

The Texas Observer

MAY 10, 1968

A Journal of Free Voices

A Window to The South

25c

Yarborough and Smith

Austin

The lead that Don Yarborough will carry into the June 1 Democratic runoff election is the first that liberals have mustered since the days of Gov. Jimmy Allred in the mid-1930's. Liberal hopes of at last capturing the governorship are based on the recollection that in both 1956 and 1962, the last times the establishment sought to pass the mantle, liberal candidates in runoffs closed the margins by which they had trailed in the first primaries. If this phenomenon continues Yarborough will beat Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, the independent conservative, by more than the 35,879 votes by which the Houston attorney led Smith and the rest of a ten-man field in last week's primary.

The Yarborough campaign has been beset by severe financial limitations. TV specials were few in number, broadcast radio and TV spots were almost nonexistent, no billboards were erected, and newspaper advertising was scant. Ten days before the voting candidates were required to file a report of contributions received and money spent. These reports, given the ambiguous nature of the statute requiring them, are almost invariably unreliable as to the exact financial status of a campaign; but considering that all candidates labor under the same set of principles in reporting campaign funds some idea of relative campaign wealth can be deduced. Yarborough stood eighth among the ten candidates, reporting \$71,000 in spending, compared to Connallycrat Eugene Locke's \$571,000, Briscoe's \$526,000, Smith's \$225,000, and Ed Whittenburg's \$240,670. Whether Yarborough's first-round lead will encourage contributors to loosen up is a question now much in the minds of the candidate and his campaign staff.

The failure of the Locke campaign to generate sufficient interest is probably the most intriguing result of Saturday's voting. Locke is reliably reported to have had a \$2.8 million campaign budget drawn up for the first primary (and not including the runoff). He ran into money problems of some extent during the race to the wire in April and had to cancel at least some airtime commitments earlier made; the full extent of his money difficulties is not known but even so he doubtless led the field in spending during a race that surely set a record for

money spent, several million dollars having been shelled out.

Characteristically runoffs draw fewer voters than do first primaries; about 1.8 million persons voted Saturday, a record but still not the turnout some officials had anticipated, considering that 4,072,397 Texans are eligible to vote this year (compared to the previous record of 2,942,744 in 1964). Estimates had been heard that from 2 to 2.8 million voters would show up at the polls. About two million did show up, including about 100,000 Republicans and about that many more who aligned themselves with George Wallace's American party (see story on pages 6-8). The "new voters" that liberals had counted on to redraw the state's political picture failed, largely, to show up at the polls. About 750,000 persons who have not participated in state elections are believed registered this year, the first big election year in which there is no poll tax. Probably more of the new voters will go to the polls this fall, lured by the presidential race, but they were not noticeable in preliminary examinations of Saturday's returns.

SMITH'S STRENGTH lay in the numerous relatively low population West Texas counties around his hometown of Lubbock (he carried that city by a 2-1 margin over Waggoner Carr, also from Lubbock). He waged a campaign of the sort that probably is dying out in modern-day Texas, a personal, handshaking, service club luncheon type of drive. He stayed off of TV, figuring probably that he does not come off well on that medium. How much TV speaking will be conducted during May before the runoff depends on whether Smith decides to change his earlier tactics and on whether Yarborough can raise enough money to get on the air much.

Smith indicates he'll stick by his personalized campaign tactics. "We'll campaign in the runoff just as vigorously as we ever did," he says. "The technique of person-to-person campaigning is still the most effective way and we will continue it."

Yarborough has broadened his appeal ideologically this year, hewing a bit less strictly to the liberal line and benefiting from growing acceptance of liberal political philosophy in Texas as legitimate and not heretical. Liberal Rep. Rex Braun, Houston, a Yarborough campaign

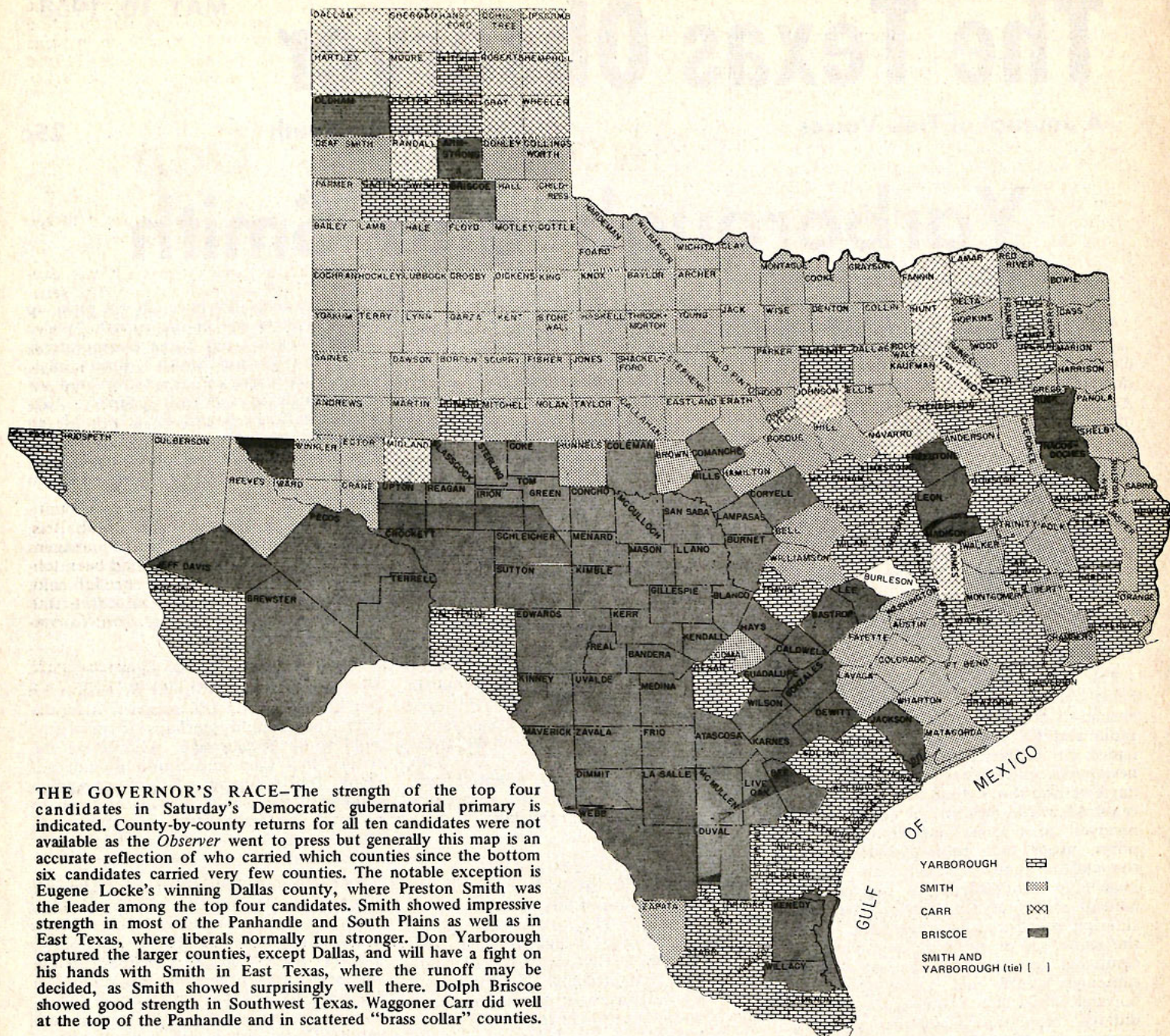
leader, expects Yarborough to pick up conservative votes in the runoff. "We've already heard from some conservatives who can't go for Smith," Braun says, adding that some conservatives voted for Yarborough in the first primary. "His whole platform would be acceptable to conservatives," Braun said. "These liberal and conservative labels have been overused, and people are waking up to that fact."

Yarborough carried most of the big cities — Houston, San Antonio, Austin, Fort Worth (12 of the 20 biggest counties, in all); Smith got six of the 20; Locke carried the remaining two, including Dallas. Yarborough ran a close third in conservative Dallas.

There is hope at Yarborough headquarters here that the Hill and Briscoe votes can be mined for DY support. Also the Carr vote should, perhaps surprisingly, yield some Yarborough backing, on the theory that Carr and Smith do not get along. Too, a number of Carr's campaign leaders in the small counties are said to be loyal Democrats who were drawn to Carr only because in 1966 he was opposing Republican Sen. John Tower.

Yarborough people report that they are happy about the pledges of support they are receiving from workers for Saturday's losers; in Brazos county (Bryan-College Station) the DY leader has lined up the support of the other top five campaign leaders. The 45,975 votes that Pat O'Daniel got are regarded as all Yarborough votes. "Every one of those came out of our hide," a Yarborough worker tells the *Observer*, recalling the 1956 gubernatorial race. That year O'Daniel's father, Pappy, carried 52 counties in the first primary but failed to make it into the runoff; Ralph Yarborough took 50 of O'Daniel's 52 counties in the runoff against Price Daniel.

It thus appears that Smith's hold on the rural and smaller population Texas counties is to be matched against Yarborough's strength in the major metropolitan areas. Yet this analysis is not accepted by at least one top Yarborough campaign leader who hopes that DY can just break even in the four largest cities to win; the thinking on this is that the margin for Smith in Dallas likely will offset DY advantages in Houston, San Antonio, and Fort Worth. The traditional liberal-loyalist strength in East Texas is



THE GOVERNOR'S RACE—The strength of the top four candidates in Saturday's Democratic gubernatorial primary is indicated. County-by-county returns for all ten candidates were not available as the *Observer* went to press but generally this map is an accurate reflection of who carried which counties since the bottom six candidates carried very few counties. The notable exception is Eugene Locke's winning Dallas county, where Preston Smith was the leader among the top four candidates. Smith showed impressive strength in most of the Panhandle and South Plains as well as in East Texas, where liberals normally run stronger. Don Yarborough captured the larger counties, except Dallas, and will have a fight on his hands with Smith in East Texas, where the runoff may be decided, as Smith showed surprisingly well there. Dolph Briscoe showed good strength in Southwest Texas. Waggoner Carr did well at the top of the Panhandle and in scattered "brass collar" counties.

being looked to for the Yarborough victory on June 1.

