The Texas Observer

AN INDEPENDENT FORTNIGHTLY

JUNE 14, 1963

25c



A Texas Home

--A Photograph by Russell Lee

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The Test Ban and Yarborough

Senator Yarborough has once again given Texans reason to be proud of him. It was little noticed in Texas, but the senior senator was among the 33 members of the Senate who signed a statement that the United States should offer a nuclear test ban treaty to Russia, excepting only underground or outer-atmosphere tests that would not contaminate humanity further with fallout. Co-sponsored by Sens. Humphrey and Dodd, the resolution urges that the U.S. unilaterally refrain from conducting tests in the atmosphere or under water for as long as the Soviets do likewise.

Seven years have passed since Adlai Stevenson first proposed a nuclear test ban. How many infants have died—how many have been, and will be, born malformed—and how much graver has the nuclear peril become—because demagogues prevailed against his counsel then? At last President Kennedy has said that resumption of testing would be "a great disaster," and a third of the Senate have come forward to say we must stop this madness!

Citizens should write Senator Yarborough their support of his stand with his 32 colleagues, and write Senator Tower eating him out for his continued indifference to the nuclear incineration of humanity, in the hope that—again to quote President Kennedy—we not let the genie out of the bottle this summer, never to get him back in again.

Too Easy to Forget

It is a curious phenomenon, the way anti-teamster publicity can make even the avid supporters of social justice for oppressed minorities forget what Crystal City was basically about. It was about poverty, and about discrimination, and about injustice, and it was about the times, when the people in the United States who have been oppressed as ethnic groups are demanding fair treatment *now*. This is why we put Russell Lee's photograph of a Texas slum home on the cover this issue—to help us remember.

Generally, there have been two kinds of criticism—some of it in this journal of free voices: first, that there was racism at work among the *mexicanos* against the Anglos, and second, that the teamsters did wrong there.

On the first point, it has been conceded by some of those involved that there was some anti-Anglo feeling running; and while some leaders of P.A.S.O. contend this is the only way such political *coups* can be pulled off and is therefore justified, we do not believe this represents the dominant opinion in that organization. It has been good to have this discussed, to have *mexicanos* reflecting that they, too, can fall victim to the passions of racism—just as Negroes have learned, from the black muslim movement and its sympathizers, that they can, too.

The related criticism that the *mexicanos* at Crystal City should not have put together an all-Mexican slate has decisive flaws in theory and in practice. The theoretical flaw is that there is nothing wrong in principle with five *mexicanos* serving on one political body, any more than there is in five Anglos doing so; for a man is a man, and his public service should be judged for what it is, not because of his color. But in practice ethnic groups do tend to seek representatives, and at the practical level it did appear that a mistake had been made. Yet Mayor Cornejo rejoins that the ticket was open for volunteer candidates for three weeks, and neither Anglo nor well-educated Latin-American offered to run. Perhaps this was because there was some counter-racism at work, but it is still a very good answer.

The teamsters have a local union in Crystal City, and unless we have reached the point, in the deterioration of our respect for individual rights, that we will disfranchise teamsters because some of their leaders are corrupt, teamsters had a good local basis for interest in the election. As a *political* matter, the teamsters' involvement is a fair enough reason for criticizing what happened in Crystal City. Local people may or may not resent people who do not live in their town affecting their elections. There is something unrealistic—perhaps one should say, inconsistent—about such resentment, because generally the money for elections these days emanates from the centers of business and union power, a fact which affects local elections profoundly. Yet local folks have every right to resent it. Let us simply be clear on the point, that as of now there is no showing that there was anything corrupt about the Crystal City operation. There was no violence against persons. There is no allegation of improper electioneering. For those who are concerned to see Latin-Americans suffering from social neglect improve their lot, Crystal City was a good thing.

We would urge P.A.S.O. to follow a practical rule, to work only with groups which have logical interests in communities where political effort is being expended. We would hope that the distinction is always maintained between recognition of the fact that ethnic groups are oppressed as groups, and the fact that it is racism in reverse for people who are oppressed to campaign *against* ethnic groups, as groups, in their own interest. Yet when these things are said, Crystal City still stands as a precursor of the kind of change that can be expected in other south Texas towns—and in towns and cities all over the South as well as Negroes register and then vote for candidates who will do something real to improve their lives.

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The Observer solicits articles, essays, and creative work of the shorter forms having to do in various ways with this area. The pay depends; at present it is token. Please enclose return postage. Unsigned articles are the editor's.

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An Oversight?

We suggest that you test your newspaper for fairness on a recent circumstance. When President Kennedy flew into El Paso, he was accompanied by Vice-President Johnson and Senator Yarborough. Did your daily newspaper advise you that Yarborough rode from the airport to the hotel downtown through the thronged streets with President Kennedy? Or were you left wondering where Yarborough was placed in the motorcade? Although we read a dozen Texas dailies, we did not know that Yarborough had been in the car with the president until he himself said so.

The Struggle for P.A.S.O.

San Antonio

The potency of Latin-American voters in Texas politics was taken for granted during the convention of the political association of Spanish-speaking organizations here over the weekend. The deepest issue of the convention was whether P.A.S.O. would continue the militance it manifested in the Crystal City operation or would back off amid charges of teamster collaboration and become another Mexican civic organization, mildly in politics and run by middle-class Latinos. For 1964, the issue may —but also may not—have been whether P.A.S.O. would be prepared to endorse Don Yarborough if he ran against Gov. John Connally. In the end the delegates, rejecting the anti-teamster oratory and moderate policies of Dr. Hector Garcia of Corpus Christi and delegates associated with him, re-elected Albert Pena, Bexar County commissioner, their state chairman by a delegate vote of 41-20.

Even to simplify the issues, personalities, and debates of the convention to this extent leaves out much too much, however. It appeared to the Observer that a majority of the delegates were concerned that the P.A.S.O.-teamster liaison at Crystal City, based as it was in the teamsters' local there, not be permitted to solidify into an interdependent partnership. Resolutions adopted by the delegates unmistakably implied this consensus. Furthermore, it was obvious that the continuation of Albert Fuentes of San Antonio as P.A.S.O.'s executive secretary would have been in serious doubt had Fuentes had to face re-election either with or without Pena's protection. Hostility toward Fuentes has been gathering for some time within P.A.S.O., and Pena's unswerving pledge to back Fuentes against this hostility accounted to some extent for the strength of the candidacy of William Bonilla of Corpus Christi against Pena. In the end friends of the Pena-Fuentes combination averted a floor test on Fuentes by (1) providing, in a new draft constitution, that the executive secretary will be appointed by the chairman, and (2) by obtaining, without challenge, the postponement of action on Fuentes' re-election until a later state meeting at which the new constitution will be considered. Fuentes was not re-elected; he continues in his post by Pena's decision and the convention's tacit consent.

The most important politician present at the convention was U.S. Senator Ralph Yarborough, who addressed a large dance crowd one night during the convention and a rally at a county park the afternoon after its adjournment. Yarborough was delighted with Pena's re-election, and therein hangs the major tale. By Saturday night —the night before the showdown between Pena and Dr. Garcia—one of those impalpable but explicit understandings that decide conventions had taken hold of the P.A.S.O. delegates. To phrase the matter in personalities, this understanding placed Vice President Lyndon Johnson and Gov. Connally on the side of the Bonilla candidacy, and Senator Yarborough and Don Yarborough on the side of the Pena candidacy. In the context of Texas three-party politics, the same idea could be put a different way: if Pena lost, P.A.S.O. could be expected to become a part, more or less, of the conservative Democratic establishment—at least to the extent of alliance with Johnson and Connally in Texas affairs.

One of the most helpful moments, for one trying to test this idea against the sloshing tides of feeling in the convention, was Tony Bonilla's label for himself. Tony Bonilla placed his brother in nomination for chairman against Pena and was a member of the resolutions committee. His influence in that committee was frequently out of tune with the liberal resolutions that prevailed there. At one point Tony Bonilla said that in Texas, a man can be one of three kinds of liberal, a conservative, moderate, or liberal liberal, and that he was a "conservative liberal." When the Observer asked William Bonilla if he was more conservative than Pena, he answered with alacrity, "Oh, I wouldn't take any exception to that."

The Bonilla program for P.A.S.O. would have required prior approval of the group's executive board before the state officers could proceed with operations such as the one at Crystal City. William Bonilla, who is a lawyer and state chairman of the L.U.L.A.C.S. (the league of united Latin-American citizens), said he would devote his time to organizing new P.A.S.O. chapters and to starting scholarship programs for worthy young Latinos.

Now, it was the sense of the majority of the delegates that, whether or not mistakes were made at Crystal City, the election of the Cornejo city council there was an event of historic, apocalyptic importance for Latin-Americans in Texas, and even in the United States, and that the adoption of an apologetic stance about it or the repudiation of Pena in the face of press criticism of the teamsters' role would betray this new tide in political affairs, on which they were to the contrary proud passengers. In addition, some of the delegates can be described, in Bonilla's nomenclature, as "liberal liberals," who wanted no part of the chamber of commerce-type civics that would turn this new-found Latin-American militance into the milder forms of social uplift and the search for respectability which have prevailed, for instance, in the L.U.L.A.C.S.

