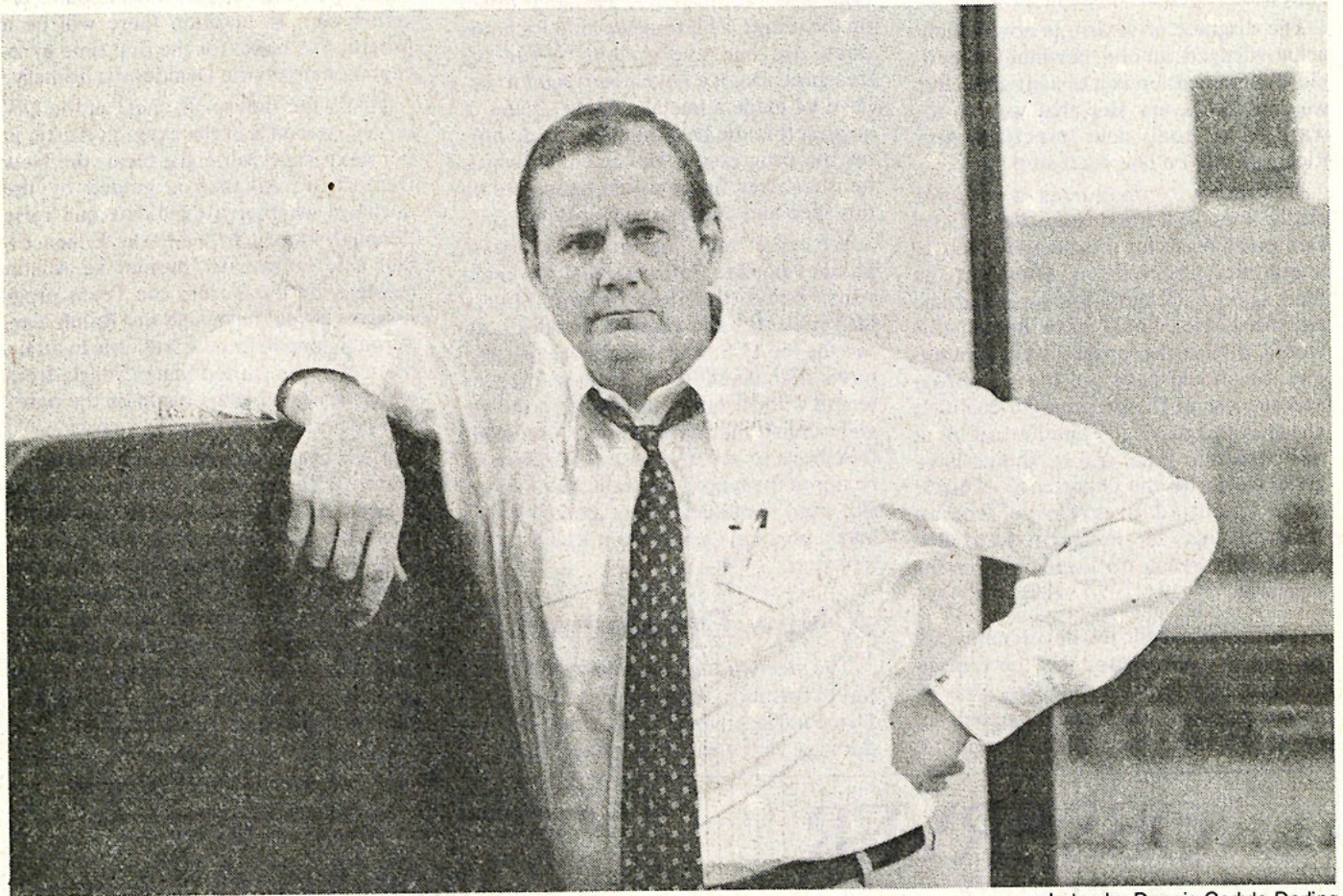


# THE TEXAS OBSERVER

March 12, 1982

A Journal of Free Voices

75¢



photos by Dennis Carlyle Darling

## Temple Makes Education a Priority

Austin

Arthur E. "Buddy" Temple III, one of three major candidates for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, has opened a state campaign headquarters in Austin's United Bank Tower. The Observer met him there the night of February 16 for the interview which follows. Temple, tall, broad of forehead, burly in build, speaks in a relaxed bass-baritone. He served four terms in the Texas House — 1972-1980 — before being elected to the Texas Railroad Commission. Temple is 39, married to the former Ellen Clarke of Lufkin, and the father of four children.

He cites as his major accom-

plishments as a legislator co-sponsorship of "landmark legislation" governing the conduct of public officials; fighting for "adequate public school finance and for decent teacher salaries"; helping in the passage of "vital highway funding"; and working to "insure that Texas's strip-mining laws are tough and enforceable."

The Bank Tower is posh; the Temple headquarters had the tossed-together look of most campaign offices. He met the Observer in rolled-to-the-elbow shirtsleeves, necktie loosened — and was obviously fatigued. He said he arises daily at about 5:30 a.m. and works until midnight.

The Observer interviewer was Lyman Jones.

\* \* \*

Okay. I thought the first question ought to be "why?" Why you are running? It's always seemed to me that candidates, like writers, commit acts of arrogance. You know, you put the precious words on paper, or you say, "I am the man who should be governor."

Well, you're right. I guess there has to be a certain amount of confidence — or arrogance, or whatever word you want to use — for a person to get up and do that. I have to admit it was a pretty scary proposition for me to walk in there and file the paper.

(Continued on Page 14)

# Ann Richards for Treasurer

The *Observer* warmly endorses Ann Richards for state treasurer because she is a qualified progressive and if she is elected she will be the first woman in statewide office in Texas in 50 years.

The disgrace of sexism is now widely acknowledged among fair-minded people. Its eradication is a distant goal. But we can take every step that we can toward that goal, and electing Ann Richards will be one such step.

In other circumstances we would gladly support former state Rep. Lane Denton of Waco for this post. He, too, is a qualified progressive. However, he filed against Richards knowing that she had filed. He should have known this would divide the progressive community, he should have put the well-being and success of the progressive coalition ahead of this particular ambition of his at this particular time, and he should have given weight to the importance of electing a qualified progressive woman statewide, as, for instance, Rep. Bill Keese did when he decided not to run for treasurer.

It is important for the development of the progressive coalition that the various elements in it trust each other. One of the priorities of any such movement in the 1980's must be a commitment to

equal rights, treatment, and opportunities for women. Lane Denton has a long and honorable progressive record. He was one of the Dirty Thirty. He was a floor leader for the ERA. He hangs tough on the issues, a bit tougher than Richards does. He had every right to run for treasurer. But we have every right to believe he made a mistake doing so and to suggest that the best thing he can do now for the progressive movement in which he is a valued figure would be to give up this race and endorse Richards.

We regret that this divisive situation has developed. For a parallel the mind runs back to 1961 when Maury Maverick, Jr., and Henry Gonzalez both ran for the U.S. Senate from Texas. We have discussed their candidacies at length with Richards and Denton, and we will publish their backgrounds and what they have to say next issue. We wish to be fair to them both in a painful situation. But we do not duck our responsibility to take a position clearly. Ann Richards for treasurer.

## A New Development

The steelworkers and the trial lawyers have formed, with others, the New Democratic Alliance. This group will endorse a statewide progressive slate for

the spring election. Sam Dawson, legislative director of the steelworkers, laid this out at the meeting of the Texas Democrats in Austin Feb. 26.

The idea is to do a mailing to 700,000 Texas households that will cost \$90,000. Few candidates could afford such a mailing, but the nine endorsed candidates together can. In addition there will be a progressive ticket for the first time in recent memory in the Democratic primary.

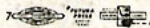
That's the theory. In fact, as the *Observer's* account of the event in Austin in our next issue will make clear, the New Democratic Alliance is guided by the question whether a candidate can raise "enough money to win." As Eileen Elfant said indignantly during the Austin meeting, by those rules the Texas progressives would have sold out Ralph Yarborough long before he was able to attain the seat in the United States Senate from which he was able to champion the rights and needs of people for 13 years.

If all goes as planned, the New Democratic Alliance slate will list Lloyd Bentsen for U.S. senator, Bill Hobby for lieutenant governor, and Bob Bullock for comptroller, incumbents without serious opposition; Buddy Temple for governor; Jim Mattox for attorney general; Ann Richards for treasurer; Garry Mauro for land commissioner; Jim Hightower for agriculture commissioner; and Bill Kilgarlin for the State Supreme Court.

We do not agree with all these selec-

## THE TEXAS OBSERVER

Vol. 74, No. 5



March 12, 1982

Editor and Publisher: Ronnie Dugger

Co-Editor: Joe Holley

Staff Reporter: Ruperto Garcia

Washington Correspondent: Bob Sherrill

Research Director in Washington: Katharine C. Fain

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600 West 7th Street, Austin, Texas 78701 (512) 477-0746

**Business Manager:** Frances Barton

**Office Manager:** Joe Espinosa, Jr.

**Advertising, Special Projects:** Cliff Olofson

*The Texas Observer* (ISSN 0040-4519) is published biweekly except for a three-week interval between issues in January and July (25 issues per year) by the Texas Observer Publishing Co., 600 West 7th Street, Austin, Texas 78701, (512) 477-0746. Second class postage paid at Austin, Texas.

Single copy (current or back issue) 75¢ prepaid. One year, \$20; two years, \$38; three years, \$56. One year rate for full-time students, \$13. Airmail, foreign, group, and bulk rates on request. Microfilm editions available from Microfilming Corporation of America, Box 10, Sanford, N.C. 27330.

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# Playboy on Drug War

In the Dec. 18, 1981 issue of the *Observer*, staff reporter Ruperto Garcia argued that this state's misguided War on Drugs, by exaggerating the problem of drug abuse, creates a climate conducive to police-state legislation (Governor Clements' break, enter, and wiretap package). Free-lance writer Laurence Gonzales, writing in the April issue of *Playboy*, warns that the same thing is now happening in Congress. A formidable combination of cynical politicians, Washington drug bureaucrats, and frightened parents is successfully pushing for repressive legislation, again under the banner of a "War on Drugs."

Texas, Gonzales suggests, is the prototype for this national War on Drugs. He calls Gov. Clements' drug-law package the bridge between Richard Nixon's effort to get a national police force by waging a cynical War on Drugs and today's efforts to gut the Constitution in the name of saving kids from drugs.

The connection between Nixon's war on drugs and Bill Clements is particularly intriguing. Nixon's first effort to set up his own White House police agency was funded by the now-defunct Law Enforcement Administration Agency (LEAA). The LEAA was also the agency that awarded H. Ross Perot a \$584,000 grant to create the Texans' War on Drugs Committee. The man who approved the grant was Nixon's Deputy Secretary of Defense, William Clements. Governor Clements also brought Nixon's number-two man at the FBI, Jim Adams, to head the Department of Public Safety — the agency receiving the newly created wire-tapping authority.

"The fight against marijuana is priority business in both the House and the Senate," Gonzales points out. "It is the pet project of First Lady Nancy Reagan

tions, but on balance the formation of a progressive slate is the right thing to do. Those who favor other candidates for certain offices need to put out modified slates of their own. But for the first time in recent memory the outlines of a genuine progressive coalition can be perceived here. While we believe the New Democratic Alliance needs some instruction in the fallacy of cynicism that only money wins elections, we commend this initiative as a general thing, and especially we rejoice that the best candidates running from the humanist point of view will benefit from the joint effort. □

[who was in Dallas last week to meet with members of the Texans' War on Drugs Committee], as well as of the Attorney General, the Department of Health and Human Services . . . , and, lately, the FBI. It is also a very convenient political tool for President Reagan. . . . There are now more than 2000 active anti-marijuana parents' groups, an average of 40 per state."

Gonzales makes the same point *Observer* reporter Garcia made back in December: parents concerned about their children will do anything they think will help." "Unfortunately," as Gonzales points out, "most people aren't aware that when they suspend the constitutional rights of suspected criminals, they suspend their own constitutional rights as well."

*From "The War on Drugs: A Special Report" (Playboy, April, 1982) by Laurence Gonzales:*

"This year, the Congress of the United States is beginning to resemble in a peculiar and disconcerting way the Texas legislature of last year. While in 1980-81 there were moms and experts crawling all over Texas lawmakers screaming *brain damage* and *birth defects*, something of uncanny similarity seems to be happening now at the Federal level. In both the Senate and the House, there are already scores of bills that threaten to disembowel the Constitution in the name of saving the nation's children from marijuana. As in Texas, the moms are the ground troops. Their titular leader in the national war is the President's wife, Nancy Reagan.

Much of the legislation currently under consideration in Washington was inspired by the recommendations contained in a report issued last August by the Attorney General's Task Force on *Violent Crime*. Following the time honored gambit of declaring a drug epidemic and then blaming violent crime on it, the report attacked the inhibiting effects upon law enforcement of the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, and 14th Amendments to the Constitution, as well as the exclusionary rule, the Tax Reform Act, the writ of habeas corpus, the Freedom of Information Act and the *Posse Comitatus* Act — all of which the task force proposed to alter in the name of full-scale war on drugs.

