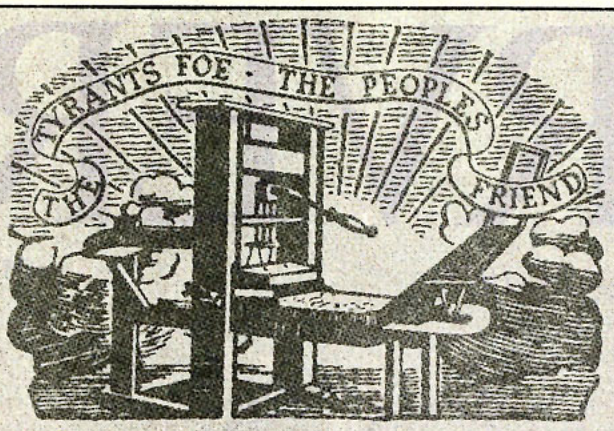
THE TEXAS OBSERVER

A Journal of Free Voices *August 24, 1979* 75¢

John Connally

as seen by the Observer, 1961-1979



The Texas OBSERVER

PUBLISHER, RONNIE DUGGER

Vol. 71, No. 16 August 24, 1979

Incorporating the State Observer and the East Texas Democrat, which in turn incorporated the Austin Forum-Advocate.

MANAGING EDITOR Linda Rocawich
ASSOCIATE EDITOR Eric Hartman

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Beth Epstein

ASSISTANT EDITORS: Vicki Vaughan, Bob Sindermann Jr.

STAFF ASSISTANTS: Lorraine Atherton, Jeannette Garrett, Donna Ng, Anne Norman, Martha Owen, Karen White, Harris Worcester

CONTRIBUTORS: Thomas D. Bleich, Ave Bonar, Berke Breathed, Warren Burnett, Bob Clare, Jo Clifton, Bruce Cory, Keith Dannemiller, Jeff Danziger, Chandler Davidson, John Henry Faulk, David Guarino, Roy Hamric, Doug Harlan, Dan Heard, Jack Hopper, Dan Hubig, Molly Ivins, Susan Lee, Tim Mahoney, Maury Maverick Jr., Kaye Northcott, Hans-Peter Otto, Alan Pogue, Lois Rankin, Ray Reece, Susan Reid, Laura Richardson, Andrew Saldaña, Ben Sargent, John Spragens Jr., Sheila R. Taylor, Lawrence Walsh, Eje Wray, Ralph Yarborough

A journal of free voices

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 humankind 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.

The editor has exclusive control over the editorial policies and contents of the Observer. *None of the other people who are associated with the enterprise shares this responsibility with him. Writers are responsible for their own work, but not for anything they have not themselves written, and in publishing them the editor does not necessarily imply that he agrees with them because this is a journal of free voices.*

BUSINESS STAFF: Cliff Olofson, Joe Espinosa Jr.

ADVERTISING SALES REPRESENTATIVE: Rhett Beard, 700 Rio Grande, Austin, Texas 78701, (512) 472-0145

The Texas Observer
(ISSN 0040-4519)
Editorial and Business Office
600 West 7th Street, Austin, Texas 78701
(512) 477-0746
Publisher's Address
P.O. Box 6570, San Antonio, Texas 78209
(512) 828-1044 after 4 p.m.

Published by Texas Observer Publishing Co., biweekly except for a three-week interval between issues twice a year, in January and July; 25 issues per year. Second-class postage paid at Austin, Texas. ISSN 0040-4519.

Single copy (current or back issue) 75¢ prepaid. One year, $15; two years, $28; three years $40. Airmail, foreign, group, and bulk rates on request.

Microfilmed by MCA, 1620 Hawkins Avenue, Box 10, Sanford, N.C. 27330

POSTMASTER: Send form 3579 to: 600 West 7th Street, Austin, Texas 78701.

Cover art: Jeff Danziger

The past

Austin

If you haven't already overdosed on John Connally, you're about to. We at the *Observer* did long ago, but he keeps popping up, again and again, and we decided to remind the world (or at least the part of it we reach with our little magazine) that this man has held public office before and is not fit to hold it again.

It isn't that we suspect you *Observer* readers of being ready to rush out and stuff envelopes for him if we don't tell you not to. We know better than that. It's just that John Connally wants to be president and he too frequently gets what he wants. He has picked up a lot of support, including a goodly portion of corporate America's—which is not a sector whose political preferences can be dismissed with a toss of the head and a giggle. His fundraising talents are the stuff of legend. And he seems to have captured the imagination of a large segment of the national media, if magazine covers and flattering color photographs are any measure. (If I read one more time that he *looks presidential* I will throw up.) This is getting serious.

No one's calling him a winner yet, mind you. Most polls show him running behind Ronald Reagan, Gerald Ford, and Howard Baker for the GOP nomination, and I haven't yet seen an if-the-election-were-held-today sort of voter sampling that has him beating either Jimmy Carter or Ted Kennedy. But today is not November 1980, and he knows it. The point is, John Connally is a political pro, he is being taken seriously as a candidate for president of the United States, and he's not going to go away just because we want him to. Texans know him best, and Texans will just have to tell everyone they know all about him. So we've dug up a bunch of old *Observer*s from the years when he was governor of Texas to let you read again and remember how he behaved the last time he held elective office.

I have an idea Connally himself wouldn't think much of this. In a 1971 U.S. Senate finance committee hearing on his nomination by President Richard Nixon to be secretary of the treasury, he was asked to confirm or deny a report that had appeared in these pages. According to the *New York Times*, he offered this non-response: "The last thing I would want to do before this committee—or any responsible committee—is vouch for what appears in *The Texas Observer*."

But we'll vouch for what appears here. It shows Connally to be the protector of big business at the expense of minorities, laborers, and all other "little people." And, though we're concentrating this issue on what he did as governor of Texas, we don't think you should ignore the more recent past. After he returned triumphantly from his acquittal in the milk-fund bribery case, the Texas establishment turned out in droves for a "Salute to John Connally" dinner. *Observer* publisher Ronnie Dugger "saluted" him too. Here's some of what he wrote, in the August 8, 1975, edition:

"Salute! — for supporting the Vietnam War without reservations, condemning protesters against it as unpatriotic, and concluding that the lesson of the war is that we should have won it.

"Salute! — for secretly helping Nixon in 1968 while publicly supporting Humphrey for President.

"Salute! — for heading up 'Democrats for Nixon' in 1972 and delivering a vicious attack on George McGovern over nationwide television, invoking the names of past Democratic presidents and the spirit of Joe McCarthy.

as prologue

"Salute! — for advising Nixon to raise the prices consumers pay for milk so Nixon could get all the money possible from the milk producers for politics. . . .

"Salute! — for switching to the Republican Party after his treachery to the Democrats made it clear they would never nominate him for President."

But you get the idea.

So this edition of the *Observer* is John Connally's, and nearly all of it is not original. The exception, written for this issue, is Dugger's perusal of the positions Connally has taken on national issues in the 1970s, the period of time in which he served in the cabinet of a Republican president and later became a Republican himself (see page 4). The rest is a repeat of what the *Observer* had to say about Connally in the '60s when he was a Texas governor and an establishment Democrat.

Two full-length articles are reprinted nearly intact. One, from October 1968, is a retrospective view of the Connally years. Dugger spent a couple of hours with the outgoing governor talking over the preceding six years; the summing-up reappears here, beginning on page 6. The other is a report, from May 1964, on Connally's service as executor of the estate of the fabulously wealthy oilman, Sid Richardson. This subject—in particular, Connally's compensation for said service and the way it was paid out over the years he was governor—is one on which he is still dissembling. It begins on page 9, and it's the one the senators were asking about in 1971.

Then, starting on page 12, is a chronological string of shorter excerpts, from the first race for governor in 1962 through the end of the years in the statehouse. It consists largely of commentary on his campaigns, political positions, performance—civil rights, the war on poverty, labor, farmworkers' rights, and so forth. Finally, on pages 28 and 29, you'll find a personal look at the doings of inauguration week in Austin, January 1963.

Throughout, the date of the *Observer* issue from which the article or excerpt is taken can be found in boldface type at the top of the piece. We've corrected a few typographical errors and we've done a little copyediting to make the stylistic habits of several different editors consistent—things like capitalization and abbreviations. Other than that, these pieces are word-for-word from the '60s.

We have not gone into the events of Connally's public life in the '70s because they are better known—they got plenty of attention from the national press when they happened and they're being rehashed now as his presidential candidacy proceeds. Besides, we ran out of space.

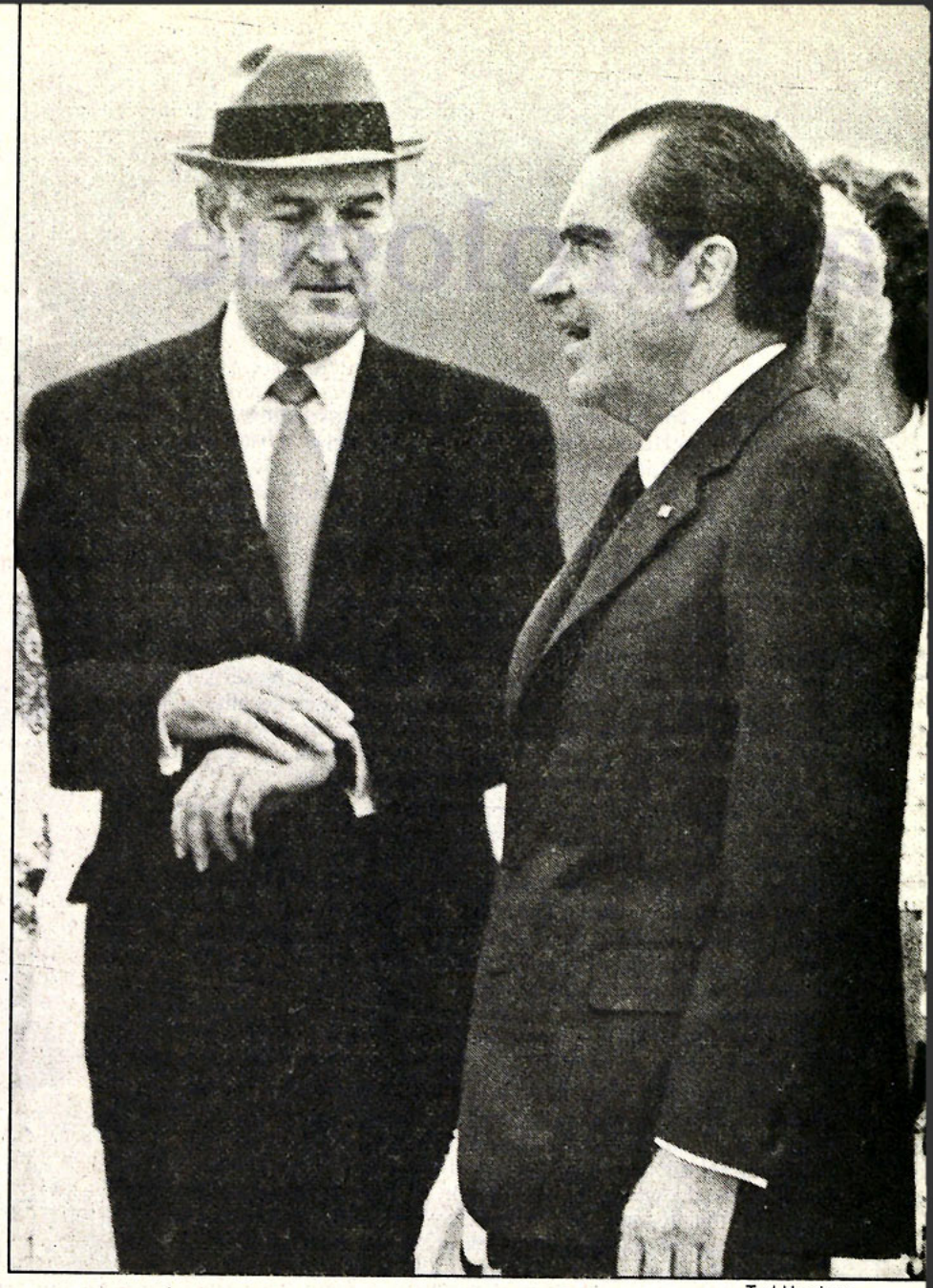
What to make of it all? I have no profundities to put forth. John Connally's record is that of a political opportunist, neither a conservative nor a liberal in the generally understood meanings of those terms, and neither, for that matter, a real Democrat nor a real Republican. *The New Republic* last year described his political philosophy as "corporate socialism," and that seems as fair a label as I've heard.

Anyhow, he now claims to be some sort of Republican. In the '60s when he was governor of Texas, he was a Democrat loudly devoted to the preservation of a one-party state. He's changed his tune since then, but then changing his tune a lot is one of the consistent things about him. Don't take my word for it. Read on.

—L.R.

Tad Hershorn

Connally on the record: the '70s



Tad Hershorn

San Antonio

John Connally's policy stances before he became a fully national figure are reviewed elsewhere in this issue. In the 1970s he has joined the Republican Party and has spoken out on most issues current in the national political dialogue. As he advances now on the presidency it may be useful, on the febrile but persistent faith that there is some relationship between what a politician says and what he does, to review positions he has taken since 1971.

His identification with the interests of major corporations is borne out through the decade. Before the National Association of Manufacturers, he "questioned" whether the U.S. should "impose the same antitrust regulations" on American companies in their operations overseas that are imposed "at home." Recommending that the U.S. give more support to American corporations threatened with nationalization of their properties in foreign countries, he said Washington should say to such countries, "You don't negotiate just with American business enterprise. You negotiate with the United States government." When he was treasury secretary, *Newsweek* reported, "Nixon economic advisers feel that some of the top ten steel companies . . . should be allowed to merge to help them defend their markets against aggressive Japanese steel giants."

During the wage-price freeze of which he was czar, a reporter raised a taboo question: why not freeze profits, instead of just prices? "The profits of American business have not been all that big," Connally replied, "and as a matter of fact have declined over the past several years to unacceptable levels." Naturally, labor took note.

One of his stock oratorical ploys is a bold defense of big business. "Business generally," he will say, "is being pictured as an ogre, as a heartless legal entity designed to suck from the veins of this society everything that it can. . . ." On this particular occasion, he followed up with a defense of the role of General Motors as an employer and a funder of its suppliers. The news media, he says, have misrepresented big business as polluters and price-gougers, paying bribes to foreign countries, and exploiting workers.

Connally has had personal business dealings with wealthy Arab interests. He seemed to know in 1971 there would be what he then called "an energy crisis," warning, "We are running short of oil and gas, beyond any question. . . . We are short of energy. . . . The OPEC countries are saying 'we want an increase in what we get for our crude.' They are going to get it." When OPEC was getting $3.60 a barrel, he predicted they would get $6.

Oddly, however, Connally has inconsistently contended there will be no oil shortage. "Our oil and other hydrocarbons are not scarce," he said in 1972. "We have vast resources of hydrocarbons. We need not fear running out of these resources physically." This summer he said it again: "We're not going to run out of oil." He seems to understand something the purveyors of the "energy crisis" as a shortage of oil do not.

