

The Texas Observer

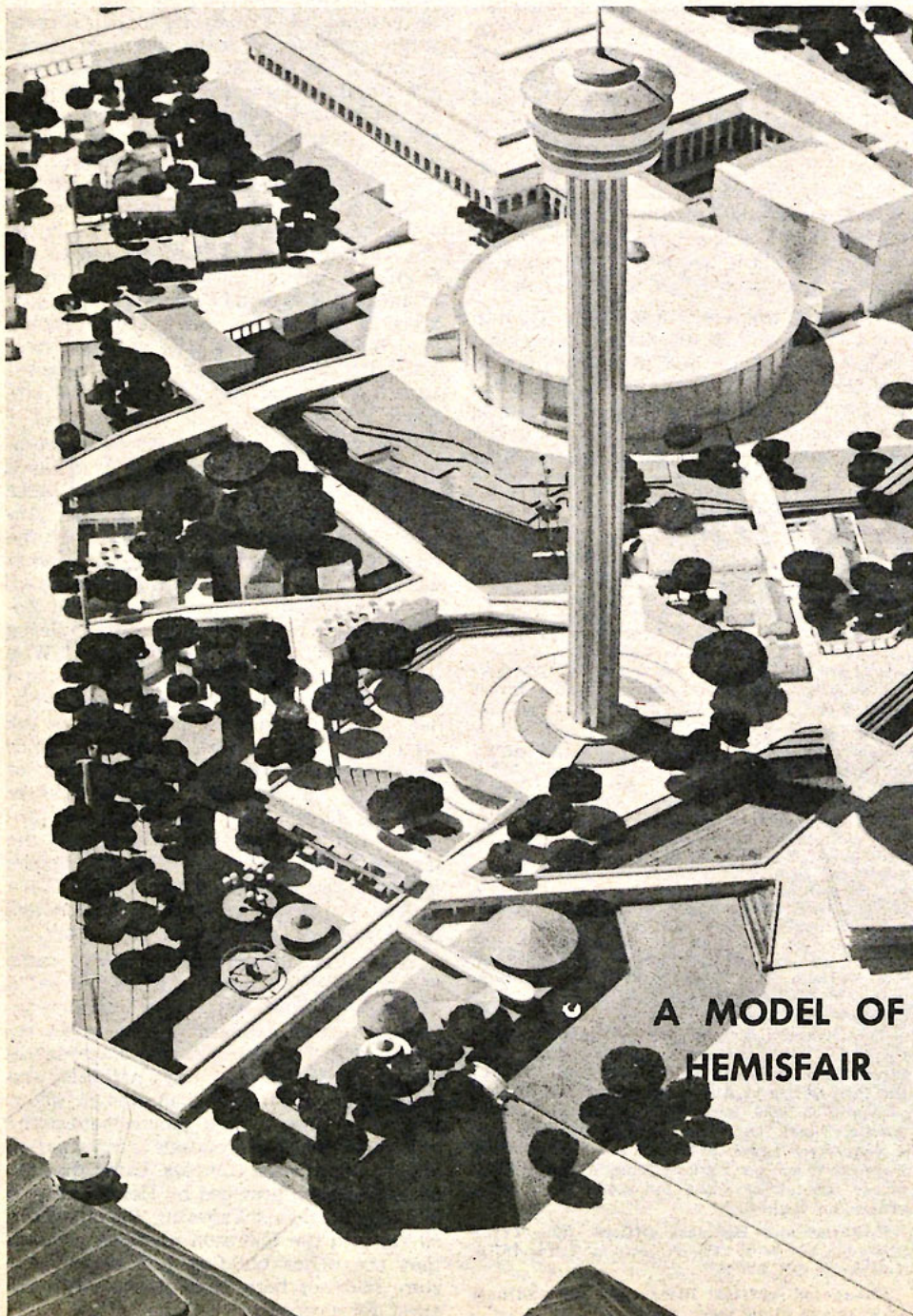
SEPT. 30 1966

A Journal of Free Voices

A Window to The South

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The Politics of HemisFair-- And of San Antonio



San Antonio

HemisFair is what the president of San Antonio's chamber of commerce has called, "this great excitement." But so far this bilingual city's 1968 international exposition, "a half-world's fair," has caused more of the kind of excitement that terrifies the city's businessmen than the kind that delights them. They stand to lose all or part of the \$7.5 million for which they have underwritten the fair in case it doesn't wind up in the black; they can fill fat treasure-pots with the long green if all goes well. On the verge of becoming either civic patsies of commercial *conquistadores*, they are quick to anger and quick to compromise, rash and suddenly politic. HemisFair can make or break many of them.

Therefore, HemisFair has entwined itself all through the jungle of Texas politics, whose elected practitioners know the private political meanings of public events and can foretell next year's lists of campaign contributions from this year's snarl-ups and alignments. HemisFair's exotic and colorful facade has been splattered again and again this year with charges of conflicts of interests, questions about the proper uses of public funds, political guerilla warfare, and even, in the Senate foreign relations committee, resentment of President Lyndon Johnson. It takes a program far more candid than HemisFair's artistic brochures to follow the game.

Unless the bill to provide some U.S. millions to build a federal pavilion and give the stamp of official governmental approval to the fair founders in the next few weeks, which it is not now likely to do, the six-month fair will be held. Most of the 92-acre tract at the edge of downtown San Antonio has been cleared; construction of the \$10 million civic center is well under way, and half a dozen of the "modules," 3,000-square foot sheds for the fair's exhibits, have been completed. Firm commitments to sponsor exhibits have been made by Texas, seven nations (Mexico, Spain, Switzerland, Peru, Bolivia, Panama, and Canada), and seven companies (Pearl Beer, General Electric, Coca Cola, Humble Oil, Southwestern Bell, IBM, and Pepsico), with 30 nations and 37 companies expected eventually. The contractors have agreed to pay union scale wages to all employees

of HemisFair projects, (not necessarily union members) and in return the unions have made a no-strike agreement with HemisFair. The Bureau of International Expositions has approved HemisFair as a special exposition, a category less grand than that of a world's fair, but official enough for the governments that participate in the bureau. This month guests from 23 foreign nations visited San Antonio in the midst of a general flap over the resignation of James Gaines, HemisFair's staff chief. The militant right-wing put in an oar when Mrs. Myrtle Hance of San Antonio, who was trying to get suspect books in the San Antonio public library stamped "communist" as long as a decade ago, protested the fair's invitation to communist nations (Czechoslovakia, Finland) to participate. But the many foreign flags are still flying in front of the restored German-English school that is HemisFair's headquarters across from the prospective fairgrounds, and the HemisFair people are still working away—prepared, evidently, to make yet some more adjustments, dropping more members off their executive committee, getting a new general counsel, or whatever may be necessary, to keep the show on the road.

UNDER TEXAS LAW — the housing law passed by the legislature in 1957—property condemned for "urban renewal" cannot be used for public housing. Thus in Texas—as distinct from in other states, such as Arkansas or Missouri—urban renewal is not to be confused with public housing for the poor. In San Antonio, urban renewal project No. 5 is the HemisFair project.

The city urban renewal agency's commissioners are appointed by the city council. The members of the city council are associated with the Good Government League, the political group that dominates city politics. The urban renewal commissioners set aside 140 acres in project 5, obtaining the area's parcels of property from the private owners by purchase and condemnation for "a convention center and related municipal uses." For this purpose, the urban renewal commissioners spent \$12.5 million in public funds.

How, one naturally asks, does \$12.5 million in public urban renewal funds finance acquiring land for a temporary six-month fair in San Antonio?

"Urban renewal does not deal directly with HemisFair," Jack Curington, assistant director of the San Antonio urban renewal agency, explained to the Observer. "It's a six-month fair—we don't deal in temporary things." The agency sells the land to the city of San Antonio; then Curington explained, the city leases the land to HemisFair. "The urban renewal agency is doing business with the city of San Antonio, which is doing business with HemisFair," he said. "The city could have carried out HemisFair, but they used the tool of urban renewal to carry their end of the ball. They used urban renewal as the means for accomplishing HemisFair."

The city's taxpayers approved a \$30 million bond issue, half of which is being used of the civic center, and the other half, as HemisFair chief H. B. Zachry told the Senate foreign relations committee this month, for highways, roads, streets, utilities, bridges, and waterways. San Antonio Cong. Hen-

ry B. Gonzalez told the committee, "We have been able to use the resources, the planning and programs that Congress has afforded through urban renewal and others and happily found a harmonious blending of the planning for the fair."

If they could have their way, HemisFair's leaders would authorize a private hotel chain to operate a hotel on the urban renewal land, but they probably cannot have their way—the matter got "sticky," as Curington says.

Hugh Lowe, working in public relations for HemisFair, provides studies showing that San Antonio will be able to accommodate 99% of the anticipated visitors to San Antonio (more than 7,200,000 of them in the six-month period) except on the fair's single biggest day. This assumes, however, the use of all the hotel and motel rooms within two hours' driving time of San Antonio; obviously HemisFair's prospects are better if there are more places to stay in San Antonio by 1968. Last January Marshall Steves, president of HemisFair, proposed that a hotel be built with private financing and tied in with fairgrounds parking and transportation. The idea was that the land itself be used for a parking lot and the "air space" above be leased to private interests for the hotel. The HemisFair people had decided to try to stretch "related municipal uses" enough to include a privately operated 500-room hotel in "air space" which local zoning laws might not affect. The proposed two-acre site was within the urban renewal area but not the smaller HemisFair site itself.

Some citizens, however, had no intention of letting the city thus indirectly finance a hotel that would compete with other hotels and private interests in San Antonio. Joe Rainey Manion, owner of the Marion Building, said he would go to court against such a use of urban renewal land. Manion himself had planned to add between five and ten stories to his building to make efficiency apartments. "Why should the 'insiders' compete with me and the St. Anthony and Gunter [hotels] without having to make an investment in the land?" he asked. "It's a breach of faith with the people who approved the use of the land." Manion said nine landowners who lost their land in urban renewal project No. 5 were ready to join him in the lawsuit. Then State Sen. Franklin Spears of San Antonio began preparing to file a lawsuit on behalf of original landowners in the area, one of whom is his mother.

When the Sheraton Hotel Corp. came forward with its plans, they envisioned a \$16 million hotel and office building-department store complex on the urban renewal site. The San Antonio Express reported that "certain city officials and councilmen apparently had known about the plans since . . . a month before the city advertised for proposals"; information about the proposed complex, dated that far back, had been provided by HemisFair and municipal officials. Faltering, the city council rejected the Sheraton plans on grounds that the office building and department store had not been part of the city's request for proposals.²

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Despite a lately-discovered 25-year limit to the duration of city lease contracts, the subject of a hotel on the urban renewal land is not entirely dead, but the urban renewal commissioners have voted, 5-4, against such a use of the land, and Curington and HemisFair spokesmen indicate it's not likely to materialize.³

The largest sum that urban renewal paid to a single property-owner in project No. 5 was \$650,000, paid to the Coca Cola Bottling Co., which had a bottling plant in the area. Coca-Cola, a world-wide organization, has signed up for 17,500 square feet of space at HemisFair at a rental cost of \$122,500.

The first president of HemisFair, William Sinkin, president of N. Sinkin Department Stores, owned a four-story commercial building in the area, for which he received the third-largest single payment from the San Antonio urban renewal agency, \$395,000. This fact has been the subject of many rumors in San Antonio. The gist of them is that Sinkin, in statements of worth connected with his banking interests, had listed the value of the building in question at as little as a fourth of what urban renewal paid him for it. These rumors turn out to be false.

Sinkin told the Observer he was receiving \$47,000 rental income a year from three commercial tenants in the building; that in the application for the charter of the Texas State Bank of San Antonio and in other related papers he listed the building at values of \$410,000 and \$510,000; that he had an independent appraisal made and the building's valuation was \$450,000; and that he had determined that the building's replacement cost was \$742,000.

HemisFair was given priority over the urban renewal project for Rosa Verde, a run-down residential and commercial area in which many poor Latinos, especially older Latinos, live. Curington says Rosa Verde is next, though, and the project is going to include privately-financed low-income housing with a rent supplement feature under the new federal legislation authorizing this. Curington acknowledges that urban renewal has been resented by poor people in San Antonio who have been displaced by it. They had been living in shacks, close in; after urban renewal, they live in shacks, way out. Curington hopes the low-cost housing features of the Rosa Verde project will counteract some of this criticism.*

THE FINANCING of HemisFair assures the almost total involvement of the local commercial power structure and HemisFair's tight control by that structure. "This is the first time in the history of San

*On Aug. 11 the U.S. Senate adopted an amendment to housing legislation that would, in effect, allow cities only 25% of the costs of improvements they make in or near urban renewal projects, such as for the San Antonio civic center in the HemisFair project area, as federal (non-cash) credits on future urban renewal projects. This would mean that San Antonio's resources for urban renewal, including features allegedly benefiting poor people, would be \$7.5 million less than had been counted on. Heretofore cities have been allowed 100% credits on the costs of such developments as the civic center.

