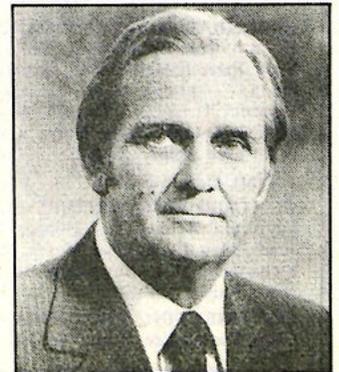
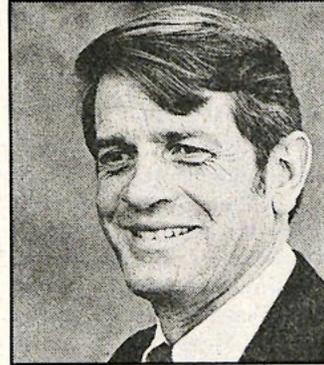
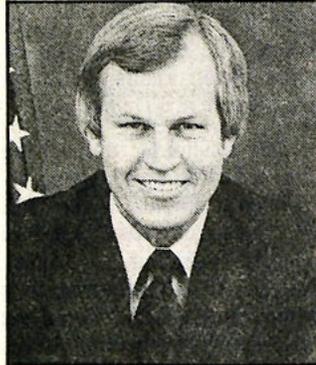


THE TEXAS OBSERVER

July 10, 1981

A Journal of Free Voices

75¢



THE NINE

Washington, Austin

Nine Texans were among the 29 Democratic members of the U.S. House who gave President Reagan his absolute triumph for his slashed federal budget. With Democratic Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas voting mainly with Reagan on the budget and altogether with him on tax cuts, Texas has become the spearhead of the Democratic alliance with Reagan in the Congress.

Calls have arisen from some Democrats — Cong. Mickey Leland of Houston, whose speech is on page 13, state party chairman Bob Slagle, national chairman Charles Manatt — for the punishment of one or several of the leaders of the party turncoats. However, Majority Leader Jim Wright of Fort Worth opposes any such action, and Lt. Gov. Bill Hobby, the highest Democratic officeholder in Texas, now defends the defectors' support of the Reagan budget.

A change of only four votes would have reversed Reagan's victory on the decisive 217-210 procedural vote, but if the coalition holds now, the 29 or so Democrats will have given the Republicans control of the Congress. The devastation of the Democrats' programs of the last five decades is already incalculable. The political ramifications will be manifold, but seem totally unpredictable.

The nine Texans Democrats who voted with Reagan on the critical test votes were Congressmen Phil Gramm of

(Continued on Page 9)

The Texas Democratic defectors on the budget, left to right, top row to bottom: Congressmen Kent Hance of Lubbock, Phil Gramm of College Station, Charles Stenholm of Stamford, Charles Wilson of Lufkin, Jack Hightower of Vernon, Richard White of El Paso, Ralph Hall of Rockwall, Sam Hall of Marshall, and Marvin Leath of Marlin.

Texas as Possibility

What are we to make now of the unseemly surge among many Texas Democrats in the Congress to support President Reagan's savage budget cuts and his tax cuts to enrich the rich?

True, half the House Democrats from this state have not succumbed to the pusillanimous panic. Jack Brooks, Kika de la Garza, Henry Gonzalez, Martin Frost, Chick Kazen, Mickey Leland, Jim Mattox, Bill Patman, Jake Pickle, and Jim Wright have stood fast against the slap-and-dash gut-'em-all Reagan budget. Majority Leader Wright, fighting the turncoats with a lance he has blunted with his own compromises, has tried to defend some of the ground where the Democrats should be.

But Texans who, thinking they had Democratic congressmen, now awoken represented by *de facto* Republicans ought to set about right now to find, by the end of this year, good candidates to run against the turncoats. Despite the difficulties of raising enough money for a U.S. Senate race, progressives should consider, too, the strengthening case for a candidacy against Senator Lloyd Bentsen's renomination.

To the *Observer* it is clear that Congressmen Phil Gramm and Kent Hance should be removed from the budget and

ways and means committees, respectively, by the Democratic caucus, that Charles Wilson should cease to be a member of the Democratic leadership's steering and policy committee, and that the SDEC should censure these three congressmen. Voters in El Paso should certainly have some searching consultations with the presumably still Democratic congressman from the ten westernmost Texas counties, Richard White.

We are not talking, here, about vengeance. As Gonzalez says, the issue is whether it means anything at all to be the majority party in the House if there is no accountability and no liability for turning the coat on major procedural tests. Just beyond that question there is the stunning fact that if the 29 or so Democratic defectors stay with Reagan on major future tests, they will have given the Republicans control of the whole Congress instead of just the Senate, a change that can have historical consequences.

For a calm, well-reasoned statement of the prevailing consensus among Establishment Democratic types that the only way for the Democrats to win in Texas is to trim their sails, we call our readers' attention to the letter in *Dialogue* last issue from attorney Hugh Meyer of Hondo. Mr. Meyer may be right; Texas

may be basally conservative. He may be wrong; Texas may be what we think it is, a wide-open state of 13 million people, a fourth of them members of minorities, who will give election majorities to real progressive leadership if anyone articulately offers it to them. The point is not to assert that either view is correct, but to realize and understand that, like history itself, the issue is in doubt and we can affect its outcome by our own acts of conscience and will.

Contemplate the contrast between the responses of Democratic Lt. Gov. Bill Hobby and, on the other hand, Congressmen Leland and Gonzalez to the turncoats' enactment of Reagan's fiscal reaction. Hobby says he's heard more approval of the "boll weevils" than disapproval, thinks they are stronger for it politically, and says they are correctly representing their constituencies. Hobby thus in effect aligns himself with the Democratic congressmen from Texas without whom Reagan could not have ravaged the whole panoply of government programs to the painful detriment of millions of worthy — and "truly needy" — people. Leland and Gonzalez come up shaking their heads, No, hey, what is this? — these are *Democrats*?

All progressives should join behind Mickey Leland's call for political opposition to the Texas turncoats in the 1982 elections. We call for a voters' purge of these Democratic turncoats. In every hamlet and across the broad state, let's test the proposition that Texas is not the conservatives' dried-up preserve, Texas is possibility and future. R.D.

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Editor and Publisher

Ronnie Dugger

Research Director in Washington, D.C.

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Business Manager

Cliff Olofson

Editorial and Business Office

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(512) 477-0746

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A Tour of a Texas Prison

Huntsville

"Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the Ferguson Unit of the Texas Department of Corrections."

The speaker is Bill Doyle, education director at the Ferguson Unit, and the ladies and gentleman are 18 members of the Harris County grand jury and a reporter. The grand jury members want to see firsthand the prison system into which they will help send numerous malefactors in the coming months. Sitting in the briefing room, the jurors appear to be fine, upstanding citizens all; one is a mechanic, one a housewife, one the owner of a family restaurant.

Few of them have ever been inside a prison before, and they seem vaguely apprehensive. One of them tries to lighten the mood with a small joke. "You mean you don't carry a bullwhip?" he asks Doyle.

Doyle is a large man with the general demeanor of a county sheriff. He doesn't smile. "No," he says, "but sometimes you wish you did."

Doyle begins with an overview based on his 18 years as a TDC guard and, more recently, an administrator.

"These are not normal people," he tells the jurors. "These are the misfits, the people who didn't make it like you and I did."

His view of TDC inmates as "losers" — he will use that word several times during the next two hours — is not unique within the TDC, for the Texas prison system has never subscribed to the once-popular belief that criminals are sick individuals who need treatment, not simply punishment. Texas takes a harder, leaner, more conservative view: maximum-security segregation and strict, no-nonsense punishment are the primary concerns. If in the process an inmate learns a skill and undergoes rehabilitation — (TDC officials call it "reformation") — so much the better, but that is up to the individual inmate.

This philosophy has placed the TDC in the forefront of a conservative trend now gaining adherents throughout American

The writer is a special assignments reporter for the San Antonio Light. After a tour in Vietnam and Germany as an Army sergeant, he received his journalism degree from the University of Montana and reported for the daily in Missoula. He has free-lanced for American Heritage and other publications.

By Gordon Dillow

correctional systems. As one correctional expert said, "The hardliners, the people who would like to run prisons the way they were run a generation ago, always point to Texas." Whether they will continue to point this way may depend on the fate of federal Judge William Wayne Justice's recent order calling for sweeping changes throughout the TDC, changes that would alter the TDC's conservative approach by requiring such things as expanded work-furlough programs, community prison facilities, and less arbitrary disciplinary procedures.

Doyle launches into a description of the Ferguson Unit. Built in 1961 for a capacity of 1,100 inmates, it now contains about 2,400. It is one of 18 maximum security units in the TDC, but is reserved for first offenders under 21. Although Doyle does not mention it, Ferguson has a reputation among inmates as one of the TDC's easier places to be; the toughest units in TDC, such as Ellis, where they send the really hard cases, the lifers, are not open for public tours.

Doyle ends the briefing with a statement a visitor to the TDC will hear again and again, Judge Justice's order notwithstanding. "Texas has the best prison system in the United States," Doyle says. "And probably the world." The jurors rise and crowd through the sets of barred doors that separate the "free world" from the Ferguson Unit. The doors slam shut behind them.

THE FIRST STOP is the mess hall, now empty, where 2,400 inmates are fed in about two hours. The tables are bolted to the floor, and the seats to the tables. Today's menu calls for fried bacon for breakfast, spaghetti for lunch, and grilled sausage for dinner. Some of the tour group members grimace at the smell that pervades the mess hall, a combination of disinfectant, bodies, and mass-produced institutional food. Noticing the looks, Doyle says, "You can't cook three meals a day for 2,400 people and have them taste like Mama used to make." It is simple, hearty fare, he says, and best of all, three-fourths of it is grown or raised on the TDC premises.

That brings up a point on which TDC officials are always happy to expound.

Since the TDC raises its own food on its more than 100,000 acres of farmland and produces most of its operational supplies — mattresses, soap, uniforms, and so on — in prison factories, Texas taxpayers pay only \$8.60 a day for each of the TDC's 30,000 inmates. In comparison, California taxpayers pay almost \$40 a day for each of their prisoners. TDC officials are enormously proud of that relatively low cost.

"We're saving you money by growing our own food," Doyle tells the group, some of whom nod appreciatively.

Doyle leads the tour down the main hall of Ferguson, "QUIET — SINGLE FILE — NO LOITERING" the signs in the hall say. The inmates, lining up for chow, all dressed in white uniforms with prison numbers stenciled on, automatically move against the walls as the visitors approach. Some of the inmates stare, but most look away. They seem thoroughly submissive, even afraid of these mostly middle-aged and largely middle-class citizens bustling through their halls.

Any real or imagined infraction, such as "disrespectful attitude" or "general agitation" (both of which are specifically prohibited by TDC regulations), can result in cell restriction, solitary confinement, or loss of "good time." Inmates who stay out of trouble, as trouble is defined within the TDC, can draw as much as two days "good time" for every day served. Those in trouble draw "line time," one day's credit for one day served. The warden and guards decide who draws good time and who doesn't.

("If I can take that time away from him, I can hurt him," Doyle says later.)

Doyle stops the tour at the prison chapel, which is called "The Chapel of the Prodigal Son." Inside it, someone asks about the ethnic breakdown in the TDC. Doyle says that 40% of TDC inmates are white, 20% black, and 20% Mexican-American. "What about the other 20%?" someone asks. "That would be your Mongolians, things like that," Doyle says.

The next stop is the education department, where all inmates who lack high school diplomas are required to attend classes. Peering through the classroom doors, most of the jurors seem struck by how young the inmates look with their short hair and clean-shaven faces. (Weekly haircuts and daily shaving are required.) The inmates look so . . . so

innocent. "All hardened criminals," Doyle says, waving a hand at the classrooms. "We've got little fellers in here for doing some of the most heinous crimes you ever heard of."

The tour proceeds through the industrial shop, where inmates labor at a variety of tasks, such as making brooms and mops. The inmates are not paid anything for their work, which obviously is a major reason the TDC operates at such bargain-basement prices. Texas is one of only three states in the country that do not pay their prison inmates at least a nominal wage for their labors. And the TDC believes very strongly in the work ethic; "laziness" is specifically prohibited by the regulations.

The tour moves on to one of the cellblocks, a long row of barred boxes stacked three tiers high. Later Doyle explains that this is a protective cellblock, reserved for weak or passive or homosexual inmates. "I've got 15

homosexuals down here," Doyle says — (he also calls them "transvestites") — "who think they're women, and 2,400 (inmates) who think they're men, and I've got to protect 'em."

Each of the nine-foot-by-five-foot cells houses only one inmate here (the tour group is not permitted to see cells where three inmates are housed in the same 45-square foot space, a situation Judge Justice's order sought to prohibit in the future). The jurors enter the empty cells, some of them poking about among the meager toilet articles and stationery supplies lined up on the shelves. There are no pictures on the walls, no pinups, no calendars; each cell looks exactly like the others. "Not too bad," one man says as he looks around a cell that is probably no bigger than his bathroom back in Houston. "Not too bad at all." That seems to be the consensus.

AFTER LEADING the group

back to the briefing room, Doyle voices a common TDC complaint: "We've got 30,000 inmates," he says, "and I wish someone would tell us what we're going to do with them." "We could send them to Cuba," one of the jurors says, and some of the others laugh.

Doyle closes with a final bit of wisdom. "There is something very basically wrong with an individual who comes to the penitentiary," he says. The jurors give him a round of applause and then, fine, upstanding citizens all, file out the front door, past the neatly trimmed lawn laced with electronic sensors, past the double rows of chain link and barbed wire fences, past the armed guard in the picket tower.

