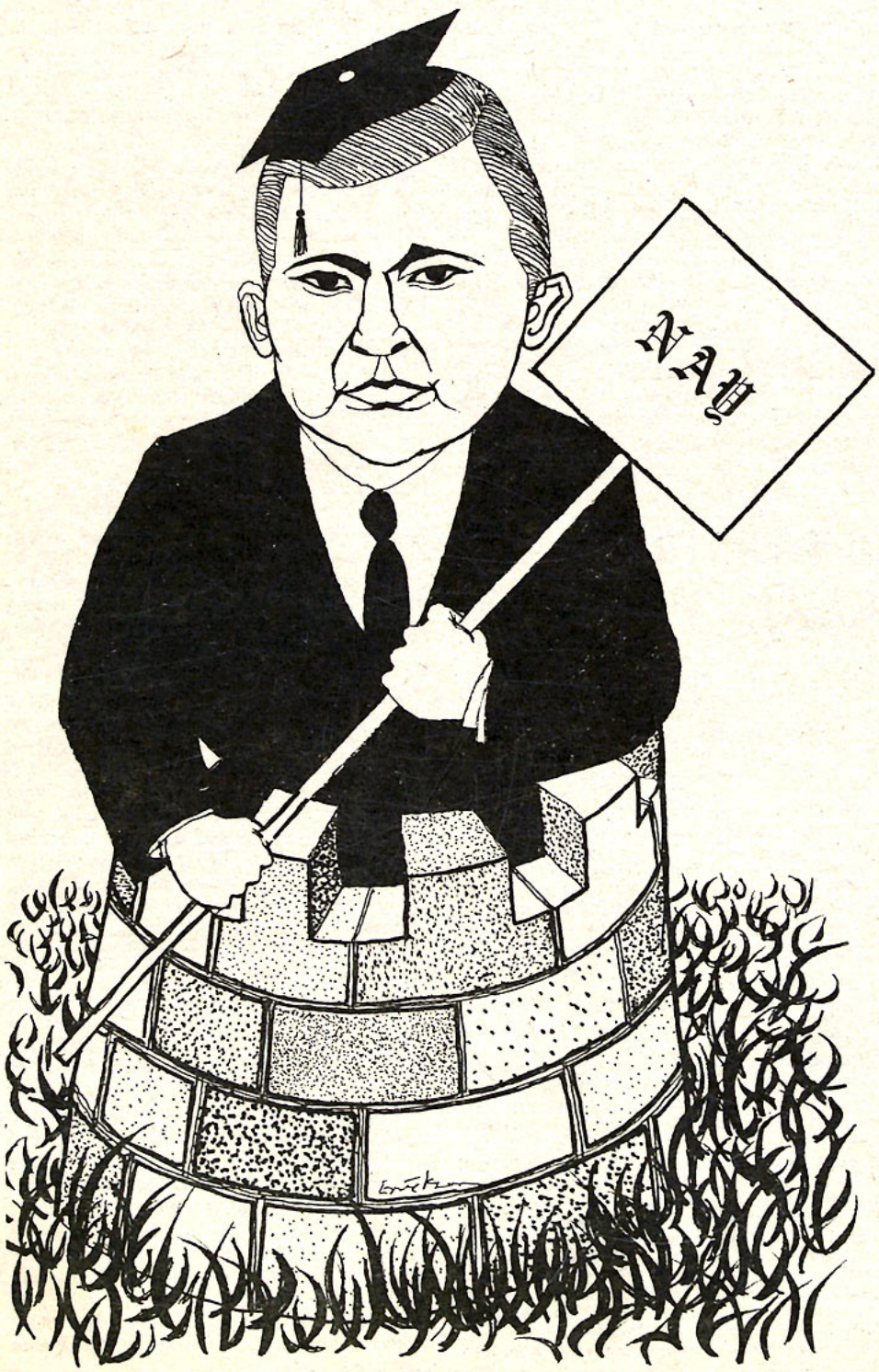
JAN. 21, 1966

The Texas Observer

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

Tower's 'Really Affirmative Approach'



"In our estimation, conservatism is synonymous with progress. We have allowed ourselves too long to be placed on the defensive as negativists, enemies of progress. Liberals raise the cry, 'You are always against everything; what are you for?' This charge has often thrown nervous confusion in conservative ranks and precipitated the defensive attitude which has prompted conservatives either to apologize for the things they believe in, or to modify their principles. Actually the conservative approach is the really affirmative approach, because we advocate that which time and experience have proven valuable, sound and productive. . . . Liberal proposals as manifested in the 'New Deal,' the 'Square Deal' and the 'New Frontier' are destructive, not progressive. They are reactionary."

—U.S. Sen. John G. Tower, R-Tex.
in *A Program for Conservatives*

Austin

Four years and eight months ago, the voters of Texas rejected U.S. Sen. William Blakley's bid for six years in the United States Senate, sending up instead John Goodwin Tower, 35, a government professor at Midwestern University in Wichita Falls. The victory was especially delectable to the Republican Party because the seat Tower took was the one which had belonged to Lyndon Johnson. Tower became the

Larry Lee

first Republican senator from Texas since Reconstruction and the only Republican senator elected by popular vote from any of the states which made up the Confederacy.

Sleek, professorial, soft-spoken, Tower had demonstrated a ready way with words ("I guess I'm something of a Burkean") and offered a sense of consistency and style which made his philosophy agreeable listening to those who disagreed. Most believe his election was a result of defections from the Democratic line by liberals anxious to halt the parade of tories which their party's power structure had proposed for office. Observer editor Willie Morris wrote in 1961, "Each conscious liberal vote for Tower cancels an unconscious liberal vote for Blakley. We appeal to reason in urging a vote for Tower."

So now it is five years later. So much has happened—and so little. The young professor went up to Washington and ran into some party fossils who shuttled him to

unimportant committee assignments. He wrote a book about his thinking called *A Program for Conservatives*. In the introduction Barry Goldwater wrote, "Senator John Tower has made a mark on the thinking of our times." Tower himself was almost apologetic: "Perhaps it is presumptuous for one who has served in the Congress so short a time to advocate a legislative program. But I believe that there must be a comprehensive alternative on which the conservative can hang his hat." In elegantly filigreed academic prose, true to its own assumptions, Tower wrote of his farm bill (all subsidies to be jerked in eight years), his labor bill ("union antitrust legislation," he called it), and his foreign policy resolution ("to press by all diplomatic means for the withdrawal of Soviet, communist Chinese, other communist forces, both uniformed and covert, from all areas entered by them since 1939; to reduce communist war machines, and the economies which support them, to levels at which they can no longer threaten the peace of the world; to fully arm, both in material and morally, ourselves for these tasks"). He shadowed the steps of Senator Goldwater and gambled his political future on the Arizonan's chances to make a major change in the way Americans think about their government.

The assassination. The Goldwater debacle. And now John Tower is 40 and plumper, with a vote for the 1965 Omnibus Farm Bill and its price supports on his record and facing a candidate who will have the backing of a governor with popularity so awesome to Tower's own party that the GOP proposes nothing more than a token candidate against him.

Tower will have two main campaign themes this year. One is the war in Vietnam, which meshes nicely with his spot on the Senate armed forces committee and his strong stand for military readiness. The other is an appropriate point of disagreement for a Republican senator to take, a stand against Johnson's call for repeal of Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act. Tower worked with the filibuster which effectively stalled this campaign last year, and he can, in addition, claim agreement on this subject with Gov. John Connally.

In a big newspaper ad soliciting support for the fight against 14-B repeal, Connally is quoted underneath a message from Tower. Last year, when Tower voted to retain gubernatorial votes of poverty programs, Connally responded with a wire Tower made public. All that the wire contained was a plea for help in getting more civil defense money, but Sen. Yarborough, loyalist Democrat, apparently had no such telegram to display. And last November, Tower shared a San Angelo podium with Connally to denounce pacifist demonstrations and "muddy-headed intellectuals." Somewhere along the way, the history professor had retreated, and the junior senator began using "Harvard" and "Wellesley" as terms of derision. He introduced William Buckley's articles attacking the John Birch Society into the Congressional Record, even as the committee called National Citizens for Goldwater-Miller gave him $5,000 for his campaign.

The Republicans, say their Texas committeeman, are ready to dedicate much treasure to Tower's reelection. His defeat would cripple their experiment. At the Republican executive committee meeting this month, they handed out a chart of the Sam Houston succession to the Senate which showed a total of seven incumbency elections since 1918, with the incumbent winning every time. A private poll taken last year showed that Tower could beat Waggoner Carr or Jim Wright, and a source high in the Texas Democratic Party's loyalist faction concedes that Tower might win rather easily with the war issue. The Republican strategy will be to keep the vote low, and it has become clear that the GOP would welcome again the support of liberals who want to crumble the structure of the current state Democratic leadership.

Tower's Washington career falls roughly into three separate careers: 1961-62, Tower the philosopher; 1962-64, Tower the campaigner and great man's shadow; and 1964-now, Tower the seasoned and practical politician, trying to work within the system. There has been much talk of his moderation, although the analysis of his votes and statements which follows perhaps indicates that this has been halting, as well as helped by outside disputes and related to some accidents of time. It began quite soon after the Goldwater defeat. When Goldwater went down in flames, so did Republican Congressmen Ed Foreman and Bruce Alger of Texas, and the GOP statehouse delegation in Texas dropped to one man. Accordingly, Tower spoke plainly when the State Republican Executive Committee met in Austin a year ago, telling them that the GOP must adopt a responsible attitude and support "our President" on the matters where agreement was possible.

The senator's signs of moderation have been very public: an offer to mediate the Gulf dock strike, a bill to extend impacted school area aid, support of the Social Security cost-of-living hike (but a vote against the bill); a proposal that cities pay the federal government part of increased tax revenues from urban renewal (but a vote against the Department of Housing and Urban Development); a vote for the farm bill, and praise for the designation of Negro Robert Weaver, an old sparring partner, as HUD secretary.

Larry Lee, who joins the Observer as associate editor with this issue, worked for the last three years for United Press International in Montgomery, Dallas, Lubbock, and in Austin, where he watched the 58th and 59th legislatures. At the University of Texas he had studied journalism, was a movie writer on the Daily Texan, that newspaper's managing editor for a brief time, and one of the original editors of Riata, the student literary magazine. He was born 24 years ago to a newspapering family in Fort Worth. Out of what he calls "a twisted sense of duty and (unanswered) hope," Lee votes in Republican primaries.

THE TEXAS OBSERVER

© Texas Observer Co., Ltd. 1966

A Journal of Free Voices — **A Window to the South**

59th YEAR — ESTABLISHED 1906

Vol. 57, No. 26 — **January 21, 1966**

Incorporating the State Observer and the East Texas Democrat, which in turn incorported the State Week and Austin Forum-Advocate.

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

Editor and General Manager, Ronnie Dugger.
Partner, Mrs. R. D. Randolph.
Associate Editor, Larry Lee.
Business Manager, Sarah Payne.
Contributing Editors, Elroy Bode, Bill Brammer, Larry Goodwyn, Harris Green, Franklin Jones, Lyman Jones, Larry L. King, Georgia Earnest Klipple, Robert L. Montgomery, Willie Morris, James Presley, Charles Ramsdell, Roger Shattuck, Robert Sherrill, Dan Strawn, Tom Sutherland, Charles Alan Wright.
Staff Artist, Charles Erickson.
Contributing Photographer, Russell Lee.

The editor has exclusive control over the editorial policies and contents of the Observer. None of the other people who are associated with the enterprise shares this responsibility with him. Writers are responsible for their own work, but not for anything they have not themselves written, and in publishing them the editor does not necessarily imply that he agrees with them, because this is a journal of free voices.

The Observer publishes articles, essays, and creative work of the shorter forms having to do in various ways with this area. The pay depends; at present it is token. Unsolicited manuscripts must be accompanied by return postage.

The Observer is published by Texas Observer Co., Ltd., biweekly from Austin, Texas. Entered as second-class matter April 26, 1937, at the Post Office at Austin, Texas, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Second class postage paid at Austin, Texas. Delivered postage prepaid $5.00 a year; two years, $9.50; three years, $13.00. Foreign rates on request. Single copies 25c; prices for ten or more for students, or bulk orders, on request.

Editorial and Business Offices: The Texas Observer, 504 West 24th St., Austin 5, Texas Telephone GR 7-0746.

Change of Address: Please give old and new address and allow three weeks.

Subscription Representatives: Austin, Mrs. Helen C. Spear, 2615 Pecos, HO 5-1805; **Dallas,** Mrs. Cordye Hall, 5835 Ellsworth, TA 1-1205; **Denton,** Fred Lusk, Box 8134 NTS; **Fort Worth,** Dolores Jacobsen, 3025 Greene Ave., WA 4-9655; **Houston,** Mrs. Shirley Jay, 10306 Clifford Dr., PA 3-8682; **Huntsville,** Jessie L. Murphree, Box 2284 SHS; **Lubbock,** Doris Blaisdell, 2515 24th St.; **Midland,** Eva Dennis, 4306 Douglas, OX 4-2825; **Odessa,** Enid Turner, 1706 Glenwood, EM 6-2269; **Rio Grande Valley,** Mrs. Jack Butler, 601 Houston, McAllen, MU 6-5675; **San Antonio,** Mrs. Mae B. Tuggle, 531 Elmhurst, TA 6-3583; **Cambridge, Mass.,** Victor Emanuel, 33 Aberdeen Ave., Apt. 3A.

