

THE TEXAS OBSERVER

March 23, 1984

A Journal of Free Voices

\$1.00

Ned Fritz's *Sterile Forest*: A Review

The Fight for the Wilderness

By Pete A. Y. Gunter

SOMEWHERE EAST of the Brazos River the mesquite-and-cactus stereotype of Texas is rudely interrupted by ramparts of deep, moist green. Eastward the land rolls gently under a carpet of oak, then oak-pine woodland: the timber belt, 25,000,000 acres strong. Here live the soaring *Magnolia virginiana*, the reclusive *Thelpteris dentata*, the rare *Spiranthes ovalis*. Here also flourishes *Godzillius Panglossium* var. *duplicatus*: the American lumber company. It is by far the most dominant forest species in the region.

The Texas timber region is large enough to form

Denton

a sizeable state. Covering over 1/7 of Texas, it is approximately 2/3 the size of Georgia, 9/10 the size of Kentucky. More striking: it is 1/3 larger than West

Virginia and four times larger than Maryland. But for all its size, it is largely neglected, or rather ignored, by the rest of the state. East Texas seems static, quiet, world-lost compared to the bustling cities and towns to its west and south. It has always been treated as such: a world to itself, independent, rural, primitive. It is tempting to describe East Texas as a



Photo by Welsh and Bayan duryan

sprawling, flat Appalachia, with, like Appalachia, most of its natural wealth owned by those living elsewhere.

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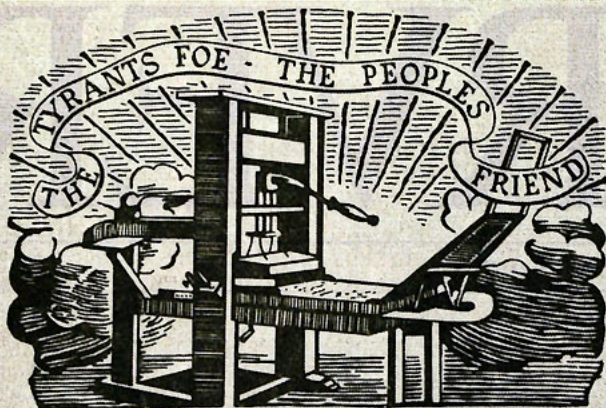
Reagan's War
on Legal Aid



The Dangers
of Home Pesticides



Dugger
on D. B. Hardeman



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CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Warren Burnett, Nina Butts, Jo Clifton, Craig Clifford, John Henry Faulk, Ed Garcia, Bill Helmer, Jack Hopper, Amy Johnson, Laurence Jolidon, Mary Lenz, Matt Lyon, Greg Moses, Rick Piltz, Susan Raleigh, Paul Sweeney, Michael Ventura, Lawrence Walsh.

CONTRIBUTING PHOTOGRAPHERS: Alan Pogue, Russell Lee, Scott Van Osdol.

CONTRIBUTING ARTISTS: Jeff Danziger, Beth Epstein, Dan Hubig, Kevin Krenek, Ben Sargent, Gail Woods.

A journal of free voices

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Writers are responsible for their own work, but not for anything they have not themselves written, and in publishing them we do not necessarily imply that we agree with them because this is a journal of free voices.

Business Manager Frances Barton
Assistant Alicia Daniel
Advertising, Special Projects Cliff Olofson

Editorial and Business Office
600 West 7th Street, Austin, Texas 78701
(512) 477-0746

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• PAGE TWO •

CETA Cut Compounds Valley Crisis

A MAJOR PROBLEM exacerbating the unemployment crisis in the Valley is the elimination of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) by the Reagan Administration. It would have been a relatively straightforward matter to use CETA to pay workers for public works projects for the Valley, such as those being proposed by Valley Interfaith (See TO, 2/24/84). But Reagan, despite his repeated references to Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1981, does not like public works.

After drastically cutting employment programs by 23% with the 1981 Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act in 1981, Reagan convinced Congress to kill the public-service employment portion of CETA altogether the next year. This eliminated 350,000 CETA jobs serving almost twice that number of people per year. (Most CETA workers find other work within seven months.) All that remained was the new Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA), which subsidizes private businesses to train workers. Because the local Private Industry Councils, which administer the JTPA funds, are funded according to their ability to place workers in job training, the most employable of the unemployed are often the only ones chosen for training programs. CETA, on the other hand, chiefly trained the unskilled, many of whom lived in areas not served by an industry that would be eligible to participate in the JTPA program.

In his 1985 budget, Reagan also calls for the elimination of the Work Incentive program (WIN), designed to train and employ recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) funds. So much for the Protestant work ethic.

In the Valley there are few, if any, industries that can take advantage of the JTPA and provide job training for farmworkers thrown out of work by the freeze. There are, of course, ample opportunities for public works programs to provide drainage, sewage, and other public services currently not enjoyed by thousands of Valley residents, who do, it should be added, pay taxes. But there is no CETA.

Of course not. During the same two years that unemployment was increasing dramatically, Reagan was eliminating this country's major jobs programs. According to a report issued by the Rural Coalition, U.S. Census figures show that the number of Americans living under the poverty line increased by 5 million since 1980, adding up to 35 million Americans or 15% of the U.S. population. The largest increase in the poverty population was provided by two-parent families, hit by unemployment, the elimination of jobs programs, and tighter social service eligibility requirements. In 1979, 55% of the population was listed as middle income — with incomes between \$17,000 and \$40,000. That number has dropped to 42% with three out of every four people leaving the class dropping below \$17,000.

The nine block grants created by the "new federalism" of the 1981 budget Reconciliation Act (Alcohol, Drug Abuse,

and Mental Health; Health Services and Preventive Health; Primary Care; Maternal and Child Health; Education; Low Income Energy Assistance; Small Cities Community Development; Community Services; Social Services) have been disastrous for many Americans who previously relied on the federal services that the block grants replaced. The grants as a group have fallen \$20 billion short of the money needed to fund programs they replaced. Eligibility requirements have been severely tightened on some programs. Under the Maternal and Child Health block grant, for instance, the number of states providing comprehensive clinics dropped from 44, serving 4 million women and their children, to 20, and these 20 states provide reduced care with tighter eligibility requirements.

The elimination of the CETA program may come back to haunt Reagan this election year because it meant the elimination of a quick-fix mechanism to handle the emergency jobs crisis in the Valley. But, had CETA still existed in some enervated form, there is no reason to believe that Reagan would have used it even for cosmetic purposes for the sake of re-election. This administration has stated its ideological opposition to public works programs. CETA still existed in 1981 when public works were needed in the Valley and when the region's unemployment rate began to climb. And nothing was done. □

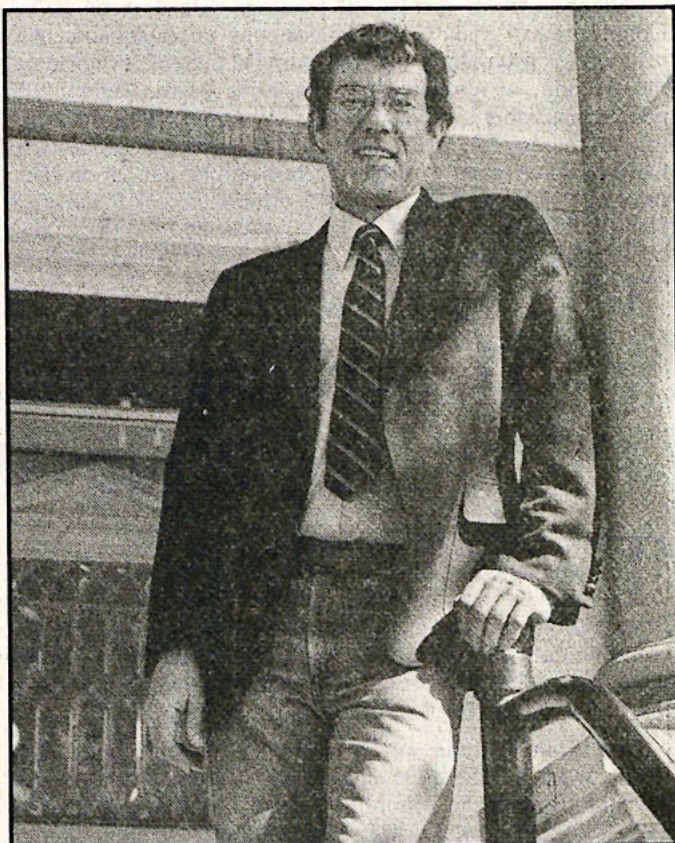
John Duncan: Guarding Our Liberties

BEFORE JOHN DUNCAN announced to the *Texas Observer* that he would be leaving his position as executive director of the Texas Civil Liberties Union, he alerted us to the fact that Department of Public Safety Director Jim Adams would be seeking an expansion of wiretap authority when reauthorization for DPS narcotics wiretaps comes up before the legislature in 1985. In his characteristically low-key, but unwavering, vigilance on behalf of civil liberties, Duncan was making sure that the *Observer* would keep an eye on the wiretap reauthorization battle and Adams' expressed desire to use wiretaps for crimes other than drug trafficking, despite Adams' assertion in 1981 that he was "in perfect agreement with the limitation of it to narcotics traffic." When he was satisfied that the wiretap issue had sunk in, Duncan announced that he was "hanging up his spikes" after eleven years as TCLU executive director.

When John Duncan began work at the TCLU, the organization had \$1500 in its bank account. He leaves it with an \$80,000 annual budget, a \$50,000 litigation fund through the ACLU Foundation of Texas, a word processor, a computerized index of local jail conditions throughout the state, and fourteen chapters. More important, because of his work the people of Texas undoubtedly retain a greater portion of the rights guaranteed them by the U.S. Constitution than they would have otherwise. Not only have the various legislators and public administrators who love to whittle away at civil liberties in favor of other interests not been able to slip anything past John Duncan during his eleven years, there is no telling how much potentially harmful legislation was never attempted because the authors of such legislation knew John Duncan would be attending hearings of the Senate Jurisprudence and House judicial and law enforcement committees when such issues came up. Duncan was always there — ready to testify, often passionately, against potentially damaging legislation. Or he'd be standing in the wings, corraling committee

members and the press to explain to them the dangers of a bill.

But how did a high school football player from Haskell become the guardian of our liberties? Duncan seems to have always been endowed with a fine sense of moral outrage when faced with injustice or inequality. It is fitting that one of his last victories while serving the TCLU came against the University Interscholastic League, when the UIL board allowed a fifteen-year-old girl to complete on a high school junior varsity baseball team. The UIL's arbitrary exercise of power has always gotten Duncan's goat.



John Duncan

Photo by Alicia Daniel

In 1955 he'd returned home during his freshman year in college to watch the Haskell football team play Albany. There was a lot of money riding on the game, he said. It was a time when drivers for various delivery routes in the area often operated as bookies for local high school contests. The betting led to suspicions about the officiating, given the fact that Haskell, the superior team, had several touchdowns called back and a record number of penalties called against them and were tied with Albany, 0-0. Near the end of the game, when a referee signaled a penalty against Haskell, another Haskell returning graduate ran onto the field and knocked the official out cold. The UIL then suspended Haskell from UIL competition for a year and did not investigate the officiating or the betting. What got to Duncan was the fact that suspension by this quasi-governmental organization meant that Haskell was then a pariah, having to travel miles to find a church school to play. No public school would risk the UIL suspension that would result if it scheduled competition against Haskell.

Then, while teaching at Texas Tech, John Duncan became involved in a number of civil liberties battles. When one of his best economics students told Duncan at the end of class one day that he had enjoyed the class but was being kicked out of Tech for being charged with possession of marijuana,

Duncan took it up with the administration. He argued that, at the very least, the school could not prejudice the student and could not remove him without a conviction. The school relented; the student stayed on and graduated. In the late 1960s, Duncan defended the right of students to publish an underground newspaper. The local ACLU chapter, of which Duncan was by then a member, succeeded in having the Tech ban on the newspaper thrown out.

When in 1968 Duncan tried to get his Lubbock Democratic precinct caucus to adopt resolutions on U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and legalized abortion and was thwarted, he introduced a third resolution, reading: "Be it resolved that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances." Then-state Representative Delwyn Jones tried to table the resolution, but, upon being informed that it was the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, he allowed it to be presented in the county convention as long as not a single word varied from the original.

All this did not earn John Duncan tenure at Texas Tech or great popularity. But it did lead to his work with TCLU for a tenure whose length strains the imagination, given the unpopularity of the civil libertarian cause, when confronting former governor Bill Clements or the War on Drugs or the death penalty.

According to Charles Sullivan of Citizens United for the Rehabilitation of Errants (CURE), John Duncan has probably done more than any other person in this state to prevent a wanton rash of killing made possible by the reinstitution of capital punishment. With the make-up of the current Supreme Court, Sullivan said, the judicial avenues to prevent capital punishment are probably at this time exhausted. "Opposition has to come through the legislature and has to be organized at a grassroots level," he said. "John probably felt there was nothing more the TCLU could do at this point."

The legacy of John Duncan's tenure at the TCLU is best characterized by what we were spared. It is a legacy of bad laws not passed, of nicks and slashes at our civil liberties not being attempted, of a reluctance by officials to carry out certain death penalties, of more room to breathe, to think, to speak our minds than there might otherwise have been. □

Two Illustrations That America Is What We Make It

THREE DEATHS near the end of last year provide a poignant reminder of what this country can be and what it has become. With major revisions in the Immigration and Nationality Act scheduled for Congressional consideration this year, the failure by all parties to discuss the "ideological exclusion" clause of the act bodes ill for the future of our culture.

Juan Roura-Parella was a teacher to all who knew him. Roura was a native of Catalonia in Spain and studied psychology with the Frankfurt School in the late 1920s and early '30s. He was a professor and thinker of high standing in Barcelona when Franco's Falangists revolted against the Spanish Republic. An ardent Catalan and a more ardent Republican, Roura remained in Barcelona until it became clear that Franco's victory was inevitable. Then, in the last days of the civil war, he crossed the Pyrenees into France, following routes he had known as a child growing up in the town of Tortella north of Barcelona. Crossing with Roura and several others was the Spanish poet Antonio Machado, who died in the French border town of Collioure a few days after the crossing.

From France, Roura went to Mexico, following his future wife Teresa, the daughter of a Catalan leader. In 1946, the Rouras moved to the United States, and Sr. Roura eventually took up residence as a professor at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut. If humanism can be absolute, Sr. Roura was an absolute humanist, imparting his love for thought and humanity to two generations of students. In the introduction to a novel, he wrote, "All knowledge which does not lead to some kind of action is useless. The main concern of an educator is not knowledge but to make out of a man something which he was not before. . . . Pascal is right: the kingdom of values is not an order of the reason but an *ordre de coeur* [of the heart]." The greatest praise Sr. Roura could bestow on any person was that he or she was a liberal man or woman — liberal in the largest sense of the word: open to ideas and to humanity, liberated and humane.

In the 1970s, the Rouras began making trips back to their native Catalonia. Sr. Roura delivered a paper at the opening in Barcelona of the museum dedicated to his friend Joan Miro. They stayed for several months each year in his ancestral home in Tortella. He escorted visitors — I was fortunate to be one of them — down the three main streets of the town, two paved and one unpaved because the former Republican mayor had resided there. There was a lesson in everything. But the Rouras always returned to Connecticut, where Sr. Roura died on December 26, one day after his friend Miro.

One month earlier, the crash of a jumbo jet in Madrid had claimed the lives of Angel Rama and Marta Traba. Rama had edited the Uruguayan journal *Marcha*, which was a cornerstone for the Latin American literary and intellectual boom. As the editor he had written extensively about the cultural and political intervention of the United States in the affairs of Latin America. In 1968, with a Uruguayan crackdown on a number of artists, intellectuals, and labor leaders, Rama went into exile. In Venezuela he became the literary director of the Biblioteca Ayacucho series of Latin American literary classics. Traba was an Argentine exile, who founded the first Museum of Modern Art in Colombia and wrote art criticism and fiction.

Rama and Traba moved to the United States in 1980, when Rama was named a Woodrow Wilson Fellow at the Smithsonian Institution. They both taught at Princeton later that year. In 1981, Rama became a full-time tenured professor at the University of Maryland and Traba was employed by the art museum of the Organization of American States.

In 1982, Angel Rama's application for permanent residence was denied by the U.S. immigration service under the "ideological exclusion" clause — Section 212(a) (28) — of the Immigration and Nationality Act. This clause permits the exclusion of the foreign-born who have advocated, taught, written, or published information considered to be communist, anarchist, or terrorist in nature or who have belonged to political parties of this nature. The catch here is that the I.N.S.

would not inform Rama, never a member of any party, of the nature of the information that led officials to exclude him.