Out of 61 recommendations

concerning "violent crime" in the report, 32 involved references to drugs or narcotics. One of them called for using the military to enforce domestic law. This would violate the *Posse Comitatus* Act of 1878, which was designed to prevent abuses of military power and even the mere appearance of a police state. T.C.L.U.'s John Duncan explains it this way: "That runs against every precept of civil liberties we have. We have never given the military any police authority other than in an emergency in a very restricted geographical area. Because by putting the military in charge, you suspend the Bill of Rights and all its protections."

The task force called for other radical alterations in the basic protections from Government enjoyed by Americans. In doing so, it made generous use of the kids-on-dope call to arms. That, of course, is the genius of the war on drugs: the extent to which its unsupported and inflated discourse has managed to deflect public attention from the real effect of the campaign — to undermine civil liberties. The kids-on-dope idea is brilliant precisely because it makes it impossible for anyone opposing the crusade to sound reasonable; at the same time, it confounds to the maximum degree any attempts to think clearly on the matter of drugs and appropriate social controls. The loaded language of the task-force report makes it impossible to keep your eye on the ball. Kids on dope is *not* the issue. The children are being used as a weapon. "

# Bad News from Barton Springs

By Ronnie Dugger

Austin

Austin's Barton Springs, probably the most beautiful natural-springs public swimming pool in the United States, is polluted. The springs themselves, flowing out of the ground, are polluted with human and animal wastes. The pool — starting in early February — has had to be closed automatically after every rain. Worse than that, there is a sewer or septic-tank leak into the aquifer that is constantly polluting the springs with medically-dangerous human wastes.

On February 4 the *Austin American-Statesman* reported that Barton's "will be closed every time it rains an inch or more because of the presence of high levels of bacteria." This was a new development. The sign at the pool that day said, "Pool Closed. No Swimming Due to High Bacteria Count." Readings taken the preceding weekend had showed about 1,200 fecal colonies per 100 milliliters of water, six times higher than the maximum acceptable level for water that people swim in.

But this first stage of the bad news indicated the problem was occurring only after rains. After two days, the pollution was clearing.

Now it's constant. Dr. Maureen McReynolds, the city's director of environmental management, told the *Observer* on February 24 that tests show "pollution in the springs" not only from rain runoff, but also from either a broken sewer line or a septic tank that is now leaking into the aquifer. "That has us really concerned," she said. That day she was informing the city council, and the city's scientists were going out to try to find the leak. The pool, closed for cleaning, was to be kept closed until they found it.

"The presence of a sewer line in the creek has been a concern," Dr. McReynolds said. "Segments of sewer line have been laid up above the creek to accommodate the development."

**T**HE SPRINGS, according to the *Handbook of Texas*, published in 1952, "rise from limestone strata that are a part of the Balcones Fault. The waters of the fissure spring are collected and distributed within the sub-surface limestone. The movement of the waters for several miles through the limestone causes it to be well filtered, and it

emerges so clean that objects 15 or 20 feet away often seem quite near. The flow of the springs varies from a minimum of 15 million to as much as 42 million gallons daily.

"The lure of the gushing spring made it a favorite Indian camp site; it was a stopping place for Spanish explorers; and in 1730, when the Spanish missions were moved from East Texas, one was located temporarily on the bluff south of the springs. In 1837 William (Uncle Billy) Barton, for whom the springs are named, patented the land and homesteaded there, but the springs continued to be a favorite meeting place, picnic ground, and camp site. In 1917 the city of Austin purchased the springs and the surrounding grounds for a municipal park. Since that time the area has become one of the best known recreational centers in Central Texas."

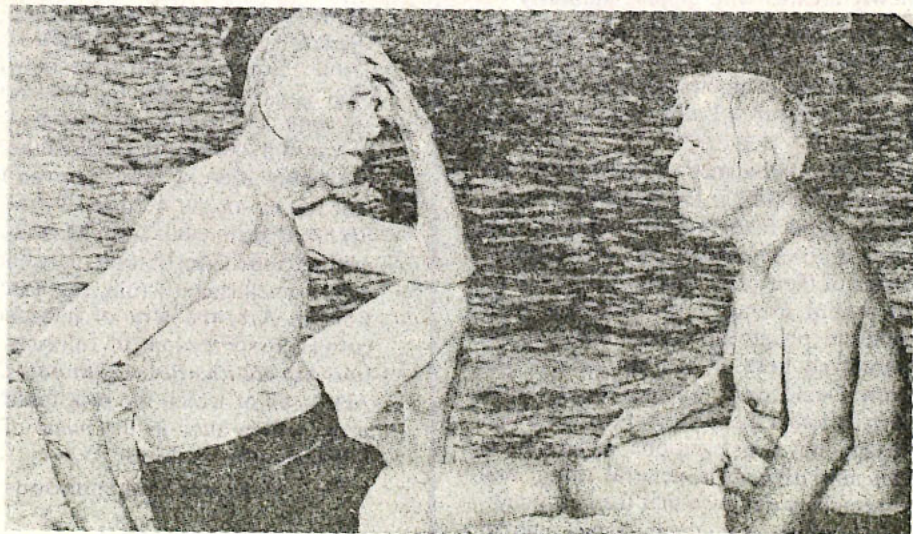
From the upstream to the downstream dams, both of which form walks for the swimmers, Barton's stretches for about the length of three city blocks. The steep, richly green banks, the stately trees (their roots tapping the steady water), and the always-flowing chill spring waters (65 degrees year around) attract tens of thousands of people every year. When UT is in session the college students swarm the place, especially during dead week in May and in September as spring turns to autumn. The high bank on the north side, at such times, glistens with skin, people, the many-colored

suits. Children and their parents play in the upper end of the pool, which shallows out for wading. And there are "the regulars," some of whom swim at Barton's all year.

**O**NE OF THE BEST accounts of Barton's in the fifties concerns the friends of the naturalist, Roy Bedichek, and the chronicler of Southwestern tales and lore, J. Frank Dobie. Written by Wilson Hudson, a professor of English at UT, the account opened Hudson's essay, "Bedichek's Rock," for the *Observer's* special issue of June 27, 1959, on Bedichek, who had died the month before. With Hudson's permission, we reprint his paragraphs on Bedichek's circle at Barton's:

"These boys are having such a devil of a good time that I hate to get them out." These were the last words that I heard him speak. Mr. Bedichek was watching his grandson John and a friend of his dive into the deep, clear water of Barton Springs. With his grandfather's help John was practicing getting his head down and straightening his body out. It was six o'clock and Mr. Bedichek was afraid that Mrs. Bedichek would be worried; he had told her he would be home at five.

My wife and I had come out at about 4:30. We had been much surprised to see Mr. Bedichek sitting on the concrete across the creek. It was too early in the season for him — May 20 — and he was



Talk on the Rock by the Springs

Bill Brammer

not in his usual place. Once he had begun coming out in July, he would be at Barton's every day until the first norther had struck. He was in the habit of sitting on a rock down by the big spring that comes out of the fissure in the limestone. Just behind this rock was a small sycamore tree that had managed to get a start and hold on by thrusting its roots between the layers of stone. Mr. Bedichek did not sit under the tree for shade. It was the sun that he wanted, and he got plenty of it directly as it slanted to the west and indirectly as its rays were reflected from the water. When he had had enough he had to take but a few steps in shallow water to enter what he called the 'bathtub,' a spot about two feet deep just where the cold water rushes out through the fault. He had a special way of getting into the bathtub, which is overhung by the slanting fault face on one side and bounded on the other by sharp rocks under the water. He would stand with the overhang on his right and then let himself fall backwards into the spring. I have seen him do this many times, but whenever I tried to do it myself, I grazed the rocks on the way down. He would sit in the spring and throw a double handful of water over his head, each time exclaiming, 'Woof! woof!' This 'woof, woof' was a part of the ceremony.

During July and August from 3:30 until 5:30 every day Mr. Bedichek would sit on his rock and talk to his friends. When he felt himself getting too hot he would interrupt the conversation for a quick dip in the bathtub. In a big flood of two years ago the sycamore tree was snapped off. Its upper branches became filled with driftwood and the force of the water was too much for it. Mr. Bedichek had hopes that the tree would grow out again, and it has sent out new shoots. He thought that if all the shoots but one were trimmed away, the tree might make a comeback.

Once I said to him, 'Mr. Bedichek, when you and I are dead and gone, this rock will still be thought of as Bedichek's rock.' Everyone seemed to regard the rock as his, and only a stranger would take his place while he was cooling in the bathtub.

In 'King Lear' there is an allusion to an old rhyme. 'Pillcock sat on Pillcock hill.' Taking a hint from this, I made up a couplet for Mr. Bedichek's amusement.

Bedichek sat on Bedichek's rock,  
The water was cold but Bedi was hot.

One of the most regular visitors to Bedichek's rock was Mr. Dobie. He did not alternate between the rock and the bathtub; he had his own way of cooling off. He would swim around in the deep water until he felt chilled; then he would go up on the hot cement and lie down.

He said the heat of the sun above and of the cement below would drive the cold deep down into his bones.

In the course of an afternoon ten or fifteen of Mr. Bedichek's friends might come over at different times for a chat. If there ever was such a thing as a literary salon in Austin, its location was Bedichek's rock. This is not to say, though, that the conversation was limited to literary matters; it ranged far and wide, for Mr. Bedichek was ready to talk to anybody about anything. He had a very large store of information on a great variety of topics and he was willing to acquire more by listening. Every day Virginia Conkle would swim up to Bedichek's rock and sit there awhile. Fred Thompson would always come out too, though he was sometimes rather late. One summer Mary Lasswell was on hand every day. It would not be possible for me to name all those who counted on a visit with Mr. Bedichek at Barton's, because I do not know all of them. Judge James Hart and his wife, old friends of Mr. Bedichek's who were in the University when he was, had a habit of swimming every day too. Mrs. Hart liked to cool off in the bathtub; I have heard her say jokingly, 'I wish Mr. Bedichek would get out of the bathtub so that I could use it.' On his visits from Houston George Fuermann always knew where to find Mr. Bedichek and Mr. Dobie.

Almost every afternoon someone was sure to ask Mr. Bedichek a question about birds. 'I saw a bird the other day that I've never seen before. It was smaller than a redbird and larger than a wren. It was gray all over and had a topknot. What was it?' Then Mr. Bedichek would consider all the possibilities and arrive at what he thought the best answer. 'The only small gray-backed bird with a crest is a titmouse. Yes, it must have been a titmouse.' So he told me on that last afternoon."

In accordance with the customs those years, blacks were barred from Barton's. About 1961, I believe it was, my wife then, Jean Williams Dugger, our son, Gary, Azie Taylor, a black then working with the state labor office who later became Treasurer of the United States, (now Azie Taylor Morton,) and I went out there to integrate the place. The attendants said they would call the police. I suggested they call the mayor, Tom Miller, too. Apparently they did; John Henry Faulk happened to be with him at the time, and Faulk tells a wild story about Miller's apoplectic reaction. As we swam around on the north side of the pool, Mrs. Hamilton Lowe swam across to us from the area of Bedichek's Rock and, saying nothing about what was happening, talked with us a long time. The police did not come.

FOR THE LAST TEN or fifteen years environmentalists have been opposing the extensive urban development on the Barton Creek watershed west of and upstream from the springs, but the city has permitted the developers to go ahead: Horseshoe Bend subdivision, the Barton Creek shopping mall, the Barton Hills subdivision, and so on.

Last summer, swimming at Barton's, I noticed that when the wind was blowing upcreek (from the east and the direction of the Colorado, into which Barton's empties), the strong smell of human feces swept across the surface of the pool. As you swam along it hit you in the face. After the Feb. 4 story I swam at Barton's a couple of times, and once, emerging from the pool across the springs, I caught a faint smell of sulphur.

It was last summer, Dr. McReynolds says, when the city's environmental people first realized that the springs themselves can be polluted by runoff. An independent hydrologist had told the city this was "absolutely impossible," she said.

Some construction going on upstream in the creekbed was roiling up the creek and making it turbid. The creek disappears underground at the Balcones Fault and re-emerges to form the pool at Barton Springs. This time it was re-emerging with the same-colored silt in it that was being roiled up at the construction site. "That was the first time we realized," she says, "that pollution could flow down through the aquifer and into the springs."

Could it be that the leaking sewer line or septic tank accounts for all the pollution in the springs? No, Dr. McReynolds responded; after a rain, she thinks, the pollution comes from both urban runoff and the source of the leak.

Why in the devil didn't the city planners foresee this and prevent it? — Barton's is a priceless resource. Asked this by the *Observer*, Dr. McReynolds said, "I don't really know." She referred to the independent hydrologist's report that runoff pollution of the aquifer could not happen. The city has taken protective steps that it thought were most appropriate at the time, she said. "What we're learning," she added, "is that it's just a lot more sensitive than people predicted."

"Where are the new feces coming from?" the *Observer* asked Leonard Ehrler, whose title is director of parks and recreation.

(Continued on Page 22)

# The Demise of VISTA

By Peggy Fikac

Austin

"Despite our best intentions, we have encouraged the poor to be dependent, which in turn has made them objects of scorn for those who wish to scorn them. . . . We have allowed those who wish to scorn the poor the opportunity to foster the myth that poor people will not pull their own weight. . . . VISTA's commitment to self-help reflects our belief that self-help is a direct and powerful way of destroying that myth."

