

The Texas Observer

JULY 9, 1965

A Journal of Free Voices

A Window to The South

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THE LIBERALS OF TEXAS

By the Editor

Austin

What meaning does the word "citizen" have left? Precious little, you may say with a sigh. We are really only ciphers, with no real effect. We are citizens only nominally—the ones whose votes are a necessary formality. We pay our taxes and occasionally pitch in one way or another in an election, but that's about it. The state and the country are run from the top, and the world seems made of colliding blind and drunken parts.

But Citizen, we have a choice.

We are not certain to matter, but we certainly have a choice whether to try to or to give up trying. We are not certain to think wisely or well, but we certainly have a choice whether to think or not to think. We have much to go about doing, earning a living and pursuing our private lives, and we are not sure that if we pay attention and speak out as the early citizens did, we will not be wasting our time, but we are sure that if we do not speak out, we will be responsible for any failures that descend upon our place and our country, and for whatever disasters overtake the world that our country could have stopped.

Debates and demonstrations have swept parts of the country in the last few years. Civil rights, medicare, nuclear weapons, Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic . . . people do care in New York and in California, in Cambridge and Jackson and Selma. We in Texas have been concerned with our local troubles, and we have needed to be, for we have had enough of them. Now, however, a Texan is President, and citizenship in Texas is heavier, as a moral duty, than ever it was before. We can go on as we have, doing and thinking and saying as little as we can get by with, or we can do more.

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IN MY OPINION the liberals in and of Texas should cut loose from all present organizations, including organized labor, and come together in their own names, to have their say in the affairs of men.

I should like to see this happen every fall and every spring, all who wish to

come, coming as individuals only, each person to have just his own voice, no person a special status, no one representing a group.

We know that there does exist a large community of Texas liberals. They read this paper, many of them. They used to meet a thousand or fifteen hundred strong for the open, y'all come meetings of the Democrats of Texas. They should come together again, but now for citizenship more than for politics—for speaking truth to power more than for the pursuit of power.

Their entire purposes should be expressed in their two statewide conventions, the one in the fall to debate and formulate their opinions on national, international, and state issues, the one in the spring to consider political candidates. I would hope they would give none of their officers authority to speak for them, except as their own conventions speak for them.

Democracy rests on the citizens or it is a farce and a lie. Yet where now can the citizen go to speak forward? There are very few real town forums. The newspapers are filled with commercial advertisements, news stories written by certain formulas, and editorials safe but seldom sound. Television is a disgrace to a once proud people. Let us then make our own forum, erect it with our own awareness of each other, and see if this is worthwhile to do.

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IHAVE WATCHED the Democratic Coalition of Texas long enough to have become convinced that, while it is a worthy organization and has done good work, it is not a democratic organization. Its very zeal for civil rights has trapped it into the structural segregation of Negroes, Latin-Americans, labor, and "independent liberals," four separate categories. The still deeper truth is that it is a front for organized labor.

Who are its members? Somewhere there is a mailing list, one must suppose, but who decides who is invited to its meetings? One knows intuitively that labor does. Why does it have no

platform? No program, except registering voters? Why did it not have any impact in, or interest in, the recent legislature? Why has it not had anything to say—not anything—on Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic, 14-B, or the \$1.25 minimum wage for the war on poverty? Because it is not a democratic, it is a strategic organization. Let it continue and prosper, but let us have no misunderstanding about its nature.

Sadly but with clear minds the Texas liberals must accept and cope with the fact that in the United States now, and particularly in Texas, organized labor is part of the power structure, from which citizens must strive to be independent if they are to be independent citizens. Labor men can be just as free and independent citizens as anyone else, but not as labor men. President Johnson now runs the power structure, and in Texas the President uses Gov. Connally as his spokesman and dispenser of power. Therefore, any Texas bunch that is dependent on labor money for its meaning or its program is part of the power structure which it is the duty of free and thoughtful citizens to evaluate and criticize freely. I am afraid, for this reason, that the still not well organized component of independent liberals within the Democratic Coalition, the Texas Organization of Liberal Democrats (T.O.L.D.), has too much to overcome from the start.

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WE MUST THINK STRAIGHT. The warhawks are pressuring President Johnson to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong, and then China. Urgently do the Texas liberals need to stand up boldly and contend against these warhawks and help make it likelier that President Johnson will not give in to them.

The war on poverty in Texas is in some danger of disintegrating into a mish-mash of local boondoggles and box suppers for the poor. Texas has two great submerged impoverished minorities, the Negroes and the Latin-Americans, and thus embodies in one

(Continued on Next Page)

place the causes of the two great blind spots of the war on poverty—the Negro poor of the South and the Latin-American poor of the lower Southwest.

Now that President Johnson has consolidated many of the objectives of domestic liberalism that occupied the post-war years, who is going to do the new thinking for what we need now? Shall Texans leave it to the Easterners or the Californians? Or are Texas liberals afraid to discuss big money in elections and the oil depletion allowance?

Here at home, here in Texas, is where the liberals in and of Texas should unite and meet again to speak out to the country, to participate in the great personal and regional dialogues that must underlie the democratic process if it is not to be subverted by big money and the mass media.

But also, we have our own state to think of. Liberalism here has become almost a useless word-game, an empty cause. It was not a heartening thing to watch the 1965 Texas legislature, in the midst of what we are asked to believe is the basis of the Great Society, conducting itself more abominably than the sold-out legislatures in the cesspools of Texas history known as the Shivers era. What's all this about? Here many people have been making sacrifices and working and thinking for all this time, and we are back where we started. No, it is time for a fresh start, and a new set of working principles.

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THE LIBERALS OF TEXAS—perhaps called simply that—should meet someplace pleasant in the fall for a weekend, break down into groups according to interests, and discuss the issues of the time—nuclear war, Viet Nam, the democracy-menacing concentration of economic power, bankers' interest rates, the \$2 minimum wage, American policy toward the poor of the other countries, an end to discrimination against Negroes in East Texas, the need for economic justice as well as civil rights—and formulate, in open debate, their own positions. Let each citizen be responsible to do his own reading and thinking and to choose his own ground.

I propose *two* annual membership meetings because although they may be unwieldy, it is all the members of a group, not their officers, who matter. As for the spring meeting a little before the beginning of the spring campaigns, perhaps it would be well for such a group not to endorse candidates, but simply to *hear* them. Each individual would consider, for himself, their merits, and act freely. There would be none of this mind-crushing Group-Think which is one source of the declining importance of the individual. The politicians might feel easier, too; they could come before a large group of citizens and make their appeals without fear of being slammed in the dailies with hurtful symbols.

Dues should be sufficient to finance the group's administrative costs, period. Every

penny spent should be thus limited, and publicly accounted for. Officers' authority should be limited to administration, and perhaps to legislative or congressional testimony pursuant to the group's principles. No one should be permitted to come as a member of any group—labor, Negro, Latin, farmer, "independent liberal"—but anyone who wishes to be welcome should be, and the only hat he should need is his own. To prevent the kind of labor pre-convention caucusing that in effect killed DOT in 1960, participating in binding caucuses should be grounds for expulsion from the group. In my opinion, anyone who puts any group or party ahead of his own principles as a matter of principle should not come; this should be a free group of free citizens resolved to act in their own names for what they themselves personally believe is true and right.

What about the hard work of political organization—voter registration, card indexes, mailings, turning out the voters? This must go on, but a state liberal organization should not carry it on, because the only way it can is by becoming a front for labor money, and this compromises its at last more *necessary* function, speaking truth to power. The abundance of local organizations in the cities will continue to do this work, just as they in fact do it now.

What, fellow citizens, is there to lose? Senator Ralph Yarborough is secure in his important post for five and a half more years. President Johnson could certainly use some home-state liberalism in his foreign policy, and in domestic policy, too—liberalism with cutting edges, independent of him, and thinking for itself. Governor Connally will be in for four more years if

something doesn't happen. Ideas coming from a lively liberal Texas group would certainly be taken note of in Washington and in thoughtful minds all over the country, and they would also affect, and give backbone to, the off-again, on-again, off-again Texas delegation in Washington and the legislature in Austin.

Democracy has become too much like mere power in high places; Group-Think has gone too far. We may as well start something again at the grass roots of Texas, where there is still freedom. R.D.

The Usury Veto

We commend Governor Connally for vetoing the bankers' 17% interest bill. This veto deserves unqualified approval. This was the worst single bill the 1965 legislature passed, and Connally prevented it from becoming law.

On the other hand, the 140 members of the legislature who voted for the bankers' usury bill must be held accountable by the voters. To be sure our readers know who voted how, we publish the House and Senate record votes in this issue. Certainly this is not the only subject by which legislators should be judged, but it is one of the most relevant ones, and the few good legislators who voted for 17.5% for bankers have plenty of explaining to do.

Keep in mind, the legislature that passed this bill is the same one that Connally had the temerity to say had the best record in this century. □

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The United States Should Support, Not Crush, Democratic Movements

Jacques M. P. Wilson

Guayaquil, Ecuador

Unilateral action by the United States in the Dominican Republic crisis has reduced American prestige in Latin America to its lowest point in 33 years. This may come as somewhat of a surprise to the average American, since domestic news-media have spared no pains to praise L.B.J.'s quick and decisive action in preventing an alleged Castro-like takeover of the Dominican Republic.

Waving the red-flag of communist infiltration as the pretext for a massive landing of American armed forces makes little sense to the average Latin-American. After all, only approximately 50 known Communists were indicted as supporting the Caamano forces. Communist infiltration is not a new phenomenon in Latin America. It has been going on steadily for more than 40 years, due in a large part to lack of vision and imagination in the conduct of hemispheric foreign policy. Logically our neighbors to the south point to other areas where excuses for intervention have presented themselves. Venezuela was the target of a sustained communist offensive to topple democratic processes through terrorist attacks, and apparently neither the Betancourt nor the De Leoni governments could contain communist conspirators. Colombia was a target of banditry and communist-led unrest in its rural areas. Either of these two situations provided numerous "excuses" for armed intervention.

NON-INTERVENTION in the domestic affairs of neighboring states has been a cardinal principle of American foreign policy for 33 years. We have only to remember how great was American moral indignation when Russia intervened in the Hungarian revolt of the 1950's to recall how deeply we as a people subscribe to this principle. With the exception of a short incident in 1954 when American armed forces acted almost clandestinely as technicians and advisers to support a revolution in Guatamala, and more recently in the Bay of Pigs fiasco undertaken by Cuban exiles with CIA technical and logistical support, the United States has staunchly supported the good neighbor

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policy of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and has abstained from open intervention in the affairs of its Latin American neighbors.

It is perhaps a truism which needs repeating again, and again, that the Latin-American peoples, like their Spanish and Indian forebears, are extremely proud and nationalistic. The imposition of a foreign will on them, regardless of the excuse, is an affront not only to their dignity, but even worse to their "machismo." Time has a much different value in Latin America than it does in the United States. The memory of Teddy Roosevelt's "big stick" is still fresh among the people whose colonial status antedated the Mayflower by more than a hundred years. It was only by an almost superhuman effort of statesmanship that F.D.R.'s hemispheric policies prevented Latin America from being subverted by the axis powers immediately before and during World War II.

After the years of neglect of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, a period during which economic output tended to stagnate when contrasted with the rising birthrate, a new wave of optimism swept the continent as the Kennedy administration came into office. President Kennedy's personality, his ready wit, and his intellectual talents were idolized throughout the Spanish-speaking world. This is reflected today in the countless schools, avenues, plazas, and monuments bearing the Kennedy name. His Alliance for Progress dared to let the little people of the Americas hope that some of the social and economic justice enjoyed by their big brothers to the north could be theirs. The anomaly of Texas, where the Latin-American is still a second-class citizen, is better known in Caracas and Quito than in Chicago. In spite of this, L.B.J. entered into the presidency holding a tremendous reservoir of good-will. That much of this has been lost, there is little doubt. That our every mistake is capitalized on by the Russian, Chinese, and Cuban propaganda mills is evident. Yet we can still salvage much of what has been lost.

