

OBSERVER

*A Journal of Free Voices**A Window to the South**June 12, 1972*

25¢



*But darling remember
when I leave in November
I told you so in May*



Austin
Richard Nixon polled 1.2 million votes in Texas in 1968.

One of Texas' senators is a Republican. The U.S. ambassador to the United Nations is a Texan, and until very recently the secretary of the treasury was a Texan.

These facts might lead one to conclude that the state has a functioning Republican Party. It does — but only in November during presidential years.

Sometimes it's hard for Texas conservatives to keep their allegiances straight. H. B. Zachry, the San Antonio construction magnate, attended a Democratic precinct meeting and wrote down as his presidential preference — Richard Nixon.

Six men ran for governor this May in the Republican primary. They amassed a pathetic total of 113,716 votes. That's fewer votes than the GOP got in 1962 or 1964.

Nancy Palm, Harris County Republican chairman, told the *Observer* that, at the very least, 30 percent of her county's Republicans crossed over to vote in the Democratic primary. It was a schizy day. Palm said that the 7,000-plus voters of Precinct 300 in southwest Harris County gave a majority to liberal Sissy Farenthold during the day and then in the evening the Wallaceites took control of the precinct. "We'll probably carry that precinct by 80 percent in the fall," she said.

ACROSS THE STATE it was obvious that Republicans were as fed up as

were Democrats with the goings on in Austin, but instead of voting for GOP candidates, Republicans voted for Briscoe and Farenthold. The Republican leadership is at least partially to blame. Instead of going out and finding a good candidate for governor — like, say, Ambassador George Bush or State Rep. Fred Agnich — the party leaders just sat back humming *que será, será*.

This is par for the course for Texas Republicans. Other than Nancy Palm (her Houston associates quasi-affectionately call her "Napalm"), the Texas party has few effective political operatives. Many wealthy state leaders seem to think of the GOP as a country club rather than as a vehicle for electing candidates: if you pay enough, you get to dine with Spiro Agnew or maybe you get a crack at an ambassadorship.

Sen. John Tower is the only Republican who consistently has won on the Texas Republican ticket. But as one young GOP candidate complained, "Tower hasn't used the influence or prestige of his office — except to reelect John Tower." The young man concluded, "Our party has been too amateurish in the past. We need to develop professionalism. We need to demonstrate that we are offering responsible and able candidates and to prove that they have a chance to win."

Proponents of the Top Down theory (*Obs.*, July 2, 1971) attribute the party's elephantine passiveness to a deal cut by Treasury Secretary John Connally and President Nixon last year. According to the

TD theory, Connally got conservative fat cats to pressure Ben Barnes into running for governor instead of for senator. The establishment Democrats allegedly agreed not to finance a strong candidate against Tower and the Republicans pledged not to mount serious opposition to Barnes, thus keeping the state in safe conservative hands, thus making it easier for Nixon to carry Texas in the fall and possibly leaving the way open for Connally to become the GOP vice-presidential nominee.

So goes the Top Down theory. It didn't take Sissy Farenthold into account.

INENTIONALLY or not, the Republicans did their part by placing in the gubernatorial runoff two distinctly lackluster candidates, State Sen. Henry Grover and Houston millionaire Albert Fay. State GOP officials had been rooting for David Reagan and secondarily for Tom McElroy, the more progressive of the six candidates — progressive, that is, in comparison to Fay and Grover, who hang off the far right edge of the party. Reagan's support came from the Dallas Republicans, the wing that traditionally has controlled the state leadership. Grover and Fay are from Napalm country. Grover is expected to win the runoff, thus shifting the balance of Republican power to the very conservative Houston wing.

Grover, 44, a former civics teacher at Houston's Lamar High, comes on with a firm handshake and a direct smile. He's short of hair and clean of cut, wholesome

(Continued on Page 3)

The coming fortnight . . .

By Suzanne Shelton

JUNE GRAB BAG

SUMMERTIME ART - Exhibition designed as "working and learning space" with paintings, sculpture and graphics, facilities for children to read, look, and create; through Sept. 1, Masterson Junior Gallery, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

MINIATURES - Robert Graham designs miniature environments enclosed in plexiglass, allowing the viewer a weird peek at replicas of lifelike human beings involved in routine activities; his first American museum exhibition; through June 25, Museum of Fine Arts, Dallas.

FRISCO FLUORESCENCE - Richard Bowman, San Francisco artist, exhibits his paintings in fluorescent oils and acrylics in retrospective covering 30 years of his work; through June 25, The Museum, Texas Tech University, Lubbock.

TAMARIND PRINTS - From Amon Carter Museum, prints from Tamarind Workshop, dedicated to reviving art of lithography; through August 15, Art Museum, University of Texas, Austin.

OUTDOOR ROCK - Each Thursday through August, rock groups perform under the stars in free concerts; 7:45 p.m., Hillside Theatre, Zilker Park, Austin.

JUNE 9

FOLK FETE - Ethnic dancing, music, and food, plus fiddler contest, domino tourney, and exhibition by artists and craftsmen (more of that artsy-craftsy bunch); through June 10, Cameron.

FOLK CIRCUIT - A couple of veterans of the singing circuit, Townes VanZandt, with his ballads like "Delta Mama," and Don Sanders, the folk humorist who spins yarns and sings, sharing a gig; through June 10, Castle Creek, Austin.

BALLET FAIRYTALES - Cinderella, Beauty and her Beast, and the Sugar Plum Fairy are on tap for Austin Ballet Theatre's free park performance, including narration of the ballets especially for the small fry; 8 p.m., Hillside Theatre, Zilker Park, Austin.

JUNE 10

DAZZLING DUO - Sonny and Cher bring their sparkle-plenty to the homefolks, in concert; 8 p.m., Tarrant County Convention Center, Fort Worth.

DOUBLE-BILL - Ray Price, the "Danny Boy" and "For the Good Times" singer teams with Dallas Symphony Orchestra, performing "Grand Canyon Suite," "Dance Overture," and Aaron Copland selections; 8:30 p.m., McFarlin Auditorium, Dallas.

WATER SAFARI - Tenth anniversary of worldwide canoe race, with professionals and amateurs competing for \$4000-plus by paddling 413 miles downriver; beginning 9:30 a.m., San Marcos City Park, and ending with San Marcos festival June 17; canoe race winds through



Drawing by Gerardy

Luling, Gonzales, Cuero, Victoria, ending in Seadrift.

JUNE 15

FANDANGLE - Fort Griffin Fandangle, re-creating prairie history with outdoor spectacle, annually involve almost every resident of Albany, pop. 2000; parade, barbeque, and all the fixin's; through June 17, also June 22-24, Prairie Theatre, Albany.

JUNE 16

DANCE WORKSHOP - Students of The Dancers' School, affiliated with Austin Ballet Theatre, experiment with original choreography in workshop open to city's dancers; 7 p.m., Dancers' School, 24th and San Gabriel, Austin.

PRINCESS & PEA - Dallas Repertory Theatre performs "Once Upon a Mattress," musical adaptation of Hans Christian Andersen fairytale about sensitive princess who couldn't sleep on a

pea; through July 9, North Park Hall Theatre, Dallas.

KERA BENEFIT - Dallasite Michael Murphey sings a selection of his songs (he wrote most of the pieces on the newest album by Kenny Rogers & The First Edition.) to raise money for Dallas' public television station, 8 p.m., McFarlin Auditorium.

JUNE 17

RAY CHARLES - Billed as "the GENIUS in person," Mr. Ray Charles serenades with Raelettes in tow; 8:30 p.m., State Fair Coliseum, Dallas; also June 18, 8:30 p.m., Jones Hall, Houston.

ALLEY OOOO OOOO - If you can believe it, it's Alley Ooop Day; coronation of Queen Ooola climaxes the Miss Stone Age Pageant (ooop, ooop); Iraan.

IMPRESSIONIST - David Frye, the late-night talk-show impressionist, shares a bill with folk singer Lindy Stevens; 8:15 p.m., Thiry Auditorium, Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio.

JIM BABY - Also an impressionist of sorts, Jim Bailey, the guy who does a sultry Streisand and a gutsy Garland, in drag, performs in concert; 8:30 p.m., McFarlin Auditorium, Dallas; also June 18, 7:30 p.m., Music Hall, Houston.

SOUL SOUND - Isaac Hayes, with special guest Hot Buttered and Soul, shares his Grammy Award-winning sound in the "Isaac Hayes Movement;" 8:30 p.m., Convention Center Arena, San Antonio.

JUNE 18

INSTANT ELVIS - The Pelvis, in person; 8:30 p.m., Tarrant County Convention Center, Fort Worth.

JUNE 20

MOLLY BROWN - TV's "I Dream of Jeannie," Barbara Eden, tries her hand in the title role of "The Unsinkable Molly Brown," as Houston Music Theatre opens its summer season of locally casted musicals with imported stars; through July 2, Houston Music Theatre, Houston.

JUNE 21

CASTLE-BUILDING - If you build a house upon sand, you may win the Sand Sculpturing Contest, sponsored by Parks & Recreation Department, keeping all us kiddies busy in the steamy summer months. All city playgrounds, Austin.

JUNE 22

TEXAS! - Another summer spectacle, this one titled "A musical romance of Panhandle history," "Texas" fills Palo Duro Canyon with music, lights, and sound recreating great prairie fires, Indian rides, and pioneer struggles to settle the land; through Aug. 26, 8:30 p.m., Pioneer Amphitheatre, Palo Duro Canyon State Park, Canyon.

PLAYWRIGHTS' WORKSHOP - Allen Davis, young New York playwright, produces his "The Rag Doll" with UT Drama Department actors in E. P. Conkle Workshop for Playwrights production; through June 24, Drama Building Theater Room, University of Texas, Austin.

But darling . . .

