

The Texas Observer

The Welfare Crisis

Austin
A group of welfare mothers recently went to the State Capitol to protest impending payment cuts to families with dependent children. While waiting for an interview with the lieutenant governor,

they circled the rotunda singing hymns and waving placards calling for more state funds to feed and clothe their children.

A well-dressed white woman apparently on a sightseeing pilgrimage to the seat of her government, sidled over to a white

reporter, and said, "They wouldn't work if their lives depended on it."

"Oh, I think they would if they had the chance," the reporter answered.

"No," the elderly lady insisted with the superior sniff of the hiring class, "I know they won't. I've tried to get them to come out to clean my house, and they *won't*."

The exchange could not have been more of a cliché, but it did happen. And other middle class whites who accompanied the demonstrators said they heard similar comments from other affluent tourists in the Capitol that day.

ON THE national level, sociologists debate whether the poor can best be brought into the economic mainstream through education and training or income supplements. But while some federal experts are calling for a guaranteed income that will bring every destitute American into the middle class (thus transforming the nation's diamond-shaped income structure into a pyramidal one), the Texas public still questions whether public welfare is necessary at all; and the Legislature reacts to the political climate by providing less than subsistence payments to the needy.

When the welfare board made its most recent announcement that medical assistance and aid for families with dependent children (AFDC) would have to be cut, many persons asked the governor to call a special session to appropriate more funds. Smith expressed sympathy for the plight of the state's dependent children who were facing a cut from 75% of their estimated needs to 66%, but, significantly, he added, for the anti-welfare element, "at the same time, we must consider the interests of other citizens who are struggling to stay off public welfare rolls in rising inflation and for whom additional taxes might well be the burden that breaks their backs."



Welfare Children Dine During Demonstration at Capitol

—Austin American Statesman Photo

As news of the impending welfare cuts spread, Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes called for a special session. So did Atty. Gen. Crawford Martin and a number of legislators. The governor, however, was convinced that a session before the primary elections in May would turn into a circus, possibly injuring his chances for reelection. He averted the immediate crisis by doing a juggling act with state moneys, and pledged that there will be no reduction in payments to welfare recipients. Smith said he will take \$7.5 million from the appropriation for a new medical school in Lubbock, his hometown, and another \$6 million from the new University of Texas at Houston medical school. The school funds were budgeted for planning, and their temporary transfer will not adversely affect building schedules, Smith said. No Texas governor has ever attempted to shift such large appropriated sums from one account to another. Smith said he would confer with the attorney general to see if the transfers are legal. He also recommended some minor changes in welfare fund administration which he hopes will isolate another one or two million dollars for payments to the poor.

Smith pulled the \$13.5 million out of the hat after weeks of agonized speculation by welfare recipients, hospital administrators, and the press on how the state's poor might weather a significant cut in welfare funds. But the crisis is not over.

The \$13.5 million should allow the welfare department to maintain its present

scale of payments until September. Then, if welfare officials' figures are correct, an additional \$41.5 million will be needed for the 1971 fiscal year. The governor has not said where he will get these funds.

TO MAKE THE situation even more complicated, the state constitution sets \$80 million a year as the ceiling for the public assistance program. (This includes old age, blind, permanently and totally disabled, and AFDC payments.) The Legislature has appropriated \$75 million a year, leaving only \$5 million more to be spent. Welfare department officials believe they can stay within the constitutional limit this year by continuing to pay dependent children only 75% of their budgeted needs. (The other three categories of the needy are all budgeted at 100% of need.) But if the welfare rolls continue to increase at the present rate, department expenditures will reach the constitutional ceiling, and payment percentages will have to be lowered.

The state's voters approved a constitutional amendment increasing the welfare ceiling from \$60 to \$80 million last August. The Senate originally approved an amendment abolishing the ceiling on welfare funds, but the House amended the bill, insisting on an \$80 million cutoff point. The Senate accepted the House amendment with only two senators, Oscar Mauzy of Dallas and A. R. Schwartz of Galveston, voting against the compromise.

The constitutional limitation does not

apply to medical assistance funds; so expenditures in that field are limited only by the generosity of the governor and the Legislature and a constitutional provision that prohibits the state from deficit spending. During the last session, the Legislature cut the welfare department's requested budget by approximately \$50 million, despite the fact that department spokesmen explained repeatedly that the money would be needed for the increasing state bill for medical assistance. In July of 1969, the federal government reduced its matching formula for medical payments from 4-1 to 2-1, increasing the state's payments by \$25 million a year. Legislators knew the increase was coming; they simply did not appropriate funds for it.

THE PRESENT crisis came to public attention when the State Board of Public Welfare approved effective April 1, a \$55 million reduction in payments for medical assistance and aid to families with dependent children. Welfare officials explained that the burgeoning numbers of welfare rolls accounted for the cuts. Last August, there were 38,084 AFDC families and 169,860 recipients. "We had anticipated an increase of about 5,000 recipients per month for the first few months after September," Deputy Welfare Commissioner Herbert C. Wilson explained. "Instead of an increase of 5,000, the rolls have gone up an average of almost 10,000 per month. Since the state constitution prohibits overspending, it had nothing to do but cut."

Decisions by federal courts opening the welfare rolls to new recipients account for the expanding numbers. Courts recently have ordered the state to eliminate residency requirements for welfare applicants, to disregard income in families earned by children 14 years or under, and to pay benefits to mothers of dependent children even if there is an able-bodied man living in the house. Other suits are pending that would make even more persons eligible for welfare.

Because of insufficient funding, the state welfare board estimated it would have to cut medical assistance payments by 20%. The average monthly payment for persons in nursing homes is \$278 a month, and the 20% reduction would have lowered individual payments by some \$57 a month. Land D. Wall, president of the Texas Nursing Home Association, said the cut would put 95% of Texas's nursing homes out of business, denying care to 35,300 Medicaid recipients. The governor's action will hold back the impending payment cuts for only a few months.

The Welfare Rights Organization plans to dramatize the situation with a march on the Capitol, March 6-7. Welfare recipients may stage a one-night campout on the Capitol grounds.

THE TEXAS OBSERVER

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A Journal of Free Voices

64th YEAR—ESTABLISHED 1906

A Window to the South

Vol. LXII, No. 5

March 6, 1970

Incorporating the State Observer and the East Texas Democrat, which in turn incorporated the State Week and Austin Forum-Advocate.

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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The Observer is published by Texas Observer Publishing Co., biweekly from Austin, Texas. Entered as second-class matter April 26, 1937, at the Post Office at Austin, Texas, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Second class postage paid at Austin, Texas. Single copy, 25c. One year, \$7.00; two years, \$13.00; three years, \$18.00; plus, for Texas addresses, 4¼% sales tax. Foreign, except APO/FPO, 50c additional per year. Air-mail, bulk orders, and group rates on request.

Editorial and Business Offices: The Texas Observer, 504 West 24th St., Austin, Texas 78705. Telephone 477-0746. Editor's residence phone, 472-3631.

Change of Address: Please give old and new address and allow three weeks.

Form 3579 regarding undelivered copies: Send to Texas Observer, 504 W. 24th, Austin, Texas 78705.

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Members of the WRO want the state to fund all programs at 100%, and they want a more generous budget for household expenditures. The present budget at 100% provides only \$13 a month for utilities, no matter how many persons are living in one house. Each dependent child is entitled to \$25 a month for food, clothing, and incidentals. Families of one or two are allocated a maximum of \$33 a month for rent; 3-4 persons get a maximum of \$44 a month; and five or more get \$50 maximum.

At present, AFDC recipients are getting only 75% of their budgeted needs.

Meanwhile, a special committee appointed by Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes is meeting to study the welfare situation and recommend reforms to the Legislature. William P. Hobby, Jr., president and executive editor of *The Houston Post*, is chairman of the nine-member panel. Others on the committee are Sens. Barbara Jordan of Houston, Charles Wilson of Lufkin, and William T. Moore of Bryan; Rabbi David Jacobson, president of Temple Beth-El in San Antonio; Bert Holmes, associate editor of the *Dallas Times Herald*; Callan Graham of Austin, executive director of the Texas Catholic Conference; Mrs. Nancy Moody, an Austin attorney; and Dr. Joaquin

Gonzalez Cigarroa, a Laredo physician.

Barnes said the committee has two goals — “to assure every citizen of Texas an

adequate and decent living and to make sure the taxpayers' money is spent in the most efficient manner possible.” K.N.



—Austin American Statesman Photo

Mothers Picket Welfare Offices

Elections 1970

The Statewide Contests

Austin

The top statewide race this spring will be the reelection bid of Sen. Ralph Yarborough, who will face Houston insurance man Lloyd Bentsen, Jr.

There still was question as to whether Gov. Preston Smith would face a challenge in the Democratic primary. Johnnie Mae Hackworthe, the Brenham prophetess, didn't come up with her filing fee in time and won't be on the ballot, though she had announced for yet another gubernatorial try, as, she said, God had asked her to. State Sen. Ralph Hall, Rockwall, has been in Washington the last few days trying to get the U.S. Supreme Court to put him on the ballot opposite Smith. Hall was ruled by the State Supreme Court to be ineligible for the race since he was in the Senate when the governor's salary was increased. The state constitution prohibits legislators who participate in approving such a salary increase from running for the job the next time 'round.

David Brown is promising to make his challenge of Atty. Gen. Crawford Martin a hot one (see related story on page 9) of this issue). The Martin-Brown race could become even more bitter than the Yarborough-Bentsen face-off, if Brown comes through as promised with more charges of impropriety against the attorney general.

A statewide race that has been ignored so far is the challenge Taylor trucking executive Connie Lawson is making of Railroad Cmsr. Ben Ramsey. Lawson tells the *Observer* his basic aim in running is “to break up the multi-million-dollar black market in freight licensing permits” which the Railroad Commission conducts, or rather lets the big trucking firms conduct, Lawson asserts.

He explains that he bought a small, independent trucking firm three years ago and routinely applied for reinstatement by the Railroad Commission of the permit to operate in the state. Lawson says his request was refused because his service was ruled by the commission as not to be a matter of “public necessity or convenience,” as the law specifies. Lawson charges that two major trucking firms that were instrumental in blocking his permit thereupon offered him a permit, if he would align himself with them. The difference in cost to him, he says is \$10 for a state permit as opposed to each of the trucking firms' asking a 40% rakeoff of his gross receipts for doing him the service of providing him a state permit.

Ramsey has made no public statements on the charges Lawson is making. Indeed, the commissioner, as most Texans, may not have even heard of the charge. Lawson is working now to prepare material for

public release and hopes to make more widely known this phase of Railroad Commission operation.

Usually candidates who challenge incumbent railroad commissioners are critical of the board's oil operating policies. This is the first challenge in some time of another aspect of the commission's operations. G.O.

U.S. Sen. Ralph Yarborough (D), Lloyd Bentsen of Houston (D), George Bush (R) of Houston, and Robert Morris (R) of Plano.

Gov. Preston Smith (D), Paul Eggers (R) of Wichita Falls, and Roger Martin (R) of Gainesville.

Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes (D) and Byron Fullerton (R) of Austin.

Atty. Gen. Crawford Martin (D), David Brown (D) of Sherman, and Edward M. Yturri (R) of Corpus Christi.

Comptroller Robert S. Calvert (D) and S. L. Abbott (R) of El Paso.

Treasurer Jesse James (D) and Robert F. Koonecke (R) of Seguin.

Land Cmsr. Jerry Sadler (D), Bob Armstrong (D) of Austin, Fred Williams (D) of Houston, and Harry Trippet (R) of Waco.

Agriculture Cmsr. John C. White (D) and Daniel C. Heath (R) of McAllen.