Despite these signs or tokens of change, Tower has been rated by a conservative group, the Americans for Constitutional Action, with a cumulative score of 99% for his votes in the past five years, making him the most conservative man in the Senate by their standards.

Listed below by topics is a summary of Tower's public declarations and the decisions he returned when they called for the yeas and nays.

The World Outside

Senator Tower's view of the world outside can be described as military intervention and diplomatic isolation. The United Nations and foreign aid have been objects of his wrath from the beginning, although he has not pushed the idea of getting out of the world organization.

In 1962, when the Congo was in turmoil and the U.N. in deep financial trouble, Tower said the United States should give the organization a loan instead of buying its bonds.[1] The next year, he attacked President Kennedy's support of U.N. intervention in Katanga ("a major shortcoming of the Administration's foreign policy, to say the very least"), and he denounced the U.N.: "The United Nations military campaign against Katanga to overpower the only independent pro-Western and anti-communist government in central Africa, with approval and support of the State Department, is . . . convincing the American people more and more each day of the futility of the United Nations as an effective instrument for peace. I venture to predict in future days it will be more and more difficult to convince members of Congress, who are responsible to the American people and who are responsive to the manifestations of opinion of the American people, that the United Nations merits the financial, moral, and policy support of the United States."[2] Last August, Tower was calling for a firm stand on the question of Russia's U.N. debt: "There are indications that we American taxpayers may soon be asked to voluntarily contribute even more money to the U.N. . . . The Russians could let us pay for everything the U.N. does and their veto power tell us where and when we can spend our money."[3]

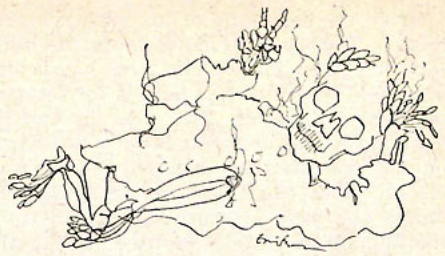
Tower often talks as an economist when describing the nation's relations with the rest of the world. Last July, Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina proudly pointed out himself, Tower, and others as advisors to Young Americans for Freedom, when Sen. J. W. Fulbright called it a "vigilante group" responsible for a "nuisance boycott campaign" against Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. (The firm had announced, then withdrawn, plans to construct a synthetic rubber plant for Roumania.[4]) In 1964, Tower had said in a broadcast to the people, "I opposed the recent trade agreement with the Soviet Union, in which our government approved the sale of huge quantities of wheat to communist-bloc nations. In addition, I vigorously opposed the granting of American credit to the communists for those sales. I supported amendments to the farm bill, which would have denied credit to the communist nations for their purchases in this country . . . I did not agree then, and I do not agree now, that an absence of internal problems in Soviet Russia is good tidings for the western world . . . The well-fed communist countries are more able to cause trouble than lean, under-fed countries. They are able to wage war; they are better able to wage not only war, but economic competition with the free world."[5]

The Cuban question spurs Tower to exceptionally bold talk. In 1963, he spoke on "Cuba and our foreign policy" on a radio-television broadcast presented by the (White) Citizens' Council from Jackson, Miss. After advocating a blockade and invasion of Cuba, Tower was asked if such action would touch off a general war. "I don't think so . . . I don't think that they would initiate the thermonuclear war that they know they cannot win over Cuba . . . Of course it would be highly destructive to us, but ultimately we could rebuild; but we would be the victors, and communism would have disappeared from this world. Of course, we don't want a thermonuclear war; don't ever let me convey the impression that we do, but I think that the real danger comes not in going to the brink of war, but in shrinking from the brink of war."[6] Two months later, Tower accused the Soviets of making a profit on Cuban sugar, calling this laissez-faire communism. "It reminds us of the British mercantilism of the 18th century. Now we see the Russians adopting trappings of the capitalistic system and coming up with 'Soviet mercantilism.' "[7]

The rioting in 1963 and 1964 in Panama ("a country that would not even exist were it not for the United States") led Tower to decry the world situation in general. "No recitation of detail is needed here. You are all familiar with the situations in Cuba, Panama, Zanzibar, Vietnam, Laos, Berlin, the Congo, Cyprus, and almost any other place you can place your finger on the globe. The overall picture is certainly not one in which we can take great comfort . . . I believe our government should embark once again on a diplomatic and economic crusade to bolster the cause of freedom around the world."[8]

In a 1963 speech to the Daughters of the American Revolution, Tower said the Alliance for Progress was being used to force Latin American countries to develop "socialistic schemes. We are insisting that Latin American countries develop socialistic plans, that they expropriate property, that they confiscate property, that they compete with private enterprise." Foreign aid, he said, is a primary cause for the gold drain.[9]

What does Tower propose? He gave the answer in April, 1964, in a broadcast over a Milwaukee television station: "I think foreign aid is having the opposite effect of what it should have. The main problem in Latin America is that private capital is flowing out of Latin America. What we need to do is to help them to stabilize their currency to help them to create or



encourage them to create a favorable political climate in which private capital will be attracted. They need to have private capital . . . we need to insist on encouragement of private investment in under-developed countries."[10]

Tower voted against the 1965 foreign aid bill, although he refrained from speaking against in on final passage. In 1964 he achieved a victory with his amendment forbidding foreign aid to Indonesia.[11] Last year he said Nasser had adopted a "go to hell" attitude about the United States similar to Sukarno's. Tower suggested cutting off aid to the United Arab Republic, but his amendment has not been adopted.[12]

In 1963 Tower spoke to a Chicago rally honoring ex-King Peter II of Yugoslavia and commemorating a battle in 1389 in which the Turks overwhelmed the Serbs. He said on that occasion, "We cannot coexist with a great power that is bent on our destruction. We shall prosecute the battle against communism until we are victorious."[13]

War and the Military

Last January Tower was named to the Senate armed forces committee, a plum which caused jubilation among party professionals in Texas. "We have more than a quarter million defense personnel both civilian and military in Texas. This committee authorizes expenditures for one half of the national budget . . . Much of the basic industry in our state is vitally concerned in the military equipment field, and military wages in Texas annually amount to three quarters of a billion dollars. I believe the new post will afford a position of great service to my state and for that reason I am very pleased," Tower exulted.[14] Last May he asked the committee to press for work on a backlog of repair work at the Corpus Christi Naval Air Station with an initial $250,000. He listed more than $1 million in repairs he said were needed at the base, ranging from work on runways to fixing up the steel sashes in Building 8.[15] A little later, he reported the committee's favorable view of producing the F-111 (TFX) built by General Dynamics/Fort Worth as manned bomber to stall a "bomber gap" in the 1970's.[16] (This speech was a far cry from the one Barry Goldwater made in Fort Worth in the 1964 campaign, hinting at dark misdeeds behind procurement of the contract for the big firm which is a keystone of that city's economy.) And last September, Tower announced a 10,000-man expansion of Army training facilities at Fort Bliss, Fort Sam Houston, and Fort Wolters.[17]

From the beginning of his service in the Senate, Tower's attitude towards the military has been more than warm. It is the only field where he has pushed for stepped up federal spending. This year he can be expected to oppose Great Society programs on the grounds that they cripple the war effort. "You can't have a Great Society unless you have a secure society," he told the Republican state committee this month. Last year he told the DAR in San Antonio, "We see the Administration cut $8 billion from what the Joint Chiefs feel is necessary to properly defend our interests. We see that money, or a goodly portion of it, channeled into welfare projects of very questionable value. We see no new manned bomber program in the works, or in the offing. We see no funds for a major naval construction program. We see no funds for new and modern aircraft carriers or submarines. We have no fleet in the Indian Ocean, which bids fair to become a tinderbox. We see less money for military research and development. Less for military personnel. Less for new weapons and equipment, less military assistance and less military operation and maintenance. And less for veterans."[18] Tower had said earlier last year that the administration should add $6 billion in defense spending sought by the military's top brass.[19]

His support of basic research in oceanography and space is linked with his interest in military development. Even as the State Department works to preserve the neutrality of the moon, Tower says, ". . . the frontier of our age is in outer space. It is here that the safety and security of our nation will find new application, for it can be truly said that whoever controls space can and will control the security and destiny of nations on earth. The race for that control is now being run. We had better be sure that we don't come in second best. There is no longer a question of whether we will have 'space tanks,' 'space pillboxes,' and 'space sentries.' The only remaining question is when they will be there and whose they will be."[20]

Where would he stop short in the use of military force? Before his election, the line he drew was several rungs up the escalation ladder. He said in a 1961 interview, "I don't know what price we would have to pay to initiate a nuclear preventive war. We could have cleaned the matter up nicely in 1948 and '49 when the Russians didn't have the bomb. I've heard military men say we really should have mounted a preventive war then swiftly and cleanly.

"I'm sure most of the world would have hated us for it, but they'd have been able to sleep securely as a result of it."[21]

In 1961 after his election, in a radio debate with Sen. Wayne Morse, Tower said, "The time may be imminent when we will have to militarily occupy Cuba."[22] In 1962 Tower wrote, "America must declare for victory. And she must do so from the innermost fibre outward to the farthest extremity."[23] The test ban treaty he called "a cruel deception."[24]

At adjournment last year, Tower set out on a 25-day trip of military bases in Europe and Asia, including Vietnam. He paid for part of the trip himself. In World War II the senator served as an enlisted man aboard an amphibious gunboat in the western Pacific. His concern for the wishes of the Joint Chiefs and the fact that an Air Force lieutenant colonel accompanied him on the tour notwithstanding, Tower sought to show in Vietnam that it was the enlisted men he was interested in meeting, not just the commanders. The troopers, he said, indicated that the lightweight, futuristic M-16 rifle is necessary for fighting in South Vietnam. Tower returned with firm recommendations about the war: pinpoint bombing in the Hanoi area, a sealed-off Haiphong harbor, and more money including money for M-16's.[25] Additionally, Tower seems ready to support a GI bill of rights of some kind, but not one as broad as Yarborough's "cold war GI bill" which would extend help to all veterans, regardless of whether they have served in a war zone.[26] However, Tower voted for Yarborough's GI Bill last session.

Whatever his ties with the men in the field, Tower's sympathies with military commanders run deep. "Policy should be made by civilians, but after the policy is made, we should leave much of the field decisions to military men," Tower said last year.[27] In December he said he found American commanders in Vietnam frustrated by controls. "Commanders should have more discretion about bombings," he said.[28] Back in his first session, in 1961, he joined Strom Thurmond, then a Democrat, in attacking the "muzzling" of Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker. "I think we ought to have a complete study of the facts and circumstances of Walker's case, and it should include his reassignment," Tower said; although his public enthusiasm for Walker waned after the general declared for governor as a Democrat and went on to visit Oxford, Mississippi, during the Meredith riots.[29]

The war in Vietnam will be one of the major issues in Tower's campaign this year. "I fully support our President in his determination to stand firm in the face of communist tyranny and aggression in Vietnam," Tower said last summer as Johnson stepped up the fight.[30] Just before returning to Washington this month, Tower made it clear that he thought little of the Johnson "peace offensive." "I don't think we can count on a sudden end unless we think we can back down on our announced mission, to preserve the independence of South Vietnam."[31]

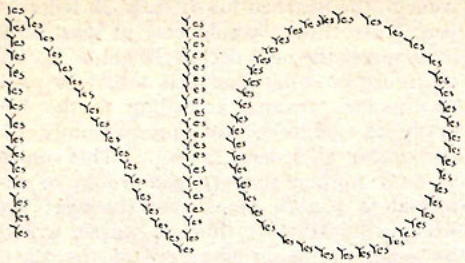
Tower is ready to oppose any softening of the American effort in Southeast Asia, but whether this occurs or not, he campaigns long and hard on the simple matter of America's presence and against the stock villains he calls Vietniks. "I haven't started a fight in 20 years, mostly because of my size, but I think I might if one of those demonstrations started in my presence," the senator said in Washington last month.[32] His anger reached a high pitch in San Angelo on Sunday, Nov. 7, when he joined Connally and Cong. O. C. Fisher at an Americanism Day rally at which those who question the government's war policy were condemned. "In spite of what the peaceniks, beatniks, and muddy-minded intellectuals say or think, we cannot abdicate our responsibility as the leader of the free world, or we abdicate the freedom of men everywhere fighting communism," he said.[33] (After the talk two high school choirs sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," and 200 pigeons were released "and wheeled overhead in graceful arcs," as the San Angelo newspaper put it.) When the Senators Kennedy supported the idea of donating American blood to North Vietnamese through the International Red Cross, Tower said, "I'm very much opposed to giving blood to anybody but our people." He then put in a plug for a nationwide college campus "bleed-in" to supply plasma for American troops, not the casualties of both sides.

Civil Rights

Senator Tower has voted against every major piece of civil rights legislation debated since he went to Washington in June, 1961.