The American government and American business interests, whether these be petroleum, fruit, mining, have blurred into a common image over the centuries. Traditionally the business interests have supported military *caudillos* or dictatorships in Latin America because of the favorable commercial concessions that business negotiates with these individuals. Although these interests provided a measure of employment, in economies that are based

either on agriculture or raw materials American business has done little to help the basic situations of the people. In Ecuador, for instance, after generations of banana production the standard of living of plantation workers is scarcely better than it was half a century ago. Farm workers' health is poor, their diet inadequate, and their living accommodations, although better than those of city laborers living in cane-shack slums, are still appallingly primitive.

The Catholic Church, in part because of its Spanish origin, is intensely conservative, and unlike its North American counterpart, has embarked on few social projects beyond its indigenous missionary activities. Although the Church is a leader in the field of education, its schools are formalistic and tend to be oriented primarily to the needs of the upper classes. To preserve its lands and its key position in the power structure, the Church has supported *caudillo*-like administrations and dictatorships, such as that of Trujillo in the Dominican Republic. While most Latin Americans are nominally Catholic, they find it difficult to reconcile the Church's teachings with its social, economic, and political policies. The fact that the Church, military dictatorships, and foreign business interests have tended to collaborate in their own self-interest has caused the Church's position to deteriorate further. While many of the externals of religion have been preserved, Latin-Americans tend to be a-religious and anti-clerical.

THE WESTERN Hemisphere's hope for the future abides in the judicious use of leadership to create a climate for strong, *independent*, popular, national governments such as those which grew out of the Mexican Revolution during the second decade of this century. Mexico, which was anathema to American clerical and business interests until recent years, has demonstrated that sound, stable governments with broad popular support can be created.

Latin America's mushrooming millions are overworked, underfed; they subsist on little more than the hope that a better day is coming. A hungry man is apolitical. Let us not earn his ire by taking on the mantle of a hemispheric *caudillo*. The days of Juan Vicente Gomez, Rafael Trujillo, and Fulgencio Batista are past. □

'The New Image' in Mississippi

Atlanta, Ga.

Jerry DeMuth

Late last year Ross Barnett, former governor of Mississippi, told a Citizens' Council meeting in New Orleans, "There are a lot of people who have been talking about the need to improve the image of Mississippi, but let me ask you people here . . . is there anything wrong with Mississippi's image?" He answered, "No. . . . If some of the people who are talking about Mississippi's image would just spend a little more time having their 'fuzzy' thinking adjusted then maybe they could see as clearly as you and I can."

Since that time Mississippi's leaders have been trying to adjust the "fuzzy thinking" of others who have thought that racism and second-class citizenship are part of Mississippi life. State revenues have fallen and the state is operating on a hand to mouth basis. Last November a state sales tax of 3.5% produced less revenue than a 3% levy brought the same month the preceding year. After the Neshoba County slaying, tourist trade along the Gulf Coast dropped 50%, and by December it was still low. Hotel and motel occupancy in the Gulfport-Biloxi area was only 8%. From March to December the state was forced to borrow \$8 million. Robert Gordon reported in a UPI dispatch February 28: "Business leaders feared a boycott campaign against Mississippi industry and products and noted the state's slow industrialization. Others pointed to the challenge of the Mississippi congressional delegation."

This latter event is perhaps the most important cause of the sudden attempt at window dressing. Political leaders have taken the challenge seriously and are worried about the eventual outcome. The challenge "has drawn an inordinate amount of publicity and has whipped up even more anti-Mississippi sentiment," William L. Chase wrote in the jingoistic Jackson daily. "And more of this type sentiment we don't need," he concluded. After the delegation challenge, Mrs. F. A. Parker, editor and publisher of the *Prentiss Headlight*, wrote, "There is no place for rejoicing over the vote that seated the Mississippi delegation in Washington Monday, but rather deep misgivings that in that august body there were 148 members who voted against the seating of the duly and legally elected representatives against 276 who voted for seating them. There is cause to be alarmed when we find that many jackasses in the greatest deliberative body in the world, the legislative branch of our three part federal government."

MISSISSIPPI LEADERS don't want another such dispute and feel that a new "image" will help. ". . . with a little intelligent planning we should be able to

kill off this political monstrosity [the Freedom Democratic Party] altogether," the *Tupelo Journal* editorialized. "And if white leaders can so handle state affairs that the Freedom Party is provided no issue . . . there is a good chance that it will wither away completely," the paper said.

Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin told the Greenville Industrial Foundation of an Ohio industrialist who refused to consider expansion of two Mississippi plants until the state "decides to become a part of the union again." Gartin commented, "I am deeply concerned about the impression we make on the people in other parts of this nation. We cannot build a fence around ourselves." But if Mississippi is joining up with the other 49 states, it is doing so on its own terms. Edward P. Moore, covering the Greenville meeting for the *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, reported: "Mr. Gartin, maintaining his personal belief in segregation, urged businessmen, civic leaders and industrialists 'to speak up and speak out' about conditions in the state." Gov. Paul Johnson pleaded to the rest of the nation at U.S. Civil Rights Commission hearings in Jackson last spring, "Get off our back and get on our side."

The new "image" is thus speaking "in a positive manner about conditions" rather than doing much to change the conditions. Mississippi Manufacturers Association president Ed Palmer told a Jackson civic club that the MMA is "convinced, as are you, that much of the radical thinking towards Mississippi is not based on fact but on rumor and supposition." He then revealed that the MMA was going to mount "a massive public relations campaign" based on the approach that "with the good and the bad, Mississippi's net picture is one favorable to investments and economic growth."

Mississippi wants to be considered part of the union for yet another reason: so that it will continue getting federal aid in an amount that, according to Drew Pearson, totaled more than \$1 billion in 1964. "Leadership on the state level agrees that we cannot afford to lose federal aid," Erle Johnston, Jr., told a civic club meeting. Johnston heads the segregationist State Sovereignty Commission.

A few leaders and state organizations have spoken about obeying and respecting the law, ending terrorism, and ending unfair voter registration practices. Both Gov. Johnson and Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson spoke before the Mississippi Sheriffs Association with pleas for obedience to federal laws. The association itself passed a resolution calling for compliance with federal laws and an end to terrorism. But members have harassed and continue to harass civil rights workers, and at its previous meeting the lawmen's group

cheered and praised Sheriff Lawrence Rainey and Deputy Cecil Price.

The Circuit Clerks Association of Mississippi—the clerks function as voter registrars—adopted a resolution urging citizens "to conduct themselves with dignity and not to act in defiance of law." Then they went on to say that criticism of them resulted from "ignorance of the law" and "indifference to law and facts." One fact: Negro registration in Mississippi is less than 7%. The clerks concluded that "those groups who allege discrimination should concentrate their efforts upon improving cultural and moral standards of those who cry discrimination." Another fact: The Justice Department has filed more than 20 voter registration suits in Mississippi.

COMMENTING on voter registration before the Mississippi Society of Professional Engineers, Gov. Johnson said, "It doesn't make much sense to turn down a person with an MA degree when he attempts to register to vote, and then register one who has not been to school. We don't have a leg to stand on."

In Panola County whites were registered without being given a section of the state constitution to interpret. Now, as a result of a suit, Negroes seeking to register are not being given a section, either, and since May, 1964, some 800 Negroes have been registered.

Mississippi leaders and organizations also are becoming more sophisticated: they are realizing now that they at least have to give the impression of complying with integration orders. They can no longer continue to openly defy them, because if they do, strict orders to integrate may follow. The *Itawamba County Times* commented, "Our opinion is that all of the districts of the state of Mississippi will be forced to comply whether they like it or not. . . . So why not submit a plan of our own choosing instead of having to submit by court order to a plan which might not be quite so palatable."

Since all these words of "complying with the law" and "ending terrorism" were spoken and written during January and February, police harassment has continued, there have been hundreds of arrests and almost daily beatings, shootings have not stopped, and in Shaw in April an ordinance was passed prohibiting marches and speeches. The state's infamous fire-bombings continue. The SNCC office in Laurel was fire-bombed, and so were a station wagon in Shaw, a cafe in Vicksburg, homes in Canton and Greenwood, and churches in Canton and Holly Springs. In Indianola on two nights two months apart six fire-bombs damaged or destroyed the Freedom School and SNCC office, a staff car, two homes, a store, and the Freedom House.

Little has changed in Mississippi. □

Texas Politics, Mid-Summer '65

Idle and "inside" conversations on who will run for what next year in Texas tend to resolve into a blend of information and opinion about the major likelihoods. This is the Observer's sizing up of this consensus at mid-summer:

Governor John Connally will seek a third term if the four-year governor's term is approved in November. Rep. Charles Whitfield, Houston, added his name to those few who might like to take on the governor, but he, like Rep. Bill Hollowell of Grand Saline, is likely to be affected by a shortage of campaign funds. Hollowell figured it would take \$750,000 or so to mount a serious campaign against Connally. Don Yarborough's name pops up occasionally as a possible opponent for Connally again. The argument that the Houston lawyer ripped his political career permanently by his weak showing last time is countered with the argument that the circumstances were unusual. There is some talk of the Texas AFL-CIO state convention resolving this year to permit state president Hank Brown to run against Connally and retain his labor post during the campaign. Texas Republicans would have to run someone against Connally because a party's convention composition is determined by the turnout of voters for its candidate for governor, but under the Texas Republicans' new policy of not running to win against entrenched conservative Democrats to avoid bringing out extra Democratic voters, GOP opposition would be token. It is not likely that George Bush, the GOP's best uncommitted vote-getter for next year, would take Connally on.

At present the race for the Democrats' nomination for U.S. senator against Sen. John Tower appears to be between Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr and Cong. Jim Wright of Fort Worth. Carr has joined Lt. Gov. Preston Smith in saying he will run for governor if Connally does not; but if Connally does run for governor, Carr is obviously the leading tory Democrat in the race for the Senate. (At the abortive State Democratic Executive Committee session in Wichita Falls last month—at which neither Speaker Ben Barnes nor his replacement, Rep. Gus Mutscher, turned up, and which did not select the new state Democratic chairman because it didn't have its instructions from Connally yet—Carr said the congressional redistricting bill had accomplished one thing already, agreement between Sens. Tower and Ralph Yarborough that it was no good, "proving once again," Carr said, "that every cloud has a silver lining.") Ex-Cong. Joe Kilgore, now practicing law in Austin, is much-mentioned for the Senate race, but told William Gardner of the Houston Post he

is not preparing for any political candidacy.

Wright is running; he is speechmaking all over the state. His themes: "liberal" and "conservative" are terms that fade into "a new dawn of enlightened consensus"; Johnson's foreign and domestic policies are wise, and contain many conservative elements—lower spending, lower taxes, friendliness toward business. Wright currently is speaking out against a users' fee for national parks and recreation areas. He is almost certain to vote for repeal of 14-B of Taft-Hartley for a variety of reasons. His labor record already includes voting for the Landrum-Griffin bill; Hank Brown has said labor would be hard-put to oppose him for Senate if he voted for repeal. But if he voted against repeal, labor would probably turn against him not only because of 14-B and Landrum-Griffin, but also his recent votes for the federal poll tax and against the 1964 civil rights bill. In Fort Worth savvy types will give odds that Wright will vote for repeal. He will probably also vote for the voting rights bill this year.

Some liberals are considering trying to draft Cong. Jack Brooks of Beaumont into the race. Brooks is a liberal Democrat (he voted for the civil rights measures Wright opposed), and Brooks is also close to President Johnson. So close, however, that he would not likely run if Johnson thought he should not. Also, if Brooks becomes congressman from the new Galveston-Beaumont district, he will have a secure base in the U.S. House for his desire to become Speaker.

