

THE TEXAS OBSERVER

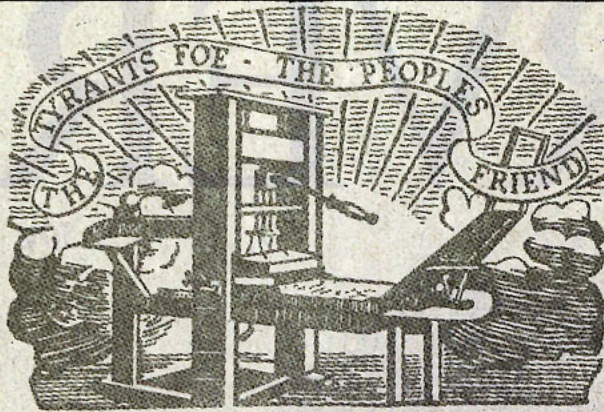
A Journal of Free Voices

March 17, 1978

50¢



Looking askance at Bob Krueger



The Texas OBSERVER

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A journal of free voices

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Focusing

By Pat Black

Two cars stop in front of a frame house in a quiet West Austin neighborhood. The stillness of the hour before dawn blunts the sting of the cold weather. Four young men are met at the door by Tom Henderson, who is dressed in a bright red bathrobe.

Henderson offers to make a pot of coffee, but the visitors have been wrenched out of sleep too early and are wary of shocking their bodies any more than necessary right now. No coffee. The host pads back and forth from the kitchen to the spare bedroom to see if Bob Krueger will be able to face the day's outing despite a cold and less than four hours' rest.

We will go. Krueger emerges and greets everyone. He and the young men about to leave with him have on jeans, cowboy boots, and heavy coats.

The battered gray station wagon is loaded, and three men drive off. The two others follow in a compact. There is still no sign of the rising sun. A group more typical of Texas would be leaving on a deer hunt. But these men are off on a hunting trip of their own—the quarry is a seat in the United States Senate.

By now, most Texans know Bob Krueger as the young congressman from New Braunfels whose attempts to free the oil and gas industry of government regulation have won him a measure of national prominence which, in turn, has become the base for an assault on Republican Senator John Tower's office. Krueger is touted as a new star of New South politics, and by his own admission he is working his way steadily toward a try for the White House.

The task at hand is not to figure out who Bob Krueger is, but what he is. Many Southern liberals have been persuaded to support candidates like Krueger—Jimmy Carter comes to mind—because their New South moderation on civil rights seems to promise more progressive leadership than that provided by the embarrassing Bourbon politicians the South has sent to Washington for the past hundred years. In Bob Krueger's case, however, it is a false promise—behind his personal charm and just underneath the measured gracefulness of his campaign rhetoric, there stands a moderate-conservative on social issues and a bedrock conservative on economic issues.

The path to politics

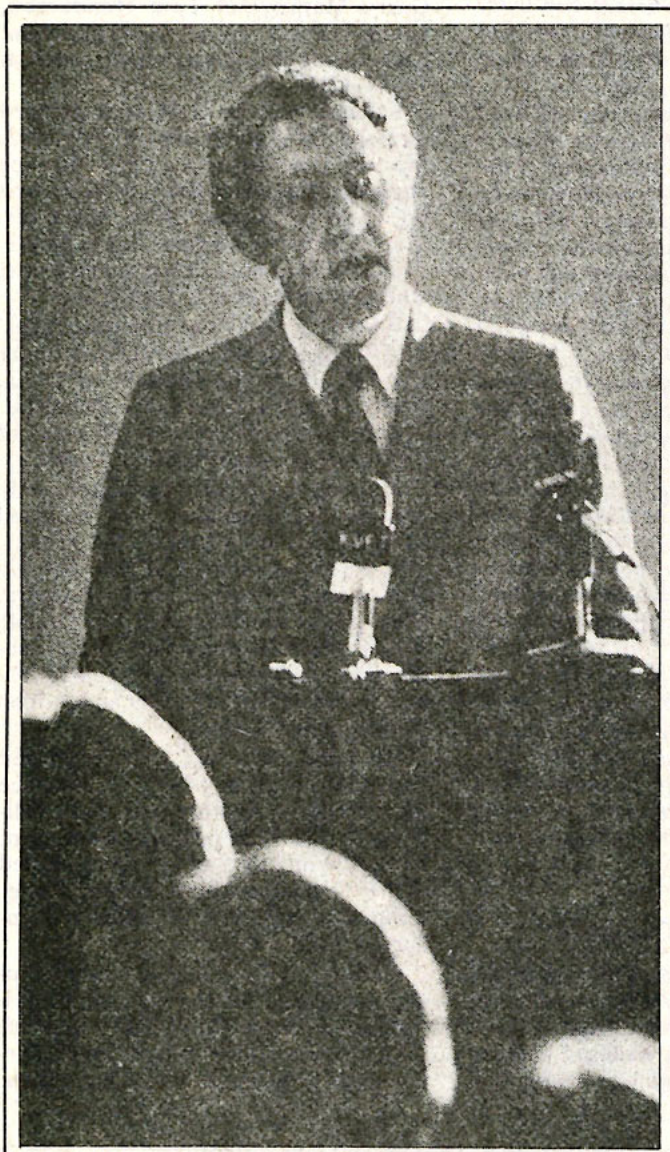
Krueger's family settled near New Braunfels in the 1840s as part of a wave of German immigrants who came to the Texas Hill Country. Over the course of several generations, members of the family made the transition from small farmers to prosperous businessmen.

Brothers Arlon and Ben Krueger opened a Buick dealership in New Braunfels in 1928 and kept adding franchises until they had an exclusive hold on General Motors products sold in the town. The brothers reportedly became wealthy through sharp trading in the used car market during World War II.

Arlon Krueger married Faye Leifeste in 1929. Her father had been the school superintendent in Comal County, and she had taught in elementary schools before her marriage. The Kruegers first had a daughter, Arlene, and Bob, their second child and only son, was born in 1935.

Following the custom of old Hill Country families, Bob grew up speaking both German and English. Several childhood

A senator is y-comen in? Loude sing, cuckoo?
in on Krueger of Texas



Mike Smith

illnesses kept him off athletic teams. Instead, he played trumpet in the high school band.

When Bob went away to Southern Methodist University after graduating from New Braunfels High School, Arlon Krueger urged him to study business administration and become a stockbroker. Bob tried that for awhile, then struck out on his own by changing his major to English.

Krueger graduated from SMU in 1957 and moved on to North Carolina's Duke University, where he received a master's degree in English a year later. In the fall of 1958, he entered Oxford University and immersed himself in Elizabethan literature.

His life in England left Krueger with more than a knowledge of Shakespeare. As an outsider thrown into a society bound by rigid class divisions, he came to realize just how much opportunity an ambitious person had in America. By 1960, he knew his

teaching career would only be a prelude to a race for high political office.

"I decided as an absolute that I'd do it," he says. "I didn't have a timetable. I was always interested in a national office."

This decision made, Krueger's actions fell into line, though he did leave room for accidents of fate. For one thing, he thought he would have to become a university president to gain the stature to make a race for Congress. Events would allow him to skip that step.

Oxford conferred a B.Litt. degree on Krueger in 1961, and the English department at Duke gave him a job. He returned to Oxford for the 1963-64 school year to complete his doctoral dissertation on the late-Elizabethan poet, Sir John Davies. His work led ultimately to the publication of a new edition of Davies's poetry, edited jointly by Krueger and Ruby Nemser, whose Harvard dissertation was also on Davies.

Though Krueger chose not to devote himself to scholarship, he prospered on the Duke campus. He became a popular teacher as a result of his polished lectures and his cultivation of personal touches such as holding classes outdoors on sunny days.

Krueger's first political success came in the 1967-68 academic year when he was chairman of a committee charged with writing a new curriculum for Duke. A similar project had been undertaken a few years earlier, but the quiet history professor then behind it lacked the savvy to win approval for his committee's scheme in the faculty senate. Krueger pushed his plan through in spite of outraged opposition from several department chairmen.

Although he was responsible for this bit of educational reform, Krueger wasn't anyone's idea of an activist at Duke. He left it to others to fight for the admission of minority students. Krueger simply stood aside in the 1960s while many of his colleagues worked in the civil rights movement and denounced the war in Vietnam, often losing their jobs as a consequence.

As the decade ended, Krueger was in good shape. He was a nominee for the Duke presidency in 1969, but the job went to Terry Sanford, a former North Carolina governor. Krueger became vice provost and the dean of arts and sciences at Duke in 1972. While dean, he came under consideration for the presidency of SMU, his alma mater.

While Bob was climbing to the top in the academic profession, his father Arlon was making more money back home in New Braunfels. The two Krueger brothers, Arlon and Ben, had dissolved their partnership in the early 1950s. Ben and his son set up a separate Chevrolet dealership and gained control of the family ranch. Arlon kept Krueger Motors, with all the remaining GM brands, and took over the old Faust Hotel.

On his own, Arlon bought the Comal Hosiery Mill in 1956. Though the Comal operation was dwarfed by the nearby Mission Valley Cotton Mills, it was still one of the largest businesses in New Braunfels and employed 180 people at its peak.

Under Krueger management, Comal Hosiery, unlike many Texas mills, never had to contend with union organizers and complaints of racial bias from its employees. The Kruegers avoided the second problem by hiring Anglo workers, period. Only after discrimination charges were filed in 1965 did the hosiery mill begin to hire minority job applicants as machine operators.

Problems in New Braunfels hardly touched Arlon Krueger's son during the 20 years he spent on college campuses, but his situation changed rapidly when the father fell ill late in 1972. Bob would have to take some time off from his Duke deanship to come home and manage the family's affairs. Beyond that, his options were open.

He decided the time had come to run for Congress. Faye Krueger and Allaire George, Bob's administrative aide at Duke, added their encouragement. Arlon Krueger initially protested that politics was "a dirty business," but relented before his death in February of 1973.

After serving only nine months as a dean, Krueger left Duke to return home to Texas. He took over as head of the family businesses when he arrived in New Braunfels, but he was soon involved in planning a campaign. A former roommate at SMU, Jim Land, an economist with a Rice Ph.D. who had worked as an advisor to the Turkish government, became business manager for the Krueger family.

Arlon Krueger left holdings valued at some \$2 million to Faye Krueger, and his two children, Arlene Krueger Seales and Bob Krueger. Over the next few years, Land and the Kruegers gradually settled the family estate.

The family divested itself of property in New Braunfels. Krueger Motors was sold in 1974, the Faust Hotel in 1975, and the Comal Hosiery Mill in 1976. The hosiery mill went bankrupt and closed a few months after the Kruegers unloaded it.

With money from the sale of the businesses, the family members formed a partnership in 1974 and bought a thousand-acre ranch near Land's home in Crockett. Land has since invested Krueger funds in a herd of black Brangus cattle and in stock portfolios. The arrangements left Bob free to enter politics.

The Coryell County Youth Fair is deserted at 8:30 on a freezing Saturday morning. In the pens outside, sheep clothed in protective white capes and hoods look like a gang of woolly Klansmen. The metal exhibits building is empty of people but full of pies and cakes and grotesqueries which pass for local crafts—plaster statuettes, crocheted pillows, and a photo of Elvis laminated to a wood plaque. Krueger finds a couple of leathery ranchers to talk with. Aides John Pouland, Buck Wildman and Dave Bolduc decide more people can be found in the Gatesville cafes.

The men return to their cars and head downtown. Some of Krueger's shyness surfaces when he asks Pouland if the cafe owners will object to an intrusion by a politician. John reassures him, and Bob plunges inside—making the rounds from table to table, handing out palm cards, listening as much as he talks. "All that I'll promise is that I'll work hard and stay honest," he tells them.

We finally get breakfast at the second cafe. Wildman, a Panhandle native, has put on an often-crushed Stetson and has found himself a package of Red Man chewing tobacco. He sticks close to Krueger while Bolduc and Pouland contact members of the county steering committee, dig up the local newspaper reporter, arrange a radio interview in the next town, and check flying conditions for later in the day.

