

The Texas Observer

SEPT. 29, 1967

A Journal of Free Voices

A Window to The South

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25 Citizens Are Writing A New Texas Constitution

Austin

Constitutional revision is a topic that long has been kicking around in Texas political discussions. The League of Women Voters has been pushing the matter for years, but no one much has seemed to be listening to the ladies. Until just lately. There are those who will tell you that the sudden burst of interest on the part of those who govern our state in revising the constitution is in reaction to the harbingers of change in the Texas political order. As these clues have begun to appear more and more frequently in recent months, one is told, the "Establishment" has determined that if constitutional change is to occur ultimately it might as well be undertaken before any shift in the basic political structure.

Thus it was that at last fall's state Democratic convention, Gov. John Connally devoted his keynote speech to urging constitutional revision, to provide a more basic and more modern document than that which now exists, the angry child of Reconstruction.

Last week Connally, his complexion mahoganied during six weeks on the Dark Continent, harangued the members who were present to serve on the constitutional revision commission which he sired through his political protege, House Speaker Ben Barnes, during the most recent spasm of the legislature. "There will be no attempt on my part to guide or dictate the conclusions you may draw . . . There is no reason you should be bound by my views," Connally told the commissioners, who received these declarations with remarkably straight faces. Twenty-five are on the commission; of these ten were named by the governor, five by his associate, Barnes; and five by the chief justice of the Supreme Court. There were to be five others named by Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, but Smith, not a believer in wholesale revision of the constitution, declined to cooperate. The House leadership had foreseen the possibility that Smith might not wish to name anybody to the commission; the House resolution that established the panel provides that the commissioners are to fill any vacancies.

Smith's reaction had not been difficult to predict. An earlier House resolution establishing such a commission had been

totally ignored on being sent over to the Senate for concurrence. So, five days before the session adjourned, the House decided to go it alone; State Rep. Dick Cory, Victoria, introduced a simple resolution that would establish the commission without requiring the Senate's concurrence. Two days later Cory's bill, with a committee blessing, came to the House floor where it was approved by voice vote. Five Representatives asked to be recorded in opposition—Steve Burgess, Nacogdoches; Bob Hendricks, McKinney; W. R. Archer, Houston; Vernon Beckham, Denison; and John Hannah, Lufkin.

THE RESOLUTION provides that each commissioner's expenses will be paid from the legislative contingent expense fund; other expenses, such as for staff, research, paper clips, and so on, are not provided for, except that, as the resolution says, ". . . the commission may accept grants, moneys, aid and/or services without strings attached for the purpose of accomplishing the aims of this resolution, and any such grants, moneys, aid, services, and donations and the names of the donors thereof shall be recorded in the minutes of the commission and be open to inspection by any person whomsoever." There have been a few eyebrows raised in response to this provision. At the first meeting the commission members clearly were worried as to where their money is coming from, not to mention the potential danger of being "exposed to political risks" if it is forthcoming from the wrong sources, as one commission member, State GOP Chairman Peter O'Donnell, put it. George Wilson, Dallas industrialist, said "it would be a tactical error to accept private money." Dean Robert Storey, the noted Dallas attorney whom Connally appointed as chairman of the commission, asked and was given an expression of the consensus of the panel members that private funds should not be solicited. But the matter of financing was left to future decision. Larry Temple, Connally's executive assistant, said some money might be squeezed out of the House contingent expense fund and perhaps from the executive budget. But only miscellaneous state moneys scroung-

ed here and there are available to the commission, given the Senate's lack of enthusiasm for concurring in financing a revised constitution.

It is uncertain what amount of money might be needed; one estimate by Cory, who is a veteran of a previous revision effort made five or six years ago, said a study committee suggested that \$125,000 to \$150,000 might be required. Two other accords achieved by the commissioners were that the Texas Legislative Council's offer of help would be accepted. But without money this help will be limited. The aid of universities in the state will be sought, most particularly as resources for research and ideas.

The resolution specifies that a simple majority vote of the commissioners will be sufficient for adoption of the final report, which must be submitted to the 61st legislature by December, 1968. If the commissioners cannot agree on a fully-revised constitution, then recommendations as to changing any of the sections are called for. Should the legislators approve the commission's work, the results will be passed on to the state's voters for their approval at the succeeding general election.

IF THE COMMISSIONERS plan to be open-handed about where their stringless money is coming from, they gave the press a few uneasy moments when, at the first meeting of the panel, the reporters were invited to excuse themselves after the lunch break so the five positions not filled by Smith could be seen to, and so "other matters" could be discussed. Storey advised reporters after the executive session that he is hopeful of complying with the open meetings bill which the legislature passed earlier this year. But he did not commit himself to this position. Earlier in the day, Storey had said that the various subcommittees of the commission wouldn't necessarily be required to meet in Austin. It is unclear whether the press will be advised in advance of subcommittee meetings held out of the capital city.

Nine subcommittees were established

The Constitution's Revisers: 1 Negro, 1 Woman, 3 Republicans, a Labor Man, 19 Connallycrats

Probably, deep in his heart, Gov. John Connally knows his plans for revising the Texas Constitution are most unlikely to succeed. It is not *quite* true that the 25 commissioners include one Negro, one woman, three Republicans, one labor man, and 19 Connallycrats. But it is tempting to so regard the commission, and no one should expect a very liberal document to emerge from the group's deliberations.

There is a built-in suspicion any time you go to a matter such as constitutional revision; after decades of ignoring calls for modernizing our state government's basic document, suddenly the ruling gen-

try discover that our constitution is cumbersome, unworkable, and not worthy of a modern state. The suspicions of the cynics are not allayed to any extent by the use of a 25-member commission as the initial agent of change. The governor originally wanted a 450-member convention to handle the task, but the Senate wouldn't consider that—or anything. A convention would have a better chance of achieving some public confidence across the political spectrum, certainly more confidence than a commission of relatively few members will obtain. And particularly is this so when the financing of the commission's work is almost certain to use private

money for its work; where else is enough money to come from? And there is worry, too, about the closed session at which the five Senators were named and "other matters" discussed. And what of these meetings of the subcommittees of the commission that can be held outside of Austin? Will they be publicly announced before they are held?

Ah, well, perhaps successive efforts of this sort will prepare public opinion for a future, more serious effort to do what is needed—revise Texas' patchwork constitution. But more fairness will certainly be required in choosing the agents and mechanics of this revision. □

and chairmen named—legislative branch, Cory; executive branch, O'Donnell; judicial branch, James P. Hart, Austin; bill of rights, Ira Butler, Fort Worth; education, Carey Croneis, Houston; political subdivisions, W. W. McAllister, San Antonio mayor; taxation, revenue, Wilson; drafting, Temple. The eight subcommittee chairmen will form an executive and planning committee with Storey. Some of the reporters, after the meeting broke up, were remarking in amusement among themselves that Butler, who is to lead the

bill of rights study, had complained during the day that the commissioners had not begun their meeting with a prayer after the example of the framers of the US Constitution.

The five additional commissioners chosen, all State Senators, are Grady Hazelwood, Amarillo; J. P. Word, Meridian; Don Kennard, Fort Worth; Henry Grover, Houston and A. M. Aikin, Jr., Paris. Each was called during the afternoon to assure that he would accept the job before the appointment was made public.

Connally, speaking to the commissioners as they began their first meeting, asked for a "profound change" in the way Texas is governed without altering the fundamental safeguards in the present constitution. "I know there is a feeling in this state, born of a lack of knowledge, that the governor is powerful," Connally went on. "But this state is virtually run by 200 boards, agencies, and authorities." The legislature is not as powerful as it might well be, either, Connally said, saying that 86% of the money appropriated by the lawmakers is already committed by the present constitution. He again plugged longer terms for state officials, saying this would not apply to him, given the course of time. He called for annual legislative sessions and noted the frequent efforts to amend the constitution, often a necessity to permit a locality to proceed with such purely local matters as establishing a hospital district or an airport authority.

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

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THE COMMISSION is made up of one woman (Dr. Janice May, a government instructor at the University of Texas), three Republicans (O'Donnell, Grover, and McAllister); one representative of organized labor (H. S. Hank Brown, State AFL-CIO president); one Negro (Kenneth S. Tollett, dean of the Texas Southern University law school); a number of people who may accurately be said to reflect the sentiments of the governor, (State Sen. Word, aide Temple, State Reps. Cory, Randy Pendleton, Alonzo Jamison, William Braecklein, and Archer—despite Archer's opposition to the House resolution that established the commission); three conservative and Establishment-oriented business leaders (Wilson, the president and chairman of the board of Lone Star Steel: Steele Wright, president of the Texas Farm Products Co.; Felix R. McKnight, editor and co-publisher of the Dallas Times-Herald); an assortment of

legal authorities and educators (Dr. Carey Croneis, Rice University chancellor; Storey; Butler; T. C. Chadick, chief justice of the Texarkana Court of Civil Appeals; James P. Hart, Austin, former associate justice of the State Supreme Court and former UT chancellor; and Jerre Williams, professor of constitutional law at UT; three Senators somewhat at variance with the governor, sometimes, (Hazelwood, Aikin, and Kennard); no Mexican-Americans; and, but for Brown and Kennard, no state liberal leaders.

Lest there be any confusion about the

proclivities of the commission several of Dr. May's remarks elicited revealing responses. At one point during the discussion of financing the commission's work she mentioned that federal funds are available for studies of state and local relationships under the Model Cities Act. After a pause, Storey said, "We should go ahead on our own." Judge Chadick said "I think the state should pay its own way and not go to the federal government on this." "That's my feeling," Storey rejoined. Dr. May said she hoped that the commission would consider a convention as a means

of changing the constitution, should it prove that the commission method is unworkable. "That would give us broader [public] support," she said. No one responded to that. Another time Dr. May said the commission should consider not only what is in the present constitution when planning the new constitution, but also those things that are not in the present constitution, such as the initiative system. That idea just kind of rolled around on the table for a moment and then dropped off one edge. No one seemed to notice. G.O.

