

The Texas Observer

A Valedictory—III

Some Thoughts on Freedom

Austin

To judge from the bills before state and federal legislatures, many politicians are under the impression that academics are a soft lot. I doubt this. Two of the more popular classics lecturers at Cambridge were, I remember, a PT boat commander with the Military Cross and a prominent leader of underground Greek guerillas who personally accounted for a number of Nazis and got the Distinguished Service Order. Many deans and professors are only too delighted to show legislators how to handle disruptive student unrest. San Francisco State's President Hayakawa is too obvious an example, and besides the blood of Samurais may be running in his veins, but if you take such homegrown products as Grayson Kirk of Columbia and Nathan Pusey of Harvard, these are no lily-livered administrators, and they have shown themselves as tough as the

University of Texas at Austin administration plans to be in similar situations. Nor should one forget how two-fisted university people have shown themselves in foreign policy — Texas' own Professor W. W. Rostow, for example.

Louis Heren in the *London Times* even

John Sullivan

went so far as to connect toughness in foreign policy with toughness on campus:

McGeorge Bundy, who was a Harvard dean before working for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson as special assistant for national security affairs, was as much responsible for the bombing of North Vietnam as any presidential adviser. He was in Vietnam when the Viet Cong attacked Pleiku in 1965 and killed seven Americans, and he immediately advised retaliatory bombing. This sense of outrage probably explains why the president of Harvard, Dr. Nathan Pusey, ordered the police to clear a building occupied by militant students. No matter that such action has helped to radicalize many campuses, or that the sit-in is as American as cherry pie and violence...

Personally, I am extremely pleased with the modern generation of students. I should perhaps qualify that a little. Most students — in England or America — are not interested in study or learning. They are just interested in playing the particular game they have been taught to play by their parental, religious, national, or ideological affiliations. Thought is painful: drink, drugs, sex, sports, fraternities, and television are not. There are, however, in each generation of students a few, a pitiful few perhaps, who stand out in different ways from the mass of their contemporaries. And it is on the size and style of that small group that one's hopes and optimism are pinned. In the narrower limits of Oxford, one pinned one's hopes on those who worked hard, had ideas

about the classics that were not just parroted from secondary sources, and had interests in other literatures beyond those that could help them get a good degree. In America, where the boundaries between disciplines are so much less rigid one could expect — and one got — more. Of course these few students were more uneducated in a technical sense than European students, but, if they were the right sort, their intellectual arteries had not yet hardened.

The present student generation is far more politically and socially educated and engaged than the students of my generation, the early fifties. Their idealism has naturally expressed itself in a number of ways, some acceptable and some unacceptable to society in general. A minority of them have struggled and, in Mississippi, have died for civil rights; they have worked against poverty in VISTA and the Peace Corps; they have protested the war in Vietnam and the inequities of the Selective Service System; and, rightly or wrongly, "they have come to see the university as implicated in the industrial, military, and racial *status quo*."¹ The main criticism directed at them, however, concerns not their goals, but their tactics of confrontation: namely, the use of non-violent methods of political action, such as picketing, sit-ins, rallies, demonstrations, the circulation of leaflets and underground newspapers, the burning of draft cards and so on.

The official counter or attempted counter to such tactics has been as varied as the tactics themselves. Drafting the leaders of the malcontents in advance of their expected turn; bills to cut off student grants and loans; suspension, expulsion, and arrest; massive and forcible police intervention; closing down the universities. Even negotiation and partial acceptance of students' demands have been tried.

John Sullivan this issue concludes his three-part series "On Leaving Texas." Next issue responses to the articles will be published. Some already have been obtained; others are being solicited. Last week copies of the three articles were mailed to eight persons who were mentioned prominently in the Sullivan articles, asking that they reply, if they wish. These were Harry H. Ransom, chancellor of the University of Texas; Roger Shattuck, professor of English and French; Lawrence Caroline, teacher of philosophy; Frank C. Erwin, Jr., chairman of the UT board of regents; Norman Hackerman, UT-Austin president; Jack S. Josey, UT regent; W. W. Heath, former chairman of the UT regents; and UT law school Dean Page Keeton.

Responses already are in from, among others, John Silber, dean of arts and sciences; and William Arrowsmith, professor of classics.

There has been very little student disturbance at the University of Texas at Austin, for which most professors have been heartily thankful, even though they are aware that a campus without its doves and hawks tends to be a campus of parrots. But no professor wants the educational process interrupted or perverted, whether through the private distractions of drink and drugs or through the more organized public disruptions caused by student sit-ins, Round-Up weekend, or college football. And academics will do as much as they can to prevent such disruptions. President Hutchins abolished football at the University of Chicago; the University of Pennsylvania recently shed its defense contracts involving chemical and biological warfare; and some university professors have even tried to cure the social disorders that have prompted student protest.

Violence and Non-Violence

To judge from the vote last year barring the national Students for a Democratic Society from using campus facilities, the general faculty are solidly behind the university administration, apart from a few dissidents in arts and sciences. The rest would prefer to get on with their petroleum engineering, accounting, business administration, and what not in peace. However, the phenomenon of instructors and professors actually *siding* with the student demonstrators and

protesters on other campuses has naturally caused a good deal of alarm among the regents.

Recently the following clause was added to the Regents Rules for the U.T. system:

6.5 Any employee of any component institution of The University of Texas System, including any members of the faculty or administration, who, acting either singly or in concert with others, obstructs or disrupts, by force or violence, any teaching, research, administrative, disciplinary, public service, or other activity authorized to be held on the campus of a component institution of The University of Texas System, shall be subject to dismissal as an employee. As used in this subsection, the words "force or violence" include such acts as "stand-ins," "sit-ins," and "lie-ins," when such acts are in fact obstructive or disruptive of any of the authorized activities listed above.

There are a number of points to be made about this clause as well as a number of similar clauses recently inserted in the regents' rules. Firstly, there has been little public discussion or criticism, as far as I am aware, of such rules by faculty or administration. And it might be well here to bear in mind recent events in the University of California at Los Angeles, where regents of the system had arrogated to themselves veto power over faculty appointments; of course, they also pledged that "no political test shall ever be considered" in the hiring and firing of teachers. Less than three months later, the regents discharged Angela Davis, assistant professor of philosophy at the Los Angeles campus, for her membership in that anachronistic institution, the American

Communist Party. The philosophy department had attested her philosophical competence; therefore it is clear that the regents were applying a "political test."

There is, however, a difference between the major California campuses and the Austin campus. In California, perhaps because of the presence there of Nobel Prize winners, whose absence from the UT system has been deplored by regents Chairman Frank C. Erwin, Jr. (mistakenly, perhaps for his own peace of mind), the faculty senates and the administrations fight regential actions such as this, instead of leaving it to the students. The UCLA chancellor firmly stated his disagreement and the faculty senate there is contesting the legality of the regents' actions in the courts. As *The New York Times* (October 9th) pointed out: the real issue is academic freedom and all this is "reminiscent of the shameful days of the early 1950's when professors were threatened with dismissal for refusal to sign loyalty oaths." But when, may one ask, since the days of President Rainey, have administration officials at UT spoken out against regential policies, rules, and actions?

Secondly, however sympathetic one may be with the regents' laudable aim of preventing Texas' becoming like Harvard, Columbia, Berkeley, or Brandeis, one must protest a little about the distortion of language involved here. Of course, like Humpty-Dumpty, regents Chairman Erwin might reply: "When I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean — neither more nor less." Still, this unhistorical distortion of language is bound to offend teaching assistants in English when they have to discuss that arch rebel, Henry Thoreau. "Stand-ins," "sit-ins," and so forth are part of a laboriously evolved pattern of activity aimed precisely at preventing violence in the assertion of minority or majority rights. They stem immediately from Mahatma Ghandi's *Satyagraha*, which was so instrumental in securing Indian independence from Britain some years ago. America achieved its independence with revolutionary armies; more recently, Kenya achieved the same objective with Mau Mau terrorism; but *Satyagraha*, literally *truth-force* with its connotations of the solid confrontation of unarmed bodies against military or police units, is quite different from these methods. Whether it is anglicized as "civil disobedience," "passive resistance," or "militant non-violence" (as Martin Luther King preferred), if regents and others classify it as "violence," they are going to be hard-pressed for words to describe Czech students throwing Molotov cocktails at Russian tanks, French or West German students throwing cobblestones at riot police, or the behavior of students in Tokyo.

A sense of proportion needs to be exercised in more ways than this. In pleading for a pragmatic and flexible response to student non-violent disruption,

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instead of the hard line advocated by the administration, I would offer two important considerations. The first is obvious. If violent suppression of campus protest by police or the national guard becomes the natural and obvious answer in the mind of university administrations, isn't there a danger that students, if they are going to be injured anyway, will tire of non-violence, a possibility particularly deplorable in a country where guns are freely accessible to all, including students? (Need one recall Charles Whitman?)

A university, moreover, is not like a factory, or at least shouldn't be. The temporary disuse of the plant, by strike or lock-out, is not financially disastrous to either side. The students will have paid their fees, including no doubt their newly-imposed building use fees. The professors are still paid and their duty to research is in no way abrogated by a student sit-in. Finals need not be any the less rigorous because classroom hours have been skipped. In fact, I feel, speaking, as always, not as a regent or as a representative of the University of Texas, there are few courses that really need three or five classroom hours a week for 16 weeks, and I've heard of few sit-ins or occupations that have lasted longer than two weeks. So I see in them no substantial disruption of the real educational process. To be quite cynical, the only losers are liable to be students in terms of the discomfort they endure and the reading time they lose.