Krueger returns to the table, and downs a plate of cold scrambled eggs. He ticks off the names of the farmers and businessmen he just met. The aides will see that each receives a personalized letter—written by a computer in Austin and usually signed by the candidate himself.

Running for Congress

His business affairs settled, Krueger turned in the fall of 1973 to the matter of assembling a campaign staff. Allaire George accompanied Krueger back to Texas and took charge of research and

fundraising. Krueger's first contact in the state was Roy Spence, a partner in an aggressive young advertising firm in Austin.

While handling media in 1972 for Ralph Yarborough's Senate attempt and George McGovern's presidential campaign in Texas, Spence met just the sort of people Krueger would need to get his congressional race off the ground. Krueger was introduced by Spence to Garry Mauro and Tom Henderson, young lawyers whose friendship went back to student government races at Texas A&M.

Krueger and his new staff planned strategy throughout the rest of 1973. Mauro, Henderson and Spence suggested that what Krueger might best do would be to establish an Austin residence and run against Jake Pickle. "Krueger said no. He was going to run where he came from," Spence says.

Where Krueger came from was Texas' 21st Congressional District, for more than 30 years the fiefdom of O. C. Fisher, an ultra-conservative Democrat. The 21st stretches across 430 miles of Texas and is bigger than most states.

Regardless of party affiliation, only conservative candidates have bothered to make serious efforts in the district. The voters—a mixture of San Antonio suburbanites, Hill Country farmers, West Texas ranchers, and Rio Grande Valley Mexican-Americans—have usually given handsome margins to Republican candidates for president and to John Tower for the Senate.

His mind made up, Krueger visited Fisher in November of 1973 to announce his intentions. Another potential candidate for the 1974 primary, State Sen. Nelson Wolff of San Antonio, visited Fisher immediately afterward. Fisher decided it was time to retire and endorsed Wolff.

Since all four candidates who eventually announced for the Democratic primary ran as conservatives, they were left with little to do but fight over personalities and rural-urban hostilities.

Ratings by national organizations of Krueger's voting record

(Figures represent percentage of Krueger's votes that agree with the positions of the rating organizations)

Year	PROGRESSIVE ORGANIZATIONS ←				→ CONSERVATIVE ORGANIZATIONS			
	Americans for Democratic Action	AFL-CIO	Public Citizen	Consumer Federation of America	National Farmers Union	American Conservative Union	Americans for Constitutional Action	U.S. Chamber of Commerce
1975	32	35	n.a.	0	60	44	64	65
1976	20	50	25	27	50	57	56	60
1977	20*	39	23	25	42	48	52	76

* For some contrast, note that the average House Democrat received a 52 percent rating from ADA in 1977; Krueger even ranked below the average for Southern Democrats (24 percent) and barely beat the average ranking of Republicans (18 percent) or John Tower's ADA score of 15 percent.

Krueger and his staff tried to convince voters that Wolff was the pawn of "ten powerful men" who ran the San Antonio political machine. Wolff called Krueger an inexperienced upstart.

If Krueger didn't have an edge in funding, he did in the quality of his staff work. Attractive red, white and blue billboards and bumperstickers served nicely to build name identification. Rural weeklies were saturated with display ads and well-written news releases.

No clear victor emerged in the May primary, which had drawn other contenders as well, so Wolff and Krueger had to meet in a run-off in June. Each of the two spent about \$250,000 in the process, leaving no financial advantage on either side.

The campaign literature proclaimed Krueger a "Conservative Democrat" and re-phrased his lifestyle and past in terms calculated to please the district's voters. To counter the negative image of his bachelorhood, brochures described Krueger as a "family man" and pictured him with his mother, sister, nieces and the neighbor's dog. Rather than make a to-do about Krueger as an intellectual and professor, his campaign material described him as an "administrator" and "businessman."

Asked direct questions, Krueger and his staff gave straight answers on his stands (such as they were) and his career. Campaign appearances rarely lend themselves to tough question-and-answer sessions, though, so Krueger was generally free to concentrate on inspirational messages about character, potential and patriotism.

The irreducible element in the Krueger strategy was old-fashioned hard campaigning. In a district encompassing 32 counties, Krueger appeared at 27 county stock shows. He left Mauro in command of all staff decisions and stayed on the road day after day, visiting every little town, speaking to clubs and meeting with local politicians. It all added up to a narrow run-off victory over Wolff.

The Krueger campaign could hardly have been luckier in the Republicans' choice for an opponent in the general election. Doug Harlan was a bachelor, a political science professor, and an even younger man than Krueger. Lacking serious opposition in the Republican primary, Harlan had spent little money and had consequently attracted little attention and name recognition.

Once again, the candidates agreed on most issues and were forced to concentrate on images. Once again, Mauro, Henderson and Spence provided impressive staff work for their client.

Every voter in the district received a form letter from Krueger headquarters before the primary, run-off and general

(Continued on page 14)



KRUEGER'S DOLLARS

To limit the campaign influence of wealthy donors, federal election law puts a \$1,000 ceiling on any individual's contribution to a Senate candidate. It is common, however, for a big contributor to get around the law by "pooling" donors—getting family or firm members to chip in contributions of their own, with the result that a single contributor can be represented by more than \$1,000. There is nothing illegal about this, and most candidates welcome the practice.

Krueger's campaign larder has been well stocked with such group offerings, mainly from oil interests. The simplest and most common method of assembling contributions exceeding \$1,000 is for husband and wife each to give the maximum allowed. Krueger has received 46 contributions of \$2,000 from husband-and-wife teams (Joe Christie has reported only three such gifts). In addition, there are dozens of multi-donor contributions from families and firms scattered through Krueger's reports, and they add up to a major share of his total contributions. Pooled contributions totaling \$2,500 or more each account for a fifth of his campaign funding to date and have come from just 20 families and corporations:

DONORS	BUSINESS	CITY	AMOUNT
Paul Barnhart family	Investments	Houston	\$5,000
L. D. Brinkman executives*	Carpets, etc.	Dallas & Kerrville	5,000
Centex Corp. executives* and families	Housing developers	Dallas	3,000
Ernest Cockrell family	Investments	Houston	5,000
Goldrus Drilling Co. executives and families	Oil	Houston	5,000
Ralph Greenlee family	Investments	Dallas & Midland	5,000
Hill Petroleum Co. executives and family	Oil	Houston	2,950
Houston Oil & Minerals Corp. executives and family	Oil	Houston	4,000
Harris Kempner family	Banking	Galveston	3,056
Richard and William Negley families	Investments, builders	San Antonio	3,000
R. H. and W. L. Pickens families	Oil	Dallas	4,900
Prairie Producing Co. executives and family	Oil	Houston	5,000
Prudential Insurance Co. executives	Insurance	Houston	2,500
Quintana Drilling Co. executives and family	Oil	Houston	4,500
Pat Rutherford family	Oil	Houston	5,000
Sanchez Petroleum Co. executives and family	Oil	Laredo	7,000
Schaefer Homes executives and family	Developers	San Antonio	4,000
Sigmor Corp. executives	Oil	San Antonio	3,000
Vantage Companies and Lexington Capital Group executives	Real estate developers	Dallas	5,000
David Witts family and partner	Attorney	Dallas	4,000
TOTAL			\$85,906

* Krueger has substantial stock holdings in both Centex Corp. and L. D. Brinkman's firm, Giffen Industries. He also has received several smaller contributions from executives of firms in which he holds stock, including \$2,400 from executives of two of Texas' largest bankholding companies—Mercantile Texas Corp. and Texas Commerce Bancshares.

From our alma mater desk

Latest college score:



Abilene

When Walter Dawkins gave an Abilene bar a poster promoting the Abilene Christian University basketball team on which he was a starting player, he didn't realize he was also ending his collegiate basketball career.

ACU athletic director Wally Bullington heard that the poster graced a wall of The Upstairs Club (a private establishment in this dry city), and traced it back to Dawkins. Bullington then promptly suspended the 23-year-old senior guard for the rest of the season. (He also suspended Dawkins's roommate, reserve guard Bill Tuton, but no one will say that the suspensions are related.)

The four-by-six-foot poster sporting a team picture and a boast—"Our Program Is Bigger Than Basketball!"—was distributed to selected local businesses to drum up support for ACU's basketball program. But the college, a private, 4,000-student institution run by the Church of Christ, apparently doesn't want the support of a business that serves liquor. In fact, ACU has a rule prohibiting students from even entering such places. (Other college rules proscribe cursing, skipping morning chapel, and the teaching of Darwinian theories; one allows college officials to search students' dormitory rooms for various forms of contraband.)

The tale of Dawkins's undoing begins with an influential, unnamed alumnus who told Bullington about the poster, and involves several grown men—college officials and coaches—who spent lots of hours tracking down the guilty player and recapturing the poster.

On Tuesday, Jan. 31, the athletic director phoned Rusty Trull, the manager of The Upstairs Club, and said, "I am under the impression you have an ACU booster club poster in your club." Reports Trull, "I told him, 'Yeah.' Then he says, 'I want you to know that poster was stolen. I want that poster taken down and I want it back. I'll take what measures I have to take to get it back if you don't want to give it back.'"

The next day, ACU assistant football coach Jerry Wilson went to the club, but was refused entry.

On Thursday, Bullington called Trull again. "[Bullington] said he knew we hadn't done anything about the poster. He wanted to know if we were going to take it down and get it back to him. We told him we were not going to take it down and had decided to keep it. He said he would take action to get it back," Trull says. Bullington told Trull ACU athletes shouldn't be in bars. Then he asked about buying a membership for himself, saying he'd like to know which ACU athletes were visiting the club; Trull said nothing doing.

The same day, Bullington quizzed ACU basketball players individually about the poster's appearance in the bar. Dawkins and Tuton both said they knew nothing about it.

Later that day, thinking that the removal of the poster might relieve the pressure on him and his teammates, Dawkins asked Tuton to go to The Upstairs Club and take the thing off the wall. Tuton did.

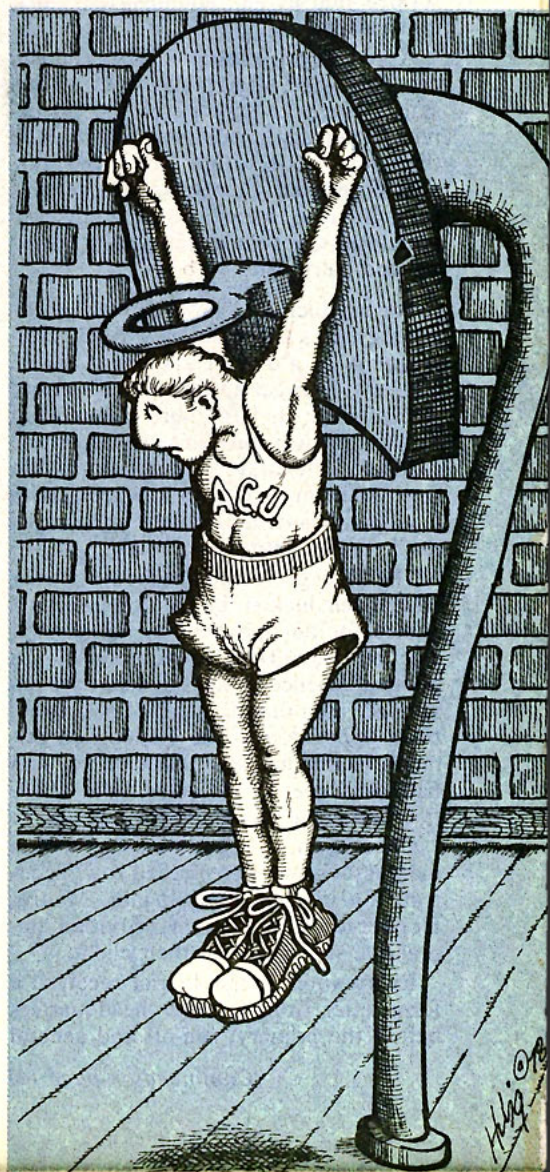
Thursday evening, Wilson applied for membership in the club. On Friday, he was rejected.