A PROPOSED DRAFT

Austin

Something decidedly suspicious is going on here.

The Connally Democrats who dominate the governor's committee to re-write our Texas Constitution put two Republicans and just one of their own kind on the subcommittee to meet in secret and select five senators to work with them.

Here we have it, Peter O'Donnell, the Republicans' high muckety-muck, and Mayor Walter McAllister, the Republican mayor of HemisFair, in a position to out-vote Rep. Dick Cory of Victoria, who has almost never failed to do what the one-party Establishment has hoped that he would resolve, after exercising his independent judgment, that he would do.

If I were a Republican I'd be experiencing a definite tightening up of the physiology about now. After all, they could not have gotten more than the one more Republican on the committee, since Henry Grover is the only one in the whole Texas Senate, yet they must accept the blame for adding five new people to the governor's own committee. They are going to be hard put, are they not, to take an independent attitude toward the outcomes of the governor's friends' deliberations.

I have experienced a rush of sympathy for the committee. After all, it's our Constitution, and here they are, handicapped in their studies by the fact that the liberals among the citizenry are certain to be outvoted on every point that comes up among the governor's friends. This is a handicap no group of Founding Fathers and Mothers should have to bear. In a modest but firm determination to be helpful, I have prepared my own draft of the new Constitution, worded carefully to appeal to the conservative mind while at the same time exemplifying the deepest values of our state and nation.

I could accept the defeat of my draft in good spirit, I believe, but only if I was convinced that the members of the governor's committee had not chosen to recommend the *substance* of my proposals while denying me credit for them by concealing that substance behind a lot of technical language.

Here, then, is my draft constitution for

the Great Society of Texas, 1969 or soon thereafter:

WE, THE PEOPLE who matter, having suffered the yoke of tyrannical majority long enough, do hereby ordain and promulgate this Constitution.

The right of dissent shall be inviolate, except for criticism of duly elected officials.

All political campaign contributions and expenditures shall be reported in full to the candidate's next of kin.

No architect on a state-funded project may kick back less than 25% of his fee to the political party to which he is indebted for the work.

No agency of the state, including colleges and universities, may engage in research on any subject for which any agency of the state has sub-contracted for research by a private agency, such as the Texas Research League.

In the interest of government independent of corporate influence, the state shall not accept any further contributions from private corporations in the form of natural resources taxation.

No insurance company operating under the laws of this state may collapse.

Pursuant to the state's official war against poverty, neither the state nor any political subdivision may enact a personal income tax that applies to incomes of \$10,000 a year or more.

Freedom of speech and assembly shall be protected, except that picketers, demonstrators, and other rabble may not gather in groups of more than one closer together than 50 feet.

The Texas National Guard shall not fire upon the people, unless they are violating a provision of this Constitution.

No one may practice his profession in Texas without a license from the appropriate state licensing board, but any union that requires a membership fee shall be illegal.

No state game warden may enforce the game laws of the state against any state official while engaged in his official duties, except that the game laws of the state shall always apply to the governor when he is hunting in Africa.

No governor of this state may serve

more than eleven consecutive four-year terms, or life, whichever is longer; except that, if the President shall so decree, the governor may serve forever.

No governor of the state may be paid for rendering any services except by the state for so long as he is governor; but he may render services to private parties while governor, and his relationships with them after he is governor shall be his own business.

No member of the legislature may make any money from any interest required to register under the lobby control law, provided that the legislature shall repeal the lobby control law at the next regular session of the legislature after this Constitution shall be adopted.

ALL ELECTED public officials shall be required to make a full and public disclosure, at the end of every fiscal year, of all fees, salaries, dividends, stock options, oil and gas leasing revenues, gambling winnings, gifts, bribes, or any other type of income that they have received from labor unions or the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

No corporation may contribute less than \$1,000 at any one time to the political campaign of any incumbent state office-holder or other candidates approved by same, provided that in the case of candidates for governor and the Texas Railroad Commission, the minimum contribution from corporations extracting from the soil of our beloved state our precious and irreplaceable oil and gas shall be \$5,000.

Riparian rights, Spanish, French, American, Chinese, Tanganyikan, and all other laws and arrangements to the contrary notwithstanding, all rivers, lakes, and ponds in the state are declared to be the property of the state, and the legislature shall promptly enact a Water for Free Enterprise statute allocating to all growth industries and factory farms as much water as they shall need for their next 1,984 years of operation.

The laws of the state shall be evenly applied, and they shall be especially evenly applied, without regard to race, creed, or color, against Negroes and Mexicans.

The Texas Rangers shall exist forever, and anyone proposing their abolition shall be considered a Comanche.

A liberal being a socialist and a socialist being a communist, liberals shall not be elected to public office in Texas, and any electorate which elects them shall be declared null and void by the Texas National Guard and the Texas Navy.

The legislature shall establish a Public

Attitudes Pollution Control Board, which shall license any speaker regarded as sanitary, but not including speakers entering the state from any direction except from their own home states across our easterly frontier.

The legislature shall establish a Department of Estate, which shall screen employees and executives of corporations moving into Texas to exclude Eastern in-

ternationalists traveling under Republican tricolors.

Inasmuch as the approved public opinion polls consistently show that the present governor is the people's choice, this Constitution shall not need to be ratified by a vote of the masses, but shall take force as soon as it shall be signed by the governor and counter-signed by the President and the Secretary of Defense R.D.

The Case Against The City Sales Tax

Thirteen Texas cities are voting this week on adoption of a city sales tax. Other cities are expected to vote on the question in the weeks ahead. In Austin organized opposition has developed against the measure, and the people behind that opposition have developed some data that may be of help in explaining to residents of other cities some of the nature of this issue.

Bo Byers, the Houston Chronicle's bureau chief and a resident of the capital city since 1926, wrote the following article that appeared in the Austin American-Statesman. Byers has studied the Austin situation carefully; he found, for one thing, that four out of every five Austin families would pay more tax dollars to the city under a 1% city sales tax than under a property tax increase to raise the same

amount of money. Byers suggests several alternatives to the sales tax that probably are applicable in most cities that will vote on the question.

Observer readers are also referred to the Sept. 1 issue, page 11 in which former Bexar county judge Charles Grace notes that business property is severely under-taxed in that county, a situation that probably exists in other Texas locales.

Statement by William B. Byers, 3103 Borden Road, home owning taxpayer, and resident of Austin since 1926.

Austin voters should go to the polls Saturday, September 30, to reject the 1 percent city sales tax for many reasons.

Chief among the reasons are these:

1. The revenue that would be raised by the sales tax during the budget year beginning Oct. 1 would be completely surplus to the requirements of the budget which the council, by law, must adopt Sept. 28.

This means the people of Austin will be voting to tax themselves an unnecessary \$1,267,000 if they approve the sales tax.

Bo Byers

2. Four out of every five families who reside in Austin would pay more tax dollars to the city under a 1 percent sales than under a property tax increase to raise the same total amount for the city.

3. Four out of every five families would pay more tax dollars under the sales tax than under a property tax increase because approval of the sales tax would shift more of the city tax load to the consumer families. This is true whether the family owns or rents its home. Approximately \$500,000 to \$750,000 of the tax load would be shifted **FROM** business property taxpayers to consumer family taxpayers. This would mean a major saving in taxes for money-lending institutions such as banks, who by law are exempt from payment of the retail sales tax that would be imposed on families.

4. The city council has not considered the availability of considerable additional revenue that would

result from a realistic, progressive, equitable annexation policy.

Taxable values lying within the Austin Independent School District but outside the Austin city limits total \$68 million. If the City of Austin had followed the orderly annexation policy of bringing residential, industrial and commercial properties into the city at a reasonable rate, as much as \$625,000 more revenue could have accrued to the city for its current operating budget this past year.

The 13-year-old policy of annexing only on request has denied the city additional revenue reasonably estimated at more than \$3,000,000 over that 13-year period. This policy has meant — and continues to mean — that home owners and business interests within the city limits of Austin are bearing a higher property tax load than is necessary. That load can spread over a much larger number of persons and businesses by extending the city limits of Austin.

The amount of real property exempt from city taxation — such as government, school and church buildings — could thereby be reduced from the 52 percent figure estimated by proponents of the city sales tax to approximately 37 percent.

The present annexation policy has a major influence on the level of property taxation in Austin. It means, for example, that the Steck Company printing plant at 8000 Grist, in Northwest Austin, is exempt from city property taxes, while home owners on three sides of that plant pay city taxes.

The annexation policy allows numerous industries lying within a long corridor between South Congress Avenue and Interstate Highway 35 to escape city taxes because they are outside the city limits, while adjacent residential areas are taxed.

The annexation policy means that land speculators hold land immediately outside the city limits until the price is right for them to develop the land for residential subdivisions, free of city taxes until the developer sells the homes and the subdivision is annexed. Holding the land until there is a seller's market results in excessively high prices. This, in turn, means higher than necessary city taxes. Orderly annexation—based on careful city planning for the population growth projected for Austin—would protect home buyers and renters against these excessively high costs and thereby hold down the tax level.

The foregoing are among the foremost reasons a city sales tax should not be adopted by the voters of Austin on Sept. 30.

There are other good reasons to vote against the city sales tax. These include:

1. Once adopted, the tax must be levied and collected regardless of whether the city needs it. This will mean a combined state-city sales tax of 3 percent on most retail purchases of 17 cents or more.

2. The tax will apply to many of the necessities of life. The tax is collected on **ALL CLOTHING**, on furniture, on bed linens, on towels, on soap. It is collected on school supplies such as books, notebooks, notebook paper, and ballpoint pens. The sales tax applies to meals eaten in commercial establishments such as restaurants and cafeterias.

3. There is no assurance the present exemptions from the sales tax will be retained. Any future legislation could knock out the exemptions on groceries for home consumption and prescription drugs.