Railroad Cmsr. Ben Ramsey (D) and Connie Lawson (D) of Taylor.

Supreme Court Associate Justice, Place 1, Jack Pope (D), unopposed.

Supreme Court Associate Justice, Place 2, Ruel C. Walker (D), unopposed.

Supreme Court Associate Justice, Place 3, Robert W. Hamilton (D) not seeking reelection. Matt Davis (D) of Texarkana, James G. Denton (D) of Lubbock, and Hawthorne Phillips (D) of

Austin.

Court of Criminal Appeals, Presiding Judge K. K. Woodley (D) not seeking reelection. John F. Onion (D) of San Antonio.

Court of Criminal Appeals, Judge Ernest W. Belcher (D) not seeking reelection. Truman Roberts (D) of Hamilton and Earl W. Smith (D) of San Angelo.

The Legislative Races

Austin

Whatever happens in this year's elections for the Texas Legislature, it appears certain that there won't be much alteration of the ideological ratio as between liberals and conservatives. If there is any significant shifting of the scales it likely will go against the liberals, particularly in the Senate.

There are 349 candidates (72 of them Republicans) for the 181 seats, of whom 66, one third, are unopposed. Three hundred and thirteen persons are running for the 150 House seats; 36 candidates, including nine present members of the House, have filed for the 15 Senate posts.

Bearing in mind the usual *caveats* about grouping legislators as to "liberal" or "conservative" camps (which nonetheless remains the most meaningful way of anticipating and interpreting what happens in the Legislature), the *Observer* has found that the House situation this spring is substantially this:

1969 House	Liberals	Conservatives
Opposed	20	48
Unopposed	19	41
Not running	8	14
TOTAL	47	103

Even though conservatives are opposed in more than twice as many races as liberals, most of them appear to be in little danger of defeat, or are opposed by persons of approximately the same conservative ideology, so far as can be determined. Where there are liberal vs. conservative races the incumbents, be they liberal or conservative, appear in most cases to be favored. Presuming that a similar percentage of liberal and conservative incumbents win, as is likely, the somewhat better than 2-1 advantage the conservatives held in the 1969 House probably will endure in 1971.

The situation appears the same in the Senate, the return of a house of approximately the same ideological makeup as last year. Liberal strength is better in the Senate, there being at least 12 usually reliable liberals out of 31 members, about 40% strength instead of the 30% mustered in the House. The Senate situation this spring:

1969 Senate	Liberals	Conservatives
Opposed	4	2
Unopposed	1	5
Not running	0	4
No election	7	8
Total	12	19

Thus the conservatives go into this year's elections with a 13-8 advantage, needing to

win just three of the 10 contested races to assure retention of their dominance in the Senate (a dominance that is fading, given the increased numbers of liberal members and the phenomenon of a lieutenant governor, Ben Barnes, who usually gives the liberals a fair hearing). The conservatives are likely to win at least five of the 10 contested races. If so, that would put the upper house at 18-13 next year, favoring the conservatives, essentially the same balance as in 1969.

Conservative victors in the ten contested races this year are expected thus: Lindley Beckworth of Longview over Republican John F. Warren of Tyler, to succeed the retiring Sen. Jack Strong of Longview; Donald K. Shipley of Houston over four challengers, to succeed the retiring Sen. Criss Cole; Sen. Wayne Connally of Floresville winning reelection over liberal Erasmo Andrade; Sen. Tom Creighton of Mineral Wells winning reelection over Walter E. Steimel of Fort Worth; and Republican Malouf Abraham of Canadian winning a five-way race to succeed the retiring Sen. Grady Hazlewood of Canyon.

The only liberals entered in these five races are James P. Wallace of Houston (who is running for Cole's old seat) and Andrade. Neither appears likely to win, so the conservatives surely will have victories in these five races.

Liberal victories in contested races will likely be Port Arthur Sen. D. Roy Harrington, successfully fighting off the challenge of Beaumont's conservative mayor, James D. McNicholas; Fort Worth Sen. Don Kennard holding off Reps. Joe Shannon, Jr., and Doyle Willis; Glenn Kothmann, probably winning a four-man race to succeed the late Sen. V. E. Berry of San Antonio; Dallas Sen. Oscar Mauzy's fighting off Rep. John Wright, Grand Prairie conservative; and San Antonio Sen. Joe Bernal's edging liberal Rep. David Evans.

Kennard and Bernal are in some trouble; Harrington and Mauzy have sizeable fights on their hands. So liberals are in more jeopardy in holding their own in the Senate than are conservatives. Should Mauzy or Harrington or Kennard lose they would be replaced by conservatives; whoever succeeds Berry probably will be a liberal. Should Bernal lose he would be replaced by a fellow liberal.

Two senators who are not up for reelection this year are seeking other offices; one is a conservative, the other is a liberal. Ralph Hall of Rockwall hopes to oppose Gov. Preston Smith in the

Democratic primary and Mike McKool of Dallas is challenging Cong. Earle Cabell.

Two senators — both of them liberals — appear in the most trouble to win reelection, Kennard and Bernal.

Kennard, a liberal-labor veteran, is in what some persons in Tarrant County regard as a three-man tossup against Representatives Shannon and Willis. Willis, who has served in the Legislature 14 years, six of those in the Senate, lost by fewer than 1,500 votes to Kennard a few years back and has a well-developed constituency among a section of the Tarrant County voters that Kennard relies on, labor people mostly. Willis was a strong segregationist in the Legislature during the 1950's, championing interposition, and can look to support among the George Wallace segment of Fort Worth's labor precincts.

Shannon has downtown business support and help from middle class conservatives. Thus, it appears Kennard, who appeals to a wide ideological spectrum in Tarrant County, will be losing votes to his left in some labor boxes and to his right among downtown interests.

BERNAL'S opponent, Representative Evans, served his first term in Austin last year. It is heard in San Antonio that \$50,000 was put up for a Bernal opponent (perhaps, it is further heard, by small loan company interests) and that Evans decided to accept the kitty to make the race. Bernal supporters note wryly that Bernal carried every bill in the Senate that Evans got out of the House (including several of a *pro forma*, symbolic nature that abolished outmoded, unlawful, racist provisions of the state constitution). Evans ran a well-organized campaign in 1968 to win his first House term. Bernal, on the other hand, suffers from a certain casualness in his organization, giving rise to fears among his supporters that the Evans challenge well may succeed.

Bernal is a particular target of Bexar County conservatives, who have heartily disapproved of his frequent stands in favor of the underdog — including some of the more militant of the underdogs, most notably the Mexican-American Youth Organization. One effect, happy for liberals, of the Bernal-Evans race, will be a heavy turnout of left-of-center voters in San Antonio, which will benefit Sen. Ralph Yarborough in his primary test with Lloyd Bentsen, Jr.

The plaintiffs' lawyers have become a factor in the challenge being waged against Sen. Tom Creighton, the Mineral Wells

conservative. At the instance of plaintiffs' lawyers and organized labor in Fort Worth, Walter E. Steimel, a Fort Worth lawyer with a good deal of plaintiff practice, was lined up for the race. Then as the filing deadline neared pressure was brought on Steimel to forget it; the lawyers had clearly changed their minds. Steimel by this time was determined to make the race anyway, and got in.

It is widely thought in Fort Worth and in the Creighton district (southern Tarrant County and eight other counties west and northwest of Fort Worth) that Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes was instrumental in the plaintiff attorneys' about-face. Barnes long has been close to and supported by these lawyers. For instance, in 1967 Barnes got two pieces of legislation the plaintiff lawyers favored passed in the House, when Barnes was speaker. Then, in 1969, Barnes, as lieutenant governor, interceded in behalf of the bill that stripped governmental units of immunity from prosecution for tort

claims, an act that will significantly enlarge the practice of plaintiffs' attorneys. (*Obs.*, May 9, 1969, p. 10.)

If Barnes did indeed intercede with the plaintiffs' lawyers in an attempt to get Steimel out of the race, or to cut off the attorneys' support of him, it is thought that Barnes would have pledged to moderate Creighton's voting record in the future as to bills dear to the lawyers' hearts.

Another reason Barnes might have interceded is that Creighton carried the groceries tax bill in the Senate, a measure which Barnes supported, at least tacitly (*Obs.*, Sept. 12).

FOUR MEN, three of them current House members, have filed for the seat of the late Sen. V. E. (Red) Berry, San Antonio. Rep. Glenn Kothmann, a liberal, and Rep. Lamoine Holland, a conservative, are expected to fight it out in a runoff in the Democratic primary in which the third

man is Don Hand. Berry's support went to Kothmann when it became clear the senator would not run again. Rep. Jim Nowlin, who compiled a moderately liberal voting record as a House Democrat last year, has switched parties and will challenge the Democratic primary winner for Berry's seat. It is thought that Nowlin figured to run third in the field as a Democrat; by switching parties he is assured of a berth in the finals, though of course other reasons may also have played a role in his party switch.

Erasmio Andrade, San Antonio, one of the leaders of the Valley farmworkers' march on Austin in 1966, is challenging Sen. Wayne Connally, Floresville. Andrade's chances of victory are slight indeed.

Lindley Beckworth, Longview, the former congressman, is favored to win the Senate seat being vacated by Jack Strong. He will be opposed in the fall by Republican John F. Warren, Tyler.

Veteran Sen. Grady Hazlewood, Canyon, who is retiring from Austin public life, will be succeeded by one of five candidates, most likely Republican Representative Abraham. Four Democrats seeking Hazlewood's seat include Jack Hazlewood (a cousin), State Rep. Walter L. Knapp, Jr., Mrs. Nancy Moyer (the wife of State Rep. Hudson Moyer), and Max R. Sherman, all of Amarillo.

Conservative Democrat Donald K. Shipley, a former House member, is the favorite to succeed the retiring Sen. Criss Cole of Houston. Shipley will be opposed by James P. Wallace, a liberal attorney, and George Polk, who is to the right of Shipley. Two Republicans, Abraham Farrior and Howard Moon, will meet the Democratic winner next fall but the Democratic nominee likely will win the seat.

Unopposed for reelection are conservative Sens. J. P. Word of Meridian, David Ratliff of Stamford, H. J. (Doc) Blanchard of Lubbock, Murray Watson of Waco, and Jack Hightower of Vernon, and liberal Chet Brooks of Pasadena.

Not facing reelection this year are the conservatives Hall, A. M. Aikin Jr. of Paris, Joe Christie of El Paso, Henry C. Grover of Houston, Ike Harris of Dallas, Charles Herring of Austin, William T. Moore of Bryan, W. E. Snelson of Midland, and the liberals McKool, Jim Bates of Edinburg, Ronald Bridges of Corpus Christi, Barbara Jordan of Houston, William N. Patman of Ganado, A. R. Schwartz of Galveston, and Charles Wilson of Lufkin.

IN THE HOUSE races, perhaps the most interesting is veteran conservative Rep. Ben Atwell's being challenged by liberal Dave Moss in Dallas. Moss is a leader of Senator Yarborough's forces there and was featured in *Life* magazine last fall during the Vietnam Moratorium. Atwell, the head of the House Taxation and Revenue Committee, and a blue ribbon

Congressional Races

Austin

Twelve of Texas' 23 members of the U.S. House of Representatives are unopposed for reelection this year.

Cong. George Bush's giving up his seat to run against U.S. Sen. Ralph Yarborough has spawned an eight-way race in Houston to succeed him in Congress.

Only two Texas congressmen appear to be in any sort of danger for reelection. They are conservatives Earle Cabell of Dallas and Richard C. White of El Paso.