Suppose the four-year term for governor (linked as it is in the same November election with likely-to-be-unpopular four-year terms for members of the Texas House) is rejected, and Connally decides to forego his distaste, bruited about in a national magazine, about being junior senator to Yarborough? In that case, Lt. Gov. Preston Smith and Carr would move for governor. Connally might want someone yet closer to him (Kilgore?) to run.

All this disallows the possibility of new faces. For instance, Darrell Royal, the Texas football coach, is letting it be known he is a Democrat, and has been a guest at the LBJ. Dan Blocker, the Ph.D. cowboy from Texas, has said he would not run against Connally; might he run for what Connally doesn't run for in '66? Probably not—he said at the Yarborough dinner in San Antonio last month that he will just vote for men like Yarborough and Cong. Henry Gonzalez, for his part. (Blocker has been a Connally backer. When a certain liberal Democrat started filling his ear with arguments that Connally is not a

people's governor, Blocker listened with interest.)

The liberals' dilemma—the lack of a single statewide candidate who's thought to be running for governor or senator—continues unresolved. Sen. Franklin Spears of San Antonio still hopes to run for attorney general, with Carr probably moving out. Sen. Charles Herring, Austin, is mentioned for that job, too. Although the story that Hank Brown endorsed it was in error, the idea that Sen. Yarborough should run for governor without resigning his Senate seat during the campaign is gaining some adherents who see no other way to prevent Connally from occupying the Mansion through 1970. Pro-Connally, pro-Yarborough people like Bob Slagle, president of the Young Democrats in Texas, argue to the contrary that if Yarborough lost, his growing prestige in the Senate would be hurt. Ultimately—as anyone who knows Yarborough knows—there is no way to know whether to take this possibility seriously, because whether one should depend entirely on whether Yarborough does. It is relevant, though, that Yarborough has always wanted to be governor; that Cty. Cmsr. Albert Pena of San Antonio is quoting Yarborough as having said to him, "You know, I think Connally has saved Allan Shivers from being the worst governor in the history of Texas"; and that Pena says he said to Yarborough, "I think you ought to run for governor," and Yarborough turned on him and said, "Don't tempt me!"

According to Joe Belden's Texas Poll in June, 46% wanted Tower re-elected, 29% want "someone else," and 25% are undecided. Asked to volunteer who might run against Tower, nine out of ten of those who did not select Tower had no suggestions, and no one was named by more than 3%—Connally and Wright getting "the most mentions," Belden said. As to Connally, Belden said somewhat vaguely that "a parallel set of questions" was asked, and 62% want Connally again, 25% want "someone else," and 13% are undecided; no one was named to replace Connally by more than 1% of those against him.

Carr, Connally Cross-wise

Carr and Connally got cross-wise at the U.S. conference of attorneys general in San Antonio. Carr, relaxing with the attorneys general in South Texas, told the Corpus Christi Caller-Times that they were concerned "over the extreme decisions generally favoring the criminal over the convicted," although they realize decisions

of the Supreme Court are the law. Carr decried what the Caller paraphrased as "a tendency of the courts to overemphasize the civil rights of criminals." Connally, who had signed the criminal code in spite of pressures from prosecutors in Dallas and elsewhere that he veto it, said in his address to the conference, "In a day and age when government ever grows strong and more powerful, the individual's rights demand complete, not partial protection. . . . [T]o belabor the Supreme Court for all of our ills in criminal prosecution is absurd. . . . We have reached a sad position when many people believe our judges to be conspirators determined to free criminals, disrupt law and order, and destroy our country." Individual rights, Connally said, belong on "a higher level than government efficiency."

✓ A story in the Houston Tribune, the conservative weekly in that city, quotes Lt. Gov. Smith as saying, "I tried to push through all the bills the governor wanted," and also, "I have always refused to be a rubber stamp man for any governor. I am not in any man's pocket." John Ford speculates in the San Antonio Express that Smith and Connally have had a rift that makes it unlikely that Connally would favor Smith succeeding him as governor.

✓ The State Bar convention in Fort Worth last week attracted most of the state's leading politicians. Carr spoke on crime and TV in the courtrooms (granting that the Supreme Court ruling knocking out the Estes conviction because of TV probably ended that practice). Ex-Gov. Price Daniel endorsed non-election of appellate judges under the Missouri Plan for their appointment by the governor. Yarborough called for a Texas law to prohibit telephone wiretapping and electronic eavesdropping; he also explained the bill he has introduced to pay innocent victims of crimes in federally-run jurisdictions up to \$25,000 for actual money loss due to physical injury. George Bush and the Observer editor exchanged views on Viet Nam, civil rights, demonstrations, and civil disobedience; this discussion will appear in the Observer soon.

✓ Cong.-at-large Joe Pool has run up a few trial balloons for the U.S. Senate race, but his latest is that he probably will run in the new western congressional district in Dallas. He is about to become a target of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC. The Dallas Times-Herald says from Washington that Bruce Alger reportedly will run against Cong. Earle Cabell in 1966. Rep. Jake Johnson, San Antonio, figuring he's in for a hard go in 1966 anyway, is talking about running for congressman in the new South Texas district. Sen. Walter Richter, Gonzales, whose former senatorial counties have only 47,000 of the voters in that new, 332,000-voter district, will probably run, too; so may Sen. Abraham Kazen, Laredo. Cong. John Dowdy, Athens, has denied reports he won't run again. Speaker Ben Barnes, speculated for Congress, apparently intends to be Speaker a third time. Many assume that George Bush will run for Congress in the new district 7 in Houston, but when he

said he wasn't eager to do it on a public occasion recently, his wife applauded vigorously; on another such occasion he said he may not run for office again any time soon, which might mean, not in 1966.

✓ Sens. Galloway Calhoun, Tylor, and Jack Strong, Longview, are committed to a race against each other. Sen. George Parkhouse, Dallas, expects to run for reelection; the Dallas News says, "Two present state representatives are reportedly leading the field for the nod from the 'downtown money men' for the two newly created Senate seats in the county," John Wright and Jim Wade. Rep. Howard Green, Fort Worth, sounds as though he has about decided to run for county judge. In San Antonio, it looks like Sam Jorrie, ex-commissioner, and Reps. Glenn Kothmann and Red Berry in a fight for the new Senate seat in Eastern Bexar.

Tower's Situation

✓ About one major candidate there's no uncertainty. Sen. John Tower's reelection is so vital to Texas Republicans, they have struck off a decision not to run a full slate of candidates, simply to avoid stirring up the Democratic masses and getting them to the polling places. Without Tower and with a Texan President, Texas Republicans would be whistling in a dust storm.

Tower knows he cannot be elected with GOP votes alone. He therefore needs Democrats and independents. Connally would be the most formidable opponent, and Wright would be the best one for him, Tower reportedly believes. Against Wright, Tower could rally anti-union people if Wright votes for 14-B and some of the liberals who are dedicated to a two-party state and to whom the civil rights issue is paramount. Against Connally, Tower would have a look-in with the latter group, but none with conservative Democrats (unless one believes statements that Connally's veto of the bankers' bill cost him much such backing).

Tower will have a 40th birthday party in Houston Sept. 29; money will be raised for his campaign there. He has replaced his administrative assistant, H. E. Munden, who resigned, with former press aide Ken Towery; Jerry Friedheim now has Towery's old job on the staff. Tower has new offices just under Johnson's suite in the Federal Center in Austin.

While Tower has been sounding more moderate in a few areas for six or eight months, only two Republicans voted against the voting rights bill as it passed the Senate, 77-19, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Tower. Tower proposed to replace the bill's automatic, statistical "triggering" of the appointment of federal voting registrars with a trigger based on complaints and a federal finding; this lost,

49-29. While Yarborough voted with liberals on every amendment except one to let the district court in Washington, D.C., pass on the bill's constitutionality, Tower voted against Yarborough on this one point. Tower's vote against this overwhelmingly-passed bill on grounds that is unconstitutional makes it practically impossible for him to benefit much from such Republican attempts to crack Negro solidarity for Democrats as the Houston Y.R.'s invitation to a Negro Republican to speak recently.

Tower has praised Johnson's policies in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic, even as he has opposed repeal of 14-B, shutting off bracero labor, the war on poverty, medicare, and federal aid to education. He has proposed placing the job of recruiting farm workers in the hands of state authorities. He has taken up the project of getting the Alamo flag back from Mexico.

According to the Gonzales Daily Inquirer, Tower, asked about his personal capital, said that he was worth about the same as he was before he became a senator and that a trust fund in his wife's name hadn't grown too much. The Gonzales paper continued: "I guess," he smiled, "that my wife isn't as smart a businesswoman as Lady Bird."

✓ Texas Republicans are riven now with a factionalism as enervating as that which afflicts the Texas Democrats. It began, of course, with the thunderous defeat of Goldwater, to which the Texas GOP was wholly bound. George Bush recently made a speech in Austin denouncing extremism of the right, and when a motion was made at the Harris County GOP executive committee to table an endorsement of the speech, the motion lost 38-36. By the time the speech was read, there was no quorum. Bob Gilbert, the Houston GOP chairman, had been embroiled in disputes with staff personnel, some of whom had left the party office, and Gilbert was also caught up in the charges of extremism. He resigned. Immediately James Mayor, "an anti-extremist," came forward to run for the chairmanship, and Bush endorsed him wholeheartedly. Nevertheless, James Bowers, an auctioneer, announced against Mayor. While Bowers was president of the Houston Jaycees in 1964, Walter Mansell pointed out in the Houston Chronicle, the Jaycees had sponsored a meeting jointly with the Minute Women and Pro America. Mayor was ragged because he worked for Democratic Sen. Bill Blakley against Tower in 1961. Apparently the "anti-extremist" cause almost lost out, because Tower endorsed Mayor toward the last, and even so Mayor won by only 95-80; the Chronicle said Tower's name was booed when his telegram backing Mayor was read. . . . Mrs. Ike Kampmann, Jr., who resigned as national GOP committeewoman from Texas, took a swing at Goldwater's "Free Society Associates" by saying she'll send her contributions to the Republican Party and by declining to be a founder of F.S.A. . . . Frates Seeligson, multimillionaire San Antonio GOP chairman, has resigned, giving as his reason the demands for business and family. . . . The new Texas GOP committee-



Sen John Tower

An Ed Clark Story

Ed Clark, one of the most prominent of Texas behind-the-scenes politicians for many years, has been appointed ambassador to Australia, a coveted diplomatic post. At 59 Clark will enjoy the luxury of the far away mission and will have to leave his law practice, legislative lobbying, banking, and other interests to others.

There's a story told in political circles that when Ben Ramsey, from the same home town of San Augustine, started to run for lieutenant governor, he made one speech which was so bad Clark told him to get to the hospital quick and play sick, and others would get him elected. Ramsey did, and was elected, starting a successful career at the polls. He seldom speaks, has never been defeated.

—Jacksonville Daily Progress

woman, Mrs. J. C. Man Jr., says the number of GOP women's clubs in Texas has grown from 29 in 1961 to 160 now.

Johnson and Texas

✓ Houston Post gossip columnist Bill Roberts didn't convince anybody political with a rumor that Jack Valenti might run for governor, but he got a noteworthy quote when he called Valenti at the White House and asked him about it. "Who would I run against?" Valenti asked him, and added: "Just tell everybody I think Texas has a great governor." . . . Connally is one of the President's four vice-chairmen at large for the White House Conference on Education July 21.

