

The Texas Observer

America's Right- Wing Propaganda Center

Searcy, Ark.

Harding College, a fundamentalist church school nestled monastically in the heavily wooded hills north of Little Rock, Ark., is America's leading right-wing propaganda center. For three decades, the rather obscure little (1,800 students) institution in Searcy, Ark., has served America's ultra right as propaganda producer, academic center, and anti-communist prep school.

Harding's abiding union with right-thinking Americans, to hear both parties talk, has been one of those marriages crafted in heaven's forge. But, actually, it was consummated on a fluke, when George S. Benson, Harding's president, wangled an invitation in 1941 to testify before a congressional committee.

Benson had come to Searcy as president of the predominantly Church of Christ college there in 1936, after having served as

Mr. Lynch is a 29-year-old newspaper and public relations man who has worked in Texas and New Mexico. He became familiar with Harding College as editor of the Christian Chronicle, a weekly newspaper for members of the Churches of Christ. He says he once considered attending Harding. He grew up in South and West Texas, graduated from Pharr-San Juan-Alamo High School, and has degrees from Eastern New Mexico University and the University of Texas at Austin. He has this month become director of communications for Campus Evangelism, an organization headquartered at Houston that will seek to recruit college students "to look for viable religious approaches to today's social ills," as Lynch says. Such students would do work in such undertakings as inner city projects.

a Church of Christ minister and missionary to China. Three years later he described his stateside return to a *New York Times* reporter: "I was shocked and saddened at the lack of understanding and appreciation which most Americans seemed to have of their country and their heritage. They seemed beaten by adversity, disillusioned with democracy, ready to give up a free enterprise system which, even in the depths

Dudley Lynch

of the depression, gave them a standard of living far beyond anything else in the world. They had lost their Christian convictions and their sense of moral purpose and were listening to all manner of false prophets. Having seen despotism and totalitarianism at first hand in the Orient, I knew where this would lead, and I began talking about it to everyone who would listen."

Thereupon, Benson in the late 1930's achieved a reputation around Arkansas as a frequent speaker on Americanism, appearing before captive high school audiences, an occasional civic club, and once in a while, in a big-city invite, before the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce.

Then, in May, 1941, providence beamed on Benson and, as it developed, on his small college. He got his chance to go big time, to testify before the House Ways and Means Committee. He didn't fail his opportunity. On May 15, 1941, he told the congressmen, most of whom were on a hunt for defense money, that the country needed to suck in its domestic gut, that the 1941-42 tax bill should be trimmed by \$2 billion, and that a good place to start making the cuts would be by abolishing

three of President Roosevelt's make-work programs, the WPA, the CCC, and the NYA.

ANTI-NEW Dealers, conservative newspaper editors, many of the reporters then present, committee members, and some of the nation's biggest big business kingpins — all responded favorably. The committee chairman said it was "the most sensible report" he'd had yet.

Scarcely had Benson descended from the witness stand when feelers arrived from those hidden, smoke-filled conference rooms. On his arrival back in Little Rock he told close friends, "Certain influential men in the East have offered me \$100,000 to carry on an educational program on a national scale. I want you to raise \$5,000 for my college so that I can be relieved of responsibility in that direction and devote all my time to the national program."

For four Chautauqua-like months in mid-1941, the naturally restive Benson furiously crisscrossed the country, from Milwaukee to Shreveport, Council Bluffs to Baltimore, doing his dynamic thing before civic, school, and business audiences: warning "once-proud" America of constitutional sloths and nits in the flag and the danger of falling for "the demagoguery of 'something for nothing' and thus losing its great heritage."

All the while, back home, a more important and longer-range project was taking shape, an enterprise that Benson announced in the spring of 1942. With a budget of \$31,995.23, an ex-newspaperman as an assistant director, and the "department of public education" for a name, Benson officially opened his Harding propaganda mill, the forerunner of the National Education Program, as the propaganda arm is known today.

From Benson's political prowess thus

developed a rapprochement between Harding and the radical right that has radically altered the style of life of the drudging, debt-ridden college which had been opened under that name in 1924 at Morrilton, Ark., 60 miles to the west of Searcy. When Benson came to Harding, the college had just been moved to Searcy to occupy an abandoned Methodist college campus, closed by the Depression, and it was \$68,000 in debt. In the Benson years, however, Harding's list of benefactors has taken on the appearance of a cross between *Fortune* magazine's five hundred biggest American corporations and the subscribers to *Progressive Farmer*. Many of America's largest corporations have come to Harding's support, and in generous measure, as have numerous foundations and wealthy individuals and thousands of dollar-a-week contributors, mostly Bible Belt farmers and shopkeepers grateful for Harding's espousal of their own simplistic view of God and country. When Benson retired as Harding president in 1965, the college's assets approached \$25 million. They have continued to grow.

FOR THE radical right, Harding's success has meant tons of pamphlets, leaflets, newsletters, newspaper columns, speech reprints, school curriculum outlines, and flannel board presentations; a multi-million-dollar library of films, filmstrips, and radio tapes; the "Benson Boys," a speakers' bureau ready to go any place to excoriate communism anywhere at

the drop of a crusade contribution; and an immensely popular set of indoctrination seminars in the form of Harding's flag-waving Youth and Freedom Forums.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, which keeps tabs on such matters, has concluded that Harding College is "the largest producer of radical right propaganda" in the country. Benson, who at 70 remains the iron-fisted major domo of the Harding Americanism program, still says, as he has for years, that his whirlwind crusade for national redemption touches the lives (and, as he does not say, often the pocketbooks) of 25 million people a year.

Today a stylishly manicured campus swells with big oak trees and greensward, staid but substantial dormitories, an imposing administration building with a colonnaded entrance, and the newer, better-known American Heritage Center. The latter is Benson's pride and joy, a splendid maze of 150 hotel-styled guest rooms, a 500-seat "Freedom Forum" auditorium, a cafeteria, and a cluster of offices, some of them occupied rent-free by the National Education Program, Harding's "separate but equal" front for its right-wing political activities.* Shortly after the glittering Heritage Center opened in 1965 the president of the University of Arkansas took a tour and afterwards was heard to remark: "I wish we could afford something like this."

No doubt he could for a price, the kind of a price that Harding College has had to pay. With the possible exceptions of

Parsons College of Fairfield, Iowa — where for years education was subjugated to the profit motive — and Bob Jones University of South Carolina — still as adamant as ever in its loco parentis view of sex and religion** — no college will draw jaundiced looks from legitimate educators swifter than Harding. At Harding, the educational process hasn't been tainted so much by treating the student as a dollar mark or spoonfeeding him his religious tenets and reproductive facts, but by the intrusion of ultra-conservatism into the hallowed domains of every discipline from Biblical studies to home economics. Citing Godless communism, the college gets a nervous tic at any mention of such topics as Darwin, Jim Beam bourbon, minis, mods, hard rock, *Catcher in the Rye*, the United Nations, Sen. J. William Fulbright, legalized abortion, Norman Mailer, or the Harvard Divinity School. If it gets a fair hearing at Harding while not fitting neatly and unanimously into the three-cornered kerchief of conservative Biblical literalism, doctrinaire "free enterprise," and a theory of government perhaps best termed "democracy of the fittest," then someone is going to catch hell for it.

Benson is well-acquainted with such situations. In his less inexperienced days, he often joined causes with more zest than discretion. One liaison he later regretted was with Arkansas' strong-armed "Veterans Industrial Association." (A *New York World-Telegram* columnist said at the time that the VIA's Little Rock headquarters had a "gangster touch.") His endorsement of this vitriolic "right-to-work" movement gave Benson an anti-labor tinge he has felt called on, occasionally, to deny.

Another time, in 1946, Benson accepted an invitation to speak at a motley New York rally which, it turned out, reeked with anti-Semites, anti-Catholics, and other assorted ultra-rabids. Benson later said meekly that he had thought he was going to an anti-communist rally.

But these were minor lapses. At the time, his "department of public education" was leaping, even its opponents had to concede, to one incredible success after another.

*The regional North Central accrediting agency took a dim view of Harding's unabashed mixing of education and politics, and it was not until the college ostensibly separated the two that accreditation came in 1954. Although it was true that the National Education Program was placed under a separate charter and board at that time, Benson remained as president, the organization remained on campus, and the college's vice president (now president) and one of its Bible professors were fixtures at NEP's Freedom Forums and other programs. Moreover, Harding found it difficult to keep the college and NEP separated in fund-raising brochures. When a \$2 million building program was launched in 1963, a public relations piece noted that \$700,000 of the amount would be used to construct a building to house NEP.

**See *Observer* contributing editor Larry L. King's account, "Bob Jones University: The Buckle on the Bible Belt," in his book ... and Other Dirty Stories.