Connally said this summer the U.S. "long since" should have been producing synthetics "on a massive scale," but if he advocated this before now, the fact has escaped our notice. In '71 and '72,

however, as he told Sally Quinn, "I even proposed we create a United States oil company. Buy half the reserves of Aramco in Saudi Arabia. Then when they took over, Aramco could say, 'Don't talk to me, talk to Uncle Sam.' " Evidently this proposal was made to Nixon privately and got nowhere; ordinary Republican philosophy would regard this as a socialist nostrum.

Connally advocates the value-added tax, which is a national sales tax. He says it does not have to be regressive (that is, does not have to be, proportionally, hardest on the poor); whether it is depends, he says, on how it's drawn. Had he continued as treasury secretary, Connally would have been involved in promoting this tax into law, perhaps in lieu of property taxes. Uniformly, he opposes what liberals call tax reforms, whether these concern oil taxation, capital gains, or inheritance taxes. "Sure," he says, "they talk about loopholes. What loopholes?" When treasury secretary he became embroiled in conflict with reform groups because his department promulgated depreciation rules that enriched corporations an estimated $3 billion a year.

The first governor to veto a war on poverty program, Connally opposes "more government giveaway programs designed to redistribute your hard earned dollars to the nonproducers of this society." As treasury secretary he said there were too many government social programs for "the average American to understand, assimilate, or appreciate," and "these programs are going to have to be restructured so they can be understood and simply administered." The Nixon administration, of course, dismantled Lyndon Johnson's war on poverty in the course of restructuring it.

Connally even throws the poor in with the corrupt. In March 1979 he warned, "We can't forever indulge the indigent and the lazy and the crooks and the corruption that's a part of every program this government administers today." After 16 years of Democratic-controlled congresses, he opines (avoiding, of course, censuring his former sponsor Johnson), "there are 81 million people receiving some type of government support today, as compared with 71 million people working in the free enterprise system."

George Christian, Connally's former aide and regular adviser, said in 1973 Connally has "no rapport with organized labor," and George Meany agrees: Connally, the top labor chief says, "doesn't understand people's problems. . . . He has no poor friends that I know of." Roy Evans, former president of the Texas AFL-CIO, speaks of "his disdain for workers."

As treasury secretary, Connally rejected the long-standing bipartisan goal of reducing unemployment to 4 percent. "We talk in terms of a norm of unemployed being 4 percent," he said. "This is a myth, it has never happened, it has never been on an annual basis . . . save in a wartime, not in the last quarter of a century." Confronted, though, with a storm of unionists' outrage, he backed off, upholding 4 percent as a goal.

During the period he was cudgeling labor to accept the Nixon-Connally wage controls, he said that "if they [labor] abuse the prerogatives they have, something ultimately is going to be done about labor's power. . . . you are going to see some efforts to obtain legislation—not necessarily from the Administration." Asked *U.S. News & World Report*, "What sort of legislation?" Connally replied: "It could be a hundred different varieties—all the way from prohibiting industry-wide bargaining to reducing the power of union locals to prevent settlements. You might bar locals that are not responsive to national union leadership from electing their own business managers and require them to be presided over by men assigned by the international union."

Connally's conceptions of government seem schizophrenic: he wants big government with balanced bugets, reduced federal spending, higher defense spending, and fewer government regulations. Apparently his desire that the government should do what he wants to get done conflicts with his need as a Republican to appear to be against big government.

While publicly opposing wage-price controls *pro forma*, Connally privately urged Nixon to switch to more intervention, and when Nixon decided OK, Connally had ready a full set of government agencies to do it, with himself at the top of the table of organization. (Indeed, said *Time* magazine, the program seemed "largely designed both by and for John Connally.") Subsequently, dealing politically with GOP and public hostility to controls, he said they were a mistake, but at the time he cautioned labor and management never to expect to go back to the old ways of doing things, and he projected the controls to extend into 1976. (They ended in 1974.)

He championed, for Nixon, federal aid for the ailing corporations Lockheed and Penn Central. As mentioned, he favored a public oil company. He supports the revival of the New Deal's Reconstruction Finance Corporation—a government corporation to help private business finance new energy sources, set up new businesses, and advance technological improvements. To push overseas sales of farm surpluses, he wants a government-supported marketing board.

Inquiry magazine has revived interest in "a Connally brainstorm of some years back, called the Youth Service Project. Under it, every young American would be required to serve the government for one year upon reaching the age of 18." This mandatory national service would be designed, Connally has explained, to "teach young people that they have an obligation to become interested in governmental affairs" and to "provide a discipline for these young people, which we desperately need in this country." It would help solve unemployment, too, he says, so that young people would, for example, "work for local police departments . . . or clean up the highways, since the young are the ones, by and large, who litter."

In addition, *Inquiry* points out, Connally advocated, to the editorial board of the *Wall Street Journal*, a "national dividend program" whereby the federal government would take all the money corporations pay in income tax and split it up among the nation's registered voters, thereby increasing the voter registration rolls.

Yet Connally favors a constitutional amendment prohibiting deficit spending "except in time of war or national emergency," because "We must end deficit spending and . . . cruel inflation. . . ." He condemns "the Democrats" because "They believe in big Government spending." And "The *Federal Register* . . . each day contains an astounding 300,000 new regulatory words imposed on American individuals and American business."

Connally is quite prepared for government officials to give government aid in conscious exchange for political campaign contributions. According to the Watergate tapes, Connally urged Nixon to raise the milk support level—"If you don't," Connally said, "you've cost yourself some money." The milk lobby, he said, was "going to spend a lot of money this year in various congressional and senatorial races all over this United States," and "you're in this thing for everything you can get out of it."

By his attitude toward Watergate, too, Connally signified surprisingly tolerant attitudes of government repression and revenge. This, however, is another story, touched in passing.

Constitutional amendments Connally has endorsed, in addition to the one prohibiting deficit spending, would limit the president to one six-year term, senators to two six-year terms, and representatives to three four-year terms; prohibit school busing for racial reasons, require retirement of federal judges at 70, and require all members of Congress to spend at least three months in their home districts. He is for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. He says that if capital punishment returns, he favors televising the executions as "an even more impressive deterrent" to crime.

(Continued on page 30)

In retrospect

The years as governor

October 4, 1968

Austin

John Connally's period as governor of Texas is over. Barring special sessions, he will address no more legislatures on the state of the state. What may Texans say of him when they look back on his time in the statehouse?

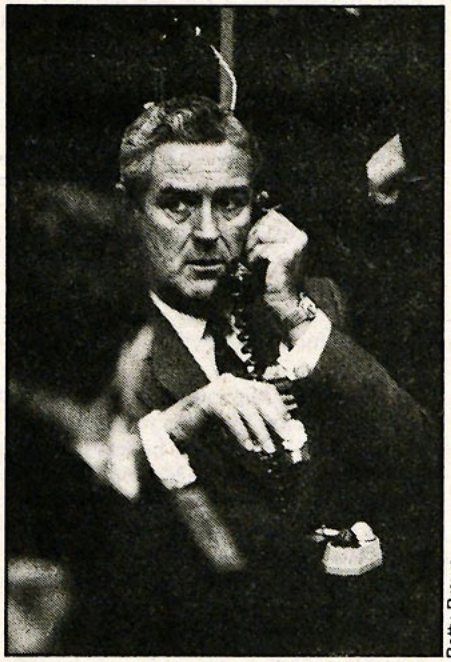
Connally is a professional politician who takes account of the variables—the wishes of the wealthy who fund his campaign, the limits he senses in the attitudes of his constituents, the impediments in the creaky structures of government—and administers and moderately advances, within the resulting enclosure, carefully selected causes. He has been the smooth forward nub of the state's economic power structure, increasing state spending on education at all levels, holding the line with small increases in welfare spending, presiding over the doubling of the state sales tax, and circling the twin totem poles of provincial commercial interests, new industry and tourism.

His primary political effect has been the prevention of decisive change in Texas' one-party political system; he has kept the militant unionists, liberals, and minority leaders out of the statehouse. Before he announced his decision not to run again, he was begged to run by such a prepossessing assortment of the state's business spokesmen, even the Austin daily called them the assembled Austin lobby.

In some fields, however, he is far from a typical Baptist Belt conservative. He advocates liquor by the drink in a state where half the counties are still "dry" by local option. He sees nothing necessarily wrong with racetracks and parimutuel betting, although he has only recently acknowledged this publicly.

Texas has no statewide regulation of telephone and certain other utility rates and services, and Connally once tried out a proposal for a state public utilities commission on the Legislature. The Legislature coughed and had another drink; he dropped the subject.

He believes the only way to stop river pollution is region-wide planning on a river-basin basis, but to get this started in earnest he would have had to take on countless political subdivisions and local interests. If you try to do too much, he says, you lose the ability to do anything. Opposing liberals, he has been a fighting candidate, but for his own most difficult reforms he has not been a fighting governor.



Betty Brown

His public speeches are stretched every which way by such blowing-up words as "extremely," "tremendous," "challenge," "vitality," "paramount," and "dramatic." Often he orates too fast. He can wind up and deliver, as though it were the real sockeroo of an evening, the most reverberating of nullities. He will exclaim with a driven fervor that "Never before in the history of this nation, and of this entire world, has there been a greater need for people with trained minds and practical intelligence and deep awareness of human needs."

Summing up, during a two-hour interview in his office in the Capitol, his six years as governor, Connally conveys deep frustration with the molasses-like State Legislature and bureaucracy, but expresses the belief that his has been a period of promising beginnings on many fronts.

Man to man, Connally is friendly, realistic and confident, but not vain. He talks well. When he goes off the record he lets go with mild profanities of the frustration-relieving kind. He wants to get as good a hold on the realities as he can and see what will give and what won't. Three terms as governor have given him doubts about any one man's ability to change very much very fast in the job. He sounds, in fact, a little discouraged, casting about for a formulation of his achievements that will satisfy, first of all, himself.

He speaks of how difficult it is to move a "monolithic structure of government" where the Legislature meets only once every two years. "Nobody works for the governor," he says. "They work for their boards. Administrators won't volunteer anything—I never know anything except by hearsay. They volunteer nothing."

"We've tried to move in a lot of directions, and I think we have," he says. The last five years, he states, 1,494 new industrial plants have moved into Texas and there have been 1,976 new plant expansions, creating 150,000 new jobs. The State Industrial Commission helped this trend along, he contends.

He has promoted HemisFair at San Antonio and has spoken tirelessly of tourism. He says that the 21 million tourists in Texas last year, spending more than $1 billion, represent a doubling of this phenomenon during his term. This, he estimates, has created about 140,000 new jobs.

In the face of estimates, advanced for the first time late in the 1950s, that Texas had 800,000 adult functional illiterates—more than any other state except New York—Connally says that 75,000 of them have been enrolled in the basic literacy courses initiated during his term.

Connally delivered one of the few governor's vetoes of a war on poverty project, but he expresses pride in the San Marcos Job Corps camp as having the largest enrollment and offering the widest variety of courses of any such camp in the country. He believes Head Start and Neighborhood Youth Corps

programs have worked in the state, but he is not sure about the community action programs.

One thing that disturbed him when he came into office was the high proportion of state employees who made less than $3,000 a year. A new "absolute minimum" of $3,126 has been established, and the last Legislature gave all 40,000 state employees an average pay increase of 20 percent.

He has goaded the Legislature into providing more money for the colleges, especially for faculty salaries, and while he angered Texas public school teachers at one point by resisting the extent of their salary demands, they have done pretty well during his period. But Texas still ranks middling or low among the states in the educational categories. Education in Texas, UT regents' chairman Frank Erwin said recently, is still "undernourished and pale."

Junior college enrollment has greatly expanded and there has been a three-fold increase in technical and vocational course offerings in response to Connally's emphasis on providing industry with more skilled workers.

The governor can also point to three new state schools for the mentally retarded (at Richmond, Corpus Christi, and Lubbock), a new school for neglected children in West Texas, and a new concept of community-oriented mental health care. But the state's eleemosynary institutions and special schools are still overcrowded.

"We have upgraded all the facilities of the Texas Youth Council," the governor says. "We have upgraded nearly all facilities under mental retardation and mental health."

In an overview, Connally has driven the state's budgets upward. "You've been a spender," the interviewer remarked. "Yeah," he replied, "actually I really have. Tremendous, when you look at the budgets."

The rivers and city air are being polluted here as elsewhere. On one of the worst days of Connally's regime, Houston's chief anti-pollution official accused him of appointing one of Houston's most chronic pollution offenders to the state pollution control board. Connally alludes, however, to a $10,000 fine recently levied in Houston against an accused industrial polluter. He thinks the state's Water Quality Board has made "some headway," and he has extracted from the Legislature a small sum for a start in region-wide planning.

"Sure, it's a beginning, but to say we've solved the problem is ridiculous, because we haven't," he says. The state's water problems, he believes, can be solved only with area planning "on a river basin concept," so the state will have to be given "the authority over these basins," but this, of course, runs into the autonomous river authorities. "Galveston Bay starts with Dallas-Fort Worth," he says. "It's gonna be tough, but it's gotta happen."

He mentions quick-fire his state fine arts commission, his committee to promote libraries, "the ten tourist trails," more highway patrolmen, his new higher education coordinating board.

As for the consumer credit code, he said it's true that you can "pick holes" in it and show it allows a rate of interest of 300 percent on improbably-hypothecated loans, but that the choice was whether to "drive them outside the law or permit a high rate of interest," and the decision was made to take the latter course.

Nobody can know the frustrations he has had, he says, but still he has given the state "a thrust of progress on many different fronts. . . . That's what I've tried to do—just give a lot of things a shove."

A one-cent city sales tax was authorized at his behest, and this year the Legislature added, without much objection from him, yet another penny to the state sales tax. Texas has no income tax, corporate or personal. Connally favors, next, a rebate of some of the federal income tax to the states.

He advocated the city sales tax, Connally said, because "I didn't want to see the state sales tax increased again." He speaks of a "better collection system," and he adds, "there are other sources of income that we can tap. . . . I've been opposed to the imposition of a sales tax on drugs and food. I don't think they oughta pass it."

Adding quickly, Connally demonstrates that the state will have to have between $350 and $400 million in new revenue in the 1969-70 biennium. Welfare, $30 million; teachers, $270 million; colleges, $76 million—these are automatic increases, he says.

He would favor the federal income tax rebate, he says, "basically on the theory that many of the programs that the federal government has proposed, they are now backing out of." Would this rebate have the same effect as a state income tax? he was asked. "Yes, very definitely it does," he replied.

Connally still speaks of a two-party state as though it would usher in a Dark Age. He argues that "you get enough diversity in a one-party state," along with continuity of service and a minimum of turnover and patronage in the state government. "When I came in, who did I fire?" he asks. Reminded that he abolished some boards and thus got to appoint members of the successor boards, he said "Yes, but that's about all the patronage I have."

Critics of the system have said it produces not only one-party, but also one-man control. The state Democratic Party is very much a creature of the governor's wishes.

Connally upholds, as perfectly proper, his state parks and wildlife commissioners' collection of a private $200,000 fund to pay for a state park to buffer President Johnson's ranch from commercialism. "This is not my list. This is not my board," he says with some heat. "The money was raised from private sources among private individuals, and I have no control over it. I've never seen the list. I prefer that they [the names] be released."