✓ Horace Busby, the conservative Texas publicist, is the President's Cabinet secretary and has now been assigned (as well as former Reporter writer Douglass Cater) as special assistant to McGeorge Bundy on foreign policy. Busby is to work on space and defense matters. Marvin Watson, formerly an official of Lone Star Steel and Connally's state Democratic chairman, is now the President's appointments secretary. Harry McPherson of Texas has been working on intercultural exchanges and legislation, but still has no title. Leslie Carpenter reported that Walter Jenkins is a frequent caller at the White House and that Secret Service agents have orders to admit him through a private entrance.

✓ The President's selection of Judge Homer Thornberry for the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, while acceptable to Sen. Yarborough, specifically also means that Johnson refused to nominate Yarborough's strongly-urged choice, L.N.D. Nat Wells of Dallas, or Fagan Dickson of Austin. The impasse between the President and Yarborough over the new U.S.D.A. for North Texas continues. Yarborough proposed Sam Daugherty of Dallas. The President preferred Sterling Steves of Fort Worth, but Steves has withdrawn himself from consideration. The patronage situation between Johnson

and Yarborough may or may not improve with respect to the four new justices for the New Orleans court and additional district judges for Texas provided in new legislation.

✓ Johnson's designation of Ed Clark as his ambassador to Australia was the most political ambassadorial appointment he has made and attracted wide attention because Clark is known as a conservative behind-the-scenes force in Texas politics, especially that having to do with the economic power structure.

Long the chief confidante of Ben Ramsey when Ramsey was the most powerful man in state legislation as lieutenant governor, Clark's Austin law firm represents banks, gas pipelines, truck companies, utilities, insurance companies, river authorities, and other business. Clark has also been identified with the Brown brothers of construction fame who backed Johnson early in his career and expanded their business around the world as Johnson did, his politics.

Clark is chairman of the board of Capital National Bank, Austin (total resources, \$122 million); president of First National of San Augustine; director of San Benito Bank & Trust; chairman of the board, First National of Center; director, Texas Capital Corp. of Georgetown; and director, Capital Investment Corp. of Austin. He is on the board of directors of the Texas Research League, the business-financed research organization that has shaped much Texas legislation in the last dozen years.

✓ President Johnson has appointed Dr. Luther Holcomb of Dallas the vice chairman of the U.S. Equal Opportunity Commission. Holcomb was recently embroiled in a press dispute in Dallas proceeding from charges that he was the power structure's parson there. When his appointment was announced, Dallas friends gave him a testimonial dinner and presented him a 1965 Buick Electra.

✓ Vis-a-vis the story in the Observer a while back telling of Yarborough's siding with the Kennedys against Johnson and the Administration on the issue of repeal of the state poll tax by the Congress, Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott stated in a column that Johnson has now said he is for such repeal, and would have said so sooner if Atty. Gen. Nicholas Katzenbach had not opposed the repeal, making it awkward for Johnson to state his own opinion.

14-B in Texas

✓ Texas is one of the skirmish fields for repeal of 14-B because a large block of Texas votes in the House against repeal would be important. Full-page ads have been bought in Texas dailies quoting Connally and Tower against repeal. The daily newspapers have also been hammering on the subject. Last March the Texas Daily Newspaper Assn. voted unanimously in convention against repeal of 14-B; since Johnson endorsed repeal, the Houston Chronicle has endorsed right-to-work, as has the Corpus Caller; the San Antonio Express has said repeal of 14-B "is immoral." Smith and Barnes have opposed repeal in public statements.

✓ Hiram Moon, the UAW chief in Fort Worth, wrote Gov. Connally a furious six-page letter after the governor wired Texas congressmen opposing repeal. On the basis of it one could say Connally can kiss UAW support goodbye. The steelworkers, who have backed Connally at various junctures, have been quiet since the governor spoke out.

Excerpts from Moon's letter to Connally (copies of which he sent to all Texas congressmen):

"... when you placed yourself in opposition for the repeal of Section 14-B, it is my feeling that you did align yourself with the Towers, Algers, George Wallaces, Ross Bernetts, Eastlands and Stennises. . . .

"You know that after you won the Democratic nomination, I and a lot of other labor people fought very hard for you and I might say took quite a bit of abuse. . . . It is my feeling that you have slapped the faces of your friends in the labor movement, of which you have many. You have silenced their voices in support of Connally. You have made their political judgment look bad."

Congressmen on Record

✓ Here are some record votes by Texas congressmen on key issues in Congress recently:

On a motion to strip the President's rent subsidy program for poor people from the federal housing bill (rejected 208-202): To kill the program, Burlson, Casey, Dowdy, Fisher, Mahon, Pickle, Pool, Roberts, and Rogers. Not voting, Teague, Cabell, White, Thomas. Others for the rent subsidies.

On final passage of the housing bill: For, Beckworth, Brooks, de la Garza, Gonzalez, Patman, Pickle, Poage, Purcell, Thompson, Wright, and Young. Not voting, Thomas and Cabell. Others against it, but it passed.

On creating a department of housing and urban development, adopted: Against, Burlson, Cabell, Casey, de la Garza, Dowdy, Mahon, Poage, Pool, Roberts, Rogers, Teague, and Wright. Not voting, Thomas. Others aye.

On a \$4 billion increase in the public debt limit, adopted: Against, Burlson, Casey, de la Garza, Dowdy, Fisher, Rogers, White. Not voting, Cabell, Pool, Purcell. Others aye.

Sen. Yarborough voted against, Sen. Tower for, the reduction of public works and economic development in 1965 from \$400 to \$325 million. It was not so reduced. On final passage, 70-12, Yarborough voted aye, Tower no.

Tower voted for, Yarborough against, Sen. Morse's rejected proposal to cut foreign aid \$443 million, to \$3 billion a year. Both senators voted for Morse's amendment, which was adopted, cutting foreign aid \$200 million a year. Neither voted on final passage, which was effected by a 68-20 vote.

✓ Americans for Constitutional Action, the conservative congressional-evaluation group, gave six Texans their distinguished service awards — Tower, Pool, Dowdy, Burlson, Fisher, and Casey. Texas

thus provided five of the 25 Democrats and one of the 104 Republicans so recognized.

✓ Cong. Gonzalez, San Antonio, proposed a \$1.25 an hour minimum wage—\$200 a month—for servicemen. Cong. Patman, Texarkana, said the head of the Federal Reserve ought to resign because of a New York speech Patman said caused a sudden decline in the stock market.

Yarborough 'Arrives'

✓ The appreciation dinner for Sen. Yarborough in San Antonio last month, the senator said he hoped, will retire his final campaign debts. The most imposing if also the most tiresome characteristic of the long evening was the introduction of every city and county official in Bexar County, for they surely were all there. These introductions must have taken 45 minutes. Yarborough was being courted because San Antonio wants a federal appropriation for HemisFair and because Yarborough is in a position, during the next five and a half years, to be additional service to the area through the acquisition of federal funds and services. Even the Republican Mayor of San Antonio, W. W. MacAllister, joined in showering Yarborough with campaign money and flowery talk.

The nature of the event was illuminated by a series of stories run in the San Antonio Express in advance of it, quoting various dignitaries urging citizens to come. Here they are, in sequence:

John A. Daniels, county Democratic chairman: "San Antonio . . . is dependent on federal installations. . . . We are interested in preserving and expanding that function, and it behooves us, as a community, to honor Sen. Ralph Yarborough" by attending the dinner.

Bill Sinkin, vice-chairman of HemisFair: "This is not a partisan matter. The senator is not up for election this year. He was elected last year to a six-year term. We should all work together in a non-partisan, community effort. . . ."

Sinkin, Daniels, and County Judge Charles W. Grace: "We must have a full house. . . . As the senior senator from the President's home state—and as a member of the all-important Senate appropriations committee—Yarborough is in a position to help us when we go to Washington to ask appropriations for the HemisFair, the medical foundation, flood control, and other important projects."

A resolution of the county commissioners court designating the day of the dinner Yarborough day: Yarborough has helped San Antonio and "is in a position to provide additional help during the remaining five and one-half years of his current term." The substantial number of citizens who paid \$100 for admission to a pre-dinner cocktail party did not include many liberals. Tickets to the dinner were \$10. The net was \$10,940.

Yarborough said at a press conference the federal participation in HemisFair would not be less than the \$4.5 million voted by the state legislature and probably

would be more. In his speech he reviewed federal funds for projects for Bexar County. The only time he varied from this subject was when he said, with respect to HemisFair's values for hemispheric understanding, "If we follow the peaceful pursuits that we should pursue," trade with Latin-America will increase, "and then we will be building the Great Society not merely in this country but in this hemisphere."

✓ Similarly, Dallas is getting its \$22 million federal center. The House bill did not include the funds, but Yarborough and Tower spoke out for them in the Senate, and they were put in. Cong. Cabell, Dallas, thanked both senators, "especially Sen. Yarborough, who really went to bat for Dallas after I enlisted his support." The 1965 agriculture appropriations bill includes, for Texas projects, almost \$55 million more for Texas than the House bill, and a Dallas Times-Herald story said "much of the work was attributable to the work of" Yarborough, a member of the appropriations committee.

✓ Yarborough has been named chairman of the postal affairs subcommittee that handles all postal affairs for the Senate. A hearing on his proposed bill for Guadalupe Mountain national park is set July 21. He has been given an honorary degree of doctor of humane letters by Lincoln College in Illinois.

✓ Yarborough endorsed the bill to provide staff for mental health and retardation centers being built under a 1963 act. The Texas senator fought a losing battle led by Sen. Russell Long, D.-La., to get medical discoveries that are made possible by federal research money declared in the public domain. During this debate, Sen. Dirksen, R.-Ill., attacked Yarborough for remarks Dirksen said suggested senators opposed did not have the public interest at heart. Yarborough said Dirksen was protesting too much.

✓ The Johnson administration decided that while five of the VA hospitals announced for closing would stay open, six others, including the one at McKinney, would not. The hospital at McKinney may be used for some other federal program. Meanwhile, Sen. Yarborough joined Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D.-Mass., in a drive to prevent the Johnson Administration's proposed closing of 12 Public Health Service hospitals, including one at Galveston. . . . Forced to choose between Perle Mesta's party for Sen. Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and a dance honoring Sen. Robert Kennedy, Yarborough chose the Kennedy affair.



—Photograph by Russell Lee
From *Stumping at the Store in 1954, Sen. Yarborough Has Advanced to an Establishment Turnout in 1965.*

✓ He advocated birth control to control world population in a statement late last month. He introduced a bill to create a program of bidding for oil import quotas. He proposed more staff and communications allowances for big-state senators, closed-circuit TV for senators to help them follow Senate events, and daily indexing of the Congressional Record.

✓ The Houston Tribune said "sources close to the White House" say Johnson wants to appoint Yarborough to the next vacancy on the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Spectrum

✓ Reform-oriented editor James Mathis of the Daily Review in Edinburg appears to be making progress. He was honored at a banquet attended by 260 civic, political, and business leaders in South Texas, including Lon Hill of Central Power and Light and J. M. Dellinger, Corpus Christi contractor. The paper has supported a Latin-American for mayor, who was elected. A recent editorial supported removal of the loyalty oath from the federal education program.

✓ The moral authority of the American Civil Liberties Union, in San Antonio, at any rate, was illustrated when a committee study of the San Antonio ACLU chapter conducted under the chairmanship of Mrs. Gil Phillips charged that a psychological testing program was infringing the constitutional rights of federal employees at Kelly Air Force Base. Officials at Kelly denied it, the chairman of a U.S. House committee investigating the invasion of privacy of federal employees through such testing asked the chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Cmsn. to investigate, and Sen. Yarborough commented when he went to San Antonio. Mrs. Phillips says that Kelly workers were being given extremely superficial examinations on the basis of non-cooperation with supervisors. The test questions concern religion, sex life, fantasies, and such.

