

# The Texas Observer

An Independent-Liberal Weekly Newspaper  
A Window to the South

Volume 53

TEXAS, FEBRUARY 2, 1962

15c per copy

Number 44

## STRESSES ORGANIZATION

### GOP's Leonard: 'One Movement'

AUSTIN  
"On November the sixth, you're going to see some strange things in Texas."

To many this may seem a somewhat mystical prophecy, but to the young executive director of the Texas Republican Party, the steady unfolding of the GOP in Texas is as inevitable and thematic as Toynbee history.

#### Willie Morris

Jim Leonard, at 31 no stranger to politics, observes with that curious mixture of melodrama and hard politics that characterizes the Texas GOP: "Toynbee says a movement requires enthusiasm, then a practical plan. Before someone undertakes a plan, he must have a reason, an enthusiasm. We feel that conservatism provides the enthusiasm; we have the practical plan. This explains why we're growing."

Born in Fort Worth, a native of Pecos since 1954, Leonard graduated from the University of Texas with a major in economics in 1952. In Pecos he was an independent cilman. As a Republican, he challenged Sen. Frank Owen of El Paso in the 1960 elections and polled 40 percent of the vote. After travelling with Sen. John Tower in his successful campaign for the

Senate last year, Leonard was hired as the party's executive director, and he has just established state headquarters—with a full-time staff of eight—in the Littlefield Building in Austin.

Although he participated in Democratic activities after turning 21, he feels he has been a Republican "all my life." His father was a Republican, and Leonard cast his first presidential vote for Eisenhower in '52 and has continued to vote the national GOP ticket. His active work with the Texas GOP began in April of '60, when he decided to try for the state Senate.

"I remember going to El Paso and seeing Tad Smith," (now Republican state chairman.) "They had just devised this organizational plan—grassroots, block-to-block, precinct work. I was impressed.

"When I got back to Pecos, the first thing I did was read COPE's handbook on how to win. It was a masterpiece on practical political action—and I'm a believer in that.

"After I announced against Owen, the first thing my wife and I did was organize Republicans in Pecos, then Kermit and Monahans and even Wink on this block-to-block plan." During the Tower race, he travelled at his own expense "to every corner of the state" helping set up GOP organi-

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### Price Asks 4th Term; Walker In?

Gov. Price Daniel jumped into the gubernatorial race Friday night in a dramatic statewide television appearance.

His bid for an unprecedented fourth term established him as the man to beat in a Democratic field that will include former Navy Secretary John Connally, Atty. Gen. Will Wilson, Houston lawyer Don Yarborough, and possibly former Gen. Edwin Walker (see below) as the major candidates.

Daniel's decision was a stinging slap in the face of the Lyndon Johnson-John Connally organization. The governor, who has hired opinion samples in recent weeks, had concluded that the Connally candidacy has not caught hold as many thought it might or predict that it will.

Scoring the opposition of "the lobbyists for special interest groups" to many of his programs, the governor cited a gubernatorial platform headed by law enforcement improvement, small loan legislation, and an adequate juvenile parole system.

★ ★

Ex-general Edwin A. (Ted) Walker paid his filing fee of \$1,000 (drawn on the Park Cities Bank of Dallas) Friday at the State Democratic Executive Committee headquarters, and thus apparently entered the Democratic race for governor.

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## AFTER HOUSE PASSAGE

### Loan Legislation Killed by Senate

★ ★  
14-16

AUSTIN

The Texas Senate voted 16-14 in the waning hours of the third special session to kill what Sen. Martin Dies Jr. of Lufkin called "the finest bill to regulate loan sharks we have ever seen in this Senate."

Dies was the architect of a Senate substitute for a House-passed bill that cleared the upper chamber last week after a key 16-13 vote.

Seven senators who voted with Dies a week earlier abandoned his cause to oppose the conference committee report Thursday night. Others eager to curb loan shark abuses with the best available bill relaxed their stand and changed votes in the other direction.

The vote switch was called by one senator, "the greatest flip-flop in the history of the Senate. The vote is the same, only the names have been changed."

Sen. A. R. Schwartz of Galveston, who voted for the compromise bill after being against a tighter Senate version, said his record was consistently for a bill to begin control of the lending industry.

Schwartz blamed the compromise bill's defeat on a coalition "of the shrewd and the stupidly sincere."

The conference committee report allowed more than 10 percent interest to be charged on loans under \$300, with the same accelerated interest on the first \$300 of loans up to \$800. Interest would be 36 percent a year on the first \$100, 30 percent on the second \$100, and 26 percent on the third \$100.

Other provisions of the compromise report would be to allow only property insurance on secured

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★ ★  
86-56

AUSTIN

By a resounding vote of 86-56 the House approved a loan shark measure unqualifiedly called "the best in the country" by sponsors, then waited until 8 p.m. Thursday for the Senate (see separate story) to kill it, 16-14.

Rep. Malcolm McGregor of El Paso, one of the House leaders on loan legislation, said afterwards: "We may never have such an excellent opportunity to pass such a bill again."

It was 5:25 p.m. Thursday, after a week of bargaining in the House-Senate conference committee.



when the House began to consider the conference report. Only 6½ hours remained til the automatic midnight closure of the special session.

Rep. Criss Cole of Houston, House sponsor of the loan measure, joined with McGregor and Rep. Don Kennard of Fort Worth in guiding the bill to its favorable decision in the House.

"This legislature is at the crossroads," Cole said, "and must go down one road or the other—down the road to a solution of the loan shark problem in Texas or down the same road that permits loan sharks to continue to harass the people of Texas.

"This is a good bill—the strongest in the nation, with the lowest rates in the nation. Those in favor of protecting the people of Texas should help me pass this bill. Those of you in favor of robbing and harassing the people of Texas with four and five and six hundred percent interest rates" should oppose it.

Brief floor opposition came from Reps. Kika de la Garza of Mission, Maurice Pipkin of Brownsville, and Ray Bartram of New Braunfels. They argued that the bill would put the "small, small lender" out of business. Said de la Garza: "This isn't a big company bill, you say, but it smells to me of Household Finance." He had doubts, he said, that companies specializing in loans under \$50 could survive.

Kennard rebutted, "We felt our chief concern should be the borrower first, and second, those who lend the money. We tried to meet the problem of the small lender, but some interest rates on small loans go as high as 360 percent or higher, and we say you ought not charge more than 36 percent a year."

McGregor said authors of the bill "tried to compile all the information done on the loan prob-

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## Freedom and 'Fatheads'

AUSTIN  
The state legislature this week granted funds which could extend indefinitely the work of the special textbook investigating committee. Members of the committee indicated that after wrapping up their Austin inquiry, they may move their base of operations to Amarillo and San Antonio and other cities where groups of citizens are unhappy with the content of school library books and textbooks, alleging pornographic and subversive content.

#### Bob Sherrill

But it was the consensus of many who have followed the textbook dispute all the way that this week's session will probably be looked back on as the climax of the running wrangle. Four of the biggest names Texas has to offer in the field of literature took the witness stand Wednesday to denounce the wave of book censoring across the state.

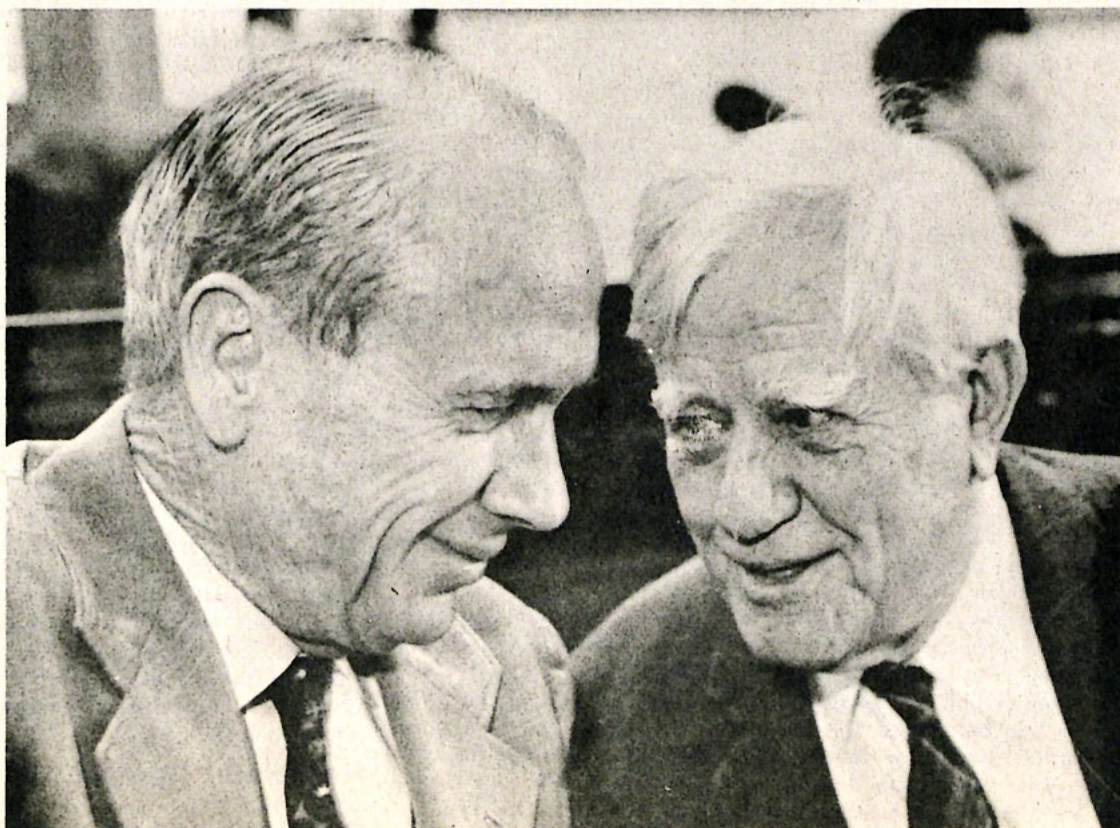
Anticipating a record turnout, Committee Chairman W. T. Dungan moved the hearing from the main committee room to the much larger old supreme court chambers, but even so the crowd clotted at the doorways and spread into the hall.

Many were there to hear one man: white-maned J. (for James) Frank Dobie, folklorist extraordinary. They received as bonus the well-honed testimony of other

members of the Committee for Freedom to Write and Read of the Texas Institute of Letters: Lon Tinkle, book critic of the Dallas Morning News and author of *Thirteen Days to Glory*; Frank Wardlaw, director of the University of Texas Press and president of the American Association of University Presses; Dr. Ernest C. Mossner, U.T. professor of Eng-

lish and author of the great biography, *The Life of David Hume*; and—by proxy, he was in California and couldn't get back to appear in person—Frank E. Vandiver, president of the Texas Institute of Letters and history professor at Rice University and author of *Mighty Stonewall*, as well as other books on the civil war

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J. EVETTS HALEY (L.) AND J. FRANK DOBIE Photo by United Press  
... old friends become new foes

# How the Stage Was Set

(Continued from Page 1)  
 lem by independent studies. Our rate structure is in line with the California rates—some of the best in the country. How in the world do you justify legalizing such enormous rates? Thirty-six percent should be enough."

Rep. W. T. Oliver of Port Neches, opposing the measure, said the bill would initiate an unfavorable trend toward regulating "every business in Texas. I don't want to keep the poor man down, but I think we can get a better bill than this one."

After the House approval and the Senate reversal, the only hope remaining for loan legislation of any kind would have been House concurrence in Senate amendments to a somewhat revised Cole bill, a step which it refused to take several days before. Although Kennard and Rep. Terry Townsend of Brady, one of the House conferees, literally worked the floor of the Senate in the closing hours after the Senate defeated the bill Thursday night, reconsideration of the narrow 16-14 Senate setback did not materialize and all hopes for loan legislation in the special session were dead.

## Behind-the-Scenes

The story of the behind-the-scenes negotiations between House and Senate conferees on the loan measure is a story of an almost relentless effort to compromise, ending in an obvious victory of the House group in "calling the bluff" of the five Senate negotiators.

Former Lt. Gov. Ben Ramsey, who had been a supporter of strong regulatory—big company legislation, had set up a Senate banking committee which was generally stringent on loan matters. The banking subcommittee last week drew up a regulatory bill somewhat in line with the original Cole bill, but with more concessions to the small, small lenders.

When the Senate subcommittee's bill hit the Senate floor late last week, advocates simply didn't have the votes. Their proposal was cut to ribbons on the floor by a coalition of uncommitted senators, such as Martin Dies, and senators who normally defend the small lenders.