Cabell will face State Sen. Mike McKool in the Democratic primary and, if he wins that, three Republicans in the fall. McKool has a good organization and should give Cabell a strong race. Among the Republicans is Frank Crowley, an attractive, intelligent Republican who formerly was a Dallas County commissioner.

White is facing Raymond Telles, a well-known *chicano* who has held ambassadorial posts in the federal government and was the first brown mayor of El Paso. Two Republicans will vie for the right to take on the White-Telles winner.

In Houston Cong. Bob Casey is expected to win reelection over two opponents, one of whom, Paul Haring, a liberal attorney, ran an interesting and colorful though unsuccessful race against Railroad Cmsr. Byron Tunnell in 1966. Haring was having trouble raising the \$4,250 filing fee but said he would make the deadline for paying it, earlier this week.

G.O.

1. Cong. Wright Patman (D) of Texarkana, Bill Russell (D) of Pittsburg, and Dr. James Hogan (R) of Atlanta.

2. Cong. John Dowdy (D), Athens, unopposed.

3. Cong. Jim Collins (R), Mrs. Dorothy Bach (D), and John Mead (D), all of Dallas.

4. Cong. Ray Roberts (D), McKinney, unopposed.

5. Cong. Earle Cabell (D), Mike McKool (D), Roy Erickson (R), Richard F. Tozer (R), all of Dallas, and Frank Crowley (R), Richardson.

6. Cong. Olin E. Teague (D), Bryan, unopposed.

7. Cong. George Bush (R), Houston, is running against Sen. Ralph Yarborough. W. Kendall Baker (D), Jim Brady (D), Jim Greenwood (D), Richard Smith (D), Judith Ann Wolfe (D), W. R. Archer (R), Ross Baker (R), and Dudley Sharp, Jr. (R), all of Houston.

8. Cong. Bob Eckhardt (D), Bobby A. Carley (D), and Alfonso Velez (R), all of Houston.

9. Cong. Jack Brooks (D) of Beaumont, Henry Pressler (R) of Beaumont, and William McAnich (R) of Friendswood.

10. Cong. J. J. Pickle (D), Austin, unopposed.

11. Cong. W. R. Poage (D), Waco, unopposed.

12. Cong. Jim Wright (D), Fort Worth, unopposed.

13. Cong. Graham Purcell (D) and Joe H. Staley, Jr. (R), both of Wichita Falls.

14. Cong. John Young (D), Corpus Christi, unopposed.

15. Cong. Kika de la Garza (D), Mission, and Ben A. Martinez (R), Kingsville.

16. Cong. Richard C. White (D), Raymond Telles (D), John Karr (R), and J. R. Provencio (R), all of El Paso.

17. Cong. Omar Bursleson (D), Anson, unopposed.

18. Cong. Bob Price (R), Pampa, unopposed.

19. Cong. George Mahon (D), Lubbock, unopposed.

20. Cong. Henry B. Gonzalez (D), San Antonio, unopposed.

21. Cong. O. C. Fisher (D) of San Angelo and Richard Gill (R) of San Antonio.

22. Cong. Bob Casey (D), Paul B. Haring (D), and Arthur Busch (R), both of Houston.

23. Cong. Abraham Kazen, Jr. (D), Laredo, unopposed.

member of "the team" that runs the House, hasn't had opposition in recent years. Moss is given some chance of making the race interesting but isn't likely to win. His campaign is centering on Atwell's advocacy last year of extending the sales tax to groceries. Moss also is plugging for single-member districts for legislators.

In other Dallas House races Republicans are mounting serious challenges and have filed candidates in 13 of the 15 elections, including such well-known entries locally, as John Lowrance, Fred Agnich, and Carr P. Collins, III. The GOP filed against all Dallas House members except Bill Braecklein and Atwell. The Democrats are running scared, as the Republicans have made it close in House races in Dallas recently. The presence of a Republican in the White House and Republican Cong. George Bush's challenge to succeed Senator Yarborough doubtless will insure a good turnout of Republican voters in Dallas this fall.

In Houston the status quo will prevail substantially — a few new faces but not much if any ideological shifting. Republicans are making a big push in Houston, too, making serious challenges in districts 22 (west Harris county) and 24

(southwest and south Harris county) to add to the three House members they already have from the county. Liberals, who hold sway in district 23 (the north and east parts of the county) are uncontested or expected to win reelection.

One possible change is in the race involving Rep. Cletus A. Davis, a conservative Democrat who has two Republican challengers, Tom Anders and Bill Blythe, in a district that is becoming increasingly Republican. Democrat Russell Cummings, a conservative, is expected to fend the challenge of two Republicans, A. S. Bowers and Roger Stracemer, in the same district. Cummings, although a Democrat, evidently is liked by the district's preponderant GOP voters.

In district 23 six liberal Democrats are unopposed in the primary, and only three of them have Republican opposition, which is largely token. So the likes of Rex Braun, Curtis Graves, and Lauro Cruz will be back in Austin next year.

In district 24 Robert Gammage of Deer Park is the liberal candidate to replace Rep. Arthur Vance of Pasadena, who is retiring from the Legislature. Also in the Democratic primary are Richard Dobby, Red Gorman, and Charles D. Marshall, all

Houston Democrats, and Pasadena Republican Roger Brandt.

Rep. Jamie Bray of Pasadena is running for county commissioner this year. His place in the House is being sought by Democrats Johnny Nelms of Pasadena and Wayne Prospero of Houston and Republican Glynn Ferguson of Houston. Prospero appears in line for liberal support, though Nelms will contend for this in view of his ties with labor.

IN SAN ANTONIO the most interesting race is liberal Troy Ellison's challenge of conservative Rep. Guy Floyd. Ellison, a liberal activist, was the leader in San Antonio of the shortlived Robert F. Kennedy presidential drive and has given much time to the peace movement in that city. It is heard in San Antonio that there was some big money available to a Floyd opponent but Ellison says he hasn't seen any of it yet. The Moody Foundation people, who were involved in a hassle in the Legislature last year pertaining to the use of foundation funds, were said to be interested in defeating Floyd, who cast an important vote in committee contrary to the wishes of the foundation leaders. And Lieutenant Governor Barnes is known not to be an admirer of the Floyd House career. Still, Ellison is quite short of money and is surely a longshot bet at this point.

Rep. Jake Johnson, who has won fame of sorts for his jousts with Land Cmsr. Jerry Sadler, has two proteges in House races. His top assistant, John Cutright, is in a five-way race to succeed Representative Nowlin. Cutright can count on liberal and some labor support. Two blacks are in the race, Joseph A. Scott and Ed Holmes. Holmes is considered the more liberal of the two but Scott got into the race first and locked up most of the important black leadership support, such as that of G. J. Sutton. Also in the race are Lou Kost, Jr. and William M. Porter.

The other "Johnson candidate" is John Hays, who is challenging conservative Rep. A. J. (Tony) Dramberger.

Frank L. Madla, a *chicano*, is expected to get most of the liberal support in the race to succeed Representative Holland. Others filed are Tom Lee, a Chinese-American with a liberal following; Paul Silber, the brother of Dean John Silber of the University of Texas at Austin; and Republican Jim C. Segrest, who has run for the Legislature before.

Seeking to succeed Representative Evans are Fernando Pinon, who probably will get most of the liberal-labor support; Wayland Simmons, who figures as the leading conservative candidate in the race; Eugene West, who is not expected to run very strong; and a black Republican, Oscar Eason, Sr., whose switch to the GOP was something of a local surprise.

After Representative Kothmann's seat are Joe Chapa, the likely recipient of liberal support; and Nelson Wolff, who is more conservative and evidently has some

Jefferson County Race May Divide Labor Vote

Beaumont

Some Jefferson County labor leaders, feeling that County Democratic Chairman George Cowart has aligned himself too closely with student and black activists, are trying to oust him from office.

Dr. G. M. Brassard, a Beaumont chiropractor and former city councilman, is running against Cowart, and the race has caused a split in labor's ranks which has worried backers of Sen. Ralph Yarborough.

Although Yarborough carries Jefferson County by wide margins each election, some observers fear that a split in local party ranks could hurt his chances somewhat against Lloyd Bentsen.

Cowart, 69, is a former labor leader himself and has been close to the handful of student activists at Lamar Tech. He bailed a group out of jail after they were arrested for handing out antiwar literature at a black high school during the Moratorium last year.

Cong. Jack Brooks, who is also backing Brassard, is said to have a different reason for wanting Cowart out. Last year, Cowart and the entire pro-Yarborough County Democratic Executive Committee, were not invited to a Brooks Appreciation Dinner at which former President Johnson made a "surprise" appearance.

After the dinner, Hilton Crawford, an executive committeeman and supporter of Cowart, pushed through a resolution criticizing Brooks for shunning the committee. Brooks felt that Cowart was responsible for the resolution and went looking for another candidate. In reality, the resolution was Crawford's own idea, not Cowart's.

Still another reason some foes feel Cowart should go involves the heated race between pro-labor incumbent State Sen. D. Roy Harrington and Beaumont Mayor James McNicholas, a conservative.

Cowart's wife is McNicholas' secretary at his law office, and some felt that Cowart himself might go against Harrington. Harrington himself apparently feels the same for he too is said to be backing Brassard.

Actually, Cowart never had any intention of backing McNicholas. Now that Harrington has turned against him, Cowart may reconsider.

Cowart supporters are curious as to why Brassard was chosen. During his years on the city council, he made many enemies, and observers feel a more popular candidate could have been found. Unless, that is, those with a better chance felt Cowart was too entrenched to be beaten.

money to spend, if the numerous signs he has up across town are a true indication.

In Fort Worth five men are after Representative Willis' House seat. Bob Waco is expected to get most of the liberal and labor support. He received the endorsement of that city's labor council last week. The apparent favorite is Joe Spurlock, II, whose father is a district judge and whose mother served on the city council. Also in the race are Jack Zachary and R. L. Strickland, Democrats, and Republican J. Dan Connelly of Arlington.

David F. Farris is the liberals' favorite in a five-way race to succeed Rep. Jack McLaughlin, who is running for county commissioner. The leading conservative appears to be Harold Hammett. Republican Norman Darwin, a lawyer and a moderate who is interested in civil liberties, is also in the race.

Liberal Gibson D. Lewis of Fort Worth is taking on Rep. Bob Burnett, the Arlington conservative.

IN AUSTIN seven men will vie for Rep. Bob Armstrong's place. Armstrong is running against Commissioner Sadler. Reps. Harold Davis and Don Cavness, both Democrats, and Republican Maurice Angly are expected to win reelection despite opposition.

In Corpus Christi only Rep. Frances T. Farenthold drew opposition in the four-person local House delegation. She is expected to defeat James Rehfield in the primary and Clyde New in the fall.

The veteran El Paso legislator, Rep. John Blaine, the dean of the West Texas delegation, retired this time. Three candidates are in the race: William L. Timmons, who was going to campaign hard against Blaine's championing of extending the sales tax; Ray Ramos; and Charles Tuper, Jr.

Betty Dooley is running against Rep. Ace Pickens. Mrs. Dooley, a regent of Odessa College, was a leader in the effort to make that school the site of the new University of Texas of the Permian Basin (*Obs.*, June 6, 1969, pp. 6-7). G.O.

The State Senate

2. Sen. Jack Strong (D), Longview, is not seeking reelection. Lindley Beckworth (D) Longview, and John F. (Jack) Warren (R), Tyler.

4. Sen. D. Roy Harrington (D), Port Arthur, and James D. McNicholas (D), Beaumont.

6. Sen. Criss Cole (D), Houston, is not seeking reelection. George Polk (D), Donald K. Shipley (D), James P. Wallace (D), Abraham Farrior (R), and Howard Moon (R), all of Houston.

