

TEN BOOKS IN REVIEW

November 22, 1963: The Case Is Not Closed

The President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, Report and 26 volumes of evidence, Government Printing Office, 1964.

Inquest, by Edward Jay Epstein, Viking, 1966.

Rush to Judgment, by Mark Lane, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1966.

Forgive My Grief, Volume I, by Penn Jones, Jr., 1966.

The Oswald Affair, by Leo Sauvage, World, 1966.

The Second Oswald, by Richard H. Popkin, The New York Review of Books and Avon Books, 1966.

The Unanswered Questions about President Kennedy's Assassination, by Sylvan Fox, Award Books, 1965.

Portrait of the Assassin, by Gerald Ford with John Stiles, Simon and Schuster, 1965.

Who Killed Kennedy? by Thomas G. Buchanan, Putnam, 1964.

Oswald: Assassin or Fall Guy, by Joachim Joesten, Marzani & Munsell, 1964.

The facts about the assassination of President Kennedy have not been established. The case is not closed.

Whether or not its main conclusion is eventually accepted, the Warren Report is a disgrace to history. To read it critically is to catalogue its deficiencies. It is an exercise in the selection and presentation of evidence to make a preconceived conclusion sound as plausible as possible to those without the time and resources to study the evidence for themselves.

From the first night after the murder the spokesmen of government were declaring that Oswald acted alone and had no accomplices. Those of us who were there well know this, and can prove it any time we need to. It is also a manifest fact that no investigation could have conclusively established the complex facts of that historic crime before the weekend was out. Yet it was the government line from the very first that Oswald acted alone. It was therefore a shock to thoughtful Americans as it became clear that the Warren Report is not only a brief for the prosecution of Oswald, but also a slanted argument against the possibilities that he had accomplices.

Precisely because this is true, the first

of the assassination books that have had a conclusive impact has been Jay Epstein's *Inquest*. It seems clear to me that Epstein could not have written his book without assistance, *sotto voce*, from dissatisfied persons within the Warren Commission's inner circle. Epstein establishes, to the satisfaction, in my opinion, of any reasonable person who had studied copiously in this literature, that the Warren Commission, faced with a choice between a responsible and open-minded investigation and an investigation designed to preserve the image of the country and its challenged government agencies, chose, by various processes, the latter course.

The second book on the assassination which has a conclusive value, I am surprised to say, is Mark Lane's *Rush to Judgment*. Lane's role in the post-assassination events was, in my judgment, dubious. I remember pressing him one time for his source for a startling declaration of "fact" he had made in a piece in the far-left rag, *National Guardian*, and after hemming and hawing a few days he said he'd forgotten and couldn't find it. His articles on the assassination were full of holes, like most of the skeptics' articles have been. But his book is another matter.

Rush to Judgment is just as conclusive against the Warren Commission's preconception as the Warren Report is conclusive for that preconception. Lane has written one of the longest book reviews in history (and how else can you review 26 volumes of detail and one volume of synopsis that is much too often mere glossing over?). He demonstrates that a lawyer for the defense can make mincemeat of the government's case. That is a very serious fact. He avails himself of the best of the arguments of the critics, and a few of the worst, as well, he exposes some of the report writers' gross deceptions, and again and again he does what every thoughtful critic has done: he demands to know why the commission failed to so much as talk to so many witnesses and others whose testimony was of critical, pivotal importance. Lane is to be commended, not for his earlier role and not for his magazine work on this subject, but for *Rush to Judgment*.

WE HAVE NOW run out of books, among those on the assassination, in the first rank. Others are worth perusal, but are not to be mistaken for conclusive contributions to the subject.

The Texas editor, Penn Jones, Jr., wrote a series of comments, in bulk mostly excerpts from the volumes of evidence, in his paper, the Midlothian Mirror, and then expanded them somewhat and published them as a paperback, *Forgive My Grief*. Jones does not trouble to conceal his suspicion that President Kennedy's death was a plot that involved important people. He makes contributions in specific areas of the evidence and the non-evidence, and he asks questions that demand answers. His most distinctive contribution to the literature, from the point of view of historians who will comb through all this for later centuries if we have any, is his origination of information about the death by violence and apparently natural causes of witnesses and others involved with principals in the case and in the post-assassination matrix. In the most dramatic of these originations, one must rely on Jones' assertion that during a certain meeting involving persons since killed or deceased, something dramatic must have been said, perhaps by George Senator, Jack Ruby's roommate. (Lane picks up this work in *Rush to Judgment*. Ramparts magazine features it currently.) In general, Jones' work suffers from his tendency to state a suspicion as a belief. While a suspicion can also be a belief, it is more accurately stated as a suspicion.

But remarks on *Forgive My Grief* would be incomplete without appreciation of Jones' courage. Believing what he does, living a short drive from Dallas, he goes right ahead. Once I told him he was a brave man. He said hell, man, what was I talking about — he was scared. I told him I hadn't said he wasn't scared, but that he was brave. He is.

The Oswald Affair, by French reporter Leo Sauvage, is a good, but outdated examination of the Warren Report. Specializing in the assassination is an esoteric business. Sauvage, one of the early skeptics of the official government doctrine, also made some of the early mistakes. It was the price, and a heavy one, that had

to be paid by those who continued to publish before the evidence was fairly well jelled. In return for this penalty, they received the satisfaction of knowing they forced both explanations and changes of stance out of government spokesmen. The press has interacted with the government in countless ways; the case is a still-tangled weave of this very interaction. Sauvage has played a strong, honest, sometimes mistaken role in this interaction.

Sylvan Fox's *The Unanswered Questions About President Kennedy's Assassination* is also a necessary book for anyone who intends to know about the case. Fox, a New York reporter, did what any intelligent person can do. He read (or read in) the 27 volumes and asked some of the questions that cry out for answers. This is a pretty good book. *The Second Oswald*, Richard Popkin's thought that a double for Oswald might make much of the evidence less perplexing, is potentially an important contribution.

ONE MEMBER of the Commission, the Republican leader, Gerald Ford, evidently wasn't entirely satisfied personally with the Report. He wrote, ("with" his assistant John Stiles, field director for Nixon for President in 1960), his own *Portrait of the Assassin*. One naturally notices the use of the article, "the," and the singular form of the word, "Assassin." Apart from being in doubtful taste, *Portrait of the Assassin* would have been almost without excuse as a book (although OK as soap opera) but for Ford's revelation in the opening pages that Atty.

Gen. Waggoner Carr and Dallas D.A. Henry Wade precipitated a quivering crisis in the Commission.

I have not meant, in this remark, to get into the evidence. However, an exception: For several months after Nov. 22, 1963, I investigated the assassination in Dallas, sending reports to the Washington Post and to the Observer. I was in and out of the city, but lived a lot of time in hotel rooms. At one point an official told me that Oswald had been an FBI employee and had had a certain pay number, which my source gave me. He would not give his source but said it was solid. I at once relayed this to the Post. Journalistically, the source would have had to have been so masked, the story would have seemed fishy if printed without confirmation, and FBI sources said it wasn't so. So that, for the time being, was that. Ford opens his book saying Carr and Wade brought this report to a full meeting of the Commission. Lane argues with sickening persuasiveness that the Commission decided it could not just take J. Edgar Hoover's word for it, and then did.

Who Killed Kennedy? by Thomas G. Buchanan and *Oswald: Assassin or Fall Guy?* by Joachim Joesten are beneath serious attention as to the facts, although not, necessarily, as to theory.

There has been one recent important development. The Kennedy family have given to the national archives the X-rays and photographs of the late President that are the best evidence about the direction and number of the shots. It is not yet clear whether access to these vital documents will be limited to approved govern-

ment specialists or will also be open to critics of the assassination under controlled, responsible conditions. If only government people are to see them, there should be a court test. The import of these documents belongs to the people and we ought not to have to wait until 1971 to have non-governmental access to them.

The next important book on the assassination will be Harland Manchester's. Manchester has been understood to be Jacqueline Kennedy's (and thus the Kennedy family's) trusted person in the post-assassination investigations. He has, I am told, worked himself mercilessly in preparing this book; he had access to the Warren Commission's inner sanctum; he has done a meticulous and in countless ways startling book. Without, so I am also told, invalidating the basic thrust of the Warren Report's conclusion that Oswald was the only assassin, his work will have profound reverberations. It should begin to appear in serialized form in Look Magazine before long.

IN MY OPINION the time has arrived in the post-assassination period for the matter to be advanced, to a new stage, if it can be. The Warren Report is not convincing, and neither are any of the theories that run contrary to the Warren Report's conclusion. The legitimate doubts about that conclusion continue to be merely preliminary in the absence of evidence that there was a conspiracy and who the conspirators were.

The government should re-open the investigation. Whether it does or not, the time is right for the active renewal of inquiries. I discontinued my daily work on the subject when, several months after the event, I saw that what I was finding out was being twisted here and abroad to serve speculations I knew to be false and conclusions I thought to be unjustifiable other than as suspicions; while I have continued to make inquiries sporadically since then, I have not written anything more for the reason I just mentioned and also because the matter is too complex to be dealt with as a spot news story. But I would like anyone who might be interested to know that my work is continuing, as I hope is also the work of others who, declining to be weakened by suspicions in any direction, rigorously distinguishing reports, rumors, and theories from facts, and refusing to accept explanations that the plainest operations of the mind discredit, want the truth. R.D.

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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 is entitled "The Farm Workers Arise" 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.

TEXAS' COUNTRY EDITOR

Texas Country Editor: H. M. Baggarly Takes a Grass-Roots Look at National Politics. Edited by Eugene W. Jones. The World Publishing Company, \$6.50.

Weekly journalism in Texas, once a yeasty concoction, today is largely a bland diet of denatured local tidbits and stale, half-baked news that's garnished around the grocery and utility company ads. Our state's modern descendents of O. Henry, William Brann, and a host of less-well-known crossroads intellects of days past are but distant cousins, twice removed; a coterie of Rotary Club members, bent more on cadging additional advertising lineage from their fellow businessmen than on placing in meaningful perspective the situations of social significance that do occur in the world and in each hamlet, no matter its size.