On Saturday, the team traveled to Commerce for a game against East Texas State, but Dawkins didn't make the trip. Apparently, one of his teammates had let coach Willard Tate know of Dawkins's involvement with the poster and the bar. Dawkins confessed at a team meeting on Sunday, saying, "I know I let you down, and I'm even sorer I lied about it." On Monday, he and Tuton were suspended for the rest of the season.

Bullington has refused to talk to reporters about the suspensions, referring them to Tate, who will say only, "They were just dismissed for violations of team rules . . . I don't have anything to say."

It is not clear just why Dawkins, a well-mannered, well-liked student, is the object of such harsh punishment. It is even less clear in Tuton's case, whose offense appears to be trying to protect Dawkins. Why, after several years of managing to avert their gazes from unseemly conduct on the part of their athletes, have the coaches—for a moment, at least—stopped looking the

other way? Coach Tate looked the other way in 1975 when star sophomore Odis Dolton said, in response to an order to have his afro haircut trimmed, "Coach, I'll be glad to if you can tell me why it will make me a better player or a better person." ACU coaches managed to look the other way during the 1975 football season when star running back Wilbert Montgomery (now a starter for the Philadelphia Eagles) twice broke the campus rule against fighting, as did Dawkins a few months later when he put up his dukes in a basketball game. Also that year, campus police looked the other way when another football player and a co-ed were found in the backseat of the lad's auto. The couple was told to get dressed and return to their dorms.



Christians 3, Reprobates 0

But Dawkins is philosophical: "I'm hurt as badly as I've been hurt in my life. I know, though, that if they really wanted to make an example of me that it could have been a lot worse. This is a private school, and sometimes people in the background, who supply the money and a lot of the influence, make decisions. And some of them feel very strongly about the rules here.

"One thing I forgot, and one thing a lot of people here forget, is when I enrolled here four years ago, I agreed to adhere to the policies of Abilene Christian University. I might not agree with all of them, but I signed a piece of paper saying I would abide by them. I feel regret, and I've got to learn by it."

—Richard Justice



Lubbock

Score one more knockout punch for the Baptists over the boozers in their fifth annual bout at Texas Tech University in Lubbock. The occasion was a vote taken by Tech regents Feb. 3 on a call to allow the sale and consumption of alcohol on campus. The teetotalers uncorked more than enough clout to beat the proposal—it went down seven to one.

Regent J. Fred Bucy, who doubles as president of Texas Instruments, told the assembled regents that by allowing Tech students the right to a campus snort the board would be leading the school "down the road to liberalism and the socialism that goes with it."

"I think Tech is in a unique position," he said. (The school is the only state-supported university where students must leave campus for anything stronger than ginger ale.) "It is one of the last strongholds of conservatism," Bucy continued. "If the kids want to go to a school where they can get a drink on campus, there are plenty of them. But there is only one place they can't."

Bucy and his fellow regents, with the lone exception of Lubbock supermarket and cafeteria heir Roy K. Furr, made sure of that.

The issue—which some undergraduates insist does not concern drinking at all, but the right of adult students to be treated as adults by the university's governing council—has transformed much of the student body into an angry political bloc overnight.

Students are talking about making their anger known at the polls here on May 6. Regent Don Workman is running for Lubbock's state senate seat being vacated by Kent Hance. (Hance is a candidate for the congressional seat opened by the retirement of 78-year-old George Mahon.) Workman's vote on the drinking issue wasn't the only thing he did to irk students. They're also angry that he reportedly was whispering and joking with another regent as students presented their case to the board.

Students have made it clear, too, that they recall which governor from Uvalde appointed all the current Texas Tech regents and that his name will also appear on a ballot this spring.

But observers discount the effect students are likely to have on present or future regent policy on campus drinking unless they can somehow nullify a powerful and resolute religious lobby.

The latest campus liquor drive spurred the youth minister of the city's largest congregation (which is, of course, Baptist) to initiate a behind-the-scenes letter-writing campaign. The effort, students say, provoked a number of parents to write or phone regents, with threats of reprisals should the students triumph.

Regent board chairman Judson Williams, an El Paso physician, criticized the attempt to "turn this into a moral-religious campaign," while another regent, Hereford radio station owner Clint Formby, termed the phone calls and letters from the anti-liquor faction "intimidating." Although he had sided with the wets on an earlier vote, he yielded to the pressure and voted dry this time.

Meanwhile, Tech's drinkers will continue to show their IDs and plunk down their change at off-campus saloons. And few here expect local barkeepers to be caught crying in their beer over the prospect.

—Sylvia Teague



Waco

Gays have learned that they are not welcome at Waco's Baylor University, the Baptist-affiliated institution of higher learning better known locally as "Jerusalem on the Brazos."

Recently, university president Abner McCall aborted an attempt to have representatives of the Dallas Gay Political Caucus speak on campus. McCall, who must approve all outside speakers, said, "We're not going to furnish a forum for them [homosexuals]." Baylor has no responsibility to provide a forum for gays, McCall rationalized, since "homosexuality is condemned uniformly throughout the Old Testament and the New Testament."

Permitting the Dallas Gay Political Caucus to speak on campus "would be at variance with what Baylor University stands for," the educator said.

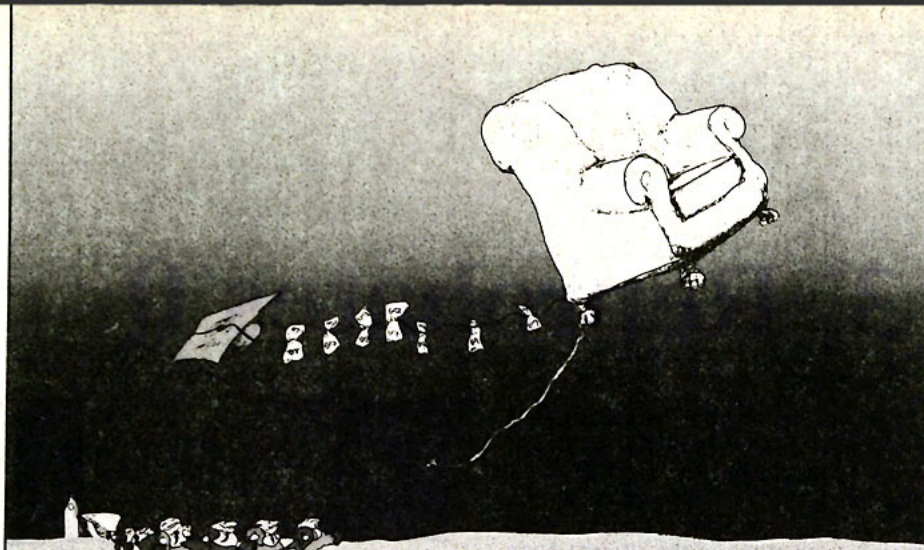
McCall safely assumed that Baptists agreed with his position. The Baptist General Convention, which annually contributes a substantial amount to Baylor, officially took a stand against homosexuality during its annual conference last summer.

Meanwhile, Steve Wilkins, president of the Dallas Gay Political Caucus, explained that his group has made presentations at Texas Christian and Southern Methodist universities. "Baylor was the first door closed to us," Wilkins said.

"Why we were refused is not our concern," said Floyd Baker, a member of the gay caucus. "That's an affair of the university. The fact that we were refused at all is the sad thing."

Sharon Grisby, editor of the student newspaper, *The Baylor Lariat*, said letters to the editor supported McCall's decision by a two-to-one margin.

Still, a *Lariat* editorial written by Stacey Robertson, the paper's news editor, criticized McCall's action, saying that by banning the gays, Baylor was trading away its duty as a university to be socially aware in exchange for the security of its large subsidies from the BGC.



A corporate easy chair

By Roger Baker

I would advise any manager who lives in a community where there is a college to get the professor of economics . . . interested in your problems. Have him lecture on your subject to his classes. Once in a while, it would pay you to take such men . . . and give them a retainer of \$100 or \$200 a year for the privilege of letting you study and consult with them. For how in heaven's name can we do anything in the schools of the country with young people growing up if we have not first sold the idea of education to the college professor?

—Merlin Aylesworth, NBC president in a 1920s address to electric power executives

Austin

Big business has always been on the lookout for ways to buy into academia. The motives vary, ranging from old school ties on the part of industry moguls and a sense of charitable duty, to more forthright desires for competitive advantage of some kind or intellectual legitimization of corporate views. Merlin Aylesworth, the man who led the attack against public broadcasting 50 years ago, is quoted here from a pep talk he gave to private utilities executives worried about the growing interest in publicly owned power systems.

The tactic he suggests—the use of colleges to peddle corporate Truth to school kids—is time honored and currently enjoying a resurgence in Texas. As any reading of business publications in recent months will make clear, the country's top executives have adopted a siege mentality as a response to the assaults of consumer advocates, environmentalists, women, civil rights activists, disgruntled shareholders, plaintiffs, lawyers, and the like. Rather than re-evaluate their firms' proper place in the scheme of things,

big-firm executives have typically dismissed these challenges as the poisoned fruits of public education—there would be no hue and cry, they tell themselves, if the schools would get around to teaching a proper respect for America's economic system.

It's free enterprise that they profess, even if they don't practice what Adam Smith had in mind, and they want the schools to By God teach it right. In Texas, firms are sinking millions of dollars into various institutes, chairs, and other collegiate gimmicks, so that professors might carry the gospel to public school teachers for the ultimate enlightenment of the young.

Consider the missionary zeal to be found today in the college of engineering at the University of Texas at Austin. Businessmen have long been directly connected to the college through the advisory council of UT's Engineering Foundation, which "tries to bring the real world into the classroom" according to engineering dean Ernest Gloyna. The "real world" translates as money for the college's instructional program (about a half million dollars a year, though neither the dean nor top UT officials are able or willing to say precisely how much) and a narrow, businessman's perception of reality. Of the 34 advisors, all are men, ten are from the major brand-name oil refiners, five represent oil production supply firms, and five are from national chemical corporations. No interests besides large business are represented on the council.

One firm claiming council membership is especially active in the college's affairs—Halliburton, Inc., the parent of the giant construction outfit, Brown & Root. In 1976, Brown & Root president Foster Parker began clamoring for a UT course on the private enterprise system. In an Austin speech, Parker said that "An entire generation is growing into adulthood with grossly distorted

views of profit margins, corporate taxes, and corporate responsibilities." He urged the university to establish a course that would set students straight, especially those majoring in journalism, education, and arts and sciences. "In establishing such a course," he told UT faculty members, "you could count on virtually unlimited help from the business community in subject material, guest lecturers, movie and other visual aids; I myself would welcome the chance to participate."

An untimely death denied Parker the opportunity to help out, but his idea had already taken root in the engineering school. Early in 1976, the engineering foundation's advisory council issued a proposal to establish an Academic Chair of Free Enterprise in the college. The printed proposal sermonized that "the continued growth of America and the well-being of its citizens largely depend upon maintaining and advancing concepts of free enterprise at the academic level, thus acquainting those who will be tomorrow's leaders with a dynamic view of competitive capitalism." A million dollars was sought from corporations and individuals to endow the chair. By March of 1976, solicitors had raised half of the amount, enough to satisfy UT requirements for the endowment of a special chair. According to Dean Gloyna, the million-dollar goal has now been nearly met, though he had not made a precise reckoning of cash in hand, and would not make a list of donors available. "Go to [UT president] Lorene Rogers for that," he told the *Observer*. It turns out that no complete list is currently available from any UT official, but a search of the minutes of meetings of the board of regents uncovered a list of contributors good for \$10,000 or more:

Gulf Oil Foundation	\$100,000
Halliburton Education Foundation	35,000
W. R. Davis	25,000
LTV Corp.	25,000
Phillips Petroleum Foundation	25,000
Sabine Royalty Corp.	25,000
Ethyl Corp.	20,000
Houston Oil and Minerals Corp.	20,000
Dow Chemical U.S.A.	15,000
GCS Foundation	15,000
L.B. Meaders	15,000
Texaco, Inc.	15,000
Pennzoil Co.	12,500
Sedco, Inc.	12,500
Tenneco Corp.	12,500
Dresser Industries, Inc.	10,000
Earth Resources Co.	10,000
Harris Corp.	10,000
W. F. Roden	10,000
Schlumberger Well Services	10,000
Scurlock Oil Co.	10,000
Texas Commerce Bancshares, Inc.	10,000
Texas Oil and Gas Corp.	10,000
Texas Power and Light Co.	10,000
Tyler Corp.	10,000
Willco Foundation	10,000
TOTAL	\$481,500

Though the Chair of Free Enterprise is two years old, it remains unfilled, and a search continues for a "distinguished professor" willing to accept the appointment. Nonetheless, the "chair" is active. Late last May, using the chair as an organizing device, the engineering college sponsored a three-day symposium in Austin on "Teaching Free Enterprise in Texas Public Schools." Invited to attend and learn how to "plan, coordinate and implement . . . courses in the free enterprise system" were school district supervisors, teachers, and educational consultants.

