

The Texas Observer

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A Journal of Free Voices

A Window to The South

25c

THE ELECTION IN KENEDY

Dan Strawn

Kenedy, Texas

The cloud was beginning to rise on the horizon that would harden the hearts and create bitterness among the citizens of Kenedy. The Republicans were girding their loins for battle. Gone were the halcyon days of smiling Dwight and even those of frowning Dickie. Alas, trouble was afoot. Undaunted, however diminished, they decided to make a fight of it. One Republican confided to me at first that they might meet in secret to plot their attack on the Democratic bastion, but no, they did not do that. Their mettle was of sterner stuff. They opened one of the numerous empty buildings on Main Street of Kenedy, lofted their banners of Americanism and flaunted Barry and Representative Miller at Peking and the Kremlin. Everyone could see that the Russians would not dare attack Kenedy with such formidable pictures glaring at them on Main Street.

The Democratic bastion was a block further down. Ike Handelman was the Karnes County Democratic Chairman who held forth in Handelman's Department Store. He had a loudspeaker from which he blared forth Democratic speeches and announcements and drove the Republicans (and perhaps a few others) berserk with "Everything's O.K. at the L.B.J." over and over again. Most of the time the streets were practically vacant, but the Republicans, staunch and steadfast, never deserting their post, were deluged by the noise. Of course on Saturday everybody caught it.

Republican honor was at stake. They, not to be outdone, rigged up a loudspeaker of their own, but its tones were so feminine and its volume so unostentatious that it was merely an exhalation in a whirlwind compared to Ike's device—that was, when they could get it to work. I tried to work it but didn't have much luck with it. Eventually they took it down, leaving the field to Ike, maintaining that they felt it their civic duty not to annoy passersby with it and pointing out that such things were unlawful in big cities such as New York and Chicago.

The Republican headquarters had two definite advantages over the Democratic one. It had good coffee and attractive wom-

en to serve it. I must congratulate them that they never threw me out. One lady, transcendentalized by campaign zeal, threatened to charge me fifty cents for the next cup, but all in all I was treated very nicely for a suspected Democrat. They hoped to save me from the sins and perditions of socialistic mentors and convert me to the true faith to take up a stick and smite crime, Russians, Reds, Cubans, and medicare. So I turned a deaf ear to the hill country Lenin and listened to the panacea of Americanism without government controls, a place where nobody had to work to support the government, where communism would get its comeuppance. The coffee was excellent, and then I walked out into the world again.

THE REPUBLICANS were going to make a fight of it. They had been reading in the papers about fraudulent poll tax addresses all over the place in the big cities and in the smaller ones. This was not going to happen in Kenedy. The answer was poll watchers. Immediately, they sought volunteers. I heard about it as I was passing by and offered my services, but the Republican chairman viewed me with suspicion, perhaps because he remembered a bet we had on the election. None but the faithful were to be allowed as poll watchers.

When Ike heard of all this he was astonished. Never in the history of Kenedy had there ever been poll watchers. "Only crooks think everybody else is crooks," Ike said. The precinct chairwomen were enraged having their efficiency questioned. There was only one solution. Having poll watchers to watch the poll watchers.

In precinct 19, my precinct, the Republicans had selected Mrs. James Puckett, the deputy sheriff's wife, to watch the polls. Ike selected Mrs. Ruby Schultz, a quite formidable lady, to be the Democratic poll watcher. Mrs. Puckett rapidly put Mrs. Schultz to flight by asking her for her credentials and badge. Who had ever heard of credentials and a badge? Mrs. Schultz immediately called Ike, who fled to Karnes City to see the county attorney. The county attorney said that she couldn't be authorized as a poll watcher because she hadn't

been notified 24 hours before the election, but that she could be an interpreter, so she ran back down there to watch Mrs. Puckett some more.

Soon phone calls began coming in to Ike from irate voters complaining of being watched. They had never been watched before while they voted. There was something unAmerican about all this. You realize that in Kenedy we vote, not as city slickers are wont to do—in booths, but on tables out in plain view, if one wants to look hard enough. People began calling up asking why a Democratic sheriff's deputy's wife was a Republican poll watcher. The complaints were beginning to fall unharmoniously on the sheriff's ears. The sheriff, however, was looking forward to an uncomplicated four-year tenure in office. He was unopposed. The deputy sheriff, evidently getting wind of it, came into the store and announced that he was a straight-ticket Democrat through and through.

However, suspicions were not assuaged, and disloyalty was suspected even in the highest quarters, the sheriff's. One irate onlooker even remarked, "If I had a wife like that I'd spank her fanny," but she stayed.

The precinct chairwoman was formidable too. She reportedly threatened to turn the youthful Republican county chairman over her knee. She ordered him out from where the votes were being counted and seized a package that he was giving to his poll watcher. It turned out to be only a sandwich, but she pointed out that everything given to a poll watcher had to be inspected to ferret out contraband.

One Runge precinct chairman was indignant because they had a poll watcher in his precinct and none in the other, but the Republican chairman replied that they didn't have enough poll watchers to go around.

In Karnes City the county agent, a Democrat, had to yank his Republican poll watching wife out when irate Democrats began threatening his job.

Tempers grew hotter. One female Republican worker hailed a woman voter down and informed her that only "Mexicans, Niggers, Jews, and poor white trash" voted

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Election Reflections

Senator Goldwater's new slogan: Today Mississippi, Tomorrow the World.

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We do not intend to sit idly by while Texas Republicans are so terribly abused. Some of our best friends are Texas Republicans. Many of them can read and write, and most of them have a good income. They dress well and go to the right churches and prep schools. Most of them did not know Senator Goldwater and were misled by their leaders. We say let's give them another chance.

True, we do not propose a general amnesty; this would be carrying friendship too far. Senator John Tower was one of the original ring-leaders in the Goldwater disaster and helped make the strategy on a day to day basis. It can be argued whimsically, of course, that he thereby put Democrats in his debt; but this is not so, for the Goldwater disaster fostered and nourished irresponsible reaction that will be with us a long time.

The difficulty is finding enough Republicans who still have some claim, in Texas, to public interest and confidence in light of the election returns. (We refrain from saying to Texas Republicans that "We told you so," although we did, as we have now twice remarked in the course of refraining from doing so.) Let us peruse the Republicans' post-election statements in quest of candor and luminosity.

Maurice Carlson, ex-Dallas GOP chairman, tried to start a Nixon boom in Dallas, and he's now calling for a purge of the Goldwater leadership. "We need leaders with blood in their veins, not venom and bile," Carlson said. "We need leaders who realize that the Republican Party cannot be merely a second Confederate Army whistling Dixie and marching through Mississippi and Alabama under the Rebel flag urging the reinstatement of slavery."

Bruce Alger took his and Goldwater's defeats as proof that we're on the way to "a socialistic dictatorship." Whatever Ed Foreman of Odessa said has escaped our notice, which almost certainly is just as well. These two congressmen will not be missed. Charles Haden, the Harris County GOP chairman, quit, assuring all that he decided to do so before, not after, the election. "Our weakness," he said, "lies not in our philosophy but in our preachment of it." He's just as well out of it, too.

Bill Elliott, Houston's Republican city councilman, suggested Peter O'Donnell of Dallas, the state chairman and the chief of the Draft Goldwater movement, and Gaston Jones, the state committeeman

from Harris County, should resign. Elliott made the practical point that Goldwater polled eight million votes less than Nixon in Texas.

O'Donnell, however, said the election proved that Americans did not want to change presidents twice in one year. He seemed to overlook that it also proved Americans did not want to change the president this year. O'Donnell is not resigning.

Tad Smith, the former state Republican chairman who directed Goldwater's Texas campaign, blamed Goldwater, not his ideas. Texans voted "against Sen. Goldwater personally. . . . His loss did not represent a repudiation of either the conservative philosophy or the Republican Party," Smith said. Poor Goldwater, so recently a hero.

John Kingsbery, co-chairman of Travis County Goldwaterites, says neither Goldwater nor the conservative movement is to blame for the returns. "A liberal or moderate liberal Republican would have lost even more," he says. Republicans running for office, Kingsbery says—revealing what's *really* worrying him—"realize that it was not the fault of their organization, the state organization, or the national organization. They were victims of a massive vote of confidence for President Lyndon B. Johnson." Kingsbery, too, neglects to understand that a vote of confidence *that* massive was inversely a vote of no confidence in Goldwater just as massive.

Senator Tower is trying to feel his way toward a tenable position. He suggests that those who did not support Goldwater withdraw as possible leaders of the party. This is just about as logical as Nixon blaming Rockefeller for the Goldwater disaster although it was Rockefeller who had the sense to oppose it while Nixon was squeezing around in the wings hoping lightning would strike him if he played along with Goldwater. But Tower also says that the party should be "reunified" to include "Republicans of all types."

The Texas Republicans received, through the candidacy of George Bush, more votes than they ever have before in a political contest in Texas. They have a large number of political workers, now saddened by experience. They have IBM voter information systems in Dallas and Houston that are the terror of tatterdemalion Democrats. Two years from now they can come back to win some offices in the Congress and the legislature; although they will probably lose their U.S. senator, they are not yet to be counted out of the governor's race.

But all that aside, their responsibility in Texas—as distinct from their future in Texas—depends on their heeding the voices that want no part of extremism, that want the Birchers excluded from the right wing,

and that will not tolerate mindless slogans and vendettas at the expense of the national welfare.

Many Texans who have never liked living in a one-party state will watch their doings the next two years with pessimistic, critical, but not hopeless interest.

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There is a good deal of lamenting in Texas about professors who do not have the realism or courage to leave their protected rounds and engage themselves in the meaningful issues of this time and place. The 1,014 Texas professors who signed the newspaper declaration for Johnson, Humphrey, Yarborough, and Connally were asserting their citizenship against the knowledge that there might be those who would hold it against them. Their doing this did matter, and they should be thanked.

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Usually the slogans by which politicians seek to project their images do not merit repeating. Every now and then, however, one of our public officials hits upon just the phrase to strike instant admiration into the subconscious of the electorate and make himself the envy of his colleagues in self-selling. We have decided that hereafter, in editorials about Waggoner Carr, we should never fail to repeat his own reelection slogan this fall, to wit: "Waggoner Carr, Texas' *GREAT* Attorney General." In evidence, paid political advertisements for Carr mention such *GREAT* achievements as "Over 200 Official Opinions Released," "Opened Branch Office in Dallas," "Enlarged Houston Branch Office," and "Won or Disposed of 85% of Cases Handled." All Hail, then, to Waggoner ("Texas' *GREAT* Attorney General") Carr.

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Congressman Jack Brooks of Beaumont, a progressive Democrat and as close an associate of President Johnson as any of the Texas congressmen, would make a formidable candidate for U.S. senator from Texas two years from now. Jim Wright of Fort Worth voted against the civil rights law and against repeal of the poll tax; John Connally, the governor, opposed the civil rights law and medicare. Brooks has made a record in Washington that has unexceptionable appeal to the progressive coalition of Texas Democrats who re-elected Sen. Yarborough this fall. Furthermore, Brooks has stood beside Sen. Yarborough when it was most difficult to do so—such as last spring, when a certain Fort Worth congressman was telling people they should be grateful to him because he didn't run against Yarborough, and this fall, when the governor was refusing to endorse Yarborough by name. We suggest that friends of Congressman Brooks explore the possibility of his candidacy for the Senate in 1966. □

(Continued From Page 1)

for Lyndon. Ike was indignant at first, but then he said, "She should have put the Jews first."