✓ Don Horn, liberal Democrat and an electrician, is the new Harris County labor secretary-treasurer, replacing the late N. E. Coward. . . . Cmsr. Albert Pena is

working now on a precinct-by-precinct club organization in Southwest San Antonio. . . . The Corpus Caller-Times reported that only six out of 216 jurors who have tried Latin-Americans for felonies in Corpus in the last 30 months have been Latin-Americans. . . . The Houston Chronicle reported that the chairman of the Houston Housing Authority, Leon Green, rented shacks near a prominent intersection.

✓ When the U.S. attorneys general relaxed in South Texas prior to their convention in San Antonio, 27 private airplanes were put at their disposal by Texas businesses, and there was a special guest

tour on the King Ranch and a barbecue provided by the Humble Oil Co. Speaking of the airplanes, Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr was quoted in the San Antonio Express, "That's the story of Texas. When something can be done to help the state, these people do it."

✓ C. Ray Holbrook of the state board of education protested to the Houston Post that one of its writers, Rev. T. Robert Ingram, has "extremist views." Ingram writes for the Houston Tribune and believes liberals are anti-Christian. . . . Ronald Reagan, the California actor-politician-Republican, spoke in Fort Worth. . . . Dick

West, Dallas News editorialist, has taken an "extended vacation" from his radio broadcasting.

✓ Ex-Gov. Allan Shivers has been appointed to the board of Celanese Corp. of America. His former aide, Weldon Hart, has been made executive vice president of the Texas Good Roads Assn., presumably for lobbying as well as other work, replacing Callan Graham. . . . Gordon McLendon sold KTSA in San Antonio. . . . W. H. Bauer of Port Lavaca, Gov. Connally's University of Texas regent, bought a 26,000-acre ranch near Port Lavaca. □

The Dallas Girls Run Wild

Dallas
When things are awful, laugh. On this theory the North Dallas Democratic Women invented "Political Paranoia," a musical comedy annual about Dallas and Texas politics, three years ago. They write and stage it on their own; this year the writers were Mesdames Ann Richards, Carolyn Choate, and Ruthe Winegarten, and they and about forty other North Dallas dames, some stunning, all game, did the acting, singing, sign-painting, sign-carrying. Two nights running people filled a large school auditorium for the show.

The scenes were announced on old-style vaudeville placards by the sinuous Mrs. Joyce Shiff, wearing black tights. Between scenes girls carried out signs, to be read one at a time, with pauses for effect. Joe Moody is the only independent city councilman in Dallas after the 1965 elections. "Join the President's \$1,000 Club. Dance With Lyndon," says the first sign. "Join the Senator's \$100 Club. Lunch with Ralph," says the second. "Join Joe Moody's Club. 25 Cents. Win a Dirty Book," says the third.

For "Caesar's Circus," Connallius Caesar enters upon the Greek courtyard to much hailing from his sycophants. "I," he announces, "have appointed a Democrat friendly to me as architect of the El Paso Parthenon." The noble Senator Parkushouse declares his stout belief in temperance from the temple steps whereupon he is sprawled. A teacher in rags taps by and is sent on her way by Caesar as he asks, "Where is the noble Waggoner Carcus?" Settling, instead, for Prestone Smithius, Caesar tells him he has heard that he envies Caesar's throne—"that you have become oily and gaseous." He designates him to test his food for hemlock. Taking his leave, Caesar says, "I leave you with the great words of our man on Mount Olympus, Lyndonius Johnsonius. Don't send a messenger for me until I send a messenger for you."

Much of the script is in-group for Dallas, of course. Sign one: "Thanks to Erik Jonsson" . . . Two: "For taking Time Out of His Busy Day" . . . Three: "To Be Mayor of Dallas." The "Young Men for Cabell"

—young women in tails and cocked top hats—sing out their loyalty to Congressman Earle Cabell, "Just as long as he gets business for us" and the federal center. Bennie Kaim tip-toes gaily through Cabell's song to the tune of "Dearie" ("Dearie, Do you remember when/I made the decision that/I would be a Democrat?"). County Democratic Chairman Bill Clark is panned in the sauces of truth at his testimonial dinner.

♠
"Wow! Hot Senate Race," says a first sign. Sen. John Tower comes out with a sign saying, "I'm a moderately conservative, right wing, middle-of-the-roader." Then Cong. Jim Wright comes out with a sign, "I'm a moderately liberal, left wing, middle-of-the-roader."

Betty McKool sings, to the tune of "Kiss of Fire," a right-wing lady's lament on "Fluoridation":

Fluoridation is a socialistic measure.
It will turn an active brain to one of leisure.
It will take from you the thoughts that you should treasure
And turn them into thoughts of only pleasure.

Fluoridation of the water we ain't needin'.
It's a plot that the communists are feedin'.
Who cares if your kids' gums are always bleedin'?

Better blood than have his boss Comrade Kosygin. . . .

Wonderfully get-up "Alger Ladies" are trudging down a country lane, their buxom leader bearing a sign "Pike's Peak Or Bust." They take a break to rest, but not for long; they are bound to see their darling, Pike's Peak real estate agent Bruce Alger, lately, of course, the Goldwater Congressman from Dallas. "I know you are tired," says their leader, "but just think—in only two more months we will be in Colorado with our Dear Brucie. It's going to take us a little longer by taking the back roads, but I think we all agree that in good conscience we can't walk on highways built with federal money." They all sing, to the tune of "Kansas City"—

Everything is going to hell in Dallas County.

There are Democrats most everywhere you go.

November was disastrous, why we cried for most a week.

Brucie lost and now we have no voice with which to speak.

They are trying to give the vote to the lowly and the meek!

O we've got to bring our Brucie back again,

O we've got to bring our Brucie back again. . . .

Everything is going to hell in Dallas County.

Pornography aboundeth everywhere.
The movies that we see are all so full of sex and sin.

We feel that we are overdressed unless we're in our skin.

But with the Dallas News to help we'll stop the liberal trend.

We'll bring Brucie back to win in '66.

We'll bring Brucie back to win in '66.

♠
Dallas School Supt. W. T. White has opposed integration; he stands staunchly against the schools having anything to do with social change. His Olympian status is matched by his \$30,000 a year salary. All gauzy and dreamy, Gloria Thomas self-caressingly sings (to a tune you might as well not know) "The Super Superintendent":

I've no inclination to speed up integration
And social ills are not my concern.

There are things that aren't worth debating.

Most poor peasants are not worth educating.

Counseling's unrealistic; free lunch is socialistic;

Federal aid is bad for us, too.

Do you have a school that was named for you?

If custodians unionize, I don't think it very wise.

I'll bring in a substitute crew.

If with me a teacher takes issue,

My reply is 'Honey, we sure will miss you.'

I am very zealous; I'll bet the governor's jealous
 Because I make more money than he.
 And I have a school that was named for me.

♠
 "Sign: "Let's Make Henderson County a National Park.—Yarborough." Sen. Ralph Yarborough, who is attending, stands up down front applauding and shakes the hand of the young lady bearing this message to the multitude.

From the back, then, King Lyndon I makes his customary entrance, under crown and other royal garb . . . Western boots . . . a long red train, Court Jester Hubert somersaulting down the aisle ahead of him, and Little Princesses No. 1 and No. 2, Perle Mesta, George Reedy, and Ralph following along behind. Ann Richards is Lyndon I, and she has it. Big-dealing it down the aisle, she occupies the stage as only royalty can and sings Lyndon's song, to the tune of "This land is my land":

This land is my land. This land is my land.
 This land is my land. This land is my land.

From Cotulla School House, clean to the White House.

This land belongs to only me.

From the Pedernales, to Potomac waters,
 From the white caliche, to the cherry orchards,

From my spotted pony, to my big white Lincoln,

This land belongs to only me.

Speech: "Beloved, how good it is of all of you to come tonight. I felt sure when I called you at 3 o'clock this morning to tell you I wanted you here for a little counseling and reasoning, I knew you'd come. As my daddy, Stephen F. Austin Johnson, used to say to my brother, Sam Houston Johnson, and my great uncle, Davy Crockett Johnson, you can spend your life in asking, but you can't cut mustard till you command. The great society depends on me, and how well you do what I tell you to do. You cannot be the greatest president in history by resting on your bluebonnets, can you, Ralph?"

Ralph: "Speaking of bluebonnets, Mr. President, have you read my Cold War GI Bill?"

LBJ: "Aid to Appalachia, aid to schools,

the domestic Peace Corps, medicare, it's all going to pass. Greatest hundred days in history. Course you all know we had to twist a few arms and beat a few bushes, but I been in the bushes lots of times. I've been everywhere and I know people, know the way they think. I've been a carpenter, shepherd, farmer, teacher, businessman, been all those things, and the people understand me; it's just all those foreigners that don't speak my language.

"George, it seems to me there's been a bunch of press leaking, and I don't like it."

George: "But Mr. President . . ."

LBJ: "I been listening in on all your news conferences, and why in heavens' name did you say that Lucy Baines is going to visit the Pope? I know you didn't say it at a press conference, but I heard you later on my two-way wrist radio.

"Marvin, you're the best I've got. It's wonderful to know we've got Democrats like you in Washington. It's all right to be steeling if it's Lone Star Steeling. If it hadn't been for you, Marvin, I wouldn't have remembered that old Cotulla School House in a million years. . . .

"Hubert, the picture in Vet Nam is bad. I'm going to send you as my personal emissary to straighten things out. You and Muriel need a little vacation, anyway."

Ralph: "Mr. President, I need help with my Cold War GI bill!"

LBJ: "Ralph, come to think of it, why don't you and Opal go with the Humphreys?"

"Now I know you boys could talk all night, but I've been saving a little surprise for you. We're going to the ranch. I knew you'd be happy. Lady Bird's got my birthplace all fixed up, and Perle is going to give a fish fry to celebrate. No need to worry about packing. The CIA was in your apartments this afternoon packing you up and your suitcases are on the plane.

"And now, let's go, cause Lyndon loves you, he understands you, knows the way you think. He's gonna stop poverty! He's gonna take from the rich. He'll give it back! . . ."

And picking his nose and bellowing out, "This land is my land, this land is my land, this land is my land, this land is my land," King Lyndon I and his retinue take triumphal leave.

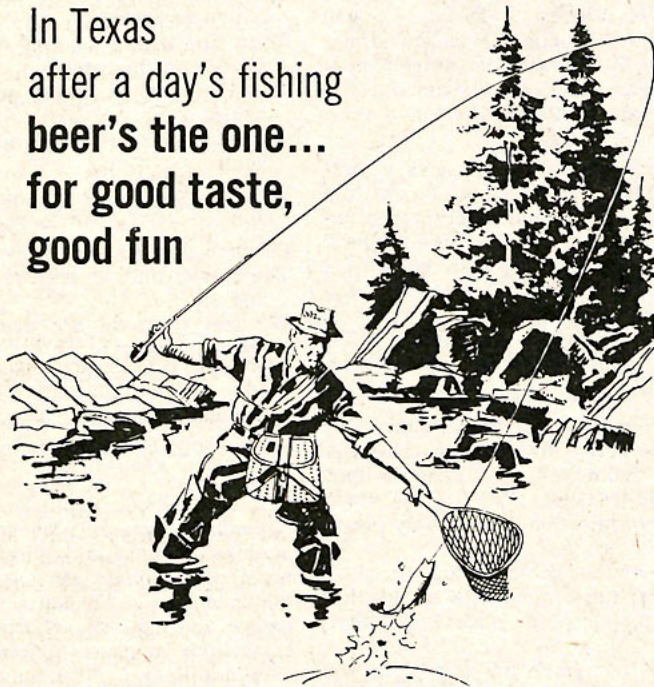
♠
 Sign-bearer, H. L. Hunt. One: "In your heart you know"—Two—"Life Line is educational."