He has used anti-discrimination riders as a weapon to marshal conservative votes against legislation he opposes. For example, in April, 1963, he offered an anti-discrimination clause as an amendment to the bill to create the Youth Conservation Corps. "I am opposed to S. 1 and signed the minority report," he said. "I intend to vote against it. I am frank to admit that my third motivation in offering the anti-discrimination amendments was to kill the bill, which I consider unwarranted and unwanted." He added, "I might say that the proponents of the bill were equally frank in opposing my amendments inconsistent with their usual civil rights position solely on the grounds that they might kill the bill." (In this case the tactic failed 50-41 through a tabling motion.[34]) He tried this tactic at least two other times in 1963. The Senate tabled a similar amendment to the domestic peace corps bill by vote of 49-41, and when Tower tried to use another such rider against the Area Redevelopment Act, the chair ruled it not germane. Quizzed about the strategy, Tower smiled and said he was "just trying to improve the bills." He said that on Negro rights, "I'd probably be regarded as a moderate. I'm against most of this civil rights legislation, like the public accommodations bill and the fair employment practices commission bill, because it would infringe on the citizens' rights to own and control property."[35]

But when major civil rights legislation was in prospect, Tower deserted GOP "moderates," such as Everett Dirksen. He joined the Dixie filibuster that stymied the civil rights bill in 1963, explaining that in the public accommodations section of the proposal he saw "sinister implications beyond the civil rights issue."[36] Early in 1964, the milestone year in civil rights legislation, Tower predicted that a "watered-down version" of the Kennedy bill would be passed.[37]



By March of that year Tower noted that he might support the bill if the fair employment and public accommodations sections were removed.[38] When it reached debate in the Senate after clearing the house, Tower said from the floor, "I am no segregationist. I believe in Negro rights. I believe discrimination is morally wrong." Then he opened his attack, challenging the public accommodations section and the Fair Employment Practices Commission as unconstitutional. His speech was 87 pages long, although cut in the reading because he had an audience of one, Sen. Claiborne Pell, Rhode Island Democrat assigned to listen.[39]

Tower had a curious victory with an amendment linked with a test case against Motorola. The Illinois Fair Employment Policies Cmsn. had ruled that the firm could not administer a written test to prospective employers on grounds that the test discriminated against "culturally disadvantaged groups." Introducing his amendment, Tower said, "It is obvious that tests can and are being written which are both fair and extremely useful." He said the amendment "carefully provided that employers must give such tests to all concerned individuals without regard to the individuals' race, color, religion, sex, or national origin."[40] The roll call vote went against Tower, but suddenly the amendment was recalled and passed on voice vote with no trouble. Within hours Tower had received 35 congratulatory telegrams, all from executives "employed by one large electronics firm," the Dallas Morning News said.[41]

Tower voted (with Yarborough) for an amendment requiring jury trials for citizens charged under the act with contempt of court outside the presence of the judge. (Opposed by civil rights groups on the theory that Southern juries would clear Southern whites of contempt charges, the amendment was at first narrowly defeated, 46-45, but was adopted later.[42]) Tower also voted against cloture of the Dixie filibuster and voted for losing amendments to eliminate federal aid for desegregation, to eliminate fair employment provisions, and to reverse federal court holdings on restricted housing convenants. He voted for a provision barring discrimination in federally assisted programs and against a national referendum on the act.[43] He voted against the act itself.

In 1965 the junior senator was just as staunch in his opposition to the federal voting rights act, which passed the Senate, 77-19. He was one of two Republicans to stand against the bill on final passage. The other was Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. Conceding that demonstrations such as those in Alabama last winter and spring "probably are justified," Tower added, "The finger should be pointed to everyone all over the country, not just to the South. I'm getting tired of the South being used as a whipping boy." He said the 1965 act's effect would be to "negate the election laws of 50 states" and charged that the federal voting examiners could be used to perpetuate an administration in power. He added that he was talking about future administrations, not Johnson's. It was wrong, Tower said, to legislate "in an emotional atmosphere created by demonstrations." The courts could take care of the problem, Tower said. Texas, he added, was free of such discrimination. The Texas poll tax he called "an evidence of citizenship."[44]

Curiously, back in 1963, Tower pledged to vote personally for repeal of the state poll tax. He added that he never adhered to the theory that the poll tax kept anyone who wanted to from voting.[45]

Tower offered his own substitute for the voting rights bill. It had three major provisions: Uniform application of voting requirements set by the individual states, prohibitions against fraudulent voting in federal elections, and a study by the attorney general and the Secretary of Defense to determine whether state election laws discriminate against members of the armed forces.[46]

At least twice, Tower has delivered affirmative votes in the civil rights field. He voted in 1961 to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission and for the confirmation of Negro Thurgood Marshall as a federal judge.[47]

Medicare

The question of medical help for old people was one which allowed Tower to bask in the pleasant warmth of consensus without actually getting sunburned. As the medicare vote neared last summer, the junior senator joined other conservatives in a motion to remove the President's medical help program from the Social Security bill. Tower was one of 18 Republicans who voted for the amendment (11 were against it); it was rejected 26-64. Medicare itself was contained in a bill which included boosts in Kerr-Mills payments and regular Social Security payments, as well as in monies for child assistance programs to be administered jointly by Washington and the state capitals. Tower was one of 14 Republicans who voted against its final passage (68-21).[48]

Tower introduced an alternative to the Senate, his "Eldercare" bill, which, he said, was more comprehensive than medicare. Medicare, he said, did not cover costs of visits to doctors' offices, home calls by doctors, doctors' services at the hospital, surgery, dental services, eyeglasses, and drugs. "Inadequate . . . the wrong approach," said Tower, who was particularly unhappy over medicare's link with Social Security, a link he said could endanger the system. Late in 1964, Tower said he expected the Republicans in Congress to seek fulfillment of the 1964 GOP platform pledge of "full coverage of all medical and hospital costs for needy elderly people, *financed by general revenues*"[49] (italics supplied).

Interestingly, Tower praised the increase in Social Security payments linked with the medicare package, saying as the vote neared, "I am pleased that the bill now before the Senate includes that 7% figure along with other Social Security benefits . . . but I cannot vote for any bill embodying medicare, for I cannot vote to destroy Social Security." Tower added that in 1961, eleven days after reaching the Senate, he had voted for the Social Security Act of 1961.[50] Although he did not vote for the 1965 Social Security Act, a list issued last fall showed the 7% cost-of-living increase for Social Security as one of his positions "subsequently adopted by the administration."

War on Poverty

Tower's opposition to the war on poverty began before President Kennedy was killed and before the welfare package was given that title. In 1963, as noted, Tower sought to tag anti-discrimination riders to Youth Conservation Corps, area redevelopment, and domestic peace corps legislation.

Here is Tower explaining in 1964 how to win the war on poverty: "Catchy slogans and expensive government projects are not going to get the job done. The only real, lasting solution to joblessness is obviously the creation of jobs. . . . In any system that allows some men and women to climb to the top, we are going to have some men and women who will fall to the bottom or remain on the bottom. . . . The truth of the matter is that many persons who make $3,000 a year are quite well off, while many others who make $4,000 a year may be just barely getting by, if at all. . . . The only real, lasting solution to joblessness is obviously the creation of new jobs. . . . The logical route then would be for the administration to encourage, by every means possible, the economic well-being of those who provide jobs for American workers. What we need to do is create a favorable climate for business that will produce jobs. . . . You can only do that by stimulating business."[51]

Tower then offered specific proposals for helping the poor: reduce oil and beef imports. "Foreign oil imports have long troubled our domestic producers. They would like to see it (sic) curtailed, at least to the extent that it does not stop exploration for new domestic reserves. When this happens, as it has happened, many oil workers lose their jobs." He added that the same was true in the meat industry. "I suppose ultimately we will have a situation where those who have lost jobs as a result of depressed business conditions in those two industries can get jobs with the federal government training our jobless youngsters how to raise cattle or drill oil wells."[52]

Tower had adopted the same scoffing tone in 1963, speaking in San Antonio against VISTA, the domestic peace corps, when he said the volunteers ("probably out of Harvard or Wellesley") would be sent to

Arizona to teach Indians how to make adobe houses or to Georgia to teach farmers how to raise peanuts.[53]

The Neighborhood Youth Corps has provoked Tower's wrath again and again. Last year he accused the Department of Labor of attempting to "subvert the intent of Congress" in pressing for the $1.25 minimum wage for workers in the Corps. He quoted a section of the Economic Opportunities Act which said, he said, "In general, enrollee wages should be a little below the prevailing entrance rates for inexperienced workers in similar occupations." The suggestion was followed by local planners, he said, until the Department of Labor intervened. He proposed an amendment, which failed, providing that enrollees earn less than the federal minimum wage. Last summer Tower voted against killing the governors' veto powers against war on poverty programs and against extending more funds for the war on poverty. The Senate voted to limit the governors' vetoes on three major programs, including NYC.[54]

Earlier last year, Tower had voted against the bill extending aid to Appalachia, saying disapprovingly in Harlingen that the measure included $17 million to develop the cattle industry in the depressed area. He pledged in the Harlingen speech to fight the President's plans to cut back soil conservation spending.[55] Soon afterwards, Cong. Jim Wright said that the $17 million which upset Tower was for soil conservation, not to develop Appalachia's cattle industry.[56]

Labor

"Texas unions are strong and well-led," Tower wrote last June. "They are that way because they pay better attention to their knitting than do unions in states where compulsory membership is required."[57]

"If I were a laboring man in industry, I would want the privilege of joining, and I probably would join, a labor union," Tower said last fall, filibustering against the repeal of 14-B.[58]

But Tower has written this: "It is quite plain that some union practices, either through design or as an inevitable consequence, impose serious restraints upon trade, suppress competition and adversely affect the prices of goods and services to consumers."[59] In his 1962 package, all of which failed, Tower included a labor bill, his "union antitrust legislation," designed, he said, to punish unions which refuse to supply workers, refuse to let their members handle certain goods, enforce geographical restrictions against employers, or restrict production.[60]

The National Association of Manufacturers seems to have set something very similar to the Tower labor bill as one of its legislative goals. On Nov. 21, 1961, Jim Clay, a legislative assistant to Tower, spoke at a meeting of the "NAM center for the study of union monopoly power," calling for research "that could be used in depth and truth as a moral approach to a political issue" and telling the audience, including representatives of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, "As this study group grows and tends to make this a public issue in the expectation of getting action in the foreseeable future, it should be broader in sponsorship than one group, NAM, or any other. Perhaps we can even get foundation support. I think that might facilitate the matter of taking it to the public in such a way as to arouse them to arouse congressional support for it."[61]

Tower backed legislation to allow the agriculture commission of each state to determine whether braceros should be admitted, thus bypassing the U.S. Secretary of Labor. The U.S. attorney general would provide reception centers and transportation for the field hands. Tower said last June that Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz had pledged "in correspondence with me to work closely with the Texas Employment Commission to meet the labor needs of Texas growers. However, time continues to drift by, and farmers and ranchers cannot conjure workers overnight."[62]

Tower had voted in 1963 to extend the bracero program.

Last year Tower introduced two bills, both of which failed, designed to curb the powers of the National Labor Relations Board. One would have transferred unfair labor practice cases to federal courts, taking the hearings away from the board. The other was the junior senator's plan to guarantee the right of an employer to go out of business for good, without having the labor board rule that such action was an unfair labor practice.[63]

Housing

Last week Tower announced that he would support the President's nomination of Robert C. Weaver as secretary of the new Department of Housing and Urban Development, saying, "As ranking minority member of the housing subcommittee of the banking and currency committee which is responsible for housing and urban affairs legislation, I have always enjoyed cordial relationships with Dr. Weaver and his department."[64] (In 1963, however, Weaver was accusing Tower of a "politically inspired campaign" to restrict or destroy the FHA . . . under the guise of sounding an alarm against reckless insuring practices.") Tower had worked to see that a full $106,000 was appropriated for a study of the FHA[65] and said last year in debate on the act creating the new department that "I have been a consistent supporter of the Federal Housing Administration."[66] Nevertheless, Tower voted against the new department, as well as the President's rent subsidy plan, in which he saw "evil ramifications." He said, "I think it will have the effect of escalating rents and force those who could otherwise pay rent without help to pay more."[67]

This year President Johnson is seeking a cabinet level department of mass transportation. Tower complained about the use of mass transit funds voted in 1964. He had fought hard against the 1963 mass transit bill, and one of his arguments against it went to the heart of his attitude on federalism. Mass transit would cost at least $9.8 billion over the next decade, he said. ". . . let us figure how much of this would be paid by Texans. Texans, according to the Library of Congress, pay approximately 4.5 per cent of all federal taxes. . . . This comes to $441 million that Texans would be required to pay in taxes over the next ten years. . . . Most of this, of course, would be spent in the urban areas of the East. The figure comes to more than $44 for each man, woman, and child in Texas. A family of four would contribute about $176 to solving the transit problems of persons living in cities far away . . ."[68]

Farm Policy

In 1962 Senator Tower introduced his farm bill, a very brief and very simple measure which would have instructed the Secretary of Agriculture to "reduce the levels of price support annually on all agricultural commodities for which such support is provided until such support has been removed entirely." It gave the secretary six years.[69] Hubert Humphrey, then whip, called the idea "disastrous," and the Senate agreed, 55-17.[70]

Last year, with Goldwater gone and election ahead, Tower voted for the Omnibus Farm Bill which he described as "no exception to the rule of confusion," but "the most realistic we have achieved in many years." One of his major reasons for the vote was adoption of the amendment retaining, for the present, the one-price system on cotton.[71] He remains steadfastly against beef imports, and, as noted, considers limited imports a fine way to fight unemployment.

Education

John Tower and John Connally appear to be in agreement on educational help. Both prefer an interstate compact rather than massive federal aid.