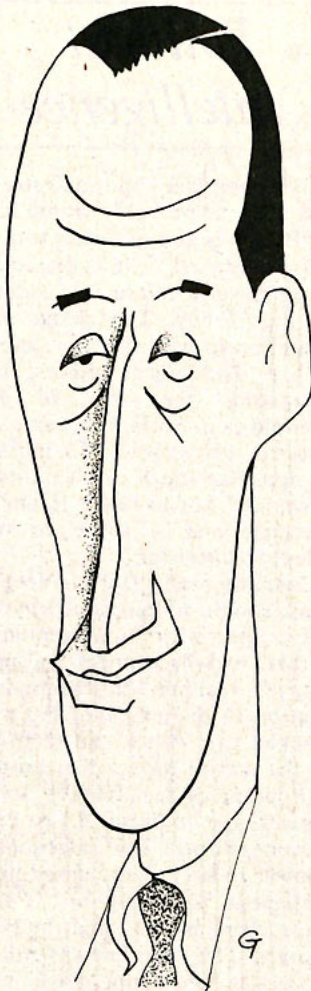
enough to qualify as a computer salesman for Ross Perot. But when he was the only Republican in the Texas Senate, he couldn't even carry off a convincing filibuster. After a short while, he would be taking long gulps from a glass of water and repeating the same words in varied orders until he trailed off into inarticulate blather and slumped back into his red leather chair. Grover is not once mentioned in the *Observer's* cumulative index, which should give some indication of his negligible impact on legislative concerns. He's not as obscure as some recent statewide GOP candidates (Anybody remember Millard Neptune or Sproesser Wynn or E. G. Schuhart?), but neither is he George Bush.

Albert Fay is best known for his generous financial contributions to the party. He was a national Republican committeeman for a while, until the Dallas people forced him to resign. Fay had hoped Nixon would appoint him ambassador to Denmark, but he didn't and so Fay is running for governor instead. His p.r. people have shortened his first name to Al, presumably because it's more *macho* than Albert.

It wasn't Grover's or Fay's fault that the Republicans didn't vote in their own primaries. They each spent approximately a quarter of a million dollars on their campaigns. Grover's 37,118 votes cost him almost \$7 a head and Fay's 24,044 votes cost more than \$10 each.

Hank Grover or Al Fay, whichever, the Republican nominee should do much better in the fall. He'll be running on the same ticket as Nixon and Tower. The Republicans who voted Democratic in May will vote Republican in the fall — and so will many Democrats. It may be that John Connally will be leading conservative Democrats to the Republican polls. And then, too, if Dolph Briscoe wins the Democratic runoff, many liberal Democrats may be voting Republican in November. Every two years since 1966, the Republicans have funded the Rebuilding Committee, an organization of Texas liberals that urges fellow Democrats who support the national party to vote Republican in statewide contests. The strategy is that liberals will inherit the Texas Democratic Party only when Texas becomes a genuine two-party state, when the conservatives become Republicans. And that will happen only when the Republicans start winning some state-wide races.

FROM TIME TO TIME, the *Observer* has encouraged its readers to vote Republican, but even the editorial heft of this journal could not make a Republican winner. And even if the Republicans did win, conservative Democrats would not



Hank Grover

surrender the keys to the party machinery without a mammoth struggle. Joel Coolidge, a Harris County Democrat, summed up the situation back in nineteen and sixty-two, when he told the *Observer*, "There's not enough of us conservatives to dominate two parties in Texas. We'd better stick together with the one we have or we'll lose both."

Conservative Democrats continue to vote for Democratic governors and for Republican presidents. The Republicans vote the very same way. And the liberals keep stomping their feet and saying it just isn't fair. But the Month of May Democrats might get theirs yet. Hordes of McGovernites and Wallaceites are descending on the state Democratic convention in June and they may depose Tory Democratic leaders. If they are kept out of office long enough, some of them might eventually decide to become year-round Republicans, at which point liberals could start voting like year-round Democrats.

K.N.

June 9, 1972

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THE TEXAS OBSERVER BOOKSTORE

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Great, gooey gobs of it

• Thus far during the runoff campaigns, the lieutenant governor's race is attracting the lion's share of the attention, mostly because that's where the mud's being slung. Great, gooey gobs of it.

• First Wayne Connally called Bill Hobby a liberal. Then Bill Hobby called Wayne Connally a bunch of names. Then Hobby came up with copies of two letters Connally wrote John Osorio, of Sharpstown scandal fame, as well as copies of two checks to Connally, totalling \$3,072, from National Bankers Life Insurance Co. Connally was one of three senators who signed a favorable floor report allowing the Sharp banking bills to be considered by the Senate. (Joe Christie and Ralph Hall were the other two.) One of the two letters Connally wrote Osorio was dated Sept. 8, 1969, the day before the Sharp bills passed the Senate. Connally said the NBL checks were in payment for a deer hunting lease on a ranch obtained for a party of Osorio's friends. Connally said the matter was "a pure and simple hunting arrangement."

On the checks themselves, "promotional expenses" for NBL is listed as the reason for payment.

• Hobby, who was having a good day, went on to point out that Connally has accepted 17 illegal contributions from corporations. Most of the donations were small.

• But Connally, faced with illegal campaign contributions and being linked to the Sharp scandal, roared back gamely the very next day and announced

Political Intelligence

that Bill Hobby is a child molester. If he'd thought of it, he probably would have added that Hobby is an egg sucker too.

• On Sept. 10, 1967, the charge of assault on a minor was indeed filed against Bill Hobby. The charge stemmed from an incident with the 11-year-old child of some of Hobby's neighbors. The boy was twisting the arm of Hobby's five-year-old son. So Hobby came out and spanked the 11-year-old. His mother filed the charge, but the Harris County D.A.'s office decided not to re-file it since it was "not meritorious." Failure to re-file is equivalent to dismissal.

• Connally said, "Does he feel that the law should not apply to anyone born rich, or anyone with an influential mother and father, or who controls an influential newspaper? I think Mr. Hobby owes an explanation to the people of Texas on why he attacked this minor and then managed to get the matter dropped or hushed up."

• In point of fact, Hobby took some pains not to hush it up. Publishers (and even editors) not infrequently use their power to keep their peccadillos out of their papers, but Hobby, *Post* staff members assert, insisted that the *Post* cover the charges. The *Post*, like any other major daily, would ordinarily have no more

bothered with charges stemming from a neighborhood incident than they would front-page the DAR's dahlia contest.

In the bad old days

• Dolph Briscoe's legislative record on the screwworm problem is a great deal better than his record on civil liberties.

Back in the bad old days, there was a representative named Marshall O. Bell from San Antonio, who set himself up as the Joe McCarthy of Texas. Bell produced a series of horrendous bills and Briscoe voted for them. Among the more pertinent gems was his proposal to set up an un-American activities committee. The bill was backed by the American Legion and heavily lobbied. Briscoe voted with the two-thirds majority that suspended the rules in order to consider the thing on the last day of the 51st session. Briscoe also voted for an amendment to the bill that would have required intensive investigation of anyone nominated to the committee and would have permitted the speaker to make the results of the investigation public. The bill was talked to death during the closing hours of the session by three liberals, Anita Blair of El Paso, Maury Maverick of San Antonio and Edgar Berlin of Port Neches.

• Another prize proposal of Bell's was a little book-burning bill. The bill would have required all books in school libraries by "subversives" to be stamped in red ink. Further, it would have banned from school libraries a wide range of books

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A journal of free voices

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that, in the opinion of the authorities handling the book ban, "discredit the family, ridicule the American constitution, hold up to contempt American or Texas history" plus a bunch of other stuff. Briscoe was among those who voted to suspend the rules in order to get the book burner out on the floor. The bill was later much diluted by good amendments, including one by Barefoot Sanders.

- Travis County D.A. Bob Smith, who is so far batting .1000, has indicted four more legislators. Former Sen. David Ratliff, who resigned before the primaries after press disclosures, spear-headed by the *Houston Chronicle*, concerning his habit of employing his own relatives on the state's payroll, was indicted for theft and conspiracy to commit theft. Also hit with the theft charges were former Rep. Hudson Moyer of Amarillo and Rep. Tom Holmes of Granbury. Rep. John Allen of Longview was also charged with conspiracy to commit theft.

Ratliff and Allen allegedly hired one another's children with no intention of requiring them to work. Moyer and Holmes allegedly used their stamp privileges from their House expense accounts.

- Former Rep. Walter Knapp of Amarillo was convicted of theft by false pretext for using \$1,200 in stamps from his House expense account to buy a second-hand pickup. The Austin jury, after listening to D.A. Smith, took 30 minutes to find Knapp guilty and the next morning gave him a four-year sentence. And all this during Friendly Texan Week.

Foreman rides again

- It was like something out of a political potboiler, the kind of a smear job only a bad fiction writer could conceive in 1972. But it was Austin Rep. Wilson Foreman in real life and living color on KTBC-TV holding his runoff opponent Gonzalo Barrientos responsible for some undisclosed MAYO member's alleged statement that gringos might have to be "eliminated" if they don't shape up.

Foreman's reasoning went like this: Barrientos (or "Bare-re-ant-tos," as Foreman persisted in calling him) was Vista program officer in the Rio Grande Valley. The (crapulously rightwing) Freedom Newspapers of the Valley accused Vistas of being trouble-makers. Some Valley MAYO members participated in a project with Vistas. The UT Austin MAYO's paid for an ad endorsing Barrientos in *The Daily Texas*. Ergo, Gonzalo Barrientos is a revolutionary who believes that Anglos must be offed.

Foreman couldn't have done better if he'd been studying old films of Joseph McCarthy. At one point he waved before the camera a Council of Churches report on the Valley Vistas and stated forcefully that Bare-re-ant-tos' name actually appeared in the report numerous times.

One never learned exactly what it was that the report said. Foreward into the Fifties with Wilson Foreman!

