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AN OBSERVER REPORT

Integration in Texas

Some Gains Made, But Substantial Problems Remain

Greg Olds

Austin

In the Cotton Bowl Jerry Levias, a Negro, runs a punt back for a touchdown to lead Southern Methodist University to a victory over the Naval Academy. At Mansfield, near Fort Worth, Negroes enroll at formerly all-white schools, where a decade before a similar move was halted by a mob of whites who nearly rioted.[1] Voters at Houston, Waco, Huntsville, Malakoff, Hearne, Port Arthur, Beaumont, LaMarque, Hitchcock, Mathis, and Taft elect Negroes and Latins to city councils, school boards, and the legislature.[2] In East Texas a daily newspaper sneers editorially at "the sorry spectacle of Ku Klux Klan leaders" invoking the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional committee.[3] At an Austin high school a Negro boy is named senior favorite.[4] In Houston a bride risks disinheritance by her millionaire grandfather rather than change plans to have a Negro as the best man at her wedding.[5] Newspapers include photos of Negroes and Latins in their society pages and are less likely to identify criminal suspects by their race. And Latin-American farm workers, members of what has been the state's meekest minority group, march on the State Capitol demanding a minimum wage, and more, that they be noticed.

Increasingly in the past two and one-half years (since the Observer last surveyed desegregation in Texas[6]), the state's racial minorities, particularly Negroes, have advanced toward equality. They have been bolstered most notably by the civil rights act of 1964 and by growing compliance with federal guidelines for school desegregation. It is in the schools that Texas is progressing most in the readjustment. This fall in the state, for the second straight year, the number of Negro students who are attending integrated schools is said to be doubled.[7] Hospitals, (spurred by Medicare), bar associations, teachers' organizations, municipalities, and many other groups in the past 30 months have declared that racial segregation is no longer acceptable policy. Clearly, as the Atlantic Monthly observes in its current issue, "*de jure* segregation has all but vanished from Texas"—but, the magazine also reports, "the *de facto* brand remains."

This seems true. For even as the state moves ahead this fall in, for example, dropping racial bars in its schools, no one seems to be paying much attention. Perhaps the story is now too commonplace for the dailies, or perhaps there is now the realization that dropping formal racial barriers in a school district doesn't insure equality of educational opportunity as long as Negroes and Latins are still shunted into neighborhoods "on their side of town," far from the "white schools," and often are reluctant to face the challenges of getting an education in a white man's world. Some members of minority groups have shrunk from the new freedom, asking for retention of the inadequate, but comfortably familiar, old way of separate education. And there have been instances of one minority group arrayed against the other, such as in the law suit this past summer at Big Spring in which some Latins opposed the closing of an elementary school in their neighborhood because this forced their children to attend a predominantly Negro school. Big Spring school officials said they had closed the Latin school to erase *de facto* segregation in the district.[8]

In Texas and nationally the alpinists of the freedom movement seem hesitant now, encamped on a plateau well below the summit of social equality. Laws have been written and rewritten, procedures altered, and yet, as a reporter noted of the national scene a few weeks ago, "more Negroes are unemployed now than in 1954, more live in subhuman housing, more even attend segregated schools."[9] School desegregation has proven a dismal disappointment, the head of the U.S. Office of Education agreed this summer: "the schools throughout the nation remain almost as segregated today as they were in 1954, when the Supreme Court decided that racially segregated education was illegal."[40]

Perhaps a desegregation pause is occuring today as leaders consider the distinction between form and substance, between *de jure* and *de facto*, and ponder the plight of a Negro or Latin who, though free to attend the "white school" across town, doesn't have the transportation he would need to do so; whose family doesn't have the money needed to buy a bungalow across town near the white school or to move near the better schools in Bellaire or Irving, and, even if they did, wouldn't be able to find houses they could buy; whose parents are ill-prepared to work at a good-paying job, and even if they weren't, wouldn't be likely to find an employer for such work; whose family and neighbors are said to stand equal now before the law, but know they dare not stand too long before their local lawman.

Thus it is that Booker T. Bonner, the militant Austin Negro, tells the Observer that he is planning a march through East Texas next June from Texarkana to the Gulf, roughly paralleling and 30 miles west of the Louisiana border. Bonner speaks of seeking to demonstrate that all is not well in East Texas, contrary to what many whites—and Negroes—seem to believe today. He says his proposed march would be designed largely to demonstrate (1) that Negroes in East Texas do not enjoy the protections of recent civil rights legislation, (2) that local law enforcement agencies are no better in East Texas than in Mississippi, and (3) that the Negroes in East Texas are no better off than the Negroes in Mississippi. Bonner proposes to establish a headquarters in Houston to recruit workers for his march. He believes that city will be a good base for press operations, preventing a news blackout such as one he says hurt a previous civil rights drive in Huntsville (Obs. Aug. 6, 1965).

Bonner and others interested in East Texas had their hopes buoyed that help was imminent. The Texas Liberal Democrats this last summer voted to raise money to finance a summer youth program to train fifty young activists from poor areas and also resolved to work in 59 East Texas counties at doubling Negro and Latin voting registration. But nothing has come of the plans so far. Efforts to raise money for the youth program have not begun. The voter registration drive may be pursued in one of the 31 state senatorial districts by T.L.D. members. William Thomas of Austin says the attorney general has been asked for a ruling on the legality of registering

voters for 1967 elections during the general elections at the polls this year. If this is approved, Thomas tells the Observer, district 14 T.L.D. members will try to set up registration facilities at polls in the Austin area.

DESPITE CONCERN about the reality of advances for the Negroes, there has been a perceptible change in Texas public opinion, with more people now favoring or at least accepting desegregation. Last year, as school was resuming in the fall, Mansfield Supt. Willie Pigg, who had been the high school principal there on that tumultuous day in 1956, was able to say, "Times have changed. Nine years ago, integration was new to everybody. They weren't ready for it. The attitude has now changed." The day Pigg spoke Negroes were enrolling in all grades of Mansfield's formerly all-white school with nine on the football roster and others in the school band.[11] At nearby Grapevine, facing integration that same fall, parents had held interracial meetings during the summer and decided to hold social functions at which the white and Negro families could meet and introduce the students of both races to each other. Friendships were made.[12] And statewide, the Belden Poll reports that public opinion is beginning now to favor Negro goals. In 1963 the only integrationist proposition supported by 50% or more of the whites interviewed was acceptance of Negroes working with them at the same jobs. Since the 1963 sampling, 50% or more of the whites interviewed have come to accept sharing railroad cars, restaurants, hotels, schools, and churches with Negroes. Still unacceptable to most whites are the sharing of public swimming pools and mixed social gatherings in or outside the home.[13]

The Public Schools Comply

FIRST, THE SCHOOLS. Some 100,000 of the state's 400,000 Negro students are in classes at formerly all-white schools, the Dallas News' Richard Morehead reports,[14] compared to 7,000 in 1962-'63 and perhaps 25,000 just two years ago.[15] Examples of expressed defiance to federal desegregation requirements in the past 30 months have been rare in the state. On March 5, 1965, a district judge in Austin erased from Texas' law books and Constitution all school segregation laws, some of them passed by the legislature eight years before in special session. The ruling drew little public notice.[16] And in East Texas, a special Texas Education Agency study revealed, compliance by school districts was unexpectedly uniform.[17] School district officials evidently have become less worried about "strings attached" to federal aid and more concerned that they may not get their share of the U.S. money. Federal school funds have nearly tripled in Texas in the last two years and will total between $104 and $160 million during 1966-'67.[18]

Of the state's some 1,300 school districts, about 700 were automatically OK'd for continued eligibility in 1966-'67, as they are all-Negro or all-white districts. Fifteen other Texas districts (three in Harris County, including Houston) are following court-ordered desegregation plans and thus are in compliance. Of the remaining 560 districts, about 200 had received notices when school opened that they were in compliance; the other 360 districts were awaiting word,[19] but are not likely to lose federal aid, says Leon Graham of the Texas Education Agency. "I expect Texas schools to go ahead and meet the requirements, whatever they are. Practically every school district is doing so," Graham told the Observer. The trend in Texas appears to mean that it is certain that all but a handful of districts will have no formal racial barriers for either faculty or students in any grade by the fall, 1967, the target date announced by the U.S. Office of Education.*

The fact that integration nevertheless continues to be attacked as "token" is the basis of a lawsuit that seeks to prevent continuation of a $60 million school construction program in Houston. Those who filed the suit contend that building and expanding schools in Negro sections denies Negro students the right to attend desegregated schools and perpetuates segregation. The suit failed in a Houston court, but is now being considered on appeal. If the lawsuit prevailed, it could signal a new turn in desegregation. Meanwhile construction work has begun in Houston.[20]

In Dallas a policy of "de-integration" ceased. During the 1963-'64 school year two Dallas elementary schools were redesignated "colored" schools by the school board, reducing the number of Negroes in desegregated schools from 182 to 110. Dallas schools that year bore one of three classifications, "white," "colored," and "desegregated." Negroes could transfer from colored to desegregated elementaries, but had to "show cause" why the transfer should be granted. In the summer of 1965 a federal court ordered the district to be totally desegregated by the fall of 1967.[21] The school board then desegregated all elementaries and began token integration of the high schools.[22]

Desegregation has not been without its negative aspects for some Negroes who prefer the old system of separate education on grounds that it is best for their neighborhoods and children and who are concerned about the loss of jobs by Negro teachers and administrators. Negroes at Alto (Cherokee County),[23] Groesbeck,[24] Kountze,[25] East Liberty,[26] LaPorte,[27] Mount Calm (Hill County),[28] and Refugio[29] have asked that their separate schools not be closed. And Negro attendance at formerly all-white schools has been slight where Negro schools have been kept open.

Probably Texas' rigidly racial neighborhoods account for much of this. Often Negro parents in Texas have expressed hesitancy about sending their children to integrated schools. "The children aren't ready for integration," a Negro parent at East Liberty said.[30] This spring, before the LaPorte school board, Negroes spoke of the value of neighborhood schools in protesting the closing of the Negro school. "These parents don't have two cars to take their kids to school," one woman said: "If a community has no school or church, it's a very poor community," said another.[31]

The problem of Negro educators losing their jobs was serious for a time, particularly in the 1964-'65 and 1965-'66 school years. "The fact is," one Negro teacher in Texas admitted, "many Negro teachers and administrators have been needed only to maintain separation of the races in schools." An example, one of many, was the closing of a Negro junior high school last year in Big Spring. The superintendent said that only two of the school's ten teachers would be needed to fill out the faculty at the formerly all-white junior high, despite the increase in enrollment caused by the addition of the Negro students.[32]

And the slack was not being taken up by integrating teachers. The problem was illustrated in the summer of 1965 when a Houston Post reporter found that 20 of the 21 school superintendents[33] in Harris County would hesitate to integrate their faculties until they had to. At that time federal pressure on this point was slight. Most of the superintendents said they felt Negro teachers were generally not as well qualified as whites. "I'd give a Negro applicant the same consideration I'd give anybody else, but I wouldn't hire her," one superintendent told the Post.[34]

By December of 1965, the National Education Association reported that 148 Negro teachers had been dismissed during the year in Texas and most of these were

*Newspapers in the past two and one-half years have frequently reported closings of all-Negro schools and desegregation of faculty and students in compliance with federal standards. The clippings include word of desegregation progress at these districts, listed alphabetically: Arlington, Aldine, Athens, Angleton, Alvarado, Anderson, Atlanta, Austin, Burkeville, Bonham, Big Sandy, Big Spring, Baytown, Bartlett, Brenham, Barbers Hill, Beckville, Beaumont, Corpus Christi, Crockett, Cuero, Commerce, Crosbyton, Cleveland, Clarksville, Central (Lamar County), Columbia-Brazoria, Cayuga, Dayton, Dallas, Denison, Del Valle (Travis County), Danbury, Deweyville, Eules-Bedford, East Liberty, Ennis, El Campo, Fort Worth, Grapevine, Garland, Gonzales, Goliad, Grandview, Giddings, Grand Prairie, Gilmer, Granger, Galveston, Gainesville, Houston, Hutto, Huntsville, Haskell, Hull-Daisetta, Hardin, Irving, Jacksonville, Kilgore, Kirbyville, Keystone, LaPorte, LaGrange, Longview, Lufkin, Liberty, Livingston (plus all eight other Polk County districts), LaMarque, Marshall (plus all others in Harrison County), Melissa (Collin County), Mexia, Muleshoe, Mansfield, Midlothian, Manor, Manvel, Mesquite, Northeast Houston, New Summerfield, Newton, Nederland, Orange, Omaha, Paris, Port Arthur, Palestine, Robstown, Redland (Angelina County), Sherman, Silsbee, South Park (Jefferson County), Northside (Bexar County), Sunnyvale (Dallas County), Seguin, Sweeny, Sealy, Tyler, Taylor, Texas City, Tomball, Waelder, West Oso, White Oak, and Waco.

believed still out of work.[35] The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People also expressed concern about the problem. Questioning these reports, however, was the head of the Negro Teachers State Association of Texas, Dr. Vernon McDaniel, who said fewer than 30 Negro teachers were without jobs in the state at that time. He said he was, in fact, quite encouraged about the integration of Texas faculties and the additional numbers (500, he estimated) of Negroes hired in the state compared to the year before.[36] Tending to support Dr. McDaniel's view was a report of the U.S. Office of Education that 100 Negro teachers were on formerly all-white faculties in Texas during 1964-'65 and 500 Negroes in 1965-'66. And a United Press International story surveying Texas public school desegregation this fall termed teacher desegregation "widespread."[37] Since the U.S. Office of Education announcement last spring that integration of faculties is a major concern of the federal guidelines,[38] reports of Negro educators being out of jobs have hardly been heard at all in Texas. Last month the T.S.A.T. disbanded after having had on its rolls at one time some 10,000 Negro teachers, who have now been encouraged to join the formerly all-white Texas State Teachers Association, which in 1964 dropped racial bars to membership.