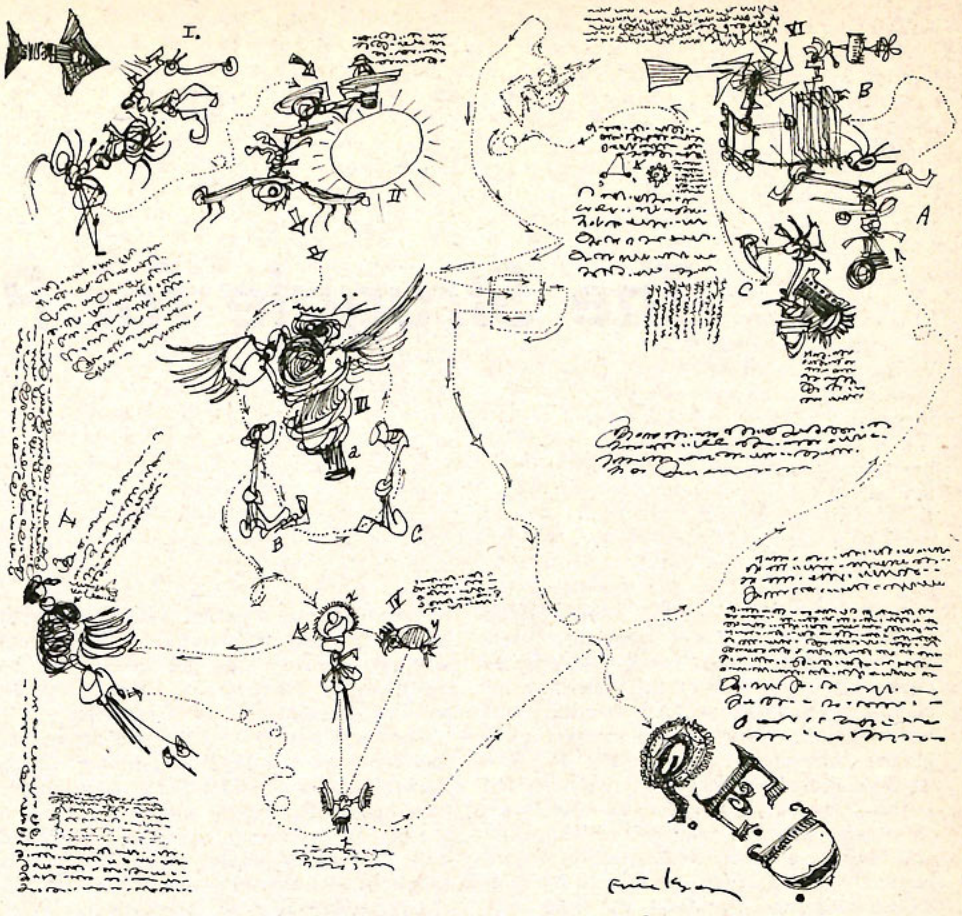
Had Dr. Ramiro Casso of McAllen chosen to side with Bonilla against Pena, what was a bona fide but not close election contest would have become much more nearly a split. Pena had intended to step down, and Fuentes wanted the chairmanship, but Fuentes ran into implacable opposition in south Texas—in Laredo, Corpus Christi, and the Valley—and gave up in advance. In Hidalgo county, the P.A.S.O. people pledged to Casso. This man runs a medical clinic in McAllen. He is widely respected among Texas *mexicanos* as an unselfish idealist in substance and method and an utterly uncompromising friend of the downtrodden people whom he daily doctors. While the Hidalgo delegation was known to be ready to take on Fuentes if the matter came to that, Casso told the convention during the Pena-Bonilla debate that he had personally investigated the

various charges and accusations and had come to the conclusion that they had no shred of truth to them. This gave force in the convention to the accepted impression that Bonilla's election would be a victory for Johnson and Connally and a pull-back from broad-based political militance by Texas *mexicanos*.

THESE MATTERS, taken together, simply overpowered the strongest factor working silently for Bonilla—Fuentes' enmity (for there is no more polite word for it) with Congressman Henry Gonzalez of San Antonio. Surely the absence of the most important Latin-American office-holder in Texas since Lorenzo de Zavala from the state P.A.S.O. convention held in his own town was a fantastic political fact. Yet the delegates were never asked to choose between Pena and Gonzalez; this confrontation was avoided for the nonce, even if, because of the mutual antagonisms now publicly explicit, it became more likely in the future.

Gonzalez has been, for the most part, a loner in public life. He has not joined P.A.S.O. on his general theory that an office-holder's belonging to a political club tempts him either to use the club for his own ambitions or to divide his allegiance to his oath of office, or both. Thus, Gonzalez chose to keep his distance from P.A.S.O., and now, within that distance, hostility has appeared.

Lalo Solis is a close political and personal friend of the congressman. Some years back Solis took on as a pupil in west side politics a young man named Albert Fuentes. Solis believes he taught Fuentes most of what Fuentes knows about politics, but that the pupil turned on the teacher, contradicting him. When, in 1962, Fuentes ran his vigorous, but decisively unsuccessful campaign for county treasurer in Bexar, Solis did not oppose Fuentes, but he did not help him, either. That year, before the first Democratic primary, P.A.S.O. endorsed Price Daniel for governor, a decision with which Pena and Fuentes were associated. Solis, on the other hand, chose to join Don Yarborough's campaign staff as a state campaign organizer, for which work he took a leave of absence from his county job. When Yarborough, not Daniel, got into the runoff against Connally, Pena and Fuentes joined in the work for Yarborough. Solis says that after the election, Pena, while not firing him, reduced his salary from $400 to $250 a month and stripped him of the authority he had previously had as assistant road foreman in the county. The Bexar chapter of P.A.S.O. suspended Solis for having supported Yarborough, and Solis says Fuentes supported this suspension. Solis says further that when his son was seeking work in the sheriff's office, (work which he obtained), the sheriff told Solis his son would not have got the job, had Pena had his way. Pena denied to Solis that this was the case; Pena says today that Solis is a fine man, and that he still thinks of him as his friend; but the seeds of the trouble had taken hold



Map of West Side Politics

in the fertile sod of west side politics, and now they have sprouted.

The Solis-Fuentes feud underlies what now threatens to become a Gonzalez-Pena feud. Solis and Eddie Montes of Gonzalez' staff in San Antonio were associated, in the talk and kibitizing at the P.A.S.O. convention, with Pena's critics. Solis said flatly that Gonzalez had not been invited to attend. When Pena won the chairmanship and Dr. Garcia walked out of the convention, taking part of the Corpus delegation with him, but not William Bonilla, Dr. Garcia sent word back into the convention to Bonilla to propose that Gonzalez be invited. Bonilla so proposed; Pena said from the platform that this was a fine idea, but that Gonzalez had been officially invited. Contacted later—after the convention had adjourned, without any of the P.A.S.O. leadership calling him to invite him—Gonzalez, in San Antonio for the weekend, said that he had received only "a form letter" that began "Dear Sir," advising him of the convention, and not inviting him to address it.

Gonzalez said he was not affronted; in fact, he said, he might not have come anyway because of evidence that has convinced him that Fuentes would like to run against him for congress. "I have been aware for some months that he has been bad mouthing me, as they say in east Texas," Gonzalez said of Fuentes. He said he had been told Fuentes had stated he was building an organization on the west side "so that any time I wanted to run, I'd have to go see him—to do this quietly, and then hit me."

Gonzalez, though one of the state's most liberal congressmen (if not the most liberal, considering his vote against H.U.A.C.,) has been criticized with vigor in many liberal quarters in San Antonio recently. A Negro, Rev. William Claude Black, ran for city council this year in San Antonio, and despite direct requests from Black, Gonzalez refused to back him. Gonzalez explains this is in keeping with his policy against taking part in city politics. To the criticism that he endorsed John Daniel for county Democratic chairman, he replies he did so only after being assured by Pena that there would be no west side candidate. It is not denied by Gonzalez' close friends in San Antonio, however, that the congressman's association with promotion of a multi-national HemisFair project in San Antonio was relevant to his desire not to antagonize the business community with an endorsement of Black. The feeling is growing that in San Antonio affairs, Gonzalez' influence is becoming more conservative than before.

In addition, Gonzalez' not infrequent accolades for Vice President Johnson in statements on the House floor have created an impression that Gonzalez and Johnson are political allies. In the informal discussions of the P.A.S.O. convention, Gonzalez' absence gave force to the argument—advanced both by the Pena-Fuentes group and by the pro-Pena, but not pro-Fuentes Casso group—that Bonilla's candidacy was

actually a play of Johnson-Connally forces for control of P.A.S.O. The presence of Lyndon Johnson's personal airplane at the San Antonio airport Saturday was only one of the many other details that tended to corroborate this interpretation.

Attempts have been made, sotto voce, to bring Gonzalez and Pena together, but have foundered over Pena's loyalty to Fuentes. Whether the breach has become irreparable may still be debatable, but Solis says he is committed to support city councilman Roy Padilla against Pena for county commissioner next year.

Senator Yarborough was exuberantly certain that Pena's re-election was a victory for liberal democracy, and of course for his own re-election next year. One has to be uninformed about Texas politics, indeed, not to know that the dominant fact about the state's Democratic affairs now is the cold and unabating hostility between Yarborough and Johnson. While they readily come together in support of the Kennedy administration, in Texas affairs Yarborough represents the liberal coalition in which P.A.S.O. leaders and members are participants, and Johnson represents the conservative-moderate Democratic axis now led, in state affairs, by Connally. Dr. Garcia has been closely identified with Johnson, and to put it bluntly—with the key word in the simplification being "therefore"—Bonilla's defeat and Pena's victory was therefore a victory for Yarborough.

THE TEAMSTERS issue was the formal ground on which the contest was joined. This was Dr. Garcia's decision; in it, he was not followed closely by the Bonillas.

In his convention talk, Pena said he had no apologies for Crystal City, which "has opened the eyes of the sleeping giant. . . . If you are still asleep, you'd better wake up. We are not a slow freight any more. We are on the American express and we are going to ride first class.

"We have lifted the cactus curtain. We are going to put an end to Jim Crow in a sombrero hat. We can do without the 'Tio Tomases,' we're through with the 'vendidos.' We don't need a 'patron,' and we don't need anyone to tell us how to vote."

Pena said the Democratic or Republican party will win or lose next year, "depending on how the liberal coalition works together"—that is, the Democratic coalition of Latin-Americans, Negroes, labor, and independent liberals, each group of which is selecting 25 members of a 100-person ruling executive board now being put together for next year's elections.

Carlos McCormick, national P.A.S.O. executive secretary and deputy chairman of the Democratic national committee, said, "Texas' P.A.S.O. is the most successful and resourceful of all Latin-American political groups in the nation. We must remain independent from outside groups or interference if it is going to do the work it was founded for"—a reference that may be connected with reported concern from Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy's office about the teamsters' role in Crystal City.

Crystal City major Juan Cornejo answered the "discrimination in reverse" criticism that the city council slate there should not have been all-*mexicano*. He said, "We tried to get a balanced ticket, but the Anglos said no. They did not want to run with us, or to work with us—they claimed they were too good to lower themselves."

The slate was open three weeks, and "we begged them to run," Cornejo said. "The educated Latins did not want to join with us. They were too good for us. They didn't want to help the people of Crystal City. Instead, we poor Latin-Americans with fifth grade educations had to run."

Telling about a half-million-dollar paving program started Monday in the Latin-American section of his town, Cornejo said that the councilmen, with their fifth grade educations, are going to do "what those great college men couldn't do in thirty years."

After Dr. George Sanchez, Austin, had called for unity behind Pena, Dr. Garcia said to the convention:

"Is P.A.S.O. going to be run by ourselves or will the teamsters do it for us? We have won our battles with our own money, our own talent, and our own guts. Unfortunately, the situation in San Antonio today is a great division among friends. We are not too clear who is running what."

Fuentes closed the first convention session defending cooperation with outside forces. He had arranged a display on a bulletin board outside the hall in the Gunter hotel, showing an advertisement attacking Gonzalez for his teamster support in his U.S. Senate race (support Gonzalez acknowledges, saying it was unofficial). Fuentes said the attack on Crystal City was "the same song, second verse."

"I have never received one red cent from the teamsters, or any other union," he said (a statement which he later explicitly applied also to his private research survey business). "But that doesn't mean I don't believe in working with them. I'll work with any organization which tries to better the common man. . . . Any time P.A.S.O. thinks it can get the job done by itself, it's dead," he said. "P.A.S.O. can't stand off and say it hates everybody that's not Mexican."