One Republican said, "If Johnson is elected, in six months this country will be turned over to the communists." I replied, "Don't worry, if Lyndon's elected in six months the Russians will be complaining of having one T.V. station in Moscow." This seemed to calm him somewhat.

The day drew on and near its end found me making bets on the senatorial race in front of Republican headquarters, where misty eyed they were gathering around their T.V. set to watch the first votes coming in from the east.

In Beeville to the south Catholic voters had gotten a letter with the Monsigneur's

forged signature instructing them that the Pope wanted them to vote for Goldwater because he didn't want a communist for president. That didn't help Goldwater's chances much there.

The Republican county chairman asked me somewhat malevolently, "How is it that all the mistakes we find are in favor of the Democrats?"

"I don't know," I replied blandly.

"That's just what the county judge told me." He sneered.

"Maybe there are just more Democrats," I suggested.

"Well, this election was run according to the election code, and from now on all the others will be, too."

It was all right with me. Johnson got 3,177 votes to Goldwater's 993.

IN CONCLUSION I must say in all fairness that Republicans are bad losers. As I hopefully strode into my first debtee's establishment he threw the money on the floor in front of me from inside his rest room. When I went to collect from another one, a much worse case, he got amnesia that is practically impossible to penetrate. Still another, having a pale hue, said that he was sick for three days after Kennedy was elected. I told him not to worry, that medicare would take care of him.

The bitterness is abating somewhat now with only an occasional curse or moan and Kenedy is again launched on its ineluctable patch towards 1968. □

New Power for the Texas Minorities

Austin

Perhaps the most impressive new fact of Texas politics, apart from those that are obvious, is the politically coercive influence of Negro and Latin-American voters. It has become dangerous to the career of a statewide candidate to be known as an opponent of civil rights. Whereas in 1960 President Kennedy received about three-fourths of the votes of the state's two big minorities, this fall President Johnson and Senator Yarborough received 95% of their votes, and, in dense racial ghettos in the big cities, 98 and 99%. Not only did the "white backlash" not materialize in East Texas, where Johnson and Yarborough swept all but a mere three counties; as Marshall attorney Franklin Jones, Sr., remarked as the returns piled in, "This wasn't a backlash; this was a backlash." Aroused probably in large part by the tumultuous racial demonstrations of the last three years and afforded clearly outlined friends and enemies by the stands public figures took on the civil rights law, more Negroes registered, and then those who were registered voted in higher proportions than they did in 1960.

In general, they voted the straight Democratic ticket, benefiting, for instance, Cong. Bob Casey of Houston, although he voted against the civil rights bill, and Gov. John Connally, although he opposed the public accommodations section, just as much as they helped Johnson and Yarborough. The straight-ticket strategy was pushed assiduously in the minority areas of the big cities to avoid long line-ups after the polls closed that would be caused by slow, ticket-splitting voting.

Governor Connally was the leading vote-getter for the Democrats, but it is generally overlooked that Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr ran very nearly level with Connally's total. Connally defeated his GOP opponent by 1,208,000 votes; Johnson defeated Gold-

water in Texas by 698,000; Yarborough defeated George Bush by 330,000. Connally received 214,000 more votes than Johnson and 412,000 more votes than Yarborough. But these figures attest without qualification to Connally's superior popularity only if one accepts as correct the premise that Connally was engaged in a serious political contest this fall, as Johnson and Yarborough were. It was obvious that he was not, and the votes received by other Democratic candidates for statewide office further in-

dicate that he was not. Little more than the hard-core Republican vote was cast against him. Connally received 1,865,000 votes, but Carr received 1,833,000, just 32,000 fewer, and Connally's total exceeded Lt. Gov. Preston Smith's by 98,000, Land Cmsr. Jerry Sadler's by 108,000, and Agriculture Cmsr. John White's by 147,000.

Estimates presently available to the Observer indicate that about 250,000 Negroes

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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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and 185,000 Latin-Americans voted in Texas this year, and if the overwhelmingly pro-Democratic patterns among them that are evident from the urban precincts were statewide, the minorities were a decisive factor in Sen. Yarborough's victory. That is, he would not have won without them, just as he would not have won, for instance, without the rural brass-collar Democratic votes. Bush carried urban West Texas, where members of minorities do not live in significant numbers, but in areas where Yarborough has had a close go before, the minorities provided an extra margin, and in his solid areas he won strongly with the "White Anglo-Saxon Protestant" (WASP) and minority voters.

IN BIG CITIES the patterns were fairly clear in Texas: Johnson appealed more than Kennedy did to upper-income and upper-middle-income suburban voters; Johnson and Yarborough absolutely swept the minority precincts; the backlash was not substantial, except possibly in the Sabine area.

Dallas County, which has gone Republican the last three presidential elections, went for Johnson 167-137 thousand. Bush had planned on a 70 thousand margin in Dallas but got only 26. Minority precincts that were blockworked by the Democratic Coalition (hereafter short-handed as blockworked precincts) gave Johnson and Yarborough 24-1 and 22-1 majorities, respectively, and margins of more than 20,000 votes. Democrat Earle Cabell, defeating Cong. Bruce Alger, attributed his victory to the teamwork in Dallas between liberals and conservatives. Precinct 180, Negro, voted for Cabell 1,174-10. GOP county chairman John Leedom said that 11,000 Negro votes were cast in Dallas in the 1962 general election, compared to 32,000 this time.

County Democratic Chairman Bill Clark attributed the Dallas returns to six factors: Kennedy's assassination having happened in Dallas; 100,000 more poll taxes in 1964 than in 1960; a Texan running for president; the most popular governor in Texas history on the ticket; the fact that the Democratic candidates complemented each other; and Johnson's image of responsibility and ability.

In Harris County, containing Houston, the largest city in the South, approximately 70 to 75,000 Negroes voted. How they voted may be deduced from the Houston Chronicle's computations on precincts that are virtually all Negro wherein 56,536 voted, 98% for Johnson and Yarborough. Labor precincts in Houston voted heavily Democratic; middle-income precincts favored Bush slightly. Goldwater carried upper-middle and upper-income precincts, but by less than Nixon. In River Oaks-Tanglewood, the poshest areas in Houston, Johnson gained 12.5% over Kennedy. Yarborough would have lost Harris County without his majorities in Negro boxes; Johnson would have won there had no Negro votes been cast in Houston, but as Walter Mansell pointed out in the Houston Chroni-

cle, he would have lost if they had voted Republican. As it was, Johnson took Harris 225-151 thousand; Yarborough won it, 196-173 thousand.

Bexar County has heavily concentrated Latin-American voters on the west side and a large Negro component on the east side. Johnson took Bexar, 106-55 thousand; Yarborough, 93-64. Figures provided the Observer on Bexar County show that in the 43 Latin-American precincts worked by Cty. Cmsr. Albert Pena's organization affiliated with the Democratic Coalition, Yarborough received a margin of 24 thousand; in the 14 Negro precincts worked by G. J. Sutton's group, similarly affiliated, Yarborough's margin was 10 thousand. In Bexar, 29% of the voters gave Yarborough 120% of his victory margin and 44% of his total vote there.

In Tarrant, Travis, Jefferson, and Galveston counties, the story in the Negro precincts is basically the same. In El Paso County eight heavily Latin-American precincts voted 94% for Johnson and 92% for Yarborough. In Cameron County blockworked precincts, mostly Latin-American, voted 77% for Johnson and 79% for Yarborough.

Whether the work of the Democratic Coalition increased registration and turnout in its selected precincts is a separate question from that of how these precincts voted. Preliminary estimates provided by Martin Wigington, the Coalition's staff coordinator, showed turnout in blockworked precincts up 2 to 5% in Dallas, up 6% in Tarrant, down 6% in Cameron, up 5% in Port Arthur but down slightly in Beaumont, up 12.5% in Travis, and up 4% in Galveston. In 37 all-Negro precincts in Harris County, where the work of turnout was handled by the Harris County Democrats and workers associated with Mrs. R. D. Randolph, the former Democratic national committeewoman, turnout increased from 40,000 in 1960 to 53,000 in 1964.

Here, in thousands, are margins in some other urban Texas areas:

Brazoria, Johnson 16-7, Yarborough 14-10; Ector, Goldwater 11-11, Bush 13-9; El Paso, Johnson 30-21, Yarborough 31-24; Galveston, Johnson 29-12, Yarborough 26-14; Gregg, Goldwater 12-9, Bush 12-8; Hidalgo, Johnson 21-11, Yarborough 19-12; Jefferson, Johnson 45-29, Yarborough 41-31; Lubbock, Johnson 22-18, Bush 24-16; McLennan, Johnson 28-11, Yarborough 26-14; Midland, Goldwater 12-9, Bush 14-6; Nueces, Johnson 40-14, Yarborough 35-18; Potter, Johnson 12-11, Bush 14-10; Smith, Goldwater 12-12, Bush 14-11; Tarrant, Johnson 97-57, Yarborough 83-70; Taylor, Johnson 13-9, Yarborough 11-11; Travis, Johnson 44-19, Yarborough 37-27; Wichita, Johnson 19-9, Yarborough 17-11.

The Democratic sweep was compounded in Texas, of course, when the Texas delegation to the House became all-Democratic, Republican Alger of Dallas losing to Cabell 171-128 and Republican Ed Foreman of El Paso losing to Richard White 70-55. Cong.-at-large Joe Pool defeated Republican Bill Hayes, 1,675 thousand to 822

thousand. The GOP fielded an opponent against every Democratic nominee for the U.S. House and lost every one. Margins in thousands by which the other Democratic nominees won: Patman 51-18, Brooks 75-45, Beckworth 53-36, Roberts 47-11, Teague 53-12, Dowdy 64-12; Thomas 103-30, Thompson 104-33, Pickle 79-24, Poage 62-14, Wright 108-50, Purcell 67-22, Young 104-31, de la Garza 66-29, Burleson 63-18, Rogers 58-48, Mahon 85-24, Gonzalez 100-56, Fisher 61-17, Casey 134-96. It is of some interest that the 22 Republicans who ran for Congress from districts (excluding, therefore, Hayes) collected a total among them of about 810,000 votes, more than any other statewide GOP candidate except Bush and Hayes.

The total Texas vote for president was 2.6 million, compared to 2.3 million in 1960. Johnson got 63.3%, Yarborough 56.3%, and Connally 73.8%. The three constitutional amendments passed roughly 2-1.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON and Senator Yarborough swept East, North, Central, South, and West Texas counties except the upper Panhandle and spotted pockets. The President lost just 16 counties; Yarborough lost 34, with two more tied as of the all but final Texas Election Bureau returns Nov. 8. The Republican pockets, aside from the upper Panhandle, were a strip of counties along the Midland-Odessa complex, the German counties of the hill country, and three East Texas counties. The most conspicuous county that Johnson carried but Yarborough lost was Dallas, but there were 18 of these.

Senator Goldwater carried 16 Texas counties out of the 254, compared to 80 carried by Nixon in '60. Goldwater's 16: Ector, Gray, Gregg, Hutchinson, Kendall, Midland, Randall, Smith, and the miniscule voting populations of Edwards, Glasscock, Hansford, Lipscomb, Ochiltree, Panola, Roberts, and Sherman. Dallas, heretofore the GOP stronghold, cast 12% of the state's vote but gave Goldwater only 14% of his statewide total. It is a stark comment on Goldwater's flop in Texas that among the eight counties of goodly size that he carried, his best showings were 4-3 victories in Gregg and Midland, each of which he carried by about 3,000 votes. He took Smith by a margin of just one vote out of every 50 cast there.

