] hasn't been in Texas long enough to know the great will of Texans to do justice to all the people of the world."

Bush, Yarborough said, would "do away" with farm price supports, which shows he does not understand the Texas economy. In authority for this charge against Bush, Yarborough quotes a Corpus Christi paper that had Bush advocating unsubsidized farming.

Gregg County is deep-dyed conservative in its election returns. Yarborough reminded his Longview audience that Jim Hogg was from the district, but lost Gregg and Smith counties when he ran for governor. "Don't let it do to me what it did to Jim Hogg," he said. "Don't stand back timidly. Stand up to the licklog. Let's face these bigots! The place to do it is not for me to go out in Midland—you've got to do it right here in this county. The men at San Jacinto weren't timid. The men at the Alamo weren't timid. This great Republic was built by the courage of the people."

It is, he said, a government of hope, not hate, a government that believes in people instead of suspicion. "Is wealth going to destroy us?" he asked. "Are the counties with the most money to be the most suspicious of government? Why, the counties with the most money should be in the forefront of building government."

"Let's rattle the atom-rattlers like they're rattling the atom," he said. "They say the government is infiltrated with

communists. It's false. I've had enough experience in life to know what's going on. Your government is not infiltrated with communists.

"Don't let them make you keep quiet," Senator Yarborough said to these East Texans. "Speak out for the greatest government in the history of mankind."

# The Muddied Fields

Ploughing their labyrinthine campaign trails, the two Senate candidates have cross-hatched the patterns of their contest into muddily discernible fields of disagreement.

## Socialism or Subsidy?

Bush's farm policy is hostile toward government subsidies and controls. "The government should be further out of farm controls instead of further in," he said in Brownwood. Discussing cotton support legislation Yarborough backed, a Bush press release said that by doing this, Yarborough "set a precedent for further socialism in future agriculture legislation." He said, as to cotton, "The government should not permit surpluses to interfere and depress orderly markets."

Yarborough accuses Bush of wanting an end to all farm subsidies. In Corpus the Senator said Texas' \$2.5 billion agriculture industry depends on the federal government for a third of its income, and "if you pull out that third, all but a few farms owned by the rich people would collapse."

Yarborough has been a dedicated supporter of rural electrification. Texas Co-Op Power, the magazine of the REA co-ops, delivered for him politically, showing that he has a 100% record for REA, better even than Johnson and Humphrey, whereas Goldwater has opposed REA 92% of the time. From Bush's full support of Goldwater, Co-Op Power reasoned that Bush, too, is 92% opposed to REA, shoring up this conclusion (which it showed in a graph) with a reference to Sen. John Tower's 100% opposition to the REA cause in Senate voting.

Yarborough announced a rural Texans for Yarborough committee with R. T. Price of Bryan the chairman. Bryan is also chairman of the State Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Cmte. Bush wired Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman, demanding to know whether this violated the Hatch Act. A department flunky wired him back, No, it doesn't; Price works for the government only about three days a month and can do as he pleases with the rest of his time. Bush asked anyway whether this wasn't using a government agency for politics, but the matter ended at this point.

Bush has attempted to create the opinion that Yarborough has not fought beef imports, but has had a difficulty to overcome here in that Yarborough supported and voted for the Mansfield bill to limit beef imports, which passed. Bush has

stressed that Yarborough "did not vote" on the Hruska amendment to lower beef imports. Yarborough's answer: he was paired for this Republican amendment, but voted also for the beef import controls that became law.

## Handouts or Growth

In Austin—at a rally in Pease Park closing a tour with other GOP candidates—Bush condemned "the phony, the slick, the empty federal handouts that Yarborough uses to try to buy his way into the hearts of Texans." In almost every speech Bush condemns "federal giveaway programs." He is opposed to the war on poverty program and counter-proposes more industry for Texas—"not a government handout, not a suntan project reminiscent of the Civilian Conservation Corps," as he said in Lufkin. In Houston he said federal aid of build classrooms has been proved to be unnecessary. In Sweetwater he said, "federal spending has reached a frightening level."