The legislature will meet in special session next year to raise an estimated \$100-\$200 million a year in new taxes. Speaker of the House Ben Barnes has suggested that much of the new tax requirement can be met by eliminating present sales tax exemptions on laundry, dry cleaning, automobile repairs and other such services, as well as the sales tax exemption on beer and liquor.

4. There is a general anticipation that the 1969 legislature will raise the rate of the state sales tax to 3 percent, from the present level of 2 percent. This would mean a total sales tax rate of 4 percent for people in cities that adopt a city sales tax. It would mean a penny tax on every taxable sale of 12 cents or more. It would take four cents out of every dollar spent on such retail purchases by Austin consumers.

5. The city sales tax would be only a "one time" solution to the City of Austin's budget requirements. This is true because after the first year's collection—which the council presumably would use for a big budget increase—the sales tax revenue will increase at a rate of only 8 percent per year. That has been the "growth rate" of the state sales tax both statewide in Texas and in Travis County since the sales tax was enacted in 1961. That is the growth rate for the tax in

Travis County this year. This would mean an increase of only \$130,000 the second year of the tax and \$137,000 the third year. This would not be enough to finance any further major increase in the city budget, for which an increase of more than \$2,000,000 has been proposed this coming year.

6. There is built-in, automatic inequity in the sales tax. It will take twice as large a percentage of income from the family with a gross annual income of \$2000 as from a family with a gross annual income of \$20,000.

Proponents of the city sales tax say such a tax should be adopted to make people who rent homes or apartments contribute to the support of city government. This is a fallacious argument. The owners of rental properties cover the cost of property taxes in the amount charged their renters. The renter pays the tax, even though he does so indirectly.

Regardless of whether a consumer is a home owner or a renter, four of every five will pay more taxes under the 1 percent city sales tax than under the 18.5 percent property tax increase that would be needed to raise the same total of dollars for the city. Only the owners of homes costing \$38,000 or more on today's market would, as a class, pay more under the 18.5 percent property tax increase than under the sales tax. Even these homeowners should vote against the city sales tax because the budget proposed to the city council called only for an increase of 8 cents per \$100 valuation in the tax rate for current expenses of city government. The present rate, for that purpose, is 92 cents. An 8-cent increase would amount to only an 8.7 percent increase. Based on the current "actual" assessment ratio of 70 percent of market value, this would mean that the owner of a \$20,000 home would pay only \$11.20 more city property tax next year than he paid this year. If that home owner has a family of three and a gross income of \$10,000, the 1 percent city sales tax would cost him \$28 next year.

If that same owner's gross income is \$20,000 next year, he would pay a city sales tax of \$45.

The claim that homeowners will save money by paying a city sales tax instead of higher property taxes is not supported by factual analysis — except in the case of those who own homes costing \$38,000 or more, or who live in homes far beyond their means.

Unfortunately, those who are pushing the city sales tax have offered no facts to support their claims about the need for, or the merits of, a city sales tax.

City employes deserve higher salaries. These raises — even as high as 15 percent across the board — can be financed from present sources of city revenue.

The taxpayers of Austin should not be stamped into voting a city sales tax on themselves on Sept. 30 — a tax that will be surplus to the city's needs for the coming year, a tax that will offer only a "one time" solution when it is adopted, a tax that will cost 80 percent of Austin's families more than a property tax increase.

Oh, Don, Won't You Please Come On Home?

✓ The central imperative before the liberal movement of Texas these days appears to be finding a way to lure apparent gubernatorial candidate Don Yarborough back to the western hemisphere. Yarborough left the state early this year for Europe, where he has been on tour in several countries. He first was reported to have planned to return in June, then later this past summer, then Sept. 20. Now the Observer hears by post card that he went to England on Sept. 20 for three weeks. No mention is made of a return to Texas. It is understood that Yarborough has some non-political business that will require his return to the state during the first half of October.

✓ There are two interpretations of Don's absence. One view is that, since Sen. Ralph Yarborough has not closed the door on running for governor next year and won't decide finally until Congress adjourns, should Don return before adjournment, he would then be pressured to declare himself as to the governor's race. And, with the Senator not having announced his plans that could prove embarrassing, given the protocol of liberal Texas in which the Senator's wishes are paramount. Of course there appears to be little prospect that the Senator will run for governor, but until he does announce himself, the situation could be sticky for Don. So, this theory goes, he for the time being remains in Europe, which is a pleasant place to visit, anyway.

The opposing interpretation of Yarborough's absence holds that he should have returned by now to begin putting together his campaign organization, seeing to fund raising, and the other details that precede an election. There is some talk that, perhaps, Don doesn't really want to run. So far as the Observer can tell, he does intend to run. But his absence from the state at this time, with Gov. John Connally, Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, and House Speaker Ben Barnes getting all the press play in discussion of 1968, is perplexing to some of Don's supporters.

✓ Stuart Long, among the most reliable of Austin's Capitol press corps, wrote in a column that Connally may be quite serious about not running. This drew some people up short and caused some rethinking of the assumption that Connally is in the race next year. A minority view of this is that Connally people put this word out to Long hoping to create speculation that Barnes will lead the Establishment's ticket next year and, this opinion goes on, then put out the word that organized labor has made some sort of deal to support Barnes, in ex-

change for the Establishment not opposing Franklin Spears for lieutenant governor, as one example. Then, Connally would run after all, facing a divided liberal community, some of whose members would be angry with labor for having gone for Barnes. Such is the convoluted thinking that pre-election campaigns engender.

✓ Chill Wills, the movie actor, is talking again about running for governor next year, saying he sure hates to run against Connally and Smith, but thinks he must. Wills, a month or two back, was told that he couldn't make the race because of a Texas requirement that holds that a gubernatorial candidate must live in the state the five years immediately preceding the general election. Wills is talking of going to court to win a place on the ballot. He is a conservative, having helped out in the Gordon McLendon campaign against Sen. Yarborough in the 1964 primary.

✓ The same residence requirement would apparently stymie a campaign for governor by Dan Blocker, a liberal, who has been mentioned in newspaper speculation as considering a political career. However, if either Wills or Blocker has maintained a voting residence in Texas in the past five years they would have been in compliance with the residence requirement.

✓ There is still some talk in Houston that William P. Hobby, Jr., the editor of the Houston Post and son of a former governor, is pondering a race for lieutenant governor next year as a Democrat.

✓ The Republicans are busy seeing to it that there are no hot races in their primary election next spring (See "GOP Pacification" on page 16).

✓ Peter O'Donnell, the State GOP chairman is denying recurring rumors that he is to join Richard Nixon's staff. O'Donnell, though he has maintained a public stance of neutrality as to the 1968 presidential nomination, is generally understood to favor Nixon.

✓ At a meeting in Austin of the State Republican Executive Committee Sen. John Tower made a statement which, if accurately reported by the Austin paper, will do the GOP no good in its efforts to improve on its increasing support in Mexican-American precincts. Tower, in attacking the Johnson administration for its laxity in meeting the racial crisis and dealing more effectively with the riots, reportedly said, "It is high time that we have an administration in this country that re-inspires the traditional Anglo-Saxon respect for law and order." Negroes probably would not be expected to appreciate this quote, either.

✓ O'Donnell, also at the executive committee meeting, quoted Sen. Yarbor-

ough's earlier statement that the presence of Connally on the Texas ticket "will reduce the chances of Johnson carrying Texas next year." Of Johnson, O'Donnell said, "Here is a man who would dump Hubert Humphrey from the ticket for Bobby Kennedy, a man he personally dislikes, if it meant winning the election."

✓ Sen. Yarborough has predicted that Johnson will be "renominated without meaningful opposition . . . and will sweep Texas again."

✓ Yarborough's Senate speech on Vietnam, published in the Sept. 1 issue of the Observer, was praised by Sen. J. W. Fulbright, the nation's leading dove.

✓ Catholic Archbishop Robert E. Lucey was flown back home to San Antonio in Air Force One after observing the recent Vietnam elections. Two days later he declared that war is morally correct as a tool of peace in the protection and defense of rights. "You cannot have peace unless you use force on the evil men in the world," Lucey said, adding, "The man who does not believe in force today will soon be enslaved." The doves, he went on, "are prolonging this war . . . Take the ones who say 'Negotiate now,' how are you going to get the Viet Cong to the negotiating table? None of these people explain how we're going to negotiate. If the doves would just shut their mouths we'd be OK."

✓ The San Antonio Archbishop has moved another of the priests whom he has disciplined this year out of San Antonio, The Rev. Joseph Deane was one of three San Antonio priests quoted in a local newspaper article earlier this year that was critical of Lucey and of the Catholic Church. All three now are at posts outside San Antonio. Four other priests who were mentioned in the article, but not quoted, are also out of San Antonio now. The archdiocese extends from San Antonio to the Rio Grande, excluding the Gulf Coast.

✓ High-up figures in the one-party Establishment of Texas are attorneys on opposing sides of a bank charter dispute in Austin.

The Texas State Bank is located in the University of Texas area, but is moving downtown. A group including several U.T. staff members have requested a charter for a new, University State Bank at the location of Texas State. Obviously this would tempt many customers of Texas State to transfer their accounts to University State.

Joe Kilgore, former congressman from McAllen now practicing law in Austin, is attorney for University State. Counsel for Texas State Bank include Frank Erwin, who called University State's application

ernment outlays that might otherwise be prompted by the inflow of funds."

✓ President Johnson's popularity in Texas, according to the Belden Poll, "grossly immature." Erwin is (1) chairman of the board of regents of the University of Texas, (2) Democratic national committeeman from Texas, and (3) attorney at law.

Asked by the Observer when the State Banking Commission might rule on University State's application, Banking Commissioner J. M. Falkner said he didn't know—it's "a hot question," and he wouldn't be surprised if some time passed before a decision was reached.