The result in the Senate was a bill which one loan expert described as "a cleverly drawn farce," with concessions to the small lenders but not enough to make it completely possible for the small loan industry to live under, and with a loan level cut off at \$200, which exempted the large lenders. In this form the bill went to the House, which refused to concur.

The House conferees—Cole, Kennard, McGregor, Townsend, Vernon Stewart—were all in favor of a regulatory act which would include all lenders. They were all flexible on rate and insurance sections.

The Senate conferees (see separate story) were 4-1 against a broadly drawn bill that would include all borrowers in the small loan field. They preferred to apply a loan ceiling and devise a measure that dealt only with the \$5-\$50 loan class, or alternatively, to separate secured loans, which under current operating procedures in Texas, would sharply reduce the number of lenders within a loan measure.



A lengthy and complicated battle was waged in the conference committee all week. The areas of agreement between the Senate and House conferees—regulatory provisions, the structure of the small loan commissioner's office, exemptions—were reached, narrowing the field of bargaining to the crucial rate and insurance sections. House conferees wanted to bring experts from the attorney general's office and the Legislative Council, but the senators refused. Sen. Owen of El Paso was an informal chairman of the Senate group, Cole of the House.

Sen. Reagan, among the Senate negotiators, made it clear he would support any regulatory act. Sens. Tom Creighton, Culp Krueger and Owen never made it completely

clear what they wanted. Dies was uncommitted, and sought to reach a compromise that would regulate lenders and at the same time be acceptable to what he thought was the Senate position.

One excellent method of defeating a regulatory loan act would be to draw a bill so tightly that no lender could live under it, as the narrowly drawn Senate bill, to assure defeat in the House.

All of the Senate conferees supported every move to tighten the measure. The House negotiators all started with a position favorable to the large lenders over the \$50 bracket.

The question in committee soon became a delicate balance—to see if a level of compromise could be reached that was sufficiently realistic. After much involved debate on specific provisions, the House conferees, rightly or wrongly, felt the bill under consideration was too stringent to be realistic and was little more than a sham to evade responsibility.

At this point the House conferees laid down an ultimatum for an \$800 ceiling and graduated rates to \$400, and loans of \$200 and over with security.

The Senate made a final counter offer which included an \$800 maximum, graduated rates to \$300, and a \$200 security figure. The question that plagued the House conferees, as one House member not on the conference committee phrased it: "Should they go back to the House and blast the Senate for not being realistic, and for trying to thwart a loan bill, or should they go back to the House with that very bill and try to pass the toughest regulatory act in the United States?"

The House conferees gambled. They came back to the House Thursday and managed to pass the conference report by 30 votes. The calculated risk worked, setting the stage for the defeat of the measure on the Senate floor at 8 p.m.

# NO APPROPRIATIONS

AUSTIN  
 An angry and unruly Texas House, led by appropriations chairman Jim Cotten of Weatherford and strengthened by a coalition of anti-Daniel, anti-Turman conservatives, refused to approve the governor's omnibus appropriations bill in the usual hectic race against the clock Thursday night.

As a result, the money measure, which included a \$58,500 increase in the state juvenile parole program, San Jacinto monument repairs, Texas tourist advertising, emergency repairs for Prairie View A&M College, and other minor provisions, went for naught. Gov. Daniel said Friday morning there would not be another special legislative session in the near future despite the setbacks to the loan shark (see separate stories) and money bills. Both failures, he warned, "may well have a bearing on what I say" about a fourth gubernatorial term.

Cotten and other House members were piqued over Daniel's appearance before the House-Senate conference committee Wednesday, when at his request appropriations for air-conditioning the governor's mansion and building a \$1.3 million parking garage for state employees were added to the bill and sent back to both houses in the conference report.

At least one House member, after the midnight closure had ended the session, speculated that

the last-minute effort to ditch Daniel's appropriations requests was a move to embarrass politically both Daniel and Speaker Turman, who had just announced for lieutenant governor.

It was a typical last-night stand in the House. The appropriations bill was bounced back and forth between conference committee and the House floor in the dying hours. The Senate approved the conference report by voice vote Thursday night, but the House, in the last of a series of votes to suspend the rules and bring up the appropriations bill for consideration, decided by a 78-70 vote at 11:40 p.m. not to consider the measure. By this time it was too late.

Rep. Joe Ratliff of Dallas, chairman of the House conferees, accused Cotten of using "distortions, half-truths, and untruths" in leading the move to kill the bill. Cotten accused the conference panel of writing a new bill at the behest of Daniel.

There was considerable heckling and jousting, led by conservative Reps. W. T. Oliver of Port Neches, Jim Atwell of Dallas, and Bill Jones of Dallas. Rep. Tom James, another Dallas conservative, made a last-minute plea, at two til midnight, for passage of the appropriations bill, but his colleague Jones used the closing seconds by taking his allotted three minutes for debate.

# Senate Coalition Scotches Loan Bill

(Continued from Page 1)  
 loans over \$200, an annual license fee of \$150 for lenders, and require Texas ownership of firms not doing business in the state before Nov. 8, 1960, and at least 5 percent of all loans to be made for amounts less than \$50.

The committee report was brought to the floor by Sen. Frank Owen of El Paso, chairman of the Senate group, who urged its adoption. After two and a half hours of debate, Sen. Galloway Calhoun of Tyler moved to reject the compromise bill and demand another conference committee.

## Hopes Destroyed

With the knowledge that the House had already voted 86-56 to accept the compromise loan bill, senators killed the measure, 16-14.

The lengthy debate and the late hour, nearly 8 p.m., destroyed hopes of trying to report another bill. The Senate named a new group, headed by Calhoun, but no meeting with representatives was attempted.

Only four senators voted against the loan bill a week earlier on final Senate passage—Sens. A. M. Aikin Jr. of Paris, George Moffett of Chillicothe, George Parkhouse of Dallas, and Bill Patman of Ganado.

The dozen other senators who joined them to defeat the compromise report were Sens. Calhoun, Tom Creighton of Mineral Wells, Jop Fuller of Port Arthur, Dorsey Hardeman of San Angelo, Grady Hazlewood of Amarillo, Abraham Kazen Jr. of Laredo, Wardlow Lane of Center, David Ratliff of Stamford, Andy Rogers of Childress, Jarrard Secrest of Temple, Preston Smith of Lubbock, and Doyle Willis of Fort Worth.

The 14 in favor of the conference report were Sens. Bob Baker of Houston, Neveille Colson of Navasota, Louis Crump of San Saba, Martin Dies Jr. of Lufkin, Charles Herring of Austin, Hubert Hudson of Brownsville, Culp Krueger of El Campo, Crawford Martin of Hillsboro, Bill Moore of Bryan, Frank Owen of El Paso, Bruce Reagan of Corpus Christi, Ray Roberts of McKinney, A. R. Schwartz of Galveston, and Franklin Spears of San Antonio.

The Senate was also primarily responsible for the death of a small loan bill during last year's 140-day regular session. The measure passed by the House never got out of the Senate state affairs committee.

In 1960, voters approved a constitutional amendment authorizing the state legislature to raise interest rates on small loans above the constitutional ceiling of 10 percent so the lenders could make a legal profit. But at the same time legislators were instructed to put strict controls on the industry.

Violators of the compromise measure would have been subject to fines of from \$100 to \$1,000 a year or jail terms up to six months. The only state action against lenders who charge too much interest at present has been court orders to temporarily stop them from making more loans.

The primary objection senators raised against the compromise loan bill was that it would eliminate the market for "small-small loans." But they objected to a maximum coverage of loans up to \$1,500 in the original House bill as indirectly raising rates on consumer finance.

## Hardeman Against

Dies said some small lenders might not be able to make a profit under the compromise bill, "but you are never going to pass a small loan bill that is going to

satisfy all lenders unless you allow interest rates that I say are too high."

"We are trying to clean up the small loan industry and protect the borrowing public," Dies concluded.

The longest speech against the committee measure was 45 minutes by Sen. Dorsey Hardeman of San Angelo, who sponsored a small loan bill of his own last year. He said the compromise measure was not "a reasonable loan bill."

"People have gotten whipped into a frenzy and lost the concept of lending money," Hardeman said. "It is simply an item of merchandise."

For a comparison of how senators voted from one week to the next on small loan regulatory legislation, here is the 16-13 vote in favor of a \$200 maximum bill taken Jan. 25.

For (16)—Aikin, Calhoun, Colson, Creighton, Crump, Dies, Herring, Hudson, Kazen, Krueger, Martin, Moffett, Owen, Patman, Rogers, Willis.

Against (13) — Baker, Fuller, Hardeman, Hazlewood, Lane, Moore, Parkhouse, Ratliff, Reagan, Schwartz, Secrest, Smith, Spears.

The vote on rejecting the compromise loan bill with a \$300 ceiling over which interest of more than 10 percent could not be charged:

For (16) — Aikin, Calhoun, Creighton, Fuller, Hardeman, Hazlewood, Kazen, Lane, Moffett, Parkhouse, Patman, Ratliff, Rogers, Secrest, Smith, Willis.

Against (14) — Baker, Colson, Crump, Dies, Herring, Hudson, Krueger, Martin, Moore, Owen, Reagan, Roberts, Schwartz, Spears.

# Walker, Daniel

(Continued from Page 1)  
 The word is "apparently," because at this writing he has not announced, and has not answered any questions from newsmen. By the time this Observer goes to press, he will have held his capitol news conference and more may be known of his plans.

Twenty minutes before Walker showed up at Democratic headquarters, Clyde Johnson, executive secretary of the SDEC, still wasn't sure he was coming. Queried by waiting newsmen, Johnson said, "He may be over at Republican headquarters, for all I know."

When newsmen encountered Walker, their questions were answered with a stare. At the airport, he would not tell them he was going to run for governor, or that he was going to the Democratic offices to file. He responded only, "You have asked some good questions."

At Democratic headquarters, he interrupted the filing of former Senator Manley Head as candidate for congressman at large, and Johnson had Walker wait outside the office.

Walker listed his age as 53 and his occupation as soldier. He would not answer newsmen's questions about whether he had voted while in the Army, nor would he answer the question about what decided him to run for office. He promised to answer all questions at his 2 p.m. Saturday news conference at the capitol, and he kidded when reporters repeatedly implored him to answer questions on the spot rather than put them off until Saturday afternoon—overtime for most of them.

As the newsmen left, one old capitol reporter commented: "This guy is the damndest politician I've ever seen."

  
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# How Effective Are Conservative Democrats?

(Continued from Page 1)  
zations.

From the Tower campaign Leonard learned this plain political lesson: "Nothing can replace hard precinct work. That's exactly what elected Tower. I've heard liberals say the conservative Democrats did it, and I've heard conservative Democrats say the liberals did it, and I've heard both liberals and conservative Democrats take the credit for it, but we had a very thorough organizational effort behind us."

How does he explain the gradual strengthening of the Texas GOP before the Tower victory? During the Nixon campaign in '60, he says, Republicans were doing "the same kind of grassroots organizing" in Bexar, Dallas, Harris, and a few other counties. "But there was no co-ordinated statewide effort. This work was steadily going on, but it was pretty much unknown in other areas of the state."

"Also, we got to the point where the issues were becoming clearer. There was a greater concern over the trend the federal government was taking. I think there was a nationwide trend toward conservatism as a philosophy of government—perhaps not necessarily a return to that philosophy, but certainly a trend toward."

"We've been hitting hard on this theme—don't just complain, vote; and don't just vote, get your neighbors and your friends to vote. Otherwise, what's the use in complaining?"

The election of Tower over Bill Blakley in May of last year "electrified conservatives. They were thrilled to death. They were convinced it could be done." Employing the noun "conservative" as most Texas Republicans have begun to use it—as synonymous with

Republicanism even in a state where most conservatives remain at least nominal, though disgruntled, Democrats—Leonard adds: "The Tower victory made conservatives more mature politically. They'd gone through a campaign that was a little different from all previous campaigns in Texas."

How was it different? "It went right down to the grassroots. In the past when someone referred to a political organization, it meant about one man in every town, someone you could telephone for help, and that was about it. The one-party organization had degenerated any kind of sophisticated political action."

## Influence Ended

What is his reaction to appeals by conservative Democrats like Preston Weatherred (Obs., Jan. 19) advising Texas conservatives not to desert the Democratic Party because it might turn over that party to the liberals?