The senator told a group of teachers in southeast Texas last summer, "We could relinquish constitutional prerogatives and historical wisdom and turn to the federal goverment for imposition of a single, monolithic national education policy. But such a policy could pervert education in the name of 'country,' as in the Third Reich or the Soviet Union. Such national policy would be a political football at every change of federal administration. The better alternative is for the states to join in such a compact as Dr. (James B.) Conant envisions. Our governor has indicated Texas is willing to pursue the possibilities of this approach, and I hope we do."[72]

Despite Tower's reluctance to see stepped-up federal spending in the education field, he joined with Connally last spring in the view that part of $86 million in federal aid that Texas was to receive each year could be used to pay for a state raise in school teachers' salaries. "As I interpret the bill," Tower said, "the money could be used for teacher salary raises—because it [the bill] fails to impose specific dead-

lines." Tower said that perhaps $74 million of the $86 million could be used to supply the raise teachers had been promised. Connally, facing an organized effort to make the raise come true, had expressed the same opinion.[73] Eventually the idea was simply dropped and the teachers were given a compromise raise from state revenues.

Tower "is an opponent of general federal aid to education," his office said in 1963.[74] However: In 1962 he voted for an unsuccessful amendment to remove scholarships for needy students from that year's college aid bill and to substitute an increase in the National Defense Education Act scholarship funds. He has been a consistent supporter of NDEA grants.[75] Last year he voted for the $4.7-billion college aid bill which provided federal scholarships and direct grants to colleges, as well as setting up a National Teachers Corps for poverty-stricken areas.[78] Earlier last year he had voted for an amendment changing the allocation formula for aid to impoverished school districts, which would have lowered the federal money for urban schools, as well as weakened support for the elementary and secondary education act.[77] The senator has upheld federal aid to so-called "impacted areas," that is, communities whose schools serve children of federal employes who live on tax-exempt property, such as military bases.[78]

On federal aid for basic research, Tower said in 1963, when faced with a bill for $690 million in spending over a three-year period, "I don't think that massive federal spending in this area can be justified."[79]

Nevertheless, he was successful last year as co-sponsor of a bill to back oceanographic research. He said in his Senate speech for the measure, "Mr. President, knowledge of the oceans is *power* [his italics]—national power to exert military and economic influence around the world . . . present American sea power is based upon only the most circumspect knowledge of the real secrets of the oceans."[80]

Tower still wages a battle on behalf of his plan to extend tax credits to citizens with dependents in college. It would mean $350 in tax relief for families with children in college. It was narrowly defeated last year, 48-45.[81]

Conservation

Tower's latest official biography sheet, issued this week, calls him "a nationally-known progressive conservative" and lists among his 1965 legislative successes "far-reaching soil and water conservation measures." However, in 1963 Tower voted for amendments to weaken presidential prerogatives under the wilderness act.

He has indicated his support for a water plan so far-reaching that it staggers the imagination — the proposed $100 billion North American Water and Power Alliance, a scheme to tap rivers in Alaska and the Yukon and bring their water as far south as northern Mexico. "I endorse the general idea of this proposition and support its further study," he told engineers in Amarillo last September.[82]

Four water bills he co-sponsored last year were approved by Congress. They provide for intra-governmental cooperation in development of water and for studies on desalinization and rainfall utilization. He voted against the anti-pollution act. "I was active in Senate work on the water pollution bill," he said in his October newsletter.[83]

Last year, Tower cried out against a proposed $20 million cut in federal spending for soil and water conservation and predotor and rodent control. "Each district in Texas would lose an average of $7,000 in funds for technical assistance," he said.[84] Congress restored the money, and Tower called the action "a graphic example of the wisdom which Congress can bring to bear. . . ."[85]

Oil

Like any Texas politician interested in getting reelected, Tower has voted staunchly against withdrawal of the oil depletion allowance. Last November, too late for passage, he introduced a separate bill to cut oil imports 17%. "Total oil imports must be frozen or rolled back," he told the Panhandle Geological Society last year.[86]

In 1963 Tower pledged to fight any legislation resulting from a seven-department study of the oil industry made at the direction of the Office of Emergency Planning. The report found deficiencies in the regulatory system and said $1 billion per year in federal taxes were lost because of the oil depletion allowances. "This report was kept secret from the people of the country and was obviously the background material used by Atty. Gen. Bobby Kennedy in his recent attack upon state oil regulatory agencies. So it now appears that the attorney general's comments were the opening guns on a high-level campaign to federalize the petroleum industry."[87]

Legislation to federalize the oil industry never materialized, but the next year, 1964, Tower accused President Johnson of "callously turning his back on the two industries of most importance to his own state . . . the oil and cattle industries." Tower said he wrote Johnson about the oil import situation and received in reply "a curt note" from Lawrence O'Brien, then a White house staff assistant, who wrote, "Since oil controls are the responsibility of the Department of the Interior, your letter to the President has been made available to Secretary Udall."[88]

Tower, Goldwater and the JBS

From 1961 through the 1964 elections, Tower was Barry Goldwater's most ardent disciple. State GOP chairman Peter O'Donnell Jr. described Tower's role in the Goldwater camp as "one of Goldwater's principal advisors and strategists." Tower remained loyal to the cause in 1964, even when offered the chance of running as vice president with a moderate-liberal candidate.[89]

The friendship between the senator and the ex-senator continues, and their political association is open. Last November, Goldwater went to San Antonio to speak at a $250-per-plate fund-raising dinner for the 1966 campaign. Whatever he said at the dinner never reached print, because the GOP said reporters would have to buy the $250.00 steak to hear him talk, but at a reception earlier ($2.50 per person), Goldwater said, "John Tower is a little man in body; he's a tremendous man in heart, soul, and intellect." The GOP, Goldwater added, was a healthy organization, despite its troubles.[90]

Just after the Goldwater debacle in 1964 Tower blamed party in-fighting for the defeat and offered a defense for national chairman Dean Burch.[91] Two months later, though, Tower was present at a State Republican Executive Committee meeting which adopted a toned-down version of the anti-extremism resolution which had spurred a spirited fight at the 1964 national convention.

When moderate Republicans got good notices last August by issuing a public invitation for Birch Society members to leave their party, Tower commented that he saw no "grave threat" from the society and added, " . . . their active participation in both parties is relatively small." (Goldwater had said, " . . . they haven't done anything dangerous to the party as far as I am concerned.")[92]

Nineteen days later Tower said, "My views are clear. I believe the John Birch Society is a liability to the conservative cause. I think they tend to be too exclusive and accept certain premises that I don't accept and a lot of people don't accept."[93]

SOURCES

The World Outside

1. Obs. March 23, 1962. 2. Congressional Record, January 17, 1963, pp. 475-6. 3. Dallas Times Herald, Aug. 8, 1965. 4. Corpus Christi Caller, July 7, 1965. 5. Weekly radio report, May 10, 1964. 6. Transcript of the Citizens' Council Forum, March 20, 1963. 7. News release, May 5, 1963. 8. Washington newsletter, January, 1964. 9. Corpus Christi Caller (undated). 10 News release, April 21, 1963. 11. New York Times, Aug. 13, 1964. 12. News release, Jan. 8, 1965. 13. Dallas Morning News, July 2, 1963.

War and the Military

14. Fort Worth Star-Telegram, Jan. 15, 1965. 15. Corpus Christi Caller, May 6, 1965. 16. Austin Statesman, May 12, 1965. 17. Corpus Christi Caller, Sept. 18, 1965. 18. San Antonio Express, March 18, 1965. 19. San Antonio Express-News, Jan. 30, 1965. 20. Hays County Citizen, June 16, 1965. 21. Obs., Feb. 11, 1961. 22. Obs., Aug. 9, 1963. 23. **A Program for Conservatives,** Macfadden books, New York, 1962, p. 30. 24. Obs., Aug. 9, 1963. 25. News release, Dec. 20, 1965. 26. Dallas Morning News, Jan. 12, 1966. 27. Dallas Morning News, Nov. 11, 1965. 28. Dallas Morning News, (1965, undated). 29. Obs., Sept. 1, 1961. 30. Houston Chronicle, July 29, 1965. 31. Dallas Times Herald, Jan. 3, 1966. 32. Dallas Times Herald, Dec. 16, 1965. 33. San Angelo Standard-Times, Nov. 8, 1965.

Civil Rights

34. News release, April 10, 1963. 35. Houston Post, Aug. 22, 1963. 36. San Antonio Express, Oct. 10, 1963. 37. Corpus Christi Caller, Jan. 16, 1964. 38. Dallas Morning News, March 19, 1964. 39. Dallas Morning News, March 20, 1964. 40. News release, May 20, 1964. 41. Dallas Morning News, June 22, 1964. 42. Obs., May 15, 1964. 43. Obs., June 26, 1964. 44. San Antonio Express, March 19, 1965. 45. San Antonio Express, Oct. 10, 1963. 46. Dallas Morning News, April 29. 1965. 47. Obs., July 12, 1963.

Medicare

48. Houston Post, Oct. 31, 1965. 49. Houston Chronicle, Dec. 20, 1964. 50. Dallas Morning News, July 7, 1965.

War on Poverty

51. Weekly report, March 22, 1964. 52. Weekly report, March 29, 1964. 53. San Antonio Express, Oct. 10, 1963. 54. Obs., Sept. 3 and Sept. 17, 1965. 55. Obs., Feb. 19, 1965. 56. Obs., March 5, 1965.

Labor

57. Houston Chronicle, June 30, 1965. 58 News release, Oct. 8, 1965. 59. **A Program for Conservatives**, p. 51. 60. Ibid., pp. 54-55. 61. Special report of the Texas Industrial Union Council, 1961. 62. Robstown Record, June 6, 1965. 63. Dallas Morning News, March 5, 1965.

Housing

64. Dallas Morning News, Jan. 14, 1966. 65. Houston Post, March 15, 1963. 66. Congressional Record—Senate, August 11, 1965, p. 19,264. 67. Dallas Times Herald, March 3, 1965. 68. News release, April, 1963.

Farm Policy

69. **A Program for Conservatives**, p. 143-4. 70. Obs., Sept. 7, 1962. 71. News release, Sept. 19, 1965.

Education

72. Corpus Christi Caller, Sept. 19, 1965. 73. Dallas Morning News, March 1, 1965. 74. Weekly radio report, Oct. 13, 1963. 75. ADA World, Oct., 1962. 76. Obs., Sept. 17, 1965. 77. ADA World, Nov., 1965. 78. Weekly radio report, Oct. 13, 1963. 79. Ibid. 80. News release, Aug. 6, 1965. 81. Weekly radio report, Feb. 9, 1964.

Conservation

82. News release, Sept. 20, 1965. 83. News release, Oct. 24, 1965. 84. Dallas Morning News, April 4, 1965. 85. Dallas Morning News, July 18, 1965.

Oil

86. Dallas Times Herald, Sept. 22, 1965. 87. Report to the people, July 21, 1963. 88. Report to the people, June 13, 1964.

Tower, Goldwater, and the JBS

89. Dallas Times Herald, Oct. 20, 1963. 90. San Antonio Express-News, Nov. 6, 1965. 91. Corpus Christi Caller, Nov. 14, 1964. 92. Houston Chronicle, Sept., 1965. 93. Houston Chronicle, Sept. 18, 1965. □

'Convince Them of What They Believe'

Can Texas Labor Help the Poor?

San Antonio

Something new appears to be happening in organized labor in Texas. Texas AFL-CIO President Hank Brown's repeated declarations that the organized workers have a duty to organize those who are poor and divided, even though doing so will cost union money and will require some of the organizing zeal of the thirties, led to a new kind of labor meeting in San Antonio early this month. Here were the assembled brass of Texas labor and representatives of many of the international unions, standing and wildly applauding a Catholic priest who had just told them to get out of town and stay out if they didn't organize the poor into unions.

The internationals are to organized labor what the great national companies are to U.S. business; the state labor offices are to labor what the state manufacturers' associations are to business. Only if the internationals commit their treasure and their men to a labor project can it really have substance. Repeated declarations by Texas AFL-CIO that the poor *mexicano* and Negro workers must be organized could have no effect unless and until the big internationals decided to go to work on that organizing.

Thus it mattered that during a recent labor meeting in San Francisco, representatives of ten internationals met with Brown and listened to his appeal for the commitment and wherewithal to organize the Latin-American workers in San Antonio and in the toes of Texas, the lower Valley. This month's meeting in San Antonio was intended to convince staffers of the internationals who were present to go back to their bosses and sell them on committing the internationals to the project. Brown wants a quarter of a million dollars and at least ten internationals involved in a two-year drive. He said in San Antonio that seven internationals have already said yes, but their names were not given out.

Apart from the fact that the real power in labor lies with the internationals, "organizing the unorganized" in Texas has two other kinds of preliminary difficulties: the union men themselves have lost much of their crusading zeal, so that not many volunteers can be mustered for pioneering in the unorganized fields; and in Texas, the poorest, most underpaid, most numerous unorganized workers are Negroes and Mexican-Americans, which weakens organized labor's zeal for organizing them to whatever extent racial hostilities persist among Texas union men.

Kermit Davison, Huntsville, has been put on Texas AFL-CIO's staff as a public information officer for labor in East Texas. Father of one of the student leaders in the Huntsville civil rights movement, (who Davison says is now in college in Huntsville, giving most of his time to his studies, not to civil rights,) the elder Davison's work now consists of encouraging Negroes to pay their poll taxes. Where, the Observer asked him, would he start, organizing the unorganized workers of East Texas? He said in the woods industry—lumber, pulp wood. The two big companies, he said, are Champion Paper and Fiber Co. and International Paper Co. In addition, he said, there are a number of sawmills; he specified Temple Industries, L&M, Park, Batcher Lumber Co. Wages for the thousands of workers, many of them Negroes, in this industry, Davison said, run as low as 50 or 75 cents an hour, and on the average are perhaps $1.25.

