

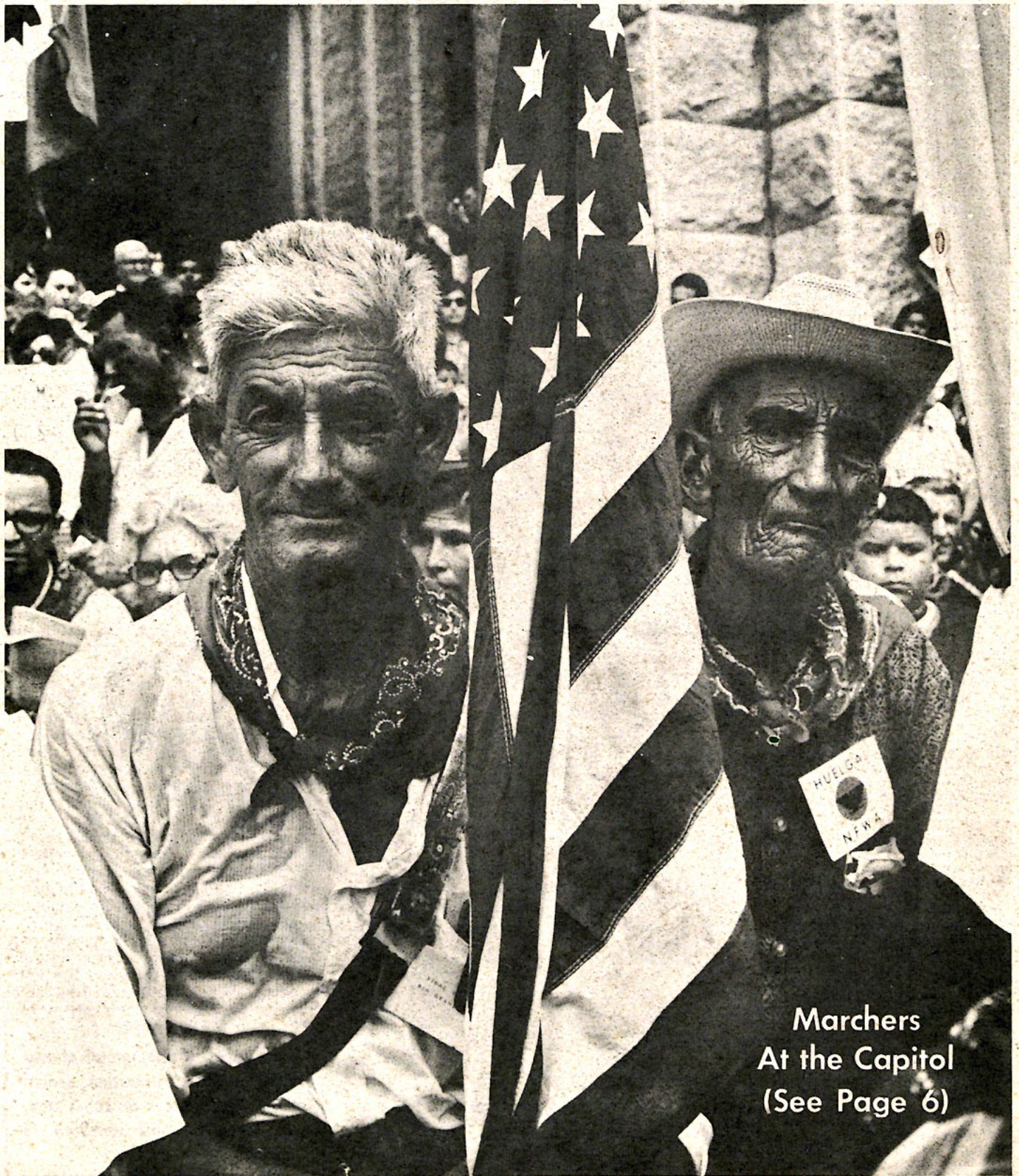
The Texas Observer

SEPT. 16, 1966

A Journal of Free Voices

A Window to The South

25c



Marchers
At the Capitol
(See Page 6)

A Vote for Carr Does Not Make Sense; A Two-Party Texas Can Be Attained by 1968

Dispassionately, for we do not propose to expend passion on such a melancholy choice, the Observer expresses its conclusion that as between John Tower and Waggoner Carr as the junior senator from Texas, the public good will probably be less damaged by Tower.

We do not endorse Tower. In this race the two candidates are both such minuses, such negatives, that to endorse either would be, for a liberal newspaper, ludicrous. We are called upon in this situation to choose, and that is what we do.

There are five areas of consideration that influence us: the men, the issues, the political parties; consequences in Texas, and consequences beyond Texas.

Tower entered politics as a radical conservative. His first public image was that of the purist right-winger. Now he is more opportunist, suggesting that perhaps he was always so, and purism was the early form his opportunism took. His education included the study of economics in college in England and teaching as a junior faculty member at a minor college. He is intelligent and has a cynical wit.

Carr has never even seemed to be a politician of principle. He started out as a West Texas lawyer of little background

on the make, and that is what he still is. He was willing to make book with the House liberals long enough to get their votes for Speaker; then he sold them out as he became the lobbyists' Speaker. As attorney general he showed little distinction. His angle was crime-busting; his myopia was his inability to see crime as an effect of social injustice, as well as an evil. He is not especially intelligent and has a faltering sense of humor.

ON THE ISSUES, Tower is a reactionary Republican with moderating tendencies; Carr is a reactionary Democrat with moderating tendencies. Both ride events like jockeys hugging close to the necks of their horses. The readers of this journal know much better than most Texans the details of these men's stands on public questions. Since the first of the year when we published full-length studies of each man, we have traced the nuances of their stances as though much depended on them. For the most part not much does. Neither has given any substantial evidence that he understands the basic reforms that are required to renovate our crisis-ridden democracy and the radical changes that are

required in our foreign policies by realities abroad.

Their main general difference in the way they would probably vote proceeds from their different party connections. Tower has swallowed great gobs of humble pie the last year as he has spoken of "our President," but the fact remains that Tower is a Republican. This has meant that he has been subject to little or no presidential pressure to vote for liberal domestic reforms, even as he has urged the President to greater excesses of violence in Vietnam (and Johnson has then appeared to follow his advice). Carr, a Democrat, would be somewhat subject to Johnsonian pressure for liberal domestic reforms. This is what Carr is telling us when he speaks favorably of the war on poverty (and against the waste in it) and supports the elimination of the businessmen's investment tax credit (if he's not persuaded to the contrary in the meantime). But of course he is against the 1966 civil rights bill (and any further civil rights legislation), against a minimum wage for farm workers, against . . . against. He is a tory Texas Democrat, all right.

On foreign policy until recently Carr was merely a me-tooer; whatever Johnson says about Vietnam is OK with Carr. But recently Carr has said that if the Joint Chiefs of Staff want to use atomic bombs in Vietnam, that, too, is all right with him. How a politician could get any worse than this on Vietnam escapes us.

Tower is no dove; he is a hawk. In 1961 he spoke longingly of preventive war. He seems to have given that up, but he is still reluctant to discuss the wild idea that the U.S. should bomb China's nuclear installations with nuclear weapons. In Corpus Christi earlier this year he said he didn't think it would be wise to resort to nuclear weapons as to Vietnam "currently" and "under present circumstances," but he added: "I am not saying they couldn't be used in the future if necessary." Given Carr's statement about atomic bombing in Vietnam to play with, Tower says now that he is now against the use of atomic bombs in the conflict, but Tower would favor our initial use of tactical nuclear weapons in certain circumstances, such as (we may justifiably speculate) in the event of a Soviet invasion of Europe. Tower does give a healthy attention to the possibility — the likelihood — of nuclear retaliation, and he

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A Window to the South

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

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THE COVER

The cover, a photograph of two of the South Texas marchers seated at the Capitol steps on Labor Day, was taken by Shel Hershorn of Dallas.

seems to have a sane abhorrence of a thermonuclear holocaust, but his policy recklessly risks this holocaust. Currently he is still urging the President to bomb Hanoi and the port of Haiphong.

For a while Carr seemed to have the edge with liberals on policy issues because he could be expected to vote about the same as Tower on foreign policy and better on domestic policy. But on balance Carr booted away his chance to significantly differentiate himself from Tower on the issues when he said it's OK with him to drop bombs on Vietnam. Domestic issues simply do not matter nearly as much as foreign issues in this world of total weapons and imminent mass starvation.

TO THIS POINT in the discussion the two men seem to be at a standoff, but we have not yet considered the question of parties — the two-party system in Texas and the United States.

The Observer's position on party loyalty has always been that elected party officials and nominees are duty-bound (unless they resign their honors) to vote for their party's nominees and that *every other citizen is free to vote as he wishes in general elections*, regardless of which primary he voted in. This is a right so basic to democracy, no political party, no legislative act, can modify or qualify it. Specifically, any citizen who votes in a Democratic primary in the spring is legally and morally free to pick and choose among the candidates in November, however his conscience tells him he should.

Texas is a one-party state. This is sick, unhealthy, and disastrous for democracy. There is a case, getting stronger, that Texas liberals should move into the Republican Party en masse and fight the reactionaries for control of it, and there is also new hope that the one-party system can be broken by 1968, but Connally, Carr, Barnes, *et al.*, are committed to the control of Texas by their big-business faction of the Democrats. As long as the national Democrats in Texas let the tory Democrats use Republicans to beat the liberals in the spring Democratic primaries and then use the liberals to beat the Republicans in November, this state's politics will be the politics of monopoly, privilege, and worse. If Carr wins this condition is perpetuated.

If, on the other hand, Tower wins, he will take in with him several congressmen (such as George Bush in Houston and Jim Collins in Dallas) and a number of state legislators to the detriment of the conservative Democratic establishment. Thus encouraged, Republicans can hope to have a big primary in 1968, just at the time when the liberals will need conservatives to be voting Republican instead of Democratic, against the liberal Democratic candidates. And thus one can see a way through to a two-party Texas by 1968 if Tower wins.

We have not had the slightest doubt that it would be better for Texas that Tower return to Washington than that Carr go there. Texas is not the nation or the world, there's the rub, but considering just Texas, Carr's election would entrench the conservative Democrats in their one-party deathlock on Texas politics. Carr, once in, would

be practically unbeatable, just as Cowboy Bill Blakley would have been had he won in 1958.

Worst of all, Carr would use his power in Washington to cut at Sen. Ralph Yarborough, the only national Democrat in Texas who has had the tenacity and durability to fight the one-party system in Texas and stay in office. Carr's election would reduce Texas politics to triviality; everything would be settled here in favor of big business. And Yarborough would be victimized by whatever unwholesome deals Carr and his pal Connally might make with Johnson to Yarborough's, and the country's, detriment.

Nationally there has been a decline of political independence under President Johnson. Despite the generally liberal positions of the Democrats under Johnson on poverty and integration, the concentration of power in the presidency and the emergent tendency of the Democrats to become the party of big business, considered along with the President's epochal blunders in Vietnam and Santo Domingo, suggest to us the need to be concerned on behalf of the persistence of a two-party country and the case for independence of judgment as to the presidency in 1968.

The March: A Triumph, A Task

The Valley farm workers' march to Austin was a triumphant event in Texas history.

The passage of a minimum wage in the next session of the legislature is now inescapably a live and hopeful question. No Texas politician can get away again with giving the subject the silent treatment.

The Mexican-Americans of this state have now acted together with pride, dignity, and unity in a common social cause. The banners of their different organizations—organizations so often weakened by jealousies and carping—were carried side by side to Austin, and their leaders shared the criticism and the honor of what they did together.

The churches, particularly but not only the Catholic Church, gave to the march their blessings and sustenance and gave to the message of Christ that we must love our fellow men a new strength in Texas.

The labor movement is stronger and prouder. Committed now officially, substantially, and actively to organizing farm workers, the Texas unions are continuing to resist the fattening self-interest that has made Labor seem tired to many of the young and idealistic.

The liberal movement in Texas has advanced to a new plateau of interracialism and political coalition. No one gave any serious thought to the fact that here, sitting together with indifference to color on the steps of the Texas Capitol, were Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Anglos, sharing the strength of each in the cause of all. And for liberalism in Texas the drouth is over; the breeze quickens, the air cools.

At the political level Texas voters finally

WE HAVE HOPED that Carr would not be as bad on foreign policy as Tower is — Tower, who led the suicidal Goldwater movement in 1964! Perhaps Carr could have tilted the scales back in his favor by taking a thoughtful, pacific stand on Vietnam. But now it is clear that Carr is at least as bad as Tower on this subject, and if we take Carr's stupid, callous statement on atomic bombs in Vietnam at face value, he is worse.

In the balance, we choose Tower. Our public life is already too nearly a farce to send Waggoner Carr to the United States Senate. In practice many liberals will vote for Tower or scratch both Tower and Carr or go fishing. We do not argue for one or the other of these courses; the distinctions between them are too closely related to the way one feels personally. We argue simply, on the basis of the campaigns to date, that a vote for Carr is not wise.

Finally, we suggest that liberals decline to be baited into energy-wasting recriminations over this race. We have more important things to do than to exhaust ourselves in bitterness and negativism. We have voters to register and a governor to elect in 1968. We have reforms to devise. We have a movement to go on with. □

have in hand a clear understanding of why Senator Ralph Yarborough does not choose to be one of Governor John Connally's cohorts. The governor went to the marchers outside New Braunfels and told them that, though they were walking 500 miles, peacefully and respectfully, to see him, he would not greet them in Austin even if he was in the Capitol; to tell them that the cause of a minimum wage is not urgent, and he would not call a special session for it; to dodge and duck and slip aside rather than give his stand on \$1.25, or any minimum wage at all; and to utter pompous claims about the dignity of his office. He did not seem to realize that it is the poor who, calling on the governor, would lend him their dignity. He insulted them and thus insulted us all. We rejoice that Senator Yarborough, seeing this, acted on his own to greet the marchers to this, his home city, and to proclaim before them and the watching state the justice and the urgency of their cause; yet we lament that he had to do it. What a sorry governor.