THERE IS TALK here that Gov. John Connally may convene the legislature this month, before the runoff, the governor preferring that Yarborough and not Smith win the election. Smith would thus be put in the position of presiding over the senate for a tax raising session at a delicate time in the campaign. Connally and Smith have become bitter foes despite their conservative political philosophies and Connally probably figures that if Yarborough gets the nomination the Republican nominee, Paul Eggers of Wichita Falls, would win in November.

In any case, whatever the outcome

next month, things will be different in Austin next year; for the first time in 30 years the people who have run the state, the establishment, will not have a governor. Smith, should he win, is not expected, because of his independent streak, to serve quite so well the corporations who have held the state government in their power for years. Yarborough, of course, would accede to the corporations even to a lesser extent.

That the old days of Texas politics are dying out is the significance of Locke's fifth place finish despite inundating his opponents in campaign cash. Locke was unmistakably the choice of the Connallycrats; the governor's brother was his campaign chairman and Locke said publicly that he "knew the governor was supporting" him. The old tactics of slick sell,

big money, and a moderate if muddy tone in discussing issues did not work this time as it had for Price Daniel in 1956 and Connally in 1962.

Much of the reason that Smith did so well in cutting into the Connally (Locke) vote is that he last year won so many pledges of support from Connally backers should Connally decide not to run, which ultimately proved the case. When the governor announced in November he would not run, Smith, the only announced candidate for several months, began redeeming his pledges of secondary support, winning the backing of such people as George Brown (Brown and Root) and Frank Erwin, the University of Texas regents chairman and national Democratic committeeman, people who are staunch Connally allies.

The changing complexion of Texas politics worked to Yarborough's benefit, too. For example, while in Arlington recently DY and Arlington Mayor Tommy Vandergriff, an important Connallycrat leader in North Texas, spent the afternoon together, the candidate supposedly seeking the mayor's endorsement. One local political worker observed, "The mere fact that Vandergriff has agreed to see Yarborough means that he has a better than even chance of becoming governor; and if there is an endorsement that would mean that Yarborough is a sure thing, because Tommy Vandergriff never backs a loser."

As the *Observer* went to press these were the results of the governor's race, with perhaps 100,000 votes uncounted: Yarborough 408,166; Smith 372,287; Carr 249,312; Briscoe 220,353; Locke 214,240; John Hill 149,595; O'Daniel 45,975; Ed Whittenburg 22,831; Alfonso Veloz 9,808; and Johnnie Mae Hackworthe 5,492.

In the lieutenant governor's race Ben Barnes, the House speaker, crushed Don Gladden, Fort Worth, by better than 5-1, rolling up more than one million votes. Barnes thus continues on his way as a rising political power in the state and will have much to say about the course state government will take in the two years ahead, regardless of who is governor. He will be opposed by Republican Douglas DeCluitt in the fall but is expected to win that race unless a GOP sweep occurs in Texas, triggered by the presidential campaign.

Barnes, before the May 4th primary, was reported remarking privately in the course of his campaign that it would be terrible if Robert F. Kennedy and Don Yarborough are both nominated this year—that the conservative Democrats in Texas might then be wiped out in November.

Barnes' point appeared to be that the Republican gubernatorial nominee in Texas might carry into office on the Republicans' national coattails. It seems plausible that he might also have had in mind his own fate, as a Democratic, but conservative nominee for lieutenant governor, with a liberal nominated for governor.

Jon Ford, the *San Antonio Express* columnist, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor* on the Texas race, said: "Many Texas Republicans feel that if Senator Robert F. Kennedy is the Democratic presidential nominee and Mr. [Don] Yarborough is nominated for governor, their gubernatorial candidate conceivably could win."

Gladden tells the *Observer*, "I knew my prospects were dim but I have no regrets at all. . . . Liberals talked so much about our million new voters that we frightened the conservatives into getting out and voting." Gladden believes the "bandwagon vote" was the key in his race, that Barnes appeared a certain winner and many voters didn't want to fight the tide. He expressed satisfaction with

the response his campaign elicited but was disappointed at the extent of financial aid. He said he won't run for the house again, as he did after losing a state senate race in 1964. "I have no immedi-

ate plans except to stay involved," he said. "I will be involved in the direction of our government from now on in some capacity." He said he owes about \$15,000 because of the campaign. G.O.

Ralph Is for Don

Austin

Senator Ralph Yarborough, visiting Don Yarborough's Austin campaign headquarters Sunday just after midnight, sent the jam-packed place into convulsions of cheering with an impromptu endorsement of Don Yarborough for governor.

The senior senator came down the stairway of the two-story, ramshackle headquarters house, holding a Don Yarborough for governor sign before him and forming a V for Victory sign over it with his right hand. A television cameraman's lights played over him and over the delighted campaign-night crowd as he exclaimed from the halfway point of the stairway: "We're on the verge of electing the first loyal Democratic governor since Jimmy Allred was governor thirty years ago. The people of Texas are entitled to elect a governor at least once every thirty years. Folks, you don't know how wonderful it's going to be! You're going to think flowers are blooming in January

this year. I wouldn't be surprised to see strawberries get ripe in January!"

At that hour, Don Yarborough was leading the field by a small margin. The senator said he himself had never led into a runoff. In 1956, he said, when he was running for governor against five candidates who said they were conservatives, he was 150,000 votes behind in the first primary, and "In the runoff I was so close it took 'em two weeks to count me out of it." Leading into the runoff this year, Don Yarborough will win "going away," the senator said.

People who had been working as county managers for John Hill and Dolph Briscoe, and who had been county managers for Ralph Yarborough, also, had been telling him that night, Sen. Yarborough said, that "we're putting our shoulders to the wheel Monday morning for Don Yarborough for governor."

Congratulating the headquarters staff, the senator called on them to "hang on a

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few more hours a day." They would come in ahead, he said, against the "most massive outlay of money" in the history of Texas campaigns. Until this year, he said, the 1954 Shivers campaign had been the all-time record for political spending in Texas.

Later, to reporters, the senator said that "the shrewd campaigners, the best campaigners, are out now." Dolph Briscoe, for instance—"a fine fella, an old friend of mine"—was out of it; so was

John Hill, "one of the leading trial lawyers in Texas. The good campaigners are out." Briscoe had powerful friends over the state, such as Judge Jim Sewell of Corsicana, an old-line Ralph Yarborough backer, and Rep. David Allred, so that the Allred supporters had been split.

Would Ralph Yarborough campaign for Don Yarborough in the runoff? "Of course, friends'd call me . . . but I don't intend to. That's not a custom in Texas, we let a man do his own campaigning,"

the senator replied. "I'm an old conservative campaigner. I follow the rules, I follow the customs. That would do violence to the customs and traditions of Texas, and I don't do it."

But by his visit to the Don Yarborough headquarters and his high-spirited remarks to Don Yarborough's campaign night crowd, the senior senator from Texas publicly declared his preference for governor. **R.D.**

Connally Retains Control

Austin

The challenge to John Connally's hold on the Democratic party leadership evidently failed. The governor is heading a move to hold all of Texas' 104 delegate votes at the national convention in a bloc, bound by the unit rule that means that the wishes of the majority decide how the entire 104 votes are cast. The governor's hopes, and those of his political allies, are that Texas can yet have an important voice in the national party, despite, as has often been pointed out in recent days, no longer having a leader of the sort that John Nance Garner, Sam Rayburn, and Lyndon Johnson have been, to watch Texas' interests in Washington and in the affairs of the party.

Mostly the challenge to Connally came from supporters of Sen. Eugene McCarthy, who hoped to fight off the unit rule, thereby having a chance of winning a portion of Texas' delegate strength to the Chicago national convention. Claims of victory in precinct conventions were quickly put out by Connally people Saturday night; there is no reason to doubt the claims, as reports from Houston, Lubbock, Amarillo, Corpus Christi, San Angelo, and Dallas, among other places, indicate.

Heading the challenge to Connally was Don W. Allford, Austin, chairman of the Texas campaign for McCarthy, who sought to form a coherent liaison between the Texas McCarthy drive, the self-starting supporters of Robert F. Kennedy in the state, and the anti-Connally labor people who more or less are lined up for Humphrey. The apparent failure of the challenge to Connally was impaired by Allford's public attack on Texas AFL-CIO president H. S. (Hank) Brown. Allford criticized Brown for aligning himself behind the Humphrey drive in Texas that Connally and others are pushing.

A meeting was held at which Brown offered to join with the McCarthy and Kennedy backers for three limited purposes: (1) to join together in opposing Connally for favorite son and the unit rule binding the delegation to vote all one way; (2) to try to win the convention on this coalition program; and (3)

to agree in advance to apportion the delegates, if the convention was won or a rump was decided on, in accordance with strength each of the three factions produced. That is, the McCarthy people would take part of the delegation; the Kennedy people part; and the pro-Humphrey, anti-Connally people part, depending on how they had done at the precinct and county conventions.

Allford resented Brown being for Humphrey; wanted labor for McCarthy; and by his public criticism of Brown in effect decided that he would rather the McCarthy people (and whatever Kennedy people happened into the picture) try to

win on their own than agree to work with Brown.

The pro-Connally Humphrey people of course would be only too willing to take some anti-Connally Humphrey people onto the Texas delegation. But Allford, regarding himself as the leader of a movement essentially idealistic, wanted nothing pre-agreed with labor about how to proceed in the precincts. He did not preclude joining with labor delegates who might also oppose the unit rule; he just made a concerted program to this end extremely unlikely by his publicly expressed disdain for Brown as a Humphrey supporter. **G.O.**

Two Conservative Senators Beaten

Austin

The senate will be different in 1969. Two important conservatives were beaten in the primary, Dorsey Hardeman of San Angelo and Jim Wade of Dallas.

Hardeman, 65, who first came to the legislature in 1938, lost to former Sen. W. E. Snelson, a Midland advertising man. Snelson and Hardeman were put into the same district by reapportionment in 1965. In 1966 Hardeman beat Snelson by 61 votes in the primary.