Life, as portrayed in these pale journals, is idyllically simple. Their editors conceive of community leadership as an annual sequence of urging the populace not to break its new year's resolutions, to remember mom on Mother's Day, to drive carefully on the Fourth of July, to avoid the pitfalls of juvenile delinquency, to really get behind the local high school football team, to give generously to the Community Chest, to shop at home, to count its blessings on Thanksgiving, and to keep Christ in Christmas. Indeed, were it not for the "suggested editorials" which bombard our state's newspaper editors through the mail each week, from many sources, there would be even fewer instances of editorial comment on anything remotely significant in most of the weekly press. Indeed, few editors take the trouble to run even these second-hand ideas; regrettably, however, some do.

The philosophy of most weekly publishers is, it seems, to create the impression of public service — but without unduly stirring up the public. That would make their papers suspect, casting doubt on their fitness for investment of the advertising dollar. Readers, in the apparent view of most Texas editors and publishers, are consumers, not citizens who are interested in learning more of the events of the day. "Don't rock the boat — it's for rent." That's the ticket.

THE WEEKLY editors in Texas who believe otherwise are singular men. They include but a handful. Known to me are Archer Fullingim of Kountze, Penn Jones, Jr., of Midlothian, Troy Martin of Canyon, Clemo Clements of Lewisville, and Tulia's H. M. Baggarly. Baggarly has labored long and well on his native High Plains, speaking forthrightly ideas that are not held unanimously in that stretch between Lubbock and Amarillo, a region given largely to conservatism and to some right wing extremism.

Since 1952 Baggarly has been the voice of the Democratic Party (the real one) in his part of the state. His column at first was the usual collection of chit-chat that clogs the pages of too many community papers. But during the Presidential campaign year of 1952 Baggarly found his calling — commentary on public issues. In retrospect the beginning had some amusing predictions; Baggarly wrote in March of that year: Robert Taft would win the GOP Presidential nomination and President Truman would run again. Four years later Baggarly predicted that Eisenhower would not run for reelection and, later in 1956, he wrote that Texas would vote for Stevenson.

But since then Baggarly has truly hit his stride, commenting with increasing acuity on national and state affairs as, for instance, his view, expressed in mid-1963 that "the country today has no intention of electing a Barry Goldwater and what he stands for than it has of electing a Nikita Khrushchev. The country will continue to elect Republicans and Democrats, but in either case the one elected will not be a rightwinger."

Baggarly's Tulia Herald now has circulation of 4,500 in all 50 states and in 10 foreign countries. Despite this, however, the bulk of the readers are in his home county and Baggarly has written that he "would rather please a Swisher County 4-H member or . . . farmer than the Queen of England." He has won national awards for his writing and the friendship and admiration of many notables, among them Harry Golden, who volunteered to write the foreword for this volume.

I discovered Baggarly while working briefly on the paper at nearby Muleshoe. The arrival of the Herald at my office invariably made me stop whatever I was doing to read "The Country Editor" column and the full editorial page with its content of varied, interesting sources. I best remember Baggarly for two things, in particular, so far: his ringing defense of a Catholic's right to run for the Presidency during the 1960 campaign when Muleshoe and the rest of that part of the state were nearly aflame with hate, and the Nov. 28, 1963, Herald with President Kennedy's picture occupying the entire first page and, inside, Baggarly's words: "If it took the President's death to strip away the veil of hatred and prejudice long enough for America to see Mr. Kennedy's statesmanship and greatness, then he has not died in vain. If it took the President's death to show America the inevitable result of extremism and fanaticism, then he has not died in vain. If it took the President's death to show the bigots who have exploited religious prejudice from their pulpits, he has not died in vain. If it took our President's death to slow those forces which would

divide our people, Protestant against Catholic, white against black, Gentile against Jew, American against American, then he has not died in vain. If it took the President's death to sound the death knell to hate societies, then he did not die in vain. If somehow Americans have learned that there is a right and a wrong way to disagree, to promote the causes in which they believe, then he has not died in vain. . . . If somehow it took the President's death to cause Texans to take a second look at themselves, to view themselves through the eyes of the outsider, then he has not died in vain. God bless your memory, John Kennedy."

BAGGARLY, A Plainview native, born of parents who moved to West Texas from Missouri, grew up in Happy, Swisher County, and was valedictorian of the high school three during the Depression year of 1931. He taught piano lessons for 25c each to work his way through West Texas State College at nearby Canyon and then, from 1938 to 1943, taught commercial subjects and sponsored the school paper at Tulia High School. After war service in the Pacific as an aide to Admiral Chester Nimitz Baggarly returned to Tulia in 1946 to teach. A bit later he became news editor of the Herald and bought a third interest in the paper, resigning from teaching to pursue journalism. A year later he sold his interest in the paper and went back to teaching, also doing work on his master's degree at West Texas State, which he earned in 1949. In 1950 he again quit teaching and became editor and co-publisher of the Herald, finally, in 1955, acquiring financial control of the paper. Baggarly is an organist at his church and is a bachelor, living alone since the death of his mother in 1952.

Dr. Eugene W. Jones, head of the social studies department at Wayland Baptist College of Plainview, approached Baggarly in 1964 about compiling a book of "Country Editor" columns. Jones, a Kentucky native, had become interested in Baggarly shortly after moving to Plainview 12 years ago, finding that no one who knew of the Herald was lukewarm in his opinion of it. The selections of "Country Editor" columns, Baggarly says, were made by Jones. They are separated into seven periods — each of the four Presidential years beginning with 1952, and the three three-year periods intervening those campaigns. Jones opens the book with a chapter on the history of Tulia journalism before Baggarly and reviews Baggarly's life. This is Jones' first book, though he has authored four plays and has published several papers in historical quarterlies.

To check on the effectiveness of a forthright editor, Jones made an interesting study. He reviewed 35 races for public office from 1950 to 1964, studying the votes given *Herald*-backed candidates in Swisher County and comparing this figure with the vote in the 16-county area around Tulia. In all cases but seven Baggarly's candidates did better in Swisher County than

in the area's other counties. U.S. Sen. Ralph Yarborough said, of his November, 1958, election to the Senate: "The Country Editor's editorials . . . count as the most important single factor in our victory in 23 of 25 South Plains counties and in an overwhelming majority of the Panhandle counties."

Jones' book is a fitting national tribute to a Texas editor who carries on a vener-

able tradition that is in danger of dying out. Those interested in public affairs and the journalism of Texas will enjoy this book. Writers who live near one of the other leading editors of Texas weeklies would do well to consider books similar to Jones' worthy compilation of Baggarly's efforts. A few other such books as this one can justifiably be published about a few other Texans — too few, alas. G. O.

Starr County Hangover

Greg Olds

Rio Grande City

The emotional binge of the march to Austin behind them now, Starr County's striking farm workers these past weeks have been battling a "morning after hangover," facing cold reality back home in this, their unremittingly squalid and remote village of 7,000. The day-by-day duties of the strike are being tended to, but rather grimly, it seems. It is not difficult for the strikers to imagine that nobody else cares about them and their strike whose finances are so precariously balanced. They are determined, however, that their movement shall prevail in this remote brushland outpost at Texas' southern tip.

Between three and five hundred workers are striking in Starr County, according to Eugene Nelson, the strike's organizer. Some 1,500 workers have signed up with the union, but some of these, Nelson believes, will not return here after work in the fields of West Texas and out of state. Between 100 and 150 of the families who are most active in the strike are receiving the bulk of the support from the strikers' treasury. Nelson says that a bare minimum of \$1,000 is needed by the strikers each week to carry on — \$600 for groceries and \$400 for medical and utility bills. In recent weeks income from donations to the strikers has been about \$250. Funds contributed by other labor unions across the state can be used only for paying organizers, not for living expenses of the strikers.

Hoping to improve the fiscal picture, Nelson is now planning personal fund-raising appearances around Texas, mostly before union locals. He is also planning to begin a newspaper for the strikers and their supporters.

The union has a headquarters in an old theatre in Rio Grande City, housing one office and a meeting hall that will seat nearly 300. Next door is a cafe which has been rented to feed the pickets and the other strike workers. "It's put more spirit in the picket lines," Nelson says of the cafe, "the fact that they can come in for a breakfast of eggs, coffee, potatoes, and tortillas. Sometimes we have oatmeal or pancakes."

Not far away are the delapidated houses

of Nelson and two other young leaders who, though recently arrived here, are also veterans of the Delano, California, farm laborers' strike, Tony Orendain and Bill Chandler. In the houses of these three men much of the union's work is done. Orendain, who was a co-founder with Cesar Chavez of the Farm Workers Organization in 1962, is taking over leadership of the strike here now with Chandler as his assistant. This will free Nelson to do fund-raising. In the near future, Nelson says, he hopes that a dramatic group will be formed here similar to one that has proven valuable in California in terms of morale and indoctrinating union members. The California troupe performed in Rio Grande City in September. Another need, Nelson says, is a union garage to service the strikers' cars and trucks at lower costs than now possible.

Some University of Texas students have been active in organizing a pilgrimage for the Thanksgiving weekend, tracing in reverse the route of the march to Austin. Along the route clothing, food, medical supplies, and money will be collected for the strikers. Plans have tentatively been announced for a benefit dinner in San Antonio that weekend (to which U.S. Sen. Robert Kennedy has been invited). Ismael Diaz of Rio Grande City, a union leader, will head the caravan, which will be sponsored by the Valley Farm Workers Assistance Committee. A three-man musical group has been formed and will sing, in particular, two songs written in the local jail, one about the jail itself, the other about the Roma bridge. (The caravan will leave Austin Friday, Nov. 25, after a rally the night before. Other stops that first day will be San Marcos, San Antonio, Floresville, and Beeville; Saturday, Nov. 26, Mathis, Corpus Christi, Robstown, Kingsville, Premont, Falfurrias, Raymondville, and San Juan; Sunday, Nov. 27, Edinburg, McAllen, Mission, and Rio Grande City.)