This year a determined attempt to raise the state natural gas tax failed in the Senate by a 16-to-15 vote, and this year also Connally accepted a gift of an airplane to the state from George Brown's multimillion-dollar Texas Eastern Transmission Company, a natural gas pipeline. Connally, who uses the plane, defends the gift as all to the good for the state. "They gave that airplane to the state," he says. "They said, 'We have no further use for it, can you all use it?' I said, 'Sure, I'll be glad to use it.' It's a good airplane, in good condition."

Connally added he is glad when anybody gives the state "land for parks or anything else that's of intrinsic value to the state," paintings, for instance, or endowed lectureships. Looking around his office, Connally added, "I'd love for people to give furniture."

Connally's first year as governor, a little rider appeared in the appropriations bill prohibiting the use of any state money for architectural fees without the advance written approval of the governor. Connally said he did not ask for this power, but he intended to exercise it, and so he has.

For instance, the University of Texas board of regents agreed that the firm of Nesmith-Lane and Associates of El Paso would be paid $90,000 as associate architect for a college building in El Paso. Rea Nesmith was a former Republican state committeeman and an active Republican. The regents, denied Connally's approval of Nesmith's firm, had to reverse their award. One of them resigned, making public a letter he had received from Connally's close associate, Frank Erwin (also, by the by, a regent, now chairman of the board), in which Erwin said that Connally considered architectural contracts "valuable gifts" that should not, other things equal, be awarded "to architects who have not been friendly to him and his administration." Connally denied he thought any such thing, but Nesmith didn't get his contract.

"This is government by crony," Ne-

smith charged. "John Connally is doing for Texas what LBJ does for the nation—using government money as awards for political friends, denying it to opposition."

Nesmith ran into Connally at a reception in El Paso and gave this account of their meeting:

"I introduced myself, saying: 'Any man who has done to me what you have done at least ought to know me in person when you see me.' To which he replied: 'Texas is a one-party state and I'll see to it that it stays that way. . . .'"

In foreign policy Connally is an eagle in Latin America and a hawk in Asia. He supported Johnson's dispatch of troops to the Dominican Republic and aggressively upholds the President's conduct of the Vietnam War.

In March 1965 Connally delivered a "John Kennedy Memorial Lecture" at a Catholic Student Center in Austin on the Alliance for Progress. In the question-and-answer he was asked about the United States cutting off aid to military dictatorships. "I think I can answer your question by saying I'm sorry we traded Batista for Castro," Connally answered. "There're still some totalitarian governments, some authoritarian governments, in Latin America." Democracies would be better, he said, but that takes time. "We have to work within whatever government is there so long as that government is not inimical to our interests."

Asked in July 1965 if he approved the current escalation of the bombing of Vietnam, he said he "wholeheartedly" concurred in the President's action. Late the next year he said Johnson's resistance to aggression and pursuit of peace "will be judged in history as greatness, in my opinion." When the 1967 governor's conference shied away from adopting even a vague resolution supporting the war, Connally accused the conference of "remarkable callousness," and he told the Navy League in New York that withdrawal from Vietnam would be "a perversion of history." The heart of the matter, he said, is the application of American power against potential agression and subversion, embodied mainly in Chinese communism.

Condemning "the shrill voices of the dissenters," the Texas governor told Boy Scouts in Austin two years ago that "history has never recorded the type of disloyalty we are witnessing during the crisis in Vietnam. To some, the right to disagree has become the right to aid your country's enemies at the very time other Americans are dying on the battlefield."

Assailing Robert Kennedy, Connally said that with the communist world looking "for every sign of weakness . . . some Americans are recklessly willing to oblige. How especially strange that the brother of a man honored throughout the free world for his courage and his devotion to freedom should join in the public display." Of "several men in high office," Connally said, "Literally, they demonstrate no faith in their government." In February this year, Connally was quoted saying that Kennedy had damaged the whole conduct of foreign affairs by the United States and had had a disastrous effect "insofar as Ho Chi Minh and the communist world are concerned." During a Democratic dinner at Indianapolis last March, Connally said, "President Johnson feels that a great nation does not conduct foreign affairs like a game of touch football. You don't twist and turn, dodge and dart, this way and that."

Last month in Chicago, he correlated the views of the McCarthy-Kennedy dissenters against the war with appeasement and surrender.

In domestic affairs, like Johnson, Connally stresses education and health and talks down "the dole." Johnson advocates repeal of section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley law which authorizes the right-to-work laws, but some observers have doubted the President's actual dedication to repeal; Connally has openly crusaded for retention of the right-to-work laws. Johnson is a champion of civil rights; Connally spoke out against the public accommodations law when it was pending, but has incorporated into his patterns of appointments moderate and conservative members of the Texas minorities. Medicare, enacted under Johnson, was opposed by Connally before it passed.

Connally still objects to federal regulation of natural gas, which he calls "a monumental failure." When President Kennedy proposed tax increases on oil in 1963, Connally said he was glad the depletion allowance was not mentioned, but objected to the increases Kennedy did ask for. "Today," Connally declared, "the oil producing industry is sick and cannot afford the burden of increased taxation." Addressing representatives of major oil companies in 1964, Connally said, ". . . we have to fight hard year in and year out to prevent destruction of the one bulwark against disaster—the depletion allowance."

At the peak of US labor's drive to repeal 14-B, Connally wired all the Texas congressmen that no Texan had been harmed by the right-to-work law. He also opposed the principle of "one-man, one-vote" for state legislatures, supporting the Dirksen amendment to allow other factors to be considered in districting for the upper houses.

When Texas-Mexican farmworkers in South Texas struck for a union in 1966 Texas Rangers rode into the situation and arrested them right and left. Thwarted in the strike, the *mexicanos* undertook a summer-long, 400-mile pilgrimage, on foot, from the Mexican border to the Capitol in Austin, proposing to meet the governor in Austin to ask for a state $1.25 minimum wage. Connally cruised up to them on the highway, chatted with them amiably, but noncommittally, on the minimum wage, and was not in town when they arrived in Austin and held a massed rally at the Capitol steps. Texas still has no minimum wage law.

Events of this sort have driven Roy Evans, secretary-treasurer of the Texas AFL-CIO, to say that "we'd be better off with a Republican governor in Texas." Connally himelf acknowledges, "Some of my positions on issues appeal to the Republicans; there is no question about that."

On civil rights, Connally has shunned inflammatory statements of the kind Texas politicians used to make as a matter of course, and he has spoken of discrimination as a moral issue. He makes a point, too, of the many Mexican-Americans he has appointed to various governmental posts, and his political associate Frank Erwin says Connally has named more Negroes to state boards than any other Texas governor.

Connally's opposition to the public accommodations proposal was based on "one of our most cherished freedoms—the right to own and manage private property." In 1965, he appointed the long-time leader of the hard-core segregationists in the Texas House, Rep. Joe Chapman, a district judge in deep East Texas.

On federal aid Connally is a conservative-sounding pragmatist. For a time he argued against federal aid to education, but Texas has been taking all it can get. Verbally dedicated against the "suffocation of federal control," he also says it's just as much a mistake to assume it's good just because it's federal. He has compromised the Southern hostility to carpetbaggers and the modern realities of federally-dominated government by voicing the hostility while administering the realities.

As is, of course, well known, Connally was Lyndon Johnson's man Friday from 1939 on. In 1952, however, Connally became rich Fort Worth oilman Sid Richardson's chief administrator, and in 1956 Connally was present in Washington in connection with the bill to free natural gas from federal regulation—a bill which Eisenhower vetoed that year because of what he called arrogant lobbying for it, including

a $2,500 offer to Senator Case of South Dakota.

"I had no specific role in it," Connally said of the legislative fight for the bill. "I was there largely, basically, as an observer to watch what was going on. . . . I was there primarily as an observer for [Richardson] and for his companies."

Johnson, according to a good Washington source, kept after Connally to register as a lobbyist, but Connally retorted he did not need to because he was a part owner of natural gas properties through his Richardson work and thus was in Washington on his own behalf.

Richardson died in 1959, leaving an estate finally appraised at $105 million. As an executor of the state, Connally was entitled to fees that Sen. William Proxmire estimated to be somewhere between $40,000 and $80,000 a year. In 1961, Connally took public office for the first time—as John Kennedy's secretary of the Navy—but within the year resigned to run for governor.

On December 7, 1962, a month before his swearing in as governor, Connally told Louis Hofferbert of the *Houston Press* that his fortune came to "about a half-million—most of it represented by my home and ranch." After five years as governor, Connally said at a press conference that his net worth totaled "slightly over $1 million," but, he said, "my financial situation has been impaired during the time I held office, beyond any doubt."

Connally says that, in accordance with the terms of the Texas Constitution, he has received no income from the Richardson estate while governor (the estate is now closed out, the executors discharged). His salary as governor was first $25,000, then $40,000 a year. Asked for guidance to bring the half million figure together with the larger sum, he said both figures were about right, explaining: "When Richardson died, I was named one of the executors of his estate. As a consequence, I was entitled to certain fees. 1962 was fairly soon after his death."

In 1965 Connally bought the 14,500-acre Tortuga ranch in Dimmitt and Zavala counties for an estimated $300,000. In a pattern suggestive of the President's land-buying, Connally's other acquisitions while governor have brought his total holdings in Wilson County to roughly 5,000 acres, and he has picked up about 15 acres on Lake McQueeny near San Antonio.

The Connallys have also built, on their ranch, a two-story, four-bedroom home with swimming pool and landing strip. One reporter has described the house as "modestly majestic." His wife Nellie wants them to go and live there, for good; she is said to be tired of politics. He may be tired, but he may get rested.

—R.D.

Report on a situation

Connally and the Richardson estate

May 1, 1964
Fort Worth, Austin

Governor Connally presumably continues to be an independent executor of the estate of the late Sid Richardson, who left about $100 million when he died in 1959. In response to an *Observer* inquiry, the governor states that he has not performed any services for the Richardson estate or received any compensation from it since he became the governor early last year.*

Connally's insistence that he continue as one of the three executors of the estate caused controversy over his nomination as secretary of the Navy. He resigned various corporate connections, but he maintained that he would be letting down Richardson's trust in him if he did not continue as executor of the oilman's will.

It was pointed out in floor debate in the Senate that Connally enjoyed an income of from $40,000 to $80,000 a year by virtue of being one of the directors of the distribution of this huge estate, and that while he would forego that income while secretary of the Navy, it was implicit that he would resume getting it when he went back to private life.

Examining deed records in Tarrant County, the *Observer* learned that on January 8, 1962, a month after he quit as Navy secretary, Connally joined with the other two executors of the estate, Perry R. Bass and Howell E. Smith, in conveying three tracts totaling 2,509 acres of land from the estate to the Sid M. Richardson Foundation, to which Richardson left the bulk of his fortune.

In Texas, independent executors are entitled to take 5 percent of the value of the property coming into the estate of which they are executors, and 5 percent of property going out of the estate. This is called the "five in, five out" rule. The total amount of compensation under this rule is limited to 5 percent of the total gross value of the estate, the *Observer* is informed.

The January 8, 1962, instrument on file in the deed records of Tarrant County says that Connally, Bass, and Smith had been designated independent executors of the will in 1959 "and have continued at all times since to serve in such capacity."

There being three independent executors of the Richardson estate, it is possible for the estate to be managed by one or two of the executors without all three acting under Texas law, the *Observer* understands. This would account for how Connally could be inactive, but still one of the executors, and not

* The *Observer* asked Connally, through George Christian, his press aide, two questions: whether he is still an executor of the Richardson estate, and whether, while he has been governor, he has performed services for or received compensation from the estate. Christian gave Connally's response, but said he did not know whether Connally is still executor. On April 17, the *Observer* told Christian it was presuming, on the basis of Connally's answer, that he is still executor, and would appreciate being advised if the contrary was true. On April 20, the *Observer* provided the governor's office a carbon copy of the story here published and invited Christian and the governor to advance any corrections, additions, or comments about it by our deadline for this issue, April 24. On that date, Christian said he had not showed it to the governor and could not say anything as to whether Connally is still executor. Under these circumstances, the article is here published on the basis of the original presumption that Connally's one reply to the *Observer*'s two questions means he is still an executor of the Richardson estate. In addition, a reporter from Washington advises us he asked Connally if he is still executor of the estate and that Connally said he is.

thereby delay the winding up of the estate. The fundamental purpose of an executorship, of course, is to distribute the deceased party's assets the way he wanted them distributed and then to close up the estate.

There seems to be an exception in the law which this explanation does not encompass, however. During the Senate debate on Connally's nomination as Navy secretary January 23, 1961, Sen. Richard Russell (D-Georgia) remarked that in Texas, "one of several executors can pass title to any part of the estate *except the realty* without consulting the others." (Emphasis provided.) Perhaps this is why Connally joined the other two executors in passing title to the Fort Worth land so soon after Connally left the Kennedy administration.

William Blakley, a U.S. senator from Texas in 1961, contributed the observation in the Senate debate that in Texas, "under a will independent executors are . . . able to act independently and separately, and no executor is held liable for the act or endeavors of another executor; neither is he held responsible for the result."

Independent executors under Texas law are not answerable to a court unless a party of interest files a complaint. All the executors have to do is file the will and an inventory of the estate in court; from then on they manage the estate as they see fit. In court-supervised estate managements, there is a three-year limit for winding up estates, after which permission of the court is required for further delay, but this time limit does not apply to independent executors.

In the Richardson estate, the executors filed, not an inventory of properties, stocks, and so on, but an inventory specifying only the value of the properties in the estate by category.

Richardson died on September 30, 1959. On November 16, 1959, Connally filed, on a preliminary inheritance tax report, an inventory of the "net estate for distribution" of $30,230,000. In May 1961 the supervising judge, Marvin Simpson of Fort Worth, and Comptroller Robert Calvert officially recorded, on a form called "Report of Appraisement by County Judge and Comptroller," that the "actual market value of the property" Richardson owned when he died was $86,624,668.11. On the basis of this appraisal, the estate paid only $886,440.40 state inheritance tax to Comptroller Calvert. However, this appraisal and tax were subject to the final determination of the estate by the federal government.

On December 20, 1961, according to the records of the will in Judge Simpson's court, Simpson approved the federal government's valuation of the "gross estate" at $105,346,328, roughly $20 million more than Simpson and Calvert had certified and $75 million more than on Connally's preliminary inheritance tax report. On the basis of the federal valuation, which Simpson and Calvert approved, an additional state inheritance tax of $5,853,596.73 was then assessed against the estate, and it was paid December 21, 1961. Connally's resignation as Navy secretary was submitted on December 11, 1961, and became effective December 20, 1961.

Late in 1962, the *Houston Press* ran a copyrighted book-length feature, "The Connally Life Story," by Louis Hofferbert, in which Connally was quoted that the Richardson estate was "in round figures, about one hundred million dollars." Hofferbert stated that the principal part of Connally's own fortune was built during his years as Sid Richardson's lawyer. Hofferbert asked Connally for an estimate of his personal net worth at that time—the end of 1962—and Connally replied, "About a half-million—most of it represented by my home and ranch."

Hofferbert reported that Connally owned in his name or the names of his children about half of the Connally family's 4,000 acres in Wilson County.