Yarborough's response is to demand to know just which federal programs Bush intends to kill. On an East Texas swing last week, he specified federal aid money received locally and asked, "Is this the kind of wild federal spending my opponent wants to cut out?" He listed the Rayburn Dam near Lufkin, area development aid to the Lufkin airport, aid to build a guest lodge at Diboll, and education and student housing loans to Stephen F. Austin College in Nacogdoches. In Jacksonville Yarborough listed his efforts getting area development loans for such industries as Hallmark Industries and the Southwestern Custom Design firm; his help getting \$547,000 in accelerated public works money for Cherokee County; and funds received by Jacksonville and Lon Morris junior colleges under the National Defense Education Act, of which Yarborough was co-author.

There has been a snarl over Bush's position on the Trinity River development program. Bush's first position was that he would not vote for all the funds necessary for the program because of the federal deficit. There are powerful economic interests behind this project, as Bush probably learned. Bush announced then that he favors the project, had been "troubled by authorizing a total federal expenditure of three-fourths billion dollars when our federal budget is in deficit," and would like to cut out wasteful federal spending "and then we could undertake immediately the entire Trinity River project." Although the

press received this statement as a full endorsement of the project, Bush did not so intend it. In a letter he wrote to the Jacksonville paper, he referred to the statement as a declaration that "I favor the Trinity River project under certain conditions."

Bush endorsed the \$3 billion project to supply new water to Western areas of Texas by building an inter-watershed canal that would carry surplus water from east to west. He wants the federal government to finance extending the screwworm eradication program into Mexico.

## The Union Voters

Union labor is all-out for Sen. Yarborough. A good example is the railroad brotherhoods' weekly paper, "Labor," which circulated a special Texas edition headlined, "Keep Yarborough in Senate!" Yarborough is not wont to campaign on this subject, leaving unanswered Bush's charges about it.

Bush jumped Yarborough for "hiding out" on the right-to-work law by answering a Dallas News question that it's a state matter and he hadn't made a study of it. Mainly, however, Bush has tried to pry worker-voters away from Yarborough.

Repeatedly Bush has hit Yarborough on grounds that the civil rights bill which Yarborough voted for will cost white working men their jobs. "Many union members tell me they are strongly opposed to Yarborough's backing of the FEPC section of the civil rights bill, a provision which could threaten their seniority rights," he said in Texas City.

Steven E. Williams, machinists' international representative, has circulated "information you should know" about Bush as a director of Camco, Inc., an oil tool company. Camco, said Williams, fired eleven workers for trying to organize the plant, refused to reinstate them when the National Labor Relations Board ordered it to, and is now in court charged with "violating the employees' lawful rights to organize." Bush has said he has not had time to participate in Camco's management.

International Longshoremen's Assn. local 1273 invited Bush to speak to them, then cancelled the invitation. "We're not for Bush one drop. We don't want him out here to speak," said Jim Clark, vice-president of the Houston local.

## Extremism An Issue

Yarborough tags Bush a Goldwater extremist, and Bush rejects the label.

"My opponent supports Barry and the Birchers, with their violent attacks of every kind on Lyndon Johnson. He cannot be for Barry Goldwater and Lyndon Johnson at the same time . . . He can't be a hyphenated Goldwater-Johnson-John Birch man," Yarborough said in Sulphur Springs.

In Dallas the senator said Bush had embraced "the strange ideas of Barry Goldwater . . . which include the abandonment of rural electrification . . . social security . . . our veterans." In Longview he added, "The wealthy young man from Connecticut is against the nuclear test ban, he has publicly 'welcomed' the support of the John

Birch Society, and he shares the Goldwater distaste for social security."

Bush introduced Goldwater in some of his Texas appearances. In Fort Worth, for instance, introducing Goldwater to 6,500 persons, Bush said it is "rare in American political life to have an honest man, a sincere man, and a reasonable man at the head of the ticket of a major political party," and that he was "honored to appear on the ticket with Goldwater." He says, as to Yarborough's statement Bush is 100% for Goldwater, that he would not agree with anyone 100%.

Bush says in speeches he favors a strong social security system (and therefore opposes medicare), and he says conservatism is "compassionate." In Corpus Christi he said he favors a tax credit to help families educate their children. In a news release Oct. 17, he said he favors a "bipartisan foreign policy," but he is not stressing such a theme on the stump.

The Dallas News asked Yarborough if he is a member of ADA or considers its members extremists. He said he is not a member but does not consider them extremists.