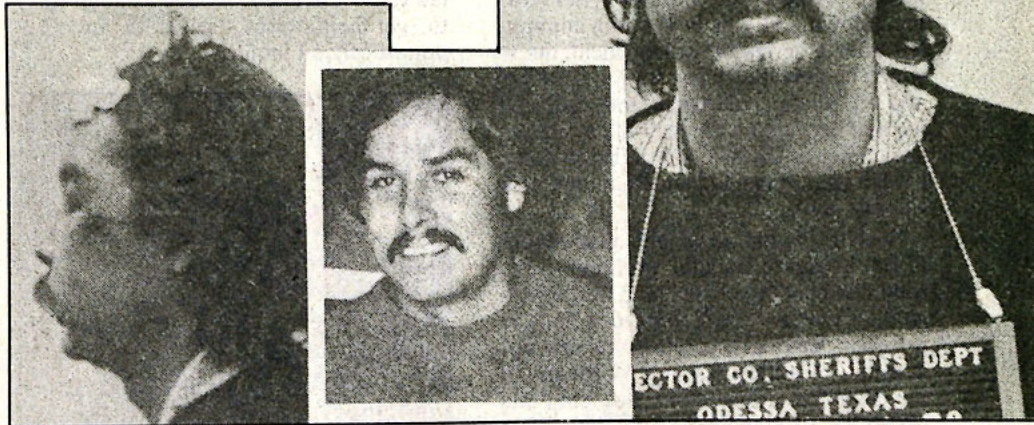
No doubt we could all benefit from a better understanding of the workings (and failings) of the American economic system, but the stacked nature of last spring's symposium illustrates the danger of turning such an educational responsibility over to those with narrow, vested interests. Three comprehensive lectures were devoted to the viewpoints of business, government and academia. But the arguments turned out to be virtually identical. Eric Jonsson, founder of Texas Instruments and former mayor of Dallas gave business's view; government was "represented" by Charles Walker, a former Nixon administration official who now makes his living in Washington lobbying for many of the country's largest, blue-chip corporations; academia's perceptions were entrusted to economist Michael Mescon, who occupies Georgia State University's chair of free enterprise.

And so it went. The environmental spokesman for the session was Dr. Casey Westell, who works for Tenneco, Inc., and the representative for consumers was Dr. Robert G. Barnes, identified only as a former professor at Onondaga College. When it came time for a summing up, a representative of the San Antonio chamber of commerce was called on to tell the educators what materials and techniques were available to help them teach the free enterprise doctrine.

As a follow-up to the symposium, the engineering school, again through the chair of free enterprise, offered monographs and tapes of selected presentations for use in Texas' public schools. Pointedly missing from the list of available resource material was a transcript of the talk given by Ruth Ellinger, research director of the Texas AFL-CIO. Hers was the only presentation to stress the contributions of working people to the economic order. Ellinger protested the exclusion of labor's view, but to no avail. In academia, when business pays the piper, it calls the tune. □

Roger Baker is an Austin-based freelance writer.

Inquest in Odessa



Larry Lozano before and after tangling with Ector County lawmen

By Mark Vogler and
Eric Hartman

Odessa, Austin

Larry Lozano died in the Ector County jail Jan. 22, 12 days after a brawl with sheriff's deputies that left him battered beyond recognition and several deputies in need of medical attention. Sheriff Elton Faught announced the following day that Lozano, a 27-year-old Mexican-American with a history of mental instability, had killed himself. He apparently "went berserk," the sheriff said, and smashed his head against the shatter-proof glass window of his isolation cell.

Faught's story went unchallenged in the *Odessa American*, the major local newspaper, but an El Paso medical examiner and reporters for out-of-town newspaper and wire services turned up a more sinister version of Lozano's death a few days later. Dr. Frederick Bornstein, hired to conduct an independent autopsy by the Lozano family after the Odessa examiner refused to release her findings, concluded that the pattern of Lozano's 92 bruises and other injuries was "incompatible with suicide." The reporters, meanwhile, found sources inside the jail willing to swear that Lozano had been beaten to death by some of Sheriff Faught's deputies.

As the contrary version of Lozano's death became staple front-page fare in Texas newspapers outside Odessa, Sheriff Faught stuck by his suicide story and the *Odessa American* confined its coverage to dutiful recitals of the information unearthed by rival reporters and the rebuttals offered by Ector County officials. Both the lawmen and the newspaper are now under increasing fire for their handling of the Lozano case.

Federal and state authorities have taken charges of official lawlessness seriously enough to launch full-scale investigations of possible civil rights violations, even as a justice of the peace and district attorney John Green proceed with plans for an inquest of their own into the circumstances of the inmate's death. At the same time, concern over the *American's* seeming timidity and lack of appetite for a story unflattering to the local law enforcement hierarchy has resulted in calls for a boycott by leaders of the area's Mexican-American community. They see a disturbing similarity between Lozano's death and the deaths in recent years of other Mexican-Americans while in police custody in Texas; they perceive an equally disturbing contrast between the listless efforts of the hometown paper and the zeal of outside news organizations in ferreting out the unofficial version of what happened to Larry Lozano during his dozen days in Sheriff Faught's custody.

There's little common ground between the differing accounts of Lozano's troubles with Ector County lawmen, but on one point they agree: by the time sheriff's deputies locked him in a cell on the night of his arrest, he'd earned himself a dangerous jailhouse reputation as a battler. That evening Lozano slugged it out with two deputies who came to the scene of his one-car accident on a deserted Odessa street. As Sheriff Faught later told reporters, the athletically built six-footer simply "whipped their ass." Help was summoned and Lozano took a fearful drubbing; another fight erupted when he was booked. From then on it was clear, as one Odessa attorney has said, that inmate Lozano had a real problem—"he was insufficiently submissive."

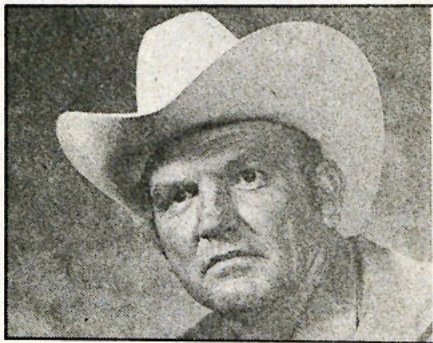
Press reports suggest that Lozano's behavior may have reflected another problem, evidenced by a month-long stay last summer at the Austin State Hospital. Unable to overcome deep depression occasioned by a bitter divorce, he had suffered what family members have termed a "minor nervous breakdown." His sister had him committed after a series of violent incidents in which he assaulted a gas station manager and an Austin policeman and menaced her and her family. He was still a relative newcomer to Odessa, struggling to make a fresh start, when he landed in the Ector County jail.

Sheriff Faught says his men recognized Lozano's mental problem. "We tried our best to get this man into a hospital," says the sheriff, who adds that the prisoner "belonged in a hospital and not in a jail." Captain Tommy McMeans of the sheriff's department has said his superiors informed him four days after Lozano's arrest that the troublesome inmate was slated for transfer to a state mental hospital. But family members say that commitment papers were rejected by the sheriff's department, in violation of a recently enacted state law that requires such transfer within 24 hours after inmates deemed mentally ill are jailed in facilities unequipped to provide psychiatric care.

Faught also claims that his officers did not physically abuse Lozano after his arrest, but inmates and others inside the jail tell of continual verbal and physical harassment that ended only when he was fatally beaten by a gang of Faught's deputies. Alleged eyewitnesses claim they saw as many as eight deputies kick and pummel Lozano for several minutes outside his cell. They say he had stopped breathing by the time his assailants relented and removed a bloody blanket from around his head. The officers hadn't intended to kill him, these sources say, but they did mean to pay him back for the injuries he'd inflicted on deputies at his arrest and booking. Their claims conform to the opinion of medical examiner Bornstein that Lozano died "from extensive blunt trauma, such as beating, hitting, kicking, as well as possible small wounds made with sharp instruments."

Sheriff Faught's response to news reports detailing these allegations has not won him high marks for finesse from courthouse observers. Faught complains of persecution by the press, but he has elaborated on his original story, conceding that officers did struggle with Lozano on the night he died. The sheriff insists, though, that his deputies acted only to restrain the inmate once he became uncontrollably violent, shattered a cell window, and armed himself with shards of broken glass. Lozano died in a strug-

gle with deputy sheriffs, Faught now admits, but he denies that any deliberate beating took place. His attempts to exonerate his department haven't been helped by a well-reported courthouse conference—attended by Faught, the deputies involved, and an Odessa lawyer—convened, so one insider said, to "get their stories straight" in anticipation of official inquiries.



Sheriff Elton Faught

Aid to the beleaguered sheriff, albeit of an ambiguous sort, has been forthcoming from Ector County district attorney John Green. While Green has fitfully proclaimed his intention of bringing to justice any lawbreakers in the sheriff's department, he has also indulged his penchant for reminding journalists of the awful consequences in store if they make misstatements about Odessa's public officials (*Obs.*, June 3 and Sept. 9, 1977).

His chief contribution to date, however, has been to lure Dr. Joseph Jachimczyk, the celebrated Houston medical examiner, into the case as a consultant for the local inquest. On the basis of Jachimczyk's guarded, preliminary statements that Dr. Bornstein's earlier homicide finding may have been too unqualified, Green has told the press that the "doctor in Houston has confirmed what we believed all along." "He confirmed it was impossible to reach a conclusion it was homicide," said DA Green. In Houston, meanwhile, the good doctor was telling reporters he had yet to reach any conclusions.

The performance of Faught and Green has inspired little confidence on the part of Ruben Sandoval, the San Antonio attorney who represents the Lozano family. Sandoval has referred to the two as "obstacles" to the investigation of Larry Lozano's death, and adds that "several county officials" may be guilty of obstruction of justice. Whatever their role proves to have been, the activist attorney doesn't expect much from state court proceedings, in which he says juries cannot yet "see beyond the badge and uniform." That reasoning, buttressed by mild state jury verdicts in recent cases where Mexican-Americans died at the hands of Texas law officers, prompted his successful effort to bring the U.S.

Justice Department into the Lozano case.

Editors at the *Odessa American* have been almost as embarrassed as Odessa officialdom by the newspaper stories that brought a federal civil rights investigation to their hometown. The *American* had first crack at the story, says a source who proposed to editor-in-chief Olin Ashley on the night Lozano died that his paper ought to look into the inmate's death. A routine report based largely on Sheriff Faught's version of events was published instead. Ashley later explained that "I've got enough battles going on," and excused the *American's* skimpy coverage by saying that "my people are green." Frustrated staffers could only look on with chagrin as newspapers around the state took turns scoring investigative coups in the *American's* own backyard.

Several reporters for the *Odessa* paper say that inexperience was less an inhibiting factor than DA Green's pending libel suits against the *American*. "Ashley just doesn't want to tangle with Green at this point," said one observer.

An even less-charitable view is entertained by many of the area's Mexican-Americans. They have held mass meetings, conducted marches, and promoted a boycott because they think the *Odessa American* is uncaring about the fate of Mexican-Americans who run afoul of the law in Ector County. This attitude, they argue, removes a fundamental constraint on punitive excesses against members of their minority community.