Dump Roy Orr

- The beginnings of the "Dump Roy Orr" coalition were pretty shaky. The Humphrey folk more or less had their act together: Roy Evans called a strategy meeting and they settled on Agriculture Commissioner John White as the man to put up against Orr for state convention chairman. The next step was a 12-member steering committee; three Humphrey folk, three McGovern, three Wallace and three uncommitted. The McGovern folk conferred by conference phone call and were predictably goosey. One of them even flatly suggested that Orr should chair the convention since he's sure to do such a wretched job it will make challenging the delegation almost easy. A further hitch developed when the head of the Wallace forces, Houston lawyer Hall Timanus, professed himself to be quite satisfied with Roy Orr. May have something to do with the fact that Orr showed up at his precinct convention wearing a Wallace button.

- Evans was quoted in the May 4 *Washington Post* as saying, "The McGovern people are real zealots. They're almost as bad as the Wallace people."

- 'Twas the best of times for headline writers after Sen. John Tower's state campaign headquarters burned to an unhappy crisp on May 9. "Tower's Campaign Crippled." "Tower's Aide Blames Fire Bomb." "Radical's Act, Says Tower." "Firebomb Blamed for Blaze."

But, alas, the Austin Fire Department was unable to come up with any evidence of arson in the case. It seems the most likely suspect is some radical wiring.

- On May 25, The U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals denied a request to free Lee Otis Johnson on bond pending appeal. The request was sent back to U.S. Dist. Judge Carl Bue, who had earlier denied a similar request without comment. The Fifth Circuit Court said that if Bue denies the request again, he should state his reasons in writing. A federal court in Houston has ordered that Johnson should either be re-tried or freed within 90 days, since the climate of opinion in Houston at the time of his trial should have forced a change of venue.

- Lee Otis Johnson couldn't get a change of venue, but Frank Erwin did. The latest DWI (driving while intoxicated) charge against the remarkable regent has been moved from Travis County (prejudicial publicity) to nearby Bell County. Some UT folk suggested a change of venue to Abilene.

- The *Austin American-Statesman*, which at the best of times totters along on the thin border between inane

mediocrity and utter twaddle, has finally fallen off on the far side of barmy. A whole series of recent editorials simply defy rational belief. The Austin paper informed its readers that students had fallen victim to one of the state's oldest political machines. Would you believe the Frankie Randolph machine? The AA apparently does.

The paper then went on to inform its readers that it was high time they all sneek up and realize that the Dirty 30 was not a coalition of reformers but is instead the far-left wing of the House of Representatives. Will Mad Dog Mengden, Fred Agnich, Sonny Jones, Bill Blythe, etc., etc., please explain to those dullards just who is left-wing? We count on Mad Dog to scope out Sam Wood for the commie pinko he really is.

- The *American-Statesman* further distinguished itself by firing Glen Castlebury, chief of its capitol bureau.

Castlebury seems to have gotten himself fired for at least some of the right reasons. Castlebury's copy, particularly his Sunday opinion column, not infrequently contained a fair amount of biting insight. He was known to favor Barnes for governor during the primary race, whereas Sam Wood, the AA's editor, is a Briscoe man. There had apparently been a series of disagreements between the two men over some of Castlebury's coverage, particularly his sometimes unflattering comments on Briscoe.

The ubiquitous Bob Bullock came to Castlebury's defense with a blast against Wood "Apparently Sam Wood would do anything, including censoring reporters, to see that his handpicked candidates, from the courthouse to the governor's mansion, receive only favorable publicity. This is no way to run a newspaper. But then again, few knowledgeable people have accused this sad rag of being a newspaper or Sam Wood or being an enlightened editor."

Sam Wood responded by offering to show to any interested parties the alleged transcript of an abusive phone call made by Castlebury to Rep. Charles Patterson. Castlebury had indeed made such a phone call, and Castlebury, when angry, is not one of your more appetizing representatives of a free press. However, he later apologized to Patterson for the call. Some AA staff members believe the order to fire Castlebury actually came from Harry Provence, the editor-in-chief of Newspapers, Inc., which owns the AA.

In sum, it seems that Castlebury's coverage of Briscoe (too harsh for the taste of Newspapers, Inc.) and some of his other coverage were the major factors in the firing.

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McGOVERN photo button: \$1. Mobile: \$2. Proceeds to campaign. McGovern Committee, P.O. Box 472, Vermillion, SD 57069.

RAZA UNIDA PARTY: People's Coalition seeking social justice needs your donations. Posters, decals, ribbons, buttons for sale. Box 271, Crystal City, Texas 78839.

CENTRAL TEXAS ACLU luncheon meeting. The Renaissance, 801 Rio Grande. 2nd Monday of each month. From noon. All welcome.

COMMUNE DIRECTORY - \$1.00 - Free School, Personal Growth, Social Change Directory/Book - \$4.00. ALTERNATIVES, Drawer A, San Francisco, CA 94131.

6

The Texas Observer

'Marijuana in Texas'

Austin

Someone has finally attempted an intelligent, well-researched, almost-comprehensive (given the gaps in the state's criminal justice record-keeping) study of marijuana in Texas. The results are just as distressing as you might have expected. The study was done by Griffin Smith and Alan Holman, the staff of the Senate Interim Drug Study Committee, chaired by Fort Worth Sen. Don Kennard.

The report states flatly that Texas marijuana laws are the harshest in the world. The report also estimates that more than one million Texans have used marijuana. Most of the users are young people: 46 percent of the college students questioned reported using marijuana and its use is growing rapidly among high school and even junior high school students particularly in the larger cities of the state.

The report contains the first statistical breakdown of information concerning marijuana offenders in Texas prisons and is worth quoting. "The most noteworthy

aspect of the Texas Department of Corrections' report on drug offenders is also the most obvious: in Texas, persons are still sent to prison for marijuana offenses. Although prison sentences for sale offenses are still relatively common in other states, such sentences for possession are almost unheard of. Even in a state like California, which permits 'judicial discretion,' 95 percent of marijuana possession offenses are classed as misdemeanors and only 1.7 percent of persons convicted of felony marijuana possession are actually sent to prison. It has been asserted that few people actually go to prison for marijuana offenses in Texas, but the truth is otherwise: of the 1,894 identifiable drug offenders in the Department of Corrections, 800 are being held for marijuana offenses. Of these, 691 have been convicted of marijuana possession."

The report presents some horrible statistics on the length of sentences of marijuana offenders. Only 13 percent have been sentenced to the minimum term of two years. The number of persons who have been sentenced to terms ranging from 11 years to life exceeds the number who have been sentenced to the minimum. Among those sentenced for marijuana possession, nearly two-thirds are serving five years or more. This is happening nowhere else in America.

There is one person in the Texas prison system who is serving a life sentence for selling marijuana. There are 13 who are serving life sentences for possession of marijuana.

The report also contains some startling figures on the inequities of enforcement of the marijuana laws within the state. "A marijuana user in North Texas stands a much greater chance of going to prison than one in South Texas. In the 14 Rio Grande Valley counties bordering Mexico, which have a combined population of 800,000, only 10 persons are imprisoned for marijuana offenses. By contrast, 12 persons are imprisoned from Potter County (Amarillo), with a population of 90,000." The report contains a statistical table on the variation of treatment of marijuana offenders in the 10 largest counties. El Paso is minus 966.7 percent off the norm. Dallas is plus 146.2 percent off the norm.

Griffin Smith, the committee counsel who helped prepare the report, said realistically that such reports almost never serve to change people's minds on a subject: they simply provide ammunition for those who already want to make a case for changing the law. Copies can be obtained by writing the Senate Interim Committee on Drug Study Committee, State Capitol, Austin. M.I.

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Connally's co-conspirators

Austin

Anyone who lets John Connally or his co-conspirators have one whit of influence in the deliberations of the Texas Democratic Party this summer and fall should be counted as a "Democrat for Nixon" on the spot.

Connally, having served as the Johnson Democrat in the Nixon Cabinet for 18 months, stated, as he resigned, that the President's domestic economic and international policies "have my complete support." At a subsequent discussion with reporters, he stated that he will "personally vote" for Nixon. *The Democratic nominee for President is not yet known, but Connally has pledged his vote to Nixon.*

The speculations why Connally quit the cabinet are tiresome and fundamentally trivial. The interest is not what he says his motives are but what he has done. He took high honor from President Kennedy, but quit Kennedy's government after less than a year to run for governor of Texas and hold the state steady for the big-money interests. Then he abandoned his own political party to serve those same big-money interests in Nixon's government. Now, all but ruled out for the vice-presidency by the Nixon circle and the polled preferences of Republican voters (43 percent for Agnew, only 8 percent for Connally, Gallup says), Wan John has quit the Nixon cabinet, too.

Connally gets everything he can out of association with power and then breaks loose so he can follow the course that best advances his self-interest. He is a political opportunist of the most obvious type. Democrats cannot rely on him — he is for Nixon in 1972. Republicans cannot really appreciate him — they know he's supposed to be a Democrat, just as well as the Democrats know it.

Much else can also be said. He is a bold and interesting politician. He had much influence with Nixon, still has it, and could become Nixon's secretary of state or defense if Nixon is re-elected. But nothing is more obvious than the fact that Connally's personal future, which is his guiding interest, depends on Nixon carrying Texas. Even if Nixon wins the election while losing Texas, Connally would be further weakened with Nixon among those who regard the Texan as a Judas goat to be used and then run off. (Mr. Agnew is clearly one of those who so regards him.) Texas has to go for Nixon this time for Connally to keep his marbles together.

The guest list for the Connally-Nixon dinner at Connally's ranch a month ago X-rays the power structure whose managers Connally intends to use to help carry Texas for Nixon. The guests included George Brown, the chief honcho at Brown and

Observations

Root; Johnson people George Christian, Jake Jacobsen, Larry Temple and Warren Woodward; newspaper publishing powers Amon Carter, Felix McKnight, Houston Harte and Everett Collier; John Peace, chairman of the UT board of regents; James Elkins and David T. Searls of the large Houston law firm that represents out-of-state capital in Texas; Robert Kleberg of the King Ranch; former governor Allan Shivers; H. B. Zachry, the San Antonio construction magnate; and many Republicans and corporate executives. These people are the nexus of the double deal Connally will spend part of his summer and fall trying to bring off: the conservative wing of the Democratic Party supporting the Republican presidential nominee.