In addition to the counties Johnson lost, Yarborough lost Moore, Oldham, Potter, Deaf Smith, Parmer, Bailey, Hale, Lubbock, Yoakum, and Gaines in the Panhandle; Loving, Winkler, and Ward just west of Midland-Odessa; Gillespie, Kerr, Bandera, and Uvalde in the hill country; and Dallas, Andrews and Hartley were ties.

Some of the county returns outside the urban complexes have a quixotic interest. Because of the location of Johnson's ranch, a special effort was made to carry Gillespie County for him, and it succeeded, 4-3, despite the county's deep Republican tradition. Blanco County, where the President voted, supported him 1,197 to 29. Bell, in deep-eyed brass-collar Democrat country,

voted 5-1 for Johnson and 13-4 for Yarborough. South Texas boss counties went Democratic strongly. Webb was 10-1 for Johnson, 7-2 for Yarborough. Duval was 21-1 for Johnson, 19-1 for Yarborough.

Do these results mean the Republican Party is a lost cause for some years in Texas? Not necessarily, although the Democratic power structure that now dominates national politics will be able to take its tolls with especially telling effect in Texas because the President is Texan.

The silver lining for the Texas GOP is a statement that can just barely be made, but is nevertheless significant, that George Bush, while losing with a thump, got more votes than any Republican ever received in Texas—more than Eisenhower in 1952 or 1956 and more by a whisker than Nixon in 1960. (Nixon got 1,325 fewer Texas votes than Bush's total as of Nov. 8.) The electorate has been expanding, of course, but Texas Republicans can hope for better times on the basis of Bush having received

1.2 million votes and Goldwater's getting 85% of the Nixon total in the midst of their national pratfall.

It is still true, as Jon Ford sagaciously pointed out in the San Antonio Express, that the hard-core Texas Republican vote, gauged by the votes cast for state candidates who were not the lead horses, has increased a mere 100,000 over that in 1960. This is a pop fly to right field compared to the 600,000 new Republicans the state party was trying to locate and sign up this year.

Gov. Connally's Chosen Non-Role

Gov. John Connally's chosen role in the Yarborough-Bush contest was a non-role. Connally explicitly advocated a straight-ticket vote, but he never specified that this included Yarborough. Although logically, of course, it did, liberal Democrats could not fail to perceive that Connally was holding aloof from Yarborough and keeping the state party campaign effort as far away from the senator as he could.

Connally's silence about Yarborough was the more conspicuous in light of the governor's several journeys to Dallas to support Earle Cabell for Congress. The Dallas Democratic candidates for the legislature came down to Austin, had a meal at the Mansion, and basked in the governor's protracted public encomiums. (Of conservative Ben Atwell, one of the Dallas candidates for the House, the governor was quoted this fall, "As governor I cannot accomplish the duties expected of me without men like him." Texas AFL-CIO, in its evaluations of legislators' votes on key issues, gave Atwell a three-session total, 1957 through 1961, of 66 "bad votes" and six "good" ones.) The governor helped open a building in Dallas, made campaign speeches for Johnson in other states, and helped the Johnson campaign from the White House, but when asked—in Washington and during the governor's conference in San Antonio—about Yarborough's candidacy, he observed that Yarborough would probably run behind Johnson and him because some conservatives were not going to vote for the senator.

It was in this context that Charles Moss, Llano Democratic chairman, wired Connally Oct. 24, in advance of a seven-county Democratic rally in Llano, "We, the leaders of the Democratic Party of Llano County, are calling on our fellow Democrats everywhere to support the straight Democratic ticket from the White House to the courthouse, and we are sincerely trustful that some outward and immediate declaration from you as head of the state organization will make it crystal clear that this includes our senior senator, Ralph W. Yarborough, and that you are supporting him also." Connally never answered this wire.

In private, Connally's early position was that he was for Yarborough and that the senator's people had better not depend on

optimistic polls, because it would be a difficult race. The governor had Marvin Watson of Daingerfield made the state Democratic chairman in September, despite the fact that Watson is closely associated in business with E. B. Germany, the Lone Star Steel magnate who was conspicuous in the "Democrats for Bush" movement. When steelworkers pressed Connally about this, he said Watson was for Yarborough; Watson never said so publicly. (Watson spent most of the campaign in Washington, working with Johnson forces in the Democratic National Committee and, in the late stages, in the White House.)

A group of labor people, coordinated by Mrs. Latane Lambert, worked out of the Johnson-Humphrey state campaign headquarters in Austin. The only pictures of Yarborough in the state headquarters were displayed in Mrs. Lambert's work area, and the only Yarborough literature available

in the headquarters had to be obtained from this same area. Blake Gillen, the director of organization for the national campaign in Texas, sought to relate almost entirely with Connally people around the state; his attitude toward the pro-Yarborough activity in the area supervised by Mrs. Lambert was frosty, and the Yarborough people in the headquarters felt like outsiders. When a birthday party was given for state campaign manager Hunter McLean, Mrs. Lambert and Mrs. Lenora Rolla of the Democratic Coalition staff were not invited (they went anyway). While M. J. Anderson of Austin, a Negro leader of the United Political Organizations (U.P.O.), was an official in the state campaign, no Latin-American was designated to a corresponding role, because each time a person was proposed the labor-Democratic Coalition people objected to him. Nevertheless, McLean vigorously investigated reports of anti-Yarborough activity in association with the Johnson-Humphrey campaign in Texas and satisfied Yarborough workers in the state headquarters that he was not tolerating such activity.

Connally's Plans

Austin

What is Gov. John Connally's platform for state government the next two years? The Texas League of Women Voters asked him, in a candidate questionnaire, "What are the major goals you would like to accomplish in the next two years?" and he replied in advance of the election:

"Greater fulfillment of state and local responsibilities in improving education at all levels, including steps to broaden vocational education, reduce school drop-outs and combat illiteracy; continued progress in mental health, including more research and local contract care for the mentally ill; greater responsibility in water development, state parks improvement, industrial and tourist development."

Speaking to the Texas Research League last week, Connally added to these programs establishing "a strong board" for Texas higher education, abolishing the state property tax, and providing more facilities for the mentally retarded. □

Sen. Yarborough maintained campaign headquarters separate from the Johnson-Humphrey offices in most Texas cities. None of the state party's money, such as the funds collected for the Nov. 22, 1963, banquet in Austin that John Kennedy never reached, was turned over to any of these Yarborough offices. Although some local party drives, such as in San Antonio, stressed the "Pull One Lever" campaign, the state Democratic campaign did not really sell this program, settling in its TV commercials on a pitch for Johnson, with "Vote Democratic" thrown in.

Connally's people were anxious that Yarborough's people believe that Connally had not done anything to hurt Yarborough. It was even explained to Yarborough people in the Kennedy-Johnson state headquarters that of course Connally was not for Bush because Bush was a real threat to the Connally group in 1966. The more votes Bush received, this line of reasoning went, the better Bush would be able to challenge Connally in 1966.

When, late in the campaign, Yarborough supporters, including labor people in Wash-

ington, began pressing to get Johnson back into the state in time to endorse Yarborough some more, Connally was reported to be arguing that Johnson should not do this.

The night after the election Connally was explaining privately that he had not done anything specific for Yarborough because he had regarded it as his, the governor's, role to help keep businessmen in line for Johnson, and that by keeping Yarborough at arms'-length, he had helped the President. On the other hand, it is logical that Connally would be worried about Bush's attractiveness as a candidate.

Obviously, Bush is now a threat to the Connally group—or to Connally himself if he chooses to run for re-election. Bush says he intends to stay in politics, and since he could not run for the Senate in 1966 with John Tower seeking re-election, he most plausibly will run for governor. Bush did in fact get more votes than any other Republican candidate for state or U.S. office in Texas history, including Tower, and Bush ran 170,000 ahead of Goldwater in Texas.

A possibility that was not open to Bush as a candidate against Yarborough—the same kind of liberal defections and abstentions that helped elect Tower in 1961 over

the conservative Democrat, Bill Blakley—may be in the Houston oilman's mind for 1966, already. A little-noticed post-election remark by Bush found its way to the end of a long AP story Nov. 5: "I'm sure conservatism is the thing that got beat in Texas. Certainly the party should be big enough to include people of different philosophies." Whether Bush, after being "enthusiastic" for Goldwater for president, could re-cast his image in time to pull a John Tower on Connally or Waggoner Carr in the 1966 governor's race—that's a question he may be thinking on already.

Upon Yarborough's election Connally made a friendly statement, with a couple of afterthoughts that looked like barbs reconsidered and metamorphosed, to the Dallas Times-Herald. "He [Yarborough] won a fine victory in a tough race," Connally was quoted. "I know that in his service he will do his utmost, as we all will, to represent all the people of the state. . . . I am sure Sen. Yarborough, like all of us, will want to reflect an attitude of cooperation and project an image of a people here in Texas who not only want to keep pace with the nation, but be in the vanguard of progress and stability in a troubled world."

Yarborough's Victory

While most of the major dailies in Texas endorsed President Johnson, most of them also endorsed Bush. As the Lubbock Avalanche-Journal pointed out (in an editorial saying Yarborough had "solid support from tightly controlled minorities" but was "quarantined" by Democrats of statewide popularity with the "sole exception" of the President), only one Texas daily with circulation of more than 30,000 endorsed Yarborough. This was the El Paso-Herald Post (whose editor the Avalanche-Journal condemned because he "recently was sent in from San Francisco where his paper also followed a liberal line").

Most of these Bush endorsements were no surprise, but those of the Dallas Times-Herald and the Houston Chronicle were, for those two papers had appeared to be following a somewhat progressive course in the last year or so. The T-H simply said Bush was an excellent man; the Chronicle, however, in an editorial which did not specify issues on which the editors differed with Yarborough, said he was "the most 'liberal' man ever to represent Texas in Washington." Calling the question "perhaps the hardest decision" Nov. 3, the Chronicle said Texas would be "better served in the long run" by Bush. Sunday before the election the Chronicle ran a spread across two-thirds of its editorial page, showing how to vote for Johnson and Bush. The Houston Post maintained edi-

torial silence on the Senate race; so did all three San Antonio dailies.

Also for Bush were the Dallas News, Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Fort Worth Press, El Paso Times, and the dailies in Lubbock, Longview, Sulphur Springs, Cuero, Lufkin, Harlingen, Brownsville, McAllen, Gainesville, Bay City, Kilgore, Beaumont, Tyler, and Denton. Also for Yarborough: the dailies in Waxahachie, Dumas, Brownwood, Del Rio, Wichita Falls, Temple, Corsicana, and Jacksonville.

Yarborough's TV announcements made effective use of endorsements of him by the late President Kennedy and by President Johnson. In his newspaper ads, too, Yarborough stressed these endorsements ("Here's what two great Presidents said about Senator Ralph Yarborough"). Other Yarborough newspaper ads sought to identify Bush with extremism, the Birch Society, and opposition to the nuclear test ban treaty. In "Women for Yarborough" ads, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson's name led off long lists.