✓ Cong. Henry B. Gonzalez, San Antonio, has come up with a counterproposal for the President's proposal of a 10% surtax. Gonzalez proposes a "surcharge" (that is, an added charge) of 5 to 10% "in the form of a deferred credit repayable to the taxpayer within five years." In effect he proposes an involuntary loan.

The proposal does not itself contain, but is open to the interpretation that it implies, disapproval of the possibility that the President's 10% surtax might be used to fund the Vietnam war for an extended time. Gonzalez says his alternative plan would tend to "discourage increased gov-

has dropped below 50% approval for the first time since LBJ took office; 47% of Texans queried approve of the President's handling of his job, 42% disapprove; 11% are undecided. The previous low in approval was 58% in May, 1966.

✓ Reviewing the disputed role of the Texas Rangers in the farm workers' strike, Dennis Farney of the Dallas bureau of the Wall Street Journal, turned up some new information.

He quotes Homer Garrison, director of the Texas Department of Public Safety saying angrily: "The history of the Texas Rangers has always been filled with minority people who for devious reasons have tried to abolish the Rangers. Criminals and racketeers have tried it, and in this day of rather perverted ideas of the rights of people," it has happened again.

Denying charges of Ranger brutality in Starr County as totally unfounded, Garrison told Farney: "I'm as confident as I sit in this chair that as long as there is a state of Texas there will be a Texas Ranger force . . ."

Farney quotes Magdaleno Dimas, Mexican-American principal in the Dimas incident that is one of the central controversies in the charges of brutality, as testifying in a judicial hearing on what happened when Ranger Capt. A. Y. Allee ar-

rested him:

"When I pass Mr. Captain Allee is when they hit me, right on my head, to put me down. . . . I remember I get up, they hit me again, and put me down again, and I get up, and they hit me right on my neck, and I coming down."

Benito Rodriguez, Dimas' sidekick, testified that he was struck from behind, too, and "as I was going down I was struck repeatedly."

In the same hearing, Capt. Allee testified that Dimas and Rodriguez did not respond to his order to bring their hands out from under a table and to stand up. Allee continued: "I then kicked the table back, and I hit Magdaleno Dimas with the barrel of the shotgun on the head, didn't hurt him, didn't knock him to the floor at that time at all."

Then, Allee said, Dimas and Rodriguez ran from the room and "they either stumbled over a chair, or something happened to them, I don't know what it was, or tripped and fell down."

When the Observer interviewed Allee on this incident at the Ringgold Hotel in Rio Grande City the day after it happened, he would not go into detail about what he had done to Dimas; he would say only that he had used force he had deemed necessary to make the arrest. □

Determination in Settegast

Houston

The meeting had all the aspects of an old-fashioned revival: A half-dozen preachers took turns speaking, promising "a long, hard struggle" but one which "we are going to win." Their words were punctuated frequently with cries of "that's right!" or "amen!" or "tell it as it is!" or "yes, yes" as more than 300 persons filled the tiny True Vine Baptist Church to overflowing and spilled onto the lawn. The crowd, mostly women, attempted to stir the heavy air with paper fans featuring pictures of Jesus on one side and plugging a nearby funeral home on the other.

But the message from the preachers—all ministers of small Baptist churches—wasn't one of salvation and deliverance. It was one of boycott, protest, and sacrifice.

For three days the parents had kept their children from attending classes at the three predominantly Negro public schools of the Northeast Houston school district. A line of parents appeared before the school doors on Aug. 31 when classes began; they carried placards demanding fulfillment of unkept promises by the school administration and the all-white school board. At their urging, children returned to their homes without registering for the new school year.

The parents were protesting what they said were unkept promises of school improvements and new school construction in the Settegast area—a poverty pocket

in northeast Houston inhabited almost solely by Negroes. They charged, among other things, that the school board in seeking the Negroes' votes for passage of a \$3.5 million bond issue in May, 1965, had produced a lavishly illustrated brochure detailing projects for which the money would be spent.

"THERE IT IS," said the Rev. M. R. Beverly, leader of the protest, "right there in blue and white." He held a worn copy of the brochure over his head and

From a Houston correspondent of the Observer.

pointed to proposals to build a new elementary school in Settegast; to repair and refurbish other schools; to add an auditorium and athletic field house to B. C. Elmore High School.

"And what's been done?" he asked the audience.

"Nothing!" was the chorused response.

"That's right!" Beverly said, "and until they do something, we ain't going to send our kids back to school."

"Tell it, brother!" said one parent.

Beverly, who with other community leaders became disgusted after a year passed and no work was done, is promising "a long, hard fight" to his followers. "If we don't win this one," he says, "we

all better leave." Settegast residents have for some time been critical of the school administration for operating what are called "second-rate schools" for Negroes in the district.

The leaders of this boycott are adults, and their message is one of determination with repeated emphasis on non-violence. An offer of help from a group of young turks early in the planning stage was received with politeness, but the group was told in effect, "Don't call us; we'll call you." They haven't been called.

During the course of one meeting, when Beverly asked the parents what they planned to do about the school, one newcomer yelled, "Burn 'em down!" But Beverly and the others voiced immediate cries of no. "That's just what 'they' are waiting for us to do," Beverly said. He didn't bother to identify "they." He did not have to.

DURING THE EARLY stages of the boycott, Northeast Houston school officials issued only terse, closely guarded statements to the effect that it had been "a normal school opening" and that attendance had not been adversely affected and, finally, that "only the kids will suffer in this." Then, as public interest and attention built, they retreated behind a curtain of secretaries who intercepted their telephone calls. Their public policy

became one of silence and avoidance, especially when a member of the press telephoned. School Supt. Darrell Williams' unavailability and refusal to return telephone calls earned him the nickname of the "phantom superintendent" from one newspaper.

He finally agreed to answer questions from one newspaper if it submitted them in writing, and later agreed to talk on the telephone with a reporter from another paper. After their respective stories appeared, the superintendent was reported to have said he would give no further statements.

Williams' office also declined to answer questions about enrollment figures for the three boycotted schools in particular and the whole district in general. But as the boycott ended its second week, Williams told the school board just how effective it has been: of 1,780 students who should have enrolled in B. E. Elmore High School, Settegast Intermediate School and Hilliard Elementary School, only 736 were in classes.

But school officials, despite their silence, were not inactive. Several parents told of threats of being arrested on truancy charges if their youngsters remained out of public school classes. At one point, Polly Wise, school district attendance officer, said truancy charges would be brought if the youngsters were not in class by Sept. 18. But Williams repudiated this the following day. Officials of the Houston chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People said they would take any truancy cases to court.

Other parents told of pressure brought on their teenaged sons or daughters to return to class or forfeit the right to play football or march in the girls' drill team. This was persuasive to some of the stu-

The Texas Observer

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(adv.)

dents. Beverly said, of his teenaged son, "I tried reasoning with him, but that didn't work, so I told him that he wasn't going to school and that's that. You've got to do the same thing," Beverly told the parents who attended the meeting at the church. A mother rose to say that she had had the same trouble with her son and ended it by personally returning his school-issued football practice shoes to the school.

If their attempts at bringing truancy charges would be thwarted by the enrollment of the students in other schools, whether public or private, the school officials still held another threat before the parents: Unless their youngsters were enrolled in the system's schools by Sept. 22, they would be required to take an examination upon applying for readmission to the system after the boycott ends. This offered the possibility that some students would be made to repeat a grade if the examinations were not satisfactory—a situation not encouraging to the children but one which did not seem to bother their parents.

The Houston NAACP chapter began quiet attempts at mediation during the first full week of the boycott as its leaders met with Williams for more than an hour one afternoon and listened to his side of the story. Their later attempts at meetings failed, and their telephone calls were not returned, according to one NAACP official. Meanwhile, there were meetings between the NAACP and the boycott leaders also.

AS IT BECAME increasingly obvious that neither side would yield, the boycotters announced their next move.

"We are prepared to open our own private schools," said Beverly. "We have offers of space, and we have at least three volunteer teachers already."

NAACP officials sent telegrams to Williams and to the seven board members calling on each for an emergency session of the board with the boycott leaders so that grievances could be aired completely and so that both sides would know officially where the other stood. There was more official silence for three days.

Finally, the NAACP, its role as a mediator an apparent failure, openly endorsed the strike and urged parents to keep their children out of the public schools until the board met with them. The civil rights leaders also charged Wil-

MEETINGS

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liams with being undemocratic and with hiding behind technicalities in refusing to meet with the boycotters unless they did things his way.

On Monday morning, Sept. 11, almost 1,200 children, roughly half of Settegast's students, enrolled in a series of Freedom Public Schools at 11 of the Baptist churches in Settegast. Twenty-four teachers, including a white teacher who said he was refused employment by the public school system, were recruited for the classes. The pickets stayed at their posts.

Meanwhile, Williams made a hurried telephone call to state education officials to ask whether the boycott would mean a decrease in state aid to the system in the form of ADA (average daily attendance) payments. Officials replied that it is possible for the system to receive the same amount of payment it normally would but under an emergency clause in the state law. But those same officials later told newsmen that the state would not consider such a request until and unless it received an official request from the school district as well as a report of the situation. No action would be launched voluntarily from Austin, they said. But J. W. Edgar, state education commissioner, has indicated that the district is by no means in immediate danger of losing any state money. Edgar says the TEA has the right to make adjustments "in unusual circumstances" to prevent loss of state aid.

WILLIAMS AND the board finally agreed to meet on Sept. 12 with boycott leaders. Their confrontation ended in one minor concession by the board to the boycotters: four polling places, which earlier were closed by the board after alleged voter irregularities last year, would be reopened, leaving the Negroes with six places to vote instead of two. But except for that point, the board and the boycotters remained as far apart as they had been at the outset of the meeting. The boycott leaders assured the board their strike would continue.

The decision to reopen the polling places was not an empty concession for the boycotters, however; two of their number have registered as candidates for a special school board election on Oct. 7, when two vacancies are to be filled.

The board ordered Williams, meanwhile, to investigate the complaints by the boycott leaders and report to it later this month.