Nothing has helped Connally's purpose more so far this year than labor's failure to endorse Sissy Farenthold for governor against Dolph Briscoe. Nothing can help Connally's purpose more in Texas during the rest of the year than would labor's failure to join the McGovern delegates at the state convention June 13 in San Antonio in an all-out fight for respect and enforcement of the new rules of party reform, whether these rules work for the benefit of the McGovern, Humphrey, Wallace or uncommitted delegates.

People who cannot understand Roy Evans' role in this matter should, I think, keep in mind that Farenthold is for McGovern and Evans is for Humphrey. Sissy went to her precinct convention and was chosen as a delegate for McGovern; Dolph Briscoe is making deals with the Humphrey people to turn the uncommitted delegates to Humphrey. These are the stakes that reach beyond Texas and make explicable, but not justifiable, labor's failure to endorse Farenthold.

If the Texas Democrats let the Connally people and Republicans rule their state convention — disqualifying McGovern delegates, openly violating the new Democratic Party rules in deliberate provocation, improperly stacking up the vote for Humbert Humphrey — there will be no choice but another nasty split in the representation of Texas as the Democratic National Convention. That is exactly what Connally must want, because it will help Nixon.

There is a line of argument running among Humphrey people that the McGovern people are hard to deal with, hard to get along with. That is correct,

they are, and they should be. What is going on now in the Democratic Party is no tea party or "fight in the family." It is a part of the continuing fight for the soul of the United States. Shall this country continue to be a militarist world power ruled by an increasingly fascist domestic economic power structure? That question is more important than the future of any political party, including the Democratic Party, and the Americans who understand this are not going to fall for time-worn appeals to party unity or accept with friendly little laughs the hypocrisy, doubletalk and sellout which have characterized Democratic Party politics for more than a decade. Labor people had better get used to the idea that *they*, not the McGovern-Kennedy types, are the problem, and *they*, not the idealists without whom the Democratic Party is nothing but a collection of special interests, will be to blame if they play into Nixon's hands by forcing Humphrey's nomination against the wishes of the delegates.

The vital thing is that the neophytes in Texas Democratic politics have no illusions about what they face going into the Texas Democratic Convention in San Antonio June 13.

The credentials committee at the state convention has been appointed by Roy Orr, the right-wing chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee. Orr would probably just as soon have the Texas delegation contribute to a blow-up of the national convention so Connally can carry the state for Nixon. Orr's credentials committee makes this clear. Glen Castlebury, who was recently fired from the *Austin-American*, wrote a story detailing the presidential preferences of the members of that committee.

"The credentials committee named by Orr," Castlebury reported, "includes SDEC members Dr. Carl Burney, LaPorte, Humphrey delegate; Mrs. Leonard McDonald, Dallas, uncommitted; Mrs. Morris Atlas, McAllen, uncommitted; Judson Robinson, Houston, one of the only two blacks on the committee, presidential pledge unknown; Ralph Brock, Lubbock, Humphrey; Jess Young, San Antonio, uncommitted; Joe Bob Golden, Jasper, uncommitted; and John Brunson, Houston, uncommitted.

"Lay Democrats appointed by Orr are Earl Luna, Dallas, uncommitted; Robert Gay Houston, uncommitted; Mrs. Neal Spelce, Austin, uncommitted; Donna Bass, Amarillo, uncommitted; J. Guy Sowell, San Antonio, a black, presidential pledge uncertain; Mike Hopkins, Austin and Dallas, uncommitted; Alfredo Montoya, El Paso, uncommitted or for Humphrey; and

Peyton McKnight, Tyler, presidential pledge unknown."

Delegates in the Democratic Party have just as much right to be for Humphrey or Wallace as they do to be for McGovern. But delegates have just as much right to be for McGovern as they do for Wallace or Humphrey, too. Orr's committee strongly suggests a stacked deck against McGovern. Despite the improvements embodied in the McGovern Commission rules adopted by the 1968 convention at Chicago, credentials committees still have significant residual power to shape the composition (and therefore the decisions) of party conventions by rulings on who will and who will not be seated as delegates. This fact, in combination with Orr's repeatedly exhibited contempt for the new rules, spells trouble for June 13. Let us hope that each duly elected delegate is seated and every one of the reformed rules is honored. Let us also hope nobody at the convention will have already decided to vote for Nixon or to work secretly with Connally, who has already said that he will vote for Nixon and that it is "entirely possible" he will campaign for him.

There are four components, each one equally necessary, to prevent a disaster at the state convention. (1) Absolute opposition to John Connally and all his co-conspirators, who still fake being "conservative Democrats." (2) Good faith cooperation among the Humphrey, McGovern and uncommitted delegates in enforcing all the party reform rules. (3) A fair, mutual respect for the rights of all properly elected delegates, especially those whose rights are the most endangered by the situation, the McGovern delegates. (4) Insistence by all the delegates who want to vote against Nixon in the fall that the discretionary decisions of the convention *proportionally represent the presidential preferences represented at the convention.*

In short, the labor people who are for Humphrey and against McGovern must get off their high horses and see that *they* are the trouble, not the McGovern-Kennedy people. If labor wants a broken party and Nixon again that's what they'll get. R.D.

Dear Reader . . .

Austin

Herein we will deal with what 2,149 readers had to say about the content of the *Observer* when they returned questionnaires that appeared in our Nov. 19, 1971, issue. Answers concerning readers were in the May 12 *Observer*. Since this installment concerns our turf — editing and writing — we are giving ourselves equal time, well, more than equal time, to respond to readers' criticisms.

The survey asked what you would like to see more of. Any number of categories could be checked, which explains why the percentages add up to 302. We didn't need a survey to determine what the first and second place winners would be: political reportage (68 percent) and political analysis (66 percent). Muckraking was next (37 percent), then satire (33 percent), whither articles (22 percent), counter culture (18 percent), book reviews (17 percent), opinion (15 percent), culture (14 percent) and fiction (8 percent).

At least during this presidential year, *Observer* readers should be getting all the political reportage and analysis they can tolerate. We're budgeted for mostly 24-page issues; so there should be no space traumas. Muckraking is K.N.'s favorite pastime and she will rake as much as she can find.

We've started a new department called "In Review." It is edited by Steve Barthelme and it will include most anything Steve sees fit to print, mainly reviews of books and periodicals, cultural items (put a very broad connotation on "cultural") and occasionally something bizarre.

A gratifying 38 percent of you (out of a possible 121 percent) said that *Observer* writers are "just right." "Too biased" was next with 19 percent (more about this later). Then came "overly flip" with 16 percent. Another 15 percent were critical write-ins, 13 percent complimentary write-ins. "Fishwives" got 4 percent and "excessively somber," 3 percent.

Some of the write-ins included a computer technician who thinks we are "just right fishwives" and a bartender who says we are "a bit righteous." Others said *Observer* writers are "too conservative," "bleeding hearts," "too Austin oriented," "too overly women's lib," "sometimes lack spirit," "more-liberal-than-thou," "far out," "slipping," "always-anti," and "excessively vindictive."

No doubt we are too Austin oriented. There are only two full-time editorial people on the *Observer*, Molly Ivins and Kaye Northcott. When the Legislature is in session, we pretty well are captive in Austin. The rest of the time we try to

travel as much as possible, our travel budget and not-new automobiles willing. We'll try to do better.

There were a few sexist comments in the surveys that raised our feminist ire. Somebody wrote, "You need a male editor." And somebody else said, "You didn't ask readers' sex. I'm afraid you'll have difficulty evaluating results without this information." We can't comprehend what sex has to do with editing or reading a political journal.

For the most part, however, the distaff editorship of the *Observer* has not been an issue. Judging from the letters that come to the office, we suspect that most correspondents don't have the slightest idea who the editors are. Every day, we receive letters beginning, "Dear Sir" or "Gentlemen." "Too overly women's lib" we may be, but in answering those letters we usually point out that not *all* editors are male. This is not a nitpicky thing. There is an assumption behind these "Dear Sir" letters that people in responsible positions naturally are men. Well, at least at the *Observer* this isn't so, and a letter assuming that we are men probably is not going to get as sympathetic a response as a letter that begins, "To Whom It May Concern" or "Dear Editor" or "Friend" or "Fellow Human" or any other non-sexist salutation.

ON BIAS. Let us begin by saying frankly that we are bored by this debate and tired of hearing "new journalists" talk about "new journalism" and we wish they'd just shut up and do it and leave the readers to decide if it's any good. If you already know the premises in this debate, we recommend you skip this section of the letter.

For those of you who have somehow miraculously escaped the endless discussion, we do want you to understand how we think of the news and how we try to treat it, so we will attempt a good faith presentation of our case here. We do not mean to condescend to you: we probably suffer from a form of professional provincialism that makes us think everybody must have thought about these questions as much as we have. O.K., at this point in time, almost everyone (in journalism) is Beyond Objectivity. It is now universally agreed that there is no such thing as objectivity: it is an impossibility. The question is whether it should stand as an Impossible Dream, something ever to strive toward, never to be arrived at.

We not only think that objectivity is impossible, we also believe that it is a malignant concept. The more serious question, we believe, is what kind of standard one puts in its place. But the myth of objectivity is so pervasive, it has

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been layed on the people for so long that *The New York Times* is objective, meaning it tells the truth, that we think it is first necessary to address that myth.

Objectivity is getting the facts straight and letting the truth go hang itself. To quote, in part, a recent article by Jack Newfield, "Somehow the concept of advocacy in journalism has become identified with the left. But what about the *Reader's Digest*? They've published 77 pieces on Vietnam since 1961, 76 of them in favor of the war. Does *U.S. News and World Report* present a balanced view of capitalism? Is New Hampshire's *Manchester Union Leader* fair and objective?"

