

# The Texas Observer

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A Journal of Free Voices

A Window to The South

25c

## THE N.S.A.-C.I.A. AFFAIR

# Texas, Philanthropy, 007, And the Varsity Drag

Washington, D.C.

Cong. Bob Eckhardt of Houston called the reaction to the news that the Central Intelligence Agency has been paying money to the National Student Assn. "a tempest in a teapot." This was the judgment made by most Southern members of Congress (it was precisely the wording of Sen. John Stennis of Mississippi). But some in Congress, and of course many newspapers, did not take such a complacent attitude to what Eckhardt called "subsidizing nice Americans to go overseas and show the rest of the world what nice people we are."

It will be just as well for Texas' reputation if the promised or threatened or rumored investigation into the C.I.A.'s largesse does not come off, because it now looks like Texans have taken a leading and often questionable role in it all.

This is not to insist that the Texas students who were NSA officers knew of the cloak-and-dagger source of their money; they may have, and they may not have. In any event, the University of Texas has contributed two presidents and six vice-presidents to the N.S.A., more than any other school. Other U.T. exes have served on the association's staff, men such as Jim Smith, a former president of the U.T. student body, who was one of the N.S.A.'s founders and presided over its constitutional convention; Ron Story, who was on the N.S.A. staff in 1963-'64; Jim Fowler, on the N.S.A. staff in 1964-'65, who is now executive director of the U.S. Youth Council in New York, which has also been involved in the C.I.A.-money discussion; Reed Martin, who was on the N.S.A. staff with Fowler in 1965-'66; Don Richard Smith, vice president of the N.S.A. for international affairs in 1961-'62; Hoyt Purvis, editor of the *Daily Texan* in 1961-'62 and editor of the N.S.A.'s *American Student* in 1965 (he is now working for the World Association of Youth, Brussels, also one of the whispered groups); and Julius Glickman, president of the U.T. student body in 1962-'63 and on the N.S.A. staff in 1964-'65.

**T**EXAS ALSO supplied some of the key conduit-foundations for passing

along C.I.A. money. Nine Texas foundations have been listed in reports so far (See accompanying article.)

The Hobby Foundation of Houston, for example, gave \$75,000 to the American Friends of the Middle East in 1964 (the last year for which data is available), \$40,000 to Radio Free Europe, \$50,000 to the Fund for International Social and Economic Education, and \$100,000 to the Berlin Institute for Underdeveloped Countries. The last two institutions have not yet been linked to C.I.A. activities. But Radio Free Europe is generally accepted to be a C.I.A. activity, and indeed the *New York Times* has taken the big leap to say so in print.

Another conduit for funnelling money to the A.F.M.E. is the San Jacinto Foundation of Houston.

The A.F.M.E. is an interesting outfit that has a pro-Arab, anti-Zionist reputation. The late columnist Dorothy Thompson was one of the founders of the A.F.M.E. Eisenhower's pastor, the Rev. L. R. Elson, was a national chairman of A.F.M.E., at which time he likened the Zionist movement to the German-American Bund. On A.F.M.E.'s board is Kermit Roosevelt of Gulf Oil Company, who was rumored to have participated in some Middle East politics that helped establish governments favorable to U.S. oil companies. Nine months ago I wrote a similar description in *The Nation* of the A.F.M.E. and linked that outfit to several C.I.A.-conduit foundations. This was the first published mention of this organization's ties to the C.I.A. The daily press ignored it, of course, because oil is a much more sacred thing than college kids. Earl Bunting, a former president of the National Assn. of Manufacturers and a former chairman of the A.F.M.E., protested the "irresponsibility" of my accusations. Now there is further proof of just how phony Bunting's protests were.

The shuffling of funds among the C.I.A.-front foundations was found to profit not only the American Friends of the Middle East, but also an organization called Christianform, which in turn was discovered to be putting money into the Cuban Freedom Committee, which in turn or-

ganized the anti-Castro Free Cuba Radio. The founder of Christianform was Nicholas T. Nonnemacher, former assistant editor of the right-wing publication *Human Events*. The advisory board of the Cuban Freedom Committee includes not only such noted right-wingers as John B. McClatchy, Philadelphia businessman who is a life member of Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, and ex-Cong. Donald Bruce, a big man in the Manion Forum and Human Events world, but also a couple of fairly well-known Texans, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, publisher of the *Houston Post*, and Peter O'Donnell, Dallas businessman who lead the National Draft Goldwater Committee and is the chairman of the Texas Republican Party.

This is not to say, however, that all C.I.A. funds that were channelled through the foundations were intended for right-wing groups. The N.S.A., American Newspaper Guild, and Retail Clerks International hardly fall into that category.

Turning to other foundation outlets:

N.S.A. officials identified the San Jacinto Foundation as one of their taps, and also the R. E. Smith Foundation, the latter apparently named for Houston's well-known real estate mogul. The M. D. Anderson Foundation of Houston, one of whose trustees is President Johnson's pal Leon Jaworski, and the Hoblitzelle Foundation of Dallas, one of whose trustees is Presidential favorite Judge Sarah T. Hughes, have also been identified as C.I.A. conduits.

**N**OW, YOU MIGHT be interested to know how it is known that foundations such as M. D. Anderson and Hoblitzelle have been used. In addition to the N.S.A. staff's tattling, the clues have been plucked from Cong. Wright Patman's 1964 hearings on tax-exempt foundations. In those hearings Patman unloaded a bombshell by saying on the opening of the committee's day, Aug. 31, 1964:

"You will recall during our hearing of Aug. 10 [Patman was addressing Acting Cmsr. of Internal Revenue, Bertrand M. Harding] I asked you to explain the fact that the I.R.S. has taken no action on the Kaplan Fund for several years, despite



the fact that millions of dollars in tax liabilities may be involved. Whereupon you requested that Mr. Rogovin be permitted to consult with us privately, and I acceded to your request.

"After due consideration," Patman continued, "I believe the public interest will be best served if the information imparted to us by Mr. Rogovin is made part of this hearing record. Mr. Rogovin informed us that the J. M. Kaplan Fund has been operating as a conduit for channeling C.I.A. funds and hence you would rather not discuss the matter for the public record. He also indicated that the fund's operations with the C.I.A. was the reason for the lack of action on the part of the I.R.S."

And for the next half hour, Patman sparred around with the I.R.S. officials, bringing out the fact that the I.R.S. was in cahoots with the C.I.A. in this deception and that in fact there was plenty of C.I.A.-foundations deception going on.

But then Patman went soft. He is a great fighter in the preliminaries. But the main events are too long for him; he tires. So, when he demanded to know what part in the Kaplan undercover work was played by other foundations, the I.R.S. officials coaxed him into going into executive session, throwing the reporters out, and keeping everything very much off the record. The only thing reporters found out on that occasion was that some mysterious funds were piped into the Kaplan Fund from these tax-exempt outfits: the Gotham Foundation, the Michigan Fund, the Price Fund, the Edsel Fund, the Andrew Hamilton Fund, the Borden Trust, the Beacon Fund, and the Kentfield Fund.

The daily press went ape over these disclosures, but soon let the matter drop.

Then, last May, George Rucker, a brilliant young economics Ph.D. who is on the staff of Group Research Inc. in Washington, gave me information showing a most intricate razz-ma-tazz shuffling of money among these foundations and the Kaplan Fund. His investigations pushed the C.I.A.-Kaplan investigation far beyond the point at which it had been left by Patman and proved once and for all that any organization that had anything to do with the eight above-mentioned foundations was more than likely being fed by the C.I.A. Rucker's findings were published in *The Nation* magazine.

Then on Feb. 14 *Ramparts* magazine published full-page ads in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* to publicize its March issue, which contains a story detailing the C.I.A.-N.S.A. tie-up. That really blew the lid off.

**F**URTHER DISCLOSURES were made a few days later, again in *The Nation*, that the C.I.A. had been supporting an organization called Operations and Policy Research, headed by Dr. Evron Kirkpatrick, executive director of the American Political Science Association, a prestigious fraternity of 16,000 political science profs. Again the tip came from Group Research. All I had to do was trot over and ask Dr. Kirkpatrick if he had been taking money from the C.I.A. and he

cheerfully admitted it. Most of the money, he said, was spent studying South American politics. Part of the work was done by a University of Texas professor, he said.

The reason I go into this chronology is to point out that neither Congress nor the daily press did much to uncover the goods; indeed, considering the great manpower and money at their disposal for such an investigation, they did virtually nothing. All of the major disclosures—pointing to specific uses of the C.I.A. funds via foundations; and the ties with the student groups; and the ties with professional groups—were made through magazines of dissent that are practically always hard up for money and which are accustomed to having establishment doors slammed in their faces.

Of course, the core of the investigation was created by Patman and his great as-

sistant, Harry Olsher, in their accumulation of foundation data. But a mound of data is of no value unless the searchers know which direction to hunt. The left-wing magazines gave directions, proving once again the reason for the existence of such journals as *The Nation* and *Ramparts*.

At one point, apparently completely bumfoozled by what was going on, the *Times'* James Reston recently wrote: "Rep. Wright Patman, Democrat of Texas, has been threatening to investigate the foundations of the country for years, and these latest disclosures are not likely to discourage his efforts in this field."

Has been "threatening" to? Where has Reston been? Where has the *New York Times* been? Of course, we know where the Texas daily press has been. □

## THE NEWS DRIFTS WESTWARD TO TEXAS

Austin

The Eastern press has done most of the work in disclosing which Texas foundations have been involved in the passing on of Central Intelligence Agency funds and in revealing the details. Once a foundation from this state is named in a *New York* or a *Washington* newspaper, then the Texas daily in whose bailiwick the foundation is located gets to work. But Texas coverage of even this aspect of the story has not been comprehensive and obtaining a meaningful picture of the entire matter is difficult unless one has access to one or other of the Eastern papers, which have been blanketing the story.

All nine of the Texas institutions designated so far are based in either Houston, which has five, or Dallas. By name they are the San Jacinto, M. D. Anderson, Hobby, Marshall, and R. E. Smith Foundations of Houston and, in Dallas, the Karl Hoblitzelle, Jones-O'Donnell, and Florence Foundations, and the Kentfield Fund.

The *Dallas Times-Herald*, which has been the most active of Texas papers in working on the C.I.A.-foundations story, had a good time trying to track down the Kentfield people. The fund is listed in the phone book, but it turns out that the number is that of an answering service. Personnel at the service were a bit vague about who subscribed for the fund, but finally came up with the name of "Dana Kentfield," who, they believed, was some sort of philanthropist: he used to give money to students. He died a year or so ago, they thought, and the fund hasn't been in existence in that time. Why, then, is the fund's number still in the phone book? "Oh, is it?" a lady at the answering service replied. "That's just carelessness on our part." Nobody at the service recalls ever seeing Mr. Kentfield; they heard of

his reported death indirectly; a representative used to come by to pick up any messages for him; the answering service was paid for, though no one remembers how.

The *Herald's* reporters checked a variety of city, county, and federal records and could find no trace of a Dana Kentfield or his fund. No one in other philanthropic work recalled hearing the name. It was first mentioned in the *Ramparts* magazine article which began the N.S.A.-C.I.A. hassle. *Ramparts* said that the "Kentfield Fund of Dallas" is one of six "C.I.A.-suspect" foundations; the other five foundations have all been located and evidently have been involved in passing C.I.A. money.

**R**ESPONSE TO newsmen's inquiries by officials of the eight other Texas foundations mentioned has been either refusal or reluctance to talk about the affair—or an open-handed admission of involvement accompanied by the view that the foundations were serving the national interest in this regard.

William P. Hobby Jr., executive editor of the *Houston Post*, said that the Hobby Foundation, of which he is a trustee, has been a C.I.A. conduit for two or three years. "We are glad to have done it and proud to have been of service to the federal government," he added. The Hobby fund was established by Hobby's parents, the late William P. Hobby, a former Texas governor, and his wife, Oveta Culp Hobby, now *Houston Post* publisher and a former Secy. of Health, Education and Welfare under President Eisenhower.

The *Observer* has come across no *Post* stories about the Hobby Foundation, though a story about the involvement of Houston's M. D. Anderson Foundation with the C.I.A. was on the *Post's* front



page a few days before the Hobby Foundation was found, by the *New York Times*, to be involved. Later the *Houston Chronicle*, on an inside page, quoted the *Times* story about the Hobby Foundation.

Tax-exempt foundations such as those involved with the C.I.A. are required to file an annual statement of their income and disbursements with the Internal Revenue Service. The *Times*, after studying Internal Revenue Service reports, asked Hobby why his foundation didn't list, in the public record portion of its I.R.S. statements, the sources of contributions received.

"If you read the instructions very carefully," Hobby answered "you will find that you don't have to file in duplicate that part of the form on which contributions [to the foundations] are to be reported. And they very carefully were not filed in duplicate."

The *New York Times* found that the Hobby Foundation channelled about \$687,000 of C.I.A. funds in 1963 through 1965. Most of this went to the American Friends of the Middle East; the Fund for International, Social, and Economic Education; the Berliner Verein; and the International Development Foundation.

Hobby said that the most recent transaction for the C.I.A. was not more than three months ago and "we would help again anytime they ask us."

Trustees of the Anderson Fund, also of Houston, are John H. Freeman (president), W. B. Bates (vice-president), and Leon Jaworski, an LBJ intimate who has been mentioned at times in the past year as a prospective U.S. Attorney General or Supreme Court justice. The *Washington Post* has found that the Anderson Fund received \$655,000 from "C.I.A.-front foundations" between 1958 and 1964 and passed on exactly that amount to the American Fund for Free Jurists, Inc., New York City, which has since been renamed the American Council for the International Commission of Jurists (ACICJ). The commission is described as a group of legal scholars in 29-non-communist countries that "publishes studies concerning the protection of individuals from arbitrary governments."

Freeman refused at first to confirm or deny that C.I.A. money had been funnelled to the Anderson Fund. "I feel some measure of hesitancy on commenting on that situation," he told a *Houston Post* reporter, "first because I couldn't remember all of it." He referred the reporter to records on file with the state attorney general and the Harris County judge. Later that day, a *Houston Chronicle* reporter had a little better luck. Freeman told him that "Personally, I'm very much in favor of what [the ACICJ] is doing. There is nothing cloak and dagger about it." The Anderson Fund had assets of \$43.6 million in 1964.