7. Sen. Chet Brooks (D), Pasadena, unopposed.

10. Sen. Don Kennard (D), Fort Worth, opposed by State Rep. Joe Shannon, Jr. (D), and State Rep. Doyle Willis (D), both of Fort Worth.

12. Sen. J. P. Word (D), Meridian, unopposed.

13. Sen. Murray Watson, Jr. (D), Mart, unopposed.

19. Sen. V. E. (Red) Berry (D), San Antonio, died last fall. Don Hand (D), State Rep. Lamoine Holland (D), State Rep. Glenn Kothmann (D), and State Rep. James Nowlin (R), all of San

Antonio.

21. Sen. Wayne Connally, Floresville (D) and Erasmo Andrade (D), San Antonio.

22. Sen. Tom Creighton (D), Mineral Wells, and Walter Steimel (D), Fort Worth.

23. Sen. Oscar Mauzy (D), Dallas, and State Rep. John Wright (D), Grand Prairie.

24. Sen. David Ratliff (D), Stamford, unopposed.

26. Sen. Joe Bernal (D) and State Rep. David Evans (D), both of San Antonio.

28. Sen. H. J. (Doc) Blanchard (D), Lubbock, unopposed.

30. Sen. Jack Hightower (D), Vernon, unopposed.

31. Sen. Grady Hazlewood (D), Canyon, is not seeking reelection. Jack Hazlewood (D), State Rep. Walter L. Knapp, Jr. (D), Mrs. Nancy Moyer (D), Max Sherman (D), all of Amarillo, and State Rep. Malouf Abraham (R), Canyon.

The terms of the 15 other senators do not expire until Jan. 1, 1973. They are Sens. A. M. Akin, Jr. of Paris, Jim Bates, of Edinburg, Ronald Bridges of Corpus Christi, Joe Christie of El Paso, Ralph Hall of Rockwall, Charles Herring of Austin, Barbara Jordan of Houston, Mike McKool of Dallas, William T. Moore of Bryan, William N. Patman of Ganado, A. R. Schwartz of Galveston, W. E. Snelson of Midland, and Charles Wilson of Lufkin, all Democrats. Also, Republicans Henry C. Grover of Houston and Ike Harris of Dallas.

The State House

1. Rep. Ed Howard (D), Texarkana, unopposed.

2. Rep. James L. Slider (D), Naples, and Jodie Harris (D), Hughes Springs.

3. Rep. C. L. Ray (D), Marshall, will run for associate justice, 6th Court of Civil Appeals. Ben Z. Grant (D), John B. Henderson, Jr. (D), and Sam R. Moseley (R), all of Marshall.

4. Rep. Steve Burgess (D) and John Muckleroy (D), both of Nacogdoches.

5. Rep. John Hannah (D) and Jim Waters (D), both of Lufkin.

6. Rep. Price Daniel (D), Liberty, and Edgar J. Groce (D), Cleveland.

7. Rep. Don Adams (D), Jasper, unopposed.

8. Rep. Clyde Haynes, Jr. (D), Vidor, unopposed.

9-1. Rep. Rufus Kilpatrick (D) and Norman C. Tolpe (R), both of Beaumont.

9-2. Rep. Jimmy Weldon running for justice of the peace. Art Angelo (D) of Nederland, Terry Doyle (D) of Pear Ridge, Jerry Hanks (D) of Nederland, Nicholas V. Lampson (D) of Beaumont, Mrs. Beverly Minaldi (D) of Nederland, W. T. Oliver (D) of Port Neches, and J. D. Evans (R) of Port Neches.

9-3. Rep. Carl Parker (D), Port Arthur, unopposed.

9-4. Rep. Will Smith (D), Beaumont, unopposed.

10. Rep. Neal Solomon (D), Mt. Vernon, unopposed.

11. Rep. George T. Hinson (D) and Dan Peacock (R), both of Mineola.

12. Rep. Bill Bass (D), Ben Wheeler, unopposed.

13. Rep. John Allen (D), Longview, unopposed.

14. Rep. Billy Williamson (D), John O. Brown (D), David Chambers (D), and Gary Bruner (R), all of Tyler.

15. Rep. Fred Head (D), Henderson, unopposed.

16. Rep. Rayford Price (D), Palestine, unopposed.

17. Rep. James L. Lovell (D) of Crockett, W. E. Hornbuckle (D) of Huntsville, Glyn Turner (D) of Huntsville, and B. B. (Pete) Brittain (R), Ratcliff.

18. Rep. Bill Presnal (D), Bryan, unopposed.

19. Rep. Neil Caldwell (D), Alvin, and Mrs. Sue Hairgrove (D), Lake Jackson.

20. Rep. Joe A. Hubenak (D), Rosenberg, unopposed.

21-1. Rep. Ed. J. Harris (D), Galveston, unopposed.

21-2. Rep. Dean Neugent (D), Dickinson, unopposed.

22-1. Rep. Jack Ogg (D) and Norman T. Reynolds (R), both of Houston.

22-2. Rep. W. E. (Will) Lee (R), Houston, has filed for the 22-6 race. Seeking the 22-2 position are Robert L. Shelton (D), Walter H. Mengden, Jr. (R), and Jim York (R), all of Houston.

22-3. Rep. Cletus A. Davis (D), Tom Anders (R), and W. J. (Bill) Blythe (R), all of Houston.

22-4. Rep. Russell Cummings (D), A. S. Bowers (R), and Roger Stracener (R), all of Houston.

22-5. Rep. Bill Archer (R), Houston, running for George Bush's vacated seat in Congress. Rep. Jim Earthman (R), presently the 22-6 incumbent, has filed for Archer's place, as has Robert A. Markowitz (D), both of Houston.

22-6. Houston Representative Earthman's position is being sought by Houston Representative Lee (R; presently 22-2) and Timothy (Tim) James (D), Houston.

22-7. Rep. Edmund E. Jones (R), Jack Deaver (D), W. C. (Maurice) Elsberry (D), and C. Logan Jobe (D), all of Houston.

23-1. Rep. R. C. (Nick) Nichols (D) and Paul Nesheim (R), both of Houston.

23-2. Rep. Lindon Williams (D), Houston, unopposed.

23-3. Rep. Joe Allen (D), Baytown, and Don Forse (R), Houston.

23-4. Rep. Rex Braun (D), Houston, unopposed.

23-5. Rep. Lauro Cruz (D), Houston, unopposed.

23-6. Rep. Curtis Graves (D), Houston, unopposed.

24-1. Rep. Tom Bass (D) and Frank Kokesh (R), both of Houston.

24-2. Rep. Ray Lemmon (D), Houston, unopposed.

24-3. Rep. Arthur Vance (D), Houston, not seeking reelection. Richard Dobbyn (D) of Houston, Robert A. Gammage (D) of Deer Park, Rod Gorman (D) of Houston, Charles D. Marshall (D) of Houston, and Roger Brandt (R) of Pasadena.

24-4. Rep. Jim Clark (D) and Jim Bowie (R), both of Houston.

24-5. Rep. Bill T. Swanson (D) and W. W. (Pepper) Crowder (R), both of Houston.

24-6. Rep. Jamie Bray (D), Houston, running for county commissioner. Johnny Nelms (D) of Pasadena, Wayne Prosperi (D) of Houston, and Glynn Ferguson (R) of Houston.

25. Rep. James Cole (D) of Greenville, E. Paul Banner (D) of Greenville, and Alan H. Perry (R) of Wolfe City.

26. Rep. Jack R. Hawkins (D), Groesbeck, unopposed.

27. Rep. Dan Kubiak (D), Rockdale, unopposed.

28. Rep. Charles Jungmichel (D), La Grange, unopposed.

29. Rep. Gus Mutscher (D), Brenham, unopposed.

30. Rep. Tom Uher (D), Bay City, unopposed.

31. Rep. Vernon Beckham (D), Denison, and Don Hefton (D), Sherman.

32. Rep. Bob Hendricks (D), McKinney, and James Caton (D), Willie.

33-1. Rep. William Braecklein (D), Dallas, unopposed.

33-2. Rep. Ben Atwell (D), Hutchins, and Dave Moss (D), Dallas.

33-3. Rep. John Wright (D), Grand Prairie, running against State Sen. Oscar Mauzy. John F. Boyle, Jr. (D) of Irving, David M. Ivey (D) of Dallas, Joe Fitzinger, Jr. (D) of Dallas, Everett E. Sasnett (D) of Dallas, Berlaund Brashear (D) of Dallas, and John Duke (R) of Dallas.

33-4. Rep. Dick Reed (D) of Dallas, Guy Lewis (D) of Dallas, B. H. (Buck) Buchanan (R) of Irving, and John Lowrance (R) of Dallas.

33-5. Rep. Zan W. Holmes, Jr. (D), Dallas, and John Cole (R), Duncanville.

33-6. Rep. Joe Ratcliff (D), Margaret Brand-Smith (D), and Fred Agnich (R), all of Dallas.

33-7. Rep. Griffith Moore (D), John Bryant (D), and Edwin L. Skiles (R), all of Dallas.

33-8. Rep. Dick McKissack (D), Dallas, unopposed.

33-9. Rep. Jim Stroud (D) and Carr P. Collins, III (R), both of Dallas.

33-10. Rep. Joe Hawn (D), W. Tom Hanes (D), Paul W. Goodwin (D), and W. L. Marshall (R), all of Dallas.

33-11. Rep. Chris Semos (D), Dallas, William S. Mason (R), Richardson.

33-12. Rep. Jim Clark (D) is not seeking reelection. D. Samuel Coats (D), A. C. (Tony) Margiotta (D), Bill Stehr (D), Joe B. Villiers (D), and Claiborne (Clay) Smothers (R), all of Dallas.

33-13. Rep. Jack Blanton (D), Carrollton, and Al Korioth (R), Farmers Branch.

33-14. Rep. Fred Orr (D), De Soto, and Dale Wooten (R), Arlington, Va.

33-15. Rep. Joe H. Golman (D) and Robert Schmitz (R), both of Dallas.

34. Rep. Aubry L. Moore (D) of Hillsboro, John Potts (D) of Hillsboro, and Troy Brooks, Jr. (D) of Ferris.

35-1. Rep. Bob Thomas (D), Waco, is running for county judge. Lane Denton (D), Mickey Holmes (D), and Danny R. (Dick) Tandy (D), all of Waco.

35-2. Rep. Tom Moore, Jr. (D), unopposed.

36. Rep. Bob Salter (D), Waco, unopposed.

37. Rep. John R. Bigham (D) and Bert E. Pope (D), both of Temple.

38. Rep. Charles Patterson (D), Round Rock, unopposed.

39-1. Rep. Harold Davis (D), David Marks (D), and James B. (Ted) Nuse (D), all of Austin.

39-2. Rep. Maurice Angly (R) and Durward Curlee (D), both of Austin.

39-3. Rep. Don Cavness (D), Robert J. Carter (R), and Bob Lusk (R), all of Austin.

39-4. Rep. Bob Armstrong (D), Austin, is running for land commissioner. William English (D), Gayle Essary (D), Wilson Foreman (D), Robert Looney (D), Dean Rindy (D), and George B. Shepherd, Jr. (D), all of Austin.

40. Rep. Gerhardt A. Schulle, Jr. (D), Kyle, and W. H. Schroeder, Jr., Lockhart.

41. Rep. John Traeger (D), Seguin, and Marion (Jack) Borchers (R), New Braunfels.

42. Rep. J. T. (Terry) Newman (D) of Cuero, Dennis Peters (D) of Edna, and Tom Von Dohlen (D) of Goliad.

43. Rep. R. H. Cory (D), Victoria, is not seeking reelection. Mrs. Jamie B. Creech (D) of Victoria, Jack Fields (D) of Victoria, Joe Wyatt (D) of Bloomington, and Simon Cornelius (R) of Victoria.