Turning to Dr. Garcia, whom he said he admired very much, Fuentes exclaimed: "You led us down to defeat one time, Dr. Garcia. Don't do it again."—presumably a reference to the Daniel endorsement.

Later, holding forth in the hotel lobby, Dr. Garcia said, "We don't want to have to be answering questions about 'where did you get your money.' Our difference with Fuentes is simply this, he went ahead and did this basically on his own. We were not advised of it. A lot of us are business minded, and I say it's poor business. . . . The teamsters are trying to take us over. It could be angels of mercy, and I'd be against it."

Talking to reporters in the coffee shop, Bonilla said, "Many of our professional and business people feel that P.A.S.O. has received unfavorable publicity because of the Crystal City election, and they do not know if it's worthwhile for them to give of their time to work for the organization, assuming that the teamsters union do have some control over some of the officers."

He said Fuentes "works for the teamsters." Fuentes replied to this later that he is on a one-year contract to teach political education with the hod-carriers, but with no pay and no expense money. Bonilla opposed P.A.S.O. receiving assistance from "any organized group."

Bonilla said he favored continuing to teach Latin-Americans in such things as how to use voting machines, but also favored a scholarship program such as the one maintained by the Corpus Christi Mexican chamber of commerce, of which he is now president. He was appointed to the Texas good neighbor commission by Daniel and confirmed by the Senate this year.

DURING THE NIGHT Casso tried to work out a compromise. Terms of various proposals turned on Fuentes. Under one of them, for instance, Pena would have been chairman, Bonilla vice-chairman, with a commitment from Pena that he would have selected anyone but Fuentes as the secretary. Pena said he would risk elective defeat rather than stop standing by Fuentes, and the compromise failed to materialize.

Rep. John Alaniz, San Antonio, nominated Pena for chairman (at a meeting ostensibly closed to the press, but entirely audible in, and sometimes visible from, an adjacent part of the convention hall, closed off by light sliding doors). Fuentes and Pena had rallied local Latin-Americans into P.A.S.O. chapters, Alaniz said; this was what is needed. P.A.S.O. would fall if Pena was repudiated, Alaniz said.

Candidate Bonilla's brother Tony, entering the opposing nomination, said a "measly 150 or 200" were present at the convention (an estimate that seemed low by 100 or so) because of the Crystal City publicity. He spoke against "those who are seeking to ruin or control this organization" without naming them.

Investigating Pena, Casso said, he "found no connection with any teamster union, labor union, or anyone else." Pena is experienced in politics and "knows what it takes for the tough in-fighting that has to be done," Casso said.

Franklin Garcia, meatcutter stationed in Corpus now, said he might be for Bonilla, but the hostile press left him no choice but to be for Pena. Cornejo said, "The liberty of Crystal City, we owe it to Mr. Pena."

Dr. Garcia told the convention that "as long as this association will be run by teamsters I will have nothing to do with P.A.S.O." Electing Pena meant reappointing Fuentes, and "you will never end the association with the teamsters," he said.

On the roll call, Nueces, Victoria, Ector, Travis, and Cameron counties voted with Bonilla; Hidalgo, Starr, Dallas, El Paso, Bexar, Bell, Wharton, Kleberg, Golden Triangle, and Comal voted for Pena; Webb split 3-2 for Bonilla.

Garcia stormed out of the convention

with two Corpus associates, later followed by his sister. They repeated their statements against Shafer and the teamsters. Garcia, national chairman of P.A.S.O., said he would like to continue to be active in the Corpus chapter. There are about ten chapters of P.A.S.O. outside Texas; they antedate the Texas chapters.

William Bonilla, on the other hand, stayed in the convention, said, "We are united when the fighting gets tough. . . . I admire Albert Pena. I think he has been a good leader," and moved Pena be elected by acclamation.

Shafer did not have any comment on Garcia's walkout. He confirmed that he is a member of P.A.S.O., noting that only three teamsters attended the convention. He said the teamsters will not go into any area that is heavily Latin-American without approval of P.A.S.O. He said of the teamsters-P.A.S.O. cooperation in Crystal City, "We just worked jointly in the campaign." He said there is discussion now among teamsters about organizing Negroes, including Negroes in east Texas, into unions.

In a closing appeal on the subject of outside control, Renato Cuellar of Weslaco said, "Let's wash this out of our minds once and for all. Let's find ways to raise money so that we *can* be independent."

THE IDEOLOGICAL TEMPER of Texas Latin-Americans, led now by Pena and Fuentes, is quite liberal.

P.A.S.O. condemned the legislature for "callous disregard" of the public welfare, for "special interest big business legislation," and for a session that was "a failure as far as the people of Texas" are concerned and "a success as far as the corporations are concerned."

In a resolution condemning the legislature and Connally for "complicity" in the 25-cent registration fee in lieu of the poll tax and the abolition of poll tax agency forms, P.A.S.O. scored "conservative stooges of corporate wealth," rhetoric that brought laughs and whoops from some delegates. All this was quite a contrast to Connally's assay of the legislature as the greatest one of this century in Texas.

Another tough resolution endorsed the two-party system and committed P.A.S.O. to independence of the two parties. Since Gov. Allred's administration, the resolution said, "the dominant Democratic Party of Texas has been the instrument by which the corporate and financial power structure has controlled the government and politics of Texas. Throughout this period of more than 30 years, the Democratic party of Texas has been the party of conservatism, corporate wealth, and reaction while the national Democratic party has been the party of liberalism, progress, and the people."

Tony Bonilla won approval of a resolution opposing "the interference of any other group" in P.A.S.O., but a second resolution was adopted saying P.A.S.O. had never tolerated such interference, while always being ready to work with liberal groups. Bonilla's attempt to prevent the state officers from helping in local political situations without specific approval of the state board of P.A.S.O. was rejected on minority report.

P.A.S.O. advocated abolition of the border commuter system, commended Gonzalez for leadership in getting the U.S. House to abolish the bracero program, condemned "frequent Gestapo-like tactics" against Latin-American citizens by state and local police officers, and endorsed Negro demonstrations for equality and the leadership of Rev. Martin Luther King, declaring P.A.S.O.'s "solidarity" with the Negro movement.

On Tony Bonilla's motion, with only one dissent (Pepper Garcia of Dallas) on the resolutions committee and no discussion or dissent on the floor, P.A.S.O. resolved that its members must support P.A.S.O.-endorsed candidates or be suspended indefinitely. Bonilla adverted to 1962, when the Daniel endorsement was ignored by many P.A.S.O. members. "It is imperative that every P.A.S.O. member comply," the resolution said; failure to support endorsed candidates "would reflect on P.A.S.O. and its ability to discipline its members."

The group's motto, in the draft constitution put off for later consideration, is "United we stand, divided we fall."

SENATOR YARBOROUGH, making his appearance at the dance, was introduced by Pena as a personal friend and "the only statewide public official to take a stand on Crystal City." Yarborough spoke first about Kennedy's visit to El Paso, watched, the senator said, by 225,000 people. He made a point to mention that he rode in the car with Kennedy in the parade—a fact one could not divine from reading most Texas daily newspapers the next day.

"I hope you grow in numbers and in strength and in dedication," Yarborough said. "There just might be other campaigns, in addition to the present campaign. The people of the United States have found out P.A.S.O. exists and it's here to stay."

(In a related connection, although Don Yarborough was not at the convention last weekend, he recently spoke to a Hidalgo county meeting of P.A.S.O. and according to the reports commended P.A.S.O.'s work.)

Awards were presented to persons generally within the Pena group at the dance. Pena got an award for helping elect Gonzalez; but there was not an award for Gonzalez. Sen. Yarborough took the occasion of Pena's award to remind the crowd that he was the first statewide officeholder to "unqualifiedly endorse Henry Gonzalez" against Republican opposition for congress.

Yarborough posed with Crystal City councilmen then, telling them, "I want to thank all of you for establishing a new frontier for the Latin-Americans in Texas."

The next afternoon, Pena escorted Yarborough to the Mission county park and introduced him to the large number of Latin-Americans gathered there for his speech and a charro celebration. It was a signpost of new realities in Texas politics that Yarborough began his all-out speech, after a pause while he presumably checked over his Spanish in his memory, *"Damas y senores, compadres y caballeros, mi amigo Presidente Pena—mi hermano!* Thank you, Alfred!" He began then with a tribute to the late Pope John as one of the greatest popes in history and led a moment's silent prayer in his memory.

In a speech full of fighting commitments to Kennedy—all of which were lustily cheered—Yarborough called for employment for all, a domestic service corps, better schools, medical care for the aged under social security, tax cuts for low-income groups. "I'm proud to be a fighter in a Democratic administration willing to see the ills on our very doorstep," he said. "Life is hard where there's no work or where there's work but no living wage." With strong emphasis he declaimed, "We must give people a *better break* in their *lives.*"

Forefinger tracing curves in the air, he said the price tag on voting, whether $1.75 or 25 cents, must be abolished. He called it a barrier at the polls to keep people from voting. "We're going to tear it down and let the people in to vote.—*That's* what we're going to do," he said in a quick way reminiscent of Harry Truman's plain, tough style. An old Latin man in the crowd sang to himself, "Attaboy, teacher! Give it to *himmm!*"

The rally closed with Senator Yarborough leading the crowd in three cheers, "Viva Pena," and congratulating him "for a great victory."

R.D.

Otro Comment Mas

(Dedicated to Mr. All Heart Sitswell, El Mano Viejo)

Down in the valley
The valley so low
I said Hi, Gringo
You said Slow, slow.

You Anglos infused us
For election time show,
A donde, a donde
Oh, where do we go?

Send me a ticket
Balanced and wise;
I've always upheld you
In a fair compromise.

Way down in McAllen
The valley so low
A Latin alcalde—
A bully good show!

Let the faint Harts all carp
Of legerdemain
But I say it's spinach
Now join the refrain.

Oh the liberals will court you
A double standard they wave,
Win one lousy election—
"Mexicano, behave."

MAE B. TUGGLE

The Zoroaster Complex

Chandler Davidson

"The peril involved in nuclear war is one which affects all mankind and one, therefore, in which the interests of all mankind are at one. Those who wish to prevent the catastrophe which would result from a large-scale H-bomb war are not concerned to advocate the interests of this or that nation, or this or that class, or this or that continent."(1)

In his plea for sanity in the face of nuclear destruction, Bertrand Russell puts his finger upon the crux of the matter: Until nationalism is to some extent overcome in both the East and the West, no feasible program of peace can come into being.

Thus, many people in the liberal camp in this country are inconsistent when they speak of the absolute virtues of the American way of life and the absolute wickedness of the Russians, and in the same breath advocate disarmament. If we are as laudable as our Fourth of July orators paint us to be, and the Russians as evil, any attempts at negotiation are futile.

Some people, instead of describing the Russo-American conflict in absolute terms, admit that there may still exist in the American system a few relatively minor flaws, and that a few inconsequential virtues are discernible in Russia. But they hasten to add that the American way of life is indescribably more desirable than the communists', and that Americans and their leaders are far more honest, peace-loving, and generous than their Russian counterparts. And so, despite the appearance of a more moderate point of view, the judgment is the same: We are the good guys, the communists are the bad guys.