All the foregoing discussion of school desegregation ignores what, in Texas, is a sizeable problem of discrimination. Thousands of Latin American students suffer segregation as damaging as any the Negro ever endured, largely because of segregated housing and an unwillingness to contend for their rights in the Anglo world — but also because federal attention is riveted on the Negro's plight. "We're blind to any colors but black and white," a U.S. Office of Education official is said to have told a South Texas school superintendent. Brown doesn't register, evidently, on the federal retina. Only lately has language become of concern in districts with large populations of Latins; Latin youngsters entering school usually have not spoken any language but Spanish. Steadily they fall behind in the English-speaking schools. Some progress has been made in teaching English to incoming first graders the summer before they begin school; Head Start also has been helpful — very much so, many educators believe — in surmounting the language barrier. In Laredo an experiment is under way in teaching English as a second language to Latin children and Spanish to Anglo students.

The Colleges Are Adapting

AT THE HIGHER EDUCATION level, desegregation has also progressed in the last two and one-half years. The experience of the University of Texas is especially instructive.

In May, 1964, the University of Texas hired its first Negro faculty member, Ervin S. Perry, described as a leading scholar in the U.T. engineering graduate school. He was the first Negro on the faculty of any formerly all-white Southern university.[39]

Student housing has posed a basic problem in desegregating colleges in the state. In the fall of 1961 the first sit-in by Negroes at a segregated U.T. dormitory occurred;[40] two and one-half years later, on May 16, 1964, the Board of Regents decided to end housing discrimination, by then the last vestige of formal segregation at the school.[41] All dormitories, accommodating some 3,000 students, were immediately opened to all races, and, though some subtle symptoms of the former days are still present today (such as assigning Negroes to rooms by themselves, with no roommate, or to rooms with other Negroes), access to U.T.-owned housing is open.

The difficulty of the university's transition was personified in W. W. Heath, chairman of the university's Board of Regents during much of the critical period and a one-time segregationist from the backwoods of East Texas. Heath in 1965 spoke candidly of the difficulties he faced within himself in bringing integration to the university and its associated institutions. "Hardest thing I had to reconcile myself to was the integration of the girls' dorms, where girls receive their dates and have their social activities," Heath told Houston Chronicle reporter Bo Byers. Heath went on: "The thing I'm proudest of — and I'm proud in a way of integration — is that we did what we had to do and should have done in the matter of human rights and that sort of thing. . . . Our integration was reasonably orderly, without provoking incidents. With the vast majority of the faculty and the students saying we should integrate completely and immediately, at the same time a vast majority of all the people of Texas and of the legislature were saying we were going too fast. It was like being on a tightrope. The fact we were able to do it without violence, without bloodshed, without federal marshals — that is the thing I'm proudest of because it undoubtedly is the hardest thing we've gone through. I speak as one who started out opposed to integration and who still has some misgivings on the subject, but I still think what we did was right, not just on a legal basis.

"I know deep in my heart it was right. As a man who tries to subscribe to Christian principles, even though I have my prejudices, I think we did right. Certainly the human rights have to be protected."[42]

In the fall of 1964 the university ceased requiring its students who live off-campus to reside in housing approved by the administration. This apparently was a step taken to retain the school's eligibility for federal funds. Otherwise the university would have had to require that landlords of approved privately-owned dormitories and rooming and boarding houses be integrated.[43] That same year students began preparing their own "approved list," including places that didn't discriminate because of race or national origin.[44] Response of landlords who were ap-

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proached was good, but only a portion of them were contacted. The resolution of the private housing situation in the university neighborhood is still on civil rights activists' list of unfinished business.

Another non-public sector of the university community in which discrimination exists is the fraternities and sororities, which, since they are privately-financed, can select members on any basis they wish. There are still no Negroes in any white sorority or fraternity at Austin as far as campus spokesmen are aware, but in conversations with the Observer, leaders of the Greek organizations conveyed the belief that the times are demanding change. Two years ago racial and religious questions on the applications for participating in rush week were dropped, although a student may still specify that he wishes to join a Negro or Jewish fraternity or sorority. There are now two Negro fraternities and two Negro sororities at the university. Two whites are said to have joined one of the Negro fraternities this fall, according to Bruce Schnitzer of Fort Worth, Interfraternity Council president. Alhough some Greek groups have national bans on Negroes (or members of other minority groups) joining, in most cases these can be waived locally; the presidents of the U.T. Interfraternity and Panhellenic Councils point out that there are no local proscriptions on Negro memberships in white groups. No "gentlemen's agreements" exist not to accept a minority group member, according to Schnitzer, who adds that he knows of two Negro youths who would have been invited to join any of several fraternities had the boys expressed interest. "We have tried to make this as free a situation as possible, where the selections are matters of individual, not racial, preference," Schnitzer says. Still, of course, it takes just one member of a Greek organization who is racially prejudiced to keep a Negro out by "blackballing."

(Sigma Nu fraternity last year sought to be declared exempt from paying Austin city taxes on the grounds the organization is educational, religious, and engages in some physical training. In the course of testifying in support of the fraternity's contention, the Sigma Nu national president said his organization nationally has a rule excluding Orientals and Negroes from membership. Orientals were first excluded, he explained, because there were so many of them on the West Coast. "There is probably a better reason now," he went on, "most Orientals are communists." The ban on Negro members can be lifted if a Sigma Nu chapter has pressure put on it by its university to do so, he testified.[45])

The Cowboy Minstrels, staged annually at the university, began to draw complaints in 1956 about the racism of minstrels. In 1960 attempts were made to eliminate the "Rastus" or "Jim Crow-type" humor. The campus newspaper in 1964 editorially urged that the word "minstrels" be dropped, saying the event "is now a minstrel show in name only."[46] Last year the show evolved a bit further, discontinuing the blackface make-up.

AT OTHER COLLEGES in Texas, state-supported and otherwise, there have been some similar changes.

In June, 1965, Rice University hired its first Negro faculty member, Dr. Kennard W. Reed.[47] However, Rice is still involved in a suit protesting possible admission of Negroes as students. Several Rice alumni brought the legal action, noting that William Marsh Rice proscribed Negroes' attending in his 1891 trust which established the school.

Integration was decreed for the 10 Baptist colleges in the state in 1961,[48] though in at least one case, at Mary Hardin Baylor College in Belton, Negroes were not actually accepted until the spring of 1965.[49] That same spring students from throughout Texas, meeting in Waco at a Baptist Student Union leadership training conference, resolved "to involve students of all races in B.S.U. activities," and a Negro became the first of his race to be elected to the B.S.U.'s state executive committee.[50]

As college desegregation spread, Texans learned that the graduates of Negro high schools were not prepared to do college work, even in the reputedly less rigorous Negro colleges. Texas Southern University reported that nearly 1,000 students who applied for admission in the fall of 1963 were unable to pass the college entrance examination and about 40% of the university's students were enrolled in remedial classes to learn what they should have been taught in public schools.[51] In the fall of 1964 the teachers' training programs at three Negro colleges were criticized by the State Board of Education, whose members said the programs should be closed unless they were improved. Board member Dr. John D. Moseley said the situation "ought to be on the consciences of a lot of people."[52]

Ending the practice of sending Negro medical and dental students out of state began to be discussed by the Texas Commission on Higher Education (now the Coordinating Board, Texas College and University System) in the spring of 1964.[53] Ray Fowler of the board tells the Observer that Texas has a quota for sending eight Negro dental students and 17 Negro medical students out of state (to Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tenn.). But since Negroes are now eligible to attend dental and medical schools in Texas, eliminating the practice of paying tuition for Negroes attending such schools out of state is being reconsidered. In the fall of 1965 the first Negro entered the Baylor University medical school,[54] and other Negroes are now receiving educations in the dental and medical professions in Texas.

In the summer of 1964 Sam Houston State, the last state college to desegregate, enrolled its first Negro,[55] and by the fall of 1964 the color barrier had been broken at the junior college level as well, with some 1,000 Negroes attending formerly all-white junior colleges, according to the Dallas News' Richard Morehead; another 575 Negroes were in the four-year state colleges, he reported.[56] By last fall Negroes in junior colleges numbered about 1,500, and four-year state colleges were enrolling more Negroes, particularly in areas with strong "Old South" traditions, Morehead found.[57] He says such estimates are becoming harder to make, as statistics on race are not kept by colleges now. Some Negro leaders are beginning to wish they were so that changes in the segregation of schools and colleges could be more easily checked.

Meanwhile efforts to strengthen former all-Negro colleges are becoming more widespread. National philanthropic foundations are turning their attention to the South's institutions of higher learning and awarding grants.[58] Texas Southern and the University of Wisconsin have announced a faculty exchange program,[59] and Texas Christian University has assumed administration of Jarvis Christian College in East Texas, a move to upgrade the Negro college's financial and academic standing.[60] Negro colleges have begun to encourage the enrollment of whites, partly to retain their eligibility for federal funds and partly to do away with another form of segregation.

ATHLETICS, normally a field in which much desegregation progress has been made nationally, has likewise in Texas been generally flexible to change, though the Southwest Conference has progressed only lately and slightly. The conference broke its color barrier in 1965 with the scholarship awarded Levias by S.M.U. and the signing of basketball player James Cash by Texas Christian University. This year S.W.C. members granted scholarships to only four more Negro athlete-students, and only Baylor joined T.C.U. and S.M.U. in the conference desegregation movement. The S.W.C.'s three state universities — U.T., Texas Tech, and Texas A&M — have recruited no Negroes, nor have Rice or the University of Arkansas. Several other Texas colleges, not S.W.C. members — North Texas State, the University of Houston, West Texas State — have taken steps in desegregating state intercollegiate athletics. Professional athletic teams in Texas have for years included Negroes, many of them quite popular with the public.

In high schools, increased Negro enrollments at formerly all-white schools are resulting in the desegregation of athletic events. The Texas Interscholastic League, governing body of schoolboy athletics in the state, has in the past year and a half taken steps towards inclusion of the 75 to 100 remaining Negro high schools.[61] In 1966-'67 the first Negro high schools, Phyllis Wheatley of San Antonio, Wheatley of Plainview, and North Powderly,[62] joined the formerly all-white league. In three more years, estimates T.I.L. director Dr. Rhea Williams, all Negro high schools will be in the league. Still in existence is a Negro version of the T.I.L., run by officials at Prairie View A&M, a state-supported Negro college. Both the Negro and white T.I.L.s have dropped racial

references from their membership requirements.[63] Beginning with the 1967 football season high school athletics will be integrated in the major metropolitan areas. In addition to San Antonio (where Wheatley was the only former N.I.L. member), all public high schools at Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth, Austin, and Waco and in several West Texas cities will be members of the T.I.L.

Non-athletic competition among high schools in such fields as journalism, arithmetic, speech, and drama are also sponsored by the two T.I.L.'s. In time these, too, will likely be desegregated completely, as is the case in athletics. Perhaps the Negro T.I.L. ultimately will disband, just as the Negro teachers' association did.

Athletics, Housing, Police, Etc.

HOUSING is still very much of a problem for Texas' minority groups, as it is in much of the rest of the country. Public opinion appears to have changed little in this regard. Numerous local Texas real estate associations published full-page newspaper advertisements urging Congress not to pass the open-housing title of the proposed 1966 civil rights bill on grounds that property owners' freedom of choice would be impeded by such a law. Many Texas newspapers still list housing for rent and sale by races in their classified ads. The status quo in housing persists, and minority group families are largely confined to neighborhoods generally understood to be particularly for them.

