

The Texas Observer

SEPT. 6, 1968

A Journal of Free Voices

A Window to The South

25c

Amidst the Wreckage, Hubert

Chicago

When the rhetoric and the rubble were cleared away in Fortress Chicago last week, the Democratic party could be seen crumbling into two opposing factions similar to the liberal-conservative groups that have divided the Texas party for more than a decade. The more conservative, establishment forces kept control of the party machinery by nominating the logical heir to Lyndon Johnson's policies. The liberals and radicals fought the choice on the convention floor, in the committees and in the streets, only to be rebuffed by superior, better organized powers. Wherever there was controversy during the convention, one normally could find the regular Texas delegation, the challengers, or both.

Texas liberals came away from the convention with only one clear victory—the defeat of the unit rule used by the Texas majority for a century to cast the state's delegate votes as a bloc. Gov. John Connally and other leaders of the Texas Democratic establishment led the struggle to maintain the unit rule. Both the Texas challenge delegation and the McCarthy forces in Texas had made the unit rule one of their prime targets. Another Texan, Cong. Jim Wright of Fort Worth, an alternate on the regular Texas delegation, represented Vice President Humphrey's interests at the rules committee meetings.

Both Sen. Eugene McCarthy and Humphrey came out against the unit rule, but Humphrey's statements were rather ambiguous. In a letter to the rules committee, the vice president asked for suspension of the unit rule at the 1968 convention and abandonment of the rule for the 1972 convention. He later changed his stance, however. Members of his staff said the first statement had been a mistake, that Humphrey, very tired, had signed the letter without reading it and without realizing its implications.

In arguments before the rules committee, opponents of the rule repeatedly cited Texas as a state where the rule has been abused. Stephen Mitchell, McCarthy's campaign manager, told the committee that under "the infamous unit rule," a bare majority of 53 members of the Texas delegation could cast Texas' 104 delegate votes. Mitchell read a portion of a letter from Texas Sen. Ralph Yarborough which called for abolition of the unit rule as "sanctioning the suppression of the minority opinion."

Both Frank Erwin, Jr., the outgoing national Democratic committeeman from Texas, and Will Davis, Texas Democratic chairman, argued that it was unfair to change convention rules only days before the convention began. To the audible amusement of the committee members, Erwin said that if the Connally Democrats had known the unit rule would not be in effect at the convention, they would not have put liberals on the delegation. "We put them on there because we knew we could control them under the unit rule," Erwin said.

A MEMBER of the committee asked Erwin how many members of the 122-man delegation might vote against the majority if the convention dropped the unit rule. The Texas committeeman answered with a statement which was to make headlines across the United States. "If this convention abolishes the unit rule or refuses to support it," he said "there is a growing sentiment [in the Texas delegation] that John Connally should withdraw [as a favorite son] and ask some state early in the roll call to yield to give us the opportunity to nominate another great Texan who holds the highest elective office in the land." Although Erwin said his statement should not be interpreted as a "threat," it was. Governor Connally, contacted by members of the press, said the statement was Erwin's alone, but that there was indeed "growing sentiment to make that [Johnson's] nomination, period." Erwin's statement seemed well-rehearsed (he was able to repeat it verbatim at the request of newsmen) and many political commentators guessed that it had been cleared with his close associate, Governor Connally. Some observers, including Stephen Mitchell, interpreted Erwin's and Connally's comments as a "boomlet" for the president. Many Texas delegates simply wrote off the statement as a manifestation of "Erwin's famous temper," as one delegate put it. At any rate, there was no groundswell of pro-Johnson sentiment. The president, speaking at Southwest Texas State College the next day, said, "I am not a candidate for anything, except maybe the rocking chair." He reaffirmed his non-candidacy once again after the convention began. Later Connally said that the Texas delegation never seriously had considered nominating the president.

Despite Erwin's threat, the rules sub-

committee decided, 18 to 3, to substitute a "freedom of conscience" proposal for the unit rule in order to permit all delegates to vote as they wished. The Texas delegation then submitted a minority report, bringing the issue to the full convention.

Connally and the Texas delegation felt neglected by Humphrey and his campaign staff. Before the convention the governor had met with the vice-president only twice since HHH announced for the presidency. Monday Connally and Texas House Speaker Ben Barnes met with Humphrey for an hour and fifteen minutes. Humphrey agreed to a last-minute endorsement of the unit rule for 1968 but it was not enough to pacify Connally. He was angered with Humphrey again Monday afternoon when he learned that the unit rule discussion had been scheduled for Monday night before the credentials vote rather than afterwards as Connally had expected. Connally had hoped to be able to vote the Texas delegation as a bloc on the various credentials challenges. The governor called the schedule change a "doublecross." The vice president's vacillations on the unit rule and on the schedule of convention events substantiated the governor's belief that the Democratic nominee for president is not "tough."

TEXAS' presentation on behalf of the unit rule was highly unpopular with convention delegates and visitors in the gallery. Both Tom Gordon of Abilene and Erwin were roundly booed during their speeches. Gordon read the statement from Humphrey and added, "We have no objection to abrogation of the unit rule for 1972." He argued that it would be unfair to change the rule for the 1968 convention. "The unit rule was first initiated in Texas in 1831," Gordon said. "It was a good rule then and it's a good rule now." His next sentence was drowned out by boos.

The rule was abolished by a voice vote. Six Texas delegates of the 122 said they voted for abolishment: State Sen. Barbara Jordan of Houston, Ed Watson of Deer Park, Benton Musslewhite of Lufkin, Ivan Haven of Port Neches, Pat McDowell of South Houston, and H. S. (Hank) Brown, president of the Texas AFL-CIO.

Senator McCarthy, speaking to demonstrators in Grant Park across the street from the Conrad Hilton Hotel, said, "We did one or two things at the convention.

(Continued on Page 3)

The Opening Skirmish Against Boss Rule

Austin

The Texas governor's righteous defense of the unit rule as "the very essence of pure democracy" is now exposed, by the overwhelming judgment even of the Humphrey-dominated Democratic Party, as absurd and hypocritical sophistry. Unit rule was boss-rule, codified. It is a lasting accomplishment of the Texas liberals who fought through the convention system this spring that they contributed significantly to the abolition of the unit rule from precinct to national conventions on the first night—over the Connally boys' agonized objections — at Chicago.

Make no mistake, however this is only an opening skirmish in the struggle against boss rule among the Democrats. Frank Erwin, Connally's national committeeman, said before the rules committee, "Relying on the unit rule, trying to unite our party in Texas, trying to prepare for November, we placed some delegates on this delegation who aren't for John Connally for favorite son."

Erwin went on: "We put them on there . . . because we knew under the unit rule we could control how the votes at this convention would be cast. . . . If the unit rule was not going to be enforced, we

would not have made that mistake. . . . From this time forward, every delegate will come to this convention with one mind, and we won't need the unit rule."

That is what foot-in-mouth Erwin thinks.

Yet he makes it clear that from here on out, if he and Connally have their way, the idea of proportional representation will have no chance of any kind in conservative-won Democratic conventions in Texas. Conceivably, as Connally passes from the scene, an agreement could be reached that, from the precinct on up, delegates would be chosen in proportion to the votes among the various leading candidates for the Presidential nomination. Otherwise, liberals henceforth will have no practical option but to apply the "winner take all" rule to the conventions they win.

Cong. Bob Eckhardt, Houston, having thought this same situation through, will introduce a bill to require that delegates be selected in proportion to the votes for the presidential candidates at conventions or party primaries. That is a good remedy and should be passed. If it is not, then the 1972 equivalent of this year's "unit rule" fight should be a fight for first-ballot proportional representation

from the bottom all the way to the top of the convention system.

Texas needs a presidential primary system. It is an outrage that we do not have one. The citizens are at the mercy of the party hacks—in both parties—who sycophantically flock to the party boss's "favorite son" banner (this year, both John Tower and John Connally used this shoddy gambit to increase their influence as bosses). For 1972, the law should bind the Texas delegation to cast its first-ballot votes in proportion to the outcome of the primary.

The stupidest persistence of the "unit rule" is the electoral college. Under the law, the presidential candidate who wins a majority of a state's votes in November gets all its electoral votes. This is why a minority can elect a President. The law must be changed — abolishing the electoral college, giving the presidency to the man who wins the majority of the popular votes.

If the election is thrown into the House of Representatives, as it probably will be this year because of Wallace, then each state, regardless of population, gets to cast only one vote. This provision must be changed; yet there will not be time to do so in 1969—a grave constitutional crisis will be at hand, with a period during which no one may be in charge of the most powerful nation on earth.

John Connally's rotten accusation that the peace-oriented candidates at Chicago were guilty of advocating policies of "appeasement and surrender" ought not be let pass without comment. He called unconditional cessation of the bombing in North Vietnam, reduction in the size of U.S. troop forces in Vietnam, negotiations with North Vietnam to remove all foreign forces from South Vietnam, and similar counsels, "courses of appeasement and surrender." The *New York Times* characterized this as the injection of "the element of personal attack" into the fight over the plank. Pierre Salinger, McGovern's top lieutenant, and of course former President Kennedy's press secretary, accused Connally of "old type Joe McCarthyism," and this is what it was. "This statement," Salinger continued, "was the most unfortunate event of the convention, and his accusations of Senator McCarthy and McGovern bordered on accusing them of acts of treason." □

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A Window to the South

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(Adv.)

At least we have done away with the unit rule, which has set free the people of Texas. Now, that is something to do in one convention!"

Members of the Texas conservative establishment commented that the abolition of the unit rule will mean the exclusion of minority representatives on fu-

ture delegations to state and national conventions. Governor Connally predicted that future conventions "may not give the minority any representation." Davis added, "It will make those who select the delegates more careful about who they select." Texas liberals responded that if

the conservatives remain in the majority, and if they exclude minority representatives from delegations, the liberals will have an unbeatable credentials challenge for the 1972 convention. The unit rule decision will not affect state conventions in years when a president is not being elected.

The Vietnam Plank

Governor Connally and his delegation played an important role in the passage of the majority plank on Vietnam. As the debate on the war unfolded before the platform committee, Connally became concerned that the doves might manage to pass a statement repudiating President Johnson's war policy; so he requested permission to appear before the committee. Although the governor never said he was speaking for the president, his statements were accepted in many quarters as having approval of his long-time political friend.