The reporter asks some of them what they think. Some are shocked, some saddened. But most of them seem to think that TDC inmates are getting what they deserve. □

College Construction Financing

The Haves and the Have-Nots

Austin

A week after the regular session of the legislature adjourned, a Senate aide revealed his solution to the dilemma of college construction financing: "Every two years, we'll invite all the college and university presidents to the Capitol, put the available construction money in a black pot in the center of the rotunda, and give them 60 seconds to grab all they can. We'll stand above them at the rail and watch."

His proposal sounds desperate, but so do many recent proposals offered by legislators, who have yet to reach an agreement on college construction funding and will probably — Lt. Gov. Bill Hobby is "quite sure" — address the issue again in the special session. Although not specified in Clements' special session call, higher education finance is tied up in the abolition of the ad valorem tax and even the water fund.

The need is a source for college construction revenue for the schools that do not share in the Permanent University Fund (PUF). Tangled up in this ostensibly simple issue are a federal investigation of discrimination in Texas colleges and universities, the abolition of the ad

By Amy Johnson

valorem tax, the future of PUF, the extent of the need for more college construction, the possibility of major increases in tuition or a minor one in the oil severance tax, and the institution of a credit card tax, not to mention a few billion dollars.

The trouble started during the 66th legislature when a last-minute amendment tacked onto the "property tax reform" bill reduced the ad valorem tax from a dime per \$100 to a hundredth of a cent per \$100. This move has been challenged by three regents and a student from Midwestern State University, who have filed a suit against the State Property Tax Board claiming that a constitutionally established tax was effectively abolished without voter consent.

Before its "reform," the ad valorem tax generated about \$50 million a year and financed construction at 17 institutions of higher learning in the state. Now the fund theoretically pulls in about \$250 a year. Since schools receiving money from the ad valorem tax are restricted constitutionally from acquiring general revenue for construction, Atty. Gen. Mark White ruled that money cannot be appropriated to such schools for that purpose from the state budget, no matter how minute the ad valorem fund.

In the final days of the 66th, a constitutional amendment which would have opened up PUF to all UT and Texas A&M system schools died. Prairie View A&M supporters contend it was squashed by Texas A&M advocates who refuse to fairly share their portion of PUF with the historically black institution.

An interim committee, whose members included Hobby, Speaker Bill Clayton, Bill Moore, then a senator from Bryan, and Frank Erwin, former chairman of the UT regents, recommended the system-wide expansion of PUF and a new permanent fund for non-PUF schools that would be filled with revenue from substantial tuition increases. Meanwhile, The Council of [College] Presidents supported PUF expansion and a three-cent ad valorem tax. ("Colleges don't care where the money comes from," Rep. Wayne Peveto of Orange was quoted, "They'd take it from their own mother, as long as they get the money.")

Further complicating the situation, the U.S. Dept. of Education was investigating Texas colleges and universities concerning their compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Last January, after receiving a negotiated plan from Atty. Gen. White and disheartening statistics from Rep. Wilhelmina Delco of Austin, outgoing Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights Cynthia Brown ruled that Texas

The writer is a Senior Plan II student at UT-Austin and lobbied for the Texas Student Lobby during the regular session. She is from Commerce, Texas.

was in partial compliance, but used as an incentive the threat of cutting approximately \$295 million in federal financial assistance to Texas schools. She wanted a thorough, comprehensive plan by June 15.

The 67th legislature thus inherited a confusing and frustrating legacy: 41 senior college and university campuses, some with construction funding, others with none, and 15 anxious governing boards, 135 influential regents, a demanding federal agency, and representatives eager to go to court unless a solution is reached.

What Is PUF?

Texas A&M was established in Brazos County in 1871 as a federal land grant college. Two years later the legislature established UT, setting aside 10% of the state's lands in a Permanent University Fund. Substituting one million acres for the 10% figure in 1876, the legislature declared Texas A&M "a branch" of UT, thus allowing A&M a share of PUF. Seven years later another million acres were added to the endowment.

From 1883 to 1925, with PUF lands generating an insignificant income, A&M disclaimed any "branch" relationship to UT and acquired funding from the general revenue. In 1923, though, the University struck oil on its Permian Basin land at Santa Rita No. 1, the first PUF oil well, prompting Texas A&M to again claim its share of PUF. Negotiations culminated in a 1931 deal, still binding today: A&M receives one third of the Available University Fund (AUF — the income from PUF), and UT receives two-thirds; cash from surface leases goes to UT. (The "Aggie joke" about this goes, "Why does A&M get one-third of PUF? — Because when they divided the fund, the Aggies chose first.")

As of May, 1981, the book value of the income and investments of PUF was \$1.47 billion. The land, still carried on the books at its original price of \$5 an acre, remains valued at \$10 million, putting the total book value of the endowment at \$1.48 billion. But using a recent study by Texas A&M researchers on the price of rural land, a crude estimate of the lowest value of the land — sans oil — puts it at \$515 million or fifty times the book value, making the market value of PUF \$1.8 billion. Since UT cannot borrow against the value of its land, its spokespersons claim such a figure is meaningless.

The \$1.47 billion includes income from leases on the now 2.1 million acres and the book value of investments of that income. And not a cent of that money can be touched. Only the receipts, *i.e.*, earnings from investments, can be spent by

Popocatépetl

*How in silence on the great
volcanic cone snow has touched*

*that would be heard as raindrops
down below on the llano*

*spatterings in las calles, fat
explosions on banana leaves.*

*On stone and ice hushed
suffocant gray mist*

*pronounces white — as close
as can be got to original world.*

R. G. VLIET

the universities. Even then, they can only sell bonds up to 20% of the value of the PUF.

Many contend that without PUF Texas would have no nationally ranked public universities. "The University of Texas has been on the edge of excellence for decades. Part of the reason for that is that (PUF) money," says Ken Ashworth, the Texas commissioner of higher education. Sen. Lloyd Doggett of Austin — whose district contains both UT-Austin and Southwest Texas State University, which is the university most in need of construction — argues, "I think in a state like Texas, which has perhaps not always given education the funds it deserves, it is a political necessity to maintain the Permanent University Fund."

Because of PUF, UT was able to allocate \$5 million for a federal institute of research in fusion energy, winning the facility in competition with NYU, Yale, MIT, and UCLA. Producing more doctoral graduates than any other university in the South, UT-Austin has the fourth-largest single campus student body in the nation and the ninth largest library system, with 4.5 million volumes.

Yet, PUF money spent is not always spent wisely. Hobby believes most of it should be allocated for academic improvements: "I would like to see the Available University Fund used in different ways. . . . There is plenty of

money there for academic excellence. . . . But it's not academic excellence on one hand and bricks and mortar on the other." Ashworth criticizes, "I see a great risk in leaving the delegation of a fund of that size to nine individuals responsible to nobody but their consciences. . . . that money is on the stump." But, as Delco, the chairperson of the House higher education committee, points out, "UT regents have tunnel vision. You may not agree with the concept of bricks-and-mortar, but you've got to admit that they've got the best bricks-and-mortar there is."

The late Frank Erwin defended PUF as the provider for a "university of the first class" (that catch-all phrase in the constitution). In October, 1979, he said, "If the Permanent Fund income is divided between all of the state colleges and universities in Texas, no one of them will have enough money to attain true excellence as a national graduate and research university, and the University of Texas at Austin will certainly not have enough money to do so."

But, grumbles Delco, "This garbage about the 'university of the first class' is thrown around to fund whatever they [UT regents] want to. . . . It is insulting to say we're only going to fund one university of the first class."

By 1990 — because of the deregulation of natural gas and oil and consequently more valuable mineral leases — PUF is

expected to be worth between \$3.25 and \$4.8 billion. From 1981 through 1990 the AUF will yield from \$1.6 to \$1.9 billion. Still, it has been politically unkosher to even whisper PUF-busting. UT and A&M graduates fill the Texas legislature like their alumni fill the stadiums at football games, loyally remembering where they went to school and loudly letting everyone else around know about it. In the private sector UT and A&M exes remain among the most powerful and influential Texans.

However, this spring a few legislators, in *voce sotto*, seriously discussed the total split of PUF. Carrying his white poster boards loaded with Coordinating Board statistics, Peveto advocated it. Sen. Ray Farabee of Wichita Falls, chairperson of the Senate finance committee, suggested, "With the deregulation of the price of oil and gas, there is enough money to insure adequate funding for UT and Texas A&M and the various branches and also address the construction needs of Texas Tech, of Midwestern, of North Texas State . . . and the other non-PUF schools." And Comptroller Bob Bullock argued in the June-July *Texas Techsan*, "It's time the PUF is split up. I know that [the UT] people don't like to hear that."

UT and A&M officials have shrewdly agreed to disburse PUF to all their system schools. A system-wide expansion would provide that Arlington, Dallas, El Paso, Odessa, Tyler, Galveston, Houston, and other cities with a UT or A&M branch would become part of a statewide, legislative protectorate for PUF. A total PUF split would be politically difficult — if not impossible.

And Prairie View?

When PUF was endowed, it was to be used by three universities, UT, A&M, and a "College or Branch University for Colored Youth." Established in 1876, Prairie View A&M is the second oldest public university in the state and the first university for "colored youth." Until 1882, when the Comptroller ceased allocating AUF funds to Prairie View, the university received a set sum from PUF proceeds. Because of this precedent Prairie View officials argue their university is actually the school for "colored youth" provided for in the constitution and should receive PUF monies.

"The reason Prairie View is small is because it was robbed of its birthright. It was born in inequity," Rep. Craig Washington of Houston, a Prairie View graduate, argued in House floor debate, "Prairie View ought not to have to come to the legislature on bended knees every two years to get what it was endowed in 1876."

With the support of Texas Southern officials, Delco authored HB 141, which made Prairie View a primary recipient of PUF. Her bill breezed through the House but, as Hobby explained, never got as far as counting votes on the Senate floor. Delco complained that senators never had to publicly disregard (or honor) promises made to the approximately 5,000 people who converged on the Capitol on "Support Black College Day."

"Wilhelmina is convinced that Prairie View is the branch designated as the one for 'colored youth.' Our research indicates that that is not true," explains Sen. Kent Caperton of Bryan, who has both Texas A&M and Prairie View in his district. Caperton and A&M officials argue that since the constitution says a vote of the people will be taken to locate the "colored" university and since the site of Prairie View was not chosen by vote, Prairie View is not the constitutionally-designated PUF university.

Admitting a history of discrimination, Caperton points to recent increases in expenditures for Prairie View and suggests that Texas A&M regents now treat the traditionally black university as part of its system, rather than as an unwanted stepchild. But Caperton disagrees that Prairie View should be guaranteed one-sixth of PUF, which is what Delco and Washington are demanding. Unwilling to rely on a good-faith agreement from A&M regents, Delco threatens, "If we can't get it [Prairie View A&M] addressed, then we won't get funding [for other universities]." Only 50 votes are needed to stop a construction fund proposal in the House.

What is the extent of the valid need for new college construction?

Established in 1965 to manage the burgeoning college and university systems in Texas, the Coordinating Board (18 gubernatorial appointees) has a substantial job, yet little actual power. In April, 1980, the board advocated "better use of existing campus facilities. Adding to the public burden by constructing more buildings should be the last rather than the first option. . . ." Again, in its 1980 annual report, after predicting a 7% enrollment increase, the board reemphasized its misgivings about major new expenditures for construction. Citing a space usage rate of only 23 hours a week, 15 below the suggested level, the board urged more efficient use of existing facilities.

Through 1990 the Coordinating Board estimates new construction as well as repair and rehabilitation at state universities will cost \$1.63 billion. (Using Legislative Budget Board (LBB) and Coordinating Board calculations, this bill

drops to \$1.05 billion through 1990.) So, needed through 1990: \$1.63 billion. AUF funds through 1990: \$1.6 billion. Eyes shift toward that pot of black gold, looking lustfully and longingly: PUF-busting seems a solution. Yet, PUF exists not just for construction; using it for statewide construction would leave none for "academic excellence."

Black and White

In the fall of 1980, blacks were less than 1% of the 33,370 students at Texas A&M, 2.41% of the 46,148 at UT-Austin, 9.23% of the 26,676 at the University of Houston, and 1.85% of the 23,034 at Texas Tech. At the same time, 4.57% of the 5,511 students at Prairie View were white, and less than 1% of the 8,015 students at Texas Southern were white.

In April, 1981, of the 135 members of the governing boards of public senior colleges and universities, ten were black (seven from Texas Southern) and nine were Hispanic (five from Pan American).

From 1958 through 1978, Prairie View A&M received \$8.2 million from PUF compared to \$54.8 million for Texas A&M. From 1947 through 1978, the legislature appropriated \$1.3 million to Texas Southern, yet from 1963 through 1978, the University of Houston received \$141.5 million.

Thus, the Department of Education investigated the Texas higher education system for civil rights violations. On Jan. 14, 1981, Atty. Gen. White, after hiring a law firm for Texas and wheeling and dealing with federal officials, wrote to Asst. Sec. Brown, "although vestiges of Texas' former *de jure* segregation remain, higher education institutions are making progress toward full compliance." White explained that the LBB had recommended a \$20 million Education Excellence Fund for Prairie View and Texas Southern and spoke of goals to increase the percentage of blacks and Hispanics who enter traditionally white institutions, and vice versa. He concluded:

"Texans are patriots who believe not only in obeying the law, but also in dealing with one another on a fair and equitable basis. It is in that spirit as Texans that we approach the problem of eliminating vestiges of our former racially dual system of public higher education."

But Brown had been in contact with other Texans who brought conflicting information. In December Delco went to Washington "to let them know there was another point of view in Texas."

Texas got special treatment — a grace period of five months, until June 15, 1981 — to complete its plan, but Brown wrote on Jan. 15, 1981, "we conclude that the

State of Texas has failed to eliminate the vestiges of its former *de jure* racially dual system of public higher education, a system that segregated blacks and whites."

In the next few months the governing boards of colleges and universities devised plans to remedy the problem. The legislature appropriated \$23.3 million beyond the normal operating expenses for Prairie View and Texas Southern (\$32 million of the \$62 million requested). Texas A&M regents allocated more of PUF to Prairie View than to their Aggie school.