"Let's put it this way." (In the 'fifties) "I didn't have many opportunities to vote Republican. As a consequence, I used my vote in state and local races in the Democratic primaries. I felt a conservative could be effective within the Democratic Party."

"The I began to realize being a conservative Democrat in Texas couldn't assist in restoring a conservative climate in the nation. It appeared to me that the national Democratic Party—and the state party, for that matter—was in the control of liberals. It appeared to me that my influence in the Democratic Party ended at the precinct level."

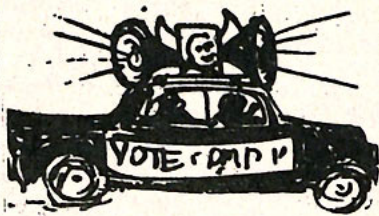
"I felt that my role as a conservative in the Democratic Party was based on compromise."

"I believe in a well-defined, meaningful two-party system at

both the state and national levels. A conservative can best express his views from his precinct to the county to the state and on to the national level only in the Republican Party."

"As conservative Democrats we were pretty effective in precinct and county conventions—but that was as far as it went."

Leonard wants "a thoroughly conservative national (GOP) platform and a thoroughly conservative candidate." And he predicts: "In 1964, we're going to get a con-



servative candidate and a conservative platform." Since Texas has taken the lead in conservative Republican activity in the South, Texas Republicans will carry strength and prestige to the 1964 GOP convention. The Texas GOP, he says, will have a strong voice in '64 for a tough, uncompromising party conservatism.

## The Big Cities

How far is Texas from a genuine two-party system? "The election of a Republican governor," he believes, "would establish it. With that we would also elect a fair number of legislators and county and city officials."

Establishing party strength at the county level is a mighty task, Leonard admits. "There are 254 courthouses in Texas—but 65 percent of the voting population is centered in 31 counties. And that happens to be where our strength lies."

"It's a reverse from the national scene. The big cities usually are Democratic. In Texas we're strongest in the cities."

The Republicans, Leonard says, are at their peak strength in Dallas, Bexar, and Harris counties. "The November election, I think, will prove that Tarrant County is a strong Republican area. We're already strong in El Paso County," which Tower carried both times.

Elsewhere, the party is well-off in the Rio Grande Valley, around Midland ("traditionally Republican; when we win 3-1 there in national elections we feel we've lost"); in Odessa, in Tyler, in Longview and Kilgore, in the High Plains and the Panhandle. "We're gaining in the Panhandle." (Rep. Kenneth) "Kohler established that." He predicts there will be GOP legislators, congressmen, and county officials in the Panhandle after the general election.

Leonard thinks there will be "no less than 15" Republicans running for Congress this year. In the Wichita Falls special election, "Joe Bailey Meissner ran a beautiful race even though he lost. And that's strong yellow-dog Democratic country."

Isn't it true that most conservative Democrats are reluctant to make the switch because they feel they would lose their influence and patronage on the state scene?

"Yes, it is. But it's ironic to me that they have no real control of the Democratic Party—no patronage to speak of. They're not friendly with the present governor. They openly admit, as Weatherred says, a 'gradual slippage' of conservative strength in the last ten years."

"But we've had no Republican primary in Texas since 1958, and as conservatives we've sat back and watched this gradual slippage they speak of. It's too late for

conservatives to be effective in the Democratic Party. That's a myth."

"They contend that the conservative Democrats have the power in the state legislature. I answer, a Republican will be more conservative—especially in presidential years."

"We see these people beating their breasts about how conservative they are, then they go out to a Democratic convention and come home and put Kennedy stickers on their cars. To me that's not consistent. A conservative can throw his hands up over this and go home and make money and spend time with his family—or alternatively, as a Republican he can work from Hickory Street on up to the national level for conservatism."

"Why do you have a political philosophy if it's cut off at a certain level? And have no voice at the national level at all?"

What about Allan Shivers making the switch? "Shivers was a great governor. He's given tremendous assistance to the Republican effort in presidential years. In political philosophy, he's more Republican than anything else. I don't know if we'll get him or not. I'd like to see him become a Republican. He has a large following and would be of great assistance to the Republican movement."

Has the growth of the GOP in Texas had any effect on the status of Vice-President Johnson? "I think it really has," Leonard says. "It's hurt his image here, and it's certainly hurt his image outside the state. The growth of the Republican Party in Texas rattles him no end. The biggest thorn in his side now is the presence of Tower. I understand he took it for granted Blakley would win."

"For a man who makes it known in Washington that he controls Texas," the Tower victory "must've been a terrible embarrassment."

The dailies which have been most favorable to the Texas Republicans, Leonard says, are the Dallas News, the Hoiles chain in the Valley and in Odessa, and the Amarillo papers. The press in Beaumont and El Paso has been "receptive to a two-party system." The Corpus Christi Caller-Times has also been receptive, but "critical of conservative candidates. This is fine with me. I believe in a good political fight. I don't believe Texans have had a fair choice in a long time."

## One-Party Stagnation

Is there a case for being a Republican in terms of one-party corruption? "Not necessarily so. But if you have a two-party system, with one party watching over the other as the loyal opposition and watchdog on legislation, appropriations, and expenditures, the danger of corruption is minimized, and if corruption did occur, it would be brought out at the next election and you'd probably have a change in administration."

"A one-party system encourages stagnation in government, a lackadaisical attitude in the legislature, legislation mainly for the sake of expediency. Would you say Texas is a dynamic state?"

As for the Texas Democratic Party, Leonard finds it difficult "to consider it a party at all. I think this is really a no-party state. The standard bromide they throw at the Republicans is that we're the party of the status quo. But the Democrats have been in control of Texas ever since Reconstruction. I'd say in Texas the Democrats are the party of the status quo."

"The Texas Democratic Party is an amalgamation held together by personalities. It's the only party

I know of that comes back from a national convention and writes its own platform and then wins in November on the national platform under a governor who once supported Eisenhower."

Republican Jack Cox's chances in the governor's race are excellent, Leonard feels. "I think, in fact, he'll be our next governor." On John Connally: "He's a wholly owned subsidiary of Lyndon Baines Johnson." On Will Wilson: "His showing in the Senate race proves he has a lot of work to do. But he's been in politics a long time, he's known throughout the state, and he's got one of the greatest campaign issues in the world—LBJ and Connally."

On Price Daniel: "If he runs, he'll be the man to beat." On Don Yarborough: "He'll certainly get all the liberal votes. Whether he'll get all the labor votes, I don't know."

## The Race Issue

Has the state GOP done anything to attract the Negro vote? "It's difficult to say. We've organized in Negro precincts. We've urged them to vote for our candidates."

"But I don't feel the race issue is a political issue as such. I don't believe this should be a political football."

El Paso County Republicans, Leonard points out, have just named a Latin, Hilary Sandoval, their new county chairman. "I'm a big advocate," he says, "for getting down and working for these people. They've been treated in the past as a bloc vote. They've been urged to vote as a minority bloc. We're opposed to taking this kind of political advantage. As long as you have politicians who use 'the race issue' as a political football, these people will remain in their present position."

## Southern Impact

Leonard has no doubts that the major impetus toward GOP organization throughout the South has come from Texas. "It's very infectious, a definite wedge. There seems to be a breakthrough of Republican activity in the entire region." He cites the election of a Republican mayor in Mobile; two city councilmen in Atlanta; the close congressional race in Shreveport; "a lot of activity in Florida"; and the election of one congressman, 13 state legislators, and a possible governor in Oklahoma.

At the regional GOP convention in Atlanta in November, attended by 17 Southern and border states, Texas Republicans "were pretty much given the honored place."

Republicans all over the South, he says, are realizing that a conservative party platform and candidate in 1964 "won't be possible without organization at the grassroots level." He adds: "After all, it's all part of one movement."

# Red Rides Anew

AUSTIN

Red Berry, the wily old retired gambler from San Antonio who failed in the regular legislative session to get a race-track constitutional amendment on the ballot, is at it again. He is circulating petitions, in the form of individual forms, to place a horse-racing referendum on the Democratic ballot this spring.

There is a slight controversy on precisely how many signatures are needed. Berry says about 74,000. Others say 155,000.

The state Democratic executive committee, if petitioned by ten percent of the party's voters "as shown by the last primary election vote," must place a referendum on the party ballot. Berry interprets "last primary election vote" as the run-off Democratic race of 1960, the MacDonald-Davidson judgeship election in which only 737,000 votes were cast. If the first Democratic primary of 1960 is used as the base—1,552,000 voted in the Daniel-Cox race—Berry will need just over 155,000 names.

Whatever figure is deemed necessary, Berry says he is confident he will get "more than enough" for the horse-racing referendum and that he will probably get enough for another referendum on abolishing the poll tax which he has thrown in for good measure.

If the referenda are placed on the party ballot and approved, they would authorize the state party executive committee to place the propositions in the party platform enacted at the September convention.

Berry's deadline on petitions is March 12, when he will appear be-

fore the executive committee and present his results.

He has sent copies of the horse-racing and poll-tax petitions all over Texas. "We got 'em everywhere—in Lawn, Wharton, Austin, Houston, Lubbock, El Paso, Cisco, La Grange, Fort Worth—all over. I got this thing covered pretty well." He has a master list of individuals who are circulating the forms.

Berry had a bill before the special session which would have set the requisite number of signatures, based on the second 1960 primary, at 74,000. An attempt in the elections and privileges committee to set the figure at 155,000 was defeated, 11-4, but Berry said he didn't want to push the bill to the floor "because it might bring in extraneous arguments."

He still argues in terms of tourists' dollars and tax revenue. One of his numerous charts shows that in 1937, the year Texas outlawed racing, states with legalized tracks were drawing some \$8 million in tax revenue. In 1960, the 24 states with racing drew \$258 million. "If you're gonna compare racing in '37 and today, let's just compare the horse-and-buggy and the Cadillac."

"Why has the Texas tourist trade fell off? If we look around, we find many states way over their share. But they have lots to offer in entertainment. Do Northern tourists come to Texas? No, they go places like Florida, New Orleans, California, Arizona, Nevada. Places where there's something to do besides go to a movie, get a jug, take a swig, and go to bed. They don't have to come to Texas to do that. They can do that at home."

## CLASSIFIED

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# Observer Notebook

AUSTIN  
AFTER WATCHING Dungan's textbook lads at work the last three weeks, the Observer is tempted to start a new organization: the Texas Hysterical Society. Its operating motto: "This is a republic and not a monarchy—dammit!"

We note also that "McCarthyism" is now part of the language. Webster's new international dictionary defines it: "A political attitude of the mid-twentieth century closely allied to know-nothingism and characterized chiefly by opposition to elements held to be subversive and by the use of tactics involving personal attacks on individuals, by means of widely-publicized, indiscriminate allegations, essentially on the basis of unsubstantiated charges." It is rumored that the Amarillo school library, after disposing of such communist tracts as *1984* and *Brave New World*, will purge Mr. Webster of his M's.

TWO SAYINGS now making the rounds among Texas Republicans: "The Democrats got 30 years out of Hoover. Maybe we can get 20 out of Lyndon."

"These Texas Democrats for Nixon and Democrats for Eisenhower and Democrats for Lodge are a little like Buddhists for Christ."

WE ARE PLEASED this week to announce our special Oscars for the late lamented session. As usual, our winners were chosen on the basis of thoroughness, zeal, effectiveness, friendliness, dogmatism, and devotion beyond the call of duty.

Banker's Man of the Year, to the man with the most unescheatable temperament, goes to Rep. Ben Jarvis of Tyler. His prize will be three days with Price and Bill Daniel in Guam. Our Small-Small Loan Shark Man of the Year is Sen. Abraham Kazen of Laredo. For his outstanding services, Chick receives a \$50 loan from Texas Observer Ltd. at 450 percent interest.

The Herman Goebels-Evetts Haley Book-Burning Prize goes unanimously to Mrs. Myra Banfield of Rosenberg. For winning this one and the DAR Revolutionary of the Year Award in the regular session, Mrs. Myra will receive vicuna-bound copies of *Andersonville*, *Tropic of Cancer*, *Memoirs of the Marquis de Sade*, *Fanny Hill*, Van de Velde's *Ideal Marriage*, John Wilkes' *The Hell Fire Club*, Brammer's *The Gay Place*, and the latest edition of Webster's new international dictionary.

The Myra Banfield Sportsmanship Award goes without competition to Rep. Bob Bass from the metropolis of DeKalb. Bass gets a week as Roger Shattuck's guest at Harvard University and two days trapped in a barn with Frank Dobie and Ernest Mossner.