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

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By the mid-1940's, with assists from the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance and the Western Newspaper Union, Benson's "Looking Ahead" column — a sere, preachy, politically slanted advice column to small-town America — was appearing in 2,700 weekly newspapers in 46 states. Even more impressive was the number of Americans Benson began to reach at the movies with the aid of an ex-Walt Disney Productions cartoonist named John Sutherland. A Harding representative and Sutherland had met "fortuitously" in 1946 and decided to boost free enterprise in animated cartoon "allegories." The first, "Make Mine Freedom," appeared later that year. Others followed, all approved by Benson in advance and all distributed by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer to some 10,000 US commercial theaters, where they were shown as shorts and seen by millions, the proceeds going to Harding College.

In light of Hollywood's longstanding rule of avoiding political controversy, it was inevitable that somebody cry "foul" sooner or later. Finally, the furor came in 1951. Cartoon No. 5, a barnyard fable called "Freshlaid Plans," attacked a controversial US farm proposal, the Brannan Plan. Alfred D. Stedman, farm editor of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, said the cartoon was a "one-sided political editorial in pictures," which it was. Harding's Saturday-afternoon-at-the-movies success declined as a result.

BUT BY THEN, the fortunes of the tiny college (then 660 students) had crossed with three eminent parties in American business and industry — and the result was the kind of respectability that money couldn't buy. In June, 1949, the Association of National Advertisers and the American Association of Advertising Agencies, impressed with Harding's extensive "free enterprise" library, among other assets, agreed to sponsor a series of Freedom Forums, week-long seminars in "Americanism for industry," patterned after annual events Harding had started in 1946. The two New York-based associations had discovered that executives who attended the forums came away with "a new and dynamic articulation" of freedom principles.

The other coup was a supreme but accidental *tour de force*. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. president of General Motors, heard one of Benson's stock addresses and "got religion," like one of the sin-struck revival converts at the hundreds Benson, the minister, has conducted. Sloan asked Benson how he could get his "shape up or ship out" pleas to the most people. "Movies," Benson answered. Sloan liked the idea and as seed money, he promptly gave the incredulous Benson \$300,000 — and indicated there would be more. Moreover, because of Sloan's immense prestige, it was an invitation for other industrialists to do the same. It was at this point, more than any other, that Benson

began to see clearly the vast possibilities in aiming for the sponsorship of American big business.

Before the year was out, Benson's path crossed with that of another eminent American: at Valley Forge, Pa., Gen. Dwight Eisenhower honored Benson with an encomium and a Freedom Foundation award, the first in a succession that was to bring Harding College more of the foundation's star-girt medals than any other group or organization. Three years later *The Nation*, the liberal journal, paid Harding another, if backhanded, compliment: "[This] obscure denominational college in the Southwest may well be exerting a greater influence on the economic thinking of the American people than most of our great universities."

Academic Center Of the Right Wing

Searcy, Ark.

Harding College is "recognized as the academic center of the right wing," according to Group Research, Inc., the liberal organization based at Washington, DC, which does continuing studies of right-wing activity.

GR advises that the inter-relationship between Harding and Benson's National Educational Program is virtually interlocking. Benson for years was president of both institutions, their boards of trustees are identical, and in case the NEP is dissolved, all its property would go to Harding. NEP occupies rent-free quarters on the college campus and has access to the college printing press.

It was no understatement, and yet Harding was a decade away from her apogee in right-wing apologetics, a fact that a surprised press corps would not discover until the spring of 1961.

PROBABLY Harding's most famous work is "Communism on the Map," a review of the spread of communism since the Bolshevik revolution. The hour-long filmstrip has been seen by nearly 10 million Americans since its release in May, 1960. Narrated by Gen. George C. Marshall, the strip makes garish use of color to demonstrate how the entire world is turning various ominous shades of pink and red. Only Spain and Switzerland hold out strongly; the United States is in danger of infiltration, and to ram the point home, red arrows menacingly encircle a map of the Old Home Place.

People on the left began assailing the filmstrip. Benson replied, "If I were a socialist I would be trying to discredit this picture, and if I were a fellow traveler I would be trying to discredit it. . . . If you

are going to move Washington [DC] to do the things it ought to do, you have got to move public opinion. My aim is to move public opinion at the grassroots in the direction of godliness and patriotism."

Many critics of the film claimed that much of the script sounded as if it had come straight from the pages of ex-candymaker Robert Welch's noted *Blue Book*. Benson denied this. He also denied vigorously that he was a member of Welch's extremist society, that he had any connection with the JBS, that he had ever met Welch, or had ever read the *Blue Book*.

What he couldn't deny, however, was his endorsement of the society. Plainly, for all to see, Benson had given the JBS his undiminished blessing in his "Looking Ahead" column of March 16, 1960. And Welch had reprinted Benson's column in the next issue of the JBS bulletin.

The national press then, in the wake of "Communism on the Map," belatedly was discovering what was up at Harding College. It was not just films that were blue chips in Harding's expansive anti-communist portfolio, but also its Freedom Forums. The forums had been begun modestly just after World War II, patterned as much as anything on the hoopla of the old frontier's convivial, all-day, weeklong camp meetings. There wasn't much to the forums at first. Lots of dire fundamentalist oratory, cafeteria food, and armchair strategy sessions. But the business executives liked Harding's unabashedly pro-business tone (they didn't always hear that on campus) and they kept coming and urged their friends to accompany them. It wasn't long before the cagey Benson realized that he was on to something, something potentially lucrative.

ACTIVISTS in the anti-communist movement soon sensed it, too. Fred Schwarz, the Australian-born founder of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, was the first major anti-communist crusader to crack the Freedom Forum's didactic lectures on the American economic system, and as a result in the mid-1950s, the forum philosophy was transformed, almost overnight. Whereas before all sorts of vague, injurious termites were, in Harding's view, gnawing away at America, now — in the "After Schwarz Era" — Harding's assessment traced all political and economic ills to a common origin: international communist infiltration. It was, to say the least, a glorious illumination! And if any of the major US corporations regularly sending their executives to the forums noticed the sudden ideological shift, it apparently met their approval. In the years ahead, the once almost wholly *pro-free enterprise* Forum programs would be liberally sprinkled with militant *anti-communist* speakers: William Grede, Clarence Manion, Tom Anderson, and Revilo Oliver, all members of the Birch

Society national council; Dr. Howard Kershner, head of the Christian Freedom Foundation; Edward Hunter, head of the Anti-Communist Liaison Committee established by Tulsa's Billy James Hargis to unify the radical right; Dr. Milton Lory, president of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies; and others.

At the very moment that Norman Thomas was raising his socialist ire in New York concerning "Communism on the Map," about 125 executives (many of them training or public affairs officers) of numerous widely known US companies were in Searcy, getting a home-brewed dosage of the film's blunderbuss assessment of the communist-socialist threat. There that year — in 1962 — were top officials from Boeing Aircraft, Gulf Oil, Southwestern Bell Telephone, Houston Lighting and Power, Quaker Oats, Monsanto Chemical, Stockham Valves and Fittings, GM's Pontiac Motor Division, and Goodyear Tire and Rubber. And sitting beside them — or appearing on the program — were representatives of the following right-wing extremist groups: John Birch Society, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, Four Freedoms, Americanism vs. Communism, Letters of Correspondence, Christian Economics, and Lamplighter Study Group. All in all, since 1946, nearly one thousand US companies and 192 school systems and colleges had sent executives to Harding's Freedom Forums to learn of the alleged communist conspiracy worming its way into America's every nook and cranny. To boot, Harding coordinated 50 to 60 Freedom Forums on the road each year, furnishing speakers, materials, and guidance.

The apparent tie-in of the John Birch Society materials and the Harding film, "Communism on the Map," would put the major corporations on guard, the country's liberal commentators thought. But they turned out to be wrong. Goodyear, Boeing, Alcoa, Jones and Laughlin Steel, Revere Copper and Brass, Convair, Arkansas-Missouri Power Company, Texas Power and Light, Schick Safety Razor, Ohio Bell Telephone, and North American Aviation, among others, showed it and its replacement films hundreds of times during and after 1961. This was despite the fact that even Dr. Schwarz and his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, hardly impartial, had felt obliged to disown "Communism on the Map" and admit that its showing had been a mistake. But neither liberal commentators nor hardly anyone else knew at the moment just how intertwined were the interests of Dr. Benson, NEP, and some of the nation's "most public spirited corporations."

IN THE FALL of 1964, two hard-working staff members of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith released the results of a four-year survey of

radical right groups that they said spent millions each year on an "assault on democratic progress." Suddenly, industry's fealty to Harding became clearer.

In the five years prior to 1963, for example, Republic Steel had contributed \$140,000 to Dr. Benson's "educational and propaganda activities," the report said. Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation had donated \$57,000; Gulf Oil, \$55,000; US Steel, \$33,000. Others, including Humble Oil and Refining Company, had given lesser but substantial amounts. Eye-opening, too, was the revelation that the Sloan Foundation — remember GM's Alfred P. Sloan Jr.? — had given Harding \$600,000, Armco Steel Foundation, \$67,500; the Allen-Bradley Foundation, \$60,000; and the Texas Educational Association, with its strong Birch Society connections, \$47,250.

