

*A Journal of Free Voices*

*A Window to the South*

*Oct. 20, 1972*

25¢



## Tower gets the job done

*(For Lt. Gen.  
Robt. W.  
Colglazier,  
Anastasia D.  
Mpatzian, oil &  
gas, the TMA  
and the  
defense industry)*

(Please see Page 3)

# The coming fortnight...

By Suzanne Shelton

## OCTOBER GRAB BAG

**ROARIN' 20s** - University of Texas Fine Arts Festival spotlights the Twenties, with concerts, exhibitions, films, and speakers, including an exhibition from the Archive of New Orleans Jazz, Oct. 22-Nov. 21, Academic Center; University Jazz Ensemble with pianist Boaz Sharon performing Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue," Oct. 24; "Not So Long Ago: Art of the 1920s in Europe and America" exhibition, University Art Museum; Claude Kipnis Mime Theater in Stravinsky's "Renard" (1922) and "L'Histoire du Soldat" (1918), Oct. 20; University of Texas, Austin,

**FLUORESCENT ART** - Dan Flavin, New York artist in fluorescent tubing, exhibits works including his "Monuments to V. Tatlin," through Nov. 19, Museum of Institute for the Arts, Rice University, Houston.

**PRIMITIVE PAINTINGS** - South Texas Art Mobile exhibits American Primitive paintings; 10 a.m. to 6 p.m., Padre-Staples Mall, Corpus Christi.

**CRAFTSMEN** - Ishmael Soto, potter, and Tomijann Nabors, weaver, exhibit their crafts; through Nov. 2, Sol Del Rio Gallery, San Antonio.

**ART FILMS** - Series of films by Kenneth Clark, "Pioneers of Modern Painting," include scheduled showings: Paul Cezanne, Oct. 29; Claude Monet, Nov. 12; Georges Seurat, Nov. 26; Henri Rousseau, Dec. 10; Edvard Munch, Dec. 17, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

**STUDENT ART** - University of Texas art students exhibit paintings, photographs, drawings, prints, water colors, three-dimensional designs, ceramics, and sculpture; Sewall Gallery, Rice University, Houston.

## OCTOBER 20

**BIRDS & BEES** - "Boy Meets Girl" is a satirical excursion back to 1935 Hollywood, complete with alimony hassles, leering studio brass, and other unpleasanties; through Oct. 21, also Oct. 27-28, First Repertory Theatre, HemisFair Plaza, San Antonio.

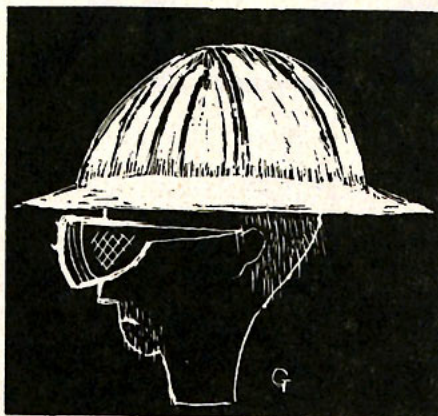
**1776** - The Peter Stone-Sherman Edwards musical recreating our radical forefathers and their revolution, "1776," performed by Dallas Repertory Theatre; through Nov. 12, NorthPark Hall, NorthPark Shopping Center, Dallas.

**IBSEN** - The Norwegian playwright's "A Doll's House" raises the curtain on San Antonio's newest theatre group, San Antonio Theater Club; indefinite run, Humble Pavilion, HemisFair Plaza, San Antonio.

**SYMPHONY** - Henryk Szeryng, violinist, performs with Dallas Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Anshel Brusilow; Caruth Auditorium, Dallas.

## OCTOBER 21

**DOUBLE BILL** - Temptations and their



special guests, The Supremes, sing it up on tour; 7 p.m., Municipal Auditorium, San Antonio; also Oct. 22, Hofheinz Pavilion, Houston.

**ROCKOUT** - Trapeze swings in from England, with special guest Captain Beyond and even more special guest White Witch in a real mind-flipper; 8 p.m., Music Hall, Houston.

## OCTOBER 22

**PILLOW CONCERT** - Bring your own fluffy and listen to John Prine, Kentucky folk-country musician and singer Bonnie Koloc; 8 p.m., 2nd floor University Center, University of Houston, Houston.

**BREAD** - The group that made the bigtime with "Make It With You" and "It Don't Matter to Me" plays Fort Worth and Corpus Christi; Tarrant County Convention Center, Fort Worth; Oct. 23, 7:30 p.m., Memorial Coliseum, Corpus Christi.

## OCTOBER 23

**CHORAL MUSIC** - Modern choral music by Schoenberg, Ives, Kodaly, and Knut Nystedt, performed by University Choir and Choral Union with SMU Chamber Orchestra; Caruth Auditorium, Dallas.

## OCTOBER 24

**FRENCH FARCE** - "The Happy Hunter," comedy by George Feydeau, in its American premiere, with John Reich directing Dallas Theatre Center players; through Nov. 18, Theatre Center, Dallas.

## OCTOBER 26

**CHICANO PLAY** - Wilebaldo Lopez, award-winning Mexican actor-director-playwright, brings his production of "Vine, Vi y Mejor Me Fui" to campus with seminars on Mexican-American theatre; through Oct. 28, also Nov. 2-4, Theatre West, Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio.

## OCTOBER 27

**PIANO DUO** - Laurence and Joy Smith, pianists, in concert; 8 p.m., Zachary Scott Theatre Center, Austin.

**WURSTFEST** - Sausage and beer and hordes of the hungry celebrating Wurstfest, with Cameron German Folk Dancers, Wurst Band, Sausage Dog (Dachhund) Show, Wurstfest Canoe

Races, Sailboat Regatta, and Auto Verein Rallye; through Nov. 5, New Braunfels.

## OCTOBER 28

**JOHNNY CASH** - Johnny brings June Carter, the Carter Family, Carl Perkins, the Statler Brothers and the Tennessee Three with Larry Butler; 8:30 p.m., Tarrant County Convention Center, Fort Worth.

**FUNKY** - The bigselling Grand Funk, fresh from their latest album, "Mark, Don, and Mel," in concert; Memorial Auditorium, Dallas.

## OCTOBER 29

**BALLET** - The Harkness Ballet, whose checkered history includes series of disbandings and regroupings, performs in Cultural Entertainment Series; 8 p.m., Municipal Auditorium, Austin.

**RARE EARTH** - Rock group plus Tower of Power; 8 p.m., Hofheinz Pavilion, Houston.

## OCTOBER 30

**SYMPHONY** - A. Clyde Roller conducts Houston Symphony Orchestra in program including Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet," Sibelius' "Symphony No. 7," and works by Mozart and Bach; through Oct. 31, Jones Hall, Houston.

**VIOLINIST** - John Corigliano performs violin concerto by Brahms with Maurice Peress conducting Corpus Christi Symphony Orchestra; Del Mar Auditorium, Corpus Christi.

## OCTOBER 31

**FUNNY GIRL** - Carol Lawrence in Halloween performance of "Funny Girl;" through Nov. 12, Houston Music Theatre, Houston.

**IVES** - Works by American composer Charles Ives performed by Dallas Arts String Quartet; Caruth Auditorium, Dallas.

## NOVEMBER 1

**SOLOIST** - Rudolf Firkušny, pianist who has appeared with most of the world's major orchestras, in concert; Hogg Auditorium, University of Texas, Austin.

## Sleep of the righteous

She keeps her skin like a China doll,  
Undercooks the rice and brews herb tea.  
Her portraits subdivide the wall  
With enduring delicacy.

Silk creaks down to her blue-veined wrists.  
She says there's a nice way of disagreeing  
With all but perverts and communists.  
She confides in a Supra-being.

She assures you sacrifice makes you  
stronger,  
Despises war but supports the wars.  
At night her system can stand it no  
longer  
And my God how she snores.

-BRUCE BERGER

Aspen, Colo.

# The job . . .

Austin  
"He gets the job done for Texas." That's Sen. John Tower's campaign slogan this year.

Tower's media people are striving to present him as an experienced, effective, hard-working senator, a man with a sober grip on the handle of power, a Congressman so valuable to Texas interests that it would be foolhardy to trade him in on a novice, much less a *Democratic* novice who actually has shaken the traitorous hand of Ramsey Clark.

A four-color tabloid recently inserted in 12 Texas newspapers stated, "The Tower record is impressive. In 11 years, his name has been scribbled on nearly a thousand pieces of legislation . . . bills that have benefitted virtually every Texan." "Scribbled" is an accurate word in many of these instances. A senator may become a sponsor of a bill by scribbling his name on it any time during the legislative process, even *after* the bill has been passed by the Senate. All it takes is the consent of his fellow senators, a courtesy that is rarely denied.

John Tower has scribbled his name on hundreds of pieces of legislation, but he personally has passed very, very few bills. Probably the prime reason for Tower's poor legislative record is that although he is Texas' "senior senator," he's a mere fledgling in the Halls of Congress. He has served only 11 years, less than two terms. Under the Senate's seniority system, a member is usually hitting his stride after about 30 years in office.

Tower ranks 48th out of 100 in seniority. He's the ranking Republican on the Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee, third-ranking Republican on the Armed Services Committee and ranking Republican on the Military Construction Authorization Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee. Tower's position as number 48 in the Senate and the fact that he is a member of the minority party virtually guarantee that his name will not appear on any major pieces of legislation. Such honors are for the bigger boys. Still,

Tower's campaign puffery presents him as one of the big boys; so it seems fair to examine his legislative record and let Texans decide for themselves whether "he gets the job done for Texas."

THE *OBSERVER* culled the *Congressional Record* from January, 1966, through December, 1971, to see how many bills Tower introduced and how many he passed. (The 1972 session is still in progress and the *Record*, of course, is not complete for the year.) During these six years, more than half of his tenure in Congress, Tower personally or with one or two other sponsors introduced and passed nine bills through both houses of Congress.

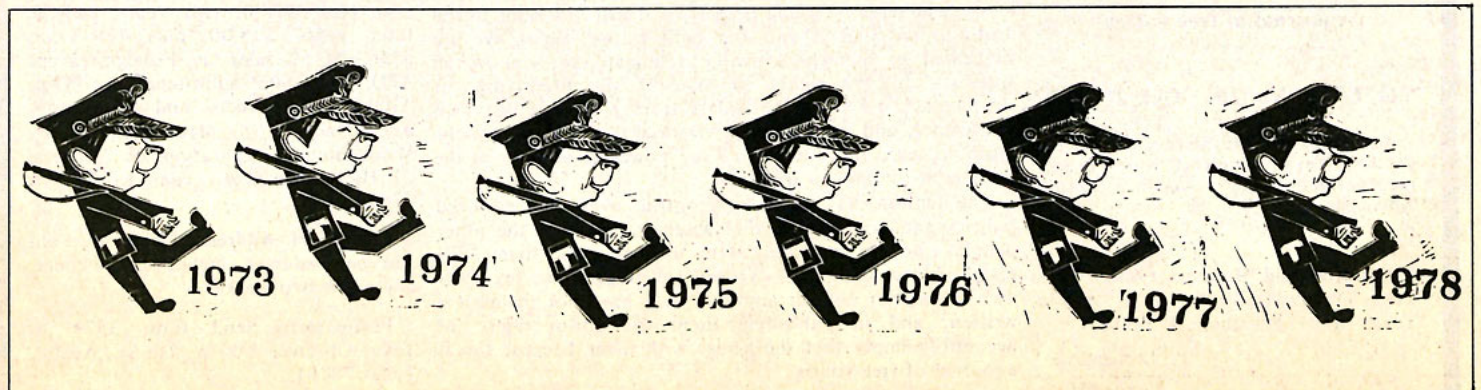
- 1966 S. 3500 Authorizing retirement in grade of lieutenant general for Robert W. Colglazier.
- 1967 S. 1400 Prohibiting transportation of traveler's checks with forged countersignatures.
- S. 1652 For relief of Anastasia D. Mpatzian.
- 1968 NONE
- 1969 S. 1466 (with Goldwater) Issuing amateur radio licenses to certain resident aliens.
- 1970 NONE
- 1971 S. 2781 (with Sparkman) Amending the National Housing Act.
- S. 1151 Revising contract with San Angelo Water Supply Corp.
- S. 2396 (with Miller) Authorizing cooperation with Central American governments in control of communicable animal diseases.
- S. 1647 (included in Revenue Act) Restoring 7 per cent investment tax credit.
- S. 730 (with Bentsen) Giving consent to Congress to consider land acquired as a result of the Chamizal treaty with Mexico as part of Texas.

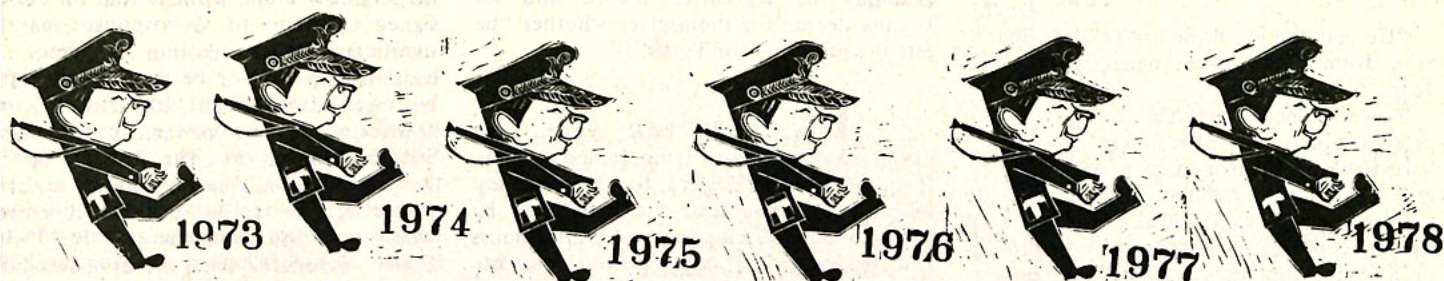
Tower cosponsored hundreds of other bills, and the *Observer* has no way of judging how much work he did on bills he signed his name to. A cosponsor may do significant work getting a piece of legislation passed or he may simply sign a bill as an after-thought. In Tower's Senate newsletter, *T Comments*, he provides a Senate floor report. The introduction to the report usually says, "Since my last newsletter, I have sponsored additional measures in the Senate and some which I sponsored earlier have made progress." The measures are listed as "signed into law," "passed by the Congress," "passed by the Senate," "new bills introduced," etc. The list looks impressive but it is often misleading. Take, for example, the February, 1972, report: "Bills signed into law: S. 1116 (with Senator Jackson, now PL 92-195)." Neither the *Congressional Record Index* nor "Topical Law Report" of Commerce Clearing House, Inc., lists Tower as a sponsor of S. 1116. The primary sponsors are Jackson and Hatfield. Also listed in the February report is S. 582 "to establish a national policy and develop a national program for management . . . of land and water resources of the nation's coastal and estuarine zones." The report states that Tower sponsored the bill along with Senator Hollings, but the Topical Law Report lists the top 26 sponsors and Tower is not among them. Nor does the Topical Law Report indicate that Tower is among the top 16 sponsors of Senator Percy's bill to establish a Special Action office of Drug Prevention. Percy's bill is included in Tower's list. So is Senator Buckley's S. 2944, amending the IRS Code pertaining to prisoners of war. Tower is one of 44 cosponsors of the bill. There are numerous other cases of the scribbles in Tower's floor reports.