Once more our special Award for Being Supreme goes to the plenipotentiary agent for the Divine Being in the Texas House, Rep. W. T. Dungan. For his keener insights than all others into the nature of reality and for his generally super-doooper talents, Dungan will receive a Unitarian Hymnal.

SEN. CHARLES HERRING is not only a fine fellow, he has good taste and a sense of propriety. When the time came last week for Herring to be feted as "governor for a day" as president pro tem of the Senate, he chose a quaint old-fashioned open-house levee in the governor's mansion. This was in some contrast to the extravaganza launched in Sen. Bruce Reagan's behalf last fall. Beside the usual soiree in the Driskill, Reagan saw fit to receive, after the usual lobby tapping, a portable television set, a five-piece set of luggage, a hand-tooled leather belt with an engraved buckle, a gold wrist watch, a sterling silver coffee urn with tray and cups—and,

oh yes, a 1961 Oldsmobile Super 88 station wagon.

SEN. ANDY ROGERS of Childress and Rep. H. G. Wells of Tulia had a seemingly harmless little bill at the start of the special session. The farmers in their area buy gas from Pioneer Gas Company to run their irrigation pumps. Recently there has been one rate increase after another. The farmers got together and decided Pioneer Gas Company should come under the rate-supervision purview of the Railroad Commission, from which it had been exempted by a statute some years ago. They hired a gas rate analyst who looked into the situation and concluded that the rates they were being forced to pay were much too high and would certainly be lowered if Pioneer came under any kind of regulation.

Rogers and Wells teamed up to try to do something. Rogers got a bill through the Senate in the early days of the special session placing Pioneer rates under the RRC. There were only four dissenting votes. In the House, Wells got the measure out of committee by a 13-1 vote.

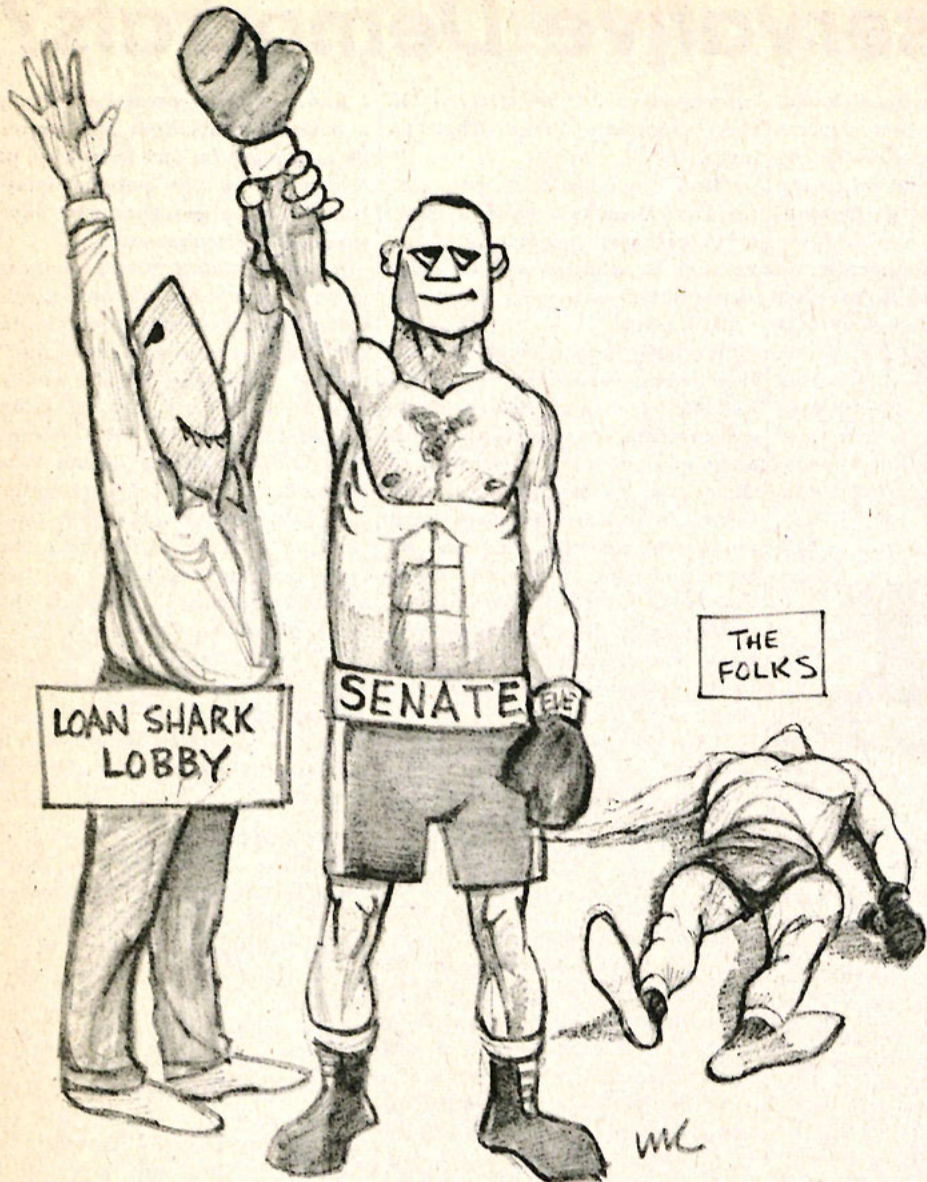
Then the gas lobby, Bailey Jones and the boys, got wind of what was happening. Pioneer Gas sent Stoney Wall down to fight it, and the entire gas pipeline lobby helped tack on amendments in the House so the Senate could kill it dead when it came back.

Thursday the bill went back to the Senate floor and was defeated, 14-12.

Wells, who did not appreciate the turn of events, told the Observer wistfully: "All the bill would have done was to allow the Railroad Commission to regulate the rates. Our farmers deserved some recourse. They wanted to have the right to go to the Commission and ask, why did Pioneer raise their rates? That's all. Pioneer wants to make more than a reasonable profit. Isn't it as simple as that?"

THE UNBELIEVABLE fiasco in the closing moments of the session Thursday, when Gov. Daniel's appropriations bill was junked by a shouting, swarming mass of House conservatives, almost tempts us to join the Republicans. It was a classic example of the unrelieved meaninglessness of a one-party legislature. Spearheading the move was Rep. Jim Cotten, the ranking old maid in a chamber amply stocked with fussy quibblers and meticulous non-entities. In the first days of the regular session last January, Cotten was such a strong supporter of the victorious speaker, Turman, he was rewarded with some of the choicest of committee plums. A big-wheel behind Turman in the liberal-moderate coalition which triumphed over the Spilman conservatives, Cotten figured prominently in "organizing" the House leadership—organizing in the politically civilized, two-party sense. But the victorious liberal-moderate coalition of January, as Observer readers know all too well, became the amorphous, quarrelsome, pessimistic minority of July, disintegrating under the glare of the conservative lobby and faltering finally into total defeat. Thursday's wrangle was the crowning blow: Cotten, the appropriations chairman, Cotten the speaker's man, Cotten the "administration" workhorse, moving out of the shadows to embarrass the governor, the speaker, and the session.

THE HOUSTON school board is faced with a ticklish question in weighing the suit of the American Civil Liberties Union to allow the ACLU to use school facilities for meetings without taking the non-subversive oath. Among subversives, ACLU members are noted as being among the most vicious stickers of used chewing gum under auditorium seats in the business, and, really, with people like that, does an oath mean anything?



## They Did It Again

Thursday night, right after the Senate had scotched the best attempt Texas has ever made to enact loan legislation, the Observer actually overheard in the rotunda an East Texas member of the House, one of the well-known allies of the sharks: "They've just saved our skins."

The Senate had, indeed, done it again—a little too uncomfortably, true, slightly too publicly than usual, but done it nonetheless.

We can only wonder how long the people of Texas will continue to support this cynical, anachronistic institution. For decades the Senate has been the coroner and the undertaker to decent, progressive legislation.

Hopelessly gerrymandered, sensitive to the slightest touch of the prevailing lobbies, versed in the subtleties of cloakroom politics and voice votes, it has thwarted House majorities time and time again.

We believe it has had its day. Ramsey is gone. Young men are gradually coming in. All 31 seats are up for grabs in May. Voting margins are closer than ever. A group of young liberals and moderates, with enough voting issues to stock fifty campaigns, are on the move.

That 16-14 vote may very well prove to be the last gasp of a political era.

## Horses and Tricycles

General Teddy Walker ducked out of the clouds over the Balcones Divide at 2:30 p.m. Friday, landed at municipal airport, jumped into a car owned by an Austin gentleman named Jim Harmon who deserted the Taft Republicans after '52 because he couldn't take their socialistic tendencies, and drove down to the Democratic headquarters on Lavaca to file for the Texas governor's race. Yes, we did say the *Democratic* headquarters. Next thing Robert Welch will file for the Italian Assembly as a Christian Socialist.

Teddy sort of intimidated the good members of the press, who nudged after him like kiddies begging lollipops from the late Lucky Luciano. Only after he had left his fellow Democrats at 1010 Lavaca, having dodged the fellows from Ted Dealy's Dallas News, did he deign to embrace the Observer staffers following in his

wake and offer them a super-secret private interview.

Over vodka and good White Horse Scotch in the Red Room of the Texas Council of Churches, Teddy explained that he and H. L. Hunt, a small businessman from Dallas, were out to save good Texas Democrats from the snares of the Kremlin; he specially is concerned about Allan Shivers, Price Daniel, John Osorio, John Ben Shepard, Tom Sealy, Ben Ramsey, and Will Wilson. Leaving the Observer his ACA voting data, donkey in label, with "the penitent eye of a man who had just come out of a towering rage," Teddy quietly departed again for his Petroleum Tower in Dallas. Lost somehow in the excitement was the disturbing fact that Teddy, having plumped down his \$1,000 filing fee, took an oath to representative government. Could this mean he has given up horses for tricycles?

## THE TEXAS OBSERVER

Published by Texas Observer Co., Ltd.  
Entered as second-class matter, April 26, 1937, at the Post Office at Austin, Texas, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

FEBRUARY 2, 1962

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Published once a week from Austin, Texas. Delivered postage prepaid \$5.10 per annum. Advertising rates available on request. Extra copies 15c each. Quantity prices available on order.

EDITORIAL and BUSINESS OFFICE:  
504 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. Phone  
GGreenwood 7-0746.

HOUSTON OFFICE: Mrs. R. D. Randolph,  
2131 Welch, Houston 19, Texas.

# Streamlined Babbity in a Company Town

## MIDLAND-ODESSA

This is a difficult part of Texas for liberals to live in. Midland, especially, is very strange. Even in a liberal gathering, most of the men are geologists or oil company employees of some other kind. The downtown is cold-colored and sharp-shouldered; it is difficult to imagine, walking around at night, that there will be people there in the morning.

Five or six years ago, friends here say, men were not too careful about going to work in suits and ties. Now, they are. The oil companies have their square buildings and their square employees; Osburn might play with the idea for a cartoon series.

If you want to get a little relief from the feeling that this, if not a company town in the older sense, is an oil companies' town in a quite new, quite as paternal sense, the thing to do is drive out into the residential areas along, say, Gulf Avenue, or Humble Avenue, or Stanolind Avenue.

One passes blocks and blocks, miles and miles, of upper middle class homes, mostly brick, all new, and apparently various in design. If there is not the kind of regularity in these homes one expects in less affluent communities, there is, one soon enough senses, an ideological regularity to them. They are all brick and they are all respectable. They all stand squared to the borders of their square or rectangular lots; ordinances forbid building them slaunch-wise. There is also, according to the "Midland plan" as it's whimsically called, an elementary regularity within: to get to the bathroom in a Midland home, you go straight from the front door and turn left. Never need to ask.

**L**IBERALS of course work in many kinds of places, even in oil companies, and there is a healthy Unitarian Fellowship in Midland. Granted, it may be symbolic that the group's church stands in the 3400 block of a street that ends some-

where around the 2800 block, out in the country, but its members do meet and talk and hope that by wishing they can make things a little better. Because they cannot do much beyond the wishing. One of them said, "They'll ask you, 'Well, do you believe in admission of communist China to the United Nations?', and you say, 'Well, let me think.' That's enough." If you even want to think about it, you've had it.

