The Texas Observer

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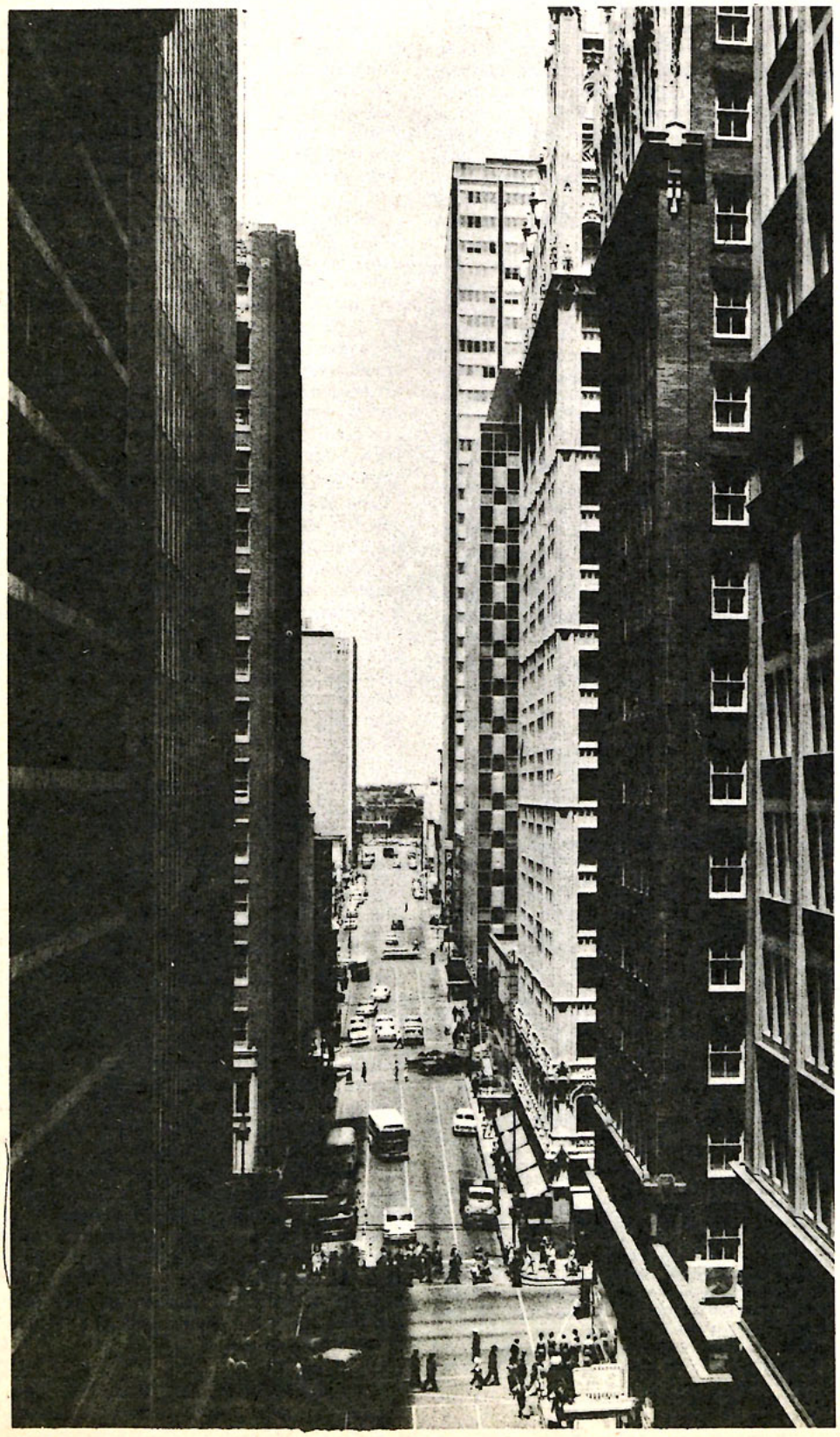
A Journal of Free Voices — A Window to The South — 25c



Dallas, After All

Dallas

On November 22nd, before breakfast in the Hotel Texas in Fort Worth, President Kennedy exclaimed to Senator Ralph Yarborough, "Did you see what the Dallas News is trying to do to us?" Kennedy had "a very strong feeling" about this; "He did not say it in the light bantering manner that he often used when meeting criticism," Yarborough says. The News that morning stressed the intra-party struggle that was being waged around Kennedy on his Texas tour—that was the news, forsooth—but the News also contained a full-page advertisement contending that the Kennedys were helping the communists, which Yarborough believes is what Kennedy was talking about.

"I was much concerned about going to Dallas," says Cong. Olin Teague of Bryan. "That morning by long distance, I talked with my office . . . in Washington and told them what a wonderful reception the President had received in San Antonio, Houston, and Fort Worth, but that I was very much concerned about the few hours to be spent in Dallas."

During the short hop in Air Force One from Fort Worth to Dallas, Kennedy and some of the Texans discussed hostility in Dallas toward "various public officials," Cong. Jim Wright of Fort Worth recalls.

"It was pointed out by Gov. Connally, I believe," Wright says, "that Dallas is essentially a financial center, the domicile of banking and insurance companies, which makes for very much a 'white collar' city. It was mentioned that being 'conservative' had come to be synonymous with social acceptability, and that various junior executives thought it useful to talk even more conservatively than the boss in order to prove to him and others that they had 'arrived.'

"But there seemed to be a somewhat general consensus to the effect that the real culprit in the whole situation is the steady drum-beat of ultra right-wing propaganda with which the citizenry is constantly besieged. The Dallas News, of course, is the primary drumbeater," Wright says.

However, "The President himself expressed no conclusions," Wright recalls.

Photo, Downtown Dallas Committee

"He seemed puzzled by the prevalent Dallas attitude and asked questions of each of us in an attempt to understand its genesis and cause."

In a forward compartment, Cong. Henry Gonzalez, San Antonio, says, Teague was submerged in worry about what would happen in Dallas. Gonzalez says Teague was thinking there might be some shocking raspberry such as the scene the month before when Adlai Stevenson was spat on and hit with a picket sign, or in 1960 when the Lyndon Johnsons were assailed and almost assaulted b ya mob here. Gonzalez joked around with Teague, telling campaign stories about Dallas, such as the time he said he would campaign here only if the city fathers would grant him "safe conduct."

Whether anyone on the plane spoke of it or not, there was also the worst possibility. As the presidential party was alighting onto Love Field, Gonzalez remembers that he said, "Well, I'm taking my risks—I haven't got my steel vest yet."

The millions of words that have been written, said, cursed, and prayed about Dallas since that morning cannot change these facts: the President and Texas members of his party were worried that something might go wrong here. What had happened to Dallas? How had it come to be true that a Democratic President could not come into this large, modern, wealthy American city without there being such unusual concern? Something was wrong. —What?

DEMOCRACY was working pretty well in Dallas in the early 1930's, when the liberal Democratic lady, Sarah Hughes, ran for the legislature three times and won each time. She remembers that in those years a candidate could play one interest off another—truckers off against railroads, for example. She remembers, too, that there were elements in the business community that opposed a retail sales tax. The city, as a democracy, was open; there was a sense of play, of give.

However, in the course of raising $3.5 million to attract the Texas Centennial of 1936 to Dallas, the businessmen here encountered many delays in getting company approval. The story has been told a number of times lately how, in 1937, there consequently came into being the Dallas Citizens Council, made up only of the heads of businesses who could commit their companies' funds and policies without having to go back and ask their boards. These men were called "the yes or no men."

Until then, judging from the histories of the town one reads, there was nothing really unusual about Dallas. It is true that inordinate civic pride had always been a characteristic here, but every city has its chamber of commerce types, and Dallas had had a special need for them from the first.

There was no compelling reason for this city's existence. The land is flat, the river muddy. But a ridge of limestone intersects the river here, making a good crossing place; this seems to be what caused the town first to form. By a little civic-spirited skulduggery in the legislature, early Dallasites required the Texas & Pacific railroad to pass "within a mile of Browder Springs," which Dallas was. Gradually the town became a transportation hub and trading center. Sinclair Lewis had not announced babbitry in the Widwest when Dallas townsfolk first experienced it. For instance, badges that were circulated here at the turn of the century advertised the town as "The Inland Seaport of Texas," (which it is still trying to become through the Trinity River Authority,) and proclaimed "Dallas 150,000 1919," meaning that there would be that many people here by then.

Yet as late as the 1930's, anyway, Dallas could also be hospitable to bohemianism. The late Dave Williams of Childress, a creative architect, regaled his friends to the end of his life with stories about "the studio" in Dallas, his home and workplace, where anyone who said he was an artist was welcome, for parties, grub or sleep, and happy were the days and the nights.

Meanwhile Dallas was metamorphosing into a financial and insurance center. Because of its transportation advantages, it became more and more a distribution center and a place for business conventions. By 1960, according to the Dallas chamber of commerce, almost one fourth of the people employed here, 23.3%, were in the professional-managerial category; another 30.2% were in sales or clerical work. We are asea, these days, in numbers and statistics, but when facts such as those become true of a city, they sink into its bones.

The standard for status in the Dallas ethos is so obvious, it is easy to forget to mention it. The late Stanley Walker called it, tonelessely, "a very high regard for material success." If money is the motive in Dallas, conformity is the mode, and the upper middle class conformist, or someone richer yet, is the model. Very generally speaking, the people are well off; per capita income here is probably higher than in the other big cities of the state. The strength of the conservative bias here abides, not only in the really wealthy, really powerful men, but in the clusters of status—"status-clusters," a sociologist might as well call them—that form around the district manager of a retail distributor, or the sales manager for an insurance company, or a department manager in a clothing store. The men on the streets downtown are business-suited men, except for an occasional menial workman who has given up all hope, and the women are dressed with the fact that they will be seen in downtown Dallas very much in mind. The city's preponderance of professional, managerial, and sales people is nowhere more visually striking than it is at lunchtime in the Cattlemen's Steakhouse at the edge of the downtown. Into this warehouse of a restaurant pour the besuited minions of the businesses of Dallas, looking very much the same, seated primly at small tables jammed too close together, eating standardized substantial meals, and pocketing their standardized receipts for income tax purposes as they leave their tables. The place is vast; it is not only the nature, but also the quantity of the phenomenon that makes it something to see.

DRIVING IN DALLAS, like driving in any large, modern American

THE TEXAS OBSERVER

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We will serve no group or party but will hew hard to the truth as we find it and the right as we see it. We are dedicated to the whole truth, to human values above all interests, to the rights of man as the foundation of democracy; we will take orders from none but our own conscience, and never will we overlook or misrepresent the truth to serve the interests of the powerful or cater to the ignoble in the human spirit.

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city, is an experience that mangles itself, that cannot digest its own quantity: acres decorated with the ornamental homes of the well to do, subdevelopments of transplanted saplings and thinly disguised duplication-housing, anarchic clutter of traffic signals, signs, stores, joints, and decaying two-story houses, mile after mile of quiet, decent homes. It is something of a shock to wander over into West Dallas. Drive along, say, Beckley, until you see a corner street sign, "West Main"—that is, the extension of Main Street on the other side of the river; turn onto this street symbolically named and proceed at length between the miserable shacks, yards literally littered with broken bottles or piled over with scrap lumber, the lives of Negroes here enclosed by a railroad trestle on one side and railroad tracks on the other; a canal of poverty. Great swatches of West Dallas are an ugly twistage of industrial yards, commercial debris, and slums squeezed in where business has no use for the land.