But so, *viva la marcha!* There is something suggestive of a return to reality in the days since Labor Day. The Farm Bureau and the big growers are braced for an all-out fight against unions. The small farmers are harried by rising costs and their own economic disorganization and powerlessness. The Starr County strike must be persisted in, expanded to other areas, financed, sustained. Smaller farmers must be encouraged to organize to protect themselves so they will be able to pay higher wages; the big farmers must be brought to law. □

Carr Stresses His Party Ties

Lubbock

Some 2,000 home town and area supporters, filling only a small portion of Lubbock municipal coliseum, last week heard Waggoner Carr emphasize his Democratic Party membership as a key reason Texas voters should elect him to replace Republican John Tower in the U.S. Senate.

"When the views of the Texas governmental leaders are to be persuasively stated to the leaders of the federal government," Carr said, "who can do that most effectively, a Texas Democrat who has been a part of that government for 15 years and who has an unparalleled working relationship with its leaders—or a Republican who has never been a part of it, not for a single day!"

Tower, too, by implication, has acknowledged that he feels this point will influence Texas voters. His signboards in Lubbock and across the state do not bear the word "Republican," and the same is true of Tower's campaign literature seen to date.

Lieutenant Governor Preston Smith, also of Lubbock, introducing Carr, likewise stressed the theme that a Democrat would serve the state better in the Senate: "As one of two Democratic senators from Texas, Waggoner Carr will be an effective force in the majority party that controls the United States Senate. No other candidate can make that statement."

Carr criticized Tower's saying on TV's "Meet the Press" in 1961, "I do not see it as my function in Washington to try to secure for Texas the expenditure of as much federal money in Texas as possible." And, Carr added, in 1965 Tower was quoted in the Fort Worth Star-Telegram saying, "I don't think it is my function to try to get defense contracts for Texas." Carr drew his loudest ovation of the night when he

added: "You all know my record. I am for economy in government and am against needless spending. But, I'll tell you this right now: so long as the federal government is going to spend the money it does, so long as federal defense contracts amount to billions of dollars, so long as federal grants amount to billions of dollars, so long as Texans can do as good a job as any other state, I'll fight to see that Texas gets every last penny of its share."

OVERALL the carefully planned evening went off well, but Carr backers must be dismayed to some extent by the sparse crowd, most of whom were seated on folding chairs on the building's floor, with perhaps 200 to 300 in the 8,500 permanent seats that ring the arena. In the Lubbock afternoon paper, published only a few hours before Carr spoke, his campaign leaders were quoted predicting an attendance of 10,000. Perhaps the complications of getting back to the post-summer routine kept many away, and the campaign has not yet begun in earnest, but if Carr can't draw a sizeable crowd in his own hometown to a rally widely publicized and for which thousands of free tickets were distributed, then he has cause for concern. The general reasoning goes that Carr must excite a large turnout Nov. 8; a light vote would favor Tower.

The evening was to have been a gala start for Carr's Senate bid, but the disappointing turnout had a somewhat dampening effect on the enthusiasm of those who were there. Though they interrupted the candidate by applause 21 times in 30 minutes, this may be attributable to the usual pep talk that preceded the television in four West Texas cities (and taping for showings later last week and this week else-

where). Master of ceremonies Carroll Cobb, a Lubbock attorney, had urged that "each person here tonight can play an important role. . . . Our show, very frankly, is the largest of its kind ever staged in West Texas. We must show our enthusiasm. . . . Let this kick-off rally do the selling job it was designed to do." Yet many of the ovations seemed neither hearty nor sincere. High school cheerleaders from Lubbock wielded "cheer" and "stop" signs — the latter to stop ovations and conserve air time for Carr's speech.

The challenger entered from the rear of the coliseum to the roar of "Seventy-Six Trombones" played by the Lubbock High School Band. He, his wife Ernestine, and their son David, 16, were driven in a Mustang convertible to the speaker's stand. As they alighted the band played "The Eyes of Texas."

The young minister of one of Lubbock's largest churches intoned the invocation (in a "stained glass voice," one spectator was heard to remark afterwards). The minister prayed ". . . we thank Thee for Waggoner Carr and his willingness to serve in the Senate."

Many of the preliminaries dwelt on Carr's West Texas background, suggesting the advantages for the region in having one of its inhabitants in the Senate. Carr himself began his remarks in this vein, lyrically describing his homeland in solemn, hushed syllables:

"West Texas is a state of mind, as well as a geographic area. It is cow ponies and Cadillacs, oil and optimism, sand and smiles. It is confidence in a dusty Stetson, faith in a pair of faded jeans, and hard work in overalls at the end of a long cotton row. Our land is like a freckled nose kid with a frog in his pocket, a grin on his lips and a stubborn cowlick of obstinacy as a banner."

Carr made no mention of Vietnam nor of any other foreign policy issue. In addition to his compatibility with leaders of the state and national governments, he cited four other areas of concern, all domestic:

1 The need to purify the brackish water that underlies much of West Texas so it can be used to meet the growing needs of the region and the state. Carr said he has discussed this project with Interior Department officials and has been assured that "an economical and practical solution can be found within the reasonable future."

2 Distribution of federal education grants on a population basis to give Texas more of a share and enable the colleges of the state to retain their better teachers. "An unfortunately increasing factor in this," Carr said, "is the role being played by the federal government, which results in unequal educational opportunities for one section of the country over another." He believes Massachusetts and other East-

Reports of Presidential Pressure

Austin

The Observer has received substantial reports of the visit by a high U.S. Labor Department official with Houston Negro leaders in which the federal spokesman conveyed President Johnson's urgings that the Negroes back Waggoner Carr all-out for senator against Sen. John Tower. All but one of the Negroes involved were understood to have promised explicit support for Carr. The U.S. official, George Weaver, also reportedly told the Negroes that if Sen. Ralph Yarborough did not back Carr all-out, there would be no more federal patronage for Yarborough, this word presumably coming from Johnson. Obviously this last report is political dynamite. Yarborough was given news of the Weaver-Negro meeting on the eve of the Valley march's climax in Austin. Inquiries by the

Observer to Yarborough's staff have yielded disclaimers that they know anything about a presidential threat to Yarborough on appointments. In Yarborough's speech on Labor Day he referred to those who had "turned their back" on the marchers at New Braunfels; he made no exception for Carr, who went to New Braunfels with John Connally and Ben Barnes.

Carr, who told the marchers to beware of outside agitators who might cause violence, evidently went dove-hunting the afternoon of Labor Day when the marchers and sympathizers were gathered at Zilker Park for a picnic. A Tower supporter known to be reliable told the Observer he saw Carr at Holiday House at the airport in Austin Labor Day about 2:30 p.m. wearing a baseball cap, sunglasses, fatigue pants, and boots. Dove hunting season had just opened. □

ern colleges and universities, plus those in California, have benefited most from National Science Foundation grants.

3 Respect for law must be advocated more strongly by government leaders. "We cannot permit a continuation of the idea

that is prevalent among some of our fellow Americans that respect for our laws must, in the final analysis, rest upon the whim of each individual. . . . Selective disobedience of law only leads to anarchy. . . . If our laws need to be changed, they are to

be changed in our legislative halls, not in our streets."

4 Intensified attention is needed to water and air pollution, highway deaths, traffic congestion, booming population, and urban growth. G. O.

Tower Talks Things Over

Austin

Republican Senator John Tower is campaigning relaxed. He makes little use of written speeches. He talks easily and informally. He knows his themes — they are themes he has been over many times — and he knows, too, he wants to avoid any fights he can until the election is over.

"We have always known," he told the airport crowd in Austin at the end of his three-day, 3,000-mile campaign opener, "that the people who back us are people who are unselfishly motivated . . . who seek no favors of government. . . . I am not dominated by any politician, regardless of how powerful, or by any clique. In the Senate you have to have independence of action, you have to be your own man."

During his tour he persisted in his now well-known campaign year postures:

Inflation and tight money result from too much government spending. The administration is guilty of "orgies of profligate spending." The open housing provision of the civil rights bill is unconstitutional, an invasion of private property rights. The Vietnam war should be prosecuted to a successful conclusion.

Tower's opponent, Waggoner Carr, was quoted in the *Houston Chronicle* Aug. 18 that he would approve dropping the atomic bomb to win the war in Vietnam if the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommend it. "They are the professionals. They should decide," he was quoted.

Early Saturday morning in Harlington, Tower said it's time for this nation to stop worrying what other nations think as to our actions in Vietnam — "It is time to bomb Hanoi and to clog the port of Hai-phong with bombed shipping."

But Saturday morning in Houston during his three-day campaign tour, the senator thrust at Carr on nuclear war:

"My opponent is quoted in recent (Aug. 18) *Houston* and *Galveston* papers as saying he would approve dropping atomic bombs in Vietnam if the Joint Chiefs of Staff recommended it. Those of us familiar with military affairs and the international situation know that the decision to use nuclear weapons must remain solely with the President of the United States.

"I have been to Vietnam and talked to our commanders there. I see no need in this jungle war of infiltration to use city-busting bombs that would destroy civilian population.

"Under no circumstances would I approve the use of nuclear bombs upon authority of anyone but our President. He alone has available the information necessary to make such a fateful decision — a decision upon which hinges world-wide peace or war.

"Such an uninformed statement by my opponent points up his lack of experience and knowledge in national and international affairs. It is graphic evidence to Texans of the vital need to retain experienced, responsible representation in the Senate."

JUST AS CARR had trouble attracting a crowd at Lubbock, Tower did for his Dallas opener. Carr had perhaps 2,000 at Lubbock, Tower about as many at Dallas. Tower's rip-around-the-state tour was designed mostly to get local press coverage and pep up campaign workers. After it was over Tower, tired but in good spirits, answered a few questions for the *Observer* at the Forty Acres Club near the campus.

He has held forth the possibility that an Asian nations' conference "just might" lead to peace, but up close the prospect does not seem strong to him. "The idea," he said, "is that you get the Asian countries together and attempt to solve the Asians' problems. Ultimately they've got to solve their own problems. I don't think you could include Peking or Hanoi under present circumstances. Maybe Peking or Hanoi would deal with an all-Asian conference, whereas they wouldn't deal with Western nations."

With China acquiring nuclear weapons, what long-term view of U.S. relations with China does Tower have? "I believe that we've first got to gain their respect. I think we've got to convince those buzzards that war is too costly an instrument of national policy to employ." They must be convinced of this, Tower said, before they will be willing "to negotiate anything like co-existence." U.S. relations with Russia are relatively tranquil now, he said, although there is much strain because of the Vietnam war.

With more nations getting nuclear weapons year after year, what kind of a world does Tower visualize? He thinks a nuclear non-proliferation treaty would not stop the bombs from spreading without everyone agreeing to the treaty. "I'll spring for disarmament any day when I think we can get good-faith participation on the part of the communist sphere," he added. But, as to how to avoid a world developing in which many nations have the absolute weapons, he said he didn't know; sometimes, he said, you just have to face the situations that come up and handle them day to day.

"I've seen what conventional bombs can do to a city, so I can just imagine what nuclear bombs would do. I've seen the classified figures on the potential of nuclear weapons, so this is a horrible, bloody thing," Tower said. "However much I may

sound like a warmonger, I abhor the thought of a thermonuclear holocaust."

Tower expressed satisfaction that the M-16 rifle, the use of which in Vietnam he advocated earlier this year, is now being used there. The M-16, he explained, is a .223 caliber rifle "that uses a much smaller round, but it tumbles, and it tends to fragment. It's much lighter, you can carry three times as much ammunition."

He does not think that there has been "any unnecessary bombing of villages that was calculated." Viet Cong villages are perched atop whole networks of tunnels, he said. And he added, "Those Viet Cong are killing civilians — they do it for a purpose. It's terrorism."

HOW ARE THINGS in Washington? "I think the trend toward executive domination of legislative initiative has been accelerated," he replied. The Congress reclaimed some of its prerogatives this year, however, he said. As for the Republicans' 1968 presidential candidate, "I wouldn't even predict. Right now it appears that Romney and Nixon are the only two contenders in the field. Other possibilities may emerge after the 1966 elections." Naturally a question was asked about Goldwater, but Tower took his answer off the record.

The food for peace program would be fine, he said, if we had food surpluses, but they are running out. He has voted for farm support programs that tend to work toward a free market, he explains; originally he was for an end, on a phasing-out basis, to all farm supports. He seems impressed by the cost-price squeeze U.S. farmers are caught in and by the fact that world food prices are lower than U.S. prices. "The people who need the food can't buy it," he said. "If they could, every one of us could go into agriculture" and, he indicated, make good money.

To fight high interest, Tower said, he favors cutting government spending — he took \$150 million out of the mass transit program and tried, but failed, to get \$900 million out of the demonstration cities project, he mentioned with satisfaction. He is opposed to suspending the 7% tax credit businessmen are allowed on capital investments, as President Johnson has proposed.

What would Tower propose to help the people in the ghettos of American cities? "I think the whole key to it," he said, "is in educating those people to find employment." Discrimination in any federal activity is already prohibited by Title VI of the 1964 civil rights act, he said. R. D.

Labor Day in Austin

A Bad Day for the Establishment

Austin

Greg Olds

Despite apparent efforts to blunt the thrust of the Valley farm workers and their supporters, the movement's initial aim, passage of a state minimum wage bill, will at least be considered by the legislature next year, though passage is doubtful. State Rep. Joe Bernal, Democratic nominee for the State Senate from San Antonio, plans to introduce such a measure in the Senate. He predicted that at least eleven of the 31 senators and "easily over 50" of the 150 members of the House of Representatives would vote for the proposal today. "I think that with this big turnout here today," Bernal said, speaking of the Labor Day rally in Austin, "a lot of legislators may decide to go ahead and vote for it. The bill should have a fairly good chance of passing." Bernal said he plans an "across-the-board" minimum pay bill, calling for a \$1.25 floor in all types of employment, including agriculture. Possibly excluded would be student employees younger than 16.¹

A number of representatives of nominees to the House and senators or Senate nominees met in Austin on the eve of the State Capitol rally to discuss the minimum wage bill. The Rev. Antonio Gonzales, a march co-leader, predicted that 80 representatives will vote for a minimum wage act next year and added "The Senate is no problem."

Cesar Chavez of Delano, Calif., president of the National Farm Workers Assn., said 15 organizers will be at work in the Valley in a few weeks.² Chavez told the Observer, "We have to go back to Rio Grande City and have a victory there — that's the most important thing."