Hardeman was the powerful head of the state affairs committee, which reviews tax bills; he was prominent in drawing up budget bills.

Snelson won big margins over Hardeman in Odessa and Midland.

Wade, who was close to Gov. Connally, lost to Mike McKool, a moderate liberal. Both McKool and Snelson will face Republican opposition in the fall.

Conservative Sen. Bruce Reagan, Corpus Christi, was forced into a runoff by liberal Rep. Ronald Bridges, who narrowly lost to Reagan in 1964.

A number of house incumbents were defeated, including Bob Bass of DeKalb, Paul Floyd of Houston, Roy Garwood and Don Hand of San Antonio, Milton Schiller of Cameron, Sam Murphy of

Rockwall, John T. Kendrick of Brownfield, and Glenn Johnson of Temple.

Bass was the sponsor of the "equal shooting rights" bill in 1967, which would give women the same considerations that men hold under Texas law in shootings caused by romantic triangles. Johnson sponsored the bill that more than doubled the cost of license plates for many smaller cars.

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Other Election Results

✓ According to the latest figures as the *Observer* went to press, voters approved a liquor-by-the-drink referendum by a narrow margin of 747,086 to 706,142. The vote is purely advisory. Only the state legislature can revamp present drinking laws.

✓ A few days before the primary, the Liquor Control Board issued a stiff ruling which brought cries of anguish from club owners and probably encouraged many private club members to vote for the drink proposal. The ruling prohibits cash sales by private clubs for any service or commodity. Many club owners said the ruling would put them out of business. A day before the primary, District Judge James R. Meyers granted a temporary restraining order against the Liquor Control Board preventing it from carrying out its instructions to halt cash sales. The suit was brought by Joe Martin, manager of a private club in Dallas. A hearing on the order was set for May 10.

Local Elections

✓ Breakthroughs continue to be made in local politics by Negro and Mexican-American candidates in Texas, a phenomenon of the 1960's.

✓ Wichita Falls elected the first Negro ever to the city council. A Negro just beginning his second term on the Port Arthur school board was elected its president by his white board colleagues. Austin elected its first Negro to the school board, by 161 votes.

✓ The gains of Mexican-Americans in local elections this year was not as impressive as in 1967 [Obs., April 14, 1967, pp. 2-3]. At Mathis the Action Party, which upset Anglo control of that city in 1965, managed to win two of four races to retain control of the council. Two Texas Rangers were in town during the day, spending time near city hall, where voting was taking place.

Mexican-Americans at Robstown were thwarted in a bid to win the mayoralty but still have four of five places on the council (though the *latinos* have troubles operating as a bloc). A record turnout of 2,503 voters returned the Anglo mayor, the city's political power, to office.

The most notable gain by Mexican-Americans was at Weslaco where for the first time two—and not one, as has been usual—*latinos* will serve on the council. Eduardo J. Hinojosa, 27-year-old teacher, upset an Anglo incumbent after waging a quiet but energetic door-to-door campaign in the Mexican-American neighborhood.

✓ Two women won election to municipal posts, one being elected mayor at Port Aransas, the second winning election to the Refugio council.

Hunger in Texas

✓ Thirty Texas counties were identified as "emergency" hunger areas in a report recently released by the Citizens Board of Inquiry into Hunger and Malnutrition in the United States, a private group. The board, shocked by its own findings, criticized present welfare programs, especially the Agriculture Department, saying that department "converts programs to feed the poor into disposal systems to relieve market gluts and protect profits." The report contains a litany composed from the testimony of the poor. A refrain, "The children go to bed hungry. Sometimes they cry," is repeated throughout the 100-page report.

The 30 emergency counties listed by the board are Atascosa, Burleson, Caldwell, Cameron, Concho, Cottle, DeWitt, Delta, Dimmit, Falls, Foard, Frio, Hays, Hidalgo, Karnes, Kinney, LaSalle, Limestone, Madison, Marion, Milam, Motley, San Augustine, San Jacinto, San Patricio, San Saba, Trinity, Tyler, Willacy and Zavala. Starr and Webb counties, usually considered among the most impoverished in Texas, were classified among 131 Texas counties with "serious" conditions of hunger and malnutrition.

Cong. W. R. Poague, Waco, chairman of the House agricultural committee, and Cong. Graham Purcell, Wichita Falls, a member of the committee, defended the policy making committee, explaining it is primarily interested in looking after farmers.

Burton Hackney, director of the Texas Department of Welfare, insisted there is no authentic report of persons going hungry in Texas. "If anyone can cite me specific names and cases of hungry people, we'd like to help," he said.

The report received editorial response from many Texas newspapers. "The citizens' group called for the declaration of a national emergency and the launching of emergency food programs in 256 hard-hit counties and in migrant farm camps and some Indian reservations. And this is at least one step that should be taken immediately," the *Dallas Times Herald* editorialized. The *Houston Chronicle* agreed that emergency programs should begin immediately—if the facts of the report were verified. The *Valley Morning Star* said it had never heard of the committee and instead of discussing the report attacked an instigator of the investigation, UAW President Walter Reuther.

Court Decision

✓ Antiwar and civil rights demonstrators have been given a boost by the

decision of a special three-judge federal court which has held that Texas' disturbing the peace statute is so broadly drawn as to have a "chilling effect" on constitutional guarantees of free expression. The decision came after three Austin anti-war demonstrators were arrested in December at Killeen and charged with peace disturbance during a speech by President Johnson. The three men, members of the University of Texas Committee to End the War in Vietnam, had begun walking through a crowd of spectators, mostly soldiers from nearby Fort Hood, to display antiwar signs. They were attacked by some of the soldiers and were arrested by Bell county sheriff's deputies.

A defense fund was established and more than \$2,800 raised to challenge the constitutionality of the Texas statute. In February the state sought to drop the charges since the arrests had been made on federal property, over which the sheriff has no jurisdiction. The defendants determined to proceed in the matter, feeling it not moot, as the state contended. The merits of the case at Killeen thus became of no particular importance; rather, the issue became the entire statute under which they had been arrested.

The part of the law the judges found unacceptable is the wording "loud and vociferous . . . language." "It cannot be doubted," the court's decision says, "that the provision regarding the use of loud and vociferous language would, on its face, prohibit speech which would stir the public to anger, would invite dispute, would bring a condition of unrest, or would create a disturbance. In so doing the statute on its face makes a crime out of what is protected First Amendment activity. This is impermissible."

The statute's application to cases not involving free expression (tavern disturbances, family fights, etc.) is evidently not affected by the decision.

✓ The three judges withheld making their decision have full effect until the next session of the legislature, either special or regular, so lawmakers will have an opportunity to redraw the statute. The judges said they will retain jurisdiction in the case to see what the legislature does.

✓ Atty. Gen. Crawford called the decision a blow to state sovereignty and to law enforcement. He requested a new hearing by the three judges, who have recently turned down the request. Martin says he'll take the case to the US Supreme Court, his only recourse now.

✓ The administrations of Texas A&M and Amarillo College have been censured by the American Association of Uni-

versity Professors [Obs., Feb. 2 and March 29]. The A & M rebuke involved Dr. Leon Gibbs, a member of the College of Veterinary Medicine since 1949, who was given notice of termination by the University in May, 1965. The association said Gibbs should have been provided a written statement of charges against him and given the opportunity for a hearing.

Amarillo College was censured for a case involving Elizabeth Miesse, who, the association said, was notified of her suspension in a telephone call from President A. B. Martin. The AAUP argued that Mrs. Miesse's dismissal "was in clear violation of her rights as a tenured member of the faculty of Amarillo College."

✓ A Laredo district court judge has declared the Texas statute outlawing possession and use of peyote for bona fide religious practices unconstitutional. Judge E. James Kazen handed down the ruling at the conclusion of a non-jury trial for David S. Clark who had been charged with possession of peyote in Mirando City. Kazen ruled that Clark "was in possession of peyote and used it in good faith in the sincere and honest practice of Peyotism, a bona fide religion." Clark was defended by Sam Houston Clinton, chief counsel for the Texas Civil Liberties Union.

✓ The case of former Texas Southern University student Charles Freeman Jr. is set for trial June 24 in the court of Dist. Judge Joe E. Kelly of Victoria. Freeman is one of five students under indictment for murder and assault to murder in the slaying of one policeman and the wounding of two others during a disturbance at TSU last May 16-17. The case was transferred from Harris County at the request of Houston Dist. Atty. Carol Vance and the Houston Bar Association.

✓ Texas Atty. Gen. Crawford Martin has held that the open meetings law passed by the legislature last year is constitutional. Martin's opinion was request-

ed by the Cameron County Criminal Attorney after newsmen were excluded from a Brownsville public utility board meeting. The law provides fines for members of governmental bodies who call or participate in closed meetings without entering or trying to enter their dissent on the record.

✓ Heads are rolling at HemisFair. Former chief executive for the San Antonio exposition, Jim Gaines, resigned Monday without explanation. It was rumored that with the fair in financial trouble, its directors were generally dissatisfied with Gaines' performance. (Gaines resigned once before after criticizing Sen. Ralph Yarborough's attempt to limit the fair's directorship to persons having no more than a 5% interest in the fair (Obs., Sept. 30, 1966). As a member of the board of the Lone Star Brewery which has an exhibit, Gaines would have been affected by the law.)

Fair officials have announced the firing of approximately 200 employees because of tight finances. Privately some persons connected with the fair guess that the figure is much higher. A directive was issued ordering each department to cut its payroll and expenses by 25%. That would mean that about one of every three employees would have to go if the directive is followed. The security staff has been cut in half. Some persons who have been working with the fair for years were fired with only a day's notice.