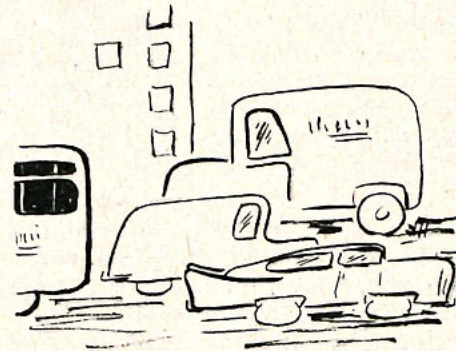
Before a community can sustain an open liberal movement, or a peace organization, or anything of the sort, there must be enough pluralism to the economic basis of the place to permit some citizens to speak out without serious risk of economic ruin. Midland is an oil company town. The liberals take refuge in the church, the ancient sanctuary. Even their advocacy of reduction of the oil depletion allowance would not be a safe thing to do. (Of course, such a subject doesn't have much to do with religion, but, then, neither does Unitarianism.)

Political movements are never separable from economic circumstances; naturally the Birch Society flourishes in Midland, as do other far-right movements in religion as well as politics. Would it be too much to say that this is true also throughout the Permian Basin? Sunday morning, for instance, the San Angelo Standard-Times advised its readers that the Rev. Ernest DeWitt of the First Evangelical Methodist Church was leaving for Tulsa to attend a "National Anti-Communist Leadership School" sponsored by the Rt. Wing Rev. Billy James Hargis.

Furthermore, reported a Standard-Times stringer, the Reagan County High School student council is sponsoring an Americanism Week this week; the program was to be climaxed, in the language of the story, by C. L. Kay, vice president for public services and industrial relations of Lubbock Christian College, who has made "some 325 talks" in the last year

in Texas and New Mexico (that is, about one a day if you leave out Sundays, when he was of course in church). The religious private colleges in Abilene, especially, also bestow their funds and prestige upon, and actually act as funnels for private business funds to finance, various right-wing programs in the public schools.

The churches may as well face the fact that evangelical Christianity is being used more and more to shape politics toward the right wing; the liaison between the right wing and some of the churches has been obvious to everyone for some time. There is more censorship of movies, books, and magazines in West Texas than in any other part of the state, yet one must doubt very much that a chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union will be formed where it is most of all needed, precisely because this is where it is most of all needed.



Generally, everyone out here looks healthy, the shops do good businesses, the lawns are kept up well; a West Texas city is a very civic sort of place. One must permit the mind to range wider to compass the larger truth that this is a sick society, because it has to be considered as a part of the world society, even smaller, ever more impatient with asocial wealth and ignorant insularity, ever closer to a nuclear disaster as the silence from the well-off suburbs like

a vacuum sucks into itself our national integrity.

When the newspapers go civic, then the town is sick, the town is no longer responsible to the world. Newspapers ought to be, not chambers of commerce, but chambers of conscience, not channels for civic pride, but channels for the truth. The civic editorials are so bland, no one reads them except the public relations consultant for the oil company or the industrial relations consultant for the Christian college, but underneath they mean, No Debate.

San Angelo Standard-Times, San Angelo, Jan. 28, 1962; Heading, "Civic Spirit Spurs Growth";

Editorial, "THE SPIRIT OF SAN ANGELO'S citizens has much to do with the progress we expect to make during the ensuing year.

"Certainly the city has seemed to be animated with fresh ardor and courage. Enthusiasm of much of our citizenship is showing in a variety of ways.

"Much is said in the annual progress edition being published today about expansion on the business front, the coming completion of Three Rivers Dam, the initiation of some new businesses and expansion of some old ones.

ODESSA—John Ben Sheppard, the only man ever named Odessa Chamber of Commerce president twice, Saturday night was given the annual civic service award of the Downtown American Business Club here . . .

—Front page, San Angelo Standard-Times, Jan. 28

These things have come about through much planning, much work, and a generally cooperative attitude on the part of the citizens. It has taken money, but even more it has required confidence.

"When businessmen are confident, it is easier to get them to put their money on the line, to work together for the good of the community. In such undertakings, what is good for the community will prove to be good for them."

**T**O ITS CREDIT, the Standard-Times in the same edition carried an AP interview with Bertrand Russell on peace; but there is no debate anywhere in West Texas, anywhere at all in West Texas anyone has heard about, about what Russell warns against, the suicidal direction of U.S. and Russian policies toward a nuclear war that will leave in its ruins no room for civic anything.

It is difficult to decide which is sicker—which is more dissociated from the real world of nuclear bombs that start fires in every direction for sixty miles, of revolutions, of whole national populations undernourished and oppressed—Columnist-Senator Barry Goldwater's column in the Sunday Midland Reporter-Telegram that the trouble with the welfare state is that it offers "money without love," the editorial this Monday morning in the Birch-lining Odessa American that any school history textbook that attempts "to smear or belittle our national heritage . . . should be sent to Russia where it belongs," or the bland civic editorial in the San Angelo newspaper, grateful for "a generally cooperative attitude on the part of the citizens."

Those who are silent here now will have no claim to forgiveness from whatever fragment of posterity survives. R.D.

## Headline of the Week

MOVE STARTS TO PUT DEVOUT INTO POLITICS

From the Star-Telegram

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## OUR GRAVE DIGGERS

### AUSTIN

A story in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram this week was headed "Red's Arrival Buried in Mexico Paper" and the story, filed from Mexico City, started out: "Easy-smiling, jolly Alexei Adzhubei, editor of Izvestia and son-in-law of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, delved way back into history to make a hit with Mexicans but still rated only Page 27 of Excelsior, the nation's leading newspaper."

Now, this is typical of the average editor's fatuous conceit that convinces him location of a story in the newspaper thereby fixes firm judgment of the worth of the subject. By being "buried" on page 27, the insinuation is that Excelsior has established Adzhubei's visit as being poof! un-newsworthy. This indeed it may be, but page 27 has nothing to do with making it so.

The Austin American, hometown paper for the textbook censorship hearings—a conflict that has had several national magazines seeking coverage—reported this week's climactic session on page 28. Of course, this is to be expected from the Austin newspapers, which regularly not only bury the real news but, humbly, see to it that all the life has been removed before interment. (This time the story said a gum-chewing teenager's testimony was received with the same attention given that of Dobie and Mossner and Dawson and Tinkle and Wardlaw. Really!)

Or, if placement of a news story establishes its virtues, what are we to make of the Houston Press of Feb. 1?

Its front page is topped by the headline "Teen Crash. Blamed in

'Chicken' Game." Beneath that is the double-deck streamer FIGHT FOR \$3 MILLION ESTATE OF SOCIALITE. Also above the fold is the head, "12-Year-Old Boy Shoots Saleswoman."

At the bottom of page 16 (there were only 20 pages in the paper), squeezed between obituaries on the left and comics on the right, was the story "4 of 5 Tell Same Story: We Weren't Muzzled," an exclusive story by Scripps-Howard staff writer Jim G. Lucas, which opens "The nation's top military men agree they aren't being muzzled and they think a policy review of their speeches or articles is justified."

Having been buffeted in most newspapers almost daily for the last month by front-page interviews with disgruntled military brass who grouched that they were muzzled, this to us looked like real news and a beat at that. We would have expected it to at least take precedence over the 12-year-old's scragging of the saleswoman, but we are obviously 15 pages errant in our judgment.

And then there is the news that doesn't get "buried," but is left to rot on the teletype machine or, worse limbo, in the reporter's head—showing, by the Star-Telegram's standards, just what flimsy and inconsequential news it is.

**F**OR EXAMPLE, United Press's White House hack, Merriman Smith, without elaboration this week reported that President Kennedy is appalled to find a \$7.7 billion stockpiling of strategic military materials, smells a profiteering rat, and appoints a special investigating subcommittee, headed by Sen. Stuart Symington, to look into the matter.

Sen. Stuart Symington!

Obviously it isn't news, or Smith would have reported it, but if the Star-Telegram hadn't put us wise to the method of judging news, we would have thought it should be mentioned that Symington, the new investigator of military contracts, has been one of the most vocal capitol advocates of increased military spending—which means military contracts, which means stockpiling.

As if this alone might not be enough to make Symington suspect as an investigator, there is the additional evidence as shown by Symington's part in handling the investigation of John A. McCone preliminary to his confirmation as the new director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The investigation of McCone, a large stock-holder in Standard Oil of California, was conducted by the Senate Armed Services Committee, of which Symington is a member. Minnesota's liberal Senator Eugene J. McCarthy opposed the confirmation, and set forth a number of reasons, including the charge that McCone had tried to get ten Cal Tech professors fired for signing a petition backing Adlai Stevenson's position toward nuclear testing in 1956. McCarthy said McCone might not be able to show the cool judgment needed to head the CIA.

The New Republic states that the committee spent only four hours investigating the charges against McCone before brushing them aside, confirming him. The New Republic reports: "Senator Symington made a derisive reference in passing to 'a lot of chatter and talk we have heard . . . today about academic freedom.'"

Our daily newspapers did not judge this even worth burying. B.S.

# Labor's Don Ellinger: 'Lack of Intensity'

AUSTIN

Don Ellinger, organized labor's Doctor of Politics in Texas for two decades, left the state this week to become one of three consultants to the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. Texas politics thus lost one of its most intelligent, well informed, argumentative, and sagacious observers. Before he departed, Ellinger, in an Observer interview, discussed reforms he believes Texas most needs, provided on request his current criticisms of the independent liberals with whom he seldom sees eye to eye, ducked a question about Texas labor, and admitted an understanding of the new term for Kennedy's political brigadiers, "the Irish Mafia."

Ellinger is a thorough social and economic liberal who is, however, skeptical of the value of individualism that asserts itself against organization decisions. As a political worker who is concerned primarily with "actual results," he has defended Lyndon Johnson at times when many Texas liberals would not; he has helped carry out the final decisions of labor as an organization whether he has agreed with them or not. He is convinced that groups, not individuals, provide the principal motor forces of social change.

What, the Observer asked him, worries him these days about the course of public affairs?

"The lack of intensity on the liberal side," he said. "I don't think the right-wingers have either the validity or the numbers of the liberals, but they have an indispensable part of a political program, intensity."

Liberals have a well organized program in Washington, but even Americans for Democratic Action has become a practical organization that consolidates gains behind the advanced positions, Ellinger said. "The Administration is going to be extremely productive, but it is not actually breaking new ground. There needs to be a balance, a genuine intensity to balance the right-wing intensity, so government can go on in between."

The young Negro movement has intensity, but not "real good judgment in point of attack," Ellinger said. Economics "is one of the areas where there is not a missionary spirit in the sense of somebody really feeling they've got a solution and offering it. Pragmatism and practical solutions—which may be all there are—seem to be running strong."

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In Texas, Ellinger said, independent liberals have not brought their attitudes into line with changing situations.

"I think nothing is more disorganizing than a victory for independent liberals," he said. "Intellectually and emotionally, they're not oriented to it. Since 1957, they have had a hell of a difficulty reorienting to having a principal office in Texas to which they have a responsibility. Many of their attitudes were formed between 1949 and 1957."

"The problem of what you do with Lyndon Johnson as part of a national administration, doing an outstanding job in the very tough field of race; backing the President in every way in foreign policy; the question is, I think, when you have your background, your emotions based on the battles you've been through before, it's just damn hard to make an objective judgment on what a guy's doing now."

The independent liberals are in a dilemma, "because Johnson's changed and they haven't," Ellinger believes. The liberals are not sure he will stay changed, but, asked Ellinger, "Where else can he go?"

Ellinger sided with his close friend Fred Schmidt in the labor convention at Galveston last fall. Asked about the Texas labor movement's new situation, he replied, "I could make fatuous statements which would be meaningless, and any other statement I would make would be non-constructive."

## Sweat Replaces Glamour

In the last 20 years, he said, Texas labor has developed a large group of knowledgeable political people at the precinct level, "people who are aware that political goals take hard work and there's a lot of sweat in it and a lot of details. They no longer believe in the glamour theory of politics." This is truer of labor in Texas than in any other state he has worked in, said Ellinger (who has been labor's political director for more than half a dozen states at different times in his career).

Ellinger believes that the new Texas Democratic coalition, in which a participant is bound by a group decision, provides the best structure for progress by consensus rather than numerical voting. The coalition of labor, Negroes, Latin-Americans, and independent liberals lacks and badly needs a central planning group, he said.