Governor John Connally's meeting of the marchers just north of New Braunfels five days before they reached the capitol for a time appeared to have retarded the momentum and enthusiasm of the movement. This apparently was the intent, as House Speaker Ben Barnes, who, with Waggoner Carr, accompanied the governor to the roadside rendezvous, has since indicated. "We did that to show them that a march is not the correct way to get things done," Barnes said Saturday in Dallas.

Spokesmen conceded that the incident's effect on their morale was damaging for a time. Eugene Nelson, mainspring of the movement, called Connally's visit a grandstand play. "I think this was a maneuver to try and take the wind out of our sails and try to cut down on our crowd Labor Day in Austin," Nelson said.⁴ But, two days later, Connally's rebuff was being interpreted as having put "new spirit" in

the march. Said the Rev. Sherrill Smith of San Antonio: "What Connally did really stirred up the Mexican-Americans. It was a slap on the hand, a Great White Father-type of thing. What he thought was a politically astute move has backfired. These marchers just sat down by the side of the road and said 'Let's go.' They rallied themselves."⁵ The Rev. James L. Navarro, co-chairman of the march, agreed. "The politicians came, they saw, they spoke, but they have not conquered or squelched the courage of the Valley farm workers."⁶

Since the Labor Day rally two of the valley marchers have maintained a vigil on the steps of the State Capitol's main entrance. Father Gonzales, the other march co-chairmen, told them, "There are two million Mexican-American farm workers who are depending on you. And you," he said, pointing to Benito Travino, 52, "represent one million of them. And you," he said to Reyes Alaniz, 62, "represent the other million." Father Gonzales said he wanted the two men to stand in the sun "because you're farm workers and you're used to the sun. Don't go in-



Shel Hershorn

Gonzales, Yarborough, and Navarro on the Capitol Steps.

side, where the air conditioning is, but stand in the sun with your heads up. If it rains, go to the porch [the protected entrance way], but remember you are here representing all those depending on you."

Gonzales says that among the Indians, when a chief ignored payment of a debt to a villager, he would squat outside the chief's tent until the debt was paid. Connally is the chief in this instance, Gonzales said.⁷

Travino carried a crucifix; Alaniz, the flags of the United States and of the Roman Catholic Church. Governor Connally, entering the capitol building the

Tuesday after Labor Day, avoided the main entrance, which he normally uses. Instead he was driven to the doorway at the capitol's east side, departing the same way for lunch.⁸ Monday this week a new pair were to take the place of Alaniz and Travino. Gonzales says the sentries will remain until the legislature convenes and may stay on until passage of the minimum wage law.

William Kircher, national organizing director of the AFL-CIO, believes that Connally may change his apparent position. In California, he related, "on Easter Sunday when a farm workers' march came to the state capitol in Sacramento to see Governor (Pat) Brown, the governor wasn't there. But now he is being attacked by a lot of extremists for his congratulatory statements to the farm workers in their victory." Politicians have been known to "change their socks" in public without it being too embarrassing, Kircher said.⁹

Chavez said to the Observer of Connally's absence, at the Labor Day rally, "This is going to bounce back on Connally. It erects a fence. You know it's not a question of being mad, it's a question of being hurt. That goes much deeper, being rejected."

Nelson announced that a "middle-sized" Valley melon grower is about ready to sign a contract paying \$1.25 to \$1.55 an hour. Nelson spent two days just before Labor Day negotiating the pact with the grower, whose name he won't yet reveal.¹⁰

CONNALLY'S ABSENCE from the Labor Day festivities did not remove him from the attentions of those on hand. From the first hours of Labor Day morning, on through to that night, the governor's attitude, his roadside rebuff, and the absence of other state officials were discussed in virtually every speech, conversation, or comment. The campus at St. Edward's University, where the marchers had stayed the night before their climactic three-mile march down Congress Avenue, was overflowing with people, signs ("60 cents an hour—Texas brags?"), and a festive air Labor Day morning. Golfrey Connally, the governor's liberal brother, a professor at San Antonio College, was among the thousands who had gathered. "It's nice to be here," he said. Asked if he would march, he said he'd be "straggling along somewhere." He was aware of the attention his presence caused, but said nothing provocative about that.

Texas AFL-CIO president Hank Brown

reported at the breakfast Labor Day morning that labor groups had contributed \$17,539 in cash to the marchers. Other organizations gave \$4,600. Food and clothing were also donated by a number of church organizations. Nelson set basic expenses of the march at \$150 to \$200 daily.

Texas Liberal Democrats leader Chris Dixie of Houston commented over the weekend, "I can remember the day when labor leaders didn't give a damn whether Mexicans worked for \$1.25 a day. Now they are giving this priority, and this deserves the same support from liberals."

At 9:40 a.m., as the line streamed out onto the avenue, one man yelled, "Where's John Connally?" "Big, bad John," another chimed in. The line was held up 20 minutes as the ranks were rearranged into columns of two; finally at 10 a.m., all were under way, cameras popping, police radios crackling around them: "How far have the marchers gone?" "Is everything OK back there?" "Everything's OK." The line of march stretched out 15 blocks, or 1.2 miles, according to an Austin policeman's measurement.

B. T. Bonner of Austin said that there were about 40 Negroes in the march, mostly from Huntsville; he had led a group in a 200-mile march there to Austin via Houston. In the main the marchers were Mexican-Americans, representatives of labor unions (laborers in Corpus Christi and Houston, steelworkers from Port Lavaca), and miscellaneous liberal supporters of every description — teachers, college students, housewives, office workers, even state and federal employees. "Connally's missing a sight, ain't he?" said one steelworker to another. "Yeah! To hell with John Connally!" came the reply.

Twenty-five Latin people seated on the steps of the Congress Avenue Baptist Church applauded the line as it moved by. Jack Keever of Associated Press counted 6,500 marchers as they crossed the Colorado River bridge. Downtown the pace picked up a bit. The streetside crowds were fairly good; around the downtown section the spectators were three and four deep. And they were mostly Latin-Americans and Negroes; there were, in fact, more members of these minorities downtown this day than one native of the city has ever seen there at one time before.

At Fifth and Congress a band from the Austin Federation of Musicians, seated on a flatbed truck, struck up "Darktown Strutters' Ball." At Sixth, U.S. Sen. Ralph Yarborough joined the march, simply walking forward to its front line. Laughing and smiling — indeed, exultant — the senator strode out firmly the last five blocks onto the Capitol grounds. He had hoped his appearance would be a surprise, but word had preceded him earlier that morning that he had flown in from Washington the night before. As he walked along he said that a state minimum wage will be passed eventually in Texas, and he predicted that "a lot of the people who are fighting it about a year from now will be claiming they thought of it." A reporter told Yarborough Gov. Connally had said he was for better living conditions for the farm workers. "I'm for a minimum

wage in Texas — not 'if' and 'when,' the senator replied.

From the moment Yarborough joined the march, the spectators, who had mostly been watching quietly until then, began applauding and shouting, "Viva Yarborough!" As the marchers moved along, Pancho Medrano of Corpus Christi, a steelworkers' official, strode ahead in his giant Mexican hat, pointing toward the senator and shouting, "Viva Yarborough!" Indeed, this outcry sounded out more than "Viva la huelga!" or "Viva la marcha!" as the Valley *campesinos* neared their destination.

At Eighth and Congress marchers were singing "We Shall Overcome," lead by a young man with a guitar. At Ninth, site of Waggoner Carr's U.S. Senate campaign headquarters, marchers gave the "thumbs down" sign. One of them broke from the line, carrying a sign that read "down with Connally's Country Clubbers," crossing the street and propping the sign up against the headquarters, to the crowd's cheers. Just as he returned across the street to rejoin the march a patrol car approached and hailed him: another marcher retrieved the sign, and the crowd booed. At Tenth, a block from the Capitol, the burro named "1.25," which had accompanied the marchers since Kingsville, deposited a large mess on the pavement. Lest Sen. Yarborough should step in it, Henry Munoz of the AFL-CIO ran up to the senator and said, "Cuidado, be careful, don't step on Connally's platform."¹²

At 11:09 a.m. the Capitol grounds were reached by the head of the line. A mile away the last of the group was just coming across the Colorado bridge. The marchers proceeded up the incline of the south grounds, under the welcome shade of arching oak trees that line the walk, amid the applause of several thousand more supporters who had been waiting on the Capitol grounds. At the steps of the Capitol Yarborough seemed to have tears in his eyes. The marchers trooped silently behind him, Novarro, Gonzales, and Nelson onto the platform. After 64 days and 468 miles the march that had begun on the Fourth of July in Rio Grande City was concluded. Ahead were the festivities.

THE PROGRAM BEGAN under the watchful eyes of three Austin police officers and two State Highway Patrolmen, stationed on the second floor balcony of the Capitol Building just over the main entrance, commanding a strategic view of the speaker's stand and crowd just below. One officer had a walkie-talkie; another, after the speeches had begun, began taking photos of the scene below with a 4x5 camera; a sixth



Shel Hershorn

Thousands Jam Capitol's South Steps, Grounds

man up there in plain clothes also took pictures. Another second floor spectator was Connally's top aide, Larry Temple, watching the rally from a window in the governor's reception room.

Plainclothes officers circulated in the crowd, but the mood was jubilant and no trouble makers were on hand, though John Birch Society handbills were being distributed that day.

The marchers were seated on the steps of the Capitol's main entrance, behind a speakers' stand. Dignitaries joined them, mostly leaders of Latin organizations and church and civil rights groups, plus 14 state representatives (or nominees) and five state senators (or nominees), march leaders, Yarborough, and Cong. Henry B. Gonzalez, San Antonio. Near the speaker's stand was a tall, crudely made banner. Topped by what must have been a relic of the 1960 Presidential campaign, a red, white, and blue skimmer hat with President Kennedy's picture on top, the banner read, "Did he die in vain?" Other signs said, "Search your soul, governor, this is the 20th century"; "Remember, we can vote"; "Floydada for the NFWA"; "Bee County supports the marchers"; "Mainland Branch NAACP"; "Steelworkers of Dallas County support the farm workers."

Irish Matthews, Austin labor leader, announced the crowd at 25,000. A governor's office spokesman placed the figure at 2,000.¹³ Most newsmen agreed 10,000 would be a good guess.

Matthews began the program: "Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to your state capitol; I'm sorry you don't have a governor, a lieutenant governor, or an attorney general here to meet you. I understand they will meet the Rio Grande City people in Rio Grande City later — when they're through hunting white wings." "Impeach the governor," a man's voice sounded in the crowd.

Austin city councilwoman Emma Long said, "Sorry the mayor's out of town; sorry the governor's out of town. I consider it a high privilege . . . to welcome you."

Speaking very briefly, Hank Brown said, "I pledge to you on behalf of the 350,000 Texas workers" in unions that "we'll be

Fancy Meeting You Here

Sen. Ralph Yarborough intended his participation in the Valley marchers' Labor Day march to the Capitol to be a surprise, but when he arrived at the airport the night before he ran into Speaker of the House Ben Barnes. "Well," he said to an associate as they went to get their bags, "we blew that one. I wonder how long it'll take him to call John." □

with the farm workers' union until they win justice on their jobs."

Yarborough was then introduced by Matthews as "the greatest senator from Texas since Sam Houston, one who refused to drive in an air-conditioned Lincoln and tell these people to go home." The senator, obviously enjoying himself, began: "*Amigos, compadres* — fellow marchers. This is a great day in the history of Texas and an important day in the history of America.

"This is my home city. I love it here in Austin. Some people have said there would be no state officials here to welcome you today. However, as our senior U.S. Senator, I hold the highest elective office" — [here he was interrupted by a thunderous 20-second ovation] — "and with all the power and good will which the people of Texas can give . . . I welcome you with open arms and a warm heart to my home city of Austin."

Yarborough criticized "those who turned their backs on you and on the shoulder of the road at New Braunfels tried to bluff you out of your march." Those who had marched 500 miles from Rio Grande City, he said, were "the heroes of Texas" whose deed marked "the beginning of an epoch in farm life and the lifting of people from poverty in this great state."

"I've been to many gubernatorial inaugurations," the senator continued, "but I never saw this many at the inauguration of a governor as you have here today for the inauguration of justice."

Yarborough said that long after the march, those who did not march would say "I wish I had been there that day," and those who marched would tell their children and their children's children, "I was there."

"As King Henry V said on the eve of Agincourt, 'Tomorrow is St. Crispin's Day,' and we in it will be remembered —

We few
We happy few
We band of brothers
For he who stands with me today shall
be my brother

* * *

And Gentlemen in England now abed
Shall think themselves accursed they
were not here
And hold their manhoods cheap, whiles
any speaks
That fought with us upon St. Crispin's
Day."

In 1960, he recalled, he had campaigned "day after day and night after night for the late beloved John F. Kennedy" and had heard him say, on a number of occasions:

"One hundred years ago, Abraham Lincoln wrote a friend: 'I see the storm coming. I know there is a God and that He hates injustice. If He has a part and a place for me, I believe that I am ready.' . . . Now in 1960 we know there is a God. We know He hates injustice. And we see the storm coming. But if He has a place and a part for us, I believe that we are ready."

Yarborough added, "If He has a place for me, I am ready."

EQUALLING the excitement, for the crowd, of Yarborough's talk and presence was a telegram from U.S. Sen. Robert Kennedy: "I regret that I am unable to accept your invitation to address the Labor Day rally, but you can be sure that I share your aspirations and will continue to try to obtain for all farm workers a decent standard of living and the protection governing other workers by American law."

Eugene Nelson opened his speech, "Ladies and gentlemen, and Governor Connally, wherever you are . . ." Later he said, "To the little man who isn't here, I ask: what are you hiding from, John Connally? Are you hiding from this gathering that asks only justice? Or are you hiding from your own conscience? On election day, two years from now, there will be no place to hide, governor, for a sleeping giant has awakened in the farm workers of Texas and will never sleep again."

The marchers are not going back to the Valley to surrender or to starve but to fight, Nelson asserted.

Cong. Henry Gonzalez, San Antonio, who had not been in San Antonio to greet the marchers when they marched through that city, said, "Today is really a day of departure. . . . It is not for those of us who have not marched to make long speeches," but he wanted to say that even if a necessary state minimum wage law was passed, it would be "just a fraction of what must be done." Specifically, he said, unemployment insurance for farm workers is just as vital, because they work only part of the year. He had come, Gonzalez said, "to share with you your goals and objectives." He referred to "many of us who may not be active in the march but are with you every step of the way."