BROWN BEGAN the conference in San Antonio with the fact that the industrial wage average in San Antonio is $79 a week, the lowest of any U.S. city with a quarter million people or more. J. Elro Brown, international oilworkers' staffer, says unorganized workers in the Valley make 50 cents an hour up to $1.90 an hour, top. Only eight out of 100 workers in San Antonio belong to unions, Brown said. Challenging racial discrimination in clear words—as he and his secretary-treasurer, Roy Evans, have done since they took over the Texas AFL-CIO, carrying on the traditions of their immediate predecessors, Jerry Holleman and Fred Schmidt—Brown said any union member who was guilty of racial discrimination would be cast out as "unworthy of membership."

It appeared, from the round of self-introductions that then followed, that representatives of the international unions of the brickworkers, meatcutters, oilworkers, ironworkers, bookbinders, and communications workers were present. In addition, local representatives, any of whom might have been commissioned to represent their internationals at the meeting, were present from the operating engineers, rubber workers, painters, carpenters, pipefitters, electrical workers, cement workers, stone masons, machinists, transit workers, rubber workers, auto workers, retail clerks, brewery workers, federal employees, printers.

Lester Graham, regional director of labor for the state of Texas, said that with three and a half million workers, Texas has fewer than half a million in unions. But he discussed the problem of volunteers for organizing with candor. "We do not have many more volunteer workers, not too many," he allowed. "They don't have time, and they have to make a living. It costs money to organize. But it's just like bread on the water, it comes back in the form of cake." National labor, he said, would provide a coordinator and as much manpower as other duties permitted, if the relevant union authorities agreed.

THE INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT (IUD) of the national AFL-CIO is in effect the old CIO; Walter Reuther is the IUD president. Its national director of organizing is a fiery, pudgy orator named Nick Zonarich, who came out of the mines in Pennsylvania and was formerly president of the aluminum workers. Zonarich had a number of his staffers present in San Antonio, and his message was plain: IUD is ready now to start a drive in Brownsville and didn't need to wait until March (when Brown has another meeting scheduled to receive the final decisions of the internationals and get started in earnest).

The most impressive characteristic of the San Antonio meeting was the way the speakers felt moved to say the truth that the labor movement, (implicitly as compared with the civil rights movement,) has gone soft. "Many of us have attended many meetings about the organizing of the unorganized," Zonarich said. "It's true of all our conventions—we're talking and passing resolutions and it seems we get very little action out of it." But IUD has been doing the work for "the past couple of years now," and is in "the business of organizing the unorganized," he said. (Elections have

been going labor's way in Texas the past couple of months; the day before, Steve Williams, IUD's coordinator in Texas, had won an election involving 500 workers at the Dallas Automotive Parts Shop, Zonarich said.)

"Texas needs a strong and powerful labor movement," he said. "You can only get your rights with a labor union. They employ you for whatever they can hire you for, except for minimum wage standards. Another reason is a great gentleman that comes from the State of Texas."

Texas, Zonarich said, is "a barefoot economy" from El Paso to Brownsville, and IUD is prepared to go into "the Brownsville area" with money and manpower, calling on all the local unions there now to help. "The climate is ripe now to hit this area of organizing Texas," Zonarich said. "If the President announced to the world that his Administration has declared war on poverty, I don't know of a better place for the labor unions to start than Texas."

The internationals, Zonarich said, "have the dough. Don't be mistaken—there's *money* in the labor movement. All we need to do is convince them of what they *believe.*"

The voice of the next speaker, Gerald Brown, executive secretary of the State Building Trades Council and spokesman for the counterpart national council, came from a network of concerns quite different from Zonarich's.

The United Mineworkers, who are not members of national AFL-CIO, are raiding the construction trades in the area along the coast from Beaumont-Port Arthur to Corpus Christi. "We got news from 'em —we're gonna out-organize 'em," Brown said. He said the mineworkers "like to ruin us all" in Oakland, Cal., and Baton Rouge, La. "They're trying to price us out of business, is what it amounts to," he said. "They are not excluding anyone. They're hittin' everyplace, raidin' everyone."

Gerald Brown gave the example of the construction of a hospital in the costal area. The standard building trades had a contract for the job. "District No. 50," the mineworkers, wrote the contractor, saying that while the building trades would use six journeymen plumbers and six apprentices, the mineworkers would use one journeyman and six apprentices and save them 60% on their labor costs; "which," Brown said, "—they were right, and they woulda done it." Brown said in effect the mineworkers give the contractors whatever contract terms they want, as long as the mineworkers get the work and the members. The mineworkers' pay scales on construction work vary from $1 to $3 an hour, Brown said. Texas AFL-CIO is backing up the established building trades.

In open discussion, before the "buzz sessions" that were closed to the two reporters present, (one from the San Antonio Express, the other the Observer,) Elro Brown of the oilworkers asked Zonarich what had happened to an idea that the initial union dues for the unorganized poor be very low. Zonarich said that couldn't be settled for all the internationals at once; that each would have to make its own decisions on it. This led to informed speculation later that George Meany or those close to him may have nixed the idea.

How much money would be involved? Zonarich said if ten internationals took part, the cost might be $100,000, $10,000 for each international on the average, and this could be kicked in with organizers, figured at the rate of $1,200 per man per month, or in cash. There would be an area coordinating committee, with the target companies selected in advance. Brown said a coordinating drive in San Antonio alone, not counting manpower, would cost $10,000.

Zonarich said of the mineworkers' organizing in the crafts on the Gulf Coast, "believe me, the only reason District 50 has been raiding is because we haven't been working at it." With coordination, he said, the mineworkers might be told, "You take some plants and we'll take some."

Brown said Texas AFL-CIO's resolution to set up a broad-based organizing drive on its own if the internationals won't do it has caused displeasure in national labor, with some talk even of putting Texas AFL-CIO "in trusteeship," but he meant it anyway. "We've got to organize this town come hell or high water," he said. "I'm gonna scream and holler and lie and cheat until we get this town organized!"* The president of the San Antonio labor council backed him up, noting that the industrial wage in San Antonio is $42 a week lower than that in Houston.

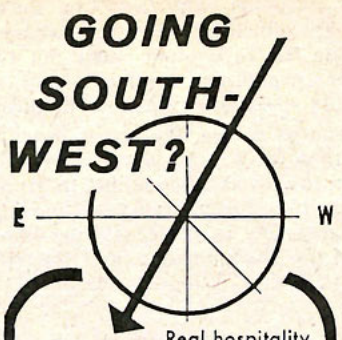
THE LAST SPEAKER was also the roughest — Father Sherrill Smith, director of the social action department of the Catholic diocese of San Antonio.

"Labor this part of the country ought to put up or shut up," he said. "If you don't I don't want to see you back in this place. I dont want to see you around any more, I don't want to pray for you any more—I'm too busy praying for the slaves around here.

"If you can't do the job—if you can't work our your jurisdictional difficulties, then you haven't achieved the point of maturity—if you can't do it. then in a way you're a failure. You have your own little group, you're fat, and you don't give a damn about the others."

He had earned his credentials on many picket lines, Father Smith said; he had been to the labor conventions and heard the oratory. "The chips are down as far as I'm concerned, in San Antonio and the

*This statement was quoted in the San Antonio Express after the quote, "We've got to organize this town come hell or high water." In a letter to several newspapers and TV stations, Brown said, "The use of this quotation out of context . . . is misleading and designed to smear Texas AFL-CIO in its efforts to organize. I do not refute the statement. However, in fairness the full text should have been quoted." Brown asked that his statement be presented "in full and in its proper sequence, which will put an entirely different view on the matter." The full text, Brown said, was: "If necessary, I'm gonna scream and holler and lie and cheat until we get this town organized. For these are the tactics being used by the cheap wage employers of San Antonio and South Texas to deprive the workers of their fair share of productivity. Make no mistake, this will be a hard and arduous task—and expensive. We must fight fire with fire. It can and must be done by the AFL-CIO."



Real hospitality and comfort awaits you at an Alsonett Hotel or Motel. Family and commercial rates.

TEXAS

Denison
Dennison Hotel
117 S. Burnett Ave.

Lubbock
Caprock Hotel
Main & Texas St.

Paris
Nicholson Hotel
750 Bonham Street

Port Arthur
Goodhue Hotel
549 5th St.
Sabine Hotel
600 Procter

Texarkana
Grim Hotel
3rd St. & State Line Ave

Waco
Raleigh Hotel
Eight & Austin Ave.

OKLAHOMA

Ada
Hotel Aldrigde

McAlester
Hotel Aldridge

Shawnee
Hotel Aldridge

KANSAS

Topeka
Jayhawk Hotel
700 Jackson St.
Jayhawk Highway Hotel
U.S. Hwys. 24 & 75

LOUISIANA

Lake Charles
Hotel Charleston
900 Ryan St.

Shreveport
Hotel Washington Youree
401 Edwards

For additional information and rates write or call:

ALSONETT HOTELS/MOTELS
9 East Huron Street
Chicago, Illinois
Tele: (312) SU 7-3933

Valley. I wonder why only ten internationals are aimed at—why not twenty? If this thing has to be done—why not twenty?" Send organizers, some of whom could and would speak some Spanish, he pleaded.

He wanted to see, the priest concluded, "if all these hi-falutin' words here will be turned into *actions*." Something in his manner—insulting, furious, heedless, and slightly profane—got to these salaried bureaucrats of the working men, and they stood up and applauded with passion; were they younger they'd have cheered.

One of them turned to a reporter and said, "Those are words, too."

But since then, the words have begun to become action. The IUD has begun interviewing in the lower Valley for the hiring of ten organizers from among Valley people, Evans told the Observer. Hank Brown has announced that Steve Williams will direct expanded IUD operations in South Texas beginning March 1, and Lester Graham will head the San Antonio drive. And this time the additional words from Brown —that "Far too long, we have talked of organizing South Texas. The time for action is at hand. Labor must meet its responsibility and raise the standards of one-half million poverty stricken workers in Texas" —had the quieter sound that words have sometimes.

R.D.

From the AFL-CIO

The Legislators' Report Cards

Austin

Rural east and west Texas and—for a surprise — Central Texas are represented by the most conservative Texas legislators, while Houston and the Gulf Coast, along with South Texas, are sending the most liberal legislators to Austin, an Observer analysis of organized labor's voting evaluation shows.

By labor's standards, only one out of five Texas legislators voted "right" two-thirds of the time or more in 1965, while nearly half of them voted "wrong" two-thirds of the time or more.

Just two senators turned up "right" three-fourths of the time or more, Franklin Spears of San Antonio, a candidate for attorney general this year, and A. R. (Babe) Schwartz of Galveston. Spears had a 7-right, 1-wrong record, Schwartz 10-2. Sens. Abraham Kazen, Laredo, a candidate for Congress this year, and Roy Harrington, Port Arthur, both rated 8-4 right with labor. Eleven senators were wrong at least two-thirds of the time, labor said—notably including Galloway Calhoun of Tyler, also an attorney general candidate, who had 9 wrong, 3 right.

Three state representatives (and no senators) voted perfectly by labor's selected voting tests—John Alaniz of San Antonio, a candidate for Bexar County commissioner, J. Ed Harris of Galveston, and Ronald Roberts, formerly of Hillsboro, all 18-0. Only one senator, and no representatives, got a goose-egg in the "right" column—Sen. H. J. (Doc) Blanchard of Lubbock, who had an 11 wrong, 0 right record.

The labor evaluation did not total up the record for each of the 180 voting legislators—that was left to the reader to do. The Observer figures that the chart shows two senators and 20 representatives voting right three-fourths or more, another two senators and 13 representatives right between two-thirds and three-fourths of the time, for an overall of 37, or 21% of the legislature.

Seven senators and 50 representatives were wrong, labor said, three-fourths or more; another four senators and 21 representatives were wrong between two-thirds and three-fourths of the time, for an overall wrong, two-thirds or more, of 83 of the 180 voting legislators, or 46%.

USING AS A STANDARD the number of legislators from an area who voted right or wrong two-thirds of the time or more by labor's evaluations, here is how the various geographical areas of Texas fared:

East Texas, 20 voting wrong two-thirds of the time or more, four voting right two-thirds of the time or more; North Texas, 10 wrong, 3 right; South Texas, 13 right, 8 wrong; West Texas, 29 wrong, 2 right; Houston-Gulf Coast, 13 right, 2 wrong; Central Texas, a traditionally brass-collar Democratic area, 16 wrong, 2 right.

Here, in light of pending political possibilities this year, are some engrossing voting evaluations, according to the values of organized labor in Texas:

Sen. Martin Dies, Lufkin, a likely candidate for Congress, right 5 times, wrong 7.

Rep. Bill Hollowell, Grand Saline, a possible gubernatorial candidate, right, 10-8. Rep. Reed Quilliam, Lubbock, another possible entry for governor, wrong, 9-8.

Rep. Paul Haring, Goliad, a candidate for the Railroad Commission, right, 14-2.

Senators paired off against each other by redistricting, Neveille Colson, Navasota, wrong, 7-4, and Bill Moore, Bryan, half and half, 5-5; Culp Krueger, El Campo, wrong 6-5, and William (Bill) Patman, Ganado, half and half, 6-6; Dorsey Hardeman, San Angelo, wrong 9-2, and Pete Snelson, Midland, wrong 7-4; Jack Hightower, Vernon, wrong 8-3, and Andy Rogers, Childress, half and half, 6-6; Louis Crump, San Saba, wrong 8-3, and J. P. Word, Meridian, wrong 10-2.

Rep. Wayne Connally, Floresville, the governor's brother and announced candidate for the State Senate, wrong, 11-2.