New scene: the women demand equal rights to kill their husbands' mistresses. With the lights flickering madly as in the earliest flicks the seemly wife shoots the comely other woman right out of the lap of the errant spouse.

Sign: "Will the real liberal extremists please stand up?" Two or three do.

An evening full enough, but the women are not done; they have a say to say about the Dallas Establishment. Blasphemously got up, in country club clothes, as Erik Jonsson, Troy Post, Bob Cullum, Jim Ling, Ben Carpenter, John Stemmons, Bankers Stewart and Aston, they gather before the Dallas skyline of skyscrapers and dollar signs and sing (from Rigoletto) "The Establishment":

In Texas
 after a day's fishing
 beer's the one...
 for good taste,
 good fun



Wherever you fish for sport—on the ocean, by the booming surf, or on some quiet country pond, it's great at the end of the day to head for a rewarding glass of beer. While you're talking over the ones that got away, or pan-frying the ones that didn't, you enjoy the hearty taste and cool refreshment only a glass of beer can give you so well. Yes, whatever your sport—bowling or strolling, golfing or gardening—a frosty glass of beer makes a naturally great accompaniment.

UNITED STATES BREWERS ASSOCIATION, INC.
 905 International Life Bldg., Austin 1, Texas



Post: What's good for me is good for Dallas, too. *All:* This is true.

Cullum: If I make money so do you. *All:* Course we do.
As long as we've got the dollar bills
You can be sure of, cure of all Dallas' ills. That is true.

Ling: What's all this talk of poverty? *All:* Such a war.

Ling: Why, things are great at LTV. *All:* Yes they are.
We simply can't understand the fuss
As long as everything is going right for us.

Ling: Wonderbar.

Cullum: The Tom Thumb stores are doing well. *All:* We can tell.

Jonsson: We have a runway parallel. *All:* It is swell.

Aston & Stewart: In Dallas lots of cash is spent
And we are glad to lend the dough at 12 per cent. *All:* Oh, how cheap!

Post: Braniff stock is flying high. *All:* What a guy.

Jonsson: Transistors soaring at T.I. *All:* Breathe a sigh.

Carpenter & Stemmons: Industrials rents are in climb
And we assail the tale that tells of rising crime. *All:* It's a lie.
Some say we've been lax, 'bout West Dallas shacks.
But here are the facts:
Stemmons: We have planted some petunias.
All: Yes, Dallasites can rest at night.
Aston: Not a fuss.
All: And know as leaders we will always do what's right.
Right for us! □

China brought into the United Nations. That if Marshall voted for legal control, the next thing that we would know, Red China would be a member of the U.N.

When the smoke had cleared and the counting was over, we had for the first time in 50 years brought legal sale of alcoholic beverages to Marshall. One thing is to be said for some of our opposition, they are good sports. Many of them indignantly refused to openly declare for legal sales, but just as soon as the election was over, they were among the first to apply for beer and liquor licenses. They were good losers, and ready to accept the profits of defeat.

On the other hand, there was one Baptist dervish who took the pulpit right after the election and solemnly pronounced that some 2,400 people in Marshall had voted for murder, rape, robbery, theft, adultery, and prostitution—all the dead certain result of the legal sale of alcoholic beverages. Then, there was the Baptist preacher who sent a letter to all of his flock in the nature of a ban proclaiming that if a member had any connection, financial or otherwise (such as leasing a building to a liquor dealer), with the "trade," he would be automatically excommunicated from the church. This actually happened to one man who leased a building to a liquor retailer and to another who opened a liquor dealership. The first moved on into the Methodist Church, and I hope that the second took the advice of his son in the twenties who consoled his father after three days of moping about having been excommunicated after twenty years in the church with these words, "Well, Dad, after all, you didn't have no deposit up down there."

So long as the religio-prohibitionists confined their cannibalism to each other, most of us were accepting the inevitable with Christian forbearance. However, their activities have now taken the form of going around to property owners or store operators who they think may have a beer license under consideration and threatening to take their trade away if any sale of alcoholic beverages is allowed on the premises. I don't know how long it will take the merchants to learn that this kind of trade would better be sent elsewhere, but these activities portend the fact that we shall have another election as soon as it is legally possible to do so.

Franklin Jones, attorney at law, Marshall, Tex.

A Communication

'Dries' in Marshall: The Profits of Defeat

To the Editor:

I remember some time back lounging on the backwash of a conversation you and another one of my young friends were having. You remarked to him that likely there was no more pitiable sight imaginable than that of an iconoclast finding himself sitting among the fragments of icons with not one symbol to be reduced to rubbish. You did not become articulate on the subject, but I am quite sure that on your heart, you knew at the time that any iconoclast worth his salt would in this situation simply turn upon the legions of the devil and take just as much pleasure in destroying their symbols.

For nigh onto forty years I have been jousting with windmills, and now with many a doughty Sancho Panza who once acted as arms bearer in a safe and secure state of consensus, so help me, one or two windmills have toppled. Unlike the iconoclast, I do not have to cease my jousting, for many, many windmills yet remain, but alas, as poor Don Quixote would have discovered had one of his windmills toppled, after all, the damned things are only windmills.

Last January, an election for on-premises sale of alcoholic beverages within the city of Marshall lost by some 200-odd votes. Some of us considered that our well-meaning prohibitionists who lived without the city limits but were receipted poll tax payers within the wards lying within the city had wandered into the polls and voted. I believe it was the British who inscribed beneath an extravagant boundary marker of the Chinese along the Indian border the legend, "Welcome, strangers, so far from home." This must have been the reception given the out-of-city voters by the election judges and their prohibition assistants who

had qualified and aided in the election in January.

In May, we decided to shatter all precedent by holding an election with a genuine secret ballot and assistant election judges of the persuasion that legal control of off-premises sale offered a better solution than prohibition. The enclosed photocopy of one of the milder forms of exhortation of the prohibitionists will set the tone of the election for you.* On the early morning newscast of our local radio station, I was treated to a dissertation, obviously aimed at me, warning the good burghers against a vote for liquor and all that it brings in its train, saying that the legal control movement was but an outgrowth of the liberal kind of thinking that was trying to get Red

*—A letter from the "Harrison County Progressive Association" that reads as follows:
"Dear Christian,

"In Judges 7:21, we find the following words: 'And they stood every man in his place round about the camp: and all the host ran, and cried, and fled.' As your pastor, I urge you to stand in your place this Saturday by going to the polls to vote in the upcoming election on the liquor issue.

"The 'wet' forces in recent days have used very clever and deceptive arguments which are distorting the simple facts. Their claims of economic advantages and better control are illogical and contrary to fact. We as Christian people know this and we must back up our convictions at the polls this Saturday.

"Every Christian has an obligation to vote against the economic and moral blight of legalized alcohol. We can prevent this influence from entering our city if we all vote dry Saturday. We can vote 'wet' simply by staying at home.

"I would remind you of Proverbs 16:8 which says, 'BETTER IS A LITTLE WITH RIGHTEOUSNESS THAN GREAT REVENUE WITHOUT RIGHT.'

Sincerely,
Your Pastor

"P.S. I urge you to be sure and attend the all night prayer service Friday night at our church. Remember this is one source the 'wets' do not have."

July 9, 1965

11

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Connally Vetoes Bankers' Interest Bill

Austin

Governor John Connally's veto of the bankers' and savings and loan institutions' higher interest rate bill was explained in a three-page statement from him, a salient part of which said that "No evidence was presented . . . to justify these specific rates either on the basis of reasonableness or need."

Bankers had been urging the governor to sign the bill. The Committee Against Unreasonable Interest Rates in Dallas, Cong. Henry Gonzalez of San Antonio, and Bexar County's Cmsr. Albert Pena were among those who urged that the bill be killed.

Even some of the members who voted for the bill had second thoughts. Said the Dallas News, "As the session ended, Dallas legislators expressed concern privately over voter reaction. . . . They agreed the bank interest bill . . . could cause the greatest 'backlash' from voters." The bill's distinctive characteristic was its applicability to middle class people, many of whom need loans that fall within the \$100 to \$5,000 range that the bill enclosed.

Sponsors of the legislation said the bill legalized charges of 17.49% on loans up to \$1,500 and about 14% on loans from \$1,500 to \$5,000. Connally said the effective rates would have been 13.6 to 16.2%.

The governor gave other reasons for his veto. "In effect," he said, the bill "provides an open-end authority for a lender to require whatever insurance he may desire.

. . . The net result would be increased total cost of the loan to the borrower."

The governor said his greatest concern was a section that authorized "any other corporation subject to examination or supervision by the banking commissioner of Texas" to make loans. "As can be seen," he said, "certain lenders not subject to adequate or effective regulation would be authorized to operate under the terms" of the bill.

Connally said he is asking relevant state agencies to study consumer finance and come up with a consumer credit regulatory bill, presumably for consideration by the 1967 legislature.

The veto left the seven out of nine legislators who voted for the bill in exposed positions politically, especially in light of the political turmoil that redistricting will be causing in the 1966 elections.

To follow better the meaning of the record votes on the bank bill as it was finally passed in the House, readers may refer to the June 11 Observer's report on the matter, especially that part beginning on page three.

The Jamison amendment, adopted with Rep. Cory's support, excluded from the bill's higher interest rates all real estate-secured loans, and was passed 112-28. The 28 members who voted against excluding real estate loans from the bill were Atwell, Blankenship, Brown, Cain, Crews, Dickson, Doke, Field, Fondren, Hallmark, Heatly, Johnson of Bell, Jones of Lubbock, Jones of Taylor, Jungmichel, Knapp, Longoria, McKissack, Moyer, Newman, Parsley, Slack, Solomon, Townsend, Traeger, Wayne, Wheeler, and Wright.

The House rejected, 100-36, Rep. Hollowell's amendment to limit bank and savings and loan institution loans to 10% interest. The 36 who voted with Hollowell for 10% were Alaniz, Atwood, Bass of Bowie, Bernal, Berry, Caldwell, Cherry, Cole, Duggan, Dungan, Eckhardt, Edwards, Floyd, Garrison Gates, Green, Grover, Haring, Harris, Haynes of Orange, Hightower, Hollowell, Isaacks, Johnson of Bexar, Kilpatrick, Kothmann, Lack, Lee, Markgraf, Miller of Newton, Montoya, Nugent of Kerr, Rich-

ardson, Roberts, Vale, and Whitfield. Smith was present, not voting; Price was in the chair; Cory, Lewis, McDonald of Rusk, and Stroud were absent; Cowles, Ligarde, Richards, Weldon, and Wieting were absent, excused. All other 101 members of the House voted against Hollowell's amendment.

Rep. Eckhardt proposed to strike the 14% interest rate in the bill for loans from \$1,500 to \$5,000, and this was defeated, 80-60. The 80 members who voted for the 14% interest rate on these loans by voting to kill Eckhardt's amendment were Allen, Arledge, Armstrong, Atwell, Atwood, Birkner, Blaine, Blankenship, Bonilla, Brooks, Brown, Burgess, Cain, Canales, Cavness, Clayton, Connally, Cory, Cowden, Crain, Crews, Dickson, Doke, Edwards, Field, Finney, Fletcher, Foreman, Gibbens, Guffey, Haines of Brazos, Hallmark, Harding, Harrison, Heatly, Hefton, Hendryx, Holmes, Howard, Ivy, Johnson of Bell, Jones of Lubbock, Jones of Taylor, Jungmichel, Knapp, Kothmann, McClinton, McKissack, McLaughlin, Miller of Harris, Mobley, Moyer, Mutscher, Neugent of Galveston, Newman, Parsley, Pipkin, Price, Satterwhite, Schiller, Scoggins, Joe Shannon of Tarrant, Tommy Shannon of Tarrant, Sherman, Simpson, Slack, Solomon, Stroud, Thompson, Thurmond, Townsend, Traeger, Wade, Ward, Wayne, Whatley, Wheeler, Williamson, Woods, and Wright.