## On Oil Importing

The two men have had an acrimonious dispute over whether Bush is a foreign oil importer. Yarborough charged that he is,

and Bush denied it, calling it "a filthy lie," saying Yarborough "is just lying about it." Bush said he has always voted to restrict oil imports as a director of three major oil associations.

When first taking note of Bush's denial, Yarborough said Bush had said he only drilled the wells abroad—in Kuwait, Trinidad, Borneo—he didn't import the oil. In Gilmer the senator said, "That's like the man who planted a cotton crop and owns it saying, 'Oh, but I didn't pick a boll of it.'"

According to Bush's statement in Who's Who, '64-'65, Yarborough said, Bush is an "offshore drilling and producing company executive" and president of Zapata Offshore Co. Standard & Poor's and Moody's stock reports for 1964 state that "Zapata Off-Shore drills offshore gas and oil wells for others on a contract basis—throughout the world and participates on a working interest basis in offshore farmouts." This means, Yarborough said, that when Zapata or one of its subsidiaries drills a well in the Persian Gulf for Kuwait Shell Petroleum, "which has a lease from the Shiek of Kuwait," Bush demands an interest in the oil as well as a rental for his rig. How many producing oil leases abroad has Bush or his companies an interest in, and "How much money do you or your companies

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# The Observer as a Christmas Gift

In many cases the Observer makes a very good Christmas gift, and a fairly inexpensive one. We shrink from the commercialism of Christmas, too, and therefore hope this way of doing something real with a gift may appeal to you this year, as it does each year to large numbers of our readers. If you have meant to give someone the Observer this is a practical time to do it, too, because of our Christmas rates.

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receive from crude oil that is produced from leases and imported into the United States?" Yarborough asked.

Last Saturday in Odessa, Bush said the audit of his Zapata Offshore and of George and Barbara Bush personally proved that he is not an oil importer, showing Yarborough to be a "reckless demagogue." Bush said the audit showed that neither he nor his wife had participated in overseas oil production or importation during the two-year period ending Sept. 30 and that in the ten years since the firm was founded, neither it nor its consolidated subsidiaries has imported oil or produced oil or gas outside the United States.

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## Last-Minute Bombs

George Bush says Sen. Yarborough may throw some "hand grenade" into the campaign in the closing hours. Yarborough says he has nothing of the sort planned, but he had heard "that they're trying some kind of smear" at the last minute, but that "it'll be a dud because it'll be false."

Bush told a breakfast group in Fort Worth last week, "It doesn't matter on the Estes thing whether Sen. Yarborough got this money," that is, the \$50,000 in the story told by Billie Sol Estes. "It's been pointed out that he didn't receive it. The Justice Department gave him a clean bill of health. I say the question is the involvement—there is a close tie between my opponent and Estes. We don't want a man with this tie."

Later in the day, Bush said, "I've heard rumors that perhaps Billie Sol would come back and say he's told a falsehood all along. It makes no difference to me whether it's \$50,000 as alleged or the \$8,700 Yarborough admitted taking. . . . I ask this question: What is the price of a United States senator?" (The \$8,700 was an allusion to the total of political contributions Yarborough specified he received from Estes, all of it before Estes got in any trouble and when he was still a leading businessman.)

At a night rally in Fort Worth, Bush said, as to the \$50,000, "I really in my heart don't care" whether the sum passed. He re-

peated, "What is the price of a United States senator?"

Bush also asks why Yarborough voted not to continue the Bobby Baker investigation. On Baker in San Antonio, Yarborough told reporters, "I'll just say frankly I never trusted Bobby Baker. I was awfully glad to see him leave there. The Senate is a better place without him there."

Bush charges that the McClellan report on the Estes case shows a close Estes-Yarborough tie. Yarborough said the report says neither he nor any other federal officials were guilty of any wrong-doing. "If there is an ounce of honesty in George Bush, he would apologize for what he has said about the charges against me. They are based on falsehoods and lies," Yarborough said in Dallas.

The U.S. Justice Department, acting on the basis of what it said was a full and exhaustive investigation (presumably by the Federal Bureau of Investigation), has branded the \$50,000 story told by Estes and two others as false—"without any foundation in fact."