On June 10 Gov. Bill Clements proposed his plan:

- ♦ To enroll an additional 2,955 black and 3,872 Hispanic students by 1986.
- ♦ To improve physical facilities at Prairie View and Texas Southern over the next three years (price: \$77 million).
- ♦ To identify college-bound minority students in high school and improve their retention rates once in college
- ♦ To increase the number of minority faculty and members of governing boards.

Clements claims that funding for these proposals will come in 1983, during the 68th legislature.

Already Delco has gone to Washington to protest the plan, pointing specifically to actions this legislative session. She explains that the \$20 million Excellence Fund did not receive money and describes the whittling away of a scholarship fund (65% for minority students) which started at \$2.5 million in the House and ended up at \$500,000. While labeling Clements' plan a "repeat of Mark White's proposals without the commitment to Excellence Funding." Delco admits that the Reagan Department of Education will "try to bend over backwards to accept Clements' plan." She talks of going to the NACCP Legal Defense Fund for help.

What Happened?

Well, in the regular session, there they were.

No money in the kitty for 17 colleges and universities. What to do. What to do.

The Council of Presidents agrees that "reducing" the ten-cent ad valorem tax to three cents will be just fine. Most everyone is happy. Sen. Pete Snelson, Midland, introduces the bill in the Senate, Rep. Don Rains of San Marcos in the House. Clayton picks up the proposal.

Simultaneously, tuition increases are proposed to finance the fund. Tom Keel, staff director for the interim study committee, later admits that tuition increases are "a quick and easy solution" and that

there is "no logical reason" for the percentage increases suggested. However, 100% undergraduate and graduate, 800% medical, and 625% dental school tuition increases just happen to generate enough to finance construction for the 17 colleges and universities.

Then Clements, after initially supporting a three-cent ad valorem, threatens to defeat it. (He cannot veto a constitutional amendment.) Aware of Clements' resourcefulness, as well as his resources, legislators look for another revenue source.

Peveto proposes a 4% sales tax on purchases charged to credit card companies. This promises to generate \$45 million — enough to fill half the Higher Education Fund (affectionately called HEEF). The bill passes.

Peveto suggests an 0.5% increase in the severance tax, which would generate enough money to fill the \$2 billion HEEF, the tax then reverting to the

present 4.6% level. On the House floor the proposal is soundly defeated.

Hobby proposes that funds be taken from the Permanent School Fund, which like PUF is bursting with additional oil and gas revenue. "Texas has a really unique opportunity that I don't think we're grasping," Hobby asserts. Arguing for the establishment of permanent funds for "academic excellence," he wants the state to attract scholars fleeing to the South from Northeastern schools.

The House passes a bill with no funding provision. The Senate passes Hobby's plan after Snelson urges senators to vote for the bill so matters can be resolved in conference committee.

No settlement is reached. The session ends.

What to do. What to do.

Clements avoids the higher education financing issue in his call for the special session while putting the abolition of the

Playing the Market with PUF

Austin

Based on the recommendations of its investment advisory committee, the UT board of regents selects stocks and bonds to buy with PUF funds. The advisory committee, appointed by the board, includes Gene Bishop, chairman of the board of Mercantile National Bank, Dallas; Harold Hartley, executive vice president for finance, Southwestern Life Insurance, Dallas; Thomas McDade, vice chairman of the board, Texas Commerce Bancshares, Houston; Dee Osborne, chairman of the board, Cullen Savings Association, Houston; and Orson Clay, president and chief executive officer, American National Insurance Company, Galveston. The investment advisory counsel is Duff and Phelps, Inc., of Chicago.

Every day, bonds mature, and money comes in from University lands. That money is invested by the UT System investments and trust office in short-term notes. Currently, the UT System has invested in J. C. Penney, Ford Motor Credit Card, and Sears Roebuck. One System investment administrator estimates that "about \$200 million" will be invested in short-term notes this year.

Besides short-term notes, AUF money is invested in U.S. treasury bonds, U.S. government agency bonds, corporate bonds (AT&T, Baltimore Gas and Electric), common stock (Coca-Cola, Dow Chemical, Exxon, Ford, GE, Gulf Oil, Eastman Kodak, ABC), preferred stock, convertible debentures, convertible preferred stock, and FHA mortgages. As

stipulated in the Texas Constitution, no more than one percent of PUF can be invested in one corporation, and UT cannot own more than 5% of the voting stock in a corporation.

But having a large sum of money and a pool of knowledgeable investment managers does not guarantee substantial returns. In fact, allowing for inflation, the overall PUF rate of return of 7.5% means the University is losing money in "real dollars," and if UT cashed in on all its holdings now, it would lose \$100 million.

Of the PUF endowment, 65% is in bonds and 35% in stocks — bonds are a "safer" investment, yet often provide small returns. The most substantial reason for PUF's loss in real dollars is that UT is holding a lot of old government bonds which are not making much revenue at all and which have not yet expired.

An article in the May 4, 1981, *Baron's* attributes PUF's investment problems to pressure from the Texas legislature to spend rather than invest the interest and dividend income. Walter Cabot, who heads Harvard's endowment management team, explains that universities' desire for immediate income is the major cause of bad performance for endowment funds. He recommends that only 5% of the market value of an endowment be spent. UT spends 20% of the book value (currently an even higher figure than the market value).

And you thought the University of Texas was conservative. A.J.

property tax on the list. Delco contends that abolishing the ad valorem tax and a college construction fund are two issues in one bill and promises to introduce a construction fund bill.

What's feasible?

Most of the severance tax increase would be felt by out-of-state consumers. Texas' severance tax on oil has not increased in 30 years and yielded \$1.5 billion in 1980. At 4.6%, the tax is one of the lowest in the nation. As Delco and Doggett suggest, if oil and gas can fund PUF, it can fund other schools, too. But of course the oil companies are opposed. Asked if the increase would pass, Hobby recalled it had been beaten soundly in the House — *i.e.*, no.

The three-cent ad valorem tax merits consideration, too. Property tax slashes are failing across the nation; last

November only one of seven states proposing property tax relief received voter approval. But Clements and the Proposition 13 types are opposed.

Texas college tuition has not been raised since 1957. The final proposal made students pay a percentage of the cost of their education, allowing different tuition rates across the state. Initial increases averaged 50%, with gradual further increases until students paid 15% of the cost of their education.

But students came by the hundreds to Senate hearings and are facing financial aid cuts from the Reagan Administration, and they were joined in opposition by the Texas Democratic Party, LULAC, the Texas Consumer Assn., the AFL-CIO, the Texas Women's Political Caucus, former Atty. Gen. John Hill, and Land Cmsr. Bob Armstrong. Rallied by Sens. Doggett, Bob Vale of San Antonio, and Oscar Mauzy of Dallas,

enough senators were opposed to keep the proposal off the floor.

Hobby proposes to take 25% of the income of the Permanent School Fund and give it to colleges and universities. Texas Research League statistics put the 1990 value of this fund at \$12 billion. But teachers and public school administrators, fearing the loss of money dedicated to public schools, are opposed.

The credit card tax, enacted into law, will provide only half the revenue for HEEF. Allowing all colleges and universities a part of PUF would leave much less for "academic excellence" and is opposed by UT, Texas A&M, and their graduates. If all else fails the legislature could build up HEEF from the general revenue, but there is fear this might lead to tax increases.

What do college presidents want? "Their last position was 'just give us money,'" muses Hobby.

On June 24, Clements said he will not allow any consideration of funds for college construction to impede first repealing the state property tax in the special session. He blamed the regular session foul-up on the colleges' greediness in hoping for the reinstatement of the full ad valorem tax, which would yield them about \$400 million a year.

Representatives of the regents of UT, Texas A&M, and the University of Houston met with Clayton and Hobby in Houston and agreed to ask the session for an \$80 million constitutionally-dedicated fund for college construction for non-PUF schools. Hobby insists the money be available also for academic enrichment programs.

And So . . .

UT & A&M have a \$1.4 billion fund. Seventeen colleges and universities have no permanent fund at all.

Delco won't let a bill out unless it discusses Prairie View. Hobby suggests it is a foregone conclusion her Prairie View bill will not pass. Delco says she'll go to court.

Midwestern State University threatens to carry out its suit to get its funding.

Rumors circulate that if a solution isn't found, the University of Houston and even UT-Arlington may file a court case in Federal Judge William Wayne Justice's court to try to totally split up PUF.

The feds have Texas' plan to ameliorate discrimination.

The Coordinating Board questions the necessity of building too many more buildings.

And the pot of gold in the middle of the rotunda looks better and better. □

Texans Axe Legal Services

Washington

In June, as briefly reported last issue, the House took up the bill to authorize and fund continuation of the Legal Services Corporation (LSC) — a favorite target of the far right. The bill came to the floor from committee with reductions of about 25% in funding. Then, Cong. Chick Kazen of Laredo and Charlie Wilson of Lufkin offered amendments to really cut into its impact in the poor communities of Texas and elsewhere. Wilson wanted no class-action suits against any government agency; Kazen wanted no services to illegal immigrants. With enthusiastic support of right-wing colleagues, both amendments were adopted.

The bill went on to pass 245-137, leaving the Legal Services Corporation free to help the deserving poor with wills, divorces, and landlord problems. For many poor people, the Legal Services Corporation, whose continuation has been strongly supported by the American Bar Association, provides the only means by which they can receive adequate legal representation. In its final form, the House-passed legislation would cut funding by 25% and impose stringent restrictions on the types of cases the LSC could handle.

The amendment offered by Wilson and passed 241-167 prohibits the LSC from filing class-action suits on behalf of the poor against federal, state, or local governments under any circumstances. Wilson defended his proposal by saying that class-action suits comprise only one per-

cent of all legal aid cases, but cause 90% of the trouble. Speaking in favor of Wilson's amendment were Sam Hall, who said his district has been "plagued" with class-action suits, and Jake Pickle, who reminded his colleagues that the original intent of the LSC was "to help [individuals] on wills, on rents, divorces, and accidents."

In opposing the Wilson amendment, Cong. Mickey Leland of Houston stated that while the class-action cases might pose problems, "we who have been discriminated against historically have to fight and . . . try to achieve justice no matter what the cost."

The far-reaching amendment authored by Kazen prohibiting legal assistance to illegal aliens ran into strong opposition from House judiciary committee chairman Peter Rodino (D-N.J.), who cited a lengthy list of those who would be denied services under the Kazen proposal, such as applicants for political asylum, people whose U.S. citizenship is in doubt, Cuban and Haitian entrants who currently enjoy special legal status, and spouses and children of permanent resident aliens. Despite Rodino's protests, the amendment passed by voice vote after being modified to extend legal aid services to some, but not all of those groups Rodino cited as being unfairly discriminated against.

Whether legal services for the poor can withstand additional battering from the Republican-controlled Senate and a likely presidential veto remains to be seen. □

The Nine Who Backed Reagan

(Continued from Page 1)

College Station, Reagan's Democratic point man on the budget; Ralph Hall of Rockwall, who helped give Reagan his decisive procedural victories but then alone among the nine swung back to the Democratic side on the budget itself; Sam Hall of Marshall, who appears to have embraced Reagan's economics; Kent Hance of Lubbock, who is Reagan's point man for the future fight on tax cutting; Jack Hightower of Vernon, a fourth-term Democrat on the appropriations committee; banker-businessman Marvin Leath of Marlin, who says he urged Reagan to slash programs even more deeply than the President originally proposed; Charles Stenholm of Stamford, chairman of the Conservative Democratic Forum; Richard White of El Paso, a Democrat in the Congress since 1965; and Charles Wilson of Lufkin, who offered to resign his seat on the powerful House steering and policy committee if his fellow Democratic members from Texas so desire — but they have said no.

Joined by the five Texas Republican congressmen, the nine Democrats gave Reagan a 14-10 victory in the Texas delegation. The other ten Democrats from Texas voted with their party.

Leland proposed that the State Democratic Executive Committee censure Hance, Stenholm, and Gramm and deny them future party assistance of any kind, including campaign funds. The Houston congressman, who is chairman of the black caucus of the Democratic National Committee, called on members of minorities to challenge the three politically in 1982. Wilson should be kicked off the steering and policy committee, Leland said.

Manatt is quoted telling a labor group he'd like to kick Gramm out of the party. Slagle, likewise limiting his reaction to Gramm, accused the College Station professor of welshing on a deal he made with Wright to get on the budget committee. Cong. Martin Frost of Dallas, assuming Gramm will not be booted off the budget committee, predicted that he will not be re-elected to it by the Democratic caucus in the future. House Speaker Tip O'Neill said, "In decency, a couple of those people" should stop attending the Democratic caucus in the House.

Slagle said of Gramm, "It's clear that he's broken his word to Jim Wright." In exchange for the budget seat, Slagle said, Gramm gave Wright his word "that he would vote and act as a Democrat in

Congress." Gramm denies breaking any deal. Slagle implicitly opposed any punishment for any of the other defectors, who he said had cooperated in party events and fund-raisers.

Cong. Henry Gonzalez of San Antonio said he thought that with Texans Wright got on powerful committees, the Majority Leader had "an understanding about basic loyalty on party line questions such as procedure. If there was an understanding, Phil Gramm, Kent Hance, and Charlie Wilson either renege or betrayed their trust on the procedural vote."

Opposing any censure of the "Boll Weevils," as the Democratic switchovers are called, Hobby told the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, "I've heard more approval than criticism. The last election was a sign that the Democratic Party had best heed, and they are correctly representing the constituents they were elected to represent."

Gramm Weighed By Home Folks

College Station

Cong. Phil Gramm's contention that his constituents overwhelmingly support his leadership for Reagan forces on the budget was shaken by outbursts against him here.