Antonio," Mayor W. W. McAllister, a conservative Republican, has said, "that the business and financial elements of the city ever got together almost 100% on any project."³ But for the promoters' need for state and federal approval and money, this would be a private promotion; it is the governmental involvement that has caused dispute about conflicts between the sponsors' profit-making interests and the quasi-public character of the fair. The clubby, in-group genesis of the fair is exemplified by the fact that the tower on the fairgrounds is to have as one of its features a private, membership-only club with a restaurant that accommodates just 90 people.

Jerome Harris, executive vice president of Frank Brothers in San Antonio, in 1958 first advanced the idea of an international exposition in San Antonio. He coined the name, HemisFair (the word was hyphenated at that early stage). In January, 1959, in an article in the San Antonio News, Harris wrote about "an interchange

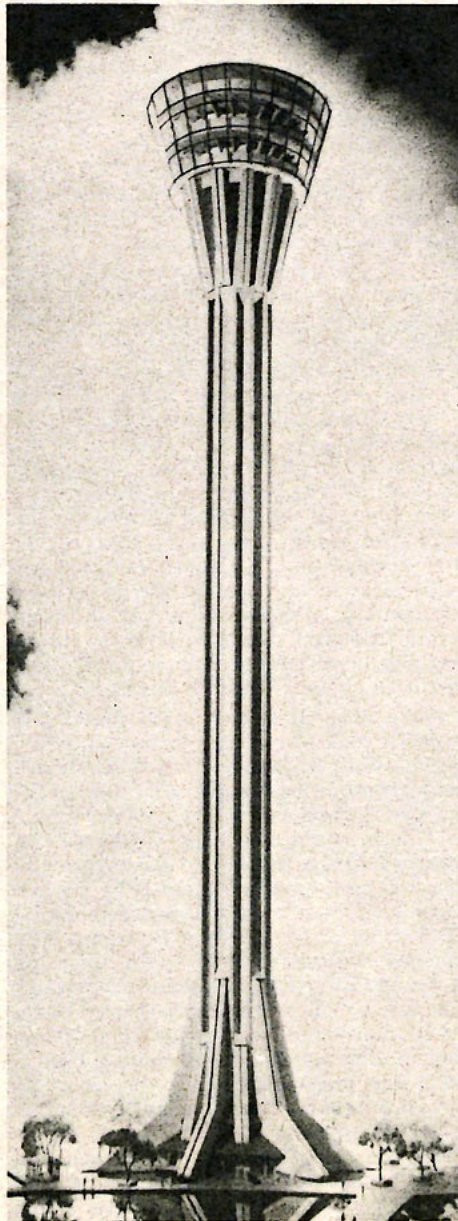
of the cultural, scientific, religious, industrial developments" between the U.S. and Latin-American nations at such a fair. In 1962 Cong. Gonzalez called Sinkin and renewed Harris' idea; Sinkin called together a group of 18 business leaders, and the planning began.⁴

The first problem was paying for the planning and promotion. Using the 1962 Seattle fair as a model, San Antonio's bankers decided to make HemisFair a loan secured by the credit of local businessmen who would commit themselves to pay it back if HemisFair's income was not sufficient to do so. According to Hugh Lowe of HemisFair, there were 480 separate underwriting pledges from firms (and a few local unions and individuals), pledging to stand good for sums ranging from \$3,000 to \$150,000 or \$175,000. The largest pledge came from H. B. Zachry, one of the nation's largest construction magnates and now chairman of the board of HemisFair. A pledge of \$25,000 or more qualified the underwriter to be a member of the board of directors of the non-profit San Antonio Fair, Inc. The directors, the list of whom is a who's who of the local business community, elect the executive committee, which runs HemisFair; the board meets once a year and, Lowe says, more or less rubber stamps what the committee has done.

The obligations taken up by the 480 underwriters total \$7.6 million. The bankers investigated the underwriters; the fair's audited balance sheet for 1965 shows that the pledges were discounted by a total of \$1 million under the heading, "valuation adjustments established by banks," leaving a net effective underwriting of \$6.6 million.⁵ On the basis of this sum, 26 San Antonio banks loaned \$4.5 million to HemisFair (the disparity being accounted for in part by a margin for interest, which, at 5½%, will amount to \$532,000). Operating on the loan money until this year, HemisFair has now begun to pay part of its way with income from concession contracts and advance payments for space, which commercial exhibitors rent at \$7 a square foot (nations are given their space).

THE UNDERWRITERS are not stockholders in HemisFair; they can make no profit. Zachry told the Senate hearing this month that any profits after expenses will go to the city of San Antonio, but if there are losses, the underwriters are liable for them to the extent of their separate commitments. The city retains the real estate, too; it is leasing the land to the fair.

Why would 480 companies and individuals risk \$7.6 million when, as Lowe says, "they stand only to lose"? The business establishment can gain enormously if the fair is a success. It's estimated that 9,000,000 visitors went to Seattle for its 1962 fair. The estimate for HemisFair, 7,200,000 visitors, is lower because of the lower levels of income in the city and the area, but the fact that various conventions have been scheduled for San Antonio lately and that the Mexican Olympics start a week after



Proposed Tower

the fair closes lead HemisFair people to regard the 7.2 million figure as conservative.

A study by Economic Research Associates of Los Angeles, which helped plot the Seattle fair, says that HemisFair's construction and pre-opening expenditures will tot up to \$107 million, and out-of-town visitor expenditures outside the fair, but within San Antonio, will be about \$27 million. Counting the multiplier effect, the study says, retail sales thus resulting from HemisFair may be expected to be about \$175 million, and there will be another \$100 million worth of new wholesale trade. A businessman who can't apply such possibilities in his own activities probably should have become a college professor.

There are no college professors on HemisFair's executive committee. Zachry is board chairman, Sinkin vice-chairman, and Marshall T. Steves, an industrialist, is president. John H. White, whose business is asphalt, is first vice-president. Tom C. Frost, Jr., president of Frost National Bank; Paul Howells, a petroleum supplier; Red McCombs, a Ford dealer; James Shand, vice-president of Joske's; Forrest Smith, president, National Bank of Commerce; and Robert Tobin, whose business is aerial surveys, are HemisFair vice-presidents. W. W. Flannery, president of Alamo National Bank, is the treasurer. John A. Daniels, the county Democratic chairman, is secretary and general counsel (he is also attorney for the San Antonio Housing Authority). Daniel's assistant secretaries are Jerome Harris of Frank Brothers and Robert Sawtelle, attorney for the urban renewal agency and the city water board. The other members of the executive committee are Dr. J. B. Gonzalez, the congressman's brother; Mrs. Ike Kampmann, Jr., former Republican national committeewoman from Texas; M. B. Killian, a contractor; the mayor, whose business connection is the San Antonio Savings and Loan Assn.; Mrs. Alfred W. Negley, until recently vice-chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee and member of a wealthy family; Alfredo Vazquez, chairman of the city water board; and Mrs. Reagan Houston III, wife of an attorney.

Although Zachry's potency in San Antonio would be difficult to exaggerate, it was this executive committee which selected Gov. John Connally as commissioner-general of HemisFair. They believed that from the fair's point of view this was a coup. It gave the invitations to foreign nations a thoroughly official cast to have them sent out in the name of the state's governor, and Connally did not hesitate to make the point obvious; last December his letter to those nations contained the sentence, "Both as governor of the State of Texas and as commissioner general . . . may I express the hope that your government will participate in this unique event." But HemisFair's selection of Connally was the real beginning of the fair's political trouble. As anyone who follows Texas politics knows, Connally leads the state's conservative Democrats; Sen. Ralph Yarborough leads the liberal national Democrats here. The enmity between these men mirrors and is

mirrored by the enmity between the two groups they lead.

During the 1965 legislature Connally as governor sided with HemisFair, asking for a \$4.5 million appropriation for it. At the time HemisFair insiders knew Connally was a prospective commissioner-general, but the public and most legislators did not.⁶ The appropriation was given. Meanwhile, Cong. Gonzalez, who, with the mayor, is honorary co-chairman of HemisFair, obtained House approval in Washington of a \$250,000 federal grant for a study of HemisFair, with U.S. participation on the schedule for 1966. The tentative U.S. approval was a must if the approval of the Bureau of International Expositions in Paris was to be obtained in time to plan the fair. There was, however, a very high hurdle: the Senate foreign relations committee, William Fulbright, chairman. Fulbright and some of the members had grown very cool to these fairs, and two of the members, Lausche of Ohio and Williams of Delaware, regarding them as boondoggles, oppose U.S. funds for them. After hearings it became clear that the Senate committee was going to let the HemisFair bill languish. Yarborough thereupon told Fulbright that it would be fine with him if the bill came out without an appropriation. The committee let it come out that way, and on the floor Yarborough managed to limit the Lausche-Williams assault to a halving of the appropriation. Thus did Gonzalez and Yarborough work tandem in 1965 to get HemisFair tentative U.S. approval.

Then, as knowing observers of politics perceived, HemisFair's shakedown cruise scraped bottom again. President Johnson, having prepared a proclamation directing Secretary of State Rusk to invite nations to participate in HemisFair in his, the President's, name, invited Gonzalez and HemisFair officials to the LBJ Ranch for the signing of the proclamation. Yarborough was not invited.⁷ Neither, for that matter, was Commissioner-General/Governor Connally, but Yarborough had sponsored the Senate legislation. As followers of Texas-U.S. politics know, the relationship between Johnson and Yarborough to say the least is cool. The good ship HemisFair, no longer a paddle boat on the San Antonio river, was drifting into more cross-fire.

For a time all seemed to be going well. Connally excitedly told a press conference at HemisFair in January that he would ask the legislature for another \$5.5 million for the Texas pavilion, which he said should be "an Institute of Living Cultures." By this he meant a display of the cultures in Texas in past ages; he insisted he did not mean a museum, as that sounded too dull.⁸ (The name of the pavilion has since been changed, without fanfare, to an "Institute of Texan Cultures.")⁹ By chance, it seemed, Connally's request for \$5.5 million conveniently made the prospective total Texas contribution match the \$10 million HemisFair was preparing to ask the Congress for. In February a San Antonio delegation asked him to call a special session to appropriate the extra Texas money,¹⁰ but he did not. His expanded plans for the pavilion required "a complete revision of everything we have done up to now" on site planning and caused some delay, but was worth it,

according to Gaines, HemisFair's staff chief.¹¹

THEN, REAL TROUBLE. It seemed fair and natural to San Antonians that they keep the money to be made in the neighborhood as much as possible, but Gonzalez and Yarborough had to sell congressmen at a time when funds for anything except the Vietnam war were becoming scarcer and scarcer.

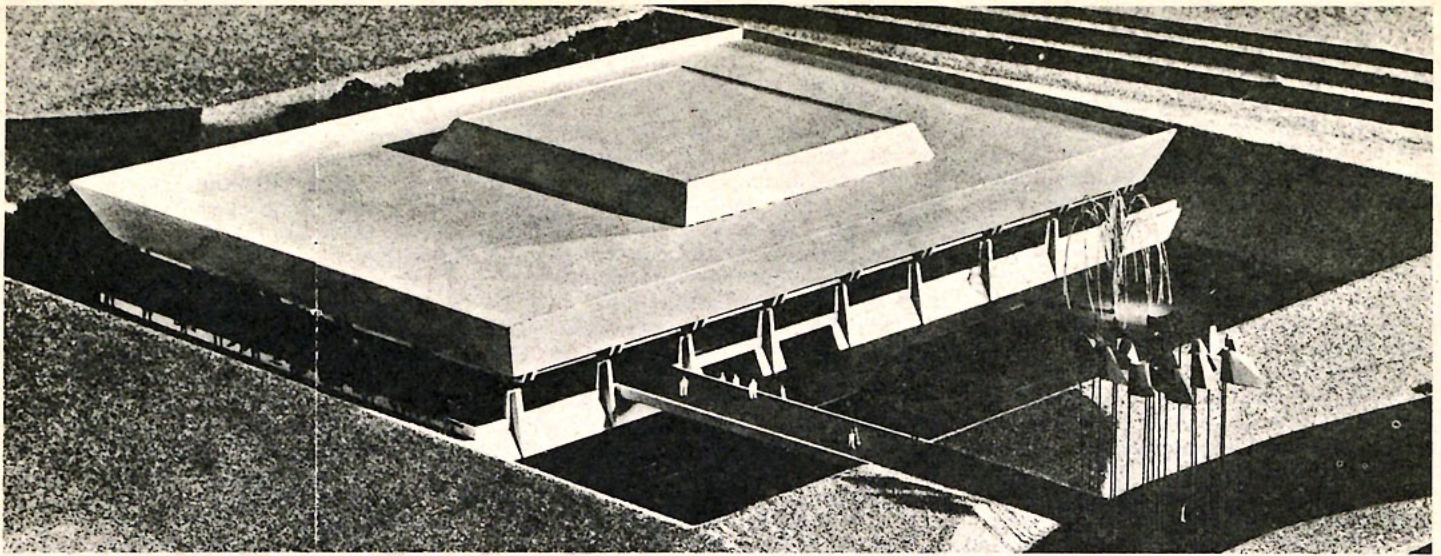
The structure that will dominate the fairgrounds, if the structure ever gets built, will be a 622-foot tower, a tapered shaft with a six-level observation oval at the top of it. The bidding on this tower was not open to the public. Only one firm bid; that was the D. J. Rheiner Construction Co., and D. J. Rheiner happened to be HemisFair's "vice president of architecture and design" and a member of the executive committee.