IT IS EASY to claim credit for a bill. In a news release issued from his Austin campaign headquarters and dated Sept. 29, 1972, Tower is quoted as saying he was the "original author of the 1967 bilingual education bill." The bill generally is considered one of the major achievements of former Sen. Ralph Yarborough. RY told the *Observer* that

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Tower had no part in drafting the '67 bill. It was written, Yarborough said, during October, November and December of 1966. Yarborough said that during that time he invited Tower along with Robert Kennedy, Jacob Javits, Joe Montoya and Harrison Williams to cosponsor the bill. There is no indication in the *CR Index* that Tower was a principal sponsor of the bilingual bill. (In August of this year, however, Tower introduced a bilingual measure of his own, S. 3952, establishing a bilingual job training program.)

Perhaps in anticipation of the impending campaign, Tower sponsored and cosponsored many more bills during 1971 and '72 than he did in earlier years. In 1971 he introduced or was a major cosponsor of 53 bills as compared to 19 bills in 1966, 24 bills in 1967 (14 of them personal relief bills), 17 bills in 1968 (7 personal relief bills), 28 bills in 1969 (12 personal relief bills) and seven bills in 1970 (four personal relief bills).

**P**ERHAPS PART of Tower's problem is his attendance record. Sanders

claims the senator's record is "far below average." According to Sanders' investigation, Tower was present for only 69 percent of the Senate roll call votes in 1966, 53 percent in 1967, 63 percent in 1968, 78 percent in 1969, 55 percent in 1970 and 78 percent in 1971. During these six years GOP senators averaged an attendance record of from 79 to 87 percent on roll call votes.

Tower answers that he has been present for 80 percent of the roll call votes in the Senate this year and for 78 per cent of them last year." The senator's people have gone back and looked up Sanders' record in the Texas House during the fifties and they countercharge that Sanders missed 266 roll call votes in 224 legislative days. (Sanders says he voted on 93 percent of the record votes while he was in the Legislature. There were more than 5,000 record votes during his four years in office; he could have missed 266 roll call votes in 224 legislative days in the Texas House just going to the men's room.)

"A U.S. Senator from Texas, or any

large state, cannot do an effective job by chaining himself to a desk in the Senate Chamber," Tower argues. "This year alone I have been called to the White House 18 times to confer with the President."

Tower may not be in heavy demand as a bill passer, but he is as a public speaker. The tiny senator received an M.A. in political science from SMU in 1953 and did some post-graduate work at the University of London. He taught government for several years at Midwestern University in Wichita Falls, Tex., until he decided to stop teaching government and start working in government.

Tower has a strong, deep, speaking voice and a penchant for Bucklean rhetoric. A sampling from a recent Senate debate on SALT: "Mr. President, does the Senator from Washington agree that given their present momentum in advancing their military technology, both qualitatively and quantitatively, and given our current lack of momentum, the Soviets would, in the absence of an equitable agreement, in a short period of time achieve or exceed superiority?" (Senator Jackson did indeed

## THE TEXAS OBSERVER

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

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agree.)

In the 1971 honorariums sweepstakes, Tower was the twelfth top earner in the Senate (George McGovern was third). Tower grossed \$18,000 last year as compared to a measly \$519 for Texas' Democratic senator, Lloyd Bentsen. Tower made \$24,129 at speaking engagements in 1970 and \$18,200 in 1969. These honorariums are not so honorable to Barefoot Sanders' way of thinking. Sanders maintains there is a serious ethical question involved in Tower's accepting fees by groups that are interested in legislation before committees on which he serves. For example, Sanders says, during the last three years Tower received \$10,000 for speeches made to out-of-state financial associations, including the Maine bankers association and the California bankers association. This year the senator voted in committee to exempt banks from \$348 million in state and local property taxes and for amendments to gut legislation designed to protect consumers against credit billing abuses. Sanders says Tower also took an all-expense-paid junket to Nassau, bankrolled by the New York State Savings Bank Association. Sanders has promised not to accept speaking fees, if he's elected.

Jimmy Banks, a member of Tower's campaign staff, says Tower has made speeches as a representative of the Republican Party in all 50 states. He most often is asked to talk about national defense. The topic second in popularity is economic policy.

"National security is the nation's first priority," Tower maintains. The senator is a hawk's hawk, a red, white and blue, star-spangled military groupie. During his 11 years in office he has visited Vietnam seven times and has attended five NATO conferences. As a member of the Armed Services Committee, he has introduced (but rarely passed) bills concerning the military. During World War II he served as an enlisted man aboard an amphibious gunboat in the western Pacific and today he's the only member of the Senate on the active rolls of the Naval Reserve. His interest in the Navy is reflected in almost yearly attempts to designate a national Admiral Nimitz Day. (He's also gone to bat, albeit unsuccessfully, for Bataan-Corregidor Day, an Astronauts Memorial Commission and a study

commission to investigate matters pertaining to the display and use of the U.S. flag.)

**T**OWER HAS somewhat mollified his views on military force since he entered the Senate. In 1961 he told the *Observer*, "I don't know what price we would have to pay to initiate a nuclear preventive war. We could have cleaned the matter up nicely in 1948 and '49 when the Russians didn't have the bomb. I've heard military men say we really should have mounted a preventive war then, swiftly and cleanly. I'm sure most of the world would have hated us for it, but they'd have been able to sleep securely as a result of it." But the senator still sees a consymp slouching behind every defense cut. Tower believes that what's good for Lockheed is good for America. His Democratic opponent has charged that Tower spent more time arranging a \$250 million government loan for Lockheed Corp., a California-based defense contractor, than he has protecting the jobs of aerospace workers in Texas. But Tower insists that the Lockheed subsidy saved thousands of jobs in Texas and \$40 to \$50 million in contracts in the Fort Worth-Dallas area.

Defense and a healthy economy are inseparable as far as Tower is concerned. He was delighted to join the Armed Services Committee in 1965. "We have more than a quarter million defense personnel ... in Texas. ... Much of the basic industry in our state is vitally concerned in the military equipment field, and military wages in Texas annually amount to three quarters of a billion dollars," Tower exulted. He has been a strong supporter of General Dynamics and its Texas-manufactured F111 fighter-bomber, defending it through numerous crashes and groundings. In 1970, when Texas Instruments had to lay off 1,210 employees because of cuts in defense expenditures, Tower accused the Democratic majority in Congress of wanting to unilaterally disarm the country.

Tower insists that George McGovern's plan to trim the defense budget could be "a quick route into another war." A weekly radio report issued by Tower July 25, 1970, laid out his belief in the inseparable relationship between the

military and the economy: "I do not like to make dire predictions and I would not do so unless I felt strongly that they could be accurate. But I sincerely believe that unless the Congress supports the minimum national defense provided for in [the military procurement bill of 1970], the United States will become a second-rate military power by the middle of this decade and will face economic isolation [emphasis ours] by 1980. Our current world situation demands that the United States maintain the military flexibility required to back up our diplomatic efforts toward world peace."

**T**OWER HAS been happiest with our Vietnam policy when the generals used their flexibility in military offensives. He's never seen much merit in peace offensives. In 1965, when Sens. Robert and Ted Kennedy supported the idea of donating American blood to the North Vietnamese through the International Red Cross, Tower said, "I'm very much opposed to giving blood to anybody but our people." In the fall of 1969, when President Nixon was beginning a staged troop withdrawal, Tower advocated resumption of bombing in the North, interdiction of the North Vietnamese lines of communication and closing the port of Haiphong. "It has become increasingly apparent that the intensification of military pressures on our enemies is the only thing that will bring them to terms," Tower said. "I don't believe that we should regard victory as either an evil word or an unattainable goal."

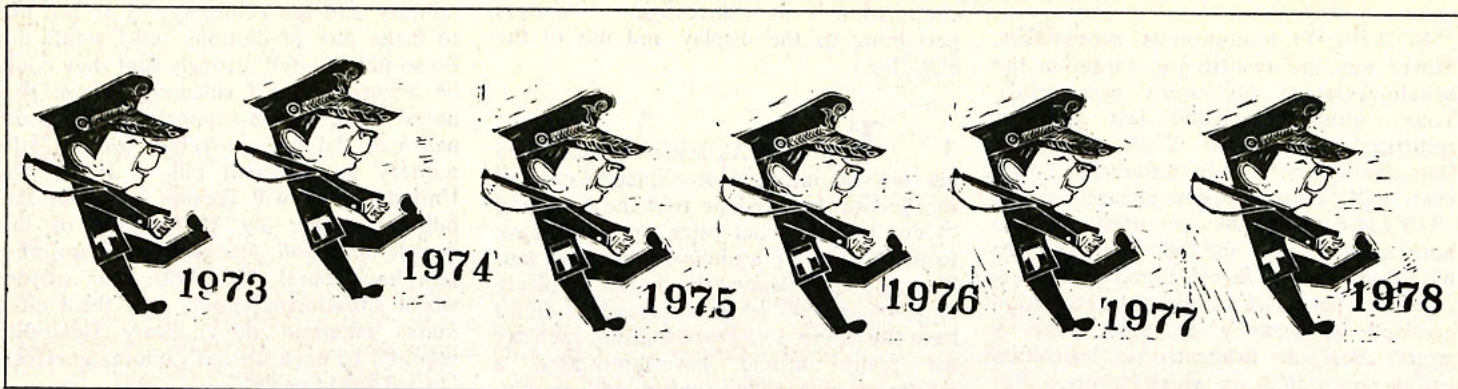
During the debate over phase two of the ABM program, Tower urged not only funding for anti-ballistic missile sites to defend against Soviet rockets but against the Chinese as well. He told the *Dallas Morning News*, March 12, 1970, that he was especially concerned about the "threat" of an "irrational" attack by the Red Chinese.

Tower was an adamant supporter of the Taiwan government up until the time that Nixon stepped foot on mainland China. He was not informed in advance of the President's plans to go to Peking, and only

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days before the trip he said forsaking Nationalist China "would be sacrificing our western defense perimeter and proceeding to withdraw into the indefensible shell of fortress America."

At home, Tower has been a businessman's senator, faithful to the dream of an ever-expanding economy. He's been as willing to serve the oil and gas industry as John Connally himself. In 1969, Tower voted against cutting the oil depletion allowance. The senator contends that if McGovern is elected President, Texas' oil, petrochemical and agribusiness will be "wiped out." Tower has sponsored bills to establish quotas on oil imports, to allow a 7 percent domestic exploration investment tax credit and to deregulate the pricing of all natural gas. He was strongly critical of President Nixon's recent decision to allow importation of large quantities of oil from Arab countries and from South America. Tower maintained that instead of allowing more imports, the U.S. government should provide investment incentives for independent oil producers and allow more frequent sale of offshore oil and gas leases.

The "energy crisis" is one of Tower's favorite crises. He has endorsed resolutions authorizing the secretary of the interior to study the tides of oceans as a possible alternative source of electrical energy and offshore nuclear power plants "as a means of alleviating thermal pollution problems." He also signed his name to a resolution instructing NASA to study solar rays as a possible alternative source of electrical energy. (Tower's office lists these studies under his program to improve the environment.)

Texas' senior senator is an advocate of what he calls "labor law reform." The AFL-CIO calls it something else. This summer the *El Paso Herald-Post* quoted Tower as telling the Cotton Warehouse Association of America that "the biggest problem facing the U.S. today is probably organized labor." Dean Gilliland, assistant director of the United Transportation Union, wrote Tower a letter about the statement and Tower answered, saying he hadn't "intended to say such a thing. However," Tower added, "I do feel that labor problems collectively compete with a

number of other topics for that dubious honor. It is my view that organized labor today possesses inordinate economic power and that this power must be curbed if our economy is to survive."

In 1970 Tower introduced legislation to set up a federal labor court to take over part of the responsibilities of the National Labor Relations Board. "The NLRB has behaved as if it were an extension of organized labor," he wrote in a newsletter (April 4, 1970). Tower was a floor leader in the fight to retain the right-to-work section of the Taft-Hartley Act. On July 20 of this year he voted against an increase in the minimum wage. He voted for Nixon's wage and price control program and in favor of prohibiting strikes and lockouts in the 1970 railroad dispute.

**T**OWER MAY be despised by most organized labor groups, but he's adored by the doctor's union. In a September fundraising letter from the Texas Medical Political Action Committee, Dr. L. S. Thompson, Jr., chairman of TEXPAC, wrote, "Sen. John Tower and other friendly incumbents running for Congress and the State Legislature face serious challenges. Please join other Texas physicians in the fight to preserve the private practice of medicine." Tower was the only candidate mentioned by name in the letter. The *Observer* has learned that the doctors' lobby group has a \$100,000 kitty to spend on Texas races this fall. The portion allocated to Tower's race is undisclosed, but it's sure to be generous.

The Republican senator voted against Medicare in September of 1963. Today he vigorously opposes a nationalized health care system. "I'm convinced it would destroy our present health system based on the doctor-patient relationship," Tower contends. He has supported legislation to provide a voluntary health insurance plan for low-income groups and an amendment to the Internal Revenue Code to permit deductions of all expenses for medical care. In 1970 he voted against funding hospital construction under the Hill-Burton program.

Tower's record on consumer protection is not so hot. In June of this year he was one of ten senators who voted against creation of the Food, Drug and Consumer Product Agency, an agency designed to

protect consumers against mislabeling, adulteration and illegal distribution of food, drugs and hazardous products. He voted in 1970 to limit coverage of the Consumer Products Warranty and Guaranty Act to electrical, mechanical and thermal components. That same year he opposed a one-year extension on the deadline for producing a 90 percent pollution free car and he has voted against providing federal funds for development of a "safe car." In 1966 Tower even voted to eliminate the provisions for establishment of package weight and quantity standards in the Truth in Packaging Bill.

"Senator Tower advocates a balanced program to protect the environment while avoiding economic dislocations," states his "Record-at-a-glance" paper on the environment. "We need to preserve a quality environment, but, at the same time, we don't need to close down any factories or stop managing our forests," Tower says. He voted against the National Wilderness Preservation System in 1961 and against the Wilderness Act in 1962. He supported federal funding of the supersonic transport and favored giving the states exclusive authority to manage fish and wildlife resources within their borders.

Sanders maintains that Tower "has done absolutely nothing for environmental protection." This charge prompted Jimmy Banks to point out in a news release that Tower helped pass incentive tax credit for the cost of providing water and air pollution facilities, for increasing federal assistance for state agencies which tighten water quality standards and for noise control legislation.

The senior senator is not about to inconvenience business in his pursuit of a better environment, but in the past two years he at least has attempted to associate himself with some of the less controversial environmental legislation. These bills involve a junked vehicle disposal program, protection for wild horses and ocean mammals and regulation of dumping material in oceans and coastal and other waters.

Tower's campaign personnel this year have prepared a special booklet appealing for black votes. It's done in black, with white type. The brochure is strong on photos of Tower in the company of persons of the Negro persuasion and weak

on facts concerning Tower's civil rights record. He voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1963, against the Voting Rights Act of 1965, against the Civil Rights Act of 1968, against the Equal Opportunities Enforcement Act of 1972 and against the National Voter Registration Act of 1972.

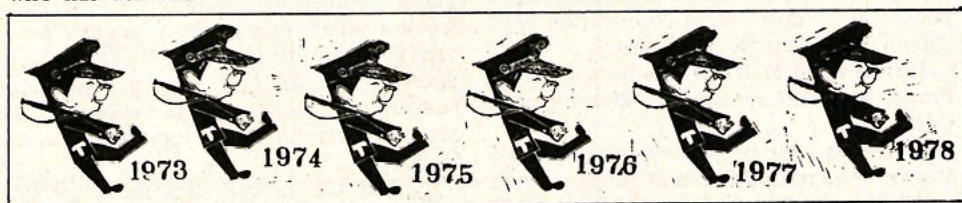
**H** E'S A terror on the subject of busing. "Forced busing has disrupted school systems, interfered with studies, hampered extra-curricular activities and wasted disgracefully taxpayers' money which should be used to raise the quality of education for all students," Tower says. "The courts have gone entirely too far in ordering busing solely for the purpose of achieving racial balance."