Is this really the case? The very least one can do in attempting to evaluate Russia and America is to go back carefully through the history of East-West relations since the Russian Revolution. (Ideally, he should go back several hundred years.) To an objective observer, the image of the battle between the forces of light and the forces of darkness breaks down very quickly. The rise of Hitler and World War II, for example, can be traced clearly to the greed and stupidity of the Western capitalist nations, on the one hand, in the draconian measures imposed upon Germany following the treaty of Versailles; and to the stupidity, dogmatism, and divisiveness of the communists as exemplified in their failure to help hold the Weimer Republic together by a coalition with the socialists.(2)

Only an extreme naif would explain the cold war as an attempt by a peace-loving West to bring liberty and justice to the world, only to be thwarted by Eastern attempts at world conquest.

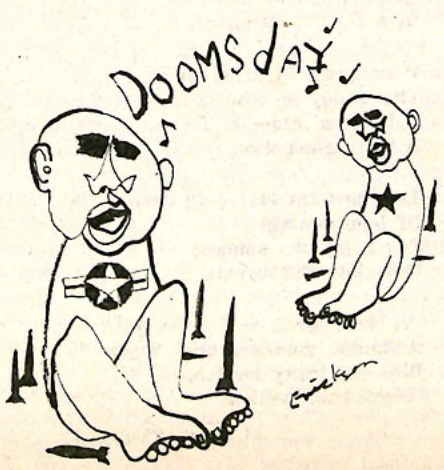
Certainly Stalin had a large hand in determining the situation as it now exists. His failure to accept our offer of the Marshall plan was tragic, especially as the plan came as close as any U.S. program ever has to being motivated by charity. But one can point out, as James P. Warburg does(3), that our having just previously initiated the Truman Doctrine of "world containment" made any American good-will offer rather suspect in Stalin's eyes.

Stalin can justifiably be blamed for refusing to accept our offer to share peacefully atomic secrets, before Russia had the bomb. But the blame falls just as rightly on the U.S. for backing out of what seems to be a sincere plan by the Russians for disarmament in 1955.

Stalin's imperialism in Europe following World War II was totally wrong. But by understanding his motives, any American with a modest knowledge of U.S. history will feel less secure in his self-righteousness. It seems probable that post-war Russian imperialism was due to economic needs, and is thus closely akin to American imperialistic ventures.(4)

It is at this point that a patriot inevitably arises and objects: "Certainly, if the motives of Russia and the U.S. were the same, then our attempt, say, to overthrow sovereign Cuba would be no more right than the Russian suppression of the Hungarians. But the motives are not the same. We are motivated by a desire to uphold freedom, and the Russians, by a desire to tyrannize the world. Thus, our interferences with the sovereignty of other nations are justified, while those of Russia are not."

It is ironic that the very people who argue, in this instance, that the ends justify the means, are the ones who shout loudest about the "brutal opportunism" of so-called Marxists. But this observation is only an aside. Not being a pacifist in principle, I will admit that in some cases violence is justified; it is the lesser of two (or more) evils. So the question is relevant: Is American violence more justified than communist violence, i.e., are our motives purer than those of the Russians?



Such an assessment is extremely hard to make. But there are vistas open to those who seek them; and if one is willing to forego his utter dependence on the daily newspapers, T.V., and the "slick" magazines, he can at least make an educated guess.

It is significant, I feel, that five of the most lucid contemporary commentators on world affairs—George Kennan, C. W. Mills, Isaac Deutscher, Erich Fromm, and Bertrand Russell—profess to be baffled to some degree as regards making an assessment of Russia and the U.S. None of them says explicitly that one is "better than" the other. Rather, all of them break the question down into components: Which nation has acted more honorably in a particular circumstance? Which facets of American or Russian behavior are being considered? What phase of the various systems are we talking about? American capitalism in 1850? Russia in the thirties? America and Russia as they will probably exist in 1984?

Once these questions are broadened, the problem becomes more complex. And it becomes obvious, once these questions are answered, that there is serious doubt as to who is the good guy, who the bad.

As regards, for example, domestic problems in the two states, consider distribution of incomes. In Russia, the managerial class, as in the U.S., generally earns several times as much as the common worker. There does not seem to exist, however, such an overall disparity of incomes as in the U.S. For example, one per cent of the U.S. wealth owners own 28 per cent of the national wealth today.(5)

Although the percentage of under-$4,000 families decreased by two thirds between 1936 and 1960, their share of the national income dropped a great deal more—from 35 per cent to 7 per cent.(6) Further, the reduction of poverty in the U.S. has slowed down.

And within the category of the nation's poor, which Michael Harrington estimates in his book, *The Other Amercia*, to be between 40 and 50 million Americans (one

third to one fourth of the nation), some 3.5 million people belong to families earning less than $1,000 a year.

In the realm of labor, America, of course, is plagued with an unemployment figure of almost six per cent of the entire labor force. And although 300,000 new jobs are being created annually, approximately 3.1 million people are entering the labor force each year.(7) This situation, unless drastically remedied, will lead to an unemployment figure of over 14 million by the end of the decade. In Russia, on the other hand, there is a shortage of labor. And measures are being taken to handle the surplus of men displaced from their jobs by mechanization.(8)

Concerning political freedom, there seems little doubt but that Americans still have more liberty of political dissent and criticism of the government than do Russians. I say "still" because there are indications in both countries that the status quo is changing. In Russia, the de-Stalinization has led to a relaxing of the structures on free speech and thought, and an end to political terror. Although Trotsky and Freud, for example, are still banned in the libraries, most observers see a resurgence of the desire for political freedom (not to be equated, however, with a desire for liberal capitalism).(9)

Yet, in several areas of American life, our political freedom is being eroded. There is very little difference between the two major political parties, and not much choice of political candidates. The spirit of McCarthyism has instilled a fear of ideas in the public so great as to lead to witch hunts, breaches of civil rights and liberties, and intellectual dishonesty and cowardice on a large scale.

Our congress is run to a great extent by a small minority of ultra-conservative committee chairmen, often in opposition to the will of the majority.(10) And our legislators, especially on the state level, are often bought by the dominant financial interests.(11)

Too, Americans are becoming less and less political. Forty five per cent of the qualified voters in the U.S. were absent from the polls in the presidential election of 1956, as compared to 23.2 per cent absent from the commons elections in Britain in 1955, and 17 per cent absent from the national assembly elections in France in 1956.(12)



In the field of education, Americans and Russians are going in the direction of increased technology at the expense of the humanities. American public school teachers are lamentably incapable of teaching, terribly underpaid, and the occasional knowledge they do exhibit is often nullified by know-nothing school boards. Of the top 16 per cent of high school students—those scoring 120 and over in I.Q. tests—only half go on to college.(13)

In Russia there is a trend toward improvement. The U.S.S.R. now has 40 leading state universities, compared with only ten in the Tsarist empire. The present seven-year plan provides for 4.5 million university graduates by 1965 as compared with 3 million in 1960. All educational costs are paid by the government. And to the objection that Soviet education is dogmatic and narrow, Deutscher has this to say: "We can think very critically of the dogmatic character of Soviet education—I certainly do. We can dislike all the trickery of official indoctrination—I certainly do. But there is also a positive and rational aspect to that indoctrination. It is this: the Soviet school rightly insists on the need for the specializing student to form a philosophical view of the world and not to become encrusted in his own specialty. This is a sound principle in itself. A school inspired by it may produce not just technicians who know more and more about less and less, but people combining detailed empirical knowledge with a broad view of life."(14)

The field of law is also in a state of flux in both countries. Recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions concerning integration have laid the groundwork for important progressive measures in this country. Russia, too, has been introducing certain hopeful measures since the end of the Stalin era, which has caused a cautious optimism among Western observers. Writes Alfred Bingham, a Connecticut probate judge, after an extended trip to Russia: "I was in the Soviet Union in 1959, and my recent discussions and observations of trials merely confirmed by earlier impressions: the rights of those accused of crime are probably as secure, and the regular courts probably function as independently and conscientiously, as in most western countries."(15)

Finally, as regards the "spirit" of the two countries, their "idealism," their *weltanschauung*, or whatever one chooses to call it, there are striking similarities and striking differences. Both countries, according to Erich Fromm(16), are essentially conservative "state-managerial" systems. The Soviet Union, Fromm convincingly argues, is in reality not at all similar to what its revolutionary ideology paints it to be—any more than America lives up to its mystique of a God-fearing nation devoted to honesty, hard work, and free competitive enterprise. We are both increasingly opulent countries whose primary goals are materialistic, and expressed in terms of economic security and a higher standard of living.

Both countries have governments run by a small military-industrial elite with a frightening lack of moral sensibility. Both, for example, have continued nuclear testing despite grave pronouncements by reputable scientists concerning the effects. (In the U.S., Linus Pauling's estimates of fallout damage(17) have been met by government spokesmen with the compelling argument that more people die in traffic accidents each year.) The bureaucratic framework of both systems is such that individuality, truth, and democracy are stifled.

In some ways, however, I feel the Russians are ahead of the U.S. Corruption, unscrupulousness on a wide scale, and the lack of any ethic other than that of profit which pervade all elements of American society, and are exemplified in such scandals as the electric companies' price-rigging, the Billie Sol Estes affair, the T.V. quiz show quackery, the continual Madison Avenue hoaxes (18), have not yet permeated Russia. America is essentially a tired society, one without goals, without ideals: a backward-looking society, or in Nietzsche's phrase, a nay-saying society. Russia has such tendencies, though more latent, but she is a younger nation; and a certain excitement which derives from anticipating the future promises to revivify her, at least temporarily, if an atomic war can be staved off.

But to be fair to our own country, there are hopeful signs—on a small scale, admittedly—of a renaissance here. In the late fifties and early sixties a new generation has made its voice heard, questioning the snake medicine remedies of the government propagandists, the quietist university professors, the illiterate politicians, the bought journalists, and even the provincial liberal platitudinists whose quaint New Deal idolatry is only slightly less anomalous than the theory of laissez faire.

Perhaps, out of the intellectual and spiritual abyss created by the cold war, new lights will begin burning on both sides of the darkness. At any rate, a real renaissance, the prelude to which must be international disarmament, will require as well a disavowal of the Zoroastrian light-



against-darkness theory, and a greater inclination than has heretofore been shown to be equally critical of one's own country and that of whichever country happens to be the "official" enemy of the moment.

