

THE TEXAS OBSERVER

March 9, 1984

A Journal of Free Voices

75¢

Borders and Unions in the Valley

By Geoffrey Rips

San Benito

IT IS A HOUSE like many others in this neighborhood of small frame and cinder-block houses a few blocks from the expressway connecting Harlingen and Brownsville. A house like many others with a garden and white-washed cinder-block walls. But there are a large number of people entering and leaving the door at the back of this house. And on a door at the front "Casa Oscar Romero" is painted in black.

On this late afternoon in San Benito, five or six men in their late teens, twenties, and thirties kick around a soccer ball on the empty, dusty lot next to the house. An older man and young girl sit on a wooden bench with their backs against a wall of the house. The man grips the edge of the plank on which he is seated and stares off into space. The girl watches the men kicking the ball around and laughs. Near the rear entrance to the house three women are engaged in discussion.

A trailer with a little awning attached is located some hundred feet behind the house. Jack and Diane Elder live here with their four young sons while they oversee the operation of this haven for Central American refugees.

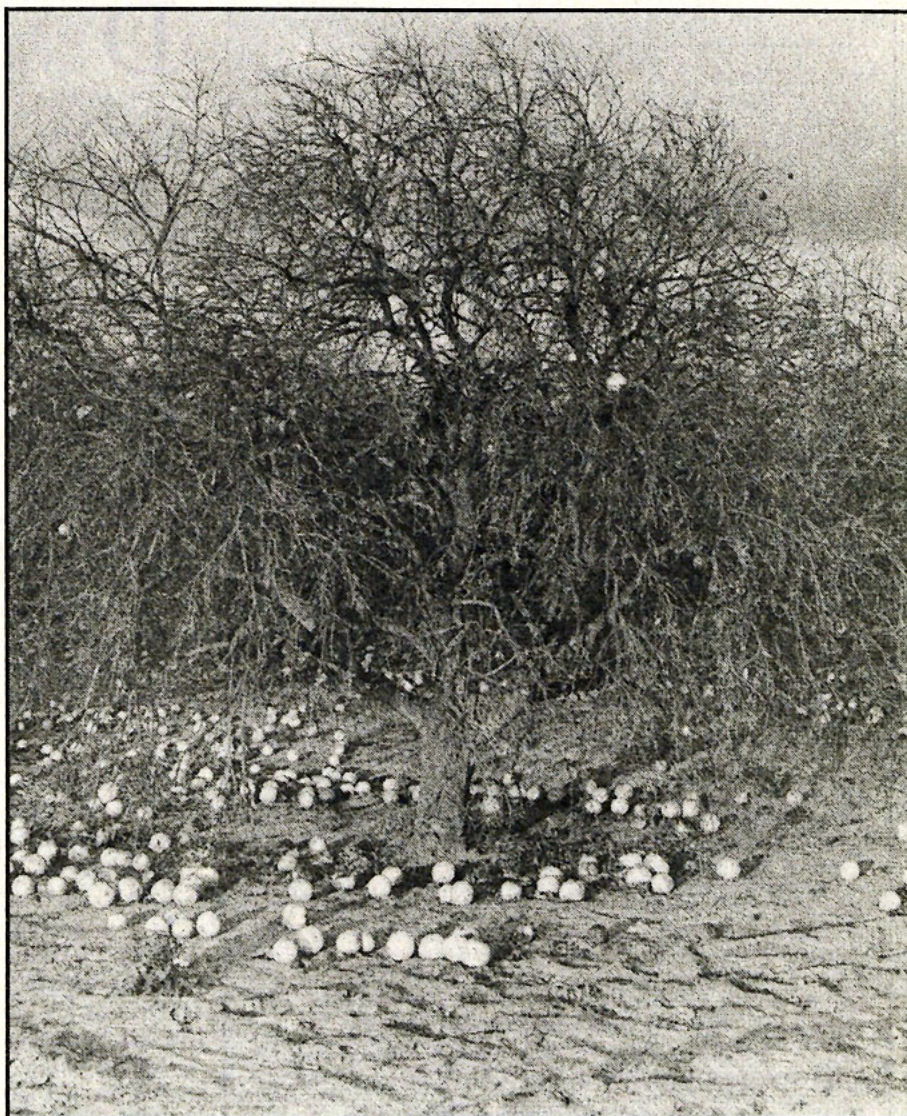


Photo by Nancy Maniscalco

(Continued on Page 10)

Bitter harvest of the freeze.

In This Issue:

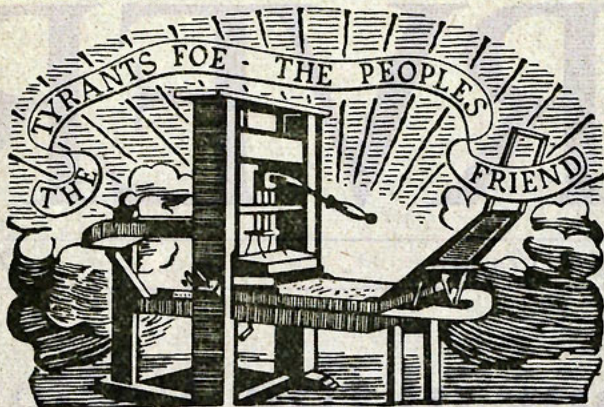
University
Defense Contracts



Nicaraguan
Contradictions



Correspondence
from Wales



THE TEXAS OBSERVER

© The Texas Observer Publishing Co., 1984
Ronnie Dugger, Publisher

Vol. 76, No. 5



March 9, 1984

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

EDITOR Geoffrey Rips
EDITOR AT LARGE Ronnie Dugger

CAREY McWILLIAMS FELLOW: Nina Butts

CALENDAR: Chula Sims

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT: Al Watkins

WALES CORRESPONDENT: Joe Holley

LAYOUT AND DESIGN: Alicia Daniel

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD: Frances Barton, Austin; Elroy Bode, Kerrville; Chandler Davidson, Houston; Bob Eckhardt, Washington, D.C.; Sissy Farenthold, Houston; Ruperto Garcia, Austin; John Kenneth Galbraith, Cambridge, Mass.; Lawrence Goodwyn, Durham, N.C.; George Hendrick, Urbana, Ill.; Molly Ivins, Dallas; Larry L. King, Washington, D.C.; Maury Maverick, Jr., San Antonio; Willie Morris, Oxford, Miss.; Kaye Northcott, Austin; James Presley, Texarkana, Tx.; Susan Reid, Austin; A. R. (Babe) Schwartz, Galveston; Fred Schmidt, Tehachapi, Cal.; Robert Sherrill, Tallahassee, Fla.

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Warren Burnett, Nina Butts, Jo Clifton, Craig Clifford, John Henry Faulk, Ed Garcia, Bill Helmer, Jack Hopper, Amy Johnson, Laurence Jolidon, Mary Lenz, Matt Lyon, Greg Moses, Rick Piltz, Susan Raleigh, Paul Sweeney, Michael Ventura, Lawrence Walsh.

CONTRIBUTING PHOTOGRAPHERS: Alan Pogue, Russell Lee, Scott Van Osdol.

CONTRIBUTING ARTISTS: Jeff Danziger, Beth Epstein, Dan Hubig, Kevin Krenek, Ben Sargent, Gail Woods.

A journal of free voices

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

Writers are responsible for their own work, but not for anything they have not themselves written, and in publishing them we do not necessarily imply that we agree with them because this is a journal of free voices.

Business Manager Frances Barton
Assistant Alicia Daniel
Advertising, Special Projects Cliff Olofson

Editorial and Business Office
600 West 7th Street, Austin, Texas 78701
(512) 477-0746

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 University Microfilms Int'l., 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

Copyright 1984 by Texas Observer Publishing Company. All rights reserved. Material may not be reproduced without permission.

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

• PAGE TWO •

Virginia Durr's Battles

The Best and the Most Compassionate

Austin

DO THEY NOT MAKE them like they used to? Or do they just not bring them into government when they do appear?

"It's like a gathering of old Confederate soldiers," Maury Maverick Jr. said, surveying the February 13 discussion and reception at the Lyndon Johnson Library. There were Creekmore Fath, John Henry Faulk, Ralph and Opal Yarborough, Lady Bird Johnson, Judge Red James, and Russell Lee. They had gathered to honor Virginia Durr, former leader of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax.

Liz Carpenter, noting, "It looks like I'm at a Democratic caucus . . . in 1942," introduced the woman whom historian C. Vann Woodward had called "the most important white woman of the South in the civil rights movement." Durr was born in Birmingham, graduated from Wellesley in 1921, and married Clifford Durr, an Alabama attorney who later represented Rosa Parks. With the election of Franklin Roosevelt and the advent of the New Deal, the Durrs moved to Alexandria, Virginia, in order for Clifford to work first with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to reopen banks and, later, as a Federal Communications Commissioner. Their home became a center for liberal Southerners drawn to Washington by Roosevelt.

Wilbur Cohen, the New Dealer, HEW head, and now Professor of Public Affairs at the LBJ School, told of his becoming acquainted with a group of Southern women, Virginia Durr and his future wife among them, upon his arrival in Washington. It was, he said, a group of women "about whom my mother had never told me." Years later, Cohen said, he was subjected to a loyalty exam as a result of his wife's friendship with Virginia Durr.

Through this Southern network, Durr met Maury Maverick Sr., "a great man," she said, "and a very brave man. We formed a committee to abolish the poll tax. The head of the House Judiciary Committee at the time was Hatton Summers [D-Texas] — the most disagreeable man. Tex Goldschmidt, Clark Foreman — we got together — Southerners. We thought that the thing was to get people the right to vote . . . We also formed the Southern Conference on Human Welfare [to build a political base for support in the South for New Deal reforms]. We thought the South controlled the Congress and Mr. Roosevelt was being impeded in every direction by Southerners. The South acted like a great leaden weight dragging down the New Deal."

On March 6, 1940, San Antonio Mayor Maury Maverick told a House Judiciary subcommittee to write a poll-tax ban into the Hatch Act, saying it was constitutional for Congress to ban poll taxes. "A lot of things are constitutional now that weren't constitutional twelve months ago," Maverick told the committee.

In 1942 the poll-tax ban was included in a bill that passed the House, 252 to 84, with only two Texas Congressmen, R. Ewing Thomason of El Paso and Albert Thomas of Houston, voting in favor. Hatton Summers called the issue "a showdown in America as to whether we are going to preserve democracy or not." Among the Texans voting against the measure were Paul Kilday, Richard Kleberg, Wright Patman, and Lyndon Baines Johnson.

When Claude Pepper of Florida introduced the bill in the Senate, he was opposed by Tom Connally of Texas, who threatened a filibuster. Alben Barkley (D-Kentucky) helped lead the losing Senate fight for poll-tax abolition. Barkley was also a frequent visitor in the Durr home. "When Alben Barkley would stand in Virginia's home," Judge Red James said, "and sing 'Wagon Wheels,' there wasn't a dry eye in the house."

Virginia Durr recalled how they had been opposed by Postmaster Jim Farley, who said their efforts would lose the South for Roosevelt. (Farley himself had Presidential aspirations as Roosevelt neared the end of his second term.) The abolitionists wanted to get to Roosevelt and succeeded in recruiting Eleanor Roosevelt to their cause, through the intervention of Mary McCloud Bethune.

"I met Lyndon at Tex and Rita Goldschmidt's," Durr told the gathering. "Lyndon always said, 'I'll get the poll tax abolished when I've got the votes.' Finally he passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965. When he did, I sent him a telegram: 'Free at last! Thank God Almighty, I'm free at last!'"

Durr's work in abolishing the poll tax brought her under the scrutiny of a Congressional committee during the age of McCarthy. "James Eastland," Durr said, "was trying to prove the Supreme Court was dominated by Communists. If the *Brown* decision integrated schools [which Eastland expected to be handed down the following year], it would be proof. Eastland got the Southern Conference on Human Welfare to hearings in New Orleans. He called the white members but not the black, saying the whites were manipulating the blacks. [Durr] called [Lyndon], saying, 'He's going to send us to jail.' What he [Johnson] did, I'll never know, but we never went to jail."

Several years later, Durr met Rosa Parks, whom Clifford Durr was defending after her arrest for refusing to move to the back of a bus. "Mrs. Parks and Mrs. Johnson [Lady Bird] are two of the most perfect Southern ladies I've ever known," Durr drawled. "I should know because I've never succeeded at it. . . . She [Parks] said she wanted to take it to the Supreme Court. Bus drivers then had police power and guns on their hips. Not only could they yell at them [riders], but they could shoot at them."



Photo by Alan Pogue

Virginia Durr at Observer party, 1983.

The extraordinary thing about that gathering and particularly about Virginia Durr was the enormous intellectual vitality present. Certainly the Capitol has not seen the equal of that group, even under Kennedy, since they formed the youthful brain-trust behind the New Deal. Then there is that unfaltering commitment to justice and equality, epitomized by Virginia Durr, who in her eighties continues fighting. "Texas has got a reputation all over this country for being a law unto itself," she chided her assembled friends, "and you all don't even have an income tax. I don't believe it. You're the richest state in the country. And I'll tell you I've seen several places where a little money could be used."

She is a champion of the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment. "The chances [for passage] have improved tremendously in the South," she said. "Although blacks are oppressed as a minority, women are oppressed as a majority."

She is passionate on the subject of disarmament: "It's the one thing everybody has to do. It doesn't make any difference if the garden doesn't grow or your afghan doesn't get knitted. . . . Everybody ought to dedicate themselves to keep this world from being blown up. Right now you've got one thing you've got to do: keep from having atomic war."

We need her kind in Washington again. If they don't make them like they used to, we should send Virginia Durr back to Washington to straighten things out.

G. R.

• DIALOGUE •

Krueger Defender

I have written for the Observer in the past; I consider myself an ally of causes; my wife works in the office of your next-door neighbor, the ACLU. I write now in response to your Jan. 27 astonishment that anyone of political sympathy could arrive at different conclusions about the U.S. Senate race. I do not support Lloyd

Doggett because I do not believe his candidacy has any basis in reality outside Travis County. It strikes me as the classic case of Austin myopia. Geoffrey Rips' blithe assertion that any Democrat can sweep the state in November is irresponsible nonsense. But my wariness of Doggett extends beyond the practical issue of electability. I haven't seen in him the depth, range, and knowledge of Washington that I associate with Bob Krueger. In these times of Reagan, Lebanon, Grenada, and nuclear bluster,

I receive campaign materials from Doggett that stress, above all things, his affiliation with the Killer Bees — which hardly dispels my fear of a diligent, conscientious man whose horizons extend no farther than Westlake Hills. Doggett has been an able and progressive statehouse politician. That's probably where he belongs.

Krueger's political role model is the late Adlai Stevenson. He represented a border and West Texas district that went 70 percent for Nixon in 1972. His

popular predecessor used to campaign as the only man in Congress with a zero rating by the ADA. Ronnie Dugger belittles Krueger's vanguard support of extending the Voting Rights Act to embrace Mexican-Americans. But Mark White, then Dolph Briscoe's Secretary of State, thought enough of the Anglo breach of faith to launch a tirade against Krueger almost as vituperative as the one we read from Geoffrey Rips. Krueger in Congress was a favorite of Carter, though his statements and votes reflected belief that the fiscal ineptitude of that administration would bring the country and the Democratic party to ruin, which is exactly what happened in 1980. Colleagues like Jim Wright and Bob Eckhardt did not think all that poorly of him, as I recall. Observer tirades notwithstanding, Krueger's congressional record, campaign against Tower, and subsequent work on behalf of local Democratic candidates place him square in the middle between Doggett and Kent Hance. For Rips to claim otherwise its intellectually dishonest.