The governor's remarks were broad enough to condemn all three leading Democratic doves, Senators McCarthy, Kennedy and McGovern. He specifically scored McCarthy and McGovern for their stands on the Vietnam issue. He received a standing ovation from approximately half the platform committee when he said, "The cause of peace should not be used as a vehicle for political favor or fortune. The cause of peace is not the personal property of any politician or political party." Connally said he opposes a bombing cessation at this point in the Hanoi negotiations, a deescalation of the war or a coalition government in Saigon. Ending his prepared speech, the governor said, "I would implore this committee to write a plank denouncing communist aggression in South Vietnam, Czechoslovakia and anywhere else in the world . . . I would implore this committee to write a plank which supports the determined fight of this administration to preserve not only our own freedom, but to help provide the opportunity for freedom for peoples everywhere."

The committee adopted a plank affirming President Johnson's policies, and the doves immediately started drafting a minority plank to present on the convention floor. The majority statement called for the United States to negotiate with Hanoi "an immediate end or limitation of hostilities and the withdrawal from South Vietnam all foreign forces—both US and allied forces and forces infiltrated from North Vietnam." It also pledged the United States to ensure self-determination for the Vietnamese. The minority plank called for an unconditional end to bombing of North Vietnam, a negotiated mutual withdrawal of US and North Vietnamese forces from South Vietnam, encouragement of the South Vietnamese to "negotiate a political re-

conciliation with the National Liberation Front," and lowering the level of violence by reducing offensive operations in the Vietnamese countryside.

The actual wording of the opposing planks was not the issue, however. Most delegates and observers at the convention saw a vote for the majority plank as a vote of confidence for the president and vice president; a vote for the minority plank, an expression of no-confidence. Much like the question of seating the Texas challenge delegation, Vietnam was for the most part an emotional, rather than a substantive, political issue.

THE PLATFORM fight originally was scheduled for Tuesday night, but by the time the chairman of the committee, Cong. Hale Boggs of Louisiana, had finished reading a summary of the platform it was 1 a.m. Wednesday. Convention officials wanted to move on to the platform debate that night (possibly because few TV viewers would still be awake), but a majority of delegates objected. The debate was rescheduled for Wednesday afternoon.

Thirty-one speakers addressed themselves to the Vietnam plank Wednesday. The debate lasted for almost three hours. Ted Sorensen of New York, a special adviser to the late President John Kennedy, pleaded for the minority report. "This is not a question of presidential politics. This is a question of principle," he said "I ask you to remember simply this. The essence of the majority plank is to continue present policy. The essence of the minority is to call for a change toward peace." Pierre Salinger, President Kennedy's press secretary, called the current policy "a bankrupt failure. . . . The struggle on the floor of this convention will determine whether we have the courage to say we were wrong and even greater courage to chart a course toward peace in Vietnam," he said. It was the conviction that the killing had to be stopped in Vietnam that moved Bobby Kennedy to announce for the presidency, Salinger believes. "If Kennedy were alive today, he would be on this platform speaking for this plank," Salinger said. His remarks set off the loudest cheers of the evening. Doves in delegations and in the gallery struck up the chant, "Stop the war. Stop the war."

Speakers in favor of the majority plank emphasized that the minority plank did not mention elections in South Vietnam

or the right of self-determination. "The majority report strongly supports the Paris peace talks," Lt. Gov. Wilson Wyatt of Kentucky said. "The minority report completely ignores the peace talks. The majority report gives full consideration to the risks of our troops. The minority report does not. The majority report is a firm plank for peace, a clear commitment for peace in Vietnam." Mrs. Gerry Joseph, a campaign manager for Humphrey, said, "We all want an end to that war in Southeast Asia. But we must have freedom of choice among those people. If we abandon South Vietnam, what hope can there be for the people of Eastern Europe and the rest of the world?"

The Texas delegation achieved its supreme moment of the convention during the vote on the minority plank, for it was the state's solid 104 vote against that ensured adoption of the majority plank. Caucusing on the floor, the Texas delegation was asked whether there was any objection to casting the full delegate vote for the majority plank. One man, young Anthony Petry of El Paso, an alternate voting for Joe Yarborough of the same city, raised his hand, saying he thought he might vote for the minority report. Two other delegates, Benton Musslewhite of Lufkin and Foley Wynn of Corsicana, both of whom were considered possible McCarthy supporters, then said they might go along with Petry. The three gathered on the floor and were joined by former Gov. Price Daniel. Daniel told the three that the president had made a personal request that each Texas delegate vote for the majority report, Petry told the *Observer*. Musslewhite and Wynn concluded they would have to go along with the president under the circumstances. Musslewhite asked Petry if he would vote with the rest of the delegation on Vietnam if he (Musslewhite) would vote with Petry for the nomination of Eugene McCarthy. Petry agreed after getting assurances from Daniel and other that he could ask that the delegation be polled in case the minority plank on Vietnam lost by only a few votes. Musslewhite and Wynn agreed they would vote for the minority plank if the vote were very close. "I thought this was a better way of going than being a lone voter on Vietnam," Petry explained. He believes that his agreement to vote with the majority on Vietnam took pressure off the McCarthy minority in the

delegation giving them an opportunity to vote for their candidate without pressure from Humphrey delegates. Sen. Barbara Jordan, one of the liberals on the delegation, explained she voted for the majority plank because "there isn't really enough difference in the two planks to make a major fuss about it."

The final vote was 1,567 $\frac{3}{4}$ for the majority plank, 1,041 $\frac{1}{4}$ for the minority plank. Immediately after the vote, the governor thanked the three liberal delegates who went with the majority and thanked the whole delegation, saying, "The president will appreciate it." He told members of the press that the vote was a "clear message to Hanoi. It's a vote of confidence in the president. It means this convention is not going to put

itself in the position of dictating military strategy."

THE GOVERNOR himself probably received the gratitude of the president for his little-publicized efforts to stop an embarrassing draft Johnson movement following the Vietnam vote. Richard Goodwin, a key strategist in McCarthy's campaign, and William Vanderhooven, McGovern's campaign manager, had threatened over nationwide television to nominate Johnson if the convention decided to approve the president's war policy. "It's his platform. Let him run on it," Vanderhooven said. Soon after the vote was taken, Goodwin and Vanderhooven walked over to the rear of the Texas delegation and informed

some Texas delegates of what they planned to do. Then Governor Connally sent word to the two New Yorkers that if they tried to nominate Johnson, he would ask Alaska or Alabama or the first state agreeable to yield to Texas for the purpose of nominating the president. Thus, Texas would have been in control of the nominating speeches. After the nominations were over, Connally would have taken Johnson off the list of nominees. It is not known whether the governor's move squelched the doves' plans, but the nomination was never made. A number of Texas delegates, including one very highly placed one, believed Johnson might well have won the nomination if the delegation had been forced to go through with their preemptive nomination.

A Class Challenge

Although the Texas challenge delegates were not seated at the convention, their struggle to obtain 50 of Texas' 104 votes came much closer to success than either the Connally delegates or the challengers themselves expected. The credentials committee heard four hours of testimony in the Texas case Wednesday, Aug. 21. Maury Maverick, Jr., of San Antonio, State Rep. Curtis Graves of Houston, State Rep. Don Gladden of Fort Worth, Bexar county Commissioner Albert Pena, and Sen. Ralph Yarborough were among the persons who spoke in behalf of the Texas Democrats for an Open Convention, the coalition of blacks, *latinos*, anti-Connally liberals and McCarthy supporters who challenged the regular delegation. Their arguments, put forth in a brief (*Obs.*, Aug. 23) were mainly that the Connally delegation was packed with "Month of May Democrats" who turn Republican in November, that the liberal minority had been disenfranchised by the unit rule, and that the Connally Democrats had shortchanged minority groups in defiance of the call of the convention that "all delegations be broadly representative of the Democrats of the respective states."

Graves, a Negro, pointed out that only two of the six Negroes on the Connally delegation were elected on the precinct level to be delegates. The others were appointed by the governor. "The rest are hand-picked, pledged 'Toms' who guaranteed they'd shut up and wouldn't rock the boat," Graves charged. Valmo Bellinger, a Negro newspaper publisher from San Antonio and a member of the regular delegation, countered that he was one of the "Uncle Toms" Graves was talking about. He attacked Commissioner Pena, accusing him of hiring only Latins, never Negroes, for public jobs in Bexar county. "Gov. Connally and Secretary of State [Roy] Berrera are angels compared to

this racist," Bellinger said.

Will Davis, state Democratic chairman, and Frank Erwin, Texas' national committeeman, represented the regular delegation at the meeting. They had four witnesses: Bellinger; Secretary of State Barrera; M. J. Anderson of Austin, a Negro insurance salesman; and J. C. (Pepe) Martin, Jr., mayor of Laredo. After sitting through the liberals' presentation, Davis said all he had heard were "charges against one man, John Connally, the governor of Texas. They are totally unsupported, malicious charges against a decent, fine man who is a great governor of his state," Davis said. Speaking of the regular delegation, he said, "By Jesus, everyone is a Democrat, one and all. They will stand up loyally for the Democratic party." Since the insurgents seemed to have made points by emphasizing that Senator Yarborough, the state's senior senator, was not on the regular delegation, Davis said that the senator was not on the delegation because he had not been elected to it. Davis was asked a question about the Yarborough issue, but New Jersey Gov. Richard Hughes, the credentials committee chairman, cut it off, saying "We ought not to engage in party strife. We could be here a very long time if we tried to settle the internal disputes of the Texas Democratic party—until Christmas or a year from Christmas." The committee voted 128 to 23 to seat the regular delegation.

BY THE TIME the Texas challenge delegates arrived in Chicago Saturday and Sunday, the committee had made its decision. The next step was to gather eleven signatures from the committee members to bring the challenge up on the floor in the form of a minority report. Caucusing Sunday, the group decided to limit its arguments to the racial issue, reasoning that it was the only legal basis on which the convention could seat them and also that it was the only issue

in which most delegates showed interest. Sunday night and Monday the challenge delegates visited major delegations to present their case. Most regular Texas delegates felt confident that the challenge had been rebuffed. Sunday in a press conference, Governor Connally dismissed the TDOC case as "almost completely without merit." He said that Texas had 17 black delegates and alternates, more than any other state except Michigan. (He later was proved to be wrong. The official convention count showed that three states had more Negro delegates and alternates than Texas and nine states had more Negro delegates.)

Monday morning the TDOC delegates met at the YMCA Hotel, their headquarters for the convention, and then split up, some going to gather signatures on the minority report, others visiting delegation caucuses. Gladden had obtained affidavits of 17 Negro precinct leaders who said that they asked to be delegates to the state convention and were not chosen, and the evidence was used at many delegation meetings to try to prove that Negroes had been excluded from the Connally delegation.