The boycott leaders are continuing to use their churches for their rump school system on weekdays and to preach sermons on Sundays. The favorite subject there these days is determination. □

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Hunger and Poverty in Texas

San Antonio

Hunger and malnutrition stalk thousands of people in San Antonio. Some of the victims told a panel of eight religious and professional leaders of the national Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition how, all else failing, local and state welfare agencies make it difficult for them to do much about it.

The panel is an arm of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, a national group of church, labor, civil rights, business, grass roots, and other leaders concerned about poverty. The crusade is headed by Walter Reuther. Testimony was heard here from both welfare recipients and administrators, physicians, priests and nuns, and private citizens in a one-day session last week at the Santa Cruz Catholic Church in the heart of a San Antonio slum. Stories of two-meal-a-day meatless families, children with diarrhea and anemia caused by malnutrition, long waits in city and state welfare agencies for uncertain help became common as the day wore on. Neighborhood children, unwitting personifications of the testimony, wandered in and out of the crowded church and brought their mothers back for the free chicken box lunches provided by the panel for the witnesses and spectators.

The enormity of San Antonio's hunger problems was revealed when Dr. Vera Burke, director of social services for the Bexar County Metropolitan Health District which operates the Robert B. Green charity hospital, told the panel about malnutrition problems seen every day at the Green. "Often children one year old are brought in weighing less than their birth weight," Dr. Burke said. According to Dr. Burke, malnutrition problems at the Green relate to those of underdeveloped countries.

Dr. Charles Hilton, a prominent pediatrician who also practices at the Green, reinforced Dr. Burke's testimony. "I have seen children at the Green, three, four, and five years old and weighing around 20 pounds," he said.

Further testimony revealed that in the Green maternity clinic so many of the delivering mothers are anemic that at least one blood transfusion is given each expectant mother as part of her regular prenatal care. At least 25% of the babies born at the Green weigh less than five pounds, indicating that they are either premature or that the mothers are suffering from malnutrition.

Yet when these ill-fed people who flock to the Green (the U.S. Labor Department has indicated there are 150,000 San Antonians living in poverty) try to get aid from either the city or state public welfare agencies, they are confronted with long waits, embarrassing questions, and at least some loss of dignity.

In San Antonio they can apply for state

Mrs. Rogers is an Observer contributing editor.

welfare aid for dependent children, or for blind or totally and permanently disabled persons; or they may apply for city welfare on a limited emergency basis until state aid can be processed; and/or they may apply for U.S. Department of Agriculture surplus commodities which are distributed free to nearly 11,000 San Antonians every two weeks. Current supplies given to welfare cases are peanut butter, rice, beans, flour, canned chopped meat,

Mary Beth Rogers

and raisins. They are intended to be diet supplements, but many witnesses revealed the commodities to be their main source of food.

SISTER RACHEL of Incarnate Word College in San Antonio told the panel that five to six hour waits in welfare offices are routine for applicants. Yet since she is known by welfare offi-

cials, she said she could walk in with a client and immediately get an interview for him and see that his needs are met. State Sen. Joe Bernal, who doubles as a social worker for a private settlement house when the legislature is not in session, told of the same situation. When he called the state agency and asked for a particular case worker, but did not identify himself, he was given the run-around. "Just last week," he said, "one of the secretaries hung up on me." But when he identified himself, not as a client but as Sen. Joe Bernal, he got through immediately.

Those who battle welfare agency lines in their private war against hunger were typified at the hearing by Mrs. Maria Cordova, a young but tired-looking mother of 13 children. Mrs. Cordova spoke in Spanish; Bernal, chairman of the newly-formed Texas Committee on Hunger and Malnutrition, translated. She said she and

September 29, 1967

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her husband, who makes \$40 a week as a taxi driver for Bell Cab Co., cannot adequately feed their family on his income. They receive the surplus commodities, but Mrs. Cordova would like to feed her children something "other than beans and rice." While testifying, Mrs. Cordova held her three-year-old twin sons in her lap and one of the panelists, Dr. Gilbert Ortiz of New York, commented that, compared with his own three-year-old twins, the Cordova boys were so much smaller as to indicate they were undernourished.

Another witness Mrs. Julia Gonzalez told the panel that her state welfare case worker had told her not to bother applying for the surplus commodities, even though she and her two boys could use the extra food. "The case worker said we would be turned down, so to stay home and save ourselves the embarrassment," Mrs. Gonzalez said. She receives \$44 a month from the Texas Welfare Department in aid to dependent children, plus irregular child support from her ex-husband. One of her children is both epileptic and retarded, so she cannot work outside her home.

MRS. GONZALEZ, as well as many other witnesses during the day, revealed that she did not know she could make an appeal to the agency to raise her

\$44 allotment to the maximum \$93 monthly allowed for a mother with two dependent children.

Joe Falcon, assistant regional director for the Texas Department of Welfare, explained that it was not the policy of the agency to inform recipients of their right to appeal welfare grants. "Each case worker has a copy of these regulations and it is up to his discretion to determine if the client should be informed of the right of appeal. Texas law does not require us to provide clients with this."

Edward Sparer, law professor at Yale and a panel member asked Falcon, "Aren't you putting the client at the complete mercy of the case worker?"

"I can't comment on that," Falcon replied. But he did explain that in the future each welfare client would be given a card with the notice of his right to appeal any welfare decision printed on it.

Falcon said he believed the state had the responsibility to take advantage of the federal programs available to solve the food problems in San Antonio and elsewhere in the state. Yet of the two federal food programs—food stamps and surplus commodities—only the commodities program is in widespread use in Texas. Food stamp programs are operating only in Fort Worth and El Paso, and seem to be preferred by welfare clients over the commodities, since once the stamps are purchased the individual welfare recipient may buy whatever food he wishes instead of taking merely what the government offers.

When Falcon admitted to the panel that he had no information on the food stamp program, Dr. Vivian Henderson, president of a Negro college in Georgia, interjected angrily, "How do we get you people to take action? Is it only to the extent poor people raise hell that we get action? Is this a political decision, or is it simply a matter of not caring about people?"

"I don't care to answer," Falcon said. John Bierschwale, director of the San Antonio Welfare Department said San Antonio does not have the stamp program because "basically it is a state program." He told of a yearly San Antonio welfare budget of \$280,000, plus surplus commodities, that reach about 24,000 people or less than 20% of those who need it.

THE MOST dramatic moment in the hearing came when one witness, Mrs. Frances Delgado, returned from the

lunch break with an eviction notice from the publicly-owned San Antonio housing authority. In tears she told the panel that she found the note, a torn half-sheet of note-book paper signed by her "landlady" in the housing unit, demanding \$10 owed on her \$42.75 monthly rent by 5 p.m. that afternoon. Mrs. Delgado did not have the money because her husband recently lost his job for being involved in union activity. She was turned down when requesting aid and food both by officials at the state welfare agency and surplus commodity center because her husband was "able to work." She had neither the money for the rent nor food for her nine children, and didn't know where to turn for help.

Dr. Henderson, obviously outraged by the eviction notice and the woman's predicament, said, "I can't comment anymore on this. This type of thing makes me too goddamn mad."

The committee panel is hopeful that the nation will become as aroused as Dr. Henderson, when its citizens' report on hunger and malnutrition resulting from this hearing and others in Appalachia, the northern ghettos, the black belt, and Indian reservations is formalized into a proposed national program to feed starving Americans.

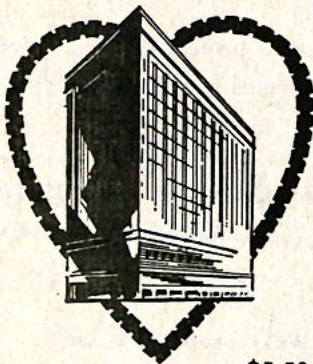
The hearings here were held at the request of a newly-formed group known as the Texas Committee on Hunger and Malnutrition. Bernal is the Texas committee's chairman. He said the hearing was "an effort to bring our concerned citizens together in a face-to-face meeting to find out what our real problems are. There are thousands of Mexican-Americans in need who are not being reached effectively by present programs." Witnesses were from Bexar county as well as several other parts of South Texas.

The national board of inquiry was formed earlier this year after a group of physicians studied malnutrition in Mississippi and discovered that hundreds of thousands of people in the Deep South, both white and black, were not receiving any kind of federal welfare aid and were living under starvation conditions. The group's report was made public in July during US Senate investigations and provoked headlines across the nation.

"The basic problem with our food programs is that we will not come to a national commitment that our people need an adequate diet," Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Field Foundation of New York, and chairman of the panel, said. "Until such a commitment is made, programs will always fall far short of need." □

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What To Do Before The Mortician Comes

Austin

There has been a terrific increase in burial policy premiums in Texas in the last year or two, the Observer has learned. It has fallen especially heavily upon very old people who may have been paying on their policies for a long time at lower rates.

There are about 600 mutual-aid type companies that sell insurance of this type in Texas. The creation of new companies of this kind was prohibited by the legislature four years ago. Burial-aid associations can provide burial insurance of up to \$150; mutual-aid associations can provide benefits of up to \$5,000, including burial benefits. The law requires that not more than 40% of these firms' income go for expenses; the rest must go into reserves for benefits.

The present situation was first brought to the Observer's attention by Jim Presley, our contributing editor in Texarkana, Tex. He called a Texarkana funeral home to check on a policy for a third party. This kind of company is often administered and operated by a funeral home director, who thus administers the burial insurance premiums of his association's members while they are alive and then stands to get the burial business when they die.

"Last year," Presley wrote to the Observer, "the annual rate for his policy was, I believe, \$5.70. This year, it will be \$18.69—over three times, 300%, as much!"

Presley said he asked the lady at the funeral home why the rates had zoomed up. She replied, he said, that "The State Insurance Board made us raise it."

IN AUSTIN, Assistant Commissioner Paul Connor of the State Insurance Board explained the background to the Observer.