Connally was hired by Congressman Lyndon Johnson as his secretary in Washington after Connally got out of University of Texas law school in 1939. Connally met Richardson for the first time, Hofferbert said, at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in 1940. . . .

Connally recalled his encounter with Richardson for Hofferbert:

"I went to Fort Worth and visited Mr. Richardson in his rooms at the Fort Worth Club. We talked most of the night. He invited me to join his organization, and he said: 'I can hire good lawyers and good engineers and good geologists, but it is hard to hire good common sense.' At the end of our talk he told me: 'I'll pay you enough so Nellie and the kids won't go hungry, and I'll put you in the way to make some money.' "

Whereupon, in 1951, Connally became associated with one of the richest oilmen in the United States. The firm of Richardson & Bass handled much of Richardson's business; Perry Bass is the nephew of the late oilman. Connally became an officer and/or a director of many of the Richardson-controlled companies—Richardson Oil Company, Richardson Carbon Company, New York Central Railroad, and so on. He had been with Richardson eight years when Richardson died. . . .

In his will, Richardson had specified that if Bass was the sole qualified surviving executor, he would continue so to

Different answers in 1971

Connally's acceptance while governor of $575,000 for prior services to the Richardson estate was put into perspective by a comment that appeared in *The New Republic* February 13, 1971, which said in part:

". . . Connally conceded . . . that he received about $450,000 from the Richardson Foundation when he was also governor of Texas between 1963 and 1968, a fact that had heretofore been concealed from the voters of his state. . . .

"*The Texas Observer* asked him, when he was running for reelection in 1964, if he had received any funds from the Richardson estate while he was governor. His press secretary, George Christian, replied by quoting Connally directly as saying, 'I have performed no services or received any compensation' while governor. . . . Again in 1968 the *Observer* quoted Connally as saying that he had received no income as governor from the Richardson estate. . . .

"*The New York Times* . . . forced Connally into the open with some fascinating information. . . .

"Observe the exact nature of the deception he had practiced on the one Texas paper that had asked for the facts. His thinking may have run like this: 'Well, technically I have not been getting that $75,000 a year from the estate, but rather from the Foundation in payment of the debt of the estate, so I'll just answer no.'

". . . [Before the Senate finance committee] Now his line became, 'I don't go around, senators, bragging about it.' What he *has* gone around doing, is hiding it. . .

"He and his two co-executors, by his own testimony, agreed to pay him $750,000 for work he says was substantially finished in 15 months. That is $50,000 a month, $600,000 a year. . . .

"Last week Sen. Fred Harris requested, and Connally later supplied, a letter he wrote in 1961 setting forth the terms of his agreement with the other executors. It indicates Connally received a total of $175,000 in Richardson money between 1959 and 1962. . . . While he was governor, Connally received an additional $575,000 ($125,000 more than he had originally remembered before the committee)."

act, but that if one of the other two were, the Fort Worth National Bank would be the successor independent co-executor. Richardson directed expressly that no bond or security be required of his executors and that the probate court not take any action on the estate except the statutory steps required.

"My executors shall receive compensation for the services rendered by them as such at the rate provided by law; this compensation to be divided between co-executors as they may in writing agree from time to time in advance," Richardson's will provided.

Richardson left individuals (not including Connally) sums varying from $5,000 to $2 million; he left Bass's children San Jose Island; but the bulk of his estate went to the nonprofit Richardson Foundation. In October 1959 Connally was secretary of this foundation, according to papers filed in the estate. However, records at the secretary of state's office, examined last week by the *Observer*, do not list him as an officer or director.

Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wisconsin) opposed Connally's confirmation as secretary of the Navy, which was overwhelmingly approved by the U.S. Senate.

Proxmire said Connally's "only qualificaton is that he has been in the oil industry. It is true that he has been an active and efficient administrator, but strictly in the oil industry." Senator Russell retorted that Connally had not spent more than half his adult career working for Richardson; that he had run a radio station and practiced law in the Powell, Wirtz & Rauhut firm.

Proxmire, contending the secretary of the Navy has to administer the Navy's oil reserves and other Navy matters affecting the oil industry, said that in continuing as executor of the Richardson estate, Connally continued to stand to gain after his public service ended from an estate in which oil "is by far the most valuable property."

Proxmire also contended that Connally was oil-identified because of his leadership in the General Gas Committee, which was formed by the oil industry at the time of the 1956 fight over the natural gas bill to push it through Congress.

It was during this fight that Senator Case (R-South Dakota) threw the Senate into turmoil alleging he had been made an improper offer of campaign funds by an oil company lobbyist in connection with the bill. President Eisenhower vetoed the bill after Congress passed it because of lobbying practices employed to get it through.

Proxmire was careful to say that he wanted it very clear "that there is no evidence that would involve the nominee in those practices.

"But the fact is that that very aggressive, militant, special-interest group did select the nominee as one of the members of the 24-man steering committee," Proxmire said. The General Gas Committee had 780 members.

Sen. Mike Monroney (D-Montana) raised the question whether Proxmire meant "that one is guilty by association? The senator [Proxmire] and I abhor that principle." Senators from both sides of the aisle testified to Connally's character and competence, and Proxmire at no time sought to cast doubt on these. His objection, he said, was Connally's economic identification. For instance, he persisted, Connally still held oil leases paying him $325 a month.

"It seems to me that we should not approve the nomination of a man who looks forward to a principal income in the future—a very, very large income—from an estate which is overwhelmingly an oil estate. . . . This constitutes a conflict of interest if there can be such a thing," Proxmire said.

Senator Keating (R-New York) brought out that Connally would not receive any income as Richardson's executor during his tenure as secretary of the Navy. However, Keating said he was "a little puzzled as to why the estate would run on so long. . . . Normally the estates do not run so long." Proxmire said more than $100 million was involved, and some estates run on as long as ten years.

Senators as diverse in politics as Dirksen (R-Illinois) and Humphrey (D-Minnesota) expressed confidence in Connally's independence and qualifications. Senator Russell brought out that nominees had not been required to vow they would not return to lucrative law practice with big firms, so why should Connally be required not to go back to the Richardson estate? To this Proxmire retored that Connally had not severed his connections with the Richardson estate; that this was a difference.

Apparently, since Connally was acting as an independent executor again as late as January 8, 1962, and averred in the instrument of that date that he had been serving in that capacity continuously since 1959, he did resume his work and benefit as executor between the time of his Navy secretaryship and his governorship.

The only question publicly raised about his continuing as executor while governor, to the *Observer*'s knowledge, was a remark by L. A. Douglas, a San Antonio oilman, at the end of a story by Nancy Heard, oil editor of the *San Antonio Express*, in that newspaper for April 11, 1963. Connally had just exacted the resignation of William Murray as railroad commissioner because of revelations involving Murray's oil interests in Throckmorton County. The *Express* story reported:

"Douglas said, 'It is my understanding after talking to Austin that Gov. Connally demanded Murray's resignation. It is also my understanding that Connally has never resigned as a trustee of the Sid Richardson oil estate. If this isn't a conflict of interest, then I don't know why the Throckmorton thing was."

The controlling provision of the Texas Constitution on the governor's personal economic interests is Article 4, Section 6, which says:

"During the time he holds the office of Governor, he shall not hold any other office: civil, military, or corporate; nor shall he practice any profession, and receive compensation, reward, fee, or the promise thereof for the same; nor receive a salary, reward or compensation or the promise thereof from any person or corporation, for any service rendered or performed during the time he is governor, or to be thereafter rendered or performed."

This is a sweeping prohibition, and a very strict one.

Being the executor of a person's will is not holding a corporate office, however. Receiving compensation for being executor of a will would be receiving compensation "from any person or corporation," and for this reason the *Observer* asked Connally, through his press secretary, George Christian, if the governor had received any such compensation. "He says, 'I have performed no services or received any compensation' " during the time he was governor, Christian reported back to the *Observer*. The constitutional prohibition rules out the governor receiving any such compensation, during the time he holds the governorship, for services "during the time he is governor, or to be thereafter rendered or performed," but does not appear to prohibit the governor maintaining a connection without rendering services which he may, after he is no longer governor, activate again in return for compensation.

Thus has Texas' 37th governor continued as an independent executor of a hundred million dollar estate without apparent trespass against a strict constitutional prohibition against a governor having an economic conflict of interest.

Connally indicated to Jon Ford of the *San Antonio Express* that he does not want to run for further public office after another term as governor. He and Mrs. Connally have sold their Fort Worth home for $50,000 on August 7, 1963, and are building their new home on their Wilson County ranch.

—R.D.

Excerpts from a political life

John Connally began his life in public office with his 1961 appointment, by President John Kennedy, as secretary of the Navy and continued it with six years as Democratic governor of Texas and a couple as President Richard Nixon's treasury secretary. In 1972 he was a Democrat for Nixon but by 1976 he was a Republican for Ford. Now, of course, he is a Republican candidate for president himself. All along the way, his career has been commented upon in The Texas Observer. *What follows are some excerpts from that coverage in chronological order, beginning with the launching of his first campaign for governor in late 1961.*

Connally announces

December 15, 1961

Navy Secretary John Connally's announcement for governor comes as no great surprise. Everything has been pointing in that direction for some time. Vice President Johnson, who for years has been Connally's employer and tutor, feels the need to retain a direct hand on the Democratic political apparatus in Texas, to dampen the steady exodus of conservative Democrats and old-line Dixiecrats into the GOP, and, long-range but nonetheless very real, to prepare in advance for his inevitable effort for the presidential nomination in 1968. . . .

What else does one say about John Connally for governor? Great politicians appeal to a sense of crisis, enjoin the popular imagination for reform and change; Connally's candidacy gives us only a sense of monumental boredom. He offers the same mild remedies and pale nostrums undergirded by the same apathetic popular front, the same lackadaisical stance against a developing two-party system which threatens the wellsprings of power and patronage and which have made of statecraft in Austin a miasma of meaningless jargon and expediency. As far as we have been able to tell, Connally possesses not the faintest understanding of the towering inadequacies of state government in Texas. His professional "moderation," his expressed appeal to all factions for all things, suggests the usual reluctance to tackle that vast conglomerate of shortcomings, from education to industrial safety to proper care for the aged, that has left Texas among the poorest and most calloused of all the states in basic social services.

The campaign

March 16, 1962

Connally's effort to date has been a classic study in the technology of well-heeled public relations. He preaches nothing, he stands for nothing, and he gets on television a lot to do it. His campaign, which would make a rather fascinating chapter in any future addendum to *The Hidden Persuaders*, is proving more than anything else that Lyndon Johnson never had a "precinct organization," that in the absence of ideology on the state level he always borrowed heavily, as the times dictated, on a hard core of either liberal or conservative precinct strength, with a thin gloss of the popular front for appearances.

Connally can't move to the right, as Shivers did in 1954, because of Johnson's national image. He can't go to the left because the liberals are already preempted [by opposing candidate Don Yarborough]. So, despite the fact that a goodly number of old Shiverscrats are in there with him . . . John muddles along in the middle of the road, full of ruts, signifying nothing.

From the sound of most of his statements so far, Connally would, if anything, demobilize state government to a point even beyond its present condition, which can roughly be described as one of purple torpor. His big theme has been to limit Texas governors to two terms, or four years, a reform which in practice would make a governor effective for slightly more than one term, two years; this in a state, mind you, which is known nationwide for a constitutional and statutory apparatus which gives us one of the weakest chief executives in Western Christendom. He has also come out forthrightly for what could only amount to outright anarchy in the Legislature. In an assault on a contrary statement by [Gov. Price] Daniel, Connally actually said he wouldn't even consider supporting legislators who endorse his programs. This preposterous pledge, when sent across the airwaves as a positive campaign utterance of a man who talks about "firm leadership," is an interesting reflection on the kind of no-party rule he seeks to perpetuate. More than that, perhaps, it merely shows what happens when a candidate for governor stands more or less for nothing at all.

The man is spending enormous sums of money: free barbecues at a couple of dollars a head, aerial TV shots, newspaper ads, enough television appearances to make him a regular weekly fixture alongside "Wagon Train" and "The Price Is Right." . . .

Three-way donnybrook

May 2, 1962

Some 1.5 million Texans are expected to vote Saturday in what has been widely described as the hottest race for governor in 16 years. . . .

Six Democrats, ranging from the farthest reaches of the American right to New Frontier liberalism, with a cluster of conservatives and moderates in between, seek the Democratic nomination. The battle for the two run-off berths is almost universally acknowledged to be between Gov. Price Daniel, former Navy secretary John Connally, and Houston liberal Don Yarborough. Atty. Gen. Will Wilson has been waging a vigorous campaign, with frequent assaults on both Daniel and Connally, but he is expected to finish no better than fourth. General Edwin Walker and former highway commissioner Marshall Formby are in a toss-up for fifth.

First primary

May 12, 1962

John Connally emerged from the six-man Democratic first primary as the favorite in the June 2 run-off. . . .

Connally ran strong in most areas of the state, carried Dallas, Bexar, Tarrant, and Nueces counties, and finished with 30 percent. . . . He carried a broad swathe of counties down the middle of the state, from the Rio Grande to the Oklahoma border, and led heavily populated lower Valley areas.

Yarborough, who mobilized a powerful last-week drive that sent him better than 50,000 votes ahead of three-term incumbent Price Daniel, finished second with 22 percent. . . . He substantially led the field in home county Harris, swept most of the deep East Texas area, ran ahead in the heavily industrialized Gulf region and a scattering of West Texas counties.

West Side story

May 19, 1962

Precinct 25 on San Antonio's predominantly Latin West Side ordinarily favors the liberal candidates for any public office by about 15 to 1. On May 5, however, John Connally, who projects a con-

servative image in most sections of the state, carried precinct 25 with 600 votes to Don Yarborough's 273 and Price Daniel's 102. The story of how Connally won so handily in this key precinct is a classic lesson in political ingenuity.

Money—an unprecedented amount—was spent here, and spent wisely, by Connally forces as it was in other areas. . . .

But the real San Antonio clincher is represented best by an apparently ordinary campaign handout card . . . the message delivered by this one told West Side voters what Connally apparently wanted them to hear, yet avoided telling conservative voters anything he possibly preferred they didn't hear.

It is a white card, slightly larger than business size. At the top is the usual request: "Vote for John Connally." In the center is a photograph of Connally strolling leisurely along beside President Kennedy.

The President appears thoughtful. Connally is leaning toward him, obviously speaking into his ear in intimate tones—perhaps a whisper. Beneath the photograph is the name: "Henry B. Gonzalez."

"Cleverest thing I ever saw," one veteran of many Bexar County political campaigns said. "That card doesn't say anything, yet it says everything. It says John Connally is President Kennedy's whispering-in-the-ear friend. That is, it says so to West Side voters and other liberal and brass collar voters here. But it doesn't spell anything out that would embarrass Connally up in Dallas. And Henry's name there at the bottom is another stroke of genius. Henry is a candidate too, although he has no opposition. But the card doesn't say, 'Vote for John Connally *and* Gonzalez.' It just has Henry's name at the bottom, almost as if he signed it. Still there's nothing you can pin on anybody, you see."

The "unofficial" efforts in Connally's behalf by Eddie Montez, Gonzalez' liaison in Bexar County, were widely known. There were some angry moments when it first became known that Montez and other Gonzalez supporters were working for Connally instead of the liberal Yarborough. . . .