Since 1940, a sociological study has revealed, Southern discrimination against Negroes in housing increased in the 20 years to 1960. "Many Southern cities are approaching the upper limit of complete segregation," according to Dr. Karl E. Taeuber, associate professor of sociology at the University of Wisconsin. It will be "many decades before residential segregation of whites from Negroes" is substantially decreased anywhere in the nation, although in other parts of the country some reduction occurred in 1950-'60 he said. Rating cities on scale of 0 to 100 (totally segregated), Dr. Taeuber found that the Houston segregation index was 84.5 in 1940, 91.5 in 1950, and 93.7 in 1960. For Dallas, comparable figures were 80.2, 88.4, and 94.6.[64]

Similar data was developed in Texas as part of a study of the Mexican-Americans' situation in five Southwestern states, including Texas, a study undertaken by the Mexican-American Study Project at the University of California at Los Angeles. Nine of the eleven Southwestern cities in which Latins were most rigidly segregated were in Texas: (in order) Odessa, Corpus Christi, San Bernardino (California), Dallas, Lubbock, San Angelo, Houston, Riverside (California), Wichita Falls, San Antonio, and Austin. Rounding out the Texas cities studied were Waco, 14th in the degree of Latin segregation, followed by Abilene, 16th; Fort Worth, 18th; El Paso, 21st; Port Arthur, 26th; Laredo, 32nd; and Galveston, 34th.

The U.C.L.A. study found that segregation of housing for Latins is more pronounced in larger cities; however, Texas was an exception in that some of the state's smaller cities were markedly rigid in housing patterns — such as Odessa, Corpus Christi, and Lubbock. Negroes, the study also found, are more effectively separated from Anglos than are Latins, and Latins live closer to the Anglos than do Negroes. Economics of individual families appear to matter little in determining where they live. "Even middle-class Mexican-Americans in many communities appear to be kept from leaving their ghetto by the hard facts of housing discrimination," the report noted.[65]

The Negro officer is now less of a rarity in Texas. There are 40 Negroes on the Houston force, including three who are detectives.[66] Dallas began integrating its force in 1947 with the hiring of two Negro patrolmen and at last report, a year ago, had 15 Negroes. This summer the first promotions of Negroes to sergeants were announced.[67] Other breakthroughs in the past several months include the first Negro on the Midland police force[68] and the first two Negro patrolmen at Jacksonville in East Texas.[69] Fort Worth had seven Negroes on its police force at last report, and Paris, in East Texas, has a Negro officer.[70] Further employment of Negroes by law enforcement agencies may be ahead. A Houston grand jury this summer urged such a course there.[71] Breakthroughs on forces in metropolitan areas are more likely than is desegregation of officers in smaller cities. Latins do not usually serve with Texas law enforcement agencies, except in parts of the state with high Latin populations.

No Negroes serve in the Department of Public Safety's uniformed branches, though some have applied. A D.P.S. official told the Observer that the Negro applicants to date have not been found to be qualified. It had been speculated last year in a Dallas News story that one or more Negroes were to be hired soon by the department, perhaps for undercover work in the narcotics or intelligence sections. There are several Latins who serve on the D.P.S., most of them on duty in South Texas at their own request, it is reported. None of the 62 Texas Rangers are Negroes and probably none are Latins, the D.P.S. spokesman said. Turnover in Ranger personnel is said to be slow.*

Desegregation of the National Guard in Texas has proceeded slowly, according to

In Houston, an Experiment Works Out

A social experiment that combines the hard-headed practicality of sound business practice with the idealism of concern for fellowmen evidently is working out in Houston. During the summer of 1964 the waves of Negro resettlement in homes formerly for whites only were lapping at the edges of South MacGregor Estates, a tranquil, prosperous neighborhood of some 1,000 homes in the middle and higher price ranges.

Many whites began the usual panic selling, accustomed to the lore that property values are lowered by Negroes moving in; some 60% of the houses were for sale. But several homeowners were determined not to move out. They organized the South MacGregor Promotion Committee, whose most conspicuous activity was selling signs for the front lawns of residences, signs that read, "This is our home, it is not for sale." Negroes were not discouraged from moving in; rather, the panic selling by whites was the committee's target.

Today, Mrs. Julia Carman, one of six committee organizers, tells the Observer that property values are stable in South MacGregor Terrace now and at levels that compare favorably with houses of similar age and size elsewhere in Houston. About 10% or less of the neighborhood's homes are for sale today, a figure that is believed normal for any neighborhood of good homes. Whites still predominate, though more Negroes are moving in steadily. The real estate panic seems to be a thing of the past in South MacGregor Terrace.

There is, perhaps, an even more significant aspect of the situation, however. Mrs. Carman tells the Observer that there is an "ease of interracial relations which now characterizes the area." Three local civic clubs, organized years ago to watch for violations of deed restrictions (Houston has no zoning ordinance), are now led by Negroes and whites in nearly equal proportions. "Each year," Mrs. Carman says, "more and more Negro residents have attended meetings, paid dues, and spoken out in meetings in an easy way which indicates their sense of belonging. At the last such meeting, in early fall, the temper of the discussion was such that full acceptance [by whites] of Negro residents as neighbors on a full basis of equality seemed at last to have arrived," Mrs. Carman believes. □

*In the Jan. 21, 1966, Time Magazine, a letter from D.P.S. director Homer Garrison noted that the Rangers are "very active in crime control. In a recent two-year period," Garrison advised, "the 62 Rangers investigated 4,649 felonies, were responsible for 1,772 convictions that led to penalties totalling 10,771 years, plus 24 life sentences, and three death penalties. They traveled 4,637,469 miles by car, and spent 1,018 hours on horseback."

figures provided by the State Adjutant General's office. In December, 1965, the last time a count was made, 177 Negroes were included among the state's 17,713 Guardsmen, compared to 150 Negroes among 15,582 in the Guard earlier last year. The Guard has long included many Latin-Americans.

State institutions are being desegregated more and more now. This summer two special schools for girls, at Crockett (formerly for Negroes) and Gainesville (formerly for whites), were integrated by transferring portions of each school's inmates to the other school.[72] Two years ago classes at three special state schools in Austin for blind and deaf were integrated,[73] and residence dormitories were desegregated later. Texas prisons are segregated in varying degrees, according to Dr. George Beto, director of the Texas Department of Corrections. A lawsuit was filed this summer on behalf of a Negro imprisoned at the Ellis Unit near Huntsville, alleging that his punishment is "cruel or unusual" in violation of the Texas and U.S. constitutions because of the segregation of Negro inmates in living quarters and work (though whites and Negroes eat together and attend the same prison school).[74]

STATE GOVERNMENT administrators have made some steps in the past few years to hire more Latins, and, in particular, Negroes, a knowledgeable official tells the Observer, although it is said to be difficult to find members of these racial groups who have the necessary educational and professional backgrounds. State agencies which deal to any extent with federal funds, such as the Texas Employment Commission and the Health Department, among others, are said to be particularly open to employing persons of racial minorities.

Gov. John Connally has at times remarked that he has encouraged the less racially discriminatory hiring practices in his administration. The governor's office has made available to the Observer this month the names of 26 Latin American and 12 Negro appointees by Connally to state boards and agencies. The governor has created the first Negro majority on the Board of Regents of Texas Southern University and has named the first Negro to the State Board of Corrections.

Finding qualified Latins and Negroes to serve on the governor's committee on public school education was said to have been quite difficult by the group's executive director. Glenn H. Ivy said that his staff intends to survey the state's educational picture looking for "soft spots." If these weaknesses appear to be related to racial or ethnic problems, the staff will investigate them on that basis, Ivy said. He added that the researchers are planning no specific comparative studies of minority group children with the rest of the population.[75]

State Auditor C. H. Cavness says he gets few applications from Negroes, as, he believes, accounting is a profession not yet entered by many of that race. But two Latin accountants work for Cavness; one of them recently passed the Certified Public Accountants' examination. The State Board of Control, which handles purchasing and plant operation for the state government, reports some 25% of its employees are Negroes. There are a few Latins, but not many, the board's personnel director advises. As reported earlier in the Observer (Feb. 4, 1966), the state attorney general's office has two Negro and several Latin-American lawyers on the staff.

Photo by Tom Cahill

Austin in 1965: the Klan gets scowls during its march to the Capitol. The KKK stirs in Texas, but its heyday is past.

State parks are open to all, as far as can be determined. One summer day in 1963 some white people visiting Bastrop State Park found the swimming pool and the recreation building closed. They were told by area residents that the closing had occurred to prevent Negroes' using the facilities. If this explanation was true, the situation evidently did not exist for very long. A Bastrop resident tells the Observer he never heard of it, and Mark Gosdin, director of state park services, advises the Observer that state parks and their facilities are open to all regardless of race.

DOWN ON THE FARM there have been a few changes. Early in 1965 word came down from Washington that, in response to the 1964 civil rights act's injunction against discrimination in the use of federal funds, desegregation of the staff and services of federally assisted farm agencies would be required. Progress was reported by the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Soil Conservation Service, Farmers Home Administration, the Texas A&M Agricultural Extension Service, 4-H Clubs, and Future Farmers of America chapters. Farm agencies in Texas were reported ahead of other Southern states in responding to the ordered change.

Separate offices of Negro and white county agricultural agents were combined, and Negro workers in extension offices must now be given the same privileges as white workers. This means that separate rest rooms and water fountains are no longer permissible. Some resistance to removal of the dual facilities at courthouses caused some federally-aided farm agencies to consider the possibility of moving to other facilities, but largely the picture has been one of uncomplicated compliance. The practice has been to have Negro county agents work among Negroes only, leaving the white county agents to work among whites. Negroes now are designated as associate county agents. Extension service county agents have been trained on an integrated basis for several years.[76]

FFA and 4-H Club activities are integrated now. Last year's state 4-H round-up was the last held on a segregated basis, and desegregation of local 4-H activities is occurring through the trend to integrated community, rather than school, clubs. In the fall of 1965 some 7,800 New Farmers of America (Negro) discontinued wearing the black N.F.A. jackets, exchanging them for the blue F.F.A. jackets. However, local F.F.A. chapters are still organized by schools, not by communities.[77]

Last summer 240 Negroes worked for the A.S.C.S. in Texas, mostly in temporary jobs, but permanent positions were said to be awaiting Negroes in counties that have a large number of Negro farmers, particularly in the 21 counties where more than 20% of the farmers are Negroes. The Soil Conservation Service in Texas has more than 15 Negroes at work in professional jobs and is seeking additional Negroes for similar work.[78]

DESPITE WORK of the San Antonio Archdiocese of the Catholic Church, the Texas Council of Churches, and scattered individual churches, religion has not played a major role in Texas' social readjustment. The moral role the church could play in leading to equality has not largely been asserted, the Rev. Martin Luther King noted sadly in Dallas this fall. "Churches have not been faithful to their prophetic mission on the question of racial justice," Dr. King said. "The church has too often been content to mouth pious irrelevances and sanctimonious trivialities . . . it has often remained silent behind the safe security of stained-glass windows." Moreover, he went on, in some Southern communities the churches are "ready lackeys of state governments" that are defying the spirit of civil rights laws. Too many churches are living a lie, Dr. King said.[79]

An important aspect of the problem which Dr. King was speaking about was discussed with insight by Houston Post religion editor Paul D. White, who quoted

a Southern theologian as saying that "It may be safely predicted that the spiritual sanctuaries of white Protestant churches, dedicated in the name of Jesus Christ, will become the last hiding places of segregationists, both in the pulpit and the pew, especially in the Southern rural areas." White commented in his column that "Since the rural church depends upon the white establishment for its financial income, rural clergy rarely take the stand in behalf of full racial justice. . . . East Texas, despite its image, is classified with the 'black belt South' areas of Alabama and Mississippi by national civil rights leaders. They feel that Texas has been "neglected" and has fallen behind in other states in total desegregation," reported White.[80]

Protestant church organizations are nibbling around the edges of combining separate white and Negro organizations. The Methodist Church nationally is trying to unify its single Negro jurisdiction with its five white organizations, which are divided geographically. Negro leaders of the church are hesitant because of concerns that paternalism, instead of brotherhood, would result under a proposed plan for the merger of Methodism's Negroes and whites. These leaders said that the unification which had been drawn up would allow segregation to continue, but would disable the Negro jurisdiction, which gives Negroes a voice in the Methodist power structure.[81] Nonetheless, a white and a Negro Methodist church in San Antonio merged this past summer, believed to be the first such merger in the denomination's history in Texas.[82]

Minor developments have occurred in recent months. A Negro has become minister of a mixed Episcopal Church in Dallas.[83] Another Negro was elected presiding officer of a laymen and ministers group of the Presbyterian Church in a 34-county area of North and East Texas.[84] Two Texans have joined what may be the first interracial organization in U.S. Baptist history to be formed to seek the abolition of racial prejudice among some Southern Baptists and to share education and understanding among Baptist Anglos, Latins, and Negroes.[85] In at least two instances in Texas, in Dallas and Beaumont, all-Negro congregations have white ministers. □

See sources on page 18

Political Intelligence

A Preference Clearly Expressed

It must now be perfectly clear that Sen. Ralph Yarborough prefers John Tower to Waggoner Carr as a colleague in Washington. Subtle clues that this was true were perceptible even before Yarborough dramatized the point at the expense of State. Sen. Aaron (Babe) Schwartz. A liberal leader in Texas, Schwartz had been nominated weeks ago by Yarborough to succeed Woodrow Seals as U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of Texas. Schwartz had been quoted as saying that he wanted the job, which pays $25,000 a year. He recently became co-chairman (with former State Rep. Tony Korioth of Houston) of the Loyal Democrats Committee and published an article in the Observer of Oct. 14 arguing for a straight-ticket vote. Oct. 17 Schwartz held a press conference urging liberal support for Carr and criticizing "red hot, back-biting, staying-made, editorial-writing liberals" who support Tower. Not 24 hours later came the word from Washington that Yarborough had given his full endorsement for the U.S.D.A. job to Morton L. Susman, who was Seals' first assistant and has been acting in Seals' stead since Seals moved to a federal judgeship. The later endorsement by Yarborough superceded his earlier advocacy of Schwartz for the job.