"Of course, I think what's happened to independent liberals, by the nature of the beast, is that one of them can make an independent decision and at the same time gripe

that the organized groups do not respect the unorganized." He suggested that Democrats of Texas, the moribund liberal organization which still exists on paper, might be a logical organization through which independent liberals could participate in the new coalition.

"You have to have some central planning to have an effective political program," he said. "Others have to trust one leader or some leaders enough that preliminary spadework can be done. What we don't have now is the secretariat. It had broken up when the elements of leadership had no confidence in each other." It was easy for liberals to agree when the question was Yarborough or Shivers, but subtler questions, as for



instance the Lyndon Johnson matter in 1960, broke up the group leadership, he said.

Ellinger believes that the Latin-Americans are emerging as an independent political force and are "necessarily looking toward their own troops." He noted that PASO, the Latin organization, has voted to exclude outsiders from its candidate-endorsing session in February, just as labor's Committee on Political Education and the Negroes' Texas Council of Voters do. "If there were a secretariat of the liberal movement . . . a person would report to the different groups so that they would have the same basic facts," he said.

## Political Reforms

Ellinger's guess is that the coalition will not reach agreement on the governor's race. He favors evaluating this race in terms of gains that may be made in the elections for lieutenant governor, attorney general, and some congressional seats. "I would like to bargain on the governor's race for the best settlement that would include the most state senators and congressmen," he said.

He thought John Connally's interests and the interests of his friends in Washington, as well as his expressed desire to unify the Texas Democratic Party, "would require him to be a liberal governor."

"Political pressures on him and on Johnson would be to make real progress in Texas," Ellinger said. "There would be no percentage in him trying to be another Shivers. It would run counter to any ambitions on the national level."

While Don Yarborough has not been observed in a public office under fire, Ellinger said, "what he says is excellent. He seems certainly to identify with a lot of liberal programs. His motive and his objective would be to make a liberal administration, and I think if he were elected governor he would try to build a liberal political organization."

"I would say Connally's stand would be more centered than Yarborough's, but both would look at the Republican challenge and the fact that you've got to have your program and your allies." It does not make sense for Will Wilson to run as a Dixiecrat, because the trend this year is the other way, Ellinger added.

The major reforms Ellinger believes Texas needs have to do with the state's internal political structure.

First would come poll tax repeal

and enactment of a state voter registration law. "Three million out of five million eligible people don't vote. The biggest vote we ever had, in 1960, was only 2,300,000 out of 5,534,000," he said.

Ellinger would like to see the large counties broken up into separate districts for legislative seats. This, he said, would let each district select a representative on the basis of the district's own political life, the candidate's personality and beliefs, and the neighborhood structure. Ellinger finds it absurd to have a state representative serving a constituency of 1,200,000 persons, as the Harris County legislators do.

This reform is thwarted, obviously, by fear of minority-group legislators, he said. "Texas would be the first state of the old Confederacy in which a Negro would be publicly elected. It would stand as a beacon to the South. You can't divide Harris County into 12 equal districts without giving Negroes representation; you can't divide Bexar County without the approximately 50 percent Latin-American population having a chance at more members."

The governor should be given more power in a strong-governor system, Ellinger continued. In New York State, he noted, only the governor and the attorney general are elected. The governor appoints his own cabinet and is responsible, therefore, for the proceedings within his administration.

At the same time, Ellinger does not believe that much real change in the way people live will be initiated by state governments. Except for such programs as education, transportation, and health, social reforms will be financed from the federal level, not only because they are complex, sometimes involving several states converging in a metropolitan area, but also because the states have limited taxing authority in contrast with the federal government's national tax base.

Ellinger several years back criticized the Texas liberal movement for neglecting the congressional elections while concentrating on legislative races and state party convention contests. He believes this imbalance has been corrected. "There have been more contests for congress in Texas in the last two elections than in the previous ten," he said. He noted with pleasure that Republican Paul Eix may challenge Bruce Alger in the GOP primary in Dallas this year while liberal, Baxton Bryant and conservative Bill Jones are contending for the Democratic nomination.

## That Mafia

Kennedy's people in Washington have impressed Ellinger with their competence and energy.

The "Irish Mafia" are the group of political campaigners who have been with Kennedy since he was a senator, Ellinger explained. "They're a tough, vigorous, well-informed bunch of people who want to win, they intend to win, they intend to put a program over, and their approach is about as direct as I've ever seen in politics."

"You're either for or against Kennedy, and if you're not for him, they'll fight you up and down the line . . . Their political campaign strategy is who's got the votes and how you get 'em. There's no ideological basis. 'We can't take these votes.' Get the votes! When you take that line-up — O'Donnell, O'Brien, Dungan, McGuire, and Roach—you have more political savvy and determination than in any group of political leaders I've ever seen in one basket."

Ellinger's professionalism as a political practitioner once led him to offer to teach a course at Washington University (from which he graduated in spite of his agitation against R.O.T.C.) in "political science and tactics." His thought was that just as students study military science and tactics, they could be taught the science of politics, doing their lab work in campaigns. "You could actually graduate finished, skilled political workers," he said.

## Political Science

He was born in a little town outside St. Louis. He went to college during the depression on scholarships, federal aid, "and such things as that there," graduating in political science. He was active in school in the neutralist peace movement, non-communist branch. He met his lovely liberal wife Ruth while giving a guest lecture on "international disorganization" for a professor who had gone fishing. Among many results of their marriage are eight children. They have teamed up in politics and in labor organizing as well as in the successful child-raising which Ellinger says is his principal qualification for his new work in juvenile delinquency.

In 1940, Ellinger took on a job in Dallas as organizer for the ladies' garment workers, for whom he had done some work during the late thirties in St. Louis. Once he was jailed 29 times in one day in a series of tests of a patently illegal injunction, but he was spared the kind of violence labor organizers had to expect in the thirties.

When the Ellingers arrived in Dallas, the ladies' garment workers had nine dues-paying members. When Don and Ruth were through, eleven shops were organized, and the union had 2,000 members in Dallas. Ellinger spread into organizing work for the union in Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas. 4-F, he ran the Dallas office of the Fair Employment Practices Commission until it was closed down in July, 1945.

Then he became a CIO organizer for the Dallas area. A number of smaller crafts were organized, including Fort Worth's United Papermakers and Paperworkers' local 770, in which he holds a membership now.

In 1947 he became state president of the Texas CIO Council. Two years later he became the CIO's political action committee director for a territory that varied between five and eight states. In this capacity he came in for flattering attention from former Governor Allan Shivers.

## Uncanny Predictions

With the labor merger he became AFL-CIO COPE's director for the five states of Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Kansas, and Missouri, a job he held until this month. He has had uncanny success predicting the outcomes of elections within his jurisdiction.

In Washington Ellinger will be the labor expert on the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime. The other two consultants will specialize in social work and law enforcement. Ellinger's jobs will concern finding jobs for delinquents and working with Congress on the committee's legislation. By chance he will not fall under the Hatch Act, since consultants are paid by the day and do not come under civil service. It would not, therefore, be either illegal or surprising should the Irish Mafia become in the near future O'Donnell, O'Brien, McGuire, Roach, and Ellinger. R.D.

## Hear RONNIE DUGGER

Contributing Editor, The Texas Observer

SUBJECT:

### NUCLEAR WAR, WHAT CAN WE DO?

MONDAY, FEB. 12th, 8 P.M.—Judge Owen Giles' Court Room, Records Building. Auspices Young Democrats and Dallas Chapter, ADA.

ALSO MONDAY—Luncheon, Travis Hotel, Canton and Ervay, 12 noon. \$1.50 per plate. Call Carl Brannin, TA 1-9679 for reservations.

TUESDAY, FEB. 13th, 2 P.M.—Coffee, SMU Student Center Lounge, Auspices SMU Young Democrats.

THE PUBLIC IS INVITED TO ALL MEETINGS

Paid Adv.



# Jousting in the Governor Race

✓ **Gubernatorial candidate John Connally**, after his early television kickoff, has been concentrating at this stage of the campaign on the hotel-coffee circuit with businessmen . . . **Atty. Gen. Will Wilson**, the Dallas News learned, will ask the **AFL-CIO's COPE**, which meets in Dallas Feb. 15-17 to consider state races, not to endorse anyone in the first primary in May. Wilson feels he can get some labor votes. Some ele-

## Political Intelligence

ments in Texas labor (Obs., Jan. 26) want to endorse Connally, led mainly by assistant labor secretary **Jerry Holleman**. The **Brown-Evans** state leadership apparently continues to remain tentatively independent. A possible **Price Daniel** fourth-term bid, which was the talk of the capitol all week, might influence state labor not to endorse anyone for governor and to concentrate on **Speaker Jim Turman** for lieutenant governor and other state races . . . **PASO**, the influential Latin political group, will meet in San Antonio Feb. 9-11 to consider and endorse candidates. Some 200 delegates will be present, and candidates will appear before a committee Feb. 9 and address the convention next day . . . **Don Politico** of the Light continues to raise the question, are Latin leader **Albert Pena** and **Bexar conservative Democrats** joining together to support Connally? Pena continues to say he is uncommitted until PASO meets . . . The steering committee of the **Bexar County conservatives** officially endorsed Connally. Present at the endorsement meeting were well-known San Antonio Dixiecrats **Hubert W. Green Jr.**, **Charles Duke**, and **Wade Cameron** . . . Reports of Pena's support of Connally prompted **Don Yarborough** to visit the Bexar organizer last week . . . GOP candidate **Jack Cox**, addressing a rally of Houston Republicans, said the election of a GOP governor would mean the nomination of a conservative Republican "of the **Goldwater stripe**" in the '64 national convention. "I have become convinced that a conservative Democratic governor has no influence on the liberal national party," he said. "The Republican Party today actually is the party of the people." . . . Amplifying **Sen. Ralph Yarborough's** statement not to run for governor, which caught us in last week's deadline: He said **Pres. Kennedy** had phoned him as early as December to discuss the race and "his advice was a factor in my decision." Yarborough said he was reluctant to jeopardize a Senate seat which might be taken by a conservative and that he did not want a Republican to be **senior senator**. Although he could not imagine "a more favorable time for me to run for governor," his seniority was increasing and he felt he could be "of more service . . . as the senior senator."

✓ **Stuart Long**, checking the loan shark records ("likely to be the hottest state issue in in 1963") of the five Democratic candidates for lieutenant governor, found **Sens. Crawford Martin**, **Jarrard Secrest**, **Preston Smith**, and **Speaker Turman** on the side of carrying loan regulation to as high a figure of \$1,000 or \$1,500 and only **Sen. Bob Baker** favoring a cut-off of regulation at a considerably lower level . . . **Don Yarborough's** entry into the governor's race—he has long been considered a possibility for lieutenant governor—would seem to assure

**Turman** of at least a berth in the Democratic run-off with practically undivided liberal and labor support. Other candidates range from moderate to staunchly conservative.

✓ **Rep. Bob Eckhardt**, Houston liberal, withdrew from his race against **Rep. Criss Cole** for the state Senate. Eckhardt said he did not relish the idea of being Cole's opponent. "We've been colleagues too long." He said his compromise attempts on loan shark regulation might be considered a political move against Cole, the House sponsor. Eckhardt will run for re-election to the House. . . . Cole will likely draw opposition now from a conservative Democrat, possibly from the Harris delegation. **Truitt Lively**, Houston Republican who says his philosophy is the same as Sen. Goldwater and Tower's, announced for the Houston Senate place . . . **Warren G. Moore**, Tyler attorney and **Harry Truman's** appointee as U.S. district attorney for the eastern district, announced for congressman-at-large. **El Paso County Judge Woodrow Bean** is already in it . . . **Anthony J. Farris** of Houston announced as a Republican against **Cong. Albert Thomas** as a "twentieth century conservative who believes that human rights include the right to private property and to a maximum of local government."

✓ Without actually endorsing him, the **Houston Post** commented on conservative **Waggoner Carr's** bid for attorney general: "It is conducive to public confidence in good government when men of Carr's caliber and proven ability are willing to offer their services for offices of public trust." . . . Another candidate for attorney general, **Tom Reavley**, told the Dallas Jaycees he is "both a liberal, a conservative, and a little more than that," said he believes in the following things which defy political labelling: private ownership, competition in the marketplace, free expression and communication, and that "America

★ ★ ★ ★  
Two Democrats, state **Sen. Ray Roberts** of McKinney and **Judge Graham Purcell** of Wichita Falls, were elected to the U. S. House in the last in a series of special Texas elections. Roberts' margin over **Judge Bob Slagle** of Sherman was 16,047 to 13,302. Purcell defeated Republican **Joe Bailey Meissner** of Wichita Falls, 23,820 to 14,060.