The lack of a stand on Gonzalez' part for Yarborough, the implications of the widely-distributed handout card and other literature on the West Side, and Connally's formal tie-in with Kennedy as Navy secretary were factors, Yarborough people say, that were not offset by primary time. . . .

"They've done everything over on the West Side to identify Connally with Kennedy but change his name to Kennedy," says Jim Presley, Yarborough's county press manager. "The 'Viva Connally!' posters and stickers are the same color Kennedy's were in 1960. All Connally's campaign mailers are similar in color and design to Kennedy's." . . .

—Jay Milner

A narrow victory

June 8, 1962

John Connally won the Democratic nomination for governor by a narrow 26,000 votes out of over 1.1 million, and he did it in Bexar and Harris counties and with notable inroads in many Negro areas. He had slightly over 51 percent to Don Yarborough's just under 49.

Liberal desertions?

June 23, 1962

. . . The announcement by a leading Don Yarborough campaigner, David Copeland of Waco, that liberal Democrats plan to desert Connally in substantial numbers brought into the political dialogue the principal threat to Connally's early position as a favorite.

Connally faces the dual task of keeping conservative Democrats who voted for him in the run-off and liberal Democrats who largely supported Yarborough reasonably satisfied. . . .

Connally wins

November 9, 1962

Jack Cox, who polled more than 660,000 votes against Democrat John Connally this week in the most impressive Republican showing for governor since 1869, was, quite simply, crushed by the magnitude of the total statewide turnout. When the counting is done, Connally will finish with a margin well over 100,000 out of a record 1.5 million. . . .

Connally ran behind the rest of the Democratic ticket. . . .

It became quite clear that Cox needed a fairly substantial portion of the liberal wing of the Democrats to win. But as it happened Tuesday, the sweeping defections by right-wing Democrats to Cox

Kenneth Smith, *Obs.*, April 21, 1962

"I suspect we're runnin' low on oil and gas."

were more than offset by the adhesion of liberal, labor, Negro, and Latin precincts to the Connally banner. . . .

Attacking the GOP

March 21, 1963

Governor Connally delivered a lengthy attack on Republicans before the state Democratic committee in Austin over the weekend. He said the committee's task was "what is going to *have* to be the revitalization of the Democratic Party." The concern to which he addressed himself was Cox's 715,025 votes to his 847,038 last November. He did not say anything about Don Yarborough, apparently having decided on the strategy of trying to rally liberals behind him in a fight on Republicans. . . .

. . . The "New Republican Party" stands for "No Reasonable Progress" [he said]. Their leaders are a vocal minority with "a wholly negative philosophy" and include many "extremists" who look for a "bogeyman under the bed." He said, "The Republican Party has reached an emotional, impulsive peak."

JC and the Legislature

May 30, 1963

In the Legislature just adjourned, the public interest was so completely sold out by the minions of corporations, thoughtful men watching closely could not successfully resist the emotions of despair for the democratic process in this state government. . . .

Presiding approvingly over this debauch of democracy has been the new governor, John Connally. It must be made clear at once that he is implicated. . . .

As the session advanced it has also come clear that the governor's plighted troth to a certain number of carefully chosen liberal objectives is so much humbug. He has run out on the fights for the liberal programs he has endorsed, he has overblown the significance of those of his proposals the Legislature has deigned to enact, and he has failed to resist and has silently signed the reactionary bills the Legislature has sent to him. . . .

Voting rights

June 14, 1963

The Democratic Coalition's newsletter put out by Larry Goodwyn blamed Connally for new election laws that "make it harder for people to vote." Mentioning "the two-bit poll tax" and "the vicious provision outlawing agency forms that is so crucial to obtaining a large Democratic turnout," the newsletter said with underlining: "The responsibility for the restrictive new election laws rests squarely on Gov. John Connally. . . . [He] had plenty of room to make his prestige felt. . . . Quite clearly, the new election laws seriously endanger Kennedy's chances of carrying Texas in 1964."

On civil rights

August 9, 1963

The governor's middlish civil rights position, ramified now into formal opposition to President Kennedy's public accommodations legislation, has evoked support and criticism across a wide spectrum of opinion and has provoked spokesmen of organized labor in Texas as they have advanced plans for demonstrations against the exploitation of Mexican workers along the border with Mexico. . . .

State labor president Brown's committee on civil rights in unions last month urged all unions to accept members, refer applicants for jobs or apprentice training, and apply seniority without racial discrimination, and called on Connally to call a special session to prohibit race as a basis for employment by the state, as well as to enact a $1.25 minimum wage law, equal pay for equal work legislation, and collective bargaining legislation. Roy Evans, state labor secretary, said during the committee's meeting that "there might be a need for demonstrations" if employers along the border do not upgrade wages and stop job discrimination against native workers of Mexican extraction. . . .

The next day, Connally . . . called Evans's remarks about demonstrations "irresponsible" . . . Evans was trying "to inflame this issue for purely personal selfish gain," Connally said; "Should any racial unrest or crisis now develop in Texas, the officials of the state AFL-CIO must take full credit." . . .

That night, Connally delivered his TV address on civil rights—again committing himself against discrimination in principle; asserting that 16 of 21 public colleges, 26 of 33 public junior colleges, 212 public school districts, 75 percent of the restaurants, 80 percent of the hotels, and 80 percent of the theaters in Texas are desegregated; pledging to do all in his power to see that Negroes get "free and equal access to public facilities maintained and operated by public taxes"; but opposing the passage of Kennedy's public accommodations legislation as striking at "one of our most cherished freedoms—the right to own and manage private property, a right as dear to a member of any minority as to any other Texan." He criticized, in this speech, "the harsh voices of extremism," "the discordant, divisive elements of either the extreme left or the extreme right," "the voices of irresponsible demagogues," and "radical extremists on both sides," while identifying himself as "a reasonable voice for progress." . . .

At the [national] governors' conference [in Miami], Connally refused to sign the two civil rights positions that were in circulation among the governors. Vice President Johnson endorsed the public accommodations bill, saying that "whatever the legalisms or traditions, it is wrong" that Negroes cannot find a bed or meals for their children along the highways, or wash up alongside fellow Americans, eat beside them, or go to school beside them. "I know of no valid right in our system which is jeopardized or compromised or weakened by correcting the wrongs which we know exist among us," Johnson said. When Connally was asked in Miami to explain his and Johnson's difference on the issue, Connally said, "He's Vice President of the United States, and I'm governor of Texas. I think that's the best explanation I can give." The governor argued also in Miami that repeal of Texas segregation laws seems unnecessary in view of court decisions declaring them unconstitutional. . . .

Invited to attend labor's conference on Mexican-Americans' working conditions in Laredo last weekend, Connally testily declined. "We all know we have many problems with respect to job training in that area," he said in tangential reference to labor's protests of low wages and discrimination there. "I don't need to go to a meeting called by Roy Evans to find that out," the governor said. . . .

Businessmen did not attend the meeting in Laredo, either, and Evans, with Brown's full concurrence, said the demonstrations will occur if necessary. And Pena, the PASO chairman, deplored Connally's "voluntary approach" to civil rights as "indeed sad," arguing: "If the governor sincerely believes in the voluntary approach to civil rights, I recommend that he voluntarily issue executive orders calling for desegregation of state parks and public schools and issue a ruling that prospective employees of the state shall not be eliminated from employment because of race. . . ."

Connally in trouble

September 20, 1963

The unlikely is becoming the actual, the odd is coming to pass, in Texas Democratic politics. What began as a slogan, "a two-party state," has become the ruling Democratic conservatives' recurrent nightmare. The governor is startled, and perhaps alarmed. . . .

Out of the turmoil of "developments," two clutches of fact incontestably demonstrate the nature of what is happening. Don Yarborough, who came within 26,000 votes of defeating John Connally


COME HOME
TO TEXAS...
SHINER
Shiner
Premium
Beer
The Original Natural

last year, has heartily endorsed President Kennedy's public accommodations bill. And Governor Connally, who has opposed the public accommodations bill, personally attacked Albert Pena, the state chairman of PASO and one of the Democratic Coalition's four co-chairmen, as "Boss Pena" at the nonpartisan forum of state leaders to plan the drive for the abolition of the Texas poll tax last week. These two events and several others have all but cut off any prospect that the Democratic Coalition might come to terms with a second term for Connally and turned the question publicly into what it has actually been, underneath, all along: can Don Yarborough make John Connally a one-term governor because of the continuing conservative Democratic defections to the Texas Republicans? . . .

The stark implications of the situation are finding bald statement. . . . [For example] the *Valley Morning Star* reported on September 8: "But the real worry of the conservative Democrats, according to the pros, is for the future of John Connally. Don Yarborough . . . could very well make Connally a one-term governor. If union, liberal, and race-oriented groups like PASO could unite on Don Yarborough, Gov. Connally might be looking through the want ads next year." . . .

After the assassination

December 27, 1963

Most everyone was speculating . . . that Don Yarborough could not feasibly oppose Gov. John Connally in 1964. The kinds of considerations he would have to cope with if he did are suggested in editorials in the *San Antonio Express* and *Abilene Reporter-News*.

"Now that a sniper's bullet has seriously wounded [Connally], it would be requiring more than an able chief executive should have to endure to force a primary election campaign upon him," the *Express* said December 3.

". . . Connally does deserve for Democrats to rally unitedly to his support," said the Abilene paper, "and spare him the strain of a primary battle little more than five months away in a period which his doctors have decreed as a time of convalescence."

Should Yarborough run?

January 10, 1964

The circumstance that Governor Connally was shot with President Kennedy does not argue in a logical way for Governor Connally's re-election. Questions of the general welfare are larger than any man's personal welfare. Emotionally, of course, the scene in the President's car has greatly improved Connally's political standing, and it is my opinion that if Texans voted on Don Yarborough and John Connally now, the governor would be re-elected overwhelmingly.

After the assassination there were weeks during which it was undeniably the consensus of the political community that Don Yarborough could not run against Connally, that if he did he would surely be clobbered. This consensus still obtains in the daily press; but as the days have slipped by, more and more knowledgeable and not unwise liberals have seen that he might not lose; he might win yet. . . .

The governor behaved, under fire, with laudable concern for President Kennedy. He himself sustained grievous wounds, and his lovely lady conducted herself gallantly. In his nationwide television interview with Martin Agronsky, Connally refrained from a temptation Allan Shivers would have yielded to—namely, to turn the tragedy against the far left and by association against liberals—and instead, the governor derived from what had happened its true and profound instruction, that we must all reject and effectively oppose hate and violence from the extreme right and the extreme left, both. In these matters the governor comported himself admirably.

The facts of his failure to serve the people as governor were not altered, and remain. The assassin changed history, but he did not relieve any citizen of the duty to do what he thinks right, and pursue the general welfare as he best sees it. His first term Governor Connally served the corporations in the Legislature; eased taxes on them while increasing them on the people in general. . . . Sympathy, which we all feel for him and his personally, cannot intelligently become sentimentality that forgets that he in effect torpedoed repeal of the poll tax; that he in effect impugned the integrity of two federal judges because they had ordered redistricting he feared would hurt conservative Democratic control of the Texas delegation to Washington. . . .

The consideration that militates against Don Yarborough running is the obvious conjecture that he would lose. He would now; he might, in May; but he might not, in May, and if he is man enough to try, since when have liberals devoted to an improved society been deterred by odds against winning an election? . . .

—R.D.

Spring lineup

February 7, 1964

Don Yarborough's announcement was no surprise, and contained none. He reviewed his support of a two-party system and said the last Legislature was one of the most ineffective in state history, and had inadequate leadership; the campaign should be one of principles, not personalities (he did not mention Connally).

Returning to his office January 28, Connally stopped by the press room and said he thought Don Yarborough's announcing would end the party harmony that had been in prospect. He said that he does not believe he will be able to campaign hard, in that he still tires easily from his injuries of November 22, but that it was anybody's privilege to get into the race. . . .

Quiet spring

April 17, 1964

One has a certain difficulty presenting both sides of the current race for governor, namely, the fact that only one of the candidates, Don Yarborough, has been active. The other, Gov. John Connally, is going about here and there on official business, but he has not made speeches that are recognizably political. . . .

Connally's triumph

May 15, 1964

Gov. John Connally's mandate includes the majority vote of 249 out of the 254 counties of Texas. Only Hardin and Trinity counties went for Don Yarborough this spring. Connally became the first Texan in a hotly contested governor's primary to receive more than a million votes. His triumph was unqualified.

In running, Don Yarborough apparently miscalculated one major factor, sympathetic identification with Connally because he was shot in the car with President Kennedy. The last week, Connally told reporters he did not want a sympathy vote, but the fact was, his TV documentary, "Profile of Leadership," replayed films of the Kennedys and Connallys getting off the plane in Dallas and riding off in the fatal motorcade, and then of Connally's hospital-bed interview with Martin Agronsky. The sympathy factor, coupled with the second-term tradition, must have constituted the basis of Connally's dramatically large vote. . . .

Balks at LBJ program

May 15, 1964

The significant thing so far in the Democrats' party conventions this spring is the fact that Gov. John Connally's forces are determined to avoid any endorsement of President Johnson's program or the national Democratic platform and Democrats associated with Sen. Ralph Yarborough are just as determined that such endorsement shall be secured. . . .

JC and LBJ

September 18, 1964

What's going on—or what isn't going on—between President Johnson and Governor Connally? Reports Connally would have a big job in Johnson's campaign have fizzled down to nothing. Connally is now saying he may make speeches for the ticket in other states—but the decision hasn't been made yet. Stories from sources close to Connally indicate he is severely miffed because Johnson gave Senator Yarborough such unqualified praise and endorsement. . . . At a press conference in Dallas Sunday Connally said of Johnson, "His fortunes would have to be second. I am going to live up to the duties and responsibilities of my office." Considering that Connally nominated Johnson at Atlantic City, that Connally has no serious campaign of his own this fall, and that the press of his duties as governor could likely be handled on and off till November 4, something seems to have gone awry. . . .

Election outcome

November 13, 1964

Governor Connally was the leading vote-getter for the Democrats. . . . Connally defeated his GOP opponent by 1,208,000 votes; Johnson defeated Goldwater in Texas by 698,000; [Ralph] Yarborough defeated George Bush by 330,000. . . . But these figures attest to Connally's superior popularity only if one accepts as correct the premise that Connally was engaged in a serious political contest this fall, as Johnson and Yarborough were. It was obvious that he was not. . . .

A third term?

December 25, 1964

Connally "may be forced to run again" for governor unless the Legislature enacts most of his program, the *San Antonio Express* says. . . .

The basis for the renewed speculation that Connally has plans to stay on in public life is his answers to some direct questions in Dallas earlier this month. Asked about his declarations in 1962 that the governor should serve only two terms, he said, "I'm not quite as strong in that position now as I might have been once." He would consider anything to benefit the state, including a third term, and is not unaware of the speculation he might oppose Tower, he also told the *Dallas Times Herald*.

War on poverty

March 19, 1965

Although the war on poverty in Texas has begun . . . it is still piecemeal and

hesitant. Under the President's legislation creating the Office of Economic Opportunity, programs must originate in local areas, and governors of the states are given vetoes over these programs. . . .