Rep. Bob Eckhardt, possible candidate for Congress in Houston, right 14-4.

The legislature's only Republican, Frank Cahoon of Midland, had a moderately conservative voting record, 11 wrong, 7 right, labor said. U.S. Senator Ralph Yarborough's new administrative assistant, former Rep. Dick Cherry of Waco, voted right 16 times, wrong only twice, on labor's scoring. Sen. Ralph Hall of Rockwall, in the late House Speaker Sam Rayburn's district, voted wrong, 8-2, labor said.

The meaning of these evaluations depends, for each reader, on his or her attitudes on the 20 test votes labor selected and on the ways labor thought legislators should vote. Eight of the 20 test votes concerned wages, job safety, and other subjects of particular concern to workers.

Here are the ways legislators had to vote to be classified right, issue by issue, on labor's evaluation of the 1965 legislature:

For giving women equal legal status with men, repealing the poll tax, limiting installment loan charges to 10% annually, lowering the now-legal charges on small loans, prohibiting the importation of professional strikebreakers across the state line, letting newly unionized city transit workers retain their bargaining rights, requiring certain vehicles to stop at railroad grade crossings on farm-to-market roads, allowing cities of more than 10,000 to withhold union dues from employees, and exempting the aged from half of local property taxes on the first $3,000 of their homesteads;

Against the congressional redistricting bill that passed, four-year terms for governors and other statewide officials, a 39-member Senate, allowing longer trucks and the combination of trailers on the highways, letting banks and savings and loan associations get 17.5% interest instead of the present 10% limit, authorizing cities to levy city sales taxes, making the drawing of unemployment compensation more difficult, memorializing Congress to retain 14-B of Taft-Hartley, commending Gov. John Connally for opposing a required $1.25 an hour wage rate in the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and

For permanent registration of voters, as against the annual registration system; for the labor-backed job safety bill, and against the Texas Manufacturers' Assn. substitute that barely passed the House, then died.

Texas labor's purpose in evaluating Texas legislators as right or wrong is, of course, to help the ones it thinks right, to beat the ones it thinks wrong. The AFL-CIO's evaluation of the 1965 legislators said:

"Generally, the action of the 1965 Texas legislature was self-serving for the politicians who dominate the present government of this state. The voters disposed of three of the self-serving products of the Texas legislature in the

constitutional amendment election of 1965. Perhaps many of the 'wrong'-voting legislators will be disposed of in 1966."

Here, area by area, with the "right" vote total given first, the "wrong," second, and with the senators' names and records in black type, are labor's evaluations of the 1965 legislature by area:

East Texas

A. M. Aikin, Paris, 4-8; Bob Bass, DeKalb, 9-8; E. M. Edwards, Pattonville, 3-15; Nelson Cowles, Hallsville, 3-14; James L. Slider, Naples, 3-14; Neal Solomon, Mt. Vernon, 2-15; **Jack Strong, Longview, 7-4; Galloway Calhoun, Jr., Tyler, 3-9;** John Allen, Longview, 5-12; George Hinson, Mineola, 8-9; Bill Hollowell, Grand Saline, 10-8; Guy McDonald, Henderson, 5-12; John Mobley, Kilgore, 2-15; Billy Williamson, Tyler, 3-15;

Martin Dies, Lufkin, 5-7; Steve Burgess, Nacogdoches, 3-15; Emmett Lack, Kountze, 15-2; J. E. Miller, Jr., Burkeville, 12-4; Rayford Price, Frankston, 5-13; **Neveille Colson, Navasota, 4-7; William Moore, Bryan, 5-5;** David Crews, Conroe, 3-12; David Haines, Bryan, 5-12; Cameron Hightower, Liberty, 10-7; Charles Jungmichael, La Grange, 3-15; George Richards, Huntsville, 3-14; Charles Wilson, Trinity, 12-4; **Ralph Hall, Rockwall, 2-8;** Vernon Beckham, Denison, 7-9; James Cole, Greenville, 6-12; W. T. Dungan, McKinney, 4-13; Don Hefton, Sherman, 3-15; Alonzo Jamison, Denton, 9-8; Jim Markgraf, Scurry, 13-5.

North Texas

DALLAS: **George Parkhouse, 2-10;** Ben Atwell, 5-13; Cooper Blankenship, 8-8; John Field, 7-10; David Ivy, 8-10; Ben Lewis, 11-7; Dick McKissack, 4-13; James Stroud, 12-5; Jim Wade, 4-9; John Wright, 4-10;

FORT WORTH: **Don Kennard, 6-6;** Dave Finney, 12-5; Howard Green, 15-2; Jack McLaughlin, 7-7; George "Skeet" Richardson, 14-3; Joe Shannon, Jr., 6-12; Tommy Shannon, 8-9; W. C. Sherman, 5-9.

Tom Creighton, Mineral Wells, 2-10; Jack Crain, Nocona, 1-13; Wayne Gibbens, Breckenridge, 1-15.

South Texas

SAN ANTONIO: **Franklin Spears, 7-1;** John Alaniz, 18-0; Joe Bernal, 16-2; V. E. (Red) Berry, 12-4; Jake Johnson, 14-4; Glenn. Kothmann, 15-3; Tom Lee, 17-1; R. L. Vale, 17-1;

CORPUS CHRISTI: **Bruce Reagan, 5-7;** Tony Bonilla, 11-7; DeWitt Hale, 13-5; James Klager, 6-11; Travis Peeler, 13-5;

Culp Krueger, El Campo, 5-6; William (Bill) Patman, Ganado, 6-6; Walter Richter, Gonzales, (resigned,) 5-6; Otha Birkner, Van Vleck, 7-11; Dick Cory, Victoria, 5-13; Lloyd Guffey, El Campo, 11-7; Gus Mutscher, Brenham, 3-11; J. T. Newman, Cuero, 3-15; John Traeger, Seguin, 2-14; Leroy Wieting, Portland, 7-9;

Bill Rapp, Raymondville, 8-8; **Abraham Kazen, Laredo, 8-4;** Amando Canales, San Diego, 8-7; Wayne Connally, Floresville, 2-11; Paul Haring, Goliad, 14-2; Honore Ligarde, 7-10; **Jim Bates, Edinburg, 5-6;** A. C. Atwood, Edinburg, 1-16; Raul Longoria, Pharr, 10-7; Felix McDonold, Edinburg, 3-12; Gregory Montoya, Elsa, 11-4; J. Menton Murray, Harlingen, 5-9; Maurice Pipkin, Brownsville, 5-11.

West Texas

EL PASO: John E. Blaine, 4-13; Maud Isaacks (retiring,) 11-4; Dudley R. Mann, Jr., 5-9; Raul Muniz, 10-4; Ralph Scoggins, 3-12;

David Ratliff, Stamford, 1-10; Roy Arledge, Stamford, 16-2; Raleigh Brown, Abilene, 1-17; Temple Dickson, Sweetwater, 5-13; Grant Jones, Abilene, 3-13; Renal Rosson, Snyder, 5-12; **Dorsey Hardeman, San Angelo, 2-9; Pete Snelson, Midland, 4-7;** Frank Cahoon, Midland, 7-11; Forrest Harding, San Angelo, 3-12; Gene Hendryx, Alpine, 5-13; D. C. Howard, Uvalde, 4-14; Ace Pickens, Odessa, 5-13; Richard Slack, Pecos, 5-11; Roger Thurmond, Del Rio, 4-14;

H. J. Doc Blanchard, Lubbock, 0-11; Jesse T. George, Brownfield, 7-11; Delwin Jones, Lubbock, 3-14; Bill Parsley, Lubbock, 5-13; R. G. Randy Pendleton, Andrews, 4-14; Reed Quilliam, Lubbock, 8-9; **Jack Hightower, Vernon,** 3-8; **Andy Rogers, Childress, 6-6;** Bill Clayton, Springlake, 2-13; Maurice Doke, Wichita Falls, 1-12; W. S. (Bill) Heatly, Paducah, 2-11; Vernon Stewart, Wichita Falls, 6-8; Ralph Wayne, Plainview, 1-16; **Grady Hazlewood, Amarillo, 3-8;** A. C. Hallmark, Dalhart, 3-14; Grainger McIlhany, Wheeler, 10-8; Walter Knapp, Amarillo, 1-14; Hudson Moyer, Amarillo, 3-11; J. M. "Red" Simpson, Amarillo, 2-15; Fritz Thompson, Borger, 2-15.

Houston-Gulf Coast

HOUSTON: **Criss Cole, 7-4;** Tom Bass, 11-7; Chet Brooks, 12-6; F. Lee Duggan Jr., 8-10; Bob Eckhardt, 14-4; Paul Floyd, 8-10; Don Garrison, 8-10; Henry Grover, 8-10; John Ray Harrison, 13-5; J. E. (Jake) Johnson, 13-5; W. H. Miller, 6-12; Willis J. Whatley, 5-12; Charles Whitfield, 10-5.

D. Roy Harrington, Port Arthur, 8-4; Carl Parker, Port Arthur, 12-4; J. D. Weldon, Port Arthur, 10-2; Clyde Haynes, Vidor, 15-2; Rufus Kilpatrick, Beaumont, 12-6; Will Smith, Beaumont, 11-6; **A. R. Schwartz, Galveston, 10-2;** J. Ed Harris, Galveston, 18-0; Neil Caldwell, Alvin, 13-5; Josh Gates, Richmond, 7-9; Dean Nugent, Texas City, 7-11.

Central Texas

AUSTIN: **Charles F. Herring, 6-6;** Bob Armstrong, 6-12; Pat Cain, 3-15; Don Cavness, 3-15; Wilson Foreman, 8-9.

Gene Fondren, Taylor, 4-14; Henry Fletcher, Luling, 7-10; **Murray Watson, Mart, 5-6;** Dick Cherry, Waco, 16-2; George Cowden, Waco, 5-12; Jack Woods, Waco, 5-13; Jack Hawkins, Groesbeck, 6-11; Glenn Johnson, Temple, 4-14; Charles A. Wheeler, Jr., Temple, 6-11; Milton Schiller, Cameron, 4-14;

Louis Crump, San Saba, 3-8; J. P. Word, Meridian, 2-10; Tom Holmes, Granbury, 4-14; Travis V. McClinton, Oglesby, 3-14; James Nugent, Kerrville, 3-13; Ronald Roberts, Hillsboro, 18-0; W. T. (Bill) Satterwhite, Ennis, 2-16; Terry Townsend, Brady, 2-14; J. E. Ward, Glen Rose, 5-13. R.D.

Political Intelligence

Texas Politics in a Stew

✔ Don Yarborough of Houston is thinking about running for governor a third time.

✔ A poll labor has taken shows that among people most likely to vote in the Democratic primary this spring, Don Yarborough has a 43% favorable image, and 71% are aware of him. For Jim Wright, the image is 40% favorable, and 59% know of him. Thus Don Yarborough was shown as better off with Democratic votes than Wright. Gov. John Connally had, among these likely voters in the Democratic primary, a 91% favorable rating and 100% awareness—formidable, indeed. One analyst of this poll has concluded that Don Yarborough could defeat Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, who has a 45% favorable rating and is known by 64%.

✔ Smith, hoping to slide quietly past Feb. 7 without an opponent, still answered a few questions put to him by the Jacksonville Daily Progress: On the defeat of a 39-member Senate, Smith said, "I don't think the people knew what they were voting on," as 55 rural counties voted against the proposition. On four-year terms for statewide officials, he favored it, but thought the number of terms should be limited. On the war on poverty, "There is a lot of the poverty program that I've never particularly subscribed to."

✔ Rep. Bill Hollowell, Grand Saline, will hold a press conference Jan. 28 at which he might announce for governor or for some other office. To the Dallas News Hollowell said he is conservative "except in affairs affecting the indigent elderly people."

✔ Stanley Woods, the anti-majors independent oilman in Houston, is talking about opposing Connally. Thrice-married, Bible-packing Grandmother Johnnie Mae Hackworthe of Brenham isn't just talking, she's filed and paid her $1,000 filing fee. She got 11,000 votes for governor in 1964, and "This time I'm going to win," AP quoted her.

The U.S. Senate Seat

✔ Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr, delighted that Cong. Jim Wright, Fort Worth, won't oppose him for the U.S. Senate, (see related item,) referred to Wright as "Jim" and "a very effective congressman" whose decision strengthened the Texas Democrats.

✔ Roy Evans, Texas AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, said "the Connally estab-

FUN TO READ!

The IDLER is a lively, individualistic liberal monthly that entertains as it informs. Warm humor and cold facts mixed into a pleasant, personal and personable journalistic pot.

Send $3.00 today for a year's subscription. Money back if not satisfied.

Discover THE IDLER and you will have made a new friend.

THE IDLER
125 Fifth St., N.E.
Washington 2, D.C.

Please send me a one year's subscription to THE IDLER. Enclosed is $3.00.

Name .....

Address .....

..... Zip .....

lishment . . . put pressure on Jim to stay out of the race. Jim could have financed a Senate campaign and he had the ability to win, but it appears that the Connally crowd wants to have an unopposed ticket in the Democratic primary." Evans said he thinks, faced with a Tower-Carr choice, most union men would scratch both.

✔ Albert Pena, Bexar county commissioner and PASO leader, said Hank Brown, the state labor president, should run. Brown said he's made no decision. "I have said I may someday take a fling at politics," he allowed, but "If some other good person should announce I would not consider it." He would "as soon have Sen. John Tower as a Democrat who votes like Tower. At least Tower is honest. I am sick and tired of politicians who say they are Democrats and then go to Washington and gut the President's program," Brown added. Evans said the chances of Brown running are "very remote," although he'd be a good candidate and senator.