When he was mayor, Earle Cabell campaigned for acceptance by the citizens of a slum clearance program, but the builders turned against it, and the plebiscite went against the reform, five to three. The opposition said the solution was enforcement of building codes, Cabell recalls, "But what are you gonna do with those people? The problem is housing for them. Are we going to build tents under the viaduct again? Run 'em out to the city limits?" Over the last few years, landlords have been pressured by the city to make some improvements, but the influx of new citizens from moribund rural areas looking for work in Dallas has offset any such gains. "Some $35,000 or $40,000 was spent by the opposition. I had a helluva hard time raising $10,000 to publicize the election," Cabell says. "The chamber of commerce likes to point to this large pool of labor and say to prospective businesses, 'They're available.' But then they don't want to do anything for them."

Only a man like Cabell, a dairy owner and a known conservative, could have caused such a stir by championing slum clearance in Dallas. If a liberal had done it, nothing would have happened in this town. Dallas is the most conservative city in Texas, and one of the most conservative in the United States, but swiftly after 1954, it became also a city that was receptive to intolerance of liberalism, a crucible for political outbursts and occasional political violence—a closed shop of the mind. Democracy in Dallas may have been actually aborted; at the best, it had become misshapen. (It is, of course, my premise in so saying that anyplace where any substantial body of opinion cannot find a respectful hearing, whether that opinion is liberal or conservative, there is something wrong with the way democracy is working.)

The original charter of the Dallas Citizens Council said the council was to be "absolutely non-political," but in 1946, when State District Judge Sarah Hughes ran for Congress here, she says, she become aware of the existence of a power structure that had not been here in the 1930's. She lost. Moreover, with the one exception of Rep. Barefoot Sanders, not a single Democrat one would ordinarily think of as a liberal person has held a controversial elective office in Dallas since then, and Sanders, too, despite his moderation, lost when he ran for Congress. Dallas politics became the property of conservatives. Until 1954 it was the monolithic property of conservative Democrats; then, the ideological Republican upstart, Bruce Alger, defeated the chosen Shivercrat, Wallace Savage, for Congress, and the Republicans had a beachhead they have been expanding since then. The point, however, is that the political disputations in Dallas for the last decade have been among conservatives; since the assassination Democrats in Dallas have been canvassing blocks that have not been canvassed, in a search for national Democrats, in the last ten years. As those years passed and an ideological virus multiplied that equated liberalism with communism, liberalism became a way-out activity, a municipal treason.

ORIGINALLY the Dallas Citizens Council was made up almost entirely of tory Democrats. As Alger's victory, and then, in 1961, John Tower's, increased the Republican population of the city, some of the council's 250 members became Republicans. None of them was a known liberal; only one of them, Stanley Marcus, the proprietor of Neiman-Marcus, was a known dissenter of the kind who always stood with the national Democratic Party. The Dallas Citizens Council became, in substance, the government of Dallas. The Dallas Charter League is in effect the subordinate agency of the council that is in charge of city politics. The council never, of course, formally endorsed or opposed candidates; that was not necessary. The mere fact that such a power structure existed and that half a dozen or so men at the top of it made the fundamental decisions for the group meant that all these few men had to do was to agree among themselves on a candidate, and that candidate became "the candidate."

This is not to say that the council always had its way in politics. Alger was not "the candidate"; Savage was, and he lost. Then, in 1961, Cabell ran for mayor contrary to the wishes of the business leaders. He says today that he was running against "an arbitrary power structure." In power, however, the business community found that he was the sort of man they could work with. He recalls going before the Citizens Council to ask for support of the slum clearance election, but that a few builders in the council blocked it. The council has never sent him "the word" on anything, Cabell says, and "there's been no bitterness. I think I have the complete confidence of the business community."

Disenchantment with Alger among the business people has been directly related to Dallas' loss of favor in Washington, a loss of favor which has been financially costly to Dallas businessmen. This was the context last fall when, on its front page, on Sept. 8, the Dallas Morning News announced: "Whether he likes it or not, Cabell is the choice" of "the Democrats" to oppose Alger. Ostensibly it did not occur to the News reporter that the Democrats were having a primary this spring; actually he knew whereof he spoke. When Baxton Bryant announced against Cabell for the Democratic nomination—Bryant stressing that he is running as a liberal Democrat, supporting the national Democrats—there was something shocking about it here in town, because that hasn't been the way Dallas has been run.

Yet the fact that Cabell did not alienate the Dallas power structure by his fight for slum clearance shows that the key leaders of the Citizens Council are capable of sophisticated action. When gradual desegregation became inevitable and it became apparent from other episodes that a city's business life is badly damaged by ugly racist outbreaks, the Citizens Council, using public relations man Sam Bloom and a very shrewdly coercive movie that was shown to thousands of meetings in Dallas, engineered peaceful compliance. When the privately-owned city bus system became a drag on the citizens' mobility, it was socialized, just because that was the solution that made sense.

In her 1963 book, *The Decision Makers: The Power Structure of Dallas,* (SMU

A Memorial

There will be a monument, probably a curved white marble wall ten feet high and 20 or 30 long, at the assassination site, and in addition a gift is to be sent to the Kennedy Library Fund, the 25-member Dallas John F. Kennedy Citizens Memorial Committee has announced.

This ended speculation that there would not be a monument, or would be, only a small historical marker, at the site. Dawson Sterling, chairman of the committee and president of the Southwestern Life Insurance Co., said the public, in pilgrimages to the site, had "more or less chosen the site of the monument."

The wishes of Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy were conveyed to the committee by Stephen E. Smith, the late President's brother-in-law, according to Dr. Luther Holcomb, executive director of the Dallas council of churches, who said neither Mrs. Kennedy nor the committee wanted a statue or an elaborate monument in Dallas.

Sterling said that while the monument's form and exact location are not finally set, so far the committee's thinking indicates it will be located at the northernmost end of Dealey Plaza, in which Kennedy was shot. It is to carry a quotation from Chapter 3 of Ecclesiastes and possibly excerpts from the late President's speeches.

There is to be a Dallas-sponsored portion of the Kennedy Memorial Library in Boston, it is indicated. The library is to cost $10 million, of which $4 million has been contributed. Contributions to the libary can be sent to the John K. Kennedy Library, Inc., care of the memorial committee, P.O. Box 424, Dallas, Tex. □

Press, $4), Carol Thometz, (who is the daughter of a federal judge in Dallas, Joe Estes,) credits the council with a genuine commitment to the idea of "devotion to Dallas." She stresses that the council had provided to Dallas, for no or little pay, top business executives for political service. In fact, in one of the frequent insights of a kind that illuminate her subject and her own naivete at the same time, Mrs. Thometz said, "We have here a case of business subsidizing government."

THE PROBLEM that occurs when business runs the politics of a city without effective challenge is suggested by Mrs. Thometz' finding that in Dallas, ". . . elective governmental officers are not considered as makers of community decisions by either the informed people [who were] first interviewed . . . or by the decision-makers themselves. . . . It is noteworthy that the city council—official governing body of the community—was never mentioned by any person interviewed when discussing how decisions are made regarding the city's main problems. . . . The solutions to issues are crystallized and power to implement them mobilized by the real leaders of the community, usually within the [Citizens Council].* When this has occurred, the city council acts—if legal action is required." It is vitally interesting that "key leaders" of the power group keep out of the limelight because, Mrs. Thometz said, "The less controversy surrounding a leader, the less likely his power position is to be threatened. Second, committees whose membership is not overweighted with the most powerful leaders appear free from behind-the-scenes direction." Robert Cullum, president of the Dallas chamber of commerce, now speculates that the Citizens Council may have come to the end of its usefulness because it has been widely publicized since the assassination.

Who are the people who have run Dallas? Mrs. Thometz said 67 were identified in her study. "All are white males. The majority are top business executives. Every person interviewed stated without hesitation that Dallas leadership comes primarily from the business and financial sectors of the community. Throughout the interviews no contradictory opinion was ever expressed. . . . Financial leaders alone—banking and insurance executives—comprise a striking 31.3% of these decision-makers."

None of them are leaders of organized labor. The Citizens Council, of course, includes businessmen only (except for Willis Tate, president of SMU). One person told Mrs. Thometz, "One big reason for the power of the [Citizen's Council] is that 95% of the members have the same point of view. They believe in free enterprise, and in maintaining a strong local government as opposed to a strong central government. It is a homogeneous group." The closed and corporate character of the Dallas power system is wrapped up in one remark made to Mrs. Thometz by a person she described as "one of the top leaders," to wit:

"The front line leadership is backed by the old power houses. The younger leaders are groomed by the older men—so it perpetuates itself. . . . It becomes a sort of a partnership in civic responsibility and honors."

The essential process is simply that of "clearing" a project with the Citizens Council. Cabell tried to clear slum clearance, and it didn't clear. One respondent told Mrs. Thometz: "Why, the Board of Education would not think of proposing any bond issue, or doing anything without first clearing it with the [Citizens Council]. This body has the power to make or break any idea or proposal that certain groups may come up with. It is such a powerful group that nothing can succeed without its support."

When the power group decides on a project, it is announced by a committee, studded with the names of leaders, in the daily press. Mrs. Thometz thought she perceived occasions on which editorial comment in the daily papers was influenced by the "leadership decisions." But in form, Dallas remained a democracy, and in fact, democracy was always an uncertain factor. "It's a little bit peculiar," Sarah Hughes, now the federal judge, remarks. "The Citizens Council has influence on the members of the city council, and the same group controls the schools, but I don't think that always the people realize it. The power structure now doesn't want Alger, but the power structure can't control the voters. There are three of the nine members of the [city] council who won as independents. So I really think that the people do not realize that the city is controlled by the power structure. They [the people] are manipulated by the Dallas News more than anything else. . . . For weeks and months, the lead editorial every day was anti-Administration, and frequently one or two other editorials would be against the Administration."

AS OUR READERS, of course, well know, certain incidents began to plague Dallas a few years ago. First, in 1960, there was the right-wing mob, one of whose leaders was Alger, that surrounded and insulted Sen. and Mrs. Lyndon Johnson in Dallas. In 1961, Ted Dealey, publisher of the Dallas News, accepted an invitation to lunch in President Kennedy's house and during the course of the occasion read to the President, in the presence of other newspaper executives, a statement that included the words, "We need a man on horseback to lead this nation, and many people in Texas and the Southwest think that you are riding Caroline's tricycle." There were private apologies, as, for instance, from an executive of the Dallas Times Herald, who received from the President an acknowledgement with a handwritten postscript that he was sure the people of Dallas were glad when afternoon came.

The News during this period—as thousands who read it can attest, as to a fact intuitively known—"was the point that fed fuel to a lot of little fires," in the words of Robert Stoltz, a professor in the psychology department at Southern Methodist University. One example may suffice to recall the newspaper's recurrent tone during the last decade. When Kennedy said civil rights is a moral issue, the News asked, "Is it moral to follow the communist line . . . ? (The American Communist Party long has advocated what Mr. Kennedy now asks the Congress to approve as civil rights bills.)" One does not need to have been present at subsequent meetings of the John Birch Society's Dallas chapters or of the perfervid admirers of Gen. Edwin Walker to arrive at a reasonable conjecture about the effect of such thrusts in the Dallas News on these types of people.