THREE OBJECTIVES occupy the *huelguistas* now — keeping unrelenting pressure on the county's ten or fifteen largest growers, supporting themselves and their families on the trickle of donated money and supplies, and trying to stem the flow of workers from Mexi-

co, just across the river. This last aim has, this fall, provoked the Battles of Roma Bridge.

Across this international span each day Mexican nationals come to Starr County's fields, here to work beside the county's residents. Cleveland Grammer of the Houston Post discovered not long ago that one of every four workers in Starr County's fields is a "green carder" — a Mexican who crosses the river with a resident alien identification card issued by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Service spokesmen claim that it's now harder to get a green card, but enough of them have been issued to threaten the county's impoverished native workers.

Concerned about the river crossers, Nelson and his co-leaders conceived a bridge demonstration. Two purposes were to be served: first, to spread the word of the strike among the green carders, and, secondly, to draw public attention to what the *huelguistas* regard as unfair and illegal competition from across the river. Nelson says he can't understand why "the American government will allow foreign citizens to cross the river to break a strike — especially a strike of those already living in poverty." Shortly before 5 a.m. on Oct. 24 Nelson, Orendain, Chandler, and some 50 strikers walked to the center of the bridge that links Roma, 14 miles upriver from here, with Ciudad Miguel Aleman, Mexico. It was reported in the daily press that the strikers intended to block all traffic. Nelson denies this. He says that the plan was to stop each vehicle and see if any farm workers were crossing into Starr County. He estimates that about 30 cars were permitted to cross the bridge, while about eight were turned back because they were transporting farm laborers from Mexico. "We weren't trying to stop traffic," Nelson tells the Observer, "though we may have slowed it down a little, while checking the cars." Nelson says that the bridge wasn't totally blocked until after he was arrested, when demonstrators became angry.

About 8 a.m. County Attorney Randall Nye called to a phone at the bridge and asked to speak to Nelson. Suspecting a trick, Nelson asked that Chandler take the call. A little later Nye and Chief Deputy Sheriff Raul Pena arrived at the bridge

and ordered the strikers to stand aside. They refused and walked just across the border, which bisects the bridge. Nye went to the Mexican side and summoned some help. Mexican police moved out onto the bridge, forcing the demonstrators back towards Texas. Nelson stood with one foot in Texas, the other in Mexico. A Mexican officer pushed him into Texas. Nelson went limp and was dragged away by officers to a waiting car. He refused to get in the car and was lifted into it by Pena and two other officers. Pena then reached across the border and grabbed Chandler, pulling him to the floor of the bridge, but the union leader jerked free and jumped back across the border. Finally, Chandler and ten others were arrested. By 11:15 a.m. traffic was again flowing freely.

Early that afternoon some 40 farm workers marched around the courthouse where the bridge demonstrators were jailed, shouting "Viva la huelga!" to the prisoners. "Viva la huelga!" the 12 shouted back. Late Monday the group was bailed out.

One week later, Oct. 31, Orendain and two others were arrested by Mexican authorities after the gate on the Roma bridge was closed and locked by somebody. The three were released eight hours later with no charges filed.

Nov. 3 a group of farm workers lined up across a railroad track and blocked an engine, preventing its hauling five carloads of bell peppers. Chandler and Orendain spoke with the engineer of the train, convincing him that he should "honor the picket line." Early this week the carloads of peppers still had not been moved out. Rangers were on the scene investigating the burning of a nearby railroad trestle.

Even if the green carders were stopped from coming across the river, Nelson was asked, wouldn't there still be more workers in Rio Grande City than jobs? What pressure would the exclusion of the Mexican nationals put on the growers to acknowledge the union? Nelson responded that even now, with most of the county's workers back home but with many of them refusing to work, growers are having to rely on Mexican nationals as well as workers from other parts of the Valley to get their work done. He notes, also, that there is a steady gain in union membership, and there are many cases, he says, of individuals refusing to work in the county after being talked to by strikers.

A QUESTION which seems to persist now in the minds of Nelson and Cesar Chavez and others is: did the march to Austin carry forward the aims of the strikers? Nelson says he's not quite sure what the Rev. Antonio Gonzales and the Rev. James Novarro, who were co-leaders of the march, are doing now. Novarro attended a meeting in Corpus Christi last month to organize the caravan from Austin to Starr County. Nelson's not sure where Gonzales is.

Chavez, en route to the Valley to see how the strike is doing, was in Austin last

month for a fund-raising dance. He expressed doubt several times about the march's value — and was critical by implication of Nelson and the conduct of the Starr County strike and the handling of the march. Chavez said he is convinced that a strike should be called only after considerable community organization work is done. "We spent four years getting ready in California, doing community work among farm workers — doing social service programs, whether related to their jobs or not. We tried to take care of these problems and show that it is beneficial to be organized. And we refused to accept money from outside sources at first — to make the people feel that they had an investment in the deal. In this way we have been able to prove that we are able to sustain a long strike," Chavez went on, "enabling our friends elsewhere to help; for all practical purposes in past strikes, it was all over in ten days," when the money usually played out.

In Starr County the strike was begun without this preliminary organizational work, Chavez said, so now this must be done concurrently with the strike. "I think they have made mistakes here in Texas, but I'm not going to come here and say that you can't do that because you've been making mistakes," he said, adding that he believes it's very important for leaders in places such as Starr County to learn by doing.

Another mistake in Texas, Chavez believes, was that the march to Austin was not controlled by the strikers. "Two days after the march began," Chavez noted, "the marchers weren't 'strikers' any more,

but 'the Valley farm workers seeking \$1.25.'" The Starr County workers want a contract, not necessarily a state minimum wage, Chavez indicated. The workers' march in California was planned for eleven months and was used as a vehicle for signing up members for the union, and some 7,000 dues-paying members were signed, he said. "I think we could have won the strike with the march" in Texas, Chavez said — implying that the enthusiasm of the Texas march has been permitted to dissipate.

Not getting the message, a student asked Chavez: Is the \$1.25 minimum wage measure a high priority objective of the Starr County strike? "How can it be," Chavez responded with some feeling, "when we have people being beaten and incarcerated. . . . We're going to get to the moon before we recognize that farm workers have the right to organize . . . that's how bad it is. . . . But if the people want to do it (in Starr County), they can do anything."

A long siege still lies ahead for the Starr strikers, Chavez believes. He pointed out that after 14 months in California just four of 37 growers have settled with the union. The strike in Rio Grande City has been going on only five months so far, Chavez pointed out. A next step in the battle here may be a boycott. Chavez recounted the effectiveness of this tactic in California. He noted that two of the larger Starr County growers market their products in only one place, Chicago, whereas the Schenley Corporation in California had a nationwide distribution system for its products. □

SINCE LABOR DAY:

Two days after the rally at the State Capitol the Starr County strikers, back in Rio Grande City, resumed picketing of La Casita, the largest of the farms. Chavez was there with Bill Kircher of Washington, D.C., and Nick Kurko, Fort Worth, national and regional directors, respectively, of organizing for the AFL-CIO. These three men conferred with Nelson about continuance of the strike. Later in September supporters began organizing Valley Workers Assistance Committees in towns throughout South and Central Texas.

In October the strikers' attention began to turn towards the green carders. A truck driver who transported workers to Starr County from Alamo in neighboring Hidalgo County, as well as from Mexico, was picketed at his home by strikers. One sign read "A strikebreaker lives here. Farm workers want decent wages." Some of the Mexicans were followed back across the Rio Grande after work by the strikers and other green carders were talked to about not breaking the strike. These tactics achieved some success in stemming the flow of labor northward across the border.

In other developments last month, Texas House Speaker Ben Barnes told the

Edinburg Review that he would conduct a personal inquiry into the Valley farm labor situation. "I have no other way to get all the information on this without going there personally," Barnes said. In San Antonio supporters of the strike met to draw up a suggested program to increase financial support and push a minimum wage bill in the next legislature.

Starr County Judge M. P. Rodriguez, at Nelson's request, called a meeting for Oct. 14 between growers and representatives of the strikers. "No one can question that our county administration is for a decent and living wage," Rodriguez said, "and for the proposition that every laborer has the right to be paid what is just and fair." However, two days before the scheduled meeting, Bill Chandler was arrested on a charge of disturbing the peace by using obscene language. Chandler denies that he was breaking the law. He believes that he was arrested "on a put-up charge between growers and county politicians" as a pretext for calling off the meeting. Rodriguez said that he postponed the meeting because of "action on the part of the strikers and the inability of certain growers to attend." □

November 11, 1966

Busy Days Ahead for the Legislature

✓ What lies ahead for the newly-elected legislature? These issues have been mentioned by various sources, official and otherwise: an industrial safety code, cutting the cities in on the sales tax, more state tax revenue, traffic safety, auto insurance rates, higher salaries for state employees, revision of the criminal code, increased support for education, teachers' pay raise, higher tuition at state colleges, expanded programs for the mentally ill and retarded, improving and adding to the state park system, constitutional revision, creation of a state agency to coordinate urban programs, elimination of overlapping by local governmental jurisdictions, revision of voting laws (possibly including consideration of either annual or permanent registration), pollution control, consumer loan law revision, clarified community property laws, state bonds for industrial expansion, branch banking in the four largest cities, and parimutuel betting.

✓ Gov. John Connally says that constitutional revision will be tops on his agenda.

✓ Finding more money to run the state's growing budget will be a key problem. Budget requests total \$1.4 billion over the amount allotted for the current two-year period, and about \$500 million above expected revenues for the coming biennium. However, the state is growing and its revenues are increasing at present tax rates. It appears now that the governor will not seek a sales tax increase, though earlier this fall it had appeared sure that he would. House Speaker Ben Barnes believes that a major tax increase may be avoided; if not, however, Barnes guesses that a sales tax hike would be the most likely. The state will finish this year with a surplus. Barnes notes that no major tax increase has occurred since 1961, when the sales tax first became effective.