When I read an endorsement in a publication with the distinguished history of the Observer's, I expect more than a cynical play to the conservative readerships of Texas Monthly and Texas Business followed by nothing but column after column of attack of the chosen son's opponent, on grounds of that opponent's conservatism. Doggett seems to have determined that his best chance lies in taking the low road against Krueger. That's hard-nosed politics, I suppose. But if there's no place for balance and fairness in elective campaigning, there damn sure ought to be in journalism. Rips alludes to young Abe Lincoln and the union mineworkers, but his focus in history is far-fetched. In the zeal of his hatchetwork and certainty that the end justifies the means, he recalls the mentality of Haldeman and Erlichman.

If Doggett and the Democratic voters prove me wrong, I will support him gladly in November. But will the Observer's "loyalist Democrats" take another walk if they fail to get their way? This is the publication, recall, that once endorsed John Tower on grounds of ideological purity. Tower, in fact, is the only candidate that the Observer wing of the party can claim to have elected to statewide office. Keep it up, gang. You're going to love Phil Gramm.

Jan Reid, Austin.

It is a shocking experience to be confronted by Bob Krueger's voting record. For more information, see my

source — that other "hatchet job," the Congressional Quarterly. G.R.

UNESCO Concerns

The article by Ruperto Garcia "The U.S. and Unesco" disturbs me; Mr. Garcia alibis for all the dictators that walk out every time an Israeli speaks at the UN.

I agree with the New York Times . . . that the UN is ruled by a third-world ethos.

President Reagan did the right thing to get out Unesco (sic).

A. S. Robbins, Lubbock.

☆ ☆ ☆ ☆

I just read your T. Observer article/interview about UNESCO.

I would very much like to see the U.S. continue its membership — who should I write to express my views & what about starting a petition — perhaps w/the aid of nationwide magazine?

Pete Sanford, Nacogdoches.

The Real Disaster

Your Page Two analysis of the South Texas agricultural disaster (TO, 2/24/84) is the first really detailed account I've seen that examines how deficiencies in federal and state emergency aid programs led to the massive private-sector appeal for relief on behalf of jobless farmworkers. But neither this article nor the press in general seems to be probing the more basic issue of why an appeal of any kind, public or private, is necessary at all.

Against a backdrop of almost total cessation of employment and unquestionable economic need brought on by the protracted freeze in the waning days of 1983, the *Austin American-Statesman* reports in late January the commitment to the Lower Rio Grande Valley of almost \$2.5 million in state funds for emergency jobs and home repair, substantial quantities of USDA surplus canned goods, cheese and butter, and \$10,000 from the Catholic archdiocese of San Antonio. A February 5 story in the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* announces the donation of 30 tons of food by Episcopal parishes in southern and western Texas, followed a week later by an *American-Statesman* article on the airlift to the Valley of 24,000 tortillas,

3,000 pounds of pinto beans, and 102,000 pounds of potatoes. On February 25, thanks in large part to an appeal from the pulpit by Governor Mark White, the Baptist Church sends \$50,000 in cash. When farmworkers lose their jobs, it seems, public assistance and private charity are the only games in town.

Yet when Levi Strauss or Texas Instruments closes its doors and thousands of employees are sent packing, there are no appeals by the governor, no collections, no airlifts of potatoes and beans. For 49 years, factory workers have been protected by unemployment insurance, and when joblessness strikes they can count on that income for at least six months. The farmworkers of our state, on the other hand, only a handful of whom are covered by unemployment insurance, must depend on community benevolence for survival.

Nor is unemployment compensation the only missing link in the chain of security that keeps most of the rest of us from ever having to be on the receiving end of a food or clothing drive. The nation's first minimum wage law was enacted in 1938, but it wasn't until 1966 that it was amended to apply at all to farm employment, and even then only to the very largest agricultural establishments. Eighteen years later, many of the state's farmworkers are still earning less than the federal minimum wage and none of them are legislatively entitled to overtime pay. With average hourly earnings only 42 percent of the wage level in manufacturing, and employment only 30 to 40 weeks out of the year, hired field workers in Texas can hardly be expected to salt away much in the way of savings to fall back on when they're out of work.

Likewise, the fact that auto workers, shipwrights and so many other industrial laborers are not forced into poverty and dependence when they find themselves displaced from their jobs is very likely to be the result of income security provisions in a union contract, since workers in those industries have lived within the shelter of the National Labor Relations Act since 1935. Alas again, however, agriculture was excepted by that piece of legislation, and to this day Texas farmworkers still have no statutory guarantee of the right to collectively negotiate terms and conditions of their employment, and no federal or state administrative mechanism for resolving questions of representation and disputes over unfair labor practices.

So while it's encouraging that Texans are demonstrating a growing awareness of the extraordinary economic handicaps that beset the farmworker population

and genuinely want to do something to change things for the better, it seems especially appropriate to reflect on the fundamental legislative inequalities that perpetuate those conditions and precipitate the kinds of emergencies the public is being asked to help resolve today in South Texas.

If concerned citizens and public officials would put as much spirit and sacrifice into the effort to secure equitable labor protections for agricultural workers as they have devoted to the campaign for public aid and private donations, the next time a natural disaster causes widespread agricultural unemployment, farmworkers wouldn't have to rely on the philanthropy of society, but could turn instead to the same employment-related benefits the rest of the labor force depends on when the need arises.

Brian R. Craddock, Austin

Two Friends

Recently, two friends of mine in the prison reform movement died.

Franklin Garcia not only was a catalyst for the organization of unions in South Texas, but he was also an adviser to us in the early seventies when we started in San Antonio to organize the families of prisoners.

Franklin not only advised, he also was a person of direct action. I shall never forget a large meeting in '71 when I kept trying to be recognized to speak. Franklin was standing in his overalls next to me. Finally, he turned to me and asked, "You want to speak?"

Almost as soon as I had nodded, he gave out this incredibly loud whistle, everyone immediately became quite, and I had the floor.

Franklin had very little in common with the other late friend of prison reform, Herman Adams.

As a state representative from a conservative rural area, Herman appeared very seldom in the pages of *The Texas Observer*. And yet, Herman was one of the chief reasons why Texas has a state agency to set minimum standards for county jails. As a member of the powerful Calendars Committee, Herman in '75 made certain that the bill creating the Texas Commission on Jail Standards received action on the House Floor.

Although the Commission has its critics (and I am one), this agency has

been responsible for substantial improvements in Texas jails.

Over the years, I would periodically bring this to his attention when he was the lobbyist for the University of Texas. Herman would smile with the gesture of a person who knew that he had done a noble deed, and only he and I would ever know.

In many ways, Herman's and Franklin's help represent two sides of the same coin. One upfront and confrontational while the other extremely behind the scenes. In my opinion, both are essential in the movement for a more humane world.

Charles Sullivan, Austin.

Abortion Foe

Contrary to the assertion in your two-page ad (Jan. 27), the majority of Americans do not consider abortion an option for all women. Polls consistently show that four out of five Americans favor strict limitations to the relatively few cases involving rape, incest or a serious threat to the health of the mother.

The aggressive abortion industry — heavily represented in your ad, by the way — strives assiduously to make the issue a liberal-conservative confrontation. Many sincere people accept that dichotomy unthinkingly. How many of your readers are asking ourselves the hard questions on the avalanche of abortions performed in the past decade?

Doesn't being liberal mean a commitment to defend the interests of the weakest members of the human family? If so, who are these weakest among us? Can we seriously maintain, in the light of current medical knowledge, that the unborn are not human? If we ignore their rights, how then are we different from 19th century slaveholders and from Nazi Germans in relegating some categories of humanity to sub-human status? What's liberal about taking human life?

Edward M. Corbett, Commerce.

Republican Praise

From the perspective of a long-suffering Texas Republican political operative, let me add a few words about Dave Shapiro. (Observations, Feb. 10 *Observer*)

In his own often lonely way, Shapiro has probably done more for two-party development in Texas than any single individual because of his dedication and the fact that he understands the dynamics involved better than anyone and can articulate them at a drop of a campaign hat.

When I first heard Shapiro's pitch in 1962 on how to break one-party rule, I thought he was preaching heresy to his liberal friends and nonsense to us. So a liberal backlash had pushed John Tower across the line in a strange special election in 1961, branded as a "fluke." How could we possibly count on our philosophical arch-rivals, liberal Democrats, to help us in other major races? And bear in mind, the philosophical winds were blowing strongly in the early 1960s, both left and right.

Yet, the Shapiro approach was evident in the 1962 governor's race. A fledgling Republican Party, with a fair primary turnout, meant a liberal Democrat had a better shot at the gubernatorial nomination and a Republican made the first competitive GOP general election bid for governor since Reconstruction. One could now see the light.

But all two-party bets were off in 1964, a Democratic landslide in the aftermath of the Kennedy Assassination.

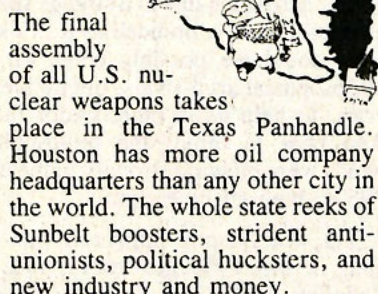
Facing virtual annihilation as a viable statewide party in 1966, we circled the wagons around Tower, up for his first re-election bid. A unified Democratic Party would probably have meant a devastating defeat for the GOP, but Tower weaved his way to a decisive victory, thereby securing a crucial beachhead for two-party politics in Texas.

Liberal backlash against the Democratic nominee vs. Tower, Waggoner Carr, was a key element in Tower's victory margin. Many sophisticated liberals voted for Tower and convinced their friends to join them. Others, along with some labor leaders, simply refused to turn out their vote. They had subscribed to the two-party theory promoted by Shapiro and a few other staunch liberals.

The 1960s were tough, and sometimes, desperate times for Texas Republicans. Had Tower lost that pivotal 1966 election, the GOP wouldn't have folded, but realistically, it would have meant a return to one-party rule for who knows how long.

Shapiro's understanding of the dynamics involved plus his tenacity under criticism and pressure were invaluable during those formative years.

John R. Knaggs, Austin



Send the Observer to —

name

address

city	state	zip
------	-------	-----

- ☐ this subscription is for myself
☐ gift subscription; send card in my name
☐ \$20 enclosed for a one-year subscription
☐ bill me for \$20

My name & address (if different)

name

address

city	state	zip

University Defense Contracts

Goin' to Study War Some More

By Nina Butts

Within eighteen months of its arrival here, Lockheed had donated several thousand dollars' worth of heavy industrial equipment to Austin Community College and arranged for ACC instructors to train Lockheed employees on the job, using money provided by the state through the Economic Development Commission. "We fulfill whatever needs they have out there," said ACC industry liaison Theron Lee. "We do . . . on-site type training."

"When Lockheed came to town," a source inside the college noted, "ACC was its welcoming committee."

LIKE THE LINE dividing the Pentagon and the weapons corporations, the line between academia and the military-industrial complex often becomes grey. The relationship of Austin Community College to Lockheed is one instance. Research funds are another. In universities and colleges all over Texas, scientists labor under contracts with both the Pentagon and the weapons corporations. In addition, students coming out of science and engineering schools are wooed by weapons contractors, whose recruiters regularly visit the campuses. And one of Texas' major defense corporations,

This is the second in a series of articles by Nina Butts examining Texas' role in the weapons industry. The series is funded by a Carey McWilliams Fellowship from the Nation Institute.

Tracor, in Austin, was founded in 1955 by a local lawyer and four University of Texas scientists.

Pentagon spending at Texas colleges and universities was \$35 million in fiscal 1983, for both research and officer training (ROTC). At the University of Texas 37.8% of all research grant money came from the Defense Department in fiscal 1983. Also, research grants from NASA and the Department of Energy often involve weapons research.

University scientists are not immune to moral questions about being paid by the military to do their work. "Scientists all over ask those questions," said one university physicist. "Our research is on basic physics . . . the military takes our basic research — answers to questions — and does what it wants to with it, good or bad or whatever. The scientist always hopes it will be used for good."

"Do we sell our souls? That is the appropriate question," said Loyd Hampton, director of the UT Applied Research Laboratories, which had close to \$17 million in Navy contracts last year. "There are . . . things that are left to value judgments — that we reach one conclusion to while somebody else might reach another conclusion."

One university mathematician claimed, "I don't really feel guilty working for the military because [my work] has peacetime applications just as much as military. I don't really have to go in and build a weapons system."

One reason — in some cases perhaps the first reason — that university researchers do work for the Pentagon is that the Pentagon has the money to fund them. "There will always be a scarcity of research money," said A. J. Dusek, head of UT's Office of Sponsored Projects. He added that there are researchers who, "if they could get money from some other source, would not want to get it from the Defense Department. It's just that that's where the funding is these days."

At North Texas State University, the Center for Applied Quantum Electronics, an internationally known laser lab, has a \$1 million annual budget that comes from a large Navy contract and a few smaller contracts, including one with LTV Corporation. A lab physicist, Eric Van Stryland, said, "In Reagan's latest Star Wars speech . . . the laser was one of the top priorities. Since we work in the laser area, we're trying to capitalize on that at the moment to up our funding. We hope it pours money into basic research."

Research for laser weapons "is not the emphasis" of his lab, Van Stryland added, but "a way for us to get funding."

"The kinds of funds we want are very difficult to get," said Loyd Hampton at UT's Applied Research Laboratories. "We have defined our obligation as a university lab and we're dedicated to remaining a university lab. In the Department of Defense, basic research funds are declining but there are numerous opportunities in systems, that is, advanced engineering of hardware to be placed aboard operational vehicles. There is continuous opportunity for us to go over and do work in systems. We believe that's inappropriate for us."

Across the state, 23 colleges and universities do work under Pentagon contracts. At Texas A&M defense projects include the Center for Strategic Technology, a "defense think tank" that analyzes Soviet military strength. At Texas Tech, one Navy project is "pattern recognition for imaging systems." Texas Tech professor Louis Hunt explained: "The computer takes information, makes an image, and recognizes it. It could track a plane to identify it."

At Southern Methodist University an Army contract funds work with lasers for quick transmission of data. The University of Texas at Dallas researches damage to hearing and concussions resulting from explosions. "They have a machine that can simulate a cannon blast directly into a soundproof room," explained UTD spokesman Buddy Adams. At Baylor College of Medicine in Houston researchers study the effects of "an agent that would act on the nervous system," according to Baylor spokesperson Gayle McNutt.

"The students get to work on this research," says Hunt of Texas Tech, "so it makes them better engineers or mathematicians or whatever . . . and they get to help the Navy."

"It's a real tragedy," David Cortright, executive director of the Washington-based peace group, SANE, said, "and I think a terrible moral

dilemma for students of science and technology because as they come out of their graduate training they discover that the best-paying, most exciting, frontier-related jobs are in the arms business. That's where the action is."

Corporate recruiters visiting UT's school of engineering this academic year include Bell Helicopter, Rockwell International, General Dynamics, United Technologies, General Electric, and Lockheed — all major defense contractors — as well as the CIA and the government weapons laboratories, Lawrence Livermore and Oakridge.

"You'll find very few electrical engineering students who have any qualms about working in defense," said Larry Hilgert, 22, the president of the UT chapter of the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers. "That's where the money is. That's where the jobs are going to be. So maybe some of us have a subconscious bias in favor of defense."

In September of last year McDonnell Douglas, the nation's number-two defense contractor, chartered a bus to take 40 UT engineering students to its St. Louis plant. McDonnell Douglas put the

students up at a St. Louis hotel and fed them. Shortly afterwards the newsletter of the UT Student Engineering Council reported: "The IEEE members toured the avionics lab, seeing many new and sophisticated electronic warfare systems . . . the highlight of the tour was the final assembly plant, where all the various parts come together to form F-15, F-18, and Harrier AV-8B aircraft, some of the highest of high-tech warplanes in the world." The newsletter noted that the visit ended with a "career panel" and filet mignon dinner in the McDonnell Douglas executive dining room.