Roberts, whose voting record in the Texas Senate has been moderately conservative, stymied an uphill battle by Slagle, a liberal with labor support, to win the **Sam Rayburn** vacancy. He said, in a victory statement, that he was succeeding "the greatest man who ever lived." Slagle told the press he "didn't know" if he would challenge Roberts again in the regular primary in May. Some of his campaign workers say he might

must be true to its historical predicates by opposing bigotry and outlawing state practices that are unfairly discriminatory." He said he is concerned "about the vast concentrations of power both in the federal government and in the huge corporations." . . . **Les Procter**, attorney general aspirant, has set up state headquarters in a huge trailer on the Congress Avenue side of the capitol.

✓ A non-partisan liberal group has organized in Houston to interpret and support "the liberal position" in Harris County affairs. Temporary chairman **Rev. John F. Stevens** said the group will be called the "**Committee for Better Local Government**." Research will be made on numerous issues and attention focused on such problems as hospitals' needs, stream and air pollution, juvenile delinquency, and police brutality.

✓ **Sen. John Tower** recommended this week a \$10 billion cut in New Frontier "welfare schemes" to bring about a balanced budget. Some \$20 billion, he said, goes for "spending schemes," and "I think we could just cut this in half, then we could actually have a balanced budget."

✓ **Ruben Ruiz**, San Marcos city councilman, tells the Observer poll tax sales to Latins in his area are going so well "they are going to break the record" for any previous year.

✓ National columnist **Doris Fleeson**, noting that **Sen. Thomas Dodd** of Connecticut "has lately ornamented the stages of right-wing rallies that have been stirring up the emotions of the American people" on **Katanga**, says **Dobb** has caused "considerable bitterness" among senators with greater seniority and "greater fidelity" to Kennedy and the New Frontier because of his excellent committee assignments, explains "they attribute to it the fact that almost alone among influential Connecticut Democrats," **Dodd** supported **LBJ** for the presidential nomination.

wait and try again in 1964. The victory gave the Democrats in the House a 260-174 margin.

Purcell listed two reservations on administration policy: federal aid to education and medical care for the aged under social security. He added: "I feel the important point of this election is that it is a reflection of the feeling the citizenship has toward the leadership of **Kennedy and Johnson**." **Meissner**, a Goldwater Republican, played down the partisan label and stressed a liberal-conservative division.

State Republicans, citing the fact that the district remained Democratic even in the Eisenhower sweeps and the Tower win last year, said **Meissner** ran a "fine race," carrying 38 percent of the votes and carrying two counties—**Cooke and Hardeman**.

✓ **Jimmy Hoffa**, in Houston to bolster Teamster political activity, said his union in Texas and throughout the South will fight "certain political groups who are rapidly destroying the right of labor in this country to organize."

✓ **Ed C. Burris**, writing in **Texas Industry**, the TMA magazine, said these tests should be applied to candidates, whether Republican or Democrat, in 1962 elections: "Are they conservatives and thus proponents of personal freedom and the right to choose; or, are they 'liberal pre-enders' who operate under this canopy of deceit while they work for the destruction of liberty through the creation of an all-powerful central government, and the creation of a controlled economy?"

✓ **Maury Maverick Jr.** this week said he had decided he could not spend four months away from his law practice to run for a state-wide office. Previously he had said he was strongly considering a campaign for congressman-at-large.

✓ **Dr. E. S. James**, editor of the **Baptist Standard**, official publication of the Baptist General Convention of Texas, told a church convention in Houston "**President Kennedy** has proved that he meant what he said about keeping the church and state separate," but he warned that the fight against "the Catholics' efforts to unite church and state" must go on.

✓ **Mrs. Sarah McClendon**, correspondent for several Texas newspapers who last week aroused **President Kennedy's** ire by writing that two state department officials are "well known security risks," this week was openly snubbed by **Kennedy** when she, from the first row at a press conference, vainly tried to get his attention for questions.

✓ **Tom Sealy** of Midland, one-time Shivers supporter, former chairman of the U.T. board of regents, and head of Citizens for a Sales Tax during the regular session of the Texas legislature, is supporting **John Connally** for governor.

✓ **Rep. Charlie Hughes** of Sherman announced for the state Senate as successor to **Cong. Ray Roberts**. **Hughes'** announcement stressed legislative experience and pledged a "continuing fight to prevent big-city political forces in Austin from eliminating the Fourth Congressional District seat which **Mr. Rayburn** held with such distinction." . . . **Sen. Grady Hazlewood**, Amarillo, announced for re-election. It had been rumored in informed Austin circles that **Hazlewood** would accept a position as lobbyist for **Phillips Oil Co.** He faces possible opposition from **Rep. Charles Ballman** of Borger . . . **Rep. Bob Mullen** of Alice, veteran liberal, is leaving his House seat to run for county judge of **Jim Wells County**.

Sirs: **Ronnie Dugger's** article "The Imminent Threat to Texas Liberalism" (Obs., Jan. 19) is certainly a clever attempt to brainwash that would be effective except for the fact that **Dugger** on past occasions has changed the melody of his pied piper's tune. Furthermore, the conduct of liberals in recent years toward their Latin brethren leave some of us Latins a little cold now that the tocsin is sounded again, and we are urged to battle once more under the banner of liberalism.

Let me say with a clear conscience that I am not committed to **John Connally**, to **Don Yarborough**, to **Will Wilson**, or to any other announced or unannounced candidate. My only commitment is not to commit until **PASO** assembles to hear all of them . . .

**Dugger** assumes a deal with **Connally** will be for a "mess of pottage" resulting solely in a few appointments to satisfy a few status seekers. It is obvious he has no conception of what Latins desire and little respect for the political judgment of Latin leaders. As **George I. Sanchez** has said, only the Mexicanos can speak for the Mexicanos, and **Dugger** certainly proves the validity of **Sanchez'** position. We know our needs; we will determine how best to fulfill them; and we will be the judges of whether it is a "mess of pottage" or not.

**Dugger** assumes that to Latins as to other liberals **Ralph Yarborough's** re-election in 1964 is basic. Apparently he has no idea that **Yarborough's** political future is no longer as dominant a factor in Latin minds as it once was—after all, of twelve liberal issues on the current labor voting record on which **Yarborough** was tested, he voted right in all except in the one with which Latins were primarily concerned. The biggest political story this past year in Texas has been the manner in which **Yarborough** has alienated the Latin liberal leadership which was loyal to him consistently and without which he would not have been appointed of the liberals in the 1956 campaign. Yet, the Observer has not even scratched the surface on this story to date.

**Dugger** feels that **Connally**, if elected, will "systematically dismantle" the liberal movement. He overlooks the fact that liberals themselves have done a pretty fair job of that already. At least insofar as Latins are concerned, it is difficult to forget (1) **Gonzalez's** non-endorsement by **DOT** in 1958, (2) the demise of **DOT** with labor's help in 1960, (3) liberals and labor prevailing on **Maverick** to enter the Senate race in 1961 after **Henry Gonzalez** was already in it, thereby insuring the defeat of both, (4) the Observer endorsing **Maverick** over **Gonzalez** in that race, (5) the pressures on **COPE** delegates when labor endorsed **Maverick** over **Gonzalez** also, (6) **Ralph Yarborough's** obvious disinclination to do anything for Latins in his near-four years in office. But why go on?

**Ed Idar Jr., McAllen.**

LEGMALS	
<b>LEMES FINANCE COMPANY</b> 1509 Guadalupe Street Austin, Texas Assets and Liabilities As of December 31, 1961	
Assets	
Cash .....	\$ 6,381.76
Notes Receivable .....	739,148.87
Accounts Receivable .....	339.57
Real Estate .....	86,535.68
Furniture, Fixtures and Equipment .....	2,704.24
Stocks and Reserves .....	1,009.20
Liabilities	
Paid in on Class "B"	
Certificates .....	\$ 61,312.73
Insurance Premiums (Not Due) .....	16,409.29
Dealers Reserves .....	1,628.02
Deferred Interest and Discounts .....	70,015.01
Accounts Payable .....	700.67
Mortgages Payable .....	32,740.46
Notes Payable .....	187,922.75
Capital Stock .....	50,377.00
Notes (Long Term) .....	353,976.52
Surplus and Undivided Profits .....	61,036.87
TOTAL .....	\$836,119.32

**CITATION BY PUBLICATION**  
THE STATE OF TEXAS  
TO **Isaac Decker**; **David Browning**; **Daniel Browning**; **Nancy Browning**; **Christopher C. Browning**; **John Browning**; **Mary Potter** and husband, **L. J. Potter**; **Martha Patterson** and husband, **J. B. Patterson**; **Pamela Bostwick** and husband, **John Bostwick**; **Francis Cox** and husband, **William Cox**; **Henry Adams**; **James H. Raymond**; **John M. Swisher**; **Sterling W. Goodrich**; **Mary Ann Goodrich**; **W. E. Goodrich**; **B. G. Goodrich**; **S. E. Goodrich**; **Alberta G. Adams** and husband, **Frank E. Adams**; **Betty A. Bradley** and husband, **Leonard M. Bradley**; **Fanny G. Boardman** and husband, **G. T. Boardman**; **Lucy L. Davis** and husband, **I. V. Davis**; **Mrs. M. C. Thornton**; **Henry Hirschfeld**; **A. W. Bunsen**; **James H. Spence** and wife, **Mary M. Spence**; **Alice S. Stovall**; **I. V. Davis, Jr.**; **May W. Davis**; **Robert I. Davis**; **Moselle Montgomery** and husband, **Frank L. Montgomery**; **Katie May Davis**; **Howard T. Davis**; **James Walton Davis**; **I. V. Davis**; **Bess M. Davis**; **Elbert H. Davis**; **Bradley Davis**; **Charles G. Davis**; **Lanier Davis** and husband, **J. L. Dement**; **May Davis Arnold** and husband, **E. L. Arnold**; **Lucille**

**Davis Lucas** and husband, **Harvey O. Lucas**; **Margaret Lucas**; **H. O. Lucas, Jr.**; **Callie Martin**; **Sarah Kennedy**; and the heirs and unknown heirs of the each above named defendants and their legal representatives; and **G. T. Boardman**, trustee and agent for **S. E. Goodrich**, and his successors in said trust and their legal representatives; Defendants, in the hereinafter styled and numbered cause:  
You (and each of you) are hereby commanded to appear before the 53rd District Court of Travis County, Texas, to be held at the courthouse of said county in the City of Austin, Travis County, Texas, at or before 10 o'clock A.M. of the first Monday after the expiration of 42 days from the date of issuance hereof; that is to say, at or before, 10 o'clock A.M. of Monday the 12th day of March, 1962, and answer the petition of Plaintiff in Cause Number 124,523, in which **GUIDA R. MOSS** is Plaintiff and the hereinabove named defendants are defendants, filed in said Court on the 11th day of December, 1961, and the nature of which said suit is as follows:  
Being an action and prayer for

judgment in favor of the Plaintiff and against Defendants for title to and possession of the following described land, to-wit:  
Lot No. 12, in Block No. 1, of Barton Springs Park, a subdivision in the City of Austin, Travis County, Texas, according to the map or plot of said subdivision recorded in Volume 1, Page 120, of the Plat Records of Travis County, Texas.  
Plaintiff alleges that on January 1, 1950, he was and still is the owner in fee simple and in possession of said premises and that on June 1, 1961, defendants unlawfully entered and dispossessed plaintiff of such premises and withhold from plaintiff the possession thereof.  
Plaintiff further prays for costs of suit and relief in law or in equity to which he may be entitled.  
All of which more fully appears from Plaintiff's Original Petition on file in this office.  
If this citation is not served within 90 days after date of its issuance, it shall be returned unserved.  
WITNESS **O. T. MARTIN, JR.**, Clerk of the District Courts of Travis County, Texas.  
Issued and given under by hand and the seal of said Court at office in the City of Austin, this 25th day of January, 1962.  
**O. T. MARTIN, JR.**,  
Clerk of the District Courts,  
Travis County, Texas.  
By **O. T. MARTIN, JR.**  
Notice is hereby given that **Foster Smith** of Travis County, Texas, heretofore doing business in such County under the name **Tru-Text Candy Co.**, intends to incorporate under the name of **Tru-Text, Inc.**, and such corporation will do business at 1511 Manor Road, Austin, Texas, under the name **Tru-Text Candy Co.**  
Dated January 15, 1962.  
Signed **FOSTER SMITH**  
"NOTICE OF INTENTION TO INCORPORATE WITHOUT A CHANGE IN NAME"  
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:  
Notice is hereby given that **Center Atkins**, also known as **Chip Atkins**, dba **Radioprofit Research**, owner of **Radioprofit Research**, intends to incorporate such firm without a change of name.  
**RADIOPROFIT RESEARCH**  
Center Atkins, Jr."