## Other Developments

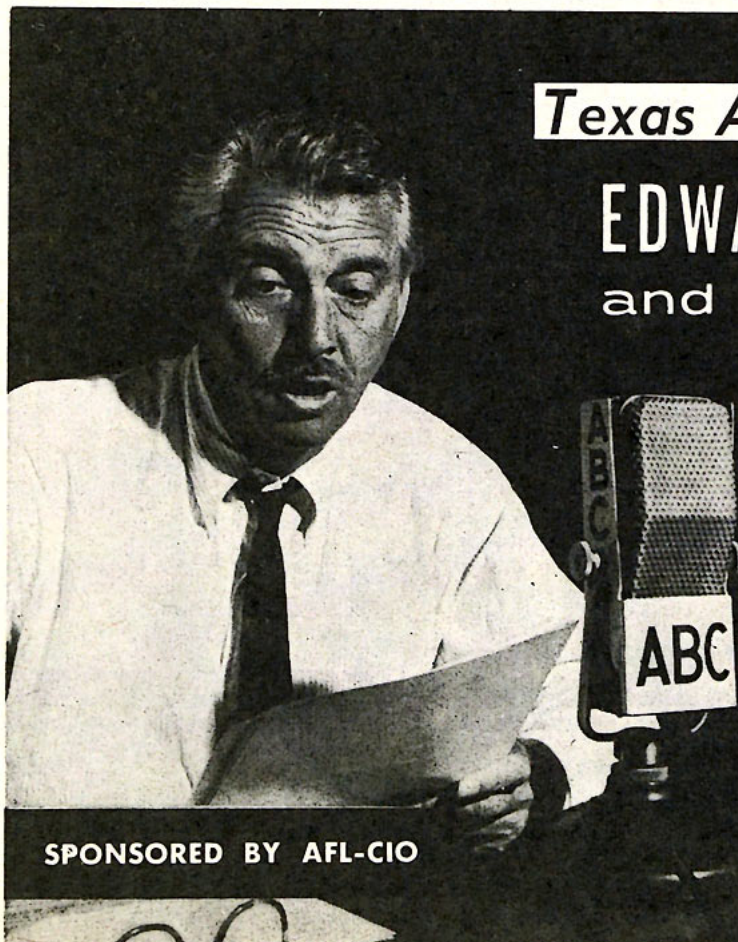
There have been, in this as in every major race, many side developments.

Sen. George McGovern, D.-S.D., came to Texas to say Yarborough's re-election is "absolutely critical" and "the most important Senate race in the United States in 1964." George Weaver, assistant secretary

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of labor for international labor affairs, said in Austin that the Johnson program would be endangered if Texans "give Tower a Bush to lean on." Yarborough was given a special award by the Assembly of Captive Nations for his work for liberty for the hundred million people of East Europe. Cong. Jim Wright was main speaker at a program in Palestine at which Yarborough also spoke, and Wright slammed Bush on the Trinity River project. When Yarborough spoke to the American Legion convention in Dallas, Legion Commander Daniel Foley introduced him as "a great friend of the veteran. He's in the veteran's corner."

When Yarborough's North Texas followers congregated more than 2,000 strong for an appreciation dinner for him the eve of the state Democratic convention in Dallas, the President sent a wire reiterating his support of Yarborough. "As I told my friends in Stonewall," the wire said, "Texas has not had a better champion of the people than Ralph Yarborough. And there has been no member of the U.S. Senate who has stood up and fought for the policies of my administration since I became President more than Ralph Yarborough. He fully deserves a new term of six years in the U.S. Senate, and I am hopeful that all the good Democrats and good Americans in Texas who look to a bright future will send him as well as our presidential ticket to Washington in November."

Richard Nixon campaigned Texas for Bush, who he said is running ahead of Goldwater in the state. "The people of Texas realize that Ralph Yarborough is to the left of John F. Kennedy . . . they are not going to send him back to Washing-

ton," Nixon said. The former vice-president called Yarborough a "lightweight" who "will never be an effective senator" and is "a dedicated radical"; "But I give him credit for his open sincerity," Nixon said.

Mrs. Yarborough made a campaign trip of her own, to San Antonio, attending many teas and meetings. She stressed the need for a large voter turnout. During one stop at a headquarters in East San Antonio, she was made a four-star general in the Freedom Army, an organization to get the maximum Negro votes to the polls election day.