But this is not the point. To the students such actions are symbolic, and administrations, in the name of academic freedom, duly constituted authority, and so on, fall into the trap. In Texas with all its traditions, of vigilantism and violence,² the big question would become — who will emerge victor from the great showdown? Who has the fastest guns? The Clanton Brothers or the Earps? The regents or SDS? Let us hope the melodrama does not become a tragedy.

Faculty Power

Before it does, is it not time for faculty and administration to urge whatever governor is in power over the next few years to catch up with the times? The Educational Testing Service has shown recently that boards of trustees and regents are generally overloaded with conservative members of the Establishment, separated by light years in their philosophy from both faculty and students. Chairman Erwin's stand against Corpus Christi Rep. Frances T. Farenthold's proposal to add faculty and student representation to the board of regents should come as no surprise; the ETS study of trustees showed that "on questions ranging from academic freedom to faculty and student powers they were out of touch and out of tune."³ A natural conclusion was drawn that "the under-representation that now exists for

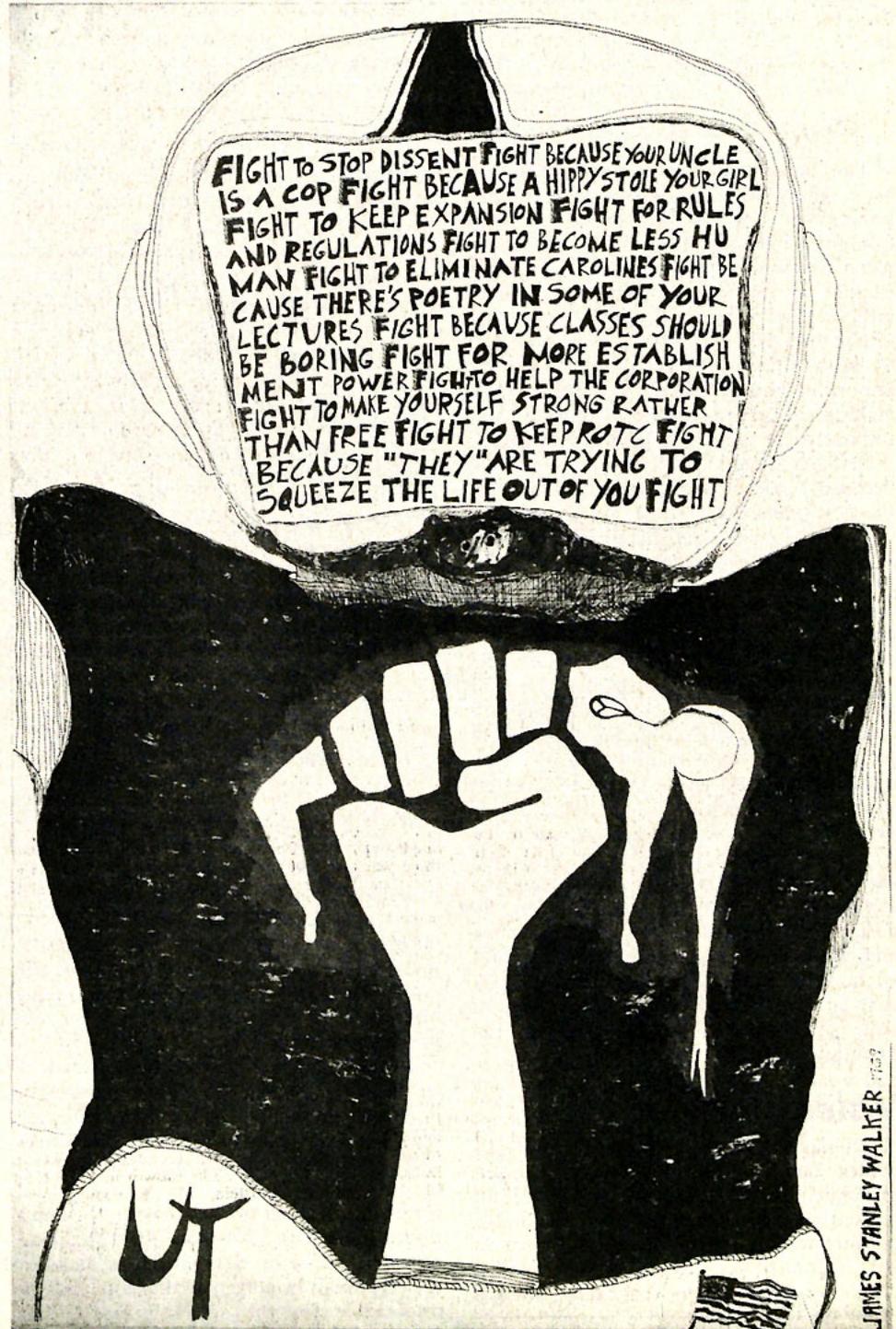
academic experience and intellectual concern must be corrected. Also in need of correction is the current dearth of trustees from all the minorities."⁴

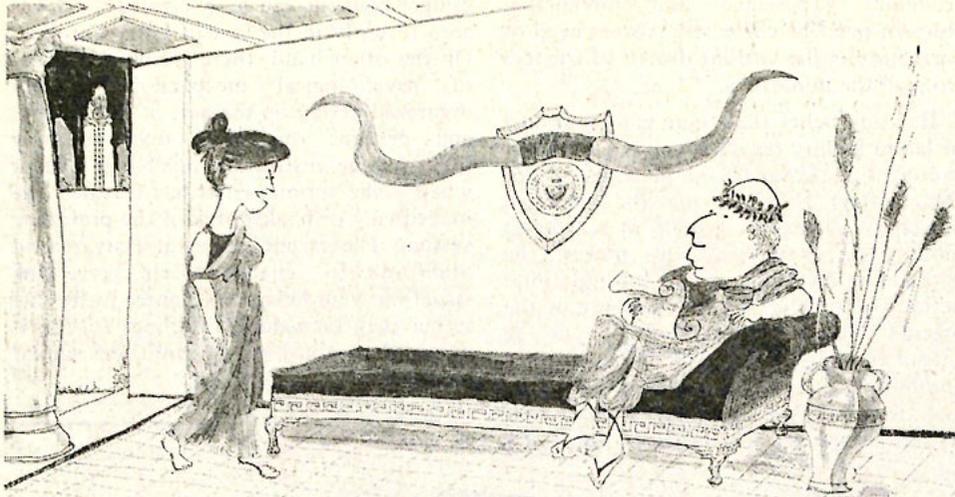
It is my belief that there is a good deal of latent faculty power which is simply not exercised at Texas (or at most places for that matter). It is true that the American university system in general is set up to inhibit the exercise of this power: the administration holds office for indefinite periods of time at the sole pleasure of the regents without any participation in the selection by the faculty; faculty committees are purely advisory in nature and usually powerless to enforce their decisions against administrative hostility;

budget councils can be overruled — as was seen recently in the case of Larry Caroline. On the other hand, there seems also a sort of psychological incapacity for any organized action on the part of the faculty, and perhaps this more than anything prevents the institution of change except when some serious crisis has revealed the inadequacy or bankruptcy of the prevailing system. The recent moves at Harvard and Stanford to change their governing structure were belated responses to trouble rather than far-sighted planning. Yet this is better than nothing: will anything similar happen at Texas?

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"That was Frank Erwin and he wanted to know if we know anybody on the Budget Council at Buffalo."

JAMES STANLEY WALKER 1967

The movement for reform indeed has been given official encouragement and impetus by the excellent Assistant U.S. Commissioner for Education, James E. Allen, Jr., who sees the current turmoil on campus as an opportunity for reform rather than repression, for channelling rather than damaging the innovative energy of both students and faculty. No more important change could be envisaged than making the administration responsible and responsive to faculty as well as to regents.

Perhaps I see this change as important because I come from a different system: the governance of Oxford and Cambridge, both at the college and the university level, is based on the principle that faculty and administration are identical. Faculty are elected by their peers; heads of colleges, deans, proctors, even the chancellor, are elected by faculty, either within the colleges or in the university at large; even the statutes governing the university are changed by faculty vote. Such complete participation by faculty may have disadvantages (for one thing, it is often slow in its workings), but at least it prevents the split frequently seen in American universities between professor and administrators that can lead to excessive power and manipulation on the part of trustees and regents. Where faculty and administration are united, there should be no exploitable conflict. One might add that academic freedom has never been an issue at Oxford and Cambridge in the twentieth century.

Valedictory

One leaves Austin with many regrets, of course. Granted that the restaurants were atrocious for a city of its size and pretensions, the amenities of trees and a mild winter are partial compensation for an old hedonist like myself. I am sorry I didn't meet as many colleagues at the

university as I would have liked. But, on the other hand, I had a great many friends outside the university. I could listen to Jean Lee's accurate analyses of local and state politics; see from the inside Emma Long's battles on the city council; and hear much I would otherwise have been unaware of, politically speaking, from Mary Jane Bode, Larry Goodwyn, and Ronnie Dugger. Then there were what my colleague Bill Arrowsmith calls "The Gay Place" people: liberal lawyers and politicians (in and out of office) and novelists such as Bill Brammer, Bud Shrake, and Gary Cartwright.