Kircher brought greetings from George Meany and advised the farm workers to "drink in all the signs of warmth and support you see here today, because tomorrow it's back to the old way of life — in the fields at 3 and 4 in the mornings, working under a reactionary segment of the community who don't want to see you band together." Kircher pointed out that ten per cent of the unorganized workers of the country are in Texas. "I give you the pledge of 15-million AFL-CIO workers that from now to eternity we will stay behind you until you obtain the goals you set for yourselves," he concluded.

Father Gonzales, discarding his text, moved by the presence of his mother and father, declared "We want these people to get enough for their people to eat!"

"My mother had 18 children and she has been working in the fields for 40 years. She still works in the fields. She just came back from Minnesota. Why should she have to do that?"

"My father has cancer, yet he is working in the field. Forty years migrating to look for food is too long.

"The wages in the Valley are *not* 85 cents. They are 40 cents, 50 cents, and sometimes 60 cents an hour. It's a disgrace — a Texas disgrace and a national disgrace!"

Just as the voice of God came upon the people of Israel, said Rev. Navarro, "so the voice has come, I believe, to two men in this state, Father Gonzales and Rev. Navarro. Divine providence itself, and nothing else, could have linked a Roman Catholic priest and a Baptist minister together!"

AFTER THE RALLY the scene shifted to Zilker Park in southwest Austin for barbecue, beer, speeches, singing, and conversation.

Albert Pena, Bexar County commissioner, noted that priests, rabbis, and ministers were at the rally, "but where was John Connally? He thought he was still on the ranch; he thought he was still the Anglo foreman talking to those little Mexicans back on the ranch in Wilson County, telling the people to go on back home. But we couldn't go back home, we *are* home. Sometimes I wonder what I am; I've decided I'm an American, a Texan, a Mexican, and a Catholic radical. I'm an American because I was born here; I'm a Texan, also because I was born here, and I'm gonna stay here; I'm a Mexican because nobody lets me forget it; and I'm a Catholic radical because if I were a Protestant I'd be a Protestant radical, and if I were a Jew I'd be a Jewish radical."

Senator Barbara Jordan of Houston told the gathering in the park, "You've heard enough words today; what you really want to see is us pass a minimum wage bill. Take heart today, for no one is trying to give you anything but what you justly deserve. You are not begging for anything. You are not requesting anything; you are making your demand."

SOURCES

¹San Antonio Express, 9-6-66. ²San Antonio Express, 9-6-66. ³Jacksonville Daily Progress, 9-6-66. ⁴United Press International in the Dallas Times-Herald, 9-1-66. ⁵Associated Press in the Houston Post, 9-3-66. ⁶San Antonio Express, 9-1-66. ⁷Houston Chronicle, 9-7-66. ⁸Fort Worth Star-Telegram, 9-7-66. ⁹Dallas Times-Herald, 9-4-66. ¹⁰Stuart Long in the Corpus Christi Caller, 9-5-66. ¹¹San Antonio Express, 9-6-66. ¹²Edinburg Daily Review, 9-6-66. ¹³San Antonio Express, 9-6-66.

The Observer, in common with the daily press, has been misspelling Rev. James Navarro's name as "Navarro." Navarro's name card at the Labor Day breakfast in Austin was misspelled Navarro as he confirmed to us this sad report.

THE CONFRONTATION

Austin
Governor John Connally decided on the morning of Aug. 31 that he would go on down to the Valley marchers on the highway and tell them he would not meet them in Austin. He called Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr and Speaker of the House Ben Barnes, who agreed to go with him, and Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, who did not agree to go. On extremely short notice the newspapermen headquartered in the Capitol rushed to the marchers. In the tumultuous scene that ensued on the highway three miles north of New Braunfels, there happened to be a young man standing behind Carr, getting nearly everything that was said down on a Miranda portable tape-recorder that he had rented from Studtman's in Austin that very morning.

Ken Allen had been working in the Dallas county welfare department when he got a scholarship to come back to school as a graduate student in the School of Social Work at the University of Texas. He is doing his master's thesis on the Valley farm strike and had taken the tape recorder out onto the highway that morning. As he was marching alongside Father Antonio Gonzales and Rev. James Novarro, interviewing them, reporters arrived saying the governor would be there momentarily. "I just changed tapes, put a fresh one on," he says. Following along behind Carr, Allen kept the mike right at Carr's shoulder throughout the historic confrontation. About a third of the way through, Eugene Nelson, the leader of the strikers in Starr County, got there; about two-thirds of the way through, Hank Brown, state president of the Texas AFL-CIO, arrived. The Observer took down as full a transcript of the tape recording as

the din, confusion, and roar of passing trucks and cars permit.

Rev. Novarro first extended an invitation to the governor to meet with the marchers at the Capitol, but, says Father Gonzales, "he didn't answer. At that time I extended my hand and greeted him." The transcript begins:

GVERNOR CONNALLY. . . . Father Gonzales, how are you.

[The Father goes close to the governor and puts his arm about his shoulders.]

GONZALES. Governor, the Latins love and respect you.

CONNALLY. I know that . . . I appreciate that.

GONZALES. We thought it is time that the working men and the little man get up and help you do the tremendous job . . .

CONNALLY. Well, give us, give us a chance to say hello. We have the attorney general here.

GONZALES. Good, good.

ATTORNEY GENERAL CARR. How do you do.

CONNALLY. Ben Barnes.

BARNES. How do you do.

CONNALLY. Give us a chance to say hello to these people.

[Some laughter. The line of marchers parts, and Connally, Carr, and Barnes go down the middle, shaking hands.]

VOICES. Viva la huelga! . . . Hello, how are you. . . I'm Waggoner Carr. Glad to see you. . . Viva la justicia! . . . Ben Barnes. I'm Ben Barnes. Waggoner Carr—how are you? Waggoner Carr. Glad to see you, how are you? How are you, senorita? I'm Waggoner Carr, glad to see you. How are you? How are you, ma'am?

[A truck passes. Gonzales and Rev. James Novarro speak with reporters. Then Novarro begins a colloquy with Connally.]

NOVARRO. I feel, Governor Connally, that . . . you can see in this effort and this march the representation [of the Mexican-American, the Latin-American population] and you as our governor would be sensitive to those needs and to that awakening and to the solution of that great problem that is throughout this state . . . and I'm sure that although you say you will not be able to be with us on the fifth of September on Labor Day, that after that period or that time, you will leave the door open for conferences by all of those involved for further consideration.

CONNALLY. The door to my office is always open for the people of Texas for any conferences or meetings that they would like to have with me. I personally am not going to be there, the attorney general will not, the Speaker will not, nor will the lieutenant governor. I talked to them this morning. When I decided to come down here I called each of these gentlemen to come. The lieutenant governor could not come, but, uh, I have two very distinct feelings about this.

I am not going to be in Austin; therefore I will not have an opportunity to see you there, but nevertheless I did not want my absence there to indicate any lack of interest in your problems. Uh . . . at the same time let me say very frankly to you that if I had been in Austin, I do not think I would have met with you, simply because, uh, my door is open, it has been open since this march started on July 4th, and it's gonna continue to be open, Reverend Novarro and Father, for meetings with you and anyone else about these problems. I'm very aware that, uh, of your sincere desire as spiritual leaders of this march to improve the working conditions and the living conditions of the people of South Texas . . . as are the attorney general and the Speaker. I think this is also true of the lieutenant governor. Uh, I feel very strongly that, uh—

VOICES. Viva la huelga! Viva! Viva la justicia! Viva!

CONNALLY.—you certainly have the right to do what you've been doing.

I want to compliment you on having a very peaceful, a very orderly march. I hope it will remain so, and, uh, I want to ask you today to, as you proceed, if you, uh, insist on proceeding, with the march, then, uh, I want to ask you to be, uh, very careful to see that the march, uh, does remain, uh, very orderly.

NOVARRO. That's why Father Gonzales and I are co-chairmen of the march, and this is a march for justice, and it is being held on the principle of human dignity. And honor.

CONNALLY. I'm delighted that it is, and again I want to make it very clear to you as leaders and to all of those who have marched from Rio Grande City, those who have been in the march, those who have been sympathetic with the march along the way, that, uh, my personal ears or the ears of government are never deaf to the needs of the people of this state. We're very aware of—I hope you also understand, however, that there is always some reluctance on the part of those of us who occupy positions of leadership, it certainly is true of me, that, uh, there are ways and there are methods by which you achieve your ends. Again I recognize fully that you men are spiritual leaders . . . as Father Gonzales said . . . It's not prepared to discuss the problem of wages as such but which, acting as spiritual leaders, I can't do anything but applaud your concern for the people of this state, and I do so. I hope you also understand, however, that as governor I'm aware of the fact that things can get out of hand in marches as they have elsewhere in the United States, and that's the last thing we want in Texas—

NOVARRO [interrupting]. This march — I want to express appreciation to the Highway Department, to every police department, to the sheriff's department of every county through which we have marched, for their safe—for their courtesy, for taking care of the march, for the protection that they have lent us, and that this group has gone the second mile in, in trying to hold this march on the highest level of human dignity and the quest of justice, and there has been no provocation and will never be by this group of anyone. We will march in silence. We have been marching with dignity and, uh, we have sought and earned the respect of sympathizers and critics as we have marched, and the image of this march over more than 400 miles is good and has not created any incidents that would in any way be applied either to our state . . . [truck passes]



United Press International

Governor Connally with Father Gonzales on the highway outside New Braunfels; Barnes and Carr look on.

and we wish your best wishes to arrive safely in Austin.

GONZALES. Governor, I wanted to ask another question. I believe that your concern for the state is great and that you flew back to South America to see that these 17 people . . . that died a tragic death. We feel that many more every year die a tragic death of hunger, and we know the Latins all are going to feel that because of this hunger the 17 people that . . . [truck passes] . . . march 400 miles, and if they don't get their reception. . . How would you answer that to them?

CONNALLY. Well, Father, I'm answering it by my presence here today. These are the people as I understand it who have been marching, and you and Rev. Navarro have been leading them, and I'm here today to tell you that I am aware of the problems and I am concerned about the problems, and we've been trying in every way that we know how to do something about it. There's no question but what the problems of the Latin-Americans or the Americans of Latin extraction, uh, have economic problems, there's no question about that; they have wage problems, there's no question about that; they have problems of education, there's no question about that. Now I also want all of these people to know, and people all over Texas to know, that, uh, we have not been sitting idly by unaware of your problems, Father. We have, we have, uh, through our own state activities, and through the federal government programs, have attempted to do everything that we know how to do—as you well know in 1963, recognizing that much of the problem emanated from a lack of education, we started schools for migrant workers, which were expanded, uh, in 1964, expanded in 1965, [to] where we now have 20,000 young people in these schools.

You must know that with the use of poverty funds that we have engaged in a program of adult education. As a matter of fact, over 56,000 adults, largely of Latin extraction, are now engaged in these programs. We have one-fifth of all of them in the United States. We're certainly aware that one of the basic roots of the problems, the social problems, the economic problems, revolve around education of people, and, uh, so we have done everything that we know how to do and will continue to do it in order to try to upgrade the, uh, the quantity and the quality of education.

VOICES [in the background]. Viva! Viva!
EUGENE NELSON. Governor Connally, I'm Eugene Nelson.

CONNALLY. How are you, Mr. Nelson.
NELSON. We appreciate your being here—I hope you'll be in Austin on Labor Day.

CONNALLY. No, I, I will not be in Austin on Labor Day, and that's why I came down today, to say that I would not be there. This is Speaker Barnes, General Carr over here, Waggoner Carr. We did, I did not want, nor did the Speaker nor the lieutenant governor, want our absence to be interpreted by you or anyone else as an indication of lack of interest in the problems of Texas, because we are concerned with 'em, we're concerned with them at all levels, and we're going to continue to be concerned with 'em. Now as I told Father Gonzales and Rev. Navarro a moment ago, I think if I had been in town, if I did not have a previous commitment, I still would not have met with you, in all candor and in all frankness—and this is the only way that I know to speak to people, because I don't, I'm not unaware of difficulties that have arisen out of marches throughout this nation, and, uh, these marches for various causes have resulted in riots and bloodshed and loss of life and loss of property. Fortunately [truck passes] . . . Nevertheless, I want to make it clear that my door has been open since July 4th and will continue to be open to the leaders of, uh, of any group to talk about wages or working conditions or any other problems in this state that, uh, but I do, uh, I do not feel that as governor of this state that I should, I should, uh, lend the dignity, the prestige, of an office to dramatize, uh, uh—any particular march, and so I would not have been with you even if I had not had a previous commitment. I want to make that clear.

But, uh, at the same time, I, I want you all to know that, uh, I grew up in South Texas, I think I'm somewhat familiar with the problems, Father, that you, that you—

GONZALES. You are not familiar with the two million people—

CONNALLY. Yes, sir—

GONZALES. —that are underpaid.

CONNALLY. I sure am, I sure am, and I



United Press International

Connally, Barnes, and Carr meet the marchers.

recognize that there's not any easy solution to it, either.

GONZALES. No, I understand, that's why we're helping you—

CONNALLY. —And that's why we have tried to approach it from many different aspects, this is why we've used every available dollar that we could of the poverty funds—in Head Start programs, in neighborhood youth corps programs, in preschool programs, in adult education programs, in literacy programs, in programs for the children of migrant workers, trying to upgrade in every way that we know how.

[Gonzales interrupts. Henry Munoz, Jr., equal opportunities director for the Texas AFL-CIO, interrupts over Gonzales' interruption.]

HENRY MUNOZ. I believe the attorney general doesn't take too kindly to federal intervention—

[A truck passes, drowning out the clamor.]

CONNALLY. These are not all federal funds—uh—if you will recall we started the schools with state funds, solely with state funds, special schools for the children of migrant workers in 1963 before there ever was a poverty program.
MUNOZ. The LULACS—

GONZALES. We feel that, uh, I'm for poverty programs, and programs of this nature are to be compared with charity. Charity cannot be practiced without justice. And we believe it's time for two million people that are underpaid—anti-poverty programs cannot be implemented without having at least a minimum wage. We have none—we have no protection—no recourse—the working man can work for 35 cents and what can he do?—because he—What do you think?