The challengers knew they would have to work quickly, but they did not realize at the time that the credentials fight would be set for that same evening. When they learned of the change in schedule, members of the TDOC began to contact sympathetic delegates who were willing to present the minority position on the floor. There was some discussion as to whether a member of the regular Texas delegation should second the minority report. Benton Musslewhite had offered to do so, but leaders of the challenge decided to get seconds from other states. They reasoned that the TDOC would have a better argument if the regular delegation appeared as a united front against their challenge. They also wanted to present the credentials as a national issue concerning minority group discrimina-

tion rather than as an internecine fight between Texas factions.

MONDAY afternoon news began to filter back to the Connally delegation that the insurgents were getting some unsuspected support. New York and California delegations voted to help the Texas challenge. The caucuses of black delegates and Mexican-American delegates did the same. The regular delegation began to realize that it had a real fight on its hands.

Monday night the TDOC challengers were denied any kind of convention passes, so they could not work the floor for votes. Senator Yarborough, however,

Guest Editorial

Connally's Polemics

Gov. John Connally's appearance before the platform committee of the Democratic national convention in support of President Johnson's Vietnam policy elicited this comment from the Harrisburg (Pa.) Patriot.

Gov. John B. Connally's attack on critics of the Johnson administration's Vietnam policies was unfair and unwarranted. It did him no honor, and it did the administration's case no honor. It contributed less than nothing to sober consideration of this most agonizing problem of our Vietnam imbroglio. It could not have been intended to persuade. It could not have been intended to "build bridges" between Democratic critics and proponents of the Johnson policies — a difficult job at best but not absolutely impossible for men who, as Mr. Johnson has always urged, will come and reason together.

The weakness in the administration's case can be measured by the manner in which the Texas Democrat, a Johnson protege, presented it at the Democratic platform committee's hearings in Chicago. Governor Connally resorted to the classic techniques of polemics.

There is, for example, the "straw man" technique. The Texas governor set up his straw man and burned it to a crisp, like a Vietnam village. "Each of these many proposals" of anti-administration candidates, he declared, "is put forth with the claim that it guarantees peace in Vietnam."

Quite the contrary. One may disagree with the various prescriptions for peace put forward by candidates and critics — Sen. Eugene McCarthy, Sen. George McGovern, Sen. J. William Fulbright, former Ambassador John Kenneth Galbraith, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and others—but the one common strain in all the prescriptions is that none of their authors is so irresponsible as to "guarantee" results.

managed to be seated in the honored guest section of the amphitheatre immediately behind the Virginia delegation. He was able to lean over the gallery ledge and greet acquaintances on the floor as they passed by and thus do some lobbying for his delegation. The gregarious senator had some obvious success. The Virginia delegation, which was expected to go overwhelmingly against the Texas challenge, voted 22½ for the TDOC, 21½ against.

California House Speaker Jesse Unruh made a motion to delay the credentials confrontation until Tuesday night, but that move failed 169½ to 875½. Texas voted 104 against the motion. The Texas

To attack people for what they do say is one thing; to attack them for what they do not say is something else — a perversion of their own position and a reflection on one's own.

Governor Connally is adept at the "give the dog a bad name" technique and the rhetorical question. The idea of deescalating the struggle — by an American halt in the bombing of North Vietnam, in particular — he labels "courses of appeasement and surrender," and he asks: "What assurance do we have that any or all of these steps would result in anything other than North Vietnam sending additional ammunition into South Vietnam in order to make a complete takeover?"

The answer to that is twofold. In the first place, it is to admit candidly that we can have no such assurances. But in the second place, we can recall that the administration gave us solemn assurances that the bombing would stanch the flow of men and supplies from the north. Now Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford admits — as did his predecessor, Robert S. McNamara — that the bombing does not really reduce North Vietnamese movements to the south. What sense, then, does it make to invest further in a bankrupt policy?

Governor Connally waves the flag. Of our men in South Vietnam, he declares, "Their safety, their security, must be our paramount consideration." And so it must, but there is an odd sort of logic in charging that those who wish to remove our boys from the battle are more indifferent to their lives than those who would throw them in.

Governor Connally uses what he calls "strong words" and declares that "these are times for strong words." We think otherwise. These are times for wise words, for sober words, for reasoned and responsible words, and it is a great pity that Governor Connally has nothing to contribute along those lines. □

challenge came up first. Each side was given fifteen minutes to present arguments. William Hochman, a member of the credentials committee from Colorado, told the convention delegates, "We believe the regular Democratic party of Texas had deliberately excluded Mexican-Americans and Negroes from the delegation." He pointed out that the 62-member state Democratic executive committee has never had a black member. Paul O'Dwyer, a member of the New York delegation, said, "If the Kerner report [on civil disorders] has any meaning to us, then we must start with the Democratic party and rid it of racism." Burt Corona of California gave the most impassioned speech in favor of the TDOC. He insisted that the convention's vote on the Texas delegation would show if Democrats were ready "to deal with Mexican-Americans throughout the Southwest."

Speaking for the regular delegation, Davis said the challenge boiled down to the fact that "the opposition got beat, got beat badly." He added, "We have two groups in Texas, the ins and the outs. The ins want to stay in and the outs want to get in. You've heard from the outs. Now you're going to hear from the ins." He was energetically booed. Robert Strauss of Dallas, the incoming national committeeman, called the challenge report a "vicious and unwarranted attack." The minority, he said, "represents only themselves. They would be leaders who have no followers." By the time the vote was taken, the Texas challenge had become a strongly emotional issue. It was the first test of pro-and-anti-Humphrey sentiment of the convention. The minority report was defeated 1,368 to 955.

In general, the Southern states voted to seat the Connally delegation; the industrial states were divided. California voted for the Texas liberals, 173-1; New York did likewise, 190-0. Massachusetts, home state of the Kennedys, gave the challenge delegation a 47-16 majority; Wisconsin voted with the liberals, 54-5. Illinois, whose delegation was strongly influenced by Mayor Daley, voted for the Connally regulars, 114-4.

Humphrey's majorities underlay Michigan's 3-to-1 and Pennsylvania's 2-to-1 votes for the regulars. The pattern of Southern delegations voting for the Connally delegation was broken by the liberal, integrated delegation from Mississippi, which voted for the Texas liberals, 18½-to-2.

Texas delegates were not allowed to vote on the issue, but they were overwhelmingly against the challenge. Hank Brown, the Texas AFL-CIO president who made some strong statements against the unit rule, told the *Observer* he would not support the challenge delegation because if seated, it would dilute the votes of labor's favorite, Hubert Humphrey. (In a straw poll taken by the TDOC, the challenge delegates overwhelmingly voted for McCarthy. Approximately half said they would vote for Sen. Edward Kennedy if given a chance. Humphrey received approximately six votes and Johnson

received two, both from Negroes.) Of the challenge, Brown said, "While I have opposed Connally throughout, I must say he won it [the state convention] clearly. The challenge includes some misinformation. Certainly, the reasons given are not a charge of racial discrimination. As to what Negroes and what kind of political philosophy is represented, as to the Mexican-Americans and the liberals, the demand for representation was an accurate one," Brown said. "The bodies [of Negroes and Mexicans] were there [on the delegation], but they were John Connally-types for the most part." Brown expressed displeasure that Yarborough did not consult with labor before backing the Texas challengers. "Not that he owes it to us," he said, "but labor would have liked to know in advance. That's nothing but pride," the labor leader admitted.

Governor Connally commented on the floor after the Texas vote, "It's very obvious here that something other than the merits affected the outcome here tonight." Senator Yarborough called the close vote a "great moral victory." In a television interview a day after the vote, Vice President Humphrey said, "I would have supported the majority position on the Texas case. There isn't any doubt about that." He added that he would have supported the majority report on Georgia as well. Sen. George McGovern said

that both the Georgia and Texas regular delegations "were not in fact representative of the political groupings within their states. How can one call for a broader base and more representative government representing all the political elements in South Vietnam and then deny [the same broad base] to the delegations here in our own country?" he asked.

Three Texas delegates voted to give the challenge group from Georgia, the group led by State Rep. Julian Bond, the full Georgia delegate vote. They were Senator Barbara Jordan, Dr. William M. Kemp of Houston and Benton Musslewhite.

THE TEXAS challengers remained in Chicago for the duration of the convention, lending their support to various liberal causes. They continued to try to embarrass Governor Connally through such means as passing out an information sheet on the governor in the lobbies of hotels where delegates were staying. In the center of the sheet was the famous picture of the governor, House Speaker Ben Barnes and former Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr confronting Valley farm workers in New Braunfels. The sheet quoted the governor's comments on the death of Dr. Martin Luther King and listed some of his conservative positions on the poll tax, redistricting, the

poverty program and the minimum wage.

An interesting division occurred in the TDOC during the last few days of the convention. Both black and Latin challenge delegates had been disgruntled because the leadership of the group was Anglo. So the challengers agreed to hold separate caucuses before each general meeting. The Negro caucus was led by Booker T. Bonner of Houston; the Mexican-American, by Mike Gonzalez of Del Rio; the Anglo, by Mrs. Billie Carr. The group actually had little to decide after their challenge had been defeated. Hearing reports that McCarthy had conceded the nomination, a number of TDOC members decided to leave his campaign and work with the draft Kennedy forces, but that too was abandoned after the Massachusetts senator announced he would turn down the nomination if it were offered.

The liberals announced in Chicago that they will set up separate Democratic councils in each Texas county. On Sept. 14, three days before the state Democratic convention, they will hold a competing state convention. "We are not going to back into Preston Smith's and John Connally's convention," Mrs. Carr said. The liberals will claim that they are the legitimate Democrats in Texas. They hope eventually to move back into the regular party by winning a majority in 1970 or 1972.

Hubert and John

Two weeks before the convention, the Texas regular delegates seemed overwhelmingly committed to the candidacy of Hubert Humphrey, and then, to use the convention's most popular term, the "erosion" began. Eighty percent of the delegates to the state convention voted to nominate Governor Connally as a favorite son. The governor never stated before the national convention that he favored Humphrey, but he simply had nowhere else to go. There was some talk in Texas, of course, of renominating President Johnson, but few took it seriously. There was some hope that Connally would be the vice-presidential candidate, but after the Republicans nominated a man who they hoped would appeal to the South, most political observers in Texas concluded that the Democrats would have to nominate a vice president who would please the North. So the Texas establishment looked toward the national convention realizing that their power on the national scene was about to be diminished. They were none too happy about it.