Ed Clark, the Austin lawyer-lobbyist and friend of the President, and Sterling C. Adams, Houston, formed a Businessmen

for Yarborough Committee that included some big names, as did also Yarborough's 16-member finance committee. Clark in a letter to the Houston Chronicle asked for Yarborough's re-election, quoted J. Frank Dobie about him, and said it would be "a tremendous setback" for Johnson if Yarborough lost; "It would be saying, in effect, that we want the nation to know that we want our President handcuffed in his work as much as it is possible."

Sen. Yarborough's father, C. R. Yarborough, whom the senator had visited Oct. 13 in Chandler on his hundredth birthday, died last weekend. Yarborough cancelled his campaigning, to resume it the final week. □

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# Political Intelligence

## Congressional Matters

✓ In San Antonio, Henry Gonzalez, who used to have to fight hard to beat Republicans, is a cinch against John O'Connell. A Gonzalez spokesman says private polls show Gonzalez ahead 7-1. Be that as it may, Gonzalez is conceded the heavy favorite, and his active campaign is construed as an effort to turn out the voters for the Democratic ticket.

✓ In West Texas, Republican Ed Foreman seems not to have given much ground to Democrat Richard White. Reports from Democrats in that region indicate White would have to go some the last days to win.

✓ In Houston, Cong. Bob Casey in the county's conservative district is still hard challenged by Desmond Barry, the Republican. Barry accuses Casey of flying under false colors as a conservative, since

he's endorsed LBJ-HHH. Casey says he voted against the civil rights bill to protect businesses' control of their own affairs. The Republican challenger to Cong. Albert Thomas, named Bob Gilbert, accuses Thomas of following "the road to socialism," but has little chance.

✓ Cong.-at-Large Joe Pool is boosting the LBJ-HHH ticket regularly, saying the issue isn't ideology (Pool being very conservative) but leadership. Pool also spoke for Dallas Democrat Earle Cabell in his race against Bruce Alger. Bill Hayes, GOP opponent to Pool, continues to accuse him of laxness about fighting communism.

✓ Cong. Bob Poage of Waco, Omar Burleson of Anson, John Dowdy of Athens, and Ray Roberts of McKinney extemporaneously endorsed Cabell against Alger, too, during an appreciation dinner for Pool in Dallas. The Dallas Times-Herald continued its drum-fire against Alger, lampooning him in a cartoon because of the

Pageant Magazine poll of the Washington press corps naming him one of the five least effective members of the House (and Tower, by the way, one of the five least effective senators).

Businessmen for Cabell now include Robert B. Cullum, president of the Dallas chamber; Ben Carpenter, head of the Trinity River Improvement Assn.; James Aston, president of the Republic National Bank, and Harry Crutcher, Sr., of Mercantile National; and most important, perhaps, John Stemmons, president of the Dallas Citizens Council. With both daily papers for Cabell, Alger seems for the first time to be running uphill.

Alger says the oil depletion allowance will be in danger if Democrats win. He refers to Johnson's "unfortunate choice of companions." He says he does not want anyone to get votes out for him that would be votes against Goldwater, asking: "What do you think my future would be with Lyndon in the White House? . . . Two more years of beating by Dallas businessmen who want federal aid?"

✓ Americans for Constitutional Action, conservatives' answer to the ADA, endorsed these Texans for election: Republicans Alger and Foreman, incumbents, and GOP candidates Dr. John Greco, Bridge City; Fred Dielman, Fort Worth; and Dr. Joe Coulter, Brownsville; and Democrats Pool, Dowdy, Burleson, and O. C. Fisher, San Angelo. In Houston ACA approved both Casey and his opponent, Barry. ACA rated Alger, Foreman, and Dowdy 100% good in their 1964 voting; Casey 81%; Pool 76.6%.

✓ Americans for Democratic Action released their ratings for 1964, too: Yarborough only 42%, Tower 0; and Gonzalez 92; Brooks 85; Beckworth, Thomas, Patmar, Thompson, Wright, and Young 77% each; Mahon, Purcell, Roberts, 69; Poage and Pickle 62; Teague, 46; Pool, 23; Casey, Burleson, Kilgore, and Rogers, 15; Dowdy 8; and Fisher, Alger, and Foreman, 0.