Perhaps it was through not knowing enough of what my fellow academics at UT were doing that I felt so keenly, on my return last year from Europe, that the more liberal the artistic and professional

community in Austin was becoming, not just about politics but also about life styles and new ideas, the less and less concerned about the erosion of liberal values the academic community seemed to be — I refer of course to something broader and more fundamental than voting for the Democratic candidate each time and having sound opinions on racial segregation and minimum wage laws. It was then that I began to wonder and look at the relation between our professed ideals in the humanities, our encouragement there of turbulence, free inquiry, heterodoxy, and experiment, and our fear and distrust of all but widely acceptable views and behavior. I began to wonder to what effect do such distinguished literary critics at UT as Donald Carne-Ross agonize over literary standards, trying to refine the values and sensibilities of the students we are educating, if, without much protest from those whose proper concern it is, political conformism, intellectual reaction, and time-serving compromise have precedence over free inquiry and the uninhibited expression of unorthodox views. The day perhaps is some way off, but I fervently hope that it never comes closer, when the academic atmosphere at UT-Austin does not differ from that at Sam Houston State, Amarillo College, or Texas A&M, where the main freedom enjoyed by the faculty is the freedom to buy a new car.

FOOTNOTES

1. J. H. Skolnick, *The Politics of Protest* (New York, 1969), p. xxi.
2. See Joe B. Frantz, "The Frontier Tradition: An Invitation to Violence" and Sheldon Hackney, "Southern Violence," both in *Violence in America* (New York, 1969).
3. *The New York Times* (October 10).
4. *Ibid.* □

Lee Otis' Appeal

Austin

A rape case was on the Court of Criminal Appeals docket before the Lee Otis Johnson appeal recently. The prosecutor emphasized what a dangerous sort the defendant was, and Judge W. A. Morrison conceded the point, saying it must have been a horrible crime since the rapist received a 25-year sentence. Young blacks there for the Johnson trial snickered in the somber courtroom.

Johnson, a black militant from Houston, last year received an even harsher sentence — thirty years — for allegedly giving one marijuana cigarette to a police undercover agent. He and organizers of a defense fund in his behalf believe he is a political prisoner. Houston police disagree. "I don't regard Lee Otis Johnson as a political prisoner," says Lt. Joe Singleton, head of the criminal intelligence division that is responsible for the activist's arrest. "He doesn't tell you that he and his friends were

smoking marijuana, drinking Robitussin, and stealing food, that they were trying to get dynamite to blow up major overpasses, power stations, telephone facilities, and public buildings. I should damn well think that this was a public menace."

APPROXIMATELY 100 persons, mostly black students from Texas Southern University and members of the defense committee, traveled to Austin to hear the appeal. Armed policemen were evident in the Supreme Court Building. It was Oct. 15, the day of the Vietnam Moratorium, but, if there was to be any trouble, police expected it to be at the Johnson trial rather than at the peace march. At a rally in East Austin the night before, the rhetoric had been violent. Don Cox, a member of the Harlem Panthers, told a small crowd: "Racism is a tool used to divide all the oppressed people. It is the masses versus the few rich. Everybody that

supports capitalist society is a pig. And there are nigger pigs as well as white pigs. We will fight the pigs on their own grounds. If they carry guns, we will. Every home should have a 12-gauge shotgun and double-O buckshot to go in it."

From the jail, Johnson called for an "all-out demonstration" on the day of his appeal, but the crowd, much larger than had gathered to hear the Panthers berate the "pigs" the night before, sat quietly in the crowded courtroom as Johnson's lawyers, Will Gray and Bob H. Caldwell, dispassionately pleaded for a new trial.

The lawyers' strongest point was that the young SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) organizer, who epitomizes black dissidence to many of Houston's conservative whites, should have been given a change of venue. "Over a two-year period there was constant TV coverage of Lee Otis Johnson, and he was followed by specialists from the Houston police criminal intelligence division," Caldwell said. He pointed out that Johnson had verbally attacked Mayor Louie Welch for what he believed to be the mayor's racist attitude.

As evidenced by a volume of clippings introduced during the trial, Johnson's name was mentioned in Houston newspapers more than 100 times in the 18 months preceding the trial. But Judge Morrison pointed out that the clippings should have been introduced at the time the lawyers asked for a change of venue rather than when they moved for a new trial.

The state had provided two witnesses, a newspaper reporter and a television

newspaper, who testified that Johnson could be fairly tried in Austin. Bob Tutt of the *Houston Chronicle* insisted that the "cosmopolitan nature" of Harris County's population would guarantee a fair trial. The defense argued that Johnson's background could not be isolated. Houston District Judge Wendell Odom agreed with District Attorney Carol Vance that Johnson could get a fair trial in Houston since there had been practically no publicity of Johnson's arrest on the marijuana charge.

On other points of error, Gray said that 10 of the 32 prospective jurors said they had heard of Johnson. Judge Odom did not allow the defense to question these jurors individually on possible bias and race prejudice, and since they had used all of their peremptory challenges, none of the 10 was eliminated from the jury.

ALTHOUGH JOHNSON was charged on two counts, possession and sale of marijuana, the jury found him guilty of sale and acquitted him of possession. How could he be guilty of sale and innocent of possession? the defense asked. Caldwell argued before the appeals court that the fact that the jury did not convict Johnson for possession was acquittal on both counts.

Caldwell and Gray called the 30-year sentence cruelly excessive for the offense. D. A. Vance, who personally tried the case, one of the handful he felt important enough to give his personal attention, asked the jury to assess punishment of not less than 20 years. After 37 minutes of deliberation, the jury gave Johnson 30 years.

Assistant District Attorney Bill Burge appeared before the appeals court on behalf of the prosecution. In a short statement, he insisted there was no need for change of venue since there had been practically no publicity on the marijuana charge. He said the jury gave a heavy sentence because Johnson had a criminal history — a previous two-year sentence for felony theft.

After the 40-minute appeals hearing, Abbie Lipschutz, a white Houston jeweler who heads the defense fund, said he was confident that Johnson would get a new trial because there is precedent for a change of venue in such a controversial case. If a new trial is not granted, "We will have to raise a ruckus in the United States that will make this country shake," he said. A decision is expected in a few weeks.

Johnson is now in the Harris County Rehabilitation Center, where he will remain until all appeals are exhausted. Then, if his conviction is not reversed or he is not given a new trial, he will be transferred to the penitentiary at Huntsville. Until February he was in isolation, according to police for his own protection. They said they were afraid other inmates might attack him. Johnson says he had trouble communicating with people on the outside. Some of his letters never reached their destination. Now, possibly through the efforts of Lipschutz and the defense fund, he is accessible for interviews, and his letters, although censored, get to where they are going. In a recent interview with the *Space City News*, Johnson said he gets "just as much privilege as the others." K.N.

Moratorium Day in Texas

Austin

There wasn't really anything new to say on October 15. The war in Vietnam has been the object of massive protests now for almost five years. Since this was the biggest ever, one might have expected a bit more militance on the part of demonstrators, especially after President Nixon's infuriating insistence that he would not be swayed by the moratorium activities. But instead of an angry day, October 15 was an occasion of speeches in pleasant parks and the thoughtful remembrance of the American and Vietnamese war dead.

In Texas, the protest finally seeped down to the state's smaller, conservative campuses and into the high schools, if only on a limited basis. On these two fronts, the right of self expression were not always recognized. At many schools, including King High School in Kingsville and Bryan Adams High School in Dallas, students wearing armbands in symbolic recognition of war dead, were given the choice of taking off the black crepe bands or going home. In Dallas, the American Civil

Liberties Union is taking School Superintendent Nolan Estes to court over his ruling prohibiting armbands. (The U.S. Supreme Court has affirmed the right to symbolic protests in public schools, unless it constitutes a threat to order).

The *Dallas Times Herald* supported Estes' decision. The newspaper insisted that the nationwide movement had been "roiling passions and exacerbating tensions," and asked: "How was Dr. Estes to be sure that the presence of black armbands in schools wouldn't touch off fights and disruptions? He did what he thought best for the safety of Dallas students and for the integrity of the learning situation." The Rev. Dwight Brown of the First Unitarian Church of Dallas criticized Superintendent Estes from the pulpit, saying that Estes "chose to ally himself with the forces of bigotry and violence" by ordering "that students seeking to give peaceful and lawful expression of their conscientious concern be summarily suspended from school."

In Corpus Christi, a substitute teacher,

Mrs. Daleen Nelson, was sent home for wearing an armband.

AUSTIN SCHOOL administrators left the armband question to the discretion of individual principals. "The wearing of an armband would fall into the category of unacceptable behavior if the armband violates generally accepted standards of decency and good taste or if it results in the disruption of the school program in the form of bickering, derision, physical contact, or interruptions or other demonstrations of confusion," the Austin guideline read. The ruling, which was severely criticized by the Central Texas ACLU, led to pupils with armbands being held responsible for disturbances, even when they were the victims of violence or harassment.

Approximately 100 protesting students at both McCallum and Austin high schools in Austin wore bands, and some met with opposition. Two students at McCallum said Jim Tolbert, Jr., a physical education

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Moratorium on News

A front page editorial in the Tyler Telegram the morning after the Vietnam Moratorium:

"... For reasons which could be listed throughout the remainder of the entire content of this newspaper, we are not reporting in this issue the basic news or message of the celebrants of the Vietnam war moratorium. . . .