"What I call 'state of the art' is lasers, imaging, pattern recognition, artificial intelligence," said David Lunsford, a 23-year-old UT senior in electrical engineering. "I decided to work with the state of the art, and all the directions are the wrong directions. . . . I can't do that kind of work without it being military-oriented. . . . It troubles me because that's what I want to do. I just don't want to develop a pattern recognizer that's going to be used to pick out targets. . . . Pattern recognizing is a wonderful art form. There's a lot of

Department of Defense awards to Texas colleges and universities for fiscal 1983*

in thousands

Baylor College of Medicine	Houston	\$ 240
Baylor University	S.A./Ft. Sam Houston	26
Baylor University	Waco	80
Central Texas College	Killeen	2,538
North Texas State University	Denton	680
Park College	El Paso/Ft. Bliss	84
Rice University	Houston	543
Saint Mary's University	San Antonio	88
Southern Methodist University	Dallas	441
Texas A&M University	College Station	4,066
Texas Christian University	Fort Worth	354
Texas Technological University	Lubbock	1,200
Texas Wesleyan College	Fort Worth	28
Trinity University	San Antonio	153
University of Houston	Houston	938
University of Texas	Arlington	63
University of Texas	Austin	21,845
University of Texas	Dallas	513
University of Texas	El Paso	144
University of Texas	Galveston	102
University of Texas	Hillsboro	26
University of Texas	Houston	132
UT	S.A./Brooks Air Force Base	1,312

*source: Department of Defense

Information for Historians, Researchers, Nostalgia Buffs, & Observer Fans

Bound Volumes: The 1983 bound issues of *The Texas Observer* are now ready. In maroon, washable binding, the price is \$20. Also available at \$20 each are volumes for the years 1963 through 1982.

Cumulative Index: The clothbound cumulative edition of *The Texas Observer Index* covering the years 1954-1970 may be obtained for \$20. The newly published 1971-1981 index is now available for \$55 (hardback) and \$30 (softbound).

Back Issues: Issues dates January 10, 1963, to the present are available at 75 cents per issue. Earlier issues are out of stock, but photocopies of articles from issues dated December 27, 1962, will be provided at 75 cents per article.

Microfilm: The complete backfile (1954-1983) is approximately \$450. Individual years may be ordered separately. To order, or to obtain additional information regarding the 35mm microfilm editions, please write to Univ. Microfilms Intl., 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

Address your order (except for microfilm) to the Observer Business Office. Texas residents please add the 5% sales tax to your remittance. Materials will be sent postpaid.

THE TEXAS OBSERVER
600 W. 7th ST. — AUSTIN 78701
(512) 477-0746

great applications for it, but it's being used to guide missiles."

Asked what he is going to do when

he graduates, Lunsford replied, "I'm going to — I don't know. That's a hard question . . . that's a hard question." □

"Work That's Appropriate"

In far north Austin, near the IBM plant and the site for Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corporation (MCC), behind a high wire fence with an electronic gate, is the University of Texas Applied Research Laboratories. UT gets more Pentagon money than all the other Texas colleges and universities combined because of the ARL. It is a place that most UT students never see.

The lab's budget was \$17 million dollars last year, almost all from Navy contracts to do work in underwater acoustics. The lab has four testing tanks and a computer center. Out on Lake Travis in the blue-green hills west of Austin, just above Mansfield Dam, is a little group of barges, attached to the shore by wooden walkways, that contain six ARL sonar laboratories. ARL researches, among other things, submarine quieting, torpedo counter-counter measures, and buried mine detection.

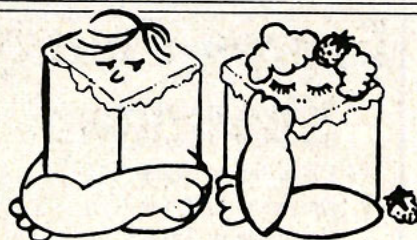
Started in 1942, the lab was first named the War Research Laboratory. It developed the Texas tester, a device to test gun sights and the fire control system on the B-29 bomber. At the end of World War II it was named the Military Physics Research Laboratory and moved off the campus to the site north of town. In 1964 it merged with the UT Defense Research Laboratory, which had worked on missile fuel and aerodynamics.

The lab employs 170 scientists,

only five of whom teach classes, and about 70 graduate and undergraduate students. "We like to do work that's appropriate for publication, for theses and dissertations," lab director Loyd Hampton said. "Part of the significance of what we have to offer the students out here is that they are in a real laboratory environment. . . . We employ probably 40 to 50 undergraduates and they're in the professional arena. They are under engineers and physicists and they're working in a laboratory and that's a notch above washing dishes. It's good employment."

In 1955, Chester McKinney, who was then director of the Applied Research Laboratories, joined three other lab scientists and a lawyer to found Tracor, now an Austin-based defense contractor with facilities in sixteen states and six countries and \$24 million in profits last year. Tracor's work in underwater acoustics is similar to ARL's work: "Our goal as a university laboratory is to stay in the technology arena," said Hampton. "Tracor tends to do more that's oriented towards hardware and actual systems, but the distinction [between kinds of work] can get very fuzzy."

Although ARL employees are not allowed to consult for Tracor, Tracor occasionally rents the ARL Lake Travis labs. "They hire our people [after they graduate]," Hampton said. "One of our products is trained people." N. B.



CHEESE CAKE

ON THE RIVERWALK

SERVING SANDWICHES TO SEAFOOD,
FROM 11:30 UNTIL 11:30
EVERY DAY OF THE WEEK;
OPEN TILL MIDNIGHT
IN THE METRO CENTER, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS



POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE

✓ The new president of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce, Forrest Smith, has consulted with Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade about the possibility of changing the venue for the upcoming retrial of Lenell Geter, according to a story in the *Dallas Times Herald*. "The Geter case is another problem that impacts our public relation image," Smith said. He is particularly worried about adverse publicity the case might generate for Dallas prior to the Republican National Convention. Wade referred Smith to state District Judge John Ovard.

✓ In response to a questionnaire from the Texas legislative committee of the United Farm Workers (AFL-CIO), Bob Krueger stated his support for a sub-minimum wage for non-adults — an anathema to labor unions because it encourages the employment of non-adult workers in place of adults and because, with piece rates based upon hourly rates, it provides a mechanism for paying young workers unequal wages for equal work.

In response to another question asked by the UFW — concerning whether the candidate supported legislation allowing public access to chemical company test data on certain pesticides — Krueger responded that the EPA should examine such data and that Congress should make sure it does.

✓ Although the City of Austin has withdrawn from the Lower Colorado River Authority's Fayette #3, a lignite-burning power project scheduled to go on line in 1988, the LCRA plans to go ahead with Fayette #3 and the huge Cummins Creek strip mine in Fayette County that will provide the lignite. The mine will cover 7450 acres, will be active for 37 years, and will remove the lignite, a low-grade, dirt-like coal, with draglines and large rotating bucket wheel excavators (which look like steamboat paddlewheels). The mine will be up to 350 feet deep and remove earth that will cover 1300 acres. About 40% of the mining will be below the water table, so at least 30 existing wells will be ruined by the mining.

The lignite will be moved to Fayette #3 on a 12-mile-long conveyor belt.

Federal and state laws require that strip-mined land be reclaimed to the "approximate original contour," but the LCRA will seek permission from the Texas Railroad Commission to turn part of the mine into an 800-acre lake and part of the removed land into a 140-foot wooded hill.

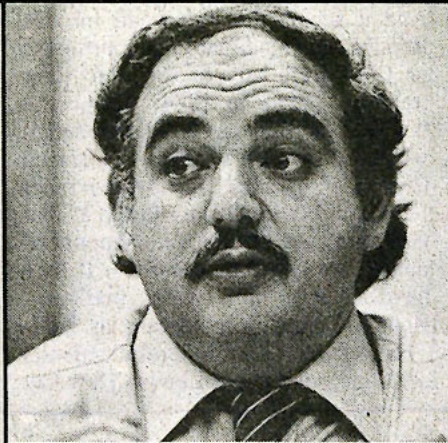


Photo by Mickey Torres

✓ Ernesto Cortes, Jr., founder of the Texas Interfaith Network and its affiliated community organizations, including San Antonio COPS, Valley Interfaith, Houston TMO, and El Paso EPISO, was awarded a MacArthur Foundation grant for \$204,000. It was one of 22 grants for five-year periods awarded to "exceptionally talented individuals."

✓ New York bond rater Standard and Poor's has lowered the ratings of several types of Texas Utilities Electric Company bonds because of concern about licensing delays for the Comanche Peak nuclear power plant, concern about the Comanche Peak quality assurance program, and "the negative effects of a heavy construction program." Lower utility bond ratings eventually lead to higher electric rates.

The lowered ratings come on the heels of a January decision by another major rating agency, Moody's Investor Service, to lower its ratings on bonds and preferred stocks for the three subsidiaries of Texas Utilities Electric Company — Dallas Power and Light, Texas Power and Light, and Texas Electric Service Company.

Brazos County Showdown

IN THE ABSENCE of any differences on the issues of the day (education, teacher pay, roads, alcohol legislation and the pocketbook of Texas A&M), the two major candidates for the District 14 legislative seat in the March 10 special election have turned Brazos County into a parade ground of endorsements. Republican Richard Smith opened the procession with an endorsement from

Phil Gramm and has included as a part of his platform dedication to the "conservative values" of Ronald Reagan. Democrat Neely Lewis retorted with a snappy put-down about the difference between Washington and Austin and brought in three Aggie alumni (Land Commissioner Garry Mauro and state Senators Kent Caperton and Chet Edwards) to proclaim the valuable tradition of Democratic leadership in the statehouse. As this article is prepared for publication, there is much more to come — Gov. Mark White and Sen. John Tower are expected to take their turns. By targeting this special election in Gramm's home base, the Republicans have turned it into a bellwether contest that will test the influence of purely partisan considerations.

This is the second year in a row that February has brought with it the warmer winds of a special election. Gramm won Brazos County with 66% of the vote last February, aided by an emotional orchestration of events and by conservatives who turned to the Grand Old Party in the aftermath of the defeat of state Senator Bill Moore and the election of Gov. Bill Clements. (Former education commissioner Alton Bowen and former Texas A&M President Jarvis Miller are examples.) Analysts will want to see how much of that support remains in the Republican column when neither Gramm nor Reagan are on the ballot.

Partisan considerations aside, the race of personalities pits a former Bryan mayor and real estate developer who has plans to build Bryan's second country club (the Republican, of course) against a good ol' boy who quietly waited his turn to fill the empty shoes of a retiring Bill Presnal.

Smith's administration was known for its tight fist in fiscal matters, a council that worshipped Reagan, and a city staff that took the corporate approach to public affairs. In the closing months of Smith's reign, the city announced the purchase of an industrial park from Smith's uncle, but everyone involved said the relationship was purely coincidental. Local observers believed Smith's decision not to run for re-election was due to other difficulties.

Lewis chaired the county Democrats during the rise and switch of Congressman Gramm. He was placed in an increasingly precarious position

between the howling of yellow dog Democrats and those who caught Phil's fever. If he erred, it was to the disappointment of the yellow dogs. As late as the special election of 1983, Lewis was still soft-pedaling up the Republican hill and remaining scarce around the campaigns of Dan Kubiak and John Henry Faulk. He had decided not to alienate those who were caught up in the rush to "save Phil." The political wisdom of that stance will be put to the test March 10. Pundits will wonder if Lewis didn't give Gramm all the rope he needed to lasso every non-yellow dog within barking distance.

In fact, Brazos County is still governed by the Democrats. (Need we point out that Calvin Guest lives here.) And it seems that the small inroads Republicans made into the courthouse in 1980 are likely to revert to their traditional state in 1984. No person this side of comatose believes Gramm when he says he'll return to Brazos County if he loses the Senate race. Lewis said several times last year that Gramm peaked the day he announced that he was switching parties. It may have been a high water mark for Brazos County Republicans as well.

Nevertheless, Democratic activists are concerned about Lewis. They say

it will be a close race — mostly because they believe it, partly because they know any complacency will hurt Lewis at the polls. Smith has the money and the name identification and a core group of supporters that could spoil Lewis' prospects. Whatever the outcome, the two candidates will meet again in November. The party faithful know a strong showing by Lewis this time could dampen a November resurgence from Smith. They also believe that a Lewis victory will certainly serve to begin healing some 13-month-old wounds. A Smith vic-

(Continued on Page 21)

Borders

(Continued from Cover)

Dianne Muhlenkamp, a Roman Catholic nun, and Stacey Merkt, a lay worker, had been working as temporary volunteers at Casa Oscar Romero when they were arrested, along with a *Dallas Time Herald* reporter, by the U.S. Border Patrol on State Highway 649, about 20 miles south of Hebbronville, on February 17 and charged with illegally transporting three Salvadorans. The Salvadorans were placed in a federal detention center.

According to Jack Elder, there has been an increase since last August in the number of refugees coming to Casa Romero. 750 people have passed through the center since its founding in December 1982. Until last August, there were usually five or ten people staying in the house at any given time. Since then, the average has been closer to thirty. Most of these have been young men, but lately, Elder said, they have been seeing more women and children. "And what we are seeing," he continued, "is just the tip of the iceberg. They are coming from the areas with the most conflict. That says something about Reagan's contention that they are economic refugees."

The Elders are serving a two-year stint at the haven. Prior to this, Jack Elder, a Vietnam veteran, had taught in San Antonio public schools and had been a founding member of Latin American Assistance, a San Antonio organization concerned with the situation in Central America. "But I was less and less able to concentrate on my vocation," Elder said, "and I was devoting more and more time to my avocation." Through

Volunteers in Education and Social Services (VESS) of St. Edward's University in Austin, Elder was assigned to Casa Romero.

The house operates almost entirely through funding by religious organizations. Elder is paid with a stipend of \$110 a month from the Diocese of Brownsville and is provided food and lodging for his family. "I can't tell any difference between this and the \$18,000 I was earning as a public school teacher," he said. In addition, Casa Romero receives \$500 per month from the United Methodist Church, \$300 per month from BARCA (Border Association for Refugees from Central America) for food and supplies and smaller amounts from various churches and individuals.

In Elder's small office at the back of the house are several pictures of Oscar Romero, the assassinated archbishop of El Salvador. There is also a bunk bed and stacks of canned goods. In front of this room is one of two dormitory rooms, equipped with two rows of mattresses on metal frames. The walls are decorated with drawings by some of those who have passed through. On one wall is a revolutionary slogan left by two former Guatemalan guerrillas. Another wall bears a precisely rendered insignia drawn by deserters from the Salvadoran army. Most of the refugees coming to Casa Romero are Salvadorans, but they also include Guatemalans and some Hondurans. A significant number are deserters from the armies of those countries.

Between the two dormitory rooms is a long, dark living room with old couches and chairs lining the walls. Behind the living room are the kitchen and one small bathroom with shower stall. In the kitchen, several women worked over large pots of rice and beans. "These people come from different countries and different back-

grounds," Elder said, "but they all work to get along. When someone arrives, they are given food with no questions asked because they know that everyone coming here will be hungry."

Casa Oscar Romero provides food, clothing, and other assistance to refugees without asking their legal status. The refugees are referred to the center by taxi drivers, owners of low-priced hotels along the border, by professional coyotes, or by friends or relatives. According to Elder, almost all of the refugees passing through the center have friends or relatives living in other parts of the United States. Those coming through the Valley have taken the eastern route through Mexico, which Elder described as the easier of the two difficult journeys through that country, and are usually heading for Houston, Washington, D.C., or New York and Long Island. To reach southern California, a western route and border crossing are used.