"Objectivity can be defined as the way the mass media reported the history of the Vietnam war before the Pentagon Papers: the way racism in the North was covered before Watts; the way auto safety was reported before Ralph Nader. Objectivity is the media printing Nelson Rockefeller's lies about Attica until the facts came out that the state troopers and not the inmates had killed all the hostages; that the troopers used outlawed dum-dum bullets; that 350 inmates, including some badly wounded, were beaten after they gave up. Objectivity is printing a dozen stories about minor welfare frauds, but not a word about the My Lai massacre until Seymour Hersh. Objectivity is ignoring George McGovern as a joke until after he won the Wisconsin primary. Objectivity is believing people with power and printing their press releases.

Objectivity is not shouting 'liar' in a crowded country. At bottom, objectivity is a fig leaf for covert prejudice."

O.K., is it clear now what objectivity is? Right. And where do we go from there? We do not find it useful to move away from accuracy. A fact is a fact, God bless it, whether we like it, whether it helps our candidate, whether it suits our ideas or not. One of the few useful things journalism schools try to pound into the heads of their students is a reverence for accuracy.

The next problem is facts from both, or all, sides. Also called fairness. Very tricky. Two politicians are having a fight. Rep. A says "Gunk" and Rep. B says "Dook." Objectivity, this time masquerading as fairness, requires that you quote both A and B, getting their quotes exactly right and giving each an equal amount of space in your paper or time on your air. The trouble is that Rep. A is a courageous reformer who is telling the truth and Rep. B is a lying skunk who is on the take. Again, in relation to a social problem: you are doing a story about air pollution: does fairness require you to give equal time to people who think air pollution is good for you? Now that, you may have noticed, was a biased question. A better stab at fairness would read: does fairness require you to give equal time to those reasonable men who believe pollution is a problem but that it is not critical; that hysteria on the subject may lead to a modern Luddite movement, causing severe unemployment and untold misery, that moderate, sensible abatement programs stretching across the next half-century and paid for by the taxpayers rather than putting an unreasonable burden on industry, etc., etc.

We have not found a solution to the "fairness" question here at the *Observer*. Though we doubt that Ben Barnes or Gus Mutscher would believe it we do worry about the problem a lot. Leave us be honest, the *Observer* is not good at "getting the other side of the story." There are times when we don't even bother to try. On the other hand, we don't think we've ever tried to shuck anybody about it.

When we say that Wayne Connally is not only reactionary, but also stupid or that Dolph, uh, Briscoe has as much personality as a wet Kleenex, we figure you know that's us talking, us too biased, overly sombre, too flip fishwives. We think you know us (obviously not in the Biblical sense) and you either agree with us or you don't, but at least you know that we're trying to be honest. You know where we stand and you can accordingly judge our assessments with whatever amount of salt you think they deserve.

Some people find it helpful to make a distinction between fact and truth. As in:

The late Joseph McCarthy was a United States senator from Wisconsin in the early 1950's. A fact.

The late Sen. Joseph McCarthy was a pernicious demagogue. A truth.

The McCarthy example is a new

journalist's dream. Precisely because "old journalists" ran around accurately quoting his lies without saying they were lies, the man was able to obtain the degree of vicious power he did.

WE MUST CONFESS that there are times when our thinking about journalism comes perilously close to resembling propaganda. And it worries us. If you are ever unfortunate enough to attend a graduate school of journalism, you will be forced to take a course called something like "Theories of Communication." In which you will learn about all kinds of amazing garp such as narcotizing disfunction and cognitive dissonance. Mostly what you will learn is that it's very difficult to get people to change their minds. Most adults have a set world-view and with it a built-in resistance to information that does not conform to their world-view. It just rolls off them, like water off a duck's back. It's painful for people to have to shift around their mental baggage: they don't like to; they resist information that will force them to. And the only way to get them to do it is to force that information into their minds: by giving it to them over and over and over, strong and hard, with no outs. Sounds like propaganda doesn't it? As we said, it worries us. Because our world-views are set too. Northcott and I (it being Ivins writing this section) are not, as I think our readers sometimes suspect, irresponsible little girls given this toy, this *Observer* plaything with which to be cute and snide. I suppose we could point to our training, which includes some heavy Establishment credentials, but I would rather have you rely on my own observation, since you know it's mine and can add salt. We've both worked in a fair number of newspaper "shops." We can't think of anywhere else where the imperfections of a publication are taken more seriously by its staff, perhaps because we have no one to blame but ourselves. I suffer from an incurable sense of humor. Northcott suffers from an incurable sense of disgust at the venal tawdriness of Texas politics. We can think of only one other excuse for our bias: balance. The world-views of so many Texans are shaped by the editorial pages of *The Dallas Morning News*, *The Austin American Statesman* and the *Houston Chronicle*. When a see-saw gets tipped that far down on one side, you can't straighten it up by going to the middle of it and standing there; you have to do out to the far end and jump up and down.

Northcott has just informed me that *she* polished off the dirty word question in four graf and what am I doing with five pages (five pages is for the second coming of Christ, my old city editor used to tell me) on bias. I guess we wanna be understood.

O.K., then, in one graf. No shuck, no jive. We're not objective. We are biased. We are committed to accuracy and fairness. We

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try to tell the truth as we see it: we don't pretend that what we tell you is anything more than that. *Caveat lector.*

THE READERSHIP survey indicated that 70 percent out of a possible 100 percent of our subscribers do not object to the use of "obscene" words. "What's obscene?" asked one person. "There's no such thing," wrote another reader. Eleven percent of the people responding to the questionnaire said they personally are not offended by such words but that the *Observer* should use them cautiously because they do upset some people. "These words sometimes prevent me from turning on conservative friends and relatives to the *Observer*," someone commented.

Two percent didn't answer the question and 17 percent said they do object to dirty words. "It's not that the words are shocking to me," wrote a PhD candidate, "but I think your writers sometimes use them as a substitute for thought or to show they are 'big boys' now, who can say what they please." On a militant note, a civil engineer wrote, "Such is the language of the shithouse wall that every 15-year-old knows, but such is still offensive to normal good taste."

It is something of a relief to find that only 17 percent of our readers object to dirty words. We receive more correspondence on this subject than possibly any other. Some people cancel because of our "shocking language."

The *Observer* started out using these alleged obscenities only in direct quotations. We wanted to avoid such ridiculous sentences as this recent statement of Bob Bullock, printed in *The Houston Post*: "Albert Fay is full of S — — —." That policy was too restricting. We found that one can't convey the ambience of a political campaign or of a legislative session without a lot of hells and damns and takings of the Lord's name in vain. Nor can one write honestly about an anti-war march or a rock concert or anything else having to do with the youth culture without using youth's earthy language. For the minority of you who are put off by the language you sometimes read in this journal, we are going to renew our effort to keep possibly offensive words to a minimum, but we will not do so at the expense of veracity or journalistic integrity. (I, Kaye, have just activated the above pledge by editing three hells and a damn out of Molly's bias section.)

And one final note, Personal to "bored housewife on the prowl": You are the only person who bothered to do your questionnaire in colors. Those purple and blue and orange and green armadillos were an oasis in an eyestraining two-foot pile of surveys. Maybe in your spare time you should enter cereal contests. It's the unique entries that always win. K.N., M.I.

IN REVIEW

Music, women and guns

By Chet Flippo

Austin

One of the hazards of earning a living on the fringes of the pop music racket is that terrible music often shows up uninvited at your door. For me, the point of wretched excess finally came when Elton John's latest 8-track suppository arrived. After it was inserted and the treacle began running, I decided that enough was sufficient and gathered up armloads of the maudlin, sticky, sensitive, painful, bare-my-soul-in-4/4-time phonographic products to throw out.

All of this stuff kinda crept up on everybody, just when it seemed that the Mamas and Papas and Simon and Garfunkel and the like had finally died welcome deaths. Then came dozens of reinforcements under the banner of new rock, soft rock. Schmaltz. They were there all along, plotting and lying in wait for a

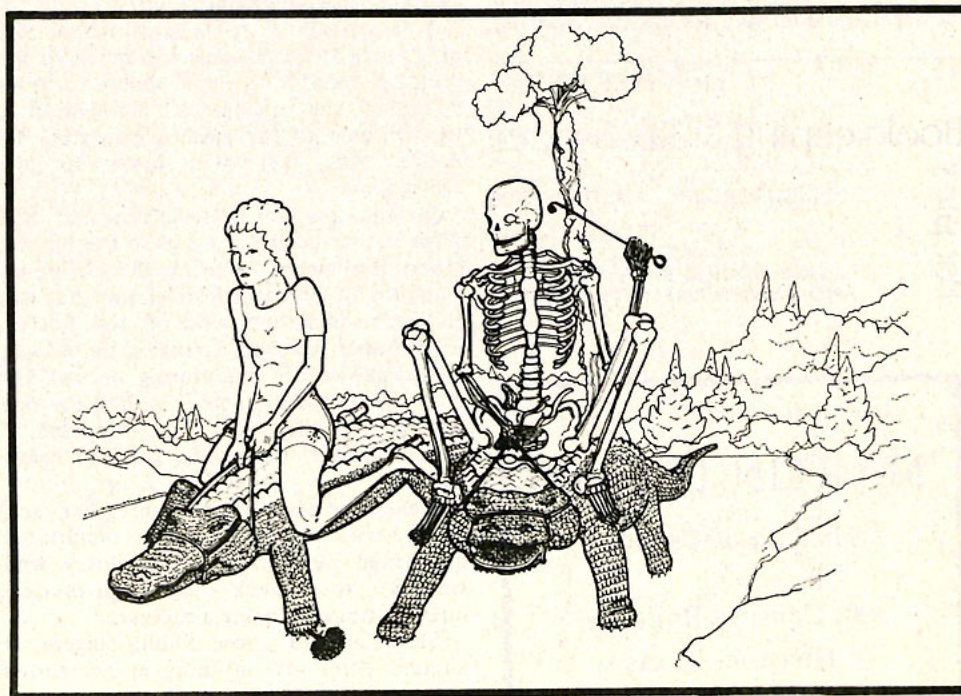
Chet Flippo lives in Austin. His pieces have appeared in Rolling Stone, Rags, Clear Creek and other magazines.

crack in the door, clutching fistfuls of sweet, awkward, ego-laden lyrics.