Greg Moses of radio station KTAM conducted a talk-show about Gramm's role and received 75 calls, 39 against Gramm, 36 for him. Sandra Taylor, Democratic activist and wife of a Texas A&M chemistry professor, began circulating petitions to Tip O'Neill and Jim Wright advocating Gramm's removal from the House budget committee. She did this in the name of the Brazos County Democrats, which she said has about 100 members. Erma Jefferson, a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee, said Gramm "should be censured, quartered, and shot at dawn. He gave his word to Jim Wright and then did not support the party."

Neely Lewis, Brazos County Democratic chairman, was quoted saying that Gramm is doing a good job and what he said he would, and others also came to Gramm's defense.

Hobby said also, "I think they've been helped. . . . I really haven't heard much vocal reaction against them, but I've heard a lot more vocal reaction for them."

Certainly there was such reaction from Reagan and his top aides. Reagan invited Gramm to join the Republican Party (Gramm politely declined). Jim Baker, Reagan's chief of staff, said in Houston of the Republicans' 217-210 victory on the procedural test, "You turn just four votes around and you have a different result. I'm happy to announce here that nine of those conservative Democratic votes we got were from the state of Texas." Max Friedersdorf, chief of Reagan's congressional liaison, said 21 Southern Democrats voted with Reagan on all seven of the key budget votes, including Texans Gramm, Hance, Sam Hall, Hightower, Leath, and Stenholm.

Wright told Arthur Wiese of the *Houston Post* that, in exchange for his help getting Gramm on the budget committee and Hance on the tax-writing ways and means committee, he thought he had assurances that they and other conservative Democrats would fight for their views "within the family, but once a committee had made the judgment, we'd close ranks and vote for the final product."

He told the story of the wife who, asked if she'd ever considered divorce, answered, "Divorce, no — murder, yes." "That's how I feel about these guys," he said. But when he wrote the 29 who backed Reagan on the test, he telegraphed to them that he would not support any party discipline against them by telling them that if they could look themselves in the mirror in the morning, "you'll have no quarrel from me."

"I've never favored discipline," he said later. "What do you suggest I do? There's darn little that I can employ. I have no rewards to grant or punishments to inflict."

Gramm actively worked with the Republican floor leaders to shove through the Reagan budget. In statements reacting to the outcry for his Democratic hide, he said the programs of the people who have been in charge of the federal government "have utterly, completely failed" and that "increasingly my friends and supporters are not Democrats because they view the Democratic Party now as the party of government," but that he is "not ready to write off the Democratic Party as of right now."

Hance, a second-term, said he broke

out in a rash from anxiety as he agonized how to vote. But he told the *Los Angeles Times*, "My constituents are conservatives — and they don't object to my working with a Republican President."

Wilson and White were the two among the nine whose previous careers least

prepared one for their defections. Wilson knew he had outraged O'Neill and Wright. He told reporters that some Democrats in the House called him a "traitor" and a "Judas" and accused him of having "sold out to the fat-cats." He had been wavering until Reagan tele-

phoned him and evidently indicated he would listen to Wilson's pitch on behalf of the synthetic fuels program. Wilson said he voted with Reagan out of conviction, but knows it was "a political minus for me." □

The Weakening of the Democrats

The Problem Is Broader

Washington

House Speaker Tip O'Neill's speech to Congress immediately after President Reagan's takeover of the House budget debate was one of the dramatic scenes in recent American political life.

The battle was lost and O'Neill, obviously enraged, lumbered to the well of the House and in humiliation had to ask the Republicans then in control of the debate for permission to speak. Permission was granted, O'Neill reviewed the events of the day. He rebuked the opposition and reviled the turncoat Democrats who made it possible. He wandered over the budget issues and wondered what it all meant for the Congress and for the country.

And then, as he concluded, O'Neill dropped an unintended clue as to why the debacle occurred and why the Republicans, despite being a minority in the House and in the nation, have achieved effective control of our political processes. Referring to the two budget reconciliation measures — one from the Democratic committees, the other from the White House — he said, "I think your [the White House] package is wrong, to be perfectly truthful. If I thought my own was wrong when we cut it off at the knee, I certainly think yours is wrong where you cut it off at the hip."

These few words tell a lot about Congress and the Democratic Party today, and perhaps why the Republicans control the action. O'Neill was saying that his party, his colleagues, and he had been pursuing the same course as Ronald Reagan — "cooperating" with the administration and trying to enact legislation which was essentially anti-government, pro-military, pro-big business, anti-poor, anti-minorities, and in-

By Katharine and
Tyrus Fain

sensitive to the aged. Republican economics. States rights federalism. Red scare defense planning.

In going along with the Reagan Administration, what were the Democrats buying? First, an absolute dollar limit on the federal budget. Then, a commitment to fund defense programs at an increased level. Finally, a reconciliation process in which the remainder is divided up among the various government programs.

The Democrats had philosophically bought or acquiesced in the notion that we can't afford to continue the growth in Social Security and retirement entitlement programs, food stamp expenditures, aid to education and to dependent children — all too expensive and inflationary. They were going along with a thesis that government regulation of industries diverts capital to non-productive endeavors and that deregulation spurs economic growth. They were swallowing the fairy tale that block grants to be administered by the statehouse politicians and bureaucrats would cost less and be administered more fairly than the federal programs in education, health, and welfare are.

All that was coming out of the reconciliation hearings of the Democratic-controlled committees and was being packaged by the Democratic leadership — O'Neill, Jim Wright, Jim Jones, and Richard Bolling — for a vote on the floor. The Democrats were performing surgery in obedience to the Republicans' diagnosis.

Once all the carnage was ready to come together in one huge bill — the longest bill in U.S. legislative history — the Republicans made a move. Even they were surprised by the result. It was as if a few members of the surgical team began arguing for a deeper incision — further up the limb — and suddenly most agreed and when the vote was taken and

the deed done, the limb was severed — gone.

It was an easy argument to advance. "Everyone knows," they could reason, "that entitlement programs and the social benefits are inflationary." Deeper cuts mean less inflation. If the environmental and drug protection and pure food programs impede business growth, gutting them more will mean more and better business — more jobs, according to sages at the National Association of Manufacturers. If state administration of block grants for social programs is more democratic and more beneficial, why not let a thousand flowers bloom?

For weeks before the final big vote, the momentum had been building. The White House, the business lobbyists, the columnists and commentators were trumpeting these assumptions. ARCO and Mobil bought dignified newspaper ads. Some 300 "opinion" leaders mingled at the White House with key administrative operatives at a briefing session on budget and tax matters. The talk show hosts and news teams were given one-on-one access to David Stockman, to the Treasury Secretary, the Greenspans, Meeses, Weidenbaums, and other GOP gurus. Democrats were not questioning the assumptions — they were already laboring in surgery, with occasional appearances in the waiting rooms to crow that they — not the GOP — controlled the knives.

When the coup came, there was no predicate for debate on philosophical grounds. The Democrats were already on the program: they had bought fiscal conservatism. Twenty-nine Democrats jumped to the GOP side on a procedural vote, tipping the balance to the point where the Administration, if it wished, could assert its will on the budget to be passed. The White House moved swiftly to do so, and in 24 hours a completely new budget bill appeared — pasted together, sloppy, unread, but what the White House wanted, barring some minor slip-ups in the pasting and cutting.

The jump to the Republican side was

Katharine Fain is our research director in Washington and an experienced congressional researcher; her husband Tyrus Fain and she together have edited books on national policy, and they have long been active in progressive Democratic politics in Texas and Washington.

easy for those that made it. Their move was political, not philosophical. The nine Texan Democrats who bolted — the "nominal nine" — all are either conservatives or long-standing opportunists. They left their party's budget cutters to move on up and work with the big boys.

It would be a mistake to put too much stock in the importance of the lunch with home state utility executives where five of the nine took turns going to the phone to talk to Reagan. That's too simple and lets too many others off the hook. The blame goes beyond them, goes back to a time before several of them were even in Congress. The surgery, as O'Neill admitted, was already underway and had been for some time. Jimmy Carter cloaked his Administration in much of the same thinking that is prevailing now. Monetarist approaches to inflation — high interest rates, high unemployment. Increase arms purchases while keeping down budget growth. Discredit the federal bureaucracy and undermine confidence in Washington's institutions. Widely perceived as inept, Carter dug his own political grave when he embraced these essentially Republican positions. The people traded him in for the real thing. Now the Democratic House of Representatives is doing the same thing. In the weeks of skirmishing before the final blow on the budget debate a number of Texas Democrats, including Jim Wright, were playing the Republican game, setting the direction and contributing to the momentum of the debate over where to amputate the underpinnings of programs put in place by the New Deal, the New Frontier and the Great Society. Over in the Senate Lloyd Bentsen of Texas was doing the same thing.

Here are some examples — some from debate on non-budget matters, but all pointing to the same phenomena and setting the same course.

On May 5th, Wright gratuitously spoke on behalf of the Hefner amendment to increase defense spending ceilings by \$6.65 billion over those recommended by his own party's budget committee. Among the Texans, only Gonzalez and Leland supported the Obey and Black Caucus amendments to the earlier Democratic budget ceiling resolution — the only measures that would have severely restrained the GOP-proposed cuts in social programs. What most of the Texans backed was the Jones committee bill — half of the loaf Reagan wanted. Jake Pickle was presiding over hearings to cut back Social Security eligibility and came to the floor on June 17th to support an amendment by Charlie Wilson to bar class action suits against the government by Legal Services lawyers. Bill Patman of Ganado voted for the Wilson measure. So did

Wright, de la Garza, Brooks, and other Texas Democrats. For his part, Chick Kazen tried to get an amendment through to bar legal services assistance to illegal immigrants. Over in the Senate, Bentsen was voting more often than not with the Republicans in the Senate budget debate — opposing measures to restore funds for unemployment benefits, winter fuel assistance for the poor, the Economic Development Administration, solar energy development, youth training, scientific research, and child nutrition, among other things.

So, as one can see, a lot more Texas Democrats than the nominal nine have been drinking from Reagan's cup. They have a right, just barely, to criticize the nine who defected at the end, but they have little to be proud about. They and a

lot of others did their part to make all this politically possible.

There is no effective intellectual leadership in the Democratic Party today. Reagan is calling the shots and the Democrats are saying "me too, but . . ." And there is no propensity to dig in and defend that which the party created, much less to come up with anything new. Small wonder that the Democrats lost the so-called budget battle. If Democratic alternatives aren't set forth and sold to the people and to the lawmakers, we can expect this to continue. The blame is not just with the turncoats, it goes much further. If the tide is to be reversed, the Democrats must come forward with creative efforts — and backbone. □

Corporations, Associations

Business Money Behind the Nine

Washington

Listed here are approximately 200 companies and a few law firms and trade associations which the Federal Commission says are connected with Political Action Committees that contributed during 1979-'80 to one or more of the nine nominal Texas Democrats who went with Ronald Reagan over the budget bill.

The *Observer* ordered an FEC report on these men's campaign contributions and gleaned this listing from the computer printout. The nominal nine are not the only Democratic candidates these PAC's supported, nor are these all the contributors to these men. Labor union PAC's, for instance, gave Charlie Wilson some \$15,400 during 1979-'80.

Including contributions from the PAC's not listed, the nominal nine received \$547,255 from such committees. The biggest PAC beneficiary was Gramm with \$160,509, next was Wilson with \$92,986. Then came Leath with \$52,656, Hightower \$52,377, Ralph Hall \$48,470, Stenholm \$44,180, White \$37,191, Hance \$32,100, and Sam Hall \$26,786.

The five PAC's which gave the most to the nine Texas defectors were the American Medical Association (\$40,875), the Texas Utilities Company (\$25,000), Associated Milk Producers Inc. (\$21,500), American Telephone and Telegraph Co. (\$12,300), and the Texas Medical Association (\$12,250).

Jim Wright got more from business PAC's than any of these men, and such good Democrats as Gonzalez and Leland received some of this same generosity without collapsing into the open arms of the White House. Yet we tend to forget just what is behind much of the so-called conservative swing in this country. These PAC's are the financial arms of special interest lobbies. They have ties to lobbyists for trade associations and into the White House. The lobbyists do the White House bidding when called upon.

Note the utility companies in the list, which when combined gave \$44,650 to the nine defectors: Texas Utilities Company, American Telephone and Telegraph, General Telephone and Electronics, Gulf States Utilities Co., El Paso Electric Company, Continental Telephone Corp. We don't know who was at the University Club in Washington the day before Reagan won his stunning victory in the House when, as the *Washington Post* reported, five of the defectors dined with "home-state utility executives." Maybe none were from the firms listed. We do know, as someone in ABSCAM reminded the sheik, that "money talks."

The issue of big business involvement in politics is greater and more complex than this, however. We hope to deal with it in the context of the Texas delegation at a later time. The purpose is to start

turning the spotlight on the nominal nine Democrats by asking who they run with.