The San Antonio Express announced the contract's award late last April with a front-page headline, "\$700,000 Is Saved on Fair's Tower." The story said the "bids were "so far below estimates" of expected costs that this much money had been saved. Rheiner was identified as "lowest of three bidders for the job," whereas it later turned out that three local construction firms had been invited to bid, but only Rheiner had. Rheiner's firm had done the "engineering" on the plans for the Tower, the Express later said.

After a troubled month, Gonzalez exploded against "HemisFair's contract awarding practices and its deficiency in keeping everything above board" as "a public corporation." A hot-tempered Latino, Gonzalez ran head-on into Marshall Steves, a stubborn German, who called his objections "nitpicking." No public money was involved in the tower, which was being built by the non-profit San Antonio Tower Corp., Steves said. The Tower Corp. trustees had decided, he said, "that all members of the general construction business that were underwriters in HemisFair should be given the opportunity to bid the project"—in other words, only San Antonio firms. Gonzalez said his questions were being answered with "insolence and anger."

The Express' Lloyd Larrabee reported, "Gonzalez has cited a footnote in a feasibility report for the City Water Board's proposed central heating and cooling plant for the HemisFair area that called D. J. Rheiner Construction Co. the 'negotiated contractor' for the tower. This page of the report was dated March 24 — more than a month before the tower bid was opened." McAllister denied the bid was in fact a negotiated one as the Tower Corp.'s five trustees refused to reverse themselves on the Rheiner bid. At this stage it became clear that four of the five trustees of the Tower Corp. were also members of the fair's executive committee. Daniels, general counsel for HemisFair, says, however, that none of the trustees of the non-profit Tower Corp. could profit from the operations of the tower; after the revenue bonds to finance it are retired, its ownership passes to the city. Daniels told the Observer. Hugh Lowe says the private bond-holders will make the profit on it.

Zachry has never liked the idea of the



Model of the proposed Institute of Texan Culture to have 145,000 square feet of state exhibits at HemisFair.

tower, but when the storm broke he said he guaranteed that if the contract was re-bid, he would see to it that the tower cost no more than Rheiner's original bid. Presumably he meant his construction company would build it for that, or less; Lowe says Zachry has made it clear he will not bid for any HemisFair work and will not come in as a builder unless things fall behind schedule, and then only on a non-profit basis. But now it became clear that Zachry, a politically sophisticated man, favored re-bidding the tower contract. The fair's executive committee voted 11-3 to adopt a new conflict of interest provision declaring that officers and members of the executive committee could have "no financial interest whatsoever in any contract with this corporation." The phrase "financial interest," however, was qualified to mean only "a majority control" of a corporation dealing with the fair, and banks were excluded. Members of the huge board of directors were not affected on the grounds that they are the largest part of San Antonio's business community.

Three of the four tower trustees who were also HemisFair executive committee members (Steves, White, and Flannery) resigned as trustees, but the fourth, Mayor MacAllister, did not. Gonzalez thereupon leveled a new blast at his fellow honorary HemisFair co-chairman, the mayor. Gonzalez said the Texas urban renewal law prohibits public officials from acquiring "any interest in . . . any property included or planned to be included in an urban renewal project," and McAllister should quit as mayor or trustee, either one. The mayor said five lawyers (including Daniels, HemisFair's counsel) had told him there was no conflict of interest, and he would not resign as trustee; he has not. But the contract has been re-advertised on an open-bid basis and the contract went to a San Antonio-Houston combine that turned in the low bid, which, however, was \$336,000 higher than Rheiner's original bid. (Rheiner was second lowest bidder on the second go-round.) Zachry's guarantee about the tower's costs has been forgotten. The pend-

ing question is whether, after all this, the revenue bonds can be sold to finance the tower in time to build it.

First Connally had caused delay with his expansion of plans for the Texas pavilion; then, Gonzalez. But now Gonzalez whipped through the \$10 million appropriation. The bill went to the Senate, and within eight days Yarborough had a hearing arranged. But it was his turn; he did not pass.

AS A LIBERAL DEMOCRAT, frequently arrayed against Gov. Connally, Yarborough identifies with the San Antonio liberals who backed and elected Cty. Judge Charles Grace, Cty. Cmsr. Albert Pena, and many liberal San Antonio legislators. Last spring, however, the city's Good Government League, which dominates city politics, financed and conducted a winning campaign against Grace and the Democratic Coalition's legislative candidates. The campaign was bitter; Grace was speared in a television special, played again and again, identifying him with labor bosses, Pena, and "lying and cheating." Cty. Democratic chairman Daniels is closely identified with G.G.L., and the Observer reliably understands that when Yarborough heard that the G.G.L. was preparing to mail out 200,000 slate cards hostile to the Grace slate, he telephoned Daniels and told him if they were mailed, it would be too bad for HemisFair. They were mailed. Grace and the Coalition sustained an across-the-board defeat.¹³

A half-hearted attempt had been made to involve the non-G.G.L. liberals in HemisFair, but it had fizzled. The vehicle was an advisory "federal participation committee" of which Grace, Sinkin, Mrs. Kampmann, Pena, Daniels, and Solomon Casseb, a pro-Connally judge, were members. This committee met once; not again. Last fall Pena began writing Sinkin letters asking when they would meet again; Sinkin replied facetiously, Pena says. After Grace's defeat Pena resigned from the committee.

To the extent they are political people (and it's a considerable extent), the fair's ruling committee's members are G.G.L.'ers.

Sawtelle is G.G.L.'s principal strategist. Frost, Smith, Killian, McAllister, and Vazquez are in the G.G.L.; McAllister, White, and Mrs. Kampmann are Republicans; as Connally's state party vice-chairman, Mrs. Negley has been bracketed with the conservatives. It is no secret in San Antonio that the G.G.L. means to defeat Cmsr. Pena in 1968 if it can. Sinkin, while a member of the G.G.L., had been the fair's man with Yarborough, but this fall he suddenly found himself this no longer. Yarborough's man in Bexar County now is Charles Grace.

In July Yarborough let HemisFair feel the sting of a senior U.S. senator, letting fly at Connally's being the commissioner-general. Yarborough cited the Texas Constitution's prohibition of the governor holding "any other office, civil, military, or corporate" and accused Connally of "a flagrant violation of the Constitution." Connally said he was rather amused by the attack. As set out in an earlier Observer story, Yarborough refused to attend a HemisFair reception honoring Connally in Washington.

In San Antonio HemisFair's comptroller, Jack Trawick, said that transporting five HemisFair officials (not Connally) to Washington for the July 13 reception, plus the reception itself at the Mayflower Hotel, cost HemisFair \$3,400.

Between July 24 and Aug. 3 Gov. and Mrs. Connally, Mike Myers of the governor's staff, and two HemisFair staffers made a South American tour drumming up governmental commitments to participate in HemisFair. The expenses were paid by HemisFair and came to \$8,840, Trawick told the Observer. They included "security guards for the governor in various places," but HemisFair paid those, too. Connally is not paid a salary as commissioner-general. Mrs. Negley was a member of the South American party, too, but paid her own way. Trawick says that although Speaker Ben Barnes gave HemisFair's cause a hand in Peru, HemisFair did not pay his expenses on that trip.

As the Senate showdown neared, in San Antonio another HemisFair controversy was peaking. The site for the fair contained many old and some historic buildings that the city's conservationists have wanted saved. Fair president Steves' position has been that they'll save "as many as possible," provided someone comes up with funds for the purpose. Many have been razed; some are being saved to be used as exhibit sites by commercial exhibitors (and perhaps also by Spain and Switzerland). In the clearing of the land, 50 feet of the old *acequia madre* (mother ditch) from the Alamo mission have been discovered, grown over in a back yard, and will probably become a feature of the fair. A specific controversy developed around the old Schultze and Gross homes, and the San Antonio Historical Sites Survey Committee wired Yarborough for help in saving them. The very next day Yarborough, without consulting Gonzalez, dropped in an amendment to the HemisFair bill to see that officials were sure that all was being done that could be. The homes in question are to be moved and restored with urban renewal funds if possible.

Henry Guerra, president of the historical sites committee, signed the wire to Yarborough, but, being a staff member of HemisFair, quickly was caught in local whiplash. Satisfied, he says, with Yarborough's action, the committee has since declared to the senator that they join now with other San Antonians in hoping for speedy clearance of the HemisFair bill. In short, the Guerra-led conservationist committee got much more help from Yarborough than HemisFair of Guerra wanted.

Seeing that delay for a conference committee on amendment might jeopardize the bill, HemisFair's leaders got up a delegation to go see Yarborough; they did not include Sinkin because Yarborough did not want Sinkin in the group, but in the ones they chose to go they again showed they were not getting the message Yarborough was giving them. They sent Zachry, of course, and Conway Craig, executive of the San Antonio Express, which regularly editorializes acidly against Yarborough, as well as Grace; Col. B. J. Horner, publisher of the San Antonio Light, which backed Gordon McLendon against Yarborough; White, a Republican; and John Gatti, the mayor pro-tem and one of the three men who promoted Grace's opposition. The Observer is informed that Yarborough gave them to understand he was very busy as chairman of the Senate labor subcommittee; he wondered why they had come to see him when they had not needed him at the LBJ Ranch for the proclamation signing the preceding November. This time, they got the message.

ZACHRY NOW WENT vigorously forward to Grace and asked him to go to Washington with a delegation of his own choice to see Yarborough on behalf of HemisFair. The delegation of Zachry, Grace, Sen. Joe Bernal (a liberal who was elected on the G.G.L. slate), Reps. Johnny

Alaniz and Jake Johnson, and James Gaines, HemisFair's staff chief, was agreed upon. They would go to Washington for the showdown hearing before Fulbright's committee.

If Zachry and Gaines were hoping Yarborough would pull down his amendment on historic buildings, they were in for a surprise; when the delegation reached Washington they learned that the senator had prepared and introduced a second amendment, requiring that the Secretary of Commerce be satisfied that—

(1) "there is and all times will be full participation of all segments of the San Antonio community" in the fair, because, Yarborough said, "This should be a fair for all, for the disadvantaged as well as the wealthy, for the working man and for the small businessman as well as for the big businessman, for Latino as well as for Anglo . . . and not just a show with a public relations facade";

(2) the executive committee meetings "will be held in open sessions at regularly scheduled times and places" (some of these meetings are closed);

(3) and no member of the executive com-



The HemisFair symbol

mittee shall have more than 5% of the capital of "any organization doing business with" HemisFair or "shall be an elected officer of any political organization."¹⁴

The third requirement enraged Gaines immediately. At least six of the executive committee members have bank interests. Another executive committee member, McCombs, is one of three owners of the Aerial Transportation Co., which has the contract to build a sky ride at HemisFair and to operate it there for 15 years after the fair closes.¹⁵ Daniels is an elected official of a political organization — he's the county Democratic chairman.

Gaines and Rep. Johnson had almost got into a fight of some kind on the plane ride to Washington. Yarborough, but not Gonzalez, attended a dinner for the delegation at the Pitcairn Room of the Mayflower; it was reportedly a pleasant affair, but Gaines at one point told Yarborough just to tell them if he didn't want to help them get the federal money. Zachry expostulated with Gaines.

Gonzalez, who is identified with the G.G.L. group, earlier in the day had said Yarborough's new amendment might cause

harmful delay. "It looks to me like the amendment would make the Secretary of Commerce a sort of commissar of HemisFair," he said; it had been "hastily concocted." Yarborough had performed a valuable service getting the early hearing set, Gonzalez said, but "it is quite obvious that some of these provisions [in the amendment] show some of the spleen that the senator obviously has. But that's his business."¹⁶

Came, the next day, the hearing. According to the transcript, Yarborough said he "wholeheartedly supported" the legislation. He said his new amendment would avoid claims of "dictatorial management" or "dictatorial control." Sen. John Tower, R.-Tex., who, with Yarborough's assent, had introduced the HemisFair bill Senate-side, spoke for it briefly. Gonzalez said a few words.