In 1965 a law that was passed at the instance, as Connor understood it, of the association of these companies—not at the Insurance Commission's initiation, "although they surely had no objection"—required the companies to establish actuarial standards for their reserves.

Therefore, Connor said, these companies had no reserve requirements. In other words, they were being permitted to

charge too little for their insurance to enable them to pay the claims that could be anticipated on the basis of probabilities. The law did not require to the contrary.

"Some of them were reaching a point where they would have to drop their policies or increase their rates," Connor said. That is, they were potentially insolvent.

Under Article 1415 of the Insurance Code passed in 1965, the companies were required to compute their own "deficiency reserve" on the basis of assets, membership, and premium rates and come up with a plan for correcting the deficiency within 18 years. Raising rates "was the most obvious solution," Connor said. About 100 or 150 of the firms had been charging rates that obviated increases, but most of the others have increased their rates.

This kind of insurance is equivalent to "term insurance." That is, it is not fixed-rate, whole-life insurance, but is paid for on a year-by-year basis. Term insurance becomes more expensive as the insured gets older.

Thus, the largest increases fell on the

oldest policyholders—those who had been paying for the longest time and also those who would be the likeliest to have little money.

GIVEN THE circumstances, Connor said, "there's no way out of it. In the case of the old man, most of these plans involved a mathematically proper computation of what the rate of insurance should be." Two or three bills were introduced in 1967 to inhibit the increases on the old, but, said Connor, "In all frankness, they would repeal some hard and fast rules of nature and mathematics." Setting a limit on the premiums for the old "would sound all right," but would leave the younger members of the mutual associations to run the risk of insufficient protection for their premiums.

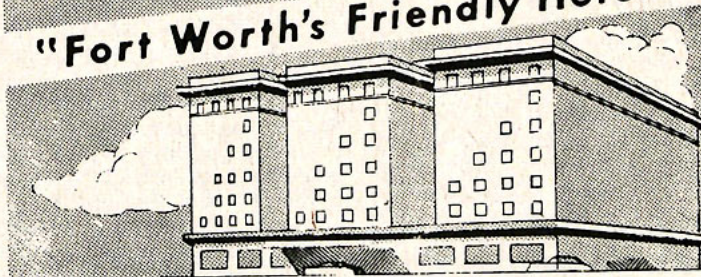
In defense of the operators of these firms, Connor mentioned that "a number of them" included, in their 18-year plans to correct their "deficiency reserve," a scaling down of the proportion of their income for expenses from the legally permitted 40% to 20% and in some cases as little as 15%.

Connor also thought inflation had a good deal to do with the situation in which the burial associations—and the old people who thought they had low-rate burial insurance—have found themselves.

September 29, 1967

11

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ONE MAN'S GRIEF

Midlothian

Each of us remembers what we were doing that day; where we were the moment the news reached us. We were numbed. Not only by the murder of our President, but by the photographs of Lee Harvey Oswald, the accused assassin. Hard as some of us tried, and sure as the evidence seemed to be, we were not all certain Oswald had acted alone. We were appalled and frustrated.

Then, without warning, Oswald was murdered on television. It was videotaped, and each playback was the same.

Robert Bonazzi

That almost childlike grimace! And Oswald died each time we watched.

We continued to watch and the nightmare grew; complexed itself with doubt upon doubt. We waited for it to be over. Incongruously, he hoped for Monday. It came and we leaned back into our lives. Buried ourselves in work. We struggled with our minds to accept the stark facts: a President dead, an assassin lynched, and a misguided avenger imprisoned in the Dallas jail. We ordered coffee and waited for life to stand up and walk again, of its own accord.

PENN JONES, JR., did not wait for life. "I went home and cried for two days. Then I went back to Dallas and started knocking on doors and asking questions." Jones began his investigation into the Kennedy death unaware that others were working on it, too. "I was the only man I knew of in Texas working on the assassination, I knew more people in Texas working on the Lincoln assassination than on the Kennedy assassination. It's an indictment of the American press that no newspaper was working on the assassination. I've spent more money than any paper in the state on the President's death since the Ruby trial, up until this recent significant flurry in New Orleans.

"Thomas Jefferson said it didn't matter how much an editor lied, that enough other editors would tell the truth to offset his lies. I agree with Jefferson, when he was speaking. You see, when Hartford, Connecticut had 1,300 people, it had 13 papers. Dallas has 800,000 people with one newspaper. Well, actually there are two newspapers, but they're tweedle dum and tweedle dee. So Jefferson's words don't apply today."

Penn Jones' diminutive weekly, the Midlothian Mirror (810 circulation at last count), is perhaps the only American newspaper diligently testing the truth of the Warren Report. Not only

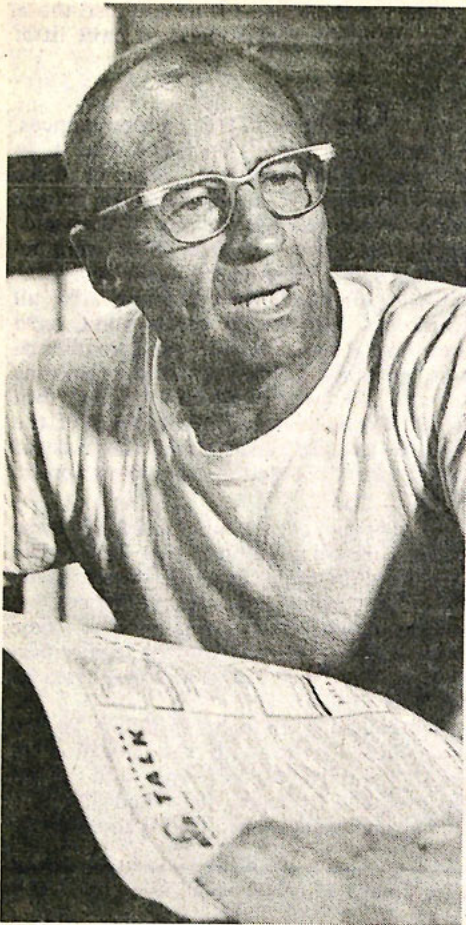
has Jones worked tirelessly in Dallas, but he has studied the 26 volumes of Commission Hearings. One set is on his living room floor, its pages cornered. Upstairs there is another set. At the Mirror office, there are three more sets. "I urge citizens to not only read the Report, but to read enough of the testimony first hand in order to make up their own minds. I have five sets of Hearings, five Reports, and five copies of Sylvia Meagher's Index. I think they are that important. I have been urging Congress to do a massive paperback reprint. We have 10,000 libraries in the United States, and at most, only 8,000 sets of Hearings were printed, less than 4,000 sets sold. It shows how little interest there is. Of course the price is high, the Report and the Hearings, 26 volumes, cost \$76. I bought fifteen sets originally and shipped a set to France, one each to Austin and New Orleans. I have these other sets here to loan to anyone interested in studying them."

Jones studies the Hearings for "three hours a day, and then I have to drive out to the farm and piddle around some to get my wits back." His farm is 60 acres of ruined land, but it has a comfortable house (which his wife, Louise, has remodeled), a winding stream large enough for a boat, and slopes almost large enough to be hills. "The land is no good for farming anymore. The former owner ruined it when he lived here. Knew nothing about crop rotation. But it's just a resting place, a place for the kids to use. Most of all, it's a place to get away from the telephone," Jones says.

And the phones continue to ring. Usually they ring with information from Dallas or New Orleans; or from Paris, asking for information. Also they ring with complaints from the local conservative citizenry.

"I HAVE WORKED hard for my enemies," Jones says, "and I deserve every one of them." He has been called the "conscience of the community" by his supporters (Jones figures about 40% support him), and "a troublemaker" by the others. Once he criticized the town's officials for paving the streets in the Negro section with nails. Actually, it was gravel which contained countless pounds of discarded nails. Jones picked up 50 pounds off the streets and displayed them in the window of the Mirror office. Perhaps this dropped his support to 35%, he jokes.

Such episodes have occurred regularly since Jones bought the Mirror in 1945. "I was determined to run a weekly newspaper. So we bought the Mirror after I got out of the army. There were 1,100 people in Midlothian then. The



—photo by Robert Jackson

PENN JONES OF MIDLOTHIAN ... firebombed in 1962

Many are the Texans whose deeds are recounted, whose praises sung, in our state's press. But what of those who, though they are known throughout the nation, and, even, the world, are generally unheard of in their home state? And what of those who labor steadily, day by day, in their own ways, for a more enlightened Texas?

The Observer begins, with this article on Midlothian's remarkable editor, Penn Jones, Jr., a series that will appear, from time to time, considering the lives and deeds of some extraordinary Texans whose activities have gone largely unnoticed in their home state. Jones, the editor of a small weekly near Dallas, has become one of the leading critics of the Warren Commission Report and has an international reputation for his work.

Robert Bonazzi, who wrote this article, has several others in this series planned for future issues of the Observer. Bonazzi is a native of New York City who moved to Houston at age four, in 1946. He holds a bachelor's degree in English from the University of Houston, where he is now doing graduate work. He has published fiction and poetry in 23 magazines and is the editor and publisher of *Latitudes*, a literary quarterly which he established this year. Bonazzi intends to edit and write and, perhaps, teach at a university.

previous owners of the paper were advertising 1,400 circulation, but the press run was only 520. I never have lied about circulation: it's not enough to lie about! We've managed to break even a few years, but we usually lose money. I had no business buying the Mirror. I bought it with no previous experience. The more I learned about printing, the more frightened I became to realize the enormity of my ignorance. But I wouldn't do anything else."

Many Midlothian citizens wish Jones would do something else. As soon as he started the Mirror editorials, some merchants pulled their ads and cancelled their subscriptions. But Jones continued to state the truth as he saw it. He covered the school board and city council meetings. No one had ever done that before. Town officials responded by scheduling both meetings on the same night. Jones managed to have both meetings covered. "We're closing the meetings," Jones says a spokesman told him, "in order to keep things from getting out."

