

# The Texas Observer

October 18, 1968

A Journal of Free Voices

A Window to The South

25c

## Had You Forgotten?

# The Contest for Governor

*Austin*

Last spring twelve men and a woman began the biennial race to the governor's mansion. Voters looked at the motley assortment of runners, (which included a prophetess from Brenham, a former ambassador, a liberal lawyer, a millionaire rancher, the lieutenant governor, a crime fighter, three Republican attorneys) and they narrowed the race to the lieutenant governor and one of the GOP attorneys. Then, for the most part, they stopped thinking about the governorship and turned to the presidential contest, where the action is faster and the prizes bigger. Although many people seem to have stopped watching, the gubernatorial race continues. Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, the Democrat, is out in front, hardly winded after a 55% to 45% primary win over liberal Don Yarborough. Jogging at the steady pace he began more than a year ago, he has covered more territory than his opponent and he acts as if he were the only man running. Republican Paul Eggers is sprinting behind Smith, shouting charges of "private club government" into the wind. So far, he has been unable

to pull close enough to his opponent for a confrontation.

Neither candidate has captured the voters' imagination. Smith, at 55 a balding, smiling, moon-faced man, is outwardly bland, inwardly tenacious. "There's no one who has gone through much more hardship than I did," he likes to remember. At 15 he left the Dawson county farm his father worked. "I pulled cotton bolls, plowed, cut yards, cleaned windows, ran a filling station and fixed a million tires for 15 cents each—anything to get an education." While attending Texas Tech in Lubbock he started a movie house near the campus. Successful in that venture, he branched out into real estate and then into politics. Smith has held state office for 18 years, six as a state representative, six as a senator and six as lieutenant governor. He has described himself as an "ultraconservative," and his record in the legislature upholds the accuracy of that label.

Eggers characterizes his opponent as an "obstructionist." "Preston Smith has 'long experience,'" the Republican concedes, "but he has used this mainly to block sound progress and needed reforms." Smith, for his part, simply ignores his GOP challenger.

Eggers, a Wichita Falls tax attorney, was completely unknown to the voting public when the Republican hierarchy tapped him to run for governor. His only political position had been that of GOP county chairman in Republican Sen. John Tower's home district. A graduate of the University of Texas law school, he is chairman-elect of the taxing section of the state bar and past director of the North Texas Oil & Gas Assn.

In the early weeks of the campaign, Eggers seemed ill at ease in front of large groups and at press conferences. Now he is more sure of himself, although sometimes he still comes off as a debate student attempting to deliver an A-plus speech. He exudes earnestness. "I really care about the people of Texas. I wouldn't be in the race if I didn't care," he tells reporters.

It is interesting that Eggers, the Republican, the man with the strong ties to the oil and gas industry, appears to be the more moderate of the candidates. He calls himself an "honest conservative,"



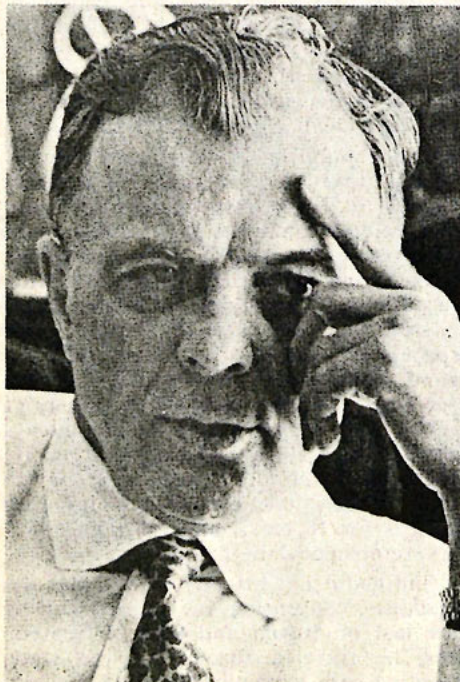
Photo by Russell Lee

**Preston Smith**

but he does not contradict hopeful liberals who discern left-of-center ideas in some of his pronouncements.

**I**N THEIR choice of a candidate, the Republicans have been accused of muffing their best chance of putting a governor in the mansion since 1962, when Jack Cox came close to defeating John Connally. Some wonder why the GOP did not select a well-known Republican such as Cox or popular Cong. George Bush, instead of a complete unknown whose only visible assets were a wavy salt and pepper pompadour and craggy facial features that make him at least look the part of a Texas governor.

The state party reportedly promised Eggers a million dollars for his post-primary campaign, but as the politicking progressed, the Texas Republican hierarchy began to balk. After the Miami convention, Richard Nixon's candidacy began to eclipse Eggers' in terms of the Texas GOP's priorities. Since Nixon appears to be a winner, conservative Democratic money started flowing into Republican campaign accounts. The money was earmarked for Nixon, because the Democrats continued to support Preston Smith



**Paul Eggers**

for governor. Worried that Eggers might have a chance, some big Democratic contributors threatened to drop Nixon and go to George Wallace if the state Republican party did not cool Eggers' campaign.

According to the *Houston Chronicle*, state Republican leaders, meeting secretly, decided to cut Eggers' campaign budget during the September state convention in Fort Worth. At this point the GOP fund raisers began to stress to Democratic contributors that none of the funds donated to Nixon would go to Eggers.

Eggers' financial crisis reportedly reached a climax in Houston during the first week in October when Eggers, Senator Tower and party officials gathered for a fund raising affair featuring California Gov. Ronald Reagan. Eggers had received about \$365,000 in campaign funds and he had been told he would receive no more. The candidate reportedly gave the Republican leaders 24 hours in which to come through with more of the money promised him. Eggers is said to have threatened that if he did not receive a pledge for additional funds within a day, he would hold a press conference in Dallas the day Nixon was to arrive there for a statewide television appearance. Eggers was to tell the public that he was cutting loose from the state party, running his campaign independently, and raising campaign funds through his own personal connections.

State party chairman Peter O'Donnell

and national committeeman Albert Fay already were disturbed at the extent of Eggers' independence. He has not proved to be as conservative as they would like, and they could not afford to lose what little control they have over him. They lifted the embargo on money. Eggers and his staff refused to say what their budget is, but the figure most often heard is \$500,000, half of what originally was planned. "We've had some cash flow problems from state headquarters but our finances are going to be adequate. I'm very pleased we have our finances solved," Eggers told the *Observer*.

Senator Tower appears to have taken Eggers' side in the financial squabble. He and the gubernatorial candidate have been friends for some time. Tower has taken time out of his campaigning for Nixon to speak for Eggers. He went to bat for Eggers in Houston, where Eggers got 20% of the take at the \$125-a-plate Reagan dinner. Still, some party workers say, Tower, for the most part, usually remains "aloof" from state GOP power struggles.

Some Republicans involved in the Eggers' campaign privately speculate that O'Donnell and Fay want Eggers to lose. They say that the two Republican leaders would not be able to control Eggers if elected and that their own influence in the national party would be diminished. Fay must still be disappointed that he was not the party's candidate for governor. Early in the year he had some pilot

films made for the campaign he hoped to run. If Nixon is elected and Eggers defeated, O'Donnell and Fay will remain the leaders of the state GOP and thus will be in a position to distribute the spoils. This position would be especially attractive to O'Donnell, who is believed by some to aspire to the chairmanship of the national party.

**P**RESTON SMITH, as most Democratic gubernatorial candidates, has had to raise his own funds and run his own campaign. Something of a maverick conservative, Smith has always been outside the John Connally-Ben Barnes axis. He has gone it alone with a tremendous success. For years Smith has said he would run for governor as soon as Connally stepped down, but last September he announced before Connally decided not to run and before any other candidate had started thinking about the campaign.

Smith is an advocate of a traditional "person to person" campaign style. Probably realizing that he is a dull performer, he shuns television appearances and campaign debates. Instead, he has combed the West Texas plains and the piney woods, the megalopolises and the boondocks, pressing the flesh, meeting the people. A state senator tells the story of taking Barnes, the Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor, to a tiny hamlet in North Texas. The young politician was surrounded by admirers in the only cafe in town and he was confident he was the first candidate to campaign there in decades. Then the waitress walked over to the table and asked Barnes, "Where's ol' Preston this week? We haven't seen him in some time!"

Eggers has invested a healthy sum in television advertising in the major urban areas. For the most part, the TV spots have been what his press aide calls "image projection," minute and 20-second spots in the Marlborough man genre. During the last weeks of the campaign, Eggers plans to have short television messages dealing with the "issues."

The Republican has emulated Smith's person-to-person campaign. He traveled by bus to 250 to towns during the summer, but he could not top the lieutenant governor in the sheer volume of hands shaken and barbecues eaten. Speaking recently to a gathering of county commissioners and judges in Austin, Smith speculated that he might have been invited to address the group because "everybody knows that when you can't get the speaker you want, you can always get Preston." He wasn't exaggerating. He has been traveling the circuit of conventions, Rotary luncheons and ladies' club coffees for 18 years, and the state's voters remember him for it.