44. Rep. Leroy Wieting (D), Portland, and Tom Walker (D), Sinton.

45-1. Rep. Frances T. Farenthold (D), James Rehfeld (D), and Clyde New (R), all of Corpus Christi.

45-2. Rep. Carlos Truan (D), Corpus Christi, unopposed.

45-3. Rep. Joe Salem (D), Corpus Christi, unopposed.

45-4. Rep. L. DeWitt Hale (D), Corpus Christi, unopposed.

46-1. Rep. Menton J. Murray (D), Harlingen, unopposed.

46-2. Rep. Henry Sanchez (D) and Polo G. Cantu (D), both of Brownsville.

46-3. Rep. J. A. Garcia, Jr. (D), Raymondville, and Fernando (Fred) Loya (D), Brownsville.

47-1. Rep. Raul Longoria (D), Pharr, unopposed.

47-2. Rep. Felix McDonald (D), Edinburg, and Lindsey (Rod) Rodriguez (D), Hidalgo.

47-3. Rep. A. C. (Bud) Atwood (D), Edinburg, and Santos Ramirez (D), Mission.

48. Rep. Oscar Carrillo, Sr. (D), Benavides, and J. S. (Checo) Garcia (D), San Diego.

49. Rep. John H. Poerner (D) of Hondo, Raul L. Trevino (D) of Crystal City, and C. M. Pryor (R) of Uvalde.

50. Rep. Walter E. Parker (D), Denton, and Roger R. Durham (R), presently with the U.S. Army.

51. Rep. Tom Holmes (D), Granbury, unopposed.

52-1. Rep. Jack McLaughlin (D), Fort Worth, running for county commissioner. David F. Farris (D), Harold Hammett (D), Dave E. Massey (D), Mike Moncrief (D), and Norman Darwin (D), all of Fort Worth.

52-2. Rep. Joe Shannon, Jr. (D), Fort Worth, running against State Sen. Don Kennard. Bill Hilliard (D), Bob Phillips (D), and Mrs. Betty (John) Andujar (R), all of Fort Worth.

52-3. Rep. W. C. (Bud) Sherman (D), Fort Worth, unopposed.

52-4. Rep. R. M. (Bob) Burnett (D) of Arlington, Gibson D. Lewis (D) of Fort Worth, and James Bond (R) of Fort Worth.

52-5. Rep. Tommy Shannon (D), Fort Worth, unopposed.

52-6. Rep. Doyle Willis (D), Fort Worth, running against Senator Kennard. Joe Spurlock II (D), R. L. (Bob) Strickland (D), Bob Waco (D), Jack Zachary (D), all of Fort Worth, and J. Don Connelly (R), Arlington.

52-7. Rep. Dave Finney (D), Fort Worth, and Nathaniel Davis (R), Grand Prairie.

52-8. Rep. Cordell Hull (D) and Blake Bailey (R), both of Fort Worth.

53. Rep. Burke Musgrove (D) and Joe C. Hanna (D), both of Breckenridge.

54. Rep. J. E. Ward (D), Glen Rose, unopposed.

55. Rep. James E. Nugent (D), Kerrville, unopposed.

56. Rep. Forrest A. Harding (D), San Angelo, unopposed.

57-1. Rep. Jake Johnson (D) and Glen Leigh (D), both of San Antonio.

57-2. Rep. R. L. Vale (D), San Antonio, unopposed.

57-3. Rep. Bill Finck (D), San Antonio, unopposed.

57-4. Rep. James Nowlin (D), San Antonio, has switched parties and is the Republican candidate to succeed the late State Sen. V. E. (Red) Berry. John Cutright (D), Ed Holmes (D), Lou Kost, Jr. (D), William M. Porter (D), and Joseph A. Scott (D), all of San Antonio.

57-5. Rep. A. L. (Tony) Dramberger (D) and John Hays (D), both of San Antonio.

57-6. Rep. Lamoine Holland (D) is running for the late Senator Berry's seat. Tom Lee (D), Frank L. Madla (D), Paul Silber (D), and Jim C. Segrest (R), all of San Antonio.

57-7. Rep. David Evans (D), San Antonio, running against State Sen. Joe Bernal. Fernando Pinon (D), Wayland A. Simmons (D), Eugene B. West (D), and Oscar Eason (R), all of San Antonio.

57-8. Rep. Glenn Kothmann (D), San Antonio, is a candidate for the late Senator Berry's seat. Joe Chapa (D) and Nelson Wolff (D), both of San Antonio.

57-9. Rep. Guy Floyd (D) and Trey Ellison (D), both of San Antonio.

57-10. Rep. Frank Lombardino (D), San Antonio, unopposed.

58. Rep. W. S. Pickett, Karnes City, is not seeking reelection. Jon P. Newton (D) of Beeville, W. G. (Junior) Riedel (D) of Karnes City, and Gidney Talley, Jr. (R) of Pleasanton.

59. Rep. Honore Ligarde (D), Laredo, unopposed.

60-1. Rep. Vernon Stewart (D), Wichita Falls, unopposed.

60-2. Rep. Dave Allred (D) and Phil Grace (R), both of Wichita Falls.

61. Rep. Charles Finnell (D), Holliday, unopposed.

62-1. Rep. Grant Jones (D) and Joe Hernandez (D), both of Abilene.

62-2. Rep. Frank W. Calhoun (D) and Marvin W. Sapaugh (R), both of Abilene.

63. Rep. Temple Dickson (D), Sweetwater, not seeking reelection. Dee John Davis (D), Roy Ford (D), and Ralph Mahoney (D), all of Big Spring.

64. Rep. Lynn Nabers (D), Brownwood, unopposed.

65. Rep. Hiliary B. Doran, Jr. (D), Del Rio, unopposed.

66. Rep. George Baker (D), Fort Stockton, unopposed.

67-1. Rep. Tati Santiesteban (D), El Paso, unopposed.

67-2. Rep. John E. Blaine (D), El Paso, is not seeking reelection. Ray Ramos (D), William L. Timmons (D), and Charles Tuper, Jr. (D), all of El Paso.

67-3. Rep. Paul C. Moreno (D) and Ashley Classen (D), both of El Paso.

67-4. Rep. Raul Muniz (D), James Kaster (D) and Tony Conde (R), all of El Paso.

67-5. Rep. Tom Niland (D), El Paso, unopposed.

68. Rep. Ace Pickens (D) and Mrs. Betty Dooley (D), Odessa.

69. Rep. Richard C. Slack (D), Pecos, unopposed.

70. Rep. Tom Craddick (R) and Robert H. Northington (D), both of Midland.

71. Rep. Renal B. Rosson (D), Snyder, unopposed.

72. Rep. Bill Clayton (D), Springlake, unopposed.

73. Rep. E. L. Short (D), Tahoka, unopposed.

74-1. Rep. Walter Knapp, Jr. (D), candidate for the resigning Sen. Grady Hazlewood's seat. Howard E. Ragland (D), James B. (Ben) Bynum (D), and Curtis Ballard (R), all of Amarillo.

74-2. Rep. Hudson Moyer (D), Bryan Poff, Jr. (D), and Seldon Hale (R), all of Amarillo.

75. Rep. Tom Christian (R), Claude, unopposed.

76-1. Rep. Delwin Jones (D), Lubbock, unopposed.

76-2. Rep. Elmer L. Tarbox (D) and Horace McQueen (D), both of Lubbock.

76-3. Rep. R. B. McAlister (D), Lubbock, unopposed.

77. Rep. L. Dean Cobb (D), Dumas, unopposed.

78. Rep. Ralph Wayne (D), Plainview, unopposed.

79. Rep. Malouf Abraham (R), Canadian, seeking Senator Hazlewood's seat. Phil Cates (D) of Lefors, Jim Graves (D) of Perryton, Ray Trosper (D) of Higgins, W. H. (Web) Willoughby (D) of Gruver, Jack H. Hart (R) of Gruver, David E. Holt (R) of Pampa, and William D. Nix (R) of Canadian.

80. Rep. W. S. Heatly (D) of Paducah, Leon Williams (D) of Quanah, and Zack B. Fisher (R) of Memphis.

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Brown v. Martin

Austin

David H. Brown, the judge of the state district court for Collin and Grayson Counties, has made good on his earlier promise to make allegations of misconduct in office on the part of his opponent in the Democratic primary, Atty. Gen. Crawford Martin. Brown has said he'll resign his judgeship if he fails to prove his allegations. He this week made the first in what he says will be a series of public accusations against Martin. The assertions revolve around 15 land condemnation cases in Martin's home of Hill County, cases incidental to the construction of Interstate Highway 35 through the county.

Brown alleges that Martin represented Hill County landowners when the condemnation cases brought by the state Highway Department were being tried during a period, 1963-1966, when Martin was either the secretary of state or the attorney general-elect.

Franklin Spears, now a judge in San Antonio, and who in 1966 was Martin's liberal opponent for attorney general, made substantially the same allegations against Martin when the two men were in the last few days of a runoff in June of that year. Spears mentioned five of the 15 cases that Brown now brings up. Spears in 1966 said that Martin, "at a time he was being paid \$16,500 per year [as secretary of state], participated in private practice against the state and on the public's time."

Both Spears and Brown allege that, in addition to Martin's being involved in a conflict of interest in the cases, he won payments from the state considerably more than the Highway Department had offered for the tracts of land, and considerably more than such awards generally amount to when taken to court.

Spears in 1966 said Martin had helped win judgments totalling \$274,423 for the owners of five Hill County land tracts in cases where the state had offered \$79,185. Brown this week said a truer picture would be \$514,615.36 in awards for 15 tracts for which the state had offered \$169,685. Brown told reporters at his Capitol press conference that when a land condemnation case goes to court the grant finally made is about one-third (or 34%, he thought) more than the state originally offered — not the more than twice that amount he alleges is the case in the 15 tracts mentioned.

Martin, then, allegedly won \$344,930.36 over and above the appraised value of the land, Brown said, going on to add that the usual fee in such cases is one-half of the amount recovered above the state appraised value. Martin therefore, one of several attorneys in the case, would have

shared substantially in some \$172,500 of fees, if he did in fact accept fees for the cases. But even if Martin did not take fees, Brown asserted, the then-secretary of state was clearly in violation of bar association codes of ethics and was conducting himself against the best interests of the state.

A few days after losing the 1966 runoff to Martin, Spears said Martin had violated the spirit but not the letter of the state conflict of interest law (*Obs.*, June 10, 1966, p.11). Brown repeated that view, generally, saying there is no violation of law at issue here, simply questions of judgment and propriety.

In 1966 Martin declined for a few hours to comment after Spears made his charges. Then he said that there was no conflict of interest, that the suits were a matter of public record, and that the publication of the court records in the campaign's last days amounted to "character assassination."

MMARTIN, contacted by reporters after Brown's press conference, contented himself with a two-paragraph press statement issued by his office while he was in Lubbock attending groundbreaking ceremonies for the new Texas Tech law school:

"These are the same charges made by my opponent in the 1966 race for attorney general. Many newspapers went into the matter then and found no evidence of wrong-doing. I was elected and re-elected without opposition in 1968 — long after these charges had been given a full public airing. Mr. Brown is flogging the same dead horse, except that he uses more slanderous language against me, the courts, and other individuals," Martin said.

"If anyone should be disqualified from public office, it should be this man who irresponsibly distorts the facts, libels innocent people, and uses the press to spread untruths to further his own political ambitions. I am amazed that a district judge would result to such tactics and hope he will consult with his conscience before continuing on this course," said Martin.