FOOTNOTES

1. Bertrand Russell: **Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare**, (paperback), Simon and Schuster, New York, 1959.
2. George F. Kennan, **Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin** (paperback), Mentor, New York, 1962.
3. James P. Warburg, "Opportunity in Berlin," The Progressive, Sept., 1961.
4. Isaac Deutscher, **The Great Contest: Russia and the West** (paperback), Ballantine Books, New York, 1961.
5. Robert J. Lampman, **The Share of Top-Wealth Holders in National Wealth**, 1922-1956, Princeton (as quoted by Dwight Macdonald in the New Yorker).
6. Dwight Macdonald, "Our Invisible Poor," The New Yorker, January 19, 1963.
7. James S. Coleman, "A Future Without Jobs," The Nation, May 25, 1963.
8. Isaac Deutscher, l.c.
9. George Feifer, "Soviet Fathers and Sons," The New Republic, June 1, 1963.
10. Sidney Lens, "The Politics of Stalemate," The Progressive, May, 1963.
11. c.f. Ronnie Dugger, "The Legislature: An Afterview," The Texas Observer, May 30, 1963.
12. Jacques Fauvet, **La France Dechiree**, Librairie Artheme Fayard, Paris, 1957.
13. Dr. Gabriel Kolko, **Wealth and Power in America**, Praeger (cited by Macdonald in the New Yorker).
14. Isaac Deutscher, l.c.
15. Alfred M. Bingham, "Soviet Experiments in Democracy, A Report of a Trip to the U.S.S.R. in 1962," Council for Correspondence Newsletter, Oct. 10, 1962.
16. Erich Fromm, **May Man Prevail?**, (paperback), Anchor Books, Garden City, New York, 1961.
17. c.f. Linus Pauling, "Genetic Effects of Weapons Tests," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, December, 1962. Says Pauling: "The total estimated gentic effects (numbers of viable children with gross physical or mental defect and of embryonic, neonatal, and childhood deaths over all future generations) of all nuclear weapons (600 megatons) tested to December 1962 thus is the following: from radioactive fallout, 1.2 million (range 80,000 to 18 million), and from carbon-14, 16 million (range 320,000 to 800 million), and about 150,000 (range 10,000 to two million) expected to occur in the first generation."
18. c.f. Fred Cook, "The Current Society," Special Issue of the Nation, June 1-8, 1963.

Rep. Green's U.N. Mail

Rep. Howard Green, Fort Worth, whose fight against the Senate-passed bill to ban the United Nations flag from state and public school buildings resulted in the bill's defeat, has received heavy mail on the issue, mainly from Fort Worth, but also from west Texas and Houston. It has run about six to one against his stand; much of it has a fierce, accusative quality.

As reported last issue, Green condemned the bill as an effort of "the lunatic fringe" to slap at the U.N. and embarass Vice President Lyndon Johnson, who recently had U.N. delegates as guests at his ranch. Many of those who wrote Green took umbrage at what they construed to be his suggestion that they are lunatics. Many explicitly or indirectly questioned his patriotism; many called the U.N. communist and its flag "the flag of the enemy." Some who wrote supporting him vowed to work for his re-election—but so did some of those criticizing him. Two correspondents sent him a clipping showing the U.S. and U.N. flags flying side by side and the Texas flag underneath them at Johnson's ranch during the U.N. delegates' visit. While the letters of support were typed or written in generally calm and orderly ways, more than half the citizens who wrote against the U.N. flag did not seem, from their communications, calm, but rather were highly wrought up.

At random, the Observer here excerpts from some of the anti-U.N. letters to Green, giving a separate paragraph to the excerpt from each letter:

"I guess you must be hoping for a powerful position in the new communist government when we lose our country."

"[You should not represent] the international conspiracy, the anti-Christ, communist-controlled U.N., and its rag."

"I think your expression was undemocratic and unbecoming of a good American."

"I despise the U.N. because it has brought nothing but shame, strife, and useless bloodshed to my country. I can remember with pride when we went to war for a few kidnapped seamen. Until we got into the U.N., we never lost a victory."

"Does not the idea of One World Government, as advocated by the U.N., chill your American blood?"

"U.N. is not a peace organization but a world gov. run by the REDS and our money!"

"The Constitution and Bill of Rights [was] subverted by Harry S. Truman and 89 U.S. senators who were the Traitors that created the BLACKEST DAY OF INFAMY IN THE HISTORY OF OUR NATION."

"Great men like General Walker etc. that defend our great United States and attack the U.N. and communist organizations are often 'smeared' by the communists and their fellow travelers. I have never heard your name 'smeared' once."

"I do not want a flag which in my way represents the bloody, criminal communist or any other uncivilized barbarians flying near the flag of America or of Texas."

"Every communist and liberal 'lunatic' in the state will come to your rescue."

"If you are so determined to aid and abet Russia why don't you live there instead of in this wonderful country???"

"I also resent the vice president of the U.S.A. rolling out the red carpet to that gang of red [U.N.] delegates. Any school who flies that dirty rag should be thrown out on their ear."



"It's just as well to appease us as it is for your group to appease Russia."

"Critics that yell the loudest about the so called lunatic fringe usually turn out to be the Benedict Arnolds and the turncoats."

"We are persuaded to believe that you people are mentally ill and need help. So I suggest you take some good old Christian-American, God-believing, and freedom-loving treatment. After a few good lessons in patriotism, and a pledge to the only flag of our country, the Stars and Stripes, you will, with the help of God, become rational again."

"Remember a communist traitor was the architect of the U.N., Alger Hiss."

"NO ONE in this day in time makes the statements you did defending the treasonable actions of F.D.R., H.S.T., Ike, Marshall, and all the rest of the International Socialist combine unless they are hopelessly ignorant, OR, unless they themselves are a part of this same club. ... You are either for, or against, commUNism; and the U.N. was conceived by commUNists, and operated by and for the benefit of commUNists; so all of you debaters had bloody-well better make up your minds which side you are on in this war to the death—that of Christianity, or that of atheistic commUNism. There is no middle ground, and he who tries to straddle the fence will be abominated."

"That U.N. in New York makes me sick."

"Some that are not fanatics had rather see the U.N. flag in the gutter than to be hanging by our necks from a lamp pole."

"If [my] views are what you call those of the lunatic fringe, I am happy to be a member of that patriotic group—and not a traitor or a betrayer of an oath of office."

"You display the backbone of a red wiggler. Anyone that has so much yellow cur in him that he cannot be patriotic is like the cur that bites the hand that feeds him. [You are] a comrade of the other traitors that are operating at the head of our gov't. in Washington. You should be sleeping with that traitor in the White House. You are both too low down for words."

And finally:

"Perhaps you may think of me as an extreme right wing nut, a self-styled patriot, a hate monger, etc. But just remember one thing. I will be there when the voting lines open."

Most of the pro-U.N. letters Green received were straightforward appreciations of his stand and his fortitude in taking it. Some of them came from Texas Christian University students.

One of Green's constituents wrote him about the stir he had created, "I have a feeling that these paranoid patriots are more noisy than numerous. However, they are able to scare a lot of people." Writing back to accept the man's offer to work for him door to door, Green said:

"Some of the letters have been so vile, irrational, and intemperate as to shock a sense of decency and common sense. Some of these people are in need of treatment."

The Lourdes of Jim Wells County

Georgia Earnest Klipple

"Where is the farm of the vision of the Virgin Mary?" I asked at the Alice filling station, feeling as though I was delivering a line memorized for a play. The Mexican attendant was un-self-conscious, serious, matter-of-fact. He was respectful of our mission. "Seven miles down the highway toward San Diego and one mile to the left off the main road. You can't miss it. It's pretty plain."

A truckload of watermelons for sale stood at the turnoff onto a narrow rutted road. The cars going and coming stirred the yellow dust.

A teenage Mexican boy held up a sketch of the Virgin that he had for sale. He had a malformed jaw.

A hut had been converted into a tamale stand, a handwritten sign in front.

We slowed to a stop at a worn cattle guard. A tiny notice pinned to a post said in handprint: "You are entering private property. Proceed at your own risk."

On a rise, several hundred cars were parked in a field around a weathered shack with a windmill and cistern in the yard. A large teenage Anglo approached our car from a makeshift shelter on which was handwritten: "Parking space $1.00." It was signed "Jack Butler."

Butler is the owner of the farm. He said that he started charging a dollar a car to discourage people's coming to the cistern. That his water supply was running low and he was going to have to install a pump to water his cattle. That he meant to plant grain in the field but couldn't. That having so many visitors was wearing out his cattle guard and other property. That he could see a design in the wood that looked like a lady, but what it was, he didn't "profess to know."

The boy who took our dollar said, "Good morning. Thank you. Stay as long as you like." When I asked him how many people had visited this Sunday by 12 o'clock, he said, "About 1,500." A younger Anglo waved us to a parking place in the sandy field.

We waded through what had once been cotton rows, now pulverized into fine blowing sand, as on a beach. At the base of the windmill, the ancient wooden cistern listed heavily to one side. About 500 people, most of them Latin, were collected around the cistern, and a group of Mexican singers in front of it made nasal harmony that floated out over the stripped cotton patch. There was no frivolous talking, no giggling. There was a constant coming and going. Almost everyone carried containers for water, some bore gallon jars in each hand, and others carried quart jars, pint mayonnaise jars, cups, empty soda pop bottles. Many who approached crossed themselves in reverence. This was a solemn cathedral under the cloud-piled coastal skies of South Texas.

Those who had already filled their jars with water from the well wrapped handkerchiefs around the jars and held them up to the glaring midday sun. Shining through the glass and the water and the handkerchiefs, the sun could reveal shadows that looked like the shrouded figure of the Virgin in alcohol-filled paperweights, made in Japan, that are sold in variety stores. You move them and a cloud of silver flakes floats up around the Virgin.

"Mira, mira," they called softly as they gazed upward through their jars. Or they looked silently and long.

Many people sat tiredly under the doubtful shade of a half-dozen mesquites. Two new plyboard privies had been thrown up. Children ran through the crowd, but they were big-eyed, impressed, well-behaved. One black-haired two-year-old in a bright red dress tried to find her way back to her family through a forest of knees. A freckle-faced boy of about nine years said, business-like, to his partner, "Come on, Bill, let's get some water."

THE SINGING CEASED and the crowd thinned out. We could now see the spot where the vision of the Virgin Mary had appeared at first, and the imprint of which had continued to be seen since, according to reports.

Rosaries were tacked to the soft rotting wood of the cistern. Artificial flowers had been stuck underneath the metal bands that hold the staves together, so that the cistern was engirdled with them. Photographs of visitors who had sought healing or of loved ones they sought to help were interspersed among the flowers. A pot of real chrysanthemums wilted on the corner of the platform that supports the cistern.

The wind blew steadily. The windmill pumped valiantly. A woman held her arms under the overflow pipe, washed her face and wet her hair, and then added an artificial rose to the circle. One let the water flow over her back. A woman with leprous looking legs wet her hands and wiped her sores with them. A spastic carried around a tin cup full of water. A man with a giant stomach tumor stood waiting his turn. An older woman assisted by her son drank water from a green Sprite bottle.

People milled quietly or stood still, looking steadily at the cistern. "Do you see it?" a Mexican man carrying a baby unexpectedly asked me.

"No," I answered.

"I don't, either," he said, and resumed his watch.