SELECTED BUSINESSES, TRADE ASSOCIATIONS & LAW FIRMS CONTRIBUTING THROUGH PAC'S TO THE NOMINAL NINE

Total on This List: \$348,696

Abbott Laboratories, Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld, Alco Standard Corp., Allied Bancshares Inc., Allied Chemical Corp., Allis-Chalmers Corp., Aluminum Co. of America, American Bankers Assn., American Cyanamid Co., American Energy Inc., American Gas Assn., American Land Title Assn.;

American Medical Assn., American Medical Int'l. Inc., American Natural Resources Co., American Petrofina Inc., American Rice Inc., American Telephone & Telegraph Co., American Textile Manufacturers Institute, American Trucking Assn. Inc., Anheuser-Busch Companies Inc., Armco Inc., Arthur Young & Co., ASARCO Inc., Associated Milk Producers Inc., Atlantic Richfield Co., AVCO Corp.;

Baker & Botts, Baltimore Gas & Electric Co., BDM Int'l. Inc. & Subsidiaries, Belden Corp., Boise Cascade Corp., J. G. Boswell Co., Bracewell & Patterson, Bristol-Myers Co., Brown & Root - Halliburton, Broyhill Furniture Industries Inc., Brunswick Corp., Burlington Industries Inc., Burlington Northern Inc., Burns & Roe Inc., Butler, Binion, Rice, Cook & Knapp;

Cabot Corp., Carolina Power & Light Co.,

Carter-Hawley Stores Inc., Celanese Corp., Central & South West Corp., Champion Int'l. Corp., Chicago Board of Trade, Chicago Mercantile Exchange, Ciba-Geigy Corp., Citizens State Bank (location not stated), The Coastal Corp., Colt Industries Inc., Columbia Gas Transmission Corp., Commodity Exchange Inc., Computer Sciences Corp., Consolidated Natural Gas Serv. Co. Inc., Continental Telephone Corp., Cooper Industries Inc.;

Dart & Kraft Inc., Detroit Edison Co., Diamond Shamrock Corp., Dow Chemical U.S.A., Dresser Industries Inc.;

E-Systems Inc., Eastman Kodak Co., Jack Eckerd Corp., Edison Electric Institute, El Paso Company, El Paso Electric Co., Eli Lilly & Co., Emerson Electric Co., Enserch Corp., Entex Inc., Exxon Corp.;

Fairchild Industries Inc., Farmers Mutual Hail Insurance of Iowa, Farmland Industries Inc., Federal Express Corp., First City Bancorporation, First Int'l. Bancshares Inc., First United Bancorporation Inc., Florida Power & Light Co., Florida Sugar Cane League, Fluor Corp., FMC Corp., Ford Motor Co., Foreman, Dyess, Preitt, *et. al.*, Freeport Minerals Co.;

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Leland's Speech

It was in Amarillo almost 30 years ago that then Democratic Texas Governor Allan Shivers led the State Democratic Executive Committee into an endorsement of Eisenhower for President. Late last month, speaking on "The Tumor in the Texas Democratic Party," Cong. Mickey Leland of Houston told the Texas Coalition of Black Democrats that three members of the Texas delegation should be read out of the Democratic Party. House Democratic leaders Jim Wright of Fort Worth and Thomas Foley (D-Wash.) are indicating there will be no disciplining of the prime Democratic defectors on the Reagan budget. In this swirling context we are reprinting the whole of Leland's important Amarillo speech. —Ed.

I am going to talk very plainly and directly to you today about a problem within the Democratic Party that threatens our survival, and one which we must take the initiative to correct. I speak of the traitors in our Party, the "boll weevils" who have taken our help, and our votes, and our trust, and have deserted us and have embraced Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party.

I need not detail for you the many problems facing the Democratic Party today, both nationally and here in Texas. We have suffered recent defeats that have left us with little or no leadership at the national level. We have lost the White House and the Senate, and the odds are that the House may go in 1982. We are short of money, short of ideas, short of leaders, and short of voters. The Republican Party is daily kicking our behinds with the propaganda about America's turn to the right. And all during this, people are suffering because of these policies, and people will suffer much more as long as this insensitive, conservative, and selfish philosophy continues.

But the problem that is more critical, in my view, is that we are harboring within the Democratic Party a growing group of traitors who hold public office as Democrats, but who are openly endorsing and working for the Republican agenda. Last month on the budget vote 63 Democratic members of the House abandoned the House leadership and the Democratic platform and voted for the Republican budget. Moreover, ten of the Texas Democratic delegation jumped ship too.

Punish Them

Now, I want to carefully distinguish between those members of Congress who have or will vote contrary to the Democratic position either out of personal belief or because their districts demand it, on the one hand, and those few members who go far beyond a vote and undertake a leadership role in sponsoring and working for the Republican program. Namely, I am alluding to Phil Gramm and Kent Hance, who have crossed the line of acceptable political conduct by actually sponsoring the Reagan budget and tax programs.

Although I have no patience with those members of the Texas delegation who vote with Reagan, or especially those like Charlie Stenholm who appear with the President and reap the personal attention and publicity, and I would like to see them defeated, Hance and Gramm deserve a forceful immediate response from the Democratic Party — they ought to get punished.

It is bad enough that the Texas Democratic Party is being embarrassed nationally by these two turncoats. They have taken our support — in fact I remember well campaigning for Hance in the black community in Lubbock — and they have now abused our trust, taken us for granted, and made us look like a big joke on the TV networks across the entire country. And what is even more outrageous is that they expect to get away with this. They expect to go unpunished. They expect to come back to the well again, and receive Democratic money, party assistance, and our votes, as if nothing has happened.

This expectation of complete immunity, that the Democratic Party cannot, or will not have the fortitude to discipline them, goes far beyond the two members in question. It sets the pattern and shows other members of Congress and other elected officials at the state and local levels that they can get away with betraying us also.

We cannot and must not tolerate this. It is costing the party its credibility and is disheartening to all the party loyalists who have worked long and hard to elect Democrats only to see their efforts defeated.

In private conversations among Democrats everywhere and now even in the press, the question is being asked, "What is the Democratic Party going to do about this?" The national party has taken one step in creating a special commission on platform accountability. But obviously that is not enough. My friends, we, the Texas Coalition of Black Democrats, must take the lead. Today, here in Amarillo, Texas, we must step forward and accept the leadership that we have sought for so long. We must gutup and undertake a program that will show the nation and these phony Democrats that we are not going to stand for their deceit. Do you think Sam Rayburn or Lyndon Johnson would have stood for this violation of party loyalty? I can assure that they would not. So I am carrying on the best of traditions.

Blacks To Start It

It is really quite appropriate that black Democrats take the first step. Even when a Democratic President and a Democratically-controlled Congress turned their backs on us and cut our badly needed social programs and put us out of work, we still went to the polls and were the only traditional Democratic constituency who stuck with the party. Moreover, we have the most to lose. We see firsthand what the current rightwing, conservative trend is actually doing to the people. And now, we must have the moral courage to speak out and say no to any attempts to move

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the Democratic Party any further to the right: It has already gone too far.

Finally, it is particularly appropriate that blacks initiate action against Mr. Gramm and Mr. Hance because both have substantial numbers of black voters in their districts and have used us to get where they are today.

In this country, there are 110 congressional districts in which more than 15% of the voters are black. In Phil Gramm's district, 18% of the people are black; in fact, along with with Hispanic voters, more than 25% of this district is minority.

Kent Hance has well over a third black and Hispanic voters, and Charles Stenholm has 15% minority voters.

In 1978, blacks in Texas voted more than 90% Democratic and Hispanics more than 75% Democratic—and 1978 was the first year these three presented themselves to the voters as Democrats. In 1980, more than 92% of the black voters voted Democratic, and more than 80% of the Hispanic voters voted Democratic.

The point of all this is that the vast majority of minorities vote Democratic. Each of these men has substantial numbers of minorities in his district. It is these people — us — that will

be hurt the most by the Republican budget cuts advocated by these *three evil men*.

Now down to solutions. What can we do? First, in the words of Ronnie Dugger, writing in the *Texas Observer*, these "flakes" should be denied party funds, organizational support, and Democratic votes.* Even more specifically, I would like to suggest the following program to be endorsed and set in motion by the coalition.

SDEC Censure

I plan to introduce a resolution . . . that would condemn Hance, Stenholm, and Gramm for their actions and which would call on the State Democratic Executive Committee at its next meeting to censure them and officially deny them any future party assistance of any type, including campaign funds. Next, I suggest that the Coalition communicate with blacks and other Democrats across the state our position and encourage them to lend no further support to Kent Hance, Charles Stenholm, or Phil Gramm. We should also seek *real* democrats to challenge them in next year's primary election. Finally, I recommend that the coalition publicize its action as widely as possible in both the Texas and national media.

As an individual, I intend to make my views known, regardless of the political repercus-

*See TO 6/12/81, where it was argued, "Never again should Gramm and Hance apply to the Democratic Party for offices, honors, or credentials." Leland here adds Stenholm because of his role as chairperson of the Conservative Democratic Forum in the House.

sions. Additionally, I will encourage the Democratic caucus in the House to strip them of their important committee assignments and to deny them access to Democratic Policy caucuses. I will also demand that the Democratic House committee provide no further financial assistance whatsoever!

My friends, there will be many in the party, and perhaps some of you in this room, who will be timid and say that we can't attack members of our own party. Some will say that it will be divisive. The truth is that these turncoats are not members of our party. They have abandoned us and have already divided the party. What is more divisive and more damaging in the long run is for us to turn our backs, close our eyes and do nothing. That will ruin the Democratic Party and as a result reap more misery and hardship on the people of Texas and of America. This cannot be tolerated.

I was not elected to go to Washington to roll over and play dead. You didn't elect me to represent you on the Democratic National Committee to keep quiet. The black caucus of the Democratic Party did not elect me chairman to grin and shuffle and be a good boy. I have to represent myself and my people — and if that means fight, then by damn, I intend to fight with all of the strength and energy I can muster. This is a case where I have chosen to draw the line — I have chosen to fight — because it's right and I invite you to join me — today — to reaffirm our dignity and our sense of justice — to say "No more!"

I ask you to join me today in endorsing this resolution of disgust and condemnation at Phil Gramm and Kent Hance. To tell them in the strongest of terms that they have violated our trust — that we don't need any more two-faced politicians selling us down the river — we don't need any Republicans in the Democratic Party. Go on record with me — demand that the State Democratic Executive Committee take immediate steps — no more Democratic money, no more Democratic endorsements, no more Democratic votes, no more Democratic anything — while they are traitors.

I for one intend to find some real Democrats to oppose these disloyal, perfidious, treacherous apostates!

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Notes from Washington

✓ One Texas congressman thinks Jim Wright's chances of ever becoming House Speaker went out the window after the Texas defections and Democratic defeat over the budget bill.

✓ An old hand at Washington reporting says that the staffs in the offices of Phil Gramm, Charles Stenholm, and Kent Hance are highly professional and on the ball — in marked contrast to most of the Texas delegation.

✓ Speaking of utilities and dining at the University Club with home-state utility executives, Cong. Charlie Wilson's contributors for 1979-80 include PAC's connected to some out-of-state firms: Montana Power Co., Baltimore Gas and Electric, Florida Power and Light, Pacific Gas and Electric Co., Potomac Power and Electric Company, and Southern California Edison Co. . . . On the wall one sees when leaving Wilson's Washington office, there is a gigantic portrait of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

✓ A Republican Majority Leader *before* the next election? That nightmare is part of a pessimistic scenario Mickey Leland can set forth convincingly. It's really simple — the "Boll Weevils" switch parties and the GOP calls for a reorganization. The turncoats are rewarded with key chairmanships. Think of Phil Gramm leading appropriations, Jack Hightower controlling agriculture, and Charlie Wilson at the helm of foreign affairs.

✓ One top staff member of a defecting congressman went on "vacation" the day of the big budget vote. A number of others expressed embarrassment.

✓ Illustrating the axiom that politicians in the middle of the road get clipped from both the left and the right, Lt. Gov. Bill Hobby has now been clipped by the Texas Pro-Life PAC. Correctly perceiving that Hobby helped kill anti-abortion bills last session and noticing also that the Hobbys hosted a reception for the Houston chapter of the ACLU at their home last fall, the anti-abortion PAC has sent out a scurrilous mock invitation to a "reception" at the Hobbys' home, the

proceeds to be used "to promote abortion on demand, pornography, and homosexuality."

Candidates; Cash

✓ The two right-wing candidates for GOP nomination against U.S. Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas are sniping sharply at each other, a fair indication they both might run. State Sen. Walter Mengden, Houston, is arguing that Cong. Jim Collins, Dallas, is an ineffective legislator, is 65 compared to Mengden's 54, would give up a subcommittee chairmanship in the House by running for the Senate, and can't undercut Bentsen's Houston base as well as Houstonian Mengden could. Collins, who favors repealing the federal income tax, nevertheless seeks the more moderate track, telling Sam Attlesley of the *Dallas News*, "I don't think anyone could be more conservative than Mengden." . . . Die-hard champions of football star Roger Staubach running for the same nomination say they have 237 GOP precinct chairpersons on the line for Staubach.

✓ A recent Texas AFL-CIO poll showed Gov. Bill Clements running 10 or 12 percentage points ahead of John Hill, Dolph Briscoe, or Mark White. According to the newsletter of the Texas Democratic Party, the mayor of El Paso, Thomas D. Westfall, formerly an FBI employee for 26 years and a conservative Democrat, announced several months ago he will run for governor.

✓ Garry Mauro, Democrat running for land commissioner, says in the first six weeks since he has announced he has traveled 100,000 miles, raised \$70,000, and obtained pledges for \$190,000 more. Speaker Bill Clayton plans to wait until the end of the special session before deciding whether to oppose Mauro for the nomination.

✓ Bob Slagle, state Democratic chairman, says it may take at least \$5

million to beat Clements and is pushing the line that many Democrats "keep coming up to me and saying," why don't the Democrats "run just one" candidate in the primary for governor.

✓ Jim Hightower, likely to run for agriculture commissioner, said to Virginia Ellis of the *Dallas Times-Herald*, about officeholders like Clements and Atty. Gen. Mark White raising political money while in office, "There is no nice way to put it. They are using the power of their office to raise that money." He, for one, can't consider running for governor or U.S. senator, he said, because he knows he can't raise the necessary millions. "The days when someone can come out of the blue and take on, say, the governorship, are over until we do something," Hightower said.

✓ Jimmy Carter's national Democratic chairman, Robert Strauss of Dallas, said in Houston of the federal government, "We have tried to do too much and we have promised too much." . . . Former Democratic Gov. Preston Smith of Lubbock told the *Dallas News* that unless leaders of the Texas Democratic Party "shift to a more conservative viewpoint, the Democratic Party in Texas will be doomed." . . . Dave McNeely, political editor of the *Austin American-Statesman*, observes that the GOP sticks together in the legislature while the Democrats, "by contrast, with no parti-



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san leadership from Clayton and Hobby, still flounder around fighting among themselves." . . . Of 22 Democratic judges in Dallas County asked by the *Times-Herald* if they would remain Democrats in 1982, only 13 would reaffirm their Democratic ties. When asked the question, the paper said, "Their reactions ranged from panic to hysteria."