✔ National columnists Evans and Novak said the President is grieving over the U.S. Senate situation in Texas, but since "intervention in behalf of Wright would sever his last ties with the Connally camp, while failing to win over the liberals," the President is limited to being a spectator.

✔ Roy Evans of labor suggested that if Sen. Franklin Spears, San Antonio, is knocked out of the attorney general's race, he might run for the U.S. Senate. Spears said he isn't interested in the U.S. Senate race (but of course he might have to maintain this position as long as he was a candidate for attorney general in any case). Roy Evans said Don Yarborough, too, might run for the U.S. Senate.

✔ By the time this Observer is delivered, Sens. Spears and Galloway Calhoun, Jr., of Tyler will have had their hearings on their lawsuits to force State Democratic Chairman Will Davis to accept their filing fees as candidates for attorney general. In light of a constitutional provision against a legislator running for an office that was created or expanded during the legislator's term of office, the question is whether the two senators' terms end election day or swearing-in day. If the latter, they might be held ineligible. . . . The Fourth Court of Civil Appeals ruled that Rep. Glenn Kothmann can run for district clerk, even though that job's salary was raised when he was in the legislature, because his term expires election day this year, not swearing-in day, Jan. 1, 1967. The state Constitution specifies that representatives' terms end on election day, but is silent on when senators' terms end. Calhoun argues this was an oversight.

✔ Mike Quinn of the Washington bureau of the Dallas News says information is being sought about presidential press secretary Bill Moyers' running for governor of Texas in 1968. Quinn's story intimates that Moyers might run for the Senate this time but for Carr's candidacy, the crossing of which would run counter to Connally's wishes. Last week Moyers denied plans to quit as press secretary.

✔ Land Cmsr. Jerry Sadler and Agriculture Cmsr. John White announced for new terms. So did Jesse James.

✔ Rep. Paul Haring's repeated assaults on Railroad Cmsr. Byron Tunnell's acceptance of a gift Cadillac are receiving what cannot be described other than as terrific play in local papers, considering the severe underdog Haring is. Tunnell's well-oiled backers doubtless have perceived this fact and will get to work soon. Haring's charges have been so harsh, some papers have hesitated to run them in full.

✔ Tunnell will give a luncheon address, and Gov. Connally will give the principal evening address, in Midland March 15 at what the San Angelo Standard-Times calls "an Appreciation Day" for major oil companies. ("Appreciation Day Slated for Big Oil Companies," the paper's headline said.) Tom Sealy, statewide co-chairman of the committee that lobbied through the Texas retail sales tax, is chairman of the Midland citizens' committee planning the event. Honored guests will include board chairman and presidents of major oil companies and other top officials of the industry. . . . Tunnell spoke before the West Texas chamber of commerce in El Paso last week about the situation in the oil industry.

Pool to Get Free Ride?

✔ Cong.-at-large Joe Pool has announced for Congress from the western district of Dallas, and prospective liberal opposition to him has evaporated. Asst. U.S. Atty. Barefoot Sanders reportedly has decided against running, and ex-city councilwoman Elizabeth Blessing has announced she will not run. The likelihood of any other Democrat of moderate or liberal kind filing against Pool is not considered strong, indicating a showdown among conservatives in November as between Pool and Republican Jim Collins, an insurance man. . . . Pool told the Dallas Jaycees he will introduce a bill to make it a criminal offense to lie down in front of troop trains, burn draft cards, or send blood to the Viet Cong.

✔ Over on the eastern side of Dallas Cong. Earle Cabell has announced for another term; actress Greer Garson declined the GOP's offer to try booking her for a two-year run in the U.S. House. . . . Cong. Graham Purcell, Wichita Falls, whose new district runs into Dallas, apparently

AMERICAN INCOME

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

OF INDIANA

Underwriters of the American Income Labor

Disability Policy

Executive Offices:

P.O. Box 208

Waco, Texas

Bernard Rapoport, President

will not be opposed by telephone lawyer Ed Gossett.

✔ In Houston, Cong. Albert Thomas, of the eastern district, is reported in and out of the hospital, his illness very serious; he missed many crucial votes in the 1965 Congress. He may or may not run again; reports are numerous that Mrs. Thomas may become his successor in Congress. Rep. Bob Eckhardt, who will seek Thomas' seat if a vacancy develops, would not be deterred by Mrs. Thomas' candidacy. Cty. Cmsr. V. V. Ramsey, another possible candidate if a vacancy developed, has said he would not run against Mrs. Thomas.

✔ Republican George Bush has announced for Congress from the west side of Harris County; he might have to fight for the GOP nomination with Ross Baker, once a legislative candidate. For the Democratic nomination in this district, three contenders appear: Frank Briscoe, who has resigned as district attorney and is the Tory Democrats' choice; David VanOrsdale, a senior budget accountant for Jefferson Chemical and a conservative Democrat whose platform includes "a gold moratorium law"; and John Wildenthal, former city attorney whose support of Sen. Ralph Yarborough in past campaigns has interested liberal Democrats.

✔ Briscoe was honoree at a $10 dinner attended by 760 persons. He was given a new station wagon; the man making the presentation said this vehicle was being given to Briscoe by "2,000 or so friends."

✔ From different sources the Observer received reports of "a deal" between Sen. Chick Kazen, Laredo, and Gov. John Connally. Kazen would run for Congress in the new South Texas district; Rep. Wayne Connally, Floresville, would not run for this job, but would run for a State Senate seat. In return for deferring to Kazen, Wayne would get the support of the Old Party in Laredo for the Senate. Kazen has announced for Congress; Wayne Connally for the State Senate. (Rep. Honore Ligarde, Laredo, a possible for the same State Senate seat, is president of a newly-chartered bank and has therefore announced for re-election to the House.) Ted Butler, former Karnes County judge, a moderate liberal, and now a U.S. attorney out of the San Antonio office, has been giving serious thought to running for Congress against Kazen. A San Antonio Democrat, van lines operator Randolph Sherwood, who tried to unseat Cty. Cmsr. Albert Pena but didn't make the runoff, has also filed for the new South Texas congressional seat, proclaiming, "I'm prepared to spend a fantastic amount of money. Kazen will earn every vote he gets." Pena has been urged to run, too. Labor leans toward Kazen as of now.

✔ Announcing in full-page ads that he'll oppose Cong. John Dowdy, Athens, (who has announced for re-election,) State Sen. Martin Dies, Jr., Lufkin, referred four times to his father's service in the Congress; said, "My [legal] practice consists

(Continued on Next Page)

Jim Wright

'THINK ABOUT IT'

Fort Worth

Cong. Jim Wright's decision not to run for the U.S. Senate on grounds that he had not been able to raise enough money—he said more than half a milion dollars would be required for the race—suggests a rereading of his December telecast in which he explained the framework of his problem.

"It takes a truly enormous amount of money to run for senator in Texas," he said, and this puts a premium "not so much on understanding or ability as on money. It can just almost be said that high elective office is up for sale to the highest bidder in the larger and more populous states of our union . . .

"Just one first class letter to every family in Texas would cost—in production and postage—approximately $300,000 . . . One



of the great big billboards—just one in one of our big Texas cities—with no more than a touched-up picture and a slick slogan—costs $550 a month . . . [T]his broadcast tonight is costing me a little over $10,000—and it's being carried on just 18 of our state's 50 stations. Maybe one-tenth of the people of Texas are listening.

"But do you know what the most expensive thing in television is? It's that little 20-second commercial spot that sneaks up on you before you have a chance to turn it off . . . If I were to undertake to buy this same amount of time that we've been talking tonight [half an hour—Ed.] . . . but buy it instead in 20-second spots; instead of costing me $10,000, it would cost me approximately $400,000 for the same total amount of time. Think of that the next time you see a quicky political spot . . .

"One announced candidate for this U.S. Senate seat has been telling his financial backers that he is raising a political campaign fund of $1,300,000." (The only announced candidate, Waggoner Carr, said he wasn't.) ". . . the practice . . . has grown to be a thoroughly cynical thing . . .

"Think about it: a million dollars!" Wright continued. "That money hasn't been coming at the rate of $10 apiece from each of 100,000 average Texans . . . It doesn't even characteristically come in denominations of $100 from each of 10,000 Texans. The great bulk of a typical successful statewide campaign fund is made up of individual donations from $1,000 to $10,000—from a very limited number of people. That's the truth of the matter . . .

"Across this broad land of ours, candidates for high elective office are discovering that the first thing they must do is . . . to talk privately with certain people about why their election would best serve the narrow economy interests of those particular people . . . [T]he base of the real power structure which pays the piper and calls the tune is entirely too narrow for a really healthy democracy . . . I will never be your senator if it means soliciting or accepting campaign donations from the vested interests or pressure groups which expect thereby to purchase a prior claim upon the senator for preferential services."

Wright asked 25,000 people to send him $10. On Jan. 8, he said he would not run for the Senate. Response had been good, he said, but not good enough. Slightly fewer than 7,000 people had responded, contributing or pledging $48,828.50 (slightly less than $7 per person). Half the money came from his home area, north and central Texas, he said; he heard nothing from 87 counties. To run, to get enough of a hearing, he said, he would have to beg the public for money in successive telecasts or "meet privately with affluent individuals and organized groups," and he would not do either; he would not run, and he was returning the $48,828.50 to those who sent it.

At the recent Texas Republican Executive Committee meeting in Austin, Albert Fay, member of the national GOP committee for Texas, said Tower's re-election campaign would entail "vast sums of money." In a closed-door session, Jon Ford reported in the San Antonio Express, the GOP leaders budgeted over $600,000 for it.

In his state of the union address, the President said he would submit legislation "to revise the present unrealistic restrictions on contributions," (a phrase he did not amplify,) to bring committees within the law and levy severe penalties for failure to report contributions, and to give tax incentives to stimulate small contributions. Wright in effect said—good. □

of representing the rank and file of our people, and I am not on anyone's payroll"; argued that after 14 years in Congress, Dowdy isn't owed anything by the people, since "No one deserves any credit for doing his duty"; and said, "As your congressman, I shall devote myself to the solution of national problems such as inflation, deficit financing, unbalanced budgets, depreciating currency, unemployment and lack of job opportunities for all of our people willing and able to work, and an end to continuing wars which decimate our youth and exhaust our natural resources."

Dies told the Dallas News he guesses he's "an independent moderate." Archer Fullingim of the Kountze News, who is usually for liberals, announced he's against Dies even if this means being for ultraconservative Dowdy because Dies has never done anything for Hardin County, in which Kountze is.

Legislative Developments

✔ Ex-Rep. Horace Houston, a Republican, announced for the State Senate in the district represented by tory Democrat George Parkhouse in Dallas. Ex-Rep. Ike Harris may oppose Houston in the GOP primary. A retired Shell Chemical plant manager, Glenn Purcell, also Republican, is seeking a Senate seat in Dallas. Oscar Mauzy, attorney in Mullinax, Wells, Morris, and Mauzy, announced as expected against Rep. David Ivy, conservative, for another Dallas Senate seat.

✔ Ex-Rep. Clyde Miller may jump into the Senate primary between Barbara Jordan, Negro, and Rep. Charles Whitfield in the 40% Negro Senate district in Houston. Rep. Don Garrison is running for the Senate from another Houston district (Rep. W. C. Miller is expected to oppose him.)

✔ Labor's efforts to cajole ex-Rep. Malcolm McGregor, El Paso, who lost a congressional bid, to run for the new Senate seat from El Paso had met with failure as of our last report.

✔ Senators Watson, Herring, Ratliff, and Crump have announced for re-election. . . . Rep. Joe Bernal, running for a San Antonio Senate seat, had a $10 appreciation dinner.

✔ Curtis M. Graves, a savings and loan company official and Negro, is running or the House of Representatives from Houston's eighth congressional district. In Dallas, Frank Clarke, the Negro football player advanced by tory Democrats as their Negro candidate, said he didn't know who advanced him; he might run or might not. The organization of Negro precinct chairmen in Dallas sharply rebuked the Democratic Party for the fact that they, the Negro chairmen, had not even been asked who would be good Negro candidates. "If we are qualified to turn out the votes for the party we should be capable of deciding on our choice of candidates," they said in a statement. They indicated they favor attorney Louis A. Bedford, a Negro, running for office.

✔ Dave Allred, son of the late Gov. James Allred, is running for the legislature from Wichita County. He's a reporter, 32. . . . Rep. Howard Green, Fort Worth, is running for county judge. Ex-Rep. Don Gladden will seek Green's seat. . . . Charles Scoggins, ex-representative and Republican, is running again from Corpus Christi.

✔ Rep. Terry Townsend of Brady, who had a 14-2 "wrong" voting record on labor's chart last session and who sponsored the trucking industry's most-desired (and obtained) legislation authorizing an increase of the length of trucks on Texas highways from 50 to 65 feet and the use of double-bottom three-unit truck and trailer combinations, has been hired by the Texas Motor Transportation Assn. as a lobbyist. He will not resign the legislature; his legislative pay ($400 a month) runs out Jan. 1, 1967, at which time he is scheduled to replace James Taylor, the chief honcho for the truckers lobby in Austin now.

Dallas News quoted Taylor at a luncheon at which Townsend's appointment was announced, "He has been pretty close to our industry ever since he came to the legislature. He was a member of both the highways and roads committee and the motor traffic committee and became chairman of both committees."