Courthouse reporter Greg Watson quit the *American* at the end of February over limitations imposed by editor Ashley on his coverage of a Brown Beret-sponsored march meant to dramatize just such complaints. With Watson gone, longtime police reporter Matt Conklin took over the developing Lozano story, and he minced no words in describing his perspective on it. "The chicanos are yelling that it's murder," he told the *Observer*, dismissing most of what's been written about the Lozano case so far as "garbage." Conklin expects a more trustworthy account to emerge from the upcoming coroner's inquest, and meanwhile puts his faith in Sheriff Faught and his other friends of long standing in the sheriff's department.

Faced with the attitude given such honest expression by Conklin, critics of his paper could be pardoned for concluding that, if the verdict on Larry Lozano is that he was "insufficiently submissive" to local authority, the verdict on the *Odessa American* must be that it's too much so. □

Mark Vogler is a former staff reporter at the *Odessa American*. Eric Hartman is a lawyer and an *Observer* contributor.

Council's racial stand-off blamed

S.A. bond issue goes down, 3 to 2

By Don Walden

San Antonio

The results of San Antonio's March 4 bond election confirmed what most people who follow politics in Texas' second largest city have known for some time—that the city council's one black and five Mexican-American members are at a stand-off with the anglo population here.

Voters who rejected by a three-to-two margin a \$98.4 million bond issue were apparently venting their anger at the council, the first in the city's history under the control of racial minorities. After the six-member chicano and black majority brushed aside objections to the bond package, the group's opponents took direct aim at the seven ballot propositions and tried, with evident success, to turn the election into a city-wide referendum on the record of the six. Even Mayor Lila Cockrell urged San Antonians to vote no.

Cockrell originally supported the bonds and promised to work for their approval when campaigning for reelection last year. She had been among the nine-vote council majority that referred the bond issue to the voters in the first place. Her subsequent withdrawal of support had nothing to do with the merits of the projects the bonds were intended to capitalize.

On Thursday, Feb. 9, the council adopted a budget for an \$18.3 million federal grant, but reduced an appropriation recommended by city manager Tom Huebner for development of downtown housing and deleted \$1.5 million that Huebner wanted to put toward the purchase of land lying in the path of a proposed system of boulevards around the central business district. The federal money went instead to parks and street improvements, flood control efforts, and other neighborhood projects.

In what Cockrell called "a raw power play," the group beat back several amendments to restore funds for Huebner's recommendations. The next day, the mayor and the other anglos on the council said the six had "shattered" the community's confidence in the council to the point that voters would not be asked to support the bonds. Cockrell then suggested that the election be delayed until confidence could be restored. A flurry of weekend meetings failed to produce a resolution of the matter—the latest in a long line of intra-council squabbles—and on Feb. 12, Cockrell retaliated by advising San Antonians to reject the bonds the council majority was keen to see approved.

Thereafter, the real debate focused not on the advisability of passing the seven propositions but on the performance of the divided council. Bond proponents charged that the opposition of the mayor and her allies amounted to a barely concealed, racially motivated attack directed at the six councilmen and the progress minorities have made in San Antonio over the past several years. Councilman Henry Cisneros, a Mexican-American leader and a possible mayoral candidate, said the goal of those fighting the bond propositions was to "put the Mexicans in their place."

Cockrell gave short shrift to that argument. She took pains to make no references to the racial composition of the council and said she preferred to think the split on the 11-member body was caused by economic and geographic differences—her six adversaries represent poor areas on the south side of town.

But there is some evidence that the electorate saw the bond fight as a social issue, pure and simple.

Although votes on several important questions have been cast independently of race, the history of the current council has been largely written along color lines. The U.S. Justice Department forced San Antonio to adopt single-member council districts after the city diluted Mexican-American influence by annexing large outlying areas of anglo population. This council, the first elected by district instead of at-large, was also the first to come under the control of the city's minorities.

The council has not hesitated to address race-related questions head on. For example, an ordinance requiring the city's utility boards to seat one anglo, one black, and one Mexican-American member each is under consideration. In fact, a recurring criticism of the council has been that it too willingly permits ethnic considerations to govern the allocation of city resources.

All of these upheavals have stirred resentment among the city's anglos, whose feelings clearly spilled over into the bond campaign. Ever since taking office, the council has been dismissed as irresponsible by leaders in white neighborhoods. On the last day of the campaign, councilman Rudy Ortiz claimed that the wholesale charges of "irresponsibility" made by bond opponents were actually "veiled racist attacks."

Generally, support for the bonds followed a racial and geographic pattern. Districts predominantly black and brown



Councilman Cisneros on a street that would have been paved had the bonds passed.

favored the bonds, while anglo areas voted them down. Several anglo establishment organizations—the Chamber of Commerce, the Taxpayer's League, and builder and professional associations—led the opposition. Proponents were minority-controlled organizations such as the Mexican Chamber of Commerce, C.O.P.S. (Communities Organized for Public Service, a predominantly Mexican-American citizens' lobby), Residents Organized for Better and Beautiful Environmental Development (a mostly black citizens' lobby), religious civic groups, and several labor unions. Whether voting was racially influenced or not, the election result has intensified feelings on both sides that city politics has become a matter of race.

The implications of the impasse are not clear. It may mean Cisneros will have to shelve his mayoral ambitions. But the mayor's office in San Antonio's council-manager government is weak, and whoever has the most votes on the council can enjoy more influence than the mayor. The council stand-off may harden the minorities into a cohesive coalition. They have not forged such a coalition thus far, despite the widespread perception that they have acted like one.

On the other hand, circumstances may now compel the six to work with their five anglo colleagues. There was some indication, even before the defeat of their bond proposal, that they recognized the need to secure anglo cooperation. For her part, Mayor Cockrell announced after the election that she would extend a "hand of friendship" to the bond proponents. □

Don Walden covers city hall for the San Antonio Light.

Political Intelligence

Supporting the hand that feeds you

- By a lopsided 87 to 4 percent, Americans believe that food middlemen, rather than farmers, make most of the profits in the food industry, according to a January Harris survey that shows strong public support for farmers in their current plight. Five out of six people surveyed agreed that farmers deserve a better price for their crops so they can attain their goal of 100 percent of parity. And in the acid test of consumer concern, a 54 to 36 percent majority would be willing to see their own food prices rise by 5 percent if that would allow farmers to achieve parity.

Run for the bench

- A dozen statewide political offices are up for grabs this year, and with district and local contests to sort out too, it is understandable that most people's eyes glaze over at cocktail parties when asked, "Who're you backing for the Court of Criminal Appeals?"

But this is a race worth thinking about, not only because the court is Texas' ultimate authority over such matters as the death penalty, but also because the campaign for one of the open seats on the nine-judge panel pits hard-line prosecutor and interim court member Jim Vollers against an experienced criminal defense attorney, Sam Houston Clinton of Austin. The Vollers-Clinton match is an election that actually could make a difference in Texas.

Vollers, 46, is the former state prosecuting attorney who ran for an appeals court seat in 1976, finishing a poor third in a three-man primary. But, in 1977, the voters approved a constitutional amendment expanding the court by four judges, and Vollers was appointed in January by Governor Briscoe to the judgeship he had failed to win on his own.

Clinton, 54, has been in private practice since 1952. He has represented black students suing to integrate University of Texas dormitories (squaring off against Leon Jaworski, who represented the status quo), and he served as Jack Ruby's attorney on appeal. He is an able labor attorney and currently serves with law partner David Richards as counsel to the Texas AFL-CIO.

Disclosed

- Job hunting? The city of Fort Worth has two vacancies as a result of its new ethics code and financial disclosure ordinance for public officials. City manager Rodger Line and city attorney J. G. Johndroe Jr. have resigned, reportedly because of their dissatisfaction with the code and ordinance.

Although both gave other reasons for quitting, city councilman Walter Barbour said Line told a closed-door session of the council that financial disclosure was an important factor in his decision. Johndroe has never made a secret of his objections to the ethics code.

—Sheila Taylor



Sam Houston Clinton

Judicial campaigns tend to be low-key affairs—candidates rarely do anything so vulgar as stump the state for votes—and there is no reason to expect much hoopla in this race for the Place 2 seat on the criminal appeals bench. It will likely be a matter of each candidate turning out his natural constituency on election day. Clinton will look to defense attorneys, labor groups, minorities and long-time co-workers in the Democratic Party for his base of support, while Vollers's strength will come primarily from district attorneys and whatever advantage he can squeeze from his short incumbency. But, despite his appointment to the bench and his previous experience as a statewide candidate, Vollers seems well aware that his is hardly a household name—in early March, he was seen campaigning at Austin's municipal airport, handing out palm cards to passengers coming off arriving planes.

—Vicki Vaughan

Taking the bar

- Remember the old "Ben Barnes bill"? Not many people do, but a few lawmakers who were members of the Texas Legislature between 1965 and 1973 have kept the bill in mind, using it as a short cut to a law license.

The bill was passed back in 1965 so that Ben Barnes, then speaker of the Texas House, could take the bar exam and practice law without going through all the bother of completing law school. After all, one who writes laws must know something about the law, right? The statute offered a number of combinations that allowed legislators to avoid three years of legal education and still seek admission to the bar: anyone who had served 12 consecutive years in the Legislature was deemed automatically qualified to take the exam; membership in the Legislature for eight consecutive years, plus a bachelor's degree qualified you; service in the Legislature for four consecutive years, a bachelor's degree and two years of law school would do the trick; or membership in both houses of the Legislature and a master's degree put you in. Ironically, the bill stirred so much adverse publicity that Barnes never took the exam.

Others were less hesitant. The statute was repealed in 1973, but those who served in the Legislature during its eight-year life were—and are—still eligible. Three members of the 65th Legislature have just taken the bar exam by grace of the Barnes loophole, and passed: Reps. Dave Allred (D-Wichita Falls), Don Henderson (R-Houston), and Senfronia Thompson (D-Houston). Allred, who studied law for a year at St. Mary's University and Baylor University (and who took a master's degree in journalism from Columbia University), is in his 12th year of legislative service. He'll join a law firm in his hometown. Henderson spent a couple of years in night classes at the South Texas School of Law in Houston. Thompson, who studied law for a couple of years at Texas Southern University, had taken the bar exam unsuccessfully before passing it this year on her second try.

—Janie Leigh Frank

Why God gave us Okies

- *Texas Parks & Wildlife*, a monthly magazine that is by far the classiest of all state publications, is dedicated to the conservation and enjoyment of Texas' natural resources. It is printed in Oklahoma.



Just politics

● Campaigning does strange things to people. Witness Reagan Brown, currently running for state agriculture commissioner, the post that Dolph Briscoe appointed him to last year. Apparently overcome by candidate fever, Brown issued a Feb. 23 press release hailing the end of winter: "No group of Texans were more relieved to see this week's sunshine than the state's farmers and ranchers," he said, as though he had something to do with it.

Condos for college kids

● Is college not all that it could be because you're living in a drab dorm? Is that what's bothering you, bunky? Well, break out of the doldrums by getting daddy or mommy to buy you one of the neat condominium apartments being built in Austin for University of Texas students. For \$90,000, you can move into a three-bedroom unit of "The Orange Tree" and be the talk of the Drag. If that's a little steep for those of you working your way through college, you can get an efficiency for \$27,500.

The condos have been built by Hamlets Corporation of Houston, and 30 of the 32 units have been snapped up already, according to a report in the *Austin American-Statesman*. Phase Two of the project—another 36 apartments—will be under construction beginning in April, and word is that there is already a waiting list of parents eager to buy so junior can have a bedroom of his own to study in. Hamlets Corporation is so enthused that Phase Three is on the drawing boards.

Where's Wright?

● An eight-year effort to establish an effective consumer voice within the councils of the federal government has been crushed in Congress. H.R. 6508, supported by President Carter, House Speaker Tip O'Neill and Ralph Nader, among others, would have created an Office of Consumer Representation to advocate consumer interests before government agencies and congressional committees, providing thereby some counterbalance to the lobbying pressure of business interests.

The Business Roundtable, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and an ad hoc organization of some 300 corporations (deceptively packaging themselves as the "Consumer Issues Working Group") led a massive, multi-million-dollar lobbying blitz to overwhelm the proposal. On Feb. 8, the House voted 227 to 189 against consumers.