"Publicity always is among the chief aims of demonstration groups, and pitiful though it may be, offbeats in the United States today are finding it far too easy to grab the spotlight far beyond proportionate measure. This seems true in all media.

"One thing is sure.

"The Viet Cong military and the Hanoi 'statesmen' approve of what the moratorium leaders and followers are doing.

"That should be sufficient reason without elaboration for restraint in support and recognition of the protest. An even stronger and more urgent reason for non-support of the demonstrations would be the personal consideration and honor due just one of

the US servicemen now or previously in Vietnam. Some never will be able to speak for themselves again. They found their moratorium without aid of the unwashed, unproven 'thinkers' who would direct our nation's course.

"A politician can justify anything, it seems true, but for some members of the US Congress and certain officials of the states, educational institutions, and the federal government who have taken an oath of office, it seems an act of treason that they encourage and support a Vietnam moratorium, which suitably might be called 'Sick Wednesday.'

"No, we will not report the message and the antics of those people in this issue, because we believe most of our leaders have had enough of rot, disloyalty, and disrespect. The task is a difficult one for reporters and editors, but they will attempt to present significant events otherwise in a framework around the vacuum of the moratorium.

"It is true that 'the news comes first,' but a newspaper's free country comes even before that."

teacher, ripped off their armbands, and Tolbert did not deny it. (Of the high school disciplines, more complaints were made against the physical education departments than any other.) At Austin High, some students grabbed leaflets and armbands, took them across the street from school grounds, and burned them. No action is being taken against the students on the basis that they were not on school premises.

There were reports of fistfights between armband wearers and conservative students, often described as "cowboys" or "goat ropers," at high schools in many sections of the state.

The Central Texas ACLU is collecting affidavits from students who feel they were abused on moratorium day. Roy Mersky, president of the local civil liberties group, asked administrators to investigate reports of teachers tearing off armbands or demanding that students remove them. Mersky said the incidents could have been avoided "by informing teachers and students prior to the moratorium of their rights and duties as Americans regarding freedom of expression." He offered the services of the ACLU in preparing a course on legal rights to be taught to Austin administrators and teachers, and possibly to students as well. Mersky, who is librarian of the UT law school library, said the course would be taught by UT law professors. At press time, the offer had not been acknowledged by Austin school administrators.

Although the presidents of the Austin,

Arlington, and El Paso campuses of the University of Texas said "no institutional moratorium on teaching" would be authorized, they did not specifically order that classes be held. On the Austin campus, many teachers chose not to lecture or put the question of holding class up to a majority vote of their students.

On the day of the moratorium, UT-Austin department chairmen received a request to report on classes that were not held and on what measures, if any, were being taken for the cancelled sessions. Dr. John Silber, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, explained in a memorandum that President Norman Hackerman "had been requested" to report the information, thus implying that the request did not originate with the president. An *Observer* source said Dr. Charles A. LeMaistre, deputy chancellor, sent the request to Dr. Hackerman.

MANY DEPARTMENT chairmen were disturbed by the memorandum, fearing some sort of reprisal against professors who participated in the moratorium. A careful reading of Silber's memorandum, however, indicated that little specific information was requested, and few department heads provided any. "I didn't see myself going out and grabbing each faculty member by the arm and asking him for a blow by blow description of what has been doing," one liberal arts chairman said. "I just provided some general information to the dean about my view of the matter." He said the request was "highly unusual" and that it "disturbed" him.

At least two chairmen wrote Silber that they hoped similar concern would be shown for postponed classes and student absences before football weekends. Some professors said they would hold make-up classes on the Saturday afternoon of the Texas-Arkansas game.

Dr. Irwin Spear, professor of botany, informed Silber that he did not hold his Biology 302 class and that he does not plan to have a make-up day. "I consider the opportunity to openly discuss today's most vital national issue of the war in Vietnam to be a valuable educational function . . . and in my judgment felt it desirable to give my students every opportunity to participate in this important alternative educational activity," Spear said. He pointed out that in the Regents Rules one of "The Greater Duties of a Member of the Teaching Staff" is "influencing beneficially students and citizens in various extracurricular ways." He also cited a rule that says, "A state university, being a public enterprise of maximum social importance, it is the duty of all personnel connected with it to be as civic minded as possible."

Information of moratorium classes was being channeled upward as the *Observer* closed. Action against anti-war professors seemed improbable, if for no other reason than the deans' reluctance to provide facts on specific classes that were not held.

There were anti-war activities on many other Texas campuses, none very heavily attended. Texas Tech in Lubbock, the third largest university in the state, saw its first organized dissent against the war. Activities included a silent vigil from early morning until midnight, a symposium on the war, and a program conducted by ministers of different faiths. Counter demonstrators threw rocks, eggs, bottles, and fire crackers at the ministers and persons attending the night ceremony. To the embarrassment of the state Republican Party, the Tech Young Republicans helped sponsor the moratorium activities. According to an *Observer* source, a state GOP staff member went to Lubbock to visit the YR president, Roger Settler, to suggest that he was putting the party in an awkward position, and that Senator John Tower was receiving complaints. Settler reportedly suggested that the state party stop being a "rubber stamp" for Tower.

Several student marchers in El Paso were sprayed with mace by unidentified men cruising by in a car. Local television stations revealed that in the daily police reports of two plain clothes detectives were claims of using mace on the UT-El Paso students. The police say they are looking into the incident.

TEXAS A & M banned demonstrations and speeches on Oct. 15, but some 200 students gathered off the campus to decry the war.

A number of demonstrations were held in Dallas and Houston, but they did not

reach the proportions of the 6,000 to 12,000 gathered on the sun-dappled capitol grounds in Austin. About 2,100 heard speeches in Houston's Hermann Park. State Sen. Barbara Jordan told the crowd, "We cannot allow war to be our national priority. In the area of foreign policy, my top priority is for an aggressive program which will develop peaceful cooperation among the people of the world and remove the threat of nuclear war and the reality of hunger."

U.S. Rep. Bob Eckhardt at the Houston rally said that President Nixon has learned the mistakes of the Johnson administration, "but he has not learned that they were mistakes . . . The war brutalizes us," he said. "The most honorable course is the most honest course: to begin in earnest to liquidate the war in Vietnam now."

Senator Ralph Yarborough sent telegrams to groups that invited him to participate in their moratorium programs. "While I cannot be with you in person Wednesday, I am with you in spirit," the telegram read. "This war was legally and morally unjustified from the beginning. I have never made a statement approving it, and I rejoice that the conscience of the people, like the sleeping giant, is awakening and demanding disengagement in South Vietnam." He continued, "the last two presidential races have been won by the candidate in each instance whom the people believed was most likely to bring peace in Southeast Asia. It is time that the hopes of the people were realized."

Democratic Reps. Olin E. Teague of College Station, Earle Cabell of Dallas, J. J. (Jake) Pickle of Austin, and W. R. Poage of Waco all took the general position that the demonstrators, wittingly or unwittingly, were playing into the hands of Hanoi. GOP Rep. George Bush of Houston said he approves of the president's present Vietnam policy, but that he upholds the right of peaceful dissent. Republican Rep. Bob Price of Pampa called for "a sudden and major escalation" of the war and said that the moratorium was "an attempt by a group of radicals to undermine the presidency of the United States." Rep. O. C. Fisher of San Antonio, a Democrat, said the nation needs "restraint and patience" as the United States tries to deescalate the war. And GOP Rep. Jim Colling of Dallas called the moratorium the "wrong approach."

Most of the state's newspapers that mentioned the moratorium editorially, criticized it. The Austin daily took the old conservative line that demonstrators "give aid and comfort to the enemy." An editorial specifically attacked *Observer* editor-at-large Ronnie Dugger, a speaker at the Capitol gathering, as "a worn-out liberal of the old school."

Although having supported the war in the past, the *Houston Chronicle* and the *San Antonio Express* both defended the moratorium. "The president has said that



—Photo by Anne McAfee

A Massive Crowd at the State Capitol

he will not be awed by demonstrations," the *Chronicle* wrote. "He cannot help but be affected in some way. The message he should draw from moratorium day is that a majority of Americans want him to exert every effort to extricate the United States from Vietnam as soon as possible."

The *Express* said that "instead of kids and young adults, the [moratorium]

audience should have been businessmen, parents, establishment leaders, and a big slice of that middle class silent majority everybody keeps talking about. They would have heard some thought-provoking arguments and they would have gone home with the message: Most young people want no part of what they consider a senseless and immoral war." K.N.

'We Can Prevail'

The Observer has had numerous requests to reprint the speech Ronnie Dugger, editor-at-large, made at the State Capitol on the occasion of the Oct. 15 Vietnam Moratorium. More than 5,000 persons, the state's largest gathering of the day, made the march of ten blocks on a cool, bright, and lovely day from the University of Texas campus to the Capitol grounds. Most of the marchers were young, and most of them were not "straight." But a substantial number were "straight" students, and sprinkled throughout the assemblage were a good representation of older persons, including many veterans of left-of-center causes back through the years.

Alternately the marchers chanted, "Peace . . . Now" and "No more war." At one point they whistled "When Johnny Comes Marching Home Again."