Smith did not attend the national Democratic convention in August. During the last of August and first of September, he traveled throughout the state, meeting with local party leaders and asking for suggestions for the state party

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platform. He also sent out questionnaires to state convention delegates asking for their opinions. The document, written at the state convention in September, under Smith's guidance, pledges a continuation of conservative state government. The strongest emphasis was on law and order and education.

**LAW AND ORDER** has been the main theme of the rather issueless campaign. Smith appears to be the harder liner, mainly because he invariably emphasizes the law enforcement aspects of the problem while Eggers occasionally discusses the necessity for curing the economic and social causes of disorder before calling for beefing up police forces. In a position paper on "crime and justice," Eggers points out that all communities need comprehensive plans to mobilize in the event of riots. "Deadly force should be used only to save life. Arsonists, for example, should be stopped at any cost since they endanger innocent lives. . . . The best control of looting and vandalism can be achieved through use of non-lethal weapons." During the primary, Smith said he subscribes to Mayor Richard Daley's policy that police should shoot to kill in certain riot situations.

At the state convention in June, shortly after the death of Sen. Robert Kennedy, Smith told delegates that "the United States has a clear choice: order or anarchy. . . . We must, and we will, be reasonable in hearing, investigating and trying to do something constructive about the non-violent complaints and demands of those who feel they have not had justice. But we will not now or ever agree that the way to remedy an unjust law is to disregard it. . . . And we are not going to turn our streets over to the criminals. I have been speaking, I think, in the name of all God fearing, peace-loving, strong-hearted Texans who are not ready to change our philosophy and form of government, or to live in fear in our own homes."

Next on the list of issues is education. Both candidates are for it, even if it costs additional tax money. Both favor the \$1,000 a year teacher pay hike. Eggers says he is against higher college tuition "at this time." Smith has not stated a position on tuition. The GOP candidate has strongly criticized Democrat Frank Erwin's involvement in University of Texas affairs. (Erwin has served in the dual capacities of Democratic national committeeman and chairman of the board of regents). Eggers recently told university students, "I will appoint [as regents] my own people who will have a dedication to education, not to mixing politics and university administration. I am opposed to regents who descend upon the campus to clear up every little departmental incident. This is carrying politics too far." As Don Yarborough, Eggers has recommended that a student and a faculty member serves as *ex officio* members of the board regents.

During the primary, Smith had much to say about "hippies" and "radicals." He even suggested that if Yarborough were elected, he might appoint "long-haired weirdo, hippie-looking creatures" to state boards. His views on youth seem to have moderated since then. He discussed the generation gap in his keynote speech at the September Democratic convention, and some capitol reporters lauded it as one of the most thoughtful speeches of his career. He explained that he had tried to come to terms with "youth's rebellion," but "I'm not sure that I understand the problem. . . . I am concerned over bright, honorable young people in the grip of a powerful reaction against things as they are. I am concerned about their attitudes in government, in politics, in the schools, the home and the church. They are being encouraged to believe, apparently, that most of our institutions are hopeless and have to be destroyed before this unsatisfactory world can be made better. It's understandable that youth has always questioned the merits of the *status quo*, the wisdom of their elders and the motives of 'the establishment.' They always will, and I think they should. Sometimes—you know—they are *right*."

The convention delegates listened impassively to this portion of the lieutenant governor's speech. It was the next line that brought cheers: "We cannot, however, tolerate defiance of laws and of our institutions, which leads to destruction and to anarchy."

Most persons involved with state government agree that the next legislature will have to come up with at least \$300 million in new taxes. The next governor must suggest where the money is to come from, but both candidates prefer to discuss "economy in government" rather than taxation. Eggers likes to point out that he is a tax attorney and that he would reexamine the whole tax structure, "look at the taxes already on the books." He advocates a federal tax sharing program as a long term solution to the state's tax needs. (This in effect, would be a way of getting federal income tax money to pay state expenses.) Pressed on what he might do for immediate revenue, Eggers says he thinks the state "has just about gone the limit on the sales tax," but that he might be in favor of expanding the sales tax to cover services. Smith has not said where he would get new revenue or even if he thinks more funds will be needed.

Both candidates are against pollution. Smith says, "I'm for whatever laws will do the job," but he opposes the criminal prosecution of corporate polluters. Eggers calls for a stiffening of the state pollution laws, including criminal sanctions. He also has criticized the destruction of live oyster shell reefs by shell dredgers, a practice long decried by conservationists. Smith has taken no stand on the situation. In the area of conservation, the Democrat most often speaks of

the state's impending water shortage. He has devoted many speeches to warning voters that Texas will have to get water from outside the state if it is "to progress after the year 2000."

**E**GGERS HAS MADE a stronger pitch to minority groups than his Democratic opponent. The Rebuilding Committee, liberal Democrats dedicated to bringing about a two-party state, is sending out special mailings opposing Smith to *latinos*, Negroes, labor leaders and liberals. Tom Bones, director of the committee, guesses that Eggers will draw a significant number of Mexican-American votes and a smaller, but still important, number of black votes. "The blacks are about two years behind the Mexican-Americans in splitting their tickets," Bones said. PASO (Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations) endorsed Eggers this summer. Roy Elizondo, PASO chairman, explained the endorsement this way: "PASO is against the Democratic establishment in Texas. If the Democrats can't give us a sense of participation, then perhaps the Republicans can . . . the Democrats have taken the Mexican vote too much for granted."

All Eggers or Smith really offers the minority groups is some attention. Eggers talks about Mexican-American "involvement, bringing them into the decision-making councils," and setting up human relations commissions. He is in favor of "more and better jobs and higher wages" through "regionalized vocational training" and through the active solicitation of more industry for Texas. There have been some published reports that Eggers "privately" supports a state minimum wage, but he has not made any public statements to that effect. He has urged the legislature to hold minimum wage hearings. The Republican calls for bilingual education and for private loan funds for college, high school and vocational education.

Smith promises the minorities an "open door policy" once he is elected. He speaks of industrial and federal spending for the poor rather than state spending. Smith has criticized the federal government for cutting funds for a job training program sponsored by Ling-Temco-Vought of Dallas. Recently he decried the deaths of three Mexican laborers who suffocated while being smuggled into the United States in a locked truck. "We must make sure that the sub-animal conditions which existed on illegal entrance in our country do not exist with those legally working in this country," Smith said. Eggers accused Smith of a "sudden interest in the Mexican-Americans of Texas after ignoring them for 18 years." He said Smith voted against an appropriation in 1959 for investigating substandard transportation of migrant workers and of failing to re-

fer to a bilingual education to committee in 1967. Smith's appeal to the minority groups has fewer specifics than Eggers'. He recently told a group of *latinos* in Corpus Christi, "Most of all, the biggest reason that I ask the support of all Texans is that I care about all of our people. This is why I have devoted much of my life to public service."

Neither candidate has made many direct appeals to the black community.

"We can win this one," Eggers insists. He believes his strength is in Texas' 600,000 Republicans, the racial minorities and the liberal Democrats. "The mood of the people is for a change. Texas is ready for a two-party state," he says.

Smith and his campaign workers do

not consider "inexperienced" Eggers much of a threat. Their only concern is the remote possibility that the Republican might be swept into office on a tidal wave for Nixon. Smith has voiced confidence that 1968 is not the year for a successor to E. J. Davis (1870 to 1874), the only Republican ever elected governor of Texas. Most of the polls agree with him. K.N.

## Political Intelligence

# Humphrey Campaign Improving

✓ The campaign for Hubert Humphrey is picking up some punch now, and HHH is beginning to look more like a contender for Texas' electoral votes, though Richard Nixon clearly must be considered still ahead at this point. George Wallace still is not out of it, though he is almost surely not the likely winner in Texas. The Connally and Yarborough wings of the state Democratic party are hurriedly throwing together a push for the Humphrey campaign and the candidate is expected to return to Texas next week for a two-day tour. HHH clearly believes Texas critical to his hopes of election.

✓ The *Observer* heard from several sources this week that a new, dramatic turn can be expected in the Texas Humphrey campaign. Labor people, brass collar Democrats and racial minorities remain the most enthusiastic of the HHH workers. However, increasingly, remarks are heard in Texas from supporters of Sen. Ted Kennedy or Sen. Eugene McCarthy—suburban, white collar liberals mostly—that they'll not boycott the election or vote against Humphrey, after all. The Humphrey campaign phrase "consider the alternative" is having its impact.

✓ Whether this will add up to victory for HHH in Texas or nationally is the question. The lack of expressed enthusiasm for the candidate in many quarters, left and right, may belie the degree of support he'll get when the voters are actually casting their ballots.

✓ Organized labor's hierarchy is putting the screws to the rank and file, demanding that stickers in behalf of George Wallace's candidacy be pulled off cars and that labor people get behind Humphrey. Frequently heard are threats that higher-ups statewide and in the locals make about union members who persist in supporting Wallace. For example, the word is out that Texas labor leaders who don't support HHH can consider their chances for advancement in the labor movement as clouded. American party people report that, nonetheless, local labor people are working for Wallace.

✓ State AFL-CIO president Hank Brown told columnists Evans and Novak

that HHH must do something spectacular to have a chance of carrying Texas, "and if that means resigning as vice president, so be it," Brown said.