The Virgin was seen originally from a door in the shack. The rotting wood of the cistern has a spot faded almost white on that side. Beside the door, a man sat in a chair facing the cistern, his crutches leaning on his lap. One of his feet was bare; it was a dark, slick, dangerous-looking purple and had a sore on it, and the leg, swollen to the size of three legs, was crossed on top of the well one. The man wore a dapper moustache and held a prideful attitude. "Just wait. You'll see," it suggested.

ON THE SEVENTEENTH of April, Mrs. Tony Botello, Sr., 35, whose family live on the Butler farm, saw a vision, clearly, she said, of the Holy Mother by the wooden cistern. She told her husband, a friend, and two priests. One priest counseled her to continue to be good and go to confession and to be quiet.

Since that time, thousands of pilgrims have visited the well, as many as 5,000 in a single day, and from many miles away. The Associated Press picked up the story, and it spread all over the United States. Several healings have been reported. Mrs. Pedro Moreno of Corpus Christi was healed of a paralyzed hand, she said.

The Most Rev. M. S. Garriga, Catholic bishop of the diocese of Corpus Christi, received inquiries from cities hundreds of miles distant. In a prepared statement, he warned Catholics not to go to the farm and not to believe in the vision and the healings. The apparition was "not a fact," he said, and the healings had not been proved by medical evidence.

Mrs. Botello arranged a press conference through an Alice justice of the peace, Mrs. Tina Villanueva. Mrs. Botello said she had told the truth. That she had seen the vision. That she would not lie, because she believed in the Ten Commandments. That she did not care who did or did not believe her. That she was not connected with the

healings. That she did not wish to hurt anyone but that she wanted to tell her side of the story.

Meanwhile the people keep coming up the hill carrying their empty jars and taking them away full of water.

The holy pilgrimage is not a new pattern. In 1858, the Virgin Mary appeared to the French peasant girl, Bernadette Soubirous, the girl said. A Roman Catholic church second in size only to St. Peter's in Rome was built at the site of that appearance at Lourdes, France. The entrance is lined with crutches as evidence of cure. Two million pilgrims go there each year.

In 1591, the Virgin of Guadalupe appeared to the poor Indian, Juan Diego, he told his unbelieving bishop. As proof, Juan Diego offered his coarse mantle on which was the image of the Virgin Mary, dark-skinned. This painting, the medium of which artists have not quite determined, hangs in the church of Guadalupe, built where the Virgin commanded Juan Diego to build it. Our Lady of Guadalupe became the patron saint of Mexico and Guadalupe its holiest shrine. Hundreds and sometimes thousands of pilgrims a day walk, ride, and even crawl—the sick, the able-bodied, the lame, the blind—some on journeys of several weeks, to drink from the sulphur spring which gushes from the spot where the vision appeared to Juan Diego.

Did Gordon Cooper orbit the Virgin of Jim Wells County on May 16, 1963?

A blind man was led by his wife to the water spigot where the Virgin had appeared to Mrs. Botello. He held his handkerchief under the water. He closed his eyes and placed the wet handkerchief against them. His face was in complete repose. He expected any joyful moment to see. He looked transfigured.

An Anglo girl burst into tears.

"What's the matter?" asked her grandmother anxiously.

"The blind man is putting water on his eyes," she sobbed.

One could not look upon this entire scene or any part of it without being profoundly moved. Here was faith at the fountainhead. One could only, with the rest, wish miracles: "God help them. God help us all."

Political Intellegence

✔ While critical of Gov. Connally's performance with the legislature, Texas labor leaders "do not agree that he is the villain" of the session. This was the attitude announced by Roy Evans, Texas A.F.L.-C.I.O. secretary-treasurer speaking after consulation with Hank Brown, the president, during a review of the legislature attended by A.F.L.-C.I.O., railroad, and teamsters union representatives in Austin. Evans said Speaker Byron Tunnell almost tied up poll tax repeal and let his office be "used to help some lobbyists' activities," but that one must ask whether Connally would have done a better job with a different House, speaker, and lieutenant governor. "We disagree with his [Connally's] assessment of the legislature and its leaders, we disagree with the way he dealt with them, we disagree with his position on taxation; but we do not agree that he is the villain," Evans said. "He proposed what he said he would and left enactment of his proposals to them. We do feel that Connally had too much fear of the power of the speaker and poor liaison with the legislature. Gains were made for labor and liberals that had not been made before. Connally was not a crusader, but neither was he a villain. Our hope is that the lessons he has learned will be a benefit to the people of Texas. This of course only time will tell."

✔ Sherman Miles, legislative director for the A.F.L.-C.I.O., said the only thing labor got was a resolution to study prevailing wage rates on public construction; but killing all but one of the Texas manufacturers' assn.'s unemployment compensation bills. "I think we had a successful session and are darned fortunate that nothing worse happened to us than did. ... It was a session for the special interests." Sen. A. R. (Babe) Schwartz, Galveston, said it was a "no fight session." Rep. Dick Cherry, Waco, said it was one of "silk stocking liberalism. There is something for all—that is, all of the corporate lobbies." Cherry warned things might get worse in 1965, with some liberal leaders running for higher office. Rep. Ike Harris, Dallas, repeated his last-day charges about the appropriations bill.

✔ Gov. Connally's assessment of the session—"the finest session of the legislature that Texas has enjoyed in this century"—was so startling to some, Stuart Long's Austin Report added an exclamation point to it. "I think it has been one of the hardest working, most statesmanlike sessions I have ever seen. I could not have asked for a more favorable year or harmonious treatment than that I received at the hands of the last legislature," Connally said. Specifically, he mused that the tax bill, one-tenth the size of the 1961 bill, went from committee to passage without a single amendment for the first time in Texas history; that the loan shark bill is "workable"; and that the legislature created a tourist agency, merged parks and game-fish agencies, raised speed limits, improved teachers' retirement, created new courts, authorized a vote on more aid to the disabled and more money for veterans' land loans, regulated pesticides, went along with Padre Island park, authorized the state to build reservoirs, revised the election code, established two new schools for the mentally retarded, authorized a study of prevailing wages, and authorized insurance companies to pool risks to effect lower rates for older citizens.

✔ In sharp contrast, the Democratic Coalition's newsletter put out by Larry Goodwyn blamed Connally for new election laws that "make it harder for people to vote." Mentioning "the two-bit poll tax" and "the vicious provision outlawing agency forms that is so crucial to obtaining a large Democratic turnout," the newsletter said with underlining: "The responsibility for the restrictive new election laws rests squarely on Gov. John Connally. ... [He] had plenty of room to make his prestige felt. ... The governor simply turned his back on Texas' one million Negroes. ... Quite clearly, the new election laws seriously endanger Kennedy's chances of carrying Texas in 1964." Of Connally's flap with the legislature over funds for higher education, the newsletter said Connelly left "the general impression of a bungled job." Reviewing other liberal programs that went down to defeat, Goodwyn concluded: "The only 'harmony' this reporter noticed was the cozy relationship between lobbyists and our highest elective officials. It was the warmest love affair since the heyday of Allan Shivers."

✔ Connally said the spending conferees' failure to appropriate as much as he wanted for colleges "was my fault." At this writing, almost no one believed he would veto the whole bill.

✔ The business community has given the legislators a hearty hale-and farewell. "Texas Industry," the magazine of the Texas manufacturers' assn., said "the business climate has fared well," with legislative concessions to sulphur, banking, manufacturing ("The tax bill of this legistive, while raising money in other areas, relieved a substantial tax burden on manufacturing by rewriting the component parts [sales tax] exemption along the lines contended for by industry"), retailing, and corporate business generally with the franchise surtax expiration plan. T.M.A.'s newsletter to members said the session was "defensive" as far as business is concerned, but "accomplished more . . . than any session in recent years." Ed C. Burris, the association's vice-president, called it "a solid, stable, dependable, independent legislature."

✔ In the midst of criticisms of Connally's poor liaison with legislators, especially about the appropriations bill, it is interesting that Paul B. Fay, Jr., undersecretary of the Navy who served under Secretaries Connally and now Fred Korth, said Connally was a "one-man show" who liked to run things himself and was not as good an administrator as Korth.

✔ The governor's 25-member committee on higher education met in his office. He told them they were not to represent "your political philosophy, your section, your college, your profession, or your economic interest. You do not represent anyone but yourself and the people of Texas," he said. The committee chairman, contractor H. B. Zachry, appointed Morgan Davis, chairman of the board of Humble Oil, vice-

chairman. Davis was the only one of the 25 members who was absent. The committee asked Dr. Harry Ransom, University of Texas chancellor, Eric Johnsson, chairman of the board of Texas Instruments, Inc., and Zachary to select the executive director of the committee.

✔ The 70-mile-an-hour speed law contains a proviso, almost unnoticed during the session, giving the state highway department authority to set speed limits on state highways through municipalities. Chief engineer Dewitt Greer says on the basis of this proviso, "we're definitely going to eliminate speed traps."

✔ Rep. Bob Eckhardt, Houston, angrily condemned, as "a pick-pocket theft," and asked Speaker Tunnell to repudiate, a sleeper in a routinely-approved adoption of rules for the 1965 House that purports to give Tunnell power to appoint House officials, who are now selected by the House at large. Eckhardt said this is illegal because it would change present law, which a resolution cannot do. Eckhardt said Tunnell said he did not know of the change.

✔ "He'll do to tie to," Railroad Cmsr. Ben Ramsey said of his new, Connally-appointed colleague, Judge Jim Langdon of El Paso. Maybe so, maybe no, said Texas independent producers and royalty owners' assn. president Johnny Mitchell, who said he didn't know anything about Langdon, and the independents were not consulted. For the majors, J. Clyde Tomlinson, president, Texas mid-continent oil and gas assn., said Langdon "will inspire cooperation from all elements in the industry." Langdon said he has no oil interests. He was appointed district judge in 1954 by then-Gov. Allan Shivers and chief justice of the eighth court of civil appeals by then-Gov. Price Daniel.

✔ The Observer has learned that the price of the special train from Austin to Tyler for Byron Tunnell Day there has been paid in full by Tyler interests. Legislators participating in the event told the Observer that the railroad interests of the state were paying this bill, but Walter Caven, their principal lobbyist in Austin, said that it was all paid for from Tyler.

✔ Texas research league president R. A. Goodson, Dallas, who is leaving for New York to become a vice-president of American Telephone & Telegraph, has been replaced as league president by Ray H. Horton, vice-president of Humble Oil. The league's report on the railroad commission recommends more district offices in Midland and more oil and gas field inspectors.

✔ Last issue's item that Rep. Dick Morgan, Dallas, might run for governor caused quite a furore among Republicans. Morgan, in a conversation with the Observer, says that he is not.