✔ The Observer telephoned Schwartz in Galveston; he had no comment on Yarborough's move.

At the root of Yarborough's concern are considerations such as these, voiced in a San Angelo Standard-Times editorial endorsing Carr: "Should Carr be rejected, the effect would be to further extend the disproportionate influence on federal appointments and patronage now exerted by liberal Sen. Ralph Yarborough. A Republican senator has no voice in the appointments made by a Democratic president; Carr's election will return to the majority of Texans — the moderate and conservative Democrats — a seat in the councils of Washington power now denied them." The same factors turn up in other places during the course of the campaign, as this quote from a fund raising letter by Carr finance chairman Jess Young: "Carr will provide the leadership so desperately needed by Texas and Gov. Connally in the U.S. Senate."

✔ The Schwartz matter is but one sign that the Tower-Carr race is

Schwartz Says He Will Be Paid

Having been told that Sen. Aaron (Babe) Schwartz of Galveston is being paid for his work as co-chairman of the Loyal Democrats Committee, the Observer asked him if this is correct. "I have agreed that I'll be reimbursed for expenses and time because I can't afford it any way else," he said. What is he being paid for his time? He replied that he didn't know how much time he would spend on it. Up till Sunday, he said, he had spent a very few days on Carr's campaign, itself, but was working a lot on getting the straight-ticket organization going in Harris County. "Some of the funds are coming from the Carr people, of course they are," he said. "Fullingim's funds are coming from Republicans, we're not arguing about that." (Archer Fullingim, editor of the Kountze News, is a co-chairman of the Rebuilding Committee, which is working against Carr.)

"I'm not in a position to take off the time necessary to run the loyal Democratic organization" without compensation, Schwartz said. "I don't get paid anything for being a senator, the way I look at it. I earn my living on a day to day basis." Schwartz is an attorney. He said if he loses anything because of the time given to the campaign, "that becomes a part of my problem."

"I don't expect to profit from this political campaign," he said. "I want that clear as the first premise. On the other hand, I don't want to lose as a result of this campaign. I have an ethical responsibility not to profit from it. I have a responsibility to my family not to lose. I'm not trying to do anything but stay even." He said the situation was a comment on "political necessity."

He remarked that Rep. Dick Cory, Victoria, Carr's state headquarters office manager, is working for Carr on a seven-day-a-week basis. Schwartz stressed that he is not in this category; that is, he is not a Carr staff member. He did not think there was any difference in a senator or anyone else working in a campaign.

He said he is telling people, as he raises funds for the straight-ticket campaign, that they can contribute one of two ways, either to the overall effort for the straight-ticket office and materials, or, "if they're personal friends of mine, they can help me" to see that he can afford to put in the time.

Tony Korioth, co-chairman of the Loyal Democrats Committee, said he is not being paid for his work with the committee. □

finally getting hotter, to the relief of Carr backers, who generally believe that their man needs a large turnout. "It's not as hot a campaign as it needs to be by a damn sight," one top Democratic official had complained not long ago. "I think that somebody had better pull a rabbit out of a hat if they have one left at this point. The thing has worn sorta thin." But lately now the candidates and their workers have become more cutting, spurred evidently by the persistent signs that the race is still a close one. Carr is now openly attacking the dissident liberals' Rebuilding Committee as a "rule or ruin bunch which is not a factor in this campaign" — people who want to destroy the Democratic Party and then rebuild it to their liking "out of the shambles." Carr seeks to counter the committee's advocacy of a two-party state by noting that Tower himself is discouraging a two-party Texas by not wanting fellow Republicans to make any races this year (the GOP has six Congressional candidates this year compared to 23 in 1964 and 42 legislative candidates as against 94 two years ago), the idea being to limit the voter interest, as a lower vote will probably favor Tower.

The committee, for its part, issued a statement vigorously attacking Schwartz for his efforts at party unity: "His effort to ingratiate himself with the powers-that-be in order to secure a plush federal position is his own personal matter. But when he chides liberal Democrats and leaders of organized labor because they are attempting to build a two-party system, he deserves to have his hand called. . . . Now everyone in Texas knows that Babe Schwartz is in the service of the Establishment."

(In a letter to members of Texas Liberal Democrats, Chris Dixie, the Houston lawyer who is chairman, said T.L.D.'s officers see no cause to hold a new convention to reconsider their non-endorsement in the Senate race. While "several" T.L.D. members, authentic Democrats and liberals, are for Carr, he wrote, "It is clear that the members are overwhelmingly against Carr.")

And now the two candidates are directing at each other some verbal blows that often have a personal sting. Tower calls Carr a "coattail candidate," "a puppet," and "terribly weak." Carr responds that "I'll take the coattails of men like Gov. Connally, Allan Shivers, and our 23 congressmen, and our president. I'm more proud of having people like that on my side than people like Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon."

Carr calls himself a conservative Democrat and Tower an ultra-conservative Republican. He says there is a fundamental difference in their "feeling for human rights, our fellow man." Speaking, for example, of the poverty program, which he believes has problems, Carr says, "But I don't think we ought to cut down the tree because some of the limbs needs trimming. That's a basic difference in our philosophy . . . Sen. Tower never would have planted the tree."

How About An Encore?

A. C. "Irish" Matthews, president of the Austin AFL-CIO Council has written Will Davis, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, the following open letter:

Dear Will:

It has occurred to me that you might like to continue the practice established two years ago of explaining to groups how they could split the ballot . . . especially in the race for U.S. Senator.

I attended one of those 1964 meetings here in Austin and was amazed how competent you were in describing how a Texas Democrat could vote for all national and state nominees and still split the ticket in the senatorial race. . . . "if they wanted to."

If interested in keeping this "grand ole Texas Democrat tradition" of yours active, I can possibly be helpful in arranging meetings with appropriate groups.

Let me know if I can be of help. □

✔ In the campaign's last days activity will pick up, perhaps with President Johnson coming to Texas to push Carr's candidacy. Jim Lehrer of the Dallas Times-Herald says that LBJ is believed due in San Antonio Nov. 5 for a rally in Carr's behalf, though Carr says he knows nothing of this. The attorney general spent two hours with the President earlier this month at the White House, discussing the campaign. Jon Ford of the San Antonio Express-News says that White House aides have told Carr's office that they know of no plans for LBJ to speak for Carr in Texas.

One Dallas insider believes that a Johnson appearance for Carr might be a mistake and is telling Carr that Texas is not LBJ country now, either among liberals or conservatives. The strategist has been recommending to Carr that he not only stress his opposition to riots in the streets, but that he criticize President Johnson indirectly on this point. From inside the Tower camp comes a guess that Johnson will stump for Carr the last two or three days of the campaign.

Carr's campaign appears to have picked up momentum with the aid of the governor's battle-tested campaign machine, reportedly brought into the fray after an unpublicized poll that showed Carr to be lagging, particularly among conservative Democrats. The governor himself will become more conspicuous in the public eye during the campaign's latter stages. An appearance in Dallas Nov. 3 is reported due, aimed particularly at getting the conservatives who managed Connally's primary sweep to regroup for Carr.

Meanwhile, from over the state come numerous reports which indicate that Connally's committment to the Carr race is making political hay. Democratic office holders, who had been listless, are now coming through with public appearances, speeches, and endorsements. One day last week Carr was greeted at each of his three stops by a state senator — by Bruce Reagan at Corpus Christi, by Bill Patman at Victoria, and by William T. Moore in College Station. Carr has been given scrolls signed by all elected officials in Tarrant, Nueces, and Brazos counties, endorsing his candidacy. At Fort Worth a coffee was attended by 600 persons, among them Democratic officials of all persuasions, including Attorney General nominee Crawford Martin and his opponent in the primary earlier this year, liberal Franklin Spears.

Gonzalez, who worked for Spears last spring, has been pressed into service now by Carr's forces to campaign among Latin Americans and undo the damage believed done in those precincts when Carr accompanied the governor to New Braunfels to confront the marching Valley farm workers. The congressman is reported to be recording TV and radio announcements in behalf of Carr and has campaigned personally for Carr on weekends in South Texas. Gonzalez drew an editorial rebuke from the Corpus Christi Caller-Times after an appearance in that city at which he said that Tower "stinks." Both Tower and Carr will be on TV often in the days before Nov. 8, Tower relying mainly on short spots, and Carr presented in five-minute appearances and one or more half-hour spectaculars.

✔ How many will vote? The estimates vary widely. Tower say he expects about 1.5 million, perhaps as many as 1.7 million. If so, says a GOP campaign official, "we've got it won." But even with "two million we've still got a good chance." Carr is in trouble if he doesn't get at least a turnout of two million, believes state labor leader Hank Brown. The Texas Election Bureau has predicted that between two and 2.5 million will vote. Republicans hope they can draw the 600,000 GOP vote that has turned out in recent general elections, plus another 150,000 which they believe Tower pulls because he's the incumbent, plus perhaps 400,000 votes from defecting liberal Democrats. In 1961 when Tower ran against Bill Blakley the total turnout was less than 900,000.

✔ Carr is winning the endorsements of most of Texas' larger newspapers, including so far the Houston Post, Houston Chronicle, Dallas News, Corpus Christi Caller-Times, and the San Angelo Standard-Times.

Legislative Races

✔ The legislative races this fall do not embody serious discussions of the issues, as has become the usual situation in Texas. Voters for the most part — especially in the cities — are asked to make their choices between symbols, to respond to what one might call statements that are signals of attitudes. Government has become too complex for politics to be much more than this at a lost

level of government, which, in public attention, the state legislature is.

✔ In Dallas three State Senate races are attracting interest.

PARKHOUSE - HARRIS. Conservative Democrat George Parkhouse, incumbent, is challenged by Ike Harris, former GOP representative. Harris, as all the Republicans running, stresses arguments for a two-party system. He says the state should be run on a "pay as you go" basis, and he uses the September Democratic state platform endorsement of a state utilities commission as an argument against voting for Parkhouse.

Parkhouse has been endorsed by Lt. Gov. Preston Smith in a special visit. Angered by Dallas labor's endorsement of Harris, Parkhouse vows to introduce a bill to levy civil penalties against unions that strike as the Dallas bus union did, briefly, until ordered by a court to go back to work. The Dallas News has endorsed Parkhouse and every other Democratic nominee for the legislature from Dallas, confirming that paper's present commitment to the tory Democrats in Texas.

MAUZY-POUNDERS. Democratic Senate nominee Oscar Mauzy, a labor attorney, is thought likely to win, but is campaigning actively against Frank Pounders, his GOP foe. Mauzy says he is against expanded or more state sales taxes and will work for lower car insurance rates. Pounders suggests Mauzy is telling insurance executives he won't do anything about rates, really. Mainly this is a party-line fight.

CROUCH - WADE. Republican Tom Crouch is opposed to an increase in the sales tax, favors constitutional revision. The Democratic nominee for this Dallas Senate seat, Jim Wade, pledges to introduce a bill to help children with language disabilities.

✔ In Houston, Rep. Wallace Miller, Democrat, is berating Ex-Rep. Henry Grover, GOP, for Grover's vote for the revised code of criminal procedure. Miller wants just two penalties for murder with malice, life or death. Grover is for an anti-pollution law "with teeth." Miller says "turncoat Democrats" always team up with liberals in the legislature. (Grover quit the Democrats to run for the Senate as a Republican.) Rep. W. S. Heatly, of Paducah, West Texas, chairman of the House appropriations committee, went to Houston to say that Grover complained about high appropriations and thus worked "against Harris County's best interests," namely, the state appropriations for Harris County state installations, which Heatly then recited in full.

✔ In state representatives' races, Jim Nowlin, Democrat, San Antonio, says he would, if elected, specialize in state action required by the federal medicare and medicaid programs. . . . If any of the candidates has endorsed a state income tax this fall, it's escaped this journal's notice. . . . In Corpus Christi Republican Charles Scoggins, speaking of the followers of Dr. Hector Garcia, referred to "thousands of his illiterate followers," giving the Democratic nominee, Al Gonzalez, the opportunity to blast Scoggins for "calling all Latin-Americans illiterate."