James Taylor, who must bear most of the blame, was preparing himself for the cover of *Time* and the hosannahs of a generation of addle-heads by hanging out in mental hospitals, the chief one being MacLeans, a \$110-a-day joint in Massachusetts for rich, disturbed people (as opposed to poor lunatics who have to go to state asylums).

His matriculation there resulted in the sensitive, painful ditty, "Knocking Around the Zoo": "Just knocking around the zoo on a Thursday afternoon/There's bars on the windows and they're counting up the spoons/And if I'm feeling edgy there's a chick who's paid to be my slave/But she'll hit me with a needle if she thinks I'm trying to misbehave." Very graphic. Sweet Baby James is considered an intellectual superstar, you know. That means he gets rich by writing banal, revealing things about his precious experiences.

James's siblings, Livingston and Kate, were depressed too so they joined James at MacLeans. It's a good thing their parents could afford it; otherwise, the Taylors



Drawing by Mayo Thompson

three might have ended up in some state charnelhouse which would certainly have influenced their delicate art in other directions.

But they got out O.K. and James became a star and then Livingston and Kate and even older brother Alex decided that they needed to cut albums too and become part of the new royalty.

James, meanwhile, soured on his old lady, Joni Mitchell (another crowned head), and shed her like a snakeskin for one of Joni's heiresses apparent, Carly Simon. That kinda stuff happens all the time in the rarefied atmosphere of the stuporstars. Just ask Steven Stills about it sometime. Carly Simon is well-bred and well-groomed and sings songs that are pretty and empty. Joni's songs are prettier and less empty, her masterpiece being "Both Sides Now." "I've looked at life from both sides now," she sang and all the counter-consumers ate it up without stopping to consider that life doesn't have just two sides; certainly not just a "hip" side and a "straight" side. She also sang, "I want to talk to you, I want to shampoo you." That's more like it. Chauvos like Joni.

ACROSS THE pond (as we vets say), in the meantime, the biggest hype yet was just gurgling into infancy in London. Liberty Records posted an ad for songwriters and a kid name of Elton John saw it and sent in his resume, saying that he could write music but not lyrics. A lad named Bernie Taupin didn't see it but his mother did and Mom Taupin wrote in for her Bernie, who was aiming for a career as a famous lyricist. So Bernie and Elton became a team. Their first hit was Three Dog Night's "Lady Samantha" and it's been uphill for the duo commercially and downhill qualitatively for them ever since.

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The Texas Observer

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It's hard to keep up with Elton's records 'cause he seems to issue them weekly but the worst two, in case you're keeping score, are *Tumbleweed Connection* and *Friends*. The former was a laughable attempt to sing about the American West and the latter is the phonographic equivalent of drinking a quart of syrup.

I will have to concede one point to Elton: his panegyric emetics are as good as anyone's, comparable even to Eric Segal's.

Stephen Dimitri Georgiou (a/k/a Cat Stevens) is not quite so prone to self-indulgence as the above-named, but he is still self-centered, sentimental, and sticky-sweet enough to deserve the back of someone's hand. Stevens was a pop star in his teens with such great hits as "I Love My Dog" and then he had to sit out for a spell of TB. While in a hospital, he found himself: "It just happened. You reach that moment and you see it and you say, of course." Once found, he hustled back for the slop explosion. He's a true credit to his race. When he performed in San Antonio, Stevens exploded when the promoter walked out on stage to check a security problem: "Did he really walk across my spotlight? He was in the fucking spotlight, wasn't he? Who the fuck does he think he is to walk across the stage during a fucking song?" Stevens doesn't do interviews, so you have to keep an ear cocked to catch his sub rosa comments about himself. All of his comments, as a matter of fact, are about himself: "Sometimes when I look in the mirror and I see myself, I really do and I say 'whew.'" or, "Wild World" was written about me. I was writing to myself, saying that I knew I was going to turn into what I was before, a pop star." "Morning Has Broken," indeed. He should have called it "Breaking Wind."

Which leads us to Melanie Safka. She didn't like her last name too much so she tried to hide it. Melanie (next to John Sebastian, the original Mr. Goodvibes) is the epitome of the gushing pop star, the notice ME, feel ME, listen to ME ego-stripper.

Melanie has said that she now and then stops eating meat (as a sop to the natural generation) and I once caught a close-up rear-view of her at a festival and that was enough to make me swear off too. She's a real trouper, though. At that same festival, she swallowed a bug during one of her offerings but didn't stop smiling for one minute. "Gather me," she simpered. I would've, Mel, but you're just too heavy for me.

Melanie is really thoughtful of her fans. On the back of her first album, she printed a detailed birth chart for anybody who wanted to check her astrological qualifications for being a success.

She's one of those Shhh! singers. If anyone dares say anything at her shows

(they call them concerts for some reason), she just smiles sadly but tolerantly at the offender and those around him/her smother him/her with loud shhh's, because we're Melanie's disciples, dig, and we don't want to miss none of that wisdom and truth she's gonna lay on us, dig. Enduring truths, such as, "And it's sad that we weren't born like horses and sheep to know where we're going to know what we need." As if she didn't have a crowd of sheep in front of her.

ANOTHER shhh singer is a real puzzler. Carole King, back when she was just a little thing, co-wrote (with her ex-husband Gerry Coffin) many of the classics of pubescent rock: such gems as "Up on the Roof," "Locomotion," and "He's A Rebel." Then about four years ago she recorded with a group called City. She later toured with Sweet Baby James as his piano player. At a show in Carnegie Hall, she got up and sang "Up on the Roof" and boffo! The rest is hysteria.

She worked on the Sweet Baby James album and gave James the saccarine "You've Got A Friend" and then he worked with her on her first solo album, which stank. Rock's upper crust is very incestuous.

After Carole's second album *Tapestry* began selling 150,000 copies a week, she refused to grant interviews. Said her producer, Lou Adler, "Carole is incredibly warm and intelligent and living a nice life. Why jeopardize it?" Why, indeed?

So she let her music speak for her. Music like, "Thinkin' alone on a Thursday morning/of peace and love and the war/I still don't have any answers/but I don't get high anymore." Swell, Carole. Far out, even. It takes a very, very hip person to confess that she's so hip she doesn't need to get high.

Carole King has written some dynamite songs but so much of it lately seems so unpretentious that it becomes pretentious. Come to think of it, a lot of her stuff is wretched. She don't sing so good, neither; kinda like sugar dancing on piano strings.

Before Carole clammed up, she dropped a few quotes, one of which is preserved for you here: "I never wanted to be an artist, but it has become the most efficient way to get songs to people." Couldn't agree more.

Lessee. That should just about cover the perpetrators of the cults of sharing and grooviness and warmth (dispensing hollow emotion at \$5.98 a shot). The only people more boring are Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young in all their various crippled permutations, the Moody Blues, America, Grace Slick and Paul Kantner, Jerry Garcia, Paul McCartney, Harry Chapin, Don McLean, and John Lennon. They're all more trouble than they're worth, these pointy-head stars.



Technological Bases for Social Change

By Harvey Wheeler

(Continued From Last Issue)

Let us now look briefly at some of the cultural implications of the advent of the artificial information machine — the computer. The computer is not, strictly speaking, an electronic brain: it works differently from the way the human brain works. We can say this even though we do not know precisely how the human brain works, for the early efforts to describe brain functioning on the model of the electronic computer proved to be inadequate. However, computers do produce special kinds of "thoughts" and one of the problems we shall have in learning to live in a world possessing computers is how to accommodate ourselves to these new model thoughts.

Human thinking is associated with a special way of processing information which we call "natural." By contrast, computers are "artificial" information processors; they have artificial thoughts, so to speak. Information processing is an operation we associate with reasoning. But an information processing machine applies a form of logic, or reason, which, though it was invented by human beings, is quite different from the natural reason by which the human brain operates. Information machines function by means of artificial codes, languages or algorithms: specially constructed notation systems that differ from natural languages. Up to the present time we have been unable to devise artificial computer dictionaries, or algorithms sufficiently sophisticated to allow us to speak to computers in our own natural language and be certain the machine will always understand our exact meaning. Although very simple commands and statements may be addressed to information machines, it is still impossible to produce an information machine program capable of translating one natural language, such as German, into another, such as English. Even if this were to become possible in the near future it would not contradict the above proposition, for the achievement would still rely upon an intermediate, artificial language; a sophisticated notation system capable of serving as a conduit between the thought processes of the brain as expressed through natural languages and the artificial reasoning and calculating procedures of the electronic information machine. The world of the computer is a world of artificial reason and one of the primary problems of the future will be to devise a series of accommodations between these natural and artificial reasoning systems.

For example, recall that industrialism created two characteristic organizations, the factory and the bureaucracy. The factory processed materials and the bureaucracy processed records, which were usually concerned with money and transactions. The factory was dominated by the logic of the fabricating machine. It required the worker to adapt himself to the needs of the machine. In a bureaucracy the logic of records-keeping asserted itself in a similar way, resulting in what Max Weber called the substitution of function for person. Many years ago Norbert Wiener suggested that any function that could be routinized could be computerized. As it turned out this proved easier to accomplish for bureaucratic operations than for machine fabrication.

A bureaucracy is an organization of routinized decisions. Inasmuch as this is also one way of describing an information machine program, the direct application of information machines to bureaucratic routines becomes obvious. Whereas in the past we thought of bureaucracies (and decision-making) as being a function of human beings following routinized procedures, when we introduce information machines we think of bureaucracies as being composed of nonanthropomorphic, or

even artificial, decision routines.