Why, then, should blacks vote for John Tower? "Your inclination probably would be to vote Democratic," the little black brochure says. But, "black Texans can no longer vote for a political party automatically. We must vote for the man who has demonstrated a determination to

create programs that will benefit all blacks. . . . The record indicates that Sen. John Tower is that man."

Tower's *chicano* campaign materials are not in brown, they too have numerous photos of him in right on situations with actual Mexican-Americans, or Hispanos, as the Nixon Administration is wont to call them. Nixon has given a great deal of money and numerous appointments to his kind of Hispanos and Tower's campaign is benefiting from this Republican largesse.

Tower also has special campaign materials for the elderly (He Cares, He Acts), for young people (this one's done in psychedelic orange and pink) and for women. The women's booklet mostly contains family pictures. Most all of the materials, no matter whom it's aimed at, emphasize that Tower gets the job done. "The best way to evaluate an incumbent is to look at his performance record. That's what counts," says one of Tower's newspaper ads. And there you have it from the horse's mouth. K.N.



## Frontlash for Barefoot

What's called variously "the frontlash effect" and "the penance vote" has been forcing Sen. John Tower to stop attacking George McGovern and Ramsey Clark and actually speak the name of his Democratic opponent, Harold Barefoot Sanders.

Tower's early strategy was to campaign as if he were running against McGovern. It was a good technique, if a bit confusing to voters. Sanders, after all, is quite moderate. Tower rarely even mentioned that he has a senatorial opponent. He just flailed away at McGovernism in speech after speech. When he did venture a remark about his own opponent, it was only to identify him as the bosom buddy of Ramsey Clark, who, in Tower's mind seems to be a cross between Quisling and Chairman Mao.

Sanders, however, has turned out to be a very serious opponent indeed. For months he's been hacking away with impressive specifics at Tower's Senate absenteeism and voting record. Meanwhile, the GOP has been discovering what Gordon Wade calls "the penance vote," a phenomenon whereby traditional Democrats who are supporting Nixon intend to assuage their conscience by voting Democratic in all other races. Political pollsters and reporters are discovering the phenomenon all over the country. The *Congressional Quarterly* calls it a "frontlash." It presages very short coattails for Richard Nixon.

### Political Intelligence

Tower started dealing with Sanders, by name, about the first of October. On the fourth, he held a news conference to accuse Sanders of conducting "a totally negative campaign. He offers nothing constructive, no positive programs, and he refuses to discuss the crucial issues that face our state and nation," Tower said. "This is nothing more than a cover-up trick designed to cloud up his own record and divert voters' attention from the issues."

The *Observer* interpreted Tower's new approach as an indication that Sanders is gaining strength. But Gayle McNutt of the *Houston Chronicle* heralded Tower's Oct. 4 press conference as a feat of political heroism. A McNutt article Oct. 5 (directly above a large Tower ad accusing Sanders of using "the Great Cover-up Trick") began, "... Tower has chosen to do what few incumbents dare: give recognition to an opponent."

The campaign from now to November should be a bruiser.

And in the first round of bruising, Tower has won the Wilson Foreman-Gonzalo Barrientos Memorial Award with a spiffy radio ad. "Barefoot

Sanders has been making personal attacks on Senator John Tower to cover up his own past," the ad begins. It goes on to inform us that at some time in the past (we are left to assume that it was recently) Sanders voted against a financial disclosure law: "if it had passed, the Sharpstown scandal might never have taken place." The ad adds that in such-and-such a court record, Sanders is shown to be "the attorney of record for the former Speaker, with whom he served in the House."

In general, the ad manages to leave the impression that Barefoot Sanders is Gus Mutscher's best friend and that Mustcher never could have cut his deals if it hadn't been for Sanders' help.

### No oath for students

The portion of the Texas Election Code requiring students to pledge indefinite residence in their college towns in order to vote has been ruled unconstitutional. U.S. Dist. Judge William Wayne Justice handed down the ruling in Sherman on Oct. 2 in a suit brought by two students in Denton. A spokesman for Justice said a major factor in the decision was a deposition submitted by Secretary of State Bob Bullock, which described the student voting clause as an attempt to prevent students from voting.

Buck Wood has been named as the full-time lobbyist for the Texas office of Common Cause, the "citizen lobby" headed nationally by John Gardner. Texas Common Cause is gearing up to become a self-sustaining permanent operation. The emphasis, Wood said, is on concentration on a few issues the state board (composed of two members from each senatorial district in the state) considers vital: at the moment, those issues are campaign financing, conflict of interest, freedom of information, open meetings and the disclosure of lobbying relationships. Wood is the Elections Division of the Secretary of State's office and has aided Bullock in several of the progressive changes in the state's election laws that have come out of that office during the past year.

### The public came

Some of the public came to a public hearing of the Texas Water Rights Commission on Oct. 3. Most introduced themselves at the opening of the meeting — 13 residents of Harris County gave their names — but several people entered the hearing room while the session was in progress. Though they all uttered disclaimers about not being opposed to water districts "in general," there were no kind words for any districts in particular.

The folks from Channelview, including representatives of an association of small businesses, scored their districts for high-handedness and secrecy. Travis Kelly

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said his district's board of directors told him their financial dealings were none of his business; Ms. Kelly detailed the higher rates she pays for service in her small trailer park and the frustration of having "no recourse." Another resident, Ms. Rasch, explained to the commission that she pays \$407 a year to her district in taxes and has no water service on her land. If she decides to use the district's facilities, she said, the initial charge will be \$800.

Jack Woods of Houston offered other criticisms of the utility district system, and zeroed in on Rep. Jack Ogg, who sponsored legislation creating over 50 Harris County districts in the last session before leaving the House to run for the Senate. Ogg's opponent in that Senate race, Howard Moon, also mentioned Ogg whom he called "the lone Mutscher man left in Harris County." Moon suggested the commission start its own investigation rather than relying on the House probe, which "smells of cronyism," in his words.

B. B. Williams, president of the Baytown Taxpayers Association, also spoke. He estimated, as a former city engineer, that \$100,000 would pay for the construction of water and sewer facilities for an area of 169 acres, and sharply criticized a district near Baytown for approving \$5.5 million worth of bonds for that purpose.

Three members of the Legislature told the commission that it should provide leadership in attempts to reform the MUD system. Rep. Rex Braun of Houston asked if the House Interim Study Committee had approached the commission about its probe and was told it had not. Rep. Bill Blythe, also of Houston, made three specific suggestions to the commissioners: that they ask the Legislature for authority to require audits from all districts, that they prohibit districts from using bond revenues to pay interest on the bonds and that they safeguard the right of new residents of a district to know they are moving into a MUD. Rep. Lane Denton of Waco reiterated his request that the commission approve no new districts until the House Committee has completed its investigation.

The criticism was interspersed with responses from commission members. Commission Chairman Judge O. F. Dent admitted the existence of "loopholes" and "flexibility" in present laws, but pointed out that the inspection staff of three people simply is not sufficient to enforce commission regulations ("Send 'em all to Houston," replied a voice near the door). Dent also expressed the opinion that the commission may not have the authority to declare a moratorium on district creation.

But the only real give-and-take of the morning came when Commissioner Joe D. Carter began questioning John Knox, a newly-elected "people's director" of the Wilcrest Improvement District in Houston. Knox said taxes in his district have been

cut by 25 per cent as a result of the hiring of an independent tax assessor to replace the developer's secretary in that job. Carter asked if he knew of misuse of funds by the district's old directors, and Knox replied that no complete analysis of expenditures had been made. Several other questions about the quality and cost of district facilities followed, with Knox repeating that he could not provide definite answers.

After a lunch break, the Commission got back to its routine of hearing petitions for the creation of MUDs. Four proposed districts were laid before them, and all were taken "under advisement." The four were:

Davis Bayou MUD, 2,064 acres on the Trinity River in Liberty County being developed by Property Investments Inc. This petition was originally brought up two weeks ago, but postponed at that time (see *Obs.*, Oct. 6).

Harris County MUD 15, 210 acres northeast of Houston, to be developed by Johnson-Loggins, Inc., which already has a pocketful of districts, in cooperation with Austin Northwest Development.

Hunterwood MUD, 276 acres owned by Properties International Development Corp.

Northway MUD, 262 acres west of Houston Intercontinental Airport, owned jointly by the Baptist Foundation and SIC Management 100.

At first blush, taking the proposals "under advisement" looked like a move to get them out of the public hearing before acting upon them. The last three districts, especially, were discussed only very briefly. A telephone call to the commission the next day produced little information: the commissioners wanted to consider the matters further, but had no idea when they would do so, and did not plan to announce either hearings or results of more consideration.

The House Committee appointed to study MUD creation has not held its first meeting yet. Chairman John Traeger had been quoted as saying the committee members are too busy with the special session to meet; Traeger was unavailable for comment Thursday at noon because he had left town for the weekend.

Sen. Chet Brooks' resolution creating a similar committee in the Senate was reported to the floor on Oct. 9. The Senate committee would include the chairmen of the Texas Water Rights Commission and Texas Water Quality Control Board or their representatives, as well as two other private citizens and three Senators. The committee would be charged with making its report before March 1.

The Austin City Council refused to grant its approval of a proposed MUD just outside its city limits. Mayor Roy Butler voiced specific reservations about eventually assuming the district's indebtedness. The Council evidently did not wish to go on record as opposing all future MUDs: a motion to that effect was

withdrawn. But one councilman said the unanimous vote to reject developer Walter Carrington's request for city approval was an indication future requests would also be denied.

## Superport

After two days of committee hearings, the superport bills were assigned to subcommittees for further study. The subcommittees, like the full committees which have held joint hearings on the bills, are chaired by Sen. A. Aikin of Paris and Rep. Bill Finck of Antonio. The bills, S.B. 29 and H.B. would create a Texas Offshore Terminal Commission to study and select a method of providing offshore port facilities, give it the authority to finance construction through the sale of revenue bonds.

So far no one has opposed the idea outright, though various questions were raised in testimony. A representative of the Texas Superport Study Corporation recommended that a study already being conducted by his group be funded instead. Several port directors made suggestions concerning the relations between proposed terminal and existing on-shore facilities.

But the shocker was the suggestion that oil companies build their own superport. Robert H. Chitwood, a Citicorp Service Oil Company executive, told the joint committee that nine companies already far along in their plans for "Seadock" to serve the area between Corpus Christi and Lake Charles, La., said there should be such a facility operating by 1975 or so and that private industry is capable of financing a building it. He urged further study of the relative merits of public versus private ownership.

Sen. A. R. Schwartz, sponsor of S.B. 29, has some preliminary ideas on the question. He told the *Observer*, "I shouldn't sit around and let oil companies tell us how concerned they are about the future of Texas when their only evidence is platform fires and an ocean full of drilling rigs with no storm chokes." He said he would not be satisfied with the amount of control the state would have over a privately-owned facility.

State Land Commissioner Bob Armstrong also favors control through a state agency, with emphasis on environmental planning. But he said financing should include the "assistance of private enterprise." Estimates of the cost of constructing an offshore terminal have wandered around between \$70 million and \$120 million, but the consensus seemed to be that such an outlay was an economic necessity. Either 100,000 or 300,000 jobs (depending on who you want to quote) depend on the future of the petrochemical industry, which in turn depends on the future of the superport, according to the bills' supporters.

• Corpus Christi politics a la Watergate: somebody broke in at the office of *La Raza Unida* Party County Chairman Albert Huerta on the night of Sept. 30. The intruder(s) showed little interest in general campaign files, but did steal confidential files of correspondence from Jose Angel Gutierrez as well as an undetermined amount of cash. The files contained names of potential contributors and papers on campaign strategy. There was also some general trashing.

## Editor gets 10 for pot

• Brent Stein (whose pen name is Stoney Burns), a Dallas underground newspaper editor, was sentenced to 10 years and one day in prison for possession of marijuana. Burns contends that police planted the small film canister full of marijuana seeds found in the glove compartment of his van March 4.

Stein is appealing the case. It could develop into the most widely celebrated dope bust of a political figure since Lee Otis Johnson got 30 years for giving a joint to an undercover officer.

• On again, off again, the San Antonio North Expressway is on again. Despite the opposition of the Environmental Protection Agency and the White House Environmental Agency, the U.S. House of Representatives has approved legislation exempting the expressway from federal environmental guidelines. The measure, previously passed by the Senate, will allow the State of Texas to complete construction on the expressway using its own funds. U.S. Reps. O. C. Fisher and Jim Wright were the two strongest proponents of the House bill; Rep. Bob Eckhardt led the floor fight against it, along with Rep. John D. Dingell of Michigan.

• Guess who's supporting the Democratic ticket this year? Rep. Bill Healy of Paducah.

• One good Republican. The best thing the Texas Republicans have come up with since George Bush is Doug Harlan of San Antonio, who's running for Congress against O. C. Fisher. Fisher's the one who used to boast that he was the only man in Congress with a zero rating from Americans for Democratic Action. For all we know, he still is. Harlan holds a Ph.D. in political science, has taught at Trinity University and worked in various planning and resource agencies.

## Poage is chicken

• "I intend to explore fully the missing links in the events connected with the [Soviet wheat] sale in the course of hearings of my subcommittee on livestock and grains," Texas Congressman Graham Purcell promised his fellow House members Sept. 14. That full investigation, however, doesn't include anything as drastic as using

the House Agriculture Committee's subpoena power.

According to columnist Clark Mollenhoff, the Ag. Committee, chaired by another Texan, Robert Poage, has rarely, if ever, subpoenaed witnesses during the last quarter century. "Most of our witnesses are responsible businessmen and government officials whom you would expect to tell the truth," one of the staff members told Mollenhoff. Witnesses simply have been invited to appear and tell their version of the grain deal story.

# Republicans for Connally

Denton

Democrat-for-Nixon John B. Connally is the Republican Party's choice for President in 1976. Is anyone surprised?

At a Denton fund-raising-disguised-as-awards gala, Sept. 23, GOP big-gun John Wayne, sharing the platform with Connally, told a cheering crowd of the wealthy:

"Recently I had the privilege of talking to the President and Mr. Kissinger, and if Mr. Connally had heard the nice things they said about him, he'd know why we all want him in '76. I'm willing to help start it, anytime."

The Duke held a \$50,000 rifle inlaid with rubies and decorated with gold as he said this. He was the last act in a live horse opera billed as "A Gathering of Eagles," at the Rex Cauble Ranch and Show Arena.

Connally, Wayne and Herb W. Klein, the Dallas big-game hunter and investor in gas, oil and real estate, were honored as "Eagles" for their "Love of Country, Love of Outdoors and Love of Sportsmanship."

The "Eagles" symbolism was explained thusly: "It is appropriate that Eagles should gather on National Hunting and Fishing Day."

Homer Koon, "the foremost rifle designer in the world," presented each "Eagle" with a plush weapon, the first three produced by his new firm, Omega Arms, Inc. of Flower Mound, next door to the Dallas-Fort Worth Regional Airport.

Production models will sell at a much lower price: \$400.

Connally, Wayne and Klein came early enough to cut the ribbon opening Omega Arms before moving on to Cauble's Show Arena. At Cauble's, a long private party billed in PR releases as "an adult affair" preceded the brief public showing of the Big Three.

Cauble's air-conditioned barn may well be the Astrodome of the world's quarterhorse circles. Larger than a football field and equipped with offices and a saloon, the arena houses Cutter Bill, world champion cutting horse, retired now to stud, and many of his high-priced offspring.