The war on poverty in Texas is being managed at the state level by the conservative Democrats who are led by Gov. John Connally. This was dramatized when Terrell Blodgett, the governor's aide, and the governor himself openly attacked the minimum wage of $1.25 an hour that was promulgated for youths in the Neighborhood Youth Corps. . . .

The storm on $1.25 began gathering when *U.S. News & World Report* quoted Blodgett . . . that the minimum wage rate "will 'sabotage' programs in his state. 'Communities just can't live with it,' says Mr. Blodgett." . . .

The dispute broke into the open when Washington reporter Ned Curran quoted an unidentified Labor Department official that Connally's opposition to $1.25 endangered the success of the war on poverty in Texas. "Frankly, we are surprised with resistance from the President's home state and from Governor Connally," Curran quoted the official.

Connally called a news conference on minutes' notice. He denied opposition to the Neighborhood Youth Corps. . . .

. . . [Connally said], "As a practical matter, this action would place local school districts in the awkward and unrealistic position of paying inexperienced school age students of underprivileged families a rate of pay for casual chores that in many cases would exceed that of adult employees working in the same facility, the average earning of their own parents, and the wages he himself might reasonably expect to earn in the days immediately following school."

The requirement was "unfortunate," the governor said. "We have many state employees, unfortunately, who do not receive $1.25 an hour," he said. . . .

On terms, '62 vs. '65

April 30, 1965

Governor Connally said on February 15, 1962—according to the *Houston Post* the next day—that he would ask the Legislature to submit a constitutional amendment "limiting any governor to two two-year consecutive terms, effective with my own election." . . .

In his message to the Legislature in January 1963, Connally said, "I recommend that the Legislature submit to the people a constitutional amendment limiting the service of the governor to two consecutive terms." The Legislature did not.

Last January, Connally told the Legislature, "I recommend a constitutional amendment providing four-year terms for the governor and all statewide elective officials who now have two-year terms." He did not mention any limitation on the number of the governor's four-year terms. This year the Legislature did what he asked, and the voters will pass on the proposal next November.

On 14-B

May 28, 1965

. . . If there is one issue that pervades the labor movement, it's the right-to-work law. The rank and filers believe that whoever actively champions the right-to-work law is anti-union. Late and lukewarmly, but nevertheless explicitly, President Johnson endorsed repeal of 14-B of Taft-Hartley, which makes right-to-work laws possible. Once again, just at the moment when what he did would count the most, Connally last Friday wired every Texas congressman declaring that the right-to-work law is good and please save 14-B from repeal.

The '66 campaign

October 15, 1965

Anyone who runs against Connally is likely to be called a sacrificial lamb; the *Observer* hears no reports of anyone's seriously considering opposing him in the Democratic primary. . . .

The Republicans, too, are in the grip of Connally's hypnotic political power. They have the special problem that they must re-elect Tower or lose most of their power in Texas. Tower has announced that the GOP candidate for governor will not be active. An aide close to Tower tells the *Observer* that a candidate will be selected who agrees to "stay in his office."

In other words, the Republicans already concede the governorship to Connally.

Voters refuse

November 12, 1965

Liberal and Republican voters contributed the bulk of the majority who defeated four-year terms for governor and other statewide officials in the Texas election on constitutional amendments November 2. Gov. John Connally's State Democratic Executive Committee marshalled all the support . . . that it could, but the change was beaten down . . . 57 to 43 percent.

Woods and Hollowell

February 4, 1966

It was an unusual scene in Committee Room No. 1 at the statehouse the morning Stanley Woods announced for governor as a Democrat. The assembled press knew the candidate only slightly, if at all, and Woods made it clear that he

(Continued on page 22)

(Advertisement)

The Washington Spectator®

and

BETWEEN THE LINES

Tristram Coffin, Editor © 1979 The Public Concern Foundation, Inc.

The Bureaucracy, 'The Ten-Ton Marshmallow'

Last winter, when farmers stormed Washington to protest low prices, a home-made sign on a tractor called out, "The price of hamburger hasn't gone up as much as your damn wages."

This was a symptom of rising public outrage against the bureaucrat at a time of belt-tightening and anger at Washington's failure to beat inflation and fuel shortages. A *Washington Post* survey of the "tax revolt" revealed that it is not so much taxes, as "the quality of government employees' services" that get up the dander of most Americans.

In the public mind, the bureaucracy, much like the Roman occupying forces of Biblical times, has become a callous elite, with a don't-give-a-damn attitude toward the individual American and his anxieties and problems.

As for the civil servant's wages, they are, as a rule, the highest in the labor force; he has an extraordinarily rich pension, and he is unlikely to be fired. The average white collar Federal salary in Washington is around $22,000 year, and almost one of every five civil servants here makes $30,000 or more. A new pay raise of little more than 5% has been approved by the Administration, but the House Civil Service Committee voted to raise the ante to 10%. The monthly civilian Federal payroll in Washington amounts to more than $600 million, and this lush market has brought the most expensive stores and restaurants into the area. In 1975 the standard of living here was said to be 30% higher than the national average. The *New York Times* notes: "Washington, once considered Sleepy Hollow on the Potomac, has become a boom town for luxury buyers and sellers. And the reason is simple: money, and lots of it."

The magnificence of the pension system can be suggested by two items.

- A 21-year veteran of the Secret Service collects $31,200 in pension checks annually, plus $47,025 in salary from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, reports the *Washington Post*. This is a practice known as "double dipping."
- The cost to taxpayers of the Federal civilian pensions jumps $60 to $80 million every 12 months.

The bureaucrat has more job security than a tenured professor, and a wry joke making the Washington rounds is the suggestion that a space rocket that misfired be named the "civil servant," because it "doesn't work and can't be fired." If an agency is abolished or its functions changed, the displaced employee is often shifted to another spot at his old salary.

Obviously, there are many civil servants who work hard and long and deserve every cent of their pay. With every change of president, a flood of dedicated and idealistic individuals comes to Washington for public service; they want to move the giant machine. Many of the government technicians are the best in the world. Such field workers as the county agent and the peace corps volunteer do yeoman service for their fellow men.

Yet, in Washington, at least, the opposite side of the coin is all too obvious, government cafeterias busy at the breakfast hour, morning break, long lunch hour, and afternoon break. A farmer in overalls and an International Harvester cap observed the hours of one government cafeteria and drawled, "With breaks like that, no wonder nobody gets any work done around here."

The Public and the Bureaucracy

"To the rest of the country, bureaucracy isn't the least bit funny. It is the issue. In fact it is not too much to say that out where the services of government are delivered, the performance of the bureaucracy constitutes the biggest crisis facing our country today.

"It grows in each of the millions of direct, 'routine' contacts that take place every day between citizens and the agencies of their government, many of which are supposed to be helping them. In contrast to Watergate and Vietnam, this crisis is neither identified nor easily cured; it is insidious, the more so because it manifests itself in such ordinary ways."

—The *Washington Monthly*

All this might be forgiven, except that "people of all classes felt their treatment (by the government) had been bungled, not efficient; unpredictable and bizarre, not rational; discriminatory or idiosyncratic, not uniform; and all too often, insensitive or downright insulting rather than courteous." (*Washington Monthly*) A few are dishonest as well. A General Accouting Office report tells of fraud in government agencies: "Hidden within apparently legitimate undertakings, it usually is unreported and/or undetected. However, all indications are that fraud is a problem of critical proportion. Department of Justice officials believe that the incidence of fraud in federal programs ranges anywhere from 1 to 10% of the programs' expenditures."

To one who remembers how alive Washington was in the New Deal and war era, the most discouraging fact about today's bureaucracy is how dead, how uninvolved, how indifferent it is. One agency head told the *Saturday Review*, "I don't think I've seen a new idea since I've been here—not even a bad one."

Attempts to arouse and reform the civil service are so difficult that it has been called "the ten ton marshmallow."

The federal work force

The actual number of individuals whose salary comes from the Federal pocket is in doubt. The official estimate is 2.8 million civilians on the payroll. But, reports the *Washington Post*, Uncle Sam pays the salaries of at least 3 to 4 million more for research, consulting services and grants. When military personnel is added, the total goes up to 10 million.

An example: the Defense Department has 1 million civilians and 2,049,000 military personnel on its payroll, plus 2,050,000 "outside the walls" whose livelihoods are funded by the Pentagon. HEW has a work force of 144,256 regular employees, and is paying the entire stipend of 87,777 employees in universities, 32,383 in non-profit research outfits, and 113,919 in private business. The biggest lump went to medical research.

High Federal Pay Scales

"In many job markets, Federal employees are the highest paid of all. Compensation for Government blue-collar workers sometimes ranges up to twice that of persons performing the same type of work in private industry.

"Indeed, employee compensation is the largest single cost of Government—a fact not to be taken lightly as the US piles up budget deficit after budget deficit and banners of proponents of Proposition 13 crop up in scores of communities throughout the country.

"In the early 1930s, there was one Government worker for every 10 in industry. In the late 1940s, the ratio was one to six. Since 1970, it has been one for four."

—*New York Times*

Increases in federal pay

The Tax Foundation reports: "From 1970 to 1979, Washington has handed taxpayers a 97% increase in federal personnel costs, counting both compensaton and benefits." A Library of Congress study found that military pay and benefits increased 43% in eight years. The US Chamber of Commerce states: the average yearly pay for a federal civilian employee in 1977 was $16,201, compared to $11,840 in the private sector, and that average federal pay exceeded that in 52 of the 59 industries listed by the Commerce Department.

Brookings Institution says that in 1976, around 17% of all federal blue-collar workers won increases as much as 25% above local private wages. Wage increases are almost automatic and come twice a year. The raise granted last October, to keep pace with inflation, added $23 a week to the check of the typical Washington-based federal employee.

The salary of a beginning job on the management or professional level of Government has risen steadily, due in part to inflation. In 1949, it was $7,600; in 1968, $14,409, and since October 1977, $26,022. (*New York Times*) A proposal by President Carter for executives would bring raises of $5,800 and top grade pay of $52,800. Other factors in personnel costs are:

- Lack of control over overtime pay. The Pentagon, Uncle Sam's largest employer, spends about $400 million a year on overtime, but was unable to tell Congress how many employees are collecting overtime or what work they perform. The State Department admits the overtime problem is "out of hand."

Many employees plan on overtime, and the *Washington Post* reports: "When they go out to buy a house, they ask the office to tell the bank they make, say $16,000 in salary, but can count on making another $16,000 in overtime."

- Over-grading jobs. A Civil Service Commission study discovered that 150,000 jobs are over-graded at an annual charge of $280 million.

- Unjustified salary increases. The General Accounting Office tells of one horror story concerning the Commission on the Postal Service. Eleven of the 16 employees received substantial salary increases during the 6-month life of the Commission, ranging from 32 to 296%. One worker was hired at $12,000; two weeks later raised to $15,000; four weeks later to $16,500, and, finally, to $36,000.

The pension system

The federal employee's pension "is more generous than almost any in the private sector" (*Washington Post*), and he pays less than one-sixth of the cost.

A $15,000-a-year federal employee (and this is a relatively low rank) could retire at 55 after 30 years and receive $703 a month. The top figure under Social Security is $460, and this cannot be earned until age 65.

The retired bureaucrat can take another job in the government without losing pension benefits. A Civil Service Commission study in 1975 showed some 141,000 "double dippers." Several of the top NASA officers are drawing between $27,300 and $30,500 in pensions plus $47,500 in salaries. A Social Security pensioner has his benefits cut if he earns more than $4,500 from outside sources.

The military pension is the most liberal, and is paid entirely by public funds. Retirees can get half pay after only 20 years, and 75% after 30 years, plus cheap medical costs and commissary privileges. A colonel may retire with a pension of $24,030. A sergeant first class with a basic pay of $11,452 will receive a yearly pension of $5,800 after 20 years. His lifetime retirement pay with cost-of-living adjustments will total $191,971 or 50% more than the pension value of a civilian corporation officer with a salary of $32,000 a year.

The military pension system costs taxpayers about $10.2 billion a year, and is expected to reach $35.7 billion by the year 2000.

The federal perks

Many civil servants enjoy special perks not found in private business. They include:

- Free travel, at an estimated cost of $7.9 billion a year, an increase of 40% since 1974. About 17% of the trips were to conferences "not essential," according to the General Accouting Office. Three years ago, the Pentagon held 60 conferences in Hawaii at a transport cost of $500,000. Coast Guard admirals took their wives on trips at government expense, and in three-quarters of the cases approved the spouses' trips themselves. The Urban Mass Transportation Administration sent 46 officials to a conference in Toronto at a cost of $500 each.

- Chauffeur service. The government spends $4.8 million a year to chauffeur 175 government officials to and from work. The government has 450,000 civilian vehicles and spends more than $700 million a year on maintenance and uses 338 million gallons of gas.

- Free parking. About 41,000 spaces are provided by the Washington offices "representing a total subsidy of more than $1.5 million per month to government employees using their cars," states *Mass Transit*.

- Recreation facilities. The *Washington Monthly* notes: "The National Park Service maintains five lodges—in the Blue Ridge mountains of Virginia, the Catoctin mountains of Maryland, the Grand Tetons of Wyoming, on Cape Hatteras in North Carolina, and on the Gulf of Mexico—for use by government employees who need to relax."

● Access to well-paying outside jobs, or what is known as "the revolving door." Senator William Proxmire (D-Wis.) points to a senior attorney in the Navy who resigned and put an ad in the *Wall Street Journal* boasting of his expertise in handling claims of shipbuilders against the Navy. The ad concludes, "He seeks association with law firms and representation of contractors and others with claims against any agencies of the US Government."

A Rein on Bureaucracy

"Federal pay scales have risen faster than those in the private sector. The Federal payroll is now $62 billion per year, up from $47 billion in 1975. Federal compensation and vacation, sick leave, pension and job security benefits must be reined in. Perquisites such as limousine, personal chefs and servants must be eliminated. Federal executives should be given what is required to do a good job, but not so much as to make them privileged far beyond the people they serve.

"This Congressman, at least, is committed to voting for reductions in these and other areas where spending is unnecessary or where services are delivered in an inefficient manner."

—Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.)

Employment security

Bureaucrats are "practically immune from disciplinary procedures," says the *Saturday Review*. "Firing a civil servant entails a massive investment of time and a flawless adherence to regulations . . . . It is easier to promote an employee and palm him off on another superior."

The ones who regularly are sacked are the "whistle-blowers," those who question decisions of their superiors. Examples: A. Ernest Fitzgerald was fired from the Pentagon in 1968 for "noticing out loud that the contract for the C-5A transport plane was $2 billion more than it was supposed to be." (*Washington Star*) Anthony Morris, a 30-year government virologist in the Food and Drug Administration, warned against the swine flu vaccine program. Fired. The vaccine was responsible for 97 deaths and $2 billion in claims against the government.

A scholar who has studied the cases of some 200 government workers disciplined for whistle-blowing says, "You can't raise moral and legal objections; you learn very quickly you have to choose between career and integrity." A study by Senator Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.) shows that waste, inefficiency and corruption are unchecked because bureaucrats are afraid to talk. The Senator said, "The personal risks incurred by a whistle blower make it hazardous to speak out."

"Too many" government employees

The degree of public antagonism to the bureaucrat can be measured by two surveys, one by the *Washington Post*, the other by the *Washington Monthly*.