**T**HE KARL Hoblitzelle Fund, Dallas, was the first in Texas to be implicated in the story. Karl Hoblitzelle, Texas theatre magnate who created the foundation, with his wife in 1942, was ill and unavailable for comment. John Q. Adams, the fund's vice-president and managing director, was not available either. James Aston, local banker and also a trustee of the foundation, said he had no knowledge of C.I.A. money. Records indicate the Hoblitzelle Foundation began funneling C.I.A. funds probably in 1958, mostly to the International Co-Operative Development Fund and the Congress for Cultural Freedom. Another trustee of the Hoblitzelle Foundation is U.S. Dist. Judge Sarah T. Hughes. The fund listed assets of \$21.7 million in April, 1965.

The San Jacinto Fund, in Houston, is listed in the *Ramparts* magazine article as one of five that channels C.I.A. funds to student groups. One of its trustees is a Houston accountant, Francis G. O'Connor, who works for a firm that's located one floor above the fund's offices. O'Connor would say only that he is secretary-treasurer of the fund and its only officer. He declined comment on its activities. The fund is one of ten foundations whose public records aren't available at the Foundation Library Center in Washington, D. C. An I.R.S. spokesman says that the service is checking its files for information about San Jacinto but notes that there is no penalty if a foundation fails to file such information annually.

The Jones-O'Donnell Foundation's president is Peter O'Donnell, the head of the Texas Republican Party. Other officers are Leo Corrigan, Jr., vice-president; and Mrs. Edith Jones O'Donnell, secretary-treasurer. O'Donnell has refused comment other than to say the fund had nothing to do with the G.O.P., nor was it set up solely to funnel C.I.A. money. He promised that "I will have more to say about it at a later date." The *Dallas Times-Herald* found that the fund first received money in 1961 from two foundations that are known as C.I.A. fronts, the Borden Trust and the Price Fund. Disbursements by O'Donnell's fund include those to the American Friends of the Middle East, the Cuban Freedom Commission of the Christian Form, the Congress of Cultural Freedom, and the Committee of Correspondence.

The officials of another Dallas fund, the Florence Foundation, have not been identified. The Republic National Bank of Dallas is listed as its trustee. A bank spokesman told the *Times-Herald* that "the foundation has filed all reports required by law. We have no other comment." Tax records show C.I.A. involvement dating back to 1963.

The Marshall Foundation of Houston was created by an oilman and rancher, Douglas B. Marshall and Mrs. Marshall. The *Washington Post* suspects that the fund might be involved with the C.I.A. since it gave \$25,000 to the Vernon Fund of Washington, which has received money from other foundations that has been identified as a C.I.A. conduit. G.O.

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# Franklin Spears at Harvard

Victor Emanuel

Cambridge, Mass.

Sociologists criticize the use of the term "Establishment" for its imprecision, but "anyone who has run for public office in Texas knows what the term means." So said Franklin Spears at Harvard University during a seminar on Texas politics at the Institute of Politics of the John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government. Spears explained that during his 1966 campaign for attorney general, when he challenged Texas' "Establishment," he faced an opponent, Crawford Martin, who had the endorsement of 101 of the state's 103 daily newspapers, a four-to-one financial advantage, and a 60-to-8 superiority in headquarters workers.

The Institute of Politics conducts seminars each week, discussing candidate strategy and decision making. Attending are faculty members and students. Many of the undergraduates have worked in political campaigns; for instance, the son of Richard Duncan, who worked in his father's unsuccessful race against U.S. Sen. Mark Hatfield in Oregon. Also participating is a young man who was active in Hatfield's campaign, organizing youth groups. The main points discussed at the Harvard seminars are: the factors in deciding whether, and when, to make a political race; the role of issues in campaigning; the use of polls; raising and spending money; whether to issue or accept challenges to debate.

**S**PEARS, THE first Texas politician invited to participate in the institute, said that a key difficulty in running a political campaign in Texas is the difference in what concerns people from region to region. He contrasted the politics of South Texas and of East Texas, as an example.

Spears noted that since his 1966 race was the only serious statewide contest, he had to carry all the burden of arousing the electorate from the apathy of an off-year election. This was all the more difficult, he said, because he was not running for one of the state's highest offices. He observed that only 10% of the free registrants voted.

Spears spoke of the need to shorten the ballot to encourage voter participation and awareness. He spoke out strongly against annual registration and the proposed restrictions on registration locales. Spears told the seminar that Texas has the earliest registration cut-off in the nation, Jan. 31, nine months before the general election and three months before the primary. The deadline occurs at the

*Victor Emanuel is the Observer's subscription representative at Harvard University. He was with Franklin Spears during much of Spears' visit there.*

low-point of political interest among the electorate. One student whistled in near disbelief.

Spears argued that these procedures and the proposed restriction of registration locations to places normally open to the public are designed to discourage people from registering or voting. Annual registration encourages election fraud, he said, because records aren't kept on a permanent basis.

Discussing the issue of interest rates, Spears evoked hearty laughter when he remarked that "Texas is not the Lone Star State, but the Loan Shark State," as interests rates of up to 320% on small loans are permitted. The former state senator from San Antonio said that he and others in the legislature had hoped that the 320% law might later be revised but, he went on, once a bill is passed it ceases to be an object of much public concern.

Prof. H. Douglas Price, director of the seminar and a member of the Harvard government faculty, said afterwards that Spears "was one of the most valuable guests the seminar has heard; it was one of the most profitable seminars of the year."

The next day Spears met with fellows of the Harvard Institute of Politics, including Hale Champion, former California director of finance; John Stewart, special assistant to Vice President Humphrey; and Andreas Lowenfeld, former

State Dept. deputy legal advisor. These men participate as fellows at the institute for the same reason that Spears was invited, to further the ideal of cooperation between the academic and political worlds, which is the institute's stated purpose, following the example of President Kennedy.

At a luncheon that noon Spears was the guest of Dr. Richard E. Neustadt, director of the institute, and Harvard law professor Adam Yarmolinsky, a former trouble-shooter and idea man in the Defense Dept. under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Later in the day he met with Texans who are in the university's Economics Dept., including faculty members David Kendrick and Henry Jacoby and graduate student Tom Sears. They discussed some of the problems of attracting more industry to Texas. Spears explained the bill that he tried, unsuccessfully, to have passed in the legislature, to bring intrastate railroad rates into line with those of other major industrial state. It costs, he said, more to send a shipment by rail from Dallas to San Antonio (280 miles) than from Chicago to Dallas (900 miles).

There is interest at Harvard in Texas politics. Spears found many who were conversant with the state's public affairs. Many have expressed interest in the movement of some Texans, of whom they judged Spears to be one, to begin "a new era in Texas politics and society."

## ECKHARDT PLANS U.S. OPEN BEACHES BILL

Washington, D. C.

Cong. Bob Eckhardt of Houston is planning to clear all the beaches of the United States for public use, as his beaches bill in the Texas legislature established the public's right to the perpetual use of the Texas gulf beaches.

The newly-arrived congressman has a number of federal agencies conducting research into the laws of the coastal states on this subject.

"There is no law in any of the coastal states that either defines a beach or sets up clearly a declaration of the public's right to use the beaches," except for the new Texas law, he told the Observer here. The law he contemplates would say that where a state has gone to the full extent of permitting its laws to protect the existing public right to the beaches, the beaches may then be obtained for complete public use by the power of eminent domain. The federal government would match the cost with the state.

Eckhardt so far has introduced only one bill, to require that plants in metropolitan areas of one million or more population meet certain air pollution "emission" standards. Within a year after his act passed, if it did, the federal government would develop general standards for testing the ambient air for metropolitan areas of 500,000 or more, and if there was too much pollution, then the "emission" standards for plants would be applied in these areas, also. If federal standards are not being met, violators would be prosecuted by civil injunction suits brought by the U.S. attorney general.

At present, the federal water anti-pollution law requires that states set up anti-pollution standards, or else the federal government will do so. Eckhardt contends that this can result in states setting up paper programs to avoid federal standards without actually insisting that pollution be stopped.

"The experience of the water quality act



in Texas has been that in a reluctant state, we may run into a situation where there can be a very thorny dispute over whether the standards have been implemented. You get largely paper standards. The difference between that and my approach is that we would be getting past the paperwork to get the effect. My proposal is a standard of results," he said.

## The Legislature

# Industrial Safety Considered Again

Austin

The 60th legislature, as its predecessor the 59th, and others, is considering the problem of industrial safety. As in 1965 two bills are vying for favor.

Organized labor's bill, HB 559, is co-sponsored by Reps. Carl Parker, Port Arthur, and Neil Caldwell, Angleton. This would establish an occupational safety board to write and enforce industrial safety rules. Under the board would be an advisory committee composed of an equal number of representatives of labor and management, serving with a chairman who would represent the public. Subcommittees would help draw up rules within industries. Inspectors would be hired. The teeth for enforcement of standards would be rooted in provisions of HB 559 to make violating employers liable to civil court action.

The Texas Manufacturers Assn. favors gentle persuasion, as embodied in its bill, HB 495, sponsored by Rep. Gene Fondren, Taylor. The Fondren measure is almost the same bill that was passed by the last House and defeated in the Senate. Primarily it concentrates on consultation and education to improve on-the-job safety.

**H**EARINGS WERE conducted for the two bills last week by the House Labor Committee, whose chairman is Gene Hendryx, Alpine. Hank Brown, state AFL-CIO president, said that "since 1947 we have testified before this body urging favorable action to alleviate the human suffering and needless deaths that occur as a result of industrial accidents, but to no avail. Since 1947, more than 19,000 workers have died and over five million have been injured in Texas on the job. . . . According to the National Safety Council, Texas in 1965 sustained 6.7 deaths in industrial accidents per 100,000 population, the highest death rate among the ten largest industrial states.

"Texas is the only industrial state in the nation with no safety rule-making authority to prevent industry from maiming and killing our workers," Brown said. He criticized HB 495 for lacking enforcement authority and then he concluded ". . . we urge this committee to support passage of HB 559 so we will not meet

Eckhardt has called on President Johnson, and Eckhardt's administrative assistant, Bob Cochran, says that at the staff level Eckhardt's office has been working well with the White House.

"I'm just practically 100% behind the Great Society program," Eckhardt says. Implementation of parts of the program more effectively through refinement and

effective amendment is needed, he said, but other than that he's for Johnson's domestic program.

"On the question of foreign policy," he said, "I believe very much that there should be an attempt to de-escalate and to encourage negotiations. I am not in favor of a unilateral withdrawal from Vietnam." R.D.

again in 1969 at the next legislative session and find that Texas is still number one in job injuries and deaths in the nation."

E. D. White, Houston, district supervisor of the U.S. Labor Dept.'s maritime safety division, testified that the division had relied on an education program until 1959, when Congress enacted legislation governing safety on ships and docks. The legislation put teeth into enforcement procedures. "In 1960," White said, "the accident frequency rate [per million man-hours] was 505. Then the new rules came into play and by 1963 the rate was down to 106. In 1966 the rate had dropped to 80."

A. B. McGinty, president of the Texas Building and Construction Trades Council and the business manager of a Houston plumbers and pipefitters local, told the committee that he had personal experience with job safety. Last year four members of his union and a laborer were killed when an outside construction elevator fell.

"Three of them had wives and children," McGinty said. "Their deaths were the direct result of management chiseling — pure and simple." He explained that the experienced, regular elevator hoist operator had worked all night. Instead of calling in another experienced hand, the superintendent called on an apprentice to run the elevator.

"It started to fall because a cotter pin came loose in the brake shoes," McGinty went on. "Any experienced elevator hoist operator would have thrown the elevator's motor into gear and stopped the fall. The apprentice just froze."

Elevators of this type have automatic locks, McGinty said. "When we examined the elevator after the tragedy we found the automatic locks, which were supposed to stop a fall, were solid rust. Even the most elementary of inspections would have prevented the death of five men."

Frank Parker, business agent of an operating engineers local in Big Spring, a union that represents refinery workers and, recently, oilfield hands, said "Since May, 1966, we've signed up 2,000 derrick hands — and in that period ten of these new members have been killed."

Parker also said that "The oilfield contracting business is highly competitive.

It's not fair to ask one of the contractors to run a safe rig — and there are very few that are — when the others don't have to. The only way to bring safety to the oil fields is through tough legislation."

He pointed out just how unsafe the industry was, as reflected in the rates for workmen's compensation: "The cost of workmen's comp for companies that erect and dismantle drilling rigs is 28.3% of their payroll. The cost of workmen's comp on airline pilots is .6% of their payroll," Parker said.

**B.** P. TURNEY, Dallas, Texas Instruments safety director, testified against the Parker bill, stating "I say you can't legislate safety." Statistics, he said, show that "safety code" states don't necessarily have safer industry; written codes tend to be too rigid; safety codes, which describe minimum safety standards, often become the maximum standards, as well; and safety is "just plain good business," so companies don't need much additional encouragement in this field.

Turney disputed Gov. John Connally's job safety figures quoted in his "state of the state" address, saying they were for 1964, not 1965, as Connally had said. Turney recalled that the governor had referred to Texas as being first in industrial accidents in the ten largest industrial states. But, Turney said, Texas is second in the reduction of job accident deaths.

L. P. Williams, a safety engineer for Jefferson Chemical Co., Port Arthur, said that he opposes the Parker bill because it says "the board may exempt industries with good accident records." Williams thinks the bill should use the word "shall" instead of "may." The Parker bill, he said, might result in rigid rules, possibly reducing industry's flexibility in finding answers to safety problems.

Hendryx sent both bills to a subcommittee composed of Parker, Fondren, and Ralph Wayne, Plainview. Wayne is a conservative and a Ben Barnes lieutenant. Hendryx told the subcommittee to "meet with Gov. Connally or his staff and work out legislation that we can pass in this session."