As long as they remain at the center, the refugees are not bothered by immigration authorities. The average stay at Casa Romero is between seven and ten days, and the longest stay has been over a month. Elder said the government has not gone after anyone harboring or providing a haven for refugees. He does, however, feel that Casa Romero and other church-related refugee programs have come under increased surveillance. Two nuns from Brownsville were picked up recently at the Harlingen airport for allegedly transporting refugee women to the airport. A priest intervened in their behalf, saying they had not understood what they were doing, and the nuns were released.

Then on February 17, Dianne Muhlenkamp, Stacey Merkt, and reporter Jack Fischer were stopped in a car owned by the Diocese of Brownsville in which three Salvadoran refugees

— Mauricio Valle, Brenda Sanchez-Galan, and her 18-month-old daughter — were also riding. Mauricio Valle and Brenda Sanchez-Galan were Lutheran religious workers in El Salvador. Valle had left the country after his father and sister had committed suicide following unrelenting death threats to the family by the Salvadoran military. The threats were made because Valle's father, a nurse, had treated a guerrilla. Sanchez-Galan, a nurse, had worked for the Lutheran Church in San Salvador, treating refugees forced from rural areas by the fighting. She had fled El Salvador with her husband when friends were killed by death squads. Her husband remains in Mexico City.

U.S. Attorney Jack Wolfe subpoenaed Valle and Sanchez-Galan to appear as material witnesses before a Brownsville grand jury. At the same time, attorneys for Proyecto Libertad in Harlingen said they had been unable to see their clients Valle and Sanchez-Galan while they were detained by the Border Patrol.

In a February 24 hearing before Federal Magistrate Susan Williams, Border Patrol criminal investigator Charles Young said that while Sanchez-Galan had at one point asked for an attorney during a three-hour interrogation in Rio Grande City, she had signed a document waiving her right to an attorney. Young also stated that Valle had told him he'd entered the U.S. "illegally." Under cross-examination, however, Young admitted that Valle had, instead, said that he'd crossed the Rio Grande without being questioned by immigration authorities.

In defending *Times Herald* reporter Jack Fischer, attorneys Chip Babcock and Jay Ethington said the case raised serious First Amendment questions. "If this charge is not dismissed, there's no question but what it will be a chilling effect on the press," Babcock said. "No story of this nature will be published in the future. . . . If this reporter is in jeopardy because of his mere presence at the scene of [an alleged] crime, every reporter in the U.S. who covers crime is in serious jeopardy."

The *Valley Monitor* reported that, as part of his testimony, Charles Young had read into the record an article by Fischer about the episode, which had appeared in the *San Antonio Express*. Attorney Ethington revealed, however, that the *Express* story was a reprint of a *Times Herald* story with one significant change. The *Express* version had deleted the word "only" from a line in Fischer's original story, which had read: "As a reporter for the *Dallas Times Herald*, I was only with them to tell the



United farmworkers holding on.

group's story."

Merkt, Muhlenkamp, and Fischer face a maximum five years in jail and \$2,000 fine per refugee if convicted. Valle, Sanchez-Galan, and her daughter face deportation to El Salvador if not granted political asylum. Church workers say this amounts to death sentences.

According to Jack Fischer, Muhlenkamp believed the Border Patrol had received a tip leading to the arrest. A story circulating in the Valley is that the car was stopped by the Border Patrol because they thought it was a spot-check by Border Patrol superiors. Jack Elder thinks the Border Patrol got much more than it had bargained for in making the stop: "two Catholics, three Lutherans, one reporter — an ecumenical effort." If the case is prosecuted, the federal government will find itself in a battle with the religious community and the news media. This is a confrontation the government would probably just as soon have avoided.

★ ★ ★

CONSIDER THE BORDER between this First World nation and the Third World to the south. In many respects it may not be a dividing line at all.

In the early 1700s, the region around the Rio Grande was sparsely inhabited by small groups of Native Americans and by titleholders to land grants distributed by the Spanish crown. Aside from the Rio Grande and its immediate environs, the land in this region was arid for hundreds of miles to the north and to the south. After Mexican independence in 1821, the Mexican government began ceding large land grants in its northeasternmost sections to colonists from the United States in an effort to settle the Texas territory and prevent its annexation by the United States. When, by 1834, the Anglo-Americans outnumbered

the Mexicans by six-to-one, it was obvious that the plan had failed. While the newly-created Republic of Texas claimed the Rio Grande as its border, there was no Anglo settlement south of the Nueces River, running through central and east Texas some 120 miles to the north. Mexico claimed its state of Tamaulipas extended north to the Nueces. In 1846, when General Zachary Taylor crossed the Nueces to occupy South Texas, Mexico considered it an act of war, and the U.S.-Mexican War began.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, ending that war in 1848, established the Rio Grande as the border and ceded to the United States nearly half of Mexico's existing territory — as far north as what is now California, Nevada, and Colorado. The Gadsden Purchase of 1853, providing a railroad pass through southern Arizona, completed the present border geographically.

But its demarcation was of negligible importance to the few inhabitants of the region. The U.S. census shows that the more than 120,000 square miles of South and West Texas north of the Rio Grande were inhabited by no more than 50,000 people in 1880. El Paso had 4,000 citizens, and San Diego numbered 3,000. The original land grant families dominated social life in the area, with branches on both sides of the border. Commerce took place as if there were no border between Brownsville and Matamoros, El Paso and Ciudad Juarez. Even Texas law fluctuated between Spanish codes and British-North American law. The state originally retained mineral rights to lands granted citizens, as under Spanish law, then switched to the British practice in the 1860s, giving the grantee mineral rights, and later, between 1895 and 1931, reinstituted the state's claim to mineral rights on remaining state lands.

Photo by Nancy Maniscalco

OPEN MONDAY-SATURDAY 10-6 AND OPEN SUNDAY 10-4

WATSON & COMPANY BOOKS

604 BLANCO STREET (PECAN SQUARE) 472-4190

Good books in every field
JENKINS PUBLISHING CO.
 The Pemberton Press
 John H. Jenkins, Publisher
 Box 2085 Austin 78768

*What's
It All About?*

Parisian Charm. Omelette & Champagne Breakfast. Beautiful Crepes. Afternoon Cocktails. Gallant Waiters. Delicious Quiche. Evening Romance. Continental Steaks. Mysterious Women. Famous Pastries. Cognac & Midnight Rendezvous.

In short, it's about everything a great European style restaurant is all about.

The Old Pecan St. Cafe
 310 East 6th St.
 Austin, Texas

Ronnie Dugger: "Heard's accounts of the Bees in hiding are the pure gold of real history."

Bryan Woolley (*Dallas Times Herald*): "It ought to be right beside the Alamo books."

"The Miracle of the KILLER BEES: 12 Senators Who Changed Texas Politics"
 by Robert Heard
 Honey Hill Publishing Co.
 1022 Bonham Terrace, Austin, Texas 78704
 \$7.95 plus \$1.03 tax and shipping

With the coming of the railroad to Mexico and South Texas in the first part of this century, the situation changed somewhat. Labor from Mexico was recruited to build the railroads both in South Texas and farther north and west. The Rio Grande became a center of trade, and, with a market available by rail, irrigation was developed in the Rio Grande Valley for large-scale agricultural production. Cities on both sides of the river began to grow, fed by an influx of Mexicans from the interior, who arrived by rail and who were escaping the labor exploitation and rural serfdom engendered by the 34-year regime of Porfirio Diaz, whose encouragement of foreign ownership of land, minerals, and industry had undermined the traditional Mexican rural economy. American investment in Mexico by 1910 was more than \$1 billion, and over one-fifth of the land surface of Mexico was foreign-owned, including large holdings by the Rockefellers, Hearsts, and Guggenheims.

During the next decade, larger numbers of Mexican citizens began moving north, mostly to escape the carnage of the Mexican Revolution, but many in response to recruiting campaigns by growers and industry to fill the gap left in the U.S. labor force with the advent of World War I. Throughout this period, while there was some political enmity on both sides of the border — particularly following raids into the U.S. by Aniceto Pizana and Pancho Villa and retaliatory raids by troops under General John Joseph Pershing — there was no mechanism or effort to stop the free flow of people back and forth across the border. It was not until 1924 that Congress established a permanent federal presence on the Rio Grande with the funding of the Border Patrol.

Texas novelist and Valley native Rolando Hinojosa describes the border "syndrome" in his work, *The Valley*: "Those old men, and I'll mention but three, don Braulio Tapia, Evaristo Garrido, and don Manuel Guzman, were all born here, in the United States, but they too fought in the 1920 Revolution as did the Mexican mexicanos. The parents of these men were also born in this country, as were their grandparents; this goes back to 1765 and earlier, 1749. It may be curious for some, but it's all perfectly understandable and natural for lower Rio Grande Valley borderers, as is the lay of the land on both sides of the border; and, if one discounts the Anglo Texans, well, the Texas Mexicans — or mexicanos — and the Mexico Mexicans — the *nacionales* — not only think alike more often than not, but they are also blood-related as they have been

and had been for one hundred years before the Americans had that war between themselves in the 1860s; the river's a jurisdictional barrier, but that's about it."

Another illustration is the case of Don Pedrito Jaramillo, a healer at the turn of the century, who journeyed from his native Tamaulipas to a spot near Falfurrias, from which word of his curative powers spread for hundreds of miles. People came from all over Texas and northern Mexico to be healed or to pray for ailing loved ones. They lived within one country of the spirit, undivided.

Today, about one mile east of Highway 281, the heirs of Don Pedrito tend his shrine, set in the midst of the cemetery for the Barrera family. They did not inherit any wealth because Don Pedrito redistributed to the poor the many gifts that were brought to him. But they inherited his grave and his legacy. The Barrera patriarch was the adopted son of Don Pedrito. His son built the small chapel and shrine around Don Pedrito's grave. His son, in turn, now runs the curio shop beside the chapel. He wears a cap proclaiming that he is an "Aggie's Dad." Don Pedrito, the healer from Tamaulipas, is, then, an Aggie's great, great-granddad.

"Of course, I cannot show you the river where Don Pedrito used to heal people," the curio shop owner said, pointing to a grove of trees several hundred yards away. "That is owned by someone else."

☆ ☆ ☆

"IN THE END," Rebecca Flores Harrington told the Sixth Annual Convention of the Texas division of the United Farm Workers of America, "the best lesson we have learned from the freeze is that we can endure when we are not working, and maybe it will give us all the courage to start putting pressure on the growers to pay us better wages and better working conditions. It also shows us that this union, the United Farm Workers of America, took the lead immediately to try to resolve the tremendous problems we were facing — it shows us who we can rely on. Where were the growers, those growers whom we have slaved for for years? They know we're out of work. They haven't lifted one finger to help us in our efforts. Let us remember that forever."

The freeze of December 1983 will be indelibly etched in the memory of all the farmworkers deprived of their livelihood for months and, to some degree, for years to come. During the morning session of the February 26

convention in the Pharr-San Juan-Alamo school gymnasium, representatives of UFW organizing committees testified to the deprivation they face and to the lack of response they have received from local, state, and federal governments. They were particularly vocal in their condemnation of Hidalgo County Judge Santos Saldana, who had initially announced that he would not authorize Hidalgo County soup lines because it would present a bad image for the tourist and Winter Texan trade. "We were standing in line and we were an embarrassment to him," a worker testified. A farmworker demonstration in January had forced Saldana to change his tune.

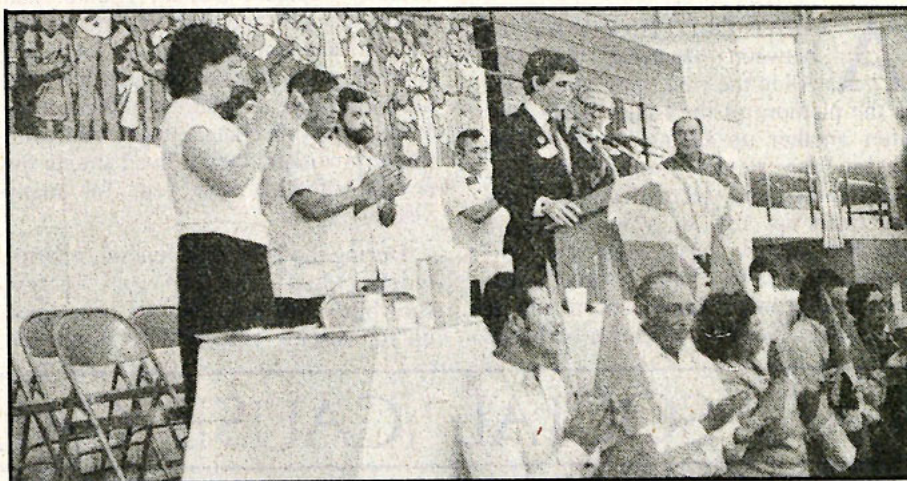
According to a state official attending the convention (who did not want to be identified), the inability of the state to respond effectively to the Valley freeze can be traced to the federal Reconciliation Act of 1981. This act established the block-grant program, wherein the states were given the responsibility for social programs but, according to the official, were not given the power to decide how the money for these programs could be used. The federal block-grant funds are strictly regulated and, at the same time, have been cut back over the three-year period.

The freeze damaged more than crops and wages. It set back plans by the UFW to launch a collective-bargaining initiative for farmworkers in the state. UFW President Cesar Chavez told the convention that this was to have been the year to push for the right of farmworkers to bargain collectively, but the freeze had changed all that. There was nothing to negotiate, no power to wield except the power of the ballot. Chavez called for 100,000 Mexican American voters to write "candidate" Reagan, asking why he hasn't helped in the Valley. Letters and petitions should, he said, call for the immediate establishment of a public works program to employ disaster-stricken workers. In addition, Chavez called on the convention to tell Governor White to introduce a state general assistance program in the next legislative session that is similar to programs operating in most other states, which pay for food, rent, and utilities brought on by major disasters. Chavez also said disaster unemployment insurance coverage should last for a 52-week period. "People who go north for work," he said, "should not lose eligibility here when they come back."

But while Chavez was calling for letters and petitions, Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower told the convention how to deal with Ronald Reagan: "If the door's not open, kick

it open. Liberty is not given, it is taken." Reagan, Hightower said, "loves poor people so much he wants to create more poor people. Ya basta! Enough with Ronald Reagan. El presidente de los estados unidos es muy loco!"

Hightower told the UFW delegates that, following the elections of 1982, they are on the inside in state politics. He is likely to find farmworker representatives in his office pushing the fourth resolution passed by the convention, which calls on the Agriculture Commissioner to establish stricter pesticide regulations and to ask for legislation



Doggett addresses UFW convention. Also pictured (l. to r.): Rebecca Flores Harrington, Cesar Chavez, Jim Harrington, Dr. Ramiro Casso.

giving farmworkers the right to private cause of action in pesticide cases and funding pesticide reporting, penalty, and registration procedures. The convention passed other resolutions, including those calling for increased minimum wage for farmworkers and the abolition of the foreign worker (H-2) program.

There wasn't much to cheer about two months after the freeze — on a sunny day with temperatures in the 80s. But there had been a major victory: "We are in disbelief of what has happened with regard to workers' compensation due to the work of Jim Harrington," Chavez announced. "The significance will be felt when farmworkers start to use the law." On February 23, state District Judge Harley Clark issued a permanent injunction prohibiting the Industrial Accident Board from refusing an injury claim based on fact that the claim was filed by a farm or ranch worker. The exclusion of farm and ranch workers, he ruled, is unconstitutional.

The legal victory achieved by Harrington, representing the UFW and the Texas Civil Liberties Union, came while final agreement on a workers' compensation compromise bill still hung in the balance. At a press conference the day after the ruling, Governor Mark White

said that he preferred a legislative to a judicial solution and that the farmers' interests had to be considered.