Zachry argued, in effect, that the senators had a duty to provide the \$10 million. The foreign nations "are coming here at the invitation of this Congress," and several had been "visited and invited personally by our governor"; the city would lose much of the money it had spent, without the federal approval; a "stigma" would "enshroud us from here on out, of having failed in our finest civic gesture," without the \$10 million in U.S. money, Zachry argued. When, later, Sen. Sparkman objected to the argument that the Congress had an obligation to provide the funds, Yarborough said neither he nor Tower argued that.

There was this interesting exchange:

Tower. The governor is behind it, and the governor is a somewhat influential man.

Fulbright. Is the President behind it?

Tower. Yes, sir.

Fulbright. He is somewhat influential, too.

Tower. Yes, he is.

Lausche. Then, we ought not have any more hearings.

Aiken. We should go through the motions.

Yarborough expatiated on the history of San Antonio and the case for having a fair there, but Fulbright cut in: "We know of the glories of San Antonio. Why doesn't Texas pay for it, that is more to the point."

"The people voted \$30 million in bonds," Yarborough retorted.

Gaines privately determined, evidently without consulting anyone, to blast Yarborough and quit. Touching down in San Antonio, he let go; that night the staff chief of HemisFair dominated the TV newscasts.

Gaines spoke of Yarborough's "personal political ambitions, desires, and enmities." Under the new amendment, half the members of the executive committee would have to quit, Gaines said; the amendment "would demand the withdrawal of every responsible citizen in this city from an active part in HemisFair"; it was "so calculatedly designed to eliminate [Yarborough's] political enemies." Gaines pointed out that, he being a paid officer of the fair, he would be knocked out by Yarborough's amendment as soon as Lone Star Brewery, of which Gaines is a director, becomes a HemisFair exhibitor. Gaines said he was quitting "in the interest of federal participation."¹⁷

The next morning the city's press were

called together at HemisFair's offices. Zachry put them off-the-record when he told them what was what. In Zachry's view, now common knowledge in San Antonio — (but not printed in the papers, since the press who were present were bound by the off-the-record injunction, as this reporter, not having been present, is not bound) — Gaines was angry and otherwise had not behaved appropriately. Grace, Zachry complimented warmly. Gaines' resignation was accepted; the fair's new staff chief is Frank Manupelli.

The Express, which given Gaines' blast at Yarborough page one play with a large headline, had an on-the-record opportunity to indicate Zachry's views. Yarborough released, in Washington, the following wire he had received from Zachry: "I sincerely regret and repudiate the statement made by Gaines regarding your amendment to HemisFair bill. No such interpretation is in order. His resignation has been accepted. Again, many thanks for your support and fine presentation to the committee." The Express ran a short story about this wire one page 15-C.¹⁸ HemisFair's executive committee since then has praised Grace, Pena, Alaniz, and Johnson for "quick and capable" support on HemisFair, as the Express, but evidently not the Express, duly reported.¹⁹

The Senate foreign relations committee has approved the HemisFair bill, but with an appropriation of only \$7.5 million instead of \$10 million. Fulbright said there would be no further approval of such bills except for world-wide fairs with unqualified endorsement of the Bureau of International Expositions. His committee, Fulbright said, is fed up with "these expositions. HemisFair is very lucky to get \$7.5 million as far as the committee is concerned." Yarborough said he felt "very fortunate in getting the bill out," and the committee had been "very kind to us," considering how some of the members felt. "I have worked diligently for the bill, and am grateful to get three-fourths of what was asked," he said.

Both of Yarborough's amendments were approved by the Senate committee. Gonzalez will fight the one on conflicts of interest in conference. In the San Antonio Light he has been quoted now that it would "hobble and cripple" HemisFair and eliminate 400 underwriters as members of the corporation, that its actual intent is to force Daniels out, and that it would make the Secretary of Commerce a "super commissar."²¹ Though Yarborough has not retorted to any of Gonzalez' barbs in recent weeks, the once extremely friendly men, who are the two most liberal members in the Texas delegation by voting records, won't likely be as close again.

BE IT SAID that this has not been the story of HemisFair as the planners and dreamers of HemisFair would have it told, and they have a point. "The glories of San Antonio" are glories, after all, and the idea of having a fair to bring into a joyful confluence the people, the history, the painting, the sculpture, the folk art, the music, the plays, the crafts, and the industries of North and South America

is an inspiration. Juan O'Gorman, the mosaicist of the University of Mexico in Mexico City, has been commissioned to do a huge mosaic for HemisFair. In a blending of commerce and art, a leading aluminum maker is commissioning a garden of aluminum sculpture. Richard Miller, who is in charge of the cultural projects, speaks excitedly of his plans to bring talent from all over the hemisphere to the fair—of musicals, ballet, open-air band and symphony concerts, a cinema arts festival, puppet theaters, a six-month international folk festival with dancing, singing, and story-telling, gondolas in the river and *mariaches* along the banks, a spirit of spontaneity — of fiesta — throughout the fair. There will be the usual amusements and the rides, the exhibits educational and commercial, and after the mobs of people are served and shown and gone, there will still be, for San Antonio, the Institute of Texan Cultures, fifteen acres of river and garden the city can keep as a park if it will, and the U.S. pavilion, which, if they have their way, the HemisFair people will make a permanent inter-American center on education and a kind of meeting place for the inventions, ideas, and literatures of the two halves of the hemisphere. One guesses that San Antonio will have its fair and it will be a dandy.

Will HemisFair also leave behind it a city whose politics has become monolithic, as Warren Leslie, in *Dallas Public and Private*, says the Texas Centennial of 1936 left Dallas? Wrote Leslie:

"The roots of the powerful Citizens' Council in Dallas go back to 1936, when the city became the site of the Texas Centennial. Dallas' chief weapon in the battle for the Centennial had been the lure of \$3,500,000 it offered in support of the fair, but raising it had been slow work. One problem was that it took so long to get an answer from companies that had been asked to give the money.

"There was no organization," Bob Thornton [banker and former mayor] said. 'We had to have men who could underwrite. . . . Sometimes you'd get a bunch together. They couldn't say yes or no. We didn't have time for no proxy people — what we needed was men who could give you the box score. Then I saw the idea. Why not organize the 'yes' and 'no' people? So I went by to see Nate Adams.'

"Adams at the time was head of the First National Bank, then the biggest and now the second biggest bank in Dallas. Adams agreed that it made sense, and the

Citizens' Council was formed.

"It was then an organization of one hundred men representing companies which could provide cash. (Now its membership is about two hundred.) . . . Membership in the Council was restricted to chief executive officers of major corporations. . . . The Council is so closely knit that one gets the impression that everything in town has the same board of directors; that the men leading the United Fund are the same who run the Civic Opera, who run the symphony, who run the new hospital drive and who run the state fair. . . . This is embarrassing at times. . . ."

After naming nine or ten leading members of the Citizens' Council, Leslie concluded:

"If these nine men agree on something, and if at the same time the newspapers . . . also agree, this automatically means that the two Dallas television stations will agree, since they are both owned by the newspapers. In the end, it means that the rest of the Citizens' Council will agree and so, eventually, will the rest of the city. . . . Dallas, then, is not run by a power elite of two hundred; it is run — or strongly led — by a group of at most ten, at fewest three, men."²²

Will the executive committee of HemisFair, or the steering committee of the Good Government League, become San Antonio's equivalent of the Dallas Citizens Council? That may be the question in the politics of HemisFair. R.D.

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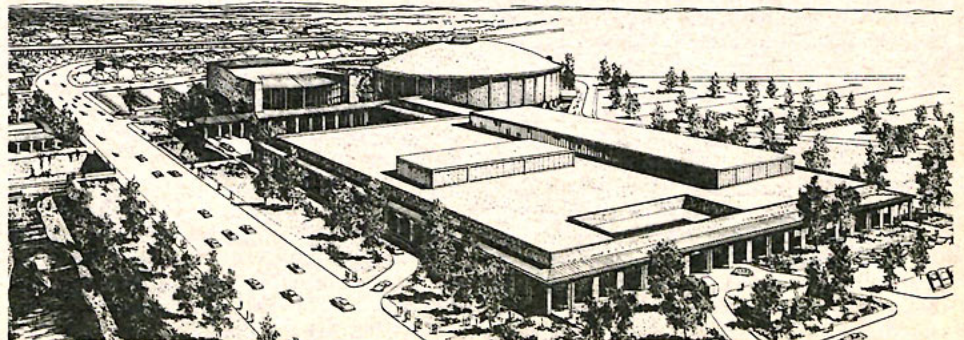
⁶Connally, Texas, and HemisFair," The Texas Observer, 7-22-66. ⁷Express, 11-22-65. ⁸The test of Connally's speech was published in HemisFair's "El Abrazo," February, 1966. See Express, 11-24-65 and 1-15, 1-16, 1966. ⁹Houston Post, 7-14-66, and Express, 7-13-66. ¹⁰Express, 2-16-66.

¹¹Express, 1-28-66. ¹²See the Express, 4-30, 5-3, 12, 20, 6-4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 16, 22, 24, 29, 7-12, 3, 8-10, 12, and 9-18, all 1966. ¹³San Antonio Liberalism: Piercing It Together," The Texas Observer, 5-27-66. ¹⁴Press releases from Yarborough, 9-13, 9-14, 1966. ¹⁵Express, 6-3-66.

¹⁶Express, 9-14-66. ¹⁷Express, 9-15-66. ¹⁸Express, 9-17-66. ¹⁹San Antonio Light, 9-20-66. ²⁰Austin American (AP), Dallas News, and Express, all 9-23-66. ²¹San Antonio Light, 9-18-66. ²²Dallas Public and Private, by Warren Leslie, Grossman Publishers, New York, 1964. \$4.50.

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Civic Center will survive HemisFair

GOP Just Can't Embrace Minimum Wage

San Antonio

Speeches, speculations, and newspaper headlines to one side, the Texas Republicans refused to adopt or even hint that they might favor a state minimum wage in their 1966 platform. The chairman of their platform committee here for the state GOP convention, ex-Rep. Dick Morgan of Dallas, said ahead of time that there would be a plank "on" the minimum wage, and by that mysterious chemistry that goes to work at conventions, this had become the main question about the platform. As Morgan said, they could recite "Mary Had a Little Lamb" and make a statement on the minimum wage law, and they would still have an acceptable platform. When it came to it, the Texas Republicans were opposed to a minimum wage law, and there was no way to change the duck into a swan. Shortly before the mimeographed copies of the platform were lugged onto the convention floor for distribution to the press—a platform written in closed meetings and adopted by the convention without change—Morgan was standing in an aisle of this city's municipal auditorium, and Dallas Republican chairman John Leedom and another delegate approached him. The other delegate said to Morgan heatedly, "You aren't going to say anything about *minimum wage*, are you?" From his tone he might have been asking if they were going to endorse abortion. This is all of what the platform said on a minimum wage:

"Texas Farm Economy: We recognize that prosperity in Texas is dependent on a strong economy with adequate wages for workers and adequate profits for business. The return to farmers and ranchers, particularly in South Texas, must be increased. Likewise, farm worker wages have been lower than we would like and should be increased wherever and as soon as possible."

A few of the delegates regarded this plank as the muffing of an opportunity. The Sunday-before-the-convention platform hearing had attracted Roy Evans, secretary-treasurer of the Texas AFL-CIO, who there called Gov. John Connally, Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr, and Speaker Ben Barnes "monopoly, blah-blah, and yarns," "a phony trio," and who asked the Republicans to endorse \$1.25 an hour, an industrial safety act, elimination of the right-to-work law, and improvements in the workmen's compensation law. Bob Sanchez of McAllen, a leader in the Political Assn. of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (P.A.S.O.), told the hearing that "I am a liberal Democrat, openly supporting Sen. John Tower for reelection because it will help establish a functioning two-party system in Texas." As the rumors circulated lazily about the closed platform hearings, one of the dele-

gates, from Houston, said, "This is the convention at which we get off dead center or get moving." But asked what they were arguing about in the closed platform meetings, Morgan said, "Wording." Obviously the plank on wages had been sandpapered until smooth and painted until the grain was covered, but Leedom later was quoted saying that there had been no "thrust" in the party for the minimum wage and some outright opposition to it.

On the other hand the Republicans, in their platform, sought to offer what Tower wryly calls "discerning Democrats" a few pegs to hang their grappling hooks on. The convention endorsed, of course, a strong two-party system, but also adult education for the educationally deprived, teachers' salaries "competitive with those of other states," single-member legislative districts (which would result in the election of more Republicans as well as more members of ethnic minorities), "an independent investigation of the [auto insurance] rate-making process" and consideration to competitive rate-making, higher nurses' salaries (how much higher was not specified), an end to "the current discrimination against Negro and Latin-Americans [in] the employment procedure of state and local government, particularly in administrative and staff positions," and opposition to higher college tuition and to the removal of the food, drug, or farm exemptions from the state's sales tax.