So wrote Sam Brown, ACTION director under the Carter administration, for a booklet on VISTA celebrating its fifteenth anniversary. That was 1980, long ago it seems these days. VISTA, one of the three programs included in ACTION (the other two are the Peace Corps and senior citizen programs), was organized in 1965 as an integral unit in Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty.

The program works this way: A sponsor, which must be a local, non-profit group, defines problems in its area, sets goals to solve these problems, and requests VISTA aid. VISTA recruits, assigns, and trains volunteers who work under the supervision of the sponsors. The volunteers live in the communities they serve for at least a year and receive enough money to allow them to live at the same level as the people they are helping. They also receive \$75 for each month of service after they are through. The idea is for the volunteers to work with the people of the community in such areas as health, housing, job skills, and legal rights until the people learn how to work with their problems themselves; a VISTA project is truly successful when the VISTA volunteers can be phased out and the community becomes self-reliant.

In Austin, VISTA volunteers were instrumental in the formation of the Austin Tenants Council, the Consumer Affairs Office and ACORN (a community organizational group). They have also worked with a variety of poverty and pre-school projects. At the beginning of 1981, about 200 volunteers in more than 25 projects were working in Texas. Nationwide, there were about 4800 volunteers.

In February, 1981, Tom Pauken, a former Dallas lawyer and two-time unsuccessful candidate for Congress, was

nominated as ACTION director; he assumed the directorship May 7. Soon after, he appointed Paulette Standefer, his 1980 deputy campaign manager, as director of the Dallas regional office. Since then, he has begun a "phase-out" of VISTA.

Joseph Bruch, one of the three ACTION program officers in Austin, told a *Dallas Morning News* reporter last month that the number of VISTA projects in Texas has dwindled to about 12 or 15, with 50 or 60 volunteers. By mid-1982, he said, there may be only six projects left.

After the *Morning News* story, Bruch said he was instructed by the Washington office not to talk to the press, and to refer all calls to VISTA chief Jim Burnley. Burnley, however, has been "in a meeting" every time he has been called, according to his secretary, and has not returned any calls. He told the *New York Times* in December, however, he was "very comfortable with the phase-out." He was quoted as saying that "VISTA has done some good, but far too many projects took a political approach to problems, the approach of confrontation, alienation, division."

In the last full year of the Carter administration, VISTA received \$30 million. Congress cut that to \$16 million for fiscal year 1982 and \$8 million for fiscal year 1983. Mimi Mager, executive director of a group of former volunteers called Friends of VISTA, said that VISTA's decline is due to more than these budget cuts.

"Before Pauken came into office, VISTA was at its height," she said. "Since April 30, no new volunteers have been trained, and the cutbacks in the budget did not warrant this."

In an Oct. 14 letter to Budget Director David Stockman, Pauken recommended that the administration spend only \$6.7 million in fiscal year 1982 and \$231,000 in fiscal year 1983 to "accelerate the phase-out" of VISTA.

In the April 15 issue of the Federal Register, Pauken published a revision of VISTA guidelines. It forbids "community organizing"; it gives final approval of projects to the Director of VISTA rather than the regional director; it provides "for the orderly phasing out of projects which do not meet VISTA re-

quirements"; and it prohibits VISTA volunteers from demonstrating. The usual procedure for changing governmental policies is the publication of the changed policy in the Federal Register, with time allowed for comment. Then, the change must be approved by Congress before it is implemented.

"Pauken has been proposing and implementing simultaneously," said Mager. "One of his amendments was that if an organization had been a VISTA sponsor for three or more years, the project could be terminated and the sponsor could not appeal."

"Many projects were terminated with just a letter," she said. "In the past, when a project was denied, the sponsor went through an appeals process, and ACTION paid for the attorney and for the sponsor to attend the hearing. Now, it doesn't have to."

The guideline revision published last April was challenged by a tenant action group after it was denied renewal, Mager said. The group won, and "it was republished for comment in the proper way November 9 . . . but it had previously been implemented."

One group denied renewal was the Legal Aid Society of Central Texas. Regina Rogoff, managing attorney of the society, said that she received a letter in October saying that her project had been terminated as of Oct. 1. She received the letter "seven or eight days after the termination date."

"We've been a sponsor for a great many years," said Rogoff. "They really probably had a reason to terminate the project since we'd been a sponsor for so long (according to the new guidelines). The complaint was the way in which it was handled . . . the volunteer on the project was given no notice."

Rogoff added that the budget for legal services has been cut by one quarter. "Legal services have been a target for this administration," she said. "It's a very important way that attorneys help the community . . . (but) they think attorneys are too aggressive or too advocacy-oriented . . . I think they want to do things that are non-controversial, and litigation and legal services are controversial."

Although the society may appeal the decision to terminate the VISTA project, Rogoff does not seem optimistic about it. "Is it worth the effort to go through a lengthy appeals procedure to make a point?" she asked. "The whole program is going to be cut back . . . you can do a lengthy appeals procedure and spend a lot of money to get your project approved and then there are no more volunteers." □

Peggy Fikac is a student at UT-Austin and a reporter for the *Daily Texan*.

# Brooks Battling Conservative Trio

By Steven Long

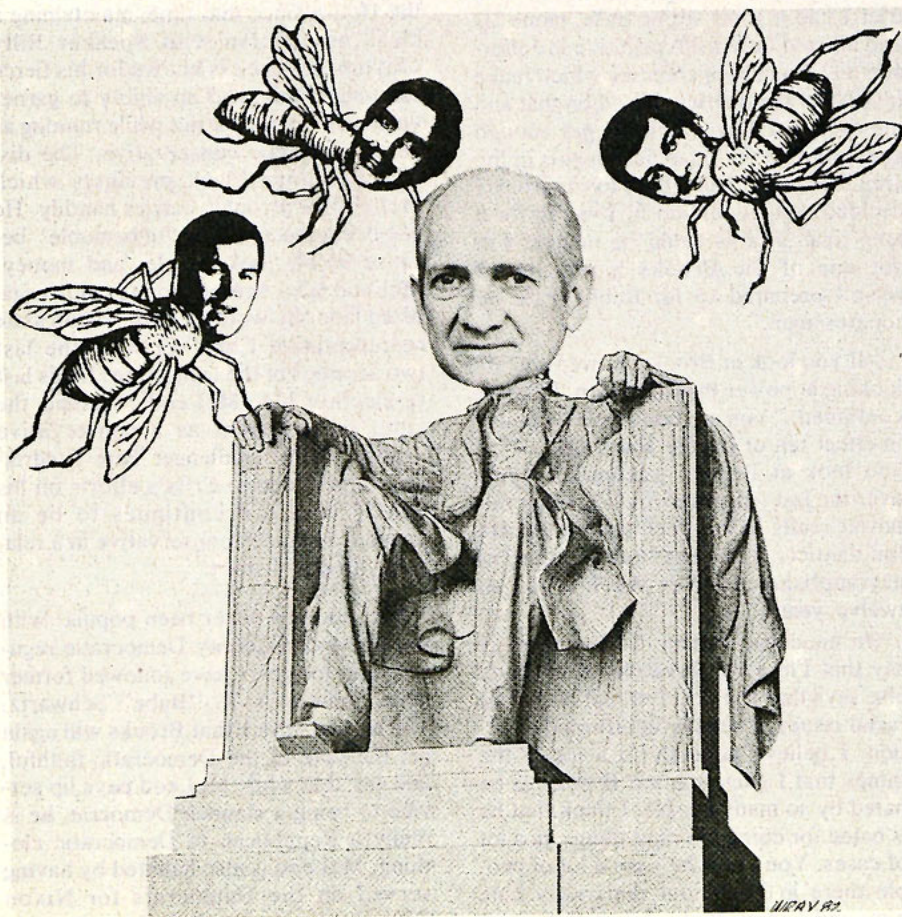
Galveston

October 31, 1980: Courthouse Square (Galveston)

To those gathered around the Galveston County courthouse four days before the election the air was electric. The First Lady of the land had come to the venerable island city to campaign for her husband, "Jimmah." A crowd had gathered outside the courthouse, mostly Democratic faithful, mothers and fathers with small children trying to catch a glimpse of history. Most had never seen a First Lady, much less a President, in the flesh. The diminutive Rosalyn Carter, with her simple southern grace and understated elegance, far exceeded their expectations. Washington had come to this sleepy southern city in a last-gasp effort to rally the traditionally large Democratic vote.

With the First Lady that day was the usual crowd of Democratic office holders and office seekers. Leading the entourage was thirteen-term Congressman Jack Brooks of Beaumont. Jaunty, wearing a baseball cap with "congressman" emblazoned on its crown, the veteran lawmaker looked tired, drawn, old beyond his fifty-eight years. To some onlookers Brooks looked like a sick man.

Former State Senator A. R. "Babe" Schwartz recalls, "Hell, we were all tired that day. Our President was going down in defeat and we knew it. It was hard to be nice to anyone, even Rosalyn Carter, when we knew that her husband had been a terrible President, that his brother was a paid agent of Libya, and there was nothing anyone could do to stop the inevitable."



Eije Wray

Jack Brooks himself had a lot to worry about on election eve. Five months earlier he had successfully fought off the most surprising challenge of his long and colorful career. An unknown, self-proclaimed conservative Democrat from Beaumont had trounced him in a hard-fought campaign in his own Jefferson County, the most populous portion of Brooks' district. W. L. "Bubba" Pate, prior to the race known only as the local manager of the Continental Trailways bus terminal in Beaumont, received an astounding 15,519 votes to Brooks 11,337. To make matters worse for the shell-shocked congressman, Pate had also comfortably beaten him in Chambers County. Only substantial victories in Galveston County and that portion of Harris County in the district saved the congressional seat that Brooks had enjoyed for twenty-eight years.

On November 5, 1980, the race was on for the 1981 election. It was certain that Pate, after coming so close, would run again, but who would be the other challengers? Brooks had received only 50.5 % of the vote, barely avoiding a Democratic run-off election. To professional politicians and political consulting firms, the wily old congressman, a confidant of Gerald Ford, Lyndon Johnson and John Kennedy, was in deep trouble. He was beatable. Such telltale signs of his vulnerability as receiving the labor endorsement in Jefferson County, then being trounced by Pate by that county's labor precincts, foretold of trouble to come.

To "Babe" Schwartz this erosion of support was inevitable for a legislator it, Jack Brooks lives in Washington," Schwartz said. "He is a busy man. He chairs an important committee. He stays in Washington doing the job that the people of the district elected him to do. He works hard and probably doesn't get home as often as the people of Jefferson County would like, but he's up there working hard all the time, doing a good job for his constituents. They said the same thing about me down in Brazoria and Calhoun counties when I was senator. 'You never see Schwartz.' Well, that's because I was in Austin working for them. If you are doing your job, this kind of erosion is bound to happen. It happened to me and it has happened to Jack."

Critics of Brooks point out other weaknesses. For example, the congressman is notorious for having staff aides return *his* telephone calls. They say that when a person wants to talk to *his* congressman, he should have that

Steven Long is publisher of In-Between Magazine in Galveston.

opportunity. Others say that Brooks is often rude to his constituents; one opponent even says that Brooks is "just plain mean." After thirty years in congress a man's list of enemies starts to grow long.

Democratic regulars such as Galveston County treasurer and former president of the Texas County Treasurers Association, Richard Kirkpatrick says, "We just can't lose Jack Brooks in Washington. He is now the dean of the Texas congressional delegation, a position of immense seniority. He is chairman of the House Government Operations Committee and chairman of the Subcommittee on Legislation and National Security. Furthermore, he is the ranking Democrat and therefore next in line for the chairmanship of the House Judiciary Committee. Kirkpatrick says, "When you have that kind of seniority in a system which is built around seniority and tenure you can do a lot for the people back in your district."

### Pate

First among the challengers is Bubba Pate, the rock-hard conservative who received 42.6 percent of the vote in his last meeting with the crusty congressman. Pate speaks with a southeast Texas drawl. He is handsome and is extremely assertive when talking about liberal/conservative issues and about Jack Brooks. "You know," he says, "I wanted people to know where I stand on the issues and where Jack Brooks stands on the issues and let them draw their own conclusions. Once they do, I feel like they'll find out that Jack Brooks has not been in touch with the district, and has not been the kind of representative that he should be, that we need." On Brooks' seniority Pate says, "Seniority does not help the district if its leadership is carrying us in the wrong direction. Look around and you'll see that this district has not grown nearly as fast as the rest of the state of Texas, then you ask yourself 'What good is this seniority that we have?' Economically we have got one of the greatest areas as far as resources go but because of what I feel is a lack of leadership we have not developed this area the way that we could have."

Pate would have voted with the boll weevils, the hard-line Southern conservative Democrats who voted with Republicans supporting the Reagan budget and tax cuts. He says that, "We've increased the budget by an unbelievable amount with all the social programs that have been initiated under people like Jack Brooks, Teddy Kennedy, and Tip O'Neil. We did without a lot of these programs before 1970. Do we feel that all

of a sudden we can't cut back on 'em now?"

### Combs

Another aspiring candidate for Brooks' job is the mayor pro-tem of Beaumont, Tom Combs. The thirty-one-year-old head of a Jefferson County sanitation firm is now in his second term on the Beaumont council. Combs is an attractive, soft-spoken man with a boyish face who in 1976 was burned over forty % of his body while rescuing a co-worker from a fire. His political debut came when he successfully ran for county school board at age 20, becoming the youngest elected official in the state. He characterizes himself as a conservative.