In 1962 the Republicans won most of the city's legislative positions, and the Democratic Party here began disintegrating. Before last November, two of the last three Democratic representatives quit their jobs to take appointive plums. Caught between liberals' accusations of political hypocrisy and the Republicans' phenomenal local successes, the tory Democrats were hard pressed. Although elements in the power structure were upset by Dallas' increasing disfavor in Washington because of Alger, Cabell would have had a much more difficult task but for the assassination. He had to visualize the effects on his candidacy of being the Democratic nominee next November on a ticket headed by John Kennedy; political camouflages aside, this was a disastrous prospect for him here. The Republicans on the ascent had been harboring in their garden many of the virulent vines of reaction that the Dallas News had been cultivating. "There was no good counterforce in the city," Stoltz says. "The newspapers certainly weren't. A political party could have been, but it was decaying."

Then, less than a month before Kennedy's visit, Adlai Stevenson was struck and spat upon. This was serious and the power structure knew it. Cabell openly condemned the far right; a wire of apology was signed by 100 civic leaders. Alger's denial that Dallas need feel guilty for any group's or any individual's display against Stevenson underscored—whatever the rights and wrongs of the theory of collective guilt—the political security his kind of politics gave him here.

The Life Line broadcasts, whose uncanny ubiquity are discussed in Bob Sherrill's article in a current Nation Magazine, are the brainchild of H. L. Hunt, the Dallas oil billionaire. The Dan Smoot Report, a split-off vestige of Hunt's old Facts Forum operation, is still published here. Some businesses were asking employees to attend seminars where conservatism was taught. The Dallas civil defense program actively pushed right-wing polemics; pamphlets of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade turned up on a proposed reading list for Dallas public school children. And, of course, the National Indignation Convention was here; the Birchers; Gen. Walker,

*Mrs. Thometz did not name the Citizens Council—she called it by a made-up name—but there is no doubt what she was talking about.

who had a rally the night before Stevenson's visit. "We're the eye of the nutty storm," a local journalist said. As Kennedy's visit neared, a profound uneasiness set in.

For some months before the Times Herald had been edging toward the middle of the road. The Stevenson incident had provoked the kind of "Look, now, let's think this over" reassessment that had preceded the calculated program to integrate peacefully. On Nov. 20 last, the Times Herald carried a column by the editor of the editorial page, A. C. Greene, entitled "Why Do So Many Hate the Kennedys?" Cautiously, Greene said he was not an apologist for the Kennedys, but he didn't hate them, either.

The next day, on Nov. 21, in the Dallas News, there was a sports column (which no one seems to have remembered in the retrospect) in which a journalist whose responsibilities were not even casually associated with politics inadvertently symbolized in a metaphor the attitudes that were about to cause a terrible knot in the city's stomach. The sports writer suggested that Kennedy might talk about sailing to avoid controversy in Dallas. He concluded: "So, Mr. President, if the speech is about boating you will be among the warmest of admirers. It it is about Cuber, civil rights, taxes or Viet Nam, there will sure as shootin' be some who heave to and let go with a broadside of grape shot in the presidential rigging."

President Kennedy did not, one assumes, see that column; but he saw the Dallas News of Nov. 22, and Senator Yarborough has recorded what he said.

THE CIVIC TRAUMA that began for Dallas at 12:30 that day has been terribly severe simply because so many people in Dallas had been afraid something would go wrong. Those few hours after the shooting, when it was assumed that "they," the right-wingers, had done it, must be recorded, in the city's history, as the nearest civic analogy to suicidal despair that can be imagined. The millions of words about Dallas since then dissolve in the solvent of the facts about Dallas until then. It is the plain truth that many of the people of the city felt guilty because Kennedy had been so hated by so many people there. As the debate has been turned by defenders of Dallas, it has focused on whether guilt *should* be felt, a logical question; as for the fact itself, however, guilt *was* felt, and by many people, in Dallas.

In *Ship of Fools*, Katherine Anne Porter characterizes the subtly different, subtly similar forms and expressions of participations in contempt against Jews aboard a ship bound for Europe in the 1930's. A subtly different, subtly similar literary subject is suggested by this story, told, during the full tide of grief and guilt after the assassination, by Rev. W. H. Dickinson, Jr., a minister of the world's largest Methodist church, in Dallas. He said that on Nov. 20 he went to a "nice, respectable dinner party" at which a bright, young, well-educated, church-going couple said to the other guests that they hated Kennedy and "wouldn't care one bit if somebody did take a pot shot at him."

The "somebody" who did has been identified as a Marxist. This has been the first line of "the defense of Dallas." How can you blame the right for what a leftist did? Professor Stoltz thinks it possible that a pathological leftist might have been attracted to Dallas to do his deed, to throw suspicion on others. The wife of an SMU graduate student advanced to me, the Thanksgiving after the assassination, at the flower-strewn site in Dealey Plaza, the hypothesis that Oswald might have been attracted to Dallas because he was spoiling for a fight and knew he could get one here.

100 Days of Love

One of the ways Dallas has mourned Nov. 22 has been an observation called "100 Days of Love," during each of which a minister has written, and the daily papers have published, a brief comment on love. The one we pass along with this report on Dallas was written by Dr. Thomas A. Fry, Jr., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church there. Wrote Dr. Fry:

" 'And above all these put on love, which binds everything together in perfect harmony.' Colossians 3:14.

"A large, muscular man stepped into an elevator in a Washington hotel. Following him was his bellhop struggling with five large and two small suitcases. As the boy tried to get the bags into the levator the man said, 'Out where I come from we'd give that boy a pack mule.' From the rear of the elevator came a voice that said, 'Where I come from, we'd give him a hand.'

"The lack of harmony that is so obvious in our homes, our business, our race relations, and our international relationships is the direct result of our unwillingness to give people a hand. Harmony is seldom created by giving people advice. It does not result from handouts. It comes as we give people a hand to accomplish the worthwhile goals they have set for themselves.

"In a world that is too often bound together by fears and hatreds, we would do well to see to it that our contribution is one of love." □

These are but guesses; if Oswald was acting as a Marxist, the resentment from rightists that they are expected to accept blame for the killing is thoroughly understandable.

The second line of defense has been a logical point, that guilt is personal, not collective, and that nothing as amorphous and huge as a city can be blamed for anything. Surely this defense applies to most of the citizens of Dallas. What, however, about that bright, young, well-educated, church-going couple at that nice, respectable dinner party? And what about anyone present that evening who might have failed to dissent, and vigorously? As guilt is personal, it *is* personal, and participation in hate can be its common denominator.

IN THE NATURE of the case, Dallas' initial response to the assassination was a function of its power structure. The Citizens Council and the Dallas Assembly, a sort of Citizens Council for younger executives, were sponsoring organizations for the President's visit, along with a scientific research group. The speech Kennedy was to have made began with a hedged compliment to them: "It is fitting that these two symbols of Dallas progress are united in the sponsorship of this meeting. For they represent the best qualities, I am told, of leadership and learning in this city—and leadership and learning are indispensable to each other." The "key leaders" were assembled at the trade mart waiting for the President to arrive when he was shot, and when the fact was confirmed, a few of them adjourned to John Stemmons' office upstairs from the meeting hall. Stemmons is now president of the Citizens' Council. As Bob Cullum, who had been in charge of arrangements for the visit, says, they got in touch with city hall at once. The small group of men in Stemmons' office made the real civic decisions in Dallas during the hours after the assassination.

Who were they? J. Erik Jonsson, who was president of the Citizens Council and was to have introduced Kennedy; Cullum; Stemmons; Dawson Sterling, president of the Dallas Assembly; C. A. Tatum, a utilities executive; Sam Bloom, the P.R. man; and two clergymen, the Rev. Luther Holcomb, executive of the Dallas Council of Churches and the city's religious officiator, and Rev. Dickinson.

An advertising executive suggested a penitential march to the scene of the assassination. Someone else suggested a torchlight parade; someone else, a mass mourning in the Cotton Bowl. The group thought such an event would not be respectful and might lead to violence. "All along we were trying to quell this surge of the more flambuoyant kind," Cullum says. Finally the group proposed a day of prayer, and that everyone go to church and pray. It is widely agreed that people did this, and in phenomenal numbers . . . Friday night, Saturday; Sunday, Cullum says, the congregations "broke out the walls of the churches." The wranglings about guilt have obscured the fact that the grief in Dallas was like a drowning sea. Hundreds of thousands of Dallas people flowed over and by the assassination scene, grim, bitter, fascinated, crying.

THERE WOULD BE neither point nor profit in reviewing now the shudders of controversy and recrimination that proceeded then to envelop Dallas. The national magazines—from Life to the Nation—have had their say, in almost every case bitterly, and in some cases bitterly with errors. It does have point to ask, however: Has Dallas changed?

There is a committee of nine clergymen who have been conducting a study of free-

dom of speech in the schools. They came into being because of the firing of the Dallas teacher after her letter critical of Dallas appeared in Time Magazine. But they have not reported.

Dean Joseph D. Quilliam, Jr., of Perkins School of Theology makes the point that there is no longer any possibility of a "news blackout" on suppressive or oppressive events in Dallas. "Some of us have come into an awareness of possibilities and procedures" having to do with news media outside Dallas, he said. (Dean Quilliam's reference to a news blackout proceeded from the Perkins faculty's unanimous support of Rev. William Holmes, the Methodist minister who referred, on a network, to school children in Dallas cheering the President's death. The dean says the faculty's support of Holmes was submitted for publication to both Dallas dailies, and was not printed.)

The Dallas Times Herald has been refusing to print letters that express hate or abusive extremism. Although the Dallas News has printed extremist letters since the assassination, including some reverting to the theme that liberals are in league with communists, the News' letters column has been somewhat restrained since Nov. 22.

Feelings of guilt in Dallas found no clearer statement than in the Nov. 27 column of A. C. Greene in the Times Herald. He wrote:

"It had become a game to hate John F. Kennedy. And, a lot of people played it, people who didn't really dislike John F. Kennedy at all. But they felt constrained to play the game because so many of their friends were—or seemed to be—sincere at it.

"When tragedy struck so hard, so swiftly and so near, then suddenly, the game was no longer a game. It was a haunting presence—the ghost of our own bad conscience."

The subject of the Dallas News editorial page is a difficult and complex one. Generally speaking, it has become, if not more moderate, much less frequently immoderate. The News has been publishing Walter Lippman's column—once promptly refuting it in an editorial—and on occasion an editorial has undertaken to explain that the editorial cartoon does *not* mean something abusive that might be read into it.

Stanley Marcus sought assurances from the News after the assassination that ads of the kind placed by Bernard Weissman in the Nov. 22 News (the one accusing the Kennedys of helping communists) would not appear again. He received what he regarded as satisfactory assurances. Along about the same time, Dec. 8, the News ran an editorial saying: "A sincere conservative can be just that—a sincere conservative—without being a Black Shirt, and a sincere liberal can be a liberal without being a Red," a point the News had not troubled to emphasize before. Three days later, the News was urging, in an editorial entitled "Try Tolerance," that "we Americans could learn to tolerate each other."

But two months to the day after the assassination, in an editorial entitled "Cold War Hotter," the News said, ". . . many naive leaders in the West have continued to press for a more 'liberal' attitude toward the communists, seeking new ways to accommodate or appease them. . . . The appeasers call for a 'neutralization' of Viet Nam, or an outright retreat, and press for internationalization of the Panama Canal. They want us to recognize Red China and to increase trade with Russia and other communist nations."

Sen. Mike Mansfield, D.-Mont., has advocated neutralization of Viet Nam; President Johnson has upheld the sale of wheat to Russia. A Bill McClanahan cartoon in the News Feb. 24 shows Khrushchev sitting beside a grave he has dug under a headstone, "Here Lies Uncle Sam, Buried 19—," while Uncle Sam holds open a picnic basket for Khrushchev. The basket is labeled, "U.S. Wheat," and as Khrushchev eats from it, he is saying, "Digging Makes Me Hungry." There is no editorial on this day's page anxiously assuring readers that this cartoon does *not* imply that Johnson is helping Khrushchev bury the United States.