Mollenhoff maintains, "When congressional committees don't use the power of subpoena and oath, they are abdicationing their oversight responsibilities to see that bureaucrats administer the laws as intended. Careless congressional supervisions or a cozy relationship between committee members and Agriculture Department officials creates an unhealthy relationship by which Agriculture Department officials and the business interest they deal with or regulate are permitted to interpret and apply the law to suit their own purposes." □

Cauble is an oilman, banker, investor and owner of thousands of acres of Texas.

Cauble's guests dined and drank safe from the rain but breathing the rank odor of horse manure and Pine-Sol, while a choir sang "God Bless America" and "The Green Leaves of Summer."

Klein and his gold "R.N." lapel pin all but got lost in the shuffle around Connally and Wayne. The rich grabbed Wayne for snapshots, then reached for Connally's hand, the hand that only the night before had touched the President's and wealthy Democrats-for-Nixon at Connally's Floresville ranch.

The public was admitted in time to see the "Eagles" on stage and taking off. Homer Koon handed Connally his gun reminding the audience that Connally has "felt the sting of the assassin's bullet." Connally's speech was largely non-political. "A hunter is not a killer; a hunter is a conservationist," he said.

Then a cry arose from the crowd, and it was solidly cheered:

"John Connally, '76!"

—S. Dunn

October 20, 1972

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# How Bullock got busted



Photo by Ray Cobb

Barnes

Austin

At 1 p.m. on Sept. 18, Governor Preston Smith announced the appointment of Secretary of State Bob Bullock to the chairmanship of the State Board of Insurance.

At 2 p.m., Bullock said to Randall (Buck) Wood, the head of the elections division in the secretary of state's office, "Buck, get your ass over to the library and check out every book they got over there on insurance." Bullock stayed up all night for the next two nights studying insurance and figured he then knew more about it than most state senators. The senators were to pass judgment on Bullock's qualifications for the office in a confirmation vote requiring a two-thirds majority for approval. Quite naturally, Bullock's fitness for the position, or lack of it, had nothing to do with the way anyone voted.

Bullock has a Triple-A, gilt-edged feud going with Lieutenant Governor Ben Barnes, the history of which stretches back into Middle Earth. In brief, they used to be friends and now they hate each other's guts. It's sort of mixed up in the Barnes-Smith feud and has come to include the staff members of both men, not to mention their assorted friends and enemies. So Barnes naturally set out to get Bullock "busted," i.e., to get more than 10 senators to vote against him.

Then there came a third party into the act — the insurance lobby. Ordinarily Bullock gets along quite well with lobbyists, having once been one himself. But the state has come to such a pass that various business interest groups consider the regulatory boards and agencies that allegedly control them as their personal

property. They are shocked, actually sort of emotionally outraged, when someone whom they have not approved gets appointed to *their* board.

**B**ULLOCK IS no Ralph Nader. In fact, in his previous incarnations he enjoyed a richly deserved reputation for slimy dealing. But he is a distinctly independent soul, quite capable of forcing an entire industry to cut its profits drastically if hit by one of his periodic fits in which he decides to do good things for the people. At one point he said he wouldn't be satisfied until he had seen to it that Texas had the lowest insurance premium rates of any state in the union. That's the kind of thing Bullock might haul off and actually see to, if given the power. The insurance interests got a little hysterical.

A liberal senator who is sympathetic to Barnes believes that Barnes was pushed into trying to bust Bullock by the insurance lobby. Now that's another pass into which we are come — that a liberal who is trying to defend Barnes, mind you, would have you think that the lobby made Barnes do it. In fairness to Barnes, most indications are that he opposed Bullock out of pure dislike. In further fairness, Barnes had every reason to be spiteful about Bullock, who did Barnes wrong every time he got a chance during the primary campaign for governor.

Unfortunately, Barnes made the mistake of denying that he was doing what he was doing. "That's a bunch of bull," quoth he. "I don't need any votes for or against Bullock. I'm not collecting votes." When asked if he was opposed to Bullock's confirmation, Barnes said, "I have not ever commented on a nominee before the Senate as lieutenant governor and I don't plan to comment now." But comment he did, a few days later, "I think the people of Texas deserve someone other than a key member of the political team of a lame duck governor on the Board of Insurance."

It is all very well to be devious for strategic reasons, but when an operation is as out-front as was the Barnes anti-Bullock effort, you're just going to look silly if you deny that it exists. Fronting for Barnes was his happy hatchet man, Robert Spellings. Spellings and Bullock actually have a quite a bit in common — for one thing, they are both fanatically loyal to their respective political patrons. When Barnes said he wasn't working against Bullock, Spellings threw himself into the breach and said, "That's right, I'm doing all this all by myself and the lieutenant governor didn't know a thing about it." In a pig's eye. On one famous and possibly apocryphal



Photo by René Perez

Bullock

occasion, a senator asked to be allowed to talk to Barnes, whereupon Spellings is alleged to have pointed at himself and to have said, "You're talking to him, senator, you're talking to him."

Now the first step for all three camps was to get a list of the 31 state senators, sit down and divide the list. Each side picks out its Certains, senators they know are with them. Then they pick out their Hopeless, senators they know are against them. Then they concentrate on the ones in the middle. But if they're smart, they double-check all their Certains and at least take a crack at all the Hopeless. You get more points in this game, more emotional satisfaction, if you can convert one of the other guy's Certains, i.e., one of your Hopeless.

Next you follow several standard procedures. Find a senator's weak point. Call everybody on the list who owes you a favor and remind them of it. See if you are in a position, or will be in a position, to do something for a given senator, then call him and promise to do it. See if you can scare the man. In order to play this game, you have to be well-informed. It helps if you can blackmail a senator into voting for you. Or offer him information he needs. For example, Bullock couldn't get one senator to answer his calls, so he finally snapped at the fellow's secretary, "You tell him that this is on his business as well as mine. There's an I.R.S. man down here going over his campaign expense reports line by line. I thought he'd like to know about it."

**B**OTH BARNES and Bullock have extensive, and infamous (see *Obs.*, Dec. 3, 1972, and March 3, 1972) card files, which catalogue everybody who is anybody in Texas and how much money they have contributed to whom. Such files are helpful in one of the key s.o.p.'s. The idea

is to swamp every senator with calls from home, calls from important people in his district, people who contribute to his campaigns. You want all these people to be calling this senator day and night saying, "You've got to vote for Bullock (or against him) or you'll never get another cent out of me." Usually, the calls are far more mild, pitched on the basis of old friendship or some such, but it's really best if the guy calling the senator can and will see to it that the senator will never get elected again if he doesn't obey.

Bullock has been around the capitol for 20 years and knows a lot of people. Barnes hasn't been around as long, but he's gone further, so people know him. If they don't personally know someone in a senator's home district who can lean on him, they know someone who knows someone who can. For example, Bullock's contacts are a little weak out in West Texas. But he has a friend named Bill Heatly, who is the Duke of Paducah. Bullock gets Heatly to call various judges, newspaper publishers, oilmen, what have you, and they in turn call their senators. Jack Hightower of Vernon, for example, got a lot of calls inspired by Heatly.

Now you should understand that this game is not simply a matter of two opposing players (or in this case three, granting that Barnes was working independently of the lobby) manipulating 31 little pawns on a board. All 31 senators are playing too. Bobby Fischer would love it. A senator can use a situation like this to 1. pay back a favor, 2. put himself in a position where another guy owes him a favor. Or a senator can play more subtle games. For instance, Bullock has a theory about Sen. Charlie Wilson of Lufkin, which Wilson mildly assesses as a crock.

This is Bullock's theory: Wilson wanted to vote for him (because he, Bullock, is a good guy and also because he, Wilson, is a good guy.) But Wilson owes Barnes. Owes him a bunch. Probably owes Barnes his congressional district. (Senator Wilson is about to become U.S. Representative Wilson). In addition, Wilson is an actual, personal friend of Barnes. So Wilson needs to create a reason for voting for Bullock. So he calls Bullock two days before the confirmation hearing and says, "Bob, I'm just sitting down here flaking away." Bullock, concerned, springs into action. "I got to stiffen up Charlie Wilson," he tells a friend. "I know how to do it — all it will take is getting 15 pounds of plaster of Paris down his gullet." Bullock starts phoning everyone he knows in Wilson's district. He gets John Henry Tatum and bunch of like folks to call Wilson and urge him to vote for Bullock. Thus Wilson is able to go to his friend Barnes, to whom he owes so much, and say, "Gee, I'd like to vote with you, Ben, but I've got all these calls from home coming in and there's just no way I can go against the people in my district."

Wilson reiterates that Bullock's theory is hooley.

**A**T THE BEGINNING of this particular match, all sides showed considerable weakness: Barnes is a lameduck, the lobby was split and Bullock was sick.

The Barnes strategy came down to a simple, but powerful factor — loyalty. You must not think that this is a mechanistic game wherein senators are induced to vote aye or nay simply because someone has found the proper mixture of carrot and stick. The X factor is an odd thing called friendship. Ordinarily, the X factor does not play as great a role as it did in this case.

Sen. Babe Schwartz of Galveston explains, "The Senate is a microcosm of everything Machiavelli ever talked about. Machiavelli teaches that fear is a more important weapon than love, and that's the way it usually works. The fear of punishment is the motivating factor, along with trading bills and such. But in this case, Barnes couldn't use fear of punishment. He's a lameduck. It came down to a question of how much loyalty did he engender over those years."

The answer is — considerable. According to Spellings, they did not use the call-around-the-state procedure. The lobby was doing that to beat Bullock anyway. Spellings said he worked entirely within the Senate. Ben Barnes is an attractive man who has done a lot of nice things for a lot of people, especially senators. He's been working with those senators for four years and he knows them a hell of a lot better than Bob Bullock does. And a lot of them are loyal to him.

It is in this realm that such fights become bloody. To buy, blackmail, or collect a man's vote for a due-debt is a relatively clean, straightforward process. But when inter-personal relations are involved, the votes become matters of honor, integrity or treachery. The emotional pressures build to a fantastic degree, and resulted in one senator having to go off to throw up after the vote was taken. Wilson, under phenomenal pressure because of his friendship with Barnes, paid an oblique compliment to Bullock's legendary loyalty after the vote had been taken. "If you had been me, Bob," said Wilson, "you wouldn't have voted for yourself."

But Barnes was not entirely toothless. Although he is a lame duck and had to rely primarily on personal suasion and loyalty, in addition to whatever the lobby was doing out there, he still had a weapon of sorts: committee assignments. Spellings pooh-poohs the idea, "If Barnes had wanted to use the committee assignments as a hammer, he would have waited to announce them until after the Bullock vote was taken."

"For three months, who cares?" added Schwartz. "Either these guys are lame

ducks themselves or they know a new lieutenant governor is coming in in January."

But some people did care. And some committee assignments will rest after Barnes has left office. Barnes left only two slots for the incoming lieutenant governor to fill on the finance committee, the most important of the lot. He bumped Chet Brooks of Houston off the committee. Brooks complained publicly that platoons of insurance lobbyists were out to beat Bullock and that he was being flooded with calls from insurance types urging him to vote against Bullock. Brooks also said that the insurance lobby had recruited Barnes as its field marshal and that Spellings was working with the lobbyists. "The insurance lobby has activated some people in almost every district," said Brooks. Barnes left Brooks, a long-time insurance reform advocate, off the two committees most concerned with insurance reform. He also removed Brooks and two other consumer advocates, Roy Harrington of Port Arthur and Bill Patman of Ganado, both of whom were for Bullock, from their committee chairmanships.

**A**ND THEN there was the case of poor old Murray Watson of Mart, who wanted to be on a certain committee. Spellings tells the story: "Murray Watson had talked to me on several occasions about wanting to be on the committee. Last Wednesday night in Brownwood we talked about committee assignments but we didn't make any decisions. When I called Murray about it Thursday, I told him, I said, 'We are going to consider committee assignments in an hour and you know the one thing on Barnes' mind is Bullock and I want to know how you're going to vote.' He said, 'You're threatening me,' and I told him 'Hell, no, I'm not threatening you, I'm just talkin' to you as a friend.' Barnes didn't tell me to call him and he didn't know I was calling. All that stuff Watson said later about threats was a God damned lie. I guess it was poor judgment on my part, but I didn't intend to threaten him."

Watson, not understanding Spellings' noble intentions, felt threatened. He didn't get on the committee. He voted for Bullock. He has known Bullock for 18 years. They used to be deskmates in the House together and they shared an apartment for a while.

There are some votes that no strategy can foresee.

Take, for example, the case of Sen. Bill Moore of Bryan, the Bull of the Brazos. Moore is a conservative, a very conservative. He is also close to Barnes, was, in fact, one of the senators, along with Oscar Mauzy of Dallas, who did the public presentation of the Briscoe road-building flap (remember that?) when Barnes was still in the gubernatorial race. O.K., Moore

is logically on Bullock's Hopeless list and Barnes' Certain list.

But, there's a Hillsboro connection. It should first be explained that there is such a thing as the Hillsboro Mafia. Hillsboro is an otherwise insignificant town not far from Dallas from which spring innumerable people important in Texas government. They are all either bound forever in blood brotherhood bonds or else they hate each other's guts. They have yet to begin shooting one another in oyster bars, but it can't be far off. The origin of the Hillsboro Mafia was once explained to me — it has something to do with Sissy Farenthold's grandfather — but I was drunk at the time and cannot remember more.

One time back in the 1950's Bill Moore ran for Congress against Olin "Tiger" Teague, who has a lot of friends in Hill County. Will Bond, a Hillsboro hardware merchant and until recently a member of the State Welfare Board, ran Bill Moore's campaign. Will Bond had a good friend who was a veterinarian named Dr. Edward Bobbitt, and Dr. Bobbitt managed Tiger Teague's campaign that year and got so mad at Will Bond that he never spoke to him again. Will Bond is Bob Bullock's brother-in-law. Will Bond asked Bill Moore to vote for Bob Bullock. Moore did.

**B**Y THE DAY before the vote, both Bullock's and Spellings' lists were accurate to within one vote. "The liberals are flakey," said Bullock presciently. This is indicative of one of the laws of Texas politics: liberals are flakier than conservatives.

Numerous other parties had been involved by this time. John Hill, the attorney general elect, who is from Hillsboro, naturally, made a few calls for Bullock. Crawford Martin, the attorney general, who is from, where else, Hillsboro, did not make calls for Bullock because he

can't stand Bullock. The lobby was very busy. The insurance lobby, Ed Stumpf at the helm, solidified against Bullock, but as Spellings justly points out, the lobby *in toto* was split on the thing. Jimmy "Boss" Day, the lobbyist who made Shearn Moody famous, was hanging around the Senate pulling for Bullock. Roy Evans, president of the AFL-CIO, was pushing for Bullock. An odd couple, Evans, for instance, passed the word to labor leaders in Galveston who in turn got in touch with Babe Schwartz, the chief flakee in the affair.

*Senator to insurance lobbyist: "Just for once, just once, I'd like to see somebody get on there that you sons of bitches aren't for."*

*Lobbyist, truthfully startled: "You mean none of us?"*

Bullock called Joe Bernal to double-check him. "Gee, I'm sorry, Bob," said Bernal. "But all the big insurance guys in my district have been calling me and I just don't know if I can vote for you." Now you're supposed to laugh. That was a funny joke. Big insurance guys never call Bernal, nor, for that matter, do big anybody elses because Bernal never votes with them. Bernal was also defeated in his primary race this spring.