Only eight Texans came down on the side of the angels on this one, and two of them get smudges on their gold stars. The six stalwarts are Jack Brooks of Beaumont, Bob Eckhardt of Houston, Barbara Jordan of Houston, Jim Mattox of Dallas, Jack Pickle of Austin and John Young of Corpus Christi. Henry Gonzalez voted against the bill on the final roll call, but after the electronic tote board showed that it had failed to pass, the San Antonio Democrat switched his vote to "yes," thus becoming a consumer champion by way of the back door.

More curious was the disappearing act of majority leader Jim Wright of Fort Worth, who had supported the administration's bill all along. It is generally conceded that Wright had worked hard lobbying members for support in the days preceding the vote, but when the last-day crunch came, Wright was on an airplane to Hawaii. A spokesman from his office explained that Wright had a previous commitment to attend a fundraising dinner for a Hawaiian member of the House. However, the dinner was not till Friday night, and Wright departed Wednesday noon, just hours before the crucial vote. The Hawaiian congressman, Cecil Heftel, stayed in Washington to vote for the consumer bill, and, indeed, didn't leave for home until Thursday. Wright was formally recorded for the bill on final passage, since he had arranged with an opponent of the measure to "pair" or cancel one another's vote.

—Gerald McLeod

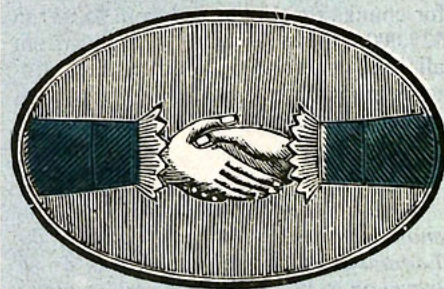
At the bargaining table

● Seamen, construction workers and post office employees in Texas have union contracts up for negotiation in 1978. Some 12,000 members of the National Maritime Workers Union are based in state ports, and negotiations on their behalf are already underway. Although the current NMWU contract does not expire until June, union official Kirby McDowell told the *Observer* a new pact probably will be wrapped up by May, providing increases in wages, pension payments, cost-of-living allowances, and other benefits.

Elehue Traylor, national vice president of the American Postal Workers Union said that negotiations for APWU members begin formally in April, though the union's bargaining committee is busy now screening proposals for the contract sessions.

Most Texas workers affected by labor negotiations this year are in the construction trades, and include bricklayers, carpenters, cement masons, ironworkers, pipefitters, plumbers, ers, roofers and sign painters. Contract negotiations for their unions will be concentrated between March and July.

—Debbie Wormser



Awarded

● His lead article in the *Observer's* July 29, 1977, special issue on Texas bankholding companies earned Tim Mahoney third place honors in the investigative reporting category of this year's William Randolph Hearst Awards competition, the collegiate equivalent of the Pulitzer Prize.

Mahoney, a journalism major at the University of Texas and an *Observer* regular, beat out competitors from 65 other undergraduate j-schools to win the \$500 cash prize, created from the estate of the late newspaper magnate.

—David Guarino

elections. Volunteers in New Braunfels cranked out additional notes to people Krueger had met on campaign trips.

Harlan's fall campaign actually cost more than Krueger's, but the Republican couldn't counter the momentum Krueger achieved in the spring and early summer. The November vote percentages were Krueger 53, Harlan 45.

Krueger finally had his national office, but there was a catch. The three elections cost \$362,053. His staff hadn't raised half that much, and the campaign was left with a debt of \$206,000. Krueger's had been the most expensive race for Congress in the United States in 1974.

When a campaign goes into debt, the most straightforward thing a politician can do is put up collateral for all his bank loans. Krueger's loans were obtained both by his family and by wealthy supporters. Bob, his mother, and cousin Jack Krueger had arranged loans totaling \$56,000.

One individual supporter, L. D. Brinkman, personally loaned the campaign \$55,000. Brinkman, head of Giffen Industries (a conglomerate built around the carpet business), owns a ranch near Kerrville, where he met Krueger early in the campaign. The Krueger family eventually responded to his generosity by purchasing more than 6,000 shares of Giffen Industries stock.

Notes for the rest of the campaign debt were signed by oilmen, car dealers, builders, bankers and professional men living in the 21st District, who were good for chunks ranging in size from \$5,000 to \$25,000. The obligations accruing from all this generosity would pose an interesting problem as Krueger began his career in public life.

John Pouland drives too fast. A heavy snow which began during a stop at the Lampasas stock show continues as we travel on to Waco. Planes are grounded, and several stops have to be cancelled. As Pouland crosses icy bridges at 90 miles an hour, Bob Krueger remains calm but asks him to at least use the windshield wipers occasionally.

The interview progresses somehow, despite the wind whistling through the station wagon and the candidate's laryngitis. Krueger doesn't just answer questions, he tries to gain his listener's approval. His explanations pile one on top of another until their sheer weight wins agreement.

Krueger is a man of some precision. He has an unerring instinct for the center of contrary arguments. He manages to make sense of picking Gandhi and Churchill as personal heroes, even though the men were bitter opponents.

He calls the recent farmers' strike a "positive" action, but he won't endorse full parity because farmers "don't want welfare and subsidy." He thinks the United States has a right to interfere in European elections to oppose "totalitarian" leftist candidates, but he wants Washington to open diplomatic relations with Cuba. He respects nonviolence but says he will support the Pentagon until other nations disarm first. Something Krueger will not qualify is his disdain for government regulatory agencies. His faith in unrestrained capitalism harks back to the previous century. It all begins to sound very British—fair play and free trade. Benjamin Disraeli springs to mind.



John Spragens Jr.

Krueger arrived in Washington early in 1975 as one of 75 new members elected to the House of Representatives in the reform wave which followed Watergate. He bought a Capitol Hill townhouse for \$165,000 and settled in for a long stay.

Coming from a district with more cattle than people, Krueger sought a place on the agriculture committee but lost out to Rep. Jack Hightower of Vernon. House Speaker Carl Albert, whose Rhodes scholarship had made him a fellow Oxonian, took Krueger under his wing and advised him to serve instead on the interstate and foreign commerce committee.

The new freshman class, the largest in congressional history, first made its presence felt by challenging the ironclad seniority system. Many committee chairmen were soon under open threat, and Texans Wright Patman and Bob Poage were ousted as heads of their committees.

Krueger bucked the reform trend among House freshmen and voted in favor of Patman, Poage and other senior members. Once the Congress began considering legislation, he put even more distance between himself and most of the new, mostly progressive members. Con-

gressional Quarterly would ultimately rank Krueger as the eighth most conservative freshman in the 94th Congress.

Over the next three years, Krueger established a consistent voting pattern as an economic conservative with occasional liberal stands on selected social issues. He sided with the liberals on legislation to prolong the life of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and extend its application to Texas, and on the admission of women to the service academies. He voted for strip-mining regulation and an end to the ban on political activity imposed long ago on federal workers. He also stood with the liberals by opposing a total prohibition against the use of Medicaid funds for abortions.

But while he has shown such flashes of liberal inclination, the great majority of his votes show him to be a die-hard defender of the status quo, and basically a reactionary on economic and military issues.

The congressman from New Braunfels voted with the conservatives on food stamp cutbacks, delays in enforcement of auto pollution regulations, relaxation of air pollution standards in cities, cuts in solar energy research, high military budgets, construction of the B-1 bomber and development of the neutron bomb, arms sales to foreign dictatorships, agribusiness subsidies, and opposition to consumer protection measures, strong lobby disclosure, open records bills, and job programs.

Krueger's record on labor has been mixed. He voted against common situs picketing and attempts to repeal right-to-work provisions, and for a reform in the labor laws to guarantee labor and management equal time prior to union representation elections. He supported the increase in the minimum wage to \$2.65, but voted for delays and the denial of the same rate to teenagers.

Choosing sides

Floor votes in the House are only a partial reflection of a politician's work. What really counts is skill in writing legislation and guiding bills toward final approval. Regardless of conservative or liberal beliefs, a representative may choose to work for the public interest or for special interests. Krueger has embraced big business. It was a logical choice for someone with his background, huge campaign debts, and ambition to run in expensive races for even higher office.

The petroleum industry was the first to engage Krueger's services. An intern from Harvard dived into research on oil and gas laws and helped prepare his first major proposals. Krueger joined the efforts to save the oil depletion allowance. With support from President Gerald Ford, he also mustered a surprisingly

(Continued on page 17)

345

454 Communities in Need!

Thanks, *Observer* readers, for your gratifying response to the library subscription campaign which was published earlier this year. More than 100 new gift subscriptions have been ordered so far for the public and county libraries listed on these two pages. In addition, one good friend contributed \$1,000 to be used for high school library subscriptions.

All told, the *Observer* now can be found in nearly 700 library reading rooms, including 65 in colleges and universities in other states. Yet there still are 345 public and county libraries in Texas—the cities not crossed out—that do not receive the *Observer*.

Please examine the list on both sides of this page for a city or town which is a sentimental favorite of yours, or for which you have a special concern. We hope you will give your favorite community a valuable supplement to the views expressed in the local press by getting its library on the *Observer* habit.

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Krueger. . . from page 14

close vote in July of 1975 on a bill to decontrol domestic crude oil prices. His bill failed, 220-202.

A few weeks after the vote on oil prices, Krueger began a long crusade to deregulate prices of natural gas. His membership on the House commerce committee and several of its subcommittees gave him a good vantage point for introducing legislation to help oilmen and kindred business groups.

While toiling in the House, Krueger found the time to write magazine arti-



Mike Smith

cles, churn out news releases, and make stirring speeches on the evils of oil and gas regulation, national health insurance, no-fault insurance, industrial safety rules, and restrictions on the automobile industry. His positions on these issues made him a champion of anti-consumer forces across the nation and he soon was a much sought after guest speaker at conventions of oilmen, doctors, trial lawyers, car dealers, insurance underwriters, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

His pro-business efforts proved profitable. By July of 1975, when he introduced his oil price decontrol bill, Krueger had raised only \$11,936 against the leftover 1974 campaign debt of \$206,000. After the first of his fights for deregulation and the start of his committee work on a gas price decontrol bill, contributions poured in, mainly from sources outside the 21st district. The debt was retired by the end of December. Oil and gas producers had given \$51,147, or slightly more than a fourth of the amount needed.

Krueger could not be described as a passive recipient of special interest donations. "We went to them. The big money in Texas is in oil and gas, and there's nothing unusual for a Texan to

seek contributions from these kinds of people," aide Allaire George told *The Dallas Times-Herald*.

The running battle to deregulate natural gas prices won Krueger a good deal of national attention. Krueger's efforts in the House in the closing months of 1975 and first weeks of 1976 brought him tantalizingly close to victory. He lost a deregulation fight by only four votes in February of that year.

Krueger was acclaimed for his skill in taking the measure as far as he did. *Roll Call*, a Capitol Hill newspaper, selected him as the "most effective" freshman in the 94th Congress. When Jimmy Carter endorsed deregulation during his 1976 campaign, Krueger became chairman of Oil & Gas Producers for Carter.

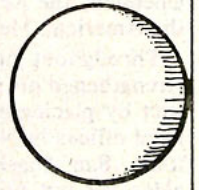
If Carter had stuck with his 1976 position, Krueger would probably have won natural gas deregulation in the 1977 House session. Carter changed his mind, however, after a White House study convinced him deregulation would cost consumers an extra \$86 billion in fuel charges by 1985. Krueger responded that Carter's figures "came from some dark source of ignorance" and claimed his bill would cost consumers only \$46 billion more.

Krueger got his deregulation bill through a commerce subcommittee last June but lost in the full committee. He then threw his support to a gas deregulation bill sponsored by House Republicans. Even with lobbying help from ex-President Ford, the bill failed in July, 227-199. Its defeat and Carter's promise to veto deregulation have probably killed Krueger's chances to lift gas controls any time in the next few years.