✓ The temporary "alliance" of conservative and liberal Democrats (allied, in theory, behind Humphrey, though working through their own organizations, can hardly be regarded as a harbinger of party unity in Texas in the future. Once the presidential campaign is over the two factions will be at each other's throats once again, as the differences between the two are far too deep and wide, ideologically and personally.

## Three-Way Split

✓ Polls show the Texas vote still divided, about evenly, three ways. It appears that whoever wins the state will have no more than some 40% of the vote.

✓ One jokester says that Wallace and Nixon are tied for the lead today in Texas, "running redneck to redneck."

✓ Newspaper endorsements are starting to come in: the *Houston Post*, *Beaumont Enterprise-Journal* and the *Dallas News* have come out for Nixon.

✓ The Nixon campaign was boosted last week by double-page ads in the state's largest dailies attacking Humphrey for his 1953 filibuster on the tidelands issue, which the ads characterized as proving "conclusively that he is no friend of Texans." Placing the ads were "Texans for Nixon," a group whose chairman is Ben H. Carpenter of Dallas. On the group's executive committee are a number of former Democratic leaders, such as former Gov. Coke Stevenson, former Atty. Gen. Will Wilson and former national Democratic committeeman Wright Morrow. Carpenter said many of the group's leaders will support Democrats in state and local races. Also on the committee are Dallas businessman Angus G. Wayne, Sr., and H. B. Zachry, San Antonio builder.

✓ Former Gov. Allan Shivers, who led Texas in supporting Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956, called a press conference to announce he'll vote for Nixon this year. Shivers was a delegate to the national Democratic convention and voted for Humphrey's nomination on the first ballot in August.

✓ Democratic Cong. Olin Teague, College Station, said he can't support Humphrey because the vice president has made "irresponsible remarks" about withdrawing troops from Vietnam and has called for stopping the bombing of North Vietnam.

✓ Other Democratic leaders are under pressure to stay out of the Humphrey campaign. Gov. John Connally, Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, and House Speaker Ben Barnes, the ruling trinity of the party's conservative wing, are being urged by some prominent friends and supporters to not help Humphrey so Nixon can carry the state. How the three leaders respond to the Humphrey visit next week will be interesting; leading conservative Democrats, except Barnes, stayed away when HHH first visited the state, in September.

✓ However, there now are signs Connally will take a prominent public role on at least a few occasions in the Humphrey campaign. Barnes has been doing a good deal more for HHH than other Democratic rightists, having become something of a confidant of Humphrey. Smith evidently will continue to stay clear of Humphrey.

## Thurmond Due

✓ As speculated in this column last issue, South Carolina Republican J. Strom Thurmond will tour Texas next week in an effort to combat Wallace's wide support. Thurmond will perhaps appear in Houston the same day that Wallace will be there. Houston is believed to be in Wallace's grasp at present. Thurmond probably will speak in either the northwest or northeast quadrant of the county — regions believed now in Wallace's pocket.

Thurmond's visit is the third in a series of attempts to get at the hard-core conservative voter in Houston who, according to GOP precinct canvasses, is turning to Wallace rather than Nixon. Earlier, law-and-order advocate Philly Shlafly of Illinois (author of *A Choice, Not an Echo*, which became famous during the Goldwater campaign in 1964) and California Gov. Ronald Reagan were in Houston.

✓ Republicans have been canvassing in Harris county precincts where Sen. John Tower won 40% or more of the vote in 1966. Closely guarded canvasses of the 11th senatorial district's Anglo precincts show some 50% of the voters saying they're undecided; this greatly concerns Republicans, who consider such "undecideds" as actually being Wallace votes.

✓ Wallace and Nixon each have about ten neighborhood headquarters in Harris county. Humphrey had one last week but four more were opened this week.

✓ Republicans opened some headquarters in parts of the county, the southeast, that they've never before served, in labor areas such as Baytown and Pasadena, for example. These headquarters are paying their own way. Adding to the jumble, an American party headquarters in Bellaire (white collar, suburban) drew so much favorable response that party leaders were looking for sites for new headquarters.

✓ The inexperience of the Nixon campaign leaders in Houston (*Obs.*, Oct. 4) was dramatized recently when a top Nixon worker phoned the Harris county GOP headquarters and meekly asked if officials there had any sort of manual on how to run a political campaign, and could they spare a copy.

✓ Harris county apparently is the only Texas county going through the presidential campaign without the guidance of a county Democratic chairman. Former chairman W. N. (Bill) Blanton had to resign (by state law) when he became a candidate for a judgeship. Since then, the conservative Demos have ignored demands by liberals that the county executive committee, which liberals now control, be convened to elect a new chairman.

Conservatives expect to control the county organization next year because of a recent redistricting of the county by the commissioners court, a body controlled by conservative Democrats. The commissioners carved up more than a dozen precincts with more than 3,000 registered voters and jiggled some other precincts around. As a result, the number of precincts will increase from 305 to 327 in February. Conservatives are hoping to stall the election of a new county chairman until then. Thanks to the commissioners the new precincts will be heavily conservative and should throw the balance on the county committee to the conservatives then.

## Descending Star

✓ The impending decline in Texas' influence in the nation's capital is behind many of the headlines in the state's newspapers these days as a number of Texans are hopeful of getting it while the getting yet remains good. Word of President Johnson's appointing a number of Texans to federal jobs, and the request of imprisoned Texan Billie Sol Estes that LBJ commute Estes' 15-year sentence for mail fraud and conspiracy are indicators of

the growing awareness that the Lone Star is to decline soon in the federal constellation.

Three Texans now serve in the cabinet—Postmaster Gen. Marvin Watson, Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark and Secy. of Commerce C. R. Smith. The *Dallas News'* Robert Baskin, in a story dealing with the DC Texans' plans for the post-Johnson years, reports that Watson will return to the Texas business world, Clark may join a Washington law firm and Smith will retire. Former Gov. Price Daniel, Johnson's director of emergency planning, will practice law in Austin, where former LBJ aides Walter Jenkins and Jake Jacobsen now reside as, respectively, a consultant (one client is the Camp Gary Job Corps center, San Marcos) and as an attorney. Presidential press secretary George Christian, a White House staff lawyer (Larry Temple) and assistant press secretary Tom Johnson also will move to Austin next year. Christian is expected to do public relations work, write and lecture; Temple will practice law; and Tom Johnson probably will head up Johnson's staff when LBJ returns to Texas. Barefoot Sanders, a legislative aide to the president, is a man Johnson hoped to install in a federal judgeship but evidently Republican opposition will halt this.

Baskin writes that Texas' influence in Washington will be at a lowest in more than 50 years, dating back to when Col. Edward House of Austin was President Wilson's key adviser. Since those days the state has always had one or more persons of unusual power in the capital, serving as speaker of the house, senate majority leader, vice president or president. The state, next year, will have greatly reduced influence, boasting only a few committee chairmen in congress, presuming the Democrats will still control congress. "It is evident the state's interests will best be represented by Sen. John G. Tower, who has worked hard for Nixon and commands his respect," Baskin writes. Whoever wins the election this fall the Texans will be out, though Cong. Jim Wright of Fort Worth and Cong. Jack Brooks of Beaumont would be expected to gain importance in the event Humphrey wins. HHH has said Wright would have an important role in a Humphrey administration.

✓ The latest appointment of a Texan to a federal job was Johnson's naming of Dallas developer Raymond Nasher as one of ten delegates to the United Nations.

✓ Watson will be honored at Daingerfield next week at an appreciation day program. President and Mrs. Johnson will attend, as will Billy Graham and Texas Speaker Ben Barnes. Evidently Watson has in mind a political race in 1970; that year the most important state race will be for the senate seat of Ralph Yarborough.

Apparently, Daingerfield will be happy to get Marvin back. According to a news

story in the *Huntsville Item*, "Never before has a citizenry been more reluctant to bid farewell to a family which had become so integral a part of its very life than was the case in Daingerfield when Marvin Watson and his charming wife Marion and their three children took their leave and enplaned for the nation's capital."

✓ The weekly *Victoria Mirror* complained recently that, although local citizens "were led to believe that Lyndon Johnson as president would do many great things for his friends here," the Victoria area has not been so blessed. The *Mirror* said that many of Johnson's local friends had boasted that LBJ as president would bestow many boons on the Victoria economy, in the form, mostly, of government installations. Perhaps the waning days of the Johnson administration will bring word of some federal largesse, the *Mirror* hoped.

## DC Lobbyists

✓ Each three months lobbyists in the nation's capital are required to register their names, whom they represent and their expenses for each quarter of the calendar. Texans and Texas-based interests are well-represented. A number of former congressmen were (and probably still are) among the state's lobby delegation, according to reports filed for the first quarter of 1968 and published recently in the *Congressional Record*.

Among the former lawmakers from Texas listed in the Washington lobby were Walter E. Rogers (his clients not indicated), J. T. Rutherford (who represents the American Trucking Assn. and the American College of Radiology of Chicago), Frank Ikard (American Petroleum Institute) and Ben H. Guill (National Automobile Dealers Assn.). Four years ago *Congressional Quarterly*, a publication whose staff does research on governmental functions for newspapers, among other clients, found that four other Texas congressmen were then in the Washington lobby—Fritz C. Lanham, John E. Lyle, Jr., Tom Pickett and Kenneth M. Regan. These four were not listed in the *Record* this time, however.