The bankers' bill was finally passed by the House of Representatives by a vote of 110-30. The 30 members who voted no were Alaniz, Bass of Bowie, Bernal, Berry, Caldwell, Cherry, Cory, Duggan, Eckhardt, Edwards, Finney, Floyd, Garrison, Green, Haring, Harris, Haynes of Orange, Hollowell, Isaacks, Kothmann, Lack, Lee, Lewis, Markgraf, Miller of Houston, Richardson, Roberts, Vale, Whitfield, and Wieting. Field, Ligarde, Pipkin, and Thompson were present, not voting; Gates and Wright were absent; Crews and Weldon were absent, excused. The other 110 members voted for the bill.

The Senate had finally passed its version of the bankers' bill with only six voting no—Crump, Dies, Herring, Kazen, Moore, and Patman. Hall was absent; Kennard and Spears were "absent—excused"; the other 22 senators voted aye.

On the question of accepting the House amendments and therefore having the bankers' bill become law, the Senate held a record vote the last Friday of the session, and the amendments were accepted, 22-9. Voting aye were Aikin, Bates, Blanchard, Calhoun, Colson, Creighton, Dies, Hall, Hardeman, Harrington, Hazlewood, Hightower, Kennard, Krueger, Parkhouse, Ratliff, Reagan, Richter, Rogers, Snelson, Watson, and Word. Voting no were Cole, Crump, Herring, Kazen, Moore, Patman, Schwartz, Spears, and Strong. □

12 The Texas Observer

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Where Union
Men Meet

Observer Credited

Credit for the veto Governor Connally gave the eighteen present installment loan bills goes to . . . the Texas Observer, [which] gave more details on the viciousness of the bill than all other papers in Texas. We know of no big daily which opposed the bill, but the Observer blasted the bill repeatedly.

It is beyond the realm of reason to believe the bank lobbyists did not have the bill thoroughly checked with the governor months ago. High-priced lobbyists are very thorough in their work.

Subscribers to the Observer should be proud of . . . a great savings to thousands of Texans.

—The Midlothian Mirror

OBSCENE

In the spring of 1962 a young New York publisher named Ralph Ginzburg brought out an elegant new magazine "devoted to the joys of love and sex." Its name was *Eros*. *Eros* was a lavishly printed, hardcover quarterly featuring such long-suppressed masterpieces of art and literature as John Cleland's *Fanny Hill*, Frank Harris's *My Life and Loves*, Mark Twain's *1601*, Robert Burns's *The Merry Muses of Caledonia*, and Edgar Degas's magnificent monotypes for Guy de Maupassant's *Madame Tellier's Brothel*.

Eros was a great and instantaneous success. Art and literary critics all across the country hailed it as a welcome addition to the literature of our time ("It will probably become a status symbol on the coffee tables of our society," said the *San Francisco Chronicle*) and nearly 150,000 Americans purchased subscriptions, despite the fact that its \$25-per-year price made it the world's most expensive magazine.

But while *Eros* was kindling the enthusiasm of intellectuals, it was also arousing the deep anxiety of prudes, and it was not long before censors began trying to suppress the magazine. In December, 1962, the Post Office Department hauled Ginzburg into the United States District Court in Philadelphia and charged him with criminal use of the United States mail on grounds that *Eros* was "obscene."

A trial followed in which more than 70 leaders in the arts and sciences (including Dr. Theodor Reik, Dwight

Macdonald, and Nobel Prize-winner Dr. Hermann J. Muller) rallied to Ginzburg's defense. Nevertheless, a Federal judge, sitting without a jury, ruled *Eros* obscene and fined Ginzburg \$28,000 and sentenced him to five years in prison. The case is now on appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

Although the *Eros* trial resulted in one of the most dramatic courtroom battles of the century and although the issues it raised rival those of the Scopes Trial, virtually nothing was printed about the case in the American press.

Now, however, the full story of the *Eros* trial will be told, and it will be told by its protagonist, Ralph Ginzburg, in a taut, book-length (35,000-word) narrative entitled "*Eros on Trial*." In it, Mr. Ginzburg reveals which top Government officials made the decision to put *Eros* out of business, why the Post Office selected Philadelphia as the arena for the trial, and why the Supreme Court, in deciding the *Eros* case, may hand down a landmark decision declaring all obscenity statutes unconstitutional and therefore null and void forever. (Mr. Ginzburg's Supreme Court appeal is being supported by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Authors League of America, and 111 leading American artists and intellectuals, including August Heckscher, James Jones, Arthur Miller, Otto Preminger, Elmer Rice, Dore Schary, Mark Schorer, Irwin Shaw, William Styron, Louis Untermeyer, Mark Van Doren, Robert Penn

Warren, Sloan Wilson, the curator emeritus of the American Museum of Natural History, and the executive director of the American Humanist Association.)

This moving, suspenseful account of the *Eros* trial—it may well become a classic in the literature of Free Speech—will be published in FACT Magazine as part of a special *Eros* Commemorative Issue. FACT will also present portions of the *Eros* trial transcript (they will *astound* you) and a special section entitled "The Most Beautiful Art from *Eros*." This portfolio of artwork contains reprints of 59 pages of *Eros*'s magnificent paintings, drawings, photographs, poetry, and prose. Included are spreads from "The Erotic Sculpture of India," "The Brothel in Art," "Love in the Bible," "Nudes of Yesterday," "The Love Life of Napoleon," "The Animal Love Poems of D. H. Lawrence," and *Eros*'s memorable photographs of the late Marilyn Monroe by Bert Stern.

This special *Eros* Commemorative Issue of FACT is being offered *absolutely free* to all new subscribers to FACT Magazine (a detailed description of FACT appears below). To obtain your copy of this special *Eros* issue and to enter your FACT subscription, simply fill out the coupon below and mail it with \$7.50 to FACT, 110 W. 40th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018. Since this special *Eros* issue is bound to become a collector's item, we urge you to act at once.

A few facts about FACT: FACT is a new national bimonthly which specializes in publishing information which has been suppressed by American newspapers, magazines, and TV networks. FACT ranges over Science, Business, Law, History, Communications, Government, Foreign Affairs, and the Arts.

Among notable articles which have appeared in FACT during the past year have been: a thoroughly documented and completely authenticated account of how Dag Hammarskjold deliberately blew up the plane which took him, and 15 other persons, to their deaths in the Congo in 1961; an expose of how the American press kept the truth about cancer and cigarettes from the American people for over 20 years; an article telling how multimillionaires evade income taxes; and a damning indictment of Detroit for building cars which have needlessly cost hundreds of thousands of American lives because the cars were not sufficiently "crashworthy." (This last article has prompted rigid new Federal standards for automobile structural strength which are expected to reduce highway fatalities drastically.)

FACT is edited for readers of superior intelligence and keen social awareness. Its contributors include America's foremost artists, writers, and thinkers. In less than a year and a half of publication, FACT has won the acclaim of critics all across the country and the enthusiasm of several hundred thousand readers.

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I enclose \$7.50 for a one-year subscription to FACT. I understand that I will receive *free* a copy of FACT's special issue containing a portfolio of the most beautiful artwork, photography, poetry, and prose from the suppressed quarterly *Eros*.

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Architect Nesmith Tells His Story

Re: *Texas Western College Project, known as the Physical Science-Mathematics Building*

Dear Sir:

1. We have, at times past, completed two projects at Texas Western very satisfactorily. On May 23, 1964, the board of regents [of the University of Texas] met in El Paso, Texas, and the minutes of that meeting reflect that we were awarded the contract as associate architects on the project. The terminology of the comptroller's office, associate, means prime architect.

2. Some days later I was advised, by friends, that I would be wise not to expend any money or perform any services until I saw the signed contract, inasmuch as the local Democrat politicians were making an attempt to block my appointment. I was informed specifically that this move would be made through Mr. Frank C. Erwin, Jr., a member of the board, a friend of the governor's.

3. To this day I have never been officially advised, by any member of the board of regents, or any of their employees, associates, affiliates, or acquaintances that I would or would not receive the contract. However, on October 24, 1964, I was called, long distance, by a reporter for a Houston paper, and advised that I would not receive the contract.

4. I later wrote to the secretary of the board and received a copy of the minutes of the October 24, 1964, board meeting where the contract was rescinded.

5. For your information, I was until last September a member of the state executive committee of the Republican Party of the State of Texas. I was an alternate delegate to the 1964 Republican convention in San Francisco. I am currently, and have been for a number of years, the El Paso county finance chairman and serve on the board of advisors of the El Paso County Republican Party.

6. Some weeks ago, the exact date escapes me, Governor John Connally attended a Chamber of Commerce meeting in

El Paso, Texas, at which time I introduced myself to him. I informed Governor Connally that I wished to meet him because I felt that any man that deliberately did to a stranger as he had done me, costing the loss of gross professional fees in the excess of \$90,000.00, should at least be able to recognize that person. After some friendly bantering Governor Connally told me in effect, without being directly quoted, that I appeared to be an intelligent enough person to recognize the fact that the State of Texas was, and is, a one party state and that he, John Connally, and the Democrat Party were going to do everything within their powers to keep it that way.¹

7. I am sending you, herewith, machine copies of the minutes of the two meetings of the board of regents of the University of Texas herein referred to and a copy of the noxious item in the public law with which Governor Connally refused me the contract.

8. I have been advised that the current appropriation bill went to the committee excluding this noxious paragraph, but came from the committee with it re-inserted.² I made strong objections to the Texas Society of Architects, of which I am a corporate member, but they refrained from taking any action or even doing me the courtesy of replying to my communications.³

9. I read in a newspaper article that Mr. Frank Erwin had written Mr. John S. Redditt, the board of regents member who resigned over this controversy, a letter stating in effect that he and Governor Connally considered such items as architects' fees juicy financial rewards for their friends.

10. It matters little, in the passage of time, whether an individual made a living or received a specific commission. What really matters is that we are turning our government over to small men who use public office for their personal gain and for the reward of their friends. If a governor has the authority to select specific architects for school work, is it not within the realm of possibility that he may next select school presidents, then heads of depart-

ments, then individual professors? Then, if he can make these selections, isn't the next step the control of subject matter?

These actions have established two facts, so far as I am concerned.

(1) Governor John Connally is an unscrupulous politician. . . .

(2) The Board of Regents of the University of Texas, setting the year 1964, are men without . . . courage. This statement does not apply to Regents A. G. McNeese, Jr., John S. Redditt, and Rabbi Levi A. Olan, who are men of integrity and character and did not give to the governor's pressure.

I appreciate this opportunity to air my personal views. This is my final statement. You may use any or all the material at your discretion.

Sincerely,

NESMITH-LANE AND ASSOCIATES
B. REA NESMITH

5933 Gateway Blvd. West
El Paso, Texas

¹On May 11, 1965, the Republican Party of Texas issued a news release giving a statement by Nesmith in which he said: "Shortly after the first of the year, I saw Governor Connally at a reception in El Paso before a chamber of commerce meeting. I introduced myself, saying, 'Any man who has done to me what you have done at least ought to know me in person when you see me.' To which he replied: 'Texas is a one-party state and I'll see to it that it stays that way, and you look like an intelligent enough man to see it.'" Neither wire service bureau in Austin reported this statement.

²As the Observer reported ["Connally's Riders," May 28], the 1966-'67 appropriations bill contains this rider: "None of the funds appropriated in this Act may be expended for architectural fees without the advance written approval of the Governor after obtaining the advice of the Legislative Budget Board." This wording is identical with the wording of the rider in the 1965-'66 appropriations bill on the basis of which the Nesmith contract was rescinded.