Combs has entered the race against Brooks, he says, because, "I saw what Bubba Pate did two years ago. He made a decent showing. He did way better than he should have done, based on the type of campaign that he ran. We spent \$10,000 on a poll, first of all to see if Brooks could be beaten, and second to see if I could do it. The poll came back and convinced us that somebody was going to beat Brooks, he was carrying a 47% negative across the largest part of the district. The pollsters tell me that once an incumbent gets over 30% negative they're in big trouble. The poll also showed that in the largest part of the district I had a good strong base, name ID and all, and only a 3% negative in Jefferson and Chambers counties which make up 62% of the district. Based on that and the fact that I was able to get enough commitments for financial support in the area I felt that I had a base to run from. I decided that I could do it. I've felt for a long time Brooks could be beaten. I'm not one of the Brooks haters, but I wasn't prepared to let Bubba Pate be congressman.

"If you look at Brooks' power you are looking at power that is a myth," Combs continued. "You are talking about power in effect ten or twelve years ago. . . . If you look at Brooks' accomplishments over the last ten years you'll see that this power really hasn't been used to benefit the district. It has not been a record of accomplishment over the last ten or twelve years.

On his conservatism, Combs says, "I say that I'm a conservative. Everybody else says that I'm not. I'm real liberal on racial issues, I believe in affirmative action, I believe honestly in a lot of the things that I guess caused Brooks to be hated by so many people. I think that he is hated for doing the right things, in a lot of cases. You know he's got a lot of people there in Beaumont that really hate him, and I think that a lot of that came

from stands that he took in years past on civil rights. Fiscally, I really am pretty conservative. You don't spend more than you take in. There are a lot of programs that I am for, and would want to support, which would be considered social programs. But at the same time I would want those programs watched to make sure that they are administered properly, on the business end of it."

Combs is undoubtedly an immensely popular figure in the Beaumont area. He admits that his entry into the race is partially due to his own ambition and that he feels that this is the time to move up the ladder. Yet for all of his boyish good looks and liberal-in-conservative-clothing rhetoric, he admits that he would have voted with the boll weevils in Congress on the Reagan budget.

### McLeod

E. Douglas McLeod is the son of a patrician Galveston family whose career in Galveston politics has followed an unparalleled pattern of success. He was elected to the Galveston school board and was its president his last term. He was elected to the Galveston City Council and served as mayor pro-tem. He then resigned his council post to run for state representative and has served in the House since that time, maintaining a close association with Speaker Billy Clayton. McLeod is known for his fierce campaign style, and an ability to garner votes in a liberal district while running as an unapologetic conservative. The district has large black precincts which McLeod surprisingly carries handily. He has been described as "unbeatable" because of his looks, style, and money. McLeod also scored points with organized labor by working closely with state representative Lloyd Criss in the last two sessions of the legislature. In his last re-election bid, McLeod received the labor endorsement as a conservative against liberal challenger Pete Fredriksen, largely due to Criss's efforts on his behalf. McLeod continues to be an enigma, a staunch conservative in a relatively liberal district.

McLeod has never been popular with the Galveston County Democratic regulars who for years have followed former state Senator A. R. "Babe" Schwartz. The regulars think that Brooks will again get the vote of the Democratic faithful, and say that while McLeod pays lip service to being a staunch Democrat, he is really a Republican in Democratic clothing. McLeod is also haunted by having served on the Democrats for Nixon Committee.

The Texas Civil Liberties Union index of representatives' voting records on seventeen key human rights votes in the last session of the legislature shows McLeod with a poor 20% rating. "There was a tremendous amount of pressure in the last session by the Governor and the H. Ross Perot forces to pass the anti-crime bills," says McLeod. "I had to think long and hard before I voted for the wiretap bill. I had to be absolutely sure that it would be used properly."

Even Schwartz is not that critical of the McLeod A.C.L.U. record. "Eighty % of the legislature voted the way Doug did," he says.

Like the other two challengers to Brooks, McLeod admits that he would have voted with the southern boll weevils on the Reagan budget. "Had I been in Congress in 1981, I would have voted for the Reagan budget. We had to go in a different direction and while I might not have agreed with everything, I think it was the right thing to do for this country."

### Brooks

While the challengers say that Brooks' record is weak, the facts show that over a thirty-year congressional career Jack Brooks has been a busy man. He was the prime mover behind construction of the Rayburn Dam and reservoir, the largest dam and reservoir in the state of Texas. He also secured funds for extensive improvement to deepwater shipping in the channels serving the ports of Beaumont, Galveston, Port Arthur, and Texas City. He secured authorization for a Galveston Bay study and public works funds for development of the Wallisville Reservoir and Galveston-Texas City Port complex improvements. Brooks was also instrumental in the approval of plans for the Public Health Service Hospital in connection with the University of Texas Medical Branch in Galveston, and secured federal assistance in research programs at U.T.M.B. Brooks claims to have brought millions of dollars in improvements and loans to Lamar University in Beaumont. He also authored legislation to provide flood insurance to protect businesses and individuals during hurricanes and natural disasters.

As a ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, Brooks played a significant role in passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. This caused much anger in areas around Beaumont such as Vidor, which have long been hotbeds of intolerance toward blacks, even to the present day.

Brooks received a brief share of the national limelight as a member of the

Judiciary Committee during Watergate, playing a key role in the impeachment proceedings which ultimately led to the resignation of Richard Nixon. In 1973, Brooks led the investigation which uncovered the expenditure of millions of dollars in public funds at President Nixon's vacation retreats in San Clemente, Cal., and Key Biscayne, Fla. The result: legislation greatly restricting such expenditures.

Under Brook's leadership, the Government Operations Committee has initiated oversight investigations and issued reports that have led to documented savings of billions of dollars. Some of the major legislation in-

troduced by Brooks and enacted into law since he has chaired the committee include the Brooks Act, which sets government-wide policy for the \$5-\$10 billion-a-year computer acquisition program. Another is the Inspector General Act, which establishes independent offices of inspector general in major departments and agencies to prevent fraud and waste in government; the Paperwork Reduction Act, which allegedly will reduce government paperwork.

To detractors' glee, his name is on legislation establishing the Departments of Energy and Education, favorite targets of conservative business interests. □

## Leland Hearings

By Mark Schroeder

Houston

Congressman Mickey Leland, chairing the final field hearings of the Democratic Party's National Commission on Low and Moderate Income Participation in Houston recently, acknowledged that the Party has a problem. "If the Democratic Party is to reign victorious in 1982 and 1984, we are going to do so by appealing to the poor, the oppressed, the victims of the budget cuts," he said. "By their elitism the Republicans have precluded the representation of low- and moderate-income people."

The commission's mandate is to end the under-representation of low- and moderate-income people within the Democratic Party. Previous hearings were held in Philadelphia, Detroit, Little Rock, and Los Angeles.

The commission had before it a program of changes advocated by ACORN (the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now), a national association of neighborhood organizations. ACORN had asked the commission to recommend that:

- 30% of all delegates to the national convention be low- to moderate-income people;
- a 1972 policy that one-eighth of party funds be set aside for the convention expenses of lower-income delegates be implemented;
- barriers to participation like excessive lodging costs and delegate

*The writer is on the staff of ACORN in Austin.*

- selection primaries in large districts be reduced or eliminated;
- party organizing councils in low- and moderate-income organizations be set up on the local level.

Bill Chandler of the National Hospital Employees Organizing Committee testified in support of these proposals: "In elections 50% or less of those eligible vote. Yet I have seen up to 100% of workers vote in union representation elections because the issues affect them and the workers have been involved in an organizing committee. There's no reason to think that issues in society should bring out any fewer people. But workers see Ivy League types discussing the issues and they're turned off."

Billie Carr, Democratic National committeewoman from Houston, voted for the one-eighth rule at the national convention in 1972. "Year after year on the Democratic National Committee," she said, "I have asked the party chairmen if the money was being set aside. Every time I was told no, there were too many debts."

Given the failure of the national leadership on that issue and others, she said, she favored quotas. She saw a contradiction between the mandate of the Leland commission and the recommendations of the National Commission on Delegate Selection chaired by North Carolina Governor James Hunt. "The worst proposal of the Hunt commission is a return to winner-take-all or loophole primaries," she said. "This would eliminate the very people you're trying to involve."

Carr also had some caustic words for a party hierarchy that opposes quotas only when they benefit under-represented groups. The Hunt commission proposes a quota to assure a high proportion of elected officials as national convention delegates. "People don't seem to mind quotas when it involves officeholders," she said.

*(Continued on Page 22)*

# Two Texans Talk to a Hibakusha

*The author and her brother David were born and raised in Dallas.*

*David studied international relations at Eckerd College in Florida, spending semesters in England and Colombia. His senior thesis was a study of housing for Bogota's poor. After his graduation in 1979, having moved to Japan to teach at a private school in Nagoya, he became active in the Japanese peace movement and organized a protest of Americans living in Japan against U.S. pressure to get Japan to increase her military.*

*The author, a writer living in Austin, visited her brother at Christmas and together they traveled to Hiroshima.*

By Nina Butts

## Hiroshima

"We felt like there was no God."

Morizo Ogawa, a small, wrinkled man, sits cross-legged on his single bed and looks intently back and forth between me and my brother as he discusses the day the atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima.

He was 16 then. He had been working for a couple of years in an airplane factory; many of the students in Hiroshima had been put to work for the war. They attended school for an hour or two and spent the rest of each day building war materials or tearing down buildings with hand tools and constructing firewalls with the debris. There was never much food, and there was no rice; "Everything went to the military." People ate what they could find — potatoes, beans — but they never could completely fill their stomachs.

Air raid warnings were frequent, and there had been bombings, but nothing as devastating as the bombings in Tokyo. U.S. planes also dropped leaflets bearing cartoons of Uncle Sam with a rain of planes and bombs falling from his outspread hands.

On the morning of August 6, 1945, Ogawa was walking to the airplane factory. Suddenly there was an incredible flash, and he was knocked out. When he came to, his clothes had been burned off and he was naked. All of the buildings in the city were knocked down except a few big ones. He and everyone around him

were burnt, some from the tops of their heads to their heels. Many were walking around "like outpatients," their eyes in their hands — Ogawa gestures to show an eyeball falling into his hand and skin coming off his shoulders and hands.

People were running to the rivers (six course through Hiroshima); others were trying to protect their children. Ogawa remembered one woman holding her arms around her baby as they both died. Substance oozed from the dead people's eyes and mouths. "Time stopped," Ogawa told us.

He looked uncomfortable, having trouble finding words. He went back to his house, he says, and looked for his sister, who was 14, and his brother, who was 19. He never did find them, and he has no idea where they died.

Ogawa is a *hibakusha*, an A-bomb survivor, and lives in the *hibakusha* hospital in Hiroshima. This is his seventh hospital. He is 52 years old.

My brother David and I have spent the morning at the A-bomb museum in Hiroshima. There we have seen the model of the whole city in ruins, as it looked after the bomb exploded; the display of mannequins with tattered clothing, their skin dripping off their fingers and faces while a fire rages behind them; the black-and-white photographs of living people with faces burned beyond recognition and bodies so burnt that they look like fireproof ashes. We have seen the museum's film of a child looking at the camera as splinters of glass are picked from its body.

Now, on folding chairs, we sit in the small hospital with a living victim of the bomb that fell 36 years ago. A human being, not an image in an old photograph. I hear David, who speaks Japanese, ask Ogawa, "How long did your burns take to heal?" "It doesn't get better," Ogawa replies. He turns around and pulls his pajama top and undershirt over his head. His shoulder is covered with a burn scar and his back is dotted with red spots. He pulls the clothing down and turns back around, explaining that pieces of glass are still working their way out of his back. Sometimes they hurt or itch. Doctors could operate to remove them, but his heart is weak and he might not survive the surgery. He tires quickly and

cannot walk far. He cannot read or write for very long, but he receives no government help for his sight because only one of his eyes is damaged.

"Every day living here is a struggle," he says of the hospital. Sometimes he cries. Some nights four or five *hibakusha* die; a friend who seemed healthy one evening died the same night. As we talk, the man in the next bed alternately snores, gurgles, and moans. He is blind, and his wife, who smiled warmly at David and me when we came in, stays with him and sleeps in the hospital room, on the third bed.

Ogawa could die tomorrow, he says, but he can't think about death and people dying, so he writes. He writes essays on peace, patriotism, ecology. He shows us a sheaf of papers, each covered with graceful Japanese characters. He also reads newspapers, magazines, and books — he's read every book in the hospital library, according to the woman who arranged for us to meet him.

Lots of soldiers were in Hiroshima when it was bombed, he says, and they receive plenty of government help. The rest of the Japanese *hibakusha* get very little money from the government in Tokyo — he gets about a hundred and twenty dollars a month — and the Koreans who were forced to work in Hiroshima during the war get nothing from Japan. The city of Hiroshima, the prefecture (like a county), and charities pay his medical bills. Charities built and furnished the 150-bed hospital.

He speaks forcefully, gestures often, and leans toward us as he talks. He answers all of our questions without hesitation.