The GOP resoundingly re-endorsed the state's right to work law and advocated, on industrial safety, "a non-regulatory Industrial Safety Board" that would promote safety programs, offer assistance, and make recommendations, but evidently would not have enforcement powers. The Republicans opposed inflation and advocated prosecution of the Vietnam war to a successful conclusion and "all efforts to obtain an honorable peace," more police investigators and citizen support of the police, no new state taxes until state governmental waste is eliminated, property tax relief for senior citizens, a comprehensive water program and anti-pollution legislation, revocation of drivers' licenses for drivers under 21 convicted of serious traffic violations, and the elimination of the party loyalty pledge on primary ballots. Although the Texas League of Women Voters petitioned the Republicans, as they did also the Democrats, to endorse state constitutional revision, the subject was not taken up in the GOP platform.

THIS WAS A TOWER convention, a show staged to help elect Sen. John Tower. The junior senator held a couple of press conferences and delivered the keynote speech. The platform tracked his views and wishes. As the Democrats had a governor's convention, the Republicans had a senator's.

There was only a little dissension, and it was kept well damped down. The Harris County delegation had been chosen by a rancorous, protracted county convention at which the moderate conservatives prevailed over the right-wingers — "the whitehats" beat "the blackhats," as the moderates style the conflict. The struggle for control of the Harris County Republicans has become severe, with the blackhats accusing George Bush, candidate for Congress in the Western district, of too much progressivism, and the whitehats accusing the blackhats of favoring Democrat Frank Briscoe against Bush and of caring only about taking over party control in Houston as a base for nominating Ronald Reagan of California for president in 1968. By a 29-25 vote, the State Republican Executive Committee sided with the whitehats on a dispute over "Rule 18," which permitted the whitehats to get their people in as replacements for absent delegates. As the convention got under way the blackhats let "Rule 18" go by without a challenge from the floor. Then, at a caucus, the Houston delegates had a love feast for the nonce, taking a loyalty pledge to support only Republican candidates and to say nothing critical about any Republican until the fall elections are over.

The temporary chairman of the convention, Rudy F. Juedeman of Odessa, made a few remarks as he took the gavel. "Never in my life have I seen the American dollar so little in the marketplace and yet commanding such a high interest rate . . . Perhaps not since the Civil War has our country suffered so much . . . rioting, disorder, and burning," he said.

However, in keeping with Tower's policy wishes, none of the convention speakers mentioned President Johnson in a negative way; criticism was directed against the Administration, instead. Kellis Dibrell, the GOP candidate for lieutenant governor, said he showed his speech to Tower in advance and Tower asked him to remove a derisive reference to "Johnson grass," which Dibrell did.

Bush, looking fit and happy, introduced Tower to the convention. First, though, Bush alluded to his own problems in Harris County. He had been sick in the hospital, he said, and the county Republican executive committee met and sent him a wire that they hoped he got well soon. "I was happy to learn that this resolution passed 94 to 89. At least it didn't die for lack of a second," Bush said.

He was worried, Bush said, about the big spenders who graduate from A.S.U., "Arthur Schlesinger University." The idea of "consensus" is tarnished, the Administration's popularity is at an all-time low, and people are concerned about crime, riots, "inability to do something successfully about ending the war in Vietnam," and division in the Democratic Party.

Tower, Bush said, had written "a well-reasoned record of fighting for what Texans believe in, a record of standing up under the pressure." Former House Speaker Sam Rayburn used to say, "If you want to get along, go along," Bush recalled, adding, "but John Tower does not have to go along. He's not dependent on the Great Society for his committee assignments. He supports the Administration when he thinks it's right and he's free enough and courageous enough" to fight it when he thinks it's wrong. He does not fight change, but wants it within the framework of law, and he knows there must be dissent and does not "unjustifiably question" the motives of dissenters, Bush said.

TOWER STRODE RAPIDLY into the convention hall from the back, holding his wife Lou by the hand as she paced along beside him. This set off an eight-minute demonstration, complete with parading up and down the aisles, band music, "Vivas" and "Olés."

Tower said that (despite the "pink elephant ball," for which tickets were \$12) he would go back to Washington that night to vote for Senator Everett Dirksen's prayer amendment, which Tower said would "amend an unwise Supreme Court decision." The day before the convention, he said, "we killed the 1966 civil rights bill." Both these statements were greeted with enthusiastic applause.

"The Republican Party has a long history of championing civil rights and the rights of individuals and of opposing prejudice and bigotry and discrimination," he said, "but we also have championed the rights of the individual to own and dispose of property as he chooses."

In a part of his speech prepared in advance for release to the press, Tower was going to be saying that his contest with Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr was not a party vs. party matter. Now, ad libbing, he told the Republican convention he is proud of his party. "I think you know I'm not going

to be able to pass out any federal jobs to you, rural postmasterships, anything like that, but you're here anyway, and I appreciate that."

Reading from the brief prepared text, he said that Carr is failing in his attempt to divide Texans "on a basis of party vs. party." Tower said he had made only one promise in 1961, to act and vote in Washington in accordance with the wishes of a majority of Texans and to represent all Texans.

"It is my opinion," he said, "that political parties oughta be regarded as vehicles by which and through which the people of our Republic are able to nominate and to place competent men in public office . . . It is not the purpose of a political party to provide the strong man to afford the coattails for weaker men to be elected to office." Once a man is elected, Tower said, "he should then take up the duties of the office on a non-partisan basis . . ." The junior senator said he didn't know how many people had said to him, "I'm a Democrat, but I believe principle is more important and I'm voting for you."

Tower underscored earlier remarks by state GOP chairman Peter O'Donnell alleging that Carr wants to run for governor. The senator said that "it is rumored" that Carr "may use the Senate seat to run for governor two or four years hence."

Tower is opposed, he continued by "the power structure." Concerned by the drift of power toward "the executive branch" and by the enactment of programs "that appeal to the cupidity and weakness of our citizenry," he said a senator should be able to act with independence of "any politician, period."

Tower introduced his wife, who said, "I believe so wholeheartedly in what he's doing. He really is a wonderful man. He's a wonderful father. He's the best husband there ever could be, and I'll just tell the whole world I love him a whole lot."

At a press conference after his speech, Tower said yes, it's true, as Carr has charg-

ed, that Tower voted more money than the President asked for some programs—"the school lunch program, HemisFair, the development of the Nike X system . . . If my opponent wants to cut [school] aid to impacted areas and the school lunch program, let him say so."

Told the Houston liberals had walked out of the Democrats' convention in Austin, Tower said, "The Republican Party is open to anybody to participate. The doors of my campaign office are open to everybody, regardless of political affiliation." Discussing the Houston walkout in Austin again later, he grinned and said, "I'm real sorry about that."

THE GOP FINANCE chairman, John Bennett of San Antonio, president of a local bank, says the Republicans are now the party of the little people because the largest number of their contributions come from donors of small sums. He said that 20,000 people have invested in the Tower campaign.

The party's statewide candidates spoke in the afternoon, but at times it seemed that fewer than half of the delegates were paying attention. T. E. Kennerly, running for governor against John Connally, condemned recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions "which have coddled the criminals," and he declared, "We should have respect for our courts, and I'll say in parentheses that we oughta have courts that we can respect." Robb Stewart, running against Crawford Martin for attorney general, condemned the Great Society in the course of his defense of the cause of "less government." Dibrell, opposing Preston Smith for lieutenant governor, said the Republicans must welcome into their party "representatives of all groups" if there is to be a two-party Texas. Later he explained that he meant that the Republican primary should be dominated by conservatives, but that then, before the general election, appeals for support should be made to all groups. R.D.

Democrats Feign Unity and Harmony

Austin

Whether the voices muffled here last week will be heard more distinctly November 8 is the question that lingers after the state Democratic convention. Will the Harris County walkout hurt Waggoner Carr? Governor John Connally professes to think not. Carr, for his part, notes that the Houstonians "were not supporting me, anyway." He believes they came to Austin to stage a walkout.

Despite the protest, the 1966 "governor's convention," so-called never more aptly, was a mechanic's dream — a soundly engineered, finely tuned, well-oiled model which cruised nicely, missed no strokes, and hit the curves smoothly. No annoying rattles, no discordant pings. After some minor adjustments under the hood (achieved discreetly, with few looking on), the '66 hit

Greg Olds

the road and purred sonorously along to adjournment.

But the mechanic's bill may be sent to Carr.

Many Texas liberals came to Austin already leaning away from Carr's candidacy for John Tower's Senate seat. There is evidence that the Harris County delegation members (liberal by 797 to 50) were hoping to be rejected in their demands that they be seated and be permitted to name their county's eight State Democratic Executive Committee members. It is true that eight liberals from Houston would have commanded attention in the body that runs the state party's affairs, but they would not have changed the conservative nature of the committee. The mood of the Hous-

tonians and other tidbits of data suggest that the Harris County delegates were therefore interested less in seats on the S.D.E.C. than in participating in a scene, thus spurring further disenchantment with Carr, whose victory the Houstonians would see as a blow to the two-party system.

THE CARR DINNER the night before the convention was nothing less than a triumph. In contrast to the rather dismal start the attorney general's campaign suffered in Lubbock earlier this month, the Austin gala featured a crowd double that anticipated—and at \$25 a head, proceeds of which will go to the Carr campaign fund. The candidate was boosted by an all-star lineup of state Democrats, who lined the stage in a solid front of support for the candidate they offer as a valued member of an

effective team. And Carr's speech was skillfully delivered.

Several hundred of those attending the dinner had to eat the \$25 meal seated in the balcony with plates balanced in their laps; tables on the main floor couldn't accommodate all who showed up. SDEC chairman Will Davis called the turnout "one of the greatest outpourings of Democratic officialdom in the history of the state, giving the lie to talk that the Democratic Party isn't 100% behind Waggoner Carr." From left to right on the front table of the stage were House Speaker and Mrs. Ben Barnes, former Gov. and Mrs. Allan Shivers, Mrs. Davis, national committeeman Frank C. Erwin, Jr., Gov. and Mrs. John Connally, Mr. and Mrs. Carr, Lt. Gov. and Mrs. Preston Smith, former Gov. and Mrs. Price Daniel, and the Negro minister who gave the invocation, the Rev. Marvin Griffin, and his wife, of Waco.

Meanwhile, liberals were holding their own gathering — a Valley striker benefit dance at a motel. The event was not well attended, but gave anti-Carr people somewhere to go during the auditorium extravaganza. The Harris County Democrats were listed as sponsors. Admission was by \$5

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The Texas Observer

tickets, though it was said that anyone showing a \$25 ticket to the Carr affair would be admitted. S.D.E.C. chairman Will Davis was reported complaining in good humor that he was not invited to the dance.

U.S. Sen. Ralph Yarborough had been invited to the Carr dinner, it was announced, but had declined "because of pressing business."

Barnes, preparatory to introducing members of the Texas House of Representatives, referred to "the next U.S. senator from Texas, Waggoner Carr," drawing a big round of applause, enthusiastically lead by Connally; Smith, however, kept on eating.

The only boos of the night were a scattered few when Franklin Spears was introduced among the state senators. Carr smiled broadly, clapped vigorously, and nodded at Spears as Spears walked by him. Among nominees not introduced was Barbara Jordan, who will be in the state Senate next year. Friends said she arrived too late at the dinner to be introduced.

Shivers, who hasn't made a political appearance recently, commended Carr as "honest, sincere, firm, and fair-minded," and referred to him as "the great Texas Democrat we are going to elect to the United States Senate." Shivers read a telegram

from the 23 Texas members of the U.S. House of Representatives supporting Carr, then added "I proudly join them and you in supporting Waggoner Carr for the United States Senate." Sen. Yarborough's name was not on the telegram. A day later — somehow delayed — a wire came from him that he was for the Democratic ticket.

Connally said "Texans of all philosophies can be proud of (Carr's) distinguished service. Now we are able to put him to work in the United States Senate. . . ."

Daniel said "Carr's effectiveness and leadership in Washington will be further enhanced by his membership and record in the Democratic Party, the majority party, which controls the Senate and which furnishes a distinguished son of Texas as the President of the United States."

CARR'S SPEECH was televised on 22 stations. He was interrupted 35 times by applause, causing the last of his talk not to be aired. The speech was pungent, witty, and adroit, and was delivered to full effect by the candidate. Again Carr said nothing at all of foreign affairs, but stressed, rather, the power of the Democrats in Texas and nationally and the negative aspects of the Goldwater campaign and Tower's role in that. Many passages found the mark, as these:

"Not all candidates are proud of their parties. A certain candidate for re-election to the United States Senate never mentions his party. You can take a microscope to his profusion of campaign literature, his large variety of billboards, and even to whole magazine sections in the Sunday papers, and never find the name of his party. There is a well-grounded suspicion, ladies and gentlemen, that this man is a Republican. But *he won't tell!* But let's keep the rumor alive that John Tower is a Republican!