## As to State Officials

✓ Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr augmented his somewhat routine supplemental report on the Warren Report during a luncheon club speech in Lubbock. Carr said Johnson asked him to conduct the inquiry, and he was to announce it on his own and to answer no questions. ". . . it was to look as if it were my own decision," Carr said. Carr called a press conference in Washington on a matter of "national" importance for a time that prevented many newsmen from covering or attending the Kennedy funeral. He walked out without answering questions and told the Lubbock lunch group the scene then was "disgraceful" as "all the venom against Texas poured on me." When he went to Washington later, he was told Warren did not want a Texas investigation, and that he was "to drop any plans for a state investigation." He waited three days to see Warren, then sent word he was going back to Texas to start his inquiry, and was thereupon included in all the Warren investigations.

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An ad announcing Carr's discussion of "Dallas and the Warren Commission Report" on Dallas TV was identified, "Paid Political Adv., Dallas County Committee for Carr," Oct. 18 in the Dallas News.

✓ State Senator Franklin Spears of San Antonio is very likely to run for attorney general of Texas in 1966 if Carr vacates the position to seek higher office. On the conservative side, the principal contender for the office may well be House Speaker Byron Tunnell of Tyler, who has lines out, hooks baited. The mere possibility—not, just yet, to say likelihood—of such a contest will shade the 1965 legislature with Spears-vs.-Tunnell undertones that may affect various controversies. Tunnell has the power; Spears, like every senator, has the filibuster. Spears, who has been a fairly consistent liberal in the Senate but has trimmed sails on occasion, is in an "up or out" mood. His various enthusiastic endorsements of Senator Yarborough's re-election over San Antonio TV are a clue to the kind of campaign he may be planning to run.

✓ Gov. John Connally is safely ignoring Jack Crichton, his Republican opponent, but Crichton continues to behave as though he is playing for keeps. He says Connally, introducing Humphrey in Houston, has sold out to the ADA. He reminds voters Connally was Johnson's right-hand man during the 1948 Box 13 controversy. He says if Johnson and Connally win, the oil depletion allowance will be in danger, despite Johnson's past support of it.

✓ An interesting charge has been leveled against Land Cmsr. Jerry Sadler by his GOP opponent, John Matthews. Matthews says Sadler approved the sale of a \$191,000 tract of land to a Cisco man with only 5% down at a time when the veterans' land program is out of money for 90% of the state's eligible veterans. Matthews also says the program is making an \$80 million profit when it should be non-profit; that the \$60,000 plane Sadler had his agency buy flew only 73 hours in 1963; that the state's one-sixth royalty in leased lands for oil exploration ought to be cut down to one-eighth.

✓ The Baptist Standard has contrived a merciless procedure for clubbing politicians into answering questionnaires. Polling Texas congressional candidates by registered letter on federal aid for parochial schools, the Standard sent a second letter to those who didn't answer their first one and notified the recalcitrants that they would be said to have "Refused to answer" if they did not respond. Only two did not answer—Cong. Jack Brooks and Albert Thomas—and 300,000 Baptists were duly advised that they had "Refused to answer." George Bush and Ralph Yarborough both indicated opposition to such aid, as did most of those responding. Bruce Alger naturally opposed it, since he opposes any federal aid to education, but Earle Cabell said he opposes legislation upsetting the principle of separation of church and state but would favor consideration for taxpayers who support both public and private

schools if this could be given without violating the principle.

## Crichton & H. L. Hunt

✓ As anticipated, the Houston Tribune, a new weekly on regular newspaper format, is ultra-conservative. Spokesmen object to it being called Republican, but admit it's conservative. Columnists in news columns in the Oct. 15 issue are Sarah McClendon, Hall Timanus, and Sen. J. Strom Thurmond. The paper's editorial endorsing Goldwater says electing Johnson means "eventual socialistic dictatorship" and "communist appeasement" and argues, "Gus Hall and his Communist Party are working for Johnson's election." The paper Oct. 15 was laden with Republican political ads. It is circulated free in Southwest Houston, for \$5 a year to others. A spokesman said it is dedicated to objectivity and integrity in news reporting; the Oct. 15 issue contained a pretty long news story on a PASO meeting.