CONNALLY. Well, what are the facts?

MUNOZ. The facts are, governor, that, we have—these are figures put out by the Department of Education not too long ago, sir . . . the figure of 167,000 migrant farm workers. This again, I quote the Texas Good Neighbor Commission . . . here is the figure of 167,000 people, and increased by 38,000 in one year—for people making less than \$1,000 . . . We are leading the nation in dependent children—because my figures out of the U.S. Department of Education—over 350,000 dependent children whose parents make less than \$2,000 a year. We lead every state in the nation, including Mississippi—and Alabama. Your own figures from the Texas Education Agency tell us that we have [figure garbled] functional illiterates. I believe sir, that you made a speech in Dallas . . . [Shouting. Trucks pass.] . . . 50 cents and 85 cents and they go to work—

CONNALLY. We recognized this problem long before you started this march, that's why we started all these programs that we have in the state and using federal funds, and Father, I must respectfully disagree with you, I don't believe that using all these federal funds is charity. I think we have to use federal funds or state funds or anything else we can to meet what obviously is a serious problem, and that's why I've encouraged every community in this state, particularly in South Texas, to organize community action programs, to engage in Head Start programs—I personally called superin-

tendents into my office. We personally encouraged school boards all over this state to use those funds, and consequently last year we had more Head Start programs than any state in this union, we had more pupils involved, and we did it at a lower cost per pupil in any state in this union.

Now we're not here to say that we don't have a problem, I know we do, Father, there's no question about it, and I want to help you do something about it, and I'm going to continue to lend my professional efforts and the efforts of my office to bring about some improvements, because, uh, but frankly one of the really basic things as you well know, as anyone else knows that's studied the problem at all, we have to start in the foundation of education of these people.

MUNOZ. Well, governor, we elected you, we worked for you, we believe in you.

GONZALES. We need 231,000 votes in Texas to decide an election, but we have twice that many.

CONNALLY. Well, I certainly agree that whether they had any votes or not is really immaterial, because there really is a problem and I think all of us have to lend our best efforts to the solution of the problem whether they have any votes or not. That doesn't have anything to do with it.

[Confusion. The voice of Father Sherrill Smith of San Antonio is heard, muffled.]

CONNALLY. I hope that's not so, Father, we've—uh—we've, uh, tried as best we know how to educate 'em, to make special schools available to 'em, to make special programs available to 'em. . . .

FATHER SMITH. Well, what are you doing to keep 'em there?

[More confusion.]

CONNALLY. I think obviously by constantly improving their economic status. . . .

[The words, "\$1.25 an hour," are heard in the din.]

CONNALLY. I understand—again, all I know is from the public press—what you've had in mind. I'll be delighted— . . . but I'll be glad to listen to any request that you—

[An unidentified San Antonian and Connally have an incomprehensible exchange.]

NELSON. We have marched from the Rio Grande Valley to meet you in Austin on Labor Day. I think it's appropriate for you to meet these farm workers and the other people that have come to see you on Labor Day. I think it's a disgrace . . . the farm workers are working for 40 cents to 85 cents an hour in this state. I think that it's more in accord with the free private enterprise system to pay a living wage than to try to fight poverty through the war on poverty, and that's why I've come to ask for your help regarding that you take the leadership and, uh, ask for a minimum wage in the state of Texas—will you do that?

CONNALLY. Are you asking me, uh, I see from the press you want me to call a special session?

NELSON. Yes, we do.

CONNALLY. The answer to that is No, I will not. This problem did not recently originate nor is it going to be readily solved in the next few months. I've had many requests for special

sessions from many different groups, all of whom had real problems. I tell you categorically today that I will not call a special session for this purpose because I don't think the urgency of it is of such a character that it has a compelling nature to it, so the answer to that is no.

NELSON. I think it's very urgent. People in the Rio Grande Valley don't have enough to eat and don't have decent houses to live in—I say it's extremely urgent.

CONNALLY. I'm sure there are people, I'm sure there are people who have substandard housing . . . all over this state, all over this nation, all over this world, and I think there's never been a time in the history of this country when government as such at the federal level or the state were more aware of it or attempting to do more about it than we're doing right today, and I'm grateful for your interest. I think it's appropriate that you are concerned about it, and well you might be. Uh, but, again I hope that we always keep things in perspective, and that, uh, that those of you who are men of reason and intelligence will not expect the impossible of anybody.

NELSON. Governor, we're not expecting the impossible—we're just expecting the possible, a minimum wage of \$1.25, which is only reasonable.

NOVARRO. Governor Connally, I feel that this march represents the aspirations and longings of the Spanish-speaking people of the State of Texas. In order to feel that our undertaking—and I believe that this represents the awakening of people—and I believe that your position and statement as indicated here will invoke far-reaching political consequences in the state for years to come, and I feel that the march, in significant symbolism of it, will extend for a long time to come. The Spanish-Speaking Americans in Texas, as you know, have been patient and long-suffering, and this is the first symbol of unity and cooperation that has been found . . . and I wish that you had been. . . .

VOICE. On to Washington! On to Washington!

NOVARRO. . . . I hope, sir, you as our governor can reflect upon this situation and having met us and will be able to arrive at more constructive conclusions as you go back to Austin. . . . I believe, sir, that even if you do not call a special session of the legislature, that the climate of the new legislature will be far more healthy any sympathetic. . . .

CONNALLY. Rev. Novarro, again let me point out to you that I have attempted to treat all of the people of the state with fairness, with justice, with equality, and I think we've made greater strides since I've been governor than we've made in a long, long time. Uh, I know that I have appointed more Mexican-Americans to positions of responsibility and authority than any governor in the history of this state. . . . [Shoutings of Viva! in the background] . . . over three times that many, over 3,300 of 'em working in the state government. . . .

GONZALES. Let me tell you how I feel about the HemisFair. These Latin-American countries to the South of us are cousins and we love them as much as they love us—We have never spoken out. They always think we are the weakling. They say we're ready, and I say, for what? We don't need your help . . . Our problem is different from the Negro. We've got almost a dozen nations to the South of us, and we think your trips out there would not be of the best interest to us, two million people here, the Latins, and then this problem here, and then we didn't originate this problem, you didn't originate this problem, the problem has been born because the last 20 years 40 cents they've been paying, 50 cents they're paying, I hear some of them are paying 60 cents and 65 cents, 85 cents, but that's nothing to brag about; but, this problem is here, and when you go down as the leader of the state, and these two million people here, how are you going to say to the Latin-American people to the South, come over here, and then have two million people here. . . .

CONNALLY. Father, I don't want to get into any dialogue about the relative conditions of people in this state and people in other countries. . . .

[The governor looked downward, smiling.]

I've just come back from some of those countries, from Panama and Venezuela and Brazil, and I assure you that the situations are not comparable, but that doesn't alter the fact that we can't be satisfied because our conditions here, our wages here, our living conditions here, are far superior to those in those countries. . . .

GONZALES. A hundred and fifty years ago the Latins originated the idea of how to separate

Texas from Mexico. Texas is not the only history someone can read in one book, but as a matter of fact it's written in the books that the way the Latins got together to separate Texas because of injustices from Saltillo, and they got stabbed in the back. I think that we're coming to you because we have gone to Saltillo, now we're going to Austin. We got no reception in Saltillo, we got separated and then the hordes from the North came in and changed the language to English, and there we are, second rate citizens. We been fighting for this cause for over 150 years and it's your turn, Mr. Governor—I wish you would be there.

[A deafening clamor.]

FATHER SMITH. Did you not say, Mr. Governor, that you would not meet us even if you happened to be in Austin. Do you think that this is a bad way to come to see you?

CONNALLY. Yes, I think basically it is, Father Smith, because of what is occurring elsewhere in this land with respect with marches that have resulted in riots, bloodshed, loss of life and loss of property. You don't need a march to come see me, Father Smith. If you put it in a posture that you wanted to march for a dramatization of a social problem—

FATHER SMITH. Which is legitimate in itself—

CONNALLY. —which is legitimate in itself, that's fine. I'm here so that no one could ever say that you couldn't see me, because I've come to see you.

SMITH. In effect you've cast aspersions on us, Governor. . . .

CONNALLY. No, sir.

SMITH. We're not in the ghetto of Chicago. . . .

CONNALLY. I understand that. [Confusion] . . . the purpose of talking to you.

GONZALES. Governor, a hundred years we've been talking. . . . We don't want talk. We don't want committees. . . . Governor, you know that as well as I do. Why, why pussyfoot? I think that the thing is a problem of hundreds of thousands of Latins. They love you, because—they already do, 80% of the votes in many cities.

CONNALLY. I think they did it because they feel that I have a sense of compassion about them and their problems, and I do and I'm going to continue to have.

NOVARRO. Do you feel this march represents the aspirations and longings of Mexican-Americans?

CONNALLY. I think this march does represent, uh, a pent-up emotion of the Latin-American, there's no question about that—

[Shouting. Much confusion.]

NOVARRO. Would you commend this march?

CONNALLY. I commend it in the sense that . . . you are using the march in order to point up a problem that is a real problem . . . beyond any question. I commend it for its order. I commend it for the peaceful aspects of the march. People have beyond a question a right to engage in this march. . . . and I hope that when you are joined by additional people, that you will do everything in your power to see that—

[Confusion. Shouting. Music. "Brown for governor!"]

CARR. . . . but we don't want violence. I want you to be prepared for anything that might happen. We're here to compliment you on the way you've conducted your march. But there are others of whom you might not even know that have appeared in other states who might create violence. . . .

We're not concerned about your people. The governor stated my position exactly as attorney general, we're very complimentary with the way you've done, and we're proud that you and other leaders of the church are here . . . but I'm just calling to your attention that there may be others there who may cause problems—We are interested in keeping that down also, we assure you of that. Be sure to warn your people of that so that they may be prepared should something happen.

BARNES. And one bad incident could destroy the entire preparations of your whole march all these miles, the hundreds of miles that these people have marched with their true convictions could be destroyed by an incident in Austin on Labor Day—

GONZALES. You have to practice justice—

CARR. You must be prepared now for outsiders who may try to cause violence. . . . even wearing uniforms, things of this type. . . . Let's not let that occur in our state. I've stated before and I'll state again that I think that these people at 85 cents an hour are getting too low a wages.

["The Eyes of Texas" is sung. The governor,

the attorney general, and the Speaker get in the governor's car. Marchers approach the Lincoln Continental and poke their signs up to the windows. The governor and his associates drive away. Reporters cluster around Hank Brown, state president of the Texas AFL-CIO.]

HANK BROWN. I have never seen as much unity among Mexican-Americans as I see at this hour in Texas—LULACS, PASO, GI Forum, every Mexican-American group, and we have purposely played a back seat, except now that they're chartered under the AFL-CIO banner we're going to raise more money and feed 'em and house 'em and then raise the additional money that's necessary . . . in order to organize these people—Because the only way this problem is ever going to be resolved is to organize, get a union contract, get a steward to take care of the grievances, and then they'll take their place in the sun with the rest of the workers of the industrial world. . . . A brief meeting in the sun between the governor and the Mexican-American farm workers is not going to resolve their problems. . . .

A REPORTER. One of the speakers made several references to political implications of this thing. What do you think about—

BROWN. I think it has grave political implications. I think the governor and a candidate for the U.S. Senate and another man who's making speeches like he is running for an office—it's been reported that he's seriously considering running for governor if and when Governor Connally moves on to some other reward—the mere fact that they took time to come out here in the hot Texas sun and meet with these people indicates that they are concerned about the political considerations. The Mexican-American for too long supported candidates with mealy-mouthed platforms. The time has come when they are going to start drawing the historical Travis line and all those that are not willing for a decent living, decent standards, decent housing—and the only way a man can get those things is through decent wages. And I don't think he can get 'em even with the minimum wage, he has to be organized and have someone to process his grievances, someone to represent him. The bulk of these people unfortunately have been deprived of a decent education because of our system.

[The reporters leave, and the marchers walk on toward Austin and the Capitol.] R.D.

Cesar Chavez' Plan

Austin

Cesar Chavez speaks excellent English and of course excellent Spanish. When he makes a speech he talks clearly and calmly, saying what he has to say, without histrionics or pauses for applause. He is confident of his intelligence, and he responds so quickly that he seems to be saying what he is thinking at the same time he's thinking it; that is, he is "articulate." He seeks neither the microphone nor the head table, nor, in a crowd, the prominent men. He is inclined just to be standing somewhere; at Zilker Park during the picnic after the Labor Day rally, he sat on the grass alone by a bush. People gather around him, and he talks freely and easily to whoever they are about whatever they want to talk about. He looks like an Indian of the Southwest, a thick, heavy shock of black hair and his placid features and his belly that he carries easily over his belt. He is at peace

with himself, one supposes because he is doing what he wants to do. He is the man who started in California what a top auto-workers' official called, in Austin last week, a third revolution (the industrial revolution and the unionizing of the thirties, the civil rights revolution, and now the farm workers' revolution,) yet it seems to be the truest thing to say about him that he is a nice man.

In California, as in Texas, the Catholic Church has been a vital support for the farm strikers; there as here eight bishops endorsed their cause. But Chavez remarks that it was the Presbyterians who first came across with \$5,000 that tided them over the crucial first two weeks of the strike in Delano, and support came from countless other sources. "The need is for support without interference," he says. "The farm workers need support, and they will make mistakes, but let the workers make their own decisions. Pick 'em up and help along the way."

Chavez says that he was much impressed when, as the marchers entered Austin, B. T. Bonner's East Texas marchers joined them. Southern Negroes are also farm workers, and they need to be organized, he says, but the leaders for this must come from the South itself. The night before Labor Day, Chavez and Andrew Young, executive director of Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, met at a reception during the Texas Liberal Democrats' meeting in Austin. They compared notes; they agreed that they must keep on working. Yet Chavez' movement is fundamentally different from the civil rights movement: Chavez wants labor unions. The Southern Negroes demonstrate against discrimination; Chavez and the farm workers strike against economic oppression. If this seems too boldly colored a contrast to paint, listen to Chavez as he talks.