As the convention committees began to convene, the state's conservative leaders became increasingly disturbed over the possibilities of the Democrats adopting a dove plank on Vietnam, doing away with the unit rule, and even possibly giving credence to the TDOC charges of

minority disenfranchisement. Before leaving the state to appear before the rules and credentials committees, National Committeeman Frank Erwin told reporters that if things didn't go right for Texas at the convention, the delegation might simply walk out. Then Governor Connally criticized the vice president for "ignoring" Texas delegates. In a press conference, he was asked when he planned to release delegates from their favorite son commitment, "I don't know," he snapped. "I might never release them. It may well be that the delegation, in the final analysis, doesn't want to be released. I'm going to be guided by what the delegation wants to do. I'm certainly not going to try to be dictatorial about it," he said. Connally hinted that a walkout was not unimaginable. He emphasized that he had no vice-presidential aspirations. Then the governor flew to Chicago to speak before the platform committee on behalf of the Southern hawks.

Once they arrived in Chicago, Texans' attitudes toward Humphrey did not improve. Frank Erwin told the rules committee that if the unit rule was abolished, Texas might nominate Lyndon Johnson. Connally did not repudiate Erwin's statement. The committee did away with the unit rule, and liberals on the Texas delegation began debating whether they still were obligated to honor their favorite son commitment to Connally. Hank

Brown, the AFL-CIO president and a long-standing political foe of the governor, said he felt legally bound to support Connally as a favorite son. Sen. Barbara Jordan, on the other hand, said she was studying the legal questions involved and that she would oppose Connally if there was any way she could without violating firm state convention instructions.

BY SUNDAY, the night before the convention began, Texas leaders were no longer threatening to leave the convention. In a press conference, the governor said he had heard "no responsible person talk about a walkout from the convention." Asked whether he thought Texas would nominate the president, he said, "members of the Texas delegation would prefer to vote for him, but we have no reason to believe there is any change in his decision [not to run] . . . I don't rule out any possibility in a political convention, but I don't think under any circumstances Texas might nominate President Johnson. We don't have plans to do so. We are not here to try to promote a draft."

"What was the purpose of Frank Erwin's statement [about nominating the president]?" a reporter asked.

"I'm not sure you won't have to have Mr. Erwin answer that question," the governor said.

"What would it take for you to support

Humphrey on the first or subsequent ballots?" another asked.

"I guess it would take a change of mind," Connally said. "My present plans are to hold Texas delegates pledged to me until I change my mind."

Which man has the best chance of carrying Texas?

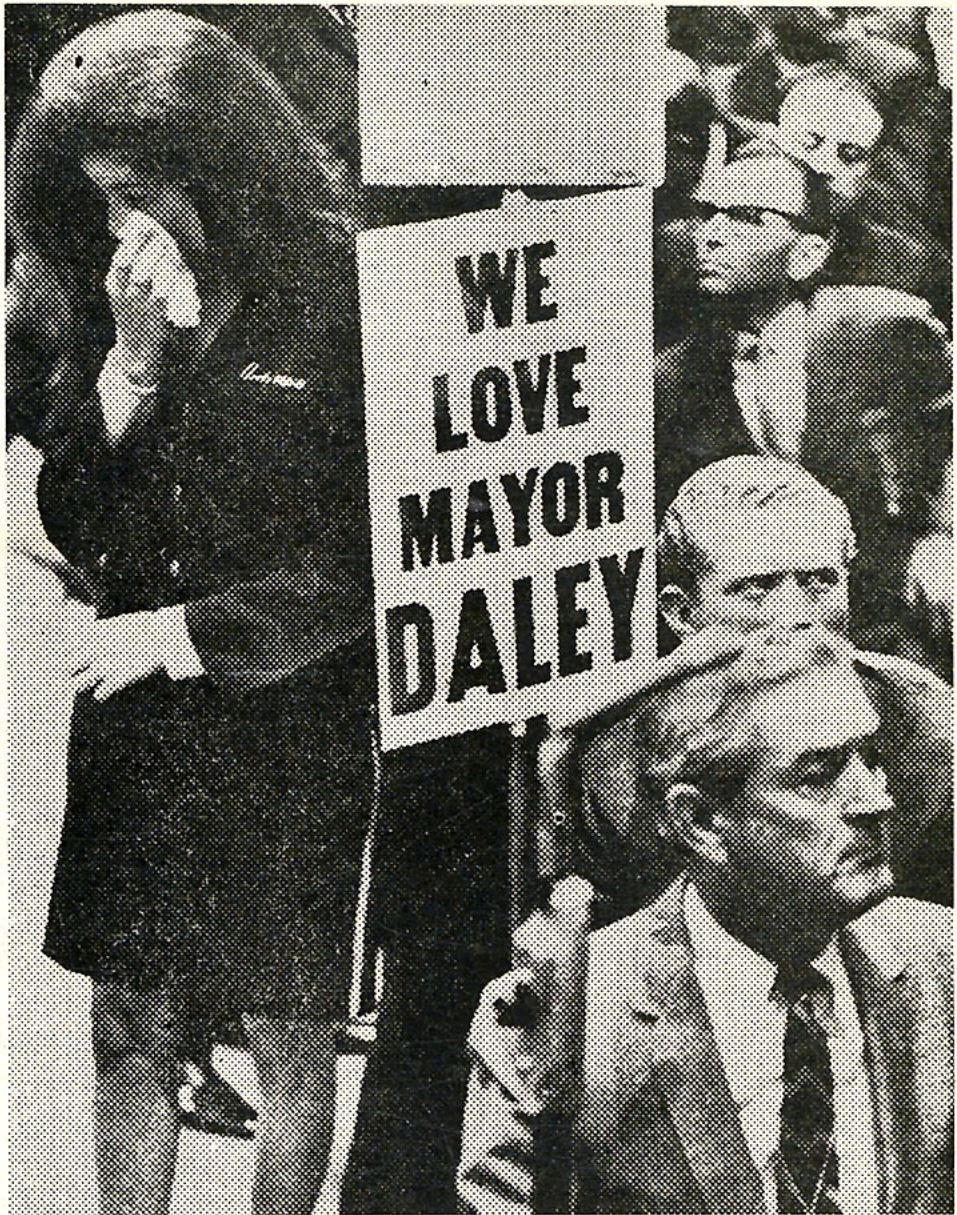
"The vice president would — next to President Johnson," Connally answered. "Texas is going to be a tough state for any Democrat to carry this year."

Monday the governor met with Vice President Humphrey and received some support for his fight against the unit rule. He still believed that Humphrey was neglecting the Texas delegation, but the time had come for Connally to choose between supporting the vice president or leading a Southern rebellion. The Texas governor had been in close touch with other Southern governors, and the governors decided it was time to get behind Humphrey. The burgeoning movement to draft Senator Edward Kennedy probably contributed to the Southerners' decision to abandon their favorite son roles. Many observers believed Humphrey's delegate count was slipping. Tuesday, Connally, Tennessee Gov. Buford Ellington and South Carolina Gov. Robert E. McNair all withdrew as favorite sons and urged their delegations to vote for Humphrey.

Connally and many other Texas delegates had been disgusted with the liberal boos and catcalls aimed at various Texas speakers Monday night. "One of the things led me to the decision to release Texas delegates was the demeanor of some of the delegates at the convention last night," Connally told a group of reporters as he left a Texas caucus. "I felt my decision would have a very salutary effect on the convention tonight." He said the vice president had not asked him for an endorsement.

The Texas delegation cast 100½ votes for Humphrey. Three men, Benton Muslewite, Malcom McGregor and Foley Wynn voted for Senator McCarthy, and Senator Barbara Jordan voted for the Negro candidate from Washington, DC, the Rev. Channing Phillips.

If Texas had much to say about the vice-presidential nominee, it was not evident in the final choice. (The Texas governor advised Humphrey to choose a running mate "more moderate" than himself.) Connally was consulted by Humphrey before the vice president made his decision. There were some reports that the Texas governor spoke strongly against one man discussed, Sargent Shriver, a Kennedy inlaw and now ambassador to France. According to columnist Charles Bartlett, "He [Connally] threatened to emerge as the Strom Thurmond of the Democratic convention until he was flushed by the Kennedy threat into yielding up his delegates." Texans, for the most part, were noncommittal about the nomination of Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine. "I don't think anyone knows him in Texas," the governor said. "I don't think it will affect us one way or the other."



MIXED EMOTIONS—Gov. John Connally sits solemnly during the film tribute presented at the Democratic convention to the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy. At left an usherette wipes away her tears.—UPI photo.

Some important Texas leaders admitted off-the-record that they thought Humphrey had written off the South. A few admitted that Richard Nixon might win Texas. One delegation leader told the Associated Press, "Don't you dare quote me by name, but if Nixon carries Texas, as a lot of us think he will, we're going to be nothing but a bunch of political stepchildren. That vote on seating the Texas delegation shows you what the national party thinks about Texas," he said. "And look what they did to us on the unit rule. If Nixon wins, or maybe even if Humphrey wins, we'll have no one in Washington to talk to for the first time in a long time. The president from Texas is going out and the governor who kept the state in line with LBJ for years is going out. Our top spokesman in Washington will be a liberal senator who has

consistently fought Gov. John Connally and the state leaders and at the convention fought unsuccessfully against Humphrey and the seating of the Connally delegation."

"I think Texas probably will be one of the most difficult battlegrounds," Hank Brown said. He mentioned the Wallace influence, conservative Democrats supporting Nixon in November, inroads Republicans are making among the usually Democratic minorities and the disaffected left. But, Brown pointed out, "in 1948 the people somehow rallied behind Truman. I think Humphrey will win, but I think it's going to be blood and guts."

Governor Connally's term of office is almost up and he may leave the campaigning to others. One high public offi-

cial said that since Lt. Gov. Preston Smith is attempting to gain influence with the state Democratic executive committee, it may be up to Smith to rally the conservatives behind Humphrey. At any rate, the conservative Democratic forces, led by Connally or Smith, are faced with the task of campaigning for the man they helped to nominate, a man with whom they have little in common.

Many Texas liberals, staunchly demonstrating they are loyal Democrats, already have traded in their McCarthy flower decals for Humphrey bumper strips. Senator Yarborough, the state's leading liberal, has endorsed the vice president. Some other liberals are waiting to see if a strong candidate will agree to run with a fourth party. A contingent of dissatisfied leftists say they

will vote for George Wallace as a means of accelerating the death of two-party system which they see as bankrupt.

With many liberals unwilling to accept nominee Humphrey's ambiguous pronouncements on the war and on law and order and the conservatives not too sure that Humphrey is really their man, it would seem to take a miracle to unite the party before November. K.N.

Political Intelligence

Notes from Chicago

✓ In Chicago, both the New party and the New Democratic Coalition established temporary steering committees. Don Allford of Austin is one of the New party's ten-person committee. The New Democratic Coalition's temporary committee includes Ronnie Dugger of Austin.