✓ The Houston Chronicle has published a valuable six-part series (Oct. 18-24) on H. L. Hunt by Saul Friedman. Hunt is presented as a person who is much subtler than most people think. Among items of topical interest in Friedman's series: Jack Crichton, the GOP candidate for governor, is listed (as of Sept. 17, 1963) as a member of the board of trustees of the H. L. Hunt Foundation; Hunt's son, Nelson Bunker Hunt, and another of his relatives each gave Jack Cox \$2,500 for his campaign for the GOP senatorial nomination this year; Cong.-at-Large Joe Pool of Dallas solicited campaign money from Hunt, but unsuccessfully; "one of Goldwater's finance men" told Friedman, "If Hunt has given us money it's none of your business, but I'll say that Hunt has a lot of money and it's been hard to shake him loose from it"; and Hunt's son-in-law, Al G. Hill, is actively promoting a hush-hush project to locate, evaluate, indoctrinate, and advance, all without their knowledge, conservative and persuasive candidates for Congress.

✓ Despite day-long protests before a jammed hearing, the State Textbook Committee has recommended the State Board of Education adopt three biology and five civics books for use in the public schools. The biology texts—the first ever protested in Texas—were assailed by religious fundamentalists for teaching evolution; the civics texts for comments on the UN, among other things. Making no comment on its decision, the State Textbook Committee chose to stand firm, in contrast

## MEETINGS

**THE THURSDAY CLUB** of Dallas meets each Thursday noon for lunch (cafeteria style) at the Downtown YMCA, 605 No. Ervay St., Dallas.

The **TRAVIS COUNTY LIBERAL DEMOCRATS** meet at Saengerunde Hall, Scholz' Garten, at 8 p.m. on the first and third Thursdays. You're invited.

Items for this regular feature must be received seven days before the date of issue in which they are to be published. 7c per word, one publication; 5c per word, each additional publication.

to the concessions state educational authorities made to the critics in the last Texas textbook controversy.

✓ The Oak Cliff chamber of commerce heard ex-Gov. Allan Shivers speak on a community project last week in Dallas. His introducer: ex-U.S. Sen. William Blakley.

✓ A "red flag" to right-wingers, putting sodium fluoride into public drinking water to deter teeth cavities in children, was approved over rightist protests in Fort Worth by 8-1 city council vote. On Nov. 3 the voters of Abilene pass on the topic in a plebiscite. The Taylor County Dentists' Assn. is leading the fight for fluoridation there.

## Food Tax Debated

✓ J. M. Dellinger, member of the State Parks and Wildlife Cmsn., has flatly contradicted charges that he has had a conflict of interest. Jack Crichton and Rep. Bob Eckhardt had noted that Dellinger's company got a state road contract, and presuming he used oyster shell, condemned him for profiting from shell at the same time he has to rule whether shell dredgers jeopardize live oyster reefs when they dredge for the dead shell in the bays. Dellinger said in Corpus Christi that the charge is false; that he has never used shell in any project during his 17 years in the construction business. In the \$1.5 million contract his company got, he said, crushed limestone—not shell—was used.

✓ How to raise the money in the 1965 legislature? The Dallas Times-Herald reports that "Speaker Byron Tunnell said the revenue would most likely come through changes in the sales tax laws and

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through the removal of some exemptions"; Rep. Dick Cherry, Waco, supported raising the sales tax rate rather than lifting exemptions from it. Sen. George Parkhouse said in Dallas that the legislature could get the money needed without sales-taxing groceries; he suggested higher tuition rates for colleges, a sales tax on farm machinery, and requiring REA co-ops to pay the sales tax on now-exempt items. "I am convinced we can avoid raising the sales tax rate or levying the tax on grocery purchases," Parkhouse said. The brass-collar Democrat Jacksonville Daily Progress said the sales tax is here to stay, and "Better spread it to items now exempt than to increase its rate," in effect an endorsement of a sales tax on groceries.

✓ Members of the legislature were wined and dined in Dallas before the Texas-Oklahoma football game by the Dallas chamber of commerce (the night before) and by the State Fair of Texas (at noon before). The practice of entertaining the legislators through sterling civic organizations has been gaining ground in Texas the last four or five years.

✓ Gov. Connally and other state officials asked a federal court in Houston to give the legislature until Jan. 15, 1966, to effect legislative redistricting. The deadline for congressional redistricting is next Aug. 1. A federal suit now pends in Austin to redistrict commissioners' districts in Hays County.