Other Texans, not former congressmen, at work in Washington as lobbyists in early 1968 represented oil interests mostly. Humble had four men registered: W. J. Crawford, Charles C. Keeble, John D. Knodell and Donald E. Smiley. Other Texas oil firms represented include Superior Oil of Houston and Los Angeles (Dick Tullis), B. J. Ray McDermott and Co., Inc., Oil Division, of Houston (represented by the firm of Wilkinson, Cragun & Barker of Washington, DC), Pennzoil of Houston (W. E. Wilson of Shreveport and R. J. Winchester of Houston).

Dale Miller of Dallas represented the Dallas chamber of commerce, the Gulf Intracoastal Canal Assn. of Houston and Texas Gulf Sulphur of Newgulf, Tex.

Other Texas-based interests registered to lobby (though the names of their representatives are not listed) include the National Conference of Non-Profit Shipping Assn. of Houston and the Plains Cotton Growers of Lubbock. An individual registered as a lobbyist but who didn't indicate whom he represented was Lowell Davis of Houston.

Among those registered during the last quarter of 1967 was Frank W. Denius of Austin, who is a partner in the LBJ-associated law firm of former Ambassador to Australia Ed Clark. Denius represented the Texas Electric Service Co. of Fort Worth, Dallas Power and Light Co. and Texas Power and Light of Dallas, as did John Goldsum, also of Austin.

A former state legislator and one-time hopeful speaker of the Texas house, Gene Fondren, Taylor, represented Texas railroads. Fondren quit the house when it became apparent that Rep. Gus Mutscher, Brenham, had a commanding lead in pledges for the speakership when Barnes moved on.

## Unease at SWT

There now is a stir among the faculty members of Southwest Texas State College, San Marcos, about the problems raised in the *Observer* (Aug. 9) about the dissertation of the SWT president, Dr. James McCrocklin. McCrocklin is on temporary leave from the college, serving as No. 2 man in the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, to return to SWT in January. Concern at the college had arisen about the dissertation and its similarity to the master's thesis of McCrocklin's wife. Faculty members decided, after a time, to let the senior college regents handle the matter.

Since then, the regents have twice voiced their confidence in McCrocklin, and the board chairman, Emil Rassman, Midland, says "this matter is now and should be forever closed." So, the regents having made their determination, those faculty members who are not satisfied that the questions raised in the *Observer* article have been dealt with satisfactorily are these days considering how to proceed.

The regents first considered the problem at their August meeting and issued a statement saying they believed the McCrocklins' thesis and dissertation were written on "different aspects of the same broad subject." When, thereafter, the national press took up the story the regents felt it necessary to issue a second statement, which was done Oct. 4, reaffirming the earlier resolution.

In the meantime, McCrocklin had been named one of ten delegates to a UNESCO meeting in Paris this month. The nomination was routinely sent to the senate foreign relations committee. Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon raised objections, citing the questions raised about McCrocklin's

dissertation. This seemed to raise the possibility that McCrocklin would be removed from the delegation but Morse was called home to Oregon to attend a funeral. During that time committee colleague, Sen. John Sparkman of Alabama, had what people on the committee staff call a "personal conversation" with McCrocklin. Sparkman then is said by staff members, to have told Morse, in effect, "For goodness sake, the foreign relations committee has been a hairshirt for the president for three years. Let's look the other way for a change; if the Texas academic community doesn't care to deal with this situation, why involve the US Senate?"

When the matter came up on the senate floor Texas Sen. Ralph Yarborough said, "I desire to be reported as voting 'nay' on . . . the nomination of James H. McCrocklin, of Texas. I desire to be recorded as voting 'nay' . . . I vote 'nay' on the nomination of James H. McCrocklin. I vote 'yea' on the other nine of that delegation."

Yarborough did not say why he so voted; it is known that he was not particularly in favor of McCrocklin's appointment of the HEW post (the senator this summer declined to say whether he favored or opposed the appointment, when routinely queried by senate colleagues).

## Academia

The philosophy department's budget council at the University of Texas at Austin reversed a decision it had made last spring and recommended that leftist professor Larry Caroline be retained. A further reversal for UT administration people who want Caroline out occurred when the arts and sciences faculty passed a resolution, by 167-120, condemning the action of regents chairman Frank Erwin, Jr. The resolution complained that Erwin publicly attacked Caroline before the budget council had made its first determination. Caroline raised Erwin's ire last fall by advocating a second American revolution. Despite the latest developments it appears Caroline will depart UT at the end of the current academic year. The department chairman and the dean of arts and sciences are among those at UT who want Caroline to go, and the deliberations of the philosophy department's budget council are not binding, leading a number of persons on the campus to wonder aloud why bother to have such a council to determine questions of retaining faculty members.

Some 500 students at the University of Texas at El Paso demonstrated on campus against what they believe is the impending appointment of El Paso Mayor Judson Williams as the next UTEP president. Top UT officials raised some eyebrows by promptly sending Williams an apology and ordering that the demonstrators be disciplined.

In his soon-to-be-released book James Ridgeway, an editor of the *New Republic*, complains that the American university is becoming the lackey of industry and the military. UT-Austin president Norman Hackerman and Jack Maguire, the UT Ex-Students' Assn. director, are among board members of a new proposed Austin bank.

## Miscellany

Liberal candidate Don Yarborough evidently is, these days, turning over in his mind the possibility of running for mayor of Houston next year. Several reports have reached the *Observer* of DY's giving such an eventuality some consideration, and Yarborough recently told a Houston reporter that he is, indeed, thinking it over. He has run well in Houston in his four statewide races (except in 1964, the year of the assassination-wounded Connally landslide). He is presently rebuilding his law practice and business interests and working to complete a book. The book, he says, will contain suggestions as to governmental improvements at all levels; he says he has some solutions for such problems. Yarborough says he lost less than \$5,000 in this year's loss in the Democratic gubernatorial primary and that he owes another \$50,000 or so from the 1964 campaign.

Who might be Preston Smith's key gubernatorial appointees? Speculation in knowledgeable circles is that Dorsey Hardeman, the San Angelo senator who lost the Democratic nomination to Pete Snelson last spring, might be Smith's secretary of state. Hardeman has told close friends that he would like to move back to Austin. Former Gov. Allan Shivers, who has endorsed Smith as well as Richard Nixon, is considered a possible chairman for the UT board of regents.

The *Houston Chronicle*, which picked up the weekly cartoon of Jules Feiffer when the competition *Post* dropped it earlier this year (*Obs.*, March 1) has likewise dropped the strip. The word in Houston journalistic circles is that the decision to discontinue running the pungent social comment was taken on the basis of some four or five strips that the *Chronicle* has not run.

HemisFair lost an estimated \$5.5 million after an attendance of about 85% of the anticipated 7.2 million. The civic debate over whether the fair was worth all the trouble persists in San Antonio. The two newspapers there contend it was, as do the rest of the business leadership. Dissenters, a minority, believe the city's pressing social needs were eclipsed in recent years by efforts leading up to the fair.

*Observer* readers may expect a run-down on the impending vote on amending once more the state constitution, as well as a discussion of legislative and congressional races in the Nov. 1 issue. □

# Culture---Texas Style

Austin

The crowd arrived early, in boot-clicking urgency. Reserved seats had sold out quickly. It was every goat roper for himself as they energetically pursued the remaining chairs in Austin's municipal auditorium. They flowed from the hazy summer twilight like attacking herds of Dolomite Alps, their tanned faces grinning beneath the pinched, high-crown western hats that bobbed with their progress. They came for an evening of music—a cultural event of such impact as to even awe such sophisticates as the 1966 football queens from Leander or Liberty Hill.

"Hoohey Mary Jo! Whatchall doin' now?"

"I done come to Austin to be a typist for the state, but I'm studying cosmo-tology."

The attraction was the "Johnny Cash Show." The crowd was a good cross-section of Central Texas society. Upright, God-fearing people who paid strict attention to the "No Liquor Allowed" sign. A Sunday of reckoning lies ahead.

"Har, Bubba, I never thot I'd see you at the preaching today. You were some' after that one Store las' night."

Cash's inroads into folk music and the promise of bluegrass entertainment by Mother Maybelle Carter also lured some hippies to the function.

"Looke Hardy! I betcha he-she-it ain't never been to no barbershop. Haw!"

Mother Maybelle didn't appear. One of A. P. Carter's relatives had died, and she had returned home to Clinch Mountain country in Virginia to pay respects. The shirt-sleeved crowd (I counted four ties, three of them around the necks of musicians) saved its foot-stomping, whistling and hoo-hawing for Cash. (Have you ever heard "Were You There When They Crucified My Lord" presented over an audience participation chorus of "Whoot-laws?") Cash rolled his husky, resonant voice around material ranging from Nashville sound to gospel to a poem by Edna St. Vincent Millay. (I swear on a stack!)

"Hooboy, Hardy! That's shore sumpin, ain't it?"

"Huh? Yeah."