There were others. The largest known gift to NEP had come from an individual, the late Harry R. Kendall of Evanston, Ill.,



Dr. George Benson

an insurance executive, who left the college stock worth \$2.5 million. (Following his generous donation, Kendall received an honorary doctor's degree from Harding.)

These gifts — corporate, foundation, and individual — from conservative donors were the dollars, an NEP staffer admitted in a letter to Harding's school paper in April, 1968, that "have enabled us to build most of our plant." The resounding success that Benson has achieved with "the big money" is enough to turn any fund-raiser green with envy, especially others in the anti-communist field. "Benson," says the Rev. Carl McIntire, founder of the militant American Council of Christian Churches, "though a preacher, makes a straight businessman's approach and over the years has received some of the biggest contributions." A former Harding professor phrases it less delicately: "Hard-boiled businessmen succumb to emotional appeals when cleverly made. Benson's lingo is tailored to appeal to the high-class trade."

Dr. Benson* has fought the lumping of Harding and NEP in the "irresponsible" column. A few years ago, he wrote the *Denver Post*: "Harding College has taken care not to become affiliated with any of the extreme groups on either right or left." In this assessment, he conveniently overlooked the long, incriminating list of speakers definitely affiliated with extremist groups who have appeared repeatedly at his Freedom Forums. He also conveniently overlooked his own early affinity for the Birch Society and his many carbon copy views of their gospel of political extremism. Yet if he feels comfortable with these tenets — the rabid fear of alleged "fifth column" communist infiltration, the suspicion of any dialogue with the "Reds," the blanket criticism of US governmental trends in the last 40 years — Benson hasn't adopted the extremist style. Julius Duscha of *The Washington Post* went to Searcy in 1964 to interview Benson and, to Duscha's surprise, found Benson to be "an extremely mild-mannered man."

THERE IS NO doubt that Benson made a studied effort after those early indiscretions to stay aloof from the patently inflammatory situations. He has eschewed visible involvement in local or state politics, a move intended, as much as anything, to protect the tax-free status of NEP. Although during 27 of his 29-year presidency, his church school excluded Negroes, Benson has, until only recently, kept a civil Southern tongue on the entire race issue. In the mid-1950s, at some risk to his following, he even declined to take a stand with the pro-segregation forces in the incendiary school integration row at Little Rock. Nor is he anti-Semitic. In these respects, he has been the "gentleman's right-winger," and his supporters, with a sense of wounded probity, point to these moderate attributes as evidences that the man is, after all, a kindly, benign, latter-day Moses seeking only to keep the American people from whoring after false gods, from lusting after the treacherous, enticing leeks and garbics left in the exodus. They are overlooking the fact, however, that the executives of those generous blue-chip companies avidly courted by Benson place great stress on outward stability, a measured demeanor, a man of their own markings. Rarely has Dr. Benson disappointed them.

Today, Benson still enjoys great popularity in those quarters where fears of a communist takeover of the United States flourish. And his latest, perhaps last, crusade isn't calculated to damage his standing. After years of enforced non-recognition, Benson and NEP have discovered the American Negro. For \$175 (or a \$6.50 rental fee paid to NEP) anyone

*The "Dr." is honorary; he has received four honorary doctorates, the first from Harding in 1932 before he became the college's president.

can fall privy to the "shocking facts" in NEP's new film "Revolution Underway," which tells how international communism, after "30 years of preparatory work," is going to use "America's 22,000,000 Negro citizens" to destroy our system, our hopes, and our dreams. The 28-minute documentary "dramatically presents the dimensions and the nature of this expanding internal danger, out of the mouths of the messiahs of 'Black Power' and the self-styled 'Afro-American' Marxists speaking from Havana, Peking, Moscow, Prague, Watts, Washington, New York, and other citadels of power." Persons shopping for home movies will also want to consider Gov. Ronald Reagan's four-reel 16-mm. black and white narration of "The Truth About Communism" (\$225), or counterspy Herb Philbrick's (remember TV's melodramatic "I Led Three Lives"?) dated, if "fully documented," recounting of his days as a Boston commie, from which he emerged, he says, with one cardinal lesson which he now passes on to Mr. Average American: "Know your enemy" (three 13-minute films at \$75 each).

THOUSANDS of this country's brighter Farm and Bible Belt high school students are learning to know their enemies in NEP-operated Youth Forums, now annual events in 12 Southwestern and Midwest states. For four days, Benson and the NEP staff parade a slate of speakers liberally sprinkled with names of Eastern European derivation before several hundred callow innocent youths decked out in dresses made as 4-H Club projects or blue Future Farmer jackets and sponsored, more likely than not, by the local Farm Bureau chapter, Civitan Club, or chamber of commerce. The youth forums are one of NEP's brightest stories.

The format grew out of a 1953 request from Civitan Clubs in North Florida and Southern Alabama, who needed a week-long "sweepstakes" program for winners of their "American oratory" contests. It must have been a severe letdown for winners to learn that it was to Searcy, Ark., and not Miami Beach or Vegas that their talents had led them. But the idea caught on rapidly, and Harding soon summoned two of its "sister" Church of Christ schools to its assistance, Lubbock Christian College in Texas and Oklahoma Christian College at Oklahoma City, and now all three aid local groups throughout the country in staging rafter-rattling "hoedowns for freedom" for American teen-agers. Benson seldom appears any more, but Harding is usually represented.

Having turned the operational aspects of Harding over to a hand-picked successor, Clifton Ganus, a red-haired ex-Harding history student, Benson divides his time these twilight days between church politics and NEP. He has Glenn A. Green, the gaunt mustachioed scriptwriter of "Communism on the Map" back as his

The Atteberry Case

Searcy, Ark.

The academic climate at Harding College became more clouded than usual during 1969, when the Atteberry case arose. The central figure was Texas-educated Dr. James L. Atteberry, a soft-spoken teacher of English who for 16 years had been a member of the Harding faculty.

Atteberry was rather unceremoniously pressured into resigning, culminating a tenure here during which gossip regarding his gentle malaise about the quality of academic life at Harding fueled conversations at faculty teas. His friends often wondered what kept Atteberry at Harding, given his deep-seated doubts about the school and the fact that he could teach nearly anywhere. He on occasion would explain that he had chosen to teach, and no school anywhere needed teachers any more than Harding. Given the school's hopelessly rigid philosophies, he believed, someone had to challenge the rote minds of these sheltered innocents off the unlearned, back-route farms and barber-poled Main Streets of the South. Otherwise, they'd opt for the hard-grained prejudices of their parents, falling short of their humanitarian potentials.

For years he stood accused as the college's only faculty liberal. But partly because of his accommodating nature and his popularity with the students, Atteberry had become a Harding

fixture. But, for some reason, that changed.

Atteberry was called before the Harding board last spring and held to account for a speech he had made the previous fall, in which he had said that since man is finite and could never know anything absolutely, the proper attitude of the true scholar is one of intellectual humility. This wouldn't do for the board, most of whose members believe that any God-fearing man who has literacy, two seeing eyes, and a copy of the King James version of the Scriptures could in short order know, and KNOW that he knew, absolute truth.

The board members also questioned Atteberry about his views on social drinking and instrumental music in the worship service. But these were merely mop-up sorties.

While explaining his views of what the institution ought to be, Atteberry called Harding a "liberal arts" college.

"It is not," snapped board chairman W. L. (Jack) Howard, the mayor of Monroe, La., "it is a conservative college."

Atteberry considered making a stand against the trend towards periodic purges at Harding but decided finally to resign, for his family's sake, for his health's sake, but also for the school's, for which, its politics aside, he had some genuine affection. He now teaches at Pepperdine College in California.

executive vice president, employs a retired naval commander as associate director, and depends on a long-time Harding faculty member, Dr. James D. Bales, to do the laborious research for NEP's films, pamphlets, books, and lectures.

Between the members of this small staff, operating on a budget that the fact-finding Group Research, Inc., says has ranged as high as \$300,000 a year, NEP manages, among other projects, to oversee a \$2 million film library; prepare the monthly "National Program Letter," which goes to 40,000 subscribers and NEP donors of \$5 or more per year; dispatch Benson's weekly "Looking Ahead" column to 2,250 American weekly, daily, trade, and fraternal publications; write and deliver a freshet of speeches; plan at least one major annual project so NEP can preserve its Freedom Foundation medal awards string; and operate the immensely successful Freedom Forums (although for \$400 anyone can purchase an NEP "Do It Yourself" kit and stage his own forum).

THE MOST heartening factor in the Harding picture is its students. They

come with a strike against them — having been raised by small-town, rural, militantly fundamental parents. Taught fear in the name of faith from the time they were Sunday School toddlers, they view the world through lenses of suspicion, a natural outgrowth of their peculiar religious belief that members of their faith — and them only in all Christendom — comprise "the redeemed." The reason they are at Harding to begin with is because their parents view the sheltered campus as an innocuous, sin-free conduit to a "respectable" adulthood.