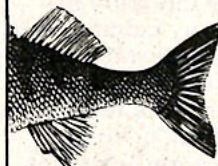
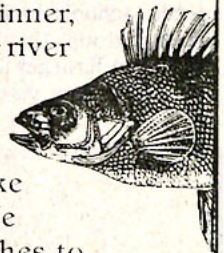
Deregulation hasn't been the only issue separating Krueger and the President. A Carter lieutenant told the *Observer* that Krueger's voting record shows that "he's neither a moderate, as he claims, nor really even a Democrat." The President's man cited a *Congressional Quarterly* analysis of 1977 votes on which Carter took a position. Krueger supported his party's president only 43 percent of the time. Republican John Tower did almost as well, mirroring Carter on 40 percent of the votes examined, and Lloyd Bentsen, who is hardly a knee-jerk Carterite, supported the President 63 percent of the time. (Indeed, Krueger was more loyal to Republican Gerald Ford than to Carter, siding with Ford on 47 percent of his votes.) According to the *CQ* analysis, only 25 Democrats in the House were less loyal to their president than was Krueger.

Krueger's growing fame and conservative voting record made him a cinch for re-election to Congress in 1976, when he faced only minor challenges in both the primary and general elections. Garry Mauro and Tom Henderson stayed with jobs in State Comptroller Bob Bullock's

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office while less-experienced aides ran the campaign. Roy Spence, however, came back to handle media chores.

The Krueger staff raised \$154,830 in 1976 and had \$35,231 left over after the two elections. Of the \$38,000 that oil and gas sources contributed, \$5,650 came from executives of eight oil firms under investigation by one of Krueger's subcommittees. Political action committee funds (*Obs.*, Dec. 2, 1977) from a variety of special interest groups accounted for \$41,661 in donations. The names on many of the PAC contributions are familiar—Texaco, Shell, Sunoco, Dow Chemical, the Realtors Association, and the American Medical Association.

Throughout his first term, Krueger strengthened his position in the 21st district by placing efficient young aides in local offices in New Braunfels, San Antonio, San Angelo and Del Rio. These aides got out press releases, answered questions, and forwarded requests to Washington on behalf of constituents, or at least some constituents. Not everyone back home was pleased.

Nayo Zamora, a New Braunfels filling station owner whose seven-year lawsuit finally led to the integration of the city's public schools in 1975, is a member of several groups that have tried repeatedly to inform Krueger and his people of possible labor law violations on the part of



textile mill operators, as well as gerrymandering of county precinct lines to dilute the Mexican-American vote, and of the struggle against discrimination in the schools. The groups have hoped in vain that Krueger's office would pass the complaints on to the appropriate federal agencies and recommend action.

"Every time we've complained to his office about local discrimination, he's said he's not involved in local politics. When he complained about no Mexican-American being appointed as ambassador to Mexico, that was fine," Zamora said, "but he's never tried to correct injustices in his own community."

The woman just won't sit down. Her adulatory introduction of Bob Krueger at a San Antonio convention of English

teachers drags on and on. The audience becomes embarrassed for her and wonders how Krueger will overcome the mood she is setting. She finally quits. Krueger takes the podium.

He jokes about his lack of scholarly attainments while a professor, knowing that the crowd is in awe of his degrees and academic career. He pokes fun at his curly hair, knowing that the women in the audience will notice his tall good looks. He has them.

Krueger never mentions his race for the Senate. He moves into the body of a speech on the glories and challenges of education. His hands are constantly in motion in tight, evocative gestures. He gently attacks the classroom methods used by most of the 600 teachers in the audience, but they seem flattered by his concern for their improvement and his willingness to suggest new ways.

The speech is peppered with quotes from the classics. The Shakespeare has the resonance of an Olivier. The long passage from Chaucer is a rush of immaculate Middle English. He ends with a resounding affirmation of tradition, reverence and erudition. The teachers leap to their feet and applaud.

The 1978 race for John Tower's Senate seat entered the strategy stage four years

Texas Log Buildings

A Folk Architecture
By Terry G. Jordan

One result of the interplay between Texas' many cultures and myriad landscapes is a rich legacy of log architecture. This book traces log construction techniques from their European or eastern American origins and explains the methods of log craftsmen in exacting detail. So careful and complete are the descriptions and so clear and pertinent the many drawings and photographs that *Texas Log Buildings* could be used as a cabin-raising guide.

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Border Boom Town

Ciudad Juárez since 1848
By Oscar J. Martínez

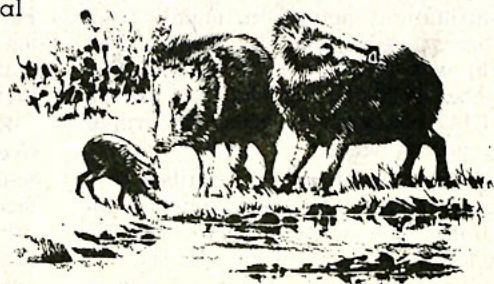
Border Boom Town traces the social and economic evolution of Ciudad Juárez, the largest city on the U.S.-Mexican border and one of the fastest-growing urban centers in the world. Martínez discusses the interdependence of Juárez and El Paso, the effects of the waves of Mexicans who migrate through the city en route to the United States each year, and efforts to integrate the northern Mexican frontier into the national economy.

280 pages, illustrated. \$12.95

Mexican Wilderness and Wildlife

By Ben Tinker
Illustrated by Doris L. Tischler
Ben Tinker has spent years exploring the Sierra Madres and the vast deserts of Sonora and Baja California. Here he describes the haunts, habits, and peculiarities of the major wildlife of this rugged wilderness. This volume condenses a lifetime of outdoor lore and learning.

145 pages, 17 line drawings,
4 maps
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ago, when Krueger and his closest staff aides first smelled victory in the primary campaign against Nelson Wolff. Krueger began talking with reporters about his Senate ambitions shortly after his 1976 re-election to Congress.

Garry Mauro and Tom Henderson left their jobs with the comptroller last spring to manage Krueger's Senate campaign, and Roy Spence hired on again to tend to advertising. The old team was back in place.

Having cut their political teeth on the giant 21st district, Krueger's staff had no trouble shifting to a statewide campaign.



All of the basic tactics in the 1974 congressional race were put to use again in 1978.

There have been subtle modifications, however. To jibe with the assertion that Krueger is now a "statesman," the staff changed the color scheme of their man's billboards and bumperstickers to a sober black and white. Mauro, drawing on his experience as deputy comptroller under Bob Bullock, soon installed a sophisticated word processor for individualized letter-writing and record storage. The computer is able to respond "personally" to letter-writers—a series of special paragraphs on issues and other subjects have been keyed into the machine, so the staff is able to punch buttons and produce a letter that correlates with virtually any concern.

Spence updated the campaign literature to promote Krueger as an "Independent Democrat," a characterization with a broader statewide appeal than "Conservative Democrat." (And now that Krueger has four years in public office behind him, the staff doesn't have to worry about his status as a bachelor and intellectual.)

Relying on a gimmick from 1974, the main brochure this year boasts that Krueger has "personally written this

pamphlet." Amid attractive photographs and a skillful layout, Krueger emphasizes his concerns on a wide variety of issues, while past votes and carry-through on detailed promises are kept in the background. The back cover features a full-page photo that reeks of sincerity—Krueger gazing pensively out an airplane window, with a quote appearing to come right from his lips: "To represent Texas is to represent the richness that is America. I believe that the dream of a better nation for all people still lives all across America, and I want to work to insure that dream never dies."

"You don't have to sell him. All you've got to do is let him sell himself," says one aide.

Krueger announced his candidacy last July 4 and began almost immediately thereafter to set up county steering committees throughout the state. He got a big jump on his major challenger, former State Board of Insurance chairman Joe Christie, who delayed his announcement until October. Opposition from Barefoot Sanders and other Democrats never materialized.

Both primary candidates are spending their time early in the race trying to visit every town in Texas. They will shift to the cities in April and launch media blitzes in the last weeks before the May 6 election. While Krueger's managers promote him as a "hero" of Texas, Christie's man-of-the-people pitch is celebrated in bumperstickers that read just plain "Joe."

Since so many prominent figures are wrapped up in their own races for state office this year, endorsements are not likely to play much of a role in the primary. However, former State Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson's backing may help Krueger with black voters, and in the Mexican-American community, Democratic National Committeewoman

Krueger's Stands in Congress

He has supported

- Development of B-1 bomber
- Building nuclear breeder reactors
- Building a neutron bomb
- Military aid to Nicaragua
- Withholding veterans' benefits from Vietnam-era soldiers pardoned by President Carter
- Use of a national employment card proving U.S. citizenship
- Deregulation of domestic crude oil prices
- Deregulation of natural gas prices
- Delaying enforcement of clean air act
- Weakening auto pollution standards
- Limiting liability of nuclear power industry in cases of nuclear accident
- Allowing officials to take jobs with industries they regulate
- Allowing professional football executives to black out television of home games, even if they are sold out

He has opposed

- Creating a consumer co-op bank
- Class action rights for consumers
- Consumer protection from debt collectors
- No-fault insurance
- Funding of Consumer Product Safety Commission
- Consumer representation in government
- Creation of public service jobs
- Creating public jobs for rehabilitation of nation's railroad beds
- Common situs picketing
- Extending minimum wage to teenagers
- Making food stamps available to strikers
- Making oil refiners responsible for oil spills
- Gas guzzler tax on automobile makers
- Excluding agribusiness firms from federal farm payments
- Increasing federal funding for community action programs
- Increasing federal payments on school lunches by five cents each
- Increasing mortgage assistance for middle-income families
- Funding of International Women's Year conference

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Alicia Chacon's support certainly won't hurt. The Teamsters endorsed Krueger in January, but Christie expects to get the blessing of the state AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education this month.

To date, the campaign has been virtually issueless, with neither candidate generating voter excitement. Unless Christie begins ripping into Krueger's record and oil backing, the campaign will

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Pat Black

Deputy campaign manager Tom Henderson and South Texas organizer Marc Campos

At Bob Krueger's Austin campaign headquarters, youth and experience are anything but contradictions. Among the 15 young salaried aides are veterans of just about every liberal campaign Texas has seen since 1970. Even 23-year-old John Pouland, head of county organizing, has been involved in six campaigns and State Democratic Executive Committee affairs.

Campaign manager Garry Mauro, 29, has tried to fill the top positions with people capable of running the show on their own, should they be called on to do so. Most of his front-line people worked in Krueger's 1974 House race, Jimmy Carter's Texas campaign, or Bob Gamme's 1976 congressional effort in Houston.

"I looked for people who could sell Krueger as a person across all party lines. I didn't want any people that were ideologues," Mauro says.

Deputy campaign manager is Tom Henderson, Mauro's partner in the first Krueger race and the 1972 McGovern campaign. Henderson keeps a loose rein on Pouland, West Texas organizer Dave Bolduc, East Texas organizer Alvin Pruitt, and South Texas organizer Marc Campos.

Dan Dutko, at 33 the old man on the staff, concentrates on fundraising. He reports back and forth between Mauro and state finance chairman L. D.

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not likely get above the level of image-making, which means a battle of television spots. That takes cash, and Krueger is well in front in the money race. Krueger has already raised \$438,738, with most of his large contributions coming from attorneys, bankers, independent oilmen, and various professionals.

Neither man has yet received much in the way of PAC contributions (these often are solicited early and figured into

the campaign's budget, but actually accepted late, so they do not have to be reported in federal campaign filings until the last moment, thus avoiding damaging charges of special-interest financing). Krueger's reports, however, do show \$9,600 received thus far from PACs, all appearing to be corporate organizations. He has taken in \$500 or more each from the PACs of First City Bancorporation, Republic of Texas Corporation, U.S.

Selling Bob Krueger

Brinkman of Kerrville and Dallas. The campaign has raised more than \$400,000 to date, and Dutko says Krueger hopes to raise another \$1 million for the contest against Joe Christie (who is budgeting only \$400,000 for the Senate primary in May), and at least \$1 million for the fall campaign against John Tower.

Krueger and his staff aren't shy about hitting up oilmen, cattlemen, bankers, car dealers, realtors, and others who have supported the congressman in the past. (In December, Dutko sent 7,000 mailgrams to members of the Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners Association. He refuses to say how much the solicitation has produced, but Krueger's financial reports show a liberal sprinkling of donors from the oil industry. "I wish we had more oil and gas contributions," Mauro says.)

Between now and May, half of the money raised will be spent on media. Mauro and advertising director Roy Spence expect to lavish \$300,000 on television spots in the last month of the campaign.