I spoke several times with Rama during his battle in 1982 to gain permanent residence. As the coordinator of the Freedom to Write program of PEN American Center, I was working with other human rights organizations mounting a protest on behalf of Rama and Traba. Rama told me that what he called this "Catch 28" might have been based upon his Uruguayan writing about U.S. cultural imperialism or, perhaps, on his signature on some petition protesting U.S. intervention in Vietnam or Latin America. The catch was that he never knew from what the exclusion stemmed, so he was never able to defend himself. One I.N.S. official suggested that he publicly denounce his previous pro-communist tendencies — tendencies which he never had.

Last spring Rama received a Guggenheim Fellowship, with which he and Traba moved to Paris to continue their work. When they were killed on November 27, they were on their way from Paris to a conference in Colombia.

The point to be made here, of course, is how much we have lost in losing teachers like Rama and Traba. The great debate about the decline of U.S. education must at some point address the fact that we so closely guard our intellectual and cultural borders to prevent the intrusion of new ideas and

new perspectives. It is our good fortune that Juan Roura-Parella came to this country before the ideological exclusion clause of the McCarran-Walter Act was adopted during the early 1950s and the age of McCarthy. It is likely that a liberal, democratic humanist fleeing Franco would have a rough time establishing permanent residence in this country today. For three decades writers such as Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Julio Cortazar (also recently deceased), and Carlos Fuentes have existed in an immigration purgatory regarding their applications for visas to visit, lecture, and teach in the United States. Was the loss theirs or ours?

Clearly, the Reagan worldview is well served by an enforced myopia brought on by the exclusion of foreign perspectives. If the Immigration and Nationality Act does re-emerge this year for Congressional consideration, attention should be paid to the ideological exclusion clause. Applicants for temporary or permanent visas should be given the opportunity for due legal process or fair judicial review. Exclusion should not be based on ideology, publication, or affiliation — real or purported — and should only be invoked in those cases in which it can be proven that exclusion of the applicant would prevent imminent harm to U.S. citizens. Until we tear down these cultural, intellectual, and educational barriers obstructing our vision, we will produce fewer and fewer "liberal" women and men.

G. R.

• DIALOGUE •

Hance Responds on ERA

I would like to respond to a recent letter by Mary Gilmore (*TO*, Feb. 10). Ms. Gilmore correctly pointed out that I arranged a "pair" to cancel out an opposing vote on the ERA.

I very much regret missing this very important vote. Because of a controversial last minute decision to place the ERA on the suspension calendar, it came to a vote a day earlier than expected. My schedule committed me to events in Texas all that week, but I had taken special care to arrange to be in Washington for the ERA vote on November 15, the original date for which it had been scheduled. The sudden calendar change did not allow me to make it back on November 15 for the vote.

I did, however, arrange to eliminate one more nay vote through the use of a live pair. The amendment failed by six votes. Had I been in Washington to vote for the amendment, there would have also been one more vote against it and the ERA would have still fallen six votes short of passage. I have consistently expressed my support for the ERA and I will do everything within my power to be present to vote for the

ERA should the amendment be brought to the floor this year.

Kent Hance, Austin.

Hoisted By His Own Petard?

Just as she accused the prosecution of not discussing pertinent facts, Paula Manley has overlooked a few points herself in her article on the conviction of Paul Hernandez.

- Hernandez was tried for an incident which occurred before his beating from the police. Thus any reference to that beating or internal investigations in the trial was irrelevant. The fact is that the video tape of the beating was shown to jurors and cast Hernandez in a more sympathetic light and cast doubts on police conduct. Nevertheless, he was convicted as charged.

- While the jury was all white, one member of the prosecution team, and all three major witnesses against Hernandez were Mexican American. Hernandez was convicted quickly and unanimously. The lengthy deliberation occurred over the two women Hernandez put into the middle of the fray.

- Hernandez and others physically charged the dais of the Austin City Council and hurled verbal abuse at Mayor Pro Tem John Trevino when the Council, on the advice of attorneys and

the Texas Civil Liberties Union, granted a parade permit to the Klan.

- Hernandez and company chose to ignore an ecumenical protest of the Klan in the Black neighborhood at the time of the march. This rally was attended by Black, Brown and Anglo leaders in a effort to avoid the very confrontation both the Klan and Hernandez thrive upon for publicity.

- Sheriff's officer Pete Gil, a Mexican American with no record of prior brutality, testified that shortly before the incident, Hernandez struck him in the helmet when he asked Hernandez to move along.

- Hernandez has a long record of law violations which are not political and predate his anti-police brutality record. This was not, and should not have been introduced into the trial, but as a journalist, Manley might have included it as explanatory of police attitudes toward Hernandez.

As someone who has been beaten while in police custody, I have no sympathy for the actions of police after Hernandez's arrest. But as someone who has known Paul Hernandez for 10 years I have no doubt that he relished the prospect of confrontation, and helped provoke it. At a rally before the Klan march Hernandez spoke and told the crowd "the only right the Klan has is the right to die."

There was one more omission by Manley that needs clarifying. In Janu-

Information for Historians, Researchers, Nostalgia Buffs, & Observer Fans

Bound Volumes: The 1983 bound issues of *The Texas Observer* are now ready. In maroon, washable binding, the price is \$20. Also available at \$20 each are volumes for the years 1963 through 1982.

Cumulative Index: The clothbound cumulative edition of *The Texas Observer Index* covering the years 1954-1970 may be obtained for \$20. The newly published 1971-1981 index is now available for \$55 (hardback) and \$30 (softbound).

Back Issues: Issues dates January 10, 1963, to the present are available at 75 cents per issue. Earlier issues are out of stock, but photocopies of articles from issues dated December 27, 1962, will be provided at 75 cents per article.

Microfilm: The complete backfile (1954-1983) is approximately \$450. Individual years may be ordered separately. To order, or to obtain additional information regarding the 35mm microfilm editions, please write to Univ. Microfilms Intl., 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

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ary, before his trial, Manley signed a letter endorsing Paul Hernandez for State Representative. Biased trials are bad. So is biased journalism. Neither is to be saluted. I am supporting Lena Guerrero against Paul.

Richard Hamner, Austin.

The letter writer is a business partner of Lena Guerrero in Bravo Communications and has been paid by her campaign for work as a political consultant in the race for state representative, District 51, in which Hernandez, Guerrero, and four others are candidates. — ed.

Manley Replies

With the exception of my endorsement of Paul Hernandez for State Representative, Mr. Hamner's information is so inaccurate that making a point-by-point rebuttal would be a lengthy exercise bound to test the patience of Observer readers. Instead I would like to address what I consider to be larger failures which underscore the position of Hamner regarding the prosecution of those, like Hernandez, who speak out against the Ku Klux Klan:

1) many First Amendment champions fail to advocate free speech rights for all citizens, including those protesting the philosophy of racial genocide espoused by the Klan;

2) many "liberals" fail to acknowledge the existence of institutional racism — within the judicial system, for example — and tend to defend the status quo, even in the face of injustice;

3) and, finally, liberal/left factions have historically failed to fully understand and unite in opposition to racism. Just as this problem was evident in the beginning of the century when white pacifist organizations refused to support the NAACP's stand against colonialism in U.S. foreign policy, it is evident today as many of us fail to fully measure the causes and effects of the Ku Klux Klan's resurgence.

Paula Manley, Austin.

Karnack Weapons Plant

First, general congratulations on recent issues. I'm glad to see the *Observer* is getting its critical edge back. We need it and I've missed it.

Second, glad you got all those nice letters about TO's review of T of E. You — and Michael Ventura — de-

served them. Clearly you printed the most intelligent review of that film that I saw anywhere in the national press.

Third, your piece on weapons production in Texas was an excellent overview of an important subject. You might add to your list of military facilities Thiokol Chemical's Longhorn Division ammunition plant in Karnack, just north of Marshall. Peter Larson of the Dallas Times Herald's Tyler office wrote a good article on the plant some months ago in which he mentioned — if memory is correct — that Thiokol was planning to hire an additional five hundred workers to produce MX propellant, subject to Congressional approval of the expenditure. Military spending surely affects labor markets and communities like Fort Worth; but the impact is probably even more dramatic on small, rural counties like Harrison and Marion. The fact that government contractors have been held to equal opportunity standards in employment longer than civilian employers complicates our criticism of those facilities, in that they have helped, in East Texas at least, to build and sustain a Black middle class. That's a whole other subject; maybe you could investigate it in your spare time!

Martha McCabe, Nacogdoches

Will Rogers on War

Regarding article about arm's manuf. in Texas — Will Rogers (heard of him?) said, "Take the Profit out of war and there'll be no war!"

Sam Terr, Austin.

Jeffersonian?

Congratulations on an insightful review of State Board of Education politics and the need for more public attention to the election of State Board members (TO, 2/10/84).

Mrs. Currey will be a great loss. Butler represents the Cro-Magnon tribe well. Unfortunately, he has many supporters in our state legislature.

The growing curricular censorship via textbook adoptions and editing pressures is needed to make the public aware of the serious nature of state control of our children's education. The curriculum tends to be pabulum for many reasons, but texts are an important part.

I wish some who "cry with alarm" about the Gablers and Butlers would also

recognize that the problem is the Siamese twin — centralization/politicization. The texts used in any classroom should be professional decisions, made at local levels by teachers and supervisors who know the children's needs and the total curriculum.

A simple bit of legislation?

"The sole responsibility for deciding on instructional matters rests with the local school board."

Radical? Jeffersonian.

Ben Harris, Round Rock.

In Summation

I found your lead editorial/essay about the know-nothing Board of Education extraordinarily well crafted. I hope the *Observer* can long continue its scrutiny of the Texas scene.

I saw your piece just after reading in Russell Hoban's *Pilgermann*: "If two and two can be four then they already are four, you can only perceive it, you have no part in making it happen by writing it down in numbers or telling it out in pebbles."

Let the Board take note.

Teg Grondahl, Austin.

Franklin Garcia

Last month a great friend of organized labor and of all working people of Texas died. Franklin Garcia was a great friend of all, but was particularly a friend of

young Mexicano activists and organizers in the early 60's. I first met Franklin while a graduate student at the University of Texas when I was beginning my own initiation into the movement in support for the United Farm Workers strike and struggle at La Casita Farms in Rio Grande City. Franklin provided encouragement and inspiration to myself, as well as other good friends including people like Elaine Brightwater, Frances Barton, Willie Velasquez and many others too numerous to mention. Because of Franklin and people like him, there continues a tradition of progressive grass-roots politics among Mexicanos in Texas.

On behalf of my family, I want to express my deep sadness at the loss of a good friend. His memory will live through his work and through the people he touched during his life. I am saddened and bereft at the loss of such a friend.

Ernesto Cortes, Jr., Mercedes.

Eleanor Roosevelt Symposium

As a long-time subscriber to the *Observer*, I hope that I may utilize your columns to give notice of an upcoming event that will be of interest to a number of your readers. It will be especially so to any who have memories of personal associations with Eleanor Roosevelt. On October 11, 1984, Texas Woman's

University will observe the 100th anniversary of the birth of Mrs. Roosevelt with a symposium on "Women in Politics." As we complete plans for the symposium, we would like to locate people in Texas who knew Eleanor Roosevelt personally or who have been especially influenced by her. There will be a time provided during the conference for personal remembrances by these people. In addition, of course, there will be speakers and panelists for more formal discussion of Eleanor Roosevelt and about women in politics today.

While the symposium will be open to the public, we would like to be hearing from people who will want to attend. At this time we would like to hear, in particular, from those people interested in sharing their remembrances of Mrs. Roosevelt during the conference. Please write me or Dr. Ingrid W. Scobie, Conference Coordinator, Department of History and Government, Texas Woman's University, P.O. Box 23974, Denton, Texas 76204.

Alonzo Jamison, Chairman, Department of History and Government, Texas Woman's University.

Turkey's New Clothes

I am a new and delighted subscriber to *The Texas Observer*, and I was especially impressed by Ray Reece's articles on the lack of honest criticism

(Dialogue Continued on Page 31)

New Group Fights Death Penalty

Where There's Life . . .

Austin
FOLLOWING THE RULING by the U.S. Supreme Court that questions of proportionality (*TO*, 10/28/83) are not sufficient to prevent the implementation of capital punishment, the State of Texas quickly rolled its death penalty mechanism into place. With the killing of James David Autry on March 14 and the scheduled executions of Joseph Paul Jernigan, Ronald C. Chambers, and Ronald Clark O'Bryan before April 1, the state-sponsored bloodbath has begun.

Charles Sullivan, director of Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants (CURE), says that if Reagan wins reelection there will be little possibility for judicial relief for years to come. The only death-penalty abolitionists on the U.S. Supreme Court, Justices William Brennan and Thurgood Marshall, are nearing the end of their tenures and will, undoubtedly, step aside during the next presidential term. The only possibility for eliminating the death penalty, Sullivan says, is an educational process that starts at the grassroots level. He believes

one-third of the population in this country is opposed to the death penalty, one-third fervently supports it, and one-third goes along with it but can be educated to think otherwise.

Enter Ken and Lois Robison of Burleson. He is a typesetter and Spanish teacher at a junior college. She is a third-grade teacher. Their son Larry, 26, is on death row in Huntsville.

"I can't honestly say I confronted the issue before I personally became involved," Ken Robison said. "But I came

to realize how capricious the whole set-up is from the word 'go.' Look at the Brooks case — one gets death and the other is on the streets. In Larry's case, the DA refused to plea bargain for two life sentences. He went for blood. The DA has so much discretion. How do they decide? It's purely political. If it's a sensational case, if the public wants it, the DA will go for it."

This is not an easy crusade for Ken and Lois Robison to undertake. They are not outgoing people. They would obviously rather have been left alone to live quiet lives in Burleson. But all that changed when their son was convicted and sentenced to death for the murder of a housemate in an incident in which five people were killed in two cabins on Lake Worth in August 1982.

On January 5, while waiting with other death-row families in Huntsville to visit relatives facing capital punishment, the Robisons organized HOPE — Help Our Prisoners Exist, to provide emotional support for families of death-row prisoners, to maintain communication between inmates and their families, and to educate the public about the death penalty.

"When the state kills, it condones killing," said Lois Robison. "If we're going to say it's wrong to kill, then we shouldn't kill anybody. The state is sending out a message that vengeance and retaliation are justified." She pulls a letter out of her purse to read, pausing between sentences to control her emotions. The letter is from an Oklahoma woman, who wrote the Robisons, saying, "My son David was murdered on February 14, 1983. But I still do not believe in killing one who has killed. I believe it's wrong for both the one who took a life and for the state to kill."

"What most of those guys did was under the influence of passion, drugs, alcohol abuse, mental illness — capital punishment won't deter them."

Kenneth Robison

An issue that the Robisons have embraced is the option of life without parole. They appeared before the House Committee on Criminal Jurisprudence to urge passage by the legislature of this alternative to the death penalty. Lois Robison explained that, in her son's case, the jury was given three options: treatment for mental illness, which included no guarantees that Larry would not return to society uncured; a life



Ken and Lois Robison.

sentence with the possibility of parole with no guarantees of rehabilitation; and the death penalty. If the penalty of life without parole had been available, she believes, the jury would have chosen it for Larry, who had no previous criminal record yet was regarded by the jury as a continuing threat to society. The Robisons are working for the abolition of the death penalty to be replaced with life without parole; until the death penalty is abolished, however, they see life without parole as an alternative to the death penalty. "I would think it would be a great relief to all of them [the governor, the juries, the district attorneys, the Board of Pardons and Paroles] not to have to make these decisions," said Ken Robison.

There are a number of reasons the Robisons oppose the death penalty. There is the matter of deterrence. "Capital punishment did not deter them [those on death row]," Ken Robison said. "It will not deter anybody else. What most of those guys did was under the influence of passion, drugs, alcohol abuse, mental illness — capital punishment won't deter them."

There is the fact that a disproportionate number of people sentenced to capital punishment could not afford private legal counsel. Larry Robison was represented by a public defender. "We thought," said Ken Robison, "we don't need a Racehorse Haynes. What we wanted was to tell the truth." But, he said, the defense was no match for a district attorney who used terms such as "personality disorder" instead of "paranoid schizophrenic" as a way of describing their son's condition.

In fact, the inequities of a number of social systems were exposed in the

capital murder trial of Larry Robison. Chief among those was the failure of mental health care. Larry Robison had been diagnosed as paranoid schizophrenic a dozen times before the trial. He had been hospitalized for mental illness three times before the murders. The Robisons could not afford the \$200 per day costs for private hospitalization of their son and asked that he be civilly committed to the state hospital for long-term care. Because Larry had never before exhibited violent tendencies, the state rejected their request.

In addition, the Robisons, with great difficulty, talk about the role sexual abuse may have played in the case. After Larry's trial they learned that an older step-brother had sexually abused Larry for a period of several years during his childhood. As difficult as this fact is for them to face, and the fact that it took place in what they considered to be a normal, middle-class home — the Robisons feel that the role played by early sexual abuse in adult mental illness must be examined.