For many students, the experience turns out to be just that. But for others the machinations of the furtive deans and administrators that often inhabit church schools goad them to resistance, along with the added stimulus of the college's Simple Simon politics. To express themselves, they sometimes have to resort to devious and diverse ways. "Harding is a pretty tricky place," says a student editor who, in his shortened term of office, chided Harding's Freedom Forum speakers for their

constant snide remarks about Senator Fulbright and intended to give his unsolicited opinion of NEP but got sacked when the word got out.

For others, the route to protest is prankish. Just prior to the opening of one annual Freedom Forum, enterprising student rebels pilfered a supply of red-dye tracing tablets from the chemistry labs and tossed them in the 30-foot, oval-shaped lily pond in front of the administration building. Arriving Freedom Forum participants were greeted by a gaudy, splashing fountain of the forbidden red. Some of the business executives were amused; others wondered if Harding was what it was cracked up to be.

On another occasion, thoroughly acquainted with Harding's sexual hang-ups, a puckish Harding social club borrowed a statue of Venus de Milo and used it, in all its *au naturel* splendor, as a backdrop for its annual banquet photographs. Predictably, a mortified dorm mother draped the lady in a sheet the instant the photographer was done.

Harding students have a favorite song — "The Party Makes the World Go Round" — and an irreverent yell.

"Here comes the American Eagle," an interlocutor will shout.

"Boo!" the group replies.

"He's got a left-wing!"

"Yea!" is the response, and on and on it goes, the calculated nonsense of inventive young minds who know the ridiculous when they see it.

Harding's students can't date in a car without permission. They have continually attacked this rule as an absurd hardship (even, according to a former student leader, as they have ignored it). "What are engaged couples supposed to do in the winter when there is no place to make personal plans?" a panelist asked Harding's dean of students last year. The dean's answer has to be a Victorian classic. "I sympathize with them," he said. "The winter is hard on everybody."

Some of Harding's rigid rules have implications beyond their mere inconvenience. White students who date one of the three dozen or so blacks on campus are aware — and were publicly reassured last spring by President Ganus — that their parents will be promptly notified.

HARDING College is not 1970 in the twentieth century, so it is best explained in terms of a pristine past. Its politics are a superficial block-letter blend of Hamiltonian democracy, uncut 19th-century capitalism, and a frontier

theology that acknowledges no flaws and tolerates a few diversions in the interest of justice or equality. In like manner, Harding's educational philosophy and views of student life display the same essential father's distrust in the judgment of the son and insist, dehumanizingly, in substituting indoctrination for instruction.

But despite its fixation on antecedents, Harding finds itself increasingly besieged by modern youth, technology, and communications, and shows a few signs of mellowing — the surprisingly strong faculty support for beleaguered Dr. James Atteberry (see box); a slow, long-overdue overhaul of its student regulations; an almost imperceptible (and perhaps imagined) reduction in the stridency of its crusades.

Dr. Benson, the shrewd, indefatigable promoter who made Harding what it is, has passed retirement age, and no one equally talented has emerged to replace him. One wonders, too, if today's ever younger corporation executives, looking for public service outlets, are going to be as naively infatuated with Harding's one-verse, one-sermon anti-communist solutions for the ills of man and country as were their counterparts of the last decade. These are only questions. At the moment, America's leading right-wing propaganda center, from all appearances, is alive and well in Searcy. □

Young Chicanos' Unrest Spreads to Lamesa

Lamesa

Lamesa is a windscraped cotton-dirty town that cowers close to the plowed earth as if it were trying to avoid being seen.

It was here that the evils so prevalent in the deep South have so openly bared their teeth. Since July 23, 1965, the local school board has submitted plans to the US Department of Health, Education and Welfare for the desegregation of the Lamesa schools. But none of these plans have been implemented.

Local *chicanos* have patiently been waiting for the fulfillment of the yearly promises made by the school superintendent, Alvin R. Cannady, and the school board. The *chicanos* are particularly discontented since they are the group most affected by the district's segregation practices. As just one instance, the V. Z. Rogers Elementary School attendance zone is ingeniously gerrymandered to take in 275 *chicanos*, 48 Negroes, and not one

Anglo. But there is not a single Mexican-American teacher at the Rogers school. There is only one brown teacher in the entire Lamesa system — this in a district that has 1,477 Mexican-American students.

It is for this and other reasons that Father Pat Hoffman sounded the cry for

Nephtali De Leon

social justice, and the people have flocked to the cause.

Last month a large group of *chicanos* from different state and national Mexican-American organizations as well as many local citizens, led by Father Hoffman, confronted the school board while more than 300 persons (mostly browns, but also a few blacks) restlessly awaited the outcome just outside the meeting place. The demand: total and immediate integration. Father Hoffman at one point stated, "We are tired of your promises; you have not done any of the things you said you would do. Why have you betrayed your words?"

"Hopefully we will get good answers

tonight," Father Hoffman said. "For we will be unrelenting until we have immediate integration. We are only asking what the law requires and the Constitution guarantees. The superintendent told me some seven weeks ago that something would be done about integrating the school after we made another complaint. Why hasn't this been done?"

"I don't mean to be attacking you now," Hoffman said to the board members, "maybe later ... but there is reason to doubt you."

At this, Bill Reed, president of the board, interrupted by saying, "This is being taped."

"Yes, I know," Hoffman replied, "I see the mike and the cord."

Hoffman continued: "We have only one Mexican-American teacher in the school system. We got an extra teacher when we pushed. When we put some more pressure we got a coffee break, and when we really pressed, we get parking tickets at church."

Hoffman was referring to an incident that happened on a Sunday during masses. After *chicanos* had begun to put pressure on the school board, they discovered one day that a great number of cars had been

Mr. De Leon, the editor of La Voz de los Llanos at Lubbock, reported in an earlier Observer about chicano student unrest at Abilene.

issued parking tickets. But the police officers had gone to the wrong priest's church; they had issued tickets to the cars belonging to parishioners of Father J. R. Viteck rather than of Father Hoffman. When the mistake was discovered, the officers issued tickets to cars parked around Hoffman's church.

On hand was Mark Smith, a Lubbock attorney who had been retained by the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund (*Obs.*, April 11) and who has represented insurgent *chicano* students at Abilene (*Obs.*, Dec. 5). Smith reminded the board that the law was very specific about segregation; what the board members were doing was, Smith asserted, patently unlawful. The board was being urged to pass a resolution decreeing an immediate end to segregation. This they refused to do.

Smith told the board, "I know that the school board is composed of an unpaid and thankless job. Nonetheless you proposed that by a certain date you would end the patently segregated school system. And this was several years back.

"Your responsibility is to the children. And I know you want to do what is right. Yet you have 100% segregation of Mexican-American children in one school. This is *prima facie* evidence. It will be dealt with summarily in a US district court. The

courts have ordered Mississippi and Louisiana schools to integrate immediately. You have no choice," he said.

Smith told the board, none of whose members are Mexican-Americans, he would file a suit seeking immediate integration at the beginning of the spring semester. Superintendent Canady and several board members replied that attempts were being made to implement the most recent desegregation proposal.

"Let us examine the evidence," Smith replied. "You made a promise in 1967, one in 1968, and now you are making still other promises. None of them have been kept. Your record is not one of good faith. You have done nothing, sirs . . . No federal judge in the Fifth Circuit will deny to implement the law."

Smith suggested that a lawsuit might be avoided in the board would indicate its willingness to consider implementing total integration very soon. No such assurances were offered by the board members.

Among the proposals sent HEW by the Lamesa school board to comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act were: (1) all children would be proportionately integrated, (2) at least ten bilingual Mexican-American teachers would be hired, (3) a nine-month Head Start bilingual program would be established for the culturally and educationally deprived children, and (4) a

"middle complex" school would be built so that children could be more evenly distributed as to race among the district's buildings. The building is under construction but the thing that worries browns and blacks in Lamesa is that integration is not contingent on buildings but on the enlightenment of the hearts and minds of men. Adding to the worry is the fact that the new building is the only one of the proposals that has been carried out.

The Lamesa school board replies to all this that they have a letter from HEW, received in December, which, they say, acknowledges the board's progress and efforts to desegregation. The board had requested the letter in anticipation of the confrontation with local citizens, hoping to get a favorable letter in time for the board meeting. Due to a shortness of time, a tape recording of a letter from HEW was played to Superintendent Cannady over the telephone. The letter, represented by Lamesa officials as commending the school board's efforts towards desegregation, also specified that segregation should be ended here by this Jan. 10.

The Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund, always at the doorstep of the lawless, has begun proceedings for the filing of a federal suit against the Lamesa school board. □

Political Intelligence

- Texas' conservative Democrats, unwilling to let Sen. Ralph Yarborough win renomination by default, are counting on the old Connally-Shivers-Daniel machine and money to sell former Valley Cong. Lloyd Bentsen to the voters this spring. Bentsen announced he'll challenge Yarborough, then immediately began a busy swing of the state, the first step of what already is shaping up as a well-planned and well-financed campaign. A recent strategy meeting was attended by Connally and Shivers.