**T**HE EVENING'S big turn-on was provided by a quartet, the Statler Brothers, whose way to fame was made with a song about the solace one can find while watching Captain Kangaroo and lamenting a lost love. They came back for an encore with the "Whiffenpoof Song."

"Hits time to go git some more Lone Star, Hardy."

*The writer is a former reporter for United Press International. He returned to Texas earlier this year to work for the "Bring Lyndon Home" congressional campaign of Fagan Dickson, Austin, and then for Don Yarborough. He is now in public relations work in Austin.*

"Haw."

It was a night for country music stars on stage and football heroes in the audience. The emcee announced that UT Coach Darrell Royal and his Longhorns (130 strong, he said, but the way they've been quitting lately it could have just as easily be 127) were attending.

"And we're number one," shouted the emcee, a man with a eye for a digit to match his IQ.

The blockbuster of the evening was provided by the emcee—a country-west-

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## Pat Conway

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ern disc jockey named Arleigh Duff, who is a man of rare wit. He came clad in a white turtleneck around his crimson nape to make much of the recent political conventions. His humor was crisp and engulfed the goat roppers in simple, unrestrained mirth. Sample:

"Haw. That newsman Dan Rather got knocked down at the Democratic Convention. Haw. They said clear the aisles and he didn't believe that meant newsmen too. Har."

"Yeah Arleigh, thass a good un!"

## Guide for Endorsers

Dallas

I don't know Mrs. George Ripley, but I can tell you she is a woman whose political loyalties are constant, public, and predictable. She has endorsed Republican candidates in newspaper advertisements regularly at least since 1952.

On the other hand Tramell Crow is a mercurial character. I don't know Mr. Crow either, but when I read a few weeks

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## Mary Ficklen

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ago that he had endorsed Nelson Rockefeller for president, I knew Mr. Crow was again displaying his erratic political temperament. A "Democrat for Eisenhower" in 1952, a "Builder for Earle Cabell" in 1960, a "Businessman for Lyndon Johnson" in 1964, Mr. Crow is now a builder-businessman without a candidate. Will he be a Democrat for a Republican this November? A Democrat for a Democrat? Or will he withhold his name from the endorsement ads which run in the Dallas dailies bi-annually before general elections?

I, and other compulsive readers of names-in-political-ads, am waiting for the

*Mrs. Ficklen is a free-lance writer who lives in Dallas.*

**D**UFF MUST be a million laughs at a party with a coal oil lamp chimney on his head. His big coup came moments later, after Carl Perkins once again wailed about some clod who played unrefined footsie with his blue suede shoes. Duff proposed a political poll.

"Let's hear it for Hubert Humphrey," he said.

Polite applause.

"Richard Nixon!"

Old Milhaus really had some crowd appeal, but Duff saved his ace until last: "And now for George C. Wallace!"

Tumult.

Goat roppers, embryo cosmo-tol-ogists, sons and daughters of the soil roared as if one to the magic name of the belligerent bantam from Alabama. They were on their feet screaming. Some even pulled off those Slim Pickens hats to wave them in great victorious circles. Soft drink cups flew through the air. It was a scene to touch the heart of every patriotic son of the FFA who has conservatively, yet ready at any moment to wage total war against federal encroachment, accepted a farm subsidy. For it isn't every day that you can tread on the edge of history in 'he making and at the same time hear Johnny Cash. □

1968 endorsements. Mrs. Ripley has probably already turned in her endorsement of the Nixon-Agnew ticket to Republican headquarters, and an ad writer will soon order the name into type for insertion into the last minute ads.

**A**S FOR Crow, and other such familiar endorsers as Hugh Prather, Jr. (Eisenhower for President, 1952, Democrat Henry Wade for Congress, 1956, Connally for Governor, 1962, LBJ for President, 1964) and Stanley Marcus (Businessmen for Johnson, 1964, and Nelson Rockefeller for President, 1968): are they now being courted by local Nixon and Humphrey campaign managers? Or is each agonizing privately over his public 1968 political decisions?

While the endorsers consider their consciences, may I, in behalf of compulsive political ad readers, make these suggestions to the people who order the ads?

1. Please list the names alphabetically. Though most of us read all the names, some read only for key opinion makers: Crow, Marcus, Mayor Erik Jonsson (Republican Bruce Alger for Congress, 1950s, Businessmen for Johnson, 1964), ex-Democratic county chairman Ed Drake (Eisenhower, 1952), Earl Luna (Eisen-

hower, 1952, secretary, Dallas County Democratic Executive Committee, 1968), and Mrs. Ripley. Make it easy for us to check on our favorite endorsers, as well as our friends, neighbors, doctor, and precinct chairman.

2. Use at least 8-point type for the names. Never, never, go to 6-point, or 8-point photographically reduced. There are people in Dallas who still have a headache from the Bible-on-the-head-of-a-pin-sized names in the "Welcome Senator Lyndon Johnson" page run by Citizens for Kennedy and Johnson Thursday afternoon before the election in 1960.

The names were alphabetized, which enabled such quick studies as Dr. Luther Holcomb (Connally for Governor, 1962, and vice-chairman, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1968), Dr. Milford O. Rouse, Jr. (Nixon, 1960, president, American Medical Association, 1968), and Douglas Bergman (Democratic candidate for legislature, special election, 1968) to protest inclusion of their names to reporters that afternoon. Days later, however, bleary-eyed users of magnifying glasses were still discovering their names

in the ad. By election day morning 625 endorsers had publicly repudiated endorsements. Some of us readers barely finished the list before vice-president-elect Johnson made his victory speech.

3. Identification makes the ads more interesting. "Builders," "Scientists," "Students" — such headlines add dimension to endorser personalities. (They sometimes provide new personalities to one acquaintances. In 1960 half a dozen officers of my PTA were "Mothers for Alger.") More specific lists could further define endorsers. How about "Birchers," "Lobbyists," even "Uncle Toms"? (That familiar, but anonymous, group, "Red sympathizers" seems to have disappeared from Dallas ads.)

**T**HE MATTER of color, so important in today's "balanced" campaigns, is impossible to show in endorser ads now. National origin, even religion, can sometimes be detected by study of names, but not color. Balance, and reader interest, could be served by adding WASP, or Catholic, or Polish, or Black after appropriate names.

I served on a campaign committee once where a committee member suggested we use college degrees after each name. Possibly politicians might fear a drop-out backlash from such listings, but I think readers would enjoy them.

4. Sneak a few new names in among the familiar ones. Before the recent referendum, a local ad listed endorsers of liquor-by-the-drink. Each name was new to me, and it was kind of unsettling. So far as I could tell there were no Republicans, Democrats, or precinct chairmen on the list. Yet, while it is reassuring to find Mrs. Ripley in her usual place and tantalizing to search out Earl Luna, new names do spice up the lists and help the jaded reader make it all the way through the Zs.

Most non-government employed local leaders are routinely listed, so campaign managers may have to search a bit for new influentials. They could start, however, with uncommitted ministers and millionaires and such recent retirees as former school superintendent W. T. White, WASP, BAMA, and honorary PhD. □

## Mencken and Minnesota Fats

Larry L. King, . . . *And Other Dirty Stories*, New York: New American Library, 1968, 236 pp., \$5.50.

Austin

Thirteen years ago I abandoned my role in a provocative but clearly doomed experiment in independent regional journalism called *The Texas Observer* to hitch my star to a wagon by the name of Lyndon Johnson.

The change, while unsettling, offered a number of advantages; not the least of them was being mercifully spared the carnage seasonally heaped on Texas liberals by my new employer. The best of it, though, was simply moving to Washington. I had a huge new office with crystal chandelier, marble fireplace, leather sofa, an outsized desk that straddled me like some enormous draft animal, and a matchless view of such Capitol Hill wonders as Senator Byrd walking his aged spaniel, Mr. Justice Frankfurter walking himself, a remarkable number of public servants walking hell-bent for the drinking/wenching relief of the Carroll Arms Hotel.

Bobby Baker whizzed past now and again, bearing intelligence from the spooky Eminence in the Capitol to whom he referred simply as "The Leader" (other staffers knew him as "Big Pumpkin"). The Kennedy Brothers also came and went, improbably youthful, suntanned, toothily gorgeous. Mr. Nixon was quartered directly abovestairs; every

Mr. Brammer, an *Observer* contributing editor, is author of *The Gay Place*.

hour or so I thrilled to the groan of the vice-presidential plumbing.

One other figure stands out in my memory of that period. Curiously, he was no celebrity—not yet—but rather a big, cheerful, irreverent, ear-banging yarnspinner in the employ of a West Texas congressman. He looked in on me one day to inquire after the use of some of Mr. Johnson's Robotyper machines, unspeakable inventions for the mass production of "personalized" messages to constituents. "I understand," my visitor said, "that the Pumpkin's ma-

### Bill Brammer

chine's are tied up just now. I hear rumors the Pumpkin is sending out 50,000 letters of congratulation to every high school graduating senior in Texas. Sum-bitch! Fifty thousand must be some kind of record. Is this true?"

I hastened to assure him that it certainly wasn't true. The actual figure, I explained, was closer to 100,000.

He seemed vastly pleased with this confirmation of unflagging venality among his favorite politicians. He told me his name was Larry L. King and suggested we go drank ourselves a bunch of dranks.