In a state with a spotty history of academic freedom, the ad listing the names of "1,014 university professors in Texas" endorsing Johnson, Humphrey, Yarborough, and Connally (in that order) had a special interest. The names of 26 colleges were given in a separate block of type; apparently these were the schools at which the 1,014 professors teach. Boldest, from the point of view of risking the ire of their governing boards, were the 12 professors

who were identified with their college connections as member of the steering committee of the group, along with Jack Scroggs and the late J. Frank Dobie. These were Frank E. Vandiver and Louis P. Galambos, Rice; William Pool, Southwest Texas State; Alfred R. Neumann, University of Houston; Rupert N. Richardson, Hardin-Simmons; Hudson Long, Baylor; Ralph A. Wooster, Lamar State College of Technology; William Arrowsmith, University of Texas; J. Reuben Wheeler, Texas Southern University; George Wolfskill, Arlington State; George Bond, Southern Methodist; Ben H. Proctor, Texas Christian; Scroggs, listed as past president, Texas Assn. of College Teachers; and Dobie.

YARBOROUGH had his last word on the Estes \$50,000 story in Dallas Oct. 27—and he unloaded, so effectively the recorded speech was later played on statewide TV. He quoted Goldwater as having said in Dallas that Yarborough was "not subject to criticism" because he accepted political contributions from Estes before Estes got into trouble. Arguing boldly, Sen. Yarborough said that in the Republican primary last spring, Bush attacked his opponent then, Jack Cox, for Cox's having taken a contribution from Estes, whereupon Cox counterattacked that this was a very unfair argument. Quoting Cox, Yarborough said Bush was Cox's Harris County campaign manager in 1962 and "he knew that Billie Sol Estes made a political contribution to me." Then Yarborough quoted "a Republican newspaper" saying that "only a devious demagogue" would fault Cox because of this contribution.

Estes was one of the five outstanding young men selected by the Texas Jaycees, and one day before Estes was arrested, the Dallas News carried a story about him entitled, "Billie Sol in Pecos: Estes Building An Empire Worthy of Any Texan," Yarborough recited. Estes had given him contributions totaling just \$7,200—not \$5,000 or \$9,000 or any other sum as per "the big lie being fostered against me by this extremist running against me," Yarborough said.

Yarborough said he had taken the \$50,000 charge to the FBI—"Now you're not going to those fellas if you've committed a crime," he threw in—and the Justice Department had concluded the story was "without any foundation in fact," the senator stressed.

"My opponent won't say I got \$50,000. We'd lift some of that Kuwait oil from him if he did. I'll file suit on him within 24 hours if he—He won't say it. This mentioning of different sums is a big smear," Yarborough said, setting off bursts of emotional applause among his supporters. (The Kuwait oil referred to would be that drilled by Bush's international drilling company in Kuwait.)

Yarborough did not mention the matter again election eve; Bush did. Bush remarked that James Fonville, one of Estes' two "witnesses," had called on the governor "to

help clear his name" and that Fonville had said he had taken the lie detector test and passed it. Bush upheld the Texas Department of Public Safety as "a wonderful agency," but closed that the Estes subject was "pretty much old hat."

In his final pre-election slams at Bush, Yarborough condemned him for "his Goldwater againstism" and for opposing the war on poverty, federal aid to build classrooms, the nuclear test ban treaty, medicare, and the United Nations. Furthermore, Yarborough said, "this Ivy League Republican" was for the Trinity River Authority, in his own words, only "under certain conditions."

Yarborough was endorsed by Cong. Jim Wright, Fort Worth, on TV and in a signed newspaper ad in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, and on TV also by Cong. Wright Patman and Graham Purcell the final night.

President Johnson's boosts for Yarborough the last few days included a telephone endorsement to a Pasadena rally in which Johnson said, "It is mighty important to me to have him returned to the Senate." This endorsement was played on Yarborough's election eve program. On Monday before the election, Johnson endorsed Yarborough several times at Houston stops, calling him "one of the wisest and most effective senators in the United States." Yarborough and Cong. Jake Pickle rode with Johnson in the motorcade to Johnson's final speech of the campaign at the foot of the mall on the Capitol grounds in Austin. Election night Johnson and his entourage visited Yarborough's headquarters, and Johnson in the presence of the press thanked Yarborough for saving Texas from having two Republican senators; Yarborough thanked Johnson for his endorsement.

HAVING WON, Sen. Yarborough was besieged election night by reporters, radio stations, and supporters. His basic statement thanked Texans for his victory and "thousands of volunteers who worked without compensation and against a great aggregation of wealth. In Harris County alone, I would see hundreds at a time volunteering their time."

The senator was not feeling charitable about the opposition. "You know, when you're fighting the big money—and in Texas that means the big papers—when they can't break the candidate down, they try to break his family down," he said. "I intend also to thank the Lord because he has delivered me from the snares of many foulers." The campaign against him, he said, had been one of "defamation and slander."

"I think my opponent ought to pick up his baggage and go back where he came from. It was one of the vilest campaigns," Yarborough said. Asked if he had contacted Bush, he said he had not and did not intend to. "A hard-fought campaign is all right. This kind of campaign is not all right. If ought not have been imported into this state," he said.

Was he bitter, a reporter asked him, that Texas' large dailies did not support him? Not at all, he said; with ten million people to represent he didn't have time to be bitter. As to newspapers, "I just said that my job has been more difficult because for six years the two papers in Dallas have slandered me. The prime example of that was the Dallas News infamous lie about the Billie Sol Estes \$50,000. They tried to slander me out of office with it when they knew it was a base falsehood."

The New York Times had stated in advance of the election, in an editorial, that Yarborough should be re-elected, and he said that it was "a great consolation to me to know that the greatest newspaper in America had given me this recognition, even though Texas papers have not."

Leading at that point in the evening by better than 59% of the vote, Yarborough said his own estimate had been 57%, but that he had been at a low point Oct. 3 when Congress finally adjourned because he had not been able to campaign without interruption to return to Washington. But he soon saw, he said, that he would win, and when he read Newsweek's prediction that "Smilin' Ralph" would not be re-elected, he wired them, "Smilin' Ralph is still smilin', Bush is busted, and you should give your pollster a long vacation."

A reporter said to him that his vote for the civil rights bill must have taken a lot of courage. "Well, at the time I cast that vote," he replied, "we had polls and knew that 38% of the people of Texas approved and 62% felt strong opposition, so politically that was pretty risky; but that's not the only one like that. The people didn't elect me to go up there and take a Belden Poll or a Gallup Poll and vote the way it says, but to vote for the long-range, best interests of Texas. Some of them may

Rayburn to Estes

One detail that did not come out during the fall campaigns—no doubt because of the veneration in which his memory is held among Texas Democrats—is the late Speaker Sam Rayburn's 1960 letter to Billie Sol Estes.

Rayburn wrote, on December 28, 1960:

"Dear Mr. Estes:

"Thanks for your letter of December 15th, recommending Mr. Bill Mattox for appointment to the Texas State Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Committee.

"I will call this to the attention of the appointive officers because I know you would not recommend a man to any position unless he was a man of high character and good ability.

"With every good wish, I am/Sincerely yours,/Sam Rayburn."

The letter is just one more item in the documentation of Estes' high standing before his fall from political grace. □

seem momentarily inexpedient, but after all I gave up my law practice to be a senator, and I wouldn't be true to myself if I had just voted with what was expedient at the moment."

BUSH'S ADS in the dailies the final weeks were displays of names of his supporters — "448 reasons to vote for George Bush" in Harris County (the names of 448 supporters there), 184 in San Antonio, "hundreds" in a South Texas ad. Certainly Bush's most attention-attracting gambit the last few days was his debate with "the empty chair," a whiskered campaign trick to call attention to an opponent's refusal to debate. Bush had some wrinkles, though: he played back Yarborough's own statements on tape recordings, which provoked from Yarborough the charge that it was an illegal trick. The Federal Communications Comsn., to whom Yarborough promptly appealed, for which Bush just as promptly berated him, ruled that the empty chair debate was all right and was not unfair to Yarborough. Bush thereupon played it a second time, the Sunday before the election.

Democratic precinct chairmen's supporting Bush publicly in Dallas caused a running argument there. Dan Weiser, the executive secretary of the county party committee and a loyal Democrat, demanded they explain themselves and declared that party officials who don't support the party ticket ought to be thrown out of office. Seven precinct chairmen retorted that not they, but Weiser should be thrown out because of his "disservice" to the Democratic Party in taking this stand. "Purge," trumpeted a newspaper ad for Bush growing out of this dispute.

While Bush's manner in person is amiable and easy-going, in his television appearances the last week or so he was harsh and angry. He referred to his opponent as "Yarborough" much as Gordon McLendon did earlier this year and furrowed his brow as he delivered somewhat hurried denunciations of his opponent.

It was difficult to avoid the conclusion that Bush had been thrown on the defensive. Private polls may have caused him to brace for the worst. Yarborough's slams against him as "the darling of the John Birch Society" provoked him to deny emphatically that he was a Bircher or had any desire to become one. Although he had said flatly in ads that he opposed treaties without adequate safeguards and the nuclear test ban treaty did not have these, on his closing-night TV show he said only, as to the nuclear test ban treaty, "I've always favored one with adequate safeguards." He must have worried about the farm vote, also; his last night he said, "I am not opposed to all subsidies. . . . What I favor is a gradual return to more freedom for the farmer."

Countering Johnson's endorsements of Yarborough, Bush produced former President Eisenhower's endorsement of him. He referred to Connally as "my governor and

yours, by the way, regardless of party." In San Antonio he said, "It is very broad-minded of President Johnson [to endorse Yarborough] in that Yarborough has called him 'a power-mad Texas politician.'" Similarly in tangential defense of Connally and Johnson, Bush wrote in his special article for the UPI, "These and other smears make suspect [Yarborough's] judgment, balance, and ability to cooperate."

Bush watched the returns with his family and his parents, former U.S. Sen. Prescott Bush and his wife. Conceding in a statement to supporters at the Hotel America in Houston, Bush said, "He beat me fair and square," but hoped the size of his vote would serve as "a modifying factor" on Yarborough's views. He said he didn't know how he had lost—"I guess I have a lot to learn about politics. . . . No one else is to blame but me." He said he will continue to be active in politics.

FRANK CAHOON, a Midland oil executive, will be the only Republican in the next session of the Texas legislature. Ex-Rep. W. E. Snelson of Midland narrowly defeated the GOP's most serious contender for the State Senate this year, Dr. S. L. Abbot of El Paso. All incumbent GOP state legislators seeking re-election lost. Democrats swept all nine Dallas House seats, but the only non-conservative among the winners is James Stroud, who pledges to fight the doubling of college tuition but otherwise favors all the governor's programs, especially the establishment of a state department of labor and the repeal of the poll tax. Tony Bonilla became the first Latin-American to represent Nueces County by defeating Republican incumbent Rep. Charles Scoggins about 2-1. Scoggins, who got in by taking a high-man-wins special election while Democrats split their votes, said ruefully after his defeat that "the whole world seems to be tending toward socialism." The whole world may be, but not the Texas legislature, which continues militantly conservative in spite of the Republicans' washout there.

In Houston a Negro attorney who has been closely identified with the N.A.A.C.P. for years, Asberry Butler, and a liberal housewife, Mrs. Howard Barnstone, were elected to the seven-member Houston school board in upsets. Butler becomes the second Negro on the board, joining Mrs. Charles White. In Midland Republicans won a county commissionership and the county attorney's post; they had a county judge there already. Republicans lost all their local candidacies in Dallas except one, an incumbent county commissionership. Houston voters created a mosquito control district to obviate a repetition of the recent encephalitis outbreak there. Abilene voters rejected a proposal that fluoride be added to their water supply to help prevent tooth decay among them. □

Some Texans on L.B.J.