✔ In the Bush-Briscoe race for Congress in Houston there were two major developments, Gov. Connally's warm endorsement of Briscoe and a column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak painting Bush as more liberal, Briscoe as backed by the right wing.

Connally, the Houston Chronicle reported, spoke to 575 people at a banquet for Briscoe. Of Briscoe as district attorney, the governor said, "If we had more like him there would be less crime today." And the governor said, "Many of you have crossed party lines to be here, and I appreciate it. I will never forget it." (He was thanking Republicans who were present.)

Evans and Novak said that "the right-wing element of both parties" in Houston is lined up behind Briscoe and that Bush, while impeccably a Republican conservative, "has certain 20th Century tendencies that Briscoe seems to lack."

Briscoe is calling for a drastic cutback of the anti-poverty program; he says Bush's suggested $300 million cut "doesn't sound like very much." Bush says he can be independent of President Johnson, but Briscoe can't. Briscoe said he showed his independence as a D.A., prosecuting public officials, including a judge. Briscoe says Bush is "a Republican in the tradition of" Nelson Rockefeller, John Lindsay, Mark Hatfield, Jacob Javits, and Clifford Case. Bush says Briscoe is underestimating the intelligence of the white voters in the district. "To oppose rioting in not to oppose Negroes. We're living in 1966, and they are entitled to fair play," Bush says.

✔ Cong. Wilbur Mills, D.-Ark., chairman of the House ways and means committee, flew into Dallas to endorse Cong. Joe Pool for re-election. Mills said Pool deserved "an eleventh chapter" in *Profiles in Courage*, by John F. Kennedy, because Pool said his House un-American Activities Committee would hold its recent hearing, even if he, Pool, went to jail.

The Democratic nominee for attorney general in 1967, Crawford Martin, attended the Mills-Pool dinners and spoke for Pool; Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr, attending this same dinner, said, "Everyone has a good opinion of Joe Pool." Pool's bill against certain acts as to the Vietnam war, modified by the House, passed it, 275-64.

Pool, stung by GOP candidate Jim Collins' charges he has voted indirectly for higher food prices, says the housewives "have the right idea" in boycotting supermarkets and those markets should open their books "and show that they are only making reasonable profits."

Collins says certain Pool votes "directly aided the communist countries" — specifically, votes to bar reduced-price sales of American farm products to communist governments. The decision of Congress to allow such sales may be a reason "some college boys have been going down the wrong path," Collins says. Collins seeks to identify Pool with what he calls the Democrats' "spend-spend-spend mania."

Dallas labor declined to endorse either Pool or Collins.

✔ Duke Burgess, GOP, running against Dallas Cong. Earle Cabell, charged Cabell with using $7,500 tax money to stamp a mail-out of copies of the redistricted Fifth District maps to voting members of the new district. Cabell said he got a postal OK on the mail-out's "frankability" in advance.

The Amendments

✔ The business community, led by Gov. John Connally, is solidly behind voter approval Nov. 8th of *Amendment 11*, to authorize $200 million more in water bonds; to authorize new types of water projects in addition to dams, namely, facilities for "filtration, treatment, and transportation of water"; and to authorize the state to sell water resources facilities as and to whom the legislature may permit. This third purpose of the amendment has not been part of the standard descriptions of Amendment 11 in the daily press.) Gov. Connally, who originally said No. 11 is an early stage in the planning for the Texas water plan, stresses now that the two are not to be confused. The concern is that public opposition to transferring water east to west may kill No. 11. The amendment, reasons the Dallas News' Richard Morehead, "would permit state aid for building canals, pipelines, and other facilities needed either for local plants or a statewide program, particularly the transfer of water from one rivershed to another." The amendment says such transfers cannot happen if they would take water a watershed might need within 50 years. The governor says defeat of No. 11 would be almost disastrous. The committee for No. 11 includes ex-Gov. Price Daniel, chairman, and, among others, John Ben Shepperd, Odessa; Ed C. Burris, executive vice-president of the Texas Manufacturers' Assn.; Ben Carpenter, Dallas financier; and Joe Kilgore, the former Valley congressman.

✔ *Amendment 7* is straight liberal-conservative fight. It would appear to abolish the poll tax, but that's already abolished. Its practical effect would be to put annual voter registration into the constitution. Liberals and labor want a permanent system, thinking that would make it easier to vote. Sen. Franklin Spears has been particularly vocal against No. 7. In the Dallas News Jimmy Banks reported that an Austin trade association has advised its members, "if you used to be for keeping the poll tax, vote Nov. 8th to repeal it" (in other words, such conservatives should vote to make annual registration permanent).

✔ *Amendment 1*, pushed by farmers, is opposed by the Texas Municipal League. It would let land near cities be taxed, not as land near cities, but as farm land, if (1) it is owned by an individual, not a corporation; (2) the owner gets his

(Continued on Page 12)

The Washington Post
Times Herald
SUNDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1966
Phone 223-6000

Campaign 1966: Texas

Texas Senate Race Has No Issues, It's Tower 'Cult' vs. 'Establishment'

By Richard Harwood
Washington Post Staff Writer

Austin—John Tower is four-square against open housing laws.

The Tower cult—as non-partisan as the Senator himself now appears—is essentially a metropolitan phenomenon. The new middle classes of Dallas, Houston and Fort Worth nourish the Senator's ambitions and supply a good deal of the political money he requires. He has received this year, Peter O'Donnell says, more than 21,000 contributions, averaging about $10 each.

This in itself is remarkable. Political money in Texas, a Democratic financier reveals, is ordinarily supplied by 500 or so families of old and new wealth—the Jesse Jones clan, the Bob Cullums, Murchisons, Carters, Mecoms, Browns (of Brown & Root), Richardsons, Wynnes, Klebergs, Posts and Lings.

Some Explanations

Superficial logic suggests that men of this stripe would dote on Tower. He talks their language and votes in ways they approve. But from all the evidence, the big money and the big names of Texas are with Waggoner Carr this time. Just this week, the real estate millionaire John Stemmons presided at a Dallas rally for Carr and Democratic Congressman Joe Pool. James Aston, board chairman of the [illegible] National Bank, was man of the decade have impressed the Establishment. "What John Connally wants, John Connally gets," said an associate of the Governor. What he wanted this year was business support of Carr. He got it.

Also a Cult Figure

The final factor in the Establishment's posture toward Tower is the complicated matter of Democratic Senator Ralph Yarborough, the only avowed, 14-karat liberal that Texas has sent to the Senate in this century.

Like Tower he is a cult figure in a basically hostile political environment. His presence in Washington is a source of embarrassment to both Connally and the Texas business community. They dislike both his politics and his manners. Consequently, Connally's men make no secret of their desire to get at Yarborough by beating Tower.

Their reasoning is that another Democrat in the Senate would destroy Yarborough's influence. As things now stand, businessmen and politicians must deal with Yarborough when they want things in Washington. As a member of the Senate majority, he has the power of obstruction if nothing else.

With Carr in the Senate, all that would change. Yarborough could be ignored and isolated and beaten when he runs again in 1970.

San Antoni

Conna

By ROWLAND EVANS and ROBERT NOVAK

AUSTIN—Alarmed by the sudden affection of the Texas liberal Democrats for Sen. John Tower, a Goldwater Republican, the conservative Democratic establishment here has mobilized its top political operatives to rescue the campaign of Tower's Senate opponent, Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr.

THE ESTABLISHMENT IS headed by one of the shrewdest politicians in Texas history, Gov. John Connally, President Johnson's closest political friend. Once remote from Carr's campaign, Connally has become deeply involved now that Tower is a slight favorite to be the first Republican re-elected to the Senate in Texas history.

Connally's new interest in Carr's campaign is manifest in many ways. For one thing, he said publicly the other day that Carr's defeat would damage his own prestige (even though Connally, on the ballot in November for a third-term as governor, himself is assured of a huge margin).

Connally's true concern, then, is not so much his own prestige as his fear that a win by Tower would be a step toward a two-party system in Texas. Connally is the pro-

(Pd. Pol. Adv.)

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SAN ANGELO STANDARD-TIMES
PAGE 12A FRIDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 7, 1966

Carr Is Best Choice For Seat In Senate

On Nov. 8, Texas voters will face one decision of prime importance — the selection of a man to represent them in the United States Senate for the next six years.

Here the choice, strangely enough for Texas, is between a Republican incumbent and his Democratic challenger. Thoughtful consideration dictates the election of Waggoner Carr.

On his proven merits, Waggoner Carr has earned the office he seeks. He has served Texas honorably and well, first as a state representative from the West Texas city of Lubbock, then as speaker of the Texas House and most recently as attorney general of the state.

During his time in public life, Texans have been able to judge his worth by his performance — and the fact he has passed sparkling election victories tests they have found him an able, dedicated public servant.

federal patronage and administration favors — a voice now lost to conservative Texans.

Should Carr be rejected, the effect would be to further extend the disproportionate influence on federal appointments and patronage now exerted by liberal Sen. Ralph Yarborough. A Republican senator has no voice in the appointments made by a Democratic president; Carr's election will return to the majority of Texans — the moderate and conservative Democrats — a seat in the councils of Washington power now denied them.

Waggoner Carr, then, can do more for Texas and for Texans. His Senate tenure would be one of effectiveness. His victory would give conservative Texans a man capable of furthering their political goals. And his victory would give Texas [illegible] in which it could

"SOMETIMES PARTY LOYALTY ASKS TOO MUCH" . . .

He spoke gloomily about the Massachusetts Democratic Party: "Nothing can be done until it is beaten . . . badly beaten. Then there will be a chance for rebuilding."

JOHN F. KENNEDY

from: A THOUSAND DAYS
by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (Page 31)

EXPRESS/NEWS—Sunday, Oct. 16, 1966

lly Calls Out the Reserves

of the traditional southern system, ermits him to dominate the state simp- ominating the Democratic party.

STOP TOWER, AN astute publicist Julian Read from Connally's inner as now taken over Carr's massive elations problem. One predictable re- forthcoming series of highly-publicized cements in favor of Carr from as Texas Democrats with known liberal als as Connally can round up.

dition, Connally agents are activating 's personal organization to whip up and get out a big vote.

ermore, Connally-men are scouring e for Carr campaign money. A cool on was taken clean out of the state ar by the President's Club, angering Johnson's closest friends and drying 's financial resources.

e Connally raises money and gets out e, the heart of the Tower strategy— strategy of his new friends among t-Connally liberals — is to keep the gn quiet and the vote low.

en by their fury against Connally's ion of their party, the liberals are plotting a mass stay-at-home by big liberal voting blocs of Negroes, labor, Mexican-Americans and egghead liberals. Much preferred, of course, would be for these voters to go to the polls and actually vote for Tower. That, however, is expecting too much.

By just persuading several hundred thousand normally Democratic voters not to vote, and turning out all Republicans, Tower and the liberal Democratic plotters can beat Carr. Their aim: A total vote of perhaps no more than 1.5 million. In Tower's first election, a special 1961 off-year contest, the turnout was less than 900,000.

TO KEEP THE VOTE DOWN, Republican leaders here persuaded several ambitious Republican candidates not to run this fall. The reason: The fewer the contests, the lower the Democratic vote.

Likewise, to dramatize the intense hostility of the liberals against Connally, the liberal delegation of Harris County (Houston) staged a well-publicized walk-out from the Democratic party state convention. They had a good excuse to walk out, but even without one they would have found a pretext.

Furthermore, the political organization of Sen. Ralph Yarborough, who leads the state's Connally-hating liberal Democrats, is quietly working to defeat Carr. As for Yarborough himself, he has promised to make as many speeches for Carr as Carr has made for him over the years, which is none at all.

OPERATING BEHIND THE scenes, the liberals are also sending mass-circulation appeals to the minority voting blocs, giving the facts on Carr's record as speaker of the Texas House, where he sponsored anti-civil rights and anti-labor bills. In Negro precincts, pictures of Carr attending a white citizens' council rally in Houston in 1957 are being circulated. Carr's refusal to treat with Mexican-American farm hands when they marched into Austin is being skillfully exploited in the Rio Grande Valley. With that snub, Carr passed up a great chance to win liberal support.

If Tower wins, the Republicans will retain their slender beachhead in Texas. That's just what the liberal Democrats want. A solid Texas GOP will attract conservative Democrats into future Republican primaries, giving more weight to the liberals within the Democratic party. Thus, the issue here far transcends personalities and platforms and explains John Connally's counterattack.

(Continued from Page 9)

primary income from agricultural operations; (3) the land is being used for agriculture. The main argument for it is that a farmer should not be put out of business by heavy taxation (see "A Communication" this page). The league retorts that it would encourage land speculation, increase city property taxes, and introduce an inequality into tax policy.