He wants the Japanese government to admit responsibility to the *hibakusha*. The government, not the people, decided to go to war, he says. They said, we're going to have a war and you must be patriotic. Those who want war want money, he says, but they don't want to go to war. The people all worked hard. They sacrificed. Then the bomb fell. They became victims. "The city of Hiroshima didn't wage war. I didn't wage war. All of this is the responsibility of the government in Tokyo and they should be paying."

In the late forties and fifties, thinking

*Nina Butts is a frequent Observer contributor.*

The small, primitive nuclear bomb that fell on Hiroshima in 1945 created a heat of 7000 degrees Centigrade, shattered the city, set off a shock wave that was faster than sound, and started a sea of flame that burned for four hours, killing people trapped under fallen buildings. Fifteen minutes after the explosion, a radioactive black rain began that lasted for two hours. Then a drizzle of radioactive material fell for another six hours. Fires burned for a week.

Among the injured, wounds would not heal and became infested with maggots. People lost their resistance to infection. Many with no visible wounds, including rescue workers who came into Hiroshima after the explosion, died suddenly and inexplicably. Those with radiation sickness experienced bleeding gums, loss of hair, vomiting, destruction of bone marrow, extreme anemia, and abnormal decrease of white blood cells.

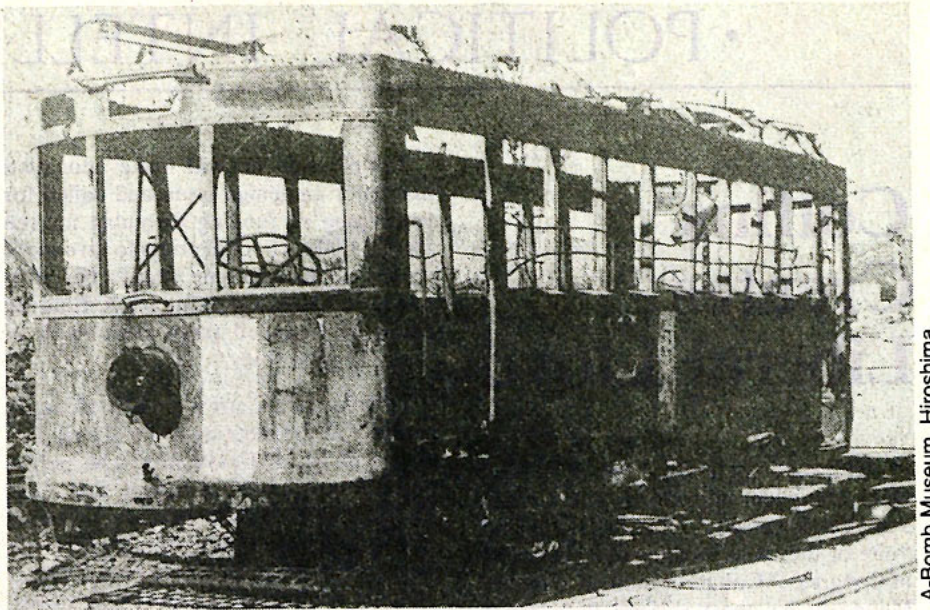
Abnormal numbers of the children who were in utero when the bomb fell were born retarded. Ten years later there was an outbreak of leukemia. Twenty-two years later, death from other cancers was commonplace among the Hiroshima victims. Sickness still pops up in the survivors. No one who was in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, can ever be sure that he or she escaped injury.

Today's hydrogen bombs, which use an atom bomb as a trigger, are hundreds of times as destructive as the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

N.B.

he had recovered from his bomb injuries. Ogawa attended college, married, had two children, and became a policeman. He studied aikido and judo. But ten years after the bomb fell, his fingers stiffened so that he could not close his hands, and he could not go to work. He went to a doctor who said, "If you want to die, go pray in the temple. If you want to live, enter the hospital." He entered the hospital, and he has lived in hospitals ever since — for 26 years.

Every summer people come to Hiroshima and Nagasaki to remember what happened and to demonstrate, Ogawa says. The mayors issue proclamations against nuclear weapons. Every fall they all forget, and now, in December, he observed, people are starving while we sing "Jingle Bells" and drink champagne. Ogawa talks about poverty



Hiroshima trolley car after bombing.

A-Bomb Museum, Hiroshima



The author in downtown Hiroshima

David Butts

and ecology as well as war; he knows that they are all connected. He is not on the right or left politically, and the peace movement should not be partisan. We need all people to work for peace in a movement that spans all political perspectives, and we need healthy people, not just victims of the A-bomb. Nature is more important than convenience and wealth. He points to the fluorescent lights above our heads and says, "For this we're destroying the world." He talks about the folly of dumping Japan's nuclear waste in the ocean in cement containers. It isn't that easy to get rid of. He knows.

Ogawa's corner of the hospital room is colorful. Books are stacked on his bedside table and bed tray; picture postcards are taped to his headboard; a thick bunch of bright origami cranes, made by chil-

dren to symbolize a wish for peace, hangs from the ceiling.

He shows us the box of cancelled postage stamps he is collecting to send to Mother Teresa, who can sell them to raise money in India. "This is all I can do right now," he says. But he shows us a petition supporting the June United Nations Disarmament Conference — he's gathering signatures. He shows us a fat packet of letters schoolchildren have written him. Students of all ages visit him, and he has been interviewed on French and Japanese television (the cameras came to the hospital).

He prefers talking about the present to talking about the past, and he tells all of his visitors the same things: protect the earth, feed the hungry, live simply, and make peace. □

## Collins Creates Liberal Lloyd

✓ Although state Sen. Walter (Mad Dog) Mengden calls Cong. Jim Collins "totally confused," "ineffective," and "one of the most incompetent members of Congress," Collins continues to ignore Mengden, his most serious Republican opponent in the race for Lloyd Bentsen's U.S. Senate seat, nor does he mention Don Richardson of San Antonio, the third candidate. Collins continues to concentrate on Bentsen.

Known for his successful grass-roots efforts, Collins this time is running a media campaign designed to brand Bentsen a flaming liberal. Obviously Collins isn't bringing up Bentsen's voting record or the *Congressional Quarterly* study that showed the Texas Democrat voting with Ronald Reagan 70% of the time — Collins supported the president 71% of the time. Collins appears to believe that if he repeats the liberal charge often enough, it will have an impact on his party's voters. Collins' advisor is Arthur Finkelstein, a pollster who did most of the NCPAC opinion surveys.

✓ Attorney General Mark White, campaigning in Fort Worth recently, charged that Gov. Clements is causing the gradual destruction of highways in Texas by failing to ensure enforcement of truck weight-limit laws. The governor's deputy press secretary, Mark Heckmann, claimed that Clements had fought for increased enforcement of the weight-limit laws. DPS officials, Texas Highway Department administrators and engineers told Jack Z. Smith of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* that the problem of overweight trucks is indeed serious and wide spread.

✓ White's Democratic opponents were also blasting the governor. Railroad Commissioner Buddy Temple, also campaigning in Fort Worth, charged that Clements has shown "very little sympathy for anyone who is at an economic level lower than his." He labeled Clements "a very destructive force" in state politics.

Temple said he will make education his major campaign issue and called for revamping of funding formulas for the state's 1,000 school districts to give more money to low-income areas. His proposal to increase education funding could be financed from existing revenues, Temple said.

Temple won a straw poll in Houston recently at the meeting of the Texas Coalition of Black Democrats. The poll is more important than usual this year since the Democratic primary probably will be influenced more than ever by the votes of liberals and minorities. Other winners of the poll on statewide candidates were Jim Mattox for attorney general, Ann Richards for state treasurer, Garry Mauro for land commissioner, and Jim Hightower for agriculture commissioner.

## GOP in Dallas

The Republican's national convention of 1984 will almost certainly be in Dallas. Gov. Clements said recently that Reagan wants it there and that's where it'll be. GOP national chairman Richard Richards, touring the city Feb. 10, said, "Our purpose, frankly, is to honor the president's request and go to Dallas if we can." Richards imagined that Reagan chose Dallas because of lobbying by Clements. No other cities will be considered until a final decision is made on Dallas, the chairman added.

✓ Mexican-American leader Ruben Bonilla has endorsed Temple for governor. Bonilla said recently that White "has gone out of his way to insult, embarrass, and degrade Hispanics" on issues of voting rights, education, and employment. Bonilla, national counsel for the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and also head of its political action organization, did not say his endorsement was the official LULAC position. "Buddy Temple is a conservative," Bonilla said, "but he has a progressive record on issues of domestic importance to Hispanics."

✓ LULAC's national director of its civil-rights division, attorney Ruben Sandoval of San Antonio, accused White of having "the sentiments" of a Klansman. Sandoval criticized White for his positions on the voting rights act, bilingual education, education for un-

documented aliens, and prison reform. If White is nominated, Sandoval said, he'll vote for Clements.

## A Donnybrook

✓ The black Democrats' gathering also brought together the colorful agriculture commissioner, Reagan Brown, with his equally colorful opponent, Jim Hightower. Brown was asked about the statement he allegedly made to West Texas farmers two years ago that "There are more niggers on a Houston street than there are farmers in Texas." Brown later apologized for the statement, then said he never made it. At the Houston gathering he said the remark had been distorted. "I didn't say it," Brown contended.

Hightower called Brown's answer an example of how "sometimes Mr. Brown's mouth runs ahead of his mind." Hightower said Brown shouldn't boast of making thousands of speeches because "There's a hell of a lot more to being agriculture commissioner than sticking a straw in your mouth and humming 'Thank God I'm a Country Boy.'"

On the campaign trail, Hightower continues to label Brown a "do-nothing" commissioner, while Brown claims that his opponent doesn't have enough experience to know what's he talking about. Hightower suggests the Texas Department of Agriculture needs a kind of SWAT team to investigate price-fixing schemes and other abuses of the agricultural marketplace. Brown claims there's no constitutional authority to do anything about price-fixing. "We are a regulatory agency," he says. "We have almost nothing to do with agricultural policy."

Hightower also says that as agriculture commissioner he would work to curb rising food prices by encouraging farmers' markets where farmers would sell directly to consumers, thus eliminating the middle man.

✓ Former Secretary of State George Strake, unopposed in his bid for the Republican nomination to take on the Democratic incumbent Bill Hobby in the race for lieutenant governor, predicts he will do well in the state's minority communities, particularly among Hispanics. In a speech in Houston recently, he said that when he lived with his parents for several years in Mexico and Cuba he learned about the Mexican culture, the

Spanish language, and "about what makes Hispanics tick."

"I resent the fact we have done such a poor job with the average Hispanic," Strake said. "That guy who crosses the Rio Grande believes in work, in the family, in God, and in fighting and dying for his country — and that's exactly what I believe in."

Mexican-Americans have become "hung-up," he said, on the belief Republicans want government to do as little as possible. That's probably the fault of the Republicans, he conceded, because Republicans have done little to fight that stereotype.

Strake also conceded Gov. Clements' "aggressive" style of campaigning could antagonize voters rather than attract them to the GOP ticket. "I won't try to change his style," he said, "but we won't be running in tandem."

✓ Hobby is saying the basic issue is experience. Obviously, having been lieutenant governor since 1973, he has that. Strake has charged Hobby has been there too long. "He doesn't think John Tower has been there too long," Hobby jostled — Tower has been in the Senate since 1961. Hobby said he has raised \$500,000 toward his goal of \$2 million for his campaign.

✓ Kaye Northcott, the former *Observer* editor who worked as press secretary in the campaign of Sen. Peyton McKnight for governor until he dropped out, now holds the same post in the Ann Richards campaign.

✓ "I am going to be a U.S. senator. It's as plain as that," former Ambassador-at-large Bob Krueger told Blair Corning of the *San Antonio Express*. Krueger lost narrowly to U.S. Sen. John Tower in 1978. "I've been asked why I don't run for governor," he told Corning. "Everyone gets the same answer: because I want to run for senator."

## Money and Votes

✓ Public Citizen's Congress Watch (CW), the consumer advocacy group founded by Ralph Nader, has published a voting/money index analyzing how senators and representatives voted on important consumer issues and how much money they received from corporate interest groups in their most recent election campaigns.

CW reports that during the 1980 election campaign, business political action committees (PACs) — committees set up by individual corporations, groups of business people, and trade or professional associations to make campaign contributions — gave more than \$28 million to successful congressional and sen-

atorial candidates. This is twice the amount contributed to those candidates by all other organizations combined, including unions, ideological organizations, and even the political parties themselves.

In general, CW points out, the more anti-consumer a legislator voted the more money he or she got from business PACs; the more pro-consumer a legislator voted the less he or she got from business PACs.

"There is no necessary cause and effect relationship," compilers of the index note, "between business PAC money and anti-consumer votes: a legislator is also influenced by his personal beliefs, the make-up of his constituency, the prevailing political climate, and whether he faces a hotly-contested election."

Still, those who do the voting and those who give the money seem to believe that business PAC money makes a difference. The index quotes Cong. Millicent Fenwick (R.-New Jersey) — who refuses to accept PAC money — "In my mind there is no question that there is a connection between these contributions and votes. I have sought votes, and members have told me they received such-and-such an amount of money from one of these groups and could not vote with me."