✓ Government auditors have criticized the National Science Foundation for the way it handled the Project Mohole contract held by Brown & Root, a Houston construction firm with close ties to President Johnson. The original contract to drill a hole through the earth's crust underwater estimated costs of \$46.6 million over five years. By the time Congress decided to abandon the project, the cost estimate had risen to \$127.1 million over eight and a half years. In November, 1967,

Brown & Root filed a claim for a total fee of \$1.6 million for the job. The claim is now under consideration. The General Accounting Office criticized the NSF for becoming committed to a project without determining whether it was worth the money and resources necessary to complete it. The GAO recommended that the foundation establish written guidelines for future projects so that each phase—research, development and fabrication—would follow another. Then, if it became apparent that the project was not worth it, it could be canceled and a total contract commitment could be avoided.

✓ The student council of the University of Texas at Arlington recently voted 12-5 to discontinue the use of the "Rebel theme" by the school's athletic teams and other organizations. "The Rebel theme in some other areas of the country is associated with an ideology with which we wish not to be associated," the resolution approved by the council read in part. Two council members resigned after the vote, saying the change should have been left to the student body as a whole. Beginning July 1 the Confederate flag will no longer fly on the Arlington campus.

✓ Four Texans were listed among the 66 "richest of the rich" with more than \$150,000,000 in *Fortune* magazine's roster of American centimillionaires. They are:

H. L. Hunt, 79, Dallas, independent oil operator, \$500 million to \$1 billion.

N. Bunker Hunt, 42, Dallas independent oil operator, son of H. L. Hunt, \$300 million to \$500 million.

R. E. Smith, 73, Houston, independent oil operator, \$300 million to \$500 million.

James S. Abercrombie, 76, Houston independent oil operator, Cameron Iron Works, \$150 million to \$200 million.

Howard Hughes, a former Houstonian, and J. Paul Getty were named the richest Americans.

With Wallace in Texas

*Beaumont, Lufkin,
Tyler, Texarkana,
Dallas and Houston*

George Wallace's visit to the Jefferson county Airport April 25 was the biggest event there since local inhabitants climbed over a barricade of cars and onto the runway to greet Gunsmoke's James Arness. When Wallace's chartered DC-6 lumbered onto the runway at 11:15 a.m., a pianist on the bed of a red pick-up truck started playing "Dixie" and a crowd of about 600 cheered wildly. As airport attendants rolled a shaky wooden ramp up to the door of the plane, a singer from Orange, also situated on the truck, led the crowd in a vigorous rendition of "God Bless America." Unfortunately, the platform of the ramp rose three feet higher than the threshold of the airplane.

Attendants turned the ramp sideways, but the descent looked precarious; backwards it was even worse. So they put it back to its original position and Wallace and members of his party, cheered on by the audience, were boosted, one by one, up to the top of the swaying platform. If the American party candidate's arrival in Texas was a bit awkward, the rest of his three-day trip to plead for a spot on the Texas ballot went more smoothly. Although he was booed and picketed in some cities and delayed in Corpus Christi as police search his plane for a fictional bomb, Wallace was greeted everywhere he went by overwhelmingly friendly crowds.

On May 4, more than 88,000 registered voters, well over the necessary 14,259, attended American party conventions throughout the state, guaranteeing Wal-

lace a place on the Texas ballot in November.

In Jefferson county the little Alabamian set the campaign pattern he would follow throughout his Texas tour. He asked the airport crowd not to vote in the May 4 primary but instead to attend American party precinct meetings. "If you do vote, then the law says you cannot help get me on the ballot," he said. "There is not ten cents worth of difference in the attitude of the presidential candidates in the Republican and Democratic parties. They're tweedledee and tweedledum." After a short speech, he proceeded inside the terminal to hold a press conference. Meanwhile local and national American party officials appealed to the crowd for donations.

Staff members broke out a collapsible metal table and hawked campaign ma-

terials—bumperstickers, buttons, brochures, record albums, and books about Wallace.

When the candidate reboarded the plane at Beaumont he took with him seven members of the Texas press. Each was assigned a number and given a straight pin with a white head to identify him as a member of the official party. The group which accompanied Wallace in Texas included Ed Ewing, Gov. Lurleen Wallace's press secretary on loan to her husband; seven armed Alabama state policemen dressed in business suits (Wallace explained that Alabama law provides that the family of the governor shall be protected by the state); Texas officials of the American party; campaign workers; three television crews; and reporters.

THIRTY MINUTES later the Wallace plane landed in Lufkin, the heart of East Texas. One of the governor's cigar-smoking body guards looked out the window and said, "They is some niggers out here. I'd like to go out and jump 'em." Approximately 75 black high school and college students booed Wallace as he climbed out of the plane. The guards spirited the little man through the mixed crowd of well-wishers and demonstrators, then hoisted him onto a bandstand. Wallace took the hecklers in stride. "When I become president," he told them, "I'm going to create a new course on how to behave in a crowd." He held another press conference and campaign workers again passed buckets for contributions.

Climbing back into the airplane, one of the Alabama patrolmen commented, "Those niggers'll show up anywhere." They're anarchists," Wallace answered. Exhilarated by the confrontation, he went on to tell a story about one of his audiences that had started "stomping" on hecklers during a speech. "They didn't get the kind of police protection they'd hoped for," he said, chuckling.

Wallace had a glass of milk and settled down in his seat at the front of the plane for a nap. The bodyguards lighted up cigars and reporters started tapping away on their portable typewriters. The party went on to Tyler and Texarkana for rounds of speeches and press conferences. When Wallace landed in Dallas about 5 p.m. he held another press conference and then moved on to interviews at three television stations. The rally that night in Dallas began more than an hour late because the audience was so large that a panel had to be removed from the grand ballroom of the Statler Hilton Hotel so that a thousand additional people could squeeze into the room arranged to accommodate 1,800. Even with the extra space, people were standing in the aisles. The Young Americans for Wallace band tooted "Dixie" and "Giant" as the happy crowd clapped in tune and chunked \$10 bills into Wallace buckets.

Wallace and his aides were euphoric. Fund raising was one of the chief objectives of the tour, but staff members would



—Photo by Richard Pipes
George Wallace arrives at Houston's Astrohall.

not say how much money was collected, insisting it had not been counted. But as Wallace was speaking in Dallas, two staffers were quietly emptying buckets and counting bills in a press room adjacent to the ballroom. Campaign aides were vague as to whether the money collected would go to local efforts or to the national party. Usually they explained that cash would go to local parties and checks would be kept for national headquarters.

During his second day in Texas, Wallace made stops in Amarillo, Lubbock, Midland-Odessa, and San Antonio, where he spoke to an estimated 2,500 persons.

Wallace's grandest reception was in Houston, his last Texas stop. A band (called "The Night Riders") blasted an audience of 5,500 with an electronic rendition of "Dixie" as jubilant citizens waved American and Confederate flags. "Is this Wallace country?" campaign aide Tom Turnipseed asked the crowd. "Yes, yes," the spectators answered. "Is Texas

Wallace country?" "Yes," they roared.

An elderly lady from Cut and Shoot (her origin revealed on a placard dangling from bosom to thigh) stood on a chair in the front row to command a battalion of women dressed in red, white, and blue gowns. A rival contingent women and girls from Beaumont in striped and stard dresses vied for television attention. But the women forgot about cameras when Wallace arrived at the Astrohall. "Stay right here and you'll get your picture in *Life*," a photographer told the lady from Cut and Shoot. A younger woman hustled her closer to the stage, explaining, "We'd rather see George Wallace any day." When he entered, surrounded by Alabama troopers, the hall went wild. Old men in straw hats and red Wallace ties. Boys in Stand-Up-for-America T-shirts. Wallace buttons . . . Wallace posters . . . Wallace license plates and bumper strips. Thousands cheering and



—Photo by Richard Pipes

Wallace partisans listen intently as their candidate speaks at Houston.

waving flags. It could have been a nominating convention.

IN EVERY Texas city George Wallace visited, he was greeted enthusiastically by his people. He said what they wanted to hear, the message never varying. He says he talks for the "little people," the taxi drivers, hair dressers, and factory workers, but actually his appeal extends across class lines, as evidenced by the numerous well-dressed people who enthusiastically received the Wallace message. "The pseudo-intellectuals say my solutions are simple, I say it's time for simple solutions," Wallace repeatedly asserted.

Crime, Wallace argued, can be curtailed by supporting law enforcement officials and cracking down on criminals. "The crime report [*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*] says you've got to raise your taxes double to keep them from burning down your cities. Now whoever heard of a thing like that? Let the Carnegie, Ford,

and Rockefeller foundations put out the money instead of writing reports calling to raise our taxes."

His biggest hand at Texas rallies usually came from a comment concerning California students who he said lay down in front of President Johnson's car. "You elect me your president, and if I go to California and some of those anarchist groups lie down in front of my automobile, it'll be the last automobile they lie under," he would say. "You tell it to 'em, George," someone would yell, and Wallace would go on to speak of the "treasonous professors who support to Viet Cong," "the communists swarming in American defense plants," and the "bureaucratic pinheads who can't even park their bicycles straight." Universities and professors should be "put in their places," Wallace insisted. "We're on an academic freedom jag in this country. The professors support communism and then say that's free speech. Well, the average worker in Beaumont [or Lufkin or Tyler] doesn't think that's free speech. He thinks that's treason."

down the issue of race. At each stop he was introduced by Dick Maegle, a former Rice University football player, now an executive at the Tidelands Motor Inn of Houston. "George Wallace is not a racist" (pronounced "raceeyist"), Maegle would insist. Wallace would explain, "I've never in my life made any statement about any person regardless of what they happened to be. Eighty-seven and one-half per cent of the Negro vote in the all-Negro ward of Selma, Alabama, voted for my wife in 1966. There weren't many marchers from Selma. They were all from Berkeley, California. They may not like us in Berkeley but they sure do like us in Selma." (Dallas county Alabama, Negroes overwhelmingly voted a straight Democratic ticket in 1966; most Selma Negroes were voting for the first time and probably many did not realize they could split their tickets. By pulling the lever with the Democratic rooster, they not only voted for Lurlene Wallace, a shoo-in, but, more important to them, they voted against Sheriff Jim Clark, who was running as an independent, and voted against a Wallace candidate for the US Senate.)