HIS UNION, the National Farm Workers Assn., has just won, 531-331, an historic representation election against the Teamsters to decide which would represent the workers at DiGiorgio Corporation. "When DiGiorgio felt that they were not going to get away from a union," Chavez says, "they brought the Teamsters in. The company assigned its own supervisors to organize the workers for the Teamsters." Admitting he doesn't know that there was a deal between the company and the Teamsters, Chavez says anyway, "I think the deal was that they would sign a contract for \$1.40 an hour and a dime more the second year. They [the Teamsters] came in offering a minimum wage but never said how much. We wanted a \$1.75 minimum."

Challenged by the powerful Teamsters, Chavez says, "We were scared. We just kept fighting back. There's no National Labor Relations Act participation for farm workers, so there's no such thing as unfair labor practices for us. The company fired 210 of our workers. They had a super-police state. To get hired you had to sign a Teamster card, so we had to convince our people to sign Teamster cards and then vote



Barry Cohen

Cesar Chavez at Zilker Park

with us. This was very difficult. One woman said she couldn't, and I told her, 'You have to.' The way she said it was, 'I can't get my hand to do it.' Then they recruited and organized workers *outside* the company's camps and brought them into the camps. But we turned 'em around."

There were five ethnic groups involved, Mexican-Americans, Filipinos, Japanese, Negroes, and Anglos. The Teamsters, Chavez says, used the racial question with the Anglos, saying that Chavez' N.F.W.A. is "a Mexican union run by Mexicans and you'll lose your jobs."

Despite the 210 dismissals, Chavez says, the N.F.W.A. had about ten supporters left inside the four DiGiorgio camps around Delano, including three foremen. "Most of the workers are Catholic. They can enjoin us from picketing, but they couldn't enjoin us from worshipping," he says. They improvised a shrine on the back of a 1953 Mercury station wagon (candles, the Virgin, the Crucifix,) and held prayer meetings outside the camps every night. The workers would come out and pray, and "after that we'd talk." To say mass, Chavez says, "We had a priest who had an airplane. He was really shuttling back and forth!"

The Teamsters had suggested, through one of their officers, that they would take the packing sheds and N.F.W.A. could take the fields, Chavez recalls. Chavez' response was, "What about the AFL-CIO's packing house workers? The Teamsters of course could care less. 'The company invited them in. They thought they had it made,' he says. Bill Kircher, national organizing director for the AFL-CIO who was one of several top U.S. labor leaders in Austin for the climax of the Valley march, says the Delano newspaper, an ultraconservative sheet, editorialized that the workers should join the Teamsters and reprinted a Teamster leaflet in half-tone on its front page. Birch literature was distributed (in one admitted case by a Teamster, Kircher says) saying the Chavez-led strike was tied up with communists. The Birchers "know we're Americans and Christians," Chavez says. "They know we're not communists. What really gripes me is they give the communists all this credit. I wonder if they're not the biggest promoters of communism."

Victorious, Chavez' union members last week had an average work-week of forty and a half hours and an average wage of \$148.95. Grape picking is done at piecework rates, and "they're weighing the grape now" and discovering that they have been picking a lot more grapes than they thought they were, Chavez says. The union com-

plained about the high grass slowing down their picking, so "they disced the grass."

In past years a grape picker might be stung by wasps two or three times a day. The contract called for spraying the vineyards against wasps. Now every worker stung gets medical attention, and the first week the medical bills were \$600. This gave the company an incentive to spray the vineyards, Chavez says with a gentle amusement. The contract called for ice-cold water and also plain water, without ice. Chavez says the company put in a 20-gallon tank of water with five pounds of ice that would not chill that much water, so the workers would leave the faucets running and then complain there was no water, cold or otherwise. After three days of this "they got the idea." The contract called for first-aid kits on each trailer and each tractor, but at first, Chavez says, there was only tape and gauze, "so every morning a number of items were disappearing." When the first-aid kits were provided, this stopped.

KIRCHER, who was on the scene during the Delano strike, sees some differences between Delano and Rio Grande City. In Sacramento, the state Capitol where the California march climaxed, the farm workers were in control; here they were not. (It was one of the ironies of the Labor Day rally that not one *campesino* spoke. They sat silently, taking a few bows, listening to the speeches of the priests, ministers, rabbis, labor leaders, and politicians.) Farm workers can be led out of a field, Kircher says, but they must have a structure of a union to carry them forward then; he doubts that the union in Rio Grande City is as strong as Chavez' in Delano. The new AFL-CIO farm workers' organizing charter is national and thus authorizes organizing farm workers anywhere in the U.S. "We are committed to Texas," Kircher says, "but specifically what, we don't know yet."

It's difficult even to visualize how farm workers can be organized. Crops change, so does work; the workers move from one field to another, they leave the state for work in the north or west. How did Chavez overcome this?

"We started in the crop that has the least turnover," he says. "You have to be in trees, vines, citrus. Lettuce, cantaloupes . . . they plow under the field, it disappears right under your feet, and you have nothing to picket — you can't picket a vacant field. With real union contracts, we can move into the other fields."

"One of the big problems is that there is so much specialization in crops," he says. A farmer might go in for strawberries because he gets a bigger return. A farmer specializing in grapes must accept a lot of inactivity the better part of the year as a farmer and for his workers. "One of the things that can be done if the union comes into power and we have some meeting ground with the growers," Chavez says, "is to encourage crops that can be rotated and keep the workers there. The growers don't consider the working force now. They

(Continued on Page 14)

THE TEXAS OBSERVER

MAY 2, 1962

Carr's Loyalties

Waggoner Carr has not held a responsible position in Texas public life since 1959. Much, therefore, has been forgotten. The Observer wishes to review the record of Carr's support of big business, racism, and the enemies of Senator Ralph Yarborough, relying on back issues of this newspaper with dates cited in parentheses.

Carr owed his election as speaker of the House of Representatives in 1957 to moderates and liberals, to whom he made assurances of fair play. He had been a member of the old "Gas House Gang" in 1951, and his assurances were taken on trust. He at once appointed reactionary W. S. Heatley chairman of state affairs, to which he sent bills he wanted killed. Heatley stuck four lobby control bills in a pro-lobbyist subcommittee (3/5/57). Carr appointed a conference committee on lobby legislation 4-1 against the stricter conception of the bill advocated by Gov. Daniel (11/22/57), then rammed the ensuing bill, a sham, through the House.

Carr attended a meeting of Houston's White Citizens' Council, which paid his expenses there. A picture taken during the meeting showed Gov. Marvin Griffin waving, a Confederate flag in the background, and Carr advancing behind Griffin, smiling slightly (11/1/57).

Rep. Joe Pool, Dallas, introduced a bill to require any organization to register and furnish a list of its members to any county judge who told it to do so. This was the anti-NAACP bill. Carr said, "This is a bill designed to ferret out sneaky, nefarious agi-

tators who are most likely to provoke trouble." Carr also hailed the bill to close schools rather than integrate, if there was any threat of violence, as a bill making it clear that the legislature "had rather have no public schools at all than to have their children march to classrooms with bayonets at their backs" (12/13/57).

(Tom Reavley, whom this newspaper has endorsed for attorney general, told the Texas Press Assn. the NAACP registration bill was "nothing but a restriction upon freedom of speech" (1/31/58).

Pool introduced a bill in 1957 requiring a run-off for the Senate election. A hundred votes were necessary in the House. One day, the bill had only 90; the next, 103, with which it was rammed through. The switches were caused by pressure from Carr and his floor leaders. ("I did it as a personal favor to the Speaker," said Rep. Malcolm MacGregor.) The Observer editorialized, "Everybody knew on the face of it the bill was meant to gut Ralph Yarborough." (February, 1957.)

With Carr's full support, the 1957 session doubled state college tuitions (4/8/57).

In 1959, Carr's revenue and tax committee was overwhelmingly weighted for the sales tax, and he himself endorsed a "gross receipts" tax which looked very much like a general sales tax and which, the Observer editorialized, "Gov. Daniel well named a 'gross deceits' tax." Meeting with the appropriations committee in secret, Carr tried to forestall all increases in state spending until they

could be tied to a tax bill (3/28/59). Carr subsequently met secretly in the Commodore Perry with businessmen and lobbyists, including Herman Brown, Ben Bolt, and S. J. Hay, the Observer reported the next week.

Daniel's tax bill, including business taxes, passed the House in a 1959 special session despite Carr's efforts to juggle the rules so it could not come up (5/30/59). Carr then stacked the House conferees on taxation 3-2 against the House's own bill and did not even appoint its author, George Hinson of Mineola, as required by time-honored custom in the House. His conferees gutted the bill for the gas lobby by striking out the taxes, approved by the House, on natural gas pipelines and interstate corporations (6/20/59).

Carr's tax bill was defeated by his own House, 121-27. The House was disgusted with him and rebellious. The Observer editorialized, "Carr betrayed his own House, sided with the Texas Senate and the gas lobby" (6/20/59). Answering publicized talk of impeaching him, Carr histrionically told the House, "If it be your desire to oust me, then be at your work," left the chamber, and minutes later returned to a standing ovation from roughly a third to a half of the members (7/18/59).

The Observer has now fulfilled its duty of reminding voters that as Speaker of the House, Carr served the gas lobby, the supporters of the general sales tax, the lobbyists who were watering down the lobby control law, and the segregationists.

Arthur M. Schlesinger quotes JOHN F. KENNEDY:

"SOMETIMES PARTY LOYALTY ASKS TOO MUCH" . . .

He spoke gloomily about the Massachusetts Democratic Party: "Nothing can be done until it is beaten . . . badly beaten. Then there will be a chance for rebuilding."

From A THOUSAND DAYS—John F. Kennedy in the White House (p. 31).

Free copies of this editorial available upon request. Also free upon request, our bumper sticker (This Car NOT for Carr/ "SOMETIMES PARTY LOYALTY ASKS TOO MUCH"—JOHN F. KENNEDY). Write, THE REBUILDING COMMITTEE 1317 South Congress Ave., Room 102, Austin, Texas 78704).

Contributions, large or small, to carry on the work of THE REBUILDING COMMITTEE will be appreciated—and put to good use.

(Pd. Pol. Adv.)

THE REBUILDING COMMITTEE

Archer Fullingim, Kountze, Chairman

(Continued from Page 12)

consider the market, other costs; if we can once get them to consider the worker, we can change that pattern."

Unions might encourage farmers not to be wasteful of lower-grade production, Chavez said. "In a tomato field only Grade A tomatoes are picked. At least 40% of the crop rots in the field. Once you leave California tomatoes are so damn expensive poor people can't buy them. Why not pick grades 2, 3, even 4, market them and make more money and not have that tremendous waste?" With more money the farmer could pay more wages.

Chavez hopes that small growers and individuals will form councils—it's not a new pattern, there are marketing associations, co-ops, and the like already—to defend their economic interests. He says that now, they go along with all cost increases—transportation, fertilizer, farm implements, financing, taxes, water—and these are all passed on to the labor force by keeping the wage as it is. "Once the worker is organized," Chavez says, "the first thing the growers will do is get together on really meaningful councils. At first it will be to protect themselves against the unions, but in so doing they will protect themselves against other costs, strengthening their position and so forth. From there it can be a natural development.

"That's the theory of it, anyway," he says.

On the steps of the Texas Capitol Chavez

spoke only a few words. "I bring all of you very warm and fraternal greetings," he said. He told them Governor Pat Brown had not met them in California at all, and this had so weakened him in California that later he helped get an independent arbitrator appointed who set aside an early election at DiGiorgio which the N.F.W.A. had boycotted and the Teamsters had won.

Chavez told the Texas crowd of winning the DiGiorgio contract and that their goal had been, not \$1.25 as in Texas, but \$1.75, "as a beginning." He concluded:

"We have suffered. We have struggled. We will continue to struggle. We will continue to suffer. We will, we must, and we know in our hearts that we shall overcome." R.D.

Political Intelligence

Carr's Strategy

✓ Attorney General Waggoner Carr's Senate campaign strategy has cleared up in the last few weeks. He is presenting himself as a moderate Democrat while castigating John Tower as a Goldwater Republican.

President Johnson proposed a 16-month suspension of the 7% tax credit passed under Kennedy to give businessmen the right to deduct 7% of their capital investment (up to a certain amount) from their net income tax. Carr told a Fort Worth press conference that "Unless I am given convincing reasons why we should retain this credit," he would vote to cancel it. By this (translating politically), Carr is saying he will go along with Johnson on some liberal reforms, provided he's not convinced he shouldn't. This is the stance he has also taken on the war on poverty—a position for it, but against waste in the program.

Carr is repeating his opposition to open housing—that is, the 1966 civil rights bill. He is favoring an increase in the minimum wage, but would have voted against the new minimum wage legislation because he opposes applying the minimum wage law to farm workers. He favors agricultural support programs to increase farm profits out of which he hopes farmers will increase wages; if they didn't, he says, Congress could bring farm workers under the minimum wage law.

In an interview with the Lubbock Avalanche-Journal, Carr said, "The President wants to do whatever we decide he should do." Carr said he would not be a yes man; for instance, he said, he, Carr, is opposed to repeal of 14B. "There's a difference in your outlook when you represent one state instead of 50. The President knows that," Carr said.

In a press release, Carr said excessive interest rates "dictated by Republican bankers in the East" are curbing industrial growth in Texas. He favored legislation "permitting the Federal Reserve Board to order decreases on the interest paid on bank certificates of deposit." His statement in this release on the 7% tax credit was very iffy: elimination of the credit if it was determined to be overstimulating the economy. This release also advocated "reversal of the tendency of Congress to increase the overall deficit spending for non-military purposes."

In Greenville last week, Carr's standard attacks on crime included a doctrine denying the existence of "civil disobedience." As reported in the Dallas News, he said: "There is no 'civil disobedience.' If a law is broken, it is a criminal act. There is nothing civil about it. It is criminal, pure and simple." Of criminals he said, "Oh, yes, we will protect their constitutional rights . . . but not even the U.S. Supreme Court says we have to be soft on them," AP reported.

Carr is taking Tower's statement that "85 cents an hour is better than nothing" as a basis for identifying Tower with Republican positions defending depression prices for wheat, peanuts, and cotton. In the Valley and East Texas he has repeated his position that 85 cents is not enough for farm workers.