- Whoever wins the Bentsen-Yarborough race will face the certainty of a sizeable bloc of Democratic primary voters going over to Cong. George Bush in the fall.

- Bentsen has already keyed his campaign against Yarborough to three primary issues — first, charging that Yarborough is an ineffective senator; second, asserting that the senator has been dishonest in his stands as to Vietnam and should give President Nixon support in the war and time to implement his policy; and third, that Yarborough persists in exacerbating the intraparty feud that long has characterized the Texas Democratic Party.

Endorsements

- Bentsen already is assured of support from several of the state's major dailies. *Houston Chronicle* publisher Everett Collier worked hard to get Bentsen into the race against Yarborough. And Collier pulled *Chronicle* Capitol reporter Reid Beveridge out of Austin for a time last week to accompany Bentsen on a tour of the state following Bentsen's entry into the campaign. Doubtless, then, the *Chronicle* will endorse the Bentsen candidacy in the Democratic primary.

- The *Dallas News* is expected to endorse the Bentsen candidacy, too. The *News* was running hopeful speculative pieces about Bentsen's possible challenge of Yarborough before Bentsen decided to jump in.

- But the *Chronicle* and the *News* won't be the first to give Bentsen an endorsement. That honor already belongs to the Wichita Falls daily, which came out editorially in his corner on the day Bentsen visited there last week.

- Clyde Walter, the Amarillo paper's Capitol correspondent, has taken a five-month leave of absence to work for Bentsen.

- Bentsen's campaign will be handled by the Rives Dyke Company at Houston. That's the same firm that conducted Sen. John Tower's 1966 reelection campaign and Houston Mayor Louie Welch's 1969 victory.

Bush Jumps In

- The winner of the Yarborough-Bentsen clash will face Houston Republican Cong. George Bush in the general election. Bush with some evident reluctance will give up his promising House career at the urging of President Nixon and Sen. John Tower to seek to become Yarborough's replacement.

- An important question facing Texas Republicans these days is whether they'll be able to finance two major statewide campaigns, Bush's as well as a try for the governorship. In Texas the GOP maintains this can be managed. But in Washington some Republicans say only one major campaign can be adequately financed, and that will be Bush's.

This doubtless is the key consideration

in Paul Eggers' deciding whether to challenge Gov. Preston Smith this fall.

- Unlike Bentsen who made specific criticisms of Yarborough's record in the Senate, Bush was more circumspect in his official campaign announcement. In the low-keyed statement, never mentioning Yarborough, he said the state "cannot meet the challenges of the 1970's with a rehash of the programs of the 1930's." He called for a "better balance in our federal system" through revenue sharing and block grants to the states, control of inflation, a "total change" in the welfare system with work incentives and new training methods and day care centers and job-matching by computers, and higher standards for congressional ethics.

- Marvin Collins, who last year managed the first successful Republican gubernatorial race in Virginia in 100 years, will guide the Bush campaign.

- Yarborough has expressed alarm at the extent of Republican voter registration to date, as compared to the Democrats' reported registrations.

- Among the possible contenders for Bush's congressional seat are Republicans Dudley C. Sharp, Jr., son of the former Harris County GOP chairman; state Rep. Bill Archer; attorney James Greenwood, III; and businessman Ross G. Baker. Searcy Bracewell, a former state senator who in recent years has been powerful in selecting conservative Democratic candidates in Houston, is rumored to be considering entering the Democratic primary for the 7th Congressional position.

- As the *Observer* went to press, the Republicans still did not have an official gubernatorial candidate. Paul Eggers, who made a creditable showing against Preston Smith two years ago, and whom the Republican establishment is seriously courting this year, had yet to announce his decision whether to try for the governor's mansion again.

Eggers probably fears that he would be playing second fiddle to George Bush as he did to Richard Nixon during the last campaign. Last time Eggers received only about half the funds the Republicans originally promised him, seriously crippling his efforts during the crucial final weeks. This year, in a pinch, GOP money would go to Bush before Eggers.

And the Republican Party may still be deciding whether it has the resources to wage two serious statewide campaigns at once.

THE TRUMPET—Digest of Independent Liberal Thought. 1 year (12 issues) — \$1. POB 232, Goleta, Calif. 93017.

The Johnson Group's New Foreign Ranches

The *Wall Street Journal* (Jan. 7) reports that there is some basis to rumors that Lyndon Johnson is investing heavily in foreign ranchland. A. W. Moursund, a Central Texas crony who managed LBJ's fortune while he was in the White House, has signed his name to land purchases and leases in both Costa Rica and Mexico. *Journal* reporters could not substantiate rumors that Johnson interests have bought land in Australia's undeveloped Northern Territory.

Last summer, Moursund signed a five-year lease on Las Pampas, a ranch of 50,000 acres or more near Camargo in the northern state of Chihuahua, Mexico. Moursund is reported to have an option to buy the property within five years with the \$40,000 a year rent applying to the \$800,000 purchase price.

Moursund and three other Texans have bought the Hacienda Santa Maria, a 13,000-acre cattle ranch in Guanacaste Province, described by guidebooks as "the Texas of Costa Rica."

Inhabitants near both ranches believe Johnson is involved in the land deals, according to the *Journal*. A Camargo merchant said that last September he

attended an invitation-only open house at Las Pampas hosted by Lyndon and Lady Bird. Johnson and Moursund will not talk with reporters about the purchases but a Johnson aide said reports linking the former president to the purchases are false.

Neither of the properties is considered prime ranchland, but each sports luxurious living quarters — encouraging speculation that the Johnsons will use the ranches as recreational hideaways.

The reporters found no evidence of land purchases by Johnson or friends in Australia, but they discovered that Johnson's former ambassador to Australia, Edward Clark, and Walter Jenkins, one of Johnson's former aides, looked at ranch property there. Clark, an Austin lawyer and banker, is a director of the Tipperary Land & Exploration Corp., a Midland firm that has a variety of interests in Australia, including 4.3 million acres of farming and livestock land, a shrimping business, and sizeable deposits of bauxite that are being explored for alumina production. Clark says the former president has no interest in Tipperary.

- A sign that Gov. Preston Smith plans to run for reelection is the scheduling last week of press conferences during routine appearances in Dallas and Waco. Normally the governor does not make a point of making himself available to the press on such stopovers.

Trice's Candidacy

- Other possible GOP candidates are John Trice, Dallas Cong. Jim Collins, rancher B. K. Johnson, and Jack Cox of Austin.

- Texas Republicans' perennial unwanted candidate, Trice, surfaced in Austin again early in the new year to say he is thinking of running again. At first he told reporters in a hurriedly called news conference that "it appears likely that I will be a candidate for the Republican gubernatorial nomination;" then he said he would be back to Austin soon at which time "I will announce my candidacy."

Trice's press conference came as a surprise not only to the Capitol press corps but to the Texas Republican headquarters in Austin. No one there knew of it until one reporter telephoned to ask if the would-be candidate had the blessings of the party hierarchy. An observer from GOP headquarters scurried to the Capitol for the event.

- Texas GOP Chairman William M. Steger of Tyler was told of Trice's intentions but not when the

announcement would come, and Sen. John G. Tower, R-Texas, was unavailable for discussions with Trice.

Trice's announcement was typed on official stationery of the state GOP, but sources at headquarters could not say where he got it. They did say, however, that it was not prepared at the headquarters.

- The ultra-conservative Trice, now a Dallas lawyer, lost his 1968 bid for the GOP gubernatorial nomination to Paul Eggers of Wichita Falls, who, in turn, was defeated by Democrat Preston Smith. Trice places second in that three-man race, well ahead of Wallace Sisk of Houston but well behind Eggers. He was an outspoken supporter of Gov. Ronald Reagan of California against Richard M. Nixon for the GOP presidential nomination.

- Eggers, a moderate, had the party's blessings from the outset when he was recruited to run for the nomination, although the party later short-changed him in its original financial pledges when the Nixon campaign syphoned off virtually all of the conservative and oil money in Texas that didn't go to Smith.

- Among the few who did know of Trice's intentions to run again was Eggers. Trice telephoned him in Washington, where Eggers is general counsel for the Treasury Department, to announce his plans and to ask Eggers'

endorsement. All he got were Eggers' well wishes and word that Eggers has not given up the idea of making the 1970 gubernatorial race himself. Trice intends to run regardless of what Eggers does.

Legislative Races

- Sen. Criss Cole's governor-for-a-day ceremony was topped off by the announcement of his appointment as judge of a new Harris County juvenile court. Cole indicated he will accept the \$28,000-a-year job which begins Jan. 15, 1971.

Issuing a complaint that is increasingly heard from retiring legislators of modest income, Cole said it had been a "struggle" to stay in the Legislature at the "insignificant" salary of \$4,800 a year.

- Mrs. Frances Farenthold, a Corpus Christi liberal who was one of the leaders in the investigation of Land Commissioner Jerry Sadler's handling of sunken Spanish treasure, has announced she will run again. She is the state's only woman representative.