✓ Helping the cities out of their multiplying perplexities seems to be another high priority, particularly, say Texas leaders, if we are not to witness more federal influence in the state. Proposals under consideration include direct state aid to cities and legislation permitting cities to impose sales taxes. The mayors of Austin and El Paso have urged a municipal sales tax. However, some of the other mayors seem to be backing off a little from the city sales tax. Nineteen of them met with Connally several weeks back. The governor afterwards publicly promised to ask the legislature to raise substantial new revenues for the cities. Mayor W. W. McAllister, San Antonio, who

previously had spoken out for a city sales tax, has reconsidered: it wouldn't be fair to San Antonio merchants, he indicated, if San Antonio passed one and surrounding cities didn't.

✓ A Texas Research League report has suggested letting the state's 22 metropolitan counties take over many municipal functions by setting up a county-manager form of government and imposing higher taxes. This sounds like metro government to some local officials — and the end of some county and municipal jobs. James W. McGrew, league research director, says the proposed reorganization would only permit counties to provide some new area-wide services, such as health, welfare, hospitals, parks, libraries, airports, planning, transit, refuse disposal, and flood control. Other services, such as police, fire, streets, and recreation, aren't involved, McGrew says. It is believed the governor backs the league's proposal.

News of Education

✓ The State Board of Education will present a 16-point proposal to the legislature, including some drastic changes in school operations: beginning children at age five (instead of six) thereby providing thirteen years of formal public school training instead of twelve; lengthening the school day from six to seven hours and the school year from nine to ten months.

✓ A teacher tenure bill will be proposed by the Texas Classroom Teachers Association, providing for dismissal of teachers only on the basis of "conduct deemed detrimental to the student." "Teachers are being dismissed every year for reasons that may or may not have borne on their professional competence," believes Mrs. Kathryn Townsend of Victoria, T.C.T.A. legislative chairman. Another teachers' group, the Texas State Teachers Association, will seek another salary increase, ranging from \$61 to \$100 monthly. Connally says that he hasn't yet decided what to recommend to the legislature about the teachers' pay raise request.

✓ The first shoe has been dropped to signal a recommendation to the legislature that state-supported colleges raise their tuitions. The other shoe is expected to hit the floor Dec. 12 at a special meeting of the Coordinating Board, Texas College and University System. Last month the board was presented a staff report in which the case for a tuition raise is strongly set forth. But a committee of the board didn't have enough time to make its recommendations, thus the meeting in December. Dr. J. K. Williams, who became the state commissioner of higher

education Aug. 1, has frequently urged higher tuitions. Board member J. C. Looney of Edinburg referring to the matter as "this rather troublesome problem," has acknowledged that the staff report does indicate the desirability of upping tuitions. Tuitions probably will be doubled, either by charging \$7 or \$7.50 per semester hour, or by raising the present \$50 rate to \$100.

✓ The executive director of the 6,000-member Houston Teachers Association has urged teachers to hold a one-day walkout if the school board fails to call for a tax increase election by March to raise salaries. "It is our . . . duty to be militant if the children are being hurt," said Joe Fisher.

✓ The State Board of Education has upheld Commissioner J. W. Edgar's ruling last spring that school districts may not charge supply fees nor withhold report cards and transcripts from pupils who fail to pay such fees. The matter arose in Rio Hondo, though some other school districts are believed to engage in such practices.

✓ Texas is progressing well in school desegregation, said Dr. James E. Turman, former speaker of the state's House of Representatives, while visiting in Houston. He said he doubted that the U.S. Office of Education would ever set up a "national curriculum." There will be national goals, but federal money for education is administered by the states, Turman pointed out.

✓ Integration at Tyler is proceeding too slowly, the superintendent there has been advised by O.E. officials. At Houston, the local American Civil Liberties Union chapter is asking help from the Justice Department to speed school integration, specifically to transfer a Negro student into a ninth grade class with white children. The ninth grade is the last grade that remains segregated in Houston.

The Colleges

✓ Some 2,000 Prairie View A&M College students held a rally to protest conditions there. A list of 57 grievances was read, charging such as: inadequate food in the dining hall, strict curfews for women, lack of vocational and social activities, \$1 hourly wage for students on campus jobs, and the inability to voice their opinions without being sent home. Also, the students asked, "Who is the president of Prairie View?" Dr. Jesse Drew became ill Sept. 2, the day after he took office. Another official has been designated as acting president. Student demonstrations were opposed in principle by the University of Houston president,

Dr. Phillip Hoffman, in meeting with architecture students who had boycotted classes for a day and a half to protest alleged deficiencies in their courses and the threatened loss of accreditation. Hoffman said steps are being taken to correct the deficiencies. Demonstrations and riots by college students could produce a serious backlash against education, said Rice University's chancellor, Dr. Carey Coneis, in an address in Lubbock at the inauguration of Dr. Grover Elmer Murray as the eighth president of Texas Tech. Another speaker at the Tech event was Dr. Edward Teller, the noted physicist, who said that the United States should have a man on the moon in two years. At Georgetown Governor Connally said that higher education would cost Texas taxpayers \$50 million more a year if there were no private colleges. He spoke at the dedication of four new buildings at Southwestern University. Rice may admit Negro students and charge tuition, a court has ruled, affirming a 1964 lower court decision. W. W. Heath of Austin has resigned as chairman of the University of Texas Board of Regents, effective Dec. 1, citing business commitments as the reason. He will stay on the board as a member. New chairman will be Frank Erwin, also of Austin, Democratic national committee-man.

More on Big D

✓ The latest Dallas convulsion involves the unauthorized showing of a filmstrip, "Civil Riots, U.S.A.," a right-wing version of the racial situation. The showing was at a high school assembly which students were required to attend. The event was billed as a "police appreciation assembly." Presenting the show was the Dallas County Committee for Support of Local Police. One member of the committee has resigned, saying "I've found out this thing [the organization] may have Birch overtones, and I'm no Bircher." Dallas School Supt. W. T. White says that the filmstrip's showing was "contrary to policy" because it was not cleared with the administration first.

✓ Other Dallas occurrences of late: four men identified by police as Nazi party members were arrested after a disturbance at a United Nations Week speech by U.N. Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, reminding the Dallas Times-Herald of the troubles which Adlai Stevenson, Goldberg's predecessor, had in Dallas three years earlier at a similar event. A Dallas telephone recording service was set up by John Birch Society members to deliver a two-minute attack on UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund, on the grounds that money collected on Halloween by children for UNICEF does not go to other children, but to "Socialist and Communist dictators so they can augment their Swiss bank accounts."

✓ In response to the crackdown by New York state police on 15 Minutemen there who were, police said, preparing to bomb three camps, the Observer asked

the Texas Department of Public Safety (1) if there are Minutemen in Texas, (2) whether a watch is kept on them, and (3) what they're up to. D.P.S.'s public information officer, Bill Carter, responded with the agency's policy: no public information on matters of that kind.

✓ We are closing this issue of the Observer before the returns are in for the Texas election.

Pena Scratched

✓ Bexar County Cmsr. Albert Pena may believe that "somebody up there" doesn't like him. Pena's name was a conspicuous omission from a list of Latin-American leaders who will gather at the White House, probably in December, for a conference on the problems of the Spanish-speaking. Pena is generally conceded to have helped bring the conference about by his leading of a walkout by Latinos last spring at an Equal Employment Opportunities Conference in Albuquerque. Cong. Henry B. Gonzalez says that Pena's name was on a list several weeks ago of those to be invited to the White House. Gonzalez denies that he struck Pena's name, leading to speculation that some White House staff member did the erasing.

✓ The city of San Antonio agreed, by unanimous city council vote, to pledge its credit to underwrite the HemisFair tower (See Obs., Sept. 30). The mayor, W. W. McAllister, Jr., who was also a trustee of the Tower Corp., argued that the city should do this when bond companies offer to pony up the money for the Tower Corp. At the stormy meeting of the council at which the decision was taken to pledge the city's credit, McAllister confirmed his resignation as a Tower Corp. trustee, which he'd announced earlier to "avoid any talk about a possible conflict of interests."

The San Antonio Express had sided with McAllister's earlier arguments that since there wasn't time for the election McAllister had assured the voters would be held before the city's credit would be obligated, the credit should be pledged without an election. A few days before the council made its decision, it became known that the contractor for the Tower said another month's delay would be all right.

At the hearing, which spilled over with people, the city underwriting the tower was favored by 23 of the 32 speakers, including the president of Security National Bank, Michael Dennis, who said if the tower wasn't built "we are breaking our word. . . . Are we prepared to rename ourselves Judas, Texas?" Charles Stough, coordinator of the Independent Democratic Precinct Clubs of Bexar County, said the state constitution prohibits the city from subscribing to a private project. A suit was filed last week by 15 citizens opposing the city's backing of the tower.

Under the city's plan, the city will pledge to buy the tower from the Tower Corp. over a 20-year period. If the tower makes a profit, the city gets it; if the

tower's revenues don't pay for the tower, the city's general fund must make up the difference. The mayor said the worst that could happen would be a five-cent tax raise, and that was virtually out of the question.

The President has signed the HemisFair bill, and the appropriation has been included in a Senate appropriations bill after urgings on HemisFair's behalf by Sen. Yarborough. The federal appropriation was cut from the requested \$10 million to \$6,750,000.

Ratings Released

✓ On the Americans for Democratic Action scorecard for the 89th Congress, now adjourned, Sen. John Tower scores zero; Cong. at large Joe Pool does, too. They were the two Texas congressmen facing serious election challenges.

ADA also gave goose-eggs to Cong. Dowdy, Fisher, Poage, Roberts, Rogers, and White of Texas. Sen. Yarborough was rated 88% right. House-side the highest scores were those of Gonzalez and Brooks, 92%. Other Texans: Patman 83, Young 58, Thompson 50, Beckworth 42; Casey, de la Garza, Mahon, Pickle, and Wright, all 33; Burleson 17; Cabell, Purcell, and Teague, 8.

✓ Gonzalez spoke out against excessive defense profits. He urged that the government's renegotiation board be given power to stop such profits. In the closing weeks, Burleson, Dowdy, and Teague voted to kill the poverty program. The Texas delegation voted to back Burleson instead of Brooks as the new Texas member of the tax-writing House ways and means committee. Cong. Patman hinted in his newsletter that Secretary of the Treasurer Henry Fowler should be impeached.