✓ In Texas, Allford says, the New party "will be proceeding toward a write-in candidacy for McCarthy" unless another candidate is chosen. The New party also may run McCarthy in states where the candidate's consent is not required. (McCarthy said Sept. 4 he would not run on a fourth party ticket and asked that he not be run in Iowa, where his consent is not required, because this might hurt the re-election chances of the pro-McCarthy governor of Iowa.)

Allford, alluding to New party chairman Marcus Raskin's statement that this generation of Americans has spent 14 hundred billion dollars on wars, said, "We just don't see anything to gain by working within the two old parties."

✓ Nixon was quoted in New York Sept. 4: "Illinois, California, Pennsylvania, and Texas are up for grabs this year."

✓ Don Yarborough, present in Chicago as a member of the Texas challenge delegation, anticipated, by a full week, the bolt of Louisiana Gov. John McKeithen from Humphrey on the basis of Humphrey's admiration for Chief Justice Earl Warren. Evidently McKeithen told Don Yarborough what he was going to do during the convention in Chicago.

✓ Frank Erwin, Connally's Texas delegation leader in Chicago, and Bill Moyers, one-time top Johnson White House staffer, had a verbal altercation in a hotel hallway in Chicago. Moyers told Erwin off, but discounting the rumors, the *Observer* does not know what was said.

✓ It did not escape the notice of members of the Texas challenge delegation in Chicago that there were no Texas labor officials among their number. Reactions of surprise and bitterness were at work among the challenge delegates as the votes of the regular delegation, and the reports of who the few dissen-

ters were on each vote, sank in.

✓ Congressman Jim Wright of Fort Worth did a great deal of work for Hubert Humphrey in Chicago and the vice president has let it be known that Wright will play a "prominent role" in his campaign. Wright is considered a liberal by the Connallycrats, however, and some of them say he would not be acceptable to them as Humphrey's Texas campaign manager.

Ben Barnes, the Texas House speaker who is running for lieutenant governor, is often mentioned by conservatives as a possible Humphrey campaign leader in Texas. But Governor Connally, who was not referring to his friend Barnes, advised Humphrey in Chicago that he should not allow office holders or seekers to run his campaign because they naturally are more interested in their own political future than his. It was soon after Connally spoke with Humphrey that he appointed Larry O'Brien, a man free of political encumbrances, to head his campaign.

With the gap between Texas liberal and conservative Democrats as wide as ever, Humphrey might do well to appoint two managers for his Texas campaign, one from each camp.

End the Unit Rule

✓ Woodrow Bean of El Paso, a former state representative, says he will introduce a resolution at the Sept. 17 state Democratic convention to do away with the unit rule in all party affairs. He said Rep. Paul Moreno of El Paso will introduce a bill in the legislature next spring to substitute a preferential primary system for the state convention as the machinery for selecting national convention delegates.

✓ State Sen. Grady Hazlewood, Canyon, a conservative Democrat, continues to make statements in support of Republicans. This summer he has endorsed Ronald Reagan for the presidency, introduced and praised Pampa GOP Cong. Bob Price, at a dinner, attended the GOP national convention, and endorsed Paul Eggers for governor. Hazlewood, who long has had a personal feud with Pres-

ton Smith, says that Eggers can do a lot better job as governor than "that man." In the primary he endorsed liberal Don Yarborough. Hazlewood has been castigated in resolutions passed by Panhandle Democrats who are critical of his lack of party loyalty. There is talk of not permitting him to participate in the second Democratic state convention this month.

✓ Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, the Democratic nominee for governor, did not attend the convention. He said he preferred to remain in Texas and campaign.

✓ The Texas delegation started closely checking delegate credentials and examining their caucus room on the third floor of the Conrad Hilton after the *Chicago Sun Times* carried a story with accurate quotes from the state's first closed caucus. The delegates still don't know whether the *Sun-Times* slipped a reporter into the room or bugged the caucus.

Support for Daley

✓ On the last night of the convention, the Texas delegation pasted a "We Love Daley" banner to their state standard and many of the delegates carried pro-Daley placards on the floor. The regular delegates, for the most part, felt that the Chicago mayor and police treated demonstrators as they deserved.

Governor Connally commented, "I must say the almost overwhelming charges of police brutality are not quite fair. Several thousand demonstrators tried to take over the hotel and under those circumstances the police have to use force."

✓ Senator Yarborough criticized police activities in Chicago. "I think demonstrations hurt us far less than the brutal beating into the ground of so many hundreds of people," he said. "They [the police] are giving the comeuppance to these kids for having the audacity to point up the brutality of this national military machine."

✓ One Texas alternate decided to see for himself what the yuppie movement was all about. About dawn on the third day of the convention, Judge Colvert Coldwell of El Paso wandered from the Conrad Hilton across Michigan Ave-

nue to Grant Park where demonstrators, surrounded by hundreds of guardsmen, were huddled together in the cold morning air. Coldwell stated talking with some of the young people about their ideas. In high spirits, he stood and addressed a gathering of about 30 in words to this effect: "My daughter is your age and she's gone pretty far, but not as far as you all have. I'm thankful for that."

The demonstrators took a liking to the Texan and they decided to nominate him for president. Coldwell, pleased, decided to lead his supporters on a five-block march. The judge led a motley crew of yuppies and peace demonstrators, chanting "Coldwell for president" across Michigan Avenue. They in turn were followed by about 15 national guardsmen. After the march had proceeded about two blocks, a guardsman approached Coldwell and politely explained that his group might trigger an incident and would he please return to his hotel. Coldwell acquiesced, and his band of yuppies led him triumphantly back to the Conrad Hilton.

Erwin and UT

✓ The influence of Frank Erwin, regents chairman of the University of Texas system, is felt by many in the UT community to exceed that normally exercised by a regents chairman. If so, this probably is because of Erwin's forceful personality and his exceptional political connections. He is retiring national Democratic committeeman and is close to the heart of Texas political power, the Johnson-Connally nucleus. Erwin became chairman last year; even before that, however, he was regarded as the power on the board.

✓ Erwin is believed to have been instrumental last year in moving former UT president Harry Ransom up and sort of out of the way, to the chancellorship, replacing him with a man whose philosophy is more pleasing to Erwin, Norman Hackerman. And now there are those in El Paso and Arlington, sites of the other two major UT campuses, who believe Erwin is working behind the scenes to install "his" presidents at those campuses. Dr. Jack Woolf and Dr. Joseph M. Ray have resigned the presidencies at Arlington and El Paso respectively to return to full-time teaching. Acting presidents have been named in their places until academic committees can make recommendations for permanent presidents.

✓ Ray, the theory runs, displeased Erwin last fall when he stood firm by Dr. Clark S. Knowlton, the noted UTEP sociology professor and expert on Mexican-American affairs (*Obs.*, Dec. 8 and 22, 1967). Knowlton had come under fire for his activities as mediator in the flare-up of violence in New Mexico in the wake of activities of Reies Tijerina, the Mexican-American land reform militant. Ray let it be known privately that he viewed with dismay any budding infringement of academic freedom in the Knowlton crisis. After the regents dropped the matter, first ordering an inquiry into Knowl-

ton's activities, Ray said the inquiry had come about because "some political people have complained to the chairman of our board of regents [Erwin] that Dr. Knowlton is involving himself in an unwelcome way in the affairs of New Mexico." Ray didn't specify who the "political people" might be, but a letter from the UTEP student senate had a suggestion: "We are disturbed when Mayor Judson Williams of El Paso calls upon State Reps. Ned Blaine and Ralph Scoggins to request that the chairman of our board of regents bring action against a professor who has fallen into political disfavor." Williams, the conservative mayor of El Paso, is believed to be Erwin's man to assume the UTEP presidency, a prospect that is highly displeasing to some on the faculty there.

No Reappointment?

✓ Erwin's activities in running the UT system have earned him the enmity of some of the senate's liberals. His term on the board expires in January, a few days before Gov. John Connally, who originally appointed Erwin, leaves office. One liberal senator has told the *Observer* outright that the senate will not consent to Erwin's reappointment. This is not idle talk as potentially there are enough votes, liberals, in the senate now to keep Erwin from getting the required two-thirds approval.

✓ The extent of Erwin's impact on UT is exemplified in some bumper stickers an Austin citizen has been distributing, a number of which are seen on local streets: "Pray for Rosemary's Baby and Frank Erwin." *Rosemary's Baby* is the name of a current movie, the baby having been sired by the devil.

✓ Political pressure continues to be applied against UT in response to its active but small number of leftist radical students and faculty members. Sen. William T. Moore, Bryan, was angered by the appearance in his bailiwick of a radical left traveling troupe from UT-Austin, known as the Mother's Grits Austin Anarcho-Terrorist New Left Beatnik Evangelical Travelling Troupe. The organization was formed to spread word of radicalism to the smaller towns of Texas and has this summer appeared in San Marcos, Denton, and Commerce, as well as Bryan-College Station. Rock bands, political speakers, guerilla theatre, a head shop, draft information counseling, and radical literature are features of the troupe. Moore wondered aloud why UT officials can't keep such activities damped down. He called for an investigation.

✓ Waggoner Carr has demanded that Larry Caroline, the radical UT philosophy professor who won notoriety last fall by calling for a second American revolution, be fired immediately. Caroline was given a terminal contract this spring permitting him to teach one year more at UT, then be let go.

✓ Should Paul Eggers, the Republican candidate for governor, somehow de-

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(Adv.)

feat Preston Smith in November, he might be expected to ease somewhat—but not much—the political pressure against UT. Eggers has been slightly to the left of Smith in discussing most issues of the gubernatorial campaign, including UT, Erwin and academic freedom. He has criticized Smith for being silent when the legislature this summer sought to impose statutory restrictions on the UT law school, a move that was seen largely as a preliminary warning shot aimed at the liberal and radical activists on that faculty. Eggers came out against the restrictions during the session. Smith, two months after the session, came out against the sanctions but his remarks implied approval of what Smith called “storm warning flags” the legislators had put up, then withdrawn. Eggers has forthrightly criticized Erwin for Erwin’s role in seeing that the legislative warning was issued, saying Erwin’s effort was “one of the blackest spots in political maneuvering.” Eggers says he will appoint one faculty member and a student as ex-officio regents to improve communications between regents and the academic community. “I will appoint dedicated people to the board and keep politics out of education,” he says. Eggers promises a hard line, however, should student demonstrators seek to disrupt a Texas campus in the manner of the recent Columbia disorders. He sidesteps questions about the Caroline matter, saying it should be handled by administrators.

Hardliners

✓ Smith during the primary hit hard on the issue of campus disorders, promising swift and sure countersteps. He has discussed the questions in emotional terms. Eggers is more matter-of-fact about the issue and so might be expected to be a bit more flexible on the question of how much freedom campus radicals are to be permitted. On the question of disorder at colleges both Smith and Eggers seem to hold forth the prospect of similar response, hardline.