Jones appealed to his readers to intrude. "Are these men our elected administrators or are they operating a private club?" he asked them. But nothing was done. He continued after the school board. Each year he supported a slate of candidates to challenge the incumbents. But Jones' candidates never win. He has never run for public office himself — "We always manage to be the pallbearers but never the corpse. Actually, we've been pretty unsuccessful pallbearers — drop the body every time," Jones says.

Penn Jones' courage has always been unquestionable. Even when his office was firebombed in 1962, he continued to print the Mirror. The night of the fire, "I turned on the steam. Got there when the fire department did. I always go when the siren goes off twice. Once means a grass fire. Well, I'm too old for grass fires, but twice means the fire is in town. I got there and realized it was my place. I rushed in and tried to fight it. My lungs got full of smoke in a hurry and I ran out vomiting. Went to the back — same problem. Thought they'd never get the water on it. When they finally got three feet of water on the floor, it was out. The plastic machine cover had melted, and all the machines had to be dismantled and cleaned. The linotype took \$500 alone to clean. The fire damage was about \$8,000. Two minutes later the entire place would have been destroyed." Arson was

suspected only the next day when the remnants of the "Molotov cocktail" were discovered. Jones offered a \$1,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the arsonist. No one has been convicted yet. For his courage in journalism, Jones was awarded the 1963 Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award by Southern Illinois University.

SIXTY-FOUR HUNDRED copies of Jones' little book, *Forgive My Grief*, Volume I, have been sold over the counter at his office and by mail. It contains his account of the "strange deaths" that have followed the assassination and Jones' analysis of what he believes to be the Warren Report's shortcomings. Ramparts magazine published excerpts from the book last November, causing nationwide attention in Time magazine and on the Huntley-Brinkley TV news program. The book was run serially, first, in the Mirror; Volume II is now appearing weekly in Jones' paper and will be released in book form soon. Shirley Martin, an Oklahoma housewife who has become known among critics of the Warren Report, is helping Jones write the second volume.

Like Mark Lane, Vincent Salandria, and the others, Jones has been criticized for questioning the Warren Report; the Time article was particularly scathing.

Jones recalls somewhat wryly the visit of a writer for another magazine. "He came to my home for two days," Jones says. "He was very friendly, said he wanted to do a book on all the critics [of the Report]. All he said of me was that I had pictures of Batman and Robin next to my three photographs of Kennedy in the Mirror office — and he intimated that I was a drunkard.

"Well, those pictures of Batman and Robin were tacked on the wall by my two boys. It certainly shows no disrespect to John Kennedy. And as for my being a drunkard, well that writer asked me if there was anything to drink. Since the town is dry, I went across town and borrowed a bottle for him. Then he describes me in his article as running about with a bottle in my hip pocket all the time. Imagine how uncomfortable that would be for sitting down."

The recent developments in New Orleans have prompted Jones to make two flights there. He is convinced that Dist. Atty. Jim Garrison is on to something. "Just how many times must we prove conspiracy," Jones says. "The combined work of Lane, Meagher, Salandria, Shirley Martin, Ray Marcus, Weisberg, and myself should be enough to warrant a new investigation. But I doubt that it will come before ten years." □

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A Morbid Matter

Austin

"It's your funeral," the saying goes, but most people won't think about it, and this is the basis of the highly profitable corpse business. If people would make their own decisions about their funerals before they died, the living could be spared many morbid and costly spectacles. Playing upon the susceptibilities of the nearest survivors in the time of their emotional prostration, funeral homes can make the most of the worst.

On the other hand, the morticians probably get more criticism than they deserve. A lot of people are not content to keep up with the Joneses; they have to keep up with the late Joneses, too. The funeral homes are willing to sell the pomp and take the profit, but sometimes this is what the customer independently wants.

In my opinion the best development in this field is the emergence of the local memorial and burial society, the group of citizens who in effect designate a few of their number to look into the situation and advise them how to proceed modestly and reasonably and then, when the time comes, help them do so. It's depressing to think about death and burial; it makes the plainest common sense for people to band together and have a few of their number do it for them all.

I have not read Jessica Mitford's book on the corpse business, but recently I came upon an article on it by Patricia Blake in *Life Magazine*, quoting the Texas Synod of the Southern Presbyterian Church's condemnation of the "practice of neo-pagan corpse worship." Rev. Edward D. Robertson, speaking for the synod, said that "Funerals, as now commonly conducted, are not Christian."

ONE ILLUSTRIOUS but unnamed psychiatrist was quoted:

"Our culture is basically adolescent. Like so much in our civilization—our literature, movies, TV—the American funeral serves to deny real feelings, in this case grief and pain. What has happened is that many people no longer believe in the religious rituals which, through the ages, have mobilized and released feelings of mourning. The undertakers have moved in to fill the gap, devising new forms to replace the old. In fact, they have established a new type of 'religious' ceremonial, but which does not succeed in giving people an outlet for grief. Today's funeral has the atmosphere of a cocktail party where the minister says a few sugary words, and the 'beautified' corpse seems to confirm that death hasn't really taken place."

The article continued:

"A sense of guilt for the harm, imagin-

ed or real, done to the deceased in his life-time—or for sins of omission—is the unconscious reason people will spend their last nickel on a funeral. 'Financial sacrifice,' adds the above-mentioned psychiatrist, 'carries out the impulse to suffer and atone which has always been characteristic of rituals for the dead. Europeans today are altogether more mature in their attitude toward death than Americans, and by mature I mean the ability to experience grief and compassion without guilt.'

"People who would prefer dignified, simple inexpensive funerals for their dead have to contend with the obstacles set up by the National Funeral Directors' Association, whose members do 75% of the funeral business in the U.S. Otherwise fiercely competitive, they are united in their determination to prevent religious and trade union funeral societies and other organizations from helping people get simple funerals."

Obviously people who want simple funerals for themselves and for their dead should inquire whether there is a memorial society in their own city or area. If there isn't, one can be formed through a church, union, lodge, or other organization, or just among friends.

In Austin we have the Austin Memorial and Burial Information Society at 4700 Grover Avenue. It is a member of the Continental Association of Funeral and Memorial Societies, which would surely advise any other likely group that wanted to establish a local society.

A law professor, E. Wayne Thode, is the president of the Austin society. It was formed by local Unitarians but is not connected with the church and is open to everyone (for a nominal \$5). The copy-righted handbook for members asks and answers the right questions about Texas law and local practices at funeral homes and cemeteries and the San Antonio crematorium. The members are invited, but certainly not required to file a form with the society in which they specify how they want to be buried or whether they want to be cremated instead, at approximately what cost, where, with what kind of service, with who in charge, and under what special instructions or injunctions.

GATHER the minimum cost of a funeral in Austin is about \$150; perhaps the optimally inexpensive funeral would come to \$300. Under social security there is a maximum burial benefit of \$255, but a claim has to be filed by the survivors. In addition, the estate of a veteran who has died may be entitled to benefits up to \$250, according to the Austin society's handbook.

A corpse is a corpse. Euphemisms help people get through but do not change the facts. In making your own decisions about these facts, you have to weigh alternatives you can think about only for a little while and perhaps can never talk about.

The Austin society's handbook is written from a modern viewpoint, but with a steady consideration for the undiscussable differences from person to person when these decisions are being made. The society makes its own recommendations clearly, but gently. For instance, the memorial service, held after the body has already been cremated or buried, is preferred to the funeral service, which takes place with the body present in a coffin.

"The survivors feel some conscious or subconscious remorse over some real or imagined inattention or selfishness in regard to the deceased, and seek to deny it, or make redress, through a lavish expenditure of money, or excessively shown symptoms of grief," the Austin society's handbook says.

"It is well beforehand to recognize that all money expended on a funeral or grave site or marker is primarily of benefit to the survivors. The person who has died no longer physically exists in this world."

Arguing for the memorial service without the corpse present, the booklet continues:

"A service following death is . . . important in that it acknowledges the fact of a transition from a state of life on the part of someone we love and allows acquaintances, friends, and family the opportunity to face this fact of death. A service also helps provide the means for others to show support and concern . . . A husband, or wife, or child who is not ready to accept condolences for the first few days should certainly think of a memorial service as an even more desirable alternative to the often hurried atmosphere surrounding a funeral service."

THE BOOKLET gives information, including cost information, about Austin-area undertakers, cemeteries, and cremation facilities. One is told, plainly, what the law requires, how one must do what, and what decisions must be made at each juncture. One is provided guidance and forms, if desired, on giving one's corpse to a medical school or one's eyes to an eye bank. And the laws are explained. For instance, while Texas law does not require that a body be cremated in a casket, such a requirement is usually imposed by the crematorium. Again, as a practical matter it is illegal under Texas law for a mortician to offer lower prices to a memorial society than he charges the public in general.

For my part I don't want to think about this subject any longer than I have to. I am grateful to the Austin society for making the necessary local inquiries and thinking the matter through and then providing me with this quiet, intelligent booklet and the specific opportunity to make the decisions that it makes sense to make and be done with.

R.D.

In My Opinion

Pragmatism, Principle

Austin

Balancing pragmatism and principle has long been the crucial question of politicians and others interested in politics. And no more agonizing a time for such a balancing act will occur than 1968. Each of us must seek to answer for himself the question of how to respond to the dual national crisis—the Vietnam war and grievous domestic challenges.

My heart is with the New Politics people, but I worry that they may have no real ultimate effect on American public affairs. It may be that in years ahead the New Politics movement, should it endure, will have the happy fate of making our political dialogue more relevant and of improving our political and governmental institutions, much as the socialists have contributed to America since the 1920's largely by selling their ideas, many of them, to the Democratic Party.