Lois Robison believes that the public does not understand what punishment it is to spend life in prison. "If they had to spend 24 hours in a cell, they might realize how hard it is. I don't think we realize what the loss of freedom, the loss of privacy, the loss of identity does to a person." She thinks it is punishment enough for a human being. "Even if it's in isolation, they [death row inmates] want to live."

"I can accept the fact that Larry needs to be contained," she said, "if he did indeed commit this crime. But if they do decide to kill him — how can I go through the actions of teaching my third-graders about the value of life?" G.R.

Photo by Alicia Daniel

Reagan Tries to Sell Legal Services Down the River

By Alicia Daniel

Austin

SINCE THE FIFTH Century B.C., when Greek dramatist Aeschylus wrote that justice should "shine in houses grimy with smoke," the notion that the poor deserve access to legal counsel and legal recourse has gained increasing acceptance; it now comes quite naturally to most of us. When Congress established the Legal Services Corporation (LSC) in 1974, it did so amid the backslapping and handshaking of conservatives and liberals alike — everyone agreed that the poor would finally have their day in court.

In the ten years since that amicable beginning, questions concerning the nature and the extent of the justice the poor deserve have generated debates among LSC's bipartisan creators. Despite liberal and conservative philosophical differences, the concept of legal aid for civil cases had not been seriously questioned. But all this has changed with the election of Legal Services' most outspoken critic, Ronald Reagan, who, during the past three years, has escalated a mild and predominately external debate into an all-out civil war between a Reagan-appointed LSC Washington board and the nationwide LSC grant programs.

To see the two sides to the Legal Aid issue one need look no further than the Texas Rural Legal Aid (TRLA) office in Hereford. Out in the dusty, flat farmlands of the Texas Panhandle, three Harvard graduates set up shop to help provide equitable treatment for the migrant farmworkers, who come to the Panhandle during harvest season each year to clip onions, pick corn, and harvest potatoes, working for a tight-knit farming community, people who have lived in that area for generations. The lawyers soon discovered that, in the

face of a long tradition of discriminatory practices, one of the most effective and expedient methods for combatting the causes and effects of poverty was the class action suit. The legal aid lawyers in Hereford filed suit after suit against government agencies and organizations receiving federal funds in Deaf Smith and Castro counties, including:

- A \$1 million suit against Plains Memorial Hospital for refusing services to the baby of a migrant farmworker couple who couldn't pay the \$225 deposit; the hospital has received federal grants on the condition that it provide emergency medical treatment for indigent people. The child died.

- A suit against the Texas Department of Public Safety, prohibiting its officers from approaching, questioning, or detaining Hispanic persons without probable cause, following the jailing of a farmworker when he failed to produce a birth certificate to prove he was not an illegal alien. The farmworker was held for three days without bail. Immigration authorities finally arrived and released the man on the basis of documents that his family had been offering DPS troopers all along.

- A suit that led to the closing of a federally-funded public housing project run by local growers, who had decided that families eligible for housing must have a minimum of five working adults. In addition, all adults were required to work for one of the growers. The project has since been renovated and reopened by a Hispanic business organization called Azteca.

"In each of these cases, we felt a class action maximized our resources by helping the widest range of people," said Randall Marshall, farmworker attorney for TRLA. Class action suits can make needed changes in the enforcement of existing laws, thus solving the mutual problems of fifty clients. It's often more effective and always more expedient than taking fifty individual cases to court.

Conservative farmers in Hereford, voicing the opinions of conservative groups elsewhere, say that it's ironic, if not downright stupid, for the government to fund an agency that will turn around and sue it. It's a waste of the taxpayers' money, they argue, for a government agency, like the Department of Public Safety, to have to fight it out in court with TRLA.

And where individuals are involved in a civil case, they add, why should the government take sides? If TRLA chooses to take a farmer to court for unsanitary housing conditions for workers, not only does that farmer have to produce his own money to hire his own lawyer, but his tax dollars go to represent the plaintiff!

"I know life's not fair," said one Austin legal aid lawyer, "but we ought to strive for it. If you can't afford a fee in a fee-for-service system, that system never works for a large percentage of the people — ever."

Still, the idea that the government is supporting a passel of full-time, crusading, poverty lawyers has Reagan so angry that he has recommended zero funding for the Legal Aid program since the first year of his presidency. Harboring a grudge since the days when he served as governor of California and Legal Services lawsuits kept him from restricting state social programs, Reagan began his efforts to abolish the agency in 1981. So far a bipartisan congressional majority has protected Legal Services from the full force of his onslaught, and the zero funding proposals have failed repeatedly.

Unable to defund the program, Reagan has chosen to commandeer the LSC Board of Directors. Taking advantage of his power to appoint board members during a congressional recess — designed to fill a quorum in the event of a death or resignation — Reagan has made 19 recess appointments in the last three years to the 11 member LSC

Alicia Daniel is a freelance writer and photographer who oversees Observer design and layout.

board. (Recess appointees serve out a session of Congress. Although the usual procedure is for a president to submit each appointee for approval after Congress reconvenes, Reagan has refused to do so.) The list of recess appointments include: Ronald B. Frankum, a business consultant to six Fortune 100 companies specializing in aerospace, telecommunications, and weapons fields; and Albert Angrisani, whose accomplishments include a three-year term as Vice President of the Chase Manhattan Bank (see box).

With his unconfirmed appointments, Reagan is doing more than abusing his right to make them. He violates the spirit of the congressional specifications that the board be composed of poor people as well as lawyers, poor people representative of the client population. While there are many legal representatives on the board, only the very rich could consider any of the board members poor. Reagan assigned the "poor" seat in 1982 to Daniel Rathbun, a white college student attending a private university. When Rathbun left, the "poor" seat went to Frankum (of Fortune 100 fame).

Reagan has sent slates of prospective nominees (other than his temporary appointees) to the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources — 18 names so far. But Congress cannot seriously, or even humorously, consider many of his suggested members. Like his appointees, they often boast considerable wealth, Jesse Helmsian Republican connections, and open hostility toward or ignorance of the Legal Services program. The result? Today the LSC operates with a five-member, hand-picked, recess-appointed board. So much for checks and balances.

In response to this obvious circumvention of congressional will, Congress attached a rider to the Legal Aid appropriation known as the "hold harmless clause." It states that annual funding of existing grant programs must remain at 1983 levels unless action is taken prior to Jan. 1, 1984, by board members *who have been confirmed*. The rider does not hold the Reagan LSC board as harmless as one might hope. There is more than one way to skin a legal services corporation.

The most bizarre action under the appointed board was the series of secret raids on regional Legal Aid offices in the summer of 1983. One morning men showed up in the nine regional offices from New York to Seattle, sealed the files, crated them up, and sent them off to Washington for a General Accounting Office (GAO) audit. A Legal Aid staff

member described the psychological effect of being raided by a formerly friendly, superior office: "Morale in the regional offices is atrocious." He also stated that operating an office without any files disrupts work "dramatically." The GAO insists that the files remain sealed during their audit to insure that documents aren't altered or destroyed. Nine months after the raids, the files are still in Washington.

The GAO audits have unearthed what Reagan labels "illegal" use of federal funds. During the mad scramble after it became apparent that Reagan would be our next president, Legal Aid offices sent representatives to lobby legislators around the country for the continuation of Legal Services. They felt it was a matter of survival. The grant programs contend that such lobbying practices pushed the law to its limits but did not

Cast of Characters

THE MOST SCANDALOUS of Reagan's acts in his battle to dismantle the Legal Services Corporation has been his choices for recess appointments to and nominees for the LSC Board of Directors. As one Legal Aid lawyer put it, "At worst they are hostile to the program; at best they are ignorant of it." The following people represent a sample of Reagan's 31 unconfirmed selections:

- Michael B. Wallace, nominee. Wallace, a Justice Department employee, opposed the extension of the Voting Rights Act in 1982. That same year, he urged the Administration to side with segregated private schools in the celebrated Bob Jones Supreme Court case. He intervened to prevent the Justice Department from sending federal inspectors into local Mississippi jails. A fire in one of those jails later killed 27 inmates because flammable polyurethane padding spread toxic fumes throughout the jail. Legal Aid experience: 0. Occupation: Attorney.

- Ronald B. Frankum, appointee. In 1980, Frankum served on the Reagan-Bush Expenditure Control Task Force. He is now the Chief Executive Officer of Telecom Futures, Inc., a telecommunications business group. As a business consultant, his clients include six Fortune 100 companies in the aerospace, telecommunications, and weapons fields. Legal Aid experience: 0. Occupation: Businessman, business consultant.

- Henry Chavira, nominee. When he first heard of his nomination, he told an El Paso newspaper "I'm not real aware of what the board is . . . I know there's eleven people on it. That's about all I know right now." Legal Aid experience: Applied and was rejected for legal assistance on the ground of financial ineligibility. Occupation: Sales representative.

- Robert F. Kane, nominee. Kane serves on the Board of Trustees of the Pacific Legal Foundation, a conservative organization which has often opposed Legal Aid programs. PFL has represented landlords against rent-control ordinances and industries opposing federal minority employment statutes. Legal Services experience: Worked *pro bono* for Legal Aid on one occasion. Occupation: Attorney.

- LeaAnne Bernstein, nominee. Bernstein, while a student at the University of Indiana Law School, proclaimed herself a Libertarian and opposed public support for roads, schools, education, and other basic public institutions. Because she is presently the assistant to the president of LSC, her nomination is in violation of Section 1601 (ii) (c) of the LSC Act which states: "No member of the Board may participate in any decision, action, or recommendation with respect to any matter which directly benefits such member or pertains specifically to any firm or organization with which such member is then associated or has been associated within a period of two years." Legal Aid experience: 2 years. Occupation: Assistant to the President, LSC.

- Robert Valois, nominee. Valois is a recognized specialist in labor law, who worked for J. P. Stevens in its battle against the Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union, and has represented industries in alleged civil rights violations. He was featured in a *Southern Exposure* article called "Union Busters: Who, When, Where, Why and How." Legal Aid experience: On two occasions he's defended industries against Legal Service clients in employment compensation cases. Occupation: Attorney.

A.D

violate existing statutes in 1980. They claim that the whole auditing procedure is just smoke to screen attention from Reagan's own actions (a suit filed by the old LSC Board in 1981 challenging Reagan's practice of controlling a board through recess appointments is pending) and to justify those actions. "He's got a witch hunt going here and he'd better find a witch," said one Legal Aid lawyer.

Another way to make Legal Aid lawyers less effective, besides taking their files, is to keep them out of court and at their desks. Robert Rhundy, executive director of the Coalition for Legal Services said, "Directors have told me they're spending 10% more of their time informing staff of policy changes, implementing these changes, and responding to unprecedented demands for information about the program from the board." One regulation now requires that staff members not presume that people who are receiving food stamps, unemployment, welfare, or Medicare benefits are eligible for legal aid (even though they are). Each of these government programs have eligibility guidelines at least as stringent as those of Legal Aid. Past boards have

recognized the redundancy of duplicating paperwork through the repetition of eligibility tests. But no more.

Another set of regulations reflects the desire to transfer power away from local offices to the board. Regional offices no longer act as managers of field programs, nor do they act as liaison to the community and press. Their duties have been restricted to monitoring grant programs in their regions. The purpose of their vigil is not to identify and reward program strengths but to catch people in violation of the rules. Needless to say, the relationship between the lawyers and their regional supervisors becomes more and more adversarial. "It's all very negative," said a member of one of the regional offices. It's also perplexing. Here is a President who publicly and repeatedly advocates the decentralization of government on every level; but when those local decisions offend him, he's all too willing to command, control, and conquer.

If Reagan succeeds in gutting the Legal Services program, what does he propose in its stead? He's never said. One of the results, however, of a series of new regulations does reflect an

inclination. The percentage of funds used to pay for private bar involvement rose to 12.5% this year. (Reagan's board recommended 15%.) This is a move in the direction of a system of judicare, whereby practicing attorneys are paid nominal fees to represent poor people in court. It's hard to imagine the private bar absorbing all of the 1,300,000 cases that Legal Aid closed last year. (That's 1,300,000 and rising. "We've closed more cases in 1983 than ever before," said Donald Bogard, president of the Legal Services Corporation, Washington headquarters. The rise is at least partly due to the increasing number of poor and unemployed in America. Another story.) But even if private lawyers handled the divorce, tenant/landlord, prison, adoption, and consumer cases that form the bulk of the Legal Services caseload, what would happen to the large class action suits?

"There would be very few attorneys," said Marshall, "who would take on controversial cases." And for those few attorneys with the time, the money, and the inclination to fight poverty on the high plains of Hereford and elsewhere — the fight will be long and lonely. □

Bugs May Not Be the Only Home Pesticide Victims

By Shelley Silbert

Austin

ALINGERING CHEMICAL odor and continuing serious health problems convinced Iona Moravek to move from her house near Houston two-and-a-half years after an exterminator treated it for termites. Dottie Averbach of Austin, three months pregnant at the time her landlord hired a pest control company, chose to move when her doctor advised her to stay away from the strong smell of the insecticide chlordane in her yard and house. In Dallas, Helen and Charles Auten left their home when they suddenly developed diarrhea, nausea, weakness, vomiting, and other acute symptoms following pesticide treatment for

carpet beetles that had infested an oriental rug. These incidents highlight the growing concern in Texas about a constellation of pesticides used in homes, workplaces, schools, parks, and throughout the urban environment which can have the potential to cause both short term health problems and cancer, birth defects, or other chronic effects.

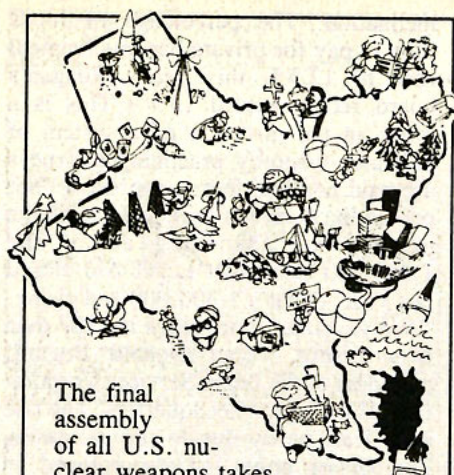
On the average, homeowners use five times more pesticides per acre than farmers. A comparison of soil residues in urban areas and nearby croplands showed higher pesticide concentrations in cities in 8 out of the 14 tests. Some pesticides banned for agricultural uses, such as the suspected carcinogen chlordane, are still very much in use in urban areas. Poor ventilation, frequent application of excessive or inappropriate pesticides, and the round-the-clock exposure of pregnant women, children,

the elderly, and the ill combine to make pesticide use in the home particularly risky.

Urban pesticide problems were recognized as long as twenty years ago when a director of environmental sanitation in California commented, "... of all the sites where pesticides are applied, the home reveals at the same time, the greatest variety, the most susceptible members of the population, the least skill in application, the greatest and most sublime ignorance of the hazards, and the poorest system of protective controls." Since 1964, pesticide use has doubled in the United States.

Some of the common pesticides used for indoor pest control include the organophosphates chlorpyrifos (dursban), diazinon (spectracide), and dichlorvos (vapon) and the carbamate propoxur (baygon). The

Shelley Silbert is the coordinator of the Pesticide Project of the Texas Center for Rural Studies.



The final assembly of all U.S. nuclear weapons takes place in the Texas Panhandle. Houston has more oil company headquarters than any other city in the world. The whole state reeks of Sunbelt boosters, strident anti-unionists, political hucksters, and new industry and money.

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organophosphates, first developed during World War II for human chemical warfare, break down faster in the environment than the organochlorines, still commonly used for subterranean termite control. However, the organophosphates tend to be much more acutely toxic.

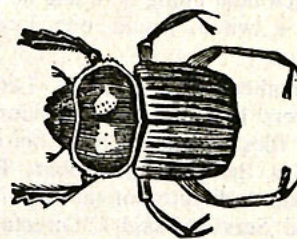
Organophosphates and most carbamates inhibit cholinesterase, an enzyme necessary for proper nerve functioning. They can cause headaches, nausea, diarrhea, muscle twitching, blurred vision, and flu-like symptoms. Long-term effects vary: tests have shown, for example, that diazinon causes birth defects in rats, chicks, and ducks, as well as genetic damage in bacteria.

Surveys show significantly higher asthma, chronic bronchitis, and sinus trouble in frequent users than in non-users of pesticides. An Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) survey found that in 1976-'77, over a quarter of a million Americans became ill from pesticides in the home. The problem may be particularly acute in Texas and the Southwest, where 99% of the respondents depend on household pesticides, compared with only 66% in the Midwest. Those surveyed by the EPA seldom read application and safety information on labels and had little awareness of active ingredients in the products they brought.