The leading business PAC money recipient in the Senate in 1980 was Charles Grassley, the Iowa Republican who defeated John Culver. Grassley received \$617,000 in business PAC money, 83% of his total PAC contributions. His consumer-legislation score, as tabulated by CW, was 23. (The average score among the 23 leading business PAC recipients was 24.) Texas' own John Tower was seventh on the list with \$383,000 in business PAC contributions, 92% of his total. Tower's consumer-legislation score was a dismal 8. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen was not listed among the top 23 in the Senate.

In the House, Jim Wright was the leading business PAC recipient with \$258,000 in contributions, 75% of his total. Wright's score was 27. Jack Fields of Houston was second with \$247,000, which was 84% of his total. His score was 17. Phil Gramm was eighth with \$163,000 in contributions from business PACs, 98% of his total. His consumer-legislation score was 10.

## Peace Uprising

✓ A nuclear disarmament coalition has been formed in Fort Worth, aiming for "an active campaign of public information on the dangers of nuclear war." A story by John Paul Newport, Jr., in the *Star-Telegram* quotes James Suggs,

executive director of the Texas Conference of Churches, that peace education programs are becoming widespread in Texas, but Newport's check in Tarrant County turned up only six to eight churches, mostly Presbyterian, with active nuclear or peace study groups.

✓ A group of a dozen or so activist leaders from the European anti-nuclear peace movement will tour the U.S. March 21-April 4 and will visit Amarillo and San Antonio. Leaders from Great Britain, West Germany, the Netherlands, and other countries will be traveling in the U.S. under the joint sponsorship of Clergy and Laity Concerned (a social action organization) and the Quakers.

✓ An Austin Vietnam veteran, Dan Jordan, president of the Brotherhood of Vietnam Veterans, Inc., has been chosen national commander of the new United Vietnam Veterans, a merger of more than a hundred Vietnam veterans' groups. The consolidated organizations will offer health and life insurance, legal defense, a "hotline," a "find-your-buddy" program, and representation before the Veterans' Administration. □

✓ Citing personal reasons, Rep. Bill Keese of Somerville has decided not to seek re-election. That leaves the race open for Dan Kubiak of Rockdale who was pared with Keese during re-districting. Kubiak had been considering a race for agriculture commissioner.

✓ Carl Leubsdorf, *Dallas News* bureau chief in Washington, reports that former Democratic national chairman Robert Strauss is considering running for President. Leubsdorf quotes Felix Rohatyn, "It's time we had a Jewish president from Texas." On the record, Strauss is quoted that it's not doable and "I don't have the thirst for it."

✓ Concerning the Libyan scandal that has dogged ex-Democratic national chairman John White, the *Dallas News* said that its review of the case "indicates that while White might have involved himself unknowingly in the plot (to release cargo planes to Libya), little direct evidence links him to any conspiracy to free the airplanes or to any payoffs."

✓ Alan Erwin, former Public Utility Commission member discussed as a candidate for land commissioner, has joined a public relations firm and won't run. Garry Mauro has announced for this post.

✓ Asked about a report that Rep. Tommy Adkisson will oppose him for renomination, State Sen. Glenn Kothmann of San Antonio replied, " 's what I hear. He hasn't announced yet, but he's running." □

## Temple *Continued From Cover*

But my motivation in running for governor is that I'm very, very mad about the direction we're headed in this state. I see Governor Clements attacking all the things that I think are important to Texas.

Our public education system — he attacks the teachers who are the backbone of that system. He's declared war on the teachers. He's declared that they are incompetent. I don't believe that. I think we have many good teachers. I think he's failing to deal with the root problems of our educational system, the same problems we've been fighting ever since I was elected to the legislature in 1972.

*Incidentally, you served four terms, did you not? I think we reported three in the current Observer edition. I just want to get it straight.*

Yeah, it was four terms, eight years. We've been fighting the same fights since 1973 when I first became involved; that

is, to provide an equitable system of financing our public schools, to insure that the poor school districts are able to provide the kind of quality education that a rich district can. It's the state's obligation to insure that kind of equalization. We have made some progress. We are putting more money into the public school system. We've increased the state's share in the minimum foundation program substantially. We have not, in my opinion, put enough money into equalization.

Furthermore, our teachers are still paid considerably less than the national average. I think the effects of that are being seen now in the teacher shortages that are occurring around the state. In South Texas — in the Rio Grande Valley — we have some 500 teachers, primary teachers in the classrooms — without college degrees. I don't think the public is generally aware of this problem. But Dallas and Houston school districts have both had to have very ambitious re-

cruitment programs to fill vacancies there. We've got too many kiddoes in each class. We need to reduce class size. We need to put some more money into the system to insure that every single child in this state has an opportunity to get an education, and to reach his or her full potential as a person. That's one issue.

*And . . . ?*

## Serious Problems

I think another issue is our prison system. I think that thing has been badly mishandled. Instead of spending all of our time arguing in the federal courts, we'd be much better served by dealing with the real problem. And whether a person may agree or disagree with some of the findings of (federal district judge) William Wayne Justice is not really important in my opinion.

The important thing is that we do have serious problems, and we ought to deal with them.

## Progressive Organizations

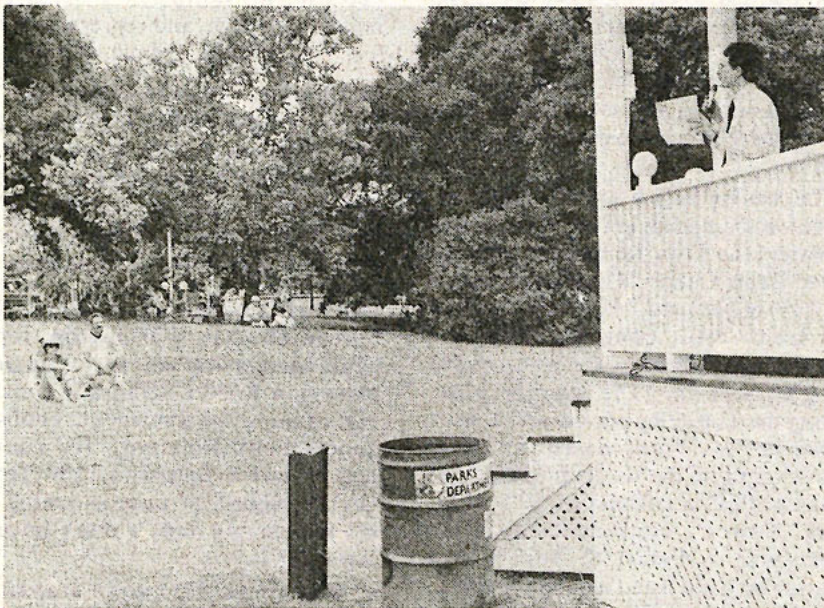
The *Observer* has built up lists of the political organizations we regard as progressive, their meeting evenings where that is applicable, and a phone number for each, in Texas cities. The editor invites communications recommending organizations for inclusion, by city.

### AUSTIN

ACORN, 8 neighborhood groups, 442-8321; Amn. Friends Service Cmte., 474-2399; Amnesty Intl., Group 107, Cindy Torrance, Bx. 4951, Aus. 78765; Anti-Hunger Coalition of Tx. (ACT), 474-9921; Austinites for Public Transportation, 3rd Tue., 441-2651; Aus. Lambda, every Mon., 478-8653; Lesbian-Gay Pol. Caucus, 4th Tue., & Lesbian-Gay Demos. of Tx., 478-8653; Aus. Neighborhood, Ccl., 4th Wed., 442-8411; Aus. Neighborhood Fund, 3rd Mon., 451-2347; Aus. Tenants' Ccl., 474-1961; Aus. Women's Political Caucus, 1st & 3rd Tues., 472-3606; Black Aus. Demos., 478-6576; Brotherhood of Viet. Vets., every Sun., 443-4830;

Central Aus. Demos., 3rd Wed., 477-6487; Central Tx. ACLU, 477-4335; Central Tx. Lignite Watch, Travis Co., 479-0678; Citizens' Coalition for an Economical Energy Policy, 474-4738; Citizens United for Rehabilitation of Errants (CURE), 476-4762; Cmte. in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), 477-4728; Consumers Union, 477-4431; Demo. Socialist Organizing Cmte., 2nd Wed., 453-2556; Ecology Action, 478-1645; El Centro Chicano, 477-7769 or 476-3747; Grandparents for Nuclear Disarmament Action, 453-1727; Gray Panthers, 4th Thu., 345-1869; IMPACT, 472-3903; LULAC, 2nd Wed., 451-3219; Max's Pot (appropriate technology), 1st Sat., 928-4786; Mxn.-Amn. Demos., 1st Mon., 444-7688 or 472-9211; New Amn. Movement, every other Sun., 454-2888 or 478-2096; NOW, 2nd & last Wed., 472-3775;

Nurses' Environmental Health Watch, 454-3932; Northeast Aus. Demos., 2nd Tue., 836-3533; Organizing Cmte. for a Nat'l. Writers Union (OCNWU), P.O. Box 4184, Austin 78765; Phogg Foundation, Box 13549, Aus.; Rural America, 459-3320; Save Barton Creek, every Tue., 472-4104; Sierra Club, 1st Tue., 478-1264; Socialist Party of Tx., 2nd Tue., 452-3722; South Aus. Demos., 447-4091; Tx. Abortion Rights Action League (TARAL), 478-0094; Tx. Citizens Party, 451-3864; Tx. Consumer Assn., 477-1882; Tx. Fathers for Equal Rights, 452-0848; Tx. Mobilization for Survival, Sun., wkly., 474-5877; Tx. Women's Political



Si Dunn

## The Social Cause Calendar

Notices on upcoming events must reach the *Observer* at least three weeks in advance.

### ROMERO MASS

On March 24, in honor of the second anniversary of El Salvadoran Archbishop Romero's death, mass will be celebrated at St. Ignatius Catholic Church, 126 W. Oltorf, Austin. Monsignor Reyes of Cristo Rey Church and Father Korcsmar of San Jose Church will participate in the service; mass begins at 7:30 p.m.

### U.S. EUROPEAN PEACE TOUR

Two European antinuclear activists — Volkmar Deile from West German, executive secretary of Aktion Sunzeichen/Freidendienst, and Siene Strikwerda, chairperson of the Cristian Women's Organization of the Netherlands — will speak in the Amarillo area on March 25. The two European rep-

resentatives are part of a U.S. European Peace Tour of 40 American cities sponsored by Clergy and Laity Concerned. Speaking engagements are planned for noon in Lubbock, 4 p.m. in Canyon (at the Methodist Student Center), 5:45 p.m. at Pantex, and 7:30 p.m. in Amarillo (at the Unitarian Fellowship). Call (806) 373-8688 for more information.

### DALLAS CISPES MARCH

The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) is organizing demonstrations as part of a protest of U.S. military buildup in EL Salvador for March 27 in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and Dallas. The Dallas march will begin at noon at the Federal Building in downtown Dallas and end with a rally at Reevechon Park on Maple Avenue. Call CISPES at (512) 477-4728 (Austin) or (214) 375-3715 (Dallas) for more information

We've got problems in housing those who are there — in a way that rehabilitation will work. I think the people of this state want a good correctional penal system, one that produces a person who is better when he or she comes out of that system, not worse than when he or she went in. I think the opposite is true today.

The violence in our prisons is deplorable, but it's understandable with the conditions that exist. I think it's going to take a combination of things. I don't agree with those who say we don't need any more prisons, that we should have a half-way house system so that we can get a bunch of those people out of prison. I think it's going to take a combination of those things. I don't think the public is going to stand for releasing a bunch of these people overnight because we can't house them. I think we ought accommodate those who are there in a setting that is conducive to rehabilitation.

*And then work with them? Things like*

*halfway houses, work-release programs?*

Yeah, sure. We have to do those things, but we've got to have them in an overall system that provides that kind of rehabilitation in the institution that gives them the skills and gives them the outlook that will allow them to meet their obligations when they get out, into a halfway house or work-release or whatever. So I think that whole subject needs a whole lot of attention.

And our crime problem: that is a problem that is not just a rightwing, conservative concern. I think everybody's concerned about it, but I sincerely believe the approach that's been taken is a gimmicky approach. They're always looking for new laws — wiretapping, things like that. . . .

*I wanted to ask you about that specifically. Does the wiretap law come before the Sunset Commission in what, 1985?*

Well, it's not before Sunset. It just expires. And I suspect that after, what?

four years? — yeah, it was a four-year bill.

Ater four years of experience with it, I think everybody will see it hasn't accomplished anything. It's very expensive, and as I started to say, it and all these other things are eyewash.

*Would you also say that the triple prescription act, the one where the pharmacist or the doctor has to send a copy of the form to the Department of Public Safety, is gimmicky? Does it really attack the drug problem?*

I can't honestly tell you. I'm not familiar with the specifics of that one. But what I'm saying is that if you put all of these things together, I don't think they're going to make a major impact on crime. I think we've got to start doing a better job on our educational system.

If you look at criminals who are in the penitentiary, a high percentage of them are uneducated. So all of these social considerations go into the crime prob-

Caucus, 474-1798; Travis Audubon Scty., 3rd Thu., 447-7155 or 477-6282; Travis Cty. Demo. Women, every Fri., 453-3243; Travis Cty. YD's, 453-3796; Univ. Mobilization for Survival, wkly., 476-4503; UT YD's, 452-8516; West Aus. Demos., 2nd Thu., 454-1291; Zilker Park Posse, 472-1053.