Passing cars parked along the way, the marchers waved the two-fingered 'V' sign of peace or the clenched fist of power-to-the-people. Some of those in the cars responded in kind. At 16th and Congress several students stood beside a car they had decorated with a large picture of President Nixon, an American flag, and a sign: "Support Your President."

The marchers made their way to a grassy, treelined depression just southwest of the Capitol dome, there to hear the speakers for the day. Sitting down on the grass, beneath the bright sun, they began to sing, over and over, a two-line song: "All

we are saying: Give peace a chance." Nearly 30 minutes were required for the end of the marchers' lines to arrive at the rally site.

Then the speeches were begun. Here is what Dugger said. G.O.

Austin

We thank our fellow citizens, and we are satisfied among ourselves, that we have had a peaceful march. We are people of love and peace.

We have stopped doing everything as usual today, to come together in mourning, in shame, and in resolve that the United States shall withdraw from Vietnam. We are a small part of a great national event.

But first things first. I do not know what happened about the armbands in the public schools in Austin today, but I for one am ashamed of public school officials who try to stop students from exercising their rights of free speech by blaming them in advance for the conduct of students who might attack them for doing so.

The Harvard arts and sciences faculty has recently voted, 255 to 81, for "the prompt, rapid, and complete withdrawal of United States forces from Vietnam." The University of Texas faculty should likewise declare itself.

The day before yesterday, the congressman from Austin, Jake Pickle, said

the moratorium is helping the communists. Yesterday, the mayor of Austin gave the keys to the city to eight touring Russian communist construction officials.

The point, gentlemen, is that it won't wash. The superpatriots and sloganeers have had their day. The great new wave in America is our young people doing, not only their own thing, but their own thinking.

Even in the crude and inaccurate symbolism of anti-communism, what has helped the communists?

Our bombing the Vietnamese has helped the communists.

Our support of the corrupt dictatorship in Saigon has helped the communists.

Our neglect of our social crises at home, to pay for this war, has helped the communists.

The decline of our moral standing all over the world, because of this war, has helped the communists.

The loss of a quantity of faith and love for our country within ourselves, because of this war, has helped the communists.

The division and convulsion of our people over our brutish technological killing in this war has helped the communists.

So even at this low, John Birch level of the discussion, which falsely simplifies and misrepresents the actual human issues, the jingoists lose the argument.

THERE IS not much to say that we have not all said and heard and thought before.

The question then is why do we still meet, and why do we still talk, and why do we still march? We still meet, and talk, and march, because the war continues. As long as it continues, we shall continue. Only when it stops, we shall stop.

We have 545,000 soldiers and sailors in Vietnam and off its coast. By the latest casualty report, the number of Americans killed in the war is 38,887. The United States command states that enemy deaths since 1961 total 558,552.

We are supposed to be proud of that kill ratio. We are supposed to be proud that at a loss of 40,000 of our sons, we and our weapons have killed half a million of the Vietnamese. We are not proud.

If we have killed 560,000 of them, God only knows how many of them we have injured.

We have turned our blessings of abundance into the weapons of death, and we use them aggressively against people of another color ten thousand miles away. We have made of our own machines, our own monsters.

It is one aspect of the crisis in our system of society that we no longer obediently accept presidential rule in our country's foreign and military affairs. We have been misled and deceived too often. We have found ourselves, too often, morally guilty in doing unquestioningly



—Photo by Eric Schmidt

Ronnie Dugger

what we were told to do. From here on out, we must be convinced before we consent.

This fall we have learned, from the Under Secretary of the Air Force of 1968, that he was on the verge of resigning when President Johnson resigned and that Paul Nitze, the deputy secretary of defense, declared to Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford that he preferred not to continue in office rather than to defend the Johnson administration's policy on the war publicly.

I am told that Governor Reagan, last night or this morning, said we cannot object to the war, because we don't know the facts, that we would be kibitzing in the card game when we haven't seen the hand.

This is no card game. But we do know. Clark Clifford, President Johnson's secretary of defense last year, has told us. Writing in the magazine *Foreign Affairs* last July, Clifford, the highest defense official in the government under President Johnson, has told us he decided we must begin to disengage after he had pressed the highest military chiefs of the country for answers and got none that satisfied him.

READING WHAT Clifford has written tells us the truth.

President Johnson's secretary of defense tells us, and I quote him:

"Now I was thrust into a vigorous, ruthlessly frank assessment of our situation by the men who knew the most about it. . . . [F]undamental questions began to recur over and over . . .

"'Will 200,000 more men do the job?' I found no assurance that they would . . .

"'Can the enemy respond with a build-up of his own?' He could and he probably would . . .

"'Can bombing stop the war?' Never by itself . . .

"'Will stepping up the bombing decrease American casualties?' Very little, if at all . . ."

This is Mr. Johnson's secretary of defense, Clark Clifford, speaking. He continued:

"When I asked for a presentation of the military plan for attaining victory in Vietnam, I was told that there was no plan for victory in the historic American sense. Why not? Because our forces were operating under three major political restrictions. . . .

"'Given these circumstances, how can we win?' . . . [The enemy] could not afford the attrition. . . . And we were improving our posture all the time.

"'I then asked, 'What is the best estimate as to how long this course of action will take? Six months? One year? Two years?'" There was no agreement on an answer . . .

"I could not find out when the war was going to end; I could not find out the manner in which it was going to end; I could not find out whether the new requests for men and equipment were going to be enough, or whether it would take more, and, if more, when and how much; I could not find out how soon the South Vietnamese forces would be ready to take over. All I had was the statement, given with too little self-assurance to be comforting, that if we persisted for an indeterminate length of time, the enemy would choose not to go on.

"And so I asked, 'Does anyone see any diminution in the will of the enemy after four years of our having been there, after enormous casualties, and after massive destruction from our bombing?'"

"The answer was that there appeared to be no diminution in the will of the enemy. . . . All that could be predicted accurately was that more troops would raise the level of combat and automatically raise the level of casualties on both sides.

"And so, after these exhausting days, I was convinced that the military course we were pursuing was not only endless, but hopeless. . . ."

"Unless we have the imagination and the courage to adopt a different course," said Clark Clifford this summer, "I am convinced that we will be in no better, and no different, a position a year from now than we are today.

"At current casualty rates, 10,000 more American boys will have lost their lives."

So much for Governor Reagan's card game.

PRESIDENT NIXON says that under no circumstances will he be affected whatever by demonstrations against the war.

The Gallup Poll shows that 61% of the people of the United States, by whose consent the nation is supposedly governed, think Vietnam is a mistake. Six-tenths of the people are dissenters against this war, in that sense.

The president's statement against demonstrations is an attempt to discourage our freedom of assembly. It might work in

Russia, or Czechoslovakia, or Spain, or South Africa. It will not work here.

We will not be discouraged from peacefully assembling. We will assemble until the president does withdraw us from this war. We will not rely on the Gallup Poll to speak for us. We will assemble in our homes, our churches, our schoolyards, on our campuses. We will assemble in the parks, we will assemble in the streets, we will assemble at the State Capitol and the Washington Monument and the Pentagon and the White House. We will assemble and assemble and assemble, and we will say no to this war.

On Monday, President Nixon said, "there is nothing new we can learn from the demonstrations." President Johnson thought this, too, and he is not president any more.

Mr. Nixon should realize he must learn some new things from what is happening in this country today.

That we will not stand silent for secret agreements with the government of Thailand, agreements which the Pentagon refuses even to deliver to the United States senators whom we have elected.

That we do not know what Mr. Nixon means in his pledge to Thailand that "the United States will stand proudly with Thailand against those who might press it from abroad or within," and that if he means what he wounds like he means, we will not back him up on it.

That we will not stand still for the escalation of our thousand "advisers" in Laos - that we, through our United States Senate, must agree before promises are made and agree before they are kept.

He has to learn, from these free assemblies of ours, that war and foreign policy are no longer the private business of our politicians and the generals; that this is the business of the people, and that we must be convinced before we will consent and we must consent before we will cooperate.

This, too, he has to learn from these demonstrations this day: That Americans are not a supine people. That we do not necessarily believe what we are told from on high. That we will not be bullied by politicians using words like lashes. And that we will not be moved.

Everything in our daily lives is tintured by the blood of this immoral war we are waging.

We especially resent the inflation, because we know it is the inflation of this unjust war.

We especially resent the tax loopholes, because we know our government is spending 21,600 dollars of our money against each soldier on the other side in South Vietnam, compared to 44 federal dollars for each American primary and secondary school pupil. Five hundred dollars against every soldier on the other side for every one dollar for each American school child.

We especially resent the staged ploys and

deceits of the politicians in Washington, because we know they are trying to manipulate us again, or divert us, on the war. We are glad to be rid of Mr. Hershey, but we are not diverted from this war.

We are particularly angry against prejudice and poverty among ourselves now, because now we know, from the last five years, that we cannot lay down an unjust war on another people and still have the inner strength for the war on injustice among ourselves.

The Texas attorney general, Crawford Martin, says we are not a sick society. He's feeling pretty good, himself, he says.

We say we are a sick society, Senator Martin, because we do not want to believe we are this cruel. If we are not sick, why are we so cruel? We personally are not this cruel in our hearts.

We say we are a sick society, because when something is sick, you can make it well, and we believe in trying to make our country well.

And we mean, we are sick at heart. When we are feeling pretty good ourselves, Mr. Martin, and we do, and pretty often, then we remember Vietnam, and we are ashamed.