✓ A Socialist Workers Party member, Laura Moorhead, joined the large field running for mayor of Houston. A black employee of Hughes Tool and a member of the steelworkers' union, Moorhead identified herself as "a feminist and a socialist." Her platform calls for metropolitan-wide school busing, repeal of right-of-work, cancellation of the Allen's Creek nuclear project, bilingual education through the 12th grade, massive public works programs for low-cost housing and flood control, and elimination of the war budget.

Gays Rallying

✓ Gay politics are now an established and accepted part of the politics of Houston and Dallas. Police estimated the crowd for a rally in Houston celebrating Gay Pride Week at 12,000. Lee Herrington, a gay leader in Houston, estimates the city's homosexual population at 250,000, 50,000 of whom are out of the closet. Gays are concentrated in the Montrose district near the downtown; this summer during Gay Pride Week for the first time in three years the police did not raid a gay bar in the Montrose section. (Last year policemen played a baseball game with gays, but pressure from the Moral Majority led to police

A Puzzle

On May 23 Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, Texas, voted in favor of denying medicaid funding for abortions, even in cases of rape or incest, unless the mother's life is in danger. Mr. and Mrs. Bennie Garcia of Amarillo wrote Bentsen protesting this vote from a pro-choice point of view. On June 1 Bentsen wrote the Garcias:

"I certainly appreciate having the benefit of your thoughtful views. . . .

"As you may be aware, I have long voted to allow abortions for cases of rape, incest, or when the life of the mother is endangered, and I will continue to support legislation which incorporates these exceptions."

You figure it out.

backing out of a repeat match this year.) Charles Brydon, National Gay Task Force spokesperson in New York, lists Houston among the top six progressive U.S. cities for gays. The principal speaker at the Houston rally this year was Sissy Farenthold. Many winning candidates for city and state legislative office seek the gays' endorsement, as for instance Mayor Jim McConn and City Controller Kathy Whitmire are now doing in their campaigns for mayor.

In Dallas, at a cost so far of \$25,000, the Texas Human Rights Foundation, a public-interest litigating corporation, is challenging in the court of U.S. District Judge Jerry Buchmeyer the constitutionality of the Texas Homosexual Conduct Law, Sec. 21.06, which penalizes sexual relations between consenting adults of the same sex in private with a fine up to \$200. The plaintiff is Donald F. Baker, 33, who recently received a masters' degree from SMU and is president of the Dallas Gay Alliance. The suit contends Sec. 21.06 violates constitutional rights

to privacy, due process, and equal protection of the laws.

During the trial in June, Baker's attorney, James Barber, argued that the legislature has not abolished the provision because the lawmakers do not have the political courage to do it. "Common sense tells one that the state has no place in the private bedroom of adults who are engaging in sexual conduct that is not harmful to them," Barber told the court.

Dr. James P. Grigson, the Dallas psychiatrist whom the press have dubbed "Doctor Death" because of his testimony in death penalty cases that defendants are likely to commit crimes in the future, testified in the Baker case, "I think that homosexuality is an illness and a disease and, certainly, that homosexual behavior is deviant behavior."

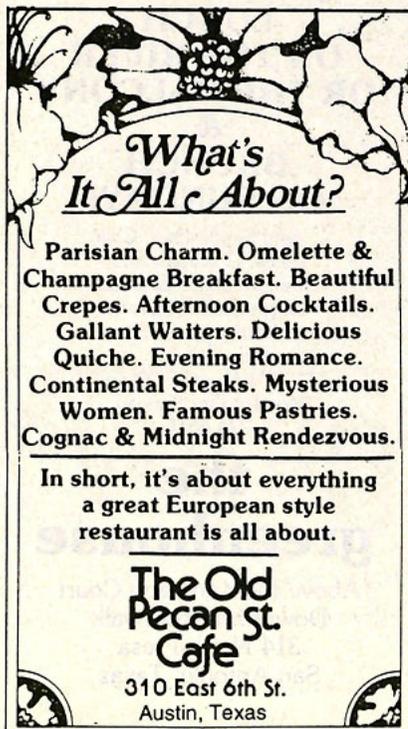
Dr. Judd Marmor, past president of the American Psychiatric Assn., testified that homosexuality among consenting adults is no longer considered a mental disorder by most American psychiatrists and that his association, the American Psychological Assn., and the American Medical Assn. have passed resolutions urging decriminalization.

Gary Van Ooteghem, former president of the Houston Gay Political Caucus, has a case pending in the U.S. Supreme Court alleging he was fired by Harris County for wanting to publicly advocate his views on homosexuality.

Gays have also established political presences in San Antonio and Austin and lobby the legislature.

'Think-Tank'

✓ A "business-labor think tank," the John E. Gray Institute at Lamar University, has been formally dedicated by Vice-President George Bush, Sens. John Tower and Lloyd Bentsen, Gov. Bill Clements, and Lt. Gov. Bill Hobby. This turnout, the presence of Texas AFL-CIO President Harry Hubbard and all five living ex-governors among the foundation's trustees, and the institute's \$4 million funding signify its importance, but what that importance will come to remains to be seen. Hubbard is understood to have extracted certain minimum understandings before he agreed to participate. One can't tell a thing from the publicized purpose to study the ways business, labor, and industry affect each other in the area from Houston to Baton Rouge.



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Cynicism and Voter Turn-off

Houston

The excessive influence of high-powered political action committees is turning people into cynics about politics, Bo Byers, Austin bureau chief of the *Houston Chronicle*, said in a recent speech before the government relations committee of the Houston chamber of commerce. In a column July 5, Byers defended and stood by what he had said, which was:

“

Political action committees commonly referred to as PAC's fed the campaign funds of well over 75% of the legislators who eventually were to vote for the high interest-rate bill (the bill was backed by banks, savings and loan associations, consumer finance companies, credit unions and credit card retail stores and gasoline service stations).

Legislators will tell you that they are not influenced by the campaign contributions they receive. Now I don't believe there is anyone in this room so naive as to believe that large campaign contributions do not influence the recipients.

I recognize the need for campaign contributions in today's

high-cost political environment. But I deplore the excessive influence of high-powered, well-heeled political action committees. Their influence is so obvious that it is not necessary for me, as a political reporter, to point it out. There is a great public awareness of it, and the result is a great public cynicism.

We of the press, and the good government committees of the chamber of commerce and the League of Women Voters and the incumbents in political office, can do all we want to urge people, 'Your vote is important. Go to the polls.' Those urgings fall on mostly deaf ears. A majority of voters, Texans and Americans throughout the United States, do not go to the polls. They are turned off. They are cynical about the political process. They do not believe they are represented. They believe the special interests are represented.

They believe lawyers in the legislature are promoting their own special interests, as defense lawyers or plaintiff lawyers or as stockholders in banks, savings and loan companies or the various other special interests pushing legislation.

”

✓ The 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruling in New Orleans, holding up portions of Judge Wayne Justice's order on Texas prisons, but permitting immediate enforcement of other features of the order, was hailed as a victory for Texas by Clements and Atty. Gen. Mark White, but this was not so clear. No part of Justice's ruling was reversed, and this is an intermediate level in the appeals process. White sought to tweak Clements because the Reagan Justice Department opposed White's motions on substantial points. Reagan people's pledges had been "virtually . . . scrapped," White complained. Clements, no slouch at slurs, said the Justice

Department had sided with Texas on some points, and he suggested White should hire "competent outside counsel" to pursue the case.

✓ It was standard politics-as-usual, too, when White accused Reagan of breaking his campaign promises against the windfall profits tax because the Justice Department opposed White as he sought to intervene in a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of that tax. As White sees it, the windfall tax "principally affects a group of people who cannot afford a reduction in income," since three-fourths of the 650,000 Texans who receive royalties get less than \$200 a month from them.

But it was a sharp break for White when he asked Clements to open the special session to higher oil and gas severance taxes on grounds that since the Supreme Court has now approved Montana's 30% severance tax on coal, Texas should raise its oil and gas taxes to stay on a par with other states. This new position probably reflects White's perception that he cannot rally Democrats behind him if he is perceived as too unrelieved a conservative.

✓ *Correction:* Five of the seven special elections called by Gov. Clements this year were called for Tuesdays, but the other two were on Saturdays. Earlier (TO 5/29/81) we mistakenly said all seven were on Tuesdays. We made this error, not our source.

✓ Twenty-one farm workers have brought a class action against Griffin and Brand of McAllen, the produce firm with which Mayor Othar Brand is associated, alleging they were recruited to pick melons in 1977, but were let go because braceros were given their jobs instead. . . . Police chief Roy Eckhardt, brought in to help overcome the damage done by publicity over police brutality in McAllen, has resigned in a policy dispute.

✓ The Establishment's mayor in Dallas, Jack Evans, showed unexpected independence opposing the Dallas Board of Equalization's vote to grant businesses a 15% tax break on their inventories. No excuse for it, he said, and a week later the same board rescinded it. . . . U.S. District Judge Joe Fisher, charged with conflict of interest by the Department of Energy in a case involving Mobil's pricing on grounds that Fisher owns stock in Exxon and Kerr-McGee, disqualified himself in the case. . . . UT-Austin law profs Charles Alan Wright and Lino Graglia were among the many candidates being considered for the U.S. Supreme Court seat opened up by Potter Stewart's retirement. . . . Rep. Bill Keese, Somerville, is being talked up as a candidate against Cong. Phil Gramm. That would avert Keese running against Rep. Dan Kubiak, Rockdale, because of redistricting pairing. □

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A Public Service Message from the American Income Life Insurance Co.—Waco, Texas—Bernard Rapoport, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer

Critical Choices For The Future

Remarks of House Majority Leader Jim Wright of Fort Worth before the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. on May 4, 1981. Reprinted by permission.

This week the House shall choose between two blueprints for our nation's fiscal future — the Administration budget and the House Committee budget.

There are some striking similarities. Both documents call for dramatic reductions in spending. When we measure the total level of spending they would authorize by the same economic assumptions, the two totals are almost identical. Each plan contains a substantial tax cut.

There are also some very basic differences, however.

The first is that the committee plan, with a smaller and more targeted tax cut, achieves a lower deficit for fiscal 1982 and would reach a balanced budget in fiscal 1983.

The administration plan, by contrast, eats up all the savings it achieves and more in the huge 30 percent three-year Kemp-Roth tax cut which would shower its principal benefits upon the very wealthiest in our society.

Under the Kemp-Roth scheme, a family of four earning \$10,000 would get back about \$40 in the first full year.

A \$20,000 family would get back slightly less than \$200 . . . while a family with \$100,000 in income would reap a windfall of more than \$4,000 in the first year of Kemp-Roth.

Manifestly, this is inequitable. It isn't fair to the middle and lower income Americans who are least able to escape the cruel afflictions of inflation. The committee plan would do something for them.

Moreover, Kemp-Roth is in itself inflationary. Conservative periodicals like *Business Week*, many conservative economists and a number of responsible Republican lawmakers realize what a disaster it could be. It easily could set in motion more than **\$100 billion in extra deficits** over the next three years.

George Bush called it "voodoo economics" last spring, and said if enacted it could bring on an inflation rate in excess of 30 percent.

The House committee program also anticipates a tax cut, but a much more targeted and less costly one — aimed at encouraging investments that modernize America's aging industrial plant so as to improve productivity and make our products more competitive on world markets.

Our individual tax cuts are targeted to the middle income and lower income Americans — removing the marriage penalty, giving a break for savings, combatting "bracket creep" and recompensing those who've had to pay higher social security taxes.

By reducing the deficit to less than half that originally projected by the Reagan-Stockman plan, we believe this will help to **bring down interest rates** which are stifling small business and consumers alike.

And that is the first difference.

A second big difference in the two plans is our relative emphasis on the goal of energy independence.

Most responsible economists recognize our dependence upon and vulnerability to foreign oil suppliers as a major cause of the inflation we are suffering.

It is much too glib to say that federal expenditures are the only, or even the main, cause of inflation.

For a comparison of the dollar-draining effect, consider the following: During the past four years, federal **government deficits** in all were **\$18 billion higher** than for the previous four year period. But American dollars paid out for **imported oil** over the past four years were **\$160 billion more** than for the preceding quadrennium!

The House Budget Committee has spared from the hangman's noose a number of absolutely vital energy programs which would be terminated under the administration budget.

The Stockman plan calls for eliminating the **alcohol fuels** program, the **solar bank**, and the **energy conservation program** that encourages people to weatherize and insulate their homes and buildings. It also would cut back our efforts to expedite the production of **synthetic fuel** from American resources.

In addition to that, the current Latta plan calls for eliminating **all** federal money to fill the **Strategic Petroleum Reserve**. Less than a year ago, we boldly ordered that it be filled at not less than 100 thousand barrels a day until we had enough to tide us over for at least six months in case of another Arab oil embargo.

The Latta substitute relies totally on being able to devise some nebulous scheme to get private sources to finance the strategic reserve. Maybe that will work, and maybe it won't. I shudder to think, if it does not, of the economic consequences of a third OPEC stranglehold in a decade!

The administration's inadequate perception of the importance of energy in our over-all economic policy is painfully evident in two facets: (1) that Mr. Stockman was one of only 25 House members to vote against the energy-production program when 368 were supporting it; and (2) the unfortunate fact that in all three of Mr. Reagan's speeches on "Economic Recovery," the word **energy** appears only once, and that in a sentence calling for elimination of any subsidy for synthetic fuels development.

And that is the second significant difference.

Investments in Our Human Resources

Perhaps the most significant difference of all lies in the way the two resolutions respond to the programs aimed at promoting and protecting our **human** resources.