The News has published, in news columns, a number of studies on social problems in Dallas within the last year. Last week, for example, the News ran a six-part series on poverty in Dallas by staffer Dennis Hoover.

IT IS CONJECTURED HERE that President Johnson must decide whether to come to Dallas for the forthcoming American Legion convention. Whether he will come, and if he does, whether he will ride in the closed, bullet-proof car which it is reported by a wire service that he now uses, will be matters that the Dallas power structure will have to cope with as best they can.

They have not changed this power structure, and they do not intend to. Indeed, Jonsson, the president of the Citizens Council as well as of Texas Instruments, was selected, by the city councilmen who go along with the Citizens Council, as the new mayor of the city to succeed Cabell when he resigned as mayor. A recent traffic safety program was announced with the customary fanfare by a committee made up of key Dallas leaders.

However, there is an X, an unknown, in the situation: the phenomenal increase in Dallas poll taxes paid, a reported increase of almost 100,000—about 40%—over 1962's record total. In addition, the Democrats' canvassing on behalf of the national Democratic cause could have an effect on the Cabell-Bryant election, as well, obviously, as on the winner's prospects against Alger. Johnson's more conservative image in Dallas has improved the Democrats' chances against Alger.

Democracy is still the unclosable open end in the Dallas situation, even though the power structure continues pretty much as was. Facing criticism as alloyers of democracy, some of the Citizens Council people have begun fighting back. One, a leader in the Council and a thoughtful, brooding man, says, "The council is a means of accomplishment, rather than a means of decision. They have excluded those people who did not have the capacity to put the money on the line, because they did not think of themselves as a keeper of the community. Anybody would be a damn fool to deny that it is a power structure. The question is whether it is a decision-making structure, or a means of accomplishment."

Jonsson's reaction to the criticism of the Council is heated. A likable and natural man, Jonsson enjoys soliloquizing on Dallas; he is really sold on the place and the people, who he says are independent, don't ask a lot of favors, and act on their own initiative. Defending Dallas agitates his temper. The Citizens Council, he says, is not intended to do anything that interferes with the democratic process—"only to aid it." As mayor he will consult with its members. "I go to a group of citizens I know are substantial and ask their help. What's wrong with that?" he asks angrily.

For Cabell, Dallas continues essentially as it was: "Dallas is essentially a town of businessmen, by its very nature. Dallas' major economic factors are financial institutions, insurance companies, the distribution of many, many commodities, and we do have a good industrial complex, but it's not the type of industry that's dominated by any one concern or any one union. Dallas is made up of businessmen, business people, and naturally their perspective is along those lines."

Cullum, a food chainstore executive, says there is no disposition among the town's leaders "to revolutionize attitudes in the town," but, he says, there is more self-consciousness and a desire to consider outside opinion more carefully, to "come unsloganized" and "see more of the grays in the middle, and not so much the blacks and whites." The last eight or ten years, Cullum says, extremists of the far right and far left caused moderates to fall silent. "The middle just shut up." Now he believes the Democrats' revival is a good thing for the town.

MARCUS is the most liberal man who is "in." His manner is continental, his manner unobstrusive; he is a quiet and civilized man. He says:

"The thing that has been wrong here—and it's infecting the bloodstream of democracy around the country—is this idea that a certain group of people are the sole recipients of the divine, revealed political truth, and that anyone who disagrees with them is absolutely wrong, and not just maybe wrong, and anyone who agrees with them is absolutely right, and not justmaybe right."

Dallas suffers, he says, from "a lack of moral indignation. I don't expect that to change radically, any more than I expect the Dallas News to change radically. If we get these men to move a little bit, we have a chance of establishing an area of fair play. I think the leadership is headed slightly differently . . . that if they were challenged with something, their response would be better."

Rabbi Levi Olan of Dallas, a regent of the University of Texas, addressed himself to the subject in these words:

"Is Dallas guilty of anything because the President of our country was assassinated on her streets? . . . The people of this city did not pull the trigger and they are certainly not assassins. . . . [Yet] Before the President came to our city were were apprehensive. . . . Behind our apprehension lay the fact that we had become the number one spot in the nation for intolerance. . . . What is now evident is that the value system by which Dallas lives is now open to criticism. . . .

"Consider our city which boasts of great wealth, high fashion, fabulous bank buildings and luxurious, palatial homes, yet one-fifth of the residential area is a slum and has been officially condemned as unfit for decent human habitation. In this 'Big D' the local paper recently reported that many children do not go to school because they cannot afford to bring a lunch or buy one. . . . On high principles we reject government aid and praise individual initiative. The child, to our shame, has been left without a lunch and we are left with our so-called high principles. . . . Perhaps to paraphrase the late President, our value system in Dallas ought to be, "Ask not what Dallas can dor me—but what can I do for Dallas?"

I do not know Dallas well, but I have spent a lot of time here since Nov. 22, and it is my guess that the city will not again be quite the kind of place it has been the last ten years. A solution to the slum situation may be coming soon. There may be more courage, although perhaps not much more, to speak out for the reasonable and the humane. Right-wing extremism will persist, but it is no longer *de rigueur*. One also senses here, unspoken—indeed, denied—more humility than there was before. Pride goeth before a fall, and what a fall that was. R.D.

A Comment

Let's Stop and Think On LBJ

Austin

I believe Democrats should reconsider their apparent decision to nominate Lyndon Johnson for president. I should at least like to hear some serious discussion of the matter. It is represented widely that there is no precedent for any party failing to nominate its incumbent president. We are supposed to fall down prostrate before this precedent—especially us Texans. I do not see why. The situation, also, is unprecedented, and unprecedented situations can require unprecedented responses.

There is a question about Johnson's motives in public life which I discussed at some length in this column last October. In Texas there has always been doubt that the man has strong convictions; there has always been some feeling that he has been actuated mainly by a desire for power.

Johnson has all the power he can use now, of course. The question is, will he go on having it.

The finest thing about his presidency so far, it seems to me, is the several fervent statements he has made against the insane futility of nuclear warmaking. Yet last Saturday he again gave grounds for concern that he is too willing to risk nuclear war, such as with an invasion or blockade of North Viet Nam.

To be sure, in his State of the Union speech he seemed to go "all the way" with liberalism. He has certainly committed himself in words to the Kennedy program, specifically including public accommodations legislation, the tax cut, and medicare. But he has added some very conservative tones to this. The contradictions between a reduced federal budget and a war on poverty, and between his shockingly scaled down request for foreign aid funds and the requirements of world leadership for freedom and against poverty abroad, are profound, as I shall subsequently undertake to illustrate. A great deal also still turns in his performance. Will the Senate drop the enforcement powers for the attorney general from the civil rights bill?

Will Johnson regard his liberal promises as applicable only through November, 1964? What, very closely examined, do those promises amount to? Once he has the liberal Democrats' Democratic convention behind him, will he swing back toward the right? We do not know.

But this is only one of the two areas I believe the Democratic Party should be thinking about earnestly. The other is suggested by the disclosures to date in the Bobby Baker scandal. Let no one prejudge, or rush to conclude about, the serious tendencies of that evidence. Let the matter unravel itself as it will. But the revelations so far do tend to remind us that Johnson has a longer political past than perhaps any other presidential nominee-apparent in history.

There is, for instance, the matter of the 1948 campaign. Johnson made statements against civil rights and labor that year that will deafen many eardrums when they are played back into them. The idea that Johnson is not a man of principle, and is a man of compromise, will be strengthened as the Republicans unfold their campaign. Then, that year 1948, there was Box 13.

People disposed to criticize Johnson anyway will not lack for lyrics as his past is replayed. As long as Johnson was only a very powerful senator, majority leader, vice president, the criticism of him was spasmodic, and it was muted in many places. But now he is the President, and the stakes are control of the United States government and its policies for the next eight years. The Republicans will mute nothing; they will record everything they can, and they will trumpet it to the farthest corners of the nation, even into snowbound Minnesota towns, even into swamp camps in Louisiana.

They are researching feverishly, and in Texas. What will they excavate? Let us speak candidly—why not? for the life of the nation is the subject. We Texans have heard many stories about Johnson. They were not proved, although attempts were made to see if they were so; often in their nature, they were unprovable. Those of us who believe in the truth and in the rules about deciding what is truth and what is gossip discountenanced these stories and went on to other things, as the circumstances required responsible people to do.

One of these stories was that national advertisers placed ads with the LBJ TV company to play up to Johnson's power, to ingratiate themselves with him. There was no apparent way to prove or disprove that. Who would admit it? Who could look at the records? It was a rumor, possibly a malicious rumor, without ascertainable foundation.

Now there is the matter of the $1208 advertising Don Reynolds contends he was induced to take on KTBC. Johnson has an excellent defense in this controversy, which has not been publicized enough. There is no contention that there was any public business involved as Reynolds was drawn into taking this advertising; it was a question of an insurance policy. Still, there is something very unsettling about the matter. The New York Times reported that the Republicans on the Baker committee want to know whether this was an isolated matter, or commonplace, a pattern. There is a demand that KTBC's books be audited. Well, we do *not* know if it was an exception or a pattern, but either KTBC opens its books or there will be a question.

We have heard other stories. In their nature, they are not worthy of being repeated: they are not proved, they are just hearsay. A thing can be completely innocent, and men can still discover wrongdoing in it. The especially grave thing about scandals for a President, however, is that he's damned if he does and he's damned of he doesn't. He is not given the benefit of the doubt or dealt with as an ordinary mortal with ordinary foibles. He is expected to set the standard, and to embody it, as well. The stereo gift is unsettling; a man in high public office ought not take such a gift, whether his name is Eisenhower or Johnson.

Now it is alleged by responsible parties, including Cabell Phillips in an extremely

damaging story in The New York Times, that the White House sought to impugn Don Reynolds' reliability as a witness *by reading journalists excerpts from FBI files on Reynolds.* A high White House personage, not the President, is represented as directly involved. This is a far more serious thing than a $582 stereo set or the advertising of pots and pans, for this goes to the integrity of a free society and the security of citizens against selective persecution by the use of secret government police files.

IN MY OPINION—and I have considered it some weeks, and understand the different aspects of it — Democrats ought ask themselves two questions about Johnson and the Democratic convention, one a question of principle, the other of expediency.

The first is whether Johnson ought to be the Democratic nominee for president. Lest I be thought unrealistic, let me anticipate one of the rejoinders. It is beyond imagination that a Texas Democrat could buck an incumbent Democratic president from Texas. It is beyond possibility that the Democratic National Convention would fail to nominate Johnson. In effect, the liberals who advance these arguments say, we're stuck; it is unDemocratic to ask that question; let's be grateful he's turned liberal and make the best of it.

But it is also true, is it not, that each man is responsible for what he does; responsible for each flexing of his personal influence, and each failure to flex it; responsible for each thing he says as a citizen, and for each time, also, that he is silent. In Texas we have a special responsibility this year; for Johnson is a Texan.

The second question is, Ought the Democrats act on the assumption that Johnson's past is inexpugnable? So, he is running very liberal, apparently. What about him?