PERHAPS IT is only that President Johnson, and his advisers, were wrong. He was living in the Western past, and believing he was doing right, he committed us to a major land war in Asia as though it was an Indian fight around our stone fort on the frontier.

But we have changed presidents because

of this war, and still we go on bombing and strafing and burning and killing. Now President Nixon is saying the same things President Johnson did about it. More time. On this we will not negotiate. The dissent is to blame. So much has been said, words are cheap as the falling leaves. There is something deeper wrong. The military-industrial-labor complex of which Eisenhower first warned is locking itself into the structure of our country.

Our cause can become political, as it did last year and will again if the time comes again, but it is not merely political. Blood and pain are not Democratic or Republican. Against the death and pain of our sons, we make no partisan points.

Our cause is patriotic, but it is not merely patriotic. Blood and pain are not American or Vietnamese. Against the death and pain of this war, we cast our purely human selves.

This war must be written off our national books of account as a loss, wrong morally as well as lost militarily.

We must immediately withdraw, rapidly and completely.

We must begin again, without any more of this tragedy, and without the myths, the fears, and the lies that caused it.

The late Albert Camus said, "I should like to be able to love my country and still love justice."

We should be able to, if we do not relent.

Relentless, peaceful in method, fierce of purpose, even against the generals, even against the presidents, we can prevail. □

Political Intelligence

- Sen. Mike McKool is planning to challenge Dallas Cong. Earle Cabell in next year's Democratic primary, the *Dallas Times Herald* reports.

- Liberals, Mexican-Americans, and Republicans in El Paso are looking for candidates to challenge Cong. Richard White next year. Each group is unhappy with White for its own reasons. Among prospective challengers being mentioned around town are Ray Telles, who was El Paso's first *chicano* mayor; State Rep. Paul Moreno, who has a liberal voting record in the Legislature and a devoted following among the city's impoverished *chicanos*; and Hilary Sandoval, the Republicans' most likely entry at this point, if he steps down as Nixon's head of the Small Business Administration.

- There was recently, for a time, at least on the *Observer's* part, speculation that liberal San Antonio councilman Pete Torres might be considering a challenge of Cong. Henry B. Gonzalez in 1970. But Torres denies it. He had distributed to the press a copy of a

vehement letter he had sent the congressman, criticizing him for his role (or non-role) when the House was considering defense spending matters. Asked by the *Observer* if this meant that Torres might take on Gonzalez next year, the councilman replied that "we have to take over city hall first. Then I might even run for president! Who knows? But no race against HBG in 1970."

- The two most likely Democratic challengers of Gov. Preston Smith are still taking stock these days. Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes, now generally regarded as having decided against a challenge of Sen. Ralph Yarborough, has turned his attention to the possibility of taking on Smith. Dolph Briscoe, who has said he'd like to wait until 1972 before running for governor, is taking another look, too. Both Barnes and Briscoe are under pressure from supporters to challenge the governor, whose political stock is generally considered to be low these days.

- Briscoe, who won some liberal support in his 1968 race, said recently that "I'm a conservative Democrat and I intend to remain one."

- Briscoe evidently is giving those who wish him to make a 1970 campaign a fair hearing. One sign of this is that he recently hosted some members of the Capitol press corps at his 160,000-acre ranch at Catarina (between San Antonio and Laredo). A sizeable representation of the Austin press accepted Briscoe's invitation to spend the weekend fishing, hunting, loafing, and, no doubt, talking some about Texas politics.

- Governor Smith, who has been brushing up his press relations of late, plans a party of his own for the Capitol press in mid-November at a Hill Country ranch. Smith, when attending the Southern governors' conference in Virginia a few weeks back, flew several members of the Capitol press and some of their wives

to the conference on a National Guard plane. Smith had the largest press delegation at the conference of any of the Southern governors.

GOP Hopeful

- The Republicans are perking up as regards the governor's race now, given Smith's low estate. Usually the state GOP puts all, or nearly all, its eggs into one race each political year, and 1970 was expected to be devoted entirely to unseating Senator Yarborough. But the Republicans now are wondering if they might beat Smith.

It's still the best guess that neither Barnes nor Briscoe nor any other Democrat of much note will challenge Smith in the Democratic primary. Barnes is most likely to run for reelection as lieutenant governor rather than risk a party-dividing challenge of Smith, who still is popular with the state's most conservative Democrats. Briscoe, it appears, will probably resist advice to get into a statewide race in 1970;

he believes (and probably quite correctly) that he needs two years more in which to become better known statewide and in which to build a campaign organization. No other Democrats loom, at this point, as potential Smith challengers. That would leave it to the Republicans to see if Smith could become the state's first one-term governor since before World War II.

Eggers Best Bet

- The Republicans' best bet for 1970 would be Paul Eggers, who ran a surprisingly strong race against Smith last year despite having only lukewarm organizational and financial support from the state Republicans. Last year was the year to carry Texas for Richard Nixon in the state GOP's book — to the virtual exclusion of other races. Eggers, now chief counsel in the Treasury Department, definitely is interested in running next year; he lately has been sounding like he'll get into the race — whether or not he has the Texas GOP hierarchy's invitation or approval. He's an independent man, is a "modern" Republican, an attractive candidate. Texas Republican leaders, having no better bet for 1970, might do well to "resign" themselves to helping Eggers out. He just might become Texas' first Republican governor in this century.

- There is some talk that perhaps the state GOP is to abandon its one-shot tactics next year and concentrate on a variety of races — trying to defeat Senator Yarborough (almost assuredly Houston Cong. George Bush will make that race), trying to beat Smith and perhaps Land Cmsr. Jerry Sadler, and seeking to elect more Republicans to the Legislature. GOP people speak of having as many as 25 to 35 House members in 1971 (making gains in Dallas, Houston, and West Texas, mostly) and perhaps two more senators.

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Conflicting Figures

- The figures continue to fly. First it had been heard here that the liberals' voter registration effort would cost \$300,000 just for the services of Matt Reese and Associates, the Washington political consultant. Leaders of the state campaign told the *Observer* that that figure was absurd, that the entire campaign would cost nowhere near that. And the *Observer* hears on good authority that Reese was asking something like \$70,000 but that he evidently won't be hired for the liberals' registration campaign.

But Jon Ford reports out of Austin in the *San Antonio Express-News* that AFL-CIO spokesmen "confirm their voter registration campaign may be priced out at up to \$500,000."

Anyway, the campaign headquarters is open and running in Austin as a first step in the campaign to reelect Senator Yarborough.

• Then, figures have been tossed around about what the senator's own campaign is to cost. Jim Allison, of Midland, the deputy chairman of the Republican National Committee and the number two man in the national GOP organization, said Yarborough, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, is sure to "receive a minimum of \$1 million from the AFL-CIO."

Yarborough denied that, saying that "I have never lived in that kind of dream world with that much money. This is just a Republican coverup for the millions they plan to spend against me if I decide to run again next year."

• The announcement that George Wallace's American Party wants to run Dan Smoot for U.S. senator in Texas next year may give George Bush pause. The Houston congressman likes his life in Washington and does not want to have to give it up after running against Senator Yarborough and losing. With Smoot on the November ballot, Bush would be denied many right-wing votes and deprived of much of the maneuverability toward moderation he would want. The high muckety-mucks in the Texas Republican Party, to say nothing of President Nixon, want that Senate seat for a Republican and could care less about such considerations. They have Bush in the position now that if he doesn't run they will say he let them down. But Smoot is to declare himself in or out by the first of the year, and this gives Bush a whole lot more to think about.

Barnes Moving Right?

• Lieutenant Governor Barnes' public statements lately are more right-ish than had been the case in recent months. Barnes, in Dallas, was almost caustic in his criticism of the efforts to reform the national Democratic Party, an effort being led by Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota. "I'll always support a Democratic ticket," Barnes said, "But I'll certainly support a Texas Democratic party rather than a McGovern Democratic party."

Barnes warned against what he regards as a movement by McGovern and others to pull the party leftward and destroy the political coalition formed by President Roosevelt. "I think it's very important that we do not let Senator McGovern or anyone else purge anybody out of the Democratic Party," he said.

• At Brownwood recently the Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom was dedicated, three days after the Vietnam Moratorium. Sen. John Tower told the crowd of some 5,000, including the late general's widow and Gen. William C. Westmoreland, that "This day serves to remind us that there can be no moratorium in man's striving for freedom - and there

cannot be a pause in our struggle to defend it." Tower called MacArthur "the greatest American of our generation."

White House Hawk

• Margaret Mayer, Washington columnist for the *Dallas Times Herald*, recently speculated that Texas Senator Tower has been calling for renewed military pressure in Vietnam in order to make President Nixon's proposed "staged withdrawal" seem more of a moderate idea than a conservative one.

"On the Vietnam War, the President needed someone to open a second front that would put his position on this issue also in the middle ground," Miss Mayer wrote. "Tower was the man to open the second front. He could do it convincingly because he has been one of the primary early advocates of a military force in Vietnam. He could do it without severely damaging his own political standing, because, as he observed, there is in the grass roots a feeling that America does not determine to fight a war only to capitulate to the enemy. That feeling is probably more pronounced in Texas than elsewhere."

• Senator Yarborough is optimistic about the chances for his proposed 46% increase in veterans' education benefits, despite the fact that President Nixon has called it "unrealistic and excessive" and "inflationary." The House has passed a 27% increase. The reason for the Texas senator's optimism is the Senate's 77-0 support of his measure, which he believes would discourage the president from vetoing the bill.