✓ Sen. Yarborough defended the U.S. against an attack against it for "imperialism" and responsibility in earlier wars from a French delegate to the Inter-Parliamentary Union at Tehran. An article by Yarborough arguing that crime victims should get federal compensation was run by Family Weekly.

✓ Sen. Ralph Yarborough voted for the \$6.4 billion program of aid to elementary and high schools, for the \$4.1 billion public works appropriation, against the unsuccessful amendment proposing government financing of presidential election campaigns. Sen. John Tower did not vote on these measures.

✓ Attorney general Carr has changed his mind about whether TV cable services are public utilities. Previously Carr had ruled that they are. A decision made recently says now that they are not, and therefore they may charge whatever rates they wish, without regulation. The only regulation such firms are subject to, the A. G. says now, is exercise of police power. □

The Academics Note Some Gains, But Further Steps Lie Ahead

Edmund L. Pincoffs

What really is the quality of higher education in Texas? This question was at the heart of a talk on academic freedom this month by Dr. Edmund L. Pincoffs, before the Texas conference of the American Association of University Professors at Waco. We excerpt the talk here. Dr. Pincoffs is an associate professor of philosophy and education at the University of Texas and former president of the Texas A.A.U.P.

Profesores, profesoras: colleagues, distinguished guests, CIA agents, and student refugees from class — greetings.

Where do we stand? "We" should be carefully explained. In what follows, I shall try to exhibit what I take to be the consensus of A.A.U.P. opinion in the state of Texas, and even of faculty opinion generally. . . .

It makes no sense to go posturing about in a void, or on the stage of a self-created world: we must be posturing about in a void, or on the stage of a self-created world: we must be candid with ourselves about the world in which, as academics, we live. Let us discuss where we are first, then. There is much that is bitter, and much that is sweet in the story. Let us take the bitter first so that we can appreciate the sweet.

We live and attempt to teach, write, and research in a state that has so far devoted precious little of its time, attention, and resources to higher education. In almost every category, we rank well below national averages and medians. The Report of the Governor's Committee on Education beyond the Highschool has documented this. We rank, or ranked in 1963-'64, 37th in the percentage of total state expenditures devoted to state institutions of higher learning. In the same academic year, "the average Texas faculty salary in public senior colleges and universities ranked in the lower half, being 10.5 per cent lower than the average for the rest of the nation." I do not have comparable figures for last year, but of the Texas colleges and universities listed in the 1965-'66 AAUP salary survey, three were above the national average compensation (\$10,632) and 29 were below.

Let us drink the flagon to the lees. With the exception of the state of Arkansas, no state has more administrations on the censured list of the Association than Texas does. That this is so is not merely fortuitous. It is an indication of an atmosphere that all of us know but too well, an atmosphere in which participation in

causes unpopular on the local scene is sometimes regarded by boards of regents as a kind of radicalism to be dealt with summarily, an emergence of termites from the studs and beams of the social structure, a threat to the morals of the youth. Texas is just beginning to be a place where public debate by faculty, especially on matters of national and international concern, can be engaged in vigorously and without recourse to those modern substitutes for the six-gun, the brusque note of dismissal or the polite refusal of departmentally approved promotion.

I suspect that these six-guns fire away at politically active employees of private concerns as well, but professors seem to be in the center of the action. This is so not only because professors are notorious cranks, but because they are, after all, paid to think for themselves and to teach the truth as they find it. As a philosophy professor I have frequently been assured that philosophy has something of value to offer in "today's world": the developed capacity to think critically. And I agree with this, and deplore the dearth of critical thinking. But the philosopher, or economist, or biologist, or historian who teaches his students to think critically must be a critical thinker. And since he is a citizen in a semi-planned bourgeois democracy and is likely to have a social conscience which can be stimulated by his own or others' thought-processes, he may well turn up in front of a segregated barber shop with a placard in his hand, or holding a peace vigil at the gates of an air base, or on the road to the President's ranch.

Students have their feelers out, their sense-perceptors keened, to detect the phoney professor. He can give them information and test them on it but he cannot affect their lives. How is a professor supposed to teach young men and women to participate constructively, but always reflectively, in community affairs, if he cannot do so himself? The impetus to participate meaningfully is not a bit of information that is conveyed, but a kind of infection that one person catches from another. In truth, the trouble with most learned men of our day is not that they are too much committed to causes, but that they are not enough so: that they are so suddenly objective or frigidly non-committal that they fail to influence, or even communicate with, their students.

This is not to advocate the use of the classroom as a launching platform for pet projects of the professor. It is to recommend that more careful thought be given

to the function of the university professor as a quickener of thought and conscience and to what is consistent and what is inconsistent with that function.

Finally, we live in a state which has yet to repeal a useless, probably unconstitutional, galling, and recruitment-inhibiting disclaimer affidavit. Enough of the bitter. Let us take a pull at the other flagon.

First, there begins to blow through the state's press a balmy breeze of good will toward academic freedom for professors. Both our distinguished guests today, Mr. [Dennis] Holland [of the Dallas Morning News] and Mr. [Jack] Tinsley [of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram], honored here last year, are to be congratulated for their part in stirring that breeze.

Secondly, the A.A.U.P., as well as the Texas Association of College Teachers, is growing in numbers and in influence. There are A.A.U.P. members in 76 institutions, public and private, in the state of Texas: altogether, at last count, nearly 2700 persons. But there is a more important measure of our growth: we are beginning to be heard in the councils of the state. Here I need only refer to the significant role of the A.A.U.P. in the hearings of the Governor's Committee, the participation of the A.A.U.P. in formulating a statement concerning academic freedom for the state-supported colleges and universities, and the personal contacts between state officers of A.A.U.P. and decision-makers in the machinery of the state government.

FROM A CONSIDERATION of the question where we are, where we have arrived, I turn to the question, where do we stand, in its second sense: what is our position on the issues of higher education in the state and what are the principles on the basis of which we take up these positions?

We are a mobile crew. Many (perhaps most) of us have studied and taught elsewhere, and may do so again; but we must recognize that within this state we are now in a position to influence the development of higher education: not easily. Our word does not carry as much weight as we would like, but it is heard. And we should take great care that it is spoken wisely, cogently, and clearly. . . .

We recognize that in taking the stands we do, we are not crying in the wilderness: that many an administrator, board member, legislator, and state official has taken up the cudgels on our side and will do so again.

We are not pressing for the goals of a comfortable tradeunion, but for an atmo-

sphere and for circumstances which will attract well-prepared people from good universities to our state and keep them here. We know what such an atmosphere is. We easily recognize its presence; and when it is absent we feel its absence in our bones.

First, then, we believe that the government of a university or college is not best understood as analogous to that of a battalion, or a corporation. Nor is it a Greek democracy, nor even a representative one. It is a community of crochety, opinionated oldsters, known as professors and of brash, opinionated youngsters, the students. Both groups must be presumed to be amenable to reason and to have the good of the educational enterprise at heart. It is, in fact, their enterprise. They have been set up in business by the state, but if they cannot carry it on, then it will not succeed. They do sometimes need leadership, but the leadership that is needed is not that of Leviathan, whose word has become law merely because of the inability of his subjects to live together without a ruler. It is that of a philosopher-king; a somewhat unplatonic philosopher-king, that is, one who is guided by rational dialogue with his subjects, and not by his private and uncriticized promptings. But if the voice of his subjects is to be heard, then it must be provided with a senate or other assembly through which it may speak.

We hold that a so-called community in which there is no such faculty organization is a college or university in name only, because it is not a community, but a corporation- or battalion-like group posing as a community.

The organization of a corporation or a battalion is dictated by the ends for which they exist: to show a profit, and to win battles. But a university cannot be organized for maximum efficiency in achieving a given end, since there is no single end or purpose intrinsic to the very notion of a university. . . .

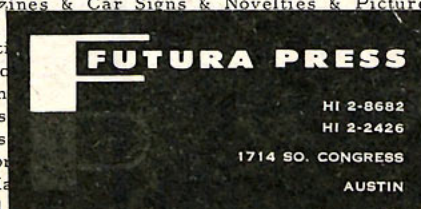
Thirdly, we hold that free discussion is essential to the development and maintenance of a civilized world, that colleges and universities are the last redoubt of free discussion, that this is so largely because of the protection offered students and faculty under a policy of academic freedom, and that faculty freedom can exist only if there is tenure, and tenure only if there is due process. In spite of the glad tidings of the moment, in spite of the activities of our journalistic friends, academic freedom is in precarious circumstances in Texas. The public is not yet sufficiently aware of its importance. It is not interested. . . . Even if there are bows in the direction of academic freedom, freedom can't live on courtesy. It must have solid guarantees of tenure. If you can throw a man out of his job for what he says, then he must be careful to say what you like to hear. In this age of consumer education we have

been taught to scrutinize guarantees very closely. And this applies to guarantees of tenure. I don't have tenure if there is a provision in the statutes of my university that I may be dismissed for conduct unbecoming a professor, and if the President is to be the sole connoisseur of professorial conduct. I need much more careful specification of the grounds on which I may be dismissed; but above all, I need specification of the procedure by which I am to learn of the charges against me, the right I have to appeal, and the way in which my appeal will be heard and decided. And not just any procedure will do; not one, especially, in which the agents of the administration which dismissed me are to decide whether that same administration has acted correctly.

Students are a part of the academic community, and should be not just allowed but encouraged to participate freely in its discussions. We agree with the Committee [of the A.A.U.P.], which says in its by now well-honed statement that while students are, naturally, "responsible for learning thoroughly the content of any study . . . they should be free to take reasoned exception to the data or views offered, and to reserve judgment on matters of opinion"; that outside of the classroom students should have freedom of association; and that the "student press should be free of censorship and advance approval of copy, and its editors and managers should be free to develop their own editorial policies and news coverage." It does not require great prescience to predict that student academic freedom is an issue that will loom larger in the discussions and activities of this Conference. There are, as you must know, straws in the wind; and while we have no wish to judge the merits of any particular case, here and now, it may be worth while to let students and administrations know on what principles we stand.