✓ Eggers has opposed a college tuition increase, which will be an issue before the legislature next year. Bidding for the *latino* vote, he says his opposition exists because “some minority group students in South Texas have told me

they are living at home and attending college and cannot afford a dollar more for tuition.” UT is now considering charging each student up to \$26 more per semester (“building use fees”) to finance construction of new buildings and plans an 18% increase in rates for school-owned housing next year, moves approved by the regents earlier this summer.

UT-Arlington

✓ UT-Arlington’s future is now a subject of intense scrutiny by educational leaders of the state. The regents are considering acquisition of the Southwest Center for Advanced Studies, Richardson, as the graduate center in the sciences for North Texas, a move that would leave UT-Arlington “as an institution emphasizing the undergraduate programs and a broad array of master’s degree programs,” as John Gray, Beaumont, chairman of the Coordinating Board for higher education, sees it. Tarrant county legislators and political leaders oppose the subordination of UT-Arlington’s advanced science work to SCAS. The regents are expected to consider the question later this month. The legislature will consider acquiring SCAS in 1969. SCAS was established with private funds a few years back by Dallas civic leaders who were concerned about the dearth of doctoral degree holders in Texas, a problem that has become of concern to industry in the state, most notably the burgeoning electronics establishment around Dallas.

✓ President Johnson, who will join the LBJ School of Public Service at UT, may occasionally drive 30 miles south to “participate in the academic life of his alma mater,” Southwest Texas State.

✓ Texas Tech president Grover E. Murray, obviously concerned about disorders that have struck US campuses, has issued a memo “to the citizens of Texas” saying that a state college must provide safeguards to assure order. “Taxpayer-supported institutions—specifically the colleges and universities of Texas, must therefore accept requirements and regulations of behavior which go beyond those of regular society,” the Murray memo states. Cited then are ten stipulations governing behavior at Tech which were approved earlier by its board, including provision for dismissal from the faculty or student body of those engaging in disruptive force on campus, the unauthorized use of university facilities or the possession of marijuana or drugs.

✓ Texas Baptists operate nine colleges in Texas. The future of these is now being studied by leaders of the denomi-

nation. The evidently premature public disclosure of a study of the situation, with recommendations that some of the colleges be closed or offered for transfer to local governmental agencies has caused a flap among Baptists. Denomination leaders had wanted to keep the report quiet until further study had been pursued to investigate the recommendations. The *Baptist Standard*, influential publication of the state denomination, has criticized the attempt at secrecy, saying Texas Baptists should be kept apprised of these developments and saying further that the attempt at secrecy has aggravated apprehension on the part of supporters of some of the Baptist schools. Final decision as to support Texas Baptists will continue to give the nine colleges is still a long way off, denomination leaders say.

✓ Rice University president Dr. Kenneth S. Pitzer has resigned to assume the presidency of Stanford. In his resignation letter Pitzer, who evidently leaves on amicable terms, mentions “a tendency of many in Texas to consider higher education by regional rather than national standards.” Pitzer says the state has failed “to recognize the importance of private universities in the ways suggested by the Governor’s Committee on Education beyond the High School. Other major states now have substantial scholarship programs which financially assist students attending private universities without jeopardizing the independence of these institutions.”

School Days

✓ A number of Texas public schools continue to be pressured by the federal government to get on with the business of removing all vestiges of racial separation. The efficacy of the free choice and geographic attendance zone plans in erasing discrimination are under scrutiny now by the federal courts. The region’s US 5th Circuit Court of Appeals has ordered hearings held by inferior courts to determine the practical effects of the two approaches to desegregation.

✓ In Houston the NAACP has been picketing the school administration building demanding a meeting with the school board to discuss such matters as the teaching of Negro history in the public schools. The board has declined to meet with the association but has appointed a committee to handle the matter. The NAACP is holding out to meet with the full board. NAACP leader Roy Wilkins paraded briefly with the pickets. A boycott of the schools was being discussed if the board continues to refuse to meet with the protestors.

✓ Provisions are being made to include Negro history in existing history courses in schools at Houston and Fort Worth.

✓ Negro State Rep. Curtis Graves, Houston, says Negro history is not adequately covered in Texas textbooks. He says he’ll wage a fight on the question before the next history texts are adopted, in 1970.

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✓ The perennial reminder of Texas' low salaries for teachers has recurred: an estimated 13,000 emergency teaching permits will be issued this year to persons who are not otherwise formally qualified to teach. Last year the figure was some 12,000.

SRC in Texas

✓ The Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga., is a research and information organization, liberal in outlook on race relations in the South. S.R.C. has decided to try to generate a Southwestern equivalent, concerned with relations between whites, Negroes, *Mexicanos*, and Indians. Ed Stanfield, field director for S.R.C., has been funded for a six-month organizing period and has established his home in Austin. He has also created a steering committee for the new Southwestern organization — including NAACP official Clarence Laws of Dallas; Robert A. Beer, a Dallas realtor; law professor Joseph P. Witherspoon, Austin; Mario Obledo, Rev. Henry J. Casso, and Rev. C. William Black, San Antonio; R. P. (Bob) Sanchez, McAllen attorney; T. D. Armstrong, Galveston businessman; and Stewart Trapp, Rev. Charles E. Sanders, and John B. White of Oklahoma, William Canby of Arizona, and Mrs. Lorella M. Salazar of New Mexico. The new group, named the Southwest Intergroup Relations Council, is intended to cover Texas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and California.

✓ Leading Negro militants in Houston and Dallas continue to have their problems with the law. Ernie McMillan, the leader in Dallas of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee and Matthew Johnson, his chief aide, were given ten-year prison terms for allegedly leading a raid on a Dallas supermarket against which SNCC had organized a boycott (*Obs.*, Aug. 9). Some food was destroyed and parts of the interior of the store were smashed in the raid, police said.

The Houston SNCC leader, Lee Otis Johnson, was given a 30-year sentence for giving a marijuana cigarette to an undercover policeman. Johnson is one of five men charged in the aftermath of the disorders at Texas Southern University last year (*Obs.*, June 9-23, 1967).

Both the Dallas and Houston cases will be appealed.

✓ Some Dallas Negroes have become angered over passage of an anti-riot ordinance which gives the mayor power to, among other things, call in state or federal troops and impose a curfew. Previously city officials had too-limited power for meeting civil disorder, Dallas leaders believe. Mayor Erik Jonsson says the Dallas Bar Assn. has promised to provide attorneys on as massive a scale as necessary to defend the rights of those arrested under the ordinance.

✓ A booklet outlining the rights of peace officers is being distributed to Texas lawmen, the product of the Commission on Law Enforcement Procedures, a creature of the house of repre-

sentatives. The commission next will study the need for a state police academy.

"For an officer to shoot in the general direction of a fleeing offender may be enough to justify a subsequent conviction of the officer for unlawful homicide if a death should occur as the result of the shooting," the booklet says. This statement has reminded some Austinites of an incident last spring when two Camp Gary Job Corpsmen, both Mexican-American, were gunned down by local police while fleeing on foot from a car they had stolen. One of the youths died, the other was in critical condition for several weeks. The officers were exonerated in a subsequent local investigation but a policy was drawn up that placed officers who fire their pistols on limited duty pending an investigation.

✓ In Houston, where apprehension about the attitude of the local police towards Negroes is a persisting concern, the mayor has named a citizen committee to improve relations between the police and the citizen. "This is not a civilian review board. We will not tolerate a review board," Mayor Welch admonished the committee at its formative meeting. Houston Police Chief Herman Short seems less than enchanted by the committee's formation.

Los Chicanos

✓ The social and economic aspirations of Mexican-American youth are high, a report released by the sociology department at Texas A&M contends. The findings were based on interviews of 596 sophomores in four South Texas counties. Most of the youths want high-level, professional occupations, though they harbor doubts about their chances of attaining their goals. The report concludes that there must be "serious questions about the commonplace stereotype of Mexican-American culture. This study, and similar studies on other status orientations, repudiates these stereotypical portrayals of Mexican-Americans as being a traditional, folk-type people who place little emphasis on achievement and success."

✓ Cesar Chavez' California grape-pickers are appealing to Texas sympathizers to help them boycott grapes.

"Don't eat grapes" — those were the first words uttered by Burt Corona of California as he seconded the appeal of the Texas challenge delegation at Chicago.

Juanita Brown of Chavez' United Farm Workers' Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, told the *Observer* by long distance from Delano, Cal., that all the fresh-table grape growers have blocked unionization with the active help of Gov. Ronald Reagan of California and no effective intervention for the strikers by any federal agency.

The only exception, she said, is one grower who is unionized, but has now completed marketing his yield. Generally

June 15, 1968,

THE NEW REPUBLIC

T.R.B.

from Washington

And now in Texas the populist eastern areas that formerly voted for liberal Ralph Yarborough gave majorities this year to arch-conservative Preston Smith in the Democratic primary for governor. (We should certainly vote Republican this year if we lived there.)

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"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)

(Pd. Pol. Ad)

speaking, Chavez has won union contracts from the wine growers.

Mrs. Brown said Chavez' union is looking for people in Texas cities, large and small, to organize boycotts of grapes. The work, she said, could include visiting stores to ask that grapes not be sold, public information, meetings and speeches, and picketing.

She or Jerry Brown of UFWOC can be called collect at 805-7251314 or written at PO Box 130, Delano, Cal., she said. She spoke of "vicious physical attacks" on their strikers and said, "Cesar feels very strongly about non-violence. He feels that the help of consumers for our boycott will show that non-violence is still an effective means of social change."

Miscellany

✓ Atty. Gen. Crawford Martin released an opinion saying that the state sen-

ate's failure to confirm the appointment of Connally political ally J. C. Looney of Edinburg as a member of the Public Safety Commission did not invalidate the selection. The governor must resubmit Looney's name or another within the first ten days of the next legislative session, Martin stated. The Edinburg resident was not confirmed by the senate because of objections raised by Sen. Jim Bates of Edinburg.

✓ For a year or so, awareness has been growing in Austin that Lyndon Johnson and his associates have interests in every Austin bank but one—the Austin National Bank. Now that latter bank has announced that former Governor Allan Shivers is the chairman of its board.

✓ Willie Morris, former editor of the *Observer*, now editor of *Harper's Magazine*, became also executive vice president of *Harper's*, it was announced on Aug. 25. □

Observations

An Exploratory Essay

Chicago

What now, Democrats and former Democrats? Broadly speaking, there are four lines of thought.