#### HOUSTON

ACLU, 524-5925; ACORN, 523-6989; Amns. for Demo. Action, 522-9544; Amnesty Intl., Group 23, 868-0707; Brotherhood of Viet. Vet., 728-4857; Citizens' Anti-Nuclear Info. Team (CAN IT), 522-3343; Concilio de Organizaciones Chicanos, P.O. Box 9, Houston 77001; Demo. Socialist Organize Cmt., 921-6906; Ecumenical Peaceforce of Houston, 10723 Inwood Dr., 77042; Gay Political Caucus, 1st and 3rd Weds., 521-1000; Harris Cty. Concerned Women, 674-6798; Harris Cty. Demos., quarterly, 528-2057; Houston Area Women's Center, 528-6798; Lesbian and Gay Demos. of Texas, 521-1000; Mxn.-Amn. Demos., 6944 Navigation, Houston 77011; Mockingbird Alliance, 747-1837; NAACP, 1018 Clebourne, Houston 77001; North Harris Co. Demos., P.O. Box 90704, 77290; PASO, 6716 Fairfield, Houston 77023; Senate Dist. 15 Demo. Coalition, 862-8431; Sierra Club, 3rd Tues., 228-0037 or 522-1489; Tx. Abortion Rights Action League (TARAL), 520-0850; Tx. Coalition of Black Demos., 674-0968; Tx. Demos., 667-6194; Tx. Fathers for Equal Rights, 960-0407; Toxic Substances Task Force, 1st Tue. & 3rd Wed., 228-0037; UofH YD's, 749-7347; Westside Demos., 464-2536.

#### SAN ANTONIO

Demos. for Action, Research & Education (DARE), rsch. volunteers needed, 4th Wed., 674-0351; Fellowship of Reconciliation 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, alternate Sats., 732-0960; 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 Orga-

nized 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 Commnty. Church, 102 S. Pine; San Antonians for Freedom of Choice, 733-3248; Sierra Club, 3rd Tue., 341-5990; Tx. Fathers for Equal Rights, every Thu., 337-6803; United Citizens Project Planning and Operating Corp. (federal funding), 3rd Mon., 224-4278.

#### DALLAS

ACLU, 651-7897; ACORN, 823-4580; Amn. Friends Service Cmt., 321-8643; American Indian Center, 826-8856; Amnesty Intl., U.S. Group 205, 361-4690; Armadillo Coalition, 1st Wed., 349-1970; AMIGOS, 339-9461; Audubon Society, 341-2534; Bois d'Arc Patriots, 827-2632; Bread for the World, Dist. 3, Joe Haag, 741-1991x298 & 495-1494; Brotherhood of Viet Vet., 224-9750; Brown Berets, 337-4135; Citizens' Assn. for Sound Energy (CASE), 946-9446; Citizens for Comm. Health, 1st Fri., 363-2979; Clean Air Coalition, 387-2785; Comanche Peak Life Force, Wed. wkly, 337-5885; Cmt. in Solidarity with the People in El Salvador (CISPES), 375-3715; Dallas Gay Alliance, 2nd Mon., 528-4233; E. Dal. Nghbrhood Assn., 3rd Mon., 827-1181;

Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), 1-370-3805; Frederick Douglass Voting Council, every Fri., 426-1867; Gray Panthers of Dallas-Fort Worth, 2nd Sat., 227-8332; Love Field Cit. Action Cmt., 526-8481; Low Income Housing Security Cmt., 748-5861; Neighborhood Info. & Action Service, 827-2632; Neighbors United for Quality Ed., 823-6713; North Texas Abortion Rights Action League (TARAL), 742-8188; NOW (Dallas Cty.), 1st Mon., 742-6918; NOW (North Dal.) 3rd Tue., 690-8971; No. Lake Col. Solar Club, 659-5254; Progressive Voters League, 372-8168; Sierra Club, 2nd Wed., 369-5543;

Save Open Space (SOS) 1st Mon., 750-9736; S. Central Civic League, 375-5038; S.E. Dal. Nghbrhood Club, every 4th Sat., 421-7931; Sound Transportation & Rapid Transit (START), 321-6960; Txns. for Handgun Control, 528-3985; Tx. Cmt. on Natural Resources, 352-8370; Tx. Tenants Union, 823-2733; Dallas UN Assn. (DUNA), 526-1853; Urban Affairs Center (Bishop Col.), 372-6801; War Resisters League, 337-5885; W. Dal. Nghbrhood Group, 3rd Wed., 631-1586.

#### FORT WORTH

ACLU, 534-6883; ACORN, (11 nghbrhd. groups), 924-1401, board meets mthly; Armadillo Coalition,

927-0808; Bread for the World, 924-1440 (Dist. 12), 923-4290 (Dist. 6); Citizens for Education on Nuclear Arms (CENA), 926-3827; Citizens for Fair Utility Regulation, 478-6372; Coalition of Labor Union Women, 469-1202. Dist. 10 Demos., 2nd Sat., 535-7803; First Friday, 1st Fri., 927-0808; F.W. Tenants' Ccl., 923-5071; 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; Precinct Workers Cl., 3rd Th., 429-2706; Senatorial Dist. 12 Demos., 2nd Sat. or 2nd Wed., 457-1560; Sierra Club, 3rd Wed., 923-9718; Students Against the Draft (UTA), 261-1935; Tarrant Cty. Demo Women's Club, 2nd Sat., 451-8133, 927-5169; Tx. Coalition of Black Demos. (F. W. chap.), 1st Tues., 534-7737; Women's Political Caucus, 1st Wed., 336-8700.

#### AROUND TEXAS

Alta Loma: Brotherhood of Viet. Vet., 925-6405. Amarillo: ACLU, 373-7200; Panhandle Environmental Awareness Cmt., 376-8903; Northwest Tx. Clergy and Laity Concerned, 2nd Tue., 373-8668. Bastrop: Central Tx. Lignite Watch, Bastrop Co., 321-5250. Beaumont: ACLU, 898-0743; Amnesty Int'l, group 221, Karen Dweyer, 420 Longmeadow, Beaumont 77707. Brotherhood of Viet Vets, 727-4873. Brownsville: ACLU, 541-4874. Bryan: ACLU, Box 4523, 77805; Brazos Society for Alternatives to Nuclear Energy, 822-1882. College Station: Texas Environmental Coalition (TEC), Ken Kramer, Box D, 77841. Corpus Christi: American GI Forum, 241-8647; Coastal Bend Chapter Sierra Club, 3rd Tues., 883-0586; Gulf Coast Conservation Assoc., 991-9690; League of Women Voters, 852-6443; LULAC, 882-8284; NAACP, 883-2931; NOW, 883-4469; Org. for the Preservation of an Unblemished Shoreline (OPUS), 881-6308; Women's Pol. Caucus, 854-1080. Denton: ACLU, 387-5126. El Paso: ACLU, 545-2990; Amnesty Int'l, Group 189, 584-4869. Gainesville: Organizing Cmt. for a Nat'l. Writers Union (OCNWU), 411 N. Morris St., Gainesville 76240. Lubbock: ACLU, 765-8393; Nat'l. Lawyers Guild, 799-2714; NOW, 793-0582; South Plains Alternative Resources Coalition, 762-8950. Midland: Brotherhood of Viet. Vets., 684-3768. Nacogdoches: Alternative Views, 560-4363; Pinewoods Coalition, 218 W. Austin St., Nacogdoches. San Juan: ACLU, 787-8171. Seabrook: Galveston Bay Conservation & Preservation Assoc., 471-3119. Temple: Brotherhood of Viet Vets, 773-7987. Waco: ACLU, 755-3611.

lem, but I think the basic things we need to do to deal with it directly is to have better, more sophisticated, better-trained peace officers to enforce the laws. I think it's very simple. I think it's very similar to the educational problem.

Governor Clements has dealt with a lot of things, but not the root problem. Instead of supporting our teachers, he has attacked them. In law enforcement, to my knowledge, he hasn't come up with one suggestion of how we can help our peace officers. In the areas where you have well-trained police officers, the crime rate is lower, and you have very little incidence of police brutality. So I think training is very important. I think we need more and better paid officers with the Department of Public Safety. So I think some commonsense approaches, instead of constantly looking for new packages of legislation and so forth, is a much better approach.

Wiretappings — estimates run all over the board, but some people who have really looked at it say each wiretap is going to cost a million dollars. I'd like to see what that million dollars could produce in better-trained police officers. I think we'd get more for our money.

*So, it's a kind of cosmetic application?*

Yeah. I think everything they've been talking about is cosmetic — stuff that sounds great, and the governor has a package of 15 or 25 bills, whatever, and that sounds good, but does it really accomplish anything? I think not.

## New Federalism

*Well, all of this obviously takes money. And it seems to me that one of the major things a governor is going to face — the next governor, whoever that may be — is dollars. The so-called New Federalism. I remember 1929 vividly, and the states have a sinful past in meeting the kind of obligations we've been talking about. What are you going to do about money?*

Well, first of all, I think you have to start with one basic admission of fact. And that is the reason the federal government is in so many of these areas — the states failed. They did not respond to critical human needs. There is now, through the Reagan New Federalism, a push to move many of these things back to the states and local governments. Nobody knows what the costs are going to be. I suspect they are going to be much greater than anybody realizes now.

I am totally committed to the preservation of those basic programs that are absolutely essential. I don't think anybody in this state wants to turn their back on children whose parents don't take care of them, who don't feed

them. I don't think the state wants to turn its back on our senior citizens, our handicapped, all of these people who need help. If I'm governor, we're not going to allow that to happen.

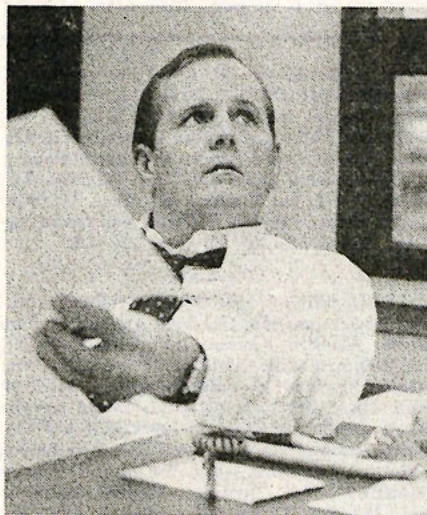
But I think the important thing today is that Texas have a governor who looks at these programs, these shifts, and makes a decision as to support or opposition based on what effect they're going to have in Texas.

I think we're in a very bad situation today, where you have a governor who's going to echo everything the (Reagan) Administration proposes, such as the TEC (Texas Employment Commission) closings. You know — that was outrageous; people need jobs. I think Governor Clements views everybody who's unemployed as a lazy person who is no good for anything, and we know that isn't true.

*The welfare queen. . . .*

*Sure.*

*Sort of thing?*



The TEC — I'm sure somebody could find some criticism of it, but overall I think they've done a fine job. They've got the record to show it. They do put people in jobs, and they help employers. Furthermore, Governor Clements didn't even think to check on what was going to happen to the taxes we paid to support that system. So he's an echo of the administration. He is so concerned about his personal relationship with the president, apparently, that he puts that ahead of what's good for Texas. So I think we need a governor who is independent, who can look at those things.

I will also say that I think that when the truth is known about this program of New Federalism, it's going to die a quiet death. So I'm not sure that anything will come of it.

*The politics of it alone, it seems to me, tend to say that, too. I'd hate to be a Republican or boll weevil congressman running on that record. . . .*

Well, that Reagan proposed is very in-

genious. The man is no fool. He proposed, essentially, moving the popular programs, the ones everybody agrees on, to Washington — "We're going to take those off your hands." Then he sends those that are more controversial and unpopular back to the states, such as food stamps, AFDC (Aid for Dependent Children). He knew what he was doing. I'm just saying I don't think we can — we've got to speak out on those things, and I intend to do so.

*Are you saying that the state, if it chose to do so, could address these problems, and find the money to address them effectively?*

If nothing else were involved, it appears from what I've seen that Texas could handle that financial burden. But there is more to it than that — than just the financial burden. In the first place, there are a lot of other programs, and the costs are going to be enormous. If the costs weren't enormous to state and local government, President Reagan wouldn't be proposing (shifting) them, because they wouldn't do anything about his budget deficit. So obviously there's going to be big numbers involved.

And if that occurs, there's going to be enormous pressure for the states to start phasing out these programs. And I think that would be tragic. Because if all of this went into place as President Reagan has proposed it, there would be the necessity of an enormous tax bill in some session of the legislature in the not-too-distant future.

It wouldn't be in the next session, because the program won't be passed (by Congress) by then, and won't be in place, but the full implementation of that program would undoubtedly cause a major tax increase in Texas. And whether the people of Texas are prepared to do that or not, I don't know. I think the key to it will be what kind of leadership we have out of the governor's office to convince people that these are essential problems.

## New Ideas

*It seems to me that this might be a time in which some imaginative approaches might be valuable. I was thinking specifically about California. Jerry Brown's competence is going to have to be judged by history, not by me. But he created in California a state version of the old Civilian Conservation Corps, and I'm told by newspaper friends out there that it works very well. Unemployment among kids is, what? Twice or three times the national rate? I am thinking of proposals that would be outside the standard categories.*

*Isn't it a whole lot cheaper to put a*

youngster in a situation like that than it is to support him in a jail or a prison or on welfare?