The Krueger campaign paid Spence's Austin ad agency (Guarasick, Spence, Darilek and McClure) \$56,000 in the summer and fall to prepare the promotional literature and the first television spots announcing Krueger's candidacy. The emphasis in both the advertising and the hectic pace of Krueger's early travels around the state was name recognition. Mauro claims public identification of Krueger has grown from 5 percent last July to 64 percent in February. He reported that Christie's recognition with the electorate has grown from 23 percent after his announcement last fall to 52 percent in February.

For his statistics, Mauro leans heavily on the results of a continuous poll made by Henson-Hopkins Associates of Austin. He receives fat reports once or twice a month on the overall standing of the

two Senate candidates, as well as weekly bulletins on a range of special subjects bearing on the race.

The Henson-Hopkins polls show that Christie's current strength is centered in Amarillo, Waco, Tyler, El Paso and Beaumont. Krueger is shown stronger in Lubbock, Dallas-Fort Worth, Wichita Falls, Texarkana, Abilene, San Antonio and Laredo. The candidates are supposedly even in Austin, Houston and Corpus Christi. The polls help Mauro schedule both advertising and Krueger's appearances.

Press relations are handled by former *San Angelo Standard-Times* reporter Jeannette Stephenson, the only newcomer to political work on the Krueger staff.

Detailed press releases don't have much of a role in a campaign focused less on defining issues than on building public approval of Krueger's personality, and Krueger's top staffers work under the assumption that laundry lists of specific promises tend to confuse voters.

"If anything, I'm afraid we may have taken too many issue stands. We've seen what happened to McGovern in running an issue-oriented campaign," Henderson says.

Travel assistants Lukin Gilliland Jr. and Buck Wildman help with organizing chores and fundraising as time permits.Carolynn Henderson, who met husband Tom in the 1974 Krueger campaign, is managing the office, with help from scheduler Tina Williamson and Mauro's assistant, Helen Sneed. Lynda Hallmark operates the IBM System VI word processor, which does a dazzling job of writing individualized letters. About the only thing the machine, nicknamed "Obi Wan Kenobi," can't do is write in Spanish, but a staff as talented as Krueger's should be able to solve that problem too.

—Pat Black

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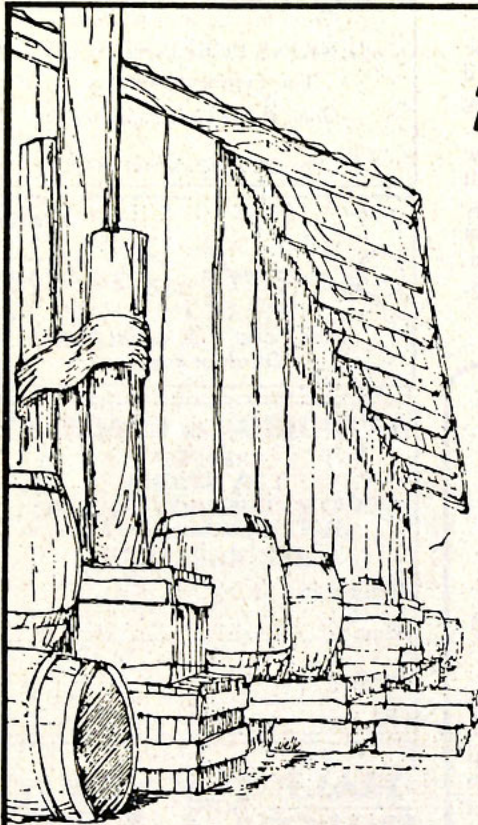
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Information available on the personal finances of the two Democrats reveals similar degrees of affluence. Krueger's gross income in 1976 was \$95,074. Various tax deductions and allowances on his ranch and other interests brought his final IRS payment for the year to \$6,892.

Christie reported a gross income of \$96,731 in 1976. His deductions and allowances, primarily from oil operations, brought his federal tax obligation to \$9,760. What all this comes down to is that the two candidates paid 10 percent or less of their total incomes in taxes. Middle-income and low-income Americans typically fork over 25 percent or more of their earnings to the IRS.

Christie's press secretary, Robert Heard, estimated his candidate's overall wealth at \$500,000. Most of Christie's investments are in clothing factories, but he is also good for about \$200,000 in oil and gas leases. He has small holdings in one national petroleum stock.

Mauro and Jim Land put Krueger's current worth at \$750,000, with approximately equal holdings in a stock portfolio and the family's East Texas ranch. A *Dallas Morning News* report last year on potential conflicts of interest among members of the Texas delegation to Congress showed that Krueger was the only member with stock in top defense contractors, one of seven members with oil and gas securities, and one of two members with pharmaceutical stock. His investor participation in every category was unique.

Land has tried to sell stock which might cause an obvious conflict for Krueger. Shares in El Paso Natural Gas, Apco Oil, and Northwest Pipeline were sold in 1976. Krueger's holdings in several South African companies were sold last year. Mauro said recently that the stock in Brinkman's Giffen Industries would be sold this year.

Krueger's January portfolio report lists current stock holdings worth about \$400,000. He still owns shares in seven banks, including Mercantile Texas and Texas Commerce Bancshares, and stock in five top defense contractors. Krueger has a \$39,000 investment in Union Carbide, the largest supplier of radioactive materials to the Atomic Energy Commission.

Oil and gas holdings are there, too, even if the corporate names don't suggest it. Krueger's largest single stock investment is in Allied Chemical, which owns major gas exploration and pipeline companies in Texas. Both Allied Chemical and Imperial Chemical, another Krueger holding, have large interests in North Sea oil production.

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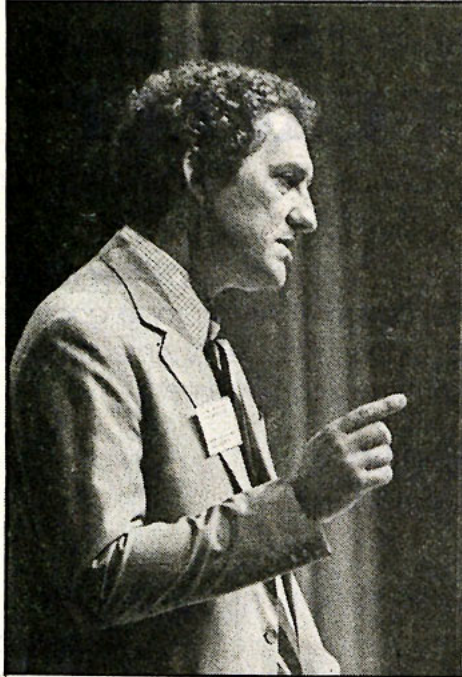


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Putting Krueger in focus

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build spiritual communities, to wit: Jimmy Carter smothers us with reborn-Baptist rhetoric of love and charity; Gov. Jerry Brown draws his followers into a Jesuit crusade to save the world; and here in Texas, Bob Krueger uses the sterner message of Luther and Calvin to discourse on opportunity, faith, discipline, self-reliance and respect for the given order of things. The manipulation of subconscious values promises a steady decline in the number of genuine choices for the American electorate.

John Tower, an East Texas Methodist minister's son who studied at the London School of Economics, knows how to play these games. If Krueger beats Christie in May, Tower will be a formidable general election opponent, even if the proposed independent candidacy of former Republican gubernatorial nominee Henry Grover siphons off right-wing votes from Texas' senior senator.

John Tower's Jan. 31 financial report placed him comfortably out front in the race for money. The 17-year incumbent has received \$786,000, and his staff is projecting a budget of over \$3 million through the fall. As usual in the Republican's campaigns, the contributions show a web of connections to oil, banking, war

industries, agribusiness, builders, and other commercial and industrial groups.

Tower's record on civil rights, Vietnam and Watergate fills liberals with an abhorrence that Krueger counts on to keep all Democrats behind him after May. Krueger's staff hopes Barefoot Sanders's 1972 turnout against Tower, fortified by a thumping majority in the 21st district (where Tower has won before), will put Krueger over the top.

What Bob Krueger will do if he makes it to the Senate and takes on a statewide constituency should be clear from his votes in the House and campaign positions. His published record shows that



Photos by Jim Rockwell

he can be expected to vote better than John Tower, but not as well as Lloyd Bentsen. His views wouldn't change—he says so himself: "If you really want to represent a state, I think Texas is an economically conservative state."

Meanwhile, he's out working the boondocks, where he can most comfortably vent his inherent conservatism. In the small towns, he attacks the Panama Canal treaties, dismisses government regulation of the petroleum industry as "Yankee piracy" and warns "that the United States must be able to wage and win a major conventional war on the ground."

Beyond the Senate? Well, there can't be any serious question of what would come next. "Do you want to be president?" the *Observer* asked. "Sure," Bob Krueger replied. He and his aides are already discussing a race for the White House in six years. Krueger in 1984? □

Pat Black is former editor of the Luling Newsboy and now lives in Austin, where he is writing a novel.

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Near Future

This calendar is an information service for Observer readers. Notices must reach the Observer at least three weeks before the event.

March 17-18 / Fri.-Sat. / Austin: The Austin Women's Center offers a workshop on "couples and people in transition." From 7 to 10 p.m. Friday and all day Saturday. Information: (512) 472-3775.

March 17 / Fri. / Dallas: The state senate's consumer affairs subcommittee holds a hearing on the business practices of auto repair shops in greater Dallas. At 10 a.m. in the Old City Hall. Information: (512) 475-3090.

March 18-26 / Fri.-Sun. / For the ambitious and hardy: the Austin chapter of the Sierra Club sponsors a boat trip through the lower canyons of the Rio Grande River. All are invited, but members have priority in making reservations. Information: Charles Riddel, (512) 441-7870.

March 22 / Wed. / Austin: The American Friends Service Committee holds an open meeting to discuss disarmament issues with Terry Provance, national coordinator of Mobilization for Survival. At 7 p.m., 3014 Washington Square. Information: (512) 474-2399.

March 21-22 / Tues.-Wed. / Corpus Christi: The Community Nutrition Institute sponsors a workshop on "Nutrition and Federal Food Policy." Included is an analysis of upcoming changes in the food stamp program and a review of the American food system. The workshop will be offered in Fort Worth (April 3-4) and Lubbock (April 5-6). No charge for attending, but registration is advised. Write CNI, 6901 North Lamar Blvd., Suite 123, Austin 78752, or call (512) 452-9409.

March 23-24 / Thurs.-Fri. / Austin: The Sunset Advisory Commission holds public hearings on the performances of eight agencies, including the Private Employment Agency Regulatory Board and the State Board of Morticians. For time and location, call (512) 475-6565.

March 27 / Mon. / Austin: The Electric Utility Commission of the City of Austin holds a public hearing on cost overruns in the construction of the South Texas Nuclear Project. At 6:30 p.m. in the Electric Building, 301 West Avenue. Information: (512) 397-1600.

March 28 / Tues. / Austin: UT's World Order program sponsors a symposium on "The Food Crisis." Panelists include Jay Naman, Texas Farmers Union president. From 7:30 to 9:30 p.m. in the Texas Department of Community Affairs auditorium, 210 Barton Springs Road. Information: Lynn Randels, (512) 471-4906.

March 29 / Wed. / Austin: The Public Utility Commission hears the petition of Continental Telephone Company of Texas for authority to change rates. At 9 a.m., Suite 400N, 7800 Shoal Creek Blvd. Information: Roy Henderson, (512) 458-6111.

March 31 / Fri. / College Station: U.S. senatorial candidate Bob Krueger speaks at a luncheon of the Texas Council of the National Association of Accountants. At noon in Texas A&M's Rudder Tower. Information: (512) 478-1978.

March 18, 25 / Sat. / Austin: The Austin Recreation Center, 1213 Shoal Creek, is the scene of several clinics on job-hunting techniques. Employee relations consultant Garry Prince provides practical suggestions for finding a job. Clinics begin at 10:30 a.m. with space limited to the first 50 arrivals.

March 18 / Sat. / San Angelo: A group of San Angelo citizens puts something on called "Bob Krueger Day," which features a parade and political speechmaking by the congressman who would be senator. Information: (512) 478-1978.

—Vicki Vaughan



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