In "L.B.J.: An Unposed Profile," the National Educational Television Network, the week after the election, presented some refreshingly plain opinions and insights about President Johnson by Texans NET interviewed before the election. Not many people watch educational television yet, and we pass along here some of the things said on that program.

Bill Brammer, novelist: "He's such a political animal, and he is an emotional animal. He just doesn't respond emotionally to the situation. . . ."

"Over the period that I worked for him, close to five years, he had a feeling that he was always at his best, which is very, very good, under pressure. He really responds to it. You could see the adrenalin start moving with him. In repose, he can be almost childlike. . . ."

"He's a great man, he's a—awful sentimental."

☆
Willard Deason, a college roommate of Johnson's: "We used to play some dominoes. He plays dominoes in the purest manner. He doesn't want you to take 15 seconds to make up your mind. He plays in a hurry, and he expects you to play in a hurry. . . ."

"I've been told he's a great compromiser. He's not a great compromiser, he's a great salesman."

☆
Cong. Wright Patman of Taxarkana: "He's not too liberal, but he's a—what some people would call a do-gooder to this extent, that he is wanting to do good. It's certainly much better than being a do-badder. . . ."

"I was a member of the Texas legislature, and Samuel E. Johnson, Lyndon's father, was my deskmate. And Lyndon came in, first time I saw him, to visit his father one day. He didn't work in the legislature, he had come in and out. He was 12 years old, he was a tall boy then. He was always working, having imagination, eager beaver, doing something good for somebody. . . . You know, he's still that same eager beaver type."

"He is not a fellow that harbors any grudge or bad feeling. He very quickly forgets it. And if you have a difference one day, and another day or two, he wouldn't remember it."

☆
Chuck Richey: "He's just a full-blood Texan. He's fed horses and cows, slopped hogs all his life, and went barefooted when he was a kid, and he's a big fellow. He's broad-minded, solid man, big ears, big eyes, and he's easy going."

☆
Professor H. M. Greene, professor of government and history at San Marcos State Teachers when Lyndon Johnson was there:

"Those early classes with those brilliant students who were interested in government, some of the classes that Lyndon was in, perhaps, gave me more joy than any other teaching chore. And the first time he opened his mouth about politics, I knew he had it. And in those early courses we conducted, more or less as a seminar, they'd get in arguments. . . ."

[In debates in class with Henry Kyle], "Well, he [Lyndon] was, I would say, at times he would grow almost ruthless, when he knew he had him logically and had the advantage of him, why he could become ruthless. Many is the time I felt that way, and came to Henry's rescue to mollify, or to help out, because when it came to these political questions, I mean questions in government, you see, in politics, why he had convictions, and strong convictions, and so far as his ruthlessness was concerned, why he was just ruthless in the pursuit of truth."

☆
Dr. Joe Frantz, professor of history, University of Texas, spoke about Johnson's earlier conservative votes, which had been mentioned by the Observer editor (whose remarks are included in Observations on page 15 this issue). Dr. Frantz:

"Well, I think the American public that is politically minded tends to forgive Mr. Johnson, or understand some of his earlier votes. He first of all had to represent an area that did have—or was at least a little slow to accept full civil rights. On the other hand, as he has grown in stature and has been more sure of his position, and more sure of his chances for re-election, and of course most particularly since he has become a national and not a Texas politician, he has not had to fight always that battle for re-election from a home constituency. He now belongs to the nation, I think he takes a national outlook, rather than a strictly Central Texas Congressional outlook. . . ."

"President Johnson is basically, I think, non-intellectual, and in an Eastern sense, non-cultural, and certainly in the Eastern sense non-sophisticated, or even anti-sophisticated. There is a certain common touch about him that someone like Mr. Kennedy never had."

"On the other hand, I think Mr. Johnson is very much aware that these things exist in the world, knows how to use them, and I think he can find a sort of common denominator among the American people that could possibly make him the most effective President we've had within memory. . . ."

"I don't think Lyndon Johnson intends to let historians decide whether he's good or not. He plans, again in the best action, to go out and make himself a reputation that will endure." □

The North Wind Blew the Scent

Georgia Earnest Klipple

Austin

Richard, small and dark and wizened under his mop of midnight-black hair, sat by the teacher. "Mees, yesterday I get a bag of bread free," he said.

"That's good," said the teacher.

"I tell them my mother she is seek," said Richard apologetically, "and she is not seek." After a moment he added, "Her feet are seek. She work all day."

"In a store?" asked the teacher.

"No, Mees. She cut open the chickens and take the insides out." He brought the original subject back, "They give me the bread at Ceesco's."

"It's too hard," augmented Antonio.

"Not too hard to be good to eat," said the teacher, anxiously polite. "It's just a day old."

"Yes, just a day old," repeated Antonio, glad to be explained.

"Today we will take a walk to the church," the teacher told the class. "We will look for something we can write a poem about."

The first norther of the season was blowing brisk and cool. The cream-colored stone church rose majestic from its nest of slum. At its base red roses bloomed in a last glorious spurt before the sap stilled for winter, and the churchyard smelled sweet. The call of the incessant train bells from the railroad yard came in strong on the north wind.

The children returned from their walk and made a poem book.

"I go to Pan-Am today," said Eddie as the class lined up to go home. "We cook banana pudding. Benjamin he sign up for cooking, too."

"I would like to go to Pan-Am," said Richard.

"Why don't you go?" asked Eddie hospitably. "Anybody can go—if he has a Pan-Am card."

"The card it cost 25 cents," said Richard. "I no have 25 cents."

"I have an idea," said the teacher after some thought. "I went to a drive-in movie the other day and when I opened my car door I saw a quarter shining in the dirt. There was no way to find the owner. I still have the quarter. I could give it to you and you could get a membership card in Pan-Am."

Richard brightened. "Did you go to the drive-in movie Saturday, Mees?" he asked. "Saturday or Sunday," said the teacher.

"My brother he go to the drive-in movie on Saturday and he lose a quarter," said Richard. He accepted the quarter from the teacher.

Mrs. C. excused herself from the faculty meeting after school. She had changed to a black dress and put on hat and heels. "I can't stay for the full time,"

she explained. "The boy who was stabbed to death yesterday was my former pupil and I want to go to his funeral."

The faculty meeting concerned the University of Texas Domestic Peace Corps tutorial project. Thirty young men and women University students would adopt two deprived children for an hour each week.

"You will extend the horizons of these children," Mr. Frank Wright, University Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. executive, told the University students assembled with the school faculty. "You will give them a chance to identify upward instead of downward."

"You will give them something to talk and think about other than who was stabbed over the weekend," said a second grade teacher.

"For perhaps the first time in their lives these children that you tutor will have an adult listener besides their teacher," said the principal. "If you are a child in a family of twelve, you don't get listened to very often."

"And you will have gained a friend," contributed a sixth grade teacher.

A lovely sorority girl choose Richard and Paul to be her adopted children. "I'm so excited about this," she said. "I want to have them to dinner at the sorority house."

Richard came back to school to show the teacher his Pan-Am membership card. "Look, Mees," he said. He put it back in his pocket then took it out again to look at and rub it—like Aladdin's lamp. Until this moment his comb had been his prized possession, but the card now superceded it.

The P-TA met that night in the school, and the auditorium was filled, children by their parents stretching down long lines of seats. "Thank you for coming out tonight for this worthwhile cause," said the darkly handsome emcee. "We want the city to know that East Austin is behind this school bond."

The dance band burst into melody deafening in strength and of compelling beat, the young orchestra leader sang a passionate love song in Spanish. Two men sang Spanish duets. The drummer took over the microphone to sing. The stand was too low. He swung it off the floor, tossed his head, and danced with it all over the stage, singing lustily. Everyone was delighted. The superintendent of schools said "This is the peppiest P-TA meeting I ever attended."

The school bond issue was explained first in English, then in Spanish. "You don't want your children to follow the crops," a lawyer of Latin extraction said to the people. He told them a parable.

"Once upon a time there were two fathers, Pancho and Cisco. Every year they harvested the crops, starting in the Rio Grande Valley, working to Corpus Christi, then on to Central Texas, and finally up to Michigan. Cisco kept his children in school, but Pancho let his children drop out. Cisco's children grew up and got jobs in stores and who knows, maybe some even went to the University and became lawyers. But Pancho's children continued to follow the crops year after year."

The parents met the teachers after the speeches. "I can make anything out of iron," said a father, "iron grillwork, iron decorations, garden furniture. I made some iron flowers for the third grade teacher last year. But the pay is low. I can make more money in maintenance work, so that is what I do."

That night the teacher read the children's poem booklet.

Yolanda had written:

We went for a walk
and we saw the church.
We saw red roses
blow like a flag.
We saw green glass
in the door.
We took a walk
to the church today.

James philosophized:

I like to think about the red roses.
They make me very happy.
I think my love is good
To the red roses.

Annie's imagination went afar:

I saw a little bluebird
That flew over the river,
And he remembered he lost
A little blue feather.

Rose Ann's poem:

The north wind
blew the scent
of dark red roses.
The dark red roses
as dark as the color
of the red
in the flag,
The dark red roses
looked down
at the ground.
The wind blew
the smell
of the red roses.
The smell of the red roses
could make you fly
high
in the sky.

Of Mice and Men in Washington

Washington, D.C.

Nowhere will you find the rumor crop better than in Washington. This is the home of Presidents, back-fence slanders, and hallucinatory tittle-tattle. You can hear anything: the Washington Redskins are about to slip their chains and win a football game, Billie Sol Estes is to be named either Secretary of Agriculture or Chaplain of the Senate, Lyndon Johnson fatigues badly after three miles of walking on water. I accept exactly none of the foregoing tales. But there is one hairy hear-say making the rounds of cloak rooms and gin mills which might be closely examined before being consigned to the scrap-heap. With a rolling of drums and muted giggles, let it be revealed: Congressman Jake Pickle will get The Establishment's gray-flanneled nod for United States senator in 1966.

Don't ask *me* why. Being a propagandist and not a biologist, I merely circulate rumors—not dissect them. But a Washington-based Texas politico, to whom this correspondent swore blood oaths in the interest of preserving the fellow's identity and job, claims to have plu-perfect knowledge that President Johnson and Gov. Connally have privately dubbed Sir Jake the one. All for the purpose of tilting with Republican John Tower at point of lance.

Pickle aide Bob Waldren met questions with denial fashioned thus: "If he's been chosen he doesn't know it." This could be as true as the love of chaste maiden for the prince of many charms. It also could be as phoney as a harlot's hello, which is meant as no reflection upon the integrity of Bob Waldren, a man neither known to short-change blindmen nor drink the blood of orphans. But stews cooked on political stoves often are left over low flame until the time of serving. Thus if a Pickle-flavored dish is being concocted it will no doubt be covered with cloth and removed to back burners until nothing is left of this election-year banquet save Goldwater's picked bones reposing alongside John Birch cups of bitter dregs.