"There are other secrets and mysteries revolving around this leaning Tower of neutrality. His campaign has been launched with fanfare. Committees have been appointed. A rash of election-year bills has been introduced in the Senate. The money trees have been shaken from coast to coast. He has already been endorsed by Richard Nixon and Davy Crockett. *But where is Barry?* You can almost hear the question from the press gallery: "But, senator, what about your old friend, Barry Goldwater?" And the Senator's puzzled reply, 'Barry Who?'"

". . . Through his first five years in Washington, his A.C.A. rating for far-right conservatism was 99% perfect, making him the most extreme right-wing senator in the United States. Yet, in the first half of 1966, an election year, you will recall, his batting average dropped to 54%. What on earth happened? One hesitates to think that our self-styled conservative U.S. senator would play politics with his Senate votes, but we are reluctantly forced to accept that conclusion.

"I do say to his disillusioned fans of the Far Right and the Far Left: don't lose heart. He has just gone away for a little while. The junior senator is on sabbatical leave from the reactionary team. He'll be

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back in the '99% fold after the election . . . but not back in the United States Senate."

" . . . When the Houston Chronicle asked the Republican junior senator if he thought an agricultural worker could live on 85c an hour, the senator responded, "That is basically not the question. . . ." "It sounds pretty basic to me. I think a farmer is entitled to more than a 1½% return on his investment. I will devote a great deal of my time in the Senate trying to find a way to help both."

Carr also hit Tower's opposition to the Chamizal treaty and to the Padre Island national seashore, concluding, "The junior senator can find more to be against and less to be for than any man since Barry Goldwater was in the U.S. Senate."

Leaders of Connally's forces were reported in the Houston Chronicle as believing that Carr is in trouble in his race with Tower. The Chronicle told of a closed door meeting of 150 campaign coordinators on convention day at which the governor warned of the situation and called for opinions on whether his people are willing to campaign openly for Carr. Reportedly about one-half of those present urged active participation in Carr's campaign, but many of the others were cool. Many at the meeting were said to prefer working for the entire ticket rather than for Carr alone and said Connally could be hurt politically by open involvement in the campaign.

Well aware of all these considerations, the powers in the state party were unwilling to co-operate in the martyrdom of the Houstonians — and yet were reluctant to seat eight liberals on the S.D.E.C. A four-four split was proposed to the liberals on the premise that two of the county's four districts were actually conservative-controlled (as shown in precinct conventions). The Harris County convention had named eight dyed-in-the-wool liberals as their choices for the S.D.E.C.: Ted Garcia, Mary Beech, Carl Burney, Mrs. C. V. Adair, Judson Robinson, Jr., Mrs. Mary Louise Evans, Bill Kilgarlin, and Shirley Jay. Liberals were not making it easy for the Connally-crats; the list included two Negroes, a Latin, and five outspoken Anglo liberals. Kilgarlin, for example, only ten days before the convention had addressed the credentials subcommittee in terms at times less than tactful, perhaps purposely so. Twice, for example, he said the subcommittee was stacked. The credentials group was hearing a protest by W. N. (Bill) Blanton, the conservative Harris County Demo chairman, that his followers actually had won the Harris convention, but seating of the Houston liberals was not an issue; the seats on the S.D.E.C. seats were. Blanton said it was never his intention that the liberal delegation should not be seated, and no rump delegation was sent to Austin.

THE HARRIS LIBERALS came to the convention in no mood for any deals. If they were seated with all prerogatives, OK; but if something less than "full citizenship" was offered, then walk out and let Carr do the worrying. Mrs. David (Billie) Carr, a Houston liberal leader whose term on the S.D.E.C. was expiring, said "What happens at the (state) convention tomorrow

morning will decide whether a lot of liberals stay home on November 8 or vote for everyone on the Democratic ticket except one." Connally and his lieutenants have since pointed out that Carr had nothing to do with the credentials settlement, but many of the liberals from Houston and elsewhere nonetheless expressed the view that revenge for the Harris settlement can best be exacted by Carr's defeat.

In the hours before the convention, Harris County delegates seemed spoiling for a fight. Gathered at a far north Austin motel, an enclave remote from the convention, the Houston group passed the time making amusingly dire predictions about the disposition of their case. At a midnight caucus their mood varied between determination and mock tragedy. One lady attended sporting a pair of signs attached to her clothing, in front: "Keep Tower"; on her back: "Batman for Governor." A few representatives were on hand from Dallas, McLennan, and Midland counties as perhaps 200 or more jammed the meeting room at the motel. A late arrival was Dave Shapiro, a veteran trooper of past liberal causes who this year is working hard for the Rebuilding Committee, a group of Democrats who are seeking to elect Tower and thereby encourage a two-party Texas.

Mrs. Carr and Ed Cogburn, a Houston lawyer serving as delegation chairman, told those on hand the word was that the group would be seated at the convention, conditioned on the four-four S.D.E.C. split. Garcia, Mrs. Beech, Kilgarlin, and Mrs. Jay would not be put on the state committee, as their districts (the sixth and fifteenth) were to be awarded the conservatives on the basis, Cogburn said he was told, that "they don't properly represent the districts where they live." Cogburn said that in 1960 and 1964 this principle didn't concern the conservatives who had all the county's S.D.E.C. positions.

Cogburn read a press release he had prepared. It was well-received by the crowd and approved as the statement of the group: "In Texas our people are the loyal Democrats. We have been kicked, shoved, and elbowed aside when all we wanted to do was be a working part of the Democratic Party.

"In the name of party loyalty we have endorsed some mighty strange bedfellows, and most of the time we have had to sleep at the foot of the bed. This year it looks like they want us to either sleep on the floor or give them our pajama tops and two buttons off the pants. Our pious new county chairman, Bill Blanton, who spouted nothing but harmony and fair play in his campaign, has turned out to be the champion vote-stealer of them all. He has tried to rob us of convention votes for making the same clerical mistakes he himself made at his own convention. How he had the

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bald-faced nerve to try to sell this to the state credentials committee is beyond belief.

"Now it seems we are asked to compromise, with no contesting delegation and no valid contest, just to get a seat in the convention — a seat at the foot of the bed. We are asked to give the Goldwater voters of southwest Houston representation on the state Democratic committee in order to keep some representation for ourselves. This time it may be we will choose to sleep on the floor."

Tabulation of the ballots cast the week before at a caucus in Houston on whether to accept the deal confirmed what everybody suspected: No deal, 166-7.

Gould Beech rose in the audience to advise newcomers to state conventions not get frustrated, recalling that "historically there has been something wrong with us (liberals)." He traced the state party's recent era of Shivers ("the great apostate,") the segregation bills, and the voting against Democratic nominees for president, then turned to state conventions: "There are variations in techniques up here; sometimes we are robbed inside, sometimes we're robbed outside the convention hall. If you haven't got some suntan lotion, you'd better buy some tomorrow . . . for if they say 'come on in, but you're gonna be half-assed Democrats' [here he was interrupted by much laughter and applause]. I don't want to go in unless I will feel at home, in my father's house. I won't feel at home anywhere Allan Shivers is a hero." (Shivers, while the Democratic governor, led the 1952 campaign in Texas for Eisenhower.)

The group adjourned to await the finding of the S.D.E.C. the next morning before the convention opened.

PERHAPS 60 PEOPLE attended the S.D.E.C. meeting, including 42 committee members. Prominent were five Department of Public Safety officers and three convention sergeants-at-arms who stood at the sides and back of the room. As the day

September 30, 1966

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A Special Reprint

The Observer has published a special 24-page reprint of our coverage of the Valley farm workers strike and march from June through September. It's entitled "The Strike and the March" and carries the Rio Grande City strikers all the way north to their confrontation at New Braunfels and their climactic meetings in Austin. Order your copy of this historic record now.

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had begun, ten D.P.S. cars were parked outside the auditorium and several others were parked in the basement of the building.

Credentials subcommittee chairman Garrett Morris of Fort Worth reported to the S.D.E.C. that Harris County conservatives had lost their convention because of a "fast gavel and voice vote" after three roll call votes indicated conservative control. "The subcommittee would not have hesitated to seat the Blanton [conservative] group" if they had sent a rump delegation, Morris said. The liberals, then, would be seated, but would name S.D.E.C. members for districts seven and eleven, leaving districts six and fifteen to the conservatives.

Mrs. Carr, in rebuttal, spoke eloquently and with composure. "I was there," she told the committee: "this is not what happened," she said of Morris' recapitulation. "When are we going to learn in the Democratic Party of Texas that there is room for both liberals and conservatives? It was a known fact that the liberals had won the [majority of] precinct conventions. There were no protests in the 72-hour period for protests."

Conservatives, alleged Mrs. Carr, went to the courthouse and "pulled enough files of precinct convention minutes" to let the conservatives win. "They just checked the liberal minutes" and not conservative ones. "We checked all 280 minutes and found that there should have been 211 of them thrown out" because of technical errors. "I want to ask you," she said to committee members, "can your counties withstand the tests of their minutes? . . . So what's this all about? The conservatives became concerned because the liberals had won and no one in the precincts had protested, so they [conservative leaders] had to do it for them.

"Governor Connally has nothing to fear in this committee. What can these eight [liberals] do on the S.D.E.C. but express a minority opinion — and it is a minority, though this may not be so after the next voter registration. Remember, the people you're taking votes from today are experienced party workers, who wear boots that have marched working for the Democratic Party, and," she concluded, "those boots may one day march over you."

Several S.D.E.C. members apparently were concerned about whether the Harris County 72-hour rule for protests of precinct conventions should apply. Gaston Wilder of Beaumont (a proxy for Ann G. Evans, also of Beaumont) asked if this didn't preclude overturning results of precincts for which no protest had been filed in the specified time. Morris answered that this didn't matter, as the requirements of procedure (signing minutes, and such) had to be met, even with a 72-hour rule in effect. Wilder moved that the subcommittee report be tabled, which would have sent the question to the floor of the convention. C. R. Johnson of Texas City seconded the motion. It failed by voice vote, several voting in favor. The subcommittee report was then accepted by another voice vote with only Mrs. Carr dissenting.

She left to advise Harris County dele-

gates, standing outside, what had happened.

"Remember who your enemy is, who did this to us," she told her delegation. "It was John Connally and Waggoner Carr. Carr should be praying, because Connally definitely hurt him. . . . If I were Mr. Carr . . . I'd ask Gov. Connally if he really is supporting me." "No deal," a man in the crowd shouted. "I've got an idea," Mrs. Carr went on, "let's march to the Capitol steps and meet with the Valley farm workers' sentinel—" "and elect him governor," someone broke in. "I'm glad to be off the committee now, to hell with John Connally and his whole group," Mrs. Carr said. The group burned its convention credentials, then began its march.

Meanwhile, inside the auditorium all seemed tranquil; the formalities were getting under way, although twelve minutes late because of the credentials deliberation. Delegates seated in Austin's chilly municipal auditorium seemed to be largely unaware of the dissension that had been confined to anterooms and was finally being carried on foot to the Capitol steps. About 200 marched, including perhaps 20 from Midland and a few from McLennan County. There the Valley sentinel was greeted.

"We'll vote for everybody but Carr," said Mrs. Carr. "Some liberals will go fishing, some will vote for John Tower." Another Houstonian urged, "Get rid of Connally and his gang." Resolutions were passed on civil rights, a state \$1.25 minimum wage, dredging of live oyster reefs in Texas waters, permanent voter registration, air and water pollution control, and the recent auto insurance rate increases.

Stanley Woods, who opposed Connally in the primary, and newly-elected state Sen. Barbara Jordan spoke. Mrs. R. D. Randolph of Houston, veteran of a previous state convention walkout, sent a message: "I love you all, and you did the right thing." After an hour and ten minutes the rally adjourned to Scholtz Garten "to continue our discussion of democracy."

Back at the convention, Robert G. Rogers, liberal chairman of the Kleberg County delegation, saw the Harris County seats were occupied by some 35 to 50 delegates. After the roll call vote on accepting the S.D.E.C. report on temporary organization of the convention, Rogers asked party chairman Will Davis, who was presiding, how many votes Harris County would have; the county, Rogers said, was not bound by the unit rule, so could cast only as many votes as there were delegates present. Some widely scattered applause greeted this. Davis replied that only a member of the county delegation could raise such a point. Rogers retorted that Kleberg County would change its 17 votes on accepting the temporary organization report from aye to no. This made the vote 6,062 aye, 124 no. Rogers' effort was the nearest the liberals came to disrupting the flow of the convention. Another try occurred before the platform committee, but had no effect.