✓ The U.S. Supreme Court having rejected the Texas AFL-CIO lawsuit against commuters from Mexico on grounds the organization was not a legitimate litigant on the issue, Texas labor is now resuming its campaign for a state minimum wage—which it figures would cut down the commuters, since the dirt-cheap wages

they'll work for is the basis of the demand for them—and for an international minimum wage agreement through Washington-Mexico City authorities. □

## Observations

### Politics, Anyone?

I anticipate, as do most observers, that the U.S. Senate race will be close Tuesday. A few, a few hundred, a few thousands of votes could make the difference. Turn-out-the-vote organizations are doing all they can. What can an individual do?

We suppose 15,000 or 20,000 people read each issue of the Observer. If each reader will communicate with two or three others and be sure they vote for Yarborough Tuesday, it could matter. If those readers who can take all or part of Tuesday off will present themselves to the Yarborough headquarters in their areas Tuesday morning and offer to haul voters or do telephone work, it could matter.

Politics is dirty work, but it leads to the improvement or the worsening of society. Senator Yarborough's re-election and the attendant election of President Johnson and Senator Humphrey will lead, I believe, to the improvement of society. More than ever I am convinced that the outcome depends on voter turnout. "Obviously," wrote pollster Joe Belden last Sunday, "a large turnout will benefit Yarborough, who maintains a substantial 15-point distance from Bush among all voters but only a five-point lead among likely voters."

It strikes me as likely that a few telephone calls or a few hours' work next Tuesday will be the most valuable brief contribution an ordinary Texan can make to a better world in this decade.

### The Three Amendments

The first constitutional amendment to be voted on Tuesday, to prohibit the legislature from spending any of the permanent school fund for operating expenses of the schools, conserves that fund for basic school improvements and deserves an aye vote.

The second one, requiring longer notice to the public and the Texas Water Commission before a legislator tries to create a new water district or substantially change an old one, seems all right.

The third one would authorize the legislature to extend medical services to needy elderly Texans who are not now covered by the present state medical vendor payments program because they have enough resources to have kept them from qualifying for old age assistance. The Texas Medical Assn. is using this state program in its propaganda against U.S. medicare under social security. Texans are being asked why they should support comprehensive federal medicare for the aged when they already have a state program. "Why Pay Twice?" ask doctors' ads in major Texas dailies. However, the state program itself is all right, and everybody knows already that

the political doctors are against medicare for selfish reasons and would use their own grandmothers' situations to argue against it if they thought that would work. Besides, the basic state program already exists; Amendment No. 3 is just an extension of it. Although I resent the medical propagandists placing voters in the position of contributing to their self-serving propaganda, I think the risk of jeopardizing federal medicare is marginal and will vote aye. R.D.

## Dialogue

### Yarborough vs. Goldwaterism

Up here in the land of (relative) sanity, one can forget so easily that not all voters have the choice between a Keating and a Kennedy, and that it is possible for a man of the great stature of our Ralph Yarborough to be in danger because of the forces of Goldwaterism.—Sue Wheeler, 303 East 71st St., New York 21, N.Y.

### Food for Thought

In your Sept. 18 editorial you mention that you might vote for Goldwater if he ran for dog catcher. I can just see the campaign poster:

GOLDWATER FOR DOG CATCHER  
Deep In Your Heart You Know He'll Bite  
(Them Back)

Gregor H. Riesser, 1514 Greenbriar Ave., Pasadena, Tex.

P.S. Recipe for Goldwater Barbecue: First you take a small conventional . . .

### No Margin for Complacency

Your description of the current campaign as being "cast over by some subtle sickness of spirit" [Obs. Oct. 2] seems especially acute. Events of the past eleven months have culminated in a totally unreal, chaotic political condition. We are presented with President Johnson, whom we have not known long as a liberal, and a candidate whose ignorance of present day problems and causes is terrifying.

The situation, however, is not at all devoid of hope. President Johnson has gone much farther in his support of liberal programs than mere expediency would seem to dictate. He has shown the inclination—and he certainly has the ability—to be an outstanding President.

In Texas we need a very large turnout of Democratic voters for two purposes. In addition to augmenting the overwhelming defeat of Senator Goldwater and thereby permitting the Republican Party to be salvaged, a large Democratic turnout is essential to Senator Yarborough's reelection.

The slightest complacency or indolence among Democrats could result in the election of a second Goldwater-type, anti-everything senator from Texas. And while Senator Tower has at times provided comic relief, the state can hardly afford two like him.

Don W. Allford, 1505 Cloverleaf, Austin, Texas.