Information on long-term effects of pesticides, such as cancer, birth defects, or genetic mutations, is seriously lacking. EPA has requested more studies from the manufacturers on the chronic health effects of some of the more widely-used urban pesticides, such as diazinon, dursban, Round-up, and malathion. At least 11 studies on Round-up (glyphosate) were conducted by Industrial Bio-Test Laboratories, one of the largest chemical testing labs in the nation, when four of its top officials were indicted last summer for falsification of test results. A recent study by the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) has determined that products tested at the IBT labs are not the only pesticides on the market with questions about long-term safety. NRDC concludes that, based on EPA requirements, approximately 80% of the marketed pesticides are inadequately tested for carcinogenicity, 90% for ability to cause

genetic damage, 65% for birth defects, and 38% for hazards to the reproductive system. And access to the data that has been collected by industry is difficult to gain, as most companies refuse to release health effects information in order to protect "trade secrets."



While detailed data is lacking at the federal level, consumers find it difficult to obtain the most basic answers to questions about pesticides used in their homes. Tenants complain that landlords will not inform them of what types of chemicals are used in their apartments or when or where they are applied. Homeowners who hire professional pest control companies may get only trade names in response to their inquiries. Medical personnel have little training, and pesticide labels lack information essential for emergency poisoning treatment, as shown by the tragic death of farmworker Zacarias Ruiz last August in Brazos County (*TO* 1/27/84). Regulatory authorities know little about pesticide health effects. In fact, complaint forms used by the Texas Structural Pest Control Board (SPCB), the agency in charge of regulating the pest control industry, do not ask about health problems; and the board's inspectors receive no training in pesticide toxicology.

While the SPCB oversees the 2,900 exterminating companies and 4,500 certified applicators in Texas, they do not regulate unlicensed or non-commercial applicators. Complaints about pesticide misuse by other applicators, such as a landlord on his or her own property or an employee of a government or education agency, should be directed to the Texas Department of Agriculture. Unfortunately, these private applicators almost always lack knowledge and training on the safety and application of pesticides, subjecting both themselves and the general public to the risks involved in pesticide misuse.

Complaints to the Structural Pest Control Board are turned over to the seven field inspectors in the state — one inspector for every 1,000 pest control license holders. "Right now, we can hit the hot spots and handle complaints," comments David Ivie, executive director of the Board and former director of

pesticide regulation at the Texas Department of Agriculture under Reagan Brown. "But we can't get into routine investigations that we feel we need to make. With more routine investigations, we could possibly keep the complaints down, too."

To compound the problem, most of the investigators work out of their homes, so field offices are not listed in city phone books. Nevertheless, the main office in Austin will not accept collect long-distance calls. While the Board requires that the address of the main office appear on all pest control contracts, many consumers remain unaware of the agency's existence.

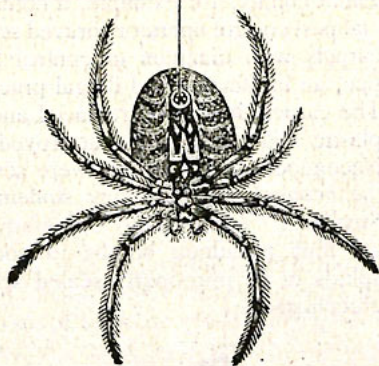
A complaint to the Structural Pest Control Board provides no relief to the complainant, as the SPCB can, at best, only suspend or revoke a pest control operator's license. Consumer compensation must be pursued through the legal system, which is an often difficult, costly, and uncertain remedy.

The testing capabilities of the SPCB are limited. They have no air monitoring equipment, but inspectors can take wipe samples — running an alcohol-wetted swab along an area where they suspect contamination — or material samples — swatches of rugs, drapes, clothing, etc. Texas Department of Agriculture labs analyze the samples. Unfortunately, results cannot be easily translated into figures relevant to human exposure.

No enforceable limit values exist for pesticide levels in the home. Some agencies have proposed guidelines for particular chemicals — for example, the National Academy of Science has recommended an upper limit of five micrograms per cubic meter for chlordane in air samples — but these are only suggestions, not law. "It's a real problem," notes Bill Elliott of the Occupational Health Division of the Texas Department of Health. "We often use what I call the '10% guideline.' It's



based on an extrapolation from federal threshold limit values for industrial workers." Threshold limit values (TLVs) are standards set to protect the worker from toxins and are based on a workday exposure. In the "10% guideline," a standard is set at about 20% of the TLV, calculated from the number of hours spent at home com-



pared to the workplace and then divided in half for added safety. "But there's no guarantee that it will protect everybody. TLVs are based on healthy workers and do not account for the young, the elderly, or the sick . . . And in the case of chlordane, for example, the 10% guideline exceeds the National Academy of Science guideline by ten times," Elliott said. "It's not a very scientific rationale."

When Helen Auten's family became ill after a pesticide treatment of their home, they found little comfort in the SPCB investigation. The pest control company owner met the Board's inspector at the Auten's house, and the two walked through together. Afterwards, the inspector reported he smelled no odor and saw no case of misuse, although the Autens claim one chair clearly had been so drenched with spray that the upholstery dye had dripped onto the carpet. The Autens complained to the EPA, and a second person visited from the Board to collect swab samples. Test results were negative, although later testing by University of Iowa and Texas Tech Pesticide Labs showed residues of dursban (chlorpyrifos) in carpets, upholstery, and clothing. Dursban still appeared six months later, after a thorough cleaning of carpets, floors, furniture, and draperies, in samples from the kitchen, bathroom, and living room.

The SPCB investigator who visited Bill and Dottie Averbach's home in Austin found .07 ppm (parts per million) chlordane in a sample taken from a sidewalk next to their apartment after the couple had hosed down the yard in an effort to rid it of its strong chemical odor. The inspector concluded that he "found no misapplication or misuse of chemical," although the Averbachs maintain that they found a chalky, crystalline substance spilled on their driveway and the smell of chlordane persisted in their home and yard.

Texas Department of Health records show that pesticides have been misused in and around schools as well. In Van

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If you want to take part in this program, contact the *Observer* at 600 W. 7th St., Austin, Tx. 78701, or phone 512-477-0746. No PAC's or campaigns, please.

Zandt county, for example, a commercial pest control operator sprayed school carpets with diazinon to control head lice, an ineffective and illegal practice. The carpets had to be replaced and all plastic and rubber toys destroyed. In Nacogdoches, 118 people were sent to the hospital when biology students at Stephen F. Austin State University set off nine parathion bombs to control aphids in an improperly sealed school greenhouse.



At the Highland Park Elementary School in Nederland last October, a maintenance man sprayed nine trees with chlordane to control asps. This use was illegal, as chlordane is restricted to treatment below the ground surface for termites and the dipping of non-food roots and tops. In addition, he applied it at a strength ten times the allowable amount for subterranean use. The school district erected fences to keep children

from the contaminated area, but, after an initial clean-up, officials still recorded residue levels as high as 4,200 ppm. A hazardous waste disposal firm has been contracted to remove the tainted soil until the Texas Department of Health's acceptable level of 5 ppm is reached.

A Safer Alternative

In an effort to reduce urban pesticide problems, alternative methods are being developed under the heading Integrated Pest Management (IPM). IPM combines cultural, mechanical, biological, and chemical means to provide a pest control program of great effectiveness, reduced cost, and low health or environmental risks. Urban IPM involves evaluation of an area to determine what factors promote pest infestation. Programs may include monitoring pest activity, removing food sources, caulking, eliminating rubbish and wood piles, and applying boric acid or other substances of little or no toxicity. Urban weed management may call for planting of native hardy and competitive species, building soil fertility through mulching, pouring a narrow concrete strip at the base of

If You Think Pesticides Have Been Misused in Your Home . . .

1. If your house or apartment was sprayed by a pest control company: Contact the Structural Pest Control Board (SPCB), 1300 E. Anderson Lane, Bldg. C, Suite 250, Austin, 78752, (512) 835-4066.

- Request that an inspector visit your home within 24-48 hours. Some pesticides break down quickly, and a delayed inspection may mean the loss of important evidence.
- Demand copies of all documents on your case.

2. If your home was sprayed by a landlord or his/her employee (not a professional pest control company): Contact the Texas Department of Agriculture (TDA), P.O. Box 12847, Austin, 78711, (512) 475-6133.

3. Fill out a complaint form with the Structural Pest Control Board or the Texas Department of Agriculture. Report on what happened as precisely as possible. Don't worry if you are missing certain facts. Important items:

- Exact location of problem;
- Physical damage;
- Health problems (headaches, nausea, dizziness, etc.);
- Other changes, such as pets becoming ill, unusual odors, etc.

4. If you feel ill or sense any physical effects:

- a. Contact your local Poison Control Center for information on emergency health care. (The number is usually listed in the front cover of the phone book.)
- b. See a doctor immediately, and give him/her as much information about your symptoms, and the chemical involved, as you can.
 - Within 24-48 hours of your exposure, ask your doctor to take a blood sample. This is necessary to test your cholinesterase level, an indication of pesticide poisoning.
 - A urine sample may also be required if symptoms are present.
 - If your doctor has any questions, s/he should contact the Texas

fences and other areas difficult to weed, augmenting natural insect predators or parasites, and discriminatory use of the least intrusive chemical controls.

Pest control companies, city governments, apartment managers, and individuals have experienced great success with urban IPM. A San Antonio firm, Butterfield Equities, which manages over 1,000 rental units in that city, has been using IPM roach control techniques for the last 2½ years. By thoroughly cleaning apartments and applying boric acid, a low toxicity dust, to target areas every five to six months, the company has eliminated the need for monthly professional pest control services. "We've achieved a 30 to 35% savings," says Bill Dinkfelder of the Butterfield headquarters. "We used to get complaints about a week after the professional companies came out, but now tenants are much happier." In Lafayette Park in Washington, D.C., IPM rodent control methods have determined rat breeding and feeding areas, and strategies have been implemented to eliminate rat infestations. In San Jose, Berkeley, Palo Alto, and Modesto, California, IPM programs to control insects on city

shade trees have reduced maintenance costs and pesticide use by 80 to 90%. And IPM techniques are opening up a new era in pest control technology. Companies, such as Eco-Logic Pest Control in Austin, have switched to methods that avoid use of toxic

organophosphate or carbamate insecticides, a direction which will become more popular as insects continue developing resistance to these chemicals and consumers become concerned about the long-term health and environmental risks to which they are exposed. □

Pesticide Workshops

In Austin, the Texas Pesticide Project joined with the Austin Neighborhoods Council and the Austin Tenants' Council to host two workshops, held on March 5 and 12, on safe methods of roach and rodent control in the home. Aimed at neighborhood group leaders and tenants, these workshops are part of an educational effort across the state to organize urban consumers around the pesticide issue. A group has formed in Fort Worth to plan a workshop on May 31 on strategies for reducing pesticide use in lawns and gardens. A similar committee is forming in Dallas, and the Texas

Pesticide Project is working to assist community groups in other cities toward such efforts. If you are interested in participating in workshop planning or want to investigate pesticide health effects and use in schools, parks, playing fields, roadsides, and other public places, contact Shelley Silbert, Texas Pesticide Project, Texas Center for Rural Studies, Box 2618, Austin, TX 78768, (512) 474-0811.

In Fort Worth, contact Allan Rogers, (817) 626-5943, and in Dallas, contact Paula Nielson at (214) 368-1791.

Pesticide Lab at 1-800/292-7664 in San Benito (note: most doctors can do the cholinesterase tests themselves, but urine samples may have to be analyzed at the Pesticide lab.)

- c. Keep a daily written record of any health changes you note in yourself or your family.
5. Collect samples to check for pesticide residues in your home:
 - a. The SPCB can test for pesticides through wipe samples of surfaces (baseboards, floors, etc.) and analysis of soil, carpets, clothing, and other materials.
 - b. The Texas Department of Health, Occupational Health Program, 1100 W. 49th St., Austin, 78756, (512) 458-7410, will take air samples within your home at the request of a medical doctor or the SPCB.
 - c. The Texas Department of Agriculture can take samples of clothing, food, plants, etc.
 - d. You may also want to collect your own samples (in the presence of a reliable witness — preferably a public official). These could be used later on if you pursue your complaint.
 - For advice about collecting samples, contact the Texas Pesticide Lab, P.O. Drawer 2031, San Benito, 78586, 1-800/292-7664.
6. If you are unable to get an inspector to respond promptly or to your satisfaction, contact:
 - a. The Environmental Protection Agency's Regional Office, 1201 Elm St., Dallas, 75270, (214) 767-2734;
 - b. Your congressman, state representative, or state senator;
 - c. An attorney. If you are eligible for free legal assistance, contact the Texas Legal Service Center, (512) 477-4562, or Texas Rural Legal Aid (in South and West Texas), (512) 968-9574;
 - d. The Texas Pesticide Project, P.O. Box 2618, Austin, 78768, (512) 474-0811;
 - e. The Austin Tenants' Council, 1619 E. 1st St., Austin, (512) 474-7006;
 - f. The National Coalition Against the Misuse of Pesticides, 530 7th St., SE, Washington, D.C. 20003, (202) 543-4312. S.S.

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Let Them Eat Regulations

By Zy Weinberg

Austin

AFTER SEVEN MONTHS of bickering between Austin's Capital Area Food Bank and the Texas Department of Human Resources, surplus commodities are once again filling the mouths of Travis County's neediest citizens. With both sides claiming victory in the lengthy dispute, only the area's poor are clear losers.

Until last summer the food bank distributed government cheese and butter, along with other surplus and salvage food, to more than 50 local agencies. But in July, the Department of Human Resources (DHR) issued new rules for the give-away that the food bank and other food programs found hard to swallow. Community groups throughout Texas, including those in Austin, refused to sign the revised state contracts.

The controversy centered around the issues of liability and eligibility. The contract DHR put out last summer placed responsibility for loss or damage of food on the food bank or recipient agency. This excited indignant rejection of the contract by the Capital Area Food Bank (CAFB), which supplied the bulk commodities to other organizations but did not oversee actual distribution to individuals. If a subcontractor mishandled the food, the CAFB would be liable.

In setting eligibility requirements, DHR had the option to establish standards at 180% of federal poverty guidelines, but chose to restrict the give-away to people with incomes below the poverty line. The agency also mandated monthly reapplication for benefits. In an August 5 press conference, food bank director Dara Gray criticized state requirements as too restrictive and "time-consuming." "Each time someone receives food, they have to fill out a form," said Gray.

The food bank's point of view attracted substantial support. City and

county officials in Austin sided with the food bank and spurned state offers to sign a distribution contract for the local area. The *Austin American-Statesman* also criticized DHR's "rigid requirements" in an editorial, noting that the food bank "balked at this, and properly so."

DHR was unmoved. Distribution was suspended throughout Texas for nearly six weeks while the agency terminated old contracts and negotiated new ones where willing organizations could be found.

Most agencies approached by DHR did eventually sign, but food banks in El Paso and Houston, as well as Austin, demurred. They decided to forego the food rather than submit to what they viewed as onerous state procedures.

"DHR tried to bully us into doing something we didn't want to do," commented Jan Hammoud, a CAFB board member and executive director of United Action for the Elderly, a home-delivered meals program. "Seven months without cheese and butter is not going to starve anybody to death," she added. "Our normal networks just could not distribute because of the system and its requirements," said food bank director Gray.

The allocation of surplus cheese was almost completely unfettered in December 1981 when the give-away started. The program was statewide in Texas, with some 4,000 groups participating.

But Congress changed all that last year. In March 1983, it tightened income and accountability guidelines, though other foods from the huge federal stockpile were added to the program. The following month the Reagan administration further complicated matters. In response to dairy industry complaints of declining commercial sales, John Block, U.S. Secretary of Agriculture, severely curtailed government releases of cheese and butter.

Changes at the national level played havoc with DHR efforts to stabilize the program. The state agency instituted its

strict eligibility requirements in response to the Congressional action and, reacting to Block's cutback, limited supplies of cheese, butter, and other foods to 83 counties, based on unemployment and poverty data. Shortly after that action was taken by DHR, Secretary Block reversed his order, in conjunction with President Reagan's announcement in early August of a special task force to investigate hunger in the United States. Cheese was made available again.

Consequently, DHR loosened its rules at the end of September. Eligibility levels were boosted to 130% of poverty guidelines. Food stamp, social security, and other welfare recipients were made automatically eligible for commodities. Certification was changed from a monthly to a quarterly procedure. But the CAFB remained hesitant to sign, and the deadlock continued.

The liability issue came to the fore after 24,000 pounds of spoiled cheese had to be dumped in Southeast Texas in late September. The commodity went bad after being stored in an unrefrigerated warehouse for several months. Though the claim is still unsettled, the local distribution agency in Orange County responsible for the cheese may be forced to replace the food if it is found to be negligent. The DHR contract was rewritten to place liability for negligent mishandling of food squarely on subcontracting organizations, but the CAFB still insisted on further clarification. The tendered contract for Travis County remained unsigned.

The upheavals in program administration on the federal and state level caused Texas food banks to re-examine their attitudes toward government programs. El Paso and Houston withdrew from the commodity scheme, feeling that the distribution of federal surpluses diverted them from their primary purpose of capturing surplus and salvage from the food industry.