These decisions are as artificial as the programs that make them possible. Their product is not to be confused with natural, man-made decisions and such decisions do not yield the results that would occur under man-made decision-making. This means that human beings must learn how to conform to the novel imperatives of the artificial logico-mathematical reason of information machines. Just as the previous imperatives of factory and bureaucracy placed the burdens of stress on man so will these new computer-borne imperatives. The factory was associated with a special form of alienation, the alienation of man from his work. The information machine, with its artificial reason, portends the alienation of man from his own mind. For a new world of artificial thought — an artificial "mind" or "logos" — will arise which will be alien to the natural thought processes of the human being. As a result, the social environment of the future promises to be one characterized by an increased degree of alienation and uncertainty. Some people — mainly mathematicians — will understand this world, but the mass of men who must live in it will not.

Consider another implication of life in this new environment. Man of the industrial age lived in a world of commodities that he measured and exchanged through prices. It was a world that expressed itself through dollars. The information machine functionary will live in a world invaded by new kinds of symbols. In addition to the dollar will come the symbols associated with information processing. Political and economic problems will be presented to the world in these new symbols. One example of this is furnished by the enormous publicity given recently to the computer analysis of growth problems commissioned by the Club of Rome. Today the scholars of the world are debating the Dennis Meadows book the way they once debated a new book by John Maynard Keynes. Meadows' work was influenced by the previous contributions of Jay Forrester. An illustration of this way of expressing political problems is provided from Forrester's book, *World Dynamics*, in which he deals with growth problems on a world level. Here is a page from his Appendix.

B Equations of the World Model

The following equations and control information are in the exact format used by the DYNAMO compiler for producing the computer output used in this book.

*	WORLD DYNAMICS W5
1	L P.K=P.J+(DT)(BR.JK-DR.JK)
1.1	N P=PI
1.2	C PI=1.65E9
2	R BR.KL=(P.K)(CLIP[BRN,BRN1,SWT1,TIME.K])
	X (BRFM.K)(BRMM.K)(BRCM.K)(BRPM.K)
2.2	C BRN=.04
2.3	C BRN1=.04
2.4	C SWT1=1970
3	A BRMM.K=TABHL(BRMMT,MSL.K,0,5,1)
3.1	T BRMMT=1.2/1/.85/.75/.7
4	A MSL.K=ECIR.K/(ECIRN)
4.1	C ECIRN=1
5	A ECIR.K=(CIR.K)(1-CIAF.K)(NREM.K)/
	X (1-CIAFN)
6	A NREM.K=TABLE(NREMT,NRFR.K,0,1,.25)
6.1	T NREMT=0/.15/.5/.85/1
7	A NRFR.K=NR.K/NRI
8	L NR.K=NR.J+(DT)(-NRUR.JK)
8.1	N NR=NRI
8.2	C NRI=900E9
9	R NRUR.KL=(P.K)(CLIP[NRUN,NRUN1,SWT2,
	X TIME,K])(NRMM.K)
9.1	C NRUN=1


```

9.2 C      NRUN1=1
9.3 C      SWT2=1970
      NOTE      EQUATION 42 CONNECTS HERE
                FROM EQ. 4 TO EQ. 9
10  R      DR.KL=(P.K)(CLIP[DRN,DRN1,SWT3,TIME.K])
      X      (DRMM.K)(DRPM.K)(DRFM.K)(DRCM.K)
10.2 C      DRN=.028
10.3 C      DRN1=.028
10.4 C      SWT3=1970
11  A      DRMM.K=TABHL(DRMMT,MSK.K,0,5,.5)
11.1 T      DRMMT=3/1.8/1.8/.7/6/.53/.5/.5/.5
12  A      DRPM.K=TABLE(DRPMT,POLR.K,0,60,10)
12.1 T      DRPMT=.92/1.3/2/3.2/4.8/6.8/9.2
13  A      DRFM.K=TABHL(DRFMT,FR.K,0,2,.25)
13.1 T      DRFMT=30/3/2/1.4/1/7/6/.5/5
14  A      DRCM.K=TABLE(DRCMT,CR.K,0,5,1)
14.1 T      DRCMT=.9/1/1.2/1.5/1.9/3
15  A      CR.K=(P.K)/(LA+PDN)
15.1 C      LA=135E6
15.2 C      PDN=26.5
16  A      BRCM.K=TABLE(BRCMT,CR.K,0,5,1)
16.1 T      BRCMT=1.05/1/9/7/6/.55
17  A      BRFM.K=TABHL(BRFMT,FR.K,0,4,1)
17.1 T      BRFMT=0/1/1.6/1.9/2
    
```

Teilhard de Chardin coined the term "noosphere" to describe the artificial symbolic and institutional world within which modern man has encased himself. It is also a useful word to describe the strange new symbolic environment surrounding the information machine functionary.

Whenever the man of the past looked at the things around him he saw, figuratively, products and dollars. By contrast, when man of the future looks around he may well see symbols and information programs. The old world of money and capital gives way to a new world of artificial reason and computer symbols; a world of mathematical logic rather than cost accounting. The ordinary man may understand little more about mathematical logic than his predecessor understood about economics but the fact that he will live in this changed symbolic environment promises to impose upon him a special kind of numerological worldview — numerology considered in its broadest sense. The ancient Pythagoreans had a somewhat similar view of their environment. Everything was seen in terms of numbers. In their case the numbers also possessed a magical or spiritual connotation. While this latter element may not be present in the worldview of the future, nonetheless it seems possible that we shall see the emergence of a neo-Pythagorean worldview as one of the distinguishing features of those who will live and work among the information machines of the future.

* * *

The third example has to do with the behavioral sciences. It is a much more treacherous territory to invade for many scholars, especially those in the humanities, deny that there is any validity to the behavioral sciences. If they are right the problems I am about to address are false ones, and this section of the discussion can be ignored. But I am going to assume that there is a great deal that is efficacious in the behavioral sciences and that the world of the future will be one in which they shall find an increasing utilization. I shall concentrate on what is currently the most controversial of these, Operant Conditioning, the scheme of behavior modification associated with B. F. Skinner.

Operant conditioning is different from traditional stimulus-response psychology, associated with the name Pavlov. The Pavlovian organism was viewed as a physical machine; the Skinnerian organism is regarded as responding to its environment. According to Pavlov, a stimulus was like a force. It produced a response the way a force produces work, or power. The Skinner analysis is different. Behavior is not a resultant generated by forces, it is a pattern shaped by consequences.

How behavior is rewarded or punished (not how it is elicited by promises of reward or threats of punishment) tells the story. Positive reinforcements are said to be much more effective behavior modifiers than are punishments (aversive stimuli). As a consequence, society can be designed along new lines. Behavior can be controlled much more effectively than is presently the case and at the same time, the amount of punishment in society can be reduced substantially.

What difference would it make if society were redesigned according to the principles of operant conditioning? First off, we would hold a changed view of behavior. We would accept it as a fact that behavior is and always has been shaped by aversive stimuli and positive reinforcers. Even though we did not know it, positive reinforcers were always much more powerful behavior modifiers than were aversive stimuli. Hence, human beings now live and always have lived in a world of positive reinforcement. That is a fact and it is now a fact with scientific underpinning. Therefore, it is not now an issue of deciding whether or not to believe in operant conditioning, or even, whether or not to introduce it—as we may decide whether or not to introduce the computer or the SST. Operant conditioning is now, and always was, "there," even among the most primitive of men, just the way speech was "there." Behavior always contained operant conditioning potentials just as speech always contained potentials that later allowed us to produce grammar, logic, and mathematics.

Having recognized that operant conditioning is in fact one of the primary ways behavior is shaped, we then have the option of leaving things in the pre-scientific operant condition presently existing or of taking advantage of this new awareness and adopting more widespread applications of sound operant conditioning practices, substituting positive reinforcers for aversive stimuli in a number of cases.

What would be the effect of this move? One of the first things we would have to decide is the relative effectiveness of reinforcement and aversive controls in specific cases. Consider traffic regulations. These are typical examples of aversive laws. We could conceivably eliminate all policemen and all traffic signs and condition people positively to get to places correctly and at proper rates of speed. It is not likely we would decide to do so for it appears that the costs in time, money, and other desirables, would be prohibitive. That is, the attempt would add up to a system relatively more punitive (deferred aversive effects) than is now the case with the more initially aversive but ultimately more positively reinforcing mode of control we now apply. However, many other forms of punitive control would be changed. For example, our criminal laws and our penal institutions are quite ineffective. These could be transformed according to positive reinforcement principles. Suppose we were to adopt positive reinforcement principles for a large range of social and political policies, how different would the new society be from the one we now inhabit?

Several suggestions can be made:

[] Punitive institutions would tend to give way to educational institutions in the sense that persons would be taught how to avoid deferred aversive effects through operant conditioning.

[] The over-all punitive, or legalistic, environment would be reduced and somewhat supplanted by positive reinforcement practices with a resulting decrease in repressive measures.

[] Management of people and direction of organizations would tend to become de-bureaucratized, for it would be possible to imprint behavioral patterns in people rather than objectifying them in organizational structures.

[] Organizations would themselves become smaller due to the reduction of formalistic superstructures.

[] Organizations would operate more along

self-management rather than authoritarian lines, resulting in an approximation to goals traditionally associated with anarchism.

[] The growth of technically qualified people in the field of operant conditioning may take lines similar to the previous growth of experts in accounting, economics, and other social technologies. It is difficult to visualize the role such experts would play. It is certain that professional standards must be established and some safeguards against improper practices will be required. It is even possible that a central governmental agency for the survey of the possible applications of operant conditioning may be required, in something like the way a central agency for economic forecasting is now required.