- Rep. George T. Hinson of Mineola, the influential chairman of the House education committee has announced he will try for his twentieth year in the state house.

- Dallas' Tory Democratic organization, the Committee for Responsible Government, has anointed eleven incumbent and four newcomers for the city's fifteen state legislative seats. The committee passed over two incumbents in their endorsement, Reps. Joe Ratcliff and Dick Reed, for insufficient conservative zeal. Two other incumbents, Jim Clark and John Wright, have announced they will not seek another term.

Newcomers approved by the DCRG are Sam Coats, an attorney; W. B. (Bernie) Landress, a retired First National Bank vice president; Guy Lewis, a Democratic precinct chairman and a real estate operator; and Bob Lynch, a resident of Irving.

- Hondo Rep. John Poerner's political affiliation may not be an earth shaking issue, but it has been the subject of amused speculation in the Capitol corridors since he was elected as an independent in February, 1969. This month he announced he will run for reelection as a Democrat. "Many Republicans supported me both before and after I took office, and they remain my friends," Poerner said recently. "But before going to Austin, I didn't realize how much difference party affiliation meant in terms of working with my fellow representatives."

Bates Charged

- State Sen. Jim Bates of Edinburg has been charged with assault and battery in Hidalgo County in connection with an alleged pistol whipping incident in Pharr Dec. 20. A *chicano* truck driver

accused Bates of forcing him to get out of his truck and then striking him in the head with a pistol. The senator told the *Edinburg Review* he hit the driver, but not with a gun, after the driver ran him off the road.

- Lee Jones of the Associated Press reports that 31 former legislators have taken state agency jobs to qualify for

Where's the Legion?

Fort Hood and Austin

Less than a week after the US Army charged Lt. William L. Calley with murder in the deaths of 109 civilians at My Lai, South Vietnam, an advertisement appeared in a newspaper not far from Fort Benning, Ga., where Calley is stationed.

The ad was a full-page statement in defense of Calley, and it was purchased by a sympathetic American Legion post in rural Georgia. Calley was, in so many words, praised for doing his duty, and the Legionnaires said he ought to be acquitted or the charges against him dropped. They had been in similar combat situations in earlier wars, the Legionnaires continued, and they could understand why the alleged My Lai massacre happened.

A second man now has been charged in that incident. He is Staff Sgt. David Mitchell, now assigned to Fort Hood. Mitchell, who served under Calley at My Lai, will be court martialed for assault with intent to murder in connection with the deaths of 30 civilians in the South Vietnamese village on March 16, 1968. The announcement came Dec. 31.

At a recent function at an American Legion post in Austin, there was brief discussion — but no action — on a resolution in support of Lieutenant Calley.

Sergeant Mitchell's court martial had not been announced then, but the charges against him were known. It has been almost two weeks since the Army said it plans to court martial the career soldier.

Calley is an officer and a white man. Mitchell is an enlisted man and is black. So far, no veterans group has expressed any support of Mitchell or spoken out with indignation in his behalf.

retirement benefits. Under the new law, former legislators who served as long as eight years can qualify for state retirement benefits by getting an agency job and paying \$288 into the retirement fund for each year they served. Benefits payable at the age of 60 are \$150 a month for those with eight years of service and \$20 a month for each year over eight.

Among those who have taken advantage of the new benefits are former Gov. Coke Stevenson and former House Speaker Homer Leonard, who lobbies for the Texas Brewers Institute. Leonard worked during parts of November and December for the new Texas Rehabilitation Commission, collating all federal laws, regulations, and guidelines in the rehabilitation field. He also wrote a guidebook for the commission. Stevenson is receiving \$848 a month as an assistant to the personnel and wage administrator of the Texas Highway Department. He is writing a history of legislation affecting the department during his tenure in the Legislature during the 1930s and 1940s.

- States need to find new ways to finance their educational systems, the executive committee of the Education Commission of the States agreed in Dallas recently. And Gov. Preston Smith had a novel idea for financing Texas' educational needs — another limited sales tax.

At UT Austin

- Nine University of Texas students and professors and the UT Young Democrats have filed suit in a state district court to stop Austin Dist. Atty. Bob Smith from proceeding with indictments against students involved in the Chuck Wagon incident (*Obs.*, Jan. 1) and from making any more charges arising from the confrontation. The suit alleges violations of the plaintiff's rights of free speech and assembly.

Attorneys for the plaintiffs are Warren Burnett of Odessa, Maury Maverick of San Antonio, and Cameron Cunningham, James Simons, Sam Houston Clinton, and David R. Richards, all of Austin. None are accepting fees for their legal assistance, but a defense committee is soliciting funds for court costs. Contributions can be sent to the Chuck Wagon Defense Fund, P.O. Box 8343, University Station, Austin, Texas 78712.

- UT Regents Chairman Frank C. Erwin, Jr., has been given a resounding vote of no confidence by UT-Austin students. Some 86% of the students voting in a campus referendum said that Erwin should quit. Approximately a fifth (7,325) of the student body voted in the non-binding referendum, a turnout officials called "moderate."

Last October the general faculty voted 242 to 197 in favor of asking the chairman to resign. The Student Assembly, the Young Democrats, and the Young Republicans have called for his ouster as well.

Erwin says he has no intention of resigning now, insisting that only a small percentage of students and faculty have expressed dissatisfaction with his strong-willed approach to governing the

university. "Perhaps it would be well for my critics among the faculty and students to accept the realities and get about the business for which they are supposed to be at the University," he was quoted as saying in the *Daily Texan*, which editorially has called for his resignation. Erwin said he was much more impressed with a resolution of confidence signed a few months ago by the executive heads of all 12 institutions in the UT system. He added that he has repeatedly said he will tender his resignation as chairman when three new regents are appointed in 1971.

• State Rep. Ralph Wayne, the Plainview conservative, printed up the "I Like Frank" bumperstickers which are now being seen on some cars in Austin. They are the antithesis of the presently numerous "Axe Erwin" stickers seen in the capital.

Miscellany

• Paul B. Haring, a former state legislator with independent inclinations, will challenge Cong. Bob Casey for the right to represent Houston's District 22.

• The liberal Americans for Democratic Action has released its analysis of voting in the 1969 Congress. Sen. Ralph Yarborough scored 78%, Sen. John Tower 0% according to the ADA view of 18 important votes last year.

Nine of the 23 Texans in the US House had 0 ratings according to ADA: Burleson, Cabell, Fisher, Mahon, Poage, Purcell, Teague, Collins, and Price. Four others voted right by ADA standards just once in 15 times — Casey, Dowdy, Roberts, and Bush. High among the House Texans: Eckhardt, 87. Other Texas House members' ratings: Brooks 33, De La Garza 40, Gonzalez 67, Kazen 33, Patman 33, Pickle 20, White 33, Wright 33, and Young 20.

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Theodore Roszak	\$ 7.95	\$6.36	Larry McMurtry	\$ 7.50	\$6.00
THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT 1968			... AND OTHER DIRTY STORIES		
Theodore H. White	\$10.00	\$8.00	Larry L. King	\$ 5.50	\$4.40
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Joe McGinnis	\$ 5.95	\$4.76	Edwin Shrake	\$ 4.50	\$3.60
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Kevin P. Phillips	\$ 7.95	\$6.36	Bradford Daniel (ed.) . . .	\$ 8.50	\$6.80
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Joe Goulden	\$ 6.95	\$5.56	Elroy Bode	\$ 5.00	\$4.00
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A Misunderstanding in Duval County

Austin and Premont

The arrest of Duval County political czar George Parr on a charge of violating state hunting law has resulted in the firing of a deputy sheriff and the transfer of the game warden who were involved in making the arrest. And, three months later, the charge against Parr, headlighting for wild game at night, still is "pending" in Duval County.

On the night of Oct. 22 James Stinebaugh, a game warden came upon a car at Freer in which one or more persons were hunting with the aid of a handheld spotlight connected to the car battery. As Stinebaugh approached, the car drove off and a 20-mile chase ensued, from Freer to about five miles from San Diego.

Stinebaugh radioed for aid, and a deputy sheriff joined in the chase. Finally the Parr car was stopped. Stinebaugh arrested Parr, filed the hunting violation charge with the Duval County attorney, and confiscated a 7-mm rifle and the spotlight as evidence.

The next day the deputy was fired. Within the month Stinebaugh had been transferred to San Saba. Normally, according to an area weekly newspaper, the *Premont Press*, such charges are disposed of within 10 or 20 days. But the charge against Parr stands unpressed. Hunting laws in Duval County now are being enforced by a game warden who is based at San Antonio, more than 100 miles away.

J. R. Singleton, executive director of the

Parks and Wildlife Commission, says Stinebaugh was transferred from Freer to San Saba "because his services were needed at San Saba." Singleton maintains that state game laws will be enforced in Duval County.