Nothing more that is criticizable may be found, by the Republicans or by newspapermen; it is certainly to be assumed in fairness that it will not. But if it is, might not the Republicans lie behind the log until Johnson is nominated and then rise up with their shillelaghs? It is certainly to be assumed, in the game of politics, that this is what they will do if anything turns up that gives them grounds to. Mostly rightists and racists believed strongly that Kennedy could be beaten, but there is a general feeling that Johnson could be beaten. There are a lot of days, each one twenty-hours long, between March and November.

Of course, most Democrats now are committed to Johnson's nomination in the belief that it is the best, or the only, or the best and the only thing they can do. It is *not* the only thing they can do. It is just as possible for them to seek the nomination of someone just as liberal as Johnson talks, or more so, such as Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania or, (even though there would be great difficulties,) of Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, in the belief that it is wiser to forego a certain advantage, running an incumbent president, than it would be to risk history on a politician one does not trust.

I write all this knowing that it is quite possible Johnson may be a great liberal president. The office has changed men before, and can again. Nevertheless, this is a subject that must be thought about and discussed in the open. I believe that everything should be considered and that no serious person should close his mind to any conclusion. I invite, not rhetoric or vituperation, but reflection. The arena is not Texas, where coy little masquerades so often pass for serious politics. The arena is the United States. R.D.

Integration in Texas

Austin

The valley of segregation, below the white icy mountain, has been dry for lo these many years. The thaw, gradual like the coming of a millenial summer, has trickled into the valley a slowly rising river, lifting leaf by leaf, twig by twig, worrying loose great dead trees from their rotting roots, as it rises ever slowly, but steadily does rise. Surveying Texas since the Observer's last report on the thaw, ("Texas Is Integrating," Obs. June 28, 1963,) we must notice that the rising river has borne off some thickets of piled-up brush, some whole fallen-over timbers, but the valley is still wide and much of it cluttered and dry; the winter that began Nov. 22 has not yet become the spring.

THE ASSASSINATION, for instance, cut off rising expressions of discontent among the 3,200 students at Prairie View A&M College near Hempstead ("the exception" noted in the Observer's account of Houston as a backwater of the civil rights revolt, Obs. Nov. 15, '63). The discontent found focus in an economic boycott of the merchants in Hempstead, and it found an on-campus target when the administration of the school refused to support the boycott. For the homecoming football game with Bishop College Nov. 9. the students stayed away to chastise the administration, and the stands were almost vacant—estimates did not go higher than 100 fans in attendance. On Nov. 16, three white ministers joined students in picketing G. Kelley's Steak House and the KC Steak House on Highway 290, which passes through Hempstead. Then came Nov. 22.

Just before the assassination, major changes began to break loose in Texas college customs, and these have continued all winter. On Oct. 29, addressing the general faculty, University of Texas Chancellor Harry Ransom let drop that public areas in living units were no longer segregated, and the Texas Relays and Longhorn Band had been integrated. Four days before the President's death, U.T.'s athletic director and head coach, Darrell Royal, announced complete athletic integration at the university—a step put off for years on grounds that whites would resent seeing Negroes carrying forward the cause of the orange and white at Memorial Stadium. The announcement caused cautiously approving responses from other coaches in this area, and a spokesman who did not let himself be named said the University of Houston's intercollegiate athletics are integrated, too.

Rumors that Baylor, the Baptist college, and its medical college in Houston would integrate became fact in November. In January the trustees of Texas Christian University, which is run by the Disciples of Christ, voted to integrate completely, with no reservations. Neither of these schools took the step by unanimous vote, but majorities prevailed. T.C.U. acted "on the strong recommendation of Chancellor M. E. Sadler," the school's trustees said. Last month U.T.'s regents approved integrated housing for a married students' dorm and summer seminar participants, completing U.T. integration in every major area of student life except one, student housing, which is the subject of pending litigation.

This left Rice University the only segregated Southwest Conference school. The difficulty there, of course, is the 1891 instrument by which William Marsh Rice created an endowment for Rice, prohibiting acceptance of Negro students. Rice's trustees last year filed a civil suit asking that the restriction be set aside. Dr. Kenneth S. Pitzer, president, told the jury in Houston last month that Rice, not strictly a first-class university now, could go nowhere but downhill unless the race restriction was lifted. He specifically referred to the difficulty of getting federal research grants for a segregated college. The two Rice alumni opposing the suit contended, obviously and plausibly, that the trust is what Marsh made it and that if the trustees cannot fulfill its terms they should resign. Under cross-examination, Pitzer acknowledged that he knew about the restriction when he took the presidency. He said he might leave Rice if it was not lifted. The ⅛ury ruled, in effect, that Rice cannot be a first-rate college, as the founder intended, as long as whites are barred, as the founder required. Just what this means depands on Dist. Judge William M. Holland.

WITH ALL THE STATE'S big city public schools already embarked on desegregation, changes in this area have begun to resemble the beginnings of mopping up operations.

Galveston's school trustees have already

announced they will fully integrate their system next fall after three "stair-step" years. An attorney for parents of Georgetown Negroes is arguing in federal court in Houston that the grade-a-year program in Georgetown, which would not be complete until 1975, would prevent the children of his clients from ever attending desegregated schools, would constitute a 21-year delay from the date of the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, and involved a "clearly unreasonable period of time." He asks four grades a year instead of one. Huntsville, in deep East Texas, will start stair-step integration in September.

NAACP spokesmen, such as Clarence Laws of Dallas, have been berating "tokenism" persistently, and the defenders of school separatism have been giving a little ground. Last fall, Negro students in integrated classroom situations increased from 16 to 182 in Dallas and from 66 to 155 in Houston. Austin integrated the last four of its segregated grades. Fort Worth, the last big city still segregated, gave way; so did Waco and Temple; and, in East Texas, so did Longview, Tyler, Canton, Edgewood, Athens, Bryan, Port Arthur, and Beaumont.

According to the Southern Education Reporting Service, an estimated 14,000 Negroes are attending classes in Texas now with about 186,000 whites. This means that about four percent of Texas Negro school children are now integrated, about twice as many in 1962-'63.

According to a map prepared by the Southwest regional office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, there are only two parts of the state with large concentrations of Negroes where school segregation has not been breached. One of these is a 14-county area in extreme northeast Texas. The other is a thick arc of East Texas counties extending at its upper margin from the Louisiana border across underneath the East Texas oilfield to Fairfield, arcing through Rockdale and then dropping due south through Hallettsville to Palacios. The area includes all the Texas counties south and east of this arc except for Brazos County and the Houston-Sabine area.

To put this matter another way:

East Texas is still adamant against school integration, even of the token kind, except for a string of exceptions from Marshall on the east into Dallas; Brazos County; and the Houston area, Galveston, Beaumont, Port Arthur, and Orange. An interesting question next summer and fall will be the extent to which schools in the two large expanses of hold-out, rural East Texas will come to grudging terms with the law of the times.

Little-noticed in main-stem Texas was the decision by nine El Paso high school principals to boycott the Texas Assn. of Student Councils because it is segregated. The parent organization is the Texas Assn. of Secondary School Principals. El Paso's principals decided to take their delegates from the student councils, including a Negro delegate, to the New Mexico student council association in Farmington, N.M., March 20-21, where the Negro will be accepted.

This episode demonstrates the continuing segregation in the quasi-official Texas teachers' and administrative organizations. The question of a merger of the all-white Texas State Teachers' Assn. and the all-Negro Teachers State Assn. of Texas came up last fall at the TSTA convention in Fort Worth; a study was decided upon. The new TSTA president, Mrs. Elizabeth Little of Corpus Christi, said she is for total integration of the schools, but will not promote it.

One underlying issue in this area is a problem the San Antonio schools faced last September when they integrated teaching faculties at five of the public schools, including Negroes among white teachers, therefore, of course, placing Negro teachers over white students.

A GOOD DEAL of the recent disputation over civil rights in the cities has taken the form of demands by civil rights groups that city councils enact ordinances prohibiting discrimination against Negroes in places of public accommodation.

The only city with such an ordinance in Texas is El Paso. There, on June 21, 1962, after a protracted and complicated dispute, the city council unanimously overrode the mayor's veto and made racial or religious discrimination by hotels, motels, restaurants, and theaters a misdemeanor punishable by fine up to $200. El Paso was already substantially integrated by the time the ordinance was adopted. Obviously the ordinance is just a local version, applicable to local businesses, of what the Congress is considering passing as the public accommodations section of the civil rights bill of 1964.

In San Antonio, Austin, and Corpus Christi, there have been demonstrations, petitions, pleas, cajolings, and demands, but the city councils have firmly refused to enact such ordinances. In San Antonio, the answer of the merchants and city councilmen has been intensified efforts to achieve voluntary desegregation. It was declared last fall that 98.5% of San Antonio's privately owned, publicly operated businesses are fully desegregated. But, San Antonio Negro leaders have cited instances of "resegregation" in places where the color line had temporarily been erased. In pushing for an "open city" ordinance, Negro leaders have said that partial integration—by raising doubt as to whether Negroes will or will not be courteously treated in an individual place—is therefore a more tension-filled circumstance than total sergegation.

In Austin, where a legal officer of the city has written a four-page opinion that the city does not have the power to enact such an ordinance, civil rights advocates have taken a novel step. They prepared a statement of dire civil and commercial misfortunes they said would ensue if such an ordinance is not enacted and had the statement (1) certified as accurate by liberal councilwoman Emma Long and (2) hand-delivered to the White House with a copy of Mrs. Long's endorsement attached.

Volma Overton, NAACP president in Austin, has said that boycotts and lay-ins have been discussed. The point of the report to the President is to remind him—as picket signs did also during a recent demonstration here—that discrimination in Austin embarasses him politically. Specifically, the civil rights advocates hope that Johnson will communicate with friends of his in the Austin power structure and get the ordinance enacted.

In Houston, the most significant thing that has happened in race relations since last summer may have been a public reception given Mrs. Charles White, the Negro member of the school board, at a downtown hotel. Instead of the 500 or so guests expected, 4,000 persons came (including Don Yarborough, now a candidate for governor again). Mrs. White had just been involved in another of her perennial disputes with the white school board majority, who have resisted integration to the maximum possible extent. (Most recently, they have declined to integrate kindergarten and been sued on the point.) In December, Dick Gregory, the militant Negro comedian, fired up 2,000 students at Texas Southern University; at year's end, the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, addressed a civil rights rally in downtown Houston attended by about 400 persons and sponsored by the NAACP. The University of Houston's Young Democrats participated in this latter event.

NEITHER DALLAS nor Houston schools have yielded yet to Negroes' demands that vocational classes be thrown open to all without racial bars. "In public schools," Laws of the NAACP says of Dallas, "Negro youth continue to be denied trade and technical skills even though school officials boast that more than 150 foreign-born students are obtaining such training annually." Dallas Supt. W. T. White's position is that actually, Negroes make up a higher portion of vocational classes than they do of the total student population in Dallas. Laws, of course, refers to the segregatedness of these

classes. H. Rhett James, a Dallas minister, charges that 41 Dallas craft unions discriminate against Negroes.

In February about 300 Dallas people met in a biracial situation to discuss unemployment among Negroes. The city of Houston, in apparent response to the wishes of the new mayor, Louie Welch, has dropped from its job application forms the spaces for specifying "white" or "colored."

And the churches—what have they been doing? There have been a few changes and statements, but they seem not yet to make a pattern. Perhaps the tone of this aspect of the situation was struck by the members of the Houston Baptist Pastors' Conference, who announced that they had voted unanimously to hold fellowship meetings with Negro Baptist ministers in Houston—at least once every three months.