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# Saturday Afternoon at Mr. Pat's

Austin

It was Valentine's Day and the subject before the Senate Jurisprudence Committee was beauty. Lamp-tanned men and lacquered women bustled around the crowded Senate committee room as though it was Saturday afternoon at Mr. Pat's. The day's business concerned a bill which the Texas Cosmetology Council had spent 18 months concocting, to escalate the standards of those who ply the beautician's profession.

The bill had been introduced by Sen. Murray Watson, Jr., of Waco and would increase, from 1,000 to 1,500, the number of apprenticeship hours required before a beautician's certificate could be issued. Further, the measure would increase, from 500 to 750, the number of hours training required before a cosmetology student could practice on, or receive money from, anyone other than fellow students or beauty school personnel.

This may sound like an uncomplicated, routine bill, but the 750-hour proposal was much in dispute. The beauticians wanted it; they feel that their profession requires higher standards than the ones that have prevailed for the last 30 years. Opposing the rule were representatives of private and public beauty schools, who want to remove or lower the barrier to having their students charge fees of persons on whom the work. The fees would defray expenses of the schools.

**AS THE DISPUTE** waxed, the hearing began to drag a bit. Some of the senators, who perhaps feel that a monthly haircut is about all the grooming anybody needs, began to get grumpy.

Repeatedly, committee chairman Charles Herring, Austin, began, "I think we've heard all sides of the matter now. Of course, if someone has something really new to add. . ."

And someone always did.

As the wrangling about the 750-hour rule increased in pitch, Sen. Watson offered an amendment to omit the requirement altogether. The vocational school people pleaded for Watson's amendment. But a representative of the State Board of Cosmetology noted that his agency has been unable to enforce even the 500-hour rule. Watson, the rest of the afternoon, sank progressively lower in his chair and taciturnly chewed on a cigar.

Other Senators then began to recall unpleasant experiences that acquaintances had suffered at beauty shops.

Sen. A. R. Schwartz, Galveston, muttered something about a constituent "who lost all her hair because of beauty shop treatment."

At one point Sen. Tom Creighton, Mineral Wells, interjected "One guy flat

ruined my wife's hair. Are you going to turn people loose in one week with dyes which can ruin a person's scalp?"

One of the beautician-witnesses at the hearing began to get panicky. Leaning across an intervening reportress, he said to a colleague "We're dead. I tell you we're dead!" Suddenly noticing the reporter across whose lap he was leaning, he hissed "That's off the record, dearie."

Much of the required 500 hours' training on other than public heads is conducted on mannequins. There is some dissatisfaction in the vocational schools with this procedure. A Waco gentleman explaining the limited value of mannequins in training beauticians, motioned to an associate, who rose bearing an elaborate, flowered hat box. "There," the Wacoan cried as he took the box, unzipped it, and displayed a head — a mannequin's head — to the somewhat startled Senators. Noting the bountiful curls, the witness said "If a person can learn all she can from a mannequin in a week she should be taken of this monster and put on a human. Five hundred hours on this little beast here is much too much gentlemen," he entreated the committee. A Dallas beautician added that mannequins don't have hands, so future manicurists can get no experience at all, except on humans.

**DURING THE** afternoon several beauty college owners and teachers repeatedly made reference to "white" and "Negro" colleges. Sen. Barbara Jordan, Houston, the first Negro Senator since Reconstruction, asked a witness if his college accepts Negroes.

"Oh, yes. We have one of them," he answered earnestly.

"One of them. . . ." Senator Jordan repeated, to herself.

Creighton noted that Watson's bill would require that all beauty colleges be air-conditioned and that each beauty school proprietor have \$15,000 worth of debt-free assets. Was this intended to eliminate marginal schools? Creighton asked. No, he was told. Creighton, author in 1965 of a bill to prune the number of barber colleges in Texas, indicated that such a provision might be something to consider.

Finally, after two hours and 15 witnesses (almost as many as had testified at the heated hearing on parimutuel betting), Herring submitted the bill to a subcommittee, to be chaired by Miss Jordan, the legislature's only woman.

"Four people could have said everything that needed to be said today," Sen. Don Kennard, Fort Worth, said.

"Would you believe two?" Herring retorted.

The committee then turned to consideration of the next bill on its agenda, a Kennard proposal to ban discrimination by state and local officials. It was voted out favorably to the Senate floor in less than 60 seconds. □

## Flat Tire

i am a barefoot absurdity  
trapped without spare dime  
lessly waiting for aid as you pass

this early office morning surging  
toward clock town.

i look into your sunglass eyes.  
you answer with brakeline indignities  
and pull around my crippled car.

you've no idea more than your twelve  
seconds is lost, more than this way

has been reduced from six lanes to four.

## Landscapes '67

RUSSIA

cold bleak mountain  
ranges of forests  
full of secret peasants.

USA

the birth of a nation  
depends on more than  
the slaughter of trees.

VIET NAM

we went into the villages  
and burned the straw huts.  
the old ladies tried to get  
water but we blocked the  
wells, forming a rigid line/  
against them.

DALLAS

i will remember your  
skinny buildings with  
rockets on top (those skyscaling  
infinities intertwined with lights),  
your fat old ladies selling dailies,  
your bookstores saying  
it was not you at all.

—ROBERT BONAZZI

Houston



# San Antonio's Hospital Woes

John Rogers

San Antonio

The University of Texas regents are building a \$12 million medical school in San Antonio; now they say there's a chance it may not open. Along with this, the people of Bexar County have two charity hospitals and not enough money to run one. The two situations are tied together so tightly that one cannot be solved unless the other also is.

This is how: the university is about to finish construction of its third state medical school, from which it hopes eventually to graduate 100 doctors a year. Next door to the school is the Bexar County hospital district's unfinished teaching hospital. The med school is required by statute to have the teaching hospital if it is to operate and the hospital district can't run that hospital unless it finds a new source of revenue. The district's projected income for next year cannot possibly cover the cost of operating even its old charity hospital, Robert B. Green, in the center of San Antonio's slums, much less the teaching hospital.

To make matters worse, the property owners in the district last January rejected a proposal to allow the district to raise taxes. Under pressure from a regents' ultimatum to get up the money to run the teaching hospital or lose the medical school, San Antonio civic leaders have made numerous suggestions. Gov. John Connally has offered his own formula, but it would require passage of a touchy piece of legislation and might be difficult to achieve, even for Connally.

The governor's plan would permit county commissioners to raise tax assessments for hospital district purposes in the state's four largest counties, including Bexar, without the necessity of voter approval. This would fly in the face of the Jan. 14 election here in which an unexpectedly large turnout of voters rejected a raise in the hospital district's assessment. The only alternative in view, at present, would be another election, whose chances would be dismal.

**H**OW DID THE U.T. regents and hospital district get into this fix? The situation dates back to 1891, when several San Antonians first suggested that the city needed a medical school. Periodically, since, the suggestion has boiled to the surface. When it did so again in 1947 a group of seven men tried to bottle the amorphous idea. They began by setting up the San Antonio medical foundation. The foundation's first attempt at bringing a state medical school to San Antonio was thwarted by Dallas, whose agents arrived at the Capitol in Austin with a concrete proposal, land, and money.

John Rogers is a San Antonio native and has been on the staff of a daily newspaper in that city for eight years.

Having learned the Dallas lesson, the foundation members, in 1956, organized their own plan, acquired some land, and raised a little money. But there was a hooker. The land — 200 acres — came from four real estate developers, George Delavan, Sr., G. S. McCreless, Edgar Von Scheele, and Carl Gaskin Jr., all of whom were to go on to business prosperity. The 200-acre gift has been the nucleus around which a tenacious alliance was formed and is sustained. It was composed of the developers, the members of the Medical Foundation, the *Express* and *News* newspapers, and Dr. Merton Minter, who happened to be chairman of the U.T. board of regents. Talk, and that's all it was, back in the late fifties was that the real bond in the alliance was land speculation.

Regardless, this group for years fought San Antonio's most powerful men, financier W. W. McAllister and contractor H. B. Zachry; a hundred downtown businessmen; the city's most vociferous liberal, Albert Pena; the Catholic Church; the hospital board; the majority of the city's doctors; all of San Antonio's poor—and won.

"It was the smartest business deal anyone has pulled in a long time — it was legitimate — but it was very smart," McAllister, an old wheeler-dealer himself, once said.

The area around the donated land, a good golf shot from Oak Hills Country Club, is rapidly becoming the city's most exclusive residential-commercial section. This development was spurred by the selection of the Oak Hills site for the state medical school. Lots cost \$8,000 on land that in 1961 sold for \$3,000 an acre and, not many years before, brought \$250 an acre, one real estate man says. However, placing the medical school on the Oak Hills site, ten miles from the heart of San Antonio, instead of near an expanded and modernized Green Hospital in the downtown area, is probably the real reason that the school may not open this year — or ever. If it had been located in the Green area, a second hospital wouldn't have had to be built; San Antonio can support one hospital, but two would appear, more and more, to be a needless luxury.

**E**IGHT YEARS AGO there were plenty of protests about the proposed Oak Hills location for the medical school, all to no avail. Pena, in 1959, said, "The Green site is the only logical place for a medical school." A hospital consultant, Ross Garrett of Chicago, stated: "Physicians' offices are downtown. The city's other major hospitals are downtown. And the need is downtown." Archbishop Robert Lucey reminded: "A charity hospital is a temple of mercy. It ought to be where the poor, the needy, and the afflicted can find it."

But the medical foundation offered the

U.T. regents the land free and the regents accepted.

The hospital district board protested, saying it preferred to modernize the Green and find land for the medical school in a 242-acre urban renewal tract that surrounded the existing hospital. The Downtowners Association, a merchants group, as well as Pena, Zachry, the archbishop, and seven of the nine members of the City Council, backed the hospital district's objection.

There were those who foresaw the dangers of the hospital district's trying to operate two major hospitals. R.L.B. Tobin, then 25 and chairman of the hospital board, said, "You can't spend what you legally don't have." Tax collector-elect Charles Davis advised that to operate both would require an increase in property tax assessments. Finally Pena warned: "The maintenance costs of the teaching hospital have not been adequately explained."

Such remarks brought the dispute to a boil. At a meeting Ed Ray, then the editor of the *Express-News*, told Pena, "If you don't stop the hospital talk I'm going to run you out of town." But as it happened, shortly thereafter, Ray himself left town.

In Austin, however, things were going rather smoothly. The regents asked and received from the legislature, first, a planning grant for the medical school and, two years later, funds for construction.

In the meantime the medical foundation had persuaded the hospital district's board and the county commissioners that San Antonio's need for a medical school overshadowed all other considerations. To make this proposition more palatable even to the loudest critics, the foundation, and the regents, stopped talking about the Oak Hills site and said no decision had been reached on selection of a site. A \$6.5 million bond election was called to finance construction of the teaching hospital and expansion of the old Green. It passed 6½-to-1.

Six weeks later, the UT regents again announced that the Oak Hills site had been selected. "We've been double-crossed," the Catholic Spanish-language weekly, *La Voz*, editorialized.

**A**ND AGAIN pressure mounted. The Downtowners Association asked the regents to reconsider and raised \$1 million to buy land on a site near the existing Green Hospital. The regents again backed away.

But the medical foundation returned with its own million dollar promise to buy additional land at the Oak Hills site. In all, 540 acres now make up what the foundation hopes will one day be a medical center. Presently on the land is the modern, new Methodist Hospital complete with a nuclear attack shelter, several

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small medical facilities and the unfinished medical school and teaching hospital.

Evidently the Medical Foundation's final offer convinced the regents and for the third time they selected the Oak Hills site. W. W. Heath, one of the regents, said Dr. Minter "played a key role in selection of the Oak Hills site. Other regents are laymen, while Minter was vice president of the Texas Medical Association," in addition to being chairman of the regents.

Back in Bexar County four of the five members of the hospital district board, including philanthropist Tobin, had been purged over the objections of Pena and an Oak-Hills-oriented majority appointed by a conservative county commissioners court.

So construction of both the medical school and the teaching hospital began. Then, last fall, the hospital board realized that it would need considerably more money if it was to operate two facilities. The board called on the voters to approve raising their hospital taxes as much as 300%. When the voting property owners said "no" earlier this year, the hospital district and the U.T. regents each had a medical facility which they couldn't operate — unless some answer is found quickly.

Feb. 20 was the deadline the regents had set for San Antonio leaders to offer a solution to the dilemma. The day passed with no proposal being made and, as the Observer went to press, the future seems

cloudy. Some Houston people have suggested that the legislature re-establish the San Antonio school in Houston. And some Austin leaders now are talking about a move to get a medical school, perhaps San Antonio's.

Regents chairman Frank C. Erwin says the board will discuss the situation at its March 10-11 meeting in Galveston.

Whatever the outcome for San Antonio, the Oak Hills real estate developers have sold many of their lots; the medical foundation, after 20 years, has given the city a medical school, but no students; the former owners of the *Express-News* have sold out; and Dr. Minter has retired from public life to a private practice of medicine — in the very heart of downtown San Antonio. □

## Political Intelligence

# Texans View the Vietnam War

✓ U.S. Senator John Tower returned from 20 days in Vietnam more hawkish than ever. He called for "bombing every major military target regardless of where located" and closing Haiphong harbor. Tower and President Johnson conferred; L.B.J. voiced vexation at the publicity given U.S. Sen. Robert Kennedy for reportedly sensing peace feelers. Tower took a swipe at Kennedy, saying "We have perhaps too often been deceived by contrived 'peace feelers' which result in increasing demands by some here at home that we stop bombing and negotiate. Tower expressed satisfaction at military progress in Vietnam.

✓ Republican freshman Cong. Bob Price, Pampa, has echoed Tower's sentiments on bombing and on blockading Haiphong "even if it risks war with another nation." Price predicts that "American lives will be lost" in Thailand next, where he says there is infiltration by the communists.