The CAFB was similarly affected. "The situation made us look at whether this is what a food bank is set up to

Zy Weinberg is a freelance writer living in Austin.

do," remarked CAFB president Joe Phelps, a local Baptist minister. "It's been an incredible hassle," he added. Contract negotiations with DHR continued, even though the food bank put the issue "on the back burner," according to Phelps.

It took several more months to settle the differences. The final contract, signed in January, has brought cheese and butter back to the needy in Travis County. Renewed distribution, however, is only being done through city and county service centers with pre-registration required. DHR did not relent on certification procedures.

"Most of the agencies the food bank serves can't handle all the paperwork,"

explains Martha Loer of Faith Presbyterian Food Pantries and a CAFB board member. Her operation, like many others in Travis County, is staffed by volunteers unfamiliar with government methods. Many elderly, disabled, and homebound people will not get surplus food under the new local scheme.

Though hungry Austinites finally have access to surplus commodities again after half a year of legal wrangling, there is no certain victor now that an accord has been reached.

The CAFB feels it won major concessions from the state in hashing out a contract. Its agreement is "the best possible one for all food banks," claims Phelps, who plans to share the terms

with other distributors around the state.

But the Department of Human Resources does not share that view. "There are not many changes in the contract per se," noted Wayne Kuykendall, administrator of DHR's food services division. "We didn't have anything to sacrifice," he observed.

A comparison of the CAFB document with the state's standard contract revealed minor wording changes in just three paragraphs, although a one-page addendum provides additional clarification of each party's responsibilities. When asked why it took so long to arbitrate the seemingly small differences, one DHR staffer quipped, "Maybe because they had a lawyer, and we did too." □

UT Third World Militarization Conference

Where the Grass Gets Trampled

By Greg Stephens

Austin

SOMEBODY ASKED Donald Mills of Jamaica toward the end of the University of Texas' Third World Militarization conference if he thought Third World countries could bow out of the U.S.-Soviet arms race. Mills quoted an African proverb: "When the elephants battle, the grass is trampled: when the elephants make love, the grass is trampled."

There was a ripple of laughter in the audience, dominated by men in three-piece suits. That was one of the few light moments of the Third World Conference, held February 29 through March 2. The proverb also seemed to reflect a fatalistic attitude, which seemed to prevail among the dozens of world-class scholars who had come to UT's Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs for the conference, sponsored by the Distinguished Visiting Tom Slick Professorship of World Peace.

Jagat S. Mehta — the 1983-84 Tom Slick Professor — subtitled his conference "A Challenge to Third World Diplomacy." It might as well have been "A Third World Challenge to First World Intellectuals." The participating

scholars were overwhelmingly white, male, and North American. There was something ironic about such a group of academics getting together to ponder how best to slow the arms buildup in the developing countries. It resembled all those industrial north scholars in the 70s who made careers out of preaching population control to the Third World, the South, minorities, or anybody else who had to depend on something other than money for respect and security.

Predictably, the scholars that Mehta had brought to UT held out little hope for halting or even slowing Third World militarization. There were statistical arguments and graphs about the relationship of arms spending to the Gross National Product in developing countries; theories about whether shipment of arms to specific subregions might actually be desirable to reestablish balance; and analyses of the breadth of the superpowers' role in the Third World arms buildup.

If a consensus emerged from the conference, it was that developed countries could no longer be held solely accountable for the arming of developing countries. This theme was first sounded by Professor Mehta in his lengthy opening theme paper, and it struck a responsive chord. Scholar after scholar fell in line to agree with Mehta — as if having a Third World diplomat

agree with them validated their arguments that the blame for Third World militarization could begin to be shifted back to the Third World itself.

"The Cold War cannot be held fully accountable for the militarization of the developing world," said Edward A. Kolodziej of the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana. "Developing states have used the Cold War as a cover for the militarization of their own conflicts. They have profited from the superpower conflict in gaining access to arms."

It was also generally agreed that there is at least "anecdotal" proof that excessive arms spending has a negative impact on overall economic development in general and social programs in particular. But, as often happens at academic conferences, there seemed to be an excess of statistical analyses and a lack of creative problem-solving suggestions. It would be unwise to expect a well-rounded picture from a conference on the Third World which included only two women, two blacks, only two participants from outside the Americas and only a handful of Hispanics. But there were a number of glaring omissions.

The fact that the Reagan Administration has encouraged arms buildups in many Third World countries, including, for example, its tacit approval of South

Greg Stephens is a freelance writer on political and cultural matters living in Austin.

Africa's apartheid and ballooning arms budget, was only mentioned obliquely. And there was absolutely no mention of the role played by Texas — the second largest manufacturer of arms in the U.S. — in supplying military hardware to the Third World. It would have been instructive seeing the assembled analytical prowess turned to issues closer to home.

But such political intelligence can be a liability for an American scholar. And it's downright hazardous for some Third World professors. I talked to one South African professor who had stood up — as an "unofficial participant" — to make a few comments about America's role in South African destabilization. He would talk only off the record, and then, midway through the conversation, he began questioning me, making sure I wasn't an informer the South African government sent his way. One of his brothers had been banned from the country for publishing an exposé in the *Guardian* about what firms have South African subsidiaries, and the South African government had banned a book by another brother about Western sanctions against South Africa.

The generally pessimistic drift of the presentations led one scholar to speak of the "mood of despair" which had fallen over the conference. It was left to the few Third World participants to inject a ray of hope into the proceedings.

What stood out in my mind were the reasoned remarks of Uganda's Ambassador to the United Nations, Olara Otunnu. Ambassador Otunnu was the only participant who concentrated on providing alternatives to militarization, and he was also the only speaker to receive a round of applause.

Otunna studied in Uganda and England as a college undergraduate, and then earned a Master's in Law at Harvard. He practiced law briefly in the United States before returning to Uganda, where he was appointed in September 1980 to the National Council — an interim policy making body which helped set up the post-Idi Amin elected parliament in December of 1980. He has been Ambassador to the United Nations since 1981, serving for a year as chair of the Compact Group on Global Negotiations and recently as chair of the Commission on Human Rights.

Before Ambassador Otunnu flew back to New York, I spoke to him briefly about his efforts at keeping a lid on the pressure cooker called Africa, and about America's tendency to exacerbate conflicts in Africa:

How has the Reagan administration's rhetoric affected Africa?

The most striking feature of American aid to Africa in the last three years has been the emphasis on the military component of the aid in relation to economic and social aid and the concentration of aid in a few hands rather than spreading it throughout the continent. If I were asked about this, I would say that the best investment for the U.S. as far as strategic interests and its security were concerned, as well as the best investment for the African governments themselves, does not really lie in building up the military component of aid. Governments change and, therefore, the hardware also changes. A friend today may be a foe tomorrow. The investment in the economic and social sector reaches the ordinary people of Africa. Their memories tend to be a lot longer than the memories of the government of the day. If I were making policy for the U.S., I would reach for their support. They, in the long run, will determine who will be the friends of Africa.

Is there a way for Third World countries to develop independence from superpower interference?

The major powers will never be kept out of our countries by self-imposed restraints. For reasons of politics and reasons of profit they will always be there. The only way to keep them out is not to invite them, which means to create local conditions which will not give them an opportunity to take advantage. When the waters are troubled, any number of fishermen will come to fish.

What kind of local conditions?

Self-reliance is the key. Even more important is sub-regional cooperation. To achieve mutual security, sub-regional economic development is necessary to embark on common economic projects. Those with whom you are engaged in common economic projects which are mutually beneficial are unlikely to be the same people against whom you are fighting, because the 2, 3, or 4 countries in the sub-region will have a vested interest in keeping the peace.

Can you give some examples of joint economic ventures which are taking place in Africa?

We had the East African Community, and it broke down for various reasons; then relations in the region deteriorated sharply. For a long time the border between Kenya and Tanzania was closed; there was very little communication. But since the overthrow of Idi Amin, Uganda has helped to bring the leaders of the three countries together to initiate common activities, such as a common airline, a common railway

service, common research institutions. Now there is the SAC — the Southern Africa Conference on development; there's the PTA — preferential trade area, which brings together countries of Southern and East Africa into a trade zone.

"... the best investment for the U.S. as far as strategic interests and its security were concerned . . . does not really lie in building up the military component of aid."

Amb. Olara Otunnu

Is it possible that some country like Malawi or Zambia could feel secure enough to refuse arms aid, use the aid for social purposes, and declare itself non-military like Costa Rica did in Central America?

The military is in one sense a symbol of independence, a symbol of sovereignty. That symbolism is a good thing to preserve. But there must be a sense of proportion. No, it is not possible or desirable now to do away with the military. Third World countries are experiencing an arms buildup because of (a) a misplaced sense of insecurity, and (b) a misplaced sense of prestige. This is where confidence building measures come in. If you and your neighbors engage in constructive projects, and moreover you develop a constituency for peace in that region, you can begin to push for co-existence. There was a tremendous pressure on the part of ordinary people in East Africa to force the leaders to make peace with each other.

Do you see the recent agreements between Angola and Mozambique leading to an end to apartheid in South Africa?

The cooperation between Angola and Mozambique will lead to the eventual independence of Namibia, which is an absolute priority for Africa. But let us not fool ourselves by thinking this will in any way affect the struggle within South Africa itself. This is a point that will soon come home to roost. The excuses that have been given for the [possible] fall of South Africa — the communists from the outside, the Marxists, everything but the situation within will soon be proved absolutely wrong, if the media becomes interested. □

Congress Has More To Do Than Write Book on Prayer

By Barbara Elmore

Mildred Waller and Selma Jones would be bemused at the school prayer debate going on in Washington.

I can see Mrs. Waller now. She would roll her big bright eyes upward dramatically, clutch her throat and come out with some dreadfully biting, right-on-the-mark remark.

Miss Jones, on the other hand, would not change her facial expression. She would simply shake her gray-haired head from side to side and tell her charges to get ready for dictation.

I couldn't call Miss Jones to poll her reaction; she died years ago. But Mrs. Waller is still very much around, still very open to out-of-the-blue questions. So after our how-are-you-it's-been-so-long greetings, The Question: Did we ever pray in her classes?

"Well, no," she said slowly. I could tell she was thinking back. "We didn't have a thing about it, of course. Prayer is a pretty personal thing, you know. And most of us are praying in school all the time."

Ah, yes. She remembered it like I did: praying before a test, praying for a friend or a relative, praying whenever the urge to do so struck us. The only thing was, we did it privately. We didn't need anyone's permission or approval that way.

Although there's no real line of demarcation for when the good ol' days ended and these new days we're now in began, Mrs. Waller and Miss Jones accurately could be called products of the good ol' days. They grew up in the "good ol'" era, went to college during that pleasant time, were teachers in a small town during the simpler '40s and '50s.

And they were, as I recall, the best. Mrs. Waller's subject, indeed her love, was English. She also taught speech. She interpreted both of these class headings broadly, however, getting into all sorts of things that pupils in tiny Johnson City weren't going to get in their curriculum unless a creative teacher saw to it.

Miss Jones' classes were less free-wheeling, but nonetheless action-packed. She taught social studies through non-stop dictation. Topics: the electoral college. The Bill of Rights. The responsibility of voting.

Both women, the late Miss Jones and the retired Mrs. Waller, knew what their classrooms were for. They used their time well. They set priorities.

Did they, as some people today would accuse them, bar the door to God? Of course not. I doubt that the Supreme Court's 1962 ruling, which prohibited organized prayer in school, changed their teaching methods — or their personal beliefs — one way or the other.

Miss Jones, as I remember, attended church regularly. Mrs. Waller . . . well, let this statement speak for itself: "I don't know how anyone could hold a flower or look at a bird and say they don't believe in God."

Leave God on the school sidewalk? Rubbish. They just had other things to do in their classroom besides leading prayers.

And speaking of having other things to do, let's go back to Washington, where the issues press. You can take your pick of the things our senators and representatives need to be discussing these days. As one gentleman so irately pointed out to me earlier this week, the Medicare system is going broke. Then there's our immigration problem, our deficit. What are we going to do about El Salvador, Congress?

It would be pleasant if these pressing issues could wait while our elected officials hammered out a national philosophy on prayer. It would be nicely simple, too, if the people of this country accepted a national philosophy once it was fashioned. They wouldn't of course . . . and the issues Congress is neglecting, while it conducts this exercise in futility, can't wait.

If Congress needs any tips on setting priorities and organizing time, I have a phone number they might be interested in. It belongs to Mildred Waller, expert teacher, master priority-setter. No expert on God, to be sure; just a believer. But surely one of the best teachers who ever taught. It wouldn't hurt Congress to spend a day under her instruction.

This essay first appeared in the Waco Tribune-Herald of March 8, 1984. Reprinted with permission.

Mattox and Workers' Comp

✓ State District Judge Harley Clark's ruling that Texas workers' compensation law unconstitutionally discriminates against farmworkers by excluding them as a class goes into effect on March 17. As of that date, farm and ranch workers will be covered by workers' compensation insurance when they file claims with the Industrial Accident Board (IAB).

According to Jim Harrington, lead attorney in the case and Legal Director of the Texas Civil Liberties Union, the ruling means "immediate no-fault medical coverage and pay for lost time. The growers also gain because there are set rates under workers' compensation and not unlimited liability."

While the ruling calls for no retroactive class relief, claims filed as far back as 1943 can be refiled with the IAB and should be honored if the employer carried workers' compensation for employees other than farmworkers at the time.

Judge Clark's ruling does not eliminate the need for the workers' compensation legislation being considered by a special legislative committee (TO 1/19/84). State Senator Hector Uribe (D-Brownsville), a member of that committee and a co-counsel in the case, said, "We hope this would be additional impetus for the state to get behind the legislation." The legislation, Uribe explained, would remove the problem of proof, "saying crew leaders and employers are jointly liable."

Clark's ruling is still subject to an appeal by the Attorney General. And, according to Harrington, Jim Mattox's office is sending out a confusing set of signals regarding the appeal. The AG has, at various times, indicated he will appeal to the Texas Supreme Court, to the State Court of Appeals, and that he will not appeal the ruling at all. An appeal to the state supreme court would not necessarily be a bad thing for farmworkers because it would have ramifications for all other Texas law in which farmworkers are excluded. "This issue will not go away," said Harrington. "We might as well get it decided as expeditiously as possible."

Beyond this, however, Harrington is angered by the fact that the AG has declared sovereign immunity from having to pay court costs and for notice to

the class, to which Judge Clark has assented. "In all the cases I've had involving the attorney general's office, under a number of different attorneys general, I've never had one refuse to pay the cost of the case and claim that they're immune," Harrington said. "He [Mattox] is saying the farmworkers should pay."

In a letter to Assistant AG Bill Barbisch, Harrington wrote: "It is one thing to claim that immunity blocks an award of attorney's fees to Sen. Hector Uribe, Rep. Juan Hinojosa, Tony Kori-

oth, and our office — even, if you will, under the provisions of the Declaratory Judgments Act. But it is quite another to use immunity to militate against paying the cost of giving class notice to farmworkers. The logic of that same hard position has long been used to exclude those workers from whatever meager protection Texas law offers. There is irony in your suggestion that the Plaintiff farmworkers, none of whom are working, should pay for the notice to the class." (Notice appears on this page.)

PUBLIC NOTICE

No. 356,714

GUADALUPE DELGADO AND OTHERS,
Plaintiffs,

vs.
THE STATE OF TEXAS AND OTHERS,
Defendants.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT
OF TRAVIS COUNTY, TEXAS
147TH JUDICIAL DISTRICT

NOTICE TO CLASS MEMBERS

IF YOU ARE A FARM OR RANCH LABORER PLEASE READ THIS CAREFULLY.

To: Farm and ranch laborers injured on or after March 17, 1984.

Judge Harley Clark of the District Court in Travis County has ruled that the exclusion of farm and ranch laborers from the Texas Workers' Compensation Act is unconstitutional and should not be enforced.

This notice has three purposes: (1) to inform you of the existence of the lawsuit and of the fact that you may be a member of the class on whose behalf the lawsuit was brought, which class is described above; (2) to inform you of the judgment in the case; and, (3) to give you a chance to remove yourself from being bound by the judgment.

The effect of the judgment will be to bind you as a class member under terms of the judgment, whether it is favorable or unfavorable to you.

However, you may have the right to be excluded from the class and the judgment, if you request the Court within thirty (30) days from the date of judgment. That request should be filed with John Dickson, Clerk of this Court, located at the Travis County Courthouse, P.O. Box 1748, Austin, Texas, on or by April 6, 1984.

Signed and entered this 7th day of March, 1984.

Harley Clark, Judge Presiding.

No. 356,714
GUADALUPE DELGADO Y OTROS,
Demandantes,

vs.

EL ESTADO DE TEXAS Y OTROS,
Demandados.