In arguing for its passage, Yarborough said the president ignored the real cause of inflation, the Vietnam war. He said a vote against the bill would penalize "the thousands of young men who were called on to risk their lives in that conflict."

Ho, Ho . . .

• It may be a surprise to Houstonians, but the Texas Industrial Commission says there is no pollution in Texas. The state agency recently issued, presumably at public expense, a four-page brochure touting "the gentle life" in Texas. Flatly stating that there is no air or water pollution in the state. The piece of creative public relations called Texas "a place to face the future unafraid; to breathe the clean refreshing air; swim and fish untainted streams; and watch the healthy young mature."

Meanwhile, in Houston, Mayor Louie Welch has asked the Air Control Board to ban visible exhausts from cars and trucks and to stop granting pollution variances to industries. And the air board in conjunction with City of Houston and

Harris County pollution authorities are starting a crash program to identify all air pollution sources in the besmogged county.

• In a policy-setting ruling, the Federal Communications Commission unanimously decided to take no further action in the controversy over CBS's documentary, "Hunger in America," first shown on May 21, 1968. Complaints, including a letter from Congressman Gonzalez of San Antonio, centered on the contention that a San Antonio newborn baby, shown on the program, died of starvation. The child actually died because of premature birth, but CBS personnel said they had been told "maternal malnutrition" was the cause of death.

The FCC decided it will not defer license renewals in charges of "slanting the news" unless there is "extrinsic evidence of possible deliberate distortion of staging of the news" involving the licensee, its principals, top management, or news management. The commission emphasized it would not play "national arbiter of truth" in such cases.

• The state's first human relations committee, which met initially this month, is expected to focus its attention first on discrimination in state hiring. The 50-man study group actually will be able to do little more than get itself together for meetings on the skimpy \$49,000 appropriated for its first year's operations.

Secretary of State Martin Dies, Jr., is chairman of the committee. Former Secretary of State Roy Barrera was elected vice-chairman, and Mrs. M. J. Anderson, a Negro school board official from Austin, was chosen secretary. James Ray, a former executive assistant to Lubbock Congressman George Mahon, has been named executive director of the committee at a salary of \$17,500 yearly.

• Bob DuPont, one of the students arrested for impeding the destruction of trees on Waller Creek (now "Peoples' Creek") in Austin, was fired from his copyreading job on the *Austin American-Statesman* for his militant conservationism. The newspaper's management insisted his job would not have been in danger, except for the fact that he missed an evening's work while waiting to set bail.

• Jeff Burke, the Rio Hondo diver who is a central figure in the "sunken treasure" saga still unfolding, has filed a libel suit for more than \$1 million against Land Commissioner Sadler, alleging that Sadler defamed him in testimony before a legislative committee this summer.

• The Senate Migratory Health Subcommittee plans hearings in McAllen during the last week in November.

• Ty Fain, who directed the late Robert F. Kennedy's presidential campaign efforts in Texas and the

Southwest last year, has joined Senator Yarborough's staff on the Labor and Public Welfare Committee. Fain, a native of Dallas, will concentrate on poverty matters for the senator. He also is expected to be active in Yarborough's 1970 reelection campaign.

• Republican Sen. George Murphy of California outmaneuvered Senate Labor Committee liberals, including Yarborough, a few days ago and gutted the legal services program sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity. Unless the bill is altered in the House, Murphy's amendment will make it impossible for OEO to override a governor's veto on funds for legal aid programs. The effect will be to

destroy two key legal aid programs in Florida and California, both crucial to migrant workers in those states.

California Gov. Ronald Reagan and Florida Gov. Claude Kirk, both Republicans, have for years sought to undermine legal aid programs in their states. Murphy's floor amendment caught Sen. Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, manager of the OEO authorization bill, and others sleeping. Although Texas Governor Smith has not interfered in legal aid programs, he would under the present legislation be able to block their funds.

• Former Gov. John Connally visited the Senate anteroom the other day and was greeted warmly, if warily, by both

Texas senators. Senator Yarborough gave his longtime political foe a friendly "Hello, John" greeting, but then hurried back to the Senate floor. Sen. John Tower tarried, talking with Connally for several minutes.

• Joe Staley, who worked in the Democratic gubernatorial campaign of Eugene Locke last year, has joined Tower's Housing Subcommittee staff. He is from Dallas.

• Carlos Conde, until recently a reporter for the *Houston Chronicle*, has become information director for the Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican-American Affairs and its Nixon-appointed chairman, Martin Castillo of Los Angeles. □

Carl Brannin in Cuba

Dallas

The Cuban revolution of 1953 to 1959 led by Fidel Castro is the most important event in the 150-years' history of the western hemisphere. This in substance is the statement of a veteran reporter who met Castro in the Sierra Maestra mountains in 1957 and has been in Cuba many times since. I am no expert in such matters, though since 1923, beginning with Mexico, I have visited many countries that have undergone revolutionary changes. But a recent 26-day bus tour of Cuba and the Isle of Pines leaves me with the impression that the statement quoted is perhaps true.

The writer is a longtime resident of Dallas and an indefatigable worker for social justice. Mr. Brannin has travelled often throughout the world, until recently usually accompanied by his late wife, Laura, who was herself active in liberal causes.

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Our group of 17, mostly teachers and professional people under the auspices of the Friends World College of Westbury, N.Y., saw factories, sugar refineries, hospitals, schools and colleges, livestock breeding stations, housing projects, dams for irrigation, vast tracts of sugar cane and

Carl Brannin

other evidences of the Castro government's dedicated aim to make life better for the majority of its citizens neglected by Batista and previous Cuban governments.

We had competent Cuban interpreters, and several of our group spoke Spanish. We had no restriction in asking questions of the man in the street and in seeing the good and the sour spots such as the slums and the strict rationing system about which there are complaints in Havana from middle class people. There was no suggestion that there is favoritism — all are treated alike, and old Cuban "hands" say that the majority of the people — the rural poor — are eating and living better than ever before.

People looked well-fed with simple, comfortable shoes, sandals, and clothing. They formed long lines to eat large dishes of ice cream (40 cents and not rationed) and Cuban cokes and soft drinks. Rum drinks are very expensive and can be bought with a ration card only on weekends.

The most impressive result of the Cuban revolution is the gigantic step the country has taken in educational and medical and hospital reform. These are free for all people, with small clinics set up in the rural areas where before none existed.

The neglected people are moving up — especially the blacks. There are no second-class citizens — there is no discrimination in jobs, housing, and education. The illiteracy rate is now down to about 3% from 23% under Batista.

Sons and daughters of the poor farmers are going to college to become doctors, engineers, technicians, or teachers. Black men, who used to get only a few months' steady work a year as cane cutters, are taking engineering courses along with factory work.

Castro is the revered leader of the country, although you see very few pictures of him anywhere. He is especially popular with the youth (there are 250,000 scholarships for young people). Other than individual green-uniformed, clean-cut militia-men (sometimes with a small pistol), there is nothing to indicate any sort of unusual military activity. But the government is alert, we were told, to prevent sabotage.

In important cities and areas Committees for the Defense of the Revolution function as watchdogs, but also to smooth out rough spots and answer complaints.

Conscription with a three-year term is the law for men and women. Many comfortable people (some very rich, others just well-to-do) have been hurt by the revolution, but vastly more have benefited. Wages are very good compared to the pre-revolution period, but prices are high and many items are scarce or unobtainable. Rent is low — 10% of one's income — and is supposed to end in 1970.

In other articles I will have something to say about our contacts with the people and our day-to-day schedule. □

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"... that outpost of reason in the Southwest..."—NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS, April 11, 1968

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"... delights in exposing the peccadilloes of the Texas establishment..."—The PROGRESSIVE, November, 1968

A journal of "considerable influence in Texas public life."—THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW, Oct. 22, 1967

"... that state's only notable liberal publication..."—THE WASHINGTON POST, Nov. 25, 1968

"The conscience of the political community in Texas..."—THE NEW REPUBLIC, Nov. 20, 1965

"Copies find their way to the desks of the mighty and even into the White House."—ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, July 25, 1965

Here's how *The Observer* is usually identified (when unavoidable) in the Texas press:

"the Texas Observer"

"the ultra-liberal Texas Observer"

"an Austin-based biweekly"

"a small-circulation newspaper"

And here, perhaps, is why:

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Trees and Courage

Austin

What a startling surprise to have seen a recent editorial in the *Daily Texan*, the University of Texas at Austin daily. As an alumnus of the *Texan* I have been saddened by the strictures that have been, more and more, placed on that paper and sorry to see the more compliant and less imaginative editorial policy that has developed since the days Ronnie Dugger and Willie Morris and other noble souls ran the *Texan*.

Mark Morrison, who became editor this summer, commented last week on the actions of UT regents chairman Frank C. Erwin, Jr., in the sad and maddening business of a number of trees being torn down to make way for 15,000 more seats at the football stadium. Also, Waller Creek, which meanders through the campus and is one of the last beauty spots of a once-lovely school, is to be concrete-bottomed and straightened (I guess God messed up; He made the creek bend here and there; but we'll fix that).