✔ The other amendments:

2—authorize creation of a Fort Worth-Dallas airport authority; 3—clear up a technicality about financing of Arlington State College; 4—let the term of office for conservation and reclamation districts be six years (it's two now); 5—let the legislature provide a benefits system for county officials, employees, and others; 6—authorize payments to survivors of lawmen, full-paid firemen, and custodial workers in the prisons; 8—ease residence requirements for voting for president, vice-president; 9—make the two commissioners of Texas Court of Criminal Appeals judges, increasing its judges thus to five; 10—drop the requirement of new tax elections after school district boundaries are changed; 12—permit hospital districts to dissolve; 13—let the legislature provide for consolidating governmental functions of counties having 1.2 million or more inhabitants (Harris); 14—let servicemen vote in Texas under rules applicable to Texans in general; 15—in assisting the handicapped, let private and federal funds be channeled through the state to private agencies; 16—have legislators' terms start the day the regular session of the legislature opens.

✔ And what of the Valley strike? Evidently, there are problems, perhaps serious ones. The main need, leaders say, is money, food, clothing, medical supplies, and legal assistance. A caravan is planned for the Thanksgiving weekend, Nov. 24-27, retracing in reverse the route followed by the marchers who rallied Labor Day at the State Capitol. Ismael Diaz of Rio Grande City will lead the caravan, which will be sponsored by the Valley Farm Workers Assistance Committees in 26 Texas cities. A benefit dance is planned in Austin Oct. 30. □

A Communication: Vote Yes on No. 1

Time was when there existed the widely-held misconception that the entire agricultural budget went into the pocket of the farmer. That was back a few years ago when the average farm family of five — a man, his wife, and three children — each made an average of one and one-half cents an hour. We read during that time, or heard on radio or television, such phrases as "the farmer with his hand out," "farm subsidies are running the economy," and so on. But through the "Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union" and its influence in Washington, and further through great effort and sacrifice on the part of the farmers, themselves, the public have learned that they were being duped into believing that the farmer was the culprit.

The people learned also that while $2.6 billion was being spent on programs to strengthen and support farm income, $4.6 billion was spent on farm programs which benefit every man, woman, and child in the United States. For example, $227 million for the U.S. Forest Service; $1.6 billion for the food for peace program; $69 million indirect subsidy for the merchant marine; $371 million for rural electrification and telephone loans, which are always repaid, but without crediting the farm budget; $100 million for the food stamp program for the needy; $202 million for the national school lunch program; $100 million for the special milk program for school children; $4.5 million for nutrition and consumer research; $56 million for meat and poultry inspection; $13 million for other activities of the consumer and marketing service.

But money talks louder than logic. We in agriculture are not opposed to a minimum wage, but we could use one ourselves. Last year to U.S. farmer made an average of 60 cents per hour — almost one half the minimum wage! This figure, from the U.S. Department of Agriculture, does not take into consideration the interest farmers pay, nor the higher rate. Now all you need do is look and listen to the news media to see that the farmer should not be held responsible for ever-increasing food prices. I even believe that today the news media would publish an answer I wrote to an article by a Yale professor in the New Republic, which answer that journal refused to run. The professor's article was entitled, "Down with the Farmer," and was concluded with this enlightened statement: "No good can come off a farm." I sugggested that each night, after he removed his felt hat, his leather shoes, his woolen suit, and his cotton shirt and undies and donned his cotton pajamas, he kneel down beside his bed, which supported that cotton mattress and those sheets, pillow cases, feather pillows, and woolen blankets, and offer up the following prayer:

"Dear Lord, please forgive me for having written 'Down with the Farmer,' and please provide for me on the morrow, with the help of the farmer, my usual breakfast of orange juice, cereal with plenty of sugar and cream, bacon and eggs (two over lightly, Lord,) and hot buttered toast and a lob of jelly, preserves, honey, or molasses. I realize, Lord, that only under grave odds and difficulties have the farmers provided, not only for me, but for all the peoples of this earth, food and raiment, and for him, the farmer, I most humbly thank Thee. Amen."

Now let us consider, for a moment, things to come.

Gunnar Myrdal and other world-renowned economists predict the worst famine in the world's history, commencing in the early '70's. These economists realize that the younger farmers with growing families have gone and are continuing to go to seek employment in the cities, leaving agriculture to their fathers, whose average age is 57 years. These older men are left saddled with debt, particularly the dairy and truck farmers who located, years ago, a few miles from the cities to be near their markets. Though for years they have had their own water wells, windmills, and such, they find themselves now nearer and nearer the city and burdened by a new water district tax. Their school taxes in most cases are around five times what they were a few years ago. They struggle on, but just how long can they go on borrowing money? How long can they continue to furnish us in the city with fresh eggs, milk, and vegetables? In short, how long can they hold out and not sell to some rich oilman or some other operator who can, for four consecutive years, knock off of his income tax due on his legitimate business as much as $50,000 claimed loss on his agricultural pursuits! On the fifth year, if he shows a loss, the Internal Revenue Service considers his farm or ranch a hobby. Too bad, isn't it? No, for on the fifth year he pushes everything he has on the farm onto the market and shows for that particular year a profit, and thereby he can begin all over again on another five years! Velvet, isn't it?

What can be done about it? We have a unique opportunity to help the farmers on the land near the cities of Texas — to help them to help us — for we know that far from being in competition, consumer and farmer are interdependent. Consumers benefit from farmers' good fortune, just as farmers benefit from full employment and expansion in the rest of the economy. Cognizant of the rapidly decreasing number of farmers, their average old age, and their tremendous debt, we can, by voting for Amendment No. 1, close the loophole that is now big enough for the oil rich to crawl through. The proposed amendment will let farm land near cities that is being used for farming be taxed at its valuation as farm land, instead of as land near the city. The amendment defines "agricultural use" in a standard fashion with the qualification that farming or ranching be a person's "primary occupation and source of income" if he is to obtain the special valuation.

With so much of the world's population hungry, and with the predicted famine in the so-near future, we should remember the words of Seneca, "A hungry people listens not to reason, nor cares for justice."

MRS. W. M. BURNETT, President, Hayes-Caldwell County Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union, 1601 Westover Rd., Austin, Tex. □

The Perils of Voting Republican

Mexico City

Joe Goulden

With considerable foreboding I read of plans of Texas Democrats to vote for Senator Tower in November. My misgivings are not politically based, for since leaving the Dallas News five years ago to accept honest work I now watch Texas politics with the same detached amusement with which I meet the insurance salesman husband of a former girl friend. Yet have the party bolters paused to think of the substantial physical risks they will be taking? A personal account, I think, is sufficient warning:

Just before the 1964 elections one of our young city hall reporters in Philadelphia asked me, as a personal favor, to vote for a friend who was a Republican candidate for magistrate. The Pennsylvania constitution guarantees the minority party a fixed number of magisterial seats in the City of Philadelphia, thereby to provide a subsistence of boodle for *jefes* whose machines are temporarily out of order. Magisterial candidates of the Democratic city organization—ward leaders to the man—go into office with the certainty of a sunrise. The Republicans vaingloriously field a full slate, though only three of the nine will be elected. Thus a vote for one Republican can do no harm to the Democrats, and there is no more difference between Democratic magistrates and Republican magistrates than one finds between two head colds or two hangovers. Equally miserable.

My wife and I talked about the situation at length. She recalled voting for a student council candidate at the State University of Iowa in 1960 who proved to be a Republican. "Go ahead and vote for the man," she advised. "If you have insomnia like I did, you can always do some work around the house at night."

Studies I found in the Philadelphia Free Library were a bit more disquieting. The Roulfe research at the University of Ohio hinted at permanent psychic shock for crossover Democrats. One case history studied, that of a 37-year-old Toledo plumber, concluded: "Intensive psychiatric care was able to lessen the catatonic trance after 17 weeks. However, the prognosis is for institutional care for a minimum of two years."

The Harvard Medical School had an even more chilling report, this one based on 127 Democrats who voted for Theodore Roosevelt in the 1912 presidential election. Roosevelt Minor did not run on the regular Republican ticket, and the Harvard researchers found this technicality was sufficient to permit 32 of the persons studied to escape with nothing more than lingering guilt feelings and minor skin rashes. The only suicide reported was a Virginian who arrived at the polls tipsy and mistook the Bull Moose emblem for a donkey. Of the other 94 persons, 47 changed jobs within six months after the election, 24 going to lesser positions; 13 were divorced, one remarrying a part-time chiropractor and bail bondsman; nine became either lay evangelists or ministerial students, and the remainder disappeared without a trace.

The act itself was easy. I pulled the Democratic lever (mentally picturing the pleased smile of the election official outside when he heard the unmistakable "CLUNK" of a straight ticket), then oh so quietly pushed a tab down over the name of "Edward T. Quinn, Republican, Place Five."

The blackness began to appear on my finger right after supper. "Must have rubbed against some bad carbon paper at the office," I said. The spot wouldn't wash off. By bed time the streak had gone up the back of my index finger and across the hand almost to the wrist. A warm tingling filled my palm. I didn't sleep much that night. When I did, I dreamed I was the mouse in a Tom and Jerry cartoon and that I was losing the chase with the cat, who intended to do a surgical cutdown on my right arm without anesthesia. I got out of bed at 3 a.m., drank three cans of Schmidt's, and ate a can of sardines. Finally I got to sleep at dawn.

My right hand was completely black at breakfast. I used two bars of Palmolive trying to remove the stain. No luck. "No one will notice if you wear a glove," the wife said. "It's nippy out today."

A carefully concocted dermatological tall tale enabled me to wear the glove in public through New Year's; by then the stain had faded to a shiny gray hue, just about the shade one acquires by shuffling through a freshly-printed newspaper. One spring morning, after painting a kitchen chair, I soaked both hands in turpentine, and the remnants of the mark vanished with the paint.

The genetic troubles are more serious. Our second son, born the following summer, nine months and three weeks after the election, screams when he sees the elephants at the zoo, and we must therefore keep him away from there.

The Klimcke team at Princeton, which had a Department of Health, Education and Welfare grant, suggests pre-electoral hypnosis if one absolutely feels he must vote for a Republican for familial, professional, or ethical reasons. Of the 97 persons put into a trance before the 1965 elections for Board of Chosen Freeholders in Burlington County, N.J., only seven who voted for Republicans claimed detrimental aftereffects, the most severe case being a man who became totally bald within two days.

I am told of another study, as yet unreported in the medical journals, which found that one can partially alleviate the psychic shock by writing a nasty letter to Richard Nixon immediately after leaving the polls. Letters to Barry Goldwater had absolutely no palliative effect whatsoever.

Be guided by the medical evidence, Texas Democrats, and make your own choice. My friend's friend, Ed Quinn, won and showed his gratitude after taking office by dismissing seven parking tickets for me. If you think John Tower can fix a ticket — vote for him. But buy a can of turpentine first. □

Migrant newsman Joseph C. Goulden of Marshall, Texas, is on leave from the Philadelphia Inquirer in Mexico, where he is studying Latin American nationalism as an Alicia Patterson Fund fellow.

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AND HELP TURN OUT THE VOTE
ON NOVEMBER 8TH

(Pd. Pol. Adv.)

A Senator Asks Some Questions

Austin, Edinburg

Senator James Bates of Edinburg, a maverick-spirited moderate, blew the top off the LBJ national park matter this month. Whether the top would settle back down on the kettle or clatter to the floor — that, one might say, is still up in the air.

Bates mailed to the Capitol press a 20-page statement criticizing, in various ways, the three commissioners of the Texas Parks and Wildlife Cmsn. These three men — A. W. Moursund, the President's close business confidante and friend, Will Odom, the commission chairman, and James Dellinger — are the self-appointed administrators of a fund, which they contend is private and are raising from private parties. The money is being used to buy about 245 acres of land for the park. Some of the land, which lies across the Pedernales River from the LBJ Ranch, has been condemned by the use of the public power of condemnation.

Bates is chairman of the Senate general investigating committee. He said he acted as an individual senator in his 20-page statement. In it he said:

He wrote W. J. Cutbirth, deputy director of the parks and wildlife commission, on July 14, of this year, asking for official documents on the park matter. On Aug. 5 an unannounced meeting of Bates' committee was held in an Austin hotel room. Three days later Bates wrote Cutbirth that a majority of the committee had authorized him to ask for a detailed statement on the amount of money in the funds, its location, a list of those who solicited and those who contributed, and two copies of the audit of the fund. On Aug. 23 Cutbirth wrote Bates that the fund was private, so the agency would not furnish Bates the information he asked for.

Bates charged Odom with bad faith for saying off-hand, in asking Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr for a ruling on whether the fund was public or private, that "some news people" had said it was not when, Bates said, Odom knew of Bates' interest. Odom said he hadn't known. Cutbirth told newsmen he told the commission of the senator's inquiry in July.

Carr ruled that, on the facts given, the fund was private.

Bates related that he thereupon asked Governor John Connally to help him get the information, and the governor said he would try. "I attempted to impress both the commission and the governor with the seriousness of the complaints," Bates said. A month passed; Bates said calls he made to the governor's office resulted in his being told the governor was out of pocket. Finally Bates told a governor's aide that if he did not get the information he would have to expose the situation.