"It doesn't please me," state Rep. Juan Hinojosa (D-McAllen) told the delegates, "that he [White] said we have to consider the interests of the farmers and ranchers. Until this court ruling, the rights of farmworkers were never considered." Hinojosa also took exception to a statement by White that farmers and farmworkers suffered equally. He presented a figure in the hundreds of thousands of dollars earned annually by a large Valley grower and asked,

"Which campesino earned that much? . . . What we want is what is just. We want what we deserve."

Without a legislative compromise finalized on workers' compensation, there was some question as to whether Lieutenant Governor Bill Hobby would appear at the convention as scheduled. Hobby did show up and praised the work of Jim and Rebecca Harrington on the issue of workers' compensation and then reiterated a theme heard throughout the convention. "Vote as if your life depended on it," Hobby said, "because it does."

The convention endorsed several candidates in upcoming elections, including state Representatives Alejandro Moreno (D-Edinburg) and Juan Hinojosa (D-McAllen) and Hidalgo County Commission candidate Samuel Sanchez. The convention also endorsed Homer Salinas in his bid to unseat Judge Horace Young of the 13th District Court of Appeals. Young had ruled against the family of Juan Torrez, who had been killed while working for Donna Fruit Company. Then state Senator Lloyd Doggett (D-Austin) arrived to receive the convention's endorsement for U.S. Senator. He told the convention that he was proud to be an attorney of record in the workers' compensation suit.

Phot by Nancy Maniscalco

Libby Doggett told the convention that, unlike her husband, other politicians "always say 'yes,' but they never say when," echoing the sentiments of an old Mexican love song.

That evening love songs, polkas, and cumbias reverberated inside the corrugated steel dance hall of the Palmer Pavilion in McAllen. The convention delegates and their families danced, despite the freeze and the workless days and the unpaid bills. Against great odds, they endure.

☆ ☆ ☆

A LONG OLD HIGHWAY 83 between Mercedes and McAllen the first thing you notice is the plethora of the trailer parks, one after another up against the highway. Inside the parks, mobile homes, Airstreams, and recreational vehicles are lined up, row on row. Some are attached to awnings. Most are surrounded by lawn chairs. White-haired men and women stand and sit among the trailers. Some huddle over barbecue

pits, while others have a go at shuffleboard. Here and there a man or woman walks a dog on the shoulder of the highway.

They are the "Winter Texans," the "snowbirds." They descend upon the Valley from the Midwest in late autumn, and most leave by mid-spring. They are wooed by competing Chambers of Commerce in the Valley towns, given discounts, town hall parties, and entertainment. They are one of the few industries still operating in the Valley.

They drive their big American cars around Weslaco, Donna, Alamo, and Pharr. They fill the Furr's cafeterias and the pancake houses along 83. And for a while some worked in soup kitchens set up to serve the victims of the freeze. It was their first contact, many said, with the farmworkers they'd lived among for several months each year for many years.

During the UFW convention, a farmworker had testified that a few snowbirds had been among those lined up for surplus cheese. This is not the

Riviera or Key West. It is a working-class retirement community, supported for the most part by fixed pensions, social security, and small savings. It is not immune to the hazards of Reaganomics.

Across from the trailer parks, on the other side of the railroad tracks that run along the north side of the highway, stand the large Valley produce warehouses. Except for a few trucks being loaded with carrots from a conveyor belt, there was little movement among the warehouses.

More striking are the acres and acres of ruined citrus groves. Bare black and brown trees stand in neat rows where rotten citrus litters the ground. The evening sunlight catches the contrast between the bright worthless fruit on the ground and the dark trees that are little more than shadows of trees.

A few grapefruits cling to branches of trees scattered throughout the groves. They bounce almost buoyantly on gusts of wind — like lanterns swinging in a dark forest stretching for miles. □

◦ SOCIAL CAUSE CALENDAR ◦

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

FUNDRAISING DRIVE

The Dallas Chapter of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) is raising money to publicize the struggle in El Salvador by renting a billboard on a well traveled Dallas highway during the Republican Convention in Dallas this summer. For information about contributing money or planning fundraisers contact Sister Patricia Ridgley, 4906 Bonnie View, Dallas, 75241, (214) 375-3715.

VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE

Human Service Employees Registration, Voting and Education Campaign (SERVE) is organizing employees in Texas human service agencies such as the Texas Employment Commission, the Health Department, and the Department of Human Resources to register their clients to vote. Volunteers are needed to register voters before the **April 5th** deadline for the May 5 primary. In Austin call (512) 458-3738 for information.

TARAL BENEFIT

The Texas Abortion Rights Action League will hold a "St. Patrick's Day PreBrew — Ale and Beer Tasting Party" with imported brews, Irish music and food, **March 15**, Caswell House, 1404 West Ave., Austin, 5-7:30 p.m., \$10. Call (512) 478-0094 for reservations and tickets.

"No government can be effective unless it is rooted in the people, much less so when it seeks to impose itself at the cost of pain and blood . . . reforms mean nothing when they come bathed in so much blood . . . I beg you, I beseech you, I command you in the name of God: stop the repression!"

—Archbishop Oscar Romero, last sermon, March 23, 1980

CENTRAL AMERICA WEEK

Central America Solidarity groups, Peace and Justice organizations, and Human Rights groups in Texas are planning activities to commemorate Central America Week, **March 19-25**, and the anniversary of the assassination of El Salvador Archbishop Oscar Romero, murdered while celebrating Mass, March 24, 1980. Events include:

Austin: Austin CISPES will have a forum, "Alternatives to National Security Policies," **March 20**, UT-Austin, Burdine Hall, room 106, 7:30 p.m., with panel discussions on the Kissinger Commission's Report on Central America, Middle East policies, and the history of U.S. intervention.

Henry Kissinger will speak at the LBJ School of Public Affairs **March 22**. A silent picket to protest Mr. Kissinger's role in advocating U.S. intervention abroad and military buildup will be **March 22**, LBJ School, 2-3 p.m. Call Ran Moran, (512) 452-6245 for details. The Interreligious Task Force for Central America Refugees will have a demonstration **March 24**, Federal Building, 9th St. and San Jacinto, 10-11:30 a.m., to protest U.S. intervention

in Central America, followed by an interfaith worship service, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, 1206 E. 9th St., noon-1:30 p.m. Call (512) 414-2399 for program information.

San Antonio: The Mexican American Cultural Center and the Interreligious Task Force on Central America will sponsor workshops **March 19-25**. Speakers from Latin America, including Nobel Prize winner Adolfo Perez-Esquivel, will discuss non-violent and violent resistance, U.S. foreign policy, human rights, and the role of the Catholic Church in Central America. Talks will be at the Mexican American Cultural Center, West Russell St., San Antonio. Call Sister Theresa Billeaud, (512) 432-1125 for details.

Houston: A Mass for Archbishop Romero will be celebrated at Casa Oscar Romero, 1010 Hyde Park, March 24; call Chava Colón, (713) 228-1416, for time.

Dallas: A Central American theater group will perform the play "Valor Comprado" on **March 17** at Ledbetter Sports Center, 4116 Gentry, 7:30 p.m. On **March 23** there will be a fundraising dinner at Bethany House, 4906 Bonnie View, 7 p.m., \$3 per person. Jennifer Eppler and Carole Robbins, who are just returned from Nicaragua, will speak. The 4th annual celebration of the life of Archbishop Romero will take place on **March 25** at the Ascension Lutheran Church, 4230 Buckingham Road in Garland at 7 p.m., sponsored by the Interreligious Task Force on Central America. The contact for all events is Bethany House, (214) 375-3715.

GUATEMALAN DRAWINGS

Drawings by Guatemalan children from refugee camps in Chiapas, Mexico, will be shown at Las Manitas Avenue Cafe, 211 Congress Ave., Austin, 8 a.m.-3:30 p.m., **through March**; presented by the Student Support Group, American Friends Service Committee.

ARTIST TO SPEAK

Judith Baca, curator of "Voces de la Mujer," an exhibit of paintings and drawings by Chicana artists, will speak about her work on the Great Wall of Los Angeles Mural Project, **March 10**, as part of the National Association for Chicano Studies Conference, UT-Austin, Thompson Conference Center, 10 a.m.; free.

EXECUTION ALERT

Amnesty International, Group 107, will hold a candlelight vigil to protest the execution scheduled for March 14 of James David Autry, **March 13**, Austin, south steps of the Capitol, 10 p.m.-12:30 a.m. Call (512) 471-3761 for information about requesting a stay of execution in this case and voicing opposition to the death penalty.

HOUSTON "STOP"

Three Houston high schools have organized STOP chapters (Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War) for the purpose of halting the arms race through education. To speak at meetings, lead study groups, or sponsor activities, call: Jimi Clark, Westbury High, (713) 729-3756; Bo Fisher, Bellaire High, 666-8328; or, Todd Kelly, Clear Creek High, 996-1738. For information on starting a new chapter, contact West Cosgrove, (713) 864-8956.

LULAC BENEFIT

The Ladies LULAC of Guadalupe Co. will have its 3rd Annual Banquet honoring individuals from the Guadalupe area, **March 31**, 7 p.m., Seguin-Guadalupe Coliseum, Seguin. Call (512) 420-3453 for details.

PETE SEEGER CONCERT

Folksinger Pete Seeger will perform a benefit for the Austin Peace and Justice Coalition — a group of 25 peace and justice organizations working to stop the arms race, military intervention, and increased military spending — on **April 7**, Austin Opera House, 8 p.m.; tickets \$6 in advance, \$7 at the door, \$4 for children. Call (512) 474-5877 for information.

Progressive Organizations

The Observer has built up lists of organizations in Texas we regard as progressive. The editor invites communications recommending organizations for inclusion. We will generally print the listings for Austin and Around Texas in one issue, followed by Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston and San Antonio in the next. The complete list is available for a \$5 processing fee to any group deemed progressive in purpose.

AUSTIN

ACLU, 447-5849; ACORN, 442-8321; Alternative Views (ACTV), Box 7279, 78712; Amn. Friends Service Cmte., 474-2399; Amnesty Intl., Box 4951, 78765; Anti-Hunger

Coalition of Tx. (ACT), 474-9921; Assoc. for Retarded Citizens (ARC), 476-7044; Audubon Scty., 472-4523; Audubon Scty. (National), 327-1943; Aus. Lesbian-Gay Pol. Caucus, 474-2717; Aus. Nighborhood Fund, 454-0963; Aus. Peace and Justice Coalition, 474-5877; Aus. Tenants Ccl., 474-1961; Aus. Women's Alcohol Resource and Education Center (AWARE), 472-5553; Aus. Women's Centr., 472-3775; Aus. Women's Political Caucus, 474-1798; Aus. Writers' League, 444-9379; Austinites for Public Transportation, 454-9060; Black Aus. Demos., 478-6576; Blackland Nighborhood Ass., 474-1243; Brthrhod of Viet Vets., 892-4220; Center for Battered Women, 472-HURT; Central America Resource Center, 476-9841; Central Aus. Demos., 477-6587; Central Tx. Lignite Watch, 479-0678; Citizens Party, 459-1022; Ctzn. Party (Gay Caucus), 472-1717; Ctzn. United for Rehab. of Errants (CURE), 476-4762; Cmte. in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, 477-4728; Common Cause, 474-2374; Demo. Socialists of America (DSA), 458-2472; Ecology Action, 478-1645; El Central Chicano, 472-9832; Grandparents for Nuclear Disarmament Action, 453-1727; Gray Panthers, 458-3738; IMPACT, 472-3903; In These Times (Tx. Bureau), 477-3281; Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control (LANAC), 476-5121; League of Women Voters, 451-6710; Leonard Peltier Support Group, 472-4142; Live Oak Fund for Change, 476-5714; Lone Star Alliance, 472-3998; LUCHA, 477-5770; LULAC, 477-6511, ext. 2859; Max's Pot, 928-4786; Mxn.-Amn. Demos., 473-9444; Music Umbrella, 476-1324; Nat'l Lawyers' Guild, 472-6270; NOW, 452-7276; Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 476-3294; Nurses' Environmental Health Watch, 472-1980 (leave message); Organizing Cmte. for a Nat'l. Writers Union, (OCNWU), P.O. Box 4184, 78765; Pax Christi, 258-3942; People for the American Way, 472-7007; Phogg Foundation, Box 13549, 78711; Planned Parenthood, 472-0868; Poverty Education and Research Center (PERC), 474-5019; Box 13549; Poverty, Education and Research Center Professionals for Nuclear Arms Limitations, 443-9826; Red Ryder Preservation Soc., 479-8548; Save Barton Creek Assn., 451-7739; Sierra Club, 478-1264; Socialist Party, 452-3722; Sponsor Coordinator for Refugees, 454-2519; Txns. for Children, 445-0414; Tx. Abortion Rights Action League (TARAL), 478-0094; Tx. Alliance, 474-5019; Tx. Center for Rural Studies, 474-0811; Tx. Cmte. on Natural Resources, 443-8037; Tx. Council on Family Violence, 327-8582; Tx. Death Penalty Action Group, 3104 Dancy, 78722; Tx. Environmental Coalition, 476-3961; Tx. Farm Workers Union, 441-0837; Tx. Fathers for Equal Rights, 452-0848; Tx. Mobilization for Survival, 474-5877; Tx. Pesticide Project, 474-0811; Tx. Solar Energy Society, 472-1252; Tx. Women's Political Caucus, 474-1798; Travis Cty. Demo. Women's Cmte., 443-0479; UCAM, c/o Carlota Smith, Dept. of Linguistics, UT-Austin, 78712; UNICEF, 837-7248; United Farm Workers Union, 474-5019; Univ. Employees Union, 478-0546; Univ. Mobilization for Survival, 476-4503; West Aus. Demos., 454-2828; Women and Their Work, 477-1064; Women's Advocacy Project, 477-8113.

AROUND TEXAS

Amarillo: Clergy and Laity Concerned, 373-8668; Panhandle Environmental Awareness Cmte., 376-8903; Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, 381-1039. Arlington: United Viet. Vets. Organization, 461-6453. Arp: NOW, 566-8263. Bastrop: Central Tx. Lignite Watch, 321-5246. Bay City: Matagorda Co.