Where the House Committee budget tries to make economies by reducing costs and eliminating those functions that haven't worked well, the Stockman budget amputates entire programs — including many which have proven their worth many times over.

It calls for the abolition of the **Federal Housing Administration**, whose home loan guarantees have permitted literally millions of American families to own their homes . . . and the FHA hasn't cost us any money.

It calls for the total abolition of the **Economic Development Administration**, which helped many dying communities and neighborhoods to get a new lease on life before the seeds of decay could grow into the weeds of destruction.

Every EDA dollar invested in reviving an American community has generated some \$14 of private and local investment.

The administration plan would put an end to the **Neighborhood Self-Help Program**, a low cost item which has helped 125 nonprofit neighborhood groups in 38 states to build and rehabilitate more than 5,000 housing units and 250,000 square feet of office space.

In the Washington area, a town house sells for more than \$100,000. In south Fort Worth, a \$100,000 grant — matched with a lot of local sweat equity — has sparked the purchase of nineteen old, dilapidated, uninhabitable houses and their rehabilitation into very attractive houses which meet every city code and which sell to grateful buyers for \$20,000 to \$27,000 apiece.

The committee bill would keep such proven programs as these alive.

Perhaps nowhere more than in **education** do we see the stark differences in basic approach which characterize the two competing plans. The committee bill, selectively trying to get rid of the frills but preserve the programs that work, has proposed reductions amounting to 10 percent in total educational costs.

But the Latta bill would cut 28 percent — almost three times as much — from basic education grants, from school lunches, from vocational education, from bilingual education, from job training — the very bridges by which many millions of Americans have escaped from the welfare rolls onto productive payrolls!!

This belief is core central to the heart of our faith — not that America owes everyone a living, but that we do owe the humblest child of our land, born of the most improvident circumstances, the **opportunity to earn** a living.

Yes, It Certainly Does Make a Difference

I have heard several otherwise well-informed newsmen observe publicly that it doesn't really make a whole lot of difference, after all, what figures are embodied in the spring budget resolution, since Congress always can — and usually does — alter them in the individual appropriations bills.

It even has been reported that the President himself has used this same general line of reasoning to reassure wavering Republican members who chafe at the prospect of abolishing some of the more popular, and useful, programs. The President is said to have suggested that voting for the Latta figures doesn't really set anything in concrete.

While this may have been true in previous years, it is not true in the present case. For the first time since the beginning of the budget process, the figures we establish in this May resolution will be actual **ceilings**, not merely targets as in the past.

Each of the two resolutions contains a provision entitled **reconciliation**. This provision allots to each authorizing committee of the House a specific dollar figure and **instructs** that committee to report legislation within 30 days **reducing** the programs under its jurisdiction by that specific amount.

The figures we adopt this week, then, amount not merely to a pious pronouncement of intent. They amount to an irreversible order to our respective committees.

This is true in the case of either plan, of course. Committees will be under certain instructions in either instance. But it really does make a difference.

For example, if the Latta substitute prevails, the **Agriculture Committee** will be compelled to reduce farm programs under its jurisdiction by **\$2.5 billion** in the coming year.

The Committee on **Education and Labor** will be instructed to come up with cuts mainly in public school and job training programs in the total sum of **\$11.2 billion** for the year ahead.

Programs under the jurisdiction of **Energy and Commerce** must be reduced by **\$4.1 billion**. **Public Works and Transportation** efforts will be mandatorily trimmed by **\$1.3 billion** in the coming year, and **\$6.6 billion** in **ongoing programs** will have to be deauthorized.

It does make a difference. To take a position in defense of either of these plans without knowing the consequences, or in the belief that they can be conveniently evaded later on, is to engage in a dangerous self-deception.

About the Mandate

The deepest disappointment to some of us is that no opportunity really has been given to make reality out of the hope expressed by President Reagan in his State of the Union message to Congress that a viable economic recovery program for our nation could be fashioned together, as a cooperative project in which both legislative and executive branches would make major and complementary contributions.

Mr. Reagan said his fondest hope was that this task of shaping the economic future could be "ours — yours and mine." With all our hearts, members of the Democratic leadership have desired just that.

We have tried to be cooperative. We have established and pursued an expedited timetable for the orderly consideration of each segment of the President's plan. We have not been obstructionists. Nor permitted any dragging of feet.

We have tried to set a decent example for austerity in the other agencies and branches of government by reduc-

(continued on next page)

ing our own legislative committee authorizations ten percent below last year's authorized level.

Our Budget Committee has acceded to about three-fourths of all the spending reductions requested by President Reagan. This, it seems to me, amounts to substantial cooperation. It is better than most Presidents have received from most Congresses.

In his message to Congress on February 18, President Reagan seemed very sincere. He invited lawmakers, if not completely satisfied with his plan, to develop:

"... an alternative which offers a greater chance of balancing the budget, reducing and eliminating inflation, stimulating the creation of jobs, and reducing the tax burden."

The House Budget Committee has tried very hard to do just that. While adopting three-fourths of the President's proposed spending cuts, we believe we have found a quicker route to "balancing the budget" and "reducing inflation."

It is an honest effort to embrace the best parts of the President's recommendations and to improve upon the other parts. Now we are told that it is not good enough — that we must adopt the plan embraced by the President in its entirety, and that we are under some mysterious "mandate" to let the Chief Executive have his way in every last part.

Fifty years ago, another American President — demanding total compliance with his government austerity program — declared that "any alternative" would "strike down" his earnest effort to "start us back upon the economic path to which we must return."

That President was Herbert Hoover, and the year was 1931.

From the very beginning, it has been the clear constitutional responsibility of the Congress to examine each presidential recommendation with extreme care, to approve those which it determines worthy and change those which it considers to need modification or improvement. Clearly that is the "mandate" of the Constitution.

As for the majority of the American people, that is their mandate also. In nationwide poll after poll — the most recent being issued today by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees — a substantial majority of the people say that they want and expect their Congress to examine each of the President's recommendations carefully and critically, approving those with which Congress conscientiously agrees and rejecting those parts with which we cannot.

The American people expect their Congress to be cooperative, conciliatory and helpful. They want us to work with the President, and that is our duty. They do not expect us to take orders from him, however popular and charismatic a figure he may be. For that would not be democracy; that would be dictatorship.

Yes, there was a mandate from the American people last November. It was a mandate for constructive change. It was a mandate to eliminate wasteful expenditures, and that we are making an honest effort to do.

It was a mandate to rejuvenate America's industry, to revive the work ethic in our society, to improve our nation's productivity, to renew the American spirit, to rebuild the nation's defenses, and to restore this nation to the pinnacle of respect which we want it to enjoy throughout the world.

There was no mandate for Congress to be supine and submissive. There was no mandate to eliminate the minimum social security benefits of \$122 a month, paid mostly to elderly women.

There was no mandate for "variable rate" mortgages which can destroy a family and make its hard earned homeplace no longer within its financial reach.

There was no mandate for 18½ percent prime interest rates, nor for 15 percent mortgage rates! The public gave no mandate to terminate the outreach program for callously unthanked veterans of the war in Vietnam.

What the Public Wants

The public wants the government to stop **abuses** in the welfare program, in the food stamp program, in the student loan program. The public did not say it wanted us to stop the programs entirely.

The public feels, as I do, that a young American who receives a student loan has every obligation to pay it back. But the public gave us no mandate to tighten the restrictions so severely and make those loans so costly in interest that literally thousands of needy students no longer can afford to go to college — and as many as 600 of our smaller colleges may have to close.

The public gave no mandate for educational retrogression, for giving up on the public schools and diverting the tax money paid by us all to help those who are able to send their children to private elementary and secondary schools.

The American public gave no mandate to throw in the towel on the American dream that the humblest child of this land deserves as his or her birthright the opportunity to get a free public education as good as a prince or potentate might receive in any other land.

This is the dream by which we've lived — and grown — and set an example for all the world to follow. It is the American dream of building not walls of artificial separation between classes, between races, between religions and between geographic regions — but of building bridges which unite us with one another and individually with those opportunities that each — yes, even the humblest — be all that he or she is capable of becoming.

And that is the dream which we would defend, of which we must never lose sight.

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BERNARD RAPOPORT
Chairman of the Board and
Chief Executive Officer

Commencement to Armageddon

Houston

Making a commencement speech these days is not a routine matter. So many I regard as the best people are disheartened, so much has gone and is going away. What does one say to the young coming on? But when the students graduating last month from the College of Humanities and the Arts at the University of Houston had me invited to address their convocation, I knew I had to do it.

The evening before I took a long swim in the world's largest hotel swimming pool, at the Shamrock. All by myself in that expanse of water forming, vaguely, a shield, the lushly planted tropical grounds around moving slowly by, I turtled along, somehow escaping there the skyscraper-violated problems of being in Houston.

In the morning the cap with the flapping tassel, the gown, the regalia concealing so many nice and other guys, we processioned into the auditorium, and there they were, like the hundreds of other graduating classes all over the country and the world, bunched black-gowned at the front, with their parents, spouses, children, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and grandchildren filling the place behind them, backing them up as they commenced to begin.

For my part, after distributing congratulations I said:

I am honored to have been invited to speak upon this commencement. I am moved, by the occasion and the times, to speak my heart.

I could speak to you about the greatness of our country, and it is real and manifold. But others often sing to you our nation's just praises.

I could speak to you about our achievements in prosperity, abundance, and the exploration of space, the universe. But these happy topics fill the media and pour forth from the podia, and I have little more to say of them.

We Americans have so much to be proud of, perhaps we spend a bit too much time doing it. The occasion of your commencement is so serious, I would rather discuss with you now the sharpest shoals that underlie your course — the truth of the human crisis that my generation, and the antecedents of my generation, now present you.

I have lived more than twice as long as most of you have. But whereas I have perhaps only another quarter of a century to live, most of you have half a century. In the few minutes I have with you, I want to talk to you about ethical responsibilities — mine, yours — that are implicit in these particular times.

I bring, I know, heavy news. Ethically, you are not free. There is no way you can be free.

In Elysian times people could romp and play, work as they needed, and be free of guilt, bear no burden for the woes of their fellows. In our times this is not true. As Albert Camus perceived and said, we are each and all responsible not only for what we do, but for what we do not do. The Germans of World War II taught us this forever.

Our species, our kind, is in such a manifold crisis, no one can be excused. If, 20 years from now, the whole world blows up, you will not be able to say from the grave to the few survivors, "I had a right to a good time." Oh, you can say it; but you will not be excused.

THE PHASES of this crisis, I shall just name, really.

There is the pollution of our bodies. So many of us are dying of cancer, the intuition spreads that getting away from small, personal units of living, making everything into bigger and bigger sys-

tems, especially food distribution systems, we have polluted the environment at the molecular level — we are polluting our bodies and our home around, the very earth.

There is the pollution of the American democracy, which may be a terminal pollution, by special-interest money. Tens of millions to elect presidents, millions to elect senators, hundreds of thousands to elect mayors, even. We have lost all control of these polluting flows and clearly the democracy is in danger.

It was 1974 when we really lost the control. That was when the Congress authorized corporations to collect political money and channel it to their chosen politicians. This was a fundamental change from a government by consent of the people governed toward a government by consent of the corporations and other organized economic interests.

Surely (you may say), the American experiment could not fail? Why couldn't it? Athens ended, and it ended under challenge from the military, the very Spartan state that is now ascendant in our own country.

Third, we have a specific crisis at hand now in our country because of the quantitative failure of the New Deal and its successors. Only one new family out of nine can afford a home.

Fourth, we live in the time of the arrival of the world's poor at the status of

Another Perspective

Austin

In a commencement address at UT-Austin, former Texas Gov. Allan Shivers dealt with the way things are more reassuringly than the *Observer* editor did in the accompanying speech. Shivers said, in part:

"Things really aren't as bad as most of you think they are and the world is probably no closer to falling apart than it's ever been.

"Yes, we live in tense and troubled times — in a world of hunger, disease, nuclear proliferation, racial strife and economic uncertainty; in a world that is

never more than an hour away from a nuclear holocaust.

"But if you really want to talk about tense and troubled times, think of the world inhabited by the early settlers of this great land of ours. It was a good year if the Indians didn't raid you and burn down your house or the wife didn't die in childbirth or one of the children didn't die of scarlet fever or smallpox or a drouth or plague of locusts didn't wipe out your crop.

"It was a good year if you just broke even and yet those hardy settlers and pioneers carved out the freest, strongest nation mankind has ever known." □

human beings. The world revolution, we call it. We are asked to help these rising peoples. We are asked, by other parties, to crush them. We are told they are human, like us. We are told, by other parties, they are led by communist demons. To be a good citizen in such a time and in such a world, it is not enough to be informed at home, now we must be informed, and as best we can, about the whole world.

Fifth, there is the persuasiveness of civic despair in a time when existence itself seems bureaucratized. Paperwork, numbers, requirements — parking meters, airport searches — taxes, fines — refunds, credit, insurance — we are bureaucratized by governments at all levels and by corporations in our various personal relationships to them.

THEN there is the oncoming terminal nuclear war. We do not know that it will come. But we have little reason for hoping that it will not.

Albert Einstein, who spoke with a terrible authority about nuclear power, said the truth before he died. Considering the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the fierceness of nationalism as the world's organizing principle, speaking of the probabilities as a scientist, Einstein said

a nuclear holocaust is overwhelmingly likely.

George Kistiakowsky, who was head of the Manhattan Project's Explosives Division and was scientific adviser to Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson, said last year —

"I think that with the kind of political leaders we have in the world . . . nuclear weapons will proliferate. . . . I personally think that the likelihood for an initial use of nuclear warheads is really quite great between now and the end of this century, which is only 20 years hence."

He continued, "My own estimate, since I am almost 80 years old, (is that) I will probably die from some other cause. But looking around at all these young people [in the audience], I am sorry to say I think a lot of you may die from nuclear war."