Bob Parker, editor and publisher of the *Premont Press*, in his front-page column, likened the situation to olden days in which the king could do no wrong. "The divine right of one man to kill game animals when and where he pleases is no longer recognized," Parker went on. "Except in one place, Duval County . . . The warden in San Antonio was assigned responsibility for Duval County, rather than the warden based in Alice, 10 miles away, because [quoting Singleton] he is 'more familiar with the situation and the people in Duval County,' which apparently means that he can recognize members of the royalty and not make the mistake of arresting them . . . Singleton said he could see nothing out of the ordinary in the fact that the game warden, who had been in Freer for more than two years, was suddenly transferred less than a month after arresting the Duke. We suppose it is standard operating procedure for the commission to transfer game wardens who make the mistake of arresting royalty . . . Considering everything, however, we do suppose that game warden Stinebaugh was lucky just to be transferred. After all, he could have been beheaded for disrespect to the king." □

January 23, 1970

11

Draft Call Lottery for 1970

September 14, April 24,
December 30, February 14,
October 18 . . . a new litany,
Good for one year, for eight years' worth
of men.

"Good morning/It's Tuesday,
Dec. 2, 1969"

Says *The Houston Post*,
and then with consonance
"Greetings,/Sept. 14ers": hearty, cheery.
A slick photo, four-column,
taken from beneath it

Through distorting water,
blinding him in one eye,
Mashing his nose, cauliflowering an ear,
Making him leer as if the Rock
turned wrestler

Were Santa, is captioned "Selective Service
aid C. R. Fox drops capsules into bowl."

The capsules are depth charges,
vitamin pills,

Augurs of continuance, sureties
That this sad war or another will be with us
As long as we are. I don't think I give
Comfort or aid to any enemy

By saying I hate that every generation
Seems to need its carnage-outlet, and I fear
The generative speed-up, and this war.

If outside a Texas Department
of Public Safety
Helicopter sounds ready to chop off
my head

It's because I imagine that
sound often mistaken

Not as savior but as one with planes,
platoons,

Bombs, machine guns, by still live civilians
Over there who never have heard of the
intersection

Of Cocoa and Chocolate,
shrine for secular pilgrims,

And have no inkling that
the fact that "after
a brief invocation, draft director Lewis

B. Hershey ordered 366 blue plastic
capsules poured into a large glass jar"
Will not help their chances

of not dying sooner
Than need be, and quite certainly
will not help

Young Americans who happened to be born
September 14, April 24,
December 30, February 14,
October 18 . . . a new elegy.

—THOMAS WHITBREAD

Houston

The writer is on the English faculty of
Rice University and has had some of his
other poetry published in the *Observer*,
among other publications.

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

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

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Texas' Plutocrats

The following television review appeared in the Guardian Weekly, published in Manchester, England.

Europe in its own time had vulgar rich men who would no doubt have made the Texas millionaires we saw last week look like aesthetes. But Europe in its heyday had no television. So the poor Texas millionaires are caught almost unawares in the act of creating the myth of their own decadence. No need to stand in museum-like surroundings wondering at the power that was behind Versailles or Victorian England; with television the viewer goes into the home of Mr. Dry Hole Byrd while it's happening, and sees and listens to Mrs. Dry Hole explain how the stuffed lion in the living room did not have a good enough mane, so a Dynel toupe had to be made for it.

"The Plutocrats," a BBC-1 documentary screened last week, concentrated on four of the richest of Texas' richest men: [D. Harold] Dry Hole Byrd, the oil man named because he drilled 56 wells before he finally struck oil and is now flying about in his 58th private plane; Haroldsen La Fayette Hunt, who started as a patent medicine salesman and now earns 75,000 pounds a day; Stanley Marcus, the floorwalking genius who owns Neiman-Marcus, where you can buy solid gold toothpicks and his 'n' her submarines; and Roy Mark Hofheinz, the electronic Barnum, who, when they told him Texas was too hot for a major league baseball team, built the Astrodome, the indoor airconditioned ball park.

What was really extraordinary about the programme was its appreciation of the style of the Texas rich. Hofheinz' style has been called by Bob Hope "Early King Farouk." But this seemed to reflect only one side of the man. He has, in fact, a wonderful way with the language. He said things like "we are not a face in the crowd," and "all the money I ever made was by hypothecatin' ma previous accumulations." Stanley Marcus is another million-

aire with a marvelous tongue for new world jargon: looking at some expensive item in his shop he said: "This is quite cute, but I don't think it meets the requirements of the incomparable."

Even though these are people who have made their own money, they already have the humorous eccentricity of old gold. Mrs. Dry Hole Byrd for example came out with scatty sentences like: "I happen to be a Presbyterian although I was trained as a secretary in New York." She is commissioning the largest religious painting in the world, a horrible chrome depicting Pentecost, costing a million, and when it is finished she will put a building around it.

The ultra-right-wing Haroldsen La Fayette Hunt is so frugal he drives his own car and takes his lunch to work in a brown paper bag. He sponsors all sorts of grim political activities, floods newspaper offices with daily letters about the communist threat, and runs a group of political zombies called "The League of Youth Freedom Speakers." But still there was something extraordinarily warm and human about this pathetic old patriot singing down-home songs around the piano in his living room. If one did not know that his house was an exact replica — only bigger — of George Washington's house at Mount Vernon, Haroldsen La Fayette Hunt would have been just folks.

This was the first of two films on the rich of America, and it follows a BBC-2 series on millionaires. As good a show as Dry Hole and the others were, one wonders if all these programmes about wealth are not perhaps fulfilling some dark and nasty psychological need for viewers in impecunious Britain. □

Energy

Burning
Turning
In the glaze of shadowed memories
Your
crystal
thought colors
blazing in the evening darkness.
Mosaic patterns
Breaking up your face
Into the trees.
Is it safe
To touch your body
Spread about the darkness?
—DON HYDE

Austin

MEETINGS

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A PUBLIC SERVICE MESSAGE FROM THE AMERICAN INCOME LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

Executive offices, Waco, Texas

This Month

Austin

We in Texas who believe the Vietnam war must be ended at once and the nation's careening militarism brought under control should be thinking about our congressman this January. How does he stand on this war? How did he vote on funds for ABM? This above all is the test that should be used, I believe, in finding and encouraging candidates to run against incumbent Texas congressmen. The filing deadline is February 1.

With that studied ostensible disinterestedness in which the big business-financed Texas Research League camouflages its gut punches, James McGrew, the new director of the league,

said on television last Saturday that the next Texas Legislature may increase the sales tax to five cents (counting the local penny).

After that, he said, the legislators may turn to a personal income tax. "There was a time," he said, "when I thought you couldn't pass any more income taxes. I have to revise my opinion because since that time, West Virginia, Michigan, Illinois, and Maine all have gone into the income tax field."

The major state legislative issue of 1970 and 1971 is already clear. Voters should demand this month and this spring that candidates for the legislature promise not to raise the sales tax another penny. The 1971 Legislature should be expected to refuse to do so. And then — as McGraw now tacitly concedes, although not explicitly — common considerations of social justice will require that new taxes come from a progressive state income tax. Prospects for its passage may be much enhanced by 1973, when redistricting should have broken the Legislature free of the rural conservatives' control.

National Medicare

Sen. Edward Kennedy has continued to use his career for excellent causes. Doggedly, he has weathered out the siege of justified doubts about him after the girl's death at the bridge. Now he has proposed a national health insurance plan to cover all Americans by 1975, beginning with children in 1971 and working up to

those now under medicare by 1975. He proposes to finance this program by progressive taxation rather than regressive payroll deductions. He is the first national politician since Harry Truman with the political courage to take up this great cause.

Crisis at UT

Not since Jim Ferguson has one man plunged the University of Texas into such a mess as Frank Erwin, chairman of the board of regents, has now. His appointment was a political payoff from John Connally. He debased the business of the university from the first, so openly defending the giving of certain contracts to Connally's political allies, the regent from Lufkin, Sen. John Redditt, resigned in public disgust. As Chancellor Harry Ransom retired gradually from the scene, Erwin as regents' chairman steadily became more heavy-handed. He reacted against dissent on the war like a bullmoose in the library. His public blurt turned the Caroline dispute into an academic scandal to the university's discredit. In a gross showing of contempt for university President Norman Hackerman, Erwin ordered bulldozers and police around on the campus in the notorious Waller Creek farce. The faculty voted, 242 to 197, that he should resign. Pooh! he said — look how few of them voted! The students then voted, 6,226 to 966, that he should resign. Pooh! he said — look how few of them voted! His arrogance is astonishing. He has no business running a university, and if more people over there don't stand up to him, it's not going to be a university any more, it's going to be a third-rate place for cowed and third-rate people.