³The Observer asked the Texas Society of Architects about this, and on June 28, 1965, was advised by John G. Flowers, Jr., the society's executive director, that the board of the society met and discussed the matter; that Nesmith was written that the board "had reviewed these matters"; and that on the board's instruction, Nesmith was "contacted by telephone on April 5" by Flowers at the board's instruction.

"The essence of this conversation," Flowers told the Observer, "was that since the withholding of approval of any architect's name was the governor's prerogative established as a legal procedure by the legislature of the state, little could be accomplished by discussing a fait accompli. On the other hand, the Texas Society of Architects was staunchly supporting the governor's program for the reorganization of the State Building Cmsn. which provided new methods for the selection of architects for most state construction, which it felt would probably eliminate future misunderstandings regarding such selections. Finally, Mr. Nesmith was informed that if he had further questions regarding this matter, the president of the Texas Society of Architects would be happy to discuss the matter with him.

"All of this will illustrate . . . that the Texas Society of Architects has, indeed, communicated with Mr. Nesmith, and has constantly kept the avenues of communication open," Flowers said.

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Nobody Reads Tom Sawyer

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Baytown

Leaving work late the other night, I walked down the near-deserted street when from behind me came the roar of two racing cars. They shot past, one driven by a girl, the other, open-topped, occupied by two young males, their long hair aripple like pennants in the rush of air. Streaking axle to axle, inches apart, they hurtled past an amber light, jounced with syncopated head-bobbing on the railroad track, and roared away, maintaining their intimate and dangerous proximity.

Driving home, I rode much of the way behind a rickety, too-heavy house trailer with an inverted pyramid of glass forming the small rear window. Inside could be seen the silhouettes of two embattled children. The taller, a girl, rained blows at the head and shoulders of her antagonist. Her blows, the downward clubbing motion peculiar to feminine pugilists, were plainly visible, but the counter-attack was not. It seemed to consist of more orthodox straight-from-the-shoulder punching and so probably came from a younger, shorter brother.

That night at home I read of 15,000 motorcyclecyclists descending on Laconia, N.H., for the 44th Annual New England Tour and Rally. During the height of the festivities passing cars were overturned and burned, police waded into rock-hurling rioters with clubs whirring, 70 were injured and 34 went to jail. Police confiscated stilettos, switchblades, and bicycle chains which had been employed by some of the visitors as brass knucks.

The transient commingling of ecstasy and agony known as youth causes its victim to perform in curious ways.

It's the times, we tell each other, nodding sagaciously. Who knows when the nuclear holocaust is coming? They're just living it up while they can. But are the times really more uncertain? Does anybody remember getting out of school during the depression and finding out that nobody nowhere wants to hire any kid to do anything? Or walking straight out of sophomore English class into an induction cen-

ter, brief recruiting weeks, and the meat grinder known as World War II? There are plenty of us old gaffers who remember.

Then what is the difference? It's economic, mainly. The cornucopia which pours out air conditioning and sleek, fast cars and televisions and mass luxury also erupts with the curse of the teenagers, lack of challenge. Today a kid who has never earned a dime drives a car that costs as much as his father earned the first two years he had a job. The son wears a suit whose price would have paid the rent on his newlywed parents' first home for three months. When he takes his girl out on a big Saturday night date, he spends what would have fed a family a month during the depression. He has never lived in a house that wasn't air conditioned. Who needs to improve that? So, like the kids in the house

trailer, he finds somebody to fight just for kicks.

It's only a phase, parents tell each other, hopefully in hopeless tones. Nowadays, says one, we give them too much. But then she picks up the paper and reads about slum kids in big cities. Nobody gives them too much, those wild ones who figure in stories of teen dope rings, muggings in the park, vandalism, and subway assaults.

They are not all like that, of course. There are thousands of dedicated young scholars and disciplined athletes. Clear-eyed thousands quietly go about in Horatio Alger tradition earning their way from obscurity to eminence. There are even brooding scholarly types who hack their parents into hamburger.

The restlessness pervades the atmosphere for all alike—the hipster in the discotheque, the mugger in the dark alley, the country kid in the souped-up Chevy. The old folks who have forgotten the ecstasy and the quick agony and know but the dull ache of the grindstone worry about their kids who have to have as much as the neighbors' kids which is too much or about their kids who can't afford what the neighbors' kids have and that isn't enough and nobody reads Tom Sawyer anymore. □

Advertisers Brainstorm on the Great Society

Advertisers, too, want in on the Great Society, judging from the following report from the Austin American of June 16:

The Austin Advertising Club Tuesday gave Dr. Alan Scott, associate professor of journalism at the University of Texas, authority to carry ideas of the local club to the Advertising Federation convention he will attend in Boston . . .

Approval grew out of a luncheon meeting at the Commodore Perry Hotel at which Ray T. Bailey, vice president of Gift Stars Inc., challenged the club to help create a "reservoir of ideas" for President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society.

What better place to start brainstorming sessions for ideas for the President than in the capital of Texas and the home of the President? Bailey asked.

Ideas and their contribution to advertising were the subject of Bailey's talk, which he prefaced with a brief outline of the growth of trading stamps and his own Gift Stars.

In 1953, he said, 10% of the nation's grocery stores gave trading stamps; in

1963, 60% were giving stamps for purchases. Now, nine out of ten families save stamps. The growth was made through ideas and the work of "positive thinkers," Bailey said.

"Nothing happens in this great freedom-loving country of ours until someone gets an idea."

Ideas have created the symbols and slogans to sell products. "Great ideas can endow a product with distinction," said Bailey. . . . He said America needs a constant flow of ideas and calls for thinking men, men who want "to change things for the improvement or a product or service." □

July 9, 1965

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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. Good discussion. You're welcome. Informal, no dues.

MONDAY LUNCHEON CLUB meets on 3rd floor, McFarlin Auditorium, S.M.U., Dallas, each Monday at 12:00 noon. Join us if you are in town.

WORK PARTIES every Sunday afternoon in Austin, 2:00 p.m., Texas Society to Abolish Capital Punishment, 3014 Washington Square.

ITEMS for this feature cost, for the first entry, 7c a word, and for each subsequent entry, 5c a word. We must receive them one week before the date of the issue in which they are to be published.

MARTIN ELFANT

Sun Life of Canada

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Dialogue

An Assignment for Arrowsmith

Despite the depressant of reading about the harmful farce played out by the legislature, I was exhilarated by your big double issue [June 11-25]. Particularly taking was William Arrowsmith's autopsy on Texas culture (excuse "autopsy," but I have less faith in the patient than he). I think the most stimulating thing about Texas is the fact that, for some reason, it continues to attract and hold people like Arrowsmith who deliver such talks to the Junior League. Ironically, he's able to sally forth on such assaults and return unscathed primarily because he operates out of Austin, a city with almost no endemic cultural distinction, whatsoever. Had he been from Dallas, I'm sure the Houston delegation would have walked out on him, uttering Parthian darts like "ship channel" and "Barbirölli" over their shoulders. Has Arrowsmith seriously considered translating Aristophanes into Texas idiom, starting with "Lizzie Stratter"?

Harris Green, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

This Cultural Morass

Regarding Dr. Arrowsmith's recent article in the Observer, a heart-warming bravo is given. He has pinpointed in a most precise and devastating manner the cultural morass of Austin and environs. He has beautifully verbalized what many of us with lesser talents have felt for a considerable time concerning the region in which we live.

R. L. Airth, 2403 Ridgeview, Austin, Tex.

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The Texas Observer

The War Cries of the Hawks

In reading your accounts of political activities in Austin, one is moved to wonder whether the other 49 states are as decadent and undemocratic as Texas. Contemplate the scene in Washington and conditions which prevail throughout the land for an answer.

This, then, is a democracy?—a country in which the people have no voice even in matters which may affect their very lives. With each passing day the war of atrocity in Viet Nam spirals upward toward the ultimate atrocity—and, possibly, the ultimate catastrophe—an attack on China. Our duly elected "representatives" in Washington heed not the voices which plead with them for a return to reason and morality. They harken only unto the war-cries of the Hawks, those greatest of cynics—men whose only concern is for power and profit.

If democracy could be saved, so might mankind.

Helen Boren, 6330 Carnation Dr., Beaumont, Tex.

Food for Northern Mexico

An article in the Observer May 14 ["The Weight of This Elite"] touched on the need of mutual U.S.-Mexico aid on that nation's northern border. I have been advocating U.S. surplus food for some 1,000,000 needy persons in that region, and I would say that hungry stomachs furnish a good way to provide storage for the U.S. "oversupply" of food items without exporting them to the "communist bloc."

Frank Ferree, president, Volunteer Border Relief, P.O. Box 981, Harlingen, Tex.

The Fate of the World

Liberals seem to have a hard time "getting through" to L.B.J. on foreign affairs, especially Viet Nam. Hence teach-ins, demonstrations, etc.

Drew Pearson, in a recent column in the York, Pa., Gazette and Daily, entitled

A CONTEMPORARY VIGIL AT THE UNIVERSITY

It's Spring! election signs sprout forth between the legs of squatting girls, who hold their ground through the long evening, companioned by radios and passing Greeks; many have for long hours lain—proof against snow, and dew, and rain.

I saw Montgomery girls go marching; girls warmed cold corridors in Washington, but we have our heroics too—our girls who squat upon the ground have many other things to do.

They brush their black hair into darkness and yawn their sacrifice to the stars.

DONALD PETESCH

Austin

"Why Johnson Stays Home," explained that he would be too unpopular abroad, even in the Philippines. In a subsequent column Pearson said, "While President Johnson has an intimate feeling for domestic problems, he does not have a feeling for foreign affairs."

In the hope that by a sort of osmosis L.B.J. may acquire in his home state some of this feeling from your liberal journal, I send the enclosed. . . . The fate, not only of the U.S., but of the world, is involved.

Lewis A. Eldridge, Jr., M.D., Rensselaerville, Albany County, N.Y.

(Dr. Eldridge sent a patron subscription at the \$100 rate.—Ed.)

Elroy Bode's Story

I would like to congratulate Elroy Bode ["The Ranch: An Ending," Obs. April 16]. From now on, when people ask me about new Texas writers, I'll not only recommend John Graves' *Goodbye to a River*, but will also show them the story by Elroy Bode.—Lee Hirsch, 15A Fitzjohns Ave., London NW 3, England.

Liberal Victories

I think nowadays the main effect of your magazine is to demoralize the liberal element of Texas. About all that gets printed in the Observer concerns areas of effort where liberals are always losing. There are other areas of effort where the liberals consistently win, and you ignore these areas.

It's true the Conservative Establishment is stronger in state government than it ever was. In Price Daniel's time it would normally just work to block legislation, while now it gets its own bills passed, and big business gets de-taxed and the public gets taxed more. But this is not because the legislature is more conservative now. It's because John Connally will pass bills that Price Daniel would not have passed and certainly wouldn't have asked for.

Conservatism has quit building up in Texas, and the tide is at least at a standstill, if it hasn't turned back yet. There are liberal victories on grassroots levels. The integration movement keeps winning wherever people organize and protest. Also, there are more A.C.L.U. chapters in Texas now than a few years ago [five in all—Ed.], and by building up a string of courtroom victories the A.C.L.U. is gradually enlightening the law enforcement policies in certain cities and is lessening some of the recurring injustices of our state.

Liberals are learning more about how to organize for other causes besides election campaigns. Yet even in campaign organizing they have reached a turning. Formerly only in Deep East Texas, the Gulf Coast, and San Antonio were the liberals very active. Now in places like Dallas they dare to challenge the conservatives' party establishment.

Now that the legislature is over with for a while you should do some reporting on the areas where liberals are effective at making changes. In a time of demoralizing major failures, when there is so much need for consolation, what minor successes there are should not be ignored.

John Clay, 909B W. 21st St., Austin, Tex.