Citizens for Environmental Protection, 245-2261. Beaumont: NOW, 833-9966; Sierra Club, 866-2814; United Viet. Vets. Organization, 727-4873. Bonham: Citizens Party, 111 E. 5th St., 75418. Bryan: Brazos Civil Liberties Union, 846-1436. College Station: Alternative, 846-8022; Brazos Valley Peace Action, 693-1532; Brazos Valley Sierra Club, 696-7437; Bread for the World, 696-2802; Gay Student Services, 846-8022; NOW, 696-9538; Women and Agriculture Information Network, 846-2506. Corpus Christi: American GI Forum, 241-8647; Coastal Bend Sierra Club, 883-0586; C.C. Cmte. on Justice in El Salvador, 884-6699; C.C. Coalition of Black Demos., 151 Jade Dr., 78409; C.C. Ground Zero, 884-2898; Gulf Coast Conservation Assoc., 991-9690; League of Women Voters, 991-4059; LULAC, 882-8284; NAACP, 884-8541; NOW, 883-4469; OPUS, 881-6308; Tx. Pesticide Abuse Coalition, 855-7061; Women's Political Caucus, 854-1080; Women's Shelter, 881-8888. Denton: Tx. Gay Task Force, 387-8216. El Paso: El Paso Interreligious Sponsoring Organization, 772-1483; El Paso Peace Coalition, 9524 Bellis Ave., 79925; Santa Lucia Reach Out, 518 Gallagher, 79915. Euless: Dist. 10 Demos., 283-7001. Fredericksburg: Fredericksburg Peace Alliance, 997-3263. Gainesville: Organizing Cmte. for Nat'l Writers Union, 411 N. Morris St., 76240. Galveston: Sierra Club, 765-9289. Garland: Bread for the World, 495-1494. Hereford: People Opposed to Wasted Energy Repository, 364-3250; Tx. Rural Legal Aid, 364-3961. Littlefield: Socialist Party, Box 926, 79339. Lubbock: National Lawyers' Guild, 799-2714; Network, 796-1905; NOW, 793-0582; South Plains Alternative Resources Coalition, 796-1905; South Plains Clergy and Laity Concerned, 2007 28th St., 79411; West Tx. Demos., 792-5720. Midland: United Viet. Vets. Organization, 684-3768; Tx. Women's Political Caucus-Permian Basin, 683-3863. Muleshoe: Chicanos Unidos-Campesinos, Inc., 272-4233; Defensa, 272-4233. Nacogdoches: East Tx. Cmte. for Nuclear Awareness, 564-4553; Tx. Cmte. on Natural Resources, 564-9728. Raymondville: Centro del Pueblo, 759 W. Hidalgo, 78580. Robstown: Citizens Against Dumps, Rt. 2, 78380. San Angelo: Concho Valley Sierra Club, 944-2424. San Marcos: Americans for a Secure Future, 396-4222; Students Against Continued Involvement in El Salvador, (Austin) 443-8525. Saratoga: Big Thicket Assn., 274-5000. Temple: Ground Zero, 771-3779; Temple Peace Group, 771-3779; United Viet. Vets. Organization, 773-7987; Texas City: Gulf Coast Council on Foreign Affairs, 938-1211, ext. 296/297. Tyler: Interfaith Peace Fellowship, 593-5650; NOW, 566-2705; Tyler Nuclear Awareness Group, 593-0184; Tyler Peace Group, 561-5501. Valley (Rio Grande): Border Assn. for Refugees from Central America, 585-4003; Cmte. Against Public Utilities, Box 789, Brownsville 78520; La Raza Legal Alliance, 402 E. Harrison, 2nd Floor, Harlingen, 78550; Oficina Legal, Box 1493, San Juan, 78589; Proyecto Libertad, 425-9552; Sierra Club, 687-2169; Tx. Health Coalition, 113 W. Harding, Harlingen, 78550; United Farm Workers Union, 787-2233; Valley Citizens for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 682-1857; Valley Interfaith, 787-7283; Valley Pesticide Coalition, 968-9574; Valley Troqueiros, 1101 Vine, Suite A, McAllen 78501. Waco: ACLU, 755-3611; American GI Forum, 799-8712; Audubon Society, 3701 Beverly Dr., 76711; Baylor Young Demos., 756-4839; Bread for the World, 772-3135; CURE, 754-2008; IMPACT, 772-7006; League of Women Voters, 754-1066; LULAC, 776-0438; NOW 752-5975. Wichita Falls: Citizens for Nuclear Awareness, 691-6001.

Cross-Currents in Nicaragua

By Scott Lind

Managua

IN MANAGUA, Nicaragua's capital, in restaurants, discoteques, corner bars and popular eateries — wherever people go to have a good time — discussion seems almost inevitably to come up concerning the role of the U.S. in Central America and whether, or when, a direct invasion of Nicaragua by U.S. troops could take place.

The signs of readiness for a possible invasion are everywhere in Nicaragua: sandbagged store-fronts in various neighborhoods operating as headquarters for the popular militia; the regular homage Sandinista leaders give to the heroes and martyrs of the revolution; the public funerals for those who died in combat in the north; and photographs of fallen sons and daughters given weeping or shell-shocked mothers. These pictures later appear on the walls of homes.

In Leon during the Christmas holiday season a funeral attracting more than 2,000 residents was held for 18 fallen popular militia and Sandinista army soldiers. Eighteen Nicaraguans buried in a country of 2.6 million people translates into close to 1,500 U.S. soldiers in a country with 220 million.

Among the Nicaraguans, young and old, male and female, there are those who elect to join the Sandinista army or popular militia, who will die, if necessary, to defend their country's independence; those who favor the counter-revolution, fearing what socialism means for their future, who make plans to leave their country, counting up their dollars; and those who stand undecided between the revolution and the counter-revolution, who would leave the country if drafted.

Some Nicaraguans know friends and acquaintances fallen on both sides. One man, Narciso Galvan, a photographer, told me as we traveled southward to Managua from Esteli that he personally knew one of the 18 Sandinista soldiers

remembered at the Leon funeral. For that reason, he said, the funeral ceremony had special personal significance. He also knew someone from the other side, a *contra* who died fighting in the mountains. They met each other as boys in neighboring towns, becoming friends. Narciso expressed hope that one day the fighting would cease — and that the economy would improve sufficiently so he could resume his photography business with his Japanese, Russian, North American and Cuban cameras. He finds much difficulty obtaining photographic supplies in an economy dragged down by war.

Seeming contradictions — at least to a North American tempted to view realities outside the U.S. in absolute terms — typify Nicaraguan life. For example, Sandinista leaders make continual references to the Reagan administration's funding of the *contras*. Nicaragua's newspapers — with the exception of *La Prensa*, which de-emphasizes the war situation to the north — publish daily accounts of how many campesinos died in a region in Nuevo Segovia or Ocotul province this past week; how many *contras* were killed — 123, according to *La Barricada*, from mid-December to the end of the year; and how many Sandinista soldiers were honored at public funerals. The photos of mothers holding the photographs of their fallen children appear regularly in both *La Barricada* and *El Nuevo Diario*. (Again, in *La Prensa*, that news ordinarily does not appear.) The Reagan administration may be depicted as one with Nicaraguan blood on its hands in an editorial appearing in *El Nuevo Diario* over the Christmas holidays, but the citizens of the U.S. visiting Nicaragua are treated with friendliness and respect. No rancor, no harsh words issue from the mouths of Nicaraguans.

In part, this basic friendliness toward North Americans stems from the Sandinista government's stated policy toward North Americans. Interior Minister Tomas Borge decided in July not to require visas from U.S. citizens; they need only fill out the form on the plane

between San Salvador airport and Managua. In addition, the regular appearances of U.S. tour groups, in large part opposed to Reagan administration policy, receive prominent play in the two newspapers supporting the Sandinista revolution. Government officials also emphasize their concern for peaceful relations with American citizens, if not the U.S. government.

When Borge, the last surviving member of the original Sandinista guerrilla group, on July 4 told a group of Americans, "I love Americans" — while a birthday cake in honor of the U.S. Independence Day stood perhaps 30 feet from him in Maria de los Angeles Catholic Church in Managua — his statement was reproduced in the two major newspapers. The statement, however, did not appear in a UPI account of the day.

To a certain extent this official policy of warmth toward U.S. citizens is based in self-interest. But to view this basic friendliness toward Americans in purely political terms is to overlook the human dimensions. A U.S. citizen, speaking with Nicaraguans, may be surprised at the number of families who have relatives living in the U.S.

Radio Sandino, a "voice" of the Sandinista movement, may also strike a U.S. citizen as contradictory, considering its program content, both its news broadcasts and what is played as entertainment on the airwaves. The radio regularly plays a full-throated male chorus intoning, "*El pueblo unido jamas sera vencido*." The radio then broadcasts its signature: "*Radio Sandino: Vanguardia de la Revolucion*." This, before drifting back into North American soft rock, Latin American and English-language reggae music.

SUMMERTIME REIGNED during the Christmas-New Year's holidays in Nicaragua. Imagine a beautiful lake lagoon surrounded on three sides by rounded, tropic-forested

Scott Lind is a reporter for the Valley Monitor.

hills, not far from Managua; the sky, light turquoise with a golden sun and shimmering warm lake waters; hundreds of citizens splashing in the shallows.

Youthful members of the popular militia, meanwhile, periodically saunter along the sidewalks, their automatic weapons strapped to their shoulders, while in another section other young people dance to disco and salsa.

Juan Noe Fernandez, a Mexican reporter from Torreon, and I had gone the night before to a discoteque close to the inordinately expensive Hotel Inter-continental (\$60 double occupancy for a small room with neither TV nor radio — a number of pensions can be rented for anywhere from \$2 to \$10 per day).

There at the discoteque we sat at a table near two women — Leia and Josefina. The two seemed amenable to conversation, and after the dancing ended, Josefina invited us over to her house.

On the way home via taxi, Leia, a journalist for Radio Sandino, and the driver argued over a proposed taxi fare increase sought by Managua's taxi cooperatives. The driver's standpoint was that a raise was needed to cover increasing costs of gasoline and car upkeep. Leia argued that Managua citizens were already paying more than they could afford for taxi service. She told the driver she wanted to interview taxi cooperative members on political problems within taxi cooperatives, a situation she found intriguing. The driver, on the other hand, discounted the political aspect in his concern for more money for upkeep and transportation expenses.

Josefina, a 25-year-old supervisory

engineer for school-building projects in the Managua area, lives with her family in a middle-class neighborhood. It was already after 3 a.m. on Christmas, but she invited us to a late-night dinner of baked chicken, salad, and baked bananas. Donna Summers played on the stereo.

After dinner, Douglas, a licensed mechanic, and Marlon, a friend, dropped by. In the front patio the four discussed politics until after sunrise. The four decided they wanted to go out to the lake for the day — so, without sleep, all six of us drove out.

Two Faces

TWO FACES of Nicaragua present themselves to the traveler. Life appears to go on normally as crowds stand outside movie theatres to see U.S. and Latin American films, such as "Victor, Victoria" and "Una Gran Aventura en China" . . . And on the other side, the ever-present reminders of a war situation to the north which might, one day, slip southward to the capitol.

If you travel Managua's streets at night, you are bound to encounter members of neighborhood block defense committees standing guard over their areas. One late moonlit night I inadvertently met one such group. "So you're from the United States?" a block defense member asked me. "Esta bien. I have two brothers living in Los Angeles."

In all but the wealthiest neighborhoods you encounter visual reminders of those who died during the revolution and those dying now in areas hit by opposition forces. It may be an una-

dorned memorial stone at a street corner, announcing the date when someone fell in combat in 1983 in Nuevo Segovia province close to the border with Honduras. For those who died during the revolution, the reminders are more pronounced: the portrait of a male or female youth placed inside a plastic protector on a pedestal, with the name and date of death. Meanwhile, life continues as pre-teens pass by the memorial, laughing with one another.

One cannot ignore the ambulances, too, in Nicaragua's northern sector, away from the safe cities. One military ambulance was racing southward down the highway from the Ocotal area — Ocotal is not too far from the Honduras border — red light flashing, siren wailing, as the red and black Sandinista flag fluttered. Another ambulance the next morning was speeding up a dirt road between San Fernando and Jalapa, in the area of conflict, to some unknown destination in the hills.

THE ROAD to Jalapa from Ocotal is fraught with danger. U.S.-supported *contras* periodically swoop down on the road or towns adjacent to it. Ocotal, about two hours southwest of Jalapa, is the last northern outpost that is relatively safe for civilians to enter. You can take a truck from Ocotal to Jalapa at about 7:30 a.m. daily. A truck or minibus leaves Jalapa around dawn.

Soldiers periodically jump on the public transport toward points farther north. One woman, her long hair swept back, wearing a frilly blouse, expertly held her automatic rifle as she kneeled between sacks of food and supplies carried on the overcrowded truck. The



Photo by Scott Lind

Managua
dry cleaners.

soldiers jump off at various points to join their companions, camping along streams while on patrol, disappearing in groups behind ridges.

I left for Jalapa from Ocotal on December 30. On December 31, the town of San Fernando was attacked. San Fernando lies about two-thirds of the way from Ocotal to Jalapa. Casualties were reported in the intense fighting.

Jalapa is a militarized town, Sandinista soldiers, popular militia, and Sandinista youth populate it, along with residents and refugees from outlying areas. A billboard outside the town, portraying a larger-than-life Sandinista soldier painted in sweeping, electric colors, proclaims: "*Desde la frontera Jalapa — Firmeza la Revolucion.*" (From the Jalapa border — the Revolution endures.) In between tasks during the day, soldiers congregate at taverns listening to the BeeGees, Emmanuel, Julio Yglesias, and local Nicaraguan groups. At night they stand guard at different locations in Jalapa behind tall sandbag barricades.

Some days before this visit, the *contras* announced through their radio station in Tegucigalpa, Honduras, that they had taken Jalapa on December 22 after intense fighting and that there were more than 2,000 casualties spread evenly on both sides. The report received newscast in some U.S. newspapers. No generalized attack, however, on Jalapa or the border area took place. A nearby coffee cooperative, El Coco, was attacked. North Americans in Jalapa reported that 20 women and young people were killed.

AMONG THOSE LIVING in Jalapa is that group of U.S. citizens participating in a permanent Witness for Peace. Father George Dyer of the Catholic Diocese of Brownsville had been living for some weeks in the area, participating in the coffee harvest and welcoming other Americans who travel there weekly for Witness for Peace activities. He said that should Jalapa itself be attacked, the North Americans there will remain to take care of the wounded and elderly and undertake fire-fighting responsibilities.

"We realize the possible dangers," he said, "but we have committed ourselves to doing this work. At night, you hear shots around here. When you're out in the fields [during coffee harvest] and you hear gunfire, everyone stops working, listens, and looks around. Then work continues."

Jalapa headquarters for Witness for Peace is spacious in this town of brick, adobe, wood, and mortar buildings with

tile roofs. Inside, Fr. Dyer and other U.S. citizens welcome groups of North Americans, who participate in the coffee harvest and speak with local and national Sandinista officials.

"Almost all the more established [U.S.] churches are represented [in the peace initiative]," he said. "Also represented is the Jewish community."

*The government . . .
desires foreign investment,
particularly labor —
intensive industrial enter-
prises to reduce unemployment.*

In Jalapa, I spoke with a resident who emphasized his concern for peace with the U.S. but seemed apprehensive about what I was doing there. He pointed to his children, a girl of four years and her younger brother, who hung back in the shadows of the house. "Here, take a picture of my girl," he said. "Don't you think she's pretty? She's the reason why we don't want war, here." The conversation ended some minutes later. As I walked away, I heard him say to friends inside the house, his voice rising with great emotion, "Who knows why that North American is taking pictures of our streets?"

Another man cutting wood at a street corner stated the need for expanded trade with the U.S. so that farmers could obtain machinery and replacement parts for agricultural production. He said machinery breakdowns of U.S. tractors is an obstacle to increasing production.

About 50 members of a Sandinista youth brigade came into town that afternoon, just before the rains turned Jalapa streets into mud. They had been harvesting coffee. Their leader, a woman, told them they should get ready to work again Monday. Group members objected and then debated when to begin another round of harvesting, eventually agreeing on Tuesday, before splitting up.

Fr. Dyer said one of his most moving experiences occurred the Sunday before Christmas, "when two boys, 13 and 14, were shot not far from here. Their families came here for the funeral blessing. . . . This is what makes one ashamed to be an American. After all, they were just children who were killed. They were in a work brigade, harvesting beans, corn, tobacco. And the *contras* attacked the brigade."

Dyer said from what he has experienced of Nicaraguan life, U.S. coverage "generally is slanted in support of

Reagan administration policies." Reporters working out of Hotel Intercontinental in Managua rarely come out and talk with people. He said, if those reporters did leave Managua, they'd witness funerals for young people, such as ones he has helped conduct. They'd also discover "the reality of the people of Nicaragua, their great desire for peace with the U.S."

Dyer said, "What so many American citizens who come up here don't realize is that Nicaraguans don't really care whether their revolution has any meaning for outsiders, whether aspects of it can be borrowed in part or whole in other countries. They just want to be left alone to live."