Believing that, too, Einstein also added, however, that the overwhelming likelihood of nuclear war does not reduce one whit, not one centimeter, our duty to resist its coming with all our might. Why? Because it will be so terrible, is why.

The new Boston-based organization, Physicians for Social Responsibility, is trying to tell the people of the world that if nuclear war happens, there will be no way to save the wounded. The doctors will be dead, too.

If a single one-megaton bomb exploded 3,000 feet over Boston Com-

mon, they explain to us, the whole downtown would be saturated with deadly radiation. A shock wave would snap skyscrapers like twigs. Everything would fall to rubble four miles out in every direction — beyond Harvard Yard. The city-wide firestorm would burn up all the oxygen, asphyxiating the people, if any, in the bomb shelters, and would burn up everyone in reach of the flames. Or, if the single bomb exploded at ground level, it would dig a crater half-a-mile across and rain lethal fallout over something like a thousand square miles.

If such a bomb fell on San Francisco on a clear afternoon and, thirty-five miles away, you looked, you would be blinded.

Houston, the same.

Finally then, we arrive at the unadmitted crisis that is actually the structural one: the world-wide tenacity of nationalism. As long as the human race could survive wars, people accepted organization into absolute systems of nations. But the revulsion against the Vietnam war was more than what it obviously was, it was also the beginning of awareness among people that the nuclear weapons require us to move toward a transcendent internationalism.

As you arrive at your majority, your full adulthood, above all your Citizenship Beyond the School, the species of which you are a member is a giant

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cripple, limping grotesquely toward Armageddon.

My memory of a remark I heard Adlai Stevenson make in 1956 ripens now into my saying to you, you must be the first international generation of Americans. You must proclaim and create the new and future times, the now and future times, when there is no contradiction between being a loyal American and a loyal human being.

WELL, you will say — but these things are not the main thing life is. Life is being where you live, loving, going to work and play and coming back, reading, struggling with roving and jealousy, life is children, grocery stores, kitchens, movies, bedrooms, offices, plants, parks in the cities, television, beer, life is dreams, beliefs, doubts, fears, convictions, wonderings, and life is loneliness.

That is true.

But nevertheless, the largest choice you have to make now, really the largest decision of your whole life, is whether you will be private, or both private and public. Every citizen in a democracy has to make this choice.

The decision to be only private — to attend just to your own welfare and affairs and do nothing about the public good — is one choice, the purely selfish one. The other decision, open to you though you never hold a public job, is to decide to act, also, for the public good, as you lead your private life.

"A human being," said Einstein, "is a part of the whole, called by us 'Universe,' a part limited in time and space. He experiences himself, his thoughts and feelings, as something separated from

the rest — a kind of optical delusion of his consciousness. This delusion is a kind of prison for us, restricting us to our personal desires and to affection for a few persons nearest to us. Our task must be to free ourselves from this prison by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole nature in its beauty. Nobody is able to achieve this completely, but the striving for such achievement is in itself a part of the liberation and a foundation for inner security."

So that is your first, and your largest decision to make — shall I be entirely private, or shall I be both private and public? What will I do when I wake up from my life?

For you will wake up from it.

There are, I think, about four levels of involvement in the public life for the private citizen. First, reading the papers, you know, watching Dan Rather, and voting, sometimes. Next, though, active political citizenship — going to precinct meetings, working for candidates. Beyond that, getting your ego and your reputation involved personally in the cutting-edge organizations and movements, the ones that can cost you personally. Finally, casting your whole weight, as Thoreau said — putting your body where your conscience is, by writing, speaking, running for office, marching, or even civil disobedience.

I sometimes half-seriously think my life will be insufficient unless, without intending to, I go to jail, some unbidden time, for a moral cause. There must be some flaw, some subcutaneous conformity in my makeup, that I never have. But, I still have 25 years.

It is said that when Thoreau went to jail rather than pay tax to the government upholding slavery, Emerson visited him and gazed in through the bars at him, in the tiny jail at Concord.

"Henry David," he said, "what are you doing in there?"

"Ralph Waldo," Thoreau replied, "what are you doing out there?"

Depending on how committed may be your practice of democracy, the thing you will need the most of, is courage.

Not the courage of blind loyalty, for that is the courage of Dachau and Hiroshima.

Not the courage of blind bravery, for that is the courage of Rome and Vietnam.

Rather, you need now the courage of your own mind, the courage of your soul, the courage to believe and act on your own voice as your voice speaks privately and only to you.

A. Whitney Griswold, when president of Yale, wrote in his book, *In the University Tradition*, "Nor shall we recover our self-respect by chasing after it in crowds. . . . It comes to us when we are alone, in quiet moments, in quiet places, when we suddenly realize that, knowing the good, we have done it; knowing the beautiful, we have served it; knowing the truth, we have spoken it."

You need now, too, one other kind of

"The Miracle of the KILLER BEES" by Robert Heard. Honey Hill Publishing Co., 1022 Bonham Terrace, Austin, Texas 78704, \$7.95 plus \$1.03 tax and shipping.

The Social Cause Calendar

THE FUTURE OF THE DEMOCRATS

The Houston Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee will sponsor a public forum on "The Future of the Democratic Party," with Democratic National Committee member Billie Carr of Houston and former *Observer* associate editor Eric Hartman as the featured speakers. The meeting is scheduled for July 19 7:30 p.m., in the Caribbean Room, University Center, of the University of Houston. 713-921-6906.

Progressive Organizations

In no hurry, the *Observer* is building up lists of the political organizations we regard as progressive, their meeting evenings where that is applicable, and a phone number for each, in Texas cities. The editor invites communications recommending organizations for inclusion, by city.

SAN ANTONIO

ACLU, 224-6791; Amnesty Int'l., U.S. Group 127, Julia Powell, 828-4141; Women's Political Caucus, 2nd Tues., 655-3724; Civil Rights Litigation Center, 224-1061; Citizens Concerned About Nuclear Power, 1st & 3rd Weds., 655-0543; Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS), 2nd Th., 222-2367; Demos for Action, Research &

Education (DARE), rsch. volunteers needed, 4th Wed., 674-0351; Latin-American Assistance (local programs on behalf of Guatemalan government, rebels in El Salvador, etc.) alternate Sats., 732-0940; Mxn.-Amn. Demos, 3rd Mon., Walter Martinez, 227-1341; NAACP, 4th Fri., 224-7636; Organizations United for East Side Development, last Tue., 824-4422; People for Peace, 2nd Th., 822-3089; Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1st Mon., Dr. Martin Batiere, 691-0375; Poor People's Coalition for Human Services, 923-3037; Residents Organized for Better and Beautiful Environmental Development (ROBBED), 3rd Tue., 226-3973; S. A. Demo. League, 1st Thu., 344-1497; S. A. Gay Alliance, last Wed., Metropolitan Cmnty. Church, 102 S. Pine; Sierra Club, 3rd Tue., 341-5990; United Citizens Project Planning and Operating Corp. (federal funding), 3rd Mon., 224-4278.

FORT WORTH

ACLU, 534-6883; ACORN, (11 nghbrhd. groups), 924-1401, board meets mthly; Armadillo Coalition, 927-0808; IMPACT, (telephone chain, works largely through progressive Protestant churches), 923-4506, meets on call; Mental Health Assn., 2nd & 4th Tue., 335-5405; NOW, 3rd Th., 336-3943; Senatorial Dist. 12 Demos, 2nd Sat. or 2nd Wed., 457-1560;

Tarrant Cty. Demo Women's Club, 2nd Sat., 451-8133, 927-5169; Tx. Coalition of Black Demos (F. W. chap.), 1st Tues., 534-7737.

LONE STAR ALLIANCE

The Alliance is made up of member groups opposed to nuclear power. The groups, not listed elsewhere:

Dallas: Armadillo Coalition, 1st Wed., 348-0005; Comanche Peak Life Force, Wed. wkly., 337-5885.

Austin: Citizens for Economical Energy, 474-4738; Tx. Mobilization for Survival, Sun. wkly., 474-5877; Univ. Mobilization for Survival, wkly., 476-4503.

Houston: Mockingbird Alliance, 747-1837.

Bryan: Brazos Society for Alternatives to Nuclear Energy, 822-1882.

Nacogdoches: Pineywoods Coalition, 218 W. Austin St.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

Contact persons for Amnesty International in Texas; Dallas, U.S. Group 189, Renee Berta, 915-584-4869, and Group 205, William H. Winn, 214-361-4690; Houston, Group 23, Ann Chastang, 6006 Saxon, Houston 77092, and Eileen at 869-5021, x42; Beaumont, Group 221, Karen Dweyer, 420 Longmeadow, Beaumont 77707; Austin, Group 107, Cindy Torrance, PO Box 4951, Austin 78765; Regional membership coordinator, Rita Williamson, 512-441-8078 (weekends).

courage: patience. For patience is the courage against the greatest of the ethical weaknesses, cynicism and its Stygian mate, despair.

You must be, as the poet Yeats tells us, "willing to face toil and risk, and in all gaiety of heart."

You must fight in causes people say are hopeless. You must fight your heart out, lose, and continue fighting. Until we fight our way together to better times than these, that is the meaning of mattering.

I know you don't want to believe this. I am here, and I tell you it is true.

Only as enough of us fight from our own souls in the causes they tell us are hopeless can we save our race from a failure that will be epochal in the silent, listening universe.

That is the message I bring you.

As Dylan Thomas said of his father, "Do not go gently into the dying night, Rage, Rage, Against the Dying of the Light."

The message is fight. Fight like hell.

YOU MAY SAY, "but what can one person do?" And I will reply, "If one person can't do anything, then nothing has ever happened."

Nobody, except one person, has ever been able to do anything. Nothing has ever been done except at the basis of one person doing each part of what is done. One person is every person. No one is more than one person. Each person is one person with every other one person.

And the one person who says, "but what can one person do?" has bought the paired ennui and amorality of despair and cynicism. What is done will be done, but by other one-persons who understand that nobody, except one person, has ever done anything.

Suppose the "mere band of doctors" in the Harvard-Boston area had said, "but what can one person do?" Instead of saying that, they formed Physicians for Social Responsibility, which is now playing the leading role in the Western world warning of the realities of nuclear war.

Or suppose a medical doctor, a dear friend of mine in San Antonio, had said, "I'm just one person, I can't do anything." He did not say that. Instead, he has founded a three-doctor federally-funded clinic for the mainly Hispanic

poor in the lowest-income census tract of the West Side of his city. He has founded, on the near East Side of San Antonio where the blacks are concentrated, the only co-operative pharmacy known to me in Texas. And he has joined together with 26 other San Antonians, every one of them only one person, to form the only chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility, so far, in Texas.

However you regard nuclear power, you will agree it is a dominant ethical and practical issue of this period. Had Lanny Sinkin in San Antonio believed that being just one person he could do nothing, that is what he would have done. Instead he is leading the opposition to the South Texas Nuclear Project at grave hearings that are now going on in Texas.

Or go back a way. What if Thoreau had asked, "what can one person do?" Then Gandhi, editing *Indian Opinion* in South Africa, would never have read Thoreau's "On Civil Disobedience" and would never have gone back to India, inspired by the essay, and won his country's independence.

"Leave it to the committee" — the legislature — the Congress — the other person. What if Jefferson had said, "leave it to the committee of five," when they asked him to do a certain writing? Then he would not have done what he did when, turning "neither to book nor pamphlet," he wrote the Declaration of Independence.

Call the roll of the few heroes and heroines of our period in our country. It's a matter of personal opinion, of course. I name Cesar Chavez. Joan Baez. Martin Luther King. The Berrigans. Al Lowenstein. Late in his career and life, Robert Kennedy. Woodward and Bernstein. Sadat. Salvador Allende. Perhaps, Solzhenytsin. For me, in this state, Mrs. R. D. Randolph, Ralph Yarbrough, Bob Eckhardt. Please, in your minds, name *your* heroes and heroines. If all these people had said, "One person can't do anything," they would all have done nothing, except attend to their private welfare and affairs.

That is the choice you have, try, or don't. Now is your deciding time.

John Hay, the Massachusetts naturalist, said in a book review he wrote in 1971, "We live on a cut-down and devalued earth, but there is still time and room enough for a really useful faith." We are born, said Leonardo's elder, "not to mourn in idleness but to work at large

and magnificent tasks." This is your magnificent and endangered world as much as it's anyone's. Why waste your life here by spending it entirely on yourself? Thoreau said in 1858, "There are a thousand hacking at the branches of evil, to one who is striking at the root." So here today in the Houston forenoon, I do ask each of you, into your eyes, why not be one? If ten of you come forth you ten can change the times.

For just as, obviously, I do not believe in a fatuous optimism, neither do I believe in a portentous pessimism. The point is, *the outcome is in doubt*. We can win or lose this green and pleasant earth for ourselves, our children, and all posterity. And it really does depend on us.

And so, I call you forth.

I call you forth out of yourself.

I call you forth into the community of concern where we help each other simply because we are all people.

I call you forth into politics, the place of the public ethics.

I call you forth into the cooperative community, struggling for spaces on a continent of selfishness.

I call you forth into the nation of our conscience, our country true to our ideals.

I call you forth into the whole world on the edge of the abyss —

The world of uncertain nations and uncertain hopes, nuclear bombs and solar power,

The world of genocide and starvation, Dachau, Hiroshima, Vietnam, and El Salvador,

The world of war and the world of the hope of worldwide love.

I call you forth to the challenge of your life, lived ethically at "the height of your times."

I call you forth to faith in the human race.

I call you forth.

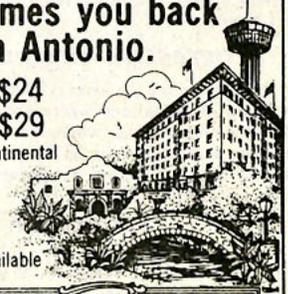
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