*Lobbyist to senator: "What I'd like to see on there is a representative from the life insurance companies. Now the casualty people have their man on there and the health and accident people have their man. I think it's time a life insurance man went on."*

Ralph Yarborough made a few calls for Bullock. An insurance lobbyist identified only as "Pinky" is said to have parted from his brethren and to have made a few calls for Bullock. It seems that Pinky once had the office next door to Bullock's. Even lobbyists are subject to the claims of loyalty.

**O**THER X factors intervened. For example, Bullock's health. Bullock's friend,

Carlton Carl, press secretary to Smith, was plenty mad when the rumor got started that Bullock's health was considerably worse than had been publicly announced. Bullock had a lung removed in late August because of a tubercular-related growth on it. They had to crack all his ribs to get it out, and the pain is expected to bother him for some time. Some days he seems like the Bullock of yore — a puma on speed. He talks as fast, moves as quick and drinks as much as he ever did. (He has quit smoking.) Other days, he looks like Dorian Gray's portrait, moving slowly, in pain. With at least two senators, Bullock's health turned out to be a plus factor for him. One of them said, "The day he came in to see me he gave me all the right answers on insurance. But you know what really hit me was that he was in such pain. I could see him actually holding himself, like this, [gestures], while he rattled on about getting the rates down. For a couple of minutes, he couldn't even get up. The truth is, I think I voted for him out of sympathy."

"What he did to some of those senators," said Spellings, "was immoral, unethical and downright cruel."

"I used everything I had," said Bullock. "I tried all the tricks I know." To Carlton Carl he added, "I had some things goin' even you didn't know about."

All the tricks Bob Bullock knows include some stinkers. In his book, below the belt is one of the best places to hit — the point is to win. "You don't get no prize for second place in politics" is one of his favorite sayings. Ronald Bridges said that Preston Smith "used pressure and threats to try to trade out with me." Bridges said the governor indicated that he would open the call of the special session to an appropriation for Texas A&I in Corpus if Bridges would vote for Bullock.

The day before the vote was taken, Smith opened the call to a bill at the request of Pete Snelson of Midland.

Tom Creighton of Mineral Wells said he was informed that if he voted for Bullock, Smith would open the call to an appropriation for a new MH-MR facility in Fort Worth. Smith had vetoed the same appropriation a few months before. In fact, he vetoed the Corpus A&I appropriation and the Fort Worth MH-MR appropriation right after Bridges of Corpus and Don Kennard of Fort Worth voted against Larry Teaver, Smith's first nominee for the insurance board.

Bullock said afterward he didn't know what Bridges and Creighton were talking about. "Don't know about those school deals. Never heard of it," he said. Would Bullock lie about a thing like that? Yes.

**A**NOTHER SENATOR said Smith had threatened to reappoint some clown to the board of regents of A&M, or not to

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reappoint him or some such, if Bullock got busted. There is a certain senator who has an interest in a savings and loan application on which he has been waiting for some time. A higher-up at the state agency which handles such applications is alleged to have called the senator and to have told him the application would be reported out "next week" if the senator's vote went for Bullock.

Such tactics can and do backfire. Oscar Mauzy, for one, says he voted against Bullock, "Because I don't like to see that kind of pressure put on. It didn't happen to me. But it might be me the next time. The governor and I talked about my insurance bills. He asked me to vote for Bob, but he didn't threaten and he didn't promise. He wasn't trying to push me around. I just heard about what happened to other people."

One senator who is extremely opposed to Bullock said he had heard rumors that another senator was carrying money (an expression meaning just what you think it does). The joint was lousy with rumors. Trying to get them straight after the fact is not easy either. After such a battle, the facts grow into legends, as has ever been the way with men (see the "Prince Valiant" strip from a couple of Sundays ago). Hank Grover's drive up from a campaign stop in San Antonio to vote for Bullock becomes an epic dash in the re-telling, an 11th hour act of loyalty. Some senators who voted for Bullock dramatize their intrepid stand against pressure from the lobby. Some who voted against him play down the lobby pressure and point out how brave they were to stand up against the governor, whose threats and promises, real and imagined, are becoming embroidered as time goes on.

In point of fact, some senators did not get hassled by the lobby and some did not get hassled by Bullock/Smith. Ike Harris of Dallas, for one, heard from almost nobody. Harris voted against Bullock's confirmation as secretary of State. "I talked to Spellings," said Harris, "called him myself to tell him they didn't have to worry about me, but they knew that. When they first started making up that list, they put me down against him. I got two calls from people in the insurance business in my district, both in opposition, both life insurance people who've already got competitive rates. I got two or three calls from friends of Bullock's, they just said he'd asked them to call and they sounded kind of embarrassed and asked me to let him know they had done it."

Harris, a Republican, maintains that he just does not like Bullock's approach to government. "He's a helluva capable fella in a lot of ways, but I'm not satisfied with the way he handles his business," said Harris. "Do you know that in a Sunday column Ernie Stromberger [of the *Dallas Times-Herald*] wrote that Bullock said that a lot of things he did as a lobbyist were on a fine line between legal and illegal and it

ROLL CALL NO. DATE 1971  
SENATE, SIXTY-SECOND LEGISLATURE  
BEN BARNES, Lieutenant Governor, DeLeon  
TOMMY TOWNSEND, Sergeant At Arms, Austin  
CHARLES SCHNABEL, Secretary, Austin  
First Called Session

B. No. \_\_\_\_\_ C. R. No. \_\_\_\_\_ J. R. No. \_\_\_\_\_  
Other: Confirmation -  
Bullock

	Yea	Nays	Present	Absent
Aikin, A. M., Jr. Dist. 1, Dallas	X			
Bates, James S. (Jim) Dist. 17, Edinburg	X			
Beckworth, Lindley Dist. 2, El Paso	X			
Bernal, Joe J. Dist. 26, San Antonio	X			
Blanchard, H. J. (Doc) Dist. 28, Lubbock		X		
Bridges, Ronald W. Dist. 25, Corpus Christi		X		
Brooks, Chet Dist. 1, Dallas	X			
Christie, Joe Dist. 19, El Paso	X			
Connolly, Wayne Dist. 11, Houston		X		
Creighton, Tom Dist. 21, Mineral Wells		X		
Grover, Henry Dist. 18, Houston	X			
Hall, Ralph Dist. 9, Rockwall	X			
Harrington, D. Roy Dist. 1, Fort Worth	X			
Harris, O. H. (Ike) Dist. 8, Dallas		X		
Herring, Charles F. Dist. 14, Austin	X			
Hightower, Jack Dist. 26, Texas		X		
Jordan, Barbara Dist. 11, Houston	X			
Kennard, Don Dist. 18, Fort Worth	X			
Kothmann, Glenn Dist. 19, San Antonio		X		
Mauzy, Oscar Dist. 25, Dallas		X		
McKool, Mike Dist. 14, Dallas	X			
Moore, William T. (Bill) Dist. 8, Texas	X			
Palmer, William N. (Bill) Dist. 16, El Paso	X			
Ratliff, David Dist. 24, Stamford	X			
Schwartz, A. R. Dist. 12, Garland			A	A
Sherman, Max Dist. 31, Amarillo		X		
Snelson, W. E. (Pete) Dist. 28, Midland		X		
Wallace, Jim Dist. 4, Houston	X			
Watson, Murray, Jr. Dist. 13, Waco	X			
Wilson, Charles Dist. 3, Lubbock	X			
Word, J. P. Dist. 12, Jacksonville		X		
TOTAL				

was a good thing that the statute of limitations had run out on them?" Some people thought the remark was funny. It was certainly Bullockian.

**T**AKEN AS A whole, the senators' stated assessments of Bullock would lead one to believe that he should have confirmed almost unanimously. "Smart," "competent," "tough," "loyal." There seems to be a consensus that he has done an excellent job as secretary of state. There are approximately half a dozen senators who add that they wouldn't give a plugged nickel for Bullock's honesty. The others who voted against him end their praise by saying, "... but I don't think he's qualified to be on the Insurance Board."

Bullock is typically blunt about his qualifications: "As far as my knowing anything about insurance, I know exactly as much as the two guys who are already on that board knew when they were confirmed - zero."

Babe Schwartz gave one glimpse of a certain motive. Schwartz is still saying that he voted for Bullock. He also wants it made very clear that his vote couldn't have made any difference one way or the other. Bullock lost by one vote. Schwartz says Barnes had other votes lined up to switch if it got close. The *Observer's* information is that Schwartz voted present-but-not-voting during the closed session, and it is so reflected on our tally sheet. According to George Kuempel of the *Houston Chronicle*, Schwartz apparently agreed to be Barnes' safety - going against Bullock only if Barnes was short a vote.

Schwartz said, "I think the appointment was a direct flaunt to everybody. Bullock would have been better off being appointed later, after this session, when it wasn't an issue between Smith and Barnes. It was an intentional thing, like, 'We beat your butt last time [on Bullock's confirmation as secretary of state] and we'll do it again.' Barnes never really had to say anything to me about how he felt. If you haven't ever run for office, you can't know the depth of the feeling, the frustration of having someone intimate what's not true about you. Having them come out with stuff they can't prove, that's not right or fair. When Bullock was chopping at Barnes during the primary, it wasn't to get another vote for Preston Smith. That was hopeless and he knew it. It was to just to get a vote away from Barnes. Nobody ever has to come to another politician to explain the sense of hurt that goes with that, how deeply it hurts after a loss."

Spellings touched on the same subject, "I had the votes to bust Bullock the first time, on the secretary of state, but Barnes turned 'em loose. He said the secretary of state was almost like a staff position. It was only for six months, the governor should have who he wanted. I was kind of sensitive about then - it was right after the primary, see? But it was different with Board of Insurance. We'd been over the ground before so I knew who felt what way about Bullock and there were a lot of people I didn't have to talk to. My own private, personal opinion of Bullock is totally negative. It has nothing to do with my opinion of him, his ability, his wit, his loyalty. He's a gut fighter." So is Spellings. And he's still a lot more than "kind of sensitive" about what Bullock did to Barnes during the primary.

**S**PELLINGS SAID his count never varied, with one exception. "We had one surprise and they had one surprise," he said. He counts Moore's vote as the surprise to him and Kothmann's vote as the surprise to Bullock. Which brings us to the Kothmann mystery. Kothmann has refused to explain his vote against Bullock, nor would he talk to the *Observer* about the

fight and for several days after the vote, he would make no comment at all. Rep. Jake Johnson of San Antonio believes he has the solution to the mystery. "Kothmann caved in to lobby pressure," Johnson spat out. "It was a fight between Bullock and the lobby and it was nothing else and anybody who tells you different is crazy. I'm not calling Glenn Kothmann a prostitute — I'm calling him a whore."

"I'll tell you how it is. Preston Smith has surrounded himself with the most incompetent group of advisers that ever existed. Even Hitler didn't have a bigger bunch of idiots and jackasses around him—with one exception, and that's Bullock. Bullock is 100 percent intelligent, 100 percent mean and 100 percent loyal. Do you know what he could have done over there on that Insurance Board? He would be a folk hero after he finished fixing that. He could have run for anything. That board is so corrupt you can smell it. It's rank. It's like a frozen food locker where the freezer broke down a month ago."

Insurance is a \$4 billion-a-year business in this state. They had to get somebody to relieve 'em from Bullock, to put off the execution. They found him. Kothmann's what I call a water politician — he just naturally seeks the lowest level, it's a matter of political physics. At one time Bullock had a promise from Kothmann. But he knew Glenn would flake. He got Ted Butler, the D.A. in San Antonio, up here to hold Kothmann's hand but Kothmann ducked out — probably to some place the insurance lobby provided. Grinnin' Glenn. The lobby brought out their heavy, heavy guns for this. The only way to get Kothmann to keep a commitment would be to tack him to the cross and don't take the nails out until the vote's over."

Kothmann finally came out with a statement: "I am shocked at the tremendous amount of pressure to which we have been subjected. . . . In all my years of public service I have never seen anything to compare with what has been taking place at this special session." Kothmann

added that he wants to "take insurance reforms out of the hands of the pressure groups and the lobbyists" by letting the people elect the members of the insurance board.

Johnson points out that he is one of the "true blue 22" who voted for competitive rates 10 years ago and the insurance lobby has contributed to his opponents every year since then.

"Jake, you wouldn't be planning to run against Kothmann any time soon, would you?"

"Perish the thought. He has to draw for a term. He might draw a four-year term."

"That would be too bad."

"It sure as hell would."

Actually, Bullock was not counting on Kothmann's vote. He knew he needed one more vote than he was sure of. And he had five senators he thought he had a chance with. It came, as politics frequently does, down to a gamble. "I figured I would get one out of the five," said Bullock. "Hell, even the odds in poker are as good as that." M.I.

## What ever became of the Big Thicket?

By Pete Gunter

Denton

How long has somebody been trying to save the Big Thicket? If you were to guess ten years, or even twenty, you would be wrong. Attempts to preserve the sprawling southeast Texas wilderness date back at least as far as 1927, when the first Big Thicket Association was formed. When the Second World War exploded efforts to create a 400,000 acre Big Thicket National Park, the Association died, and it was not until the 1960's that attempts emerged again to create a Big Thicket national park or biological preserve. That was nearly ten years ago. How far is the park from realization today?

The answer is: very near and very far. Our federal government is like a Rube

Goldberg machine, in which convoluted series of levers, wheels, gears, axles, and pulleys are intricately bound together inside more systems of levers and pulleys and wheels. In the end, after endless cranking, a hammer falls and cracks a nut. In the case of the Big Thicket, almost all the levers in the Official Machine have been cranked. The United States Senate has held its hearings, debated its debates, and passed Ralph Yarborough's 100,000 acre Big Thicket National Park bill (in 1970). The House has entertained its share of B.T.N.P. bills, has held its Big Thicket hearings (Beaumont, June, 1972) and now all that is necessary is for hearings to be called in Washington to air National Park Service recommendations. Only one more lever, in fact, has to be pulled.

But no one seems strong enough to pull it.

National Park bills, to see the light of day, must emerge from the dark womb of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Conservationist fervor (and perhaps incipient old age) have recently retired the chairman of that committee, Wayne Aspinall (D-Colo.), leaving its future leadership up for grabs. Aspinall could have asked (and still can ask) for Park Service hearings at any time. When the finger is pointed at Aspinall's Committee, however, it is hotly retorted that the National Park Service (or the Department of the Interior) is at fault for not being ready to testify. The Department of the Interior in turn bitterly denies that charge, and suggests that the hangup lies in Texas politics and politicians. Texas

politicians, in turn, point back to Washington and shrug.

It is a marvelous situation for a lumber lobbyist. On the Official Machine is a sign: The Buck Stops Nowhere.

**B**UT IF THE buck stops nowhere neither does the bulldozing. Years of haggling have located the final shape of the national park or biological reserve within reasonably precise boundaries. A corridor down the Neches River from below Dam B to Beaumont; a second corridor following Pine Island Bayou from the Neches near Beaumont westward to a large chunk of land near Saratoga; another corridor running north from this chunk all the way to the Indian reservation near Livingston: these, and some smaller parcels (plus possibly a corridor running northwest along Village creek) would constitute the park. After years of telling conservationists that they are too stupid to know what they want, the lumber companies should be delighted with this situation. And they are. They are very delighted.

For example: Last summer Kirby Lumber Company machinery moved into the large chunk of land south of Saratoga (the Lance Rosier Unit) and began toppling the big hardwoods. Strenuous protests by conservationists finally called a halt to the demolition exercise, but not before 150 acres were obliterated. Kirby officials then explained that they just "hadn't realized" where their men were cutting. But there is no one in either the lumber or the conservationist camps who does not know that the Rosier Unit is intended for the

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potential Big Thicket preserve. There are equally grim stories to tell about Eastex (owned by Time-Life) and about some smaller lumber operators who eye the potential park as a gold mine to be exploited immediately, if not sooner. Conservationists are getting mad enough to tell some of those stories, to the great embarrassment of some very small and some very big companies. But those involved in the wearying struggle to get the Federal Elephant to give birth to the Ecological Flea are tired of charges and counter-charges. They want action.