✓ Cong. Graham Purcell, Wichita Falls, and Tower, among others, have spoken out against holiday truces in Vietnam, saying the truces merely let the North Vietnamese pour supplies to their troops. "The communists are already on their knees militarily," Purcell says. He expresses the hope that "we can bring peace to Vietnam without devastation of North Vietnam and its civilian population. Purcell says that U.S. non-military pacification operations are succeeding. He says 1,300 Americans and some 30,000 Vietnamese are involved in the work with civilians there.

✓ Texas' stake in the defense business becomes more considerable each year. Defense Dept. figures show that state firms had military contracts totalling \$1 billion in fiscal 1962, \$1.2 billion in 1963, \$1.3 billion in 1964, \$1.4 billion in 1965, \$2.3 billion in fiscal 1966. Texas' share of U.S. military contracts has jumped from

4% in fiscal 1962 to 7.2% in 1966. Eight of the ten largest military prime contractors in Texas are in the Dallas-Fort Worth area.

✓ Roger Shattuck is circulating a petition among his fellow professors at the University of Texas, urging the President to stop bombing in North Vietnam. A full-page ad of the petition was to be printed in the Austin paper.

✓ A Houston combat veteran has advertised in a newspaper there for volunteers to fight for the communists of North Vietnam. The ad is in ridicule of U.S. opponents of the Vietnam war. Daryl I. Hazel says he is concerned that "we are living in a country that's raising a generation of cowards."

✓ Cong. Bob Poage, Waco, is pleased that California officials have clamped down on doings at the Berkeley campus, which he said, had become a "staging ground for communist agitators and draft evaders." Poage fears that "we are going to have to put some kind of limitation on the time any person can spend on a college campus in a student status."

✓ Cong. Wright Patman, Texarkana, points out that the last Congress passed a law which permits the Secretary of Labor to issue an exemplary rehabilitation certificate to a person who received an other-than-honorable discharge from the military service. "Occasionally our young people in the armed forces are caught up in circumstances" that lead to such discharges, Patman says. The certificate could be used by those whose military discharge is an obstacle to their employment.

✓ Congress will need "the maximum of courage" in renewing the draft this year, says Cong. Earle Cabell, Dallas. Of particular concern, he said, will be to write the law so that there will be a fair method for determining which young men "will be asked to risk their lives in the defense of our freedom."

## In Washington

✓ The idea of letting the states share federal tax dollars is impractical at this time, says Cong. George Mahon, Lubbock, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee. "We're in the midst of a war," Mahon notes. "Tax-sharing should be put on the back burner, to be considered at a later time." Mahon has established a conservative majority on one of his committee's key subcommittees, thus to check federal spending. Cong. Wilbur Mills of Arkansas, House Ways and Means Committee chairman, said in Houston that he believes tax sharing might increase centralization of government in Washington.

✓ Cong. Joe Pool, Dallas, has warned the U.S. Information Agency not to distribute William Manchester's book on J.F.K.'s death. Otherwise, funds for the agency might be cut off, Pool threatened. He said he considers the book a "deliberate attempt to blacken the name of Dallas."

✓ Pool's aid has been enlisted by Dallas oilman D. Harold Byrd to halt proposed shortening of geographic names in Antarctica. At issue are the names of Harold Byrd Mountains and Marie Byrd Land, which would be truncated to "Byrd Mountains" and "Byrd Land." Presumably the Dallas Byrd is no relation to the namesakes involved.

✓ Pool wants to get off of the House Committee on un-American Activities. The *Dallas Times-Herald* reports that Pool was embarrassed to learn that "star" witnesses on the committee are put on its payroll. At a closed meeting of the committee this year Pool moved that this practice be stopped. H.U.A.C. chairman Edwin Willis of Louisiana considered Pool's motion insulting. Pool interpreted Willis' reaction as meaning that



Pool would have little influence on the committee, so will try to win a spot on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

✓ So far as can be determined, Cong. Bob Eckhardt, Houston, was the only Texan who voted in favor of the Democratic caucus going on record in support of abolishing the H.U.A.C. The proposal was voted down, 128 to 63, in January but the vote was not recorded.

✓ Eckhardt says he plans to bring experts to Washington for brief periods to study issues in which he is interested. The plan is unique among Congressmen.

✓ Cong. Jim Wright addressed a group in flawless Spanish during a ceremony in Mexico, thanking the people of Oaxaca state for their recent hospitality to a contingent of U.S. officials. Wright studied Spanish two years ago, presumably in preparation for a statewide race.

✓ Cong. Clark Fisher, San Angelo, called the cancelling of shore leave for U.S. sailors docked at Cape Town, South Africa, "one of the momentous bloopers of U.S. diplomatic history." The action was taken because of South Africa's official policy of segregation. Fisher is also concerned that the Equal Employment Opportunity Cmsn. has the power to issue "cease and desist" orders.

✓ Congs. Fisher, Cabell, and Pool have reasserted their opposition to an open housing law.

## Let Us Pray

✓ Cong. Price has introduced a school prayer measure as a proposed amendment to the Constitution. He says, in his newsletter, that "Contrary to the belief of many people the Supreme Court decision of several years ago did not outlaw prayer in schools. The justices stated that school officials could not give the students a prepared prayer to recite. . . . I will fight for passage of this amendment to make sure that some future court does not prohibit all prayer in public buildings." The Supreme Court ban on nonvoluntary prayer is being ignored by 70% of Texas' secondary schools, says Dr. G. T. Gifford of the Texas Council of Churches.

✓ Price has also introduced a Human Investment Act, which would provide tax credit for industries which have employee training programs.

✓ The prospects for Sen. Ralph Yarborough's Big Thicket National Park Bill would be brightened with the support of Cong. John Dowdy, Athens, whose district includes much of the area in question, and of the Interior Dept. A Senate committee hearing awaits completion of a Park Service study.

✓ Yarborough says he'll try to raise the appropriation for adult basic education by \$10 million in the coming fiscal year.

✓ The Senator's son, Richard, is paid \$22,000 annually for working as a legislative assistant for his father. Two other Texas members of Congress have relatives on their payrolls—Cong. John Dowdy, Athens, whose wife is paid \$13,650, and Cong. Jack Brooks, Beaumont, whose wife

receives \$7,452. Yarborough's son is, according to a Washington press corps compilation, the highest paid relative working on Capitol Hill for a legislator.

## CYD's and YD's

✓ The *Washington Star* reports that "a close friend" of White House aide Marvin Watson has been given the task of handling activities of the National Democratic Committee's newly-formed youth division. He is R. Spencer Oliver, 29, formerly of Fort Worth, who while attending T.C.U. was active in Texas Young Democratic circles. The *Star* says the Oliver has been and is "leading a move to crack down on the college arm of the national Y.D.s. The college unit passed a resolution in September sharply critical of President Johnson for the bombing of North Vietnam and asking for an immediate suspension. Oliver has urged that the college group be integrated into the national Y.D. organization, the *Star* reports thus ending the College Y.D.'s semi-independent status. The youth division is headed by former Georgia Cong. Charles Weltner and was established after the dispute broke out between national Demo committee officials and the College Y.D.'s over the Vietnam resolution. The aim of the new youth division is to improve President Johnson's standing among young people.

✓ A University of Texas student who is active in Y.D. activities in this state says, requesting anonymity, that Oliver is not a liberal. The U.T. student says that Watson and Oliver have known each other since the days when Watson was on the State Democratic Executive Committee and Oliver was in the Texas Y.D.'s, but are not close friends, as the *Washington Star* reports. This student also says that troubles existed between the college Y.D.'s and the national Y.D.s before the Vietnam statement.

✓ W. W. Heath, Austin attorney and University of Texas regent, may get an ambassadorship to a Scandinavian country.

✓ Everett Hutchinson, a Texan, has been sworn in as undersecretary of the new Transportation Dept.

✓ Jack Valenti, former LBJ aide who is now head of the movie industry, is critical of a move by U.S. Sen. Margaret Chase Smith to require "adult movies" to be so labelled. "There are only two people," Valenti says, "who can tell a child what he should see or hear or read, and those two are his parents. This is a right and privilege which is not transferable to others. How arrogant it is to think of someone outside the family determining what a child shall see."

## Looking to 1968

✓ LBJ will run again in 1968, columnist Leslie Carpenter assures his readers.

✓ The Gallup poll, for the first time in the memory of its founder, George Gallup, has withdrawn plans for publica-

tion of a survey. The poll showed that Richard Nixon has moved ahead of George Romney in the preference of Republican and independent voters. Gallup explained that questions asked in the two polls did not compare, though they were similar. The withdrawn poll showed that Nelson Rockefeller had moved into third place, ahead of Ronald Reagan, who dropped to fourth. Copies of the purged poll were distributed to U.S. news media by one John Davis Lodge of Westport, Conn., who said he doesn't like polls much.

✓ A Romney backer in San Antonio, Norm Gustafson, has reportedly received the word to proceed lining up other supporters in Bexar County for the Michigan governor's 1968 presidential campaign. Nixon is believed to be the choice of most San Antonio Republicans, the San Antonio Express-News advises.

✓ John Tower is still hewing hard to his neutral role in the 1968 G.O.P. presidential race; he can support any of the leading nominees, he says. "Party members must subordinate their differences if the G.O.P. is to win in 1968," he told Young Republicans in Washington. Tower made four speeches in Southern California during five days in February. In the months ahead it is reported that he will be speaking in Texas almost as many weekends as during his reelection campaign.

✓ The city that gets one national political convention in 1968 may get both; the TV networks are plugging hard for both gatherings to be held in one locale, as this would save money. Houston is pushing hard to be that city, pointing to the Astrodome as its main attraction. Some party officials have expressed concern about how it would look when 30,000 are on hand for their convention—only half filling the Dome. Houstonians reply that tourists will fill out the galleries.

Texas Republicans are hoping that LBJ may push the Democrats into Houston in '68 and thus bring the G.O.P. extravaganza to the state. Houston is said to be among the two or three cities in top contention, along with Miami Beach and Chicago.

✓ Republican candidates in Texas will receive votes in 1968 from conservative Democrats who are tiring of the conflict between liberals and conservatives. So said State Sen. Henry C. Grover, Houston, to the U.T. Young Republicans.

✓ A Texas Republican committee has been named to direct studies of state problems and produce material for G.O.P. candidates to use in races next year.

## A Choice Made

✓ Gov. John Connally evidently wants State Sen. Ralph Hall, Rockwall, as a running mate in 1968. Hall has made known his desire to run for lieutenant governor. Since Lt. Gov. Preston Smith intends to run for governor in 1968 he clearly doesn't fit into Connally's plans. Connally went out of his way to praise Hall's "tremendous leadership" in pushing the emergency HemisFair appropriation bill through a hostile Senate.



Hall is well-liked, generally, by most in the opposing factions of the Senate. *Dallas News* reporter Jimmy Banks, in an interesting article about Hall, says that the senator is kindly regarded by a number of his colleagues for his consideration of them while drawing up, with Sen. J. P. Word, Meridian, the redistricting bill for the upper house that was passed in 1965.

Hall describes himself as a moderate conservative. "But," he told Banks, "I'm a conservative who thinks we need an industrial safety act—and I plan to introduce one this session. And I'm a conservative who thinks there is a state minimum wage law everybody could live with." Hall, on assuming the presidency of an aluminum company immediately raised its minimum wage from \$1.45 an hour to \$1.60.

✓ Most politicians in Austin are proceeding on the assumption that Connally will seek a fourth term next year. The governor is basing the necessity for this on the prospect that important parts of his program might not be passed during this legislative session. It is true that some phases of the Connally program are likely not to be enacted; usually this is the case for any governor.

✓ Connally's handling of his job is approved by 69% of the Texans queried by the Belden Poll. This figure is the lowest percentage of approval recorded by Belden in nine polls since the governor was involved in the assassination. The disapproval rating, 21%, is the highest of any of eleven Belden polls on Connally.

✓ Security measures were more elaborate than usual when Connally attended the annual Washington birthday ceremonies at Laredo. Officers were looking out for a demonstration by striking Valley farm workers and their supporters, but it didn't materialize.

## Yarborough and RFK

✓ Meanwhile the possibility that Sen. Ralph Yarborough might challenge Connally next year was discussed by Jack Newfield in his front-page column in New York City's *Village Voice*. Newfield writes that "a story of national impact may be brewing in Texas." He concludes that Yarborough's problem in such a race would be "to avoid being stigmatized as a Trojan horse for RFK."

✓ Yarborough in a San Antonio speech, last month, before the Mexican chamber of commerce was critical of "political power bosses intent upon maintaining the status quo in Texas." Yarborough mentioned the broadened federal minimum wage which went into effect Feb. 1, then added: "Since the anti-people state government of Texas has no minimum wage law, with this federal law which I floor-managed in the U.S. Senate, we are bringing industrial justice into the mesquite brush, and no New Braunfels highway roadside bluff will stop us. . . . Vast segments of the Anglo community are willing to help you," Yarborough said. Yarborough didn't mention Connally's name, but most of his audience knew of whom

the Senator was speaking.

✓ Meanwhile several reports are heard from San Antonio that Yarborough is in trouble with many voters whose support he normally could count on. The problem lies in the personal difficulties he and that city's popular Cong. Henry B. Gonzalez are having. Gonzalez didn't like some of Yarborough's positions in the U.S. Senate on funds for HemisFair and has also criticized two bills the Senator has introduced specifically to help Latin-Americans. Gonzalez says the bills set Latins apart from other Americans and adds: "Dominant groups in this country have often used the hyphenated-American concept to indicate the second-class status, in their eyes, of certain persons. Certainly the Senator has no such intention, but I believe the phrase has unfortunately been used for this purpose by other less scrupulous individuals." Also, Gonzalez complains, Yarborough didn't consult him on the two "Latin-American" bills.

## New Orleans

✓ Gov. Connally says he doubts that New Orleans district attorney Jim Garrison has solved the assassination, as Garrison claims; Connally concedes that, of course, he doesn't know what Garrison knows.

✓ Dallas district attorney Henry Wade, who prosecuted Jack Ruby, has said once again that he believes Lee Harvey Oswald might not have acted alone. Oswald "had to have some encouragement" in the shooting of President Kennedy, Wade says. "It wasn't just an accident that Oswald had a gun up there with him. When you consider the timing, it looks a little hard for him to pull it off by himself."