The Baptist Standard, the mass-circulation Texas Baptist magazine, continues to plug for church integration. The Baptist General Convention of Texas surveyed 4,500 Texas Baptist congregations on the issue and received 1,259 responses, 234 saying they would permit Negroes to join their congregations as members and 747 saying they would permit Negroes to attend services. Last fall University Baptist Church in Fort Worth, the largest Baptist church in that city, voted to accept Negroes in membership. Negroes have picketed First Baptist Church in Dallas. A white, Rev. William Oliver III of the United Church of Christ, is minister of an all-Negro congregation in Beaumont now and was recently jailed with other civil rights demonstrators in Beaumont.

There have been, of course, a few novel incidents from the far-right and the far-left on the race question. Fort Worth police have jailed three Muslims accused of roughing up another Muslim and breaking his car windows. (Last summer there were two reports of carloads of Negroes attacking and shooting at whites in Fort Worth.) The Secretary of State has issued a charter to the National Assn. for the Advancement of White People, whose agent is O. J. McCullough of Houston.

And there have been an interesting miscellany of episodes: Willie Jerry Jones, the Huntsville NAACP president, has filed suit to integrate the Walker County courthouse. The Federation of Women's Clubs in Dallas was denied a Marine Guard because the club meeting was segregated. Swimming pools in Levelland and Colorado City were integrated. The Fort Worth Bar admitted Negroes. In Sherman, where the whites' library had 23,044 volumes and the Negroes' 2,582, the white library was opened to Negroes.

THE MILITANT Southern civil rights organizations have been edging into Texas, but they are so busily engaged in the Southern landscape, they have not committed many people to Texas work. Ike Reynolds, New Orleans field secretary for the Congress of Racial Equality, has helped organize CORE chapters in Houston, Austin, and San Antonio. A field secretary for the Student Non-violent Coordinating Cmte. was reported in Houston trying to recruit workers for SNCC's Mississippi voter registration program, which sounds innocent enough but is probably as dangerous a civil rights drive as there is anywhere in the United States. Four field workers for Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference were guests of Texas AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education at Arlington last month and sang freedom songs for the COPE delegates at a banquet the evening of Feb. 12. A new youth chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People has been formed at the University of Texas. Last week James Farmer, national CORE director, spoke to the San Antonio CORE chapter, which picketed a cafe and liquor store a few days later.

Civil rights demonstrations can be expected in March in Dallas, Beaumont, and perhaps Austin. The suspension of a student leader at Bishop College in Dallas because of protests against cafeteria food and other grievances has made the situation there, between the students and the administration, quite unstable. Numbers of Negro students are now participating in the efforts to qualify Negroes to vote in federal elections without poll taxes, but after the March 6 deadline of the free registration period, they can be expected to turn their interests toward demonstrations.

1964, says Clarence Laws, will be "a year of truth or consequences." Unless real progress is made, he said, "the demonstrations of 1963 will look puny when compared to what is likely to happen in 1964."

Racial change is continuing to occur for one reason because these days it's often good business. The Waco chamber of commerce's community relations committee, for instance, recently bemoaned a story in the Dallas News reporting discrimination in a Waco cafeteria as an attempt to exploit the situation by a "competing" city. The committee added that continuing segregation was a threat to "the maintenance of our military installations and the permanent location of the VA regional office in Waco."

But racial change also continues to occur because the ethical and human difficulties of segregation are now a part of the national conscience. In Corpus Christi, where all public facilities and most public accommodations are integrated, Mayor James Barnard told the Ministerial Alliance that while Corpus Christians have made a lot of progress without major disturbances, "a challenge still remains before we can honestly say the city is integrated. That challenge is individual acceptance of the colored people—to think of them as individuals." □

Independent Liberals Organize

Political Intelligence

Some 250 liberal Democrats from around the state gathered in Houston, Feb. 29, and formed the latest political organization on the Texas scene: Texas Organization of Liberal Democrats (TOLD). Quipped Franklin Jones Sr. of Marshall, Democratic Coalition co-chairman, who presided: "We've been tellin' 'em for years, so I think the title is appropriate."

In a more serious vein, the liberals, without dissent, endorsed the following candidates for statewide office: Don Yarborough for Governor; Albert Fuentes for Lt. Governor; Dan Sullivan for Congressman-at-large; Jesse Owens for Railroad Commissioner, and Fred C. Williams, of Dallas, a former newspaperman, for Land Commissioner.

The liberals also approved a many-sided resolution which praised President Johnson for his "liberal approach" to the nation's domestic and foreign problems, expressed "dismay and disgust" at the manner John Connally and Gordon McLendon have "teamed up" to oppose the liberal programs and policies advocated by Johnson, Senator Ralph Yarborough and Don Yarborough, and called for election of state and local officials loyal to the programs of the national administration.

Yarborough, Fuentes and Williams spoke at the meeting, as did a spokesman for Owens and also a number of Harris County candidates.

Pending further organizational plans, the group voted to use the office of Mrs. R. D. Randolph in Houston as a mailing center. The independents thus became the last of the statewide organizations banded together in the Democratic Coalition to form a formal structure. The other three are the Texas AFL-CIO, the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations and the Texas Council of Voters.

✔ Since PASO endorsed both Yarboroughs and Fuentes, it now remains only for the Negro members of the coalition to decide on their course. Labor is the only element of the coalition not officially supporting Don Yarborough and Fuentes so far. Labor's newsletter Feb. 21 gives a special-screen emphasis to the remarks of the two Yarboroughs, Fuentes, and Dan Sullivan (for congressman-at-large) at the recent COPE convention.

✔ Observer readers—fanciers of Texas politics of the right wing—will want to read Bob Sherrill's piece in the Feb. 24 Nation on H. L. Hunt. Sherrill's chief reportorial coup: he obtained, evidently from Wayne Poucher, the disaffected Life Line broadcaster, copies of memos from Hunt to Poucher telling Poucher what to say on his Life Line broadcasts. It is the thrust of Sherrill's piece that Life Line should be denied their federal tax exemption as educational programs.

Sherrill, who interviewed Hunt, quotes him saying: "I think we are being taken over by the communists." and, "If we are not too far gone, if our freedom *can* be saved, Life Line will save it."

On LBJ, Sherrill quotes Hunt: "Johnson is the kind of President who can lead Congress around by its nose. I wouldn't mind seeing him in there for three terms." Sherrill states that Booth Mooney, the former Johnson staffer who wrote a biography of Johnson that has since been serialized in American newspapers, "turned Washington writer for Life Line"—that is, a script writer for Hunt.

✔ Laurence Stern advanced some interesting revelations about Booth Mooney, too. The Washington Post staffer discovered that Mooney had dropped, from his revision of his 1956 biography of Johnson, a reference to the Americans for Democratic Action as "left-wing," a statement that Johnson in the early 1940's "staunchly upheld the doctrine of states rights," and a tribute to Johnson by Sen. John Stennis (D.-Miss.). Stern, noting that Mooney was Johnson's executive assistant for six years during Johnson's Senate career and is now "a Washington representative for the Hunt Oil Co.," also quoted from letters from Mooney to Life Line's Wayne Poucher in which Mooney (1) enclosed three scripts on "the need for curbing the Supreme Court" and (2) wrote to Poucher: "Enclosed is a suggested radio script, which Mr. Hunt requested that I write and send you." The Post was one of the papers that published Mooney's revised biography of Johnson.

✔ Ed Ball, COPE director for Harris County labor, resigned after the county labor council decided against the course he advocated, which would have placed labor in the position of recommending to the Harris County Democrats that they not endorse Don Yarborough. Paul Gray, communications workers' leader, argued that labor should not try to influence what the liberal H.C.D. did in the race, and this point of view prevailed. H.C.D. takes its stand March 8.

✔ Fuentes has appointed E. B. Taylor, Dickinson businessman-landowner and radio station operator, his state campaign coordinator. Taylor is a long-time PASO supporter and was active in Don Yarborough's 1962 campaign. . . . Cty. Cmsr. Albert Pena, state PASO chairman, appointed attorney Charles Albidress, Jr., executive secretary of PASO to replace Fuentes, who had resigned, being a candidate. . . . It is being pointed out in San Antonio that when Fuentes was running for county treasurer he ran an advertisement for his candidacy in "The Militant American," a right-wing, Birch-type publication of the Wainwright American Legion post, which listed Fuentes as one of a large group "helping in the printing and mailing of this newspaper." . . . Martin Garcia, former PASO district director, has ceased his PASO activity in view of his candidacy for state representative. . . . About 450 persons attended a rally for PASO candidates in Crystal City. Fuentes was among the speakers.

Don Vs. John

✔ Don Yarborough says he will have main headquarters both in Austin and Houston — Austin for public relations, Houston for organizations. His hard campaign begins this week. "Things are looking extremely good with regard to my leadership. It's all back with lots of people added to it," he says. The Dawson Herald in Navarro County became the first paper to endorse him formally: Connally deserves sympathy, but sympathy "should have no place in choosing a governor of any state," the paper said.

✔ In Dallas, Don Yarborough laid out his basic reasoning on his chances of winning. Predicting he will carry Dallas, he told the Times-Herald: "Connally has relied very heavily on Republican support. About 75% of his support last time, from studies we've made, was Republican support. Nearly 100% of the voters that will be going over into the Republican primary will be his . . . the exodus is going to be exceedingly large."

✔ Gov. Connally told Jon Ford of the San Antonio Express that the way he is thinking now, he is making his last race for public office this year, win or lose, and he plans to open a law office in San Antonio or Austin at the end of his public service. "There are too many other things I want to do. . . . This business gets old. It's not your enemies who hurt you most. Sometimes, it's your friends . . . you can anticipate your enemies and be prepared," Ford quoted him.

✔ On his eastern swing, Connally spoke in New York, dedicated the Texas pavilion at the fair, called on Johnson 45 minutes in the White House. He said reports of his rift with Johnson were greatly exaggerated and that he told Johnson most Texans will be solidly behind him for president. On his health he was widely quoted that he tires easily, but that he'll probably get rid of the cast on his arm March 15-20. "But I still won't be able to shake hands."

In his New York speech, he defended Texas, Dallas, and more local self-government. . . . He was named "Mr. South Texas" at Laredo. . . . At Abilene, at ceremonies having to do with the arrival of bombers at the AFB there, he said, "If I accomplish nothing more as governor, I want to encourage greater dedication to the search for local solutions for local problems." . . . Connally's platform, outlined before AP managing editors, includes a state conference of morals, a science advisory committee, a fine arts commission to keep tourist attractions up to snuff, four-year terms and more authority for the governor, and possibly a state bond issue to finance park improvements.

✔ The clothes Connally wore when he was shot are being displayed in the state archives. . . . The Times-Herald in Dallas ran a photograph of Sen. George Parkhourse, Dallas, in his wheelchair beside Connally in his sling, along with a story in which Connally reviewed events Nov. 22.

✔ Bo Byers, Houston Chronicle: "Connally's reelection seems so certain that even now he can begin thinking about the legislative program he will push in 1965-'66." Dawson Duncan, Dallas News: "Despite the very high level of popularity of Gov. John Connally, some of his backers anticipate he still will have a tough race for re-election to a second term."

TOYS OF VIOLENCE FOR OUR CHILDREN . . .

VIOLENCE is abroad in our land–
Dogs are turned on humans . . .
Murder is with us in the headlines and T. V. . . .
Homes are bombed in the North . . .
Children in church are killed in the South . . .
We rely on the weapons of annihilation
to secure our "way of life"–
Violence is so commonplace in our lives
that we hardly notice it . . .

Until finally, our young and vital President
is killed by an assassin's bullet
Setting off a chain of even more violence.