Perhaps it is time that some people started thinking about dropping their subscriptions to Life, Time, Sports Illustrated, and the rest of the Time, Inc. magazines. Through its subsidiary Eastex, Time, Inc. is bulldozing thousands of Big Thicket acres, while running tear-stained articles on the rare ivory-billed woodpecker and its rapidly dying habitat. Perhaps it is time, too, that candidates for national office in Texas be confronted at every turn by citizens wanting to know what they will do about the Big Thicket, now. And it would not hurt if every Republican within earshot were reminded which party and which administration controls the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service. In particular, R. Nixon needs to be told.

One can easily imagine the gigantic yawn with which all such appeals for action as the above will probably be greeted. But the destruction of a uniquely valuable natural asset like the Big Thicket is really not a yawning matter. Too much has been invested in saving the Thicket to let it be silently obliterated now, when the end is nearly in sight. Too much symbolic value has been invested in the Thicket issue to simply shrug it all off when the chips are down. Or is ecology just another silly fad word: like equality, humanity, racial justice? □

... whatever indigenous culture Texas has is being created by artists, writers and musicians who have channeled their energies into making an artistic community in spite of the existing cultural institutions. Not a *counter culture* (the society is too eclectic and atomic to counter), simply any *other* culture which sustains itself by guile and cunning and, if not by capitalism, at least by very free enterprise. All over the state individual institutions like *The Texas Observer*, Armadillo World Headquarters, Mad Dog Fuck, Inc., Encino Press and Rip-Off Press ride like surfers on the cash flow. Weird—but in the great Texas tradition of weird enterprises.

—Dave Hickey, *Art in America*, September-October, 1972.

## Untitled

no prospect of victory  
no defeat calm as folded  
legs in lap.

RYAN L. PETTY

Austin

# Christian hate

By Hamilton Gregory

El Paso

For years, right-wing fundamentalist Christians in Texas were irritated by the war in Vietnam. Why didn't we smash the dirty commies and get it over with?

But now these Texans are happy. Nixon has escalated the bombing and mined the ports. The wicked sons of Satan are getting their reward, and just in time: if we don't stop them in the huts and rice paddies of Indochina, they'll be swarming ashore in California before you know it.

I got an idea of Texans' feelings when I went to Washington this summer to express my opposition to the war to my congressman and senators. An aide to Senator John Tower was ebullient over how anti-war sentiment in Texas dried up after Nixon stepped up the air war. When American boys were being killed, he said, Tower got a lot of angry mail from small-town Texans. Now that American casualties are diminishing, and the bombing increased, the Senator's mail is running heavily in favor of the war.

The *El Paso Times*, whose daily circulation of 62,000 is the largest in the city, reflects the bellicosity of some fundamentalists. The editor, William I. Latham, a Baptist whose columns are filled with pieties and prayers, wrote an editorial on dike-bombing in North Vietnam, and ended it this way:

"... if we ever set out to bomb the dikes in North Vietnam, there wouldn't be a North Vietnam left 24 hours later.

"Come to think of it, that may not be such a bad idea either!"

In a letter-to-the-editor, I asked Latham if he really and truly wanted to see all those innocent peasants slaughtered in their rice paddies. I closed my letter with this remark: "If wiping away a civilization is what you desire, you can take heart in what has happened in Indochina in the last decade. As a Vietnam veteran and former sergeant in the U.S. Army, I can assure you that our military power has killed thousands and thousands of innocent civilians, including children. Is this what you want?"

**L**ATHAM'S reply, in bold letters: "As a veteran of World War II, I can assure you that Nazi air power killed thousands and thousands of innocent civilians, including children, in London. What should Britain have done — nothing? Remember this — North Vietnam invaded South Vietnam!"

I know Latham didn't intend to draw an analogy between the U.S. Air Force and

the Luftwaffe, but there it is. An interesting slip of the pen.

Another reader expressed horror over the prospect of all North Vietnamese children being killed and questioned whether Latham's idea was consistent with his Christian pronouncements. To this, Latham replied, again in bold letters: "God destroyed whole nations when he moved the nation of Israel into the Promised Land. How do you explain that?"

Quoting the Bible to justify massive killing is nothing new in the history of the Western world. Even Lieutenant Calley, in his autobiography, justified the My Lai massacre by quoting God's command to Saul (in I Samuel 15:30): "Now go... and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass." □

## Christian love

Austin

The times they may be a'changin', but some things they stay the same. Crank mail, for example. The *Observer* gets its share of diatribes and prophecies. We have been informed that Jesus Christ will return to Earth before the November election and that the Lord will see that the paper goes bankrupt if we don't stop taking His name in vain. But our cranks are a lackluster lot compared to those who write Madalyn Murray O'Hair, America's most noted atheist.

Lela Hinkle recently perused O'Hair's mail at her Austin home. Following are some samples Hinkle culled from what must be one of America's outstanding collections of crank mail.

\* \* \*

"Dear Madam Atheist: Nixon believes in God. If the President of the United States believes there is one God of all mankind then this should set the example for you."

\* \* \*

"Dear Mrs. O'Hair: If you will write all atheist people as listed in your files, and tell them there is a Living God, He will easily forgive you for the wrong you have done. God does not want even one soul to go down the drain. You could mimeograph a short letter of your own, or if you wish to, you can mimeograph my letter (attached) with the proof from the Living God through the visions, etc. You still have

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time to serve Him before He comes with flaming fire on Judgement Day."

\* \* \*

"Jesus saved me June, 1965 at 3:13 p.m."

\* \* \*

"Science is the exploring and unfolding of God's work," someone said. Thank God for His science and His television. It is bringing His message into our homes."

\* \* \*

"Do you ever listen to Billy Graham? Doesn't he kindle any form of Christian love within you?"

\* \* \*

"It is natural for women to hate God — the whole human race was plunged into the valley of sin, death and separation from God by woman. Hell is jam packed with God hating women — they belong to the devil and they rule over man with the desire to destroy him and win victory over God. Woman is a baby factory for to bring more devil workers into the world."

\* \* \*

"You want to see a decent world with people being nice and good. But who wants to be good for nothing? Not me."

\* \* \*

"I'm going to write my Congressman about you."

\* \* \*

"Humble yourself before it's too late and get on the band wagon for God."

\* \* \*

"Reading the Bible without Holy Spirit is like trying to read a sundial by moonlight."

\* \* \*

"Who was this Charles Darwin (but the devil's tool) that we should believe him? Moses and Abraham and Noah and Adam and Eve are pictured as humans, not apes."

\* \* \*

"I think you are one of them people that thinks they came from a Tad pole or a Frog Egge."

\* \* \*

"Madame Atheist: If you are so damned smart, tell me why the wind blows."

\* \* \*

"Deep down in your mind somewhere, don't you ever suspect that God's lightning will strike your evil person for corrupting us? It will, and God and Jesus won't even give you the pleasure of a high voltage volt."

\* \* \*

"I don't know why my Lord has spared your life, but someday perhaps we will know."

\* \* \*

"I saw you on TV and you acted just like a big pig and very uncouth, I don't think that you will last long preaching what you think, cause it stinks and that goes for you also. You are a real hog!"

"If you're going to try to win over people to your way of thinking — why not act like a LADY — not a SLUT."

\* \* \*

"Now hear this, the blood of Jesus is against you, Miss Madeline."

\* \* \*

"Why God doesn't strike you dead is beyond me. If someone doesn't bomb that

blasted atheist library I hope something else happens to it."

\* \* \*

"One they sent me a bird wing," O'Hair told the *Observer*, laughing dryly, "and I could just see them twisting it off and saying, 'This won't hurt you, it's for Jesus.'"

## T for Texas T for Tennessee

By Roger Friedman

Nashville

The billboards scream the good news like it's the gospel: "COME TO OPRYLAND USA, the New 30 Million Dollar Home of Country Music." And the original Grande Ole Opry House is coming down to provide more parking space for the Country Music Wax Museum. The most twisted addition to the Grayline Tours of Nashville is the Music City Auto-Rama, a half-block-long-storefront that prominently displays, the door on the driver's side hinged open, the interior vacuumed like a Holiday Inn, the baby blue '51 Cadillac Hank Williams died in.

To see it all strung out down Broadway, you are knocked out with an overwhelming sadness. Even though Nashville has always drawn gawkers and has been merchandising dreams forever, people still believe the tired old fan magazine ad, "Come on in, big boy, we'll send you back to Lubbock a star." The pick-up-to-Cadillac riff is funky, and it still happens occasionally.

There is an element of truth in some up-tempo, well-oiled country imaginations, but the fact of the business is that the authentic country star image, no matter how it's made up, touched up and repackaged, is getting too disoriented to believe.

The price paid for the changing tide of country-western is being rung up on the washed-out pickers, writers, singers who blither from cafe to cafe mumbling endless monologues about pitching this song to Johnny Cash or getting that tape into Webb Pierce's secretary.

Faded, jaded fallin' cowboy star  
Pawn shop's itchin' for your ol' guitar  
Where you goin' ain't nobody knows  
The sequins have fallen from your clothes

Roger Friedman is the brother of Kinky, the chief Texas Jewboy (the number two Jewboy being a Chink from Oklahoma). Roger used to be a juvenile probation officer, but recently he's been commuting between Rio Duckworth, his family's ranch near Kerville, and Nashville.

And everything's been Sold American  
No place to go and Brother, no place to stay,

Everyone's been Sold American  
Just let that golden Greyhound roll  
your soul away.

—from "Sold American" by Kinky Friedman

THE NEW York Photographer catches the country boy putting on airs. The Music Row hoohey laughs in his string tie and Tom Jones shirt all the way to the bank. The raw creativity of the old time country music scene is slowly fading, fading, it's dead. But amidst the suffocating Hollywood morass of Nashville, some creative, independent artists have been able to survive and flourish. So much of the new talent has come from Texas that Nashville locals refer to the present era as the Texas Boom.

The Texas-Nashville circuit is nothing new, of course. Many of the greats in the Country Music Hall of Fame — Bob Wills, Ray Price, Ernest Tubb, George Jones, Tex Ritter, James Dean, Jeanie C. Riley, Waylon Jennings, Willie Nelson — came ready rolled from Texas.

The first of the new Texas talent, Kris Kristofferson and Mickey Newbury, arrived in the middle sixties. In the past few months Danny Epps, Benny Whitehead and Jimmy Gilmore and the Texas Flatlanders have released albums.

Two of the most recent Texans to find attentive ears in Nashville are Billy Joe Shaver from Waco and Kinky Friedman and the Texas Jewboys from Kerrville. The fact that Shaver is recording in Nashville shows that the music moguls are still in the market for some good, country tunes. Friedman's acceptance shows something very else.

Shaver, who played at the first Dripping Springs Reunion, is a quiet but big old Texas boy. His poetry is raw and simple. The pictures he paints are so real and visual they will dance in your brain for a long while.

The wagons was a rollin'  
with a cobble colored sound  
when me and little David

rode our first load into town  
Our freckled faces sparkled then  
like diamonds in the rough  
with smiles that smelled of snagged  
teeth

and good old Garrett snuff  
If I could I would be tradin'  
this fat back for the lean  
When Jesus was our Savior  
and Cotton was our King.

A run down of song titles will suggest  
Billy Joe's country view. There is *Good  
Christian Soldier, Jesus Christ What a Man,  
Old Five and Dimers Like Me, Bottom  
Dollar and Black Rose.*

Shaver's music and lyrics dance close.  
They belong together. His album, produced  
by Kristofferson, is done with a minimum  
of cluttering noise and maximum  
non-electric sound. Prose description of  
new music is most often destructive, since  
it nails down a mind set. About all that  
should be said is that there is some guitar  
picking on Shaver's songs that will  
convince you that country music coming  
out of Nashville still has an earthbound  
conscience and a gentle soul.

It's a guarantee that there'll be some  
pure brain candy for you, just sitting back  
and listening to Billy Joe's growling  
country voice describing the likes of *Willy  
the Wandering Gypsy and Me:*

He's resined his riffin'  
and laid back his wages  
He's dead set on ridin'  
the big rodeos.

My woman's tight with an overdue  
baby  
and Willy he's yellin'  
Hey Gypsy let's go

Willy you're wild as a Texas blue norther  
Ready rolled from the same makins as  
me

And I reckon we'll ramble till hell  
freezes over

Willy the wandering gypsy and me.

**T**HE *ROLLING Stone* reported  
last December that Kinky Friedman had  
"totaled his karma in L.A. and was writing  
songs on a ranch somewhere in Texas."  
True. But his lyrics, which were too schitzy  
for Los Angeles three years ago now have  
found an audience in Nashville.

Friedman is the Lenny Bruce of ethnic  
country poetry. His music wanders from  
the sardonic to the tragic and his  
metaphors jump cultural tracks, usually  
derailing listeners who can't switch  
consciousness from head to goat roper to  
Jew to Jesus Freak. Some of Kinky's more  
twisted country tunes are *The Ballad of  
Charles Whitman* ("There was a  
rumor / about a tumor / nestled at the base  
of his brain/ . . . / but who are we to call  
the boy insane"), *Get Your Biscuits in the  
Oven and Your Buns in the Bed, Flying  
Down the Freeway* and *We Reserve the  
Right to Refuse Service to You*. A  
sampling of the latter:

Just my luck that God's a Texan,

One big sombitchin' Anglo-Saxon,  
Some crazy kind of tall norouija board  
Just have my body shipped air freight  
From Texas to the pearly gate  
Just ring the bell and leave me at the  
door.

I'll be somewhere over Jordan swingin'  
low

I'll hear them tape recorded angels in  
life-like stereo

Singin' We Reserve the Right to Refuse  
Service to You,

Take your business back to Walgreens  
Have you tried your local zoo?

Our quota's filled for this year

On singin' Texas Jews,

We Reserve the Right to Refuse Service  
to You.

One has to be prepared to move from  
this frenetic kind of blue grass blasphemy  
to lilting ballads with names like *Ride 'Em  
Jewboy:*

Dead limbs play with ringless fingers  
the melody which burns you deep  
inside

Oh, how the song becomes the singers  
May peace be ever with you as you ride.

Ride, Ride 'em Jewboy

Ride 'em all around the ol' corral

I'm, I'm with you, boy

If I got to ride six million miles.

Or this chorus from his *Nashville Casualty  
and Life:*

Just a Nashville Casualty and Life

It's a riff that is hell to play

You sings for your livin' on the street  
And you sleeps in the back of some  
cafe

And most of Music City never sees

the world within the song

Of a Nashville Casualty and Life -  
Goes on. ☐

## John's here!

Actually, John's been here for quite a  
while, but in our customary *Observer*-esque  
fashion, we just haven't gotten around to  
pointing it out to you readers until now.  
But since we have a hole of sufficient size  
this issue, we thought we'd tell you about  
the new associate editor. His name is John  
Ferguson and he's from Houston, Portland,  
Ore., and Palo Alto, Calif. He is a graduate  
of Jesse Jones High School, where he won  
a Jesse Jones Scholarship, a National Merit  
Scholarship and went to Boys' State. He  
then went to Reed College where he was a  
member of the infamous Reed College  
Bookstore Eight. He graduated from Stan-  
ford University in March this year. He then  
spent several months in Portland trying to  
be a creative writer and almost got a job as  
a telephone operator. He's a groovy  
dresser, a baseball fan and a punster. He  
had been here for one full month before  
anyone asked him how he liked having two  
women as bosses. In another month, he  
will have thought up a snappy reply.