✓ Garrison now indicates that the arrests will not, evidently, be made as soon as he had indicated earlier. He has hinted, slightly, that Oswald may not have been alone in firing at the presidential motorcade and that Oswald may not have fired any shots himself. But there still had been no arrests early this week.

✓ Some persons have tended to discredit Garrison's claims, saying that he has political ambitions. Interesting thought: Cong. Hale Boggs, also of New Orleans, was a Warren Commission member.

## Texas Affairs

✓ Harry D. Jersig, San Antonio brewery executive, has been named by Gov. Connally to replace A. W. Moursund, Johnson City, on the State Parks and Wildlife Commission. Moursund's term expired Feb. 1. The appointment must be confirmed by the Senate.

✓ In an unusual decision Atty. Gen. Crawford Martin gave a provisional O.K. to sale of \$5.5 million of bonds issued by the city of San Antonio to finance construction of the HemisFair tower. The decision by Martin was made despite a pending law suit brought by some San Antonio citizens to prevent issuance of the bonds. Martin's approval was required before a New York firm would buy the bonds. He broke a 50-year

precedent against approving bonds when litigation is pending that could overturn the issuance. The A. G. and his staff decided that the suit will be found to have no legal merit, though a final court ruling hasn't yet been made. The hurry-up was necessary, it was felt, if the tower was to be built in time for next year's fair.

✓ The head of the journalism department at Texas A&M, Delbert McGuire, will resign. Three student editors of the *Battalion*, campus newspaper, were fired last fall [Obs., Oct. 14]. Evidently there has since been a move on to put the paper under more control of the journalism department. But McGuire, reports indicate, believes that he would not have full enough control of the paper's content. He says he would be willing to take over the publication if it could be made a part of the teaching program through laboratory assignments.

## Equality in Texas

✓ The first Negro ever to serve on the Dallas council was appointed to fill a vacancy. C. A. Galloway, president of the local Negro Chamber of Commerce and a real estate man, will serve until the spring elections, representing the southeast section of the city. If he runs this spring, he'll face opposition by a white candidate. There is some discussion of enlarging the council by two positions, one of which would serve a Negro neighborhood. The Citizens Charter Assn., which dominates Dallas city politics, has announced an all-white slate for the coming elections.

✓ The first Negro ever to seek election to the Bryan city council would be Harmon Bell, it is believed, should Bell run as he has said he will.

✓ Rice University can admit Negroes and charge tuition, the Texas Supreme Court has ruled. The decision overturns proscriptions of Rice's founder, William Marsh Rice.

✓ An Oklahoma football player, Danny Hardaway, is the first Negro to receive an athletic scholarship at Texas Tech.

✓ Houston schools were criticized in a U.S. Civil Rights Cmsn. report for using construction as a tactic to delay desegregation. Forty-nine of the 56 Negro schools were built or enlarged after 1955, the report said. "Instead of enlarging the capacity of the schools ringing the Negro area to serve both Negro and white children, the system accommodates the growing Negro enrollments within the Negro area," the report asserted. Six of the city's more than 200 schools have some faculty desegregation, involving 17 Negro teachers.

✓ Beeville attorney Hector Gonzales has charged that the local hospital designates Latin-American patients by the initials "L.A." on their identification wristbands.

✓ Highway construction contractors, many of whom do federal work, have begun hiring some women "flagmen" on Texas projects to comply with the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which also prohibits discrimination based on sex. □



# Interesting Details Uncovered

Austin

A number of interesting, heretofore unpublished details of Ralph Yarborough's 1964 primary race against Gordon McLendon are recorded in an unusually readable master's thesis, written in 1965 by Dave McNeely, who is now a state capital correspondent for the *Houston Chronicle*. McNeely wrote the thesis after interviewing 40 participants (including McLendon and Yarborough) and observers of the campaign that is remembered for "the \$50,000 story"—the allegation that Yarborough had, in 1960, received \$50,000 from Billy Sol Estes before Estes' reputation and empire began to crumble a year and a half later.

Neither McLendon nor Yarborough was very excited about the race, McNeely's thesis indicates, until the morning of April 12, when the *Dallas News* broke the story, quoting Estes. Larry Goodwyn, a Yarborough campaign staff member, told McNeely that only then did the Senator begin to worry about winning the primary. McLendon told McNeely that, until then, he had had trouble raising any issues that interested the public.

Both McLendon and Yarborough said they heard rumors of something big coming up, but didn't know what until the story was published. McLendon said he felt he had to bring the story into the campaign when the Federal Communications Commission began asking him about its use on his three Texas radio stations. McNeely quotes an unidentified liberal as having been told by an anti-Yarborough person, also not named, that the Senator's opposition used the story, as they felt that they "had to kill Yarborough's reputation for honesty."

The wisdom of bringing the Estes story into the campaign seemed dubious, when considered in retrospect by some of those whose counsel McLendon sought in 1964. Ex-Gov. Allan Shivers said he wouldn't have touched it. Ex-Cong. Joe Kilgore said the story should not have been handled by a Yarborough opponent, but by a disinterested party; Kilgore said the public has grown suspicious of anything resembling a smear campaign. George Sandlin, who ran McLendon's campaign, seemed to feel that the charge had to be used, once it was supported by sworn statements. Jim Erwin, a top McLendon worker, said he was against using the story all along.

Jimmy Banks, the *Dallas News* reporter who broke the story, told McNeely how he heard of it: Estes had appreciated Banks' and the *News'* treatment of Estes' difficulties in 1962; other papers, Banks said Estes believed, had been one-sided in their stories. Banks would get the details, should Estes decide to disclose any of his dealings. Later, Banks continued, Estes began to feel that Yarborough was ignoring him; resentful, he decided to tell the story of the \$50,000. Banks phoned Estes;

they met in a hotel in Abilene on April 10, 1964, with a lawyer named Jack Bryant present.

Yarborough told McNeely that he tried to persuade the news media to play the story down. Many newspapers didn't go into much detail about the Estes allegation, McNeely says: they referred to it only when one of the candidates mentioned it. *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* political writer Harley Pershing told McNeely that his paper avoided it because the story was copyrighted and the *Star-Telegram's* legal advisers questioned the story's factual support.

**I**N THE MEANTIME, an unidentified Yarborough detractor claimed the Senator called the White House and "was hysterical in demands" that something be done about the situation.

On April 21 Yarborough asked the F.B.I. to investigate the \$50,000 story. Four days later McLendon went on statewide TV with the two witnesses who said they had seen the money change hands. McNeely quotes McLendon staff members as saying that the two witnesses were so frightened that they were kept in a moving car until air time.

Three nights later Yarborough produced two witnesses of his own on television, who denied the story, saying that they had been present when the money was supposed to have changed hands. Worry, which had become widespread among the Senator's campaign workers, began to subside. Yarborough told McNeely that after seeing the large crowds the next day he resumed his confidence that he would win.

McNeely tells for the first time the story of how word reached Yarborough that the Estes charges had been partially discredited. At 4:15, Washington time, on the afternoon before the election the Justice Dept. called the Senator's capital office, saying that one of the two alleged witnesses had recanted. Yarborough's Washington staff hastily called his Texas office with the news. Yarborough, at the time, was driving on the turnpike from Dallas to Fort Worth for the final telecast of the campaign. A highway patrolman was dispatched and intercepted the Senator's car to tell Yarborough to call his Washington office.

Jim Erwin, who was a key campaign worker for McLendon, told McNeely that the news completely rattled the McLendon staff. McLendon got the news on arriving at the Beaumont airport that afternoon and was visibly shaken while delivering a talk that night and, the next morning, election day, during a desperate two-hour TV program. Goodwyn, of Yarborough's staff, said of McLendon and the election day telecast, "Every nickel he spent was money for us. He just went crazy." McLendon, who had employed his facility for the hu-

morous phrase during the campaign, began to abandon the "slick talk" because, Erwin said, "things were getting too serious" during the final week of the race and "the levity just didn't match the problem."

McNeely says that sources in both the McLendon and Yarborough camps assessed the impact of the FBI's revelation as having no effect on up to costing McLendon 100,000 votes which he would have gotten had he not brought the matter up in the first place.

**T**HE ROLE OF the FBI in the race worried many persons, including many supporters of Yarborough, on grounds that such intervention by a federal police agency in a state election is a serious, perhaps ominous, matter and may have been a dangerous precedent. McNeely quotes an unidentified Washington observer as saying that President Johnson's people like to think the FBI revelation made the difference for Yarborough; the assumption would be, in that case, that the Johnson administration (including Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy, a Yarborough ally) had gone to unusual lengths and that the FBI's role was indeed unusual. Particularly rare was the election eve disclosure that one of the witnesses had changed his story; the FBI almost never reveals the progress of an investigation until it is complete, which this inquiry was not. McNeely wrote the Justice Dept. asking about the timely revelation. A department official answered by mail that when it was learned that the witness had changed his story the department officials then faced the dilemma of determining which was more important—the department's usual policy of not disclosing the progress of an investigation still going on and the "true facts of the case as those facts concerned citizens of the State of Texas. It was our considered judgment that the people's right to know in this unusual matter of great public concern must prevail over regular department policy."

What jurisdiction did the F.B.I. have in the case? If Yarborough had received more than \$5,000 from Estes in 1960 he would have been in violation of a federal statute. Furthermore, Yarborough told the F.B.I., at the time he made his request for an investigation, the agency was already investigating Estes' financial dealings and such a \$50,000 donation would be germane to those inquiries. G. O.

*This is the first of two articles on the McNeely thesis; a future issue of the Observer will discuss the McLendon strategy against Yarborough and the dilemma the conservatives faced in the primary campaign in that President Johnson didn't want Sen. Yarborough to be opposed.*

March 3, 1967



# Lohengrin-A-Go-Go at French's

## Corpus Christi

Since last November leaders of this city have become a bit uneasy about the premiere and succeeding titillating performances of topless *ballerinas du ballet au go-go* under the auspices of Gene French the Beachcomber's Lounge. French's is located on Padre Island, beyond the reach of municipal *gendarmes*. The local advent of the topless dance, the latest development in Texan folk culture, is seen by some Corpus Christians as a threat to the city's burgeoning tourist trade, much of which is geared to attract families. Corpus, unlike some of its Texas coastal neighbors, has never been a sin city. So, at least, is the local civic brag. The topless danseuses, it is feared, might attract less desirable, less wholesome tourists, driving the families off to, say, Six Flags over Texas.

There are, however, other business and civic leaders here who believe topless dancers are moving in the right direction. No, what I mean is: These dissenters are quietly, very quietly, in favor of easing restrictions on local entertainment as a means of broadening (sorry) the appeal of this city in luring more tourists and conventions.

Against this background of muted civic debate there recently erupted Corpus Christi's widely-publicized topless wedding, conducted at French's "go-go" establishment. It is not to be alleged that Mr. French was unaware of the publicity values of such nuptials, particularly if solemnized in his place. The prospective bride *nee* Trisha Beall, 19, is one of Mr. French's star performers.

She and her intended, Mr. Vernoy Dale Shaddix, 23, were sitting around at French's one day, passing the time with several of Miss Beall's colleagues by discussing the coming wedding, which, it was planned, would be a ceremony of the more usual sort — church, white dresses, a minister, and lots of stephanotis.

"Someone," Miss Beall recalls, "said something about wouldn't it be funny to have a topless wedding here at the lounge. Everyone laughed it off, but Mr. French got kind of a funny look on his face." One week later Miss Beall became, briefly, America's most famous bride.

**H**EARING OF THE impending nuptials, I made my way out to the small lounge, which is located on an otherwise desolate stretch of Padre Island. All night long I had trouble believing my eyes. I kept expecting young movie director — probably with a beard — to step out from behind a movie camera I hadn't noticed before and shout for quiet on the set. The

*The Corpus Christi resident who wrote this report has, for business reasons, requested anonymity. He is personally known to the editor, who vouches for his character and good judgment.*

topless ceremony at French's Lounge was to the American way of marriage what "The Loved One" was to the American way of death. All that we lacked was Jonathan Winters to perform the ceremony.

Or, perhaps, the casting was perfect as it was. Presiding was Justice of the Peace Peter Dunne, a short, portly, balding gentleman with a mustache. The bride was radiant, of course. All brides are. She and her maid of honor wore sweet, little (very little) dresses with, shall we say, forthright décolletage, which extended to their respective — ah — navels.

The bride and groom appeared to enjoy the ceremony enormously; they said later that they were completely happy with it. Sharing their contentment were perhaps 150 to 200 friends, and others, who paid two bucks a head for the right to gape and, sometimes, giggle as the young couple solemnized their union. The crowd, consisting principally of young persons, seemed to consider the whole thing a good show and no one seemed offended. As one young man put it, "It all seemed kind of silly, but I've seen elaborate church weddings that seemed just as silly."

Justice Dunne had been told, beforehand, that the bride would wear "pasties," a circular, adhesive garment of limited circumference — at times embellished by gay tassels — employed during the course of the bride's professional appearances. But somehow the pasties were forgotten. Justice Dunne said he didn't notice; he had — drat the luck — forgotten to bring his glasses along. After the ceremony there was much kissing of the bride — and of the maid of honor, too, it must be reported.

Dunne, interviewed by the pack of newsmen who were in attendance, said he didn't see anything wrong or unusual with a topless wedding if it made the bride and groom happy. But he was soon to learn that many persons did not agree

with his view. In the following days he was bombarded with complaints from those who considered the wedding immoral and shocking.

Lengthy articles were called in by stringers to both the major wire services. Newspapers across the nation and, to some extent, in foreign countries, lapped up the story. Johnny Carson had some fun with it on his nationally televised "Tonight" show. Photographers came all the way from Houston and San Antonio for the wedding.

The single source of press restraint was the hometown *Caller-Times*, which in its civic-mindedness did not want to call much attention to the happening in sinless Corpus Christi. The *Caller-Times* dispatched one reporter, without camera. A brief, low key account appeared on page eight the next morning. The story got less play than another page eight story which read "Mahler's symphonic song cycle, 'Das Leid von der Erde,' was the hero of the night last night at the Corpus Christi Symphony Orchestra concert."