EN LA CORTE DISTRITO DEL
CONDADO DE TRAVIS, TEXAS
DISTRITO JUDICIAL 147

NOTICIA A MIEMBROS DE ESTA ACCION
LEGAL COLECTIVA

SI UD. ES TRABAJADOR DEL CAMPO, FAVOR
DE LEER
ESTA NOTICIA CUIDADOSAMENTE Y
ATENTAMENTE

A Todos Trabajadores Campesinos:

El juez Harley Clark del Condado de Travis ha declarado que la provision legal que excluye a campesinos de la ley que protege a personas que se accidentan en el trabajo es anti-constitucional y que no se puede enforzarla. Es decir que, comenzando el dia 17 de marzo 1984, los campesinos accidentados en la labor van a estar protegidos por esta ley tanto como cualquier trabajador accidentado.

Hay tres razones para darle esta noticia: (1) para informarle de este litigio y de que Ud. quiza sea miembro de la clase campesina en el nombre de cual esta demanda estuvo presentada; (2) para informarle a Ud. del decreto y juicio final en este caso; y (3) para darle la oportunidad de excluirse de tal juicio si Ud. no quiere estar cubierto por la ley de compensacion para trabajadores accidentados.

El juicio le incluire a Ud. como miembro de la accion colectiva, no importa si sea favorable o infavorable a Ud.

Entonces, quiza Ud. tendra el derecho de excluirse de esta accion colectiva y del juicio si Ud. lo pida del juez dentro de treinta (30) dias de la fecha del juicio. Su peticion debe estar sentada en la oficina del Secretario de la Corte, John Dickson, colocada en la Casacorte del Condado de Travis, P.O. Box 1748, Austin, Texas 78767, por el dia 6 de abril, 1984.

Este orden es firmado y archivado el dia 7 de marzo, 1984.

Harley Clark, Juez de la Corte.

✓ Speculation has arisen that if nominated for President, Walter Mondale may choose Cong. Jim Wright of Fort Worth as his vice-presidential running mate. This reflects doubt in the Mondale camp about Sen. Lloyd Bent-

sen of Texas as a possible running mate. Wright, of course, is first in line to succeed House Speaker Tip O'Neill when the latter retires.

Showing up for Larry Hagman's presentation to the Smithsonian Institu-

tion of the first Stetson he used in filmings of the TV series "Dallas," Jim Wright commented on the rumors: "My wife thinks vice president is the best job in town because you get a house with a big dining room, and you don't get shot at. If I were offered the choice of Speaker or vice president — well, I'm not sure — but maybe I'd prefer Speaker. Now, we got some other fine Texans: Lloyd Bentsen. It's nice to be speculated about though."

What Wright did not say was that, unlike the speakership, the vice-presidency often leads to the Presidency.

✓ In an interview on Feb. 29, Tip O'Neill said that he wants to be appointed ambassador to Ireland if a Democrat is elected President this year, which could mean that Wright's moment would come in 1985. O'Neill said that in any case he intends to serve no more than one more term in Congress. Thus he will step down as Speaker at the end of 1986. Reporting this, the *Wall Street Journal* added: "Majority Leader Jim Wright is the strong favorite to succeed Mr. O'Neill. Though more conservative than Mr. O'Neill, the Texan has sought to strengthen his ties among liberals by taking a strong stand for cuts in defense and opposing funding for the MX missile and the CIA-backed war in Nicaragua."

✓ In a recent issue of *Village Voice*, James Ridgeway wrote: "The worst election nightmare haunting liberal Democrats is that Walter Mondale will win the nomination and then hook up with the LBJ of 1984 in the form of Lloyd Bentsen, the colorless Democratic senator from Texas, long and ardent advocate of Reaganomics." Ridgeway's article continued in this vein, reviewing Bentsen's roles in the Senate, his defeat of Ralph Yarborough for the Senate in 1970, and Bentsen's father's business activities in the Valley as these were reported in the *Observer* some time ago.

✓ It seems that a political ad run by the Mondale campaign in New Hampshire may have contributed to the erosion of Mondale's support in the state shortly before its primary. The ad, created by Austin's public relations consultant Roy Spence, showed Mondale playing tennis. New Hampshire labor reacted adversely to the fact that the man with the AFL-CIO endorsement was portrayed in coordinated tennis togs, playing a sport usually associated with country clubs.

✓ Gary Hart's rise has put something of a damper on the speculation around the Capitol as to which Democrats

would be making the run for Senate should Mondale tap Lloyd Bentsen as his running mate. The names appearing on most lists as possible candidates were Buddy Temple, Lt. Governor Bill Hobby, and the two losers in the Democratic primary for Tower's seat.

San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros was considered a likely candidate, but he faces an obstacle of his own creation in any statewide race. The Democratic Party faithful are less than enthusiastic about Cisneros since his reluctance in 1982 to be identified with the Democratic candidates running for statewide office. Never one to identify himself with progressive campaigns, Cisneros was even hesitant about signing on for Lloyd Bentsen's re-election bid. Apparently San Antonio city politics, which have never been identified according to Democratic/Republican party lines, have created in Cisneros an inability to choose sides. His performance on President Reagan's Central America Commission provides another example of Cisneros' centrist politics. "He's always had a difficult time deciding he's not a Republican," said one Democratic campaign worker.

✓ The Austin City Council recently voted unanimously to violate Austin's City Charter and sell revenue bonds without the approval of Austin voters. Why? Because the city needs the bond income to make its \$2 million weekly payments on the unfinished South Texas Nuclear Project, and the City Council feared that Austin voters would defeat a proposal to borrow any more money for the troubled nuke. The City Council has asked a state district court to confirm that state law supercedes the City Charter requirement that voters approve the sale of revenue bonds.

The City Council authorized the sale of \$605 million in bonds for STNP, enough to pay all the rest of Austin's share of construction costs. The last nuke bond election in Austin, in January 1983, was hotly contested and was for \$97 million in bonds.

Austin continues to participate in STNP under a contract with the partner utilities (Houston, San Antonio, and Corpus Christi), despite the desire of the City Council to sell Austin's 16% of the project and the recent assertion of City Council member Sally Shipman that she would happily unload Austin's share for one dollar. (Austin's investment to date in STNP is roughly \$450 million.)

In response to the City Council decision to skip the election and issue bonds anyway, a group of local activists

has begun work to initiate a recall election of the City Council.

✓ A Houston Industries shareholder resolution calling for the cancellation of the South Texas Nuclear Project has been filed by the Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother Finance, Inc., of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and the Christian Brothers of St. Louis, Missouri. The resolution calls upon the board to support cancellation and to "approach the partnership with such a proposal." The religious investors are being represented by the Texas Coalition for Responsible Investment (CRI), whom they have deputized to manage their shareholder interests in this matter.

The management of Houston Industries had asked the sponsors to withdraw their resolution, but they were not so persuaded, and the resolution remains on the proxy statement to be voted on in the Houston Industries annual meeting of shareholders on May 9. In presenting the resolution, Sister Susan Mika, Executive Director of Texas CRI, said, "The poor and needy should not be deprived of electricity because of escalating prices and problems in the nuclear industry."

The resolution sponsors were also critical of a contribution of \$380,000 made by Houston Industries in 1983 to the U.S. Committee on Energy Awareness, which sponsors advertising promoting nuclear power. This advertising is paid for by the ratepayers of the utilities belonging to the committee.

According to Timothy Smith, Executive Director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, the Houston Industries resolution is one of eight filed by religious investors with ten utilities across the country this year. Resolutions with three utilities involved in the Zimmer nuclear plant in Ohio were withdrawn when the nearly-completed facility was converted to a coal-fired generating plant.

✓ The Fort Worth arm of General Dynamics (GD) — America's biggest weapons maker, builder of the Trident submarine and the cruise missile — almost had some of its Pentagon money cut off last month. Fort Worth GD builds the F-16 fighter and is solely supported by the Defense Department, which paid it more than \$2 billion last year. The trouble over the payments came when GD headquarters in St. Louis refused to show Pentagon auditors its general ledger. The Pentagon threatened to hold back \$10 million due Fort Worth GD; GD gave in and the money went through. Fort Worth GD is the largest defense contractor in Texas. □

◦ SOCIAL CAUSE CALENDAR ◦

Notices on upcoming events must reach the *Observer* at least three weeks in advance.

GALBRAITH TO SPEAK

John Kenneth Galbraith will speak on "Military Power in Our Time," **March 27**, UT-Austin, Batts Auditorium, 3:30 p.m.; public reception follows.

STUDENTS AGAINST REAGANISM

Students Against Reaganism, a national political action committee run by students, is looking for folks who are interested in establishing local chapters at colleges and universities throughout Texas. If interested, write Mark Penzel, 784 Orange St. #2, New Haven, Conn. 06511; or call collect (203) 777-2986, after 10 p.m.

VIDEO ART

Some of the best examples of American video art will be shown in a five-part series, "New Video," presented by Laguna Gloria Art Museum, Austin, each Thursday in **April**, 7:30 p.m., the Art School on the museum grounds. Included in the series is "Meta Mayan II," Edin Velez's observation of the Guatemalan highlands and its people as they undergo social upheaval. \$7 for entire series, or \$2 per evening.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL BENEFIT

An evening of live music to benefit Amnesty International, the international human rights organization, will be **April 8**, Soap Creek Saloon, Austin, 8 p.m. Call (512) 467-8367 or 471-4816 for ticket information.

TWO LONE STARS

"Two Lone Stars: John Henry Faulk and Cactus Pryor" promises to be an historic and hilarious union of Texas' foremost humorists, recreating their favorite characters together, including a dialogue between J. Frank Dobie and his student John Henry Faulk, **April 11**, Austin Opera House, 200 Academy Dr., 7 p.m. and 10 p.m., \$10-15 for tickets. Call (512) 443-8885 or 451-8594 for ticket information.

WILDERNESS GATHERING

Registration begins **April 1** for the 5th Annual Sierra Club Wilderness Pow Wow, Angelina National Forest, **April 14-15**. Speakers and entertainers will include: Congressman John Bryant, Bill Oliver, and the Banded Ghekoes. To register contact: The Texas Committee on Natural Resources, 5526 Dyer #111, Dallas, 75206, (214) 368-1791.

CHILDREN AND PEACE

A group is forming in College Station to teach peace to children, with the possible participation of the group in the Week of the Young Child exhibit, Manor East Mall, College Station, in **April**. Call Marge Coppock, (409) 693-1532 for details.

TEXTILE EXHIBIT

"Silken Threads and Silent Needles," an exhibit of costumes and fashion displaying the skills of needleworkers and lacemakers, particularly with respect to homespun and ethnic textiles, continues at the San Antonio Museum of Art, 200 West Jones Ave., through **April 15**.

HISPANIC FELLOWSHIPS

The Congressional Hispanic Caucus, Inc., is offering fellowships to Hispanic graduate students currently enrolled in graduate programs in the public policy area or policy related fields. The Fellowships, which provide stipends and placement with Congressional Committees, are designed to enable students to gain insight into the legislative process at the national level and to advance the non-partisan preparation of Hispanics for involvement in the political process at state and local levels. Application deadline is **April 16**; selection of fellows will be completed by **July 1**. For information contact: Fellowship Coordinator, Congressional Hispanic Caucus, Inc., 504 C Street, N.E., Washington, D.C., 20002, (202) 543-1771.

H. L. MITCHELL TO LECTURE

H. L. Mitchell, co-founder of the historic Southern Tenant Farmers Union, will be lecturer for the Public Lecture Series, LBJ School of Public Affairs, **April 3**, 12:15 p.m., student lounge, LBJ School, and **April 4**, 3 p.m., East Campus lecture hall, LBJ Library. The S.T.F.U. is an interracial movement of agricultural workers which was credited with influencing the Roosevelt administration in the design of much New Deal legislation. A reception for Mr. Mitchell to accept historical designation for the site of a school, founded by his fellow union organizer, Rev. J. E. Clayton, will be **April 4**, Manor Community Foundation, Manor, 7 p.m.

SANCTUARY DISCUSSION

The Dallas-Ft. Worth Metroplex Sanctuary Organizing Committee will have a public meeting **April 4**, 7:30 p.m., Casa America Libre, Hampton Rd. and Ft. Worth Ave., Dallas, to discuss sanctuary efforts in the area. Call (214) 941-3784 for details.

FREEZE RELIEF

Citrus and vegetable production in Hidalgo, Cameron, Willacy and Starr Counties was devastated by the 1983-84 winter freezes. The more than 100,000 farmworkers in the area have had no work or earnings since January 1, 1984. Catholic Charities, Box 122, San Juan, 78589 is sponsoring relief efforts for these families. Donations of food, clothes, or funds may be sent to Catholic Charities; drop off points in Austin are El Centro Chicano, 1402 E. 1st St., Emeralds to Coconuts, 1009 West Lynn St., and the American Friends Service Committee, 1022 W. 6th St.

FESTIVAL FOR PEACE

The Houston Peace Community — a coalition including the Citizens' Anti-Nuclear Information Team, Houston Non-violent Action, Interfaith Peaceforce of Houston, and Other Directions For Peacemaking — will sponsor a Festival for Peace, **April 4-5**, to present films and live music promoting the need for disarmament, Greenway Plaza Theater, 7:30 p.m.; \$5 general admission, \$3 for students. Call Genevieve Bacak, (713) 984-9175, or Lee Loe 524-2682 for tickets or information.

TELEVISION NEWS

Public Access Television is a way people in a community can record events on videotape or "air" them on public access channels. Austin Community Television has video equipment and video production workshops available at the Access Resource Center, 310 Dawson Road, Austin, 8 a.m.-midnight, everyday, free. Beginning in **April**, access producer Dr. Mike Bell's educational children's program, "ColorSounds," will be shown nationally on PBS. Call (512) 478-8600 for details about the program and the Resource Center.

PETE SEEGER CONCERT

Folksinger Pete Seeger will perform a benefit concert for the Austin Peace and Justice Coalition, **April 7**, Austin Opera House, 8 p.m.; tickets in advance, \$6; at the door, \$7. Call (512) 474-5877 for details.

1984: SYMPOSIUM

John Stockwell, former director of CIA operations in Angola, will discuss the CIA, U.S. policy in third world countries, and American arms and money in Nicaragua, **March 26**, 7 p.m., UT-Austin, Texas Union, Eastwoods Room. The lecture will be part of the "1984: An Examination of Modern American Society" Symposium, co-sponsored by the Ideas and Interactions and the Human Issues Committees, which will emphasize a critical evaluation of American society in 1984. For information about other Symposium activities, **March 26-29**, call (512) 471-5651, ext. 286.



Photo from the Austin-Travis County Collection.

First group of women registering to vote in Travis County, 1918.

VOTE—FOR A CHANGE

"A nation that continues, year after year, to spend more on military defense than on programs of social uplift, is approaching spiritual death."

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Riverside Church, April 4, 1967

VOTER REGISTRATION

April 5 is the deadline to register to vote in the May 5 Texas primary. The Southwest Voter Registration Project is sponsoring voter registration drives in Texas cities. Call (512) 222-0224 for information about registering, volunteering to register others, or to participate in rallies, door-to-door campaigns, or telephone banks. Participating cities and towns include: Alamo, Austin, Beeville, Cotulla, Dallas, Donna, Edna, Edcouch, El Paso, Elsa, Ft. Worth, Goliad, Gonzales, Hereford, Hondo, Houston, Lubbock, New Braunfels, Palacios, Pecos, Pharr, Port Lavaca, San Antonio, San Juan, Uvalde, and Victoria.

ALLIANCE FOR JUSTICE

The Alliance for Justice in '84 is a new organization of local and national groups united to organize low and moderate income people to fight back on issues concerning them, such as budget cuts in nutrition programs, the military build-up in President Reagan's proposed budget, and unemployment. The group is now

doing voter registration and planning a demonstration for the Republican National Convention in Dallas, August 1984. For more information or to volunteer to register voters contact Alliance for Justice, 4600 S. Main, Houston, (713) 520-6846 or 523-6989.

OBSERVANCES

March 7, 1927 — The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a Texas law prohibiting Blacks from voting in Democratic primary elections was unconstitutional.

March 10, 1966 — Federal courts invalidated the state law which required payment of a poll tax as a requirement for voting.

March 19, 1882 — Minnie Fisher Cunningham, leader of Texas suffragists from 1915-1919 in their fight for the vote, was born.

March 25, 1918 — Texas women won the right to vote in the state primary; with ratification of the 19th Amendment, June 1919, they gained full suffrage.

April 3, 1944 — The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Blacks may vote in Texas primary elections, reversing an earlier verdict.

*"From 1976 women in Texas History Calendar, People's History in Texas."

Progressive Organizations

The Observer has built up lists of organizations in Texas we regard as progressive. The

editor invites communications recommending organizations for inclusion. We will generally print the listings for Austin and Around Texas in one issue, followed by Dallas, Fort Worth; Houston and San Antonio in the next. The complete list is available for a \$5 processing fee to any group deemed progressive in purpose.