**K**ING WAS a splendid companion in those early years. He seemed borne along by astonishing energy and a multitude of capabilities. He was particularly well attuned to the boondock pathology from which we had just escaped, and one

could visualize him as a delightful disturber of the peace in a variety of roles: lawyer, oilman, hard-scrabble farmer, crusading country editor, whooping evangelist, country-western singer, even a successful standup comic. It's all the more appalling now to realize how seldom one regarded Larry King as perhaps best equipped — and marvelously gifted — as a full-time writer.

In the years since he liberated himself from the status of "second banana politician" in Washington, King has become a very top banana figure in the murderously competitive field of magazine journalism. This collection of articles (from *the Observer*, *Harper's*, *New Republic*, *Sports Illustrated*) confirms the notion that he getting better all the time. He is some exotic blend, at once very much his own man and yet possessed of such disparate elements as one might enjoy in glancing encounters with the likes of Mencken, Mark Twain, Oral Roberts and Minnesota Fats.

As Larry notes in the introduction, non-fiction collections sell only slightly better than slender volumes of poetry. "Success and I are strangers," he observes. "Failure and I are such old friends he drops by the house for coffee. I have wearied of his company and bid the stranger come in." A more recent and cheerful note from the author reveals the awesome fact that *Dirty Stories* is well into its fourth printing. Deservedly, I should add, deceptive title notwithstanding.

Long-time admirers of King's work will be pleased to refresh the memory of his deft skewerings of Mr. Johnson ("My Hero LBJ"), William F. Buckley, and Joe



"WHY, SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS ARE POLACKS, JAPS, DAGOS, SPICS, WOPS, HEEBS, KRAUTS, MICKS, HUNKIES AND SHINES.. "

# HUMPHREY? NIXON? WALLACE?

If you think there is no difference, read no further.

If you think there is and prefer Nixon, then go on off and read *The Wall Street Journal*.

If you think there is and prefer Wallace, what do you read?

If you know there is and are going to vote for HUMPHREY-MUSKIE, please stop reading now, and join

TEXAS CITIZENS FOR

## HUMPHREY-MUSKIE

### Sen. Ralph Yarborough,

#### Chairman

WE NEED YOUR HELP NOW!

CONSIDER  
THE  
ALTERNATIVE!

Yes, I want to do all I can to help.

Texas Citizens for Humphrey-Muskie:  
P.O. Box 1000, Austin, Tex. 78767

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ Tex. \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Enclosed is my initial contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

Have the local Hdqtrs. contact me \_\_\_\_\_.

Send me material \_\_\_\_\_.

Pool ("McCarthy In the Round"), in addition to perceptive examinations of the Grand Old Opry, Bob Jones University, Sugar Ray Robinson, Louis Armstrong.

King's best work continues to be reflected in the subjects to which he can bring some painfully experienced insight, and his "Requiem of a West Texas Town" is a notable example as he chronicles the slow death of Putnam, Texas, his boyhood home. Typically, King's anxiety in writing this piece for *Harper's* was of a peculiar sort. He notes in an afterword: "I sweated blood over that piece — not because I feared that my facts were wrong, but because I feared they were too brutally accurate. Some of my relatives and a few old friends still live in the wreckage of Putnam."

As Willie Morris observes in the fore-

ward, King is "the product of a violent, isolated, impoverished heartland of America . . . a land of jangling country tunes and limitless spaces, of fierce personal politics and cutting loneliness, of blood-letting fundamentalism and secret poetry." And King himself recalls: "I think Steinbeck had the Kings in mind when he wrote *The Grapes of Wrath*. We were all-too-typical of the nomadic, washed-out domestic D. P.'s who vainly sought that elusive prosperity Herbert Hoover told us was just around the corner. Perhaps we took the wrong turns."

Still, he never could bear to take himself too seriously over the longer stretches. "The last thing a Texas boy should do is poke fun at Texas in print," he confesses. "I never would have done it if it hadn't been for the money." □

## Observations

# A Dangerous Man

*Austin* Curtis LeMay is the most dangerous militarist to aspire to top national office in the nuclear age.

It was he who commanded the B-29's that burned up the cities of Japan, he who invented the tactics that one night killed 80,000 people in downtown Tokyo, he who had operational control of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and he who recommended to Washington that if a third bomb was to be dropped, it should fall on Tokyo.

It was he who, when he was chief of our strategic bombers, seriously considered preventive war against Russia and he who urged, during the Korean war, that we "delete" four or five of the largest cities in North Korea by burning them up.

It was he who urged that we bomb North Vietnam "back into the Stone Age," it is he who now seriously considers preventive nuclear war against China and it is he who advocates that the US launch an all-out nuclear attack on Russia when and if *intelligence reports* convince us they are going to attack us.

His statement on Oct. 3 that "in many

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*The Texas Observer*

cases" nuclear weapons are "the most efficient" weapons to use indicates what his books bear out. He *wants* to use these weapons.

Knowing we can destroy North Vietnam with conventional weapons, he does not insist on their use there, but he argues that if we did use them, we would have fewer casualties on our side, it would cost us less money, we would destroy our targets better and end the war quicker, and "a single tactical nuclear weapon simplifies the control problem."

And what about "the civilians"?

" . . . whenever we commit our young men to mortal combat," he says, "we should be equally prepared to commit our leaders, our cities, our families, and *civilians*—our own or the enemy's." *The italics are his.*

If you find this unbelievable, read, as I have just done, LeMay's two books, *Mission with LeMay*, (Doubleday, 1965, \$7.95,) and *America Is in Danger* (Funk & Wagnalls, 1968, \$5.95). America is in danger, all right—from George Wallace and Curtis LeMay. In all soberness I believe that if Wallace and LeMay won we would probably have nuclear war.

## Central Texas Chapter American Civil Liberties Union

invites you to its

### Bill of Rights Day Dinner

Guest of honor:

## JOHN HENRY FAULK

Monday, October 28, 6:30  
at the UT Alumni Center  
2110 San Jacinto Blvd.  
Austin.

\$10 Contribution — Cocktails and Dinner

Reservations required by  
Thursday, Oct. 24  
2615 Pecos, Austin  
Phone HO 5-1805

## On Humphrey

Permit me to call your attention to elements of the *New York Times'* endorsement of Humphrey.

Recalling that Humphrey was "the original proponent of the Peace Corps and of the Food-for-Peace Program" and that he is now working actively for the ratification of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, the *Times* said:

"The most important international issue today is a slowing of the nuclear arms race. For nearly twenty years Mr. Humphrey has devoted himself timelessly to this problem. He was the author of the bill establishing an independent arms control and disarmament agency in 1961. In season and out he worked to stop the nuclear tests which were poisoning the atmosphere. . . . President Kennedy was indulging in no exaggeration when he said to Mr. Humphrey: 'This is your treaty.' . . ."

"In contrast, Mr. Nixon took no initiative on disarmament when he was vice president and showed much less interest in the subject. He is now urging a delay in the ratification of the nonproliferation treaty, and he opposes arms negotiations with Russia until the US achieves "nuclear superiority."

On Vietnam "The *Times* does not find the statements of either candidate satisfactory on the war issue. But Mr. Humphrey has given unmistakable signals that he intends, if elected, to move away from the errors of the past. It is our judgment based on an appraisal of the character and public record of the two candidates, that Mr. Humphrey would be more inclined than his opponent to seize the initiative for peace. . . . [I]t is significant that the former members of the Johnson administration who are rallying on Mr. Humphrey's support include its best-known doves."

## Integrity

Why don't the San Antonio newspapers report the concrete facts about the HemisFair deficit—not just the dollars and cents, but which merchants are getting told to take their losses and shut up or lose business; what bankers are losing how much; how much which HemisFair concessionaires made or lost; whether the city will get its money from the HemisFair Tower. The integrity of a local daily newspaper is never so much in danger as when the news is the kind the powerful local businessmen do not want printed.

## Eckhardt's Reports

I hope Congressman Eckhardt of Houston will begin issuing his "quarterly re-

### ATHENA MONTESSORI SCHOOL

RED RIVER AT 41ST  
Opposite Hancock Center

GR 6-9700 or GL 4-4239

Leo Nitch, Director

ports" monthly. These essays, expressing Eckhardt's luminous moral intelligence, explain much more concretely than most writing about national affairs the nature of events in Congress.

His most recent report concludes, "We, not Hanoi or Saigon, ultimately are the choosers. Our choices are limited to these: we must choose to have less war, to have more taxes, or to be a society of diminishing vigor, justice, and humanity."

As a newsletter, too, these reports set an uncommonly high standard. They are printed well with large type and decorated with woodcuts and finely wrought initial letters.

## Texas Politics

Governor Connally's delegation to the Democratic national convention at Chicago included Allan Shivers, former Governor, but excluded Senator Ralph Yarborough. Yarborough is now heading Texas Citizens for Humphrey-Muskie; Shivers is the new national chairman of Democrats for Nixon-Agnew. Newcomers to Texas politics may find this puzzling; us old dogs knew it would be this way. Someday I may write a book and explain it.