The Tyler Telegram

The Tyler Telegram violated accepted journalistic standards concerning the Vietnam Day Oct. 15 moratorium by announcing, in the edition the morning after, that "we are not reporting in this issue the basic news or message of the celebrants of the Vietnam war moratorium." A group of Tyler citizens, including Mr. and Mrs. Lou Glasser and

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Cty. Cmsr. Roy Stanley, wrote the American Society of Newspaper Editors, protesting and asking what could be done. They received a letter from Norman E. Isaacs, president of ASNE, saying that personally he found "this kind of action almost incomprehensible and certainly not representative of the overwhelming number of daily American newspapers." He told the Tyler group that the society is considering a grievance process under which a complaint such as the Tyler group's could be reviewed formally, and their protest had been referred to the chairman of the committee on establishing this grievance process. So the *Tyler Telegram* has become an example, among American newspapers, of why newspaper editors need a process to evaluate legitimate grievances of newspaper readers.

The Barnes Watch

Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes is one of those slick politicians who tries to convince voters from left to right that he's for all of them. This traditional but noxious kind of politics requires that a watch be kept on Barnes, even or perhaps especially this year when he is on the sidelines of Texas politics.

First, a report from the graveyard shift. In December Barnes went to Meridian, Miss., to talk to the chamber of commerce there. In the *Meridian Star* of Dec. 4, 1969, that paper's columnist, John Perkins, who had talked with Barnes at the airport, said he "may one day turn out to be the political messiah to lead the strife-torn left and leftist-drifting National Democratic Party out of the wilderness. . . .

"Barnes had some caustic words for the liberal wing of the national party and predicted the present course of 'reformers' such as Sen. Fred Harris, George McGovern, Edmund Muskie, and Edward Kennedy would lead to an election calamity . . . unless the Democrats regained their senses and veered back to a more moderate course. . . .

"[Barnes] said he had warned Hubert Humphrey in Fort Worth just prior to coming to Meridian that unless moderate leadership was forthcoming soon, the Democratic Party was charging pell-mell into an election 'crash' in 1972. . . .

"Barnes contends that it is political suicide for the Democratic Party to invest leadership in such Senate liberals and ultra-left 'reformers' as Harris, Eugene McCarthy, Kennedy, McGovern, and Muskie when 'they can't even carry their own states consistently in presidential elections for the party's nominees,'" the Mississippi columnist wrote.

This month in San Antonio, Barnes presented his Texas version of this message, by which he casts himself against the principal leaders of the National Democratic Party. James McCrory reported in the *Express* of Jan. 6:

"'There's a void,' Barnes complained. 'Sen. Muskie's not doing it, Humphrey has no forum, Kennedy has personal problems, and Fred Harris [senator and national Democratic chairman] is allowing the McGoverns and the people who want to divide Texas and the moderates of the South and Southwest to become too vocal and obtain too much of a voice.'"

So Harris, says Barnes, is letting McGovern become "too vocal." And how does Barnes propose that Harris keep McGovern from speaking? Humphrey, Barnes admits, "has no forum," while the people Barnes puts down have obtained "too much of a voice." Could it be Barnes who's in the void?

His unity-harmony line is the same Shivers-Daniel-Johnson-Connally cant that has debased Texas politics for two decades. The game is to accuse the liberals of dividing the party while *you* are dividing it to keep them from "obtaining too much of a voice." As long as big money runs Texas politics, opportunistic Texas politicians will play this game.

Oil Slick in the Bay

At last, and late, the Texas Water Quality Board has planned public hearings in Beaumont, Corpus Christi, Houston, and Brownsville on the spillage of oil, chemicals, and other dangerous substances into or adjacent to Texas waters. Evidently it took an oil slick reported in northeast Trinity Bay near Baytown, which was serious enough to cause the governor to send a four-man inspection team, to get the water bureaucrats moving. R.D.

January 23, 1970

15

Give Us A Voice

The prosecution of the "Chuckwagon Gang" is an attempt to silence political dissent at U.T. The attempt need not succeed. The defendants are willing to speak any time and any place. They need you to listen and understand. If they can be sent to prison for two to 20 years merely for speaking their minds then no one is safe. Invite one of the "Gang" to speak at your Church, political, or discussion group. (They're a riot.)

Write:

The Chuckwagon Defense
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A Death in the Family

Austin

As often the holidays do, Christmas 1969 brought a death in the family. We lost Bill Thomas.

I came to know Bill rather early on joining the *Observer* staff. He was a leader of Texas Liberal Democrats, a man who cared deeply about many of the same values I (and so many of the *Observer's* readers) cherish, and a person who was willing to give to these causes even when so giving seemed a dubious proposition.

Bill and I were becoming quite close at one point in recent time, when he was taking an active interest in Dan Gladden's campaign against Ben Barnes for lieutenant governor in 1968. Bill was giving much of his time to flying Don around the state in Bill's plane, doing what he could to give a noble cause a shove in the right direction. I admired Bill for that, more than I ever got around to telling him. I know Don Gladden greatly appreciated it, too.

Each of us who called Bill a friend doubtless has his own theory as to why Bill chose to leave us by his own hand. The reasons we conjure are spun, inevitably, of our own limited glimpses of Bill and his life. I expect that none of us can know the truth of such an event, of a friend, even a close friend, choosing, in an agonized, final moment, to resign. In the aftermath of such a deed, we, those of us left behind, can but reconstruct our understanding of the person who left us, and try as best we can to grope for fuller understanding.

It does Bill no good only to re-do mentally our relationship with him. Perhaps none of us, even by greater acts of love towards him than we permitted ourselves, could have reversed his final act. But, in his memory, in honor of the good times we shared with him, in groups or

singly, in acknowledgement of the best that was in him, we can determine whether we could have done better by him.

For myself, I have concluded that I did not break through the isolation of my own life and reach out to Bill, even when I knew he was in personal pain. I did not tell Bill I loved him, did not make it unmistakably plain to him that I loved him not for his money or his social position, but loved him for himself alone, for his deep caring for the things I consider essential, for his finally depleted love of good times, for his beleaguered hope for a better social order.

Whether you knew Bill Thomas or not, consider: are there people around you whom you love, value, cherish, and rely upon? And do they realize the extent of your regard? Each of us needs love, needs to be appreciated, needs to know he is cherished. Reach out.

Problems

It appears the *Observer* is having a bit of trouble lately getting to some of its readers who find themselves behind bars. One of them who is serving a stretch at Huntsville failed to receive the Dec. 5 issues; we have twice sent him copies of that issue in envelopes and don't yet know whether he has been permitted to have it. That's the issue with John Rechy's article, "A Death At Huntsville," the account of the death of a Huntsville prisoner under rather cloudy circumstances.

Then, one of the Chuck Wagon Gang (one of those arrested in connection with the disturbances at a cafeteria at the University of Texas at Austin) was denied seeing the *Observer* when a friend took a stack of magazines to him at the Travis County Courthouse. It seems our journal is on a list of banned literature, to be kept from guests of the county with such other scurrilous stuff as *Esquire*, *Ramparts*, and the *Rag*. We are advised that *Time* and the *Austin American-Statesman* are deemed acceptable by our county jailers.

Nervous Times

Running down rumors is a continual process in Austin. You continually hear some of the most intriguing stuff. We have earlier reported that evidently UT-Austin does not, as has been heard, intend to build a Berlin-type fence around the campus. Having set that report to rest, at least for a time, we were a bit startled when someone called to our attention the other day that the university has advertised for bids in the Austin daily for a "Campus Monitoring System." Designed by Brown and Root,

yet. Inquiry of UT officials elicited the explanation that the system has to do with power plant and chilling station operations, not electronic surveillance of the campus and its denizens.

One Week Late

We didn't plan it this way originally but we permitted a three-weeks interval between the last issue and this one. We were just coming out of the holidays when it was time for the regularly fortnightly publication schedule to be resumed. And Kaye Northcott and I just didn't feel we had much on our minds that week. So this issue comes to you a week "late." We're back on the two-weeks interval now.

Zapruder Update

I hope by next issue to announce what I propose to do as regards the Zapruder film of President Kennedy's assassination. G.O.

Dialogue

Against Whiskey

I think your "Whiskey Drank" [at the *Observer* office on Dec. 28] is bad. I feel strongly enough about it that I will ask you to discontinue my subscription. This, in my opinion, is no way to celebrate Christmas.

Drinking is one of our major problems, responsible for most of our automobile accidents and all of our alcoholics.

G. R. Bode, 2312 Hartford Rd., Austin, Tex. 78703.

Still Doesn't Know

It appears LBJ, after a long rest, still does not know Mr. Nixon won. Governor Romney was open and honest enough after only a few days to state he had been given a snow job by the military brass in Vietnam. It seems LBJ is unaware he was given a snow job while president.

Many of us hesitated to vote for Humphrey because he had been in bad company so long ... — not because of what HHH said in Timbuctoo or somewhere.

Sidney Craft, 4655 Travis, Dallas, Tex.

Bright But Left

I was charmed by the following sentence in the *Wall Street Journal* for Dec. 26 under its standing head, Minor Memos: "Assistant Attorney General Will Wilson tells a job applicant that the Justice Department now avoids hiring high-ranking law school graduates because 'those bright guys are all left-wingers' ..."

Calvin R. Starnes, Gladewater, Tex.