And we are ashamed.

Let us begin to question the violence of our lives–
Let us bring love and understanding
to our families–
Let us begin with our children–
Ought we supply them with the toys
that make violence
so commonplace–
so accepted–
The gun, the tank, the rocket,
rather than tools, paints,
or the books of other lands?

If we buy only creative toys this year
it can be a beginning–
a symbol
of our rejection of violence . . .

In memorium to our late President–
In keeping with the religious ethic
of peace and of love–
Let us begin by this small act . . .

If each of us does not do this . . . who will?
If not now . . . when?

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Races for Congress

✔ Cong. John Dowdy has an article attacking urban renewal in the Reader's Digest. Challenger Benton Musselwhite's workers continue confident, especially because of increased voter qualification among prospective Musselwhite voters.

✔ An obscure local issue is animating the campaign of Jack Zubik against Cong. Olin Teague (both of Bryan). It's alleged now against Teague that he campaigned on a promise to support a certain dam, but reneged when powerful backers of his pressured him for a site where they stood to benefit.

✔ Earle Cabell, the sober dairyman running for Congress from Dallas, has plenty of pop, sparkle, and snap in his rhetoric. He calls Bruce Alger "the abominable no-man" who "votes negative on positive issue and positive on every negative issue." He calls Alger's backers the Algerians. He digs Baxton Bryant, his liberal Democratic opponent, saying don't swap "a rubber stamp marked 'yes' for a rubber stamp marked 'no'." . . . Bryant joined with GOP state chairman Peter O'Donnell in accusing Cabell of Republicanism. O'Donnell said Bryant was present at a 1960 meeting of Republican precinct workers Cabell addressed. Bryant says Cabell never voted for a Democrat for president in his life. The Times-Herald said Cabell was asked if he would support the Democratic nominees, and he replied, "Locally, and in the state, yes." How about nationally? "I see no reason why I can't support their nominees. I'm sure the presidential nominee will be Lyndon Johnson and I can certainly support him wholeheartedly . . ." Bryant told COPE he's for Johnson, civil rights, the UN, medicare, and the war on poverty.

✔ The congressman-at-large race continued heatedly. Joe Pool, the incumbent, is accused by challenger Bob Baker, Houston, of using his U.S. postal privilege to mail out a self-serving questionnaire. Pool told Capitol reporters Johnson's a great president and he, Pool, is for Cabell in the Dallas race. Dan Sullivan pledged to work in harness with Johnson and Ralph Yarborough as he made stops at every important gathering-place of liberals.

✔ Sen. John Tower, R.-Tex., said he will join the filibuster against the civil rights bill. He and Sen. Yarborough both voted against putting the bill on the calendar, which was done. . . . Four Texans voted against the tax cut bill—Mahon, Teague, Alger, and Fisher; four did not vote — Burleson, Dowdy, Poage, and Wright; and the other 15 voted for it. . . . Cong. Jake Pickle, Austin, was appointed to the House interstate and foreign commerce committee; Cong. Ray Roberts, McKinney, to the public works committee.

✔ In the U.S. Senate race, three campaign managers have been named: Emerson Stone, Jr., a Jacksonville lawyer and the city attorney, for Sen. Ralph Yarborough; Jim Leonard, former state GOP executive director, for George Bush; and Rep. Henry Stollenwerck, Dallas, for Jack Cox.

✔ Bush asked Sen. Yarborough to debate the candidates, or at least the winner of the GOP primary. Bush, Robert Morris, and Dr. Milton Davis agreed on a panel that the Johnson administration is full of hocum and left-wingism. Morris blames Yarborough for being silent while, Morris says, the State Dept. makes plans to turn over US forces to the UN.

✔ Gordon McLendon, Yarborough's only Democratic opponent, displayed his phrase-turning skills to the Corpus Christi Caller, naming Yarborough "that neo-socialist" and "about as useless as a side saddle on a sow," expert only with OPM—other people's money, and "as dangerous as a puppy on a new rug." McLendon now seems to have accepted, along with everybody else, the interpretation that the woman who shot at him in a Dallas airport knew nothing about politics and was mentally disturbed: he asked that no charges be pressed against her.

✔ Bush noted that McLendon's use of his own radio stations for political commercials for himself ought to be concluded with an offer of equal time, not only to Yarborough, but to all four Republican candidates. That detail could lead to a politics-saturated curriculum for the listeners of McLendon's three Texas stations. . . . McLendon has been hiring college students to greet him with placards, the Observer is advised.

✔ Postscript on why Joe Kilgore didn't run against Sen. Yarborough: Yarborough told the Dallas Times-Herald in Washington that the cause was the poll showing Yarborough winning (with 70%): "If the President had thought Kilgore was the favorite, he would have had Kilgore in and tried to convert him to his program," the paper quoted Yarborough. . . . On the other hand, Stuart Long wrote in the Corpus daily that there never was any chance that labor would support Connally for a second term, "no matter how much was written about pressures that really never existed."

Goldwater; ACLU

✔ The state co-chairman of the Texas Goldwater Committee, Mrs. J. C. Man, Jr., of Wichita Falls, has been made co-director of the Southern region for the Goldwater for President Committee. . . . State Rep. Dick Morgan, Dallas, chairman of the Texas committee, says Goldwater is endorsed by Republican executive committees in counties with more than half of the delegate strength to the state GOP convention. . . . O'Donnell, state GOP chairman, says "Connally looks safe," suggests that it'll be a lot more fun for conservatives to vote in the Republican primary this spring. . . . Maurice Carlson, former Dallas GOP chairman, attracted 43 persons to his Nixon meeting, said a poll shows Nixon leads Goldwater in popularity in Dallas, and called for the straw vote on president in the GOP primary.

✔ The American Civil Liberties Union has filed a brief with the U.S. Supreme Court asking the invalidation of the search and seizure of John Stanford's books and papers in San Antonio and the invalidation of the two Texas anti-communist laws, as well. "In this singular case," the ACLU petition says, "the State of Texas has asserted the power to lay siege to a man's home for five hours; rummage freely through his books, records, and papers; seize and remove publications capriciously deemed to be 'pro-Communist'; and seize and remove his private papers. . . . There are nations where possession or sale of publications unpalatable to the government is deemed criminal. The United States is not one of those nations, nor was Texas until this case arose."

✔ Robert E. Lucey, Archbishop of San Antonio, said in San Antonio that the Texas legislature has failed to pass needed social legislation, but "We put that terrible legislature in Austin."

✔ It has come to the Observer's attention that "PIPE," the Public Interest Political Education Fund, is collecting monies again for the 1964 legislative elections. Presumably the emphasis will be on rural conservative candidates as before. The Harris County chapter met at the Houston Club Feb. 26; its chairman is Russell L. Jolley, and the Houston advisory group are K. P. Campbell, Charles A. Carter, J. C. Crowder, Elliott A. Johnson, E. Clyde McGraw, E. J. Mosher, L. F. Van Stone, Walter B. Van Wart, and Richard E. White.

✔ The Texas Manufacturers' Assn. has mailed to its members a news sheet calling the civil rights bill "dangerous and a "grab for power" that "puts into the hands of the President the awful power to make himself a virtual dictator."

✔ Sen. Yarborough placed in the Congressional Record the contents of the Observer's special issue on the late Walter Prescott Webb.

✔ Bob Sherrill reports from Tallahassee, Fla., that House Speaker Byron Tunnell is one of the leaders of a new scheme to get two constitutional amendments enacted to limit the U.S. Supreme Court, with 1965 legislative action all over the U.S. the target. The executive director of the "Commission for Constitutional Govt." that is pushing the plan, George Prentice, who is on the Florida state payroll to fight civil rights legislation in Washington, told Sherrill the propaganda budget will come to $100,000 a year. This same group—Midwest telephone companies, banks, trucking lines, and oil companies—pushed the three amendments, including the one for a "court of the union," that have apparently fizzled, but Sherrill says the group have every intention of pushing two of them through.

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Birchers' Tactics

✔ The John Birch Society, Tyler chapter, let a reporter for the Tyler Courier-Times cover its meeting. He reported that Donald W. Stallings, an area coordinator, said that up to a point the society asks its members to use communistic tactics—circulate reading material, bring certain speakers into an area, circulate petitions, write congressmen, and take part in politics—but that Birchers stop short of communists' murder and thievery, or immoral actions.

✔ Roy Evans, Texas AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, has come up with a novel ideal for legislation: a border investigation commission with power to recommend remedies for poverty in that area.

✔ Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr says anti-trust complaints have been light during his term—gas price wars, retail price maintenance, a recent anhydrous ammonia complaint from the high plains, and complaints charging that three coop milk associations are using their muscle to control the flow of raw milk to their advantage.

✔ Drew Pearson's column charges Cong. Albert Thomas, Houston, with making a phone call to help Southwestern Bell get a government contract at the Houston space flight center.

✔ The Securities and Exchange Cmsn. charges James J. Ling, chairman of the board of Ling-Temco-Vought, with "gross abuse of trust" by profiting from stock sales whose profits should have gone to an investment company. Ling denies it.

✔ Gov. Connally has said the report of his commission on education beyond the high school will be controversial. Its meetings became controversial when reporters pointedly complained to Connally that they were closed, but should be open. Connally defended the closed meetings.

✔ Eight legislators (Heatly, Fairchild, Barnes, Hinson, Chapman, Slider, Allen, Atwell) said they'll run Byron Tunnell's campaign for speaker while he's busy campaigning against S. G. Hanks, a Tyler refinery worker, in the Democratic primary and Tyler insurance man Bill G. Scholl of the GOP in the general election. . . . Rep. Ed Harris, Galveston, charged that a lieutenant of Speaker Tunnell's told him, in explaining Tunnell's support of the oyster shell dredgers, that the dredgers had made a very large contribution to Tunnell's campaign for speaker. Tunnell called this grossly false and absolutely unfounded. . . . The Parks and Wildlife Cmsn. has backed off from its 300-foot dredging rule, leaving protection of the reefs to administrative decision, which still does not satisfy the sportsmen who have formed "Save Our Shell." . . . J. W. Edgar, Texas commissioner of education presided at a "Freedoms Foundation" luncheon in Sweetwater. . . . Morris Jaffe, San Antonio businessman, is giving a barbecue in San Antonio in April to which Harry Truman has been invited. . . . Cong. Jim Wright has been commissioned to write a book, "You and Your Congressman," by Coward-McCann.

Observations

Our Financial Situation

The Observer very nearly broke even in 1963. Judging by steadily increasing subscriptions the first two months of 1964, we are now about financially level: that is, our income is almost matching our expenditures. If the situation improves, we can make the Observer bigger and better.

For the first eight years, 1954 through 1962, the Observer was subsidized by Mrs. R. D. Randolph of Houston. The subsidy was discontinued with the change in format and conversion to a biweekly. Mrs. Randolph, of course, continued as the principal owner and a partner with the editor. The question was, would the new situation result in a self-sustaining enterprise? The answer after the first year's operation is that it probably has.

In the calendar year 1963, we lost $543.18. Obviously we could not go on losing $500 a year and stay in business, but the trend in subscriptions seems both to Sarah Payne, our business manager, and to me to be upward.

Our income in 1963 was roughly $30,000. Of this, about 85% came from subscriptions, about 10% from advertising, and about 5% from extra copy and miscellaneous sales. If it had not been for those persons who, because of their desire to support the Observer, subscribed at patron subscribers' rates of more than $5 a year, our deficit in 1963 would have been $2,500, instead of $500.