DALLAS

ACLU, 651-7897; ACORN, 823-4580; Amns. for Demo. Action, 368-8931; Armadillo Coalition, 349-1970; Bois d'Arc Patriots, 827-2632; Bread for the World, Joe Haag, 741-1991x298; Casa America Libre, 942-9413; Ctzn. Assn. for Sound Energy (CASE), 946-9446; Ctzn. Party, 352-1239; Clean Air Coalition, 387-2785; Comanche Peak Life Force, 337-5885; Cmte. in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, 375-3715; Dallas Area Bilateral Nuclear Freeze Coalition, 324-1972; Dallas-Ft. Worth Solar Energy Assn., 522-2816; Dallas Friends Service Group, 321-8643; Dallas Gay Alliance, 528-4233; Dallas Inter-Religious Task Force on Central America, 375-3715; Dallas Nuclear Freeze Coalition, 324-1972; Dallas UN Assn., 526-1853; E. Dallas Neighborhood Assn., 827-1181; Environmental Health Assn., 620-0620; Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), 370-3805; Fredrick Douglass Voting League, 426-1867; Hard Times News, 942-4236; Human Ecology Research Foundation, 620-0620; Humanists of North Tx., 381-1818; Lawyers' Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, 43 Charles St., Suite 3, Boston, 02114; Lesbian Rights Task Force (Dal. Co. NOW), 742-6918; Neighborhood Info. & Action Service, 827-2632; N. Lake Col. Solar Club, 659-5254; N. Tx. Abortion Rights Action League

Talented and inspired artists have been publishing their work in the *Observer* for years — some of them for many years — and our files are getting dogeared from use. It's time for fresh (or seasoned) cartoonists and illustrators to send samples of their art to Alicia Daniel, 600 W. 7th, Austin, TX 78701.

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Ronnie Dugger: "Heard's accounts of the Bees in hiding are the pure gold of real history."

Bryan Woolley (*Dallas Times Herald*): "It ought to be right beside the Alamo books."

**"The Miracle of the KILLER BEES:
12 Senators Who Changed
Texas Politics"**

by Robert Heard
Honey Hill Publishing Co.

1022 Bonham Terrace, Austin, Texas 78704
\$7.95 plus \$1.03 tax and shipping

(NTARL), 742-8188; NOW (Dal. Co.), 742-6918; NOW (N. Dal.), 494-2990; Physicians for Social Responsibility, 688-2699; Progressive Voters League, 376-1660; Resistance Cmte., 942-4236; Sierra Club, 369-5543; Socialist Party, 4711 Bowser, 15, 75219; Tx. Cmte. on Natural Resources, 352-8370; Tx. Tenants Union, 823-2733; UNICEF, 241-7807; War Resisters League, 337-5885; West Dallas Involvement Cmte., 1902 Bickers, 75212; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 324-1972.

FORT WORTH

ACLU, 534-6883; ACORN, 924-1401; Allied Communities of Tarrant (ACT), 332-1830; Bread for the World (Dist. 12), 924-1440; Citizens for Education on Nuclear Arms (CENA), 295-6587; Citizens for Fair Utility Regulations, 478-6372; Citizens' Party, 834-5123; Coalition of Labor Union Women, 540-1393; Conscientious Objector Awareness Cmte., 457-6148; Dist. 10 Demos., 283-7001; Dist. 12 Demos., 535-7803; Farm Workers' Support Cmte., 927-0808; Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), 274-7554; First Friday, 927-0808; Ft. Worth Task Force on Central America, 921-0419; IMPACT, 923-4806; Mental Health Assn., 335-5405; Mexican-American Demos., 626-8305; NOW, 338-4456; Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 926-3827; Sierra Club, 923-9718; Tarrant Co. Demo. Womens' Club, 261-6583; Tarrant Co. Precinct Workers' Club, 429-2706; Tx. Coalition of Black Demos., 534-7737; Tx. Tenants' Union, 923-5071; Traditional Native American Circle, 926-9258; Women's Political Caucus, 336-8700.

SAN ANTONIO

ACLU, 224-6791; Alternatives to Imprisonment, Box 27393, 78227; Amnesty Int'l., 734-8692; Bread for the World, 494-1042; Centro Cultural Aztlan, 733-7928; Citizens Concerned About Nuclear Power, 653-0543; Civil Rights Litigation Center, 224-6726; Common Cause, 494-5676; Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS), 222-2367; Ex-Partners of Servicemen for Equality (EXPOSE), Box 34474, 78233; Fellowship of Reconciliation, 822-9631; Habitat for Humanity, 822-9900; Inter-University Faculty Network, 436-3107; International Center for Peace Through Culture, 822-0461; Interreligious Task Force on Central America, 432-1125; Latin-American Assistance, 736-9306; Metropolitan Congregational Alliance, 349-2401; Mexican-American Democrats, 223-1776; NAACP, 224-7636; Padres, 736-1330; Pax Christi, 732-2136; Peacemaking Fellowship, 732-9927; People for Peace, 822-3089; Physicians for Social Responsibility, 735-8044; Presbyterian Peace Fellowship, 732-9927; Proyecto Hospitalidad, 736-9306 (leave message); Residents Organized for Better and Beautiful Environmental Development (ROBBED), 226-3973; S.A. Ad Hoc Committee for Peace and Disarmament, 736-2587; S.A. Demo. League, 341-7361; S.A. Forum on Energy, 653-0543; S.A. Gay Alliance, Box 12063, 78212; San Antonians for Freedom of Choice, 347 Bushnell, 78212; Sierra Club, 271-7169; S. West Voters' Registration Education Project, 222-0224; Tx. Fathers for Equal Rights, 337-6803; UNICEF, 828-4528; United Campuses Protesting Nuclear War, 732-2722; Vietnam Vets. Against War, 533-9693; Women's Political Caucus, 828-3061.

ON REAGAN

THE MAN AND HIS PRESIDENCY

By **RONNIE DUGGER**

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Wilderness Fight

(Continued from cover)

Deep in the heart of Texas' timber belt lie four national forests — Sam Houston, Angelina, Davy Crockett, and Sabine. As recently as 1970 they contained 658,000 acres: now, thanks largely to the creation of new lakes (of which Texas, I am told, now has more than Minnesota) the acreage is down to around 590,000. *Sterile Forest* is largely about these national forests, though in a broader sense it is about clearcutting and its costs. And in a still broader sense it is about the relationship of humanity to nature generally.

STERILE FOREST: THE CASE AGAINST CLEARCUTTING

By Edward C. Fritz
Austin, Texas: Eakin Press.
1983. 271 pp. \$12.95.

A word of caution is due at the beginning. National forests are not national parks. They are not intended as wilderness redoubts or biological preserves but as national timber reserves. No one should be upset, then, if they find that the feds cut trees in the federal forests. That is what these forests are for.

The question is not whether to cut, but how. What conservationists complain about is the clearcutting methods applied to the national forests since 1964. To clearcut a forest means to harvest its saleable timber, to bulldoze the rest into windrows and burn it, and then to plant the scraped earth with rows of pine. If hardwoods (oak, hickory, holly) start to grow back, they are then bulldozed, burned, or poisoned. The result is rapid production of pine pulp and construction lumber: plus a biological desert. The federal Multiple Use Act requires that the National Forest Service

manage the national forests in such a way as to support a wide variety of values: recreational, scenic, biological, as well as economic. But the pine monoculture produced by clearcutting, conservationists complain, is anything but scenic, does not support recreation, and is an environmental plague, turning once diverse, rich, many-specied ecosystems into rows of pinestalks surrounded by little else. A bird flying through an adult slash pine monoculture, environmentalists assert, had best carry provisions; there is nothing in the monoculture for it to eat.

There is one more piece to the puzzle. In 1977, James Earl Carter, President and sometime conservationist, established the Rare II program, whose goal was to set aside wilderness areas in the national forests. There were strict limits to the overall size of the acreage to be set aside. And there had been, previously, a Rare I program, which had netted exactly zero wilderness acreage in the Lone Star State's national forests. There was little reason, then, from the side of the National Forest Service, to suspect that things would be any different this time. Business-as-usual would continue. Besides: Rare II had a time limit. The whole thing could be stalled to death. (It had happened to Rare I.)

☆ ☆ ☆

ENTER EDWARD C. FRITZ: irascible, redheaded, stubborn, determined, and, worst of all, honest. Founder and chairman of the Texas Committee on Natural Resources, Fritz, a Dallas lawyer, had for years been involved in virtually every environmental cause, movement, and controversy in Texas, much to the consternation of the state's Establishment, which could never quite either digest or ignore him. He had, in particular, been a leader in the drive to set aside wilderness tracts in the state's national forests — a drive which, so far, had ended in complete frustration. Fritz had once won a lawsuit giving him the right to maintain his yard in a state of semi-wilderness. Unmowed, weed-and-wildflower festooned, it remains to this day a natural bird sanctuary in the heart of neatly mowed

and clipped North Dallas. He had also taken part in a suit preventing the ditching of Bachman Creek, which runs just behind his home. A strong partisan of the Big Thicket Crusade, which netted an 84,550 acre national biological preserve in Southeast Texas, Fritz had founded the Big Thicket Coordinating Committee, a device which enabled beleaguered conservationists to present a united front against their lumber company adversaries. At what clean-air, clean-water, water-plan or wilderness hearing over the past two decades had Fritz or his Texas Committee on Natural Resources not testified? Whom, in some position of power and eminence in Texas, had he failed at least once to irritate?

The author certainly describes possibilities for irritation on a grand scale. In the process of trying to save wilderness in the national forests, conservationists had set aside several areas of special value. When the National Forest Service singled out a 400-acre piece of one such area (the "Four Notch Unit") for clearcutting, the author — rather against his own inclinations and despite advice to the contrary — finally decided that only a full-scale injunction against clearcutting could safeguard what patches of wilderness were left. *Sterile Forest* is the story of his long, exhausting, nearly-victorious campaign to halt clearcutting in *all* of Texas' national forests. It is also an excellent investigation of the Forest Service, the new clearcutting technology, and the labyrinthine ties connecting the Forest Service, forestry schools, and lumber interests.

Personal accounts of personal crusades are liable to several pathologies: preachiness, abstractness, egocentricity, lack of objectivity. *Sterile Forest* manages to avoid these flaws for the most part. A step-by-step chronicle of the author's suit against the National Forest Service's clearcutting policies, it carries the reader along effortlessly, building suspense. The author's frank admission of his own fears, perplexities, and physical weariness render his account believable and serve to underscore the David vs. Goliath character of the plot. Small, under-supported, poor by comparison, conservationist groups are barely able to mount campaigns against either large corporate interests or government bureaucracies, which can force the depositing of large bonds or file ruinous countersuits. A threadbare Da-

Pete Gunter is a professor of philosophy at North Texas State University and the author of a book on the Big Thicket.

vid. A smooth, rich, well-connected Goliath.

Fritz's campaign to halt clearcutting involved three stages: a preliminary hearing, a full-scale trial (both before William Wayne Justice in U.S. District Court), and a hearing before the deep-Southern Fifth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals. The full-scale trial provides both the most intense suspense and the profoundest insights into the practice of the politics of forestry. The pre-trial hearing, however, provides dramatic foreshadowing and an overview both of conservationist criticisms and N.F.S. tactics. Gordon Robertson, a Pacific coast forester of wide experience, quickly establishes the conservationist case against clearcutting. This new, presumably superior technology obtains its goals only by:

"(1) increasing the fire hazard by eliminating the canopy, with its shade and coolness, and thereby exposing the forest floor to heat and dryness; (2) increasing the damage from insects and disease because a timber monoculture is more susceptible than a mixed forest; (3) disturbing the soil over wide areas and thereby increasing erosion on an exponential scale; (4) increasing the leaching of nutrients out of the topsoil; (5) degrading the habitat for wildlife and many species of plants; (6) diminishing the natural diversity, with its genetic values to humans; and (7) decreasing recreational values . . ."

Hard questioning by defense lawyers, though failing to shake Robertson in his testimony, left inuendoes — Sierra Club ties? money payments? — suspended in the courtroom air.

Compared to the pre-trial hearing, the trial turned out to be an exhausting marathon of charge and counter-charge, punctuated by outbursts of deep mutual mistrust. Fortunately, courtroom warfare was both preceded and interrupted by trips to clearcut areas and struggles to find expert foresters to testify on the side of conservation. The author wisely lets the courtroom testimony build its own case, which in the end proves overwhelming.

Though sworn to uphold the Multiple Use Act and to abide by E.P.A. guidelines, the National Forest Service in Texas has, under increasing pressure from forest products industries, steadily pursued a full-scale program of clearcutting and hardwood elimination. Of the 590,000 national forest acres, 556,000 are to be clearcut: that is, again, stripped of native vegetation and planted in rows of pine. To conceal this fact, N.F.S. propagandists regularly used the Big Lie Technique, claiming that there are more hardwoods on national forest lands in the Lone Star State now than

there were fifty years ago. But hard questioning revealed (pp. 223, 232) that to get this figure it is necessary to count the tiny green sapplings that grow out of decapitated hardwood trunks! These, in turn, are regularly eliminated by repeated burnings of cut-over areas to prevent hardwood regrowth.

While forest service regulations forbid cutting at the edge of creekbeds, the Forest Service regularly ignores such regulations, regularly cutting creekside forests, often bulldozing dirt into creekbeds to make hastily-arranged bridges for heavy machinery. Forest service regulations require at least five mature hardwood trees to be left in every clearcut acre. No evidence suggests that this ratio is ever observed in practice. At the time of the trial in 1976, an N.F.S. spokesman had stated that no area larger than 200 acres was being clearcut. But investigation showed recent clearcuts of over 200 acres. (One clearcut amounted *de facto* to nearly 1,000 acres, though in a large portion of that hardwoods were only poisoned with a "hypo-axe" and allowed to stand, mute and cadaverous, awaiting the bulldozers.)

N.F.S. lawyers and public relations people loudly proclaimed that recourse to older selective cutting techniques would eliminate jobs in East Texas and fatally undermine the local economy. (LAWSUIT THREATENS ECONOMY OF WALKER COUNTY. THOUSANDS MAY LOSE JOBS, TFA PREXY STATES, shouted a Huntsville newspaper.) In fact, even-aged forest management (as clearcutting is pleasantly called by clearcutters) is mechanized and has by itself eliminated thousands of jobs, while selective cutting practices are labor-intensive and create employment. The claim, moreover, that selective cutting can not be practiced profitably hardly stands up under questioning. Profitable selective cutting forest operations can be found throughout the United States.

It thus should have come as no surprise when Judge Justice ruled in favor of Fritz and his conservationist allies, upholding their injunction against clearcutting in Texas' national forests. The National Forest Service had been found wanting, even on the basis of its own none-too-demanding guidelines. Its facade of environmental concern had been hammered away under the chisel of question and cross-question. What should have occasioned surprise — what should have been but was not reported by any of the state's newspapers — was the extent to which the National Forest Service and the forestry schools turned

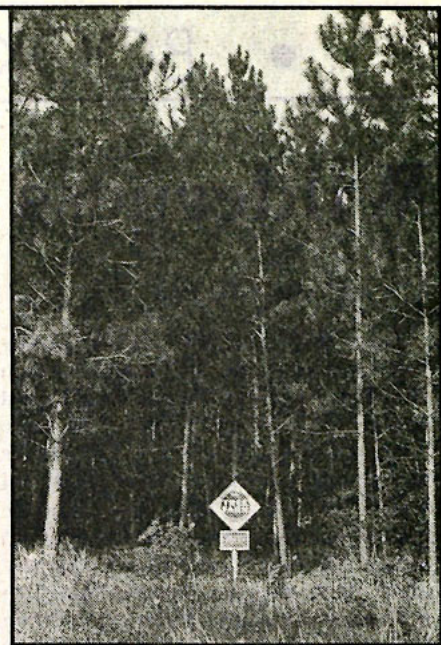


Photo by Roy Hamric

Pine tree farm.

out to be controlled, if not owned, by the lumber companies. A cynic would simply smile indulgently and point out that all "regulatory" agencies become the pawns of the industries they regulate. The question arises, nonetheless: How did the lumber companies gain control of the national forests? How could the supervisor of the national forests in Texas (John Courtenay) have been a member of the board of the Texas Forestry Association, the mouthpiece of the lumber industry? Why has no scientific research ever been done at (state, public) forestry schools or by the National Forest Service on the potential negative effects of clearcutting? Who owns the national forests, anyhow? Who owns state forestry schools?

The answers to these questions are still worth seeking. In a practical way, however, they were soon to be answered by the Fifth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals (consisting of Irving Goldberg, Homer Thornberry, and Paul Roney). The Fifth Circuit court, in a hearing that lasted only part of a morning, threw out the circuit court's ruling. Goliath had won. David, leaving the field of battle weary and scarred, wondered if he would have won with bigger guns instead of a sling.

☆ ☆ ☆

BUT LIFE bears an uncomfortable resemblance to a soap opera, and, like a soap opera, goes on. Just when the fight to set aside wilderness in Texas' national forests seemed doomed by renewed clearcutting, president James Earl Carter proclaimed the Rare II program, which gave new life to national forest wilderness proposals.