**C**ITY OFFICIALS here have issued stern warnings that clubs within the city limits will not be allowed to display dancers in topless outfits, "pasties" or no. The fear, as one city official expresses it, is that the pressure of competition between the club owners will result in "sexier and sexier dances." Go-go girls in scant, but not topless, costumes are now a familiar sight in Corpus Christi. Many of their dances are more suggestive than those performed by the topless dancers at French's. In fact, if the girls at French's wore more than pasties above their waists, even a staunch moralist would have trouble finding anything to complain about; their dancing reminds one of little girls practicing basic dancing steps.

Well, almost. □

## HIGH SCHOOL ROTC: 'LET'S BE REALISTIC'

Don Hyde

*Austin*  
Continuation of a Reserve Officers Training Corps program at a local high school has become a minor issue in the affairs of this city. Two weeks ago several Friends (Quakers) and Unitarians advised the school board of their opposition to continuation of the program at Reagan High School, which is located in suburban northeast Austin.

The R.O.T.C. education is a cooperative effort of the Air Force and the school; not many Texas high schools offer R.O.T.C.

Eighty boys receive elective credits for the work at Reagan. Mainly the program consists of classroom instruction in science and such military subjects as the history of aviation, aerospace, flight, aircraft instruction, propulsion, air navigation, weather, spacecraft and launch, and aircraft organization. Also, there is some drilling and marching. The instructor is, and must be, a certified teacher who has had experience as an Air Force officer. No weapons of any kind are issued.

Students must be male, 14 and older,



and in good health. They can take eight semesters of R.O.T.C., which is twice the number of semesters offered at Reagan in speech, journalism, or art.

"The Air Force and the school people put their ideas together to give the boys who aren't good at football, extracurricular activities, or studies the opportunity to do something they can be proud of," says Irby Carruth, Austin superintendent. The Air Force, he adds, pays for most of the program, leaving school district taxpayers the lesser portion.

Taking R.O.T.C. does not obligate a student militarily. Carruth points out that R.O.T.C. "wouldn't hurt anyone" who wanted to enter the military and become an officer.

Would the school system be willing to give similar sponsorship to a pacifist group? Carruth answered that "R.O.T.C. isn't a war group. These kids are living in an aerospace world; they have to open

their eyes and see the truth and understand what's happening around them."

Carruth believes that an Air Force R.O.T.C. program in the public schools begins a young man's learning of and interest in outer space, which he says is the coming thing. The program, he adds, will train boys for tomorrow's jobs and instill a sense of patriotism in them.

The Reagan R.O.T.C. program was begun on a trial basis. A full report was to be presented the school board this week. If the report is favorable, as Carruth expects, then chances are good that other high schools may begin R.O.T.C. classes in Austin.

The objections of the Friends and Unitarians at an earlier school board meeting were based largely on the idea that it is wrong to teach any form of warfare to young men who are not yet mature. "How can killing in any form be reconciled with

love and concern for your fellowman?" asked Dr. Eugene V. Ivash, a Friend who is a University of Texas physics professor. "How can teaching the use of a bayonet be reconciled with the teachings of Christ?" Ivash added that the R.O.T.C. program teaches history "as a series of battles," neglecting sociological and economic factors.

Mrs. Otto Hoffman said that as a teenager in Germany during World War II she was taught that "the only way to deal with the other guy was to dispose of him . . . and it has taken me 20 years . . . to see that there are other ways to solve the world's ills. R.O.T.C. training is ultimately teaching the most effective way to kill another person."

School board member Mrs. Bob Wilkes said "I agree that we should strive to live in a peaceful world, but in the interim what about our enemy and our aggressor? Let's be realistic." □

## THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN FREEDOM

*Center of the Storm:* By John T. Scopes and James Presley. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. \$5.95.

### Commerce

"Serious scientific question (as opposed to irrational and emotional attack) was ended" by *Origin of the Species*, said a biographer of Charles Darwin. The past century has witnessed many such attacks in the guise of outlawing teaching of evolution, the most dramatic being the John Thomas Scopes trial in Dayton, Tenn., in 1925. There William Jennings Bryan, "fundamentalist" politician and preacher, and Clarence Darrow, brilliant agnostic lawyer, became antagonists, representing "religion and evolution" in a "duel to the death." In the press the case became "Jonah's Whale vs. Science" and Dayton was renamed "Monkey Town."

The defense was not permitted to offer testimony of 15 noted scientists (some of whom were religious leaders) in an effort to show no conflict between science and religion. With a "fundamentalist" judge and jury, Bryan won and Scopes was fined \$100 for teaching the evolutionary theory from the school's adopted textbook.

Ironically, the case was never really resolved. The defense strategy was to take a guilty verdict in the emotion-charged atmosphere of Dayton and argue the law's constitutionality on appeal. But Scopes' conviction was reversed on a technicality — the jury — not the judge — should have set the fine, it was ruled. The chance to argue the constitutional issue never arose.

Since those notorious days in 1925, John Scopes has lived a relatively quiet life as a geologist in Venezuela, Texas, and Louisiana. After the trial, he could have gotten several hundred thousand dollars for "telling his side of the story," but he never did — until now. In a book aptly named — Scopes was the man at the center of the affair — his story is told

by his friend James Presley, a Bowie County writer and contributing editor of the *Observer*. Through Presley, Scopes makes, in his first detailed comment, a contribution to history, but thousands besides historians will read this biography with interest and gratitude.

The writer is Presley; the book is Scopes. Naturally the story is told from the "I" viewpoint, revealing Scopes himself — which had been the X factor hitherto in the Dayton trial. Although the book is a result of close collaboration, Presley has subordinated his style to the personality of the protagonist. Scopes will never feel he has been manchestered.\*

**M**Y OWN LIFE is a study in environment, heredity and chance" Scopes begins and the reader will probably forever after add "chance" to the old debate about the importance of heredity and environment.

Chance added additional ironies to Scopes' story, reminiscent of the "Theater of the Absurd." The railroad strike of 1894 changed both Clarence Darrow and Scopes' father (the two greatest influences, Scopes says, on his life) from management men to labor supporters. Bryan's commencement address at Scopes' high school graduation was marred by Scopes' laughter — a fact Bryan remembered six years later in Dayton. Scopes became the defendant in the anti-evolution trial only because he dawdled in Dayton to date a pretty blonde after school was over. His job there the previous year was obtained because the coach quit at the last minute. Coach Scopes was never sure he had taught evolution; he merely "substituted" in biology. He was never put on the witness stand. Remembered as a teacher, he only taught one year. In spite of what he had done for academic freedom, he was refused a graduate fellowship in a university because of the trial. (The uni-

versity president wrote: "You can take your atheistic marbles and play elsewhere.") His only college degree is an A.B. in law. Although Darrow was his hero, Scopes changed from law to geology because he didn't want to be compared with Darrow all his life. Ironical chance!

Scopes reports that on the thirty-fifth anniversary of his trial he returned to Dayton to attend the premiere of "Inherit the Wind," a movie about the trial based on a play by Jerome Lawrence and R. E. Lee. He found little change: "In 1960, the verdict would have been the same."

The play which made the trial well-known in Texas and the United States premiered in Dallas. The reaction there indicated that Dallas is different from Dayton mostly in size. Dayton was once described as "a hot little dozing village, where nobody wants to be irritated by open minds." After the Texas production, from the largest pulpit in Dallas, came a series of sermons, like echoes from Dayton, entitled "God or Gorilla," "The Dubious Defenses of Darwinism," etc.

**S**COPE'S MEMOIRS remind us, as the play did, of one major idea: basic intellectual freedom is challenged today as it was in 1859, 1925, or 1960. We are still debating whether man has the right to inquire, to think, and to speak. These writers feel some effort is needed to keep bigots and ignoramus from controlling education in the United States. As Darrow put it, John T. Scopes was not on trial; the right to think was on trial.

Darrow and Scopes testify to having read Darwin; they learned more than a theory of evolution. Darwin in 1859, Darrow in 1925, Scopes and Presley in 1967 apparently join in the long human struggle for freedom of inquiry and the dignity of man.

JIM BYRD

\*See February 17 *Observer*, pages 14-15.



# IF WE'RE SERIOUS

Washington, D. C.

A free trip East is seldom to be sneezed at, although, when you fly into the young year's best blizzard, you are sure to sneeze during it; thus I have come to these distant parts for a conference of U.S. college editors on a subject portentous and pretentious, "the generation gap." The dullest speakers were those who took the subject seriously, and a number of them did, but still it all was very enlightening. The New Left is now slightly Used, and like everything slightly Used, seems to be working better and less self-consciously. The Old Left is as classical as ever, but cocky and contemptuous again, having had time to forget those few years of the sit-ins and

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(Adv.)

marches when even the sheer vigor of the established harangue could not conceal the bleakness, off-handedness, and attitudinizing that were some of its characteristics. The college kids, represented here by their editors, are quietly wilder than ever, if one may judge from a piece of the *Washington Post* in which most of them were naked as jaybirds, on marijuana, and quite as relaxed about it. I think no single one of the young editors, though, impressed me more than a beautiful young girl who rose during the panel at which I was a speaker and, gesturing with a taut-strung passion that seemed to radiate from her handsomely flashing arms in graceful waves of shock, told a fellow panelist that *he* could be damned, she was having none of his judiciousness, compromise, and sense of the courtly order: this war, this killing, letting these people starve in the ghettos, all this is *wrong*! Honest to God, it was one of the most beautiful things I've ever seen anyone do, and you can imagine my provincial pride when I learned that she is the editor of the *Rice University Thresher*, by the name of Candy Cormer, I think she was; although I'm not sure.

Because of the mails, on which, as your editor-at-large, (and I feel very much at large,) I must needs rely, I do not have time to give you as full an account of the proceedings at this symptomatic conference as I should like. (The generation gap in Texas is just as distorting a generalization, with specific realities just as vivid, as anywhere else, and here in Washington, I think, some useful things were in the wind, which we might as well sense in Texas, too, although we are supposed to be Vandals, and lose status when we come through as too civilized.) It happens, however, that my assignment in the conference was to sum it up in evaluative summary, so I shall follow along here with what I had to say that last morning. But I must admit at first that nothing I said had the pertinence of the opening remark of my fellow panelist, William Stringfellow, an apocalyptic preacher disguised as a lawyer in New York City, who guessed the student editors must have all gone to bed the Saturday night before at 4 or 5 o'clock, "presumptively together." The title of the panel was "Values and Morality," and later that day Sen. Walter Mondale, D-Minn., observed that this was surely the first youth conference in history that had the guts to schedule a panel on this subject *after* Saturday night.

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I SHALL BEGIN," I began, for my part, "by confessing I am confused." I am not sure whether I am young or old. I am 36, but I also feel that I am, as it happens, beginning again. Perhaps, I hope, this makes me bilingual, conversant, if not fluent, in the dialects of Old and Young.

Walter Lippman had provided us, somewhat homiletically, I thought, for a man as lucid as he is, an explanation of why the generational gap is wider now than it usually is. He said events always move faster than the mind, but the rate of change is now the highest it ever has been, so no one, literally no one, understands all the modern context; don't expect too much of the old, and educate yourselves.

The grandfather—surely he was a grandfather—who, the first night, introduced Paul Potter, fairly recently the chairman of Students for a Democratic Society, had not even learned the lesson of the Hemingway generation, not to speak words like noble and great. In two or three sentences of this introduction, the introducer, in the language of Ancient Old, said the words truly, great, best, intellectual, the years ahead, and integrity. He pushed all those buttons and nobody turned on.

Everything gets even more confused than it is when you discuss it within a false stereotype, such as the generation gap. It would be fair to say, would it not, that one of the liberating attributes of the New Left is that they have built-in shit detectors. Yet this is what Old Man Hemingway said writers must have. Mr. Potter of S.D.S. told us of the work of the New Left, who certainly have plenty of them, most of them home-made. Yet the Old Men with whom I had concourse later that night, Alfred Kazin and Robert Leckachman, thought that Mr. Potter's was out of order. We were in difficulties the first night.

Mr. Potter, it had seemed to me, described the accomplishments and the failure of the New Left honestly and accurately. (The present furore about the generation gap is a phenomenon of the left, by the way, for the same reason that, as Michael Harrington said in one of the readings for the conference, no one remembers the fraternity generation of the thirties. The prophetic minority who care the most, as Jack Newfield has written, affect history. Their power is moral.) Mr. Potter said that when he was young, the New Left exposed much of the sham of the American Dream, and that this was good work. It certainly was. He also said that now that he is nearing 30, he has begun to wonder "whether what this rhetoric represents is real." The New Left were supposed to be finding new alternatives to chasing the bitch-goddess success, but what are these alternatives? Where are they? I would have entitled Mr. Potter's talk, "If we're serious." He said, "If we're serious about somehow build-



ing around our critique, then we have to find new definitions of work than those that are tied to the old system, and that hasn't been done." Underneath that idea I guess that there is another: Whether you give up on the country as a force for more good than bad in the world. Mr. Potter stated this question as, "Do we believe that this country can be changed?" He thought perhaps; he is still trying. I think the radical young I know divide roughly into the nihilists and the gentles (they are all activists). If Carl Oglesby is Bazarov, Paul Potter is a gentle activist, honestly but not hopelessly dissatisfied with himself and his movement.