[] A separate issue arises because of the possibility that operant conditioning may work best through focusing initially upon verbal behavior. This is not established at present, but it may turn out that when the problem is to change over-all normal behavior in some significant way, the device will be through verbal behavior. In this event something similar to the group mind-changing practices pioneered in China may appear. This will obviously raise numerous issues, one of them relating to liberty.

[] The atmosphere of liberty is not likely to alter as sharply as is described in *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* but the emphasis is likely to change. The role of negative liberty — liberty conceived as freedom from restraint — is certainly not going to disappear, for one of the effects of introducing positive reinforcement is to diminish restraints and hence expand liberty. However, it is likely that the positive idea of liberty; liberty interpreted as the freedom to do, or the ability to achieve, what one wants is likely to take precedence over the more traditional idea of negative liberty that has been associated with the tradition of Western liberalism. In this restricted sense, the society will, to some extent, have moved beyond liberty, if not dignity.

* * *

I have tried to describe technological innovations from three different areas with a view to shedding some light on the future direction of social and cultural change. I shall try to bring this to a close by drawing a few conclusions relating to education, under the assumption that if it were possible for us to say something valid about the future of formal education we would, at the same time, be saying something important about the future of society in general.

First, a few comments about the formal education in the past — in the industrial era. I agree with those who argue that in the past formal education had the primary function of preparing the young for a useful and rewarding life in commerce or industry. This meant that, even when we taught the humanities we did so in relation to their contribution to the functional requirements of an industrial society. This was clear in the case of the sciences, in the case of the professional courses, and even in the case of mathematics, which was always taught with "practical" considerations dominating the problems offered. It might not seem so clear with regard to the humanities, but the same imperative operated there also. Professors in the humanities had to compete for students against professors of the more practical disciplines. They did so by claiming that for students who were really perceptive, it would be apparent that a degree in the humanities was really more practical and would bring a higher income than a degree in some seemingly more practical or professional discipline. The employment officers of the best corporations, it was claimed, really preferred a graduate with a degree in English than one with a degree in business administration. This was done in even an august institution like Harvard, where canny advisers pointed out that the leaders of the British Empire had been students from Oxford and Cambridge who had majored in "Greats." This is not to suggest

that the humanists were wrong in making these claims but merely that their ideology was drawn from the needs of the society in which they functioned. That is, formal education in the industrial era adhered to an over-riding ethic which was, not surprisingly, the Protestant Ethic.

Another, perhaps more interesting, characteristic of the education of the industrial era was that it told the student about the "out there." This is obvious in the case of the sciences. They were explicitly charged with describing the external world. But it was also true of the social sciences and of the humanities. When one took a course in history it was "practical" in the sense that it portrayed facts about the world outside: the world outside in the past, but the historical world as an external object. If one understood it properly, one could deal more effectively with the world outside of the present. With the social sciences the case was obvious. Society was out there. It was something one was going to enter. One studied economics, sociology, or political science in order to learn better how to cope with the economic or social or political world out there. Athletics was always a part of the well-rounded curriculum; "a sound mind in a sound body" inscribed above the gymnasium door. But the real message applied not to the mind and body for its own sake, but to the competitive situation "out there." One had an obligation to participate in athletics for quite practical reasons. The battles of England were won on the playing fields of Eton. Football and baseball taught the cooperative and team spirit principles — but also the competitive spirit — necessary for success in a business world.

This spirit of practicality, a practicality oriented to the external industrial world and its needs, is obsolete in today's curriculum. It is the element that is disparaged by the youth of today when they raise the cry of irrelevance. They may think and even state that they are opposed to scholastic ideals and academic canons, but this is not the true complaint. The real complaint is that the curriculum of the present is still dominated by the Protestant Ethic of the industrial society. It is not that learning as such is obsolete but that the Protestant Ethic which dominated learning has made the university irrelevant.

It seems incontestable that the Protestant Ethic that has dominated past educational conceptions will shortly give way to a more universal, biologically oriented, ecological, and homeostatic ethic. All departments of learning will be suffused with this new conception. We shall still study topics such as science, economics, political science, and the classics, but instead of seeing these topics as windows on the outside we shall see them as ways of revealing the more intimate and personal truths about ourselves as persons, our societies as organic, person-related entities and the world as a man-related environment that must be religiously celebrated and preserved. The maxim of our schools will be not "Know the World" but rather, a new version of the Socratic maxim, perhaps stated as "Know Thyself": Know Thyself in a more complete emotional as well as somatic sense than has ever before been possible and Know Thyself as men in communities and men in the world — in ways that have never before been possible. We shall study life. Just as the curricula of the industrial societies were oriented toward matter, those of the post-industrial societies will be oriented toward life in all its forms and manifestations. The full-time occupation of the graduate of the past was to use his matter-dominated, business-oriented education to make his way in the world outside. The occupation of the graduate of the university of the future may be to use his life-dominated and self-oriented (collective as well as individual) education to improve the emotional, somatic, and social health of the world and the environment of which he is a temporary custodian.

'Pretentious rag sheet'

As regards the article "Reading and Your Health" (May 12) by Michael Anderson, I would like to make the following comments: To compare the *Radio Guide*, published by Pacifica Radio KPFT, Houston, to *Space City* and *Mockingbird* is a bit unfair. *Radio Guide* is published with one intent: to inform Pacifica subscribers and the people of Houston as to what important bits of programming they might choose to tune in to and also to provide news of what's happening at KPFT and the other Pacifica stations.

Pacifica was founded to present an effective alternative to crass commercial radio. For instance, when was the last time you heard such selections as the following on KILT in Houston or its Top Forty equivalent in Austin: "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised," 24 hours of Allen Ginsberg reading his poetry, or, if you prefer, two hours of uninterrupted Bob Dylan?

Pacifica does not pretend to be Holy and totally uncommercial as far as the *Radio Guide* is concerned. Due to the society we live in it is impossible to function without the dollar bill and in order to give KPFT listeners some idea of what they might hear at a particular time it was necessary to revert to running ads in the *Radio Guide* to finance the venture. As God and the few Pacifica staff members who have worked hard for many months at little or no pay know, Pacifica is far from being swamped with money.

For Mr. Anderson to condemn Pacifica without even listening is just a little too much bull-shit for me to handle. Such pompous elitist, and pseudo-intellectual

Dialogue

crap is enough to make me puke. Mr. Anderson strikes me as the type, who while tooling about town in his Caddie, might remark, "Why, yes, I believe in equality, some of my best friends are negroid." His continual reference to the supposed "counter-culture," a media contrived term for a society I don't think exists, reinforces my opinion that your rag sheet is just another piece of pretentious bull-shit.

Walter L. Hammock, Jr., Pacifica volunteer, 3108½ Jarrard, Houston, Tex. 77005.

Salesman responds

Since you have chosen to make public your rationalization of why you "quixotically offed" me as a "parttime advertising salesman" — in the interest of historical truth — you'll want to publish these additional facts, as a balance to your May 12, Dear Reader, article.

1. You describe me as a "congenial fellow, but a high pressure salesman, nonetheless." If other readers feel the same queasy repugnance evoked by this stereotyped description as I do, I would refer them to a different personal evaluation made by Cliff Olofson in his Oct. 2 letter:

"You've already indicated an interest in seeing the Observer prosper and grow, and for reasons beyond the fact that it would increase your commission potential. ... you probably share (this reason too, namely) ... to increase the impact of the editorial content."

"Well there are a number of people who feel that way, and who would like to help, but what distinguishes you, and what makes you a valuable associate is that in addition to talking about it you've gone out and sold some ads, without very much help or encouragement."

The psychology of the semantic differences between what Cliff wrote Oct. 2, and Kaye's article May 12 — are better left for those expert in those fields.

But any reader can detect a holier-than-thou-prejudice toward advertising in the last issue — which as far as I'm concerned is fine — but when TO contradicts this attitude in practice, then they are bordering on the hypocritical. I ask: what makes TO's house ads on books, subscriptions or Rapoport's or any of the other ads running, any less obnoxious, than others? If TO is going to "quixotically off"

advertising, it should do it for all, not some ads. Furthermore, if advertising is so "crude" why does TO increase its ad rates twice as much in May, as before?

An answer, I submit, is that TO is myopic on advertising. To imply that advertising is a "conventional commercial inferno" is to make the same sort of statement typical of Spiro Agnew — that news writers corrupt their readers. Some do, some don't. I'm one of those in the don't area.

In conclusion, I claim TO just goofed. You had working for you a *commission* salesman who cost you nothing and earned you several thousand dollars.

On a personal basis you wrote "... a certain crudeness crept into our otherwise congenial environment." Be that as it may. I submit a news room where writers are working under pressure of deadline is as crude, even as "high pressure" as any advertising office. I've worked in both offices, both writing and advertising, and the stripes are the same on both animals.

I predict the drive to get more subscribers will require more full time newswriters in key Texas cities. When subs fall back, you will have to sell more advertising to get the income needed. I wonder how Kaye will write that Dear Reader explanation. How about keeping me on the complimentary sub list?

Mike Zeigfinger, 618 Prairie, Houston, Tex.

And Fishwives, too

You communist, hippie, liberal, left-wing, radical pinko, effete pseudo-intellectual snobs!!!! Where do you get off making money out of the political needs of the oppressed minorities in this country? Your publication is a crass commercial attempt to capitalize on the fact that most of the establishment cares not about the people but only about maintaining the status quo (i.e., keeping themselves in office.) How can you sleep at night knowing you are exposing people to facts and running the risk of bursting innumerable bubbles of complacency???? For Shame!!!! The next thing you know you'll be advocating communistic ideas like free speech for niggers, and voting rights for mesicans!

Enclosed is my check for a one year's subscription. Keep up the good work. (Innumerable generous donations will follow when I get out of Law School.)

James R. Chapman, Jr., 1918-9th Street Apt. 7, Lubbock, Texas 79401.

Bill McAfee, upon being told of yet another disorganized McGovern caucus, "I'm not sure Texas liberals are ready for self-government yet."