But as to 1968, my concern in this writing, I don't see that New Politics is ready; I think party members realized this, at Chicago, when those attending their convention chose to devote their efforts in the year ahead to grassroots organizing rather than electoral politics. I believe this was, generally, a wise decision. For myself, I still have some hope that radicalism, New Politics, may yet have something to offer liberalism in America. I believe liberalism needs a transfusion of ideas, of ideals, of hope; liberalism still centers on ideas developed in the 1930's during the New Deal. Most of those ideas have, as we know, come to varied stages of implementation. So I wish the New Politics people well in their efforts.

But may I suggest, to the NP people in Texas, that they might well consider some participation in Texas politics next year, despite the Chicago decision in favor of forswearing electoral political activity? I say this as I have heard from several persons in other states that if, somehow, Gov. John Connally could be beaten in the Democratic primary next spring this would give great encouragement to those throughout the nation who oppose President Johnson, his policy in Vietnam, and his uninspired response to our domestic dilemma. There is good reason to think that Connally might be beaten next spring, though it would be an upset of the first magnitude. The likelihood of such an upset would be enhanced if NP people would lend a hand to the anti-establishment forces.

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Toppling Connally would impair the President's chances of carrying Texas and, indeed, would improve the prospects for an anti-LBJ revolt among the Texas delegates to the national Democratic convention after the primary. Connally's loss would embolden the nation's doves and others who mourn America's loss of momentum in facing domestic problems; it would dramatize in an unmistakable way the decline in Johnson's political stock, since Connally is closely tied to LBJ, an alliance that is well-known throughout the nation.

NP adherents might want to consider lending their efforts to the anti-Connally drive in Texas next year as a practical means of eroding Johnson's reelection chances and altering the extent of the American atrocities in Vietnam and our neglect of social ills at home. I think the prospects of beating Connally and hurting Johnson politically are sufficiently bright that the participation in this bit of electoral politics might well be justifiable for NP people, even given the Chicago decision.

A Peace Plank

Another matter in which the balance between pragmatism and principle will be faced is centered around a movement within a leading traditional liberal organization, the Americans for a Democratic Society. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., an ADA leader, is proposing that delegates to next year's Democratic national convention who are concerned about US policy in Vietnam work to bring the question of peace to the floor of that convention. Rauh believes prospects of such a move are vastly superior to those of any third party effort, such as the now-aborted King-Spock ticket or the Kennedy-Fulbright movement. Rauh believes a national peace ticket could draw less than two million votes. This is, he says, "only an infinitesimal fraction of the peace feeling in America," but Rauh believes most Americans don't want to "waste" their votes on a ticket that has no chance of

winning. Thus, he goes on, a third party effort would "tend to produce the opposite national course from that sought by the third party's backers," since supporters of our Vietnam policy would point to the poor showing at the polls made by the peace candidate as an indication of support for the hawk position.

Rauh calls for the introduction of a peace plank before the platform committee of the Demo party. He suspects such a plank would not be supported by a majority of that committee, but it requires only eleven votes to file a minority report, thus putting the question onto the convention floor.

Since Johnson's renomination is a probability the peace plank issue would likely be the matter that draws the national attention. TV cameras would record the debate, placing the issue before the people in a dramatic and penetrating way that has not occurred to date. The educational value of such a move is not to be discounted; many Americans who have heard of the peace movement only in peripheral ways, or who have ignored it altogether, dismissing it as the work of "beatniks" or of "out-of-the-mainstream" Senators might at least be exposed to the principles behind opposition to the US role in Vietnam. A few minds might be changed, or bent a bit, anyway.

Rauh's arguments in support of his idea are persuasive; more so than the idea of a third party effort, I think.

LBJ-RFK in '68?

About the first of this month a reporter for a national publication phoned the Observer office to inquire whether we had heard anything about President Johnson planning to approach Sen. Robert Kennedy about replacing Hubert Humphrey on the Democrats' national ticket next year. The reporter told me that Kennedy advisers were definitely interested. I had heard nothing of it, and nothing more until picking up a recent issue of the Village Voice. Jack Newfield, who writes a political column in the Voice and who has access to some of the associates of Kennedy, and I think to Kennedy himself, explained that the rumors proceed from a leak from the White House to the effect that LBJ had commissioned a national poll to sam-

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Newfield believes there is no chance of Kennedy accepting any such overtures from Johnson. In fact, Newfield writes, "RFK intimates now think that the odds are better that [Kennedy] will run against the President—than with him. One of these intimates said Kennedy is now 're-thinking all his options for 1968,' after concluding six months ago that his only option was to bite the bullet and campaign for Johnson. On the cruel issue of Vietnam, Kennedy is farther from the Administration than he has been at any point since he entered the Senate. And LBJ is lower in popularity than at any time since he entered the White House."

Late word from the Kennedy For President In 1968 people (formerly known as the Citizens for Kennedy-Fulbright, but Fulbright's name has, for various reasons, been dropped from the proposed ticket) advises that "rumors are circulating that RFK is privately urging friends and aides not to shut any door too firmly."

If Kennedy is rethinking 1968, good. But as a practical matter it is most unlikely that he'll either challenge Johnson for the nomination or be his running mate next year.

GOP Pacification

It has now become perfectly clear that Texas Republicans are working hard to prevent having a primary election next year with any hot contests. Also out, it seems certain, is the proposed presidential preferential primary. For a time this year it appeared the GOP might have a number of local races in its 1968 primary that would lure more voters than ever before into that party's affairs. But private conversations with state leaders, and events last week in Dallas, indicate that Republicans are anxious to avoid any hot pri-

maries that might divide the party's faithful. The same reasoning prevails as to the straw vote on a GOP candidate for President; the campaign or outcome might cause ill feelings in the party's ranks.

In Dallas two races appeared to hold out the prospect of a wild campaign of the sort Texas voters love. A successor must be chosen in the highly conservative district of the late State Sen. George Parkhouse. And the Republican challenger of Cong. Joe Pool next year is to be selected by essentially the same constituency. Whoever wins GOP support stands a good chance of beating Pool, who is in some trouble with the home folks.

At least five potential candidates for Parkhouse's seat were vying for the Republican nomination. But to head off a primary free-for-all next spring party leaders decided to select one of the candidates at a caucus of the 60 precinct chairmen of the district. The four culls are to stand aside in the name of party unity and harmony. The selection of the precinct leaders last week was O. H. (Ike) Harris, who lost last year to Parkhouse by just 562 votes.

There is still the prospect of a contested primary in this race next year, however. One of the four other hopeful candidates, Horace Houston, said before the precinct chairmen made their choice that he would not honor their decision. "We are not just a private club of very nice people but a political party housing divergent views," Houston said. "I opposed the proceeding as being detrimental to our growth and strength . . ." Houston lost by less than 1,000 votes to Harris in the 1966 primary. Probably he'll be under pressure from party officials to stand aside between now and the filing deadline.

It's still uncertain whether Jim Collins and Cty. Cmsr. Frank Crowley will clash for the nomination to oppose Pool. Collins has been mentioned as the party's gubernatorial candidate but has recently said he's not interested. Probably party leaders are working to avoid a Collins-Crowley primary battle.

It's understandable why the Republicans feel they should reduce the potential for intra-party friction to a minimum, given the delicate nature of relations between the GOP's conservative and less-conservative factions. But I personally think the party has matured to the point where a few hot primary campaigns might not necessarily rend the GOP assunder. Indeed, on the contrary, such primary fights would certainly stimulate interest in Republican affairs and woo conservatives from the Democratic ranks. True, the factional fights, particularly in the youth and women's groups, have been bitter. But I think the two-party state which both liberals and Republicans want is being delayed by the GOP's damping down competition within its ranks; conservatives will thus continue to vote largely in the Democratic primary. Until that is changed the one-party rule that has retarded Texas' development and deprived the state of healthy political competition will continue to persist.

G.O.

Dialogue

Safe Middle of the Road

Organized labor, especially in Texas, has drifted from the left to the comfortable, safe middle-of-the-road; witness Roy Evans' article "The Labor Movement's Role" [Obs., Sept. 7]. In a several thousand words Evans says little more than: organized labor must be practical. "Pragmatic idealists (contradiction in terms?) have pulled the labor movement forward to where it is now, and if it keeps flourishing, they will be the reason," writes Evans with little thought of the blood of union men shed at Haymarket Square in Chicago, 1886.

I was shocked when Evans was instrumental in the removal of Erasmo Andrade as chairman of the Valley Workers Assistance Committee, on the grounds that Andrade permitted Reies Tijerina to participate in the anniversary march to Austin. What's good for labor here and now isn't necessarily good for *La Causa*. Andrade and Tijerina speak with much more knowledge of the problems of the *Mexicano*. Evans should listen to them, as he himself suggested in his own article: "The unions need more communication—listening to the young members, the Negro and Latino members . . ."

Tom Cahill, 321 Frio City Road, San Antonio, Tex., 78207.

Mr. Evans replies:

Mr. Cahill ignores my main premise that the leadership of any establishment—business, labor, government, church, or civil rights—must be responsible to that respective establishment. Since Mr. Cahill represents no establishment, therefore, he need not be responsible.

Pragmatic idealists in each group must respect the ideas and limitations of the others if they are to make any progress. Mr. Cahill is going down the blind alley of hatred and frustration lambasting all those will not follow him. In doing so, he is an unknowing agent of reaction and the status quo. Fortunately, those who listen to such persons and those to whom they listen are a very inconsequential minority.

I Would Have Stopped Him

I was at the Labor Day rally [at the Capitol]. Too bad my friends from LULAC, PASO, the AFL-CIO, and the GI Forum boycotted the meeting. Thus Mr. Erasmo Andrade and his small following from San Antonio were given a free hand. Thus Reies Tijerina got the platform and ranted and railed. I would have stopped him, had I had an audience to back me.

The *mexicanos* (and the AFL-CIO) of Texas have got to learn that the best defense is an organized offense. They should inform themselves as to who invited Tijerina to Texas, who paid his fee and expenses. It was *not* the representatives of those who wish well for the *mexicano*.

Dr. George I. Sanchez, Austin, Tex.