Wallace answered repeated concerned inquiries about the health of his wife, Lurlene, who had been suffering from abdominal cancer for more than two years. "She's some better, but her condition is still serious," Wallace answered. "The doctors said it would be all right for me to make this trip." Wallace has had to curtail his campaign travels in recent months to be with his wife. He called her often during his three days in Texas. Only a few hours after American party officials released the final impressive tabulation of signatures Wallace received in Texas, Mrs. Wallace died in her sleep in Montgomery. Wallace is expected to continue his campaign for the presidency.

Wallace's popularity seems to be a nationwide phenomenon. State campaign officials say in addition to Texas, he already is on the ballot in Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, California, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, Nevada, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee and West Virginia. K.N.



—Photo by Richard Pipes

Two Southern belles for Wallace.

Sadler and Absenteeism

Austin

Land Commissioner Jerry Sadler "is in his office at Austin only about one or two days out of every two or three weeks by a conservative estimate," says a State Land Office employee who has just been fired.

Charles O. Chambers, who was a draftsman in the engineering section, would be expected to give a conservative estimate—he's an organizer in Austin for George Wallace's American party. That, he says, is precisely why he was fired.

Sadler retorted that the man had been fired because he had been absent twice without giving a reason, other than "personal." Chambers says he was absent four days, twice in February and twice in April, but notified his supervisor in advance each time.

Sadler's infrequent appearance at the state agency of which he is the commissioner is "incredible, but true," Chambers told the *Observer*.

"Any land office employee, when put under oath and asked that question, would have to tell you that was so," Chambers says. The commissioner's business is "essentially handled by what they call the chief clerk," Jack Giberson, Chambers adds.

How did Chambers know Sadler was in the office so little? "He has a specific parking place in back of the building," Chambers replied. Also, Sadler "comes back and forth from Palestine," where he lives, farms, and runs a motel, and for these trips, Chambers explained, Sadler uses his own plane and pilot. "I also know when he's there because his pilot's there." The pilot's office is a room on the third floor and is merely a place "for him to hang his hat until the commissioner needs him to fly him somewhere," Chambers says.

Contacted by the *Observer*, Giberson, saying he was speaking for Commissioner Sadler, pointed out, "We have a million

acres of uplands, four and a half million acres of submerged land and a million acres of river beds all under the supervision of the General Land Office. Occasionally Mr. Sadler goes out and checks the land himself. He goes where he is needed. We don't have offices all over the state like the Railroad Commission does. A person couldn't do his work for this agency by staying in the office."

Sadler told the AP that he would have fired any employee who took an active part in politics, but had not known of Chambers' work for Wallace's party.

Chambers tells the *Observer* that as early as February, he handed out handbills for the American party in his precinct. Chambers said his name had been in the newspapers associated with the party's activities for two or three weeks before the day—May 1st—when he was called in and fired, effective the day before, April 30.

May 10, 1968

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The following statement is extracted from the president's message in this Company's 1967 Annual Report.

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"I believe that American business must, and is, measuring up to the changing philosophy which permeates our society. In the years past, the single reason for the existence of business was profit; today, this is not sufficient. The business world must be increasingly sensitive to the needs of society, and must assume societal responsibilities and obligations that might have appeared unwarranted a decade or two ago. American Income zealously welcomes the new challenge. We hope you share management's philosophy that poverty, equal rights, peace, and all things which relate to the dignity of man are everybody's business. Your Company makes significant contributions in the areas of solving problems of senior citizens, voter participation, enlargement of job opportunities, and in the elimination of poverty."

This was done, Chambers says, by his supervisor and chief clerk Giberson. "They didn't give me any reason," he said. "I knew full well what the reason for it was." The reason of absence without

prior notice, other than "personal," was given later when inquiries were made, Chambers said.

Had Chambers considered enlisting the American Civil Liberties Union to his

cause? "No, I really haven't," Chambers said. He had been busying himself with the Wallace campaign, he said. "That may be a possibility at a later date," he added. R.D.

Unrest at Prairie View

Prairie View

The mid-term suspension of Prairie View AM students, some for participating in a disturbance on the night of Dr. Martin Luther King's death and some for failing half their courses, has caused a storm of complaints at the usually subdued Negro institution. College officials declined to tell the *Observer* how many students were expelled, but rumors on the campus place the number anywhere from 100 to 400 out of an approximate enrollment of 4,000. Most students and professors can name a handful of acquaintances who simply did not return to the isolated campus about 40 miles from Houston after the Easter holiday. Both the American Association of University Professors and the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools have been contacted and have expressed interest in investigating the suspensions, professors say. Prairie View is in the Texas A&M University system. The AAUP already is investigating the firing of a Prairie View professor, Dr. William Ferguson.

Both students and faculty members interviewed asked that their names not be used out of fear of administrative reprisals. This is the story they gave. The school was holding a dance April 4. Upon hearing of Dr. King's assassination, a number of student leaders walked over to the gymnasium and asked the dance committee and the deans who chaperoned the affair to postpone it because of the tragedy. The deans answered that it was a fund-raising dance and that it would be impossible to return the 25-cent admission fees. Students stopped for a moment of prayer and then went on dancing.

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The Texas Observer

PROFESSORS . . . STUDENTS

Group subscriptions to the *Observer* for the summer session will be just \$1.00 per student for the six biweekly issues beginning with June 7th if 10 or more subscribe and provided we may mail all copies of each issue in a single packet for redistribution.

For 6-week sessions the group rate for the 3 issues published during that period is 50c per student, in groups of 10 or more.

We also invite requests from instructors for free sample copies of back issues, as a method of acquainting your students with the *Observer*.

(adv.)

Some students, however, left the dance and were joined by others grieved and angered by Dr. King's death and the deans' refusal to stop the dance.

Prairie View women are allowed off campus only with written permission of their parents. At 6 p.m. all streets leading to the college are barricaded by short swinging gates and persons wishing to drive onto the campus are first questioned by armed guards. When night falls, the campus is illuminated by floodlights.

One student described what was later to be termed "the riot" this way: "I was watching the news. There was a report on about disturbances around the nation. I heard a commotion by the second gate. I went outside and saw that three to four hundred students were bending the gates back. They snapped it in half. Some of the spotlights were broken and then the front gates were broken down. Some of the kids started marching up to the highway [290]. There were about 500 of them by then. They just threw a few rocks and bottles at cars and trucks. Only a few cars passed. Some of us urged everyone to go back to campus and they did. People stood around for awhile. One of the matrons at Anderson Hall wouldn't let some of the girls back into the dorm, so their boyfriends beat the door down and the girls went back in. It was about 2 a.m. by then and cold. Fires were started in a few trash bins and after a while people just went back to the dorms."

FRIDAY CLASSES were called off. Monday classes were badly attended, and Monday night a bulletin was posted saying that the school would be closed until the following Tuesday. The students went home and while they were home many parents received a mimeographed letter from the college. "On Thursday evening, we were all saddened by the death of the Rev. Martin Luther King," the form letter said. "Unfortunately, some of our

students took this opportunity to engage in disorderly conduct and vandalism on the campus. These acts ranged from unauthorized assembly, disturbing the peace, breaking windows, destroying public property, threatening bodily harm to individuals, assault on motor vehicles, molesting motorists, etc. . . . After careful investigation, the decision has been reached to suspend the above named student for the remainder of the semester."

Neither the dean of students nor the dean of women would describe their "careful investigation." Students insist neither student nor campus police were present when they marched off the campus. They believe that student spies provided the administration with the names of the students who were involved. Sometimes their information was inaccurate, students say. One coed who remained in her dormitory the whole evening, was suspended. Although her dorm mother has explained the situation to the dean of women, the administration has refused to reconsider her case. Dr. T. R. Solomon, the dean of students, explained that the United Men's Congress and the Women's Council, composed of students elected by their peers, handle most disciplinary cases. "In cases of flagrant violations, the deans of men and women take action pending approval by the Men's Congress and the Women's Council and/or by the Faculty-Student Review Panel," he said. The deans acted alone in suspending the students.

For the first time in the history of the college, students also were expelled at mid-term for failing 50% of their courses, a highly unusual procedure. The Prairie View catalogue says "the parents or guardians of all students failing 50% or more of their semester hour load are notified of the condition shortly after the mid-semester tests have been reported to the registrar's office." This year the faculty probation committee was approached by President A. I. Thomas on April 3 and asked to institute a new program suspending failing students at mid-term. The committee accepted his proposal immediately and students received notification of their suspension while they were home for the Easter holiday.

Upset by the suspensions, the Prairie View chapter of the American Association of University Professors adopted a statement April 26 asking the administration to clarify suspensions for academic reasons since they conflict with the catalogue and suspensions for disciplinary reasons in regard to the right of due process, the accused's right to a hearing,

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the right to refute charges, and the right to appeal. The letter mentioned AAUP guidelines to student freedoms which call for a formality of proceedings appropriate to the punishment inflicted. Twenty-seven teachers signed a petition calling for a general meeting of the faculty. Although the college rules say that a faculty meeting shall be called upon request of 25 faculty members, such a meeting has not been held. The administration had answered neither the AAUP statement nor the call for a general meeting when the *Observer* went to press.

IN THE WAKE of the suspensions, a list of student demands has been circulated. It calls for a later curfew for women students (the weeknight curfew now is 9:30 p.m. for freshmen and 10:15

for upperclasswomen); removal of the gates; longer library hours; student participation on policy making committees; more social activities; Negro history courses; and no compulsory class attendance. Probably the most important demand is for a written handbook of rules. A handbook was prepared for distribution this year, Dr. Solomon said, "but it had some errors in it, so we didn't print it." A faculty member said that last September the handbook was shown to a few student leaders and they said that if it were distributed, the administration would have a student revolt on its hands. Many students and professors mentioned the handbook, and what supposedly was in it—compulsory chapel, strict regulation of dress, no hand holding. Without a handbook, however, students are not sure

that they are breaking rules until they already have broken them. Discipline is strict. "A girl that stays out 15 minutes late most likely will be expelled," a faculty member said.

Regulations governing professors are equally vague. There was disagreement among faculty members questioned as to whether Prairie View gives tenure. Some of the 27 teachers who signed the petition calling for a faculty meeting have been called in by their department heads and asked for the names of persons responsible for circulating the petition. Prairie View administrators are not used to having their policies questioned. But a handful of faculty members are determined to force the administration to explain its actions concerning the suspensions, even if it endangers their own careers. K.N.