He discussed the demonstration he and surviving family members of the Cooperative El Coco held at the U.S. Embassy in Managua. The group carried with them the bloodied clothing of the children and women who died during a massacre by the *contras*. As they came toward the embassy's front gate, gatekeepers hurriedly locked it up with a chain. "A group of us went to the side gate," he said. "I called in, stating we already had an appointment scheduled." The appointment was with the second ranking official at the embassy. The gatekeeper responded that "no one by that name" was at the embassy. The group was then told that Ambassador Anthony Quainton was in but was busy. "Then he called in one more time," Dyer said, "and told me, 'The ambassador is not in.'"

"We then presented him the effects of the people killed. The gatekeeper thrust the clothes back and said, 'Am I supposed to take these in, or are you going to take these back?'"

"Then he walked away," Dyer said. "The campesinos asked me, if I was an American citizen, why wasn't I allowed to speak to my country's representative. That's a good question."

The next morning at 4:15 I waited for the bus at the Jalapa marketplace, in the town's center. The transport was scheduled to leave between 5 and 6 a.m. A butcher, meanwhile, was cutting up sides of beef for sale to town residents. In the twilight before dawn, adobe and brick walls of surrounding buildings were illuminated by a street light.

I realized guitar music had been playing for some time. In a small building an evangelical worship service was taking place, nearing its conclusion. Among those worshipping were women, children, and soldiers in their teens. Much joy was evident as they sang, the same exhilaration you see in a North American Pentecostal service. Some

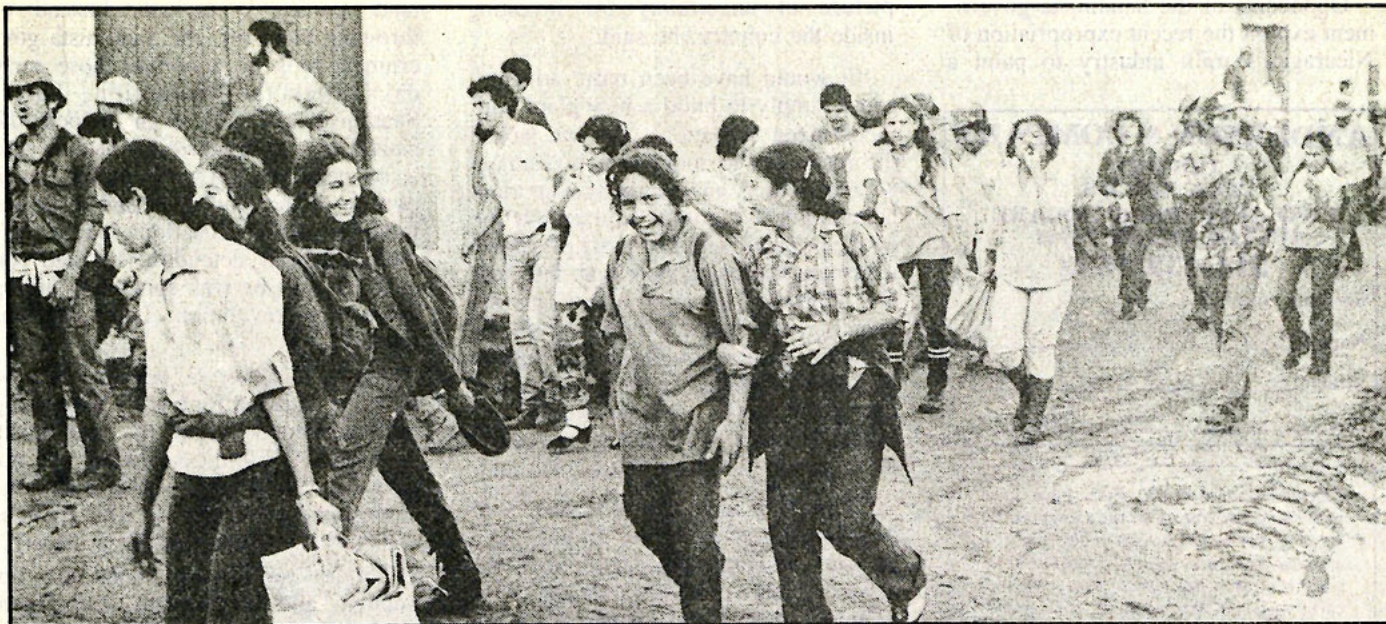


Photo by Scott Lind

Sandinista Youth Brigade in Jalapa.

people hugged each other as they conversed excitedly. One young soldier sat by himself in a pew, deep preoccupation evident in his face.

ON NEW YEAR'S EVE in Managua, thousands of Managua young people gathered at a large plaza to dance to five bands playing primarily salsa music in three staging areas, which double as basketball courts during the day. Young Sandinista police, meanwhile, kept an eye out for problems. A companion of mine from Los Angeles pulled out a *media* of rum. In Managua drinking is permitted at open-air celebrations as long as revelers use plastic or paper cups. Within moments, three uniformed officers — all of them in their 20s, one of them female — came up to us and lightly tapped the Los Angeles resident on the elbow, leading him and two American women over to a concession stand. There, the police poured the rum into plastic cups, presented them to the group, then continued their circuit.

One song popular among the Sandinista enthusiasts contained the refrain, "Todas las armas al pueblo" which people sang as they danced. Beer sold for 14 cordobas, or 20 if you bought tickets from scalpers at the end of the line.

Around 10:30 p.m. came the surprise guest: Interior Minister Tomas Borge. Walking unarmed into the crowd of thousands, he danced with several women. People swirled around him in a tight spiral, wanting to shake hands with him. From a distance you could see him, surrounded by the Sandinista youth, maneuvering his way to an

adjacent dance area to greet the revelers there.

But of course, not everyone in Nicaragua was celebrating that night. One woman, a store owner, complained about not being permitted to sell rice and flour as she did prior to the Sandinista overthrow of Somoza. The government restricts the outlets which can sell these commodities, she said, because they're in limited supply. For this woman, not being allowed to sell rice and flour was a great injustice which also, she said, reduced her income.

"Under Somoza, the National Guard never bothered us," the woman said. She objected to what she termed the "foreign ideology" of socialism instituted after 1979, complaining about Cubans still living here. "There are many other people who agree with me," she said.

But if socialism exists here — what are its characteristics? Luis Enrique Figueroa, president of the Central Bank of Nicaragua, said the government's economic policy since the revolution has been to subsidize small businesses (which number by the hundreds in Managua alone), cooperatives, and small farms. Apart from large construction industries left over from the Somoza years, small, service-oriented businesses are Nicaragua's chief employers, in addition to agriculture.

The government, in fact, desires foreign investment, particularly labor-intensive industrial enterprises to reduce unemployment. In July the unemployment rate was estimated at 21%, although a significant portion of workers are underemployed. Currently at least 80% of the nation's production is

agriculturally based, and the chief export crops, including coffee, are subject to extreme fluctuations in the foreign market. Figueroa said one advantage to augmenting Nicaragua's industrial capacity would be to lessen the need for dependence on coffee, increasing opportunities for diversification of agricultural products to food crops, as well.

The Sandinista government, Figueroa said, would assure foreign industrialists a standard profit rate of between 12 and 20% before taxes, tax subsidies, and credits, and favorable rates of exchange. "In this country there's no reason why businesses should have any fear about losing their investments," he said. Workers wanting to strike over wage and working conditions, moreover, must first seek approval from the government, he said, noting that two labor leaders in 1981 were arrested for a wildcat strike action. Nicaragua's structure for arbitration is similar to Mexico's in that regard.

In exchange for these guarantees, foreign investors would have to demonstrate their willingness to make a long-term commitment to production and training local workers for management positions, he said.

"In the last 10 years of dictatorial rule, Somoza was only able to establish three important investments," the bank president stated. "One was a brewery, and the others were factories producing construction materials." But the most critical problem facing Nicaragua is the war situation, which forces the government to divert a large share of its severely limited resources into national defense, robbing other sectors of society and stalling development plans, he said.

Opponents of the Sandinista government exploit the recent expropriation of Nicaragua's milk industry to paint a

ANDERSON & COMPANY

COFFEE
TEA SPICES
TWO JEFFERSON SQUARE
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78731
512 453-1533

Send me your list.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zip _____

Talented and inspired artists have been publishing their work in the *Observer* for years — some of them for many years — and our files are getting dogeared from use. It's time for fresh (or seasoned) cartoonists and illustrators to send samples of their art to Alicia Daniel, 600 W. 7th, Austin, TX 78701.



BEHIND THE TARPON INN
PORT ARANSAS — OPEN DAILY

—Fresh Drinks and Great Jazz—

Ken Metz - Robert Atwood Trio

Nov. 24, 25, 26

(512) 749-5555

Personal Service — Quality Insurance

ALICE ANDERSON AGENCY
INSURANCE & REAL ESTATE

808A E. 46th, Austin, Texas
459-6577

Bill Smith and Associates 
502 W. 15th Street
Austin, Texas 78701
Representing all types of properties
in Austin and Central Texas
Interesting & unusual property a specialty
477-3651

the legendary

RAW DEAL

Steaks, Chops, Chicken
open lunch and evenings
605 Sabine, Austin No Reservations

picture of uncertainty for investing inside the country, he said.

"It would have been more advantageous simply to build a new plant with modernized operations. But we lacked the resources to make that investment — and milk is an extremely important commodity." Figueroa said production by the private owners of more profitable ice cream was being increased, threatening shortages of milk. Also, private owners were in the process of selling off their equipment to producers outside Nicaragua, which, if the process had been permitted to continue, would have caused a crisis. "Therefore, we made the decision to expropriate," he said.

"The chief impediment to economic development is a certain attitude held by the Reagan administration," the central bank president stated. This attitude expressed itself concretely when the Reagan administration attempted to encourage Western European countries to cut off economic aid already promised.

Meanwhile in Nicaragua, discussion continues over the subject of most critical interest — whether the U.S. does intend to invade and, if so, when? Will it be in March or April, timed with U.S. military maneuvers with Honduran forces across the border, as the presidential campaign heats up? Or will the Reagan administration defer an invasion until after Reagan is re-elected? (Borge was recently reported to have said he expects that Reagan will probably win a second term and that Nicaraguans will have to learn to live with that fact.) Or has the Reagan administration already ruled out an invasion?

Not all Nicaraguans, of course, fear an invasion. Some probably would welcome it. Others are ambivalent.

Elpidio, a 21-year-old Nicaraguan, for example, told me that, if drafted, he would leave the country immediately. He characterized the struggle in Nicaragua as one between the *contras* and the armed forces segment of Frente Sandinista. He criticized the militaristic mood for encouraging youth to join up in the popular militia or Sandinista army. "Taking up arms is no game," he said. "War is no game. People die while playing this 'game.'"

Toward the Sandinista government, Elpidio had mixed feelings. Some programs were good, he pointed out, as we read in *La Barricada*. And some were plain mistaken. His father is a landowner, holding about 450 acres. After the Sandinista overthrow, campesinos in the area decided they wanted to occupy some of his father's

land, putting it to use. Instead of throwing them off, the Sandinista government took no action in those early days after the revolution. Later, Sandinista officials even helped the *campesinos* to organize themselves into a cooperative, growing coffee on a portion of the land that used to be his father's. An accusation led to his mother's brief detention, he said, on charges that she was concretely aiding the counter-revolution. Later she was released.

Asked whether a person can be detained or jailed for simply expressing opinions contrary to the Sandinista government, Elpidio said that was not the case. "Only those who take up arms against the government, who fight as counter-revolutionaries, [face arrest]."

Elpidio said his opinions are not popular, and he generally keeps them to himself — except with some Sandinista friends his age who accept his point of view.

But for Josefina, Leia, and Douglas, their feelings toward a possible invasion were clear. In long conversations, the subject of Ronald Reagan came up repeatedly. They seemed troubled when told that Reagan probably would win. They wanted to know if a Democratic win in the White House would result in a more favorable posture toward the Sandinista Nicaragua they support.

Josefina, during her university years, actively fought on the side of the Sandinistas prior to the revolutionary change and witnessed friends and acquaintances killed during the struggle. Whenever the question of war came up, she would withdraw from conversation, retreating into an uncharacteristic silence. Earlier that night at a restaurant, she had been speaking dispassionately about achievements made during the past four years in areas of human services, how many schools had been built at what cost, as well as economic and social problems facing Nicaraguans.

Josefina seemed frightened when someone suggested that the U.S. could utterly destroy Managua within minutes through aerial bombardments. Her composure, her strength and confidence gradually melted away as discussion continued on invasion possibilities. When I asked her what she thought of Ronald Reagan, words welled out of her. "Reagan is a terrorist," she said. "He's an assassin. He wants to destroy us." She lapsed into silence.

It was the wrong question to have asked. She remained quiet, distanced, as we listened to the romantic Mexican mariachi music playing and the laughter resonating around us. □

PI

(Continued from Page 10)

tory, on the other hand, will only prolong their agony.

✓ John Thomas Henderson has filed for Railroad Commissioner in the 1984 Republican primary. Henderson, the only Republican endorsed by the *Observer* in 1982, will once again pay all his own campaign expenses.

Henderson, who has no Republican opposition, will face incumbent Mack Wallace in the general election. Calling himself the "consumer's advocate," Henderson has attacked "the Railroad Commission's practice of making decisions contrary to the best interests of consumers" and the fact that other Railroad Commission candidates receive large campaign contributions from the parties they are responsible for regulating.

According to Henderson, equal opportunity reports indicate that greater discrimination against minorities than in any other state agency continues to take place in the Railroad Commission despite his having raised this issue in previous campaigns.

✓ When 3M Company announced last month that it plans to move a major part of its research operation to a 150-acre site two miles from Lake Travis, outside Austin, it was news to most of the Austin City Council. Governor Mark White's office announced 3M's plans for a large research-office center that will employ 1500 people. The site is outside of the City of Austin's preferred north-south growth corridor along Interstate Highway 35 and is not served now by water, sewers, or major roads. Mayor Ron Mullen was the only city council member informed of the 3M move before White's office announced it.

City council member Roger Duncan told the *Austin American-Statesman*, "All the city planning structures are of no importance to the people who think they are in charge of this city's growth — the developers, the banks, the Chamber of Commerce, the real estate brokers, and now the governor's office."

✓ The Associated Press reports that Clinton Manges is interested in investing in a television miniseries based on the life of George Parr. The series, "Summit County," will be shot in Duval County and will star Clint Walker as Parr. According to the producer, Antonio Calderone, "[Manges'] consideration of the project is based on our consideration of his daughter [for a leading role]. Malou [Manges] is pretty

and blonde and looks right for the part," he added. "There'll be less bed swapping [than in "Dallas"] but more violence," Calderone said. "J. R. would never survive in South Texas."

✓ On February 13, Doris Adams filed a \$400,000 lawsuit in federal district court in Amarillo against state District Judge Grainger McIlhany. (TO, 12/23/83) Adams served 28 days in the Ochiltree and Roberts County jails after being sentenced by McIlhany for contempt of court. The contempt charge was based on a letter Adams had written McIlhany criticizing law enforcement procedures. Adams is being represented in her lawsuit before federal District Judge Mary Lou Robinson by Jim Harrington, legal director for the Texas Civil Liberties Union.

"There is no statutory authority for a judge to order someone imprisoned based on a personal comment made to a judge," said TCLU executive director John Duncan. "Nothing that happened in this case can remotely be construed as contempt of court." □

University of
Texas Press
Post Office Box 7819
Austin, Texas 78712
Write for free catalog

Alander Associates

MANAGEMENT CONSULTANTS

Box 111, Salisbury, Ct. 06068

Our services have been found to be of particular value to clients whose business philosophies have become disarranged.