Unless I am being spoofed in the extreme by my "usually reliable source," the Pickle ploy was sired by Gov. Connally. Anyone who knows that Luci Baines dances the Watusi and has a father given to high speeds on Texas side roads has no trouble placing faith in the story that President Johnson hankers to sic his faithful friend John Connally on Tower. But our governor seemingly wants no part of the action, having confided in anyone who will listen how he desires nothing so much as a return to the environs of Floresville once he suffers through his newest two-year contract

Larry King

of public grief. Gov. Connally is said to be weary of office, fears L.B.J. would cast him as personal errand boy in the Senate, knows Mrs. Connally *has* been eager for private life since the Kennedy tragedy in Dallas. Thus, scuttlebutt runs, did the governor slyly cast about in search of other fish for the senatorial kettle, and Rep. Pickle took the hook. The President is said at least moderately pleased with the catch.

ONE MIGHT ASK what Pickle has done to deserve promotion to the U.S. Senate. The answer is mercifully brief: not much. But the question turns moot if L.B.J. honestly (oops, sorry Barry!) wants him in the race. When Johnson is riding tall in the saddle he can be as lean and mean as Gordon McLendon's fellow super-patriot and yodeler of nonsense, John Wayne. What I am saying as a free man, an American, a Texan, a Democrat, and a Da-Yum-Fool—in that order—is that L.B.J. has got the muscle to hand-pick our Party's officially-blessed pretender to the Senate provided he has matching desire. There are those who predict he has.

If Jake gets handed the rope, he no doubt will lasso in his cause many old cronies of conservative bent who approved his stripe when he toiled in the pay of A. Shivers and P. Daniel, for he has thrown no bombs in Washington squares. He is as safe and respectable as a Prudential policy, though he may have tossed just enough scraps to Democratic dogs to mildly enthuse those in moderate kennels. If however, Hon. Pickle hosts illusions that he is the sweetheart of liberals, his missus had better search his pockets to see what he is smoking.

WHICH BRINGS US to thoughts as painful as aching eye-teeth, of how Texas liberals seemingly have no champion possessed of enough pazzaz to cop the primary duke and then go on to score knockout over Senator Tower, lightweight though the senator may register from brain to ankle-bone.

Don Yarborough has offered himself unwisely and too frequently, the Alf Landon porportions of his summer setback at the hands of Gov. Connally leading one to wonder if maybe he shouldn't resume his trade.

Maury Maverick, though a man of the highest and truest tone, ran for U.S. senator as if smuggling lead weights in his shoes.

Rep. Henry Gonzalez went to the well

with senatorial and gubernatorial buckets, only to return toting dry dust. Henry is not likely to win statewide office without a name-change.

Ronnie Dugger, wise and kind editor of this journal, was nominated as our candidate one warm night underneath the trees as Scholz Biergarten when strong spices were in the air. In daylight, however, it was recognized that Ronnie has made so many utterances arousing in the extreme to our massive collection of home-grown Yahoos that he might need luck to escape rope and scaffold if judged at public hands. Not wishing him dead, we reneged on our pledge.

Dan Sullivan, the Young Lochinvar who came out of the West to do himself reasonably proud in a losing race for congressman-at-large this season, tickles many liberal fancies. But Dan is judged not ready for the big show. He needs time, exposure, and seasoning.

Congressman Jack Brooks of Beaumont has genuine liberal credentials, sports as good a voting record as any Texan in the House, enjoys L.B.J.'s personal confidence to the extent that he has virtually been given free run of the White House and all allied trappings from President's-ear-to-grog-urns. But Brooks has shown no interest in statewide office to date, has never troubled to fashion a whoop-and-holler hard corps among liberals capable of striking sparks for his greater glory. Still, he is probably the only candidate who might find high favor in both the White House and in liberal lairs.

Personally, I could generate white heat for the candidacy of rumpled State Rep. Bob Eckhardt of Houston. Bob may look like a sackful of doorknobs sprinkled with cigar dust, but beneath that cluttered exterior beats a heart that has fought our battles in lonely stations and has never ducked a foe: the right-wing nuts and bigots, the Establishment's big cogs who turn the little wheels in the legislature, the governor, the slick oil boys and flinty-eyed bankers. Rep. Eckhardt is literate, compassionate, honest, brave, wise—and has no more chance to be elected U.S. senator than a snowball has got in hell. Voters who have recently rejected good men like Benton Musslewhite, Max Carriker, Dan Sullivan, and Malcolm McGregor in favor of mossbacks who warm Texas chairs in Congress are about as likely to embrace Eckhardt as I am to inherit the estate of H. L. Hunt. (Throw out the Life Line.)

THAT BRINGS US to Jim Wright, who is not entirely without friends in liberal gatherings. But Congressman

Political Intelligence

Wright has suffered serious slippage, and has only himself to blame. First, by turning more and more away from liberalism through his votes in Congress, and second, by wearing personal ambition on his sleeve to the extent that he quaked to run against Senator Yarborough this year and was not particular about his sponsors. Only after the long-dollar boys lined up first behind Lloyd Bentsen and then Joe Kilgore (before Big Daddy said "No") did Rep. Wright cease flirting with the notion. He went so far as to attempt to extract promises from Yarborough supporters that they would line up behind him in a 1966 senatorial bid as a reward, more or less, for not opposing Ralph this year. One Yarborough supporter snorted and flashed such a letter to me in Austin this summer.

Still, Wright is going to be a factor in the race. He is said to be intent on running for the Senate come hell, high water, or John Connally—and, one must presume, Jake Pickle. In the final analysis, Wright may offer liberals their best bet simply because there may be nobody better—dismal though the prospect is judged.

CERTAINLY WRIGHT would be preferable to some others said to be trembling in the wings for a senatorial shot. One of these is Congressman-at-large Joe Pool, who votes like Cro-Magnon man and has offered no more light on public issues than a lone firefly could cast in Carlsbad Caverns. Among the mysteries of life the Hon. Pool does not understand is how he got to his present high ledge, though the rest of us know it's because Woodrow Bean had the ten-year amnesia when it came to filing income tax returns. Joe is a cheerful companion to sit with at libations, but I would no more vote for him than I would have hired the late Bruno Hauptmann to sit with my babies.

Waggoner Carr, our attorney general with the wavy hair and the empty head, is far too light for the battle. The President might not recognize him if they met on a cowpath in Stonewall County, and liberals find him about as attractive as Allan Shivers, who, politically, is as dead as downtown Midland on Sunday afternoon. Speaker of the Texas House Byron Tunnell offers only comic relief of a grim Dick Nixon sort. Rep. Kilgore and Mr. Bentsen appear to have learned their bitter lessons and do not loom large in new schemes.

So there we are. The good men, and true, do not figure to pack enough punch to accomplish the major point of winning; other candidates are so unattractive as to make the average member of the Japanese Infantry look like Brigitte Bardot. Perhaps in the White House the same sour musings occurred to a Texan of considerable luster, and maybe that's when Hon. Pickle got looked at in charitable light.

It maketh me glum, thus dearth of Jim Hogg's and Sam Houston's and Jimmy Allreds. The world is full of sorrow . . . oil depletion allowances . . . alimony payments . . . folks who won't buy books . . . Jerry Sadler . . . General Walker. It is enough to cause tears. □

✓ A question of sensitive interest in Texas as early next year will be whether Sen. Ralph Yarborough steps up to the Senate appropriations committee (Hubert Humphrey's leaving the Senate creates a vacancy). George Bush based his charge that Yarborough is ineffective in large part on the fact that Yarborough has been bypassed for this committee, contrary to seniority, three times.

✓ Religious critics of three textbooks on biology, who contended before the state textbook committee and again last Monday before the state board of education that the books present evolution as a fact when it is only a theory and do this to the detriment of religion, could take encouragement from the fact that six of the state board members voted with them as the books were adopted, 14-6, along with two others. The six voting with the critics were T. R. Hughson, Clarksville; B. E. Masters, Kilgore; Vernon Baird, Fort Worth; Paul Greenwood, Harlingen; Paul Matthews, Greenville; and Mrs. George H. Swinney, Abilene. Fundamentalists will take further cracks at the three books when they come up for consideration for adoption by local school boards, which can choose from among five books on the approved list.

✓ Whether the report originated with Gov. John Connally or elsewhere is not known, but he must now be considered a possibility as a Senate candidate in 1966. Cong. Jim Wright has all but announced, but Connally running would be a distinct problem for the Fort Worth moderate. Republican Sen. John Tower foresees, no doubt accurately, an all-out Democratic effort to beat him.

We hear a report, contrary to the idea that he will run for attorney general in 1966 if Waggoner Carr goes for higher

Classified

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MEETINGS

THE THURSDAY CLUB of Dallas meets each Thursday noon for lunch (cafeteria style) at the Downtown YMCA, 605 No. Ervay St., Dallas.

The **TRAVIS COUNTY LIBERAL DEMOCRATS** meet at Saengerrunde Hall, Scholz' Garten, at 8 p.m. on the first and third Thursdays. You're invited.

Items for this regular feature must be received seven days before the date of issue in which they are to be published. 7c per word, one publication; 5c per word, each additional publication.

office, that House Speaker Byron Tunnell wants the spot on the Texas Railroad Cmsn. that the incumbent member, Ernest Thompson, is thought to be preparing to vacate.

Some of the people who traveled with Bonanza TV star Dan Blocker as he campaigned for the entire Democratic ticket in Texas are touting him as a possible candidate for governor in 1966. One of them says Blocker would consider it.

✓ The Texas Research League, the privately financed business organization that produces research on Texas state government, has made Tom Sealy, Midland attorney, its new chairman for 1965. Sealy was co-chairman of the statewide committee that lobbied for the enactment of the sales tax that was passed in 1961. New directors of the league: W. W. Lynch, Dallas president and chairman, Texas Power & Light Co., and Robert H. Stewart III, Dallas, president, First National Bank of Dallas.

✓ Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, one of the three most powerful men in state government, continues to discuss the next session's issues in public statements. He

November 13, 1964

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said in a Dallas speech that the legislature may have to choose between increasing the sales tax rate, eliminating the sales tax exemption on groceries, farm machinery, and drugs, and passing a state income tax. These, he said, are the only three practical ways of raising the \$150 million that will be needed.

According to the new-born "Houston Tribune," a conservative weekly, in a story on an exclusive interview with Smith, the lieutenant governor "feels that new tax money should come through elimination of present sales tax exemptions." The Tribune also said Smith indicated he is opposed to repealing the state property tax, a repeal the governor devoutly seeks.

Answering a League of Women Voters questionnaire, Smith said water pollution is "probably the most urgent problem today" in Texas government. "Understanding and compromise of viewpoints are necessary, although not at the cost of unnecessary delay or threats to the public health," he said.

State Sen. Charles Herring, Austin, intends to introduce a constitutional amendment to reform stiff residence requirements that are preventing many people from voting.

12 *The Texas Observer*

Acting on the basis of a rider enacted by the legislature in September, 1963, that architects on state projects must be approved by the governor, the University of Texas board of regents, noting that Connally had not approved a Republican's architectural firm for a project in El Paso, dropped the firm, 4-3. The minority members were very upset, Rabbi Levi Olan charging, for instance, that the governor's silence and the board's decision "threatens the academic integrity" of Texas Western, a branch of the University at El Paso.

The Houston Post has published three separate editorials attacking State Rep. Charles Whitfield for being one of the attorneys in a lawsuit filed against the new contract between the city of Houston and the Trinity River Authority. The Post in effect suggests Whitfield is letting his name be used so that a legislative continuance can be obtained as soon as the legislature convenes. Advocates of the contract insist the delay is intolerable, and the Post agrees.