Brown dwelled most on one case, which first was tried in September, 1965, "Secretary of State Martin was present and acted as counsel for the landowner on each of the seven days of the trial," Brown said. He added that the case was being "hotly contested" by then-Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr, "for by then his land condemnation division had received four doses of Hill County justice at the hands of Mr. Martin and his cronies."

The state appraisal on nearly 22 acres owned by the landowner, whom Brown named, was \$14,900. The jury in Hill County voted an award of \$76,750.

The state appealed. By the time the case came before State Supreme Court, Martin had been sworn in, two days before, as the Texas attorney general, in January, 1967.

Then the Supreme Court was notified by an associate of the Martin law firm that a settlement had been reached and no review of the Supreme Court would be necessary. "In fact, the settlement had only been reached between the ears of the new attorney general," Brown charges. "On Jan. 26, 1967, the new chief of the condemnation division of the attorney general's department sent to the Texas Highway Department a long, strongly worded recommendation of settlement. The Highway Department capitulated on February 2, 1967. It had no other choice as a practical matter," Brown said.

MMARTIN cleared up the last ten of the cases in question in late 1966, after he had won the Democratic nomination for attorney general and faced only token Republican opposition, Robb Stewart of Richardson. Martin at this point evidently began working with three of the lawyers in the land division of the AG office, probably having told them he would retain them after Carr left, which he did, placing them in charge of the land condemnation division, Brown said. "Those ten cases cost the taxpayers \$182,650.36 more than the appraised value, Brown said.

Reading between the lines of the Brown press release, it seems clear that at least some of the information Brown is releasing was made available by Carr. Asked by a reporter if Carr had helped him, Brown answered, "I have no comment." Asked then if he had talked to Carr about this, Btown again said he had no comment. G.O.

March 6, 1970

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MEETINGS

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

CENTRAL TEXAS ACLU luncheon meeting. 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.

How Free Is ETV?

Austin

Two of the state's six educational television stations, KLRN, which serves both Austin and San Antonio, and KTXT in Lubbock, recently postponed, perhaps forever, the showing of a controversial NET documentary, "Who Invited US?"

The producer of the hour-long program, Alan Levin, contacted the *Observer* to criticize the stations for censoring the program. He believes the stations balked at showing his documentary because "this is the first time the dollar imperatives behind American expansionism have ever been called that" on TV. The hard-hitting, sometimes dogmatic, production provides a critical interpretation of this country's penchant for military intervention from 1898 until the present, a striking alternative to the idealistic and self-serving historical perspective children are taught in U.S. public schools. The stations' reluctance to show the program without rebuttal brings into question the freedom of educational television in the nation.

KUHT, THE University of Houston's educational station, at first refused to run "Who Invited US?" and then decided to balance it with a panel discussion. Levin flew to Houston to be on the panel, which was moderated by John Emmerich, editorial page editor of the *Houston Chronicle*. The discussion lasted for an hour and a half, with numerous questions being telephoned to Levin and the U of H professors on the panel.

Robert F. Schenkkan, director of the UT Communication Center and general manager of KLRN, was angered by what he considers bias in the NET program. "We don't think it provides a balanced view of the situation," he explained. "It just is not a very responsible way to behave. We are a monopoly, after all, and that requires us to provide some sort of balanced discussion of controversial issues. The law calls for a free voice and a balanced voice. The question is: When is one allowed to propagandize?"

As an example of his objections to the program, Schenkkan described a series of shots in which two American soldiers are shown blindfolding Vietnamese women and then walking away with rifles slung over their shoulders. The implication, the Austin television executive says, is that the women were shot, but there is no explanation of the incident in the audio portion of the program.

Schenkkan also questioned Levin's credentials as a producer. "We don't know who he is," he said. (A National Educational Television news release concerning "Who Invited US?" says Levin won last year's duPont award for "Defense

and Domestic Needs: Contest for Tomorrow," shown on the Public Broadcasting Laboratory. The duPont award is one of the highest accolades given in the broadcasting field.)

The Austin station director asked three UT professors, Walter W. Rostow (Lyndon Johnson's former aide), James Roach, and Malcolm Macdonald to preview the program with the idea of participating in a panel discussion afterwards. Only Rostow appeared for the preview. He reportedly said it had been very cleverly done by

Morris to Speak

Lubbock

Willie Morris, editor of *Harper's* magazine and formerly the editor of the *Observer*, will speak on March 16, 7:15 p.m., at Texas Tech. He will be the guest of honor afterwards in the home of Mark Smith, Lubbock attorney.

members of the new left. Despite his objections to the program's condemnation of American interventionism, Rostow told Schenkkan that it would not be worthwhile to follow the program with a discussion, because such rebuttals are boring and few viewers would stay tuned.

Schenkkan tried to get the other Texas educational stations to go along with him in refusing to broadcast or in delaying broadcast of "Who Invited US?", but only the Lubbock station complied.

D. M. Mackelroy, the director of the station there, told the *Observer* that in light of the "controversial material" in the program, KTXT will not run "Who Invited US?" until a panel can be set up to accompany it. Levin said ETV stations in Washington, D.C., Virginia, and California also have postponed his program or refused to run it.

LEVIN QUESTIONS whether educational television is actually the free medium it was designed to be. He said that many other programs with provocative content have been censored, especially in the South. A recent example was NET's special on Dick Gregory, which Levin said, was shown almost nowhere in the South. The San Antonio-Austin station did televise "Dick Gregory is Alive and Well," and it received some complaints from local viewers. Some accused the station of airing revolution.

In reaction to the liberal bent of NET programs, educational television stations in the former Confederate states have formed

their own production organization, the Southern Educational Communication Association (SECA). Most of the broadcasting talent, however, is centralized on the East and West coasts, and SECA's programs, which run the gamut from panel discussions to light entertainment, often simply are not as good as NET's. (An estimated half of the SECA programs shown in the last year — and most of the good ones — have come from the KLRN studios.) SECA has not been an effective counter to NET. As one southern ETV executive put it, "To fight something that is skillfully done, you need to be equally skillful. SECA's documentaries have not gotten above the level of Army propaganda films."

A perusal of a list of the board of trustees of KLRN makes it obvious why the station executives are chary of televising radical views. The list is a roster of the educational and economic establishment of Central Texas.

The officers of KLRN are Ralph Langley, San Antonio attorney, chairman; Howard Cox, vice-president of Austin's Capital National Bank, vice-chairman; Wayland P. Moody, president of San Antonio College, secretary; and John Nash, chairman of the Austin Chamber of Commerce, treasurer.

Board members include Harry Akin, restaurateur and former mayor of Austin; Father L. J. Blume, president of St. Mary's University in San Antonio; Richard F. Brown, publisher of the *Austin American-Statesman*; Mrs. Roy Butler, wife of the automobile dealer who is president of the Austin school board; Charles Butt, heir to H.E.B. food stores; Irby Carruth, superintendent of Austin public schools; Leroy Denman, executive with a San Antonio loan and trust company; S. Thomas Greenburg, president of Incarnate Word College in San Antonio; Norman Hackerman, president of the University of Texas at Austin.

L. D. Haskew, UT professor of educational administration; Harold Hitt, superintendent of San Antonio public schools; W. W. Jackson, former chairman of the State Board of Education; Joe Kilgore, UT regent and former congressman; John King, president of Huston-Tillotson College in Austin; Louis Kocurek, president of Rauscher Pierce Co. in San Antonio; Quincy Lee, San Antonio land developer; Robert Luby of Luby's cafeteria fame; W. W. McAllister, Sr., mayor of San Antonio; John McMahan, president of Our Lady of the Lake College in San Antonio; E. Gary Morrison, San Antonio attorney; Ted Read, executive director of the Licensed Beverage Distributors Association; Milton Smith, president of Economy Furniture Co. in Austin; Leon Stone, president of Austin National Bank; Harold Vagtborg, president of Tesoro Petroleum Co. of San Antonio; and E. T. Ximenes, San Antonio physician.

K.N.



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Miskell Outflanks Opponents

Austin

An apparent attempt by Gov. Preston Smith and his appointees to the State Finance Commission to replace Consumer Credit Commissioner Frank Miskell with a man of Smith's choosing has failed. Miskell outflanked his opponents by announcing his resignation early in January, before the commissioners met to hear recommendations of his removal. Miskell blamed "political pressure" for his reluctance to continue his job regulating the state's small loan companies, and his supporters, including Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes and State Sen. Don Kennard, called for a public airing of the situation. The Finance Commission reacted by giving Miskell a rather nervous vote of confidence.

For months, rumors have been rife that Miskell, originally a Connally appointee, was in jeopardy of losing his \$30,000-a-year position. The fact that a three-member subcommittee of the Finance Commission had been discussing the possibility of firing the credit commissioner leaked to the press in January, prompting a number of speculative articles. Oft-repeated, and probably truthful, reports indicated that Smith owes political debts to certain small loan operators who contributed heavily to his 1968 gubernatorial campaign. The loan sharks object to Miskell's stringent regulation of their business; so when the governor appointed Rex G. Baker, Jr., of Houston and Vernon E. Neuhaus of Mission to the finance board, he reportedly elicited promises from them that they would attempt to fire Miskell and replace him with Bob Bullock, one of the governor's aides. Both men are on the subcommittee that supervises the Consumer Credit Commission, Baker being chairman. They admitted having discussed Miskell's performance at subcommittee meetings, but both denied being under pressure from the governor to remove him.

MISKELL TOLD the press that he was resigning because of "political pressure applied by loan sharks." The immediate catalyst for the move to fire him, Miskell said, was his investigation of a Fort Worth loan company whose owner "heavily supported" Governor Smith in 1968. "I started hearing rumors about a year ago that Governor Smith was unhappy with me and intended to get me fired as a favor to a certain small segment of the loan industry," he said. "But these people apparently didn't want to rock the boat during the legislative session, while their bill to raise the interest rates on small loans

was pending, and the talk died down. But it was revived last fall after I began investigating this Fort Worth man."

Both Smith and Bullock denied Miskell's allegations.

Senator Kennard of Fort Worth backed up the commissioner's charges. He said certain loan sharks threatened reprisals after Miskell helped convince a Senate committee to kill the bill they were supporting. The same people who "vowed to get Miskell" have made statements about "vast amounts of money they have placed in the governor's campaign for election and who seem to think they have the governor in their hip pocket," Kennard said. He added, "I think this is a shocking thing that a particular segment of the industry can come in and attempt to exert pressure on the governor and in turn exert pressure on the Finance Commission and seek the resignation of a man of Miskell's caliber." (The Fort Worth man Miskell intended to investigate is Jean Cordell who owns a chain of loan offices in Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Arkansas, Kennard told the *Observer*. Although Cordell is not listed among Smith's campaign contributors in the public records of the Secretary of State, he is so listed in Smith's private file - to the tune of \$5,000.)

Kennard called for a senate investigating committee to find out if there was any wrongdoing by Miskell or his staff, if any new finance commission member had instructions to fire Miskell, and if any staff member from the governor's office was involved directly or indirectly in the matter. Lieutenant Governor Barnes, an admirer of Miskell's, contacted members of the Finance Commission's subcommittee to see if they had any information on "acts of misfeasance or malfeasance" which might lead them to accept Miskell's resignation. He said he would order an investigation if the situation was not aired publicly.