Black Students Convene

El Paso

A black students conference beginning the day after the assassination of Martin Luther King was bound to be depressing. But the conclusion of a weekend conference at the University of Texas at El Paso on the role of black students was even more sobering than the timing. After two days of group discussions and talks by black activists Dick Gregory and Professor Harry Edwards, the consensus among conference participants was that it is too late to keep America from burning.

The conference, sponsored by the 40-member United Afro-American Students and the UTEP Student Association and attended by about 150 students from three states (about half of them white), didn't begin on such a pessimistic note. Alex Sutton, junior psychology major and president of the UAAS, opened the session with a speech decrying the suppression of black culture by a white racist society. While Sutton's talk clearly condemned contemporary American society, his rhetoric was academic rather than revolutionary. Even the establishment press could not call his speech "inflammatory."

After Sutton's talk the conference participants separated into racially mixed

Black students from three states held a conference at the University of Texas at El Paso to discuss the role of blacks on college campuses. The writer last fall attended, under a Carnegie Foundation grant, a student press association conference in Atlanta on the same general topic and there engaged in conversations with Martin Luther King, Nathan Wright (organizer and chairman of the Newark black power conference), and Don Bourgeois (the director of the St. Louis model cities program).

Mr. Casey, who is white, graduates this spring from St. Mary's University, San Antonio, with a degree in psychology. He has worked for the San Antonio Light and done other journalistic work.

discussion groups. Throughout the discussions, as throughout the conference, references to the death of Dr. King seemed more analytical than emotional. The assassination was not so much the brutal slaying of a beloved hero as it was

Rick Casey

just one more symptom of sick American society.

"King was the last link of peace left," said Robert Bryant, a black student from New Mexico State University. Then he expressed a characteristic attitude among black students at the conference: "I'm not swayed toward any one leader very much. I'd like to straighten up this mess peaceable if possible, but with whatever means are necessary. I would like to avoid violence."

Some other remarks made by black students in discussions before the talks by Gregory and Edwards illustrate the tone of the conference in its early stages:

"Head Start is of tremendous value. But we have to accept a lost generation or two. This is going to take time."

"They keep telling me I can't have a white man as a friend. But I've got some very close white friends and I go to their

houses often."

"What we need is gradual integration. We should move quality blacks into white neighborhoods to show whites that all blacks don't tear up the neighborhood.

While these discussions were being held in one end of the student union Saturday morning, Professor Edwards was holding a press conference in the other end. The mood was different.

EDWARDS IS the San Jose State professor behind the black boycott of the Olympic games. He is tall, athletic, and wears sunglasses above a mustache and beard that protrudes from his chin. To whites who haven't been to the ghetto for a few years, he looks mean.

One of the blacks with Edwards took the microphone first to address the group of about a dozen reporters. "Before we begin, we'd like to make a few things clear. This is Professor Harry Edwards. When you address him, say 'Professor Edwards'—not 'Harry,' 'Mr. Edwards,' or

May 10, 1968

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THE TEXAS OBSERVER BOOKSTORE

DARK STAR: HIROSHIMA RECONSIDERED IN THE LIFE OF CLAUDE EATHERLY.

by Ronnie Dugger. World Publishing Co., 254 pp., photographs by Russell Lee.

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—MANCHESTER EVENING NEWS (London)

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'Edwards.' Also, when you refer to black people, say 'blacks' — not 'Negroes' or 'colored people.'"

Then Edwards took the mike. He told the press, in response to questions, that "America has buried her last Martin Luther King. From now on out it's going to be a life for a life, a leader for a leader." He said he wasn't trying to scuttle the Olympic games, "but we can't use black athletes to provide propaganda fodder for the CIA and US Information Agency in order to subvert other peoples around the world." He said white athletes who are really sincere about wanting racial justice should boycott the Olympics also. And as for those Negroes who participate in the games: "Negroes, and I use the word intentionally because to me it means the same thing as 'nigger,' Negroes who do participate will find out that there are political consequences for those who make political mistakes and they will be treated as such. Those Olympic niggers are traitors and they should be ostracized from the black community."

Saturday afternoon was taken up with a brief panel presentation on black peoples' contributions of the arts. Accomplishments by blacks in literature, painting, and dancing were noted, and Edwards read a short statement explaining the Olympic boycott.

Then Dick Gregory spoke. Gregory is unique in the black power movement. He was the only major figure able to bridge the gap between Martin Luther King and black militants. While professing to be non-violent, he refuses to ask other blacks to join him. (In a talk at St. Mary's University in San Antonio two months ago, he remarked of King, "Martin tells black people to be non-violent, but I don't hear him telling white folks to be non-violent.") For the past year, Gregory has spent most his time addressing college audiences. He paid his own expenses to the El Paso conference. He paints a dark picture of America. With a bitter wit he graphically illustrates the hypocrisies that fill the gulch between the American dream and the American reality.

"I believe in non-violence," he told those at the conference. "But I believe in the Constitution too. Now this summer when the television news program shows

black people burning down your cities, I want you to get your parents and sit them down in front of the TV. Then I want you to get a copy of the Declaration of Independence and sneak up behind them and start reading as loud as you can: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that man is endowed with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that when, over a long period of time, a government becomes destructive of these rights, it is the duty of the people to alter or abolish that government."

While Gregory speaks bitterly about contemporary America, he invariably lets the white youth off the hook. "I don't hate whites. I hate this dirty, stinking, trampy white system. The sad thing is that you youngsters didn't mess it up. We did. But we have to come to ask you to straighten it out because we're just too corrupt."

Gregory changed the mood of the conference. Discussion that had been academic and somewhat sterile became pointed and urgent. Gregory had brought a taste of ghetto frustration.

IF GREGORY injected urgency into the proceedings, stronger emotions were to come with Edwards' speech Saturday night. Edwards doesn't let anyone off the hook.

Though his audience of about 350 was mostly white, Edwards spent most of his speech talking about what would be done to Negroes who refuse to join the revolution. Not that this made the whites feel any better. He was merely saying, "We've given up on you whites. Now we have to decide what to do with Negroes who don't join us."

Edwards spoke of Negroes who, "like Willie Mays," will pay three or four times as much as a home is worth "so he can live next to the master. He loves the white man more than the white man loves himself."

He said Negroes don't realize that to the extent that any black man in this society "catches hell" it's just a matter of time until they get theirs. "The term 'Uncle Tom' is an anachronism. The term 'traitor' is more appropriate."

But after Edwards finished his exhortation of Negroes who won't leave their beneficial places in the white system, he did have some words for whites. Here are some samples:

"The white man has no conscience. He assesses non-whites as sub-humans, so he feels no more pain when he stomps over you than when he slaughters a hog."

"Not only is education not the answer, it's part of the problem. We have been taught white supremacy."

"We have no stake in a Negro past. We must begin to think in terms of a black future. We must have black survival or no survival for anybody."

AT THE END of his talk, Edwards was given a standing ovation by about half the audience. Then he moved into a question and answer period. A black youth stepped to the microphone and asked, "What do you think of black organizations that have whites working in them? The group that is sponsoring this conference does." The youth was a student at UTEP, but not a member of the UAAS.

"The time is gone when white people can do anything in the black community," Edwards answered. "Let them concentrate on where the problem is, where they picked up the racism, let them work there."

George Williams, a black member of UAAS, took the floor and said the organization had to have white members because the school required it. "We're at an institution where they say 'Don't be segregationist.' We had to get a white person who had enough interest so we could get a charter."

"I would have told them not to say a damn thing about segregation until they clean up the housing situation," retorted Edwards. "And until they clean up the fraternity situation and all the other ways in which blacks are discriminated against."

A black girl from UAAS then told Edwards "We don't have to apologize for the white students in our organization." There was scattered applause.

"Look, we're no longer talking about social clubs," said Edwards. "White people should work on their side of the fence. We'll work on our side of the fence, and maybe some day we'll be able to tear the damn fence down." More applause.

Mrs. Ann Holder, a graduate student in English whose husband is an El Paso real estate man, is the most active of three white students in the UAAS. She was very upset about what Edwards had said. A charter member of the organization, she was tutoring black athletes when it was first formed. She had done a great deal of work on the conference. She said no one in the group had ever expressed the feeling that whites shouldn't be admitted. A few black members of UAAS came to her individually after Edwards' talk and told her not to worry about it.

Sunday morning a talk on the rhetoric of revolution was cancelled. Instead, blacks and whites gathered in separate rooms to discuss their roles in social change. Jim Phelan, UTEP Student Association president, led the white discus-

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sion. Phelan had originated the idea for the conference. He suggested that whites "start blowing the minds in the white Anglo-Saxon churches." Someone else suggested that high school students should be "shown what is rotten."

The radical orientation of Gregory and Edwards hadn't reached everyone. One

person suggested that congressmen be written. "There are modifications that can be made in the system," said a middle-aged man. "The power is in the voter. Let's work to lower the voting age. But this doesn't happen overnight. It takes time. Only revolutions do it overnight."

"That's just what we're in the middle

of," said Jim Phelan.

And it was Phelan who summed up the meaning of the conference: "We can come together to communicate, but when it comes to acting we have to do it separately." There were few goodbyes exchanged between blacks and whites at the conference's end. □

Battle of Ideas in Dallas

Dallas

A battle is currently taking shape in Dallas between the Old Order of benevolent patriarchs and the New Order of young, highly educated citizens. The first group is composed of private men who operate in public affairs as if they were extracurricular good works. Their private status makes them immune to public scrutiny. Their general response to the urban era is one of caution and restraint. Ironically, their foremost leader, Mayor Erik Jonsson, an official drawn from the Oligarchy by election into real public life, has inaugurated the Goals for Dallas program (with priorities formulated by the people themselves in town meetings) that has become the energizing intellectual basis for the New Order. This latter group is potically oriented and prefers the strategy of the ballot box to behind-the-scenes dickering. There is between the Old Order and the New not so much a power struggle as a conflict of ideas, and that conflict is finding form first and most immediately in Dallas public education.