Speaking in Corpus Christi, L. P. Sturgeon, director of public relations for the Texas State Teachers Assn., gave an indication how seriously the teachers' lobby takes its demand for a \$45 a month teachers' pay raise. Sturgeon said the raise is the most important piece of legis-

lation ever presented by T.S.T.A.; "is needed more than any [raise] previously requested; is opposed by the Texas Research League with an argument that amounts to "a cruel hoax"; and could be financed out of surplus, without new taxes.

The Upshur REA Co-Op has settled out-of-court on the lawsuit that threatened to deny it the right to generate electric power, agreeing instead to take its power, in effect, from a private utility. . . . The phantom political writer of the Dallas News' Weathervane, "Lorrie Brooks," says Dallas D. A. Henry Wade may get a federal judgeship. . . . The Observer advises readers to discount, about 99.44%, recurrent rumors Sen. Yarborough might be offered and accept such a judgeship. . . . The Birchers' Houston coordinator, Phillip Blair Jones, made a political speech in a Bellaire high school classroom, causing protests. . . . Gov. Connally's endorsement of the "Douglas MacArthur Academy of Freedom" by setting aside Nov. 9-15 as a "week" for it is featured in a newspaper advertisement paid for by a conservative Dallas man. . . . Jim Wright, columnist for the Dallas News, felt it necessary to columnize against the Nazis upon receiving rebukes from "some local admirers of Adolph Hitler."

The Texas League of Women Voters has reprinted, in a four-page pamphlet, discussions in the Observer within the past year on the Missouri Plan of judicial selection: communications from Texas Chief Justice Robert W. Calvert and former Associate Justice W. St. John Garwood and "The Old Missouri Plan, Another View," by Charles Alan Wright. In a book of editorial endorsements of Johnson, "The Nation Speaks Out for the President," the Democratic National Committee included Wright's "A Republican Makes Up His Mind" in the Aug. 21 Observer and the Observer editorial of Sept. 4. Willie Morris, an editor at Harper's now, has had essays in Commentary the last two months, one on his explorations in a John Birch cell in Austin, the other on "Legislating in Texas."

Correction. On page eleven of our last issue, we mentioned that Sen. Ralph Yarborough answered two Dallas News questions. In fact, these questions were addressed to the senator, not by the Dallas News, but by members of the Bryan Jaycees, whom he was at the time addressing.

The Observer as a Christmas Gift

In many cases the Observer makes a very good Christmas gift, and a fairly inexpensive one. We shrink from the commercialism of Christmas, too, and therefore hope this way of doing something real with a gift may appeal to you this year, as it does each year to large numbers of our readers. If you have meant to give someone the Observer this is a practical time to do it, too, because of our Christmas rates.

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'Criminal Syndicalism' in Mississippi

Atlanta, Ga.

With a recent wave of arrests under a new state law outlawing "criminal syndicalism," Mississippi has again shown that politically and legally it continues to side with racists.

Last May 11, during what was the longest legislative session in the state's history—23 weeks, Senator E. K. Collins of Laurel introduced the criminal syndicalism bill to outlaw advocating, teaching, aiding, or abetting the commission of crime or unlawful acts of force and violence or of "terrorism" to effect a change in ownership or political or social change, or for profit. The outlawed acts include written or spoken words, publications, organizational efforts, and such. Punishment ranges from fines of from \$200 to \$1,000 and sentences of one to ten years for violating or encouraging others to violate the law. Owners of property or those who control it and permit an assembly for such purposes face fines of from \$100 to \$500 and up to a year in jail.

Kenneth Toler, writing in the Atlanta Constitution, commented on the bill: "Taking cognizance of the [racist] movements, the state senate this week passed a bill sources said was primarily aimed at suppressing militant white supremacists from forming in the state." A UPI dispatch from Jackson, the state capital, repeated this belief: "A bill designed to cripple the growth of white supremacy groups that advocate violence won Mississippi Senate approval Monday . . . Sources said an organization drive by the Ku Klux Klan and other new, militantly-segregationist groups were the spark-plug for the proposal." And Robert Gordon, newsman for the Jackson Clarion-Ledger, also reported that the bill "was primarily aimed at surpressing [sic] groups of militant white supremists who advocate violence."

However, Sen. Collins, who at the Democratic National Convention argued before the credentials committee for the seating of the regular Mississippi delegation, said the bill could be used as well against integrationist groups. It was passed without discussion.

A companion bill, also introduced by Sen. Collins, was aimed at persons outside the state who advocate or aid "criminal syndicalism." This law would punish such persons if they were found in Mississippi. Collins said it might make civil rights groups "think twice" about sending workers into the state. He also commented that the bill may be unconstitutional, but "it can't do us any harm."

The criminal syndicalism law was forgotten during the summer by civil rights workers, who at first had been concerned about it. Like a few of the other bills

Jerry DeMuth

rushed through the legislature in the spring, it was not used by the state, perhaps because there was no shortage of other laws under which civil rights workers could be arrested.

When the law was passed, racial violence was the most common in southwest Mississippi. This area, centered around McComb, is where the Klan is the strongest in Mississippi and is the home of the militant Americans for the Preservation of the White Race (A.P.W.R.).

In McComb on April 28, the barbershop of an NAACP leader, Curtis Bryant, was bombed. On June 22, three houses were bombed. Two weeks later the office of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was bombed. A Negro church was burned to the ground on July 17, and the next day there was an attempt to burn another such church; three days later another one burned to the ground; the next day there was again an attempt to burn still another one. On July 26 dynamite was thrown at the home of Charles Bryant, brother of Curtis Bryant. In August there were attempts to burn a church and a home and another home was bombed, as well as a supermarket in a Negro neighborhood. In September dynamite rocked and damaged six homes and two churches—one of the churches was totally demolished.

On September 22, for the first time in the state, the now four-month-old criminal syndicalism law was used. Seven Negroes were arrested during brief rioting that flared after two simultaneous bombings. Justice of the Peace Charles Herring ordered them charged under the criminal syndicalism law. County Sheriff R. R. Warren, at the site of one of the bombings, told newsmen, "In my opinion both this and the blast at the church were 'plants' and you can quote me on it."

The next day there was another bombing, and the following day 19 more Negroes were arrested for criminal syndicalism. A McComb policeman told newsmen he had a list of 24 Negroes for whom warrants

were prepared. Even parents were not permitted to see those in jail.

That day, John C. Gibson, writing in the county seat newspaper, the Magnolia Gazette, said that Dennis Sweeney, white S.N.C.C. worker who was also arrested, "in our book of extremism should draw a penalty equal to that for treason, because what he and others like him are doing is treason." In the McComb newspaper, Charles Gordon reported, "Sheriff R. R. Warren said today he believes increasingly the explosions—four of which have occurred since Sunday—are being staged in an effort to induce the federal government to declare martial law here." Even Gov. Paul Johnson concurred: On September 30 he said, "Some of the bombs were 'plants,' and we can say that they were the outgrowth of COFO activities." ("COFO" is the Council of Federated Organizations that coordinates civil rights work in Mississippi.)

But the next day three whites were arrested and charged with two of the bombings. Membership cards in the A.P.W.R. and K.K.K. were found in the car of one of them. The three and eight others subsequently arrested were not charged with criminal syndicalism, although the bill was supposedly aimed at white terrorists. They were charged under a law against the illegal possession of dynamite that was originally passed to enable the

November 13, 1964

13

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Jerry DeMuth writes for *New Republic* and a number of other magazines.

state to get strong convictions from arrests growing out of a labor strike.

Nine of the eleven white men were tried in late October, all pleading guilty to the charges. Though each could have received as a maximum the death penalty, the nine were given suspended sentences. Pike County Circuit Judge W. H. Watkins, Jr., remarked that the men were unduly provoked by outsiders of "low morality, some of them unhygienic." Judge Watkins also pointed out that they were "mostly young; all came from good families, who were shocked at their involvement; and deserved another chance." Four of the nine were aged 44, 38, 36 and 35.

In the meantime another wave of criminal syndicalism arrests had occurred in the Delta in Belzoni, 140 miles straight north of McComb.

On October 3 seven Negroes were passing out leaflets announcing a community meeting. Police picked them up, all but one a high school student, and charged them with criminal syndicalism. Two were eventually released in care of an attorney, but the other five were bound over to a

grand jury on \$1,000 bond each and remained in jail.

Then on October 15 four S.N.C.C. field secretaries were arrested for criminal syndicalism while they were walking down a street in the downtown Negro section. They had not been passing out leaflets, but each had a Freedom Democratic Party leaflet with him. The four have remained in jail.

Lawyers began legal action against this law. A petition for an injunction to enjoin its enforcement has been filed in relation to the McComb arrests. A three-judge panel is to hear the petition at some future date. Attorney Carsie Hall, who asked for an injunction preventing further arrests.

The legal challenge will be based largely on recent rulings in Georgia and Pennsylvania where similar, though not identical state statutes were declared unconstitutional by federal courts.

A different tack is being taken in Belzoni, where petitions have been filed to have the cases moved to federal court. A subsequent suit will challenge the law's constitutionality.

Meanwhile, over twenty civil rights workers wait in Mississippi jails. □

Louisiana's Chessman

New Orleans, La.

The last time a white man was executed for the crime of rape in Louisiana was in 1907; in its entire history, the state has executed only two whites for rape—both, interestingly enough, were aliens. Negroes, over forty of whom have been hanged or electrocuted for rape in this century, have fared less well, though in recent years some determined legal efforts have prolonged the lives of several.

Such efforts have succeeded in making Edgar Labat heir to Caryl Chessman's role: Labat's is the oldest pending capital case in the country. A Negro, he was an attendant at a Catholic hospital in New Orleans when in November of 1950 he and Clifton Poret were arrested for the rape of a white woman. In March of 1953 the two men were sentenced to death; their continued existence, after unsuccessful appeals to the highest courts of both state and nation, is a source of frustration to those charged with the administration of Louisiana justice.

There are ironies here: since federal courts have balked at the state's wilful failure to observe due process in the impartial selection of juries, it has been several years since the state has been able to execute a Negro. Confederate justice is all but abolishing capital punishment for Louisiana Negroes.

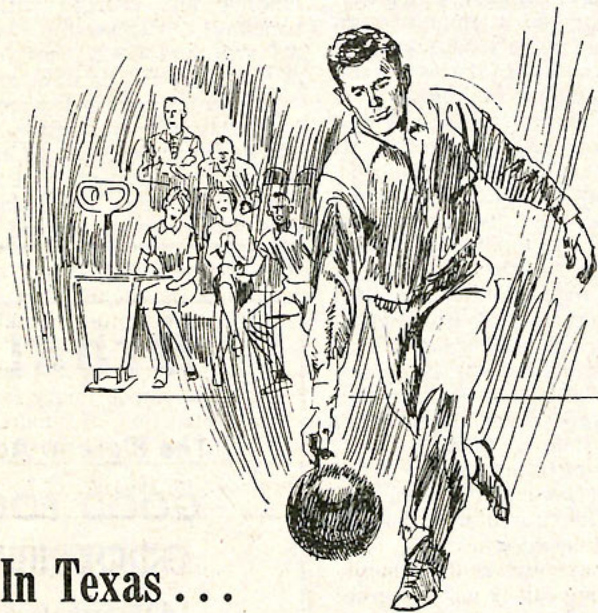
Of the two defendants, Labat is the more articulate. He has been allowed to write and has been doing so. Five chapters of an autobiography are already finished and are being edited by a Massachusetts woman, and several of his poems have appeared in the *Vineyard Gazette*. But an increasing flow of letters from here and abroad—where he has received more press coverage than at home—testifies to his emerging legal rather than literary prominence.