After his initial charges of political pressure, Miskell, a normally tactiturn administrator, remained silent, answering few reporters' calls, making no public statements. Three weeks after he offered his resignation, he downgraded his original statement in an interview on an Austin television program, "Capitol Eye." "I reached the decision [to resign] in my own mind," he insisted. "I thought it was the best thing I could do under the circumstances." He declined to say what "the circumstances" were. It was only on the basis of rumors that the commission was dissatisfied with his work that he had resigned, the commissioner said.

Questioned about a rumor that

Governor Smith wanted his job because he had written speeches for Smith's primary opponent, Eugene Locke, in 1969, Miskell denied ever writing speeches for Locke.

Despite his public demurs, Miskell continued in private to agree with his friend Kennard's assessment of his tenuous situation. Kennard later told the *Observer* that Miskell probably was "ambiguous" on the television program because he was assuming the position of a public official, "a hired hand." The senator said, "I don't think he was backing down on anything. I think he felt that as a state official he should not be the one to bring charges."

MISKELL ASKED for a public meeting to discuss his resignation, and it was held by the Finance Commission on Feb. 12. Paul D. Lindsey of Dallas opened the discussion by moving to reject Miskell's resignation. When it seemed likely that his motion would die for lack of a second, he asked Baker to help him out. "I would not second that motion," Baker answered. Then, Robert A. Mann of Trinidad seconded Lindsey's suggestion, explaining he was doing so only to allow the matter to be discussed.

Lindsey praised Miskell for doing a fine job, saying the only thing he might be faulted for was "a lack of communication," which he attributed to the commissioner's being so bright that his tongue cannot keep up with his brain. "But I don't know how you can criticize a man for being smart," Lindsey added.

"Frank is one of the most brilliant people I have ever known, and a dedicated person," Baker chimed in. But he said that sometimes Miskell seemed to be "playing games with us" on fiscal matters, proposing a bigger budget than necessary. "The result is a surplus that saddles the industry with unnecessary expenses," Baker said. (The Credit Commission budget is financed by a tariff levied on the state's small loan companies. Last year Baker's committee cut Miskell's proposed budget of \$647,951 by only \$32,240, not quite 5%.)

Miskell was asked by Baker what he would do if the commission rejected his resignation. "I don't want the job just to keep a job," Miskell said. "If it means a better program for the consumers of Texas, I would stay. If I haven't got your confidence, I will go. . . . An agency can be destroyed by inaction or uncertainty." He said he has been unable to recruit a deputy commissioner and chief counsel because prospects always want to know: "How long are you going to be commissioner?"

With a majority of the committee apparently ready to accept Miskell's

(Continued on Page 13)

resignation, Lindsey asked the committee to postpone the effective date of his resignation until April 13, the twentieth anniversary of his tenure in state government and an important milestone when it comes to retirement benefits. The final vote was called for. Baker suggested

that maybe Miskell should be asked if he had anything to say, but then he changed his mind and called for the question instead.

The first voice vote appeared to include only two committee members in Miskell's favor. Then someone called for a show of

hands, and Baker, to everyone's surprise, was one of the first to raise his hand in favor of retaining Miskell. His action apparently prompted others to follow his lead, and the vote for retaining the commissioner was unanimous. K.N.

Elroy Bode's Notebook

El Paso

PARADISE I was down at the bus station the other night, watching the people in the waiting room. They were hardly elegant. Travel-tired Negro women wrestled with their scab-nosed, crying babies; a young spastic threw himself forward on two wobbling canes. One toothless old woman with bursting-fat ankles inched along in faded house slippers while thin, unshaven men with bloodshot eyes stared past her out the glass doorway. A huge, dull-eyed Navajo in a straw hat wandered past looking forlorn; two West Coast teddy boys with beetle shoes and wrinkled tight-legged pants argued and smoked and banged viciously at the pin ball machines. And old broken men sat on the benches, slumped into their coats.

Yet as I watched them in all their waiting room grotesqueness — the halt and lame and put-upon and unredeemed — I had a curious vision of what Heaven must be like. I found myself staring into space, into Heaven, and the people I saw there walking slowly side by side were these same graceless travelers of the bus station. It was like seeing into the hold of a cosmic slave ship where manacled, starving, reeking prisoners were chained together in a swarming mass. Paradise, the vision seemed to say, was wherever human beings were king — in all their ruined and unlovely mortality.

CLASSICS What a writer does is mark off a piece of land or a group of people and stay right there working until he makes the land or the people his: the country becomes Faulkner Country, the people Steinbeck People. A man and his materials become so much one that they cannot be separated. And it's not just art; it's chemistry: hydrogen finds oxygen — marvelously, with beauty, for keeps.

Of course someone else can always try to take over ownership of that very same land or people or way of life, but it will probably not do him much good. He can never get a clear title. Someone may make another canoe trip down the Brazos River in November, say, but what he writes about it is apt to be pale stuff, or derivative. For John Graves has already made that particular trip, and felt it, and did the writing about it, and there is little way that further writing and feeling can bite more deeply into that same material.

This is what classic means: that the job was done, and need not be done again.

—God save us from ambitious women who, in the long run, never do the truly creative work but merely want to.

—Men in their 30's and 40's, with their new hostilities. They are getting pudgy in the middle, they drink to excess, they have become a little too dissatisfied with their jobs and wives. So — their bodies sagging, their lives increasingly humdrum — they look around irritably for someone to blame.

RANCH PEOPLE I cannot help loving the idea of them, their lives.

Just the other day I cut out a photograph from the Sheep and Goat Raisers Magazine. A young rancher near San Saba had won a prize for taking care of his range properly — something like that — and the family was shown posing in their ranch front yard: the neat young wife, a couple of yellow-haired kids, the thick-bodied, slightly balding young rancher in his sport shirt and khakis. The yard gate was ajar between the two rock posts, a collie was lying on the grass, flowers bordered the front of the house, oak trees were in the background.

There he was, in the country, in front of his home, with his family: a man who had become a prizewinner because he took care of his range. . . .

NIGHT FISHING ON THE COAST It was only my uncle and I who wanted to continue fishing at night. He would light his after-supper cigar — first puffing on it a little to be sure it was caught — and then after gathering up the rods and stringers and metal fishing boxes we had laid down beside the tent, we would leave the others and walk the hundred yards or so up the beach to the pier.

The wind would be blowing in strong from the Gulf and the waters would seem magically wide and black as we walked toward the end of the pier. We would find a place underneath one of the small high bulbs and put down our gear and begin to cast out into the darkness. And as I fished — the wind in my face, the surf breaking easily along the shore — it always seemed to me that there was a quiet fraternity among those who had scattered out along

the railings. Everyone stood there patiently — casting, waiting, looking at the bay and the stars and the night — and no one seemed to care, really, if he caught anything or not. People seemed content just to stand there and let the waters lap against the dark pilings underneath and the Gulf wind blow steadily across their bodies.

As I look back it seems impossible that anyone on that peaceful stretch of boards should have ever found a reason to become angry: it was as though human emotions were completely diluted — were in solution with the night and the Gulf and the sweeping salt air. . . . Perhaps a fishing pier is one of the few places on earth where a war could never start — where no one would take aggression seriously.

—Sometimes thoughts dealing with the infinite grow inside me like over-yeasty bread in a hot oven. My head begins to swell and whirl and wants to explode. My mind grows dizzy straining into places and perceptions just beyond itself.

This occurs when I am looking out a window, say, and suddenly I stop living in

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that window-moment and I see the whole sweep of my years flow into the bigger sweep of life — life here, there, forever; life unbeginning, life unstoppable. The whole magnificence stuns me with the great looming shadows of sixth-dimensional depths. It is not long before I am sucked headlong through that window of temporal life, drawn by the magnetic awesomeness of pure time and pure space.

—An East Texas primitive type: Terrelldactyl.

—Poetry is what you see when you take one step to the side of a familiar path and look at ordinary things with extraordinary eyes.

ALAS, POOR YORICK — TEE, HEE! She was talking about an accident of the day before: a high school student had slammed his car into two young girls, killing them instantly. The girls had been walking home along a sidewalk when the car suddenly veered from the street and jumped the curb and slammed the two girls against a stone wall.

The woman is a small, gray-haired cafeteria worker who serves teachers coffee every morning. As she talked she suddenly brightened: "Somebody said they were eating ice cream!" And she giggled. Her laughter wasn't loud and she did not even sound particularly frivolous. It was just that she was a little nervous and had let the giggle escape.

Her mouth kept the smile for a moment, grew uncertain, finally collapsed into seriousness. She turned away from the

servicing line and began placing fresh doughnuts into the glass shelves.

—What I am can only be found in my childhood. That is the wood of my life; everything else is simply paint.

SHERWOOD ANDERSON: I read him before breakfast. I read about driven men who write beautiful imaginary novels on park benches, men who go off to their towns just to walk around there and savor the town's strangeness — to feel alone and anonymous; men who go down to New Orleans and meet other men — small aristocratic Southern poets who limp and drink because of the wounds of World War I. Some of the stories are little more than incidents and remembrances, but I don't

mind. I read the second-rate right along with his best because I am not looking for perfection out of Sherwood Anderson. I don't read him in the early morning for that. What I go to his books for is the sense of life, of old mysterious mortality, of how it is to be human and alive and moving about on the earth — especially, moving about with a little imagination. Thus we manage to establish a friendly communion, this man and I. He is not like so many writers who take pains to hide themselves carefully behind the shining machinery of their words. He stands there in full view, in all his apparent artlessness: a writing man, loose on the world with his senses intact; a man with regions of America inside his head — a man who wants to tell about them compassionately, and with wonder.

Observations

Welfare and Bussing

Austin

Governor Smith is to be commended, I believe, for finding idle funds pigeonholed in the state treasury to maintain welfare payments at their present level, without a special session. Fortunately his fustian anti-welfare rhetoric had no relationship to what he did.

But there is a substantive irresponsibility in his rhetoric against school bussing. His use of his State Democratic Executive Committee to get a meaningless statewide vote on school bussing is quite demagogic, and it will goad on the wolves of racism in Texas this spring. Since, as he admits, the result of a referendum cannot be binding on local school districts, it is apparent that what he is looking for is a no vote that local boards can use against bussing.

"The question as I see it," he says, "is not whether we should bus our school children or whether we should avoid bussing to perpetuate segregation." And why isn't that the question? That is exactly what it is. The governor's lip service to "upgrading our neighborhoods and our schools . . . housing and employment" and to "uniform enforcement of our laws and of federal education guidelines" avoids the

Huff-and-Puff racism of the Southern bigots, but does not conceal what he is doing. He is making politics out of a method of integration that has worked in some places and probably will work some places in Texas if he will start acting like he believes in local self-government again.

Ten Commandments For Spiro

Thou shalt not:

- Open thy mouth except to eat, and that is not mandatory.
- Show thy face on TV again — enough horror pictures come from Vietnam.
- Denounce all intellectuals as unpatriotic subversives merely because thou canst not understand what they say.
- Drape thyself in all of the American flag, thus leaving no part of it for others who might qualify.
- Denounce all young people as dangerous subversives, lest thou come upon sorrow when thine own daughter defies the edict from ON HIGH and marches.
- Separate the people of this great nation into loyal and disloyal merely on the basis of their approval or disapproval of the Nixon administration.
- Classify as unpatriotic all persons who oppose the Vietnam "experiment."
- List as unpatriotic those persons unable to find jobs.
- List as unpatriotic those males who choose to let their hair and beards grow as nature intended.
- List as unpatriotic those females who do not believe that the stork brought the baby.

San Antonio

—HART STILWELL

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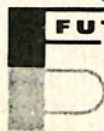
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Communities in Need!

The Observer can now be found in the reading rooms of an additional 55 libraries in Texas, as a result of early responses to the gift subscription campaign announced in the last issue. The cities listed below which have not been crossed out are still without the Observer in their county or public library.