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# Your \$56, your war

Austin

We, personally, you and I, our friends, the people we talk to every day, are responsible for the continuation of the war in Vietnam. We, personally, are providing the government policy that continues dropping the equivalent of a Hiroshima-size bomb on the people of Vietnam every few days. If we re-elect Nixon and the war continues, then we, each of us who votes for him or fails to do all he or she can now to elect George McGovern, will be even more, even more, responsible for the reduction of that nation to homeless children amid rubble and kindling.

There has to be a way to make this clear to the people we talk to every day. Let's try this:

The average tax payment to the Internal Revenue Service per Texas resident for the Indo-China war in fiscal year 1971 was \$56. The total contribution of Texas taxpayers for the Indo-China war in 1971 was \$627,016,880.

This means that the people of the City of Houston paid, in fiscal 1971, for the Indo-China war, \$69,036,912.

The people of Dallas paid \$47,286,456. The people of San Antonio paid \$36,632,568. The people of Fort Worth paid \$22,034,656. The people of Austin paid \$14,101,248. The people of Corpus Christi paid \$11,453,400. The people of Beaumont paid \$6,491,464. The people of Lubbock paid \$8,349,656.

That one year, fiscal 1971.

Every day, we, personally, are working to earn money to pay taxes that pay for this war. We are funding the bombs that fall.

These figures are computed by the responsible organization, SANE, by open and obvious methods. They are not exactly right to the dollar, but they are substantially correct. SANE figures that on the basis of total state population in 1970 and total IRS collections in Texas for fiscal 1971, the average tax payment per Texas resident was \$784. Of the total federal outlays is fiscal 1971 of \$211 billion, approximately \$15 billion, or 7.1 percent, was for the Indo-China war. Therefore, 7.1 percent of the average tax payment per Texan, or \$56, went to pay for the war.

Anyone can figure out how much the people of his or her community paid for this war in fiscal 1971 by multiplying the population times \$56.

## Ms. McGovern

"We are going somewhere, all of us, together," said the calm, intelligent, idealistic Ms. George McGovern in Austin the other night. We are going, she said,

## Observations

toward "a better, more caring, more concerned America."

"Things are changing. Things are changing," she said. Her husband had called her from New York the night before, she told the groups that came together to meet her in Austin. "He was absolutely ecstatic. He was really up. — He said, 'Eleanor, we are going to win this thing.'"

He had told her that about the Wisconsin primary, too. Well, now, she'd said, second — perhaps only third — but win it, wasn't that a little brash? "Tell them we're going to win the Wisconsin primary," he insisted. They did.

She is an impressive person. Her values are secure in her, and she is no more flummoxed or excited being in the vortex of the political whirlpool than her steady husband. Of him she said, in *Time*, "A gentle man with a spine of steel. He is a man who would bring out the best in us." In Austin the other evening she said:

"He is a man who is an innovator and a thinker, and those people are welcome only in the Democratic Party. . . . Progress is made by men who plant trees and never expect to sit under them. . . . So let's all get busy and plant some trees."

A young man said to me, after Ms. McGovern's talk at a rally for Sarah Weddington, (a liberal Democratic nominee for the Legislature) what about the polls? Despite them I believe Texas can be won for McGovern. Labor leader Irish Matthews says, (by the back of his hand in sport as if conveying a secret,) "We're going to carry Travis County. We are." The secret is that people are working for McGovern with belief. The young man who asked me about the polls said that he would go on working for McGovern, "Because it is right." It is that simple.

Ms. McGovern told a story that bears on this. One evening recently she and her husband went into a hotel bedroom and saw two little tots, boys, asleep on the double bed. As the senator and she went up to them, she says, they had the same thought, but he expressed it. "You know," he said, "sometimes I wonder if it's worth it. But looking at these two children — it is. It is."

## A rotten administration

The Watergate burglary, bugging, wiretapping and coverup, involving the whole Nixon Administration specifically including Nixon, is such an outrage, one

hardly knows what to say about it. Ms. McGovern knew. Watergate means to her, she said, that the Nixon Administration is a threat "to our freedom of privacy."

The wheat scandal, so well delineated by Walter Cronkite on CBS, represents Nixon favoritism for big business at the expense of every small enterprise. In this case, it was five giant corporate grain exporters at the expense of the farmers. In the ITT case, Nixon traded the government's anti-trust integrity for money, again at the expense of small enterprise — the small businessmen fighting for their survival against the monopolies, oligopolies, conglomerates and chains. In payoffs to big corporations through the tax system, in subsidies for Lockheed, in vetoes of congressional programs for human welfare, in the cover-up of the \$10 million corporate slush fund, the story is the same. In corruption and in economic philosophy this is the rottenest administration since Warren G. Harding.

In McGovern we have a shining alternative. He was the son of a preacher, the product of a moral, rural culture, yes; he was also from the first a sensitive humanist. Ms. McGovern said he has always been concerned for people — he was that way when she met him. Early on he was attracted to the idea of world government, and he still finds the subject interesting. He has been concerned, since 1948, that American foreign policy has been shoring up reactionaries abroad while harming human interests. He is supposed to be a bland fellow, but he is not: as Gloria Steinen says in the current *Ms.*, "he looks ordinary: like any other tired, workaday commuter. But . . . locked in his head there is anger and a sense of history." From foreign policy and his Vietnam position through a thoughtful, interrelated panoply of domestic reforms, he is a rebel and a reformer in the great traditions of Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln and Wilson. He can carry Texas, and he can carry the country, because he is right.

## Kill Amendment four

"Amendment Four," which would let the 1973 Legislature write a new Texas Constitution, is a plot by lobbyists and reactionaries to defy the origin of democratic government in the public will.

The Legislature is one of the three branches of the government the people established. No Legislature can write the people's constitution; only a convention elected by the people for that one purpose can. The legislators' special interests in their own powers would control. Their special loyalties to their business connections would prevail. The

lobby-infested legislature must not be let write our fundamental theory of government.

A lot of people have been suckered into this plan — people who just don't see it for what it is. Amendment Four must be killed at the polls just as the Water Steal was. If we are to have a new constitution, let the people write it through delegates consciously elected for that high trust.

## Kill the superport, too

There are two large reasons why the superport off the Texas coast should not be authorized and the state should be sued to stop it if the legislature proposes we pay for and build it.

The first is pollution. The supertankers or the devices and small tankers for getting the oil from the superport to shore or upcoast can rupture and ruin the Texas beaches and the shore ecology. Fossil fuels are also the worst polluters of the air. The Wankel electric engine may considerably supplant the gasoline-driven car. Then who needs a superport?

The second is the rapidly evolving national apprehension of the need for an integrated, interrelated overall energy policy. Hick legislators may do what the oil companies tell them just because "somebody's going to get the superport, why not us?" but this provincialism is a thing of the past. We are one people in one world that commonly belongs to the human species. We must make sense, intelligently and with attention to overall planning, out of our environment and our life as a species in a planetary system of limited resources and tolerances for abuse. No oil-sopped Legislature can invalidate our right to participation in this exercise in the collective intelligence of the species.

These same two reasons are basically why the voters of Austin turned down the private utilities' proposal that the city help them pay for a multi-city nuclear power plant. We will not let special interests lie and deceive us into premature decisions that can spoil our environment for ourselves, our children and posterity.

## Historical detail

Anybody who doesn't know what happened to John Kennedy's Alliance for Progress to help bring social justice to Latin America may wish to reflect upon a retrospective explanation provided by a contemporary detail. Thomas Mann, Lyndon Johnson's top man for Latin American affairs, heads the statewide steering committee of "Texans for Tower," one of the three most reactionary members of the United States Senate (the others being Goldwater and Thurmond).

## Bankers for Jesse James

Rep. Maurice Angly, Austin Republican running for state treasurer, is quite correct

that the incumbent Democrat, Jesse James, ought to be tossed out on his ear, or whatever other part of his anatomy comes down first.

Angly charges that James received \$57,257.62 in campaign contributions from the officers, employees and attorneys for 124 Texas banks which hold state deposits courtesy of James. This is a rotten conflict of interest. James' defense is that he didn't take any money from banks — just from bankers. "Not any bank contributed to me. We followed the law," he says. Quite so. But not the ethics of public service.

## Pot & pusillanimity

The Texas Democratic Party is committed by its platform, adopted at the September convention, to support a legislative review of laws dealing with marijuana. The failure of the legislature to do this to date is a matter of nauseating gutlessness. It is this kind of thing that makes the people conclude that the two requirements for success in politics are egotism and cowardice. The human beings moldering at Huntsville, or yo-yoed on probation, or not able to vote because of marijuana convictions, are victims of indefensible injustice that screams for correction. So far the cut-rate Texas politicians have turned their backs and made some more speeches on the necessity of their re-elections. R.D.

### *Houston street corner newsracks in need of a little loving care and attention*

The Observer needs a friend in Houston who would be willing to attend to the newsrack route for a commission based on sales.

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*By Bob Cochran*

*Austin*

one participant disguised in a Santa Claus suit.

In Greene's reconstruction, the event moves from comic beginnings – the Santa outfit, the robbers neglecting to provide fuel for their getaway car – to a bloody conclusion in which three of the four outlaws died, along with several lawmen. One was shot at the scene of the hold-up, another died in the electric chair, and a third, Santa himself, was lynched. Then, at the funeral of the lynched man, the comic reappears. As the mourners file from the chapel for the trip to the cemetery, a parade passes by, announcing the opening of the Christmas season at a department store. It is led, of course, by Santa Claus.

GREENE KNOWS the event well. He wrote about it before, in *A Personal*

*Country*, published in 1969. The Santa Claus robbery got two pages there.

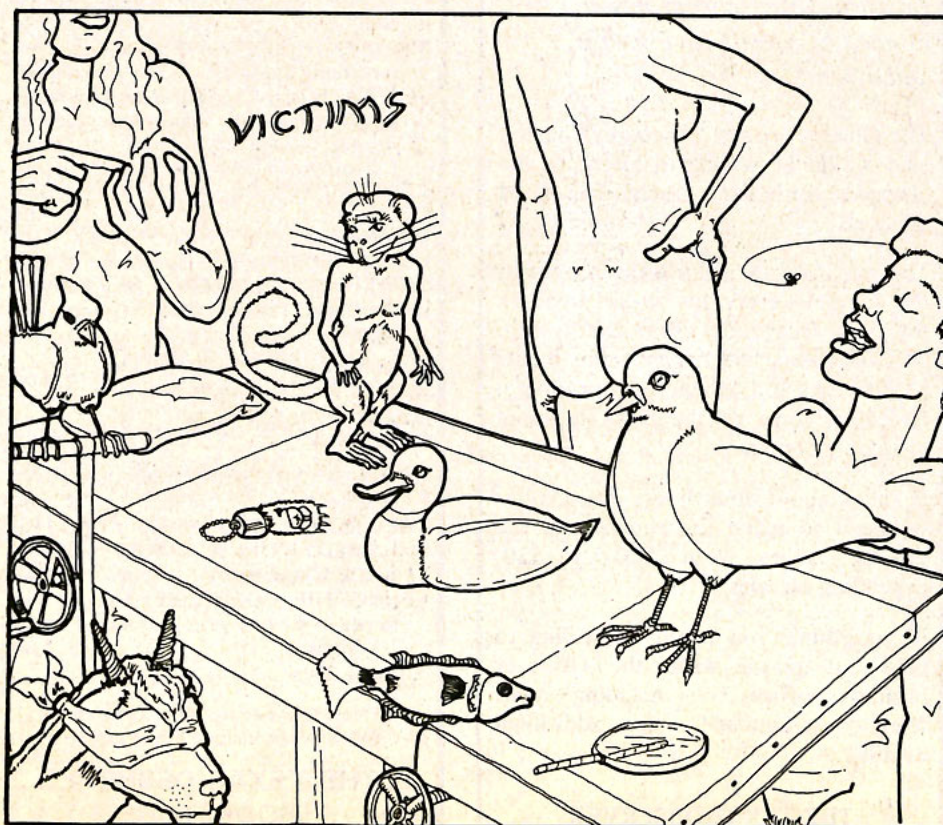
Which is about right, I think. Because Greene's new book is most successful when the narrative abandons (momentarily) its central characters for glimpses of the larger world through which they move. As for example: an item about the Texas State Bankers Association's attempting to curb the staggering popularity of bank robbing in the state (three to four hold-ups per day) by offering a five thousand dollar reward for killing a bank robber in the act — but specifying “not one cent for a hundred live ones.”

Greene goes on to recount various disasters and near disasters which followed upon this announcement. A mob at Andrews, Texas pursued and wounded a petroleum company scout, assuming that any stranger was a likely bank robber. And worse than that: at Stanton, a deputy sheriff promised work to four Mexican laborers, ordering them to await his return in front of the bank. When he reappeared, he promptly shot and killed two of them, said they had been plotting robbery, and laid claim to the reward. (He didn't get it.)

In these and other, similar passages, Greene draws upon his considerable knowledge of the area and its history to provide an interesting and lively background for his story. But with the story itself, and with its leading characters in particular, he is less successful. The ratio of successes to failures is unfortunate.

The dividing line is clear. When Greene writes as a reporter, or as a historian, working in what might be called the public realm, in names, places, dates and events — in the realm of *data*, that is — his narrative is generally coherent, well-paced, and even compelling. But when he writes as a novelist, working in the private realm, skirting the edges of fiction in an attempt to re-create the thoughts and conversation of the robbers, the result is often stilted, inconsistent, and unconvincing. And most of the time, in *The Santa Claus Bank Robbery*, he is working in the second realm.

One example of Greene's difficulties



Mayo Thompson

occurs when three of the bandits are discussing their situation.

Hill spoke without looking at Ratliff or Helms. "We're all going to die. You know that?"

Ratliff said, "Hell no, I don't know that. And you don't neither, Mr. Big Boy. I ain't died till I'm dead, and I'm a young buck now."

So far so good. Greene has Ratliff speaking in a plausible style, even if it does seem a bit histrionic. But the dialogue continues, and on the next page Ratliff speaks with a very different voice.

Ratliff raised a hand: "Nor did I say he did. But the first thing we've got to get together on right now is that we're going to make it. If any of us decides we're not, then we won't. We got to keep running, keep believing we'll find a hole."

"We're in pretty bad shape," Hill said. "I agree with that," Ratliff said, "but here we are, alive and free. That's not the worst thing that could have happened."

This rings false. Ratliff's whole manner is altered. The man who says "I ain't died till I'm dead," in the space of half a page, rises to the formal, "Nor did I say he did." The sloppy grammar and rough tone are gone. Ratliff is now an eminently reasonable man — "I agree with that."

There are also problems with the characterization of the robbers. Only after their capture and separation do they begin to emerge as distinct personalities, and even then they are frequently exhibited in the robes of stereotype. There is, for example, the traditional "last meal" before one of the outlaws is executed. "We'll fix you up, Henry," the warden said. "We'll have you the best meal you've ever had in your whole life."

**B**UT GREENE saves his worst lapse for the end, and it is more than a flaw of craft. It is a bit of melodramatic gush, a sop of tasteless sentimentality.

Three robbers have died. The fourth is paroled in the 1940s as a model prisoner. He changes his name, moves to another part of the state, and becomes a respected citizen. End of story.

But Greene provides an epilogue, to bring things up to date. The First National Bank of Cisco is still in business, and has come to appreciate the fame associated with the hold-up. In 1967, the bank building is designated as a historical shrine, and one of the officers is available to show visitors around and answer their questions.