The Harris SDEC delegation seated includes liberals Burney, Mrs. Adair, Robinson, and Mrs. Evans, plus conservatives John B. Allien and Mrs. Marcella Donaldson Perry (district six) and Ed A. Stumpf,

III, and Mrs. Jack Perry (district fifteen). Robinson and Mrs. Adair (former secretary of the Harris County NAACP) were believed to be the first Negroes ever on the S.D.E.C.

John H. Crooker, Jr., of Houston, supported the four liberal nominees being placed on the committee, saying they were "people of the moderate liberal wing." But then all four liberals said they wouldn't serve without their four colleagues.

THE GOVERNOR'S KEYNOTE address at the state Democratic convention was a surprise, and a significant one. He strongly urged the legislature to submit to the voters an amendment calling for a constitutional convention. He said the document coming out of such a gathering should be approved by the voters. The whole process could take as long as four years, the governor told reporters.

The Connally-controlled convention gave another push to the idea, listing it first in its platform, and delegates applauded the governor's references to the proposed change. Thus the League of Women Voters members, who long have called for a revised constitution, now are beginning to be joined by conservatives in this issue.

After the usual keynote address nods in the direction of past achievements, Connally turned his 30-minute talk to the subject of a modern constitution. More than half of his speech dealt with this. He said the present document is cumbersome; it has been amended more than 150 times in 90 years and "In the past two years people of our state have been called on to vote on more amendments to our constitution than have been approved for our federal Constitution . . . in almost 200 years."

The document is too rigid, Connally went on, as it requires an amendment, for example, to increase old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and other welfare payments. The constitution is out-of-date; Connally noted that it specifically directs the legislature to regulate vagrants, requires railroads to locate lines within three miles of a county seat, disfranchises anyone who participates in a duel, and requires the Court of Criminal Appeals to take a three-month vacation each year.

The present set-up provides a weak executive, Connally said. Elected officials have no control over 86% of state expenditures, and though the executive department is made up of several hundred agencies, the governor can appoint only one major department head, the secretary of state.

Connally took care to demonstrate that he understands why the constitution is structured as it is, noting that it was written by Texans who had suffered misgovernment during Reconstruction and who therefore set up a government with limited powers. And "this is not to say that the constitution of 1876 is, as a whole, a defective document for guiding the destinies of our state. Our constitution contains much that is good, much that is relevant to the conditions of today. We must realize, though, that in a complex society government inevitably becomes more involved in various facets of our lives. It therefore must be able to react at a pace comparable

to the pace of which our society is changing."

Connally recommended a cabinet system of state government; top agencies would be run by gubernatorial appointees. "Unless we have leadership authority in this [executive] branch, then we will have a government lead by bureaucrats who are responsible to no one," Connally said. He also recommended annual legislative sessions, and consideration (by the constitutional convention) of reducing the 3,300 taxing authorities in Texas by consolidations where possible.

Connally didn't mention four-year terms for governors in his keynote, but his platform advocated this change. This likely would be at issue in any constitutional convention.

An intriguing departure from Connally's prepared text occurred when he came to a sentence that read, "For my own brief moment on the stage of history soon will pass." Instead, he said, "For my own brief moment on this stage soon will pass." Was the governor merely toning down a bit of two-flowery prose, or did this mean he might return to Washington in some capacity?

PARTY PLATFORMS are not normally the most significant of documents, but in the case of the Texas Democratic statement, there is more reason for interest than usual, as the powers who wrote the document will call the shots at the next legislative session. Governor Connally, his staff, and party officers worked much of the day prior to the convention behind closed doors at the governor's office. The 61-plank treatise they drew up had to survive only four attempted amendments before the platform committee. And not a comma was changed; that's the kind of convention it was.

John Peace of San Antonio, platform committee chairman, read the lengthy document to the committee for its approval. Alvin Allison of Hockley County promptly moved its adoption.

Two proposed amendments were introduced by Bill Kugle of Henderson County; both were attempts to go on record sympathizing with the Valley farm workers' quest for a state minimum wage. The platform included this plank: "Recommend consideration of a state minimum wage law." Kugle said he thought this was too weak, particularly in view of the Republicans' reportedly forthcoming more forthright stand on the question. Kugle's first amendment would have changed the plank to "Recommend enactment of a state minimum wage law to include farm laborers at \$1.25." Seconding this was Mrs. R. B. Melton of Denton. Dr. Clotilde Garcia of Corpus Christi read a statement basically supporting Kugle's amendment. J. C. Looney of Edinburg said he thought the change would be too specific and that this is something for the legislature to work out. The vote was 23-5 against the amendment.

Another amendment sought to endorse teacher tenure and higher salaries at least

to achieve the national salary average. Allison said this question is now under study by the state government, and such an amendment would defeat the purpose of the study. Mrs. Melton said she thought if the state is to improve the level of education for its young, more money must be spent.

Peace responded that, as Allison had pointed out, the state, including some agencies established for that specific purpose, is studying the matter now, "so we don't want to be presumptuous and recommend what should be done." Allison said he agreed with Peace's agreement with Allison. Kugle said the plank would not be presumptuous, but timely, as the questions are now under study. The vote was 24-6 against the amendment.

Allison's earlier motion approving the platform as submitted was then taken up. Just before the vote, state labor leader Hank Brown asked when others might be heard and asked if he should stay on. "We'd be glad for you to wait," Peace said, smiling. The platform was unanimously adopted by voice vote.

Brown then was permitted to speak. He urged planks on a minimum wage law, improved unemployment and workmen's compensation benefits, an industrial safety law and repeal of the state right-to-work law.

Brown told the committee that he thinks Texas Democrats should stop fighting their national party on the right-to-work issue. He said that the minimum wage plank is weak and the state's two million Mexican-Americans won't be satisfied with this "bland statement." Perhaps in partial response to the Latin and minimum wage issues that have become heated of late, the platform includes a recommendation that Spanish be a required course in Texas public schools.

Brown told the committee there is "growing concern that the Democrats are not truly the party of the people." He recalled that in 1962 the party's platform pledged to do something about industrial accidents, yet such a law was voted down 149-1 by the legislature's Democratic house. "And the Valley farm workers will not be put off," Brown asserted, noting wryly that the only Texas minimum wage law on the books is a 1931 act requiring 30c an hour for laborers on public works construction. He praised the platform's idea of Spanish

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as a required language, its mention of vocational training and literacy needs, and its proposal for an expanded Texas Industrial Commission. But, he said, the platform should be more specific about increasing unemployment benefits, as the state ranks 46th in the nation, and workmen's compensation, in which Texas is \$8 a week below the national average.

Kugle then thought he'd have another go at it and proposed another plank praising the Valley farm workers, "commending these determined, patriotic Texans for their efforts." The vote was 4-22. A proposal by a lady on the committee that the legislature request Congress to submit a constitutional amendment permitting one house of the Congress to be apportioned on a basis other than population lost on a voice vote.

So after 60 minutes of committee discussion the platform emerged unscathed, in the same condition as when it came out of the governor's office. This year's detailed, 11-page platform contrasts with the one-page summary of generalized ideas adopted two years ago.

Other planks urged support for President Johnson in Vietnam; reorganization of the twelve governing boards of four-year state-supported colleges into a limited number of statewide systems; establishing an agriculture development institute to boost research and income; encouraging a minerals pricing policy by the federal government based on the competitive market value of oil, natural gas, and coal; county-wide branch banking in the four largest counties of the state; more pay and benefits for state employees; establishment of a state utility commission to regulate rates, service, and competition, long a thwarted liberal goal; more revenue for cities, and establishment of a consumer credit code to regulate lending rates and practices of financial institutions. □

September 30, 1966

13

Democratic Party Rally

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SOLONS HEAR GRIFFIN

HOUSTON — A fella back home said to me that the talent we got now on the Supreme Court couldn't even be depended on to try a case of chicken stealin'. I'm gonna have to disagree with him just a little bit: I think that's just the crowd to try a little case of Georgia chicken stealin'."

"The Republicans and the Democrats—the leaders of both parties—are vyin' to stick a knife in the back of the South right where our galluses cross."

"I'm not a moderate—but I am hopeful. My definition of a moderate is a fella that says, 'oh, yes, we're gonna lose the war, but let it be slowly'."

Even before he reached these by-the-way climaxes in his speech last Tuesday night at Houston's Music Hall, it was clear that Marvin Griffin, governor of Georgia since Herman Talmadge left that office in 1955, had come to rasp the file of his purposes sharp across the sensitivities of the 2,700 who came to hear him re- or put into words, what they already

trayed by the U. S. Supreme Court's public school integration decisions.

Griffin, a balding, middle-sized man with a wide, warm grin and a resemblance to the Martin Dies of some years ago, flew into Houston's International Airport Tuesday afternoon, en route from a hunting trip in Wyoming with several Georgia state employes. At the airport, Citizens Council of America in Texas, Inc. — the organization which brought Griffin to Houston. The runner and other ex-

Lyman Jones

prohibited by Georgia's constitution from serving another term, told reporters he might soon have some cal fish to fry. He said he would be willing to lead a states' rights third party in 1948 by Sen. Lyman Jones, a member of the South Carolina legislature, means the salvation of the South and the right to secede.

Griffin left the dinner at the Music Hall between 50 and 60 Texas legislators. Speaker Waggoner Carr was on stage during the Music Hall speech, Rep.-at-Large Martin Dies and officials of the White Citizens' Council.



Speaker Waggoner Carr follows Georgia Gov. Marvin Griffin onto the auditorium stage in Houston from which Griffin addressed a Citizens' Council crowd.

Carr Endorses Pool Bill

OAK CLIFF — "My good friend, Rep. Joe Pool of Dallas, sponsored in the House the bill requiring certain organizations which engage in activities designed to hinder, harass and interfere with the operation of our public schools to report

information to the county clerk on their affairs. This is a bill designed to ferret out the sneaky, nefarious agitators who are most likely to provoke trouble."

This is House Speaker Waggoner Carr's assessment of the "get the NAACP" bill passed by the second called

"The legislature also enacted a lobbyist control measure, designed to bring into the light the small percentage of lobbyists who operate secretly, unscrupulously and unethically."

Carr said Texas "faces a future far exceeding the wildest dreams of our forefathers. The challenge is suggesting the forward trend

Carr's Loyalties

Carr attended a meeting of Houston's White Citizens' Council, which paid his expenses there. A picture taken during the meeting showed Gov. Marvin Griffin waving, a Confederate flag in the background, and Carr advancing behind Griffin, smiling slightly (11/1/57).

Arthur M. Schlesinger quotes JOHN F. KENNEDY:

"SOMETIMES PARTY LOYALTY ASKS TOO MUCH" . . .

He spoke gloomily about the Massachusetts Democratic Party: "Nothing can be done until it is beaten . . . badly beaten. Then there will be a chance for rebuilding."

From A THOUSAND DAYS—John F. Kennedy in the White House (p. 31).

Free copies of this ad available upon request. Also free upon request, our bumper sticker (This Car NOT for Carr/"SOMETIMES PARTY LOYALTY ASKS TOO MUCH"—JOHN F. KENNEDY). Write, THE REBUILDING COMMITTEE, 1317 South Congress Ave., Room 102, Austin, Texas 78704).

Patman Splits Doubleheader with LBJ

Robert Sherrill

Washington

Congressman Wright Patman won a big one. And he lost a big one — because of a Lyndon Johnson double-cross.

To take up the good news first:

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1966 was being torn apart by pork-barrel amendments. Senator Sparkman of Alabama, who has strangely won the designation of "Southern moderate" simply by being willing to milk the federal government from every available teat, started tacking on the wild-spending amendments in the Senate. By the time the bill came out of the housing subcommittee to Patman's House Banking Committee, *fifty-two* pork barrel exemptions—including a \$10.5 million item for a civic center in San Antonio, proposed by Congressman Henry Gonzalez — had been tied to the measure.

At this point the bill was in danger of being drained of all life. The cost of the facilities involved in the special exemptions came to an estimated \$350 million. The bill was now loaded with civic centers and sports arenas and bridge repairs and community colleges and county jails and fire and police stations. All worthy items, no doubt, but they had nothing to do with slum clearance, which is the *purpose* of the act.

Patman wrote Robert C. Weaver, secretary of Housing and Urban Development, sounded the alarm, and asked for help. Weaver responded immediately with a letter denouncing the amendments in furious terms. He wrote that if the pork barrelling was not blocked, the results would be "devastating." He predicted that "adoption of these special provisions would use up almost one-half of the \$750 million authorized by Congress to be spent for the elimination of slums and blight during fiscal 1967. . . . The funds would be used to pay for cultural centers, civic centers, and huge stadiums — *Not to make possible additional housing for low-income people.* These special provisions would preempt urban renewal funds to pay for luxury items of communities which are already benefiting from participating in the urban renewal program."