Townsend and Rep. Jim Nugent, Kerrville, were put in the same district by the Barnes redistricting team. In his statement in the San Angelo Standard-Times that Nugent will continue to represent the area's interests, Townsend said, "The opportunity to work with the Texas Motor Transportation Assn. is such that I could not, in good conscience, turn it down."

Caldwell Joins Labor

✔ Apologizing to the reporters from big dailies for the quality of the Federal Building coffee ("We don't want to federalize you. We ordered some from a hotel."), the senior senator said no, he wouldn't run against Connally, knew of no Democrat who would and, in any case, would not leave Washington this year to campaign for anyone. What about his own plans for 1968? "I don't worry about three years off," Ralph Yarborough told the cameras. "Texas may break out of the shell . . ." He talked about the Republicans on the State Democratic Executive Committee and suggested that a Democratic Democratic Executive Committee is an achievable hope if precinct-level politicking starts now. His prepared statement was a catalogue of grievances against the governor, ranging from Connally's poverty vetoes to his record in education. "A presidential commission has recommended 14 years of free education—through the junior college level. Why, last year we had a governor's commission here recommending that we double the tuition." The senator said education

PROFESSORS

Groups of students of ten or more may subscribe to the Observer for $2 each for the entire spring semester, provided we may deliver the papers to you in one packet.

Send in your orders.

(Adv.)

Scholz'

Since 1866

The Place in Austin

GOOD FOOD
GOOD BEER

1607 San Jacinto
GR 7-4171

Largest Manufacturer of Political Printing in Texas

FUTURA PRESS INC

Hickory 2-8682 ⇐ Hickory 2-2426

1714 SOUTH CONGRESS AVENUE

P. O. BOX 3485 • AUSTIN, TEXAS

E U R O P E

An unregimented trip stressing individual freedom. Low cost yet covers all the usual plus places other tours miss. Unless the standard tour is a "must" for you, discover this unique tour before you go to Europe.

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Dept. J—Pasadena, California

MARTIN ELFANT

Sun Life of Canada

1001 Century Building

Houston, Texas

CA 4-0686

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.

The **TRAVIS COUNTY LIBERAL DEMOCRATS** meet at Scholz' Garten at 8 p.m. on the first Thursday. You're invited.

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.

would be on his mind again this year—specifically, the Cold War GI Bill, which he predicted will pass. Other concerns: Guadalupe Mountain National Park and the Big Thicket preserve. The senator produced a letter to Federal Communications Commission chairman William Henry, pledging aid in securing funds for the commission's investigation of AT&T long-distance rates. The note mentioned a 1963 session of the Senate Commerce Committee in which Yarborough needled Newton Minow for "passive exercise of the FCC regulatory duty over AT&T." The last general examination of the company's rates was in 1938, the senator said. The reporters withheld the Vietnam questions until the coffee came and did not write down the answers. In an hour, the cameras and people were gone and Yarborough was ready to drive back to Washington.

✔ Responding in Washington to the President's state of the union address, Yarborough was quoted by the Corpus Caller-Times Washington bureau, "I am glad that he will not stop educating the youth of America in order to kill the youth of Asia." In the San Antonio Express, the "he" in this quote was "we." . . . Belden's Texas Poll says 61% of Texans polled think the Administration is doing the right thing in Vietnam, 18% think it's not doing right, 21% have no opinion. . . . Cong. O. C. Fisher, San Angelo, put into the Congressional Record his infuriated criticism of the three New Lefters who went to Hanoi, calling them mentally sick, advocating their prosecution for their crime.

✔ As though to strengthen him for his forthcoming contest with Harris County Democratic Chairman Bill Kilgarlin, the Texas delegation elected Cong. Bob Casey of Houston's south district delegation chairman. . . . Cong. Walter Rogers, Pampa, becomes No. 2 Democrat on interestate and foreign commerce. . . . Labor says the Texans voted in agreement with the Johnson Administration as follows: Gonzalez 92%, Beckworth 83, Brooks 85, Burleson 49, Cabell 57, Casey 53, de la Garza 71, Dowdy 36, Fisher 39, Mahon 72, Patman 69, Pickle 81, Poage 64, Pool 42, Purcell 63, Roberts 53, Rogers 43, Teague 46, Thomas 38, Thompson 64, White 64, Wright 76, Young 74.

✔ Charles (Chuck) Caldwell, the savvy Yarborough staff assistant, has left the senator to become U.S. labor's area director of COPE Area 2, covering Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, West Virginia, Delaware, and the District of Columbia. A key worker in Yarborough's 1958 and 1964 campaigns, Caldwell took leave to direct the campaign against the four-year term for governors in 1965 and was given much of the credit for that proposal's rejection.

Connally's Man Gibbens

✔ Rep. Wayne Gibbens, Breckenridge, is not Texas' man in Washington, but Governor Connally's. The legislature passed a law authorizing a Texas man up there, but Senate approval was required. Connally made Gibbens an administrative assistant and has assigned him to Washington (at $14,400); thus the Senate doesn't have to approve him. Gibbens, thus appointed, is a political appointee, and not vested with the ostensible authority of a spokesman for the state designated by the governor and approved by the Senate. Labor says Gibbens, in 1965, cast 15 "wrong" votes, 1 (one) "right" vote.

✔ "The governor of Texas and the senior U.S. senator from Texas personally detest one another and will likely go to their graves doing so"—these words were penned by Jim Lehrer, Dallas Times-Herald political writer. A bitter fight over Dallas Democratic chairmen expresses the distance, personal and political, between the two men. Loyalist Mike McKool is running; he is a known Yarborough backer. Connally man Bill Clark, the incumbent chairman, won't run, but is backing Connally man Joe Rich. "We want to file a candidate [for precinct chairman] in every one of the county's 251 precincts who is known to be a supporter of the governor as opposed to Sen. Yarborough," Rich told Lehrer. Connally, in Dallas to rally his side for the coming convention fight, said he's never felt people had to be against Yarborough to be for Connally.

✔ Belden says Connally is approved in Texas, 73-12%, compared to Johnson's approval in Texas of 67-25%. Belden says Johnson's Great Society ideas have the approval of Texas voters, 48-41%, with the Democrats approving, 68-20%.

✔ The governor, if re-elected, will ask the legislature for between $25 and $50 million for the purchase of new state parks land, his office has announced. Parks might thus be the governor's emphasis in the 1967 legislature. The public school study won't be ready for action that session; Connally just named the 15 studyers this month. The panel includes a higher proportion of educator types than his higher education study committee did.

✔ Atty. Gen. Carr is relieved of an unpleasant political burden: State Banking Cmsr. J. M. Falkner tells the Observer he has withdrawn his request for a decision on whether state banks can constitutionally charge the highest legal interest rate permitted any Texas lender. Falkner says if any Texas bank tries it, he, Falkner, will just take it to court. Asked if Carr had wanted the request for the opinion withdrawn, Falkner chuckled and said, "I really didn't dig into that."

✔ Texas Farmers Union has chartered three new chapters in Hill, Williamson, and Travis counties. . . . PASO state chairman Albert Fuentes, Jr., reports the forming of a new PASO chapter in the governor's home town, Floresville. . . . The Edinburg Daily Review says it would support Carr over Tower. . . . Frank Duggan, Texas AFL-CIO's new research director, resigned as secretary of St. John's College Alumni Assn. in protest of the New York City college's dismissal of 31 professors.

✔ Travis County Liberal Democrats gathered at Scholz' on the eve of the State Republican Executive Committee meeting to hear a talk from "a highly placed Texas Republican Party official from Dallas." The notice said "meeting off the record." Former State Rep. Dick Morgan had nothing surprising to say—a plea for Republican-liberal unity in reelecting Tower, thus reinforcing the goal of a two-party system. . . . Frank E. Cannon, objecting to "progressive regression" among Houston Republicans, has filed for Harris County GOP chairman against Jim Mayor, probably signaling a new round in the right-vs.-conservative fight in that ring. . . .

✔ The Texas Constitution Party rallies Jan. 29 in Austin. . . . Dallas has an election on fluoridation Jan. 29. To support fluoridation, voters will have to vote against the proposed ordinance, which would illegalize fluoridation. □

Observer to Cost $6

Austin

The Observer subscription price is increased from $5 to $6 a year, effective Jan. 21.

Mrs. R. D. Randolph of Houston and Ronnie Dugger, partners in Texas Observer, Ltd., which publishes the Observer, said the increase was designed to stem the Observer's small but persistent annual losses since the paper's income began approximating its costs in 1962, and to make possible the expansion of the editorial staff this month. They express the hope that all the Observer's subscribers will stay with it at $6 a year. □

Texas Society
to Abolish
Capital Punishment

P.O. Box 8134, Austin, Texas 78712

memberships, $2 up

SUBSCRIBE OR RENEW

THE TEXAS OBSERVER
504 West 24th Street
Austin 5, Texas

Enclosed is $6.00 for a one-year subscription to the Observer for:

Name .....

Address .....

City, State .....

☐ This is a renewal.

☐ This is a new subscription.

Observations

Is the government of Texas becoming the private preserve of the big corporations? That's the way it looks right now. The big money candidates for U.S. senator, governor, and lieutenant governor—namely, Waggoner Carr, John Connally, and Preston Smith—have no opposition as of now in the Democratic primary. Jim Wright, the Fort Worth congressman, raised $50,000 to oppose Carr in one television broadcast, but decided that wasn't enough and bugged out. The friend of the public who has announced for attorney general has been tied up by the refusal of Connally's state Democratic chairman to let him file. If Sen. Franklin Spears, San Antonio, is kept off the ballot by the Establishment on the slenderest technicality, there it will be, for all the world to see—Texas government under the lock and key of big money. The President's state, as they say. The President wouldn't help Wright, or he'd have run. Evidently the President isn't encouraging Cong. Jack Brooks, Beaumont, to run, either; otherwise would not Brooks run for the Senate rather than oppose his old friend Cong. Clark Thompson of Galveston for Congress or take some appointment somewhere? The conclusion is rapidly approaching, ladies and gentlemen, that the President is letting John Connally have Texas, and therefore, Waggoner Carr.

Nevertheless, citizens, pay your poll tax. If you want a clue, one of the three U.S. judges who is hearing the lawsuit against the Texas poll tax, Adrian Spears, has paid his. If you want to vote in 1966 in whatever statewide races do materialize, in the vital local races in the redistricted situations, and on the abolition of the poll tax and other constitutional amendments, you must pay your poll tax. R.D.

Dialogue

This Sub-Society

We do not publish anonymous letters, but we make an exception for this one, which arrived air mail postmarked "APO Army & Air Force Postal Service."—Ed.

In your several editorials on Vietnam in the November 26th issue, you challenged all who have misgivings on American foreign policy in Vietnam to stand and be heard; to confront the misguided patriotism of a hostile majority with pertinent criticisms. Due to my remote location I have only very recently read your challenge, and thus my reply is somewhat belated.

Irrespective of your enlightening arguments on this subject, I am still ambivalent as to what the role of the United States should be in Vietnam. Nevertheless, I am ultimately quite opposed to our present handling of this vital dilemma. On the other hand, all uncertainty disappears in regards to our ungrounded intervention in the Dominican Republic. Yet, although I oppose our government's policy in one sense or another in both Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, I do not demonstrate. I have questioned the strength of my principles. I have questioned whether I could remain silent and still maintain a semblance of integrity, yet I remain silent.

None of your arguments has resolved these questions in my mind for I am an enlisted man in the United States Army. I have allowed myself the luxury of speaking out in private, but even this is a dangerous practice in this sub-society which tolerates no dissent. To speak out in public would be quixotic and foolhardy if not suicidal, for it would bring almost certain personal sanctions, a court martial, possibly imprisonment, and eventual dishonorable discharge. The experience of ex-Pfc. Winstel R. Belton substantiates this prospect only too clearly. Therefore, I return the challenge to you. How can a soldier, unwilling though he may be, dissent when he is foresworn to defend his country and obey his leaders without question?

Unfortunately, I find it necessary to remain anonymous until that glorious day when my questionable honor is rewarded by a so-called honorable discharge.

A loyal reader

A Communication

Dear Sir:

The December 31 Observer contained a timely article about the failure of Texas Negroes to achieve representation in the legislature and at other levels of government in our state, stating that the patronizing Democratic Party has not given them due consideration.

But the writer set forth a statement about the Republican Party which is contrary to the record: "The really incredible fact of political life is that the Republican Party is yet to awaken to its opportunities should it offer the Texas Negro a meaningful alternative."

In practical political terms, the only way Negroes can attain fair representation in the Texas House of Representatives is through single-member districts in multi-seat counties. So long as county-wide legislative elections prevail, Negro prospects are remote.

The Texas Republican Party has consistently supported single member districts. For instance, early in 1965 the State Republican Executive Committee unanimously endorsed single-member districts as the most equitable plan for state government close to the people. Republican testimony was given before the redistricting committee in hearings during the last session, and Republican State Representative Frank Cahoon of Midland voted for single-member district measures on three occasions.

After the Legislature failed to pass a fair plan, I joined a suit charging unconstitutionality of the bill due in part to alleged discrimination against Negroes. At this writing the suit is still before a federal court in Houston.

In this vital area of representation, we believe we've offered a "meaningful alternative" not only to Negroes but to all Texans who want fair representation.

In other important areas, including education and personal income, we're trying to explain the advantages of a strong two-party system. The advantages constitute a "meaningful alternative" for forward-looking state government for all Texas citizens and we would hope that more Negroes will join Republican efforts in this cause.

Peter O'Donnell, Jr., Chairman, State Republican Executive Committee of Texas.