Need I make a fourth and fifth point about an adequate salary scale and other benefits to attract and retain good academics in the state of Texas; and about the subtly degrading effect of the disclaimer affidavit we must sign to receive our pay checks? Where we stand on these matters should by now be abundantly clear from our past actions; and we will try to make it yet more clear in the fu-

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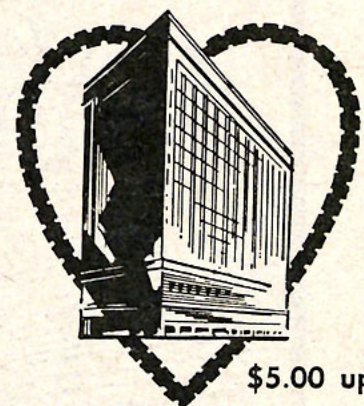
ture. Our great effort in this legislative year must be to muster strong support for the faculty fringe benefits which will presumably be presented to the legislature by the excellent committee on faculty compensation appointed by Speaker Ben Barnes and Lieutenant Governor Preston Smith.

WITH DAYLIGHT showing at the seams of our buildings, students coming out of our ears, and the cost of educating each one of them creeping higher and higher, only an obstructionist (so it will be said) would campaign for a Texian professorial utopia. But it will be time to worry about the debilitating effects of utopia when we come within shouting distance of it; and even at the present gratifying rate of progress, the tips of utopia's towers do not grow appreciably on the horizon. We do not want a utopia, but a viable academic community, and the principles for which we stand, and have stood, and will stand, are necessary conditions for the attainment of such a community. . . .

The next step is, taking advantage of the political maturity we are attaining, to work with our new-found friends, in this suddenly salubrious climate, for the legislation which will implement our desires. □

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Planning Needed

The "Observations" column in the July 5 Observer asking for a "Forum on Reform" represents just the disciplined approach that can accomplish much. It is also a stimulant to the specialist who wants to push his own concerns to the front. I want to suggest a sphere of activity which could benefit greatly by a reformed attitude: urbanization and the population explosion in general, physical planning at the state and municipal levels in particular.

Master planning, or comprehensive planning as we now call it, was suspect by many in the '20's and '30's as a radical totalitarian idea because it involves "private" property. This attitude has fairly well disappeared today, mainly because of the examples of large-scale physical planning in World War II and subsequently in the complex growth of large com-

panies and industrial complexes.

Still, the concept for planning physical development at the municipal, regional and state levels has not been accepted and carried out with equal enthusiasm or success in all parts of the country. Some states, such as California, because of enormous pressures on available resources have had to make detailed studies of many problems. They have produced not only many brilliant solutions but also a highly sophisticated method of approaching any complex problem involving more than one discipline or interest group. Texas, perhaps because of its own particular personality, is one of the least sophisticated states when it comes to physical planning, although it is one of the most rapidly urbanizing areas in the country.

Most major cities have seen that the only way to avoid costly mistakes and retain some semblance of sanity — in a world increasingly polluted by noise and filth and daily less human and more rigid-

ly synthetic — is to organize the expenditure of public monies by defining public needs and establishing a set of priorities for essential physical development. This process has been fostered by legislative requirements at the federal level when federal money is involved. But even a requirement that a municipality have a comprehensive plan in order to receive urban renewal funds has not succeeded in spreading an attitude of farsightedness in Texas.

Requirements to demonstrate a comprehensive understanding of the problems besetting cities and states are now found in almost all legislation providing federal funds to aid in solving problems of urbanization. Funds for development of recreation areas as well as for urban highways now require comprehensive planning at the metropolitan or state level, no longer merely the city level. These programs can, of course, be made use of in Texas when proper enabling legislation has been passed, but there may not have been enough planning experience in Texas to ensure that goals dominate the programs and are not dominated by them. Neither will success come by importing people from outside with pat solutions. We need accurate analyses of our own problems and imaginative and practical solutions.

The following points illustrate how unprepared Texas is to participate in any activity relating to urban problems:

1. There is no state planning agency or department.
2. Federal grants for comprehensive planning to small cities under 50,000 population provided through Section 701 of the Housing and Urban Development Act are administered by the State Department of Health without a budget from the state.
3. There are 21 standard metropolitan areas in Texas listed by the U.S. Census Bureau, but not one metropolitan planning agency.
4. There is not one program for professional planners at the college level anywhere in the state which is accredited by the American Institute of Planners, which has accredited 36 different institutions of higher education throughout the country offering a degree in planning.

Speaker Ben Barnes recently proposed a state-level department or bureau of urban affairs. Something of this sort is absolutely necessary if we are to meet the problems great numbers of population bring and still protect the natural beauty for all Texans. It should be organized in a way to benefit from professional advice (which means, in a word, money, since professionals in this field are in very short supply). It should seek, above all, to attract, produce, or train the people who will be needed to carry out its aims.

Mrs. Catherine H. Powell, 528 King William St., San Antonio, Tex.

(Mrs. Powell is an Associate in the American Institute of Planners. She has a master's of social planning degree from Harvard University.—Ed.)



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Observations

*Would there ever be such a time,
such a place,
and could there ever be beauty and ease
and grace?*

San Antonio

Bill Brammer's *The Gay Place* came out in 1961, but although it concerned where I'd been working and what I'd been working on, I've just read it. From the gossip at parties I knew that the Guess Who game would take a couple of years to play out, and by not having read the book I was spared having to play. I knew my friend Bill had a character in there named Willie England that the Guessers of Who said was either Willie Morris or me or each and both of us. At a level an inch and an eighth below the conscious I knew that I had slightly less objectivity about myself than a jackass (although once, when I was out in Midland to make a speech to the Unitarians there and a breathless matron told me I must be the one who was enamored of the college girl, I remember braying). I also knew, from the time when I worked with Bill on the Observer, that he's a very good writer, and here he was with his novel out before I had even got near mine. I did not want to put myself in a position where, already provoked by envy, I'd have to react against imitating him. Although I realize this is tiresomely personal so far, let me finish, with one more sentence, my confessional. From reading an early version of some of the book I knew I would resent Bill's politics in the novel—both his contempt for the Texas liberals, so many of whom I knew to be people I would go to the wall with, and his adulation, a kind of disillusioned hero worship, of his Lyndon Johnson figure, Governor Fenstermaker, with whom I would not.

Although perhaps none of the reviewers, as well as none of the people I've heard talk about the book, saw it this way, *The*

Gay Place, set in legislative Austin, is a book about the corruption of the Texas liberals. Again and again Brammer returns to this melancholy melody, the liberals are soft, too pleasure-seeking, well off, or easy to buy; they are not hard-eyed, and so they deserve the politicians' contempt. *The Gay Place* is also contrapuntally a book about the persuasive and the convincing sides of a master politician. Brammer, who worked close to Johnson for a while, has woven into his Governor Fenstermaker literary variations on Johnson's gamy folksiness, his genius for "getting something done" (sometimes just anything), and his guile and vanity in their benevolent forms. But Governor Fenstermaker has almost none of Johnson's demand to be loved, self-serving cynicism, and (to adapt the title of Senator Fulbright's forthcoming book) "arrogance of power." On Brammer's peripheral subject, the corruption and ineffectuality of liberals, his vision was prophetic, if not 20-20; his main vision, about the politician Fenstermaker half characterized, was astigmatic.

In 1961, we could still, in optimistic moments, think of such matters as these as idle, as something to forget about on a picnic and at night. No more. Where are those liberals now, picked off by the power structure, worn into acquiescence, seduced by affluence . . . scattered

to the plains and the sagebrush country, dragging it out in offices, selling insurance and oil leases . . . teaching school, still raging like sputtering Roman candles at parties, holding on somewhere. A few survive in place. There are new ones, too; new ones Brammer's cry for innocence and mistake about power may help if they can read him right.

Seven-card Stud

The governor's latest hullabaloo for the revision of the state constitution is for the birds.

We respect the Texas League of Women Voters and realize that for a long time they and a lot of well-meaning people have been wanting to have a constitutional convention to rewrite the Texas Constitution. It is the very importance of this project that makes this a bad time to do it.

A constitutional convention should be called when the body politic is healthy, in balance, and highly competitive. The elections to hold such a convention now would be dominated by the big-money Tories of the Connally Democratic Party. We should not have a constitutional con-

November 11, 1966

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H. M. BAGGARLY TAKES A GRASS ROOTS LOOK AT NATIONAL POLITICS

Edited by EUGENE W. JONES

Foreword by HARRY GOLDEN

With the freshness, flavor and style that belongs exclusively to him, H. M. Baggarly, the editor of the popular Texas country weekly, "The Tulia Herald," speaks his mind on Presidential politics, from the campaign of 1952 to that of 1964, and all of the political issues that Americans have been concerned with during those years, including farm policy, Medicare, Social Security, inflation, civil rights, taxes and war.

"Down in Tulia, Texas, not far from Amarillo, is an editor whose voice is not only reassuring but also heard more and more. . . . Now this voice has found a book which should have wide circulation, because it is more than an intelligent, brave man speaking, it is a point of view. Reading H. M. Baggarly's editorials is like viewing a political history of our times. . . . To paraphrase H. L. Mencken, if the South only had forty editors like H. M. Baggarly, it could rid itself of most of its problems in five years. If the country had forty such editors, it, too, could be on its way to its ultimate destiny. Well, we don't have forty editors like Baggarly. It is still good to have one, here and there."

—From the foreword by HARRY GOLDEN

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MEETINGS

THE THURSDAY CLUB of Dallas meets each Thursday noon for lunch (cafeteria style) at the Downtown YMCA, 605 No. Ervay St., Dallas. Good discussion. You're welcome. Informal, no dues.

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

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

vention until we have a two-party system. We've lived ninety years under the present constitution; we can make it an even century without the state going to pieces.

Governor Connally's timing is transparently political. He and his moneyed backers know he and the Shivers-style Democrats cannot hold one-party control of Texas beyond 1970 (maybe not even beyond 1968). If they're going to get the protections of pelf and power they want written into the Texas Constitution, they'd better hurry, and they know it.

Governor Connally also says that it's going to take all of four more years for him to bestow this marvelous gift upon His People. It just happens that this four-year project would require him to bestow yet another marvelous gift upon us, his fourth term in 1968. Nuts.