Abernathy	Boerne	Parkdale	Eules	Grand Prairie	Alice Young	Lancaster	Rocksprings
Albany	Bonham	Cotulla	Fabens	Branches:	Carnegie	La Porte	Rockwall
Allen	Borger	Crane	Falfurrias	Memorial	Denver Harbor	Levelland	Ropesville
Atvin	Bowie	Crockett	Floresville	Dalworth	Elizabeth Ring	Lewisville	Rosebud
Amarillo South-	Brady	Crosby	Floydada	Grand Saline	George Meyer	Liberty	Rosston
west Branch	Bridgeport	Crosbyton	Fort Stockton	Grapevine	Heights	Littlefield	Round Rock
Anson	Brownfield	Crowell	Fort Worth	Groom	Lakewood	Livingston	Runge
Anton	Burkburnett	Crystal City	Branches:	Grooves	M. E. Walter	Lockney	Saginaw
Archer City	Burnet	Cuero	East	Groveton	Oak Forest	Longview	Saint Jo
Aspermont	Calvert	Daingerfield	North	Gruver	Park Place	Branches:	San Angelo:
Austin Branches:	Cameron	Dalhart	Northeast	Hale Center	W. L. D. Johnson	Carver	Dunbar Branch
Allandale	Canadian	Dell City	South	Hamilton	Humble	Greggton	San Antonio
Carver	Carrollton	Denison	Southeast	Hamlin	Huntington	Lorenzo	Branches:
Highland Park	Carthage	Denton	Southwest	Harlingen	Huntsville	Los Fresnos	Carver
Oak Springs	Castroville	De Soto	West	Haskell	Hurst	Louise	Landa
Twin Oaks	Cedar Hill	Devine	Richtland Hills	Heerne	Hutchins	Eubock	McCreless
Baird	Center	Dickinson	River Oaks	Hempstead	Imperial	Madisonville	Prospect Hill
Barksdale	Centerville	Dimmitt	Freeport	Henrietta	Ingleside	Mansfield	Roosevelt
Bastrop	Channelview	Donna	Freer	Hereford	Iowa Park	Marathon	San Pedro
Baytown Branches:	Channing	Dumas	Friendswood	Higgins	Irran	Marble Falls	South San Antonio
Sterling	Clarendon	Duncanville	Friena	Highlands	Italy	Mathis	Westfall
Wooster	Clarksville	Eagle Lake	Fritch	Honeygrove	Jacksonville	McAllen	San Juan
Beaumont	Claude	Eagle Pass	Gainesville	Harris County	Jasper	McCamey	Sanderson
Branches:	Cleburne	Edinburg	Galena Park	Branches:	Jayton	McLean	Schulenberg
Central Park	Cleveland	Edna	Garland	Fairbanks	Jefferson	Mercedes	Seadrift
Tyrrell	Clifton	El Campo	Branches:	Garden Villas	Johnson City	Mertzon	Seagraves
Bee	Clute	El Paso	Nicholson	Jacinto	Junction	Mesquite	Seagraves
Bellaire	Coldspring	Branches:	Rowlett	No. Houston	Kendalia	Mexia	Seymour
Bellville	Colorado City	Armijo	Sachse	Memorial	Killeen	Miami	Shamrock
Belton	Comfort	Fox	Garwood	So. Houston	Kingsville	Mineola	Sherman
Bertram	Copperas Cove	Lower Valley	George West	Spring Branch	Kyle	Morton	Branches:
Big Bend	Corpus Christi	Memorial Pk.	Georgetown	Turner	La Grange	Mt. Enterprise	Sherman Publtc
Big Spring	Branches:	Richard Burges	Goldthwaite	West University	Lake Jackson	Muenster	Sherman Memorial
Bishop	La Retama	Idorado	Gonzales	Houston	La Marque	Mulshoe	Sierra Blanca
Blanco	Greenwood	Electra	Gransbury	Branches:	Lamesa	Munday	Silverton

Libraries are likely to get the Observer habit, once they receive it regularly for awhile. But they need someone to get them started for a year or two. Several friends have from time to time made it their project to see that the Observer's library circulation keeps pace with the growing number of branch libraries that are being established throughout the state. Two subscribers have been sending a check every month for several years to be used in this campaign.

If you find in the list a city which is a sentimental favorite or is of special concern we hope you will want to provide a source where the community can find a valuable supplement to the views too commonly expressed in the local press by getting that library on the Observer habit. 1 year \$7.30; 2 years \$13.55; 3 years \$18.77.

Send the Observer for the period indicated to the library in the city listed below:

CITY: _____ [] 1 year [] 2 years [] 3 years

If this library has been already selected—

- [] Send it to my second or third choice: _____
 [] Return my check and I'll decide what to do.
 [] Go ahead and pick out another library.

My name: _____

Street: _____

City, State: _____

You may use my name in announcing the gift subscription.

[] check enclosed

[] bill me

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Branches:	Carver	Greggton	Lorenzo	Los Fresnos	Louise	Eubock	Madisonville	Mansfield	Marathon	Marble Falls	Mathis	McAllen	McCamey	McLean	Mercedes	Mertzon	Mesquite	Mexia	Miami	Mineola	Morton	Mt. Enterprise	Muenster	Mulshoe	Munday	Nacogdoches	Nederland	New Boston	New Braunfels	Nixon	Odem	Olney	Olton	Orange	Orange Grove	Ozona	Paducah	Palacios	Panhandle	Pearsall	Pecos	Pep	Petersburg	Pettit	Pineland	Plains	Plano	Pleasanton	Pt. Comfort	Port Arthur	Branches:	Gates Memorial	West Side	Port Lavaca	Port Neches	Post	Premont	Quanah	Quemado	Ralls	Ranger	Raymondville	Richardson	Robstown	Rockdale	Rockport	San Antonio	Branches:	Carver	Landa	McCreless	Prospect Hill	Roosevelt	San Pedro	South San Antonio	Westfall	San Juan	Sanderson	Schulenberg	Seadrift	Seagraves	Seymour	Shamrock	Sherman	Branches:	Sherman Publtc	Sherman Memorial	Sierra Blanca	Silverton	Sinton	Skellytown	Slayton	Smithville	Snyder Branches:	Scurry	Lincoln	Spearman	Stamford	Stanton	Stephenville	Sterling City	Stinnett	Stratford	Sundown	Sunray	Sweeny	Tahoka	Teague	Terrell	Texas City	Three Rivers	Tilden	Tioga	Tomball	Vernon	Victoria	Waelder	Waxahachie	Wellington	Wharton	Wheeler	White Deer	Whiteright	Whitharral	Wichita Falls	Holland Branch	Wilmer	Wink	Winnsboro	Winters	Wolfe City
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Oil Spills

Roy Payne, director of field operations for the Texas Railroad Cmsn., testifies that more than 25,000 barrels of oil has been released into Texas bays since 1964. He admitted that some companies violate the law by refusing to report oil leaks as required and that the commission has never filed \$1,000-a-day lawsuits against the law violators, as it could. Hugh Yantis, chairman of the Water Quality Board, said, "Up to this date, there is no genuine protection against a major spill occurring in the wrong place," and the date he said it was Feb. 16, 1970. Our beaches are being polluted by oil spills and nobody in state government is doing a damn thing about it. What can be done?

Two state assemblymen in California have announced plans to create, by legislation, a California Coastline Conservation and Development Commission. It would have the power to prohibit any project from half a mile inland to three miles offshore which would cause irreversible damage to the shoreline and to draw up comprehensive plans for the proper use of the shoreline. Local and regional governmental agencies would be consulted in the new commission's regulating and planning work. This good idea fits our needs in Texas as well as it does the needs of the Californians. We should not wait for a Santa Barbara before creating such a commission in Texas.

Perhaps the new Gulf Coast Waste Disposal Authority, although now limited to three counties, is a start in the right direction.

Gatesville

That vaunted "study" of the state reform schools, with which Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes turned aside the demand for an investigation of brutality at Gatesville, has collapsed. Barnes has told Sen. Criss Cole that House Speaker Gus Mutscher won't approve the study, so it won't be conducted. Cole says that kills it, since the respected national organization that was going to do it gave the state a March 1 deadline. The big question is not why Barnes is playing this game — that's no mystery, he's allied with Texas Youth Council Director James Turman, who runs the reform schools. The big question is the one that Cole, chairman of the Senate Youth Affairs Committee, asked: "why Dr. Turman has been so opposed to a professional group examining the policies, procedures, and programs of his agency." So where do we go from here? Nowhere? Back into the field when the allegations of beatings at Gatesville start reaching us again? God, the fakery that passes for government in this state.

Our Heirs

We've had the doctrine with us for almost two thousand years that the poor shall inherit the earth, but look, man, what are you, some kind of nut? Our own Will Wilson of Austin and Dallas, now head of the criminal division in the Justice Department in Washington, sets the doctrine straight for modern America. He says in the Feb. 13 *Life* magazine, "I'll tell you something, the kids who want to be Sears Roebuck store managers . . . those kids are goin' to inherit this country." R.D.

The Observer

From a working capital deficit of \$3,700 a year ago, the *Observer* has worked its way to a smaller deficit of \$1,700 now, the result of a \$2,000 gain in the net income, (on a cash-in, cash-out basis,) during the last year. Our subscribers have held fast in the range above 10,000, despite the \$1 increase in the subscription rate required last year by our steadily increasing costs. Because of our steady growth we are anticipating further improvement in our working capital situation, and on that basis we are increasing the salaries of the full-time *Observer* staff people somewhat to help them keep up with the rising cost of living. These are the first increases Greg Olds, Kaye Northcott, and Cliff Olofson have had since taking the jobs they are doing. Irene Wilkinson joins the permanent

staff as office manager.

In sum, then, the *Observer* goes on as a stable financial enterprise, the only such venture in the United States that we know of that is paying its bills out of earned income. It is good to be part of a liberal enterprise that is making its own way. We thank everyone who stands with us in what is in effect a cooperative for the improvement of the life in this region. R.D.

Dialogue

The Status of Women

You erred when you stated [*Obs.*, Feb. 20] that no significant progress has been made in legislation affecting women since the Hobby administration.

In 1967, the most significant legislation ever passed in Texas concerning property rights of married women was embodied in the marital property bills, drafted by the State Bar of Texas. These provisions are carried forward in the new family code as sections 4.01-5.86. These laws give married women the same rights and responsibilities as married men. In probably what was the height of idiocy, the legislative committee of the Texas Federation of Business and Professional Women opposed the bill in 1967.

Title I of the family code, enacted by the Legislature in 1969 and also drafted by the State Bar of Texas, uses the words "person" and "spouses" instead of "man" or "woman" and "husband" or "wife." The grounds for declaring a marriage void, voidable, or for divorce are the same for men as for women. Our intention (I am on one of the drafting committees) is to make men and women as equal as possible under the law.

A lot of work needs to be done on labor laws discriminating against women. I hope that concerned groups can draft these laws and successfully lobby them through the Legislature in 1971.

Louise B. Raggio, 610 United Fidelity Bldg., Dallas, Tex. 75202.

Mrs. Raggio is the secretary of the recently organized Governor's Commission on the Status of Women.—Ed.

In Reply

A good friend of mine wrote in the last issue of the *Observer* [Dialogue, Feb. 20], George Preston. He was a very good friend of my father, Bill Thomas. Dad taught a class at Selwyn School, and George was one of his pupils. George was not only a good friend of my father, but is a friend of mine. Dad was probably the best dad in the world. Like George, Dad was an absolute Coors beer lover!

Dylan Paul Thomas, 1213 W. 12th St., Austin, Tex. 78703.