Yeah. Well, there's no question about that. I think most people in this country, liberal, conservative — whatever their political persuasion — I think most people are convinced we need to take some fresh looks at things, and I don't disagree with that. But to me, taking a fresh look doesn't mean overnight discarding what we have in place. As with what President Reagan calls the safety net, he and I have different perceptions of what the safety net is. He's constantly pointing to the "truly needy." Well, who are the truly needy? Just those he says are truly needy or those who have real problems?

I think some of, most of the great minds in this country today are trying to conceive new ideas on how this can be done. Politically I'm not sure that anything will be done, just to be honest about it. Because every fresh, new, innovative idea I've seen over the past ten years has been quickly discarded, and been attacked by the right or the left, whatever, so from a political standpoint, I'm not sure that anything dramatic is going to happen.

But the other part of it is, we don't have a statistically big unemployment situation in Texas. To those who are unemployed, it is a big problem. But statistically, compared to other states, our situation isn't as bad as theirs.

We've always had areas of unemployment in Texas that seem chronic — the Valley, Laredo, East Texas. All the border areas. Unemployment in Laredo will run 13% when it's at 3 or 4% in Austin.

Sure, but what I was going to say awhile ago is that, statistically, our problem isn't bad. But to those people who are unemployed, it is very, very bad. So I think we've got to be concerned with it, even though the numbers look small compared to the national numbers and other states' numbers. But if you look at the want ads in the newspapers, Governor Clements is absolutely right. There are a tremendous number of job openings. But how many of those unemployed in Laredo can fill those jobs? We're not doing the kind of job we need to do on basic education, job training — all those things. I think that's one thing Governor Clements doesn't understand, that we have many people in our society who, for one reason or another, don't have the skills to acquire and hold a job. And we've got to address those problems.

*I think this year's CETA budget was cut by 70% by the federal government. And most of that came out of the education side, not the job-finding side.*

Well, CETA, of course, is very controversial. There have been many abuses, some, I guess, proven. But the basic concept of CETA is good, I think.

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There were some areas, possibly, where they were putting people into make-work type things that did something temporarily. But the trouble with people like Ronald Reagan and Bill Clements is that they will find a flaw in a program and use that flaw to condemn the whole program.

There are abuses in every program that I've ever seen, whether it be a program in private industry, a program in local government, federal government, state government, whatever. But I've never seen a business that, just because they might have one employee abuse some employee-benefit program — they don't throw out the whole system. And I think that's the mistake we're making today. These catchwords, these personal experiences that they tell us about — "throw out the whole system, throw out the whole idea," that's wrong.

As I said in the beginning, there are reasons why all these programs started, and they are reasons that still exist today. They are reasons why we've got to continue to find ways to do these necessary things. I'm not saying, as I sit here tonight, that I have all the answers. But I do have the motivation, and I have the curiosity, and I think the intelligence to help find some answers.

## Labels

*You used the standard tag terms a little while ago — liberal, conservative, progressive. You have declined to label yourself.*

I don't think the average voter in this state labels himself. I don't think the people in Texas are liberal. But I do think they believe very strongly that every kid ought to have an education. Is that liberal? I don't know. I think they feel very strongly that everybody ought to have the opportunity to acquire those skills to get a good job and hold it, that every person in this state ought to have the basic freedoms that allow us to enjoy our lives. Are those liberal concepts? I don't think so.

Frankly, I think that labels are used too frequently today. I know that in my first session of the legislature, I got the reputation of being very liberal. Primarily, on the strength of my support for reform legislation. I worked very hard on saying that lobbyists had to tell us who was paying them, and what they were for and what they were against, to clean up the system a little bit. Financial disclosure for public officials, open meetings act, all of those things. I think those were structural changes that had to be made. I don't think they're liberal; I think they're conservative.

*Socially desirable?*

Sure. And I think in concept they're conservative, because they want to insure that we have a structure that will allow our system to survive.

*Conservative with a lower-case "c"?*

Yeah. Right. And so it's hard for me to say what's liberal and what's conservative. In the legislature I always opposed business legislation that was nothing more than anti-competition legislation. I think that's a conservative approach. Many of the business lobbyists tagged that as liberal. I think that my position was conservative, to insure that our system of commerce was competitive. So I think that tags really are meaningless, and I know everybody says that because they don't want to be tagged one or the other.

*I know you have already replied to Bob Armstrong's demand that you resign from the Railroad Commission. How are you answering that?*

Oh, I've answered it in a number of ways. First of all, I say no I'm not going to do it, and, furthermore, I haven't asked him to resign, or Mark White to resign, or Bill Clements to resign. The idea that I have a hammer over certain people in this state, because I'm going to be on the commission, is nonsense. In the first place, I think that anybody who knows me knows that I don't operate that way. Second place, most of the oil and gas people I know of are going to be for Bill Clements. I think that's just political conversation. I haven't run into anybody across the state who's the least bit concerned about it, other than Bob — and Governor Clements. Furthermore, if I were to resign, Governor Clements would appoint one of his cronies to take my place, and I'm not going to let that happen. I worked too hard to get that job.

*Let's talk a little bit about money? It takes an enormous amount of money to run a statewide campaign in Texas. And Clements obviously has access to a great deal. What do you think it will take to run a winning campaign?*

Against Clements?

Yes.

I haven't put the pencil to it; I haven't tried to work up a budget. But I would say that if he spends ten million, it's going to take three-and-a-half, four, maybe five million dollars. I don't think a good Democratic candidate will have to come near matching that. If he spends ten million dollars, he's done it because he realizes he's got a bad problem with the voters of Texas. I think that's a very clear admission on his part that he's not doing things that most people want to see done, and he's going to try and buy it like he bought it last time. I don't think it'll

*(Continued on Page 24)*

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## NEWS RELEASE

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ALEXANDER BARKAN ACCEPTS ASSIGNMENT AS POLITICAL  
CONSULTANT WITH AMERICAN INCOME LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

WACO, Tex. -- Jan. 25, 1982 -- Alexander E. Barkan, just retired as director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE), today announced that he has accepted an assignment as Special Consultant for Political Affairs with the American Income Life Insurance Company of Waco, Texas.

American Income Life, which markets life, supplementary health, accident and other related insurance products, has as its primary market union members throughout the country. Bernard Rapoport, chairman of the company, has long supported labor and liberal causes and is a contributor to liberal and moderate Democratic candidates for national office.

Rapoport said that American Income has retained Barkan so that the company may "better serve" the democratic process and assist in the election of candidates committed to the restoration of humane government in the United States. He said that Barkan would be available to assist unions in mapping political education and related activities and to advise labor-endorsed candidates on the funding and organization of their election campaigns.

"We are proud to have Mr. Barkan associated with us. We have a direct interest in the strengthening of the labor movement in the United States. We believe that a strong labor movement is essential to the maintenance of our democratic

system and we will do all we can to help," Rapoport said as Barkan announced his acceptance of his consultancy with the company.

Barkan said in accepting the assignment that he has done so because "Bernard Rapoport and the American Income Life Insurance Company have proved their commitment to a vital labor movement and humane government with dollars and manpower, as well as with their voices." He added that he will continue to work in the political arena as an advocate and activist-planner.

"Thanks to American Income Life, I will continue to work in the political arena freely and without strings. I intend to remain active and to do all I can to help to rebuild a victorious Democratic Party with winning candidates.

"The elements of political strength are candidates, issues and organization, all requiring money and manpower. So far as I am concerned, the labor movement will define the issues. I intend to help in candidate development and, especially, in voter registration, fund raising, get-out-the-vote drives and other 'nuts and bolts' organization and planning. In other words, I will continue to do what I have done throughout most of my adult life.

"My particular concern will be the election in 1984 of a Democratic President who will once again place the welfare of the people ahead of the welfare of the super-wealthy. I will be 75 years of age in 1984. With just one more victory for working people under my belt, I will indeed be content to retire at that time," Barkan said.

Barkan added that his acceptance of a political consultancy with American Income will "in no way" interfere with his freedom to accept political assignments from unions and other "acceptable" organizations.

# # #

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### Leland (Continued from Page 9)

Ruth Martin of ACORN said that when she worked to set up the commission on lower-income participation in 1980, she was surprised by the hostility of some party leaders. "I had always believed the Democrats were the working people's party," she said. She sparked off against Texas state Democratic chairman Bob Slagle, quoting him as having said in a recent meeting that, concerning the Democrats' 1982 convention, he would not put his people in roach-infested low-cost motels.

Ed Cogburn of the state Democratic executive committee supported quotas because "low and moderate income people have to be organized. They have to be brought into the party." He attacked the recommendations of the Hunt Commission, saying they reflected the philosophy that the people had to be "bridled and saddled with somebody else to ride their backs."

State Rep. Paul Colbert of Houston felt that minimums could become maximums. "In the long run the party will fail if it is not a party of coalitions," he said. "If it is a party of factions, it will keep devouring itself."

The Leland commission advocated a 25% quota of low- and middle-income people among the at-large delegates only. The recommendations go to the Democratic National Committee on March 26th. Wilcox Brown, who is on both the Leland commission and the DNC, says the latter group is "very resistant" to further opening up the party, especially by quotas. □

### Barton (Continued from Page 5)

"I have no idea," he replied. "If we knew where it was, we'd stop it."

As of this writing, then, Barton Springs is polluted with human, dog, and cat wastes. If the city finds the source of the leak of the human wastes, the situation will return to the Feb. 4 condition: the pool will be closed a couple of days after every rain so people will not be swimming in the residues of cat-do and dog-do. Until the pollution of human

wastes is stopped, people can't swim there at all.

"I didn't go last summer," Wilson Hudson says. "The condition of the whole place makes me so unhappy, I just hate to go out there. . . . I thought way back then we ought to have a Barton Springs Protective Association. Oh, hell, I remember when they put in that sewer in the creek, I thought, 'it's the beginning of the end.' They put it down twelve feet deep but all that crap will come up through the rocks." R.D.

# SLAVES MAKE LOUSY DEFENDERS OF FREEDOM.



Conscription is slavery.

No matter how the politicians try to rationalize it, forcing people into service against their will is no more than temporary enslavement of those people. For if someone cannot refuse to serve, what is he, if not a slave?

This principle holds true whether the involuntary servitude is military or civil. But it is particularly obscene when someone is forced to kill others and risk his own life involuntarily. And to send conscripts out into the world as "defenders of freedom" is the greatest obscenity of all.

The Libertarian Party is totally opposed to conscription, for any purpose.

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# ◇ DIALOGUE ◇

## Anti-consumer

Having received your endorsement in my 1980 Railroad Commission campaign, I read "Ruminations on the Railroad Commission" with great interest. Hopper's dissection of Professor Prindle's apology for state cartelization of the petroleum industry was masterful and very libertarian in its perspective. It was certainly a cut above the superficial anti-commission rhetoric offered by the Hightower campaign.

It would be interesting to see Hopper turn his attentions to the transportation regulations of the Commission which I contend are even more flagrantly anti-consumer than their petroleum policies. Such a double-barrelled assault would give much needed credibility to our position of "sunsetting" this taxpayer-funded trade association.

David Hutzelman, Libertarian Party, Houston.

## Basis for Hope

V. Theodore Schreiber did a great pair of pieces concerning rare fossils, common tourists, exemplary scientists, the Parks & Wildlife Department, and a minuscule number of Christians.

That the catalog of horrors committed by the State of Texas includes ruination of the living and desecration of the dead

is no surprise to long-term observers of the legislature's suppurating pettiness. However, it is a typical Texas irony that policies propounded to protect private property should now lead to public property's destruction.

This is the kind of issue — a Parks Department unable either to protect, to research, or to display timeless treasures — which the *Observer* is to be congratulated for bringing up. One expects the *Observer* to do well on economic matters, and largely these hopes are met. Flashes of cultural awareness are the more intense for their intermittence.

Hopeless it may be to expect your exposing the folly of state government's spending priorities will change them: but certainly no change is even possible without such attention being paid.

James McC. Yeager, Takoma Park, Maryland 20912.

## Not So

The *Observer* is better than ever, as I can say confidently as a charter subscriber.

You might want to correct an error in the article by John Schwartz (*TO* 1/15/82) identifying Michigan State as "the school that recently fired tenured faculty members as a budgetary measure."

That did not happen. A year ago Pres-

ident Cecil Mackey, formerly of Texas Tech, did have that plan. . . . Eventually, the entire plan was abandoned by the administration. The board of trustees authorized a "buy-out" plan. . . . Early retirement by tenured faculty was obtained in overstaffed departments and units by offering an advance payment of about two years of salary.

As your article shows, the mere suggestion of weakening tenure has done great damage to Michigan State University. . . .

W. Paul Strassmann, Dept of Economics, Michigan State U., E. Lansing, Mi. 48824.

## Prindle Surprise

Editor, *Texas Observer*,

Imagine my surprise to read in John Schwartz's article on the tenure decisions of the University of Texas in your January 15 edition that I have written a book on the Texas Railroad Commission which "manages to meticulously relate the Commission's history with a minimum of criticism. This is the sort of work that earns one tenure at UT." You see, I had just finished reading an article by a former editor of the *Observer*, Robert Sherrill, in the December edition of *D* magazine, in which he says that I have exposed "all the mistakes, improprieties, stupidities, and conflicts of interest" on

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