Well, you've probably heard what happened. Some students protested, were duly arrested, and the trees are coming down (the first of them, literally, to Erwin's applause, as the *Texan* has shown us in a picture — the chairman clapping as a

bulldozer overwhelms a tree while unhappy students stand helplessly by).

Morrison's editorial is entitled "Erwin's action irresponsible." It begins: "University board of regents chairman Frank C. Erwin, Jr., almost caused the first violent confrontation on this campus Wednesday . . .

"What enraged most onlookers and participants was Erwin's refusal to consider alternatives which the students had offered in an attempt to save a beautiful section of the campus.

"In addition, it was miraculous that injury was avoided in the case of protestors who were pulled out of trees and placed under arrest.

"Instead of responding to student questions and alternate proposals, the chairman was rude to a number of students who approached him Wednesday.

"After the trees were down, Erwin did not take any of the responsibility for explaining the morning's happenings. He left the campus. He also left President Norman Hackerman holding the bag — the aftermath of clearing Waller Creek being a rally at Hackerman's front door and

meetings with students and press.

"Hackerman in effect took the rap for Erwin's decision.

"But now the trees are all down. A small patch of trees resulted in 27 arrests and embarrassing publicity for the university — because Frank Erwin had to run the show his way.

"His way was fantastically inept.

"It was so inept, in fact, that one might conclude Erwin was intentionally trying to cause a confrontation.

"There is no doubt that Erwin has a love for the university, nor that he is responsible for much of funding the university is appropriated by the State Legislature. But it is also true that Erwin too often has a closed ear to student viewpoints. Unfortunately, Wednesday's example is representative of the way many of the university's decisions are made — by one man.

"The days of the university being accurately referred to as Frank Erwin's university must come to an end.

"It is time for power to be given to the institution's administrators, faculty members, and students, where it belongs."

Morrison's words are more plain-spoken and more directed to a vital issue on the Austin campus than the *Texan* has seen in recent years. So much so that those who are concerned about UT-Austin must, in the context of this event and the respective characters of the people involved,

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MEETINGS

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CENTRAL TEXAS ACLU luncheon meeting. Spanish Village. 2nd Friday every month. From noon. All welcome.

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

On Not Having a Parade in Our Town

You remember Armistice
But it was a long time ago.
Not the first one, no,
You don't remember that.
The ones I mean were in the thirties.
We heard about the first one from our
parents,
How the war had ended
The eleventh hour
The eleventh day
The eleventh month.
How the shooting stopped
And quiet came.
But it was noisy elsewhere.
Ship whistles blew
And sirens sounded,
Church bells rang
All over the world.

People danced in the streets.
It made the back of my neck feel funny
To hear them tell it.

On Armistice Day
They always let out school
And there was a parade downtown
Everyone went to town to see the parade.
It was a grey November day.
Here came the bands,
Here came the flags,
Here came the men, marching along,
All just about the age our father was.
They all came to a stop on the town
square.
And someone would make a speech
Until the clock struck.
Then it was all quiet
While the bell called out
Eleven times
And the bugler blew Taps.

They're not having a parade
In our town this year.
The men of that war are old.
They're not marching any more.
But *you* remember when they did.
Goodbye Sam and Johnny,
Ben and Charlie,
Goodbye Jesse, Bill and Wally,
Goodbye Dick and Jim, Bob and Mac,
Goodbye, goodbye!

—VIRGINIA McMILLION

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anticipate an effort to get Morrison off the *Texan* staff, or at least to mute his voice. Let people who care about the university and about freedom of expression be ready to take up that cause if it does, as I anticipate, arise.

In the meantime, congratulations to those on the campus who care about saving some little of what greenery remains and who wish to hold back on the pouring of more concrete. I have been deeply saddened by what Austin has become, physically and esthetically, in the last ten years. But it heartens me to see people sacrificing to maintain what natural beauty we can. And Mark Morrison's personal courage is, particularly, encouraging and exemplary to those of us in journalism.

Texas Scribes

Former *Observer* associate editors Jay Milner and Bill Brammer have this fall joined the staff of the journalism school at Southern Methodist University. Milner is head of the school, moving there from the j-school at Texas Christian University. Brammer moved to SMU from Austin.

Milner recently wrote an article in the *Arlington Quarterly* (published at the University of Texas at Arlington) about the late Stanley Walker, the noted New York newspaperman who chucked it all and came home to Texas, Lampasas, during the 1950's. Milner and Walker were personally acquainted. Walker is the father of James Stanley Walker, the Austin

architect-cartoonist-raconteur whose work has adorned the *Observer's* pages this year (the LBJ Library story early this year and the Sullivan series on UT-Austin).

Observer contributing editor Bill Helmer, who left Austin last year to join the staff of the national commission assigned to study violence in America, lately has joined the *Playboy* staff in Chicago. Helmer's primary duty (besides, I suppose, chasing bunnies) is preparing "Forum Newsfronts," a feature devoted to

November 7, 1969

15

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current issues related to the Playboy philosophy. Last month he had an item about Dr. Harry C. Hermon, the Austin psychiatrist who was arrested for possession of marijuana despite having a federal license to do research with the weed.

Helmer's first book is due out in mid-November, from Macmillan: *The Gun That Made the Twenties Roar*. It's based on a master's thesis he wrote at UT-Austin on the Thompson submachine gun.

While in North Texas recently I met Grand Prairie writer Benjamin Capps, whose work is causing increasing notice. Capps' latest book, *The White Man's Road*, was issued last month by Harper and Row, his first with that prestigious publishing house. He specializes in recreating, as authentically as possible, the old West. His previous titles include *Hanging at Comanche Wells*, *The Trail to Ogallala*, *Sam Chance*, *A Woman of the People*, and *The Brothers of Uterica*.

A. C. Greene, the former *Dallas Times Herald* editorial page and book page editor who now lives in Austin, has a book coming out from Alfred A. Knopf this fall, *A Very Personal Country*, about life in Greene's native West Texas.

Doubleday is issuing a work of William A. Owens — *Three Men: Dobie, Webb and Bedichek*. Owens was a friend of each of the three men of the "Texas triumvirate." His book is made up largely of letters each of the three men wrote the other.

Joseph Goulden of the Marshall Gouldens last month had another book published. Rand McNally has issued his

Truth Is the First Casualty, a study of the Gulf of Tonkin incident. Goulden, whose journalism education was acquired at UT-Austin, worked for several years with the *Dallas News* before joining the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, which he still serves.

John Howard Griffin, the Mansfield-Fort

Worth writer who caused such a stir with *Black Like Me* (the account of Griffin's posing as a black man travelling through the South during the 1950's), is to offer a biography of a noted Trappist monk, Father Thomas Merton, to be published by Houghton Mifflin. G.O.

Observations

'Automated Battlefield'

Austin

Reading for the Thanksgiving season from the *New York Times*:

General William C. Westmoreland says that "No more than ten years should separate us from the automated battlefield." There will be a diminished need for foot soldiers as machines take on more of the jobs of killing. The new devices include sensors to keep track of enemy movements, tactical computers to evaluate the intelligence reports, and heavy firepower to act on this information quickly.

Says Westmoreland: "I see battlefields on which we can destroy anything we locate through instant communications and almost instantaneous application of highly lethal firepower."

In Vietnam, he said, "over two-thirds of enemy casualties" were the result of bombardment by artillery and tactical aircraft.

"On the battlefield of the future, enemy forces will be located, tracked, and targeted almost instantaneously through the use of datalinks, computer-assisted intelligence evaluation, and automated fire-control. With first-round kill probabilities approaching certainty, and with surveillance devices that can continually track the enemy, the need for large forces to fix the opposition physically will be less important."

Isn't that great? Boy!

The Moratorium

The best aspect of the Vietnam Moratorium in Texas was the activity on most of the smaller campuses in the state. A college or university without vigorous diversity of debate among the students is deadening and fraudulent. However tentatively, the Texas campuses "out yonder" from the big one in Austin showed their liveliness on October 15.

It was moving to be part of the march from the university to the Capitol in Austin. The crowd filled the street for many blocks and you could see the people moving into the Capitol area while you were still near the university. I walked along with Gary Cartwright, the novelist; David Richards, the lawyer, and his wife Ann; Sue Randall, a housewife who helped

the ACLU monitor the schools that day to keep them from punishing students for wearing armbands. I'd guess the crowd at 8,000. I heard a student say it was bigger than a pep rally.

Oh Yeah?

Governor Smith's statement for the day was a stirring appeal to Texans' independence of spirit, pride of individuality, and contempt for tyranny. *Follow the leader*, he said.

Expertise

The questions raised about Judge Haynsworth in Washington have been dismissed by President Nixon as "character assassination." However dubious some of Haynsworth's judicial conduct may seem to us, we should pay attention to Nixon on character assassination. He's an expert.

R.D.

Dialogue

From Dr. Kamerick

There is a point I should clarify in your article on me in the *Observer* dated October 24. North Texas State University did not receive a \$5 million budget cut. NTSU was granted an increased appropriation compared to previous years. There was a cut in the appropriation request which was prepared before my appearance on campus. The appropriation request follows, in general, guidelines prescribed by the Coordinating Board. The appropriation received by the university was the largest in its history. North Texas received approximately the same percentage of its request as other Texas universities.

I am sure you understand, too, I have been willing to appear on campus with speakers of all political convictions, not just Senator Yarborough.

Please accept my thanks for the article.

John J. Kamerick, president, North Texas State University, Denton, Tex. 76203.