In Greenville hitting Tower as "a Republican opponent of the far right wing," Carr said Tower was "Goldwater's spokesman to the world" in 1964, making a seconding speech for him at the GOP convention and praising him and condemning Johnson nationwide. In 1961, Carr recalls, Tower said his and Goldwater's political philosophies were very close, and in 1964 Tower said Goldwater was "in tune with the times," but now "Tower publishes pictures of him and President Johnson together and pretends Goldwater doesn't exist." And, Carr taunts, Tower is trying to hide his Republicanism by neglecting to mention it.

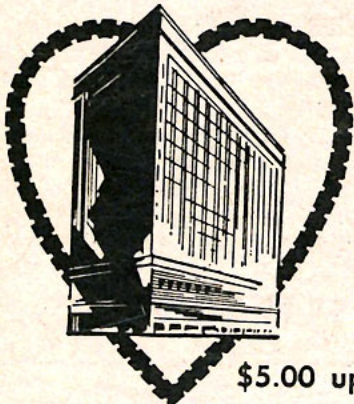
In Dallas, Carr was quoted as arguing to 50 Democratic precinct chairmen, "If Tower wins, he will carry many other Republican candidates to victory with him. This race will determine the outcome of most, if not all, the races in the state."

Tower's Moves

✓ In a series of moves, Tower (1) asked Sen. Morse's education subcommittee to approve his proposed income tax credit for college expenses; (2) asked Sen. Hill's labor and welfare committee to approve his proposed enlargement of the Equal Employment Opportunity Cmsn. to include Latin-American members; (3) asked Secretary of Defense McNamara to stop the reported "pressuring of our fighting men" in Vietnam to buy U.S. savings bonds; and (4) co-sponsored, with Sen. Ervin (D-N.C.), a bill to protect the privacy of federal employees. This latter bill would outlaw invasion of employees' privacy by question-

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naires on race, religion, and national origin; requirements to disclose personal finances; meetings to indoctrinate employees on matters not job-related; requirements to take part in any activities not job-related, including political activities; questioning or psychological or polygraph tests about relationships with relatives, religious beliefs, or attitudes and conduct in sexual matters; and interrogation without the presence of counsel. Sen. Tower also told the Observer, in its interview with him last week, that he has "tacitly" supported legislation to restrict wiretapping, but that it has no present chance of passing.

✓ Tower forces are seeking to spawn the suspicion that if elected, Carr would quit the Senate to run for governor in 1968 or 1970.

✓ Pursuing his theme of economy in government to stop inflation, Tower told the Texas Association of Petroleum Retailers in Dallas, "We should make no new starts," and was promptly asked, as the Dallas News reported, "Where does 'no new starts' leave the Trinity Canal project?" That, shot back Tower, "is already in the beginning stages, and I consider it an existing program."

The Poll-Axing

✓ Politicians on the down-side of polls seek to spread skepticism about the polls; it's their only weapon against them. But in Texas skepticism about the Texas Poll is now an accepted part of the standard response of insiders to it. The Observer's study documenting the poll's high frequency of wrongness in the light of actual returns evidently crystallized a disposition to discount the poll that was already widespread.

Nevertheless, the Texas Poll of Sept. 1 showing Carr with 49%, Tower with 33%, and 18% undecided heartened Carr's camp. Carr drew encouragement from the fact that Tower's percentage had not moved up since the last poll despite "four-color newspaper tabloid sections, millions of pieces of direct mail, hundreds of billboards." Tower responded that "Nobody in Texas politics takes the Belden Poll seriously, because it is so seldom right," harked back to his Kraft poll last May showing him about five points ahead of Carr, and promised another Kraft poll later this month.

The Texas poll showed Carr slipping from 57% in May to 49% in August. Rep. Dick Cory, Carr's state headquarters office manager, pointed out that the margin went, not to Tower, but to undecided. But this reasoning makes the size of the turnout crucial, as Carr people know: that is, a light turnout would mean that Tower's hard-core supporters could prevail.

According to announced GOP polls, Tower leads Carr in Dallas by a wider margin than Republican George Bush led Sen. Ralph Yarborough in 1964.

✓ Americans for Constitutional Action has taken exception to Carr's statement that the organization is "extreme right wing . . . these people consider the John Birch Society too far to the left." The

organization's president, Charles McManus, challenged Carr to criticize "distinguished Texas congressmen" who have high ACA ratings or received the group's distinguished service award and had its endorsement in 1964. They are John Dowdy, Omar Burleson, Bob Casey, O. C. Fisher and Joe Pool.

This year Tower's ACA rating is only 54% "good." Carr is taking Tower's previous 99% ACA rating as proof that he's an extremist and his 54% this year as evidence that he's playing the moderate for the election; Carr predicts his opponent would be 99% again next year.

✓ The campaigns, as businesslike efforts, are now revved up. Both candidates are using airplanes full-time. "I've bought an airplane for the campaign," Carr told the Lubbock paper, and at the height of the drive will be using three of them — the second for advance men, a third one for his wife when campaigning elsewhere or for Sen. H. J. (Doc) Blanchard of Lubbock, who, Carr said, has been "hired . . . as a troubleshooter to go anywhere we have a problem." Both candidates are paying transportation costs of reporters being flown around.

✓ The next big event in the campaign will be Carr's Sept. 19th \$25-a-plate fundraiser the eve of the state Democratic convention in Austin. The Republicans have their counterpart events in San Antonio simultaneously.

✓ Dallas Democrats plan a "Demonstration" Oct. 1, stressing voting the straight party ticket. Carr will be there with other

candidates. "This is not a conservative Democratic function, nor is it a liberal Democratic function," says a spokesman.

Gonzalez & Yarborough

✓ Cong. Henry Gonzalez, San Antonio, who once before publicly criticized Sen. Ralph Yarborough on a HemisFair matter, released to the press a letter to Yarborough saying that he was "somewhat shocked" by the delivery to him of an amendment Yarborough has proposed to the \$10 million HemisFair bill.

The amendment would prevent the \$10 million from going to HemisFair unless the Secretary of Commerce was given "satisfactory assurances" that historic structures now standing in the HemisFair site will be preserved to the maximum possible extent.

"Although I have asked you on several occasions to join with me in support of the HemisFair bill," Gonzalez said in the letter to Yarborough, "you have yet to make it plain that you will or you will not cosponsor it in the Senate." Any amendment, Gonzalez said, could lead to a harmful delay in the bill's final passage. In addition, he wrote, he was "somewhat shocked" to be given a copy of the amendment a couple of hours after he had talked with Yarborough and the senator had "made no mention to me" of the amendment. Assuming Yarborough had received the request on which he based the amendment

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the day before introducing it, Gonzalez went on, "If this is true, I cannot understand why the amendment was introduced in such haste and without prior consultation with the author of the bill or the HemisFair officials."

Gonzalez was House-side author of the same bill that Sen. John Tower introduced in the Senate. Tower told the Observer he asked Yarborough if he was going to introduce the Senate bill, and Yarborough said he had not been asked to. Tower asked him if he'd be offended if he, Tower, introduced it, and Yarborough said he would not, to go ahead.

According to the San Antonio Express, Gonzalez said "that Republicans voted overwhelmingly against his bill in the House, and said Tower cannot gain Senate passage unaided. Gonzalez also said federal participation is dead unless Yarborough pushes the bill in the Senate."

A delegation of six San Antonians, led by HemisFair board chairman H. B. Zachry, called on Yarborough in Washington.

House-side, Cong. H. R. Gross (R-Ia.) called the HemisFair legislation "a raid on the federal treasury." Sen. Tower wrote to Sen. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee, asking for early consideration of the bill. Fulbright has been known to tweak such legislation before.

Yarborough was to have introduced Gonzalez Friday night, Sept. 9, at the appreciation dinner for Gonzalez, but cancelled out at the last minute. One explanation being given was the prospective presence of Waggoner Carr and the report that Gonzalez would be endorsing him. Gonzalez' letter to Yarborough might be another explanation.

✓ The San Antonio Express' political column, "The Cock Pit," led off Sunday after the appreciation dinner with the suggestion of a Democratic nominee facing Republican opposition, "who doesn't figure Henry really faces realistic opposition from whatisname running under the banner of the Conservative Party" in November (Gonzalez has no GOP opponent), that Gonzalez "peel a couple of thousand off that bundle he collected Friday night" and give it to the Bexar County Democratic effort in November.

"It doesn't take a computer to figure," the column said, "that the congressman will net around \$10,000 from the Friday testimonial, a representative testimony. Couple that with Henry's annual salary of \$30,000 per and the \$8,000 he netted from last December's cocktail party, and Henry should have enough to finance a slam-bang campaign for re-election."

✓ Republicans cherish hopes of sweeping the board in the Dallas County legislative races, and three Texas GOP congressional entries are given at least even chances: George Bush in Harris County (vs. Frank Briscoe), Bob Price on the High Plains (vs. Dee Miller), and Jim Collins in Dallas County (vs. Cong. Joe Pool).

In Houston Bush and Briscoe are trying to out-conservative each other. Bush officially opened his campaign saying "I firm-

Politicians with the March

Elected officials joining the valley march in Austin included Sens. Aaron (Babe) Schwartz of Galveston and Franklin Spears of San Antonio, who, having run for attorney general and lost last spring, will not be a senator next year; Democratic nominees for the State Senate Barbara Jordan of Houston, Chet Brooks of Houston, Joe Bernal of San Antonio, and Oscar Mauzy of Dallas; State Reps. Bob Vale of San Antonio, Tom Bass of Houston, and Skeet Richardson of Fort Worth; Democratic nominees for the Texas House, Frank Lombardino of San Antonio, Don Gladden of Fort Worth, Paul Moreno of El Paso, Lauro Cruz, Joe Allen, Glenn Vickery, Curtis Graves, Arthur Vance, and Rex Braun of Houston.

Cruz is the first Latin-American elected to the legislature from Houston. Miss Jordan and Graves were Negroes. Rep. Dewitt Hale of Corpus Christi was also present during the T.L.D. meeting and at the Capitol rally, but did not go forward to the platform.

Four possible contenders for the liberal Democratic nomination for governor in 1968 were present, both in the march and the day before at a meeting of the Texas Liberal Democrats (attended by perhaps 200 partisans of the *huelguistas*). Spears, of course, is a

leading contender. T.L.D. chairman Chris Dixie referred to Schwartz as a possibility to become "the first Jewish governor in the history of Texas" (although Schwartz is interested in the U.S. district attorney's job in Houston). Don Yarborough of Houston, twice a candidate for governor, and Stanley Woods of Houston, once, were much in evidence; Yarborough plans to learn Spanish.

Speaking of the march, Spears told T.L.D. that "whoever has put these people together in their natural alliances has performed the greatest service in Texas in the last 15 years." The march, he said, "far surpasses anything I've ever thought of and anything I've ever done in the legislature." At New Braunfels, he said, the lines were drawn on the minimum wage; but he had sponsored a minimum wage bill for several sessions, never getting past a committee hearing. He would march with the Valley strikers, he said, "to demonstrate that liberalism means something beneficial and is a worthy objective, a high calling."

Schwartz said he, too, came to march, "just to add another body to the Texans who are showing that they are willing to add themselves to somebody else's cause."

ly endorse the concept of an Asian peace conference. Further involvement by the Asians themselves could lead to a peaceful settlement." He pledged to support LBJ when he thinks it's right, but, "the key issue is not who will support President Johnson when he is right, but who is free to oppose him when he's wrong."

Miller is the Demo nominee after the withdrawal this summer of Cong. Walter Rogers, who was renominated in the May primary. Miller, 32, was Potter County DA and reportedly is a moderate. He was little known outside Amarillo in the district's 30 counties.

Pool, his political stock boosted in Dallas by his guiding the recent House Un-American Activities Committee, is facing attacks on the hearings by his Republican opponent. Collins may get labor's endorsement. Pool's bill is scheduled for House debate next week and Pool says it has "a very good chance of passage," but the Senate probably will vote the measure down, should the House pass it. Pool in Dallas said a new group of left-wingers wants to end all U.S. aid to South Vietnam and is "preaching disobedience and disunity among the American people." Assistant deputy U.S. attorney general Barefoot Sanders said in a Dallas interview that the Pool bill is unnecessary and described this assessment as the position of the Justice Department. "It's bringing a mighty meat axe to deal with a very tiny problem," he said of the measure, explaining that laws

are on the books now to achieve the bill's aims. In New York City the Veterans of Foreign Wars gave Pool a gold medal, a special citation, three loud cheers, a standing ovation, an indoor parade, and renditions of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow" and "God Bless America." Pool told the VFW that the HUAC "is now in its greatest hour."

✓ State Sen. George Parkhouse, Dallas, facing a tough fight with Republican O. H. (Ike) Harris, has declined to appear before the endorsement committee of the Dallas AFL-CIO Council Sept. 30-Oct. 1. Harris may get the nod from labor. Parkhouse was honored at a Dallas testimonial dinner, with Lt. Gov. Preston Smith giving the principal tribute.

✓ The looking ahead to 1968 state races continues. The Dallas News says that Lt. Gov. Preston Smith is saying he will run for governor then whether John Connally seeks reelection or not. Franklin Spears has been given a boost for 1968 in a column by H. M. Baggary of the *Tulia Herald*, who also says Don Yarborough still merits consideration despite permitting "overly enthusiastic friends to talk him into running at the wrong time" (vs. Connally in 1964).

✓ Thirteen Texas members of the U.S. House have voted more conservatively so far this year than before, according to the ratings of the Americans for Constitutional Action. In the Senate John Tower fell to a 54% ACA rating, compared to 99% for 1961-65. Tower tells the Observer that sev-

eral key votes this year on which he was rated down include farm measures and HemisFair. U.S. Sen. Strom Thurmond was rated at 53% by the ACA. Texans ranged from a zero rating (by Mrs. Lera Thomas) to 91% (John Dowdy). Other Texans: Ralph Yarborough 6, Earle Cabell 52, Joe Pool 70, Lindley Beckworth 23, Omar Burleson 77, Jack Brooks 12, Bob Casey 36, Kika de la Garza 12, O. C. Fisher 74, Henry Gonzalez 8, George Mahon 40, Wright Patman 19, J. J. Pickle 45, W. R. Poage 50, Graham Purcell 37, Ray Roberts 61, Walter Rogers 75, Olin Teague 81, Clark Thompson 30, Richard White 36, Jim Wright 22, and John Young 16.