I was astonished by the force with which my colleagues in antiquation later that night rejected Mr. Potter's speech. It was, they thought, not real; a gesture. So I gathered. It had something of middle-class anguish about it; it did not come from necessity, like the thrusts of the thirties and of all revolutionary spirit do: from hunger in the belly. The Old was saying: Just Words. The Young reply: But we act, we take action. The Old reply: Just Gestures. And it is true, the sit-ins, the marches, were Just Gestures, even though they were very dangerous and got people killed, beaten, jailed, and black-listed. Why has the Southern movement, so beautiful, so fierce, died so young? It is too easy to say it just ran out of energy; it is too easy to say it succeeded, which it did not. Those few laws don't change anything enough or quick enough. I think it died because it was directed against the nerve-endings of American power, and not its economic nexus. At this point the Young turn on the Old: Well, where are the facts about this nexus? And to me it seems fair to ask, where are they? We guess life insurance companies steal from us, but exactly, precisely, in terms of the actual process, how? The data exists but have not got through to the general awareness. What goes on exactly behind the bank doors? Why is information on the tax profiteering of the oil industry confined largely to the pages of the Congressional Record? There is a moral gap between the universities and the real world, between journalism and the economic realities, between the writers and prophecy, that is far more serious than the generation gap. But the language of the Young goes too far, blaming the other, the strange, for its own failings, too. For taking satisfactions from activity, perhaps the Young are not beware enough. In your satisfactions, your time is passing. You do

not find out enough of what is already known.

I LEARNED the next day, in the seminar on the arts, what Mr. Kazin meant, and then I agreed with him. One of the panelists with him, the artist Allan Kaprow, said in his reading, "Once, the task of the artist was to make good art; now it is to avoid making art of any kind." That reminds me of the statements from the New Left that they ought to work without ideology; some of them also mean, without learning, without knowing. Once when I made that point to some visiting SDS officials in Austin, they rejoined, fair criticism, but on the other hand, we are also learning in activity, and thus from experience, from the feedback of reality. Fair rejoinder. Perhaps the criticism and the rejoinder can be spliced together. Mr. Potter tells of an educational center around a major city, a center in which he is now working, in which the object will be to devise from experience programs of change that will be basal rather than the neighborhood amelioration of a precinct-level New Deal. But the reason I think Mr. Potter's talk should

have been called, "If we're serious," is my own belief that there is a deeper seriousness that is the next requirement, and not just for the Young. With all this power, chaos, and apocalyptic danger, it is our duty, as well as our opportunity, to begin to think of the Utopian as the Possible.

Mr. Kazin brought all this down to earth. He said, and I ask that you listen to what he says as criticism of the young as well as of most of the happenings, junk-art, and pop-art of the times, for he is I think one of the three greatest critics we have, Edmund Wilson and Kazin and Irving Howe—he said:

It really doesn't matter what you feel, it matters what you make. The road to art is paved with people who feel like geniuses and turn out trash. . . . The world is full of crap. Art is the making of an object. We live in a brutal, ugly, selfish country. We can accept the sacrifice of a hundred young men a week in Vietnam. We can accept violence, discrimination, ghettos; perhaps it gives us a thrill of some kind, it keeps us interested. Most of you, he told his rather large audience of student editors at this seminar, don't

March 3, 1967

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care about literature at all. It was the end of the two hours, and he had noticed that there had been not one question about a contemporary poet or artist, except a question about whether Wallace Stevens should have worked for an insurance company: the Money question, he said. Mr. Kazin spoke of "the classic, old-fashioned idea that if you look at beauty long enough, it'll change your life. I still believe that," he said, and that a work of art is a thing to make so it will, looked at long enough, change your life.

That is, really change life as it is lived. To some extent the Southern movement caused such a change, but what was it about the Southern movement that was too impatient? Not too militant, too radical, or too demanding; too impatient. That, I think, is the next serious question.

**I**N A FEW WORDS let me draw the other panels I heard, as I heard them, which is of course a qualification.

John Roche, the President's intellectual in residence, and the former president of A.D.A., which is the scourge of McCarthyism, said, "Sure, there's always a generation gap, it's visible in China now, and it's at work also, he said, in 'the Red Guards at Berkeley.' So much for Mr. Roche. His performance suggests one reason for the generation gap: the arrogance of status.

Walt Rostow, the President's foreign policy adviser, expatiated in dulcet tones on why we are napalming families in Vietnam. His avuncular, condescending performance, styled after Dean Rusk, suggests another reason for the generation gap: the hypocrisy of power.

Richard Goodwin, speechwriter and foreign policy adviser to the late President Kennedy and, until some months back, to

President Johnson, said the bombing should be stopped and we should really want to negotiate. He also said the SEATO treaty, (an article of which Mr. Rostow had drawn from his breast pocket and read as "the legal basis," for our presence in Vietnam,) had nothing to do with the decision to escalate the bombing and to Americanize the war in 1965. That treaty, he said, was thought of later as an excuse for what we had already decided to do, said the man who was there. I wrote it down when he said, "If anyone had brought it up, we'd have laughed." And this detail of Mr. Goodwin's performance, although not what he said as a whole, suggests another reason for the generational gap, the cynicism of power; its acceptance of its great distance from what ought to be.

"Speak truth," the Quakers say, "to power." Michael Harrington said in the panel on anti-communism that communism is terroristic, but so is American power in Vietnam. That you do not end the war by marching with the Viet Cong, but also that something about the way we proceed in the world seems to cause, to force, the competitive terroristic and totalitarian accumulation of capital. If, he said, we had done what the late President Roosevelt said, and fostered a democratic socialist reform in Vietnam after World War II, Vietnam would not have gone communist. He wants us to see that not just as the past, but as a prescription for the future. We should, but will we?

James Wechsler, editor of the New York Post, damned (as for instance am also I) as a liberal, said it is true that communism is associated with terror. He asked that this be kept in mind, and this seems to be a reasonable request. He put down ideology; we have entered, he said, the time when we are dealing with moral issues.

Tom Hayden, the New Left activist who went to Hanoi, said America suffers from a cultural paranoia, anti-communism, and that the United States insists, with B-52s and napalm, that communism is impermissible everywhere, no matter how humane it is, no matter how popular it is, and despite our failure to help provide an existing alternative. This is true. Hayden is right in this: you, we, are going to be dealing more and more with the problem, What does a man do, as that problem occurs for instance to a man in a village in Peru who wants to, who *must*, stop the people in his village, the children, from dying; and in India; and in Vietnam.

**I** HAVE A little, in broad strokes, to add.

I did not get to hear the economists' panel, so I will just give my own view, in the exercise of my ambiguous prerogative at the conference, that it is our present, trapped disaster that the prophets of capitalism failed to foresee its ugliest and most cheapening consequence, a choking, pervasive commercialism. We have abundance, and this is either the beginning or the beginning of the end, and the price is self-interest as our social structure and a littered, neon urban rot that is far more fantastic and depressing than junk-art can be. The places of commerce are cold: that's the hell of it, because we do not have enough other, warm, public places to make us like the cities where we are.

I am a member, in Irving Howe's phrase, of "the generation that didn't show up." What have I been doing all this time? I've been trying to make things a little better and I've been learning. I take a little comfort in the fact Mr. Lippman limned, that no one knows all of this geometrically complexing modern society, in that perhaps my generation, decadally that of the forties, has needed more time to begin to be able to believe that we understand. I believe that I understand enough to proceed now, but, except in lesser senses, I do not believe that I did until a few years ago, when I was already past 30.

At the beginning I resolved that the only virtue is integrity. I learned from the younger than I, and from Thoreau's reflections, too, when he was over 30, that one must throw the whole self, the whole weight of the self, after, upon, what one believes one should do. That he who risks much more than himself may not be wise, but he who risks less than himself risks nothing.

As a Texas liberal I have learned to be wary of attitude-selling. It's easy, and it's cheap satisfaction. People who agree with you enjoy it, and it feels real good.

I learned, from experience, how much energy I was wasting in my indignations; how tired they made me when they passed through me like storms. I developed, in self-defense, what I have come to think of as "the conservation of indignation," simply in the interest of conserving strength for serious work.

**W**HEN I WAS in college, the new sexual freedom was about ten years away. In my opinion there is far too much to-do about the new morality. The mass media distort our natural understandings because things sell better when they're presented as a big deal. People sleep together more easily and more readily, and

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often just for the pleasure of it, like extended conversation. Good. Mr. and Mrs. John Stuart Mill's "On Liberty," about civil liberty and toleration, has now finally found the mark in our sexual liberty and toleration, too, and we apply live and let live, laissez faire, to private life. Good. The writers can proceed within the wider amplitudes, the honest language. Good. These things are a victory, a breakthrough, that is past; it is over. Nor, although it has removed negatives, does it solve very much. It takes a time to find it out, but sex, as a source of meaning or validation, gets old, long before it gets old as itself. We all still have to love well, to live fairly, to do good. The writers still have the same problem they did to make a work of art, and they and the artists have even more to do, for now that most of the priests and the preachers are speaking in tombs, somebody has to prophesy, somebody has to say "should."

Indeed, these fairly recent changes in the sexual ethics are all so simple and natural and obviously good, the only explanation that occurs to me for the big deal made about them is the persisting hypocrisies of the edificial churches, which somehow, I guess, the Establishment moralists and media feel they should placate by making a big deal of it. Even in that book, *Situation Ethics*, a sane book against any absolute rules except the rule of love, this fellow talks about the Christian orthodoxies as of course the base line for conduct, from which people deviate, according to what love indicates in the situation. No, the plain truth is, there have been, among us, a multitude of total abandonments of the orthodoxies, and a multitude of new beginnings. We find afresh in our own lives the same experiences, the surprises of pain, the limits of ideals, that suggest to us how we should act toward others—the same touchstones from which, one assumes, the religions calcified their moral forms. This way, it's harder, but it's more interesting. Thinking on our own ethically in the situations we find ourselves in, we of course know what the old ways say, we see why they say what they do, and to an extent we are enclosed in their vestigial forms, and we consider all that. But I do not think Christianity guides us inside any more in the way we do in sexual life, just as I do not think the edificial church (as distinguished from the minority church, the portable church, that is emerging,) has behaved ethically on social justice, on Vietnam, or hate by race. Indeed, it is the corrosion of orthodox religion as the inner monitor that has cast us all into the free but gloomy limbo of these times. Where is the new church? It is among us, not beyond us or above us. Where is the new faith? It is among us, in what we do with each other. Nor just in private, nor just in public, nor just in the city, nor just in this land.

**D**O I HAVE anything, just now, particularly true to say about all this? I don't know, but this is what I think of, when I ask that question. We radically suspect we are participating in the fall of

the United States from virtue and grace within, and in the world. There is so much to know, and there is so much to be done, and it is so hard, just plain hard, for anyone to do much, to prevent this fall, we are maddened by ordinary things and turn aside to posturing, pleasure, gestures, and righteousness. Yet just as we no longer know that man is good, but do know that he can slaughter children and women by the millions at Dachau and Hiroshima and still hold himself upright thereafter, so also we know that the world can be destroyed, now, by trivia, by accident, or by negligence.

The questions are, what we are, and whether we have time enough to change. Our special difficulty in these our times is simply the weight of our burden. Our resources, gathering themselves under this weight, assert themselves. We sting each other with rebukes; we sting ourselves with rebukes. The father blames the father, and the son, the son. This is our country, we are here, and we detest to see it failing. And there is the larger fact that with all the power our country has and will not stop having, if we are finally failing, we are not likely to go down benignly, but "raging, into the dying light," like a poet, power-maddened and drunk, destroying the world he loves.

In some sense we know that the postulates of the centuries about human nature are finally meeting the ordinary test of conclusive events, the philosophies pale and faint beneath the realities of the human animal in a world we have lost control of, and now we will become truly man, or just another animal, outwitted in its own environment.

Tom Hayden writes, "What is desperately needed, I think, is the person of vision and clarity, who sees both the model society and the pitfalls that precede its attainment, and who will not destroy his vision for short-run gains but, instead, [will] hold it out for all to see as the furthest dream and perimeter of human possibility." I think this is right.

Taking strength from the free private life, but not accepting enclosure within it, each of us is called upon to give all that he is able to give to our common endeavor, the validation of man as a moral being. As we must, in Mr. Potter's phrase, "help each other to be brave," we must also help each other to be far more serious than we have been. For the outcome is in doubt. R. D.

March 3, 1967

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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.

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# Observations

## Paragraphs

New York City

Liquor by the drink in Texas makes good sense. As it is, people buy whole bottles and go home and really tie one on. But affirmatively, the bars of cities like Washington and New York City are warm, friendly places where you can go and sit and think, sipping on something, and feel you are in the company of others, even if you're alone. Apart from a desire for the spread of general civility, I imagine the Texas power structure is for liquor by the drink to take pressure off business for new taxes, as well as to bring in tourists. Governor Connally probably took some licks at the Baptist boondocks for endorsing it. A strangely non-ideological issue, pitting Business against the Fundamentalists, still this dispute has something vague to do with having a modern state with enough warm, semi-public places to make the cities more habitable, even for people who don't belong to the "clubs."

I wonder how long the legislature can keep its gaze averted from the narcotics laws. Surely everybody in the U.S.A. knows now that marijuana is not habit-forming. Hard liquor probably does more physical damage to people than marijuana can. The only argument left for the illegalization of marijuana is that it leads to the use of damaging narcotics that are addictive, such as heroin. By the same argument we must outlaw booze because it leads to drunk driving. Believing in and wanting lucidity, I don't use hallucinogens, but I am prepared to acknowledge that if they are not addictive, whether to use them is a personal question. People who want to do serious work that requires personal organization won't take them. But people differ.

There's a big Texas Baptist minister up here in New York, an ex-Marine named Howard Moody, pastor of the Judson Memorial Church, who is crusading now for the repeal of laws against abortion. He argues cogently that they have their genesis in a desire to punish women and are sustained by sexual hypocrisy. If the home is sacred, he argues, how much more so is a woman's uterus and her decision whether to have a child, "whether the reason for aborting a birth is too large a family, fear of malformed child, or child out of wedlock." Rev. Moody dismisses the most telling Catholic rejoinder, the right of the foetus to life—the question of murder, but this is an argument not readily answerable; who is to name the point in time when a life begins? In any case, if Rev. Moody serves as an example to Texas Baptist ministers,

we may be able to look forward to a lively debate between Texas Baptists and Texas Catholics on this question. Of course, in candor I must add that Rev. Moody's church is on Washington Square, and he is one of the most progressive ministers in the United States.

A note for the Texas consumer movement. In the Village up here they have Co-Op Grocery Stores. They work like the University of Texas Co-Op for students: you pay ordinary market prices for your food and at year's end you get a percentage rebate and shares of stock in the co-op. How much you get back depends on the efficiency of the co-op. The merchants would howl, but what would they howl? It's not socialism and it's not atheism — just competition.