The *Post* found that "most people perceive" the services performed as "poor," 80% thought there were "too many" government employees, and 63% "far too many." By 2 to 1, sales people and clerks were seen as more honest than public employees.

The *Monthly* discovered that "the agencies that drew the most fire were, on the whole, those whose business is supposedly providing benefits to people."

Who is to blame?

The fault is not entirely with the bureaucrat. Congress writes complex and confusing laws. Supervisors add regulations and strict enforcement. The bureaucrat—buying an expensive house, sending a son through college—finds it wiser to keep still, rather than blow the whistle or offer new ideas.

This explains why it is so difficult for new ideas to penetrate the bureaucracy. Rep. Bill Frenzel (R-Minn.) tells of the travails of Lance Crombie, a Webster, Minn., farmer, who built a solar-heated device to obtain ethanol from corn. He reckoned this would cut his fuel costs 60%.

"His problems began when he approached Federal authorities to determine what, if any, permit might be required. He was shocked to learn that the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms would require . . . . a million dollar bond, (and insist that he) maintain an office on his farm for a full-time Federal inspector, and pay an annual $40,000 inspector's fee. When Dr. Crombie balked at these requirements, Federal agents came to his farm and confiscated the ethanol producing apparatus."

Since then, the Treasury has looked more benevolently on farmers producing alcohol for fuel. A government pamphlet, "Ethyl Alcohol for Fuel Use," lists the still formidable regulations, but the bond is limited to $200,000, or not less than $10,000.

would campaign by his own rules. By the established rules he was behaving oddly. There was no mimeographed copy of his announcement (the announcement was, in fact, improvised), there was no campaign biography, no sheaf of glossy photographs, and the candidate chomped a fat cigar and called the reporters "you boys." Over against the wall sat Rep. Bill Hollowell of Grand Saline, an anti-Connally man from "way back," and when a reporter asked Woods what Hollowell was doing there, the town-lot driller allowed that he didn't believe in beating around the bush. Woods said he had asked Hollowell to run with him as lieutenant governor, but that Hollowell had not made up his mind, had not had time to. Later, Hollowell said yes, and the two went on television. . . .

In their announcements and on their first television broadcast (which was also improvised), Woods and Hollowell brought a bill of particulars against Connally and his administration. Among the complaints: Connally's failure to push enactment of an $8-per-month increase in welfare payments, an increase authorized by the people in a constitutional amendment; . . . Connally's spending in the governor's office—$800,000, Woods said, twice what Price Daniel drew as office expenses in his full term. . . ; the absence of a Texas industrial safety act or minimum wage; low teacher pay. . . ; high insurance rates. . . .

Election results

May 27, 1966

Here, according to the (unofficial) figures of the Texas Election Bureau, is how it went in statewide races:

Governor: John Connally, 935,572 (74.3%); Stanley Woods, 290,591 (23.1%); and Mrs. Johnnie Mae Hackworthe, 32,314 (2.6%). . . .

March from the Valley

July 22, 1966

Backed now by a full commitment from the Texas AFL-CIO and by potent participation and endorsement by religious leaders and liberal organizations, *la huelga*, the Texas farmworkers' strike, has taken the dramatic form of a 56-day, 380-day march from Rio Grande City through the Lower Valley and north through San Antonio to Austin by Labor Day. In the capital, before a crowd labor spokesmen say should be 50,000 strong, the Starr County strikers and their allies plan to ask Gov. John Connally to call a special session to enact a $1.25 minimum wage for Texas. . . .

The confrontation

September 16, 1966

Gov. John Connally decided on the

morning of August 31 that he would go on down to the Valley marchers on the highway and tell them he would not meet them in Austin. He called Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr and Speaker of the House Ben Barnes, who agreed to go with him, and Lt. Gov. Preston Smith, who did not agree to go. . . . In the tumultuous scene that ensued on the highway three miles north of New Braunfels, there happened to be a young man standing behind Carr, getting nearly everything that was said down on a Miranda portable tape-recorder. . . .

. . . Following along behind Carr, [Ken] Allen kept the mike right at Carr's shoulder throughout the historic confrontation. . . .

Rev. [James] Novarro first extended an invitation to the governor to meet with the marchers at the Capitol, but, says Father [Antonio] Gonzales, "he didn't answer. At that time I extended my hand and greeted him." [*Excerpts of the transcript follow**]

NOVARRO: I feel, Governor Connally, that . . . I'm sure that although you say you will not be able to be with us on the fifth of September on Labor Day, that after that period or that time, you will leave the door open for conferences by all of those involved for further consideration.

CONNALLY: The door to my office is always open for the people of Texas for any conferences or meetings that they would like to have with me. I personally am not going to be there, the attorney general will not, the speaker will not, nor will the lieutenant governor. I talked to them this morning. When I decided to come down here I called each of these gentlemen to come. The lieutenant governor could not come, but, uh, I have two very distinct feelings about this.

I am not going to be in Austin; therefore I will not have an opportunity to see you there, but nevertheless I did not want my absence there to indicate any lack of interest in your problems. Uh . . . at the same time let me say very frankly to you that if I had been in Austin, I do not think I would have met with you, simply because, uh, my door is open, it has been open since this march started on July 4th, and it's gonna continue to be open, Reverend Novarro and Father, for meetings with you and anyone else about these problems. I'm very aware that, uh, of your sincere desire as spiritual leaders of this march to improve the working conditions and the living conditions of the people of South Texas . . . as are the attorney general and the

---

* *The complete transcript appears in the September 16, 1966, issue of the* Observer. *Extensive coverage of the 1966 farmworkers strike and march also appeared in issues dated: June 24, July 22, August 5, September 2, November 11, and December 9, 1966. –Eds.*

speaker. I think this is also true of the lieutenant governor. Uh, I feel very strongly that, uh . . . you certainly have the right to do what you've been doing.

I want to compliment you on having a very peaceful, a very orderly march. I hope it will remain so, and, uh, I want to ask you today to, as you proceed, if you, uh, insist on proceeding, with the march, then, uh, I want to ask you to be, uh, very careful to see that the march, uh, does remain, uh, very orderly.

NOVARRO: That's why Father Gonzales and I are co-chairmen of the march, and this is a march for justice, and it is being held on the principle of human dignity. And honor. . . .

GONZALES: Governor, I wanted to ask another question. . . . We feel that many more every year die a tragic death of hunger. . . . How would you answer that to them [Latins]?

CONNALLY: Well, Father, I'm answering it by my presence here today. These are the people as I understand it who have been marching . . . and I'm here today to tell you that I am aware of the problems and I am concerned about the problems, and we've been trying in every way that we know how to do something about it. . . .

You must know that with the use of poverty funds that we have engaged in a program of adult education . . . We're certainly aware that one of the basic roots of the problems, the social problems, the economic problems, revolve around education of people, and, uh, so we have done everything that we know how to do and will continue to do it in order to try to upgrade the, uh, the quantity and the quality of education. . . .

EUGENE NELSON [leader of Starr County strikers]: We appreciate your being here—I hope you'll be in Austin on Labor Day.

CONNALLY: No, I, I will not be in Austin on Labor Day, and that's why I came down here today, to say that I would not be there . . . We did, I did not want, nor did the speaker nor the lieutenant governor, want our absence to be interpreted by you or anyone else as an indication of lack of interest in the problems of Texas. . . . Now as I told Father Gonzales and Rev. Novarro a moment ago, I

think if I had been in town, if I did not have a previous commitment, I still would not have met with you, in all candor and in all frankness. . . . Nevertheless, I want to make it clear that my door has been open since July 4th and will continue to be open to the leaders of, uh, of any group to talk about wages or working conditions or any other problems in this state that, uh, but I do, uh, I do not feel that as governor of this state that I should, I should, uh, lend the dignity, the prestige, of an office to dramatize, uh, uh—any particular march, and so I would not have been with you even if I had not had a previous commitment. I want to make that clear.

But, uh, at the same time, I, I want you all to know that, uh, I grew up in South Texas, I think I'm somewhat familiar with the problems, Father, that you, that you—

GONZALES: You are not familiar with the two million people—

CONNALLY: Yes, sir—

GONZALES: —that are underpaid.

CONNALLY: I sure am, I sure am, and I recognize that there's not any easy solution to it, either.

GONZALES: No, I understand, that's why we're helping you—

CONNALLY: —And that's why we have tried to approach it from many different aspects, this is why we've used every available dollar that we could of the poverty funds—in Head Start programs, in Neighborhood Youth Corps programs, in preschool programs, in adult education programs, in literacy programs, in programs for the children of migrant workers, trying to upgrade in every way that we know how. . . .

GONZALES: We feel that, uh, I'm for poverty programs, and programs of this nature are to be compared with charity. Charity cannot be practiced without justice. And we believe it's time for two million people that are underpaid—anti-poverty programs cannot be implemented without having at least a minimum wage. We have none—we have no protection—no recourse. . . .

The farmworkers' strike continued through the 1967 season but, thanks to the intervention of the Texas Rangers, the melon crop got harvested and to

market, and the picketers–subject to mass arrests and, many charged, beatings and brutality–won no union contract. The Rangers, widely known that year as "John Connally's strikebreakers," were stoutly defended as "honored lawmen" by the governor. A lengthy report on "The Rangers and La Huelga" *appeared in the* Observer *of June 7-23, 1967.* –*Eds.*

Connally staying out

January 12, 1968

It appears that, barring a last minute change of mind, Gov. John Connally will stick by his decision, announced in November, not to seek a fourth term. . . .

The practical considerations in taking such a stand during a heated primary, as 1968's will be, plus the genuine fatigue in serving at the Texas Capitol, his announced lack of patience for continuing with the job, the fourth term issue, the disaffection of Mexican-Americans and some Negroes, and burgeoning voter registration all now appear to be persuasive in assuring that Connally will not be in the race this spring. . . .

Several reporters have written that President Johnson did not ask Governor Connally to run this year and there is speculation that (1) LBJ didn't want to impose on his friend by asking him to make such a race when Connally has lost his taste for the job, (2) that the President can better use Connally in tending to matters throughout the nation during this election year . . . figuring that Texas probably can't be lost to the national party in November regardless of who the Democrat is in the gubernatorial race this fall, and if the state is lost it won't matter anyway, as Johnson will be losing even worse, nationwide, and (3) that perhaps it would be better to let liberals have at least a chance at electing a governor, since that would energize the party's most active precinct workers, which the liberals are.

Favorite son

April 12, 1968

Texas' establishment Democrats are now busying themselves about adjusting their 1968 electoral goals, shocked by the announced withdrawal of President Johnson, worried about the effects of LBJ's loss upon their control of Texas politics. . . .

The strategy developed by the party's ruling hierarchy is to unite behind Gov. John Connally as a favorite son candidate at the national convention, this devised as the most effective way of preventing either Kennedy or McCarthy from picking up Texas' 104 convention votes.

Connally is certain—as certain as was Johnson—of having the votes of the Texas delegation at Chicago. . . .

[Ron] Platt [Kennedy leader] believes Connally will be the South's candidate at the national Democratic convention. Connally says he has had calls from 20 states about his favorite son bid. . . .

Although Connally later said he was accepting the nomination not as a stand-in for any candidate, but to provide leadership for the Texas delegation, it was generally believed that the governor's candidacy is designed to hold the Texas delegation for Humphrey.

Man who would be Veep

August 9, 1968

John Connally wants to be Hubert Humphrey's running mate. It is our reading that Connally has about a 30 percent chance of having his wish.

The Texas governor knew by last Christmas that Lyndon Johnson would not run again. . . .

Connally announced he would not run for governor again. Then Johnson announced he would not run for president again. Then Connally said that he knew of no particular qualifications Sen. Edward Kennedy had to be vice president. Humphrey should choose, for his running mate, someone who is less liberal than Humphrey, the Texas governor now declares.

When Connally announced he would take the Texas delegation to Chicago pledged to him for favorite son, he said one reason he was doing it was the prospect of Washington, D.C., not having a dominant Texan on the scene for the first time in decades. This is conservative-Democratese for saying that, since Sen. Ralph Yarborough is a liberal, Connally ought to be installed on the Washington scene to really protect the oil industry and other such "Texas interests." . . .

It is a reasonable reading on these facts that Connally told Johnson he wanted to be Humphrey's vice presidential running mate and that Johnson wants Connally on the ticket. In this light, *Newsweek*'s report currently that Humphrey is under "unbelievable" pressure from Johnson to select Connally is not surprising. Connally has been with Johnson since the late 1930s and knows where all the bones are buried. . . .

The convention

September 6, 1968

Governor Connally and his delegation played an important role in the passage of the majority plank on Vietnam. . . .

The governor's remarks [before the platform committee] were broad enough to condemn all three leading Democratic doves, Senators McCarthy, Kennedy, and McGovern . . . He received a standing ovation from approximately half the

platform committee when he said, "The cause of peace should not be used as a vehicle for political favor or fortune. The cause of peace is not the personal property of any politician or political party." Connally said he opposes a bombing cessation at this point in the Hanoi negotiations, a deescalation of the war, or a coalition government in Saigon. . . .

Two weeks before the convention, the Texas regular delegates seemed overwhelmingly committed to the candidacy of Hubert Humphrey, and then . . . the "erosion" began. Eighty percent of the delegates to the state convention voted to nominate Governor Connally as a favorite son. The governor never stated before the national convention that he favored Humphrey, but he simply had nowhere else to go. There was some talk in Texas, of course, of renominating President Johnson, but few took it seriously. There was some hope that Connally would be the vice-presidential candidate, but after the Republicans nominated a man who they hoped would appeal to the South, most political observers in Texas concluded that the Democrats would have to nominate a vice president who would please the North. So the Texas establishment looked toward the national convention realizing that their power on the national scene was about to be diminished. They were none too pleased about it. . . .

The Texas delegation cast 100½ votes for Humphrey. . . .

The HHH campaign

September 20, 1968

Humphrey's initial post-nomination visit to Texas was less than a success. If it was not already clear to him that the conservative Democrats of Texas, who supported his nomination at the convention, would do little to aid his state campaign, then it was certainly made clear to him when he arrived in Houston September 10. . . .

Connally remained ensconced at his ranch while Humphrey was in Texas. . . .

October 4, 1968

Top state party officials, notably Connally and Preston Smith, did not see Humphrey in Houston, though Smith was in town at the same time. They have studiously avoided saying they support Humphrey, saying only that they'll vote Democratic. . . .

[At the state Democratic convention] neither the governor nor any other Democratic speaker mentioned Hubert Humphrey by name. . . .

November 1, 1968

Humphrey's second visit was a tremendous success. . . . Sen. Ralph Yarborough and Gov. John Connally declared a truce long enough to appear together on platforms with Humphrey in Fort Worth, Dallas, Waco, and Austin. □

Observations

The feel of inauguration week

January 24, 1963
Austin

Something native, the especially Texan cross of the Southern and the Western, seemed gone from our politics during inauguration week in Austin. The old days, when the politician recruited a hillbilly band and hastened to the courthouse square, or slaughtered some cows for a barbecue, and talked of country things, are gone. As Lt. Gov. Preston Smith told Texas labor's legislative conference at the beginning of the official week, industrialization is "the only way that we can go," and this is a fact that has many consequences. . . .