Printers — Stationers — Mailers — Typesetters

— High Speed Web Offset Publication Press —

Counseling — Designing

Copy Writing — Editing

Trade — Computer Sales and Services —

— Complete Computer Data Processing Services —



*FUTURA
PRESS
AUSTIN
TEXAS

FUTURA

512/442-7836 1714 South Congress
P.O. Box 3485 Austin, Texas 78764

All's Not Quiet in Pastoral Retreat

By Joe Holley

Dolgellau, Wales

“SO IT'S A RELIGIOUS retreat you're on,” Ronnie was saying one Sunday morning last month over breakfast in the Village. “Otherwise you'd be going to Mexico or Spain or the South of France. Not Wales.”

I protested, mildly, mentioned distant undocumented family connections, a long interest in Welsh language and literature. Later that morning, headed uptown into a brisk north wind, I got to thinking that maybe my friend and former boss was right, at least partly. I had written in the *Observer* in December that I wanted to go away to write, to think, to brood about what to do next. So it was, I suppose, a retreat. How religious it was, I don't know, though Wales did seem to exert an almost mystical pull; no other place seemed right.

I've spent most of the last month in and around Dolgellau (Dol-ge-th'-li), a little mountain town in North Wales, near the coast, in the middle of what one writer has called the most foreign corner of Britain. Everyone knows English and uses it unhesitatingly with non-Welsh speakers, but Welsh is the first language. Farmers in their flat caps and knee-high boots in town on Fridays for the sheep and cattle auction discuss farm prices in Welsh. In the town square, young mothers carrying shopping baskets and pushing perambulators greet each other in Welsh. Classes in the local school are conducted in Welsh, and so are church services.

I had been in Dolgellau less than a week when at breakfast one morning Mr. Bamford, the innkeeper, mentioned that I had slept through the previous night's excitement. “Big fire last night,” he said, and he pointed through the dining room window to a two-story stone cottage (almost every building in Dolgellau is gray stone) across the narrow street, its windows knocked out and a new sheet of plywood in place of the front door.

Former *Observer* editor Joe Holley is spending a few months living and writing in Wales.

And I had missed it. I wanted to kick myself, for a house fire in this part of Wales is immediately suspect. Only the day before, I had read in the *Cambrian News*, the weekly English-language newspaper for the area, that three arson attacks on holiday homes around Dolgellau had occurred in the previous nine days. The holiday homes are a sore point in North Wales. They are owned primarily by people from England who may occupy them for only two or three



weeks out of the year. This is one of the most beautiful areas in Britain, so second homes are quite desirable, but there is also a critical shortage of affordable housing for permanent residents. People buying holiday homes in the area not only take potential housing off the market, they inflate prices since they are usually able to pay more than local residents. More than sixty holiday homes have burned in North Wales over the last couple of years.

“I am concerned about the lack of information that seems to be coming through,” the local chief constable told the *Cambrian News*. “Unfortunately there seems to be a certain degree of silence when it comes to the second homes issue and the burning of homes. We are not getting the support I feel we ought to from the public.”

The reporter, Emyr Williams, went on to interview the fire chief and residents who lived near the burned homes, and he concluded his piece with a touch of Welsh New Journalism. “Whilst I was standing in a telephone kiosk within the village,” he wrote, “he

(a visitor to the area) entered the kiosk next door to telephone his family back home. And this is what I heard: ‘Hello. I’ve arrived safe. But those Extremists have been at it again. They were having a booze up at a local pub last night, and on their way home they’ve burnt down one of the cabins. It’s terrible isn’t it.’ ”

Reporter Williams said he waited in the kiosk while the man repeated his call — “to make sure that I had heard him properly” — and then he added a sombre note: “Yes,” he wrote, “our friends over the border, I am afraid, are painting us all with the same brush, whether we like it or not.” (The English, I presume he’s saying, are equating the Welsh with terrorists from Northern Ireland.)

This is not to suggest that Dolgellau and environs is a hotbed of political activism, legal or otherwise. Indeed Dolgellau is a rather sedate — read dull — little town in a rural area that is as conservative as one might expect. In the words of an old sheep farmer who’s planning to retire next year, “We all have our extremists, don’t we.” He went on to stress, however, as we sat in his snug parlor in front of the fire, that he understood the problem, and he thought something should be done for those who couldn’t find housing.

In the Dolgellau area, where unemployment is something like 16%, approximately 600 people are on a waiting list for public housing — this at a time when the Tory government has directed local housing councils to sell council houses and no additional money has been allocated to buy new housing. (It’s not difficult to understand why Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher get on so famously.) “It used to be,” a member of Plaid Cymru, the Welsh nationalist party, told me, “that young families used council housing as stepping stones until they could buy houses of their own, but now the stock has diminished.”

Plaid Cymru (pronounced Plid Kum-re) is urging the Thatcher government to allocate money to the local housing councils so that the councils can put in a bid for holiday homes that come on the market. The party also advocates a system whereby homes for sale are first

offered to local residents at a reasonable price, but the Tories regard such a plan as a hobble on the free market.

So who's burning the houses? Following the fire reported in the local paper, a shadowy organization calling itself the Movement for Freedom for Wales claimed responsibility, coupled with a warning that the campaign against English-owned holiday homes in Wales is to escalate this year to include bombings — until a free Wales has been achieved. A few days later, however, the organization sent a letter to the BBC in Bangor, a university town in North Wales, denying any involvement with the fire.

Police Chief Superintendent Elwyn Davies told me a couple of weeks later that two men were in custody. He played down any political motive on their part, though he could have been handing me the official line. Dolgellau residents also told me about two men convicted a couple of years ago who turned out to be Englishmen protesting the closing of a factory near Liverpool. Another arsonist was an Austrian, although I found out later that the Austrian had settled in Dolgellau, given himself a traditional Welsh name, and brought to the Welsh nationalist movement all the zeal of a new convert.

Members of Plaid Cymru are understandably edgy about such misguided enthusiasm. A party member and I were talking politics in a pub one night when an Englishman from the West Midlands overheard us and came over with what he called a "Welsh Nash joke." "Maybe you've seen the ad on the telly," he said. "Come home on a cold winter night to a nice fire; buy a holiday home in Wales."

The Plaid member shook his head wearily and launched into the jokester with a fiery Welsh eloquence. "I hear that all the time," he said. (He himself had also been stopped and searched by police in Cardiff.) "If you know who's doing the burning," he said, wagging his finger at the man, "don't stand here talking to us; go tell the police."

"The burning of second homes is a dangerous and futile exercise," Dafydd Elis Thomas, a Dolgellau resident and one of two Plaid Cymru Members of Parliament (MP), told the *Cambrian News*. "It prevents rather than helps national political debate about the social problems generated by second homes. Fire razing is no way to solve political and social problems."

Recently Thomas sent a letter of protest to the editor of the *London Daily Telegraph* in response to a story that equated arsonists with Welsh nationalists, and thus with Plaid Cymru mem-

bers. The MP has appealed to the National Press Council.

Though Plaid Cymru in no way endorses arson, the party does see the holiday-home issue as the latest in a long list of injustices resulting from English exploitation of Wales. Plaid has recently filed suit, for example, against the Welsh Water Authority over its policy of selling Welsh water to Liverpool, Birmingham, and other large English cities at rates lower than the Welsh themselves pay. Such exploitation, party members would say, goes back at least to the year 1282, when English troops killed Llywelyn, the last Welsh prince. In 1536, with the terms of the Act of Union, Wales was merged into the English state. Relief will come, Welsh nationalists believe, only when home rule comes to Wales.

Plaid Cymru was established in 1925 in an effort to seek the establishment of some form of Welsh state and to ensure the well-being of the Welsh language. A Welsh state seems as far off as ever, but on the language front, Welsh nationalists (including the militant Welsh Language Society) have won some important battles. Welsh is now the language of the curriculum in many of the schools; BBC television, channel four, now offers two hours of programming a week in Welsh; and the Welsh Language Act, passed in 1967, recognizes that the Welsh Language is coequal under the law with the English language in Wales. Road signs are now in both languages, and most official documents are bilingual. A defendant can insist that his or her trial be conducted in Welsh.

These days Plaid Cymru is gearing up for Dafydd Iwan's campaign for the North Wales seat in the European Parliament, the governing body for the European Economic Community (EEC). Iwan, a former Chairman of the Welsh Language Society and a member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, is also Wales' best-known folk singer. He writes and performs his own songs, always in Welsh, and, in the best tradition of the Welsh bards, always resolutely topical. In his earlier years, he was arrested for stealing and defacing English signs in Wales.

Now in his early 40's and the owner of a recording company, Iwan doesn't look like a folk singer. The night I met him, his brown hair was cut short and he wore a coat and tie. He probably won't win — the Conservative incumbent is the favorite — but he is an articulate man, and the campaign will offer him an opportunity to speak out on Welsh issues. The election is in June.

Iwan will stress that Wales, along

with Britain, is increasingly under American domination and at the mercy of multinational corporations, that Brussels is more concerned about regional developments in places like Wales than the Thatcher government is, and that Wales needs someone conversant with agricultural issues, since EEC agricultural programs, despite their faults, inject 60 million pounds a year into rural Wales.

The Plaid Cymru candidate will also call for an energy policy emphasizing coal and renewables and excluding nuclear power, a European nuclear-free zone stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals and from the Arctic to the Mediterranean, increased EEC support for Third World countries, and recognition and support for cultural and linguistic minorities. The long-term aim is, of course, full national status for Wales within a reformed European community. "This," according to party campaign literature, "would free Wales from the increasing centralism of the British state and from the crushing burden of British militarism. It would transform Wales' position in Europe."

I met with Dafydd Iwan and his supporters in a hotel pub in Betws-y-Coed, a little resort town near Dolgellau, where they had gathered for their first campaign strategy session. They were an affable group, but they decided not to allow me inside the meeting itself. There was some concern that my Texas twang was a ruse, that in reality I was a Tory spy — or even worse, a cop — who understood Welsh. So I waited in the hotel lounge reading about Plaid Cymru's remarkable founder, Saunders Lewis, and talking to a group of English young people who were working in Betws-y-Coed under a government scheme similar to Roosevelt's CCC. A young Birmingham woman in a black blouse, black jeans and black boots called to a friend in the bar, a dark-skinned young man wearing an Indian scarf. "Come listen to this chap," she said. "e sounds just like J.R." □

ginny's
COPYING SERVICE

Copying • Binding
Printing • Color Copying
Graphics • Word Processing

Austin • Lubbock • San Marcos

Life Insurance and Annuities

Martin Elfant, CLU
4223 Richmond, Suite 213, Houston, TX 77027
(713) 621-0415

SunLife
OF CANADA

ON REAGAN

THE MAN AND HIS PRESIDENCY

By **RONNIE DUGGER**

Send us \$20 and we will send you an autographed copy of Ronnie Dugger's acclaimed book on Ronald Reagan. (Postage included; Texas residents add \$.95 sales tax.)

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

The Texas Observer • 600 West 7th • Austin, Texas 78701

CLASSIFIED

THE LIBERTARIAN PARTY meets first Wednesday of every month, 7 p.m., Austin Public Library, 800 Guadalupe, meeting room A. Contact Gary Edward Johnson, 1500 Royal Crest #132, Austin 78741, (512) 441-6378, or LP Headquarters, 7887 Katy Freeway #385, Houston 77024, (713) 686-1776.

DUGGER & SON INC. Homebuilding, commercial building, remodeling, additions, repairs, fences. Write Gary Dugger at 3103 Wabash, Austin 78705, or come by.

NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL HOTLINE. Call (202) 543-0006 to get the latest information on arms control and military budget legislation, and what you can do about it. Updated weekly. 100 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002. Council for a Livable World.

LEGAL RESEARCH. LAW STUDENTS provide reasonably. Mark Ryan, "Law," Box 116, Dallas, Texas 75275.

BOOK HUNTING? No obligation search for rare or out-of-print books. Sue Spradlin, BOOKFRONT. (512) 472-2540, Box 5545, Austin, Texas 78763. TEXANNA specialist. Browsing by appointment only. 1112 W. 10th, Austin.

DIGITAL-QUARTZ Watch Repair. 626 West 34th Street, Austin, 452-6312. Sam Terr. 1:00-5:30 p.m., Monday-Friday.

WHEATSVILLE FOOD CO-OP. 3101 Guadalupe, Austin 78705. Open 9-9.

PETE SEEGER IN CONCERT FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, a benefit for the Austin Peace and Justice Coalition. Saturday, April 7, 8:00 p.m., Austin Opera House, 200 Academy. Advance tickets \$6. Call (512) 474-5877.

POSITION AVAILABLE: Executive Director, fundraiser, organizer, organizational spokesperson, legislative lobbyist, writer, editor, administrator, etc. Send resume to Texas Civil Liberties Union Search Committee, 600 W. 7th, Austin, Texas 78701. Salary negotiable.

MISCEGENATION is a bad word for the interesting lives of millions of people. *POLYethnic life* is a bimonthly newsletter for racially or ethnically diverse couples and families. \$9.50/yr. Sample, \$2. POLY, Box 475, Commerce, Texas 75428.

BACKPACKING — MOUNTAINEERING — RAFTING. Outback Expeditions, P.O. Box 44, Terlingua, Texas 79852. (915) 371-2490.

FREEWHEELING BICYCLES. 2404 San Gabriel, Austin. For whatever your bicycle needs.

JOIN THE ACLU. Membership \$20. Texas Civil Liberties Union, 600 West 7th, Austin 78701.

DRAFT REGISTRATION QUESTIONS? Draft counseling available from American Friends Service Committee, 1022 W. 6th, Austin 78703 (512) 474-2399.

TEXAS BOOKS & AUTHORS MAGAZINE: \$10.00 for six issues. Write Dept. A-6, Box 13622, Houston 77007.

THE ULTIMATE HUMAN RIGHT



Drawing on Texas' relatively long experience with "right to die" legislation, Dr. Robert J. Connelly, a teacher of philosophy, examines the ultimate human right: to control one's own dying. "A thoughtful look at a regional experience... and a comfortable mean between personal chronicles and comprehensive studies."

(Kirkus Review)

182 pages, appendix, notes, index.
ISBN 0-931722-21-7 \$9.95 (paper)

ALSO FROM CORONA:

DEAR BIRTHMOTHER - The book about open adoption, by Kathleen Silber & Phyllis Speedlin, that is changing the way Americans think about adoption. \$7.95 (paper)



CORONA PUBLISHING CO.
1037 S. Alamo
San Antonio, Tex. 78210

THE JUST-PUBLISHED 1971-1981 Texas Observer Index is now available. Contact the business office at 600 W. 7th, Austin 78701, (512) 477-0746.

WE DON'T EXPECT EVERY WOMAN to join the National Organization for Women. Just the 100,000,000 who are discriminated against and the men who care. \$27. Texas NOW, Box 1131, Richardson, TX 75080.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZERS — ACORN needs organizers to work with low and moderate income families in 16 states for political and economic justice. Direct action on neighborhood deterioration, utility rates, taxes, health care. Tangible results and enduring rewards — long hours and low pay. Training provided. Contact ACORN at (214) 823-4580, Dallas; (817) 924-1401, Ft. Worth; (713) 523-6989, Houston; (512) 442-8321, Austin.

LECTURES ON HUMAN EMOTIONS — one lecture or a series. Lois Fahs Timmins, Ed.D. 22 years psychiatric experience. Inquiries welcomed. 6145 Anita St., Dallas, Texas 75214.

SAN ANTONIO ACLU, 106 South St. Mary's, San Antonio 78205. Call 224-6791. Join us at our Liberty Fiesta, November 12.

SHADE TREE COMPUTER MAINTENANCE — Microcomputer service and repair. 5645 Hillcroft, Suite 608, Houston, Texas 77036. (713) 975-6760.

Classified advertising is 40¢ per word. Discounts for multiple insertions within a 12-month period: 25 times, 60%; 12 times, 30%; 6 times, 15%.