Bates in his release then referred to allegations he had received that "the commission was using the name and prestige of the President of the United States to "blackjack" contributions by various individuals, firms, and corporations, not only in this state, but in other states, in an effort to gain credit in the eyes of the President and of the people."

He spoke also of a report he had received that at least one contribution of $25,000 had been obtained in personal approaches by two of the commissioners to a person whose firm was directly under their supervision as commissioners. In this case, he said, one commissioner is supposed to have asked for "a contribution of 25," and another commissioner immediately told the person being solicited, "We're talking about $25,000." Bates said he had been given to believe that the $25,000 was collected.

Bates said he had concluded that the fund is part of the state's official business; that "the absolute refusal" of the commission to provide information on it to the governor or the committee was "an admission that at least some pressures were used of either an unethical or immoral nature to secure contributions"; that the commission used "a completely untrue, misleading predicate" in its request to Carr for an opinion on the fund; that the language providing for an audit was "so much window-dressing"; that the commission is "extremely fearful of any audit, particularly if coupled with the list of contributors whose businesses and livelihood are regulated by the commission," and that the vast majority of the people would prefer that the commissioners stop directing the fund, refund the contributions, and resign as commissioners.

Odom, next day, issued a written statement. No trustee of the fund knew or had ever heard of any coercion involved in the solicitation of the funds or had ever had any such complaint from anyone, Odom said. No member of the Senate committee other than Bates had reported any alleged rumor or impropriety; if anyone would produce "one shred of evidence of wrong-doing or impropriety, it will be immediately and thoroughly investigated and acted upon," and "any appropriate action that is justified will be taken at once."

"The trustees are not a party to any impropriety and are not going to be a party to a political smear," he said in this statement. "Political rumor and gossip, but not evidence," seemed to be the "only basis" for Bates' charges, Odom continued. He added that he had cleared his statement with the other two commissioners.

Odom for the first time provided the total collected, $197,000, of which, he said, $115,000 had been spent "solely in connection with land acquisition." The rest, he divulged for the first time, is in the American National Bank in Austin. Moursund is a director of this bank.

A full accounting of total receipts and all expenditures would be forthcoming as soon as the land is all acquired, Odom said. Asked if the list of contributors would, he said again that would depend on whether the contributors objected. Some had objected before, he said, because they didn't want to be bothered for other donations. He said the three commissioners had solicited the fund; their only purpose was to provide the money for the land for the park honoring the President without use of public funds, he explained.

Odom flatly denied that anyone whose business was regulated by the commission had been solicited for a donation or that any such source had made one.

Bates then tore into Odom some more. Bates said to Austin newsman Stuart Long that he would not give Odom any information "so he can go out and arm-twist people into refusing to testify when the time comes — and it will come." Long reported in the Edinburg Daily Review that Bates emphasized that he had always supported President Johnson and Governor Connally; "but when Mr. Odom says he isn't a part of state government, with his secret meetings and tax exempt funds, I'm through," Bates said. "And people are now asking, 'What's the big secret?' "

In Washington President Johnson, according to an AP report, called on the National Recreation and Park Assn. to provide the best specialists available to develop the park. "I want them to take every new, fantastic idea they can get. I'm in the market for them. That area may not be beautiful to anyone else, but I like it," AP quoted the President.

U.S. Sen. John J. Williams (R-Del.) was quoted in Washington calling on the U.S. attorney general's office to investigate Bates' charges. One of Bates' fellow committee members, State Sen. Bruce Reagan, told his home town paper, the Corpus Christi Caller, "I have complete confidence in this commission of ours. I'd be very surprised if there was anything wrong . . . It'll all work out, I think."

Another state senator, a friend of Senator Bates, told the Observer he had sent Bates a message: "You done good. Good luck." The senator who sent the message says, "He's gonna need the luck." R.D.

A Footnote On Footnotes

In the HemisFair story of our Sept. 30 issue, footnote No. 3 was given twice in the story; disregard the first No. 3. Footnote No. 20 got left out of the numberings in the story; it applies to the paragraph on page 7 beginning, "The Senate foreign relations committee. . . ." —Ed.

TEXAS' MONEY LENDERS HAVE ANOTHER GO AT IT . . .

"God, it's a mess," a California banker said after another recent clumsy attempt by a federal agency to loosen the tight-money situation. "There are just too many people chasing too few dollars." The chase is still going at full speed, and here in Texas the money men intend to throw the throttle wide open when the legislature meets.

They were rebuffed last year when Gov. John Connally vetoed S. B. 59, a bill that would have authorized up to 17.4% annual interest on installment loans made by banks, savings and loan associations, and over-$1,500 lenders. The governor had been expected by the watchful to sign that bill into law; they didn't see how he could buck the banks and savings and loans, since he was believed to be wanting a third term. But the bill was too flagrant. Probably the governor's key concern arose out of sympathy for the bankers or savings and loan officials, who will tell you confidentially that they don't want to get in bed with "loan sharks," a cohabitation which S. B. 59 would have provided.

It was a strange bill from the beginning, emerging like Mr. Hyde in a gray flannel suit with the announced intention of "clarifying" the Texas Banking Code, then changing numbers, sponsors, supporters, and purpose with the ferocity of a Dr. Jekyll. The backroom action was so subtle that only a few onlookers and a handful of lawmakers really knew what was happening.

In his veto statement the governor said, "no evidence was presented to the legislature to justify these specific rates, either on the basis of reasonableness or need." He didn't like what he called "open-end authority for a lender to require whatever insurance he may desire in connection with a loan," and he said his "greatest concern" was that S. B. 59 authorized 17.4% for the over $1,500 loan companies — the big lenders who didn't shake off the statutory 10% interest limit when the high-interest, small-loan act was passed in 1963. With this feature of S. B. 59, Connally said, "many Texans would find themselves at the mercy of such lenders without recourse to the protection of our state regulatory agencies."

What to do? It must have been a time of dilemma. Well, from the ashes of the 1965 defeat has arisen a committee of five men, appointed by the State Finance Commission on order of the governor, whose assignment is to study the lending and credit situation and come up with a "comprehensive code of consumer credit legislation . . . [under which] the people of our state would be assured of low, competitive interest rates and protection from possible abuse. In addition, the financial institutions and industries of our state would be assured of adequate rates and the right to competition."

A large order; in effect an invitation to the bankers and savings and loan people who wanted the 17.4% to call again. The structure of the committee would hardly displease the lending industry, as the state finance commissioners are drawn from the banks and savings and loans. Late last year the study committee was appointed. Named chairman was Regulatory Loan Commissioner Francis A. Miskell, who researched the small-loan act as a Texas Legislative Council staffer, saw it passed as a Connally aide, and now administers it. Other members of the committee are Banking Commissioner J. M. Falkner, Savings and Loan Commissioner James O. Gerst, and Finance Commissioners Rex Baker, who is a Houston savings and loan company official, and Paul Lindsey, a Dallas banker.

For the past year Miskell and his own staff have been ardently amassing data on consumer credit practices — transcripts of U.S. Senate "Truth-in-Lending" hearings, economists' surveys on loan and credit costs, Federal Reserve studies, and reports from "almost everywhere the English language is spoken."

When it was decided this summer to hold four public hearings, in San Antonio, Houston, Dallas and Austin, Miskell's Deputy Loan Commissioner Robert Duke and other advance men went into the hearing cities to encourage family counseling agencies, legal aid societies, junior bar associations, better business bureaus, poverty program officials, and others to tell the complaining consumer's side of the story of that American magic called "credit." Miskell picked up a press agent and tried to drum up newspaper interest in the four cities, but the coverage usually was slight; some papers didn't even give it a mention.

The committee members had been looking with interest at the Uniform Consumer Credit Code that had been proposed to the National Conference on Uniform State Laws last August in Montreal. The money men knew this and were well-prepared; most of their lobbyists had studied copies of the proposal. The code would embrace installment loans and time-payment plans of all banks, savings and loan institutions, credit unions, sales finance companies, consumer finance

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companies (what we call "lenders"), department stores, retail stores — even pawnbrokers. It calls for full disclosure of loans' costs and for refunds of interest and cost charges in the event of prepayment, bans harrassment in collection, requires registration with a state agency, and rewards the regulated businessmen with a maximum 18% annual interest.

LET'S GO BACK AGAIN to early summer in 1965 to the early stages of the courtship that may end in a mixed marriage in the 1967 session, with House and Senate members serving as best men.

Evidently the governor vetoed S. B. 59 because any banker or savings and loan official is loath to get in bed with a "loan shark."

Come winter, thought, that *menage a trois* doubtless will grow to a bundling party of bankers, savings and loan men, lenders, sales finance people, credit union officers, and retail salesmen, although the unwanted credit union people will be clinging to the edges of the mattress and the retailers will be tugging at the sheet to protect their virginity.

It's been a hectic courtship. It's taken a lot of *tete-a-tetes* around those Commodore Perry and Austin Club round tables to wear down resistance to such a marriage of convenience.

Figures offered during the money men's testimony during five days of committee hearings this month showed, not surprisingly, that it costs the lenders more than they make to offer installment loans and credit — "a convenience for our customers" — and they're caught in the "profit squeeze" of rising costs of operation and money. Also, the lenders said they want to be able to "give the people what they demand" and "keep interest low through competitive business practices"; they believe this can be done if the 10% interest ceiling is lifted; they do not object to full disclosure of actual charges, but they argued that a showing of the loan or credit cost in dollars per $100 would give the consumer a "clearer picture" than giving the annual interest rates. It's deplorable, they said, that some "unscrupulous elements of the lending industry" abuse consumers (but the suggestion by committee members of regulations about harassment moved the lenders to silence). There should be some form of public consumer education, they agreed.

There were many interesting aspects of the lenders' testimony — much of it echoing Truth-in-Lending Committee findings, such as the intelligence that this is practically a paper world. Somewhere between 70 and 85% of all commercial transactions are made without cash, and consumer debt in this country has increased 58% since 1960, while private income is up only 33%. Department stores write up 58% of their sales on credit, and specialty stores, 65%.

The magic formula of credit as a bridge to happiness, (since happiness is a new car, a new sofa, a new hi-fi,) is obviously considered a necessity by both consumer and creditor, and how can you help a people bent on self-destruction?

The few who care were quite vocal in the hearings, and the silence of some who don't care was resonant. In San Antonio, the Legal Aid Society's representative left before his name was called, and the Better Business Bureau man — who bases some of his public service talks on home-improvement racketeering — left a note: "As we make no record of any type of telephone complaint pertaining to any business transaction, I am not in a position to quote anything that might be of assistance. . . ."

In Houston and Dallas it was different. An assistant district attorney in Houston said his office gets about 70 harrassment complaints a day, about 25% of them relating to loan companies, and Sen. Elect Barbara Jordan told of exploitation by the home improvement racketeers. In Dallas Better Business Bureau and Tarrant County district attorney representatives asked the committee to find some way to supervise the firms that buy up paper from fly-by-night siding salesmen and technical school conmen, so that those exploited will have some recourse. As it is now, the person holding the note has no responsibility to make the contract good.

A "kill 17b movement" began. Section 17b of the small loan act sets rates for under $100 loans, and these rates add up to as much as 320% annual interest on a $20 loan. Rep. John Alaniz gave the first cry in the Alamo city. Then, when the committee met in Dallas, attorney Edward C. Fritz asked that 17b be dropped. By the Austin hearing this month there was a spokesman, Joe Cowell, (who teaches economics at the University of Texas,) for a new statewide organization called the Texas Consumer Association. "It is illogical," Cowell said, "to be spending large sums of money to fight poverty at the same time we are failing to protect the poor by the inexpensive remedy of imposing reasonable maximum loan rates."

Chairman Miskell, who had either remained objective or had been helpful to consumer spokesmen throughout other hearings, began defending the existence of 17b, saying, ". . . I think you will find lenders all over the state advertising that they make under $100 loans at 17a (lower interest) rates." Thereupon Cowell said: "I'm pleased to learn this; so pleased that I would urge that everybody do that and we abolish 17b."

WHATEVER SORT of legislation the study committee proposes when it makes it recommendations to Governor Connally sometime in the next few weeks, it should offer some interesting comments on living "on time" in a state where city dwellers, at least, are on the make, for reasons of business or status, or just to keep up with their families' needs. Throughout the hearings, Miskell and Banker Lindsey have worked hard to get a "comprehensive" consumer credit picture, and others have indicated interest, whatever their biases may be. Lindsey has reacted like a man who never saw the seamy side of life before, pressing moneylenders and borrowers alike for explanations.

With the advent of redistricting, the make-up of the ultimate forum, the State Senate, is expected to be more liberal, but we wonder if new members' constituencies will make their wishes known, even when it comes to doubling, or tripling, interest rates. Will they want to break up the marriage of the money men, or will they help them set up housekeeping? J.G.

MEETINGS

THE THURSDAY CLUB of Dallas meets each Thursday noon for lunch (cafeteria style) at the Downtown YMCA, 605 No. Ervay St., Dallas. Good discussion. You're welcome. Informal, no dues.