# Institute of Letters Group Tests 'Texans'

(Continued from Page 1)  
 period. Tinkle read a statement from Vandiver.

Also with them was Joseph Martin Dawson, former president of the Institute of Letters, and, among many notable positions held in his 82 years, former executive director of the Joint Committee on Public Affairs for the Baptists of the United States, which means he once represented 20 million Baptists in legislative matters in Washington.

A slender little man, he piped in pulpit tones (he was a minister of the First Baptist Church of Waco for 31 years, which, among Baylor Baptists, puts him high among the theological elite) and scolded the entire censorship program so roundly and rhetorically that, judging by the volume of applause, he forced Dobie into equal billing.

## 'Mean Fighter'

Though the text of his address showed his earnestness, Dobie appeared to enjoy the fray, as he squinted benignly at the audience, pushed back the white lock that kept flopping across his forehead, and waved to help the photographers. A red plaid tie fluttered around on his chest like a small treader's cape. A sporting fighter, Dobie went out of his way to shake hands with his ideological enemy, J. (for James) Evetts Haley, before laying into him.

Earlier in the day, Dobie had told the Observer: "Evetts is sometimes a mean fighter. He'll kick you in the b---s. But I'll say this, if he thinks he's right, he'll stand there alone, in the blizzard and the rain, and fight for what he believes in."

(That evening, when Dobie wasn't present, Haley called Dobie a supporter of subversive organizations and a liar. Advised of this the next day, Dobie sounded grieved. "We've known each other many years," he said. "I didn't think he would attack me personally.")

Excerpts from Dobie's talk:  
 "All we're asking for is to leave freedom free to combat error. We don't any of us think wisdom will die with us. . . . A censor is always a tool. Or, as Hitler called Mussolini—a utensil. Not one censor of history is respected by enlightened men of any nation. . . . Any person who imagines he has a corner on the definition or conception of Americanism and wants to suppress all conceptions to the contrary is a bigot and an enemy to the free world.

"The more censoring of textbooks, the weaker they become. Their publishers are so compliant that most of them would print the texts in Hindu if the buyers preferred. Their aim now is to offend nobody. The result is negative—something as dull as a Ph.D. thesis in a department of education."

Referring to the state textbook committee, which bowed to Haley's wishes in many instances, Dobie said: "The textbook committee is now dominated by educationists—executives in public schools. Most of them are politically minded. Few of them read anything beyond chamber of commerce proceedings and "Readers Digest" waterings. The textbook committee should have more educated people on it. Educated people can be found in schools—not necessarily in colleges—although I don't think it would be fatal to have some safe college teacher—who has never been called subversive—on the committee."

(At present state law prevents appointing college teachers to the committee.)

"They are burying Gunga Din in the morning. The book burners are rising again. The Minute Women. The John Birchers. The Ku Klux Klaners. Yesterday they took 10 books off the shelves in Amarillo. (I didn't read that in the local newspaper.) Tomorrow what?"

"I've been in the cathedrals of England mutilated by the Cromwellians—all in the name of conscience. There's a vast difference in having an ignorant conscience and an enlightened conscience. Merely being conscientious isn't enough."

## 'Kids Aren't Fools'

He said he had read *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and *Tropic of Cancer* before they were allowed in this country, and "I did not find a single four-letter Anglo-Saxon word I hadn't heard from older boys before I had arrived at the age of puberty. I've been hearing them ever since. Hearing these words and reading them has had little influence on my thinking.

"School kids aren't fools. They aren't going to be fooled by some dull tail-twisting and flag-waving propaganda.

"I'm for textbooks selected on the basis of strength, vividness, justness, and the beautiful."

Dawson, a lively sparrow of a witness, told the committee:

"Of one thing I am positively convinced, and that is the nuisance of self-appointed censors and the harm done by small minority pressure groups that seek to suppress publications which they oppose by means of defamation of those with whom they disagree.

"One unforgettable experience came in the twenties while I was trustee of Baylor University. The Rev. J. Frank Norris and a coterie of super-orthodox guardians of what they asserted was truth, assailed certain textbooks and teachers in Baylor.

"Norris said he represented 'people from the forks of the creek.' What they did was greatly to the injury of the institution. After some years of such attacks by the Norris group, the Baptist general convention of Texas conducted a sweeping investigation. Its representative committee reported there were indeed some statements in the textbooks and some attitudes by teachers about which honest men differed, but it was not feasible for these to be regulated by the general convention, but should be handled by the duly appointed board of trustees. The decision has worked well. . . .

"And I will say in an open society which enjoys these rights we may expect intolerant opinions from the radical liberals as well as from the radical ultra-conservatives, but will not have the legislature fix a standard prescribed by some professed infallible group."

Then he reminisced:  
 "When I first took my legislative position in Washington, a very pious and sanctimonious man besought me to go over to capitol hill and have Congress proclaim this a Christian nation. I refused.

"What!" he said. "You, a Baptist leader, a Christian, and a minister as well, you won't make this move?"

"No, I said, I am opposed to doing that which the constitution expressly forbids Congress to do. . . . This in effect would be a lie. The United States of America is not in fact a Christian nation, and we will not force a religion on the people.

"Our dear zealous friends who propose to use our public schools to spread religion forget we are provided with abundant means to spread religion through another constitutional guarantee and our

churches." (heavy applause)

Dungan later asked if it isn't a Christian nation, what is it?

## 'Pious' Money

Dawson: "It is a nation of free men with religious liberty guaranteed in the bill of rights . . . what we used to call 'soul freedom.'"

Dungan wanted to know how he felt about the inscription "In God We Trust" on our money.

Dawson: "I think that is a pious expediency that has gotten by because we have had some ambitious members of Congress who . . ." (the rest was drowned in applause).

He went on to say: "It would be my earnest hope that every Amer-



ican would put his trust in God, but I won't lift a feather's weight" (here he lifted his finger and his voice) "of opinion to compel any person in the United States to accept a belief . . ."

## Mossner and Milton

Mossner said: "Everyone has a right in a democracy and republic to express his personal opinion, but, surely not all opinions are of equal value. To wit: the uneducated vs. the educated; the amateur vs. the expert or scholar."

He quoted from Milton's *Areopagitica*: "And how can a man teach with authority, which is the life of teaching; how can he be a doctor in his book, as he ought to be, or else had better be silent, whenas all he teaches, all he delivers, is but under the tuition, under the correction of his patriarchal licenser, to blot or alter what precisely accords not with the hide-bound humor which he calls his judgment?"

And he advised members of the state school board, if they are "genuinely undecided about the merits of a given book, let them not be harried by the self-appointed amateur censors, let them call upon a panel of experts, of scholars, of authors who are authorities in the given field, for advice."

Wardlaw, who has a reputation for being reserved, showed no diffidence when it came his turn. He laid out his position crisply:

"I know there are many bad and some vicious books published in this imperfect world," he said, "and I know that many sincere people believe that we have gone too far in opening up the whole range of human experience to inquiry by novelists and other writers. But it seems to me that there are no men wise enough to serve as censors and that we always lose more than we gain through censorship.

"Proper home training and the nurturing of sound literary tastes are the best answer to the threat that some people think some types of books pose for developing young minds. In other words, good books are the best defense against bad books. I'll settle for freedom for my children."

From Vandiver, through Tinkle, came the warning: "Those faint-hearted who fear that American youth are not capable of judging for themselves what is right and wrong condemn the very system they profess to support. . . . At the center and heart of the American dream is freedom of thought. It is the greatest weapon. Blunt that weapon here, and freedom

suffers everywhere."

If the students and university professors on hand rewarded these statements with considerable applause and some cheers—reactions that Chairman Dungan met with continued patience and continued gaveling—much of the audience showed its hostility, as did the opposition witnesses, such as M. F. Gabler of Hawkins who said that since the "Bible blackout" took effect in California (he explained he meant that since schools in that state have been forbidden to read the Bible and pray in class) "crime has pushed far ahead of what it is in the state of New York." Some young people in the room laughed, and Dungan gavelled them silent. To support his point, Gabler read from an American Legion magazine. There were sniggers.

And Mrs. A. A. Forester was back. She is chairman of the textbook committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution and of Texans for America. When Rep. John Alaniz asked her to name specifically the textbooks she objected to, she asked, "Do you have a list of the textbooks adopted this year?" Alaniz: "Yes." Mrs. Forester: "Well, all of them."

## Irked by Grins

But the clashing of weapons was heard again in earnest after the supper break, when Haley took the stand to rebut his scholarly and student opponents. Frequently he raised his voice and spoke with bitterness to the young people "who sit there and grin," and called them "supercilious." He said the professors had argued "it is all right to write anything you want to, but if we don't want to buy it, that's censorship." He said "even the fatheads at the University of Texas" should know that. He called the professors "left-wingers," said Dobie "is a member of a number of subversive orders and movements," called Dawson—a minister for 60 years—"an alleged minister." Haley said he himself had been fired by the University of Texas (years ago), and he asked "where was that bunch of bleeding hearts" when "I was fired for teaching the truth." He also called the Dobie group "long-haired, super-intellectuals, super-sophisticates." He said Dobie associates with the "authentic liars of Texas."

(Thursday, the Observer checked with the payroll department of the University of Texas to find out when Haley taught at U.T. and if he were fired, as he said he was in Wednesday's testimony. The payroll department says he was not on the staff as a teacher but as a "collector." It was explained that this meant he went around the state soliciting manuscripts for the university's historical collection. It

lists him on the payroll under one grant from 1931 to 1934, with another grant picking up that year and continuing until 1936. During this period he had a Rockefeller grant from September 1934 to February 1935.

(The payroll department does not record his having been fired. Some of the older professors at the university say they had not heard of the "firing" until several years after he left when Haley himself first publicly described his exit in this way. They said it was their opinion the funds for his work just ran out, that being the bottom of the depression.)

Haley was out for total vengeance. He even referred back to John Downes, who was the first to testify against Haley, two weeks ago, and at that time called Haley a liar for identifying two men as communists.

Haley: "There was a lowly character who said that Evetts Haley told half-truths and two lies. Evetts Haley and the Texans for America did not commit perjury. But the man who appeared here did! Grownds or Downds, or whatever this thug's name is. . . ."

At this point, Downes, who was sitting in the third row, stood up and declared in a loud voice: "Mr. Haley, I'm here now and I repeat what I said before!"

Haley: "I'm not asking you. . . ."

Dungan: "Sit down!"  
 Haley went back to arguing his point from the records of the House Un-American Activities Committee and wound up, looking at Downes, "There's the answer to you and your infamous lie!"

Haley concluded by calling himself "a humble Texan."

Testifying on Haley's side at the night session was Dr. Medford Evans, a Texan for America and, by his unsolicited admission, the organizer of the John Birch Society in Louisiana and Mississippi.

He said the future does not belong "to those who talk about it so much. Eleanor Roosevelt is no longer young. Max Ascoli is not young. Max Lerner is not young. Norman Thomas is not young."

A young man in the crowd called, "What about Robert Welch?"

Evans took it in stride: "The question is pertinent. Neither does the future belong to Robert Welch." It belongs, he said, to the Young Americans for Freedom. There was applause, but not from the college group.

He added, "This is more obviously true in the Ivy League than in the imitation Ivy League."

Rep. Bass said they may move to Amarillo to hold hearings, and a San Antonian presented the committee a petition signed by more than 200 requesting the committee to investigate the situation there.

## ★ ★ ★ ★ Panel Extended

AUSTIN backing Longoria, argued that it has been successful "in finding all that stuff they've been finding."

Rep. J. V. Adams of Mt. Pleasant added: "The committee has already been created and is this very minute at work. We haven't had a committee in recent times that's so shook the state." Libraries all over Texas, he said, "are looking through their books removing this trash."

A motion to prohibit the use of state money in financing the committee's activities, proposed by Rep. Charlie Wilson of Trinity, ("my only interest in this motion," Wilson said, to hoots from the floor, "is to try to save the state a little money") was tabled by the 99-32 vote.

Rep. Buddy Adams of Lubbock,