Being in New York City, one becomes aware of the crime problem in a nervous way. The new statistics say that there are three chances in a hundred, if you live in New York City, that you will be affected by a major crime in a given year. "The situation is desperate," the New York Post quotes a high-ranking police official. "It's gone beyond a police problem. It's a sociological problem." When a cop goes that far you know things are getting serious.

Iowa State University, the Times reports, has elected a bearded S.D.S. New Lifter its student president. "My mother said she hoped I wouldn't do anything too drastic," he told the Times softly, looking away, "because the people in my home town would get excited."

Bill Moyers, arriving in New York to begin publishing Newsday, the Long Island newspaper, was quoted in the Times as saying, with a trace of anger: "I do not believe the Government lies." Mr. Moyers is not yet in danger of getting the people of Marshall, Texas, excited.

I like the New York Review of Books, but recently they ran a piece by Noam Chomsky entitled, "The Responsibility of

Intellectuals." Having high expectations for so lofty a topic, I read it through and found myself thinking that the responsibility of intellectuals is also not to present polemic as higher truth and differences of values about what is moral as simplicities distinguishing the saints from the skunks. There is something going on that is much more interested in the effects of abuse than in the output of thinking.

## Carr's Bit Part

To me the most interesting feature of the fourth Manchester installment in Look was the revelation that Nicholas Katzenbach was horrified when he learned that the new President Johnson "had tentatively decided upon a Texas commission, with all non-Texans, including federal officials, excluded," to investigate the assassination. To Abe Fortas, Katzenbach "bluntly labeled Johnson's idea a ghastly mistake." We have gathered intimations that this was the new President's first plan in connection with the frenzied, oddly portentous activities of Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr immediately after the assassination. Carr called a press conference he said would be of national importance, and it happened to conflict with President Kennedy's funeral. Evidently Katzenbach meanwhile dissuaded Johnson from the all-Texas investigation, leaving Carr with nothing to say and surely the worst bit part of the whole ghastly weekend.

Next most interesting is the first semi-official admission I have seen that there

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## State of the Nation (and party) Quiz

Who strongly supports bombing the Vietnamese?

a. Lyndon Johnson b. Barry Goldwater c. Both

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a. Lyndon Johnson b. Barry Goldwater c. Neither

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was some reason to suspect a conspiracy. The day after the assassination, Manchester writes, Johnson asked Ted Sorenson about the possibility that a foreign government might be involved, and Sorenson asked if he had any evidence. "The answer was that there were no hard facts. Johnson showed him an FBI memo advising him that the rulers of an unfriendly power had been hoping for Kennedy's death."

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., is represented as wondering after the assassination whether Johnson could be denied the nomination for President in 1964, say by Robert Kennedy. Schlesinger calls Manchester's account of this episode "a melodramatic distortion of a wholly academic conversation." (As to 1968, Kennedy has written a second letter to the people promoting Kennedy-Fulbright in 1968, asking them to desist.)

The seriousness of the declarations of the district attorney in New Orleans, Jim Garrison, that conspirators killed John Kennedy and that he, Garrison, is going to have them indicted and convicted depends entirely, from a dispassionate view, on the seriousness of Mr. Garrison as a human being. He is identified in the New York press (which have given his charges billboard display) as a politically ambitious man. The death, under disputed circumstances, of one of the men he was investigating can mean either that the man, pilot David Ferrie, was killed to keep him from talking or killed himself, perhaps because Garrison and the reporters hounded him over the precipice. Wesley Liebeler, the Warren Commission staffer who is publicly adamant against doubts and privately has them himself, says Ferrie was thoroughly investigated, and the leads led nowhere. It seems to me that the burden is on Garrison to put up or shut up. If he puts up, a lot of high muckety-mucks will then have to shut up; if he shuts up, nothing is settled.

## Texas and the C.I.A.

Texas foundations and people figure peripherally in the revelations that the Central Intelligence Agency has been bankrolling supposedly independent U.S. student leaders in their activities abroad. The San Jacinto Foundation is one of those through which the C.I.A. funneled some of the money to the National Students' Assn. I checked at the Secretary of State's office, with which, state law requires, such a foundation must register, and there's no record of it there. The Internal Revenue Service office in Austin, which covers the Houston area, has no record of income tax returns from this foundation. Ramparts Magazine located its secretary, F. G. O'Connor, in the San Jacinto Bldg. in Houston and reports that he said, "It is a private, closed foundation, never had any publicity and doesn't want any."

The Kentfield Fund in Dallas was among those Cong. Wright Patman, Texarkana, said contributed to the Kaplan Fund of New York, which Patman said was a conduit for C.I.A. funds. Now we have it from Peter O'Donnell, the Republican state chairman in Dallas, and from William

Hobby of the Houston Post that foundations with which they are associated have been C.I.A. conduits (facts of which they are similarly, respectively, proud).

The obvious, the gross question, the Ramparts disclosures presents is what the U.S. government is doing secretly using the free American student movement for its purposes abroad. In my opinion, the N.S.A.'s international program is dead, and it ought to be. Indeed, it will be a good while before N.S.A. recovers in any area the respect it formerly had. There is nothing wrong with the U.S. openly financing activities abroad, including student activities, designed to carry the better American values into foreign climes and contests, but there is everything wrong with free American movements being financed covertly by government and then continuing to present themselves as free American movements.

The same thing is true of the American Newspaper Guild, the other unions that have been C.I.A.-founded, George Meany's whole Jay Lovestone operation abroad, and government subsidies to book pub-

lishers whose books are then circulated in the United States. On the last point, it has come out that the U.S. Information Agency has subsidized the publishing of a variety of books on foreign affairs, books that are then vended in the U.S. by their ostensibly independent publishers. We also learn from the fourth Manchester installment that the C.I.A. has a printing press. Shades of Orwell!

As Walter Lippman writes, the late President Kennedy failed to strip the C.I.A. of all its functions except those having to do with intelligence. It has become a covert propagandizing agency and a superdiplomatic foreign service. Now it has tarnished the whole gamut of American foundations; when people think now of "foundation money" they'll almost automatically think also, "CIA?" This is a hell of a note in a free country and the Congress ought to clip the C.I.A.'s wings. If Texas congressmen on the right wing thoroughly believed in the sacredness of free American institutions, public and private, about which they are always bleating whenever big financial interests are involved, they would lead the charge. R. D.

# In My Opinion

## Strange News

The news that the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Students Association have been cohabiting all these years was most upsetting for us ideologists; next we'll be told that the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission has been bankrolling the Young Americans for Freedom. Few are the campus liberals who have not earnestly urged — nay, demanded! — that their college be affiliated with the good old N.S.A., which stands for all that is noble and forthright in the human breast; rare, too, are the conservatives of academia who have not cursed the N.S.A. as a bunch of hairy com-symp.

My favorite Congressman, Joe Pool, was among those who were caught short. He was damning the N.S.A. at the top of his voice, duly recorded in the *Dallas News*, just three days before the C.I.A.-N.S.A. story broke. S.M.U. was considered re-affiliating with the association and a student had asked Pool what he thought of that. Pool didn't mince words: "the House Committee on un-American Activities feels that the organization is the voice of left-wing students in this country," he huffed.

*Time* magazine not too long ago referred to an N.S.A. national convention as "a meeting between the left left wingers and the right left wingers."

Of course the N.S.A. is liberal. But what are we to think of the C.I.A.'s chipping in all that loot? Does this mean the agency, which our conservative brethren have rated just below the F.B.I. in their affections, actually approves of, endorses, the liberal students and their fuzzy-minded

ideas? How does that grab you, Cong. Pool?

Barry Goldwater proved once again he can cut through the fat in a situation and get down to the marrow: he wondered aloud over the weekend why the C.I.A. hadn't thrown a few bucks to the Young Americans for Freedom — students who know what this country is really all about. It's a fair question.

Of course, the answer is that the federal government has no damn business chipping in funds, secretly, to any such organization.

## Big Deal

It is difficult to imagine the reasons for the high old time the Texas press has been having with the story about the Medders family's financial situation. True, the Medderses may owe a million dollars, more or less, to a varied assortment of creditors; and that's a considerable debt, even for presumably wealthy Texans, and even in this era of consumer credit.

But why the relentless pursuit of the subject by countless reporters and the tireless recounting of all the details, both germane and extraneous? There are more worthy topics at hand which the Texas press, if it would, could examine as min-

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Concerned about Vietnam? Dr. William Pepper, author of "The Children of Vietnam" in Ramparts magazine, will be at the LBJ Ranch during the vigil there on Easter Sunday, 2-5 p.m. Dr. Pepper will speak in Austin that night if \$100 can be raised to defray his expenses. Send donations to: STANCE, Box 987, Austin, Tex.

(Paid Adv.)



utely — and with considerably more pertinence to our state's well-being and enlightenment. How ludicrous it has been to read the minutiae that has been chronicled at Muenster at the same time that our state newspapers have largely ignored the C.I.A.-N.S.A. story — and the disclosures that the intelligence agency has used at least eight or nine Texas foundations. What coverage there has been of that aspect of the C.I.A. story in the Texas press has been skimpy, or non-existent, and has largely consisted of acutely compressed rewrites from the Eastern newspaper accounts.

I keep thinking the Texas reporters must smell another Billy Sol Estes case

at Muenster, but the politicians involved do not seem to be *really* involved. Sure, the governor and Waggoner Carr and various Congressmen have visited the Medderses' ranch and several of these men have been fabulously wine and dined at the family's \$175,000 party barn. And, yes we know, President Johnson has flown Mr. and Mrs. Medders in a presidential plane, perhaps Air Force One; and, it's true, Lady Bird's and Lyndon's pictures hang on the wall of that Muenster ranch house whose title is now in question.

So what? Any prominent Texas politician characteristically deals with such apparently prominent, influential, and

wealthy families. It doesn't necessarily mean any scurrilous deals have been concocted. There are many people who enjoy the company of politicians as do Ernest and Margaret Medders in Texas; and probably many of them don't have all the money they like people to think they do.

The reporters, so far as I can tell, are wasting their time, and the time of their readers, on this story. Let the newsmen turn their attention to more meaningful subjects. The space allotted to news in our state's papers is far too limited to clutter it with the woes of a man and a woman who may have overextended their financial means — even if on such a grand scale.

G. O.

## Dialogue

### There Every Saturday

Participants in the Dallas Peace Vigil each Saturday at Dealy Plaza seem to sense a real groundswell of support. The only opposition has been a weekly contingent of the Nazis. . . . Not one word of the vigil has appeared in the Dallas News, Dealy's rag. Maybe he thinks we'll go away. Little does he know that we'll be there every Saturday till Americans stop killing and being killed in Viet Nam. —Ken Gjemre, 3407 Drexel, Dallas, Texas 75205.

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*The Texas Observer*

### No Oath at A&M

While reading your Feb. 17 issue I came across some errors. A regulation about the dress of civilian students is not a new idea. . . . [Such regulations] have been on the books for years, as far as I can determine. The current trouble with the regulations is that they were continually violated without any punitive measures. So they should have either been abolished or enforced. Now it seems they are to be enforced.

As to the "innocence" oath, I called a few friends, two that worked in registration and three that did not. Only one had ever heard of the oath and he did not sign it. There were two tables where the [oaths were signed] during the fall registration; these tables were used to rest upon by tiring personnel during the [spring] registration. Maybe your source was [or just looked like] a criminal type and that was why he was asked to sign.

I enjoy your newspaper and had thought up till now that most things in it were factual. Maybe you will have a "Credibility Gap" for me from now on.

T. S. Jones, 302 Ash Street, College Station, Texas 77840.

### Class Legislation?

There is a real danger, I think, that legislation legalizing liquor by the drink will turn out to be class legislation. The cost of a liquor by the drink license could be made too high for working-man bars. I hope liberals in the legislature work for making it relatively easy for anyone to get a drink — not just the fat-cats — John Kruse, 708 West 23rd, Austin, Texas 78705.

### Mean, Ugly Tone

You have lost your ability to disagree without being disagreeable. Your mean, ugly tone would hardly be matched by a publication of the Citizen's Council or the K K K. When you write [Obs., Feb. 3] that Mr. Johnson is "as of now, our worst

president of this century," you give signs of having lost your reason.

I was a subscriber to the old Texas Spectator (and still have most copies) and a charter subscriber to The Observer. As a liberal and a Democrat of the Truman, Stevenson, Kennedy, Johnson persuasion, I cannot, in good conscience, read your slander on our president (and much else that you publish) without protesting in the only way open to me — to stop supporting your magazine. . . . I am sending a copy of this letter to my friends Jack Brooks, M. C., Henry Gonzalez, M. C., and Senator A. R. Schwartz. It grieves me to have to write this letter.

Edwin Gale, Box 1710, Beaumont, Texas 77704.

### The C.I.A.'s Purpose

Bill Helmer's slur [Obs., Feb. 3] on the competence of the C.I.A. (he wrote before the 15-year C.I.A.-N.S.A. conspiracy was revealed) is not substantiated by its record, unless one is inclined to accept its real purposes as identical with those given for it. Why should we believe the C.I.A. erred in Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Vietnam? If its purpose is to promote militarism and hysteria in America, it has succeeded remarkably well.

Why not look on the C.I.A. as a "market analyst" for the nation's militarists? If no market exists for their goods and services, it can counsel Presidents into disastrous courses of action which will revive the national Anti-communist hysteria when it begins to flag.

In our national religion of Anti-communism, as in any religion that preaches mainly hate, an occasional dose of fear is necessary to keep True Believers in the fold and to keep them from worrying too much about the quality of their own lives. This is especially true when we do not know those we are instructed to hate, except the label the preacher has given them. Religions teach fear and hate for only one reason: to line someone's pocket or improve his power and prestige.

There is no reason to believe that very many of the Mr. X's in C.I.A.'s chain of command are known to its director or to each other. Why suppose there are no rotten links anywhere in the chain?

Ruth and Everett Gilmore, 3411 Shendoah, Dallas, Texas.