✔ Sen. Yarborough has made a basic decision to risk accusations of absenteeism in order to return to Texas for protracted visits with constituents. For instance, he was in Texas Wednesday, June 5, (with President Kennedy in El Paso,) through Monday, June 10, during which six days he not only spoke during the P.A.S.O. weekend in San Antonio, but also went to a coffee and an evening picnic with Democrats in Dallas, the annual Yarborough family reunion in east Texas, an evening barbecue given by Walter Hall honoring Galveston firemen, and the Fort Worth federal business association. This is a characteristic sample of the pre-campaign campaigning to which he has committed his energies, and because of which he is considered so formidable by conservative Democrats tempted to take him on next spring.

✔ President Kennedy was accompanied, on his El Paso visit last week, not only by Vice-President Johnson and Senator Yarborough, but also, most curiously, by the Republican congressman from Odessa, Ed Foreman, who is sure to be opposed by, among others, Rep. Malcolm McGregor, El Paso, next spring. Foreman tried to get an invitation from the White House, but this attempt not availing, turned to the chairman of the House armed services committee of which he is a member, Cong. Carl Vinson (D.-Ga.). Vinson has said admiring things about Foreman; Vinson is powerful by virtue of seniority. Ergo, Foreman accompanied Kennedy.

✔ Gov. Connally flew to El Paso in a private plane and joined a crowd of 6,000 greeting Kennedy at the airport. In a political speech in which he dug at Republicans, Kennedy said of Connally, "He represents this state with distinction as a real Democrat. We read a good deal about Texas, and it's encouraging to me to realize there are a few Democrats left in Texas, as there are in Massachusetts." Naturally these remarks pleased Connally's forces and angered friends of Don Yarborough.

✔ The Fort Worth Star-Telegram telephoned ex-Gov. Allan Shivers and asked whether he'll run against Sen. Yarborough next year. He has "made no plans" to do so, he replied, adding that he had received lots of mail asking him to, and that "You never shut the door."

✔ For the second time, John Mashek of the Dallas News' Washington bureau has featured the fact that Greekmore Fath of Austin, counsel for the freedom of information subcommittee of the U.S. Senate, makes $17,228 a year, more than any of Sen. Yarborough's regular staff members in Washington. Mashek's story cast doubt on the value of the subcommittee's work; Yarborough said it is still receiving and processing complaints about radio and television political coverage. Mashek also reported that Mrs. Liz Carpenter, executive assistant to the vice-president at $15,386, "acts primarily as Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson's press aide" and "works at the home of the vice-president here."

✔ Sen. Charles Herring, Austin, says that "at present I have no intention of becoming a candidate for congress." He told an Austin civic club, "I would not want a full-time life job in a political office, much less one away from Austin." This in effect puts the prospective vacancy in the tenth congressional district up for grabs. Half a dozen names, including those of Texas employment commissioner Jake Pickle, Rep. Jack Ritter, ex-councilman Bill Long, and ex-D.A. Les Procter, are being bandied about.

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The Rights of the Accused

Five years' work on rewriting the Texas code of criminal procedure was washed out when the five copies of the new code passed by the legislature became mysteriously unavailable and a bill more similar to Senator Dorsey Hardeman's, as passed by the Senate but not the House, was sent to the governor for signature. Since the bill was not the law, Connally naturally had to veto it.

Before this happened, though, two prosecutors, District Attorneys Henry Wade of Dallas and Frank Briscoe of Houston, and some police officers provided some stark insight into the way they think about their work and the age-old precept that a man is presumed innocent until proved guilty.

One of the provisions of the new code required that unless an accused man is taken before a magistrate immediately upon his arrest, (there to be advised that any statements he makes may be used against him, and of his other rights,) any confessions or written evidence obtained from him before he is taken before a magistrate cannot be used in his trial. The legislature passed this provision as part of the new code it adopted.

Beforehand, Wade had said that the measure "can only benefit the criminal element." He singled out three points, including the one mentioned, which he said would require so many new justice courts, it would not be practical and would require dismissal of 1,500 or so of 3,500 pending cases in Dallas county, presumably because present law requiring such arraignments has not been followed. He also objected to a requirement that a rape victim give a deposition to the defendant's lawyer if the defense demands it—"This would certainly benefit the state's unlawful elements," he said—and he opposed letting a defendant testify in his own behalf without granting the prosecution the right to question him on his past record. He said that lawmen are "hamstrung sufficiently under present laws" and indicated that some 30% of the cases presented to the Dallas grand juries are no-billed because of these restrictions, and not because the defendant is innocent.

Dallas police chief Jesse Curry said the magistrate provision would "mean less protection for the public and more for the offender." University Park (Dallas) police chief Forrest Keene said objectionable features of the bill were "handcuffs to policemen in their fight against crime."

Briscoe also said the magistrate provisions would require him to dismiss an estimated 2,000 felony cases that may be pending as of Jan. 1, 1964, and this might mean that 2,000 criminals might be turned loose in one "wholesale dismissal." Of the code endorsed by the State Bar, Briscoe wrote to Connally, "The provisions of this bill seem dedicated to aiding and encouraging criminals. If you sign this bill into law, it will be signing a blank check payable to the criminals in our midst at the expense of law-abiding citizens."

In a dispute with Briscoe over the magistrate provisions, Hardeman had said the requirement has been law in Texas since 1879. (In fact, it has been observed in the breach; the new code would have given it effect.) Sen. Jim Bates, Edinburg, a former district attorney, said Briscoe was "squealing like a pig under a gate because he wants to avoid the constitutional requirements on the defendants' rights."

In a debate over the code in the Houston Post, Briscoe had said some of its provisions "obviously were written by someone whose sympathies lie with accused people, criminals." This was interesting wording. Briscoe objected to having to take accused people before magistrates immediately, remarking, "Many crimes are solved simply by interrogating a person

(Continued on page 15)

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Back a few years ago when Harry Truman was President, so the story goes, he and wife Bess and daughter, Margaret, went walking through the White House grounds one Sunday afternoon. Ole Harry, with the practiced eye of a Missouri farmer, looked around and said to his wife and daughter, "This grass sure does need some manure."

Then Margaret turned to Bess and said, "Oh, mother, can't you make him say fertilizer instead of manure." Bess looked at her daughter and said wistfully, "It's taken me 20 years to get him to say manure."

It's going to take me 20 years before I'll even say manure to this "unity and harmony" line of hogwash which the Johnson-Connally-Corporation Government Clique is trying to peddle to the real Democrats of Texas.

Do you know why John Connally, Byron Skelton, Eugene Locke and the other servants of the Establishment which LBJ and the Corporations dominate are so strong for "unity and harmony?" It's because their political house, the one-party system, is about to come tumbling down and they are trying desperately to save it for a few more years.

The Establishment—the big corporations, big city banks, major oil companies and utilities which have used the one-party system to control Texas Government and the Texas Democratic Party for 30 years—ain't got many votes. Sure, they've got lots of newspapers, lots of money, lots of power and influence, but doggone few votes. Not many just plain folks deep in their heart look to Lyndon Johnson, John Connally, Jim Wright, Ben Ramsey, Preston Smith, Byron Tunnell and other corporation government pretty boys as their political heroes.

Fact of the matter is, there are just two really effective precinct organizations in Texas which are based on pure idealism and devotion to principle. One of them is the po' folks' organization—the folks in all 254 Texas counties who go all-out for Ralph Yarborough because he stands for government of, by, and for the people. These are the same folks who came within 25,000 votes of putting Don Yarborough into the Governor's Mansion over the opposition of the Dallas News, the Dallas Banks and insurance companies and corporations, the Houston Post, Chronicle and Press and the Houston corporations, and the whole dadblame corporate power structure.

The other great body of political combat troops belongs to John Tower and Jack Cox. These are the Republicans, nuts, screwballs, status seekers in suburbia, and people who want to repeal the 20th Century because they can't understand it and think it's costing them money. This motley crew used to vote for Allan Shivers in the Democratic Primary and they used to be the only big voting bloc which LBJ could count on to maintain corporation government. But with Tower's election all these people began moving into the Republican Primary, where they belong.

Poor Lyndon, Poor Connally; ain't nobody left in the Texas Democrtic Party who really loves them any more. The Republicans have finally joined the Texas Republican Party, and they can't be counted on to keep corporation government entrenched like they used to when they voted in the Democratic Primaries.

Lyndon and Connally are about to lose control of the political power structure which they erected for the corporate power structure. Doesn't that just bring tears to your eyes?

Well, this "unity and harmony" line of hogwash is about as transparent as Connally's efforts to kill permanent voter registration. Who wants "unity and harmony" with the crowd that stands for continuing corporation control of the Texas Democratic Party? Who wants to unify and harmonize with LBJ and Connally? They ain't got any votes; and the money, pressure and newspapers which they do have are not going to be used to help the po' folks in an election. That money, pressure and string of stooge newspapers is there to keep corporation government in the saddle.

Nationally the Democratic Party is the party of the people, and I am loyal to the principles and platform of the National Democratic Party. But who can owe any loyalty to the machinery and apparatus of the Texas Democratic Party? It's nothing but the Party of Corporation Government.

We don't want to unify with the Texas Democratic Party as it now exists because us po' folks are on the threshold of taking it over and rebuilding it completely so that it will resemble the National Democratic Party.

Heck, there's less than a dozen real Yarborough Democrats on the State Democratic Executive Committee. Its chairman is a corporation lawyer; its secretary is a corporation lawyer; and its vice chairman is a daughter of one of the Browns of Brown & Root. Great bunch of Democrats, eh?

One night in April of 1957 when Ralph Yarborough was first elected to the U.S. Senate (despite LBJ's efforts to gut him and enact the Pool Bill) he stood up on a table in his state headquarters in Austin and told the crowd that his was just the first of many victories which the people would win in Texas. Ralph was right. That victory made the po' folks—the white po' folks, the black po' folks, the brown po' folks, the po' folks with a union card and the po' folks with a plow—look to Ralph Yarborough as their champion because he stands for the principles of the National Democratic party.

Under the leadership of Ralph Yarborough the po' folks are about to reclaim the Texas Democratic Party; we're about to elect many other public officials to replace the corporation stooges which the one-party system has foisted upon us during these past many years. LBJ and Connally know this. And when you get right down to the Brown and Root of it all, that's why they and their henchmen are so diligently preaching "unity and harmony." That's the only way they can possibly maintain corporation government and corporation control of the Texas Democratic Party for a few more years.

Why, you know Lyndon and Connally are so scared that they've even started to give the po' folks a few crumbs off the table. Lyndon quakes in his Neiman-Marcus boots every time he remembers that Don Yarborough came within 25,000 votes of beating Connally. And he starts to quake all over when he thinks about the cinch re-election of Ralph Yarborough next year. He starts to quaking and shaking and then he starts to spur on his boys to shout "unity and harmony" a little louder. It's the only hope they've got, and if it doesn't work then LBJ and corporation control of the Texas Democratic Party are gone forever.

These are the reasons it'll take me at least 20 years to believe that "unity and harmony" have the same vitamin-giving aroma as a good, honest truck-load of sweet-smelling Hardin County manure.