There are, at the extreme left, the violent — the revolutionaries. They have abandoned all electoral processes; they want old-fashioned, bloody revolution. Small proportionally in numbers among the Chicago demonstrators, they were loud and skillful. Moral desperadoes, they have given up on reason and persuasion.

Next, there is a substantial feeling for a fourth party, the name of which is to be the New party. The leader is Marcus Raskin of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. His hope had been that Senator McCarthy would run, but McCarthy says no. Raskin and his associates continue to seek a nationally credible candidate.

During the regular convention here, there was one rally for the fourth party at the Conrad Hilton, and another was held, at week's end, at the University of Chicago. I understand Gore Vidal wants

to run, and maybe Norman Mailer.

The New party's statement of its case, on a flyer at the convention, runs: "The Vietnam war and the racial crisis at home have brought thousands and thousands of new people into active political life.

"None of these people who have worked so hard for change will be easily coaxed into accepting Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey or George Wallace. Six million registered Democrats voted against Hubert Humphrey in the primary elections. Many of them can be expected to switch to the New party. . . . Moreover, independent voters are a third of the electorate—21 million voters—they are not loyal to party. This base of 24 to 25 million votes is the base of the New party. . . . Through the new party, the people will recapture their own political system without revolution, without violence, without repression. . . ."

With a nationally compelling candidate, the New party would be a persuasive option in November for all of us who are thoroughly disgusted by the Democratic party, which has betrayed its members and its times. Without such a candidate, however, there will be a close question here. Would a New party, without a nationally credible candidate, be able to prevent the violent from taking over its operation and aborting its meaning? I doubt it. It is the nature of the violent act

in politics, especially in the kind of public, pre-staged pseudo-events that have come to dominate contemporary politics, that it pre-empts the situation. There is no way for people who are trying to "work with" violent to control the course of their collective action, because the violent will simply get their way by pre-empting the scene with violence. The more this, or its equivalent, happened, the more potentially counter-productive to the advantage of Wallace such a New party's effect would become.

THE THIRD line of thought about what to do is the one which, barring a major fourth party candidacy, presently persuades me. This is the commitment of the just-formed "New Democratic Coalition," which does not include organized labor or the hawks, to a four-year struggle for the soul of the Democratic party and, therefore, of the United States.

Allard Lowenstein is the one man who is responsible for McCarthy running. Al took history upon himself. Last fall he decided, No, we do not have to submit to the tradition that a president always gets renominated for his second term—we do not have to stand still for Johnson and his war for another four years. Alone, Al traveled the country, carrying this message, and he persuaded McCarthy to run.

In the ensuing months, Lowenstein's Coalition for an Open Convention, spending \$15,000 more than it has yet collected, worked for Kennedy, McGovern-type Democrats against Humphrey. In Chicago, facing his own underfinanced campaign for Congress, Lowenstein stepped aside as chairman, but he and other leaders of the COC, along with a few other people added in Chicago, agreed to establish the New Democratic Coalition. Jack Gore of Colorado was designated temporary chairman. The objective of the New Democratic Coalition is to take over the Democratic party of the United States in 1972 by extending the victories of the peace Democrats on a state-by-state basis.

I would say that not more than one or two of the people in either of the two planning sessions of the New Democratic Coalition at Chicago had any intention of "supporting" Hubert Humphrey. Some of us, in fact, are persuaded that the best outcome for the country in 1968 would be Humphrey's defeat. This conclusion was cogently advanced in writing by Arnold Kaufman, chairman of the political action committee of SANE and a member of the executive committee of Al's COC.

"If Humphrey is . . . elected," Kaufman wrote, "it will be very difficult to exploit the gains that have been made everywhere in the country. From California to Maine, from Florida to Washington—in such unlikely places as New Mexico, Colorado, Montana, Kansas and Texas—we have driven the wedge of coalition insurgency deep into the base of power of the Party 'Establishment.' [Failing] to stop Humphrey at the convention, . . . our best chance of forcing basic party reorganiza-

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tion depends on defeating the vice president in November. Other things being equal, this is a defeat we should strive to bring about. For without reorganization the Democratic party cannot become the instrument for basic change the country so desperately requires. On the other hand, if established party leaders help to stop Humphrey, then new relationships designed to make the party vital can be worked out.

"And all things are not as unequal as Nixon-haters would have us believe. Nixon is a consummate opportunist. He will do anything he needs to do, first to win, then to govern effectively enough to win again. Hence he has even more reason than Humphrey to liquidate the war that has clearly become an enormous political liability. And despite a pre-election rhetoric of 'law and order' Nixon knows that persistent disorder in the ghettos can be ended only by genocidal repression. . . . The administration that set its foot on that path would suffer political disaster. Nixon then is likely to mix force with the traditionally effective remedy for chronic disorder—buying off the discontented.

"Hence the differences between Humphrey and Nixon on the central issues are not likely to be nearly as great as many ardent supporters of the vice president claim."

Either Humphrey or Nixon might end the war. McCarthy believes that although the Vietnam plank was lost in the convention, the dissent against the war has succeeded because any new president who does not bring peace promptly will not be able to govern the country, much less be re-elected. However, either Humphrey or Nixon might carry on Johnson's Vietnam policy; neither has given the country any specific basis for believing otherwise.

There is at least a fair argument that Nixon is likelier to end the war than Humphrey. Nixon is not imprisoned by Johnson's policies and ways of reasoning, as Humphrey may be. Nixon also has available to him an analogy between his ending the war in Vietnam and Eisenhower ending the Korean war in the first of the Eisenhower years.

In its policy statement, the New Democratic Coalition takes no position on Humphrey, other than to condemn his nomination. Lowenstein, for his part, has conceded the possibility that by specific verbal commitments on the war, Humphrey might earn the right to consideration by November—he doesn't have it now. I cannot myself visualize how Humphrey can sway the balance of reason in his favor against Kaufman's line of reasoning. As a mere candidate there is nothing Humphrey can do about the war, and Johnson's deceit with words has made every Johnson-associated use of them suspect.

IN THE STATES where it makes sense, participants in the strategy of the New Democratic Coalition will continue or create separate and parallel political institutions within the Democratic

Party. I agree with Mrs. Billie Carr of Houston, co-chairman of the Texas challenge delegation in Chicago, that this course is required in Texas.

Mrs. Carr announced a program of break-away from the Connally-controlled state party machinery, and the delegation ratified this program by a vote. This is a program by which the state's international liberals, the new national Democrats, can organize on their own and work to control the Democratic party in Texas by 1970.

In the fifties the object of similar activity was state-oriented: the liberals wanted control of Texas affairs. They still do but the perspective is now national, and the time-span is now four years. The idea, nurtured by the Texas challenge delegations remarkable success at Chicago, is to charge from here to 1972 into the Democratic national convention.

"We're not going back into John Connally's and Preston Smith's convention," Mrs. Carr told the challenge delegation at the Y here. There will be another convention in Austin Sept. 14, a convention of the international liberals, the peace Democrats, the McCarthy-McGovern-Kennedy people. "People are going to have to choose; they can't go to both of them," Mrs. Carr said.

Her idea is that this parallel, separate convention set up a State Democratic Executive Council—(the official state party agency is named the State Democratic Executive Committee)—and go to work at once to turn out in the precinct conventions of May, 1970, and liberalize the state party machinery that year. If the state convention were still controlled by the conservatives or did not treat the liberals fairly, the liberals would go back to separatism for two more years and fight again in the precincts in 1972.

From Chicago, we know this: a liberal delegation from Texas has powerful friends in many of the delegations from the great states at a Democratic national convention. Despite the arguability of the Texas challenge, and despite the fact that the Connally delegation had the president, the party's imminent presidential nominee, big business, big government, and big labor behind it, the Texas liberals received 955 votes, against only 1,368 for the Connally delegation. California, New York, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, the black caucus, the Mexican-American caucus, lined up for the Texas challengers. Even Humphrey-dominated states like New Hampshire and Ohio split, with many abstentions. Pennsylvania's boss refused to poll his delegation's top-heavy vote for Connally, and when he was forced to it, he lost 20 or so votes. While the Southern states' delegations voted mostly with Connally, Senator Yarborough's work among the Virginians divided their vote, and although the liberal Mississippians had pledged to Humphrey in the process of getting seated, they voted overwhelmingly for the pro-McCarthy Texas challengers. The Democratic party can become a great progressive party again in the next four years; this is a goal that can be accomplished. The prospect, I sub-

mit, is excellent for a 1972 national convention at which McCarthy, McGovern, Kennedy, or someone else of this kind can be nominated to run against the incumbent Nixon (for surely, whoever you vote for, Humphrey is the odds-on loser).

Can we wait four more years? Of course we cannot. That was the reason Humphrey should not have been nominated! If, now, the fourth party comes up with a candidate who actually gives us a chance of not having to wait four more years, then it's a different ball game this fall. But otherwise, either we do not have four more years, in which case it doesn't matter what we do, or we do have four more years, in which case the New Democratic Coalition should be gone ahead with.

The fourth course of action, supporting Humphrey, will be urged on us not only, evidently, by John Connally (although

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wryly, and with amusement, and not, perhaps, with Lyndon Johnson's all-out backing, but also by such brass-collar, pro-Johnson loyalists as Walter Hall of Dickinson; by organized labor, which is now part of the war machine; and, in my opinion *pro forma*, by Senator Yarborough.

WHEN SOMEONE starts arguing for Humphrey, I cannot keep my mind on what he is saying; I go to thinking, from moral necessity, of the scenes in Vietnam, the casualties, the burned and broken bodies of men and young boys and women and children; and I think of my son, who is 15. I think, too, of my country, which I love, and which I do not want to continue as it has been continuing. "I should like," wrote Albert Camus, "to be able to love my country and still love justice." Robert Brustein, dean of the school of drama at Yale, writes, "There has, unquestionably, been a serious failure in American institutions, a failure dramatized by the Vietnam war and the Negro riots . . . a loss of faith in a mass society based on money and dedicated to spreading American power throughout the world." Humphrey can mouth his dedication to "a new era" as readily as he mouthed his dedication to "a great society in Asia," but he has given us no reason to believe he would break with the past as president. He couldn't even break with Johnson at Chicago. In my opinion, he is unworthy of support.

"Nixon?" That is a grim interrogatory, but it is no grimmer than "Humphrey?" Trying to wangle a very slightly dovish platform, Humphrey's people caved in to Johnson's people in Chicago (specifically, to Charles Murphy) and gave Johnson the war plank he wanted. Electing Humphrey would be ratifying Johnson's war policy.