The New Order scored an important victory this month when the League for Educational Advancement in Dallas (LEAD) candidates Jack Dunlop and Dick Hollingsworth defeated Steve Chandler and Joe Geary, endorsed by the Old Order's educational organ, the Committee for good schools. A few weeks later Dr. Sam Faris (LEAD) won over CGS incumbent Jimmy Joy in a run-off, assuring LEAD a 5-4 majority on the School Board. Actually the vote will more often be 6-3, since CGS member Mrs. Henri Bromberg can often be counted on to form a frequent coalition with Dr. Marvin Berkeley and Dr. Emmett Conrad (elected by LEAD to the board last year) plus Hollingsworth, Dunlop and Faris. This will be the first time in recent Dallas history that downtown leadership, usually invisible, hasn't held tacit influence over the board of education through CGS members.

THE ELECTION itself was overlaid with irony. At first there had been a tentative discussion of compromise between the two competing groups, with LEAD taking unopposed one of the three spots available, CGS taking another, and both endorsing a third candidate, probably Joe Geary. Geary is a former outspokenly independent city councilman who was adopted by the Citizen's

Charter Association (the establishment's municipal political arm) as their candidate for mayor in 1961. But Geary lost that year to another independent, Earle Cabell. Geary reportedly had ambitions to move up from the mayor's office to congress, a prize that Cabell later won. Rumors were heard during this spring's school elections that Geary again hoped to use the local scene to catapult himself

Lee Clark

into the national arena, perhaps to Cabell's seat. A LEAD-CCG compromise agreement might have made it, work. As it happened, most of the interested Oligarchs favored this arrangement, evidently all but one, who insisted that "we give 'em a helluva fight and beat all three of 'em."

For the second time Geary submitted to the bearhug of the Old Order, denying the independent instincts of his City Council days and lost. After his school board defeat, Geary sent a letter to CGS leaders, suggesting that in order to win future elections they must abandon their ethos that politics is better without people and organize the CGS on the precinct level on a year-round basis. It's impossible, he contends, to overcome the year-round, grassroots efforts of LEAD with a committee that pops to the surface each year to hand down "qualified candidates" (as they say) to the school board and sell them to the public through campaign ads alone. This year the CGS is said to have spent \$85,000 or thereabouts on the election campaign, while LEAD had to make do with something in the neighborhood of \$26,000. The downtown leaders gave 'em financial hell all right, but it didn't work. Nonetheless, the Oligarchs, committed to private conduct of public business, are cool to Geary's suggestions.

Not surprisingly, the *Dallas Morning News* ran a front-page editorial endorsing all three CGS candidates and urging that city schools maintain "an even keel on their upward flight." The *Times Herald* listed the qualifications of all six school board candidates, but endorsed

only one, Steve Chandler, a vice-president of the Sanger-Harris department store, one of the biggest newspaper advertisers in Dallas. In the first election, Chandler polled fewer votes than either of his CGS colleagues. Maybe newspaper endorsements don't mean what they used to in Dallas.

NEGRO VOTERS figured heavily in LEAD's election victories both this year and last. Naturally, CGS partisans have attributed their losses to this "fluke" of south Dallas participation. But the *Times Herald's* Jim Lehrer warned, "Those who infer that LEAD's victory is somehow invalidated because of the big Negro vote are whistling up the tree of political unreality. . . . The 'Negro vote' is no longer a fluke of one election any more than the 'white vote' is." One black precinct voted 323-0 for Faris in his run-off with Joy, a sharp rebuke to those city fathers who claim that they have close rapport with the Negro community.

What's really happening in Dallas is this: the New Order of young, concerned citizens believes that the pursuit of excellence in Dallas and the problem of the poor in Dallas are quite related questions. Therefore they are aligning their efforts with Negro aspirations for better, even preferential, education. Dunlop Hollingsworth, and Faris campaigned for public kindergartens, and proposed that ten or more be established in severely disadvantaged areas next fall. Chandler, Joy, and Geary endorsed the concept of public kindergartens, but never mentioned when, if ever, they envisioned a concrete beginning. LEAD candidates urged an ac-

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MEETINGS

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

The **TRAVIS COUNTY LIBERAL DEMOCRATS** meet at the Spanish Village, 802 Red River, at 8 p.m. on the first Thursday. You're invited.

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The writer is an Observer contributing editor.

tive, involved board of education, vigorous in forming school policy. CGS men suggested that policy decisions be left largely to the new superintendent, Dr. Nolan Estes, due to take office in Sep-

tember, just as these matters have always been managed by the old superintendent, Dr. W. T. White, managed along establishment guidelines that White accepted without question long ago.

What's basically happening in Dallas is that the New Order and the Old are fighting a subtle battle of ideas in an arena that's new to Dallas decision-making: at the polls. □

Pay Raises in Houston Schools

Houston

A recent reshuffling of the hierarchy of the Houston Independent School District administration and some healthy salary increases — particularly for those who last fall actively supported the successful candidacy of the board's conservative majority; [*Obs.*, Oct. 27, 1967, pp. 3-6]— have raised cries of "It's all political."

The conservative-dominated (by a 5-2 margin) board created the position of general superintendent of schools, promoted Supt. Glenn Fletcher to that job and then gave him a salary boost from \$32,500 to \$35,000 and a new three-year contract. Fletcher assumed the superintendency two years ago at a salary of \$27,500, a boost of \$5,500 from his salary as a deputy superintendent before that.

Horace Elrod, formerly deputy superintendent for administration, was elevated to the newly created post of superintendent for instruction and administration and given a \$6,000 annual salary boost to \$30,000 plus a three-year contract. Elrod, one of the most active campaigners in behalf of the conservatives, is regarded as the heir-apparent to Fletcher. Elrod has managed the district's building programs and formerly managed the athletics program. He also is a second cousin to H. L. Mills, former district business manager and many of whose relatives now hold top school posts. (One of these relatives — Mrs. Florine Scarborough — is the widow of a first cousin Mills, and the new organizational chart promoted her from an elementary school supervisor to assistant superintendent of elementary schools without having filled the rank of elementary school director.)

Dr. H. S. Brannen, formerly deputy superintendent and business manager, moves up to the newly created slot of superintendent of business and business

manager. He also will receive \$30,000 a year, a raise of \$4,200 annually. The board also doubled the number of assistant superintendents from 10 to 20. The promotions and raises were to have been effective next Sept. 1, but on April 8, the board voted to make them retroactive to April 1.

From a Houston correspondent of the Observer

The reorganizations were recommended by a committee headed by conservative Dr. Ed Franklin, who ousted liberal incumbent board member Mrs. Charles White in last November's school board election. Mrs. White, one of two Negroes and one of three liberals on the board, had served nine years and was an outspoken critic of the board's conservative bent. Dr. Franklin was part of a three-man conservative slate that campaigned to "have neighborhood schools" and which leveled unsubstantiated charges that Mrs. White favored the busing of students from Negro areas into white schools and from white areas to Negro schools.

A list of financial contributors to the campaign released recently showed a considerable number of teachers, principals and professional persons who do business with the school district as being among the contributors. The largest single item of income was listed as "mis-

cellaneous cash" and totaled \$2,835.28 for each of the three conservatives. Contributions from architects, who have designed school buildings, and building contractors were as much as \$834 for each candidate. So far, neither Houston newspaper has published a list of contributors and their associations with the conservatives.

Elrod was one of the most active campaigners during the school board race. He addressed several sectional meetings of school system teachers and principals where he openly urged the election of the conservatives. He and other school administration officials said, among other things, that teachers and principals would be moved into predominantly Negro schools if the liberals were successful.

Some other active campaigners were passed over for the promotions and pay raises. Inside sources said it was because they were not allied with the "Mills crowd" in the school administration. In justifying the promotions and raises, the school board said the new positions were needed because administrators are so loaded with details that principals are unable to obtain advice and counsel when they need it and because the top echelon of management needs to be freed from administrative detail so it oversee the school operation.

Commented one observer: "Did the board need to give so many people increases in rank and salary just so principals can talk with administrators when they have problems?" □

Observations

RWY and Vietnam

Austin

I hesitate to characterize Sen. Ralph Yarborough's statements about the Vietnam war. The last time I said that he was "clearly in the camp of the senatorial critics of Johnson's policies in Vietnam," the senator delivered himself of an indignant disquisition of astonishment that anyone would derive such an outlandish interpretation from what he had been saying [*Obs.* July 8, 1966]. Nevertheless, I am emboldened by the senator's April 19 newsletter to observe that if he is not a dissenter, neither is he a candidate to succeed Dean Rusk as Johnson's secretary of state.

"The cost of the war in Vietnam," he

said in this newsletter, "can be told in cold, depressing statistics: 20,775 deaths as April began; 127,000 serious injuries; others missing or imprisoned. More than 1,400 Texans have died in this war 12,000 miles away.

"Our defense budget for next year will approach \$80 billion if the war continues. That includes billions of dollars that could otherwise go for better schools, for better housing, better treatment of older Americans, stronger conservation programs. Those billions could make a significant dent in our national debt.

"Instead, they are budgeted for more death, destruction, and sorrow. Our president is engaged in a new effort toward

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peace. Let us pray for a rapid negotiated settlement that will bring our young men back to lead peaceful lives, and stop this dollar drain that is threatening our entire economy."

This may be regarded as the culmination of statements bearing on the war which began last August when Yarborough, responding to a hint in *Time* magazine that the United States might invade North Vietnam, declared, "There would be no end to it, short of complete conquest of everyone who looks hostile. General MacArthur warned us against getting involved in a land war in Asia; General Ridgeway warned us against getting involved in a land war in Asia. . . . I have not been one who has expressed criticism of the Administration's conduct of the war in Vietnam. . . . But I must serve notice that this step is where I get off. Any land invasion of North Vietnam . . . would be escalation gone mad. . . . [T]his hinted contemplation of landings in North Vietnam is a course of near madness. . . ."