I realize the ladies of the League may take my remarks amiss, but I can't help it. Neither can a super-conservative, super-independent, and super-shrewd vete-

ran of the legislative halls, who wrote to me the other day:

"I note from your paper that the Democrats have come out for the submission of a new constitution to a vote of the people. John says that it will take about four years to get the matter ready for submission to the people. That is an excellent excuse for John to force another term on the people, and probably the thing will work. He will be running against Ralph Yarborough, and the people will have the opportunity to vote on the Constitution the same day because it would be quite simple to have two sets of election officials in attendance at the primary election, and of course those conservative Republicans who came in to vote on the new constitution wouldn't want to take the trouble to go and vote at some other place where their primary was being held, when they could vote against Yarborough right there at the same place, would they?"

In my opinion the League of Women Voters had better look at its hole cards before it goes all-out for constitutional revision. Or, if the ladies don't know how to play seven-card stud, maybe they better pass this hand. Liberal Texans ought to oppose constitutional revision until we have a two-party state; a constitutional convention chosen in a one-party state would be a special-interest disaster for future generations of Texas.

The Texas Ghettoes

Until ways are found to overcome residential segregation by race, the appearances of racial change will be mostly that

—appearances. When people are required, by social pressures and renting and house-selling practices, to live separated in ghettos, their schools are separated, too, and so are their souls. Progress has been made in "integration" — in voting rights, rights to places of public accommodations, and rights to publicly-financed activities and institutions. But how much progress has been made toward a truly interracial society where your neighbor might as easily be a Negro or a Mexican-American as an Anglo? Little.

One clue for Texas is provided by the statistic that about 700 of the state's 1,300 school districts were automatically approved by federal authorities as to integration this year on the basis of the 1965-'66 situations in those districts. Leon Graham, an assistant commissioner of education for Texas, says when questioned about the nature of these 700 districts, "Basically, as I recall, last year there were approximately 400 school districts that had no Negro students. Then there were 29 that were all-Negro, with no white scholastics." The other 300 or so had "a limited number of Negro children" and had already done away with separate schooling for them. There were a few exceptions among the 700, he says—for instance, El Paso is one large city that is satisfactorily desegregated as far as federal authorities are concerned — but basically, those 700 districts are "predominantly white." Obviously this is a clue to the extent of residential segregation — and a valuable clue, because very little is known about the subject. Surely this is an area that the sociologists, psychologists, social workers, and planners of in-

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The Texas Observer

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Bound Volumes of the Observer

On the basis of advance orders the Observer will have available for sale, at \$10 a volume until Dec. 31 only, bound volumes of the Observer for the years 1963, 1964, and 1965—the years of The Observer in its present format. In addition, we will accept advance orders for bound volumes of the 1966 Observer at \$10 a volume, also only until Dec. 31. Delivery of the bound 1966 Observers can be made early in 1967; bound volumes for the years 1963-'65 will be available on December first of this year, in time for Christmas, if you have that in mind.

As for bound volumes for before 1963:

We have for sale, at \$20 a volume, a few volumes for 1958, 1960, and 1962. We will sell these on a first-come, first-served basis.

We would like to have back a limited number of bound volumes for 1954-55, 1956, 1957, 1959 and 1961, so that we can complete office sets that we need. We also need spare copies of the Observer dated Feb. 28, 1960; Jan. 21, Mar. 11, and Mar. 25, 1961; and Sept. 21, 1962. If anyone happens to have kept their Observers that far back and doesn't want to keep them, we'll be glad to get them.

The number of volumes for the years since 1963 depends on advance orders. Please send us your order now. You can pay now or wait until the volumes are ready for shipment in early December, at which time we will bill you; or we will send them C.O.D., as you wish. Clip the form below and return.

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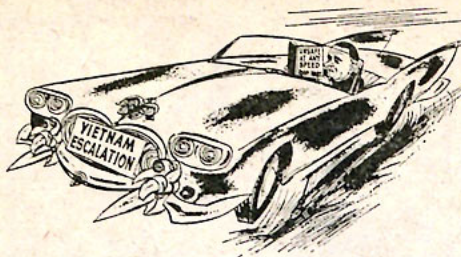
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—Mahood in the Times of London

tegration ought to be investigating urgently and boldly.

The consequences of ghettoizing the minorities are gross and subtle, public and personal. One often overlooked effect is the poverty of the school tax base in the districts with many poor families in them (whatever the color of the people in question). The system of separate school districts makes for plush, comparatively over-supplied schools, such as those in the Alamo Heights District in Bexar County, and for under-supplied, under-financed schools, such as those in the Edgewood district in the same county. We have some work under way by a social scientist on this aspect of the problem. Meanwhile we want to be looking into housing in Texas cities as it really is. They have the theories and the national statistics in Washington. In the boondocks we have the way it is.

Kennedy and 1968

Someone in California sent me a bumper sticker that says, "Kennedy-Fulbright 1968." I have it tacked up over my desk. I read the other day, in Village Voice, I think it was, about another one: "War Is Good Business. Invest Your Son." Shall the Observer print and sell these? Tell us how many you might want, and on the basis of the advance orders we'll decide.

I notice that Mrs. Juanita Davis of Waco has had a similar idea about Mr. Kennedy in 1968 (see a pertinent political advertisement this issue). There's talk on the subject in Austin, too. I believe the future of the idea depends in considerable part on what Lyndon Johnson does in Vietnam now that the 1966 elections are behind him.

Yarborough and Parks

Last month the President signed into law Senator Ralph Yarborough's Guada-

lupe Mountains national park bill. Under its terms, all the mineral rights must be a part of the park. This means that Yarborough has put it to Texas Land Cmsr. Jerry Sadler mighty plain: Either back down on your defense of Texaco's special interests in the park area or be known as the man who blocked the establishment of this park.

Yarborough had not been a senator long when he first introduced the bill to establish a national park at Padre Island. That bill became law, too; that park was his doing, in the main. Five days after the Guadalupe Mountains park was authorized at law, Yarborough introduced his third national park proposal, this one for the Big Thicket over in East Texas. The bill would create a park of perhaps 75,000 acres in Hardin, Liberty, San Jacinto, Polk, and Tyler counties.

"I have personally inspected the Big Thicket area," Yarborough said. "In some places I helped to cut a trail through this near-jungle. It has huge trees and dense undergrowth; it has multitudes of wild animals and birds — including perhaps the last of the ivory-billed woodpeckers; it has wild orchids, azaleas, and gardenias in profusion. . . . The time has come to establish a Big Thicket national park."

One by one, Yarborough is creating for posterity national parks in Texas that, though they never be named for him, will be the best monument a man could have.

... And Public Power

Day to day in Washington, Yarborough has been fighting for the people, but much of the fight is too detailed for the people to learn of it. When he was on the labor and welfare committee he spent large quantities of his time laboring for changes in the law that would benefit widows of veterans, obscure classes of social security beneficiaries, certain categories of the handicapped. This session, for instance, the O'Hara-Yarborough bill improves federal workmen's compensation payments to 25,000 former civilian federal employees who were disabled or killed in the line of duty, or to their survivors. (The minimum benefit for total disability was lifted from \$189 to \$238 a month.) As the ranking majority member of the Senate post office and civil service committee, Yarborough had a major part in the passage of the federal pay raise bill for the 1.8 million civil service workers

November 11, 1966

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(of whom about 100,000 live in Texas). Now, on the appropriations committee, Yarborough is in a better position than ever to carry on this work in which he specializes: the hard work of helping people.

Let another example represent, as well as it can, another kind of work Yarborough does, without his Texas constituents being given the compliment, by the Texas daily newspapers, of being told about it:

On June 6, 1965, REA Administrator Norman Clapp approved a \$17 million loan for the generation and major transmission of electric power by the Brazos Electric Power Cooperative at Waco, the primary supplier for 19 rural electric distribution cooperatives. Two weeks later J. J. Morrison, chairman of the board of Gulf States Utilities Co., sent a telegram to Sen. Spessard Holland of Florida, chairman of the Senate appropriations subcommittee on agriculture, claiming that Clapp and the Brazos co-op had failed to comply with the Senate's 1964 report on REA loan funds. The Comptroller General of the U.S. appeared to agree, and Holland said that before approving any public

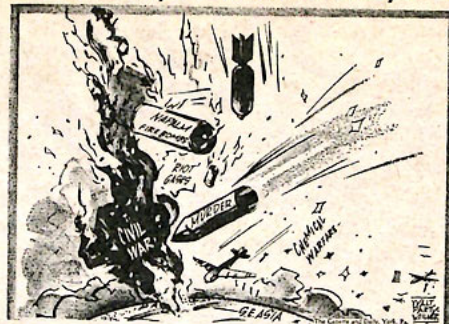
power loan, Clapp should solicit, from private power companies in the area, offers to provide the power. Holland wanted this done not only with respect to loans for new public power suppliers, but also for established rural electric co-ops!

Seeing a gap far wider than Central Texas, the private power big-shots poured into it. R. T. Person, then president of Edison Electric Institute, urged that the Comptroller General certify all generation-and-transmission loans before Clapp could advance the funds to the borrowers. Person attacked such a loan in his state. Power company officials in Utah, Indiana, and Kentucky backed him up with criticism of such loans in their states, and Morrison of Gulf States Utilities, widening his attack to take in a public power loan in Louisiana, urged the appropriations committees to maintain and strengthen their control over funds for such loans.

Let the story be taken up here by "Rural Electrification," the U.S. magazine of the rural co-ops:

"At this point, no one could have envied the seat in which Senator Yarborough was sitting. He was a member of the Holland subcommittee, but he had not been when

How Many Were Killed Today?



—Walt Partymiller in the York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

the 1964 report was written. He had urged approval of the Brazos loan in 1965. . . . Under the unwritten rules of the United States Senate, it is probably not a breach of good manners to challenge the Comptroller General. It even may be socially acceptable to challenge several power company presidents. But a subcommittee chairman is challenged only after careful thought and study. On April 5 at a public hearing held by the Holland subcommittee, Senator Yarborough challenged them all.