Only in a spasm response that ignored the dullness of that old saw, party loyalty, could anything clear or simple be said about Shivers' announcement for Nixon. So let the facts be recorded plainly. Shivers says he is supporting Nixon, as he did in 1960, "for the same reasons, but with a new concern" for the nation's "fiscal integrity and responsibility." Nixon says of Shivers, "I have long . . . admired his political leadership. I . . . will value his advice and counsel."

## A Moderate GOP?

S. R. (Bob) Sobel, a Houston Republican, has formed "New Republicans for Progress." Sobel, a campaigner in Houston for Rockefeller's nomination, said, "We are inviting all moderates and independents to come into the Republican party," with stress on the young and the minorities.

In Sobel's view, Rockefeller's unreal campaign for Texas delegates turned into a private party in Dallas. Certainly, if there was any vigor to it, no one found out where it was.

"We intend to build, in the next four years, a moderate progressive wing in the Republican party for the state of Texas," Sobel says. "In two years we are going to run an entire slate of progres-

sive Republicans throughout the state."

I say go to it. If Texas liberals had some real choices once in a while, the time might come when some of us would prefer Republican to Democratic conventions. A few years back a "Republican for Adlai Stevenson" terrified the Dallas Republicans into pell-mell attendance at their own precinct conventions. Fantasizing, you can imagine all kinds of delicious situations in the future.

## Unusual Statement

The Democratic nominee for governor, Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, made an unusual statement, for him, in Abilene Oct. 7. "We must convince the radicals in our country that constructive answers must be sought to do justice to criticism," he said.

"We must convince them," he said, "that our best bet for democracy is to work within the bounds of our orderly democratic framework. We must let them know that we in government service need the help of every man and woman in developing solutions to problems that face us." Smith said.

R.D.

October 18, 1968

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## 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.

**CENTRAL TEXAS ACLU** luncheon meeting. We're moving again. Spanish Village. 2nd Friday every month. From noon. All welcome.

**AUSTIN WOMEN FOR PEACE/WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE** meet twice monthly. Call 477-1282 for more information.

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

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# Former Gov. Shivers to Head Democrats for Nixon-Agnew

By RICHARD M. MOREHEAD  
Austin Bureau of The News  
AUSTIN — Former Gov. Allan Shivers endorsed Richard M. Nixon for president Wednesday and announced he would head a national committee of Democrats for Nixon-Agnew.

Shivers added that he intends to vote for Democratic candidates for Congress, and in state and local races.

This marks the fourth time that Shivers has supported Republicans for president.

capitol he considers Nixon superior to rival candidates and "eminently qualified to serve this nation as president."

"He is not only the best choice, but he offers our only real hope for preserving fiscal integrity and responsibility in the administration of this country's government," Shivers said.

A statement from Nixon, distributed at the conference, said the candidate is "more than pleased at the expression of support by Gov. Shivers. I know his

have admired his political leadership."

Shivers said he will be with Nixon in Dallas Friday, but will not appear on the candidate's telecast.

The former governor told a questioner he was "asked to" accept the Nixon campaign post by an intermediary, but that he also had talked to Nixon.

**OTHERS ON** the national committee of men who have been elected to office as Democrats are James Brynes, former governor of South Carolina, former U.S. Senator, and U.S. Supreme Court justice.



—Associated Press Wirephoto.

Allan Shivers . . . former governor to head national committee

**HO-  
HUM**

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## Smith Gets Backing By Shivers

AUSTIN (AP)—Former Governor Allen Shivers announced Thursday his endorsement of Lt. Gov. Preston Smith as the Democratic nominee for Texas' next governor.

It was the first direct endorsement made by Shivers in gubernatorial races since he left office in 1957.

"This is a time of domestic disorder dangerously close to a state of civil insurrection and anarchy," Shivers' statement said. "Texas has not yet become a battleground between extremists of the right and left. The best safeguard against that, in my opinion, is to continue firm, courageous leadership in the governor's office."

## In My Opinion

# On Quadrilaterals

Austin

We have been called to task a few times in recent months for the recurrence of certain words in the *Observer*. This is causing some genuine concern among a few of our readers though I do not think most of those who read this paper don't bat an eye when a "four-letter word" occurs. One of my predecessors, Willie Morris, wrote rather whimsically in these pages six years ago that "Profanity and sexual symbolism, in the *Observer* tradition, will continue to be purged from its pages . . . except when the public interest and circulation increases are being served." Willie, of course, was having some fun there as he often did, and does.

My own view of this question is that

it is far more offensive, dishonest and hypocritical to write "d—" when one means "damn." I believe the *Observer* serves mature people or people who aspire to maturity; people, as I believe, who understand that the *Observer* did not invent these words nor the concepts they represent and that we do not go out of our way to use such words.

I can recall when it was a big deal to see "damn" in print, or to hear it spoken in a movie (remember Clark Gable's line in *Gone with the Wind*?) or on the radio. Today one of the more popular hits on radio is "Give a Damn About Your Fellow Man." I wish some of the people who get upset about the use of a word in print would get similarly worked up about violence on TV in racial matters and

in foreign policy.

Anyway, for the record, an associate of ours, Louise Stanford, has checked the *Observer* for this year through August and found that we used "hell" 24 times, "damn" 18 times and other no-no words 27 times—69 such usages all. Of the 69 occurrences 17 were in letters from readers, 34 were in direct quotes in articles, five were in articles written by other than *Observer* staffers, and 13 were introduced by the editors. Of the editors Ronnie Dugger had eight such words, I had five, and strait-laced Kaye Northcott had had none (I've spoken to her about this). So the worst "offenders" are peo-

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*Each shining curl*

*Brushed firmly in its place.*

*"Remember crossing streets*

*Don't dally on the way,"*

*The tender kiss upon*

*His eager baby face.*

*I must not cry*

*He would not understand,*

*But oh God! A gas mask in his hand!*

—M. L. Kilgus



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**BERNARD RAPOPORT**  
President

ple we quote; if we can just get folks like liberal leader Billie Carr of Houston ("My God," *Obs.*, Sept. 20), state Democratic chairman Will Davis ("By Jesus," *Obs.*, Sept. 6) and Ralph Yarborough's aide Bill Hamilton ("... what the hell . . ." *Obs.*, Jan. 12) to clean up their mouths then the *Observer* would be about 50%-75% cleaner itself.

If you are bewildered by the welter-of

data relating to our involvement in Vietnam I commend to you the work of an Austin woman, Mrs. Margret Hofmann, who has compiled into a single paperback volume the essence of what the war is and what it means. *Vietnam Viewpoints* is full of factual material grouped under several main headings, including the background of the war, the loyal opposition to that war in the US and the

effects of the war in this country, Vietnam itself and the rest of the world. The book is sprinkled throughout with interesting photographs and pungent political cartoons. It is a valuable addition to the library of those concerned about Vietnam. Copies are \$1.50 each. Profits will be used for the relief of Vietnamese children. Orders may be sent Mrs. Hofmann at 610 Cardinal Lane, Austin 78704. G.O.

## Dialogue

# The Pros and Cons of HHH

### We Can't Afford Nixon

. . . I agree with R. D. [*Obs.*, Oct. 4]. I was of the same mind before [Humphrey's] speech which Dugger refers to condoning the war. My first choice is Ted Kennedy, and a defeat of Humphrey probably open the way for the Massachusetts senator. But this nation cannot afford four or eight years of Nixon. In light of all this I hope you will join me in urging Senator McCarthy to publicly endorse Humphrey. . . .

Jon H. Clay, 1616 W. Oak, Denton, Tex. 76201.

### A Reply to Dugger

Ronnie Dugger's eloquent and passionate endorsement of Vice President Humphrey [*Obs.*, Oct. 4] is logically defective in several respects and deserves answer.

. . . If Dugger would read the text of Humphrey's speech he would discover that the qualifications which Dugger did not "have a good grasp of" amounted to precisely the qualification that President Johnson has always made a precondition of a bombing halt. Humphrey said only that he would *consider* stopping the bombing; the "significant break" from the LBJ position turns out to be no break at all.

From a practical, political point of view, Dugger argues that non-support of Humphrey would only doom the country to eight years of Nixon, since "Nixon is probably adaptable enough to assure his reelection." I think that a little reflection will convince Dugger that "adaptable enough to assure his reelection" necessarily requires ending the war, which is

Dugger's "controlling question" in determining support.

Dugger also argues that we must support Humphrey lest Wallace carry the state's electoral vote, thereby gaining bargaining power. Clearly, the most logi-

cal method of denying Texas to Wallace is to support the front-runner, Nixon, rather than Humphrey, who has virtually no chance of carrying the state.

It is not only for practical reasons that I oppose the election of Humphrey, how-

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ever. The immoral war in Vietnam and the reaction of American political institutions to it are the paramount moral questions of our generation. The only moral vote on Nov. 5 is no vote.

Stanley A. Cook, Box 93, 31 McAlester Dr., New Orleans, La. 70118.

### A Reply to McCleskey

In reply to Dr. McCleskey's article [*Obs.*, Sept. 20]: [I doubt that the Democratic party does, as Dr. McCleskey contends, offer the better prospect for realizing the goals of liberalism] . . . [W]ith about \$30 billion a year flowing into "defense" spending for the war in Vietnam, the Democratically dominated congress was not interested in maintaining or increasing its dollar interest in the war on poverty. What good does it do to talk about a Marshall plan for the cities, as Vice President does, when there is little or no money available for this? . . .