Humphrey revealed another dark side of himself at Chicago. The convention was held there because Johnson is very close, indeed, to Boss Daley. Daley's use of police storm trooper tactics is in substantial part Johnson's responsibility. Humphrey took Daley's sheep-votes and defended Daley's cops. When Daley's cops actually charged into the McCarthy headquarters on the fifteenth floor of the Conrad Hilton and started beating McCarthy staffers with clubs, both McCarthy and Humphrey were called for help.

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The Texas Observer

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.

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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.

McCarthy, of course, came, and helped. An aide of Humphrey's refused to disturb the vice president. Under eight years of Humphrey, we might have, in police city after police city, an even more brutal official hostility toward dissent than we have had under Johnson.

No one can foresee events in these times. Yet I do not regard the New Democratic Coalition movement and the New Party movement as opposites in purpose or import; they are parallel attempts, by different methods, to reform the Democratic party and the country. Clearly one must make a choice between the two courses of action, and as time passes they may become fundamentally opposed

movements, but after a season, they may merge. There is a potential for convergence in their names: depending on events, one can imagine the New party merging into the New Democratic Coalition or the New Democratic Coalition merging into the New party—possibly into a New Democratic party.

Whatever happens, the Democratic party has utterly failed its members, and those of us who would redeem Texas in the nation and the nation in the world must not give up, must act in the murk and doubt and panic of chaos and old night, casting ourselves, even with apocalyptic gaiety, back into the continuing fray.

R.D.

Reflections

The 'Police Riot'

Chicago

A veteran of the Battle of Chicago doesn't remember the nominee or the platform but rather the bloodied students, the sting of tear gas and the utter despair of living in an occupied American city.

One thinks of sitting before a television set in a garisoned hotel as Walter Cronkite, with a sad countenance, tells millions of viewers, "There is no other way to say it. Chicago this week is a police state."

And of watching the first convoy of national guardsmen drive down Michigan Avenue, shoulder their rifles and form a human wall to separate peace demonstrators from convention delegates.

How did it come about? Some persons, including the majority of the Texas delegation, would have you believe that the police and national guard courageously were protecting delegates from communist-inspired rioters and assassins. Certainly there were revolutionaries determined to stage violent confrontations in Chicago, but there were at least an equal number of cops looking for an excuse to bash in a few heads. And the worst part is that the police reacted to provocation with indiscriminate violence. One columnist described the confrontation in Chicago as a "police riot."

My sympathy was with the kids in

STUDENT POWER ADVOCATES

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(Adv.)

Grant Park rather than with Mayor Richard Daley and the other political power brokers who attempted to manipulate the convention and crush dissent for their personal aggrandisement. It may be unfair to single out Daley as the symbol of the repressive elements at the convention, but he asked for it. Driving into Chicago, one saw his name on billboards, welcoming delegates to his city. His name was on the baby blue garbage trucks that gathered up convention debris. His picture, believe it or not, was on a welcoming message attached to the cradles of telephones in the rooms of the Conrad Hilton. Mayor Daley made it clear that it was his convention.

It was Mayor Daley who set the hard line against the young people who descended on Chicago to demonstrate against the war and the absurdities of the American political system. Daley refused to let the yippies sleep in the parks although he lets the boy scouts do so every year. (In fact, the national guard supplies the scouts with free pup tents.) It was Daley who refused the demonstrators parade permits.

Daley (and possibly President Johnson) insisted on holding the convention in a riot-prone, strike-weakened city where the amphitheatre wasn't big enough to hold the people legitimately entitled to attend the convention; Daley who filled the press gallery with his personal calque while reporters had to resort to watching the convention on television.

There was a concerted effort on the part of convention planners to limit communications in Chicago. Television crews

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were ordered to stay off the streets because they might block traffic. The periodical press (*Time*, *Look*, *The Nation*, *Esquire*, the *Cedar Choppers Almanac*, not to mention the *Texas Observer*, the whole lot) was given only five convention passes to share on a rotating basis.

The Democrats blamed some of their communications woes on the telephone strike. The strike limited the number of new lines that could be installed and made it impossible for the networks to provide live coverage of anything but the convention itself. By a strange coincidence, the strike was settled one hour after the Vietnam plank was adopted.

I'll not bemoan the beatings of newsmen any more than the beatings of others in Chicago. The press, on the whole, showed excessive concern for their own. But the police's treatment of reporters was no more appalling than that of the vast majority of demonstrators and bystanders.

The police raid on the McCarthy campaign headquarters at the Conrad Hilton is by no means the worst horror story of the convention, but it is fairly well documented. About 6 a.m. Friday morning,

hours after the convention ended, police ascended to the 15th floor of the hotel, charging that articles had been thrown out one of the windows on that floor. A hotel employee opened doors with a pass key and police started dragging and pushing young McCarthy staffers out into the lobby.

Steve Cohen, a McCarthy worker, said he was in room 1506 when police and a hotel official entered charged that objects had been thrown from the room. "There were four of us in the room, and we hadn't seen anything," Cohen said. "The police said we would have to be evicted from the room and we left quietly. As we were walking toward the elevators police began to club us. A policeman threw me to the floor and said, 'I'll teach you by bashing your head in!'"

George Yumich, another staff member, who was on the 15th floor at the time of the raid, said he demanded that the police allow him to go up to the 23rd floor and tell Senator McCarthy what was going on. "I was hit across the neck with a billy club and then hit by three policemen at once," Yumich said. "One policeman threw a glass of whiskey on my suit

and then smiled and said, 'sorry.'"

Sixteen-year-old Philip Shear was asleep in room 1502, a room that does not have a window, when police pulled him to his feet and pushed him into the lobby. He was struck on the back of the neck and had to be taken to the hospital. So did others.

When I left Chicago Friday afternoon, no charges had been made against anyone dragged out of rooms by the police. As far as I could discern, no one had come forward with eyewitness testimony that anything had been thrown from win-

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dows. One can only conclude that the McCarthy staff members were the victims of a brutal form of political harrassment. Thursday Eugene McCarthy spoke to demonstrators in Grant Park and many of his youthful supporters had participated in the demonstrations.

Hubert Humphrey's vascillating statements on the incidents of violence in Chicago are disturbing. He decried "storm trooper" tactics on both sides, congratulated Mayor Daley for protecting him and other candidates from assassination attempts, and then called for a blue ribbon committee (that phony panacea) to look into the incidents in Chicago. The vice-president's reactions to events in Chicago indicate that as president he might be even less tolerant of dissent than Lyndon Johnson.

Equally disturbing is the fact that the majority of the American public, after

seeing instances of police brutality on television, still insist that the police were justified in their handling of the "hippies." There seems to be an assumption on the part of the police and the public that young people with long hair, or beards or in unconventional clothing are less equal other citizens. It's all right for them to be beaten up. Such an attitude is unworthy of a free society.

The Aug. 23 issue of the *Observer* listed persons who, according to a McCarthy campaign official, met with Sen. Eugene McCarthy during his visit to Houston. On the list was a contributor to the *Observer*, Walter Hall of Dickinson. Mr. Hall informs us that he was invited to meet with McCarthy but declined because he is a long-time supporter of Hubert Humphrey. K.N.

In My Opinion

Now What?

Austin

The problem for liberals and for Democrats now, after Chicago, is somehow to bring themselves around to pulling the lever for Hubert Humphrey. I am by no means certain I can bring myself to do that, though I fully expect HHH to look better and better as he is juxtaposed with Richard Nixon and George Wallace. Still, I am revolted by what the Democratic party has become and outraged that the administration which most Democrats have repudiated in primaries across the land this year has been chosen

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The Texas Observer

to carry the party banner in November.

I nurture a fragile hope that Humphrey can somehow be liberated by liberals and radicals from the party hacks and know-nothing bosses who engineered his nomination. I doubt it. But HHH is a decent man, good and evidently inventive in his domestic thinking. But Vietnam and foreign policy, there's the problem. Humphrey does not realize that a substantial segment of this nation wishes to turn away from the imperialism that American foreign policy has become (or perhaps always has been since the Spanish-American War).

I doubt that Humphrey understands what is going on in this country domestically, that racism, poverty, and tactics approaching facism are going to be stopped. The time is at hand for new directions at home and abroad and I do not believe Humphrey realizes this. I believe he envisions some sort of warmed-over New Deal for the America of the seventies. It won't do. Drastic changes are needed domestically. There is a surging, relentless tide of opposition to social injustice at home, a tide that will not be stemmed by dated liberal rhetoric. People are far too keenly aware today of the gulf between talk, legislation passed, and reality. Change will occur in this nation, whether Humphrey or Nixon want that or not. If they are to be remembered kindly by history the two major candidates had best become aware of the rising revolutionary tide in this country.

I don't know what to do this November. I may end up voting for Humphrey but I will not do so gladly; I may vote for Nixon, preferring that the Democratic party nationally thus be given to the McCarthys and Kennedys and McGovern for 1972 and, in Texas, break thereby the

Austin-Washington axis which has been so effective in stifling progressivism in our home state. I might vote for a fourth party candidate should one emerge. There is talk of a write-in campaign in Texas. That will prove futile, I think, but I feel futile right now and at this point can't bring myself to face the Humphrey-Nixon choice.

I had for several day after the convention intended to write a column in this space entitled "I Am no Democrat." I would have written how I have at last become weary of aligning myself with politicians like Maddox, Connally and Daley. But what is the alternative to that? I believe too deeply in electoral politics to urge taking to the streets. And I believe there are signs that the Democratic party can once again be returned to the people, particularly with a Humphrey defeat this fall. If I don't vote for Humphrey it will be for that very good reason.

The Democratic party has richly earned defeat in 1968 by foisting off Humphrey on us when he clearly is not the choice of the party's rank and file, and by permitting Mayor Daley to become the image of the party. Daley is a swine. He does not understand nor care for democracy. He respects only power. He is a grass monument to what has gone so wrong with the Democrats and with American politics, the satrap who cares only for his own selfish little games. Such petty men of such miserly spirit are not fit to hold public office, and certainly they are not entitled to such influence in the affairs of a great political party.

The Democratic party is sick. Its sickness is infecting the nation and killing people in Vietnam (and elsewhere abroad) in the name of democracy. I have while setting these thoughts down pretty much decided I'll not vote for Humphrey. I guess I'll just abstain or cast a protest, fourth party vote. What a wretched year.

G.O.

The Welcome Mat Is Pulled Back

A correspondent for a national newspaper advises, of the White House press corps' recent Texas visit:

"On the 'how have the mighty fallen' theme, even in San Antonio they seem to have heard that LBJ will not be president next year. The Tropicana Motel, which once greeted the White House press corps with margueritas and mariachi bands, charged a good many of us an extra half day's room rent for staying in our rooms past 5 p.m. the day we left Texas."