One day a grey-haired man comes in. The officer tells him about the robbery. The old man is especially interested in a

painting of the hold-up, done years after the event by a local artist. In the painting, one of the robbers is wearing a cowboy hat. The officer says he thinks that's Hill, the one who survived. He offers to show the vault, but the old man says he must go. Greene's final paragraph follows:

The old man walked out of the bank and stood for a moment on the sidewalk by the alley. He heard the whine of the bullets and the skidding shriek of the tires on the brick pavement . . . and there were tears in the old man's eyes as he lowered his head and went quickly toward the automobile that was waiting in the service station driveway, ready for him to drive off.

Mawkish? Yes, certainly. But even here

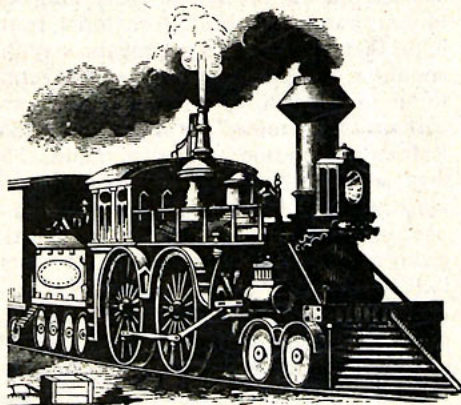
there is a suggestion of the strengths in Greene's work, the strengths of Greene the historian, who knows that *place* is important, integral to event. His knowledge of this place is impressive — Cisco, he tells us, was proud of possessing the world's largest outdoor concrete swimming pool. He even knows that the pavements were brick, and no doubt could say where the bricks were made. But the weaknesses of Greene the novelist, the writer attempting to deal with the private experiences of figures trapped between history and fiction, are more prominent. *The Santa Claus Bank Robbery*, in emphasizing these figures, emphasizes Greene's weaknesses, allowing only sporadic exercise of his strengths.

## Triple Word Score!

Austin

Well, here we are. One year ago we began the review section of the *Observer* here, and now that year comes to a close. A lot of bridges have gone under the water, lotta good personal journalism, lotta letters from our constituents.

Now let's just for a moment review the wonderful art what has been published in



this space since that cold windy forlorn forsaken and humid day one long year ago. Right outa the gate we had a worthwhile documentation of Philip Roth's feeble attempt at political satire, *Our Gang*. Richard Bechtold's review may have had some blunt edges, but it did do one very important thing — it documented what all sane and decent men knew, that Philip Roth had produced a piece of garbage. If you had seen Dwight MacDonald rave in *NYTBR* and Peter Prescott salivate in *Newsweek*, you would've understood the necessity for the gesture.

In the second issue Michael Anderson delivered the first of two incisive meaningful cosmic and heavy articles, this one concentrating on three Houston alternative magazines, *Space City!*, *Mockingbird* and the *Pacifica Radio Guide*. Barely out of Texas Children's, Anderson managed to bring some enthusiastic and

helpful perspective to these countercultural publications. Next, after a piece of my own on John Rechy's *The Vampires*, came Chet Flippo's complaint about slop music, another absolutely necessary documentation that someone with some sense existed and had access; we may all know that James Taylor, Elton John and the rest produce a lot of sleazy junk, but it's nice to hear (read) someone saying it. The next heavy was Anderson's second contribution, speaking to each of us from the heart in Eagle Pass. Included in this piece ("The Will to Live"), among many other remarkable insights, was another perception which called out to be recorded, a brave reaffirmation that "for whatever reason, be it historical oppression or what have you — there are an awful lot of not too bright women." Try and get that out of your *New York Review of Books*. Shortly thereafter came R. L. Gordon's review of *Strange Peaches* together with Chet Flippo's sensational exposé (vivid reportage?) of Explo '72, a lot of hairy guys standing around talkin' about Jesus. Only a few weeks later, we ran in two successive issues, Flippo's tight and informational consideration of rock journalism and *Rolling Stone*. And in the latest issue, John Rechy's review of Elroy Bode's *Sketchbook II*. All this is not to mention pictures of Indonesians with little dogs walking all over them (by G. Ekholm), several drawings by Mayo Thompson and some of the most dynamite trains ever to grace the pages.

**N**OW LET'S just for a moment examine the response to all this always beautiful and often intelligent new personal high-power quality of genius journalism which you got at no extra cost. Well, it hasn't been good. My editors are given to telling me occasionally that "our readers" (a group imagined, unfairly I

October 20, 1972

21

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think, by projecting from the mail) aren't going to go for something — implying that maybe we shouldn't oughta print it, y'know — and I usually say something like yeah, well, if we edited for them we'd produce something on the order of the *McGuffey Reader*. Now our editors are smart people and they *know* what the *McGuffey Reader* is, or was. And they recognize the truth of this statement, its inherent truth which shines like a great light across the stage of Texas culture. (A stage incidentally consisting in its entirety of one sole two by four, eight inches long.)

Now I can't say that I'm not a little ambivalent about a few of our readers rushing across the street to their Episcopalian friends who can read and write, to dictate these letters. There is that inverse equation which says that to the extent certain individuals complain, to the same extent we are producing decent work. I might even mention here, parenthetically,

that I've been a little concerned in the closing waning weeks of this year, that the hate letters (trade term) about pieces in this section have been dwindling to a trickle. And we do feel a certain satisfaction in the amount of energy that would otherwise have gone into bad poetry and bad pedagogy that we have gotten off the streets. "Think of the bad poetry which is not being written . . ." the chain-smoking thirty-two year old Texan said in another context. Think of the "multi-media" classes cancelled. Think of the garbage unproduced in the UT economics department.

**W**E ASSUME, in the 15 minutes it takes to produce this section every other Monday morning, that there are maybe a dozen or so readers of this fine publication who actually like what we are doing. Outside of my circle of acquaintances (whom I assume to be prejudiced — although one is reported to have carried the work of our detractors around in her purse, indicative of stupidity on the one hand or sublimated hostility on the other), I have only met one of these people, but this one was a fine and beautiful young lady who also rewarded me handsomely for the recovery of her lost cat (an exceptional animal). One has been enough.

We intend, in the rather vague and halfhearted way we intend everything else, to continue presenting this material, in the hope that in some obscure mystic way this goodness that we are producing will return to us in the future, in another place and perhaps in another situation. The San Rafael bus station comes to mind. This may seem to be either a romantic or an illusory hope, but I remember working at one of the Drag bookstores in Austin, giving away the merchandise to customers I liked ("Buy one, get two free"/"Don't buy one, get one free"). Well, later on, just about a year ago in fact, there was this kid at the supermarket who consistently failed to ring up cartons of cigarettes at the cash register, and who had a terrible weakness for seeing 35 when the number in question was 89. All this probably has more to do with class hatred (high-class salesman hates low-class employer) than with the essential goodness of the human race, but hatred has been dramatically overlooked as a motivating force for good works. In any case, I will go on anticipating an earthly reward for these services — all I can be is disappointed.

Now with all these (them and us) vitally concerned and enthusiastically participatory followers of the arts, not to mention a lot of artists, writers and musicians doing actual work, it occurs to me that the complaints of some that we ain't got no first-class culture out here in Tulsa are unwarranted. Even in our own

pages here, there appeared not long ago a characterization of this area culturally as "fallow fields." Perhaps one reason for this view is involved in the preconditions someone who is willing to talk about fallow fields imposes on his fields. There is so much energy here that energy can't be the problem. And energy is one of two or three prerequisites for decent work.

The preconditions are implied in "fallow fields." In the term. Such a writer demands a dramatically restricted kind of art which must be accessible to him, which must deal with subjects and in forms drawn from an abbreviated list, and which must, perhaps, reaffirm the writer's own personal values. Let me suggest that we have enough books about cowpokes, nesters and so forth, and about political demagogues, and that though Charles Goodnight was a reasonably interesting person, the uses to which he can be put in work which has anything to do with the present time and contemporary experience are never going to be satisfactory to a writer who complains about "fallow fields." The reason his fields are fallow has a great deal more to do with the drastically restricted list of substances he will allow to grow there than with anything else. And what is actually being judged is the quality of the audience, not the quality of the artists or their work. Unfortunately, the audience is heavily represented in the letters to *The Texas Observer*.

**T**HERE ARE a lot of good writers who have at least the tangential relation to Texas which seems to be required — Terry Southern, John Rechy, Roxy Gordon, John Graves, Dave Hickey, to name some — although the requirement tends to expand and contract. That they are not writing (exclusively) about the passing of the west or Lyndon Johnson in forms which were appropriate for Theodore Dreiser should not erase them from our view. It is a little odd to be in the position of arguing that the ideas, forms and experience of the past 20 or 30 years have as much (more, actually) validity in contemporary fiction as ideas, forms and experience of 60 or 80 years ago. But it's an idea worth considering. And that these writers have a rotten local audience or that the audience is too dull or too frightened to swing with what they're doing does not really give the audience cause to complain, about them. Why the audience insists on remaining local and on having local talent to swear by has always escaped me, anyway. Hopefully, pretty soon the fields will be paved over with some rich black asphalt and someone will paint bright yellow stripes on them — then maybe the people who pass for a cultural audience will join our bankers, lawyers and ad execs, in the twentieth century. S.B.

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# Here's How You Can Help George McGovern Carry Texas.

We can carry Texas for McGovern on November 7, but we'll need your help to do it.

*You can help us set the record straight.*

Nixon's record. The record of what Ralph Nader has called the most corrupt administration in history.

Remind your friends of the ITT scandal...when a government anti-trust suit was dropped after that corporation agreed to underwrite \$400,000 of the cost of the Republican National Convention.

Tell them about Nixon's wheat deal with the Russians. Wheat farmers, many of whom live in Texas, were cheated out of \$25 to \$100 million when Nixon's administration gave exporters the advance inside information on the Soviet trade negotiations.

They should know about the Republican burglars arrested inside Democratic National Headquarters. And the ten million dollar secret fat-cat slush fund. And the Mexican connection Nixon's finance officials seem to have.

Remember unemployment. It hit six per cent under Nixon. Welfare rolls have doubled. Health care is still a prerogative of wealth. Food prices have never been higher. And Richard Nixon, the self-proclaimed arch-enemy of deficit spending, is running up a budget deficit of \$80 Billion. That's more than the combined deficits of the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations. \$80 billion.

Then there's the war. The war which candidate Richard Nixon had a secret plan for ending. The war which candidate Richard Nixon said any administration ought to be able to end in four years.

George McGovern offers an honest and open government. He offers meaningful tax reforms. He offers a plan to cut the fat out of a bloated defense budget so that we can re-direct some of our resources towards solving problems which affect our everyday lives. And George McGovern offers the working men and women of this country his loyalty, his affiliation with their needs and interests.

America needs George McGovern. And Texas can help make George McGovern President. It can happen, with your help.

Please send your generous contribution to the Texas McGovern-Shriver Campaign Committee. It will be used here in Texas, to help carry Texas for McGovern. Please respond today. Your help is needed.



## McGovern-Shriver in '72 it can happen in Texas.

# Gabacho racists

Concerning the "communication" from José Angel Gutierrez in the September 22 issue, haven't we in Texas (including Mr. Gutierrez) seen enough of racism to know that that is not the path we want to travel? That the Democratic Party in Texas has often been a vehicle for anglo ("white", to use Mr. Gutierrez' term) superiority can scarcely be denied. Gabacho racists have run most of the show in Texas for a long time, but surely the best solution to this deplorable state of affairs does not lie in replacing Anglo bigotry with *chicano* bigotry. Now 'racist' is not a label to be applied loosely, but in reading Mr. Gutierrez' communication I find that certain of his comments could only have come from one at least partially afflicted with the disease of racism, which we are presumably working to conquer.

Mr. Gutierrez says, "Liberals, like right wing racists, won't vote for a Mexican." If by "Mexican" he means *chicano*, the best way to get "white liberals" or anyone else to vote for Ramsey Muniz and other *chicanos* is not to go around telling them that in fact they won't do so. A wiser political course, and one more likely to

## Dialogue

bring social justice to the *chicano* people, would be for Mr. Gutierrez to proclaim, as loudly and as often as possible, "Liberals will vote for Ramsey Muniz because Ramsey Muniz will make the best governor for the people of Texas."

Mr. Gutierrez further states of the *Raza Unida* Party, "We are pro-*chicano*. . . . We want our own candidates. . . . We want South Texas." These remarks exude a none-too-subtle racism. To illustrate this point let us assume a hypothetical situation where a would-be governor of one of our great states forms a party known as the "United White People's Party" and sends a statement to the media to the following effect: "We are pro-white. We want white candidates. We white people want to keep this state." This man would justifiably be branded as a racist for saying essentially the same things "on behalf" of his race that Mr. Gutierrez has presumed to say on behalf of his. We should remember that no race, not even the clever and scheming anglo, has yet been able to obtain a monopoly on racism.

The best interests of Texas *chicanos* are identical with the best interests of all Texans — if we are to build a society that's worth a damn, it will have to be for *all* of us. It is unfortunate that this fact is ignored by so many, and that the politics of racial division is still being practiced. If the *raza* is to be truly *unida*, then the *raza* must include us all, right down to the lowliest white liberal. ¡Viva la gente! ¡Toda la gente!

James W. Keller, 1611 N. Mesa, El Paso, Tex. 79902.

## Rich snobs for Tricky

I wish someone would do some critical political categorizing of that group of rich snobs who attended the dinner for Nixon last week in Floresville, Texas. Reporters need to stop referring to John Connally and his wealthy friends as the "Democrats for Nixon." The political philosophy of these people is no different from that of Agnew and Nixon (a government of the rich, by the rich and for the rich) yet Agnew and Nixon aren't called Democrats. It seems that to simply refer to Connally and his friends as the "Millionaires for Nixon" does a lot more for the sake of accuracy.

Frank Prasifka, 7100 Hwy. 290 E, Austin, Tex. 78723.

## 20¢ for the dips - - -

Find encl. \$7.35 plus 20 cents to cover the two letters from that dips— on pg. 16 of the 9/22 T.O. I'm sure others will do the same but we all know how things get done if we depend on fellow Texan.

As a c.o. doing alternate vice now, I don't make much \$ but so things you have to have to survive — sorry about money when the bank calls — and the T.O. is one of those things.

Max Woodfin, 2228 Seawall #633, Galveston, Tex. 77550.

## Form follows function

Fellow homo sapiens: as a Kraut-Dago-Spick-Mick-Polack-Chink who detests "Never on Sunday" sung in Yiddish, I take very strong exceptions to Ms. Ivins coverage of the Republican national convention. IT WAS IN VERY POOR TASTE. Both the coverage and the convention.

Sheldon Rosen, 1016 N. Madison, Dallas, Tex. 75208

## Falsehoods

I received a sample copy (Sept. 8, 1972) of your publication and was very interested in it until I had a chance to read the item, "The Perils of the San Antonio Expressway." If the other articles in the paper are based on as many falsehoods and misinformation as this one was, I don't think that your comments and articles would be worth believing. Interesting — yes, but factual — no.

I work for the Highway Department in San Antonio and know the real, true, facts of the North Expressway and they are certainly different than those you have presented. You might better discuss the violation of democratic processes by a monied and vocal minority, who are thwarting the wishes of the majority of the people in this area. You might also discuss the environmental chaos and citizen hardship that the Fifth Court decision has caused in the area it affects.

Robert D. Deegan, 4310 Westberry Dr. N., San Antonio, Tex. 78228.

## Foot-opinionated?!

We would like to thank you for honest opinions and fact-opinionated ideas. You give us hope and understanding for us, our child and our future children that will live in this state and country.

Viva la Raza!

Viva McGovern!

Mr. and Ms. Emil R. Monciugis, 4401 El Campo, Ft. Worth, Tex. 76107.