Building on previously suggested wilderness preserves, Fritz and his allies have proposed a total of 65,000 acres of wilderness in Texas' four national forests. The struggle to save these few last remnants from the bulldozer and the hypo-axe continues even as these words are being written. Thanks to a boost from Congressman John Bryant of Dallas, who has introduced a bill to set aside wilderness in the national forests; thanks to the publicity generated by Fritz's anti-clearcutting suit; and thanks to continued advocacy by the Texas Committee on Natural Resources, the Sierra Club, and other groups, some portion of this wilderness proposal (probably between 30,000 and 40,000 acres) stands a chance of passage in Congress this year. Considering the population figures projected for Texas (18 million by 2000 and 25 million by 2020, many wedged into the central and southeastern parts of the state) this is a small amount of open space. But it is a triumph for conservationists in a state where conservationists have had few triumphs. (See box, this page.)

Meanwhile the clearcutting goes on, both inside and outside of the national forests, as tens of thousands of acres per year of once diverse, rich native forest are transformed irreversibly into sterile rows of slash and loblolly pine. Given time, this process will afflict all but small portions of East Texas. Given time, our children or grandchildren will have to go to wilderness areas or nature preserves just to see what was their grandparents' birthright: natural forests alive with singing, soaring, burrowing things, and rich with wildflowers.

All those concerned with this gigantic, somber transformation should read *Sterile Forest* as a primer — a catechism — of what the new clearcutting technology involves. More important, they should understand what it means. The human race now has at its disposal dozens of technologies of unsurpassed, unexpected power. Some can obviously exterminate us. Others can help enslave us or, if used wisely, might help set us free. Still others can gradually leach and decay our environment and thus enfeeble our lives. Our new powers call not for a celebration, either of wealth or of machismo, but for an exercise of a new sense of responsibility for what we have done or might yet do. That is what Ned Fritz is pleading for: first, that we come to understand the situation in spite of vested interests which will try to prevent understanding; second, that we seize responsibility for what clearcutting has done and will do if allowed to continue uncurbed. We owe Fritz a debt of gratitude for his efforts to shed light —

in an age that is arrogant, murky, and cowardly, all at once. ☐

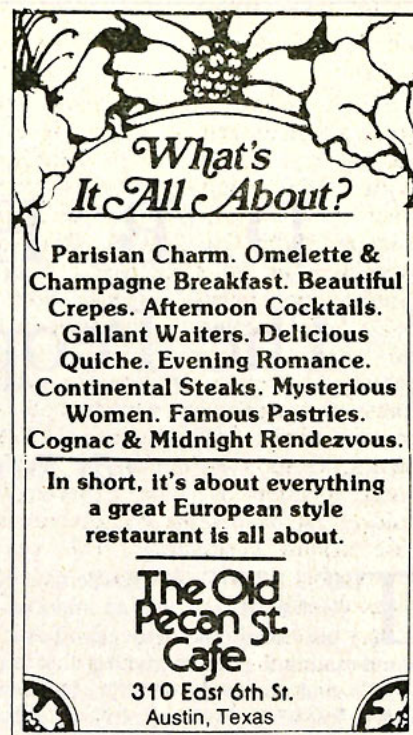
Sterile Forest may be bought for \$13.50, including postage, from Texas Committee on Natural Resources, Suite 3B, 5518 Dyer, Dallas 75206.

Bryant's Bill

On February 23, Congressman John Bryant (D-Dallas) announced that a compromise agreement had been reached to set aside 34,000 acres of timberland as wilderness areas in four national forests in East Texas. Bryant said the agreement "virtually assures passage of the compromise Texas Wilderness Bill [H.R. 3788] . . . and it will provide the only wilderness areas in Texas within reach of the majority of Texans."

The compromise was reached in negotiation with Congressman Charles Wilson (D-Lufkin), who had originally proposed 9,000 acres of wilderness land to counter Bryant's original call for 65,000 acres.

According to Bryant, while the bill will preserve five unique wilderness areas, the total acreage will amount to less than one-quarter of 1% of all the timber acreage in East Texas. "While other regions of the country have carefully protected more than 80 million acres of wilderness," he said, "Texas has set aside hardly any."



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
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D. B. Hardeman: The People Govern

By Ronnie Dugger



D. B. Hardeman

Photo courtesy of California State University

THE LATE D. B. Hardeman of Goliad, Texas, was an important but shadowy actor in Texas-based national politics during the late 1950's and the early 1960's. He was widely known in political circles for his absolute discretion and his political judgment. He was a gentleman and a courtly liberal who hated cruelty. Although he had roots in journalism, essentially he was a politician, first as a Texas legislator, then as a staffer and close associate of Speaker Sam Rayburn and House Democratic Whip Hale Boggs. As Walter Cronkite says, D. B. Hardeman was worthy of a book, and here it is.

At the age of 51 Hardeman tired of national politics and quit the Capitol's high-ceilinged offices and echoing hallways. He devoted his last years to his life's work, a biography of Rayburn, and to teaching and being by himself. With the assistance of a collaborator, Donald C. Bacon, Hardeman's work on Rayburn will be published fairly soon by Texas Monthly Press.

Across the 175 pages of the book in hand one can pass happy hours listening with the mind's ear to D. B. telling stories and talking about democracy and the politicians he knew. This is a good way to remember him, because he led a lonely bachelor's life; during his last years in San Antonio, behind his amiable and benevolent friendliness he seemed sad.

"D. B. was the most important member of the Texas House of Representatives I ever served with in my six years as a legislator," Maury Maverick, Jr., writes in *D. B.* "... he was important as an intellectual, and as a high-minded person... He brought the liberals together, taught them how to count votes, and even persuaded them to be polite to one another." Three nights a week the liberals met in

Hardeman's apartment, usually around midnight, and, Maverick recalls, "D. B. would be in his baggy shorts — a libation in one hand, a book in the other — and deliver a stirring oration, urging us to go out on the floor of the House the next morning and fight the honey-money lobbyists."

D. B.: REMINISCENCES OF D. B. HARDEMAN Compiled by Larry Hufford

Austin: AAR/Tantalus, Inc.
1984. 175 pp. \$14.95.

In Washington, as Rayburn had his famous "Board of Education" (the hideaway room where he and his cronies met at the end of the day for drinks and talk), Hardeman had his "Board of Ignorance." Young staff members, lobbyists, journalists, and the like met after hours in Hardeman's elaborate office near the Rotunda, and we learn from Donald Bacon in this volume that "Hardeman set only two rules: anything said in the room was graveyard, and everybody mixed his own drinks." Among the friends who formed a circle around Hardeman he was regarded as a person of wisdom and kindness.

Hardeman's story-telling was grounded in knowledge of history and in humane values. He did not hesitate to exaggerate harmlessly if that would help him give people the pleasure of laughter. In his parts of this book, Hardeman tells about early segregation in the schools of Goliad, Farmer Jim Ferguson selling pardons, the dirty tricks that defeated Homer P. Rainey for governor of Texas in 1946, the shocking extent of Franklin Roosevelt's physical handicap, the rivalry between Governors Allan Shivers and Price Daniel, the time Ray Roberts (who

succeeded Rayburn in Congress) used half a dozen boys in Navy uniforms to campaign for Adlai Stevenson, and the way Democratic candidates for President during the 1950s had to contort their schedules to avoid segregated hotels in the South. He tells Lyndon stories and Rayburn stories, and here his fundamental alliance with Rayburn tells: Hardeman did not understand the anti-Johnson forces in the Texas Democratic Party in the late 1950s. Lyndon botched both his attempts to get Hardeman to work for him, for instance by lightly calling him "you little son of a bitch" in the rough way Lyndon had, yet Hardeman was so discreet he never (that I know of) said as much outright, and he was so fair of mind his distaste for Johnson's style did not prevent him from concluding that "he made a great president."

Hardeman was a Democrat, but before that he was a democrat. Throughout his stories one sees his personification of the people as a moody giant, but the valid source of power. In 1946, during the "extremely vicious" campaign against Rainey, he says, "The people of the United States were in one of the worst moods that I have known in my lifetime." In the 1952 election, when Hardeman lost an election for the Texas House, various local factors combined, he says, "to put people in a very bad mood in Texas," and they were right to be feeling that way. Throughout the country, too, that year, "The country was in a very bad mood. We were in the middle of the McCarthy period of persecution and finger-pointing, and people were restless."

"He believed passionately," his young friend, the reporter and writer Nick Kotz, writes here, "in the promise of grass roots democracy, that a government closest to the people served the

(Continued on Page 31)

984 Public High Schools in Need!

The National Library of Australia in Canberra, Australia, subscribes to *The Texas Observer*, and so does the library at the Gus Garcia Junior High School in San Antonio. All told, the *Observer* can be found in more than 1,100 library reading rooms, including nearly 100 in colleges and universities in other states. Yet there are 984 public high school libraries in Texas that do not receive the *Observer*. Many of these high school libraries had to reduce their periodical holdings when the Reagan administration curtailed federal funds for such acquisitions. Others never had the opportunity to try us. But nearly all librarians are particularly pleased to discover the *Observer*, and the demand for it by students frequently leads to repeated renewals with the school's limited funds.

Please examine the list on both sides of this page for a high school that is a sentimental favorite of yours, or for which you have a special concern. You can provide the students of that school with a valuable supplement to the views commonly expressed in the local press by giving their library an *Observer* subscription.

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Banquete	Brownwood Early	Coahoma	Highland Park	Edna	Boswell	Grapevine
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Hartley	Jewett	Lufkin Hudson	Newton	Red Oak	Shiner	Victoria
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Hawley	Junction	Mabank	Normangee	Pearce	Simms	La Vega
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Hemphill	Keller	Malakoff	O'Donnell	Riesel	Slidell	Robinson
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Eisenhower	<i>Lamesa Schools:</i>	Medina	Paris	Runge	Sulphur Bluff	Kelton
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Lamar	Larue	<i>Mesquite Schools:</i>	Penelope	Samnorwood	Tatum	Whitsboro
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MacArthur	Lazbuddie	North	Perryton	<i>San Antonio Schools:</i>	Temple Academy	Carrigan
Memorial	Leakey	Miami	Petersburg	East Central	Temple Wheatley	Harrell
Milby	<i>Leander Schools:</i>	Midland Greenwood	Petrolia	Edison	Tenaha	Hirschi
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Spring Woods	Levelland	Mineral Wells	Pittsburg	Jefferson	Thorndale	Windom
Sterling	Lewisville	Mirando City	Plains	Lackland	Thrall	Windthorst
Stratford	Lexington	Mission	Plainview	Lanier	Three Rivers	Wink
Waltrip	Liberty	Mobeetie	Pleasanton	Lee	Throckmorton	Winnie
Westchester	Liberty Hill	Monahans	Pollok	MacArthur	Tilden	Winnboro
Wheatley	Lindale	Montgomery	Ponder	Marshall	Timpson	Winona
Worthing	Linden	Moody	Poolville	Roosevelt	Tivoli	Winters
Howe	Lindsay	Moran	<i>Port Arthur Schools:</i>	South	Tom Bean	Woden
Hubbard	Lingleville	Morgan	Austin	Southside	Tornillo	Wolfe City
Hughes Springs	Lipan	Morton	Jefferson	Southwest	Trent	Wolforth
Humble	Little Elm	Mount Enterprise	Lamar	San Augustine	Trenton	Woodland
Huntington	Littlefield	Mount Pleasant	Lincoln	San Benito	Trinidad	Woodville
Huntsville	<i>Livingston Schools:</i>	Mount Vernon	Stilwell	San Elizario	Trinity	Wortham
Hurst	Livingston	Muenster	Port Isabel	San Isidro	Troup	Wylie
Hutto	Big Sandy	Muleshoe	Port Lavaca	San Perlita	Troy	Yantis
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Imperial	Lockney		Porter	Sanderson	Turkey	Zavalla
Ingleside	Lohn			Sanger		Zephyr

(Continued from Page 28)

people best. The congressmen he admired most in Washington were those who had the courage and vision to serve well both their country and their own districts. He believed further that good regional newspapers played a fundamental and important role in the successful functioning of democracy. . . . He took young people and their aspirations seriously. He made us feel that our ideas had merit, and that we could become a part of noble enterprises."

Happily we shall be hearing again from Hardeman at length, in due time, on Sam Rayburn. For the meantime we may close this review with two paragraphs Hardeman wrote for a memorial service for Hale Boggs, passages that were concerned with the U.S. House of Representatives.

"More than walls, members, and parliamentary ritual," Hardeman wrote, "the House is a symbol of America's search for freedom and justice. During 184 years 10,000 men and women have wrought its history with heroes like

Madison, John Quincy Adams, Lincoln and Webster along with the unremembered whose unsung contributions are history too.

"A member of the British House of Commons, John Buchan, understood it thusly: 'What made it all so impressive and in its way effective? Partly the long tradition . . . men just like them, no better informed or abler, had preserved our liberties . . . Chiefly the House was truly representative . . . the people . . . were governing, not a batch of supermen.'" □

• DIALOGUE •

(Continued from Page 7)

concerning Edwin Shrake's recent production. It was a pleasure to see the truth about "Pancho Villa's Wedding Day" so eloquently expressed in print.

I saw a scene from the play and the effusive praise for it on the Marian Hallows Show, which is hardly the place to find intelligent reviews, but as Mr. Reece made clear, objective reviews on this play were not found anywhere in the local media. It seems to be an example of the 'halo effect' in which people just cannot be honest about someone because they like him, and they try to believe the best about his work, and in this case, because he is a good buddy of all the right people.

For whatever reason, the public was given the impression that this was an excellent play that they shouldn't miss. I wonder how many left the theater, shorn of the considerable ticket price, too bemused by the hoopla of the media to realize that the play was in reality, simply and utterly worthless.

Apparently you don't need even a mediocre script to have your play enthusiastically reviewed; if you're part of the in-crowd, all you need is money and you, too, can score a sold-out play.

Congratulations to *The Observer* and to Ray Reece for the integrity to recognize and so adroitly state that beneath the halo, and despite the special effects, stands nothing but a well-heeled turkey.

Debra Powers, Austin.

More Work

Thanks to your reviewer for taking the hide off *Terms of Endearment* are due and hereby rendered.

Anybody who was professor of English at an engineering school is bound

to have some serious flaws as a creative writer, and your reviewer not only found them but nailed them to the wall.

And the discussion about the difference between art and entertainment, and how the movie cheats in order to join the latter category, was first rate.

Give the guy more work. Print this praise. What more can a happy reader say?

James M. Yeager, Takoma Park, MD.

Abortion Credibility

A prime consideration for the editor of a journal of opinion is, I assume, the credibility he hopes to establish among his readers. You will understand, therefore, why I feel constrained to raise some questions about the article on abortion in your February 24 issue.

To begin with, the author states that "polls continue to indicate that a majority of voters believe abortion to be a matter of individual choice." Since I had pointed out to you in a letter dated February 10 that the opposite is true, am I being finicky in expecting a more cautious expression of that claim in your pages? Reputable studies show that 20% of all Americans oppose abortion under any circumstances, 25% reject all restraint and the remainder would permit it only under serious limitations: incest, rape or danger to the mother. Obviously that 55% can be combined with either of the two smaller figures to express a generalization. Which, in your view, is the more honest formulation?

Secondly, the article parrots the usual objection to legislation requiring

abortionists to provide a prospective aborter details on what abortion involves. As a presumed proponent of an informed citizenry, how do you react to your author's support for censorship?

In the decade since *Roe v. Wade* numerous books have been published on the abortion issue. They document the biological and political realities that are ignored by the abortion lobby, which cons the public with such ad hominem phraseology as "unpleasant questions" and "nasty billboards," or the whole gamut of Orwellian gobbledygook implicit in "reproductive choice."

Finally, how does this article fit your professed intent "to serve no group" and not to "cater to the ignoble in the human spirit"? Am I justified in asking whether your credibility should be judged on your commitment to "hew hard to the truth" or on how you fulfill that commitment?

Edward M. Corbett, Commerce.

Impeachment Tree

Dear Mr. Dugger:

I hold you in high regard for integrity and sympathy for the downtrodden but must say you and Mr. Gonzalez are barking up a dead tree talking of Ronald Reagan's impeachment. On what reasonable grounds, pray tell?

I have fought my share of windmills but learned, late to be true, that there is a point beyond which bias become bigotry, even among liberals imagining themselves to be poetic idealists. I suggest you sprinkle your Reagan impeachment crusade with a touch of practicality.

Martin Hauan, Oklahoma City.

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Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.

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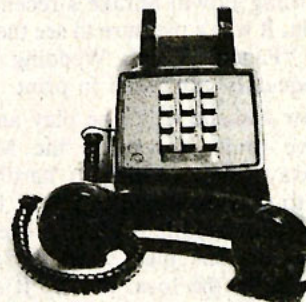
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