Patman read the letter to his committee, which was sufficiently shamed to knock the amendments out. The subcommittee tried to renew the amendments, but without success, and at this point it looks like the bill may be safe. It was a great victory for the poor folks.

THE BAD NEWS is Patman's losing effort to take away some of the illegal powers now wielded by the Federal Reserve Board. Although Roosevelt and Truman kept the Fed in line, Eisenhower surrendered to it, and so has Johnson.

LBJ ignores his own powers, many believe on the advice of ex-Texan Robert Anderson, who was one of Eisenhower's

treasury secretaries and is reputed to be Johnson's closest economic counselor today. He is seen around the White House with increasing frequency.

Thus the enormously powerful Federal Reserve Board has become a fourth arm of the government with uncheckable controls over our economy. It can raise or lower interest rates at whim, make money tighter or looser at whim; it was a direct contributor to three recessions during Eisenhower's years in office. Even its operating expenses are independent of Congress.

Last December William McC. Martin, chairman of the board, decided to teach Johnson a lesson in obedience. Johnson had invited Martin to come down to the ranch to discuss economics. Martin took along a little present — the news that the board had just raised allowable interest rates from 4½% to 5½%. Johnson called a news conference, said he regretted the board's action, but that there was nothing he could do about it.

Washingtonians — conditioned by William S. White's "Johnson the Omnipotent" and by Tom Wicker's "Ten Foot Tall Johnson" columns appearing in the New York Times — think the President is a pretty rough fellow. Actually he is quite easy to intimidate, especially by the business community, and William McC. Martin has intimidated the hell out of him.

BUT MARTIN doesn't intimidate Patman; he infuriates him.

So Patman introduced a bill to reduce the allowable interest rates on bank certificates of deposit. Whether or not this would have helped curb the rising rates is not really an important question. Patman's primary goal was to set the precedent of taking the interest-setting powers away from the Fed. And the bankers knew it. The American Banker, an industry publication, asked each of the 14,000 members of the American Bankers Association to place a phone call or send a telegram to Washington. One per bank was the goal; 14,000 taps on the shoulder is a pretty good lobbying effort.

The day before the bill was to go to the floor, Patman met with Johnson in his bedroom in the White House for two hours. Also on hand was Walter Heller, one of Kennedy's economic advisors; Jake Jacobson, Price Daniel's ex-factotum who has now become Johnson's "expert" in many governmental mysteries including finance, unbelievable as that may seem; Secretary of the Treasury Fowler, Under Secretary of the Treasury Barr, Marvin Watson, who learned his economics under E. B. Germany at Lone Star Steel, and a couple of other lesser lights.

Things got pretty rough. Fowler wanted to keep the argument at a personal level of wrangling, demanding to know why Patman had publicly called him "namby-

pamby" and so on. Just about everyone in the room was against Patman, but he came away with what he thought was the understanding that Johnson would *not* oppose his bill. He wouldn't support it, but he would not oppose it.

As the debate waxed hot in the House, word came that Johnson was at that moment holding a press conference announcing that he would ask Congress to temporarily suspend the 7% tax credit to businessmen and take other very hazy steps to "meet inflation." Several reporters noted that the announcement came as a surprise, in timing. It was obviously rushed into being to kill Patman's efforts.

From early morning hours, before debate on the floor began, members were being called by the White House and asked to vote for the Patman bill because the President had come up with another package.

What had happened was that Johnson had cut Patman's legs off by giving Democrats who were being pressured by their bankers a chance to say they preferred to fight inflation Johnson's way rather than Patman's way — in other words, he gave them an excellent party-loyalty excuse to do nothing. Fort Worth Congressman Jim Wright not only stuck with Patman, he worked the floor for him. Henry Gonzalez went with Patman. Most other Texans opted out.

So Patman lost, of course. Also lost was the best opportunity that will come along in years to smash the Fed's supposedly traditional stranglehold on economic affairs. Johnson couldn't have lobbied the capitol more effectively; it was a flagrant double-cross.

But at least Patman won back part of his political soul. He has been sometimes grotesquely loyal to Johnson. At Johnson's instigation he lobbied the Texas legislature in 1957 for the Pool bill, which was meant to keep Ralph Yarborough out of the Senate. On demand from Sam Rayburn and Johnson, he successfully helped gut the housing bill in the 1959 conference committee. In recent months he helped push through the Sales Participation Act — violating all his economic principles — because Johnson demanded it.

But when he saw Johnson riding with the Fed, Patman couldn't take that. He fought back. He lost, but he fought, and in doing so his spirit may have gained enough strength to stand again another day. □

September 30, 1966

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Political Intelligence

Secrecy in Austin

✓ Secrecy in the state government is a topic of concern in Austin these days. Publications which support the Connally administration have criticized the recent incidents of behind-the-door dealings, such as the LBJ State Park matter, the firing of budget board director Vernon McGee, and the changing of executive directors in the Parks and Wildlife Department. The P.W.D. commissioners' handling of LBJ Park funds was declared a private function, not an official one, in a ruling by Atty. of Gen. Waggoner Carr, "under the facts disclosed." New P.W.D. director John Singleton was hired in an unpublicized meeting; his predecessor, Weldon Watson, was dropped privately also. Singleton, a 19-year department employee, says he may suggest policy changes in oyster shell dredging, a topic of dispute since 1964. He didn't specify what changes he proposes. Meanwhile, McGee has been hired by the Texas Research League, a private organization that's financed by Texas business interests. He will prepare a report on future money requirements of the state. McGee had been blamed, by implication, for a shortage in appropriations for James Connally Technical Institute, Waco, but it since has developed that the appropriation is based on Gov. Con-

nally's recommendation, not McGee's. This revelation was publicized in the Houston Post, evidently put on the trail by Sen. Dorsey Hardeman, Senate finance committee chairman, who has had a feud on with the governor since 1963. Connally and Barnes are generally credited with getting rid of McGee, a move that displeased Hardeman.

✓ A State AFL-CIO lawsuit to have the poll tax amendment (No. 7) removed from the November election ballot failed. The poll tax was outlawed by federal courts, but the real issue of No. 7 is the question of permanent voter registration. If the amendment is passed, its annual registration provision will become a part of the constitution. A Beaumont attorney, Edgar Berlin, has filed a suit in Jefferson County to keep No. 7 off the ballot there.

✓ Somebody jumped the gun on the Texas Research League, which this week was to release a report. The Dallas Times Herald Sept. 21 in a front page story said the report will propose "sweeping reorganization of Texas county governments" to eliminate such offices as perhaps county treasurer, county and district clerk, tax collector, and possibly sheriff. The TRL issued a statement after the Times Herald story, neither confirming or denying its truth. The newspaper reported its sources had read the report at the Dallas county courthouse. A good guess is that one or more

county official whose job may be in jeopardy leaked the word to stir up public opinion before the Research League had its public relations approach lined up.

Connally on Wages

✓ Gov. Connally, who refused to meet with Valley farm workers Labor Day, reportedly has met in secret with the Rev. Antonio Gonzales, a co-leader of the march to Austin, the San Antonio Express-News reports, to discuss the minimum wage goals of the group. "Obviously [a state minimum wage] is an issue," the governor has said since. "None of us is happy with the low wages some people receive, and we are concerned about it." Father Gonzales says the governor indicated privately he favors a state minimum wage law, as well as some sort of law to help farmers, too.

✓ A House sponsor of minimum wage legislation has been found for the coming legislative session, Lauro Cruz, state representative-elect of Houston. Joe Bernal of San Antonio will place a similar bill before the Senate, to which he is a nominee.

✓ Senator Yarborough points out the new federal minimum wage law, which becomes effective next February, covers 39% of the nation's farm workers (on 1.6% of U.S. farms) guaranteeing \$1 hourly, increasing by 15 cents each of the following two years. The measure, says Yarborough, is the greatest advance in minimum wage coverage since 1938.

✓ Unions have won four of five representation elections in the Texas Rio Grande Valley since this spring; 400 food processing plant workers have been unionized. Perhaps 14 other elections may be sought by the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department, which began an intensive organizing campaign this spring in the Valley on behalf of the meat cutters, laborers, steelworkers, machinists, oil workers, and electricians. The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, is working separately in the Valley.

✓ Cong. Henry B. Gonzalez has introduced a bill to provide unemployment compensation for farm workers, a point he stressed while speaking at the Labor Day rally in Austin.

✓ The Edinburg Daily Review reprinted the Observer's transcript of the governor's meeting with the Valley marchers near New Braunfels, but snipped off the initials of the Observer editor.

✓ Governor Connally will make the address when a Texas historical marker is dedicated at Woodville in October commemorating Allan Shivers' governorship. . . . Connally has declined to campaign for California Gov. Edmund (Pat) Brown, the Dallas News said. Brown wanted Connally to speak in conservative parts of California.

✓ The water plan will be restudied, deferring its adoption into 1967. Ideas suggested in 26 public hearings will be mulled, particularly some way to pump irrigation water to West Texas and the South Plains.

✓ Four abuses suffered by money borrowers have been most commonly cited

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The Observer "is the conscience of the political community" in Texas. — Andrew Kopkind in the New Republic, Nov. 20, 1965.

The Observer "has a stable of gifted writers and kindred spirits who contribute to its pages."—"Copies find their way to the desks of the mighty and even into the White House."—St. Louis Post-Dispatch, July 25, 1965.

"Despite its shortcomings, the Texas Observer is needed in Texas. Texans would miss its publication . . ."—Texas AFL-CIO News, Nov. 15, 1965.

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"Although we disagree completely . . . we strongly recommend the Observer as one of the best sources of state political news available."—Official Publication of the Young Republican Clubs of Texas, 1965.

The Observer "voices dissent to almost every power bloc or politician of consequence in the state, from far left to far right. . . . Time and again since its first appearance in 1954, the Observer has cracked stories ignored by the state's big dailies, and has had the satisfaction of watching the papers follow its muckraking lead."—Newsweek, March 7, 1966.

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in hearings held by the State Finance Commission in the Dallas-Fort Worth area: failure to disclose rates and conditions of loans, overloading customers with side charges, failure to provide refunds in cases of prepayments, and harassment of debtors and third parties in collection activities. The commission was formed a year ago by the governor. The hearings will end next month and a report will be submitted to Connally.

✓ Doubling tuition at state colleges to \$100 will be considered Oct. 17 by the College and University Coordinating Board. If the raise is approved, it will be considered by the next legislature.

Good Old Dallas

✓ Dallas has been cleared of guilt for the assassination. Dr. Joyce Brothers, visiting the city, says such a tragedy "is something that could happen anywhere in the world — as in South Africa, for example." San Antonio columnist Paul Thompson wondered recently why Dallas hasn't built a monument where JFK was shot, quoting the whispered question of a San Antonio visitor. The Kennedy Memorial Plaza, to be built two blocks from the site, still awaits completion of plans to build a garage beneath the plaza.

✓ The showing in Dallas last week of the widely noted JFK film, "Years of Lightning, Day of Drums," evoked charges from a Minnesota Republican congressman that proceeds would help finance Democratic candidates' campaigns. Similar charges had arisen out of Wisconsin and Iowa showings of the U.S. Information Agency film. The movie was shown at a \$5-a-seat performance in Dallas, where sponsors have since promised that proceeds will go to a non-political cause, probably the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. Showing of the film is scheduled in 91 theatres across the country before the November elections.

✓ Another incident in Dallas of political leaflets being included in copies of newspapers delivered to homes has occurred. The Times Herald printed a brief apology to subscribers who received "racist leaflets circulated by the American Nazi Party," which, the paper says, were inserted into copies of the paper after their delivery to homes in Dallas. "The Times Herald in no way is a party to the distribution of this literature," the paper told its readers.

✓ Dallas policemen are going through more riot training, this time nighttime firing practice. Officers are being trained to shoot accurately under conditions they might encounter on a dimly lighted streets, the Dallas News confides.

✓ The Murchisons' stock interest, worth perhaps \$19 million, in Holt, Rinehart & Winston publishers has been sold to CBS.

✓ Right wing Dallas broadcaster Dan Smoot is being sued for \$500,000 by the Traverse City, Michigan, League of Women Voters. The league's officers alleges they incurred heavy expenses as a result of Smoot's million-dollar libel suit that was dismissed earlier. Smoot had claimed he

was libeled in a league publication in 1963 and in a letter the organization published in a newspaper.

Federal Matters

✓ The successor to Nicholas Katzenbach as U.S. attorney general may be a Texan, perhaps either Deputy Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark or Leon Jaworski, a Houston attorney. In the meantime Clark was to assume duties as acting A. G.

✓ Barefoot Sanders, former Texas legislator and Dallas Kennedy