He has had eight stays of execution. Describing one occasion when his reprieve came three hours before he was to die, he recounts that his sister had arrived to claim the body, his head had been shaved, and he could hear the stepped-up humming of the prison generators. To read his own letters is to wonder at his reasonableness.

Now in an eight-by-ten-foot cell in Louisiana state penitentiary at Angola, Edgar Labat faces his fourteenth summer of imprisonment; he has been on one death row or another since his conviction. His case is now being handled by Washington's Edward Bennett Williams and, for the Louisiana Civil Liberties Union, by Benjamin E. Smith in New Orleans.

"Over its lifetime of operations," the

Steven H. Rubin is a member of the board of directors of the Louisiana Civil Liberties Union and a member of the executive committee of the New Orleans branch of the NAACP. By profession he is a college teacher.



In Texas . . . after bowling, beer is a natural

After you've bowled a game or two, or when you're winding up the evening at the neighborhood bowling center, it's good to relax with friends and compare scores. What better way to add to the sport and the sociableness than with a refreshing glass of beer? However you take your fun—skiing, skating, or at your ease in the game room—beer always makes a welcome addition to the party.

Your familiar glass of beer is also a pleasurable reminder that we live in a land of personal freedom—and that our right to enjoy beer and ale, if we so desire, is just one, but an important one, of those personal freedoms.

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defense charges, the jury selection system which Labat faced "produced but one Negro juror on a petit jury in Orleans Parish." Thus the defense has applied for a writ of habeas corpus, claiming that Negroes were "deliberately and intentionally" excluded from the jury panel from which the trial jury was selected. To substantiate that claim they recently employ-

ed a professional statistician and a staff of researchers who concluded that there was not a single Negro on the final Orleans Parish jury panel of almost 150 names, and but four Negroes out of 300 names on the preliminary panels. Pure chance? "The probability," said the statistician, "is less than one in a million."

STEVEN H. RUBIN

Observations

LBJ Begins Now

His first year President Johnson has had great legislative success, but principally in the pursuit of President Kennedy's programs. Johnson's challenge and his trouble both begin now that he has been elected in his own right.

Most presidents have two or three years, anyway, before they have to start coping with bitter hostilities, but Johnson has not had that period of grace. Even as he crusaded for such controversial causes as civil rights, medicare, and government spending, vulnerabilities in his past were relentlessly exploited in the campaign that has just been concluded against him.

Those vulnerabilities, lately so tiresomely recited, include his 1948 Senate election and the charges that it was stolen; the fact that his own policy positions as a senator tended to shift from time to time, evolving sometimes in discernible directions, but other times appearing to respond more to opportunity than to new conviction; and the doubts that have been sown about his personal standards because of the Baker case and the wealth Johnson and his family have acquired while he has been a public servant. Legitimate questions have done him damage, but so also have scurrilous charges and innuendoes that have been snaked into print in bootleg paperbacks and campaign tracts.

Johnson's past is behind him; after Tuesday he is entitled at the least to a standing start, without old dogs yapping at his heels. Nothing can change the fact, however, that the sore places in his past are part of the context in which his performance will be judged.

OF FIRST MOMENT politically will be the honesty of his administration. Goldwater and his associates in effect charged that the White House has become a haven for immorality and Democratic liberalism an umbrella for crime and riot. If Johnson and his associates are not assiduously scrupulous, the political toll will be harsh and inevitable in 1968.

Since he has become President, Johnson's dedication to civil rights has been thorough and effective, but the notion has been running underground in the South that he would soften his line, once elected. His performance on this issue will be as sensitive politically as the moral reputation of his administration.

In a special Southwide television appeal the weekend before the voting, former Texas Governor Price Daniel assured Southerners that Johnson understands their problems and sympathizes with them, and Governor John Connally of Texas, (standing, as he awkwardly remarked, at the base of a Confederate monument on the Capitol grounds,) said, "Lyndon Johnson is a friend of the South, in every sense of the word." Will Southern cynics be justified, or will the Johnson administration enforce the civil rights law vigorously everywhere and employ the full authority of the federal government to punish and deter racial violence in the Deep South states where it now goes unreprieved?

Underlying and encompassing the talk-worn subject of civil rights are the organic conditions of poverty—in jobs, therefore income, therefore material goods and housing and education, and therefore, again, in jobs—that enshroud the lives and limit the

opportunities, not only of members of some of the minorities, but also of many Anglo-Americans. Mr. Johnson has committed his administration to a total war on poverty at all levels of government. There are statistical indices by which poverty can be measured, and if, by 1968, it has substantially decreased in the United States, Johnson will be entitled to a large measure of the political credit; if not, the contrary.

His sensitivity to criticism and his fabled skill in the Machiavellian uses of power intensify for Johnson another problem any chief executive of the federal government has. He will need to be especially careful not to permit any agency or power of his administration to be used for political or punitive purposes against any individual.

The President has already taken steps to bring into being his plans and projects for "the great society." As a legislator he was not noted for innovation, but as President he will be expected to propose profound new ideas for the improvement of the quality of personal life in America—for the attempt, through public policy, to arrest the processes that are alienating the city-dweller from his work and from his society as he daily experiences it.

IF, IN EACH of these matters, Johnson will have a motive of political gamesmanship as potent as the motive of working toward "the great society," still there is one area wherein he dare not play politics at the expense of policy, and the public dare not, either. As President Kennedy and President Johnson both said, nuclear war could kill 300 million human beings in a matter of minutes, and as Johnson also said during the campaign, we want our children to survive, and to look back and say, "That was the generation that split the atom. And that was the generation that united mankind."

Lyndon Johnson, and he alone, now must bear continuously for the next four years the personal responsibility for the survival, or the destruction, of hundreds of millions of people, and of the substance of civilization.

November 13, 1964

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tion as we know it. By his stewardship in this awful power he will be judged most gravely, not only by the electorate in 1968, but by history. R.D.

Don't Let It Pass

Franklin Jones, Sr., Marshall attorney and a contributing editor of this journal, wrote the Dallas Morning News on Nov. 5:

"Please permit a word of defense of Senator Goldwater by a liberal Democrat.

"In your editorial eagerness to keep alive the backward element of the Democratic Party in Texas, you seek to credit the success of the national ticket to the popularity of the state candidates. At the same time you criticize the Texas Republicans for pounding into 'every conservative Demo-

crat the idea that, if he voted Democratic, he was voting for socialism.' Lastly, you criticize Senator Goldwater's campaign and conclude that the Republican Party 'must regroup under more sensible direction—and no doubt it will.'

"My point is that the Goldwater campaign was devised to fit the pattern editorially laid down by the News for years. And fit it to a 'T' it did. The senator simply possessed the courage of your prejudices, which you do not seem to have. He should not be criticized; the carpet-chewing editorial sections of the reactionary press led him to his convictions and then ran out on him when they were put to the test at the ballot box.

"Respectfully,
FRANKLIN JONES"

Dialogue

Insulting to Women

In spite of my usual appreciation of your work and of the Observer, there are times when you annoy me beyond words. The most recent example was your gratuitous slur on "young matrons" in your October 30 issue.

I am not, as it happens, a supporter of George Bush. But I strongly protest your implication that any woman who considered voting for him was branded *ipso facto* as one of those who are "enthusiastic about him personally and have plenty of money for baby sitters and nothing much they have to do with their time." The fact, if it be such, that "he is the sort of

fellow the ladies turn their heads to see at the country club charity ball" is, in my opinion, totally beside the point, and I could wish the use of such tactics were beneath you, journalistically.

Your own unsigned article, "Memo to D.C.," in the same issue, refers to "[Governor] Connally and his fellow Tories." Has it crossed your mind that some—women as well as men—might seriously have weighed the advisability of voting, in whatever way possible, against that organization for other than purely bubble-headed reasons? "However much he sends your matrons who are not well informed on issues" (your article "This Man George Bush") is insulting to the intelligence of women on both sides, both politically and aesthetically, and I, for one, protest.

Mildred Boyer, Austin, Tex.

An Adopted Cheer

For once in my life I wish I was back in Texas to share the fun. Viva! Ole!—Harris Green, New York City.

A Call to the Defense

Except for the assailants themselves, pitifully few people seem to be interested in the attack on scientific textbooks. I know of no Texas newspaper (not even the Observer) which has editorially defended evolutionary science in the high school curriculum against the recent onslaught of the latter-day witch doctors of fundamentalism.

The general public doesn't seem to give a damn. A querulous earlier letter of mine drew only one reply, from an Edith Miller [Obs. Oct. 2]. I don't know how she stands on this issue, since she seemed preoccupied with a defense of the art of the church (presumably Catholic). She was also soberly effective (to me, with a hangover) when she pointed out that I'd probably never catch the public eye as Jesus did.

The textbook publishers are diffident.

At a hearing before the State Textbook Committee on Oct. 14, their representatives seemed mainly anxious to be polite; failing to sell their best biology books, they may at least continue in business with other, less contentious texts. Typical was this ringing defense by Gordon Halberson, editorial representative of the science division of Houghton-Mifflin: "The writers for the most part are native-born American Christians. I am a deacon in the local Congregational Church of my home town."

Obviously, concern is faint in supposedly responsible quarters—but not in fundamentalist nooks. Preachers, laymen, and committees of the Church of Christ and other sects have rushed out of their caves with public statements to ward off science-devils. These Troglodytes hold meetings and shuffle around with petitions bemoaning the advent of knowledge in the hinterlands. . . . Plainly, the fundamentalists are the only large group taking part in this controversy. Their most absurd statements are almost undisputed. . . .

These damned nose-picking simpletons who plague us now claim to be Christians. What is a Christian? Is he really a fool who creates for himself the awful dilemma: God has created a being whose only biological distinction is his mind and then has forbidden its use? Where are the Christians who believe that God's greatest gift is the power to think in order to understand Love?

If my thesis is not yet plain, then let me state it more succinctly: The preachers and laymen of the various lower orders of religion who attempt to wrap our school system to fit their quackery are dangerous, and for others to allow them by default to win this battle is to encourage them to a more portentous war on all truth.

Neal Neese, Jr., 900 South Cooper, Arlington, Tex.

Larry King a Joy

May I commend your splendid publication, not only for the light it sheds on dark places, but also for its superb writing, which makes it such a delight to read. The recent item by Larry King was a joy.—Arnold Robert Beer, 6542 Northwood Rd., Dallas 25, Tex.

A Subscriber's Commercial

The readers of the Texas Observer can increase its circulation and consequently, its influence, by giving a subscription as a gift to commemorate birthdays, anniversaries, graduations, etc.

This Christmas, each Observer reader can increase the circulation of the Observer by giving a subscription to the Observer as Christmas gifts to family and friends. We know that it would be appreciated by the recipient, as it is an oasis in this vast journalistic wasteland called Texas.

Also, it is suggested that students and professors of the various colleges and universities in Texas should contact the Observer and make arrangements to place the bi-weekly on the news-stands at and surrounding their campuses.

David G. Copeland, attorney, 530 New Road, Waco, Tex.