"The G&T (Brazos) is predominantly its own existing supplier,' he said. 'It is bound by contract to serve the requirements of its member distribution cooperatives. To impose the requirement that all other power suppliers be solicited as a condition precedent to granting Brazos or any other system similarly situated an REA loan for supplemental facilities would serve no practical purpose. . . . In effect, this would give any private supplier who might be adjacent to that area an opportunity to wreck' that program for public power.

"In the weeks that followed, support for his position began to grow. . . . Groups of rural electric leaders from more than 20 states came to Washington to oppose any further restrictions" on procedures for such loans. Yarborough's position finally attracted a majority of the Senate appropriations committee. Three paragraphs in the committee's 1966 report declare that the committee wants no fur-

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ther limits upon the authority of the REA Administrator to make these loans. "Rural Electrification" says this declaration, of which Yarborough "is the chief sponsor and advocate," was a triumph for the rural electric co-ops and for him.

The Texas reporters in Washington don't tell us much about these things. Why not? Where are the reporters for the Texas dailies in Washington, anyway? Why do we down in Texas have to learn these things months late, when we learn them at all? They are the sinew and the guts of democracy — the facts of life.

The Jingle Jungle

The Federal Communications Commission has given the Scurrilous Scotchman, Gordon McLendon of Dallas, a license to broadcast, on a new radio station he has in Los Angeles, nothing but want ads, from 6 a.m. until 10 p.m. This is an unspeakable debasement of the publicly-owned airwaves. When, if ever, will the Congress reclaim radio from the commercial mush of records, jingles, and pop-news into which free enterprise has let it sink?

R. D.

Subscriptions for \$4

Subscriptions to the Observer can be bought by groups at a cost of \$4 a year, provided ten or more subscriptions are entered at one time. If you belong to a group that might be interested in this, perhaps you will want to take the matter up with the others.

(Adv.)

Draft KENNEDY '68

Bumper Stickers — 25c each or 6 for \$1.00

The torch of the New Frontier was monstrosly struck down in Texas. Texans have a special obligation to history. Texans will right the wrong of 1963 and pass the torch in '68 to the one man who was closest to John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

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"PASS THE TORCH IN '68 COMMITTEE"

Mrs. Juanita Davis, Waco, Chairman

P.O. Box 3395, Austin, Texas

(Pd. Pol. Adv.)

HELP THE FARM WORKERS ON STRIKE!

Striking farm workers in the Rio Grande Valley are badly in need of food, clothing, and money for medical and utility bills. If they win this crucial struggle, it will improve the living standard throughout Texas.

Send contributions to the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee P. O. Box 54, Rio Grande City, Texas.

(Pd. Adv.)

In My Opinion

Now Is the Time

If you are a supporter of the Starr County farm workers' strike and have thought that perhaps you might want to help out, now is the time. Unless help is forthcoming very shortly, it may be too late. The strikers are fighting now for time and they need the goods to hold out — food, money, clothing, medical supplies. A long siege is indicated; this is what finally carried the day in the California strike. If the strikers can endure through the better part of 1967, they may have a chance. But it's a desperate situation.

I was in Rio Grande City for just a day and a half; and though I left several days ago, I'm still quite depressed by what I saw there. The people live in frightfully gloomy surroundings. There is no good part of town in Rio Grande City, it's all a slum. Oh, a few growers live in nice enough homes in town, but their homes only sharpen the aspect of misery that is the lot of most there.

Send what help you can; there is no more worthy cause for a Texas liberal these days. If you can, go to Starr County and see for yourself. The Sunday after Thanksgiving would be a good time; there'll be a rally there when the pilgrimage vehicles arrive that morning at 11 from Austin.

Once you've seen what it's like down there, you'll have to help.

Gentle Thursday

The New Left types who abound in the neighborhood of our office (but who do not include any on our staff) have instituted a charming observance which hopefully will endure. Gentle Thursday was inaugurated last week on the University of Texas campus. A guide for the uninitiated was run off, which follows:

Although the grass has little trouble on Gentle Thursday, people quite likely will. Since the normal routine of daily life provides such little practice in being gentle, we offer the following hints for Gentle Thursday:

1) Bring sack lunches to campus and share with your friends out on the grass (don't forget the grackle birds).

2) Hip chicks may hug fraternity-ish sorts of guys.

3) Well-heeled girls should take emaciated beatniks out to lunch.

4) Sing incessantly (singing off key is best because it gives others a chance to be gentle by tolerating you).

5) Agitate (gently, of course) in each class for moving out on the grass.

6) Walk barefoot (through the grass, Littlefield Fountain, etc.)

7) Decorate the ROTC guns with daisies.

8) Decorate the ROTC students with daisies.

9) Be gentle to thine enemy, the frogs.

10) Discuss gentleness in your classes, e.g.: a) In government—what if LBJ and Ho Chi Minh were gentle?

b) In history—what if the robber barons had been gentle?

c) In English—what if the bureaucrats in the English Department were gentle?

A New Texas Institution

And now, the Connally Cult.

In case you hadn't noticed, "an almost mystic Connally Cult has grown up among his closest followers, who sometimes bestow praises to an embarrassing degree." That's what the Dallas News' Richard Morehead said, anyway, in a recent column. "More than any previous chief executive, John Connally's public appearances excite a huge response." The governor's 1962 emergence on the statewide scene was not spectacular, Morehead wrote, until Connally was shot during the Kennedy assassination. This "gave Connally a special empathy with the public. His popularity soared."



d) In business—what if General Dynamics were gentle?

The list is endless; these few suggestions are designed only to break through the harsh exterior and allow gentle creativity to flood the campus. If we are successful, there might even be enough gentleness left to get our toes wet Friday.

Inasmuch as daisies were out of season on the first Gentle Thursday, celebrants contented themselves with scrawling gentle slogans, such as these on a jet fighter displayed in front of the ROTC building: "Fly in Peace, Gentle Plane," "Gentleness, Gentlemen," and "Love Thine Enemy."

A and M Imagery

Publication of letters to the editor has been resumed in the *Battalion*, Texas A&M campus "newspaper." Well, most letters. An editorial announcing the resumption advised that "letters damaging to the image" of A&M will not be published.

Meanwhile, student reaction to the *Battalion's* sad state continues. Recently a number of bundles of that publication were stacked, unopened, in front of the *Battalion* office, sent back from the military dormitories. The paper responded with an editorial entitled, "Miss Your Paper?" in which the new staff pleaded for patience with its efforts. At last report just one of the six staffers who began the fall semester remains; three were fired by the school administration, two others quit. Tommy DeFrank, the deposed editor, last week was nominated the recipient of a Rhodes scholarship. G. O.

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The Texas Observer

Dialogue

Draft RFK in 1968

Every responsible Texan should join the ranks of the national movement to draft Robert Kennedy as the Democratic nominee for president in 1968. . . .

The Johnson administration's hardhanded foreign policy is a direct reversal of the Kennedy approach. There is no question but that with the Johnson administration's war policies, our image and prestige abroad at the present time are at an all time low. . . .

But the reversal of Kennedy foreign policies was not all. President Johnson then reversed a long Democratic party domestic policy for lowering interest rates. . . .

All of the President's actions on this most important domestic issue adopt the historic Republican position of favoring the money lenders.

It is well past time that Texans begin to speak up and take the lead in nominating a Democrat at the next presidential convention. It was in Texas, on that monstrous day in November, where the torch of the New Frontier was hideously struck down. What could be more appropriate than Texans picking up the torch, rekindling and placing it in the capable hands of one who will carry it high and with pride. . . .

David G. Copeland, 530 New Road, Waco, Texas 76710.

A News-Starved Town

Thanks particularly for your Hemisfair issue (Obs., Sept. 30); in fact, all your recent issues have been like "manna" to us in this news-starved town. You should have a booming subscription list in San Antonio. We need your "let's-look-at-all-the-facts" kind of reporting.

Mrs. V. V. Matthews, 202 Quentin Dr., San Antonio, Tex., 78201.

Liberals Often Too Critical

We are reluctantly re-subscribing because of your, though qualified, support for John Tower. We don't believe that the end (and what a dubious one it is!) justifies the means. Also, we are worried that you are, in general, going off the negative end. We liberals easily get so busy criticizing that we overlook that which is positive. There are still some good things happening in the world!

Otto and Margret Hofmann, 610 Cardinal Lane, Austin, Tex., 78704.

Note from an Aggie Ex

As an Aggie ex (in more ways than one), I found the article on the A&M controversy (Obs., Oct. 14) to be the only comprehensive report in all the news media.

The Rev. Allan H. Hohlt, 2002 Forest Oaks, Houston, Tex., 77017.

Censorship Stupid

I enjoyed the article on the *Battalion*, the Texas A&M newspaper (Obs., Oct. 14). It seems stupid for an institution whose purpose is the seeking of knowledge and truth to be the location of the most overt censorship. This is true at most colleges, including my own, East Texas State. . . . If a student's teachers seek to stamp out ideas, how can a student respect the teachers and administrators?

E. Herold, Box 4026, Commerce, Texas.

No Dams in Grand Canyon

Some readers may be unaware of a bill before Congress, HR-4671, which provides for two dams on the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River.

The irreplaceable grandeur of the Grand Canyon, a priceless natural heritage, was set aside by law to be preserved unimpaired for the enjoyment of ALL future generations. This alone should be sufficient reason for saving it.

Unfortunately, the entire Grand Canyon is only partially protected by national park and national monument boundaries, and these boundaries stand to be violated if the Bureau of Reclamation has its way. . . . The perpetually water-starved Southwest can be aided without these wasteful dams. The Grand Canyon should be protected in its entirety, from Lee's Ferry to Grand Wash Cliffs. . . . Please write at once to your congressmen and senators, letting them know you are opposed to ANY dams in the Grand Canyon area.

Dr. and Mrs. Dean Ewing, 1907 Buena Vista SE, Albuquerque, N.M.

Correction:

Last issue's letter, "Liberals' Sense of Form," should have referred to the President as "hard-nosed" and have been signed Edwin Gale (not Dale).