In 1958 I covered the California election for *New Republic*. I shall always remember how strange I felt during a "rally" for Pat Brown at a posh hotel in Los Angeles. Most of the guests were arriving in long, finny cars, and everyone was decked out with extreme formality, as for a first night. Brown's speech was a minor event: the *stars* were Hollywood's, singers, actors, comedians. I had not seen anything like this. I guessed it was just the way they did it in California.

Four years later, however, . . . Connally turned his $25 a plate "victory dinner" into just this kind of thing. Not only was it . . . the largest seated banquet ever served in Texas (raising, it was reported about $100,000 . . .), it was also the first time such big-name Hollywood talent had been recruited for a Texas inauguration. Joey Bishop, the TV comedian, said he and others there had done "the Democratic show" in California a week before. It made me wonder about the premise of such affairs, suppressed somewhere backstage: not elect us again because we're the best public servants, but elect us again so you can get another good stage show. Bishop opined, in fact, that if the Republicans had won the crowd would have been entertained by Ronald Reagan and Robert Montgomery.

There was one conspicuous difference between the Brown extravaganza in 1958 and Connally's. There were no Negroes seated at Connally's three tiers of head table; nor were there any within the very large "reserved" section at the front of the auditorium, except for those who served the food. A Negro lady from Fort Worth sang the "Star Spangled Banner" . . . and Negroes were seated in the crowd beyond the reserved section without discrimination; so some things, in this respect, were the same as before, and some things had changed. Well-dressed Negroes were seen downtown for the celebrations, but they were turned away from the main hotel coffee shops, so they must have had complicated feelings.

The emcee for the gala, gala banquet was House Speaker Byron Tunnell, who approached his opportunity, legal-size papers in hand, as a grave problem in social logistics . . . nothing quite so well epitomized the show-business approach to politics as the presentation of the legislators. As Tunnell called the name of each, and his lady's, if he was so accompanied, he or they strolled out onto the stage, a fluorescent-white searchlight playing on them until they turned toward the crowd at the middle of the stage and descended red-carpeted steps out of the limelight. As one senator grumbled, all they needed was a soft-shoe routine across stage. Perhaps in 1964 we can hope for one of those long platforms that extend out into the middle of the crowd, with a turnaround at the end of it.

The legislators having made their entrances in their different shapes and sizes, the hour arrived, an hour and a half after the banquet started, for the Connallys and the Smiths to do so. They appeared, to "The Yellow Rose of Texas," at the back of the central aisle, half a mile from the stage. The next event was Freddy Powers and his Powerhouse Four, three banjos and a tuba, performing "Baby Won't You Please Come Home?" and "If You Knew Suzie Like I Know Suzie." It must have been nine o'clock when, with no explanation why he had kept them waiting so long, Tunnell introduced Vice President and Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, who made their entrance from the right wing (or the left, depending on how you were looking at it). . . .

Noon the next day, having missed the prayer breakfast, I arrived at the Capitol

grounds in time to hear Lt. Gov. Smith call for screwworm eradication. I have heard so many tales about Pappy O'Daniel's inauguration, I was hoping for a mob, and festive scenes, maybe even a free meal, you know. The *Austin American* had predicted 100,000, although just for what, I am not sure; but you know, there was not a soul on the huge sloping fields of grass that are the right corner of the grounds, nor on the left field, either, except for some Negro schoolchildren, playing around the reflecting pool. The crowd fit nicely onto the sidewalk and the streets, with a light overflow onto the yard of the Capitol; six or ten thousand, I'd say (not to be spoilsport about it). It was a lovely day, and the schools and state offices had time off for the inauguration (or a movie or whatever). I could not keep my mind on the proceedings; I kept watching kids climbing around on a cannon, and dreaming of an inauguration with big barbecue pits dug in the Capitol grass, and farmers hauling in their gift cows, and ranchers, their goats, and housewives their potato salads and pies.

From the archway honoring Bonham and Bowie at the monument of the heroes of the Alamo, I could see the governor as he spoke: he was framed nicely for me, between two triangles of red, white, and blue bunting that were suspended from a television platform. "On this day, a new voice speaks in Texas, not the voice of one man alone, but the voice of all Texans united," he said. . . .

Orange-winged jets zoomed overhead, as they were to do for the rest of the long official afternoon; and helicopters; and B-52s, like trucks in the sky; the day's military splendor was enough to give Don Yarborough pause about running against Connally again. "Texas now reaches for greatness," Connally said; "There are no magic formulas, no easy directions." As he closed with an appeal for divine guidance, a group of men in the crowd tried to cut off a water faucet that had been turned on by someone who must have carried off the handle.

A little hungry, and still hoping for a free lunch, I made my way toward my favorite pecan trees, which stand at the west edge of the grounds. A lady in a cloth coat, who was following, by a goodly distance, two ladies in furs, caught my ear with her remark to a companion, "Don't tell me the Democratic people are the poor folks! I never saw so many mink capes in my life!" Most of the public pecans had been gathered by the passers-by, but they had not scoured the deep hollow underneath the big tree, and sure enough, I found four down there, the little native pecans that taste the best; especially when they're free, on inauguration day.

—R.D.

The '70s. . . *from page 5*

As elsewhere recited, Connally upheld the Vietnam War throughout Johnson's tenure, often reflecting bitterly on the probity and patriotism of its opponents. In addition, he warmly supported Nixon's aggressive prosecution of the war. When Nixon was considering mining the harbor at Haiphong he asked Haldeman and Kissinger to get Connally's opinion. Haldeman reported back (Nixon records in his memoirs) that "Connally emphatically said, 'Most important—the President must not lose the war! . . . Caution be damned. . . .'" Connally boasted to a reporter that when Nixon had wanted to review the alternatives a last time before ordering the planes to mine the harbor, only Kissinger and he, Connally, were invited back to Nixon's hideaway office for final, separate talks.

In 1978, berating President Carter's foreign policies, Connally said, "We retreated from Korea when no one asked us to retreat. We talked of withdrawing troops from NATO. Congress overruled sending arms to the aid of Angola. We are about to withdraw from the Panama Canal." He said he would vote no on the canal treaty if a senator from Texas, though only as a representative of Texans, not necessarily from conviction.

Congressman Charles Wilson of Lufkin is quoted, "I can easily imagine John Connally telling Castro, 'If you want to send shiploads of Cuban troops to Africa, that's your prerogative. But if I want to sink those ships, that's my prerogative."

According to one source, while treasury secretary Connally directed the Nixon administration's economic warfare against Chile, warfare that was designed to bring down the government of parliamentary Marxist Salvador Allende.

At the Treasury Connally presided over the devaluation of the dollar; in trade negotiations he was an unabashed negotiator for American trade interests, bad-mouthing protectionism while threatening retaliation against protectionism by other nations. He wants the U.S. to take part in an Asian common market; he advocates increasing by sixfold U.S. purchases of surplus agricultural commodities and their use for international political leverage.

Implicit in his party switch is a general political position that ramifies into specific issues. Archer Fullingim wrote in 1973, in the *Kountze News*, that Connally "says he's quitting the Democratic Party because it is too liberal. He's talking about the party of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who gave us social security. He's talking about the party of Lyndon Johnson, who gave us true civil rights and medicare."

Taking on McGovern in 1972, Connally said, ". . . in any free society there has to be an establishment. There is an establishment that runs our road system and our school system and . . . our governmental system. Everything has to be a part of a system, and you can't just tear it asunder. . . ." He called McGovern isolationist and radical, smeared him by an inaccurate reference to McGovern's temporary support of Henry Wallace in 1948, and in effect accused him of policy cowardice and of leaving the U.S. defenseless against the communists.

As head of "Texans for Ford" against Carter in '76, Connally signed an ad saying Carter's proposals would weaken U.S. security, cost "at least $100 billion" and raise taxes on one out of every two Americans, break up the oil companies, and "allow union organizers to trespass on our farms and ranches."

Running for president now, he is for cutting taxes and total federal spending at the same time while also increasing defense spending by 10 percent. How? His answer refers to an increase of $250 billion he says Carter foretells in net federal revenues over the next four years. He is noncommital, if skeptical, on the pending SALT II treaty. U.S. arms superiority is justified, he says, because "We're not going to launch a pre-emptive strike" (that is, we are not going to start a nuclear war). But, he said, he would not give up a pre-emptive strike as an option if he were president.

—R.D.

272 Communities in Need

Thanks, *Observer* readers, for your gratifying response to the library subscription campaign which was announced earlier this year. The *Observer* now can be found in more than 900 library reading rooms, including 75 in colleges and universities in other states. Yet there still are 272 public and county libraries in Texas—located in the cities which are not crossed out—that do not receive the *Observer*.

Most librarians are pleased to discover the *Observer*, and the demand for it by library users frequently leads to repeated renewals with library funds. But they need someone to get them started for a year or two with a gift subscription.

Please examine the list on both sides of this page for a city or town which is a sentimental favorite of yours, or for which you have a special concern. We hope you will give your favorite community a valuable supplement to the views expressed in the local press by getting its library on the *Observer* habit.

You get a tax deduction for the amount of your gift subscription to these libraries. The special rates for libraries are $14 for one year, $25 for two years, $36 for three years. The order form is on the other side of this page.

Abernathy
~~Abilene (Pickard Branch)~~
~~Allen~~
Alpine
Alta Loma
~~Alto~~
Alvin
Anahuac
Anson
Archer City
Aspermont
~~Athens~~
Atlanta
Austin Branches:
  Carver
  Terrazas
Austwell
Azle
Balch Springs
Ballinger
Balmorhea
Barksdale
Barstow
~~Bartlett~~
Beaumont (Park Branch)
Beeville
Belton
Bertram
Big Lake
Bishop
Blanco
Blue Mound
Brackettville
Brazoria
Breckenridge
Bridgeport
~~Briggs~~
Brownsville (Cameron Br.)
Buchanan Dam
Buffalo
Burkburnett
Caldwell
Calvert
Canyon Lake
Carrizo Springs
Carrollton
Carthage
Centerville
Christoval
Cisco
Clarendon
~~Claude~~
Clifton
Clute
Coleman
Colorado City
Columbus
Comfort
Coppell
Corpus Christi (Mall Branch)
Corrigan
Cotulla
Crane
Crosby
Crowell
Crystal City
Dallas Branches:
  Main County Library
  ~~Audelia Road~~
  ~~Lakewood~~
  Polk-Wisdom
Dayton
De Leon
De Soto
Devine
Dilley
Dublin
Eagle Lake
East Bernard
Eastland
Eden
Edna
El Campo
Eldorado
Electra
~~Encino~~
~~Ennis~~
Fabens
Fairfield
Falls City
Ferris
~~Florence~~
Floresville
Freeport
Freer
Fritch
Galena Park
Garland Branches:
  Ridgewood
  Walnut Creek
  Sachse
Garrison
~~Garwood~~
George West
Giddings
Gilmer
Gladewater
Goldthwaite
~~Goliad~~
Gonzales
Gorman
Granbury
Grandfalls
Grand Saline
Gregory
Groesbeck
Groom
Groves
Groveton
Gruver
Hale Center
Hallettsville
Harker Heights
Hearne
Hempstead
Higgins
~~Highland Park (Dallas)~~
Highlands
Hitchcock
~~Honey Grove~~
Houston Branches:
  Harris County Main
  Woodforest
  ~~Fifth Ward~~
  Kashmere Gardens
  Meyer
  ~~Ring~~
  Clayton Center
  Extension Headquarters
Hutchins
Idalou
~~Imperial~~
Ingleside
Iraan
Irving (S.W. Branch)
~~Italy~~
Jacksboro
Jasper
Jayton
Jourdanton
Junction
Katy
Kaufman
Keller
~~Kemp~~
Kendalia
Kenedy
Kingsland
Kirbyville
~~Kyle~~
La Feria
La Grange
Laguna Vista
Lake Dallas
Lake Worth
Leon Valley
Liberty City
Liberty Hill
Littlefield
Lockney
Lorenzo
Los Fresnos
~~Louise~~
Lubbock (Main Branch)
~~Lytle~~
McCamey
McLean
Marathon
Marfa

Postmaster: If undeliverable, send Form 3579 to The Texas Observer, 600 W. 7th, Austin, Texas 78701

272 Communities in Need!

(See other side of this page for how you can help.)

Marshall
~~Mason~~
Mathis
Memphis
Menard
Mertzon
Midlothian
Mission
Moore
~~Morton~~
Mount Calm
Muenster
Muleshoe
Navasota
~~Needville~~
New Caney
Nixon
Nocona
North Richland Hills
Oakalla
Odem
~~Olney~~
Orange Grove
Overton
Ozona
Paint Rock
~~Pampa~~
Panhandle
Pasadena Branches:
- Main
- Coronado

Pearland
Pearsall
Perryton
Petersburg
Pilot Point
~~Pineland~~
Plains
Pleasanton
Portland
Port Neches
Post
Poteet
Premont
Quanah
~~Quemado~~
Quitman
Ralls
Ranger
Rhome
Richland Hills
Rising Star
River Oaks
Robstown
Rocksprings
Rockwall
Rosebud
~~Rotan~~
Round Rock
Rowlett
Runge
Sabinal
Saginaw
San Angelo Branches:
- Angelo West
- North Angelo

San Antonio Branches:
- Bazan
- Landa
- Las Palmas
- Pan American
- San Pedro Park
- Westfall

San Benito
Sanderson
Sanger
~~San Juan~~
Santa Anna
Schulenburg
Seadrift
Seagraves
Sealy
Seminole
~~Seymour~~
Shamrock
Sheridan
Shiner
Sierra Blanca
Silverton
Sinton
~~Skellytown~~
Smithville
Snyder
Sonora
~~Sour Lake~~
Spearman
Stamford
Stanton
Stephenville
Stinnett
~~Stratford~~
Sulphur Springs
~~Sundown~~
Sunnyvale
Sunray
Sweeny
Sweetwater
Taft
~~Tahoka~~
Taylor
Terrell
Texarkana Branches:
- ~~College Hill~~
- Iron Mountain
- North Heights
- Sand Flat
- Southwest Center

Tilden
Tomball
Trinity
~~Turkey~~
~~Utopia~~
Van Alstyne
Van Horn
Vernon
Vidor
Waco Branches:
- Hoover
- South

Waelder
Wallis
Waxahachie
~~Weatherford~~
Weimar
~~Wells~~
Wheeler
White Deer
Whitesboro
White Settlement
Whitewright
~~Wilmer~~
Wimberley
Wink
Winnie
Winters
~~Woodlands~~
Yoakum
Yorktown

Send the *Observer* for the period indicated to the library in the following city:

CITY: _____
(Branch, if applicable)

☐ 1 year $14 ☐ 2 years $25 ☐ 3 years $36

If this library has already been selected—

☐ Send it to my second choice: _____ ☐ Go ahead and pick out another library.

☐ Add a year to the existing subscription. ☐ Return my check and I'll decide what to do.

My name: _____

Street: _____

City, State: _____

☐ check enclosed ☐ bill me

I understand that I may report this amount as a tax-deductible contribution on my income tax. You may use my name in announcing the gift subscription.

THE TEXAS OBSERVER · 600 W. 7TH AUSTIN, TEXAS 78701