Dr. McCleskey refers to the results of the Democratic primaries as "confused and contradictory." I do know that in all states holding primaries where Vice President Humphrey's people spent money on his behalf he lost. . . .

Dr. McCleskey argues that reasonable men can disagree about policies in Vietnam. This is true, but it says nothing to refute the argument of those of us who say that until a rational and humane solution is worked out in Vietnam no president, regardless of his domestic aspirations, will be able to fulfill his obligations to the people of our ghettos.

Dr. McCleskey admonishes us not to "lose sight of ultimate goals and fundamental values." I fully agree. This is the precise reason why it will be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for those of us terribly concerned about our country's plight, to vote for Mr. Humphrey. I will never vote for Mr. Nixon; yet the prospects of affirming the power structure of the present Democratic party leaves me rather cold.

Philip Lee Fetzer, 1200 E. Seminary, Apt. 533B, Fort Worth, Tex. 76115.

### HHH Deserves Support

. . . I believe the best chance for all Americans lies with the support and election of Hubert Humphrey and the Democratic party platform and program. Among the many qualities which compelled me to support Robert F. Kennedy as the best man for the presidency were his forthrightness in meeting the issues and his sense of the long view in accomplishing meaningful chances which would shape a new and better world for all men. I believe there is little doubt that Hubert Humphrey and Edmund Muskie are close to his position and deserving of support in this crucial year. . . .

James M. Rhodes, 3418 O St., NW, Washington, DC 20007.

"I am not responsible for debts incurred by persons other than myself"—Larry L. King

# Texas Observer Autograph Party

SATURDAY

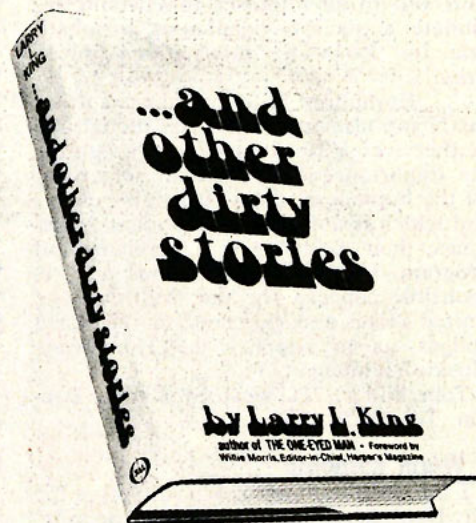
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| "Every page is enormously entertaining and the book is almost impossible to set aside"— <i>Des Moines Register</i> | "Virtually un-put-downable"— <i>Wilmington News</i>   |
| "King is sharp, witty, original contemporary commentator"— <i>San Francisco Chronicle</i>                          | "Brilliant"— <i>Chicago Daily News</i>  |
| "Excellent company"— <i>Nashville Banner</i>   | "King has the best sense of humor that has graced American prose in many years"— <i>Sarasota Herald-Tribune</i>                         |
| "Good writing . . . Good reading as well"— <i>Richmond News-Leader</i>   | "It is a vile and filthy book"— <i>The Author's Mother</i>  |

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If you can't make the party, the book may be purchased or ordered by mail from the Observer Bookstore, 504 West 24th, Austin. GR 7-0746. \$5.50 plus tax.

## Continue War Opposition

We who are opposed to both the war in Vietnam and regressive policies at home cannot afford the luxury of rejecting Humphrey as president because of his position so far on Vietnam. Let us not kid ourselves. The anti-war position is, as it has always been in the United States, a minority position. . . .

This is not to deny that opposition to war is imperative and must continue: not only opposition to the war in Vietnam, but to all impulses that would annihilate a society—people—as a substitute for solving international problems. . . .

. . . Humphrey is within the tradition (as Nixon clearly is not, even though his mother was a Quaker) which recognizes the importance for American society of all the humane elements it can engender, and which is able to accommodate, sometimes, their guidance in a governmental program. I think that a serious and responsible concern for the health of the United States and the health of the world obliges us to support the Humphrey-Muskie campaign.

Tom Miller, 711 West Sycamore, Denton, Tex. 76201.

## A Warm Response

I attended the Bob Eckhardt coffee for Mr. Humphrey, reported in your September 20th issue. I wish to disagree with the report of the occasion as given by the *Observer*. The response to the Vice President seemed very warm to me. . . .

Because of my sincere concern for the liberals in Harris county, I made it a point to study the response of the group during Mr. Humphrey's remarks. I saw only two persons who failed to respond affirmatively. . . .

It is discouraging to hope for better communication between dedicated liberals when *The Journal of Free Voices* con-

tinues to put stumbling blocks in our path.

Mrs. W. F. Green, 2501 Muscadine Lane, Houston, Tex. 77502.

## Humphrey Well-Received

I wish to take exception to the *Observer's* report on the coffee (not breakfast) Bob Eckhardt had for Vice President Humphrey at the Rice Hotel on Sept. 11.

Originally, only 150 were to be invited because of lack of space. The room was as full as security and fire safety rules permitted. Friends called expressing the wish to come and were made welcome—some had to stand. There were many prominent liberals there, all of whom appeared to me to be well pleased with Mr. Humphrey's presentation of his case. Until that meeting, although I was committed to support Mr. Humphrey, I had no enthusiasm for him. His presentation was forthright and good. I left feeling that our Democratic candidate is a man of integrity, a realist— not blinded by wishful hope, and a man sensitive to the needs of people. . . .

Mrs. Albert M. Ball, 1917 Bolsover, Houston, Tex. 77005.

## Hubert Can Do It

I think that I will vote for Humphrey because I am sure that he can end this war in Vietnam and the war in our cities. I can't think of another way to show my disgust at LBJ and his war policies, than to put my utmost faith and trust in Hubert Humphrey. This is the last thing that LBJ wants is for HHH to end this war. It would be a blow to that LBJ pride and vanity if Hubert Humphrey should turn out to be the man who would reconcile the races here at home and get this war over with. . . .

Nell Herrin, 7146 Timber Ridge, San Antonio, Tex. 78227.

## Humanitarian Party

When in a democracy both major political parties blatantly ignore and circumvent the wishes of the majority so that a despicable and immoral war may be prosecuted debasing the ideals that their country stands for; and when both parties do this, knowing that without the war their country has the means to save the lives of millions all over the world dying from starvation; and when two political parties sustain immoral dictatorships around the world in opposition to the will of the people in order to extract personal profit for a few, it becomes incumbent upon the people of that country to put an end to both political parties by combining their strength into one party united for the sake of Humanity. I call upon all citizens to write to the public servant of their choice and ask him to combine with Eugene McCarthy, Nelson Rockefeller, George Romney, George S. McGovern to form the Humanitarian Party for the good of the United States and all Mankind.

Thomas Taylor, Box 53407, Houston, Tex. 77052.

## Impending Cancellation

It is my opinion that you would do well to take the advice of Dr. Clifton McCleskey as written in your Sept. 20 issue. I have been subscribing to your paper for over ten years but I think you would be making an error in failing to support Mr. Humphrey unless you want the conservative Republicans to take over our state.

I had been considering cancelling my subscription to your paper but after reading a few other letters by other subscribers I will wait to see if you might possibly listen to reason before cancelling.

E. P. Crosshoff, 854 San Angelo Blvd., San Antonio, Tex.

## Let's Fight for Humphrey

Thank goodness you published the article by Clifton McCleskey and the letters in *Dialogue* in your Sept. 20 issue! The *Observer* had just about convinced me that the liberals in Texas had lost all rationality. Actually I see it's only those led by Dugger and Olds who have ceased to use good judgment and become irrational. Even though they make take their cry blanket into a corner and sit until after the election, let's the rest of us liberals not let Texas be won by Nixon or Wallace without our putting up a darned good fight for Humphrey!

Mrs. John Cornell, 2807 Greenlawn Parkway, Austin, Tex. 78757.

## 'Country Has Lost'

We have lost. The country has lost in the presidential race this year. We are faced with four years of stagnation and probable deterioration of the social and political climate. The two-party system has failed. It has produced two shopworn, third-rate candidates. Both are products of the Cold War era; both are blinded by an anti-communist obsession. Neither is capable of leading the people forward toward the social and political reforms that will have to be effected if a violent revolution is to be prevented. . . .

. . . [W]e are being exhorted by both Republicans and Democrats to save them from George Wallace. But we should observe the methods the two major parties are employing to combat Wallace: they are moving steadily to the right and preempting his reactionary position. This has been the history of the liberal reaction ever since the Cold War began: they have fallen over each other fighting "communists" and have failed to provide the country with a responsible left, allowing the country to swing to the right through default. . . .

Neither of the old parties shows any signs of becoming cognizant of the realities of the geopolitical scene. Party politics as practiced in the United States has broken down. Perhaps we should declare the offices of president and vice president vacant and appoint another blue ribbon presidential commission to investigate the breakdown.

Don W. Allford, 1505 Cloverleaf, Austin, Tex. 78723.