The Observer is put out now by two of us, Miss Payne and me. Miss Payne has part-time help with the business side. Reporters and writers contribute to the editorial content for token pay. If we make further progress in subscriptions or advertising or both, we can get more editorial research done, either on assignment or by a second editorial staffer, and we can get some more help on the business side.

Miss Payne and I are content that this Observer we are continuing to put out is worth the work we give it. We are very glad that enough of you think so to have put it on a sound financial basis and we will keep it going as long as you do.

Don, Labor, and LBJ

The delegates at the Texas COPE convention have endorsed Don Yarborough twice before, and they would have done it again if President Johnson had not been opposed to it. Don has carried the liberal banner and has not equivocated; he merited labor's endorsement and support. Obviously the most important thing to Texas liberals was Senator Yarborough's re-election. Johnson knew this as well as the liberals. Texas labor leaders were drawn into a deal that if Johnson would keep big business off Ralph's back, they

would oppose Texas labor endorsing Don. This made a farce of union democracy at the COPE convention last month. The delegates' leaders had made a deal, the benefit — Ralph's almost-free ride — had been delivered, and the delegates felt they had to keep the deal. They made their own decision to do it, but they felt they had been jimmied to where they didn't have much real choice, and that was right, they had been. Texas labor will do all it can for Don Yarborough anyway, of course. The main point is that Lyndon Johnson has tried to short-circuit Texas liberalism again.

Another episode at the convention throws more light on this question of union democracy. Labor leaders who were charged to promote an opponent to Joe Pool, the congresman-at-small, could come up with no one better than Bob Baker of Houston, who jumps from one camp to another like Woody Woodpecker in a cartoon chase. Meanwhile, out on the plains, attorney Dan Sullivan of Andrews, a proven liberal Democrat, decided he wanted to oppose Pool, and although he learned about Baker and labor on filing deadline day, he filed anyway. At the COPE convention Sullivan bowled the delegates over with his articulate and all-liberal speech. Those who had helped promote Baker to run, such as Eddie Ball of the Steelworkers, in effect argued that it had been their job to find an opponent for Pool, they had found him, and the delegates were stuck with him. But the delegates divided, 139 for Baker and 139 for Sullivan. The endorsement was off. Democracy had been heard from. Had it not been for the deal with Baker in advance, Sullivan would have got the endorsement.

What's the difference between COPE and, say, PASO? PASO endorsed Don because they were free of national-level presidential power politics that are bread and butter to the labor movement. The same thing is true of liberal Texas Negroes and the independent liberals. The Democratic Coalition was set up on the basis of four cooperating but autonomous groups to make sure that it would not collapse in just the situation that has, once again, occurred: labor watering down the program of Texas liberalism because of pressure from Washington.

The leaders of the Texas AFL-CIO have gone far with effective, difficult liberalism. They are right on civil rights; they are right on the broad spectrum of social legislation of benefit to the general public; they are crusading to help *mexicanos* get unions and make more money in Texas; all around they are good, decent guys. They will be there this spring and this summer and next winter, year after year; except for certain unruly occasions where Texas liberals say to hell with labor's deals and do what they want to. Thank God for those. They are the stuff of a free and open society.

Ridiculous

Carolyn Lima, who was given the death penalty three years ago for the sex-torch murder of a Houston man, came within four hours of electrocution at Huntsville. Granted a new trial, she was tried—separately from her male colleague in the crime, with whom she had been tried simultaneously before—and last week a Houston jury gave her five years for the crime.

One can understand why District Attorney Frank Briscoe said the latest jury decision is "most ridiculous," since it appears to make him look ridiculous. But actually what it makes look ridiculous is capital punishment itself. Here, within three years, two separate juries, considering the same evidence against this woman, give her the death penalty on one occasion and five years in the penitentiary on another. Justice is a fragile and a frangible thing. Under no circumstances should the law ever close the final door, death itself, because twelve fallible people believe the door should be closed.

Briscoe thinks Miss Lima had death coming to her, and he wanted her executed.

Three years ago twelve jurors said, yes, all right: do away with her. Last week twelve jurors told him, no; five years. If you are in favor of capital punishment, you have something to think over.

Information on Death

Austin

Rev. Brandoch Lovely of the Unitarian Church of Austin had some true things to say about death and funerals.

In a combination of sharp business practices and very poor religion, there is a conspiracy to hide the fact of death, he said. He recalled a sermon at a funeral that was designed to prove that "nothing significant had happened. No one had died —he had simply transferred place of residence."

In early days, he said, "Death was something that was known. It was not something that happened behind the curtain. People died at home. People took care of their own dead. There was also something to do. A shroud to be made. A grave to be dug. A service to be said. Now there is nothing to do. It can all be done for us, except the mourning."

The concept of "grief therapy" has an effect opposite to the one intended, Lovely suggested.

But, he said, to believe that funeral directors are more apt to be charlatans than others is too easy an explanation of our expensive, tasteless funeral practices. We ourselves demand these services, because we fail to "pre-think" our courses of action for when death comes, as it inevitably will.

When death comes to someone we love, he said, we have not only the burden of transferring our love away from a body that is dead; we also have guilt, for "there was always something more we could have done. There is a limit to what we practically can do for each other." Guilt, too, because the thought flashes instinctively into the mind, "I'm glad it wasn't me." And for this grief and for this guilt "we can be forced to pay."

Perhaps one solution, Lovely said, is the memorial society the men's club of his church has formed.

This is the Austin Memorial and Burial Information Society, the first purpose of which is "to achieve dignity and simplicity in after-death services for members and their families." The office of the society is 4700 Grover Avenue, Austin, Tex. The membership fee is $5 a family. Its main practical function, it seems from its statement of purpose, will be to provide information and suggest sound practices for its members. R.D.

Courtesan of the Southwest

With its boulevard lined with grand, pretentious mansions and its backstreets crowded with deserted brothels, its tough, lively waterfront district and its Gulf shore littered with the wind-damaged relics of amusement facilities, Galveston calls to mind a Tennessee Williams heroine, a sort of Blanche duBois of American cities. A broken-down gay lady, faded, jaded, aging and sad, she is yet gallant and still possesses a certain shabby splendor. Her history is gay, reckless, and poignant. Her

mother was a consummate Southern lady; her father was a pirate. For cash on the line she lay with gamblers, sailors, cowboys, oilmen, and pimply-faced college boys, yet to hear her tell it, her liaisons were of a more genteel variety. Graceful in the parlor, a hellcat in bed, foul-mouthed as a roughneck in her cups, she pretended to nobility and elegance while her lovers laughed and made her name an unprintable by-word in every bar in Texas. She never believed that she would grow old, that her luck would run out. She lied to herself and kept on lying even when the law had locked her doors and a hurricane had blown the front porch off. The lines of age and hard living had already been there; now she has suffered a wound not mortal, perhaps, but crippling and slow to heal. Still she presides over the Gulf of Mexico in all her weather-beaten grandeur, her greying head held with dignity. And if the velvet dress is moth-eaten, the old jewels still have some glitter. To passers-by she tells lies about her childhood, and in her heart she believes that when the oleander blooms again, her lovers will come back to her. Then it will be just like the good old days. And if it doesn't happen that way, there are still those who knew her in her prime. Mention her name and they'll chuckle and tell you she could drink with the best of them. And, well, hell, she was awful damned good in bed.

SARA HENDRICKSON PARK

★

FREE (AND HIDEBOUND)

The good, grey, objective Associated Press, to wit:

"HOUSTON, Texas (AP)— . . . Loosely organized for about a year, the independent—or doctrinaire—liberals form one of four branches of the Coalition."

—The Dallas News, March 1

Dialogue

The Crux of the Missouri Plan

Issue now seems to be joined between Charles A. Wright and Judge (ex-Professor) St. John Garwood on the merits and demerits of the Missouri Plan as a method of selecting judges.

If I understand Mr. Wright's complaint correctly, he feels that the Missouri Plan is not fairly representative, as it will not lead to the appointment of qualified judges who may represent ethnic, social, or economic minority groups. Judge Garwood's position, if I understand it, is that the present Texas system of governors filling vacancies by appointment, and of election of judges, is no more likely to produce the result sought by Mr. Wright than the Missouri Plan, and therefore we should opt for the Missouri Plan.

There is a major question which neither man has clarified. Under the Missouri Plan, just how is the committee which is to advise the governor on selection of judges to be composed? We know that the literature says it is to be made up of lawyers and laymen, but we don't know how long the selection committee is to stay in office, how it is appointed, and how it is to be perpetuated.

This is the crux of the problem.

The position taken by Mr. Wright makes good sense if one recognizes that in the not very distant future, it is very probable that a governor will be elected whose interests are such that he might appoint from the various minority groups. If this were done, then we would meet the objections raised by Mr. Wright while retaining the present system.

However, Judge Garwood's position seems to be based on the assumption that we will never have a governor who will appoint to vacancies from minority groups. Thus I think the ball is back in his corner. Will he enlighten us as to the appointment, composition, tenure, and the method of perpetuating the Missouri Plan selection committee?

E. Ernest Goldstein, Austin, Tex.

Judge Garwood Replies

The following is submitted in response to the inquiries of my friend Professor Goldstein:

The term "Missouri Plan" has come to be generic and thus not necessarily to mean an exact copy of the system in actual use in Missouri. Different states adopt variations of the plan according to their respective preferences as to detailed provisions. In Texas, the latest of the several versions proposed since 1946 is the one recently approved by the Texas Civil Judicial Council and the State Bar committee on judicial selection, compensation and tenure, and on its provisions I base my answers as follows:

Since the plan is to apply to, but only to, Texas appellate courts, there will be 13 district nominating commissions corresponding respectively to the 13 geographical districts respectively served by one of our 13 courts of civil appeals, each such commission having the duty (a) to make nominations for executive appointments to the court of civil appeals of its district, and (b) to elect from its own membership a delegate to a fourteenth or state nominating commission, which, in turn, makes nominations for executive appointments to the Texas Supreme Court and Court of Criminal Appeals.

Each district commission will consist of five district residents, of whom two shall be lawyers (elected by the Bar of the district under procedure to be prescribed by the Supreme Court) and three non-lawyers (appointed by the governor with senatorial confirmation). The one state commission will consist of 13 members. How many of these will be lawyers and how many non-lawyers will depend on the action of the district commissions in choosing them.

Membership on a district commission shall not include more than two residents of a single county.

The terms of office of the district and state commissioners are respectively six years and two years, with prohibition against self-succession. District commission terms are staggered so that one lawyer-member goes out every three years and one non-lawyer member every two years. Interim vacancies shall be filled for the unexpired term only and by the same process as original selection.

Committee members receive no compensation and may not be holders of, or candidates for, any public employment or public office of remuneration, or office or employment in a political party; nor shall any member be eligible for nomination for an appellate judgeship during membership and for two years thereafter.

There are a few more detail provisions in connection with the general subject matter of Professor Goldstein's inquiry, but the foregoing are the principal ones.

And may I add (speaking for myself) that I would not be too unhappy to "settle" for the Missouri "no elective opponent" feature and with selection to be made by the governor alone rather than upon commission-nomination. Indeed, I prefer the federal system to what we now have. But I don't think "democratic" selection is better served by either unrestricted gubernatorial appointment or open elections than by the commission-nomination system. Or is it, perchance, true, that officials like our state university chancellors, presidents, and professors (even of football) are but lackeys of Texas "aristocracy," selected, as they are, by a quite definitely commission-type system?

W. St. John Garwood, lawyer, P.O. Box 14, Austin 16, Texas.