The **TRAVIS COUNTY LIBERAL DEMOCRATS** meet at Spanish Village at 8 p.m. on the first Thursday. You're invited.

ITEMS for this feature cost, for the first entry, 7c a word, and for each subsequent entry, 5c a word. We must receive them one week before the date of the issue in which they are to be published.

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In My Opinion

Eight years after my first rebuff, I have been accorded, charitably perhaps, status as an Observer person. I'm sure Dugger doesn't remember turning me aside in 1958, when I came by the office with a journalism school diploma in one hand (figuratively) and a scrapbook of undergraduate newspaper scribblings in the other (literally). I left the scrapbook for his consideration anyway. A few days later I retrieved it and departed for Muleshoe (or somewhere; I forget).

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Eight years of boondock journalism have given me a comprehensive view of Texas as it is locally — Levittown on the Trinity (suburban Dallas, rigid, but Right), Hicksville on the Plains, Bombsville by the Gulf, and Robstown in that part of the state where the north and the south of the Western Hemisphere meld, the uneasy meeting ground of the Latin and Anglo cultures.

Summoned from the hinterland, whose vagaries were becoming my own, today I am no longer a reporter, but a journalist; that is, a writer whose periodical has no sports section; whose boss isn't cranky, but merely possessed of idiosyncratic inclinations; whose filing cabinets are not labelled "Adv. Prospects," but "Ancillary Income Projects"; a world of noontime beer, visits by name-brand politicians, and terrific stories I dare not print.

One recent night I kept myself awake reading a master's thesis on the Observer's history and Dugger's editorial ancestors, who date back to 1906. It is good to be involved in such a tradition.

Though my professional background has been local and not statewide in scope, I suspect that one day it will dawn on me that the legislature is really something like a larger scale city council and that the denizens of the state agencies are kin to the lady in the water office in West Columbia, and to that man in the tax office at Richardson. Somewhere in the maze of offices and people must lie the outlines of answers to a question that has come to occupy much of my attention in the past few years: Why is Texas government indifferent to so many problems that affect the lives of those in the varied localities where I've lived? I mean problems of poverty, education, race relations, and blight, among others. Working for the Observer will, I feel sure, give me a better opportunity to find some of the answers.

I have joined this publication after years of admiring it from afar, of being sustained on alternate Fridays by its concern for principles I cherish, though I lived at times among people who thought otherwise (or who didn't think at all). The Observer demands much of those who contribute to it. I hope I may serve well.

Texas liberals must, Nov. 8, look to 1968. It'll hurt, but vote for both John Tower and John Connally as a down payment on better days, when the real Democratic Party will emerge. So dire is the state of liberalism in Texas these days that these two foes must be supported. Tower's return to the Senate will encourage movement towards the two-party state we were approaching before President Kennedy was killed. And votes in liberal precincts and counties for Connally, who faces no real contest to return as governor, will strengthen the true Democrats' cause when party organization is determined. Delegate strengths to the 1968 county and state conventions will be based on votes for governor in 1966.

Except for Connally, vote for Republicans wherever you can. And fret not about party loyalty. Recall how loyal party leaders have been in past elections when good Democrats such as Sen. Ralph Yarborough were on the ballot; imagine what will happen when the day finally comes when other true Democrats win the party's primaries. Talk party loyalty to a Connallycrat during the fall of that future year and you'll have your face laughed in. Many who bleat of party unity this year

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were Eisenhower and Nixon partisans not so long ago.

There must be a better way to go about establishing an LBJ State Park. The trustees of the fund for the park are also the State Park and Wildlife commissioners, an arrangement that is, at best, inappropriate. If the fund is truly a private matter, as it is represented to be, then let private citizens, not public officials, handle it. And, anyway, why should the project rely on private donations? It would be far more fitting for such a park to be set aside by Texas public funds, to honor a noted native son. How corrosive of the dignity of the President are all these whispers about potential improprieties; questions, for instance, about such things as the motives of those donors whose names have been so carefully kept from public knowledge.

The park need not be the expensive project it evidently will turn out to be. Why not lop off the requisite acreage from the LBJ Ranch, rather than put the arm on neighboring property owners, through condemnation procedures, or the threat of such?

The problem of commercial exploitation in the ranch neighborhood (an auxiliary reason stated for the park project) will not be solved by establishing a park on some of the land by the President's ranch. A better solution to this particular matter would be a statute permitting county-wide zoning (Texas law now permits zoning inside municipalities only). As the state becomes more urbanized, land in unincorporated portions of metropolitan areas must be reserved for its best useage.

Credit is due State Sen. Jim Bates of Edinburg for stating well the objections to handling of the LBJ Park matter. G. O.

Observations

No, Waggoner

Having listened to the arguments of the candidates, I am now even more convinced than I was a month ago that Waggoner Carr should not be sent to the Senate from Texas.

Carr is part and parcel of the Connally, Shivers, conservative Democrat, one-party machine that runs Texas. His campaigners are using the power of Speaker Ben Barnes and Connally in the legislature to get support from lobbyists and public officials. In Washington Carr would echo President Johnson in the abyss of Johnson foreign policy while playing a moderate-conservative game on domestic policy and meanwhile undercutting Sen. Ralph Yarborough. Not only, in his campaign, has Carr failed to appeal to liberal, humane values; he has kicked thoughtful liberals in the teeth and then invited them to bend over. No; this is the year for the two-party system.

A Melancholy Time

The melancholy, for liberals, that this political fall has been will end, after all, November 8th. If Amendment 7 is defeated there may be a fighting chance that a permanent voter registration system can be enacted within a few years. The experience of the spring, which taught that free registration, without the poll tax, does not necessarily mean increased voting can begin to be applied in earnest in 1968. As soon as this scene is over, as soon as it's November the 9th, then there ought to be some realistic thinking among those who care about the future of democracy in Texas. What exactly needs to be done, in the post-election situation, to bring the new masses of free voters to bear on the constipated politics of this state? Taking coolly into account both the strengths and the weaknesses of the liberal and labor forces in Texas, what can they realistically do really to change the situation? The Observer, for its part, can produce more research papers on fundamental state problems. Senator Yarborough, for his, can go on doing just what he's been doing. The liberals and liberal-moderates in the legislature, for theirs, can communicate together, informally to be sure, better than liberals have in the legislature for these last ten years. Nothing is final; every solution is itself a problem; but some events are more conclusive than others, and the time is coming due when Texas needs another conclusive event — something like Yarborough's victory in 1957 — if it is to remain even within hailing distance of political balance; of democratic health.

. . . And Babe Schwartz

As a personal matter, I was sorry to see that Yarborough dropped Babe Schwartz in favor of another nominee for U.S. district attorney in Houston. Senator Schwartz is a straight shooter, a good man, and a maverick liberal. But as a public matter I am glad that Senator Yarborough is more and more firmly felt as a political force in his own right. People know — because of his insistence on his prerogatives, public and political, in such matters as HemisFair and the patronage appointments as well as in the bread-and-butter, welfare-and-public power fights in Washington — that Yarborough is not going to deliver his vote or his influence for anybody, from the President on down. Generally we are all now getting the idea that Yarborough's idiosyncracies just happen to be the idiosyncracies of a senator who is his own damn man and never will be any other's. R. D.

SOURCES FOR INTEGRATION SURVEY (PAGES 1-7)

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Dialogue

Two-Party State Needed

I agree Texas needs a two-party system, one for the "right" people and the other for the "wrong" people. I enclose a subscription gift check so the truth can reach out to far corners. Our social values have to catch up with the space program. I'm quite sure Darwin would be puzzled.

Ben Beitler, 505 Westmount, Dallas, Tex.

Liberals' Sense of Form

R. D.'s short editorial in the Sept. 30 issue, setting the stage for the Observer to support Ronald Reagan or Slippery Dick Nixon against President Johnson, is certainly consistent with your support of John Tower.

I already see the "liberals" defeating Mr. Johnson in 1968. They dislike him a bit for the war in Vietnam, but what they can never forgive him for his getting the really important, progressive legislation passed through Congress when they failed to get much done in years of loud but ineffectual effort.

It just doesn't fit the liberal sense of good form for a lard-nosed, style-less, professional politician from a basically conservative state to go up and accomplish what we couldn't ever do with our Dreamers. . . .

Edwin Dale, P. O. Box 1710, Beaumont, Texas.

(The sentence in "Observations" to which this letter refers said of Johnson, "If he escalates this war any more, and if we live so long, the liberals will oppose him in 1968 and he will be defeated, as he should be."—Ed.)

Support Rebuilding

I am a railroad man and a sincere supporter of my union and all other labor organizations. Over the past year I have been shocked by the attitudes taken by some of our state officials towards the laboring backbone of our state. Waggoner Carr as attorney general gave railroad men a slap in the face when he let them down regarding the Texas Full Crew Law. And then Carr and Connally vowed a fight to the end to save 14-B. And then they turned their backs on the farm workers. All these things and more that I haven't heard of yet have caused me to be a solid backer of the Rebuilding Committee. — E. O. Rose, 1718 South Park Dr., Alvin, Texas 77511.

Why Support the Right Wing?

. . . . I wonder if the tactics of the Rebuilding Committee are sound? Must we rebuild the Democratic Party in Texas on the basis of strengthening the power of right-wing extremists at the national level? I think it is impossible to advance the liberal cause by casting a "negative" vote in favor of our opponents. This is more characteristic of personalism than politics.—Aaron McNeese, 1500 E. Riverside, apt. A216, Austin, Texas.

A Question of Independence

An open letter to the signers of the "Democrats vote Democrat" ad (Obs., October 14):

Shucks, fellows, we labor and liberal types understand. None of your good friends are going to hold this memory lapse against you. I mean *everybody* knows that full-time politicians and those in the legislative sphere are just not permitted *that* much independence. . . .

But, like I say, the saddest thing of all is that "lack of independence" you must all endure. Being mostly prominent folks or office holders, you good people just can't quite manage the independence of, say, the American Labor Movement. Yep. the AFL-CIO, can agree with the Democrats and the President and try to beat Republican Sen. Boggs in Delaware or Reagan in California. *But!* But is free — free — to disagree with the party and the President when they urge us to defeat a good man like Republican Sen. Clifford Case of New Jersey or elect so-called Democrats like Mahoney in Maryland, or Byrd in Virginia, or Johnson in Arkansas, or Wallace, or Maddox — or a throwback like Waggoner Carr in Texas.

C. S. (Chuck) Caldwell, Area II C.O.P.E. director (Md., W. Va., Del., N.J., Pa., and Ohio), Harrisburg, Pa.

Agrees with Schwartz

I would like to add my second to the article by Babe Schwartz (Obs., Oct. 14) on the negativity of Texas Liberals. As much as anyone, I yearn for the destruction of the conservative Democratic establishment in Texas, and I sincerely think that for it to be beaten badly would be good for the state of Texas.

It seems to me however that the good of Texas politics and the national interest do not necessarily coincide here. If we focus our attention on the U.S. Senate rather than on the desirability of a two party state we are talking about two candidates who are equally conservative. Which of these men is more likely to have a check placed on his conservatism as a U.S. Senator? Having to play ball with the National Democratic Party might limit to some degree the conservatism of Carr. It is difficult to see that the National Republican Party has exerted any similar influence on Tower.

We are faced with a question of lesser evils in which the national interest must come before the good of the State of Texas, but it hurts.

George E. Luck, chaplain, Episcopal Chaplaincy, Arlington State College, Box 603, Arlington, Tex.

Shapirocrats for Tower

So-called "liberals" like State Senator Babe Schwartz gall me when they talk of loyalty to The Party. Someone please explain to this humble foreigner (me) what loyalty has the Connally Clan shown the Democratic Party? The brands "Democrat" and "Republican" are meaningless here in Texas, from what I've been able to figure out.

Liberals I know here in Bexar County aren't just going fishing Nov. 8 as in 1961. We're going to pull the handle for Tower with much delight. Call it petty vindictiveness . . . but personally I'm a Shapirocrat and much proud of the title.

Tom Cahill, 170 De Chantle (506), San Antonio 78201.

Wilson Defeated Carr

The Oct. 14 Observer (Political Intelligence) says that Will Wilson, the former attorney general who is supporting Senator John Tower, was defeated by Waggoner Carr in a previous election. The only time they ran against each other was in the 1960 Democratic primary for attorney general. Wilson defeated Carr by 167,721 votes, winning re-nomination in a three-man race without a runoff. — Larry Jackson, 4719 Harmon Ave., apt. 106, Austin, Tex.

Pardon us, Judge Wilson and Reader Jackson. How the past does blur.—Ed.

Censorship at A&M in 1909

I read your well-written piece on A&M (Obs., Oct. 14) with keen interest. I was editor of the Battalion (Texas A&M student newspaper) in my senior year, 1909 (I was associate editor the year before), and there was censorship then. I wrote a mild editorial about the student strike in 1907, I believe it was, and it was ruled out. There was no student protest about that bit of censorship.

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