Watch out for anyone who tries to tell you that the Texas Democratic Party needs "unity and harmony." He's either a poor guy who just doesn't understand the forces of change at work in Texas politics or else he's a political manure salesman.

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(Continued from page 13)

immediately after his arrest." On the other side, defense lawyer Percy Foreman said the requirement is already law and added: "To point up that this would not be a handicap to officers who do not intend to use brutality, I cite the fact that federal officers take prisoners quickly before a magistrate in every arrest. And this does not interfere with their efficiency."

But this, and copious other debate, was obviated by the botch-up of the final passage of the bill.

It is agreed that the bill sent to the governor included ten misplaced pages, some duplicate pages, and even carbons of typed pages, and that it was materially different from the bill that passed. Sen. Hardeman blamed intellectual dishonesty or inefficiency or both in the Senate enrolling room. The parties concerned in that division said this was not true, and that Hardeman's orders — complete with cursewords — had been followed to the letter. Mrs. Elsie McGinnis, the Senate enrolling clerk, said very pointedly that Hardeman insisted that the copy she sent to the governor be sent, and that when she objected that usually three copies go to the governor, Hardeman became angry. She did not appeal against Hardeman's orders, as she could have done. Briscoe said that since it was Hardeman's bill that went to the governor, not the legislature's, it was Hardeman who stood to gain by the mix-up. Rep. Bob Hughes, Dallas, the principal House sponsor, blamed inadvertence in the enrolling room.

But that somebody had either goofed or pulled a fast one, no one, not any of the conferees nor spokesmen for the State Bar, could deny; and thus does the present law, to the relief of Briscoe and Wade, prevail. Hardeman says it will be hard to pass the new code again; Hughes has hope; but whether the matter will be taken up in a special session or will have to go over to 1965 remains to be seen. Perhaps the legislature should have improved legislative procedure before taking on criminal.

MARTIN ELFANT

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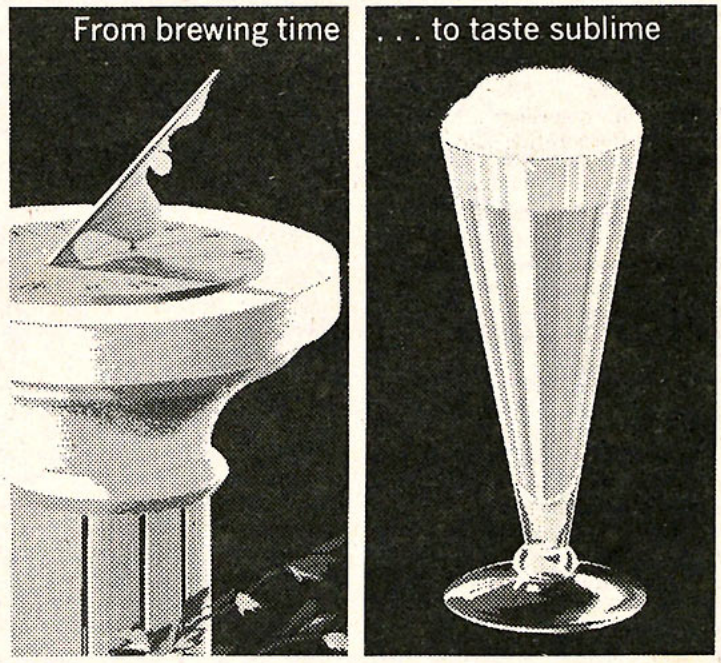
A Communication

It is now seven years since I retired from the university to this stock farm in east Texas. The slash pines in the plantation I planted six years ago on three sides of the house are now twenty feet tall and I can see out only to the east, across the pasture, and into the woods. A driveway leads through the pines to an oil road, which leads to a highway, which leads to a town, but I cannot see any of them, nor do I care to.

The pines may require some explanation to those who do not know east Texas. It is not a part of the West at all, but rather a part of the Old South, both geographically and culturally. (Those cowboy boots and western hats are a damnable affectation.) The only other traces of arid influence, in an area which averages over forty inches of rainfall, are roadrunners, a few jackrabbits, a tiny variety of prickly pear, and an occasional drought. The country now consists of smallish pastures interspersed with mixed pine and hardwood timberland.

This was cotton country not too long ago, now they've gone to cattle. This is *Bible* country, and "nigger" country, too. I use that term with no disrespect. When I grew up here, a couple of decades ago, that was just what the dark-skinned were called, by both races. We didn't know what a "knee-grow" was. It was nothing remarkable to hear a black mother yell out to her child, "You git in here, nigguh, fo' ah tan yo' hide."

Race relations were, then and now, a delicate balance of pride and prejudice, servility and insolence, though the balance is continually shifting. They were mostly "good niggers" in the old days, but was there not even then an undercurrent of ridicule of the "masters"? As a child I



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was told of the old Negro who was a standing joke because his pronunciation of the usual "yassuh" came out "yoassuh" instead. But who was really the butt of that joke?

This is oil country, too, or at least just west of here. It was poor but beautiful farming country and woodland once. Then suddenly in the thirties it was flowing with wealth, but the wealth kept flowing all the way out of the state, most of it, and we were left with the ugliness and filth, the slush pits and polluted streams. That is mostly west of here though and I can put it out of my mind, most of the time.

Kilgore is the real monument to the oil boom. Its clustered downtown derricks are a pride to the chamber of commerce, really a symbol of wasteful exploitation. Their implicit comment on the situation was best brought out in a painting done by a friend of mine, which showed the derricks of Kilgore festooned as they are every Christmas with thousands of colored lights, forming stars and spelling MERRY XMAS. He called the picture "Star of Bethlehem Steel."

This was farming country once, and forest before. Before they terraced the slopes, the topsoil flowed down the streams, bleeding the land. Now they've turned to pasture, and gullies are fewer, but the land remembers it was forest, and keeps on trying to *be* forest, in spite of poison, grazing, mowing, all of that. Give it a few years to itself and it's on the way to timber, sassafras, and persimmon first, then pine and oak and sweetgum.

Kenneth Lloyd, Rt. 1, Box 254, Henderson, Texas.

Dialogue

Disheartening

The article on Crystal City by Mr. Goodwyn was splendid, but your editorial comment was somewhat disheartening.

Recently, Eric Sevareid wrote an article concerned with the fight for freedom, which is now so prominent in the news, by the American Negro, in which he said in one succulent passage:

"Liberalism of the academic and cafe society brand—the motivations of those who rhapsodize over th[illegible]eace Corpsmen in Ethiopia or journey 6,000 miles to sit at the feet of Dr. Schweitzer, but who would never dream of visiting the night police court in their own city and observing the tragedy of the American Negro—such impulses are going to lose their present status in the hierarchy of the virtues."

Mr. Editor, when the day of Latin liberation came in Texas this year, you were I felt "extolling the Peace Corps and sitting at the feet of Dr. Schweitzer"—"ME'NE, ME'NE, TE'KEL, U-PHAR'SIN."

George W. Henderson, 2410 Wendy Lane, Waco, Tex.

How Can You Be So Stupid?

Since you state in your paper that unsigned articles are the editor's, I address this letter to you personally, having just finished your tripe, "Oil, peanuts, and sulphur" (Obs. May 2).

As a subscriber to the Observer for the past year or so, I have had more than ample opportunity to observe and resent your persistent, narrow - minded diatribes against the oil industry. Now don't jump to your usual shallow conclusions, classifying me as a Bircher. I too decry the purposes and tactics of the Haleys and Barnetts, as well as some of yours. You not only graphically exhibit the common frailty of ignorance, but compound it with a tenacious stupidity quite unique. Would you please relate to me what in your educational background or experience qualifies you as an expert critic of the oil industry?

Specifically, I believe you have adequately demonstrated your alarming lack of knowledge of the oil industry as a whole, and more particularly of the problems of conservation in the production of petroleum. You stupidly lash out at that which you do not understand.

May I point out to you that the fundamental purpose of cooperative exploitation of oil and gas pools is to carry out or make possible the carrying out of recovery procedures designed to increase the ultimate recovery of oil and gas from an entire reservoir, which procedures either could not be carried out individually, or, if carried out individually, would disturb the ownership rights in the common pool. . . .

On the other hand, when the state, for the purpose of preventing waste, compels restriction of production rate, regulates the spacing of wells, prohibits or restricts the production of gas, or encourages the return of produced gas or water to a reservoir for the maintenance of pressure, the various owners may resort to cooperation, with an agreement as to distribution of the production, as a means of protecting their property rights and effecting certain economies that will make it practical and feasible for them to operate under the imposed restrictions.

You, Mr. Dugger, might well consider if this does not bespeak of "the greatest good for the greatest number." There is a wealth of material available dealing with this problem of conservation in the production of petroleum in the many libraries of the University of Texas. . . .

No one has bestowed upon you the title, "Starry-eyed Liberal." You have dramatically embraced it with articles such as "Oil, peanuts, and sulphur."

Don E. Weber, oil independent, P. O. Box 561, Albuquerque, N.M.

Invitation from the Admiral

On May 1, 1963, while governor and lieutenant governor of Texas both were out of Texas, Martin Dies, Jr., took over the office of governor. One of his official acts, and I am sure it was one of the most important things he did, was to appoint me an admiral in the Texas Navy. I am sure that this was because it was Law Day U.S.A.—not because it was the anniversary of the Haymarket Riots. Well, I'm sure it was a great honor which I rightfully deserve.

That day I put on my admiral's uniform and made ready to take over my command. But, lo and behold, I found that there is nothing but admirals in the Texas Navy, and since I had the lowest seniority, I was really worse off than I was before. I have given much thought to the matter and I have decided to do something about it. Under the authority vested in me as a line officer in the Texas Navy, I have decided to issue some battle-earned commissions, all of course, below the rank of admiral.

I have already struck off a commission to Captain Randolph for heroic duty in the defense of the cow barn in the Battle of Fort Worth. There is a new Captain Stonewall Sewell for action in the Battle of San Antonio. Lieutenant Shapiro receives a commission for his work as a double agent in the underwater service. There will be others, for there have been great acts of heroism that need to be rewarded.

Now to the point of my letter. I am open to nominations for these commissions. I will carefully consider all candidates. I only ask that the heroic deed be related to me and vouched for by at least two unquestioned Texas Democrats. So send in the names and do it soon, because I am sure when the present commander in chief hears of this, he will set my trial by court martial.

Houston Thompson, Box 38, Silsbee, Tex.

STAFF NOTES

Former Observer editor Willie Morris has become an editor of Harper's Magazine, in which his article, "Renaissance at Texas University," currently appears. He and his family have moved from California to New York City.

Observer staff artist Charles Erickson has lit out for parts unknown, specifically San Francisco parts. He plans to draw for the Observer from the road.

Chandler Davidson, one of our contributing editors, has won a Woodrow Wilson fellowship. He will study at Princeton next September.

Most of the articles are in for a special issue on the late Walter Prescott Webb, which will be out in a while.