IN THE DEAD of winter, Yarborough told the national electric co-ops' convention in Dallas: "We are fighting a hard and very expensive war 12,000 miles from here. . . . We in Congress are being urged to . . . cut back on all domestic spending. . . . The Bureau of the Budget has proposed only \$345 million this year for REA programs, down from \$390 million last year." Yarborough opposed the cuts.

In the course of a discussion of "education and economy" in his Feb. 17, 1968, newsletter, he remarked that "Even during our Civil War 100 years ago, President Jefferson Davis complained about taking children out of school for military service. He called it 'using up our seed corn.'" Condemning the draft system as "riddled with loopholes and inequities," he co-sponsored Sen. Edward Kennedy's bill to reform it. On March 11 he referred to "the steady expansion" of the Vietnam involvement. On March 16 he said in Swisher county:

"This is an uneasy year in Washington. Our energies and our worries and a great deal of our treasure is being diverted to a disagreeable war in Vietnam, and perhaps because of the war and its side effects there is a feeling of pessimism that prevails—especially on the grey winter days that we still have in the East. . . . We are fighting a long and expensive war and it has hurt our domestic programs, there's no doubt about that."

Two days later, in a discussion of the draft system delivered to the Whig-Cliosophic Society of Princeton University, Yarborough spoke on "an ever-deepening conflict that has interrupted the domestic pursuits of over half a million young Americans and put them 10,000 lonely miles away." And his condemnation of the draft system before the Princeton forum conveys more about his humanist concern in the midst of this violent era than anything he has said on the war itself.

The National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, he noted, has found out that 96.9% of local draft board members are white (1.3% are Negro, 1.5% are Puerto-Rican or Spanish-American). "The average age of these men is 58—one-fifth of them are over 70, and 12 members were found to be between 90 and 99 years old," Yarborough said. These "white, male, aging" board members are given great discretion to decide who shall serve, and under this system, "equity has not always triumphed. . . . [P]erhaps one's father is influential and the other's is not; perhaps one espouses unpopular political opinions and the other does not; perhaps one is black and the other is not. . . ."

Drafting graduate students—which the Congress has authorized as of June 1st last year—strikes Yarborough as "an illogical and unproductive use of our greatest human resources." On the other hand, Edward Kennedy's bill, Yarborough said, "probes into some new areas with a study of a volunteer army and a study of a national service alternative, which would consider other ways to serve one's country besides toting a gun."

WITH McCARTHY and Robert Kennedy running for president, and before Johnson withdrew, Yarborough, in a statement discussing the three of them as candidates for the Democratic nomination, said, "I believe a vigorous effort by the administration toward a negotiated settlement, without additional escalation, will go a long way toward smoothing the divisions that exist. . . . In my opinion the divisions in the party and in the nation are caused by the war in Vietnam. These men did not cause the divisions in the party and the people; they responded to existing divisions."

When, then, Johnson withdraw, Yarborough said his act represented "the ultimate sacrifice for national unity." A few days later the senior senator from Texas said, "I have opposed escalation to a bigger and bigger war. I have urged the president to seek a negotiated settlement and to end the war honorably. In his speech [April 1] the president said he would do just that."

Yes, sir, the president would go anywhere, anytime, to do just that.

Let us pray . . .

R.D.

Dialogue

The System on Trial in 1968

There has been a lot of talk for some time now by young people about the "system" and electoral politics In a very serious sense this year with gubernatorial and presidential elections the "system" is being given some sort of "chance." Many young people who have serious doubts about the viability of our democratic institutions are nonetheless flocking to the side of Senators McCarthy and Kennedy and, in Texas, to Don Yarborough and John Hill to see if the American people really have enough sense to see that we need the type of leadership that these men can provide.

The dedication of these young people is both above question and somewhat amazing. The "get clean for Gene" campaign has produced haircuts and shaves which signify in a sense the willingness of the youths to shear themselves of all vestiges of their previous rebellion in order to work at maximum effectiveness within the system. Many are practically ruining their chances in school by contributing tremendous amounts of time to campaign work. In short, they are using all their amazing energy and intuitiveness to prove to themselves once and for all whether or not the present system is worth keeping.

Walter Lippman, in a recent article said that we are living out the end of an age here in America; our old solutions and customs no longer meet the problems with which we are faced. This is what the

youth have been saying for some time now without much of any kind of a response from anyone "over thirty." Can we meet this new age with new solutions and leaders. This is what the young people are trying to find out. The results could be profound.

Hawkins Menefee, 1414 Arena, No. 105, Austin, Tex.

A System Gone Wrong

The season's come to shake the money tree

And all the candidates are gathered 'round

Fine principle is dropped for expediency

As liberal cause gives way to "safe and sound."

—Anonymous

As usual, we find ourselves getting out the votes, we liberal Democrats, only to turn them over to candidates nominated by a system dependent on big contributions. Big contributions determine who will get the billboards, the prime TV time, favored coverage in the press, the flood of well-timed and carefully planned junk

May 10, 1968

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mail to all registered voters. Big contributions determine who goes to the state conventions, who gets named to the key committees and offices, and who goes on to the national conventions to name the presidential contenders.

And we liberals knock on doors, phone people, stuff envelopes. And perhaps eat some of the free campaign tamales and beer, the free coffee, the watermelon, the crumbs that fall from the big feast.

Eisenhower was right. The war lords in the Pentagon run this country, along with the Krupp-type munitions makers. The federal government is a monstrous, evil organization to rob us through inflation and high taxes, and take away half a million of our young men in chains to serve their mad designs in foreign lands.

And the war profits are so enormous that the major candidates of both parties are necessarily hawkish. They could not afford to be anything else. As hawks, the money will be forthcoming for their campaign, for their travels, and even to buy a few thousand Mexican votes in South Texas as "election insurance."

Robert N. Jones, 3002 Dutton St., Dallas, Tex. 75211.

Let's Raise One of Our Own

Why can't we—or don't we—"raise up" one of our own to run for governor? Someone who—between elections—is in the front ranks on the many cases in our state which cry for attention?

I have lived here in Houston almost three years now, and have yet to see Don Yarborough's name in connection with any of the various anti-poverty programs or with any of the attempts to solve race problems; I do not see him

supporting the work of, or belonging to, or attending the functions of, such organizations as the Council on Human Relations, the ACLU, the United Nations Association; I did not see him active on behalf of the striking Valley workers; I am not aware of his testifying for any particular bills in Austin, or of supporting progressive local candidates for office. His own election biography shows surprisingly meager qualifications for one who aspires to be governor, and a reform governor at that.

If elected, who would he reach out to for contacts to help him carry out his program? From what source would he make his appointments if (in his home city) he does not have a base of support of people he has known and worked with for years on a shoulder-to-shoulder basis? Yet, every two years Mr. Yarborough expects us to rally round and work and vote for him.

In the future let us try to "grow" someone who is able and willing to get down to the nitty-gritty with and for us, between elections.

Mrs. Erik Thomsen, 12529 Broken Bough, Houston, Tex. 77024.

A Protest

I feel compelled to protest the sophomoric vulgarity in the article "The Panhandle" [*Obs.*, April 26]. As an instructor in political science, I had my students subscribe to the *Observer* in order to get a liberal viewpoint on Texas politics. If we had wanted journalism of the dubious quality of "The Rag," we would have subscribed to that publication. Please spare us any more of this asinine, overemotional drivel.

Gary E. Thompson, Dept. of Social Science, Abilene Christian College, Abilene, Tex. 79601.

On Curbing Prejudice

Fran Burton Presley's experience at Texarkana [*Obs.*, April 26] was similar to what occurred in Killeen regarding the death and funeral of Martin Luther King. In the past few months, having read some 10 or 12 books on prejudice, I have concluded that my approach of discussing prejudice with intolerant persons is exactly the wrong tactic. Unless they are well-educated, most persons seem to harden their convictions in this field after any discussion of the problem.

I think we have to recognize that this is a symptom of psychological weakness, insecurity, or fear, or something of that nature, and the appeal to end intolerance must be one that builds up the ego of the prejudiced person instead of causing a defensive reaction in an already insecure person. That may be the reason that several speakers at the recent UT law school human relations conference in Austin emphasized that appeal to self-interest was often the most effective method.

Probably the best explanation I have read is in the 1964 revised edition of *Social Change and Prejudice* by Bettelheim and Janowitz (Univ. of Chicago psychoanalyst and sociologist, respectively).

Chapter Three of that book was particularly instructive.

Davis Bragg, 216 East Avenue B, Killeen, Tex. 76541.

War Not Ended Yet

Now that President Johnson has agreed to talk with Hanoi, some Americans think that the war is as good as over. But until the United States agrees to recognize the National Liberation Front the war will continue in the south. Hanoi does not completely control the NLF. They are a separate nationalist group fighting for the reunification of their country. When will President Johnson realize that he is not dealing with a world-wide, monolithic, communist organization, but a proud people full of nationalistic pride—a pride that America once had?

Bill R. Williams, 1008 W. Abrams, Arlington, Tex.

Change Our Ornery Natures

Funny, isn't it? Somehow, all of a sudden, the antics of the company of little men running around pushing themselves forward as presidential prospects appear incongruous and rather unimportant.

It is greatly to be doubted that, among this group, there is a man who might in some miraculous way overcome the dreadful handicap of having to parry with the present-day madding throng of pseudo-sophisticated citizens who seem to feel they have some kind of divine right to damn you if you do and damn you if you don't. Who is willing to assert with an assurance of certainty that any of the available candidates could, under the circumstances, generate a spirit of confidence and unity in spite of the distracting cacophony of this continually carping horde?

Let us hope that, regardless of our woeful ignorance, we will, perhaps by chance, make the right move and at the same time effect some change in our ornery natures so that the man finally chosen will have at least an even break for success in handling the awesome task before him.

George Sammons, 4002 Prescott, Dallas, Tex.

Death

Death mildly moved into the view

A late-summer visitant.

Between extremes of action and intent

It came from nowhere.

Reprieve and rest and abnegation,

It hovered like the girl one knows

He isn't going to marry, and then

Slid off the unweighted chest

Into an empty sea.

—GEORGE W. deSCHWEINITZ
Beaumont