The State Convention

✓ Determining credentials of Harris County delegates to the Sept. 20 State Democratic Convention occupied the attention of a subcommittee on credentials. Things got a bit noisy when Tom Gordon of Abilene, one of the panel's members, took exception to liberal Bill Kilgarlin's stated belief that the subcommittee was stacked. Gordon offered to throw the sizeable Kilgarlin out of the room, but calm was restored. The report of the subcommittee will be considered by the full state committee immediately before the convention opens. Liberals won the crucial roll call vote at the Harris County convention, but claims have been filed by conservatives that the precinct conventions of liberals were improper. Also to be settled are conflicts of groups in Angelina, Denton, and Midland counties, from each of which two sets of county convention minutes were filed, and a protest letter from a woman in Armstrong County was read. It stated that the county's delegates to the state convention should be voided because some non-residents took part in precinct conventions and minutes of some conventions weren't filed. "We're hearing several things here today that point toward changes in our election laws," commented State Democratic Executive Committee chairman Will Davis.

✓ Republicans in Harris County are having their intra-party troubles, too. A group described as far-right met last week and elected a party secretary. In the past the chairman named the secretary. The county chairman, Jim Mayor, said of those at the meeting, "I think it's significant they did not get a majority to attend the meeting." Eighty-seven of 189 precinct chairmen attended. Mayor did not attend. He charac-

terized the meeting as one called by dissidents to take the leadership of the county organization away from him and his appointed officials. J. J. Fournace, Jr., a leader of the dissidents, said "We don't consider ourselves extremists" and challenged Mayor to name as many as a dozen Birch Society members in the group. The challenge to Mayor may hurt George Bush in his bid for Congress, as Bush has not endeared himself to Mayor's critics.

✓ The Constitution Party will be on the ballot in November after denial of an injunction sought by Bard A. Logan of San Antonio, who claimed that the party name was registered with the U.S. Patent Office by the Constitution Association U.S.A., of which Logan is president. Logan is the gubernatorial candidate of another splinter group, the Conservative Party. He says the Constitution Party split in 1963 and regrouped as the Conservative Party. The Conservatives have declared they are a political force to be dealt with, particularly in Bexar County, where Robert C. Moore is running against Henry Gonzalez. The Conservative Party has criticized the Republicans for not fielding a candidate against Gonzalez "on the doubtful strategy of not

wanting to turn out the liberal vote . . . thus possibly preventing a one-party pull against Sen. John Tower." Another Conservative candidate, Mrs. Myrtle Hance, seeking a legislative seat, has protested the invitation of Communist nations to participate in HemisFair.

✓ Another right wing splinter party, the Patriotic Party, has endorsed Cong. Pool ("100 per cent") during its state organizational meeting attended by 35 in Dallas. The party, formed by Minuteman founder Robert DePugh, also endorsed J. B. Holland of Houston, Constitution Party candidate for Tower's Senate seat. H. L. Helm, Patriotic Party state chairman, predicts the race between Tower and Carr will end in a runoff because of the endorsement of Holland. His party will then support Tower, Helm said.

✓ A conservative national organization aimed at counteracting humanism as a substitute for Christianity has been chartered at Victoria. The Foundation for Christian Theology will endow chairs of theology as well as mission work, according to the Rev. Paul H. Kratzig, Episcopal minister in Victoria. Kratzig says the foundation has

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✓ The Dallas News' Richard Morehead reports that the most school desegregation in Texas history has occurred this fall, with widespread integration of faculties. More than 100,000 Texas Negroes are estimated attending classes with whites, nearly twice the estimate of 1965-66. And federal aid is soaring in Texas schools. For the year through Aug. 31 the amount was \$106,365,000, compared to \$22,175,000 the year before. For 1966-'67 it's estimated that the total will be near \$139 million, which would be about 11% of the total funds spent by the state's public schools.

✓ Two special schools for girls, at Crockett and Gainesville, have been integrated.

✓ Hearings on the Texas Water Plan have been concluded. Testimony of the 26 hearings will be reviewed before the Water Development Board decides on possible revisions in its master plan and submits a final version to the governor and the legislature. The board proposes spending \$3.7 billion in the next 50 years to develop state water, primarily by an inter-basin system of canals. The Observer will take up this matter further.

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The Texas Observer

✓ Showing of the widely-publicized film on JFK, "Years of Lightning — Day of Drums!" is planned in Dallas, sponsored Sept. 21 by the UN Association and Sept. 22 by the Greater Dallas Democrats at the Festival Theater. The film will later be shown commercially there.

✓ A big hurdle to construction of the Kennedy Memorial Plaza in Dallas has been cleared with word that a city ordinance banning storage of gasoline in basements will not apply to the county's parking lot planned beneath the plaza. Cost estimates are now being awaited on the garage.

✓ The state Parks and Wildlife Commissioners need not disclose names of contributors to the LBJ State Park, Attorney General Waggoner Carr has ruled. The fund, Carr's opinion said, is "an operation of private interests" and not a commission operation. Commissioners are serving as administrators of the fund "in their individual rather than governmental capacity," the opinion said. The ruling contains the phrase, "under the facts disclosed." Donations now total more than \$100,000 to the fund. Condemnation proceedings for the 644 acres of the park are going slowing.

✓ The extent of the interest, if any, of LBJ and his business associate, A. W. Mour-

sund, in a Hill Country savings and loan association became an issue in a recent hearing on the establishment of a proposed rival firm. Former State Senator Carlos Ashley, Sr., appeared for a group hoping to establish an association at Llano. Opposing the application was Judge Thomas Ferguson of Johnson City, Moursund's law partner. Ferguson asked if Ashley's interest in his proposed enterprise were created by rumors that Moursund had purchased control of a nearby savings association. "I'd heard that he and LBJ owned it," Ashley replied. Ferguson later denied that either Johnson or Moursund has an interest in Community Savings and Loan, which has assets exceeding \$19 million.

Voter Registration

✓ Cong. Jake Pickle of Austin, honored at a 15-county barbecue by 2,000 constituents who were offered more than a ton of beefsteaks, said Congress must urge the Federal Reserve Board to put regulations on interest paid by banks on time deposits. Discussing the minimum wage bill, he said he's worked to make the effective date of the \$1.60 provision effective in February, 1969, instead of 1968 so as not to aggravate inflation.

✓ There is a conspiracy among ostensible civil rights leaders, who are actually working toward the destruction of America, claimed Dr. J. H. Jackson, president of the 5.5 million-member National Baptist Convention, U.S.A. Inc. at the denomination's Dallas convention. Dr. Jackson, who has been called the leading opponent of Dr. Martin Luther King and his demonstrations, said the civil rights movement has been set back 50 years by recent civil rights activities in Chicago. He praised the NAACP as constructive.

✓ Voter registration begins again Oct. 1 and the jousting is under way about procedures. In Dallas County tax assessor-collector Ben Gentle says he'll have registration substations set up at fire stations on a round-the-clock basis, perhaps paying the Firefighters Association 10 or 15 cents for each voter signed up. He doubts he'll set up special registration sections in any particular part of the county. Some Democratic leaders are urging Gentle to have registration be handled at places other than fire stations, places more often frequented by the public. Cty. Cmsr. Jim Tyson, noting that state money provided for registration is channeled through the commissioners' court, said "Gentle won't get a dime from me if registrations are only in fire stations." Oscar Mauzy, Democratic candidate for the state Senate, said the question is whether you want to make it

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easy to register or difficult.

✓ The new Texas Tech president, Dr. George E. Murray, hopes to put the college back in the good graces of the American Association of University Professors. Murray, in accepting the job, made the removal of Tech from the AAUP "blacklist" a condition of his employment. Reportedly the association is willing to reinstate the college if the college reinstates Dr. Byron R. Abernethy, one of the three professors who were fired nine years ago by the Tech board of regents, apparently for being liberal Democrats.

✓ The Belden Poll reported approval of 74% among Texans interviewed for President Johnson's Vietnam policy; 55% feel the U.S. should go all out to win; 19% say we should continue present policies. Calling for a pull-out are 14% with 12% having no opinion.

✓ "An obvious omission of Negroes and Latins" on Harris County draft boards has been attacked by two Democratic nominees for the legislature, Curtis M. Graves and Lauro Cruz. Two Negroes and one Latin serve among 47 members on 11 Houston boards and one in Baytown.

✓ The Houston Post reported that many Harris County Negroes with good driving records can't buy auto policies from some insurance companies because of discrimination. Some Negroes must pay excessive

rates to obtain coverage, reporter Al Prince found.

✓ Speaker Barnes is reportedly committed to annual sessions, and he wants the state to have a department on urban affairs.

✓ The ouster of Vernon A. McGee, legislative budget director, came about largely through efforts of House Speaker Ben Barnes. Lt. Gov. Preston Smith voted against the removal in a closed session of the legislative budget board. Barnes said some legislators felt that McGee was exercising authority which belonged to the lawmakers and was a protest against the growing practice of appropriations bill conference committees inserting "riders" which neither the House nor Senate had considered.

✓ A son of the late Gov. Jimmy Allred, Sam Houston Allred, now 29, has become an actor in New York. He told the Dallas News, while in that city to play in Dallas Summer Musicals' "Half a Six-

pense," that he voted for Goldwater in 1964, and "I'm a registered Republican." Sam Houston Allred once worked on Sen. Yarborough's staff and was chairman of the 1960 Texas Students for Kennedy and Johnson committee.

A headline from the Dallas Times Herald:

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Dialogue

Whitman Hostile to Negroes

After numerous re-readings of my comments regarding Charlie Whitman (as quoted in part in the August 19th Observer) and after having been reminded of certain facts by close mutual friends, I feel obliged to make an amendment to my previous statement. Although Charlie and I were good friends in 1961 and 1962, it is quite possible that we would not have remained friends in subsequent years. Our friendship would have been strained, possibly to the breaking point, by what was in my opinion Charlie's single prominent character flaw. He was extremely prejudiced, especially toward Negroes. He was overtly hostile in this sense, but he didn't seem to search out situations in which to vent this hostility. It was primarily vocal. Regrettably, this type of hostility was not and is not yet so uncommon in Texas or elsewhere to attract particular interest in the individual expressing it.

David A. Pratt, 5th Replacement Bn., APO New York 09058.

(The report of the governor's panel on Whitman revealed nothing new except the cancerousness of the tumor in Whitman's brain, which the panel said could have been a cause of what Whitman did or could have been a secondary influence. The governor said portions of what the panel found out were kept secret. That, from the panel's report, was obvious.—Ed.)

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The Texas Observer

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Memories of a 1935 March

It occurs to me that the following may be of interest in connection with the Farm Workers march Labor Day.

On January 29, 1935, unemployed citizens of Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, Waco, Ft. Worth, Eastland, Abilene, Paris, Temple, Bryan, Georgetown, Amarillo, and Austin met in the capitol city and marched from the river up Congress Avenue to present an 18-point program for unemployment relief to the legislature, then in session. The number was estimated by the local press at between 200 and 300.

The answer of Governor James Allred to questions by reporters about the march was that "they were uninvited and should go home." (He might have added, "and slop the hogs," as did another governor, except that he knew we had no hogs—we'd have et them if we'd had any.) He refused requests for food by the state for the marchers, but said he would contribute personally. He posted Texas Rangers and highway officers around the Capitol grounds to keep the unemployed from sleeping there. He did not see the unemployed delegation.

The unemployed chose George Clifton Edwards, Jr., field secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy and an S.M.U. graduate, who was visiting in Dallas, as their spokesman. As chairman of the Central Unemployed and Workers Council of Dallas, I presented the request for a hearing before the legislature. Rep. Sarah Hughes of Dallas (now a federal district judge) joined with three other members in moving that the request be granted. She relinquished her time for Edwards to speak. His remarks and the resolution he presented on behalf of 21 Texas organizations for unemployed relief by the legislature were printed in the House Journal of Jan. 29. The House took no further action.

George Edwards has had a distinguished public career since and is now a member of the Sixth District Court of Appeals of the U.S. Government, with headquarters in Cincinnati, O. Recently he was awarded the honorary degree of L.L.D. by his alma mater.

Carl Brannin, 5614 Ridgedale St., Dallas, Tex.

(Mr. Brannin, who contributed \$100 to the Starr County strikers, was one of the marchers in Austin on Labor Day.—Ed.)

Unstable Marines

Thank you for publishing the letter by Dr. Alfred Schild. My only regret is that likely not every man, woman and child will read it.

With all our personality testing, the Marines can still easily recruit potentially unstable people by high pressure recruiting tactics that imply "no one has looked up to you yet, but put on our uniform and they will." . . . The Marines have some-

what lived down their image of being ego crushers (human crushers) in boot camp. But all military life tends to overlook the individual, especially the raw recruit . . .

Let us not forget that the founders of the U.S. recognized the military for what they are, hired killers, and denied them the right to vote . . .

J. E. Bourland, Sam Rafael 290, Chapalita, Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico.

The Places of Liberalism

Texas liberals, like Texas Birchers, bray together. And of course we know, those who bray together stay together. It was a relief to read the perceptive comments which Henry Gonzalez had the courage to write [Obs. Aug. 5]. The word "liberal" is becoming synonymous with group-think and exclusiveness, hardly the definition of true liberalism.

There are no baddies from whom we goodies can piously separate ourselves and thus save the world. We share the human condition whether we care to admit it or not. The liberal spirit can be found in strange places and most often outside the self-styled liberal establishment. Let us unite with this spirit wherever we find it and release the creative energy which is the condition of true liberalism.

Svea Sauer, 704 W. 25th St., Austin, Tex.

We Need 'Black Power'

A black man with power is one who is in a position to influence the decisions that affect him. A simple concept. "Black power" should not be mistaken for anti-white power. It merely means representation in the power structure of an appreciably large and well circumscribed segment of American society. Black power does not indeed "commend itself any more than 'white power'," [Observations, Aug. 5] but white power, like union, AMA, and industrial powers, is a given, and as long as there are more than two people in this country, level heads or no, alignments will move the governing body. White power is with us. Black power is not. Let's get some.

G. C. Bagby, Baylor University College of Medicine, Houston, Texas.

A Special Reprint

The Observer has published a special 24-page reprint of our coverage of the Valley farm workers strike and march from June through September. It's entitled "The Strike and the March" and carries the Rio Grande City strikers all the way north to their confrontation at New Braunfels and their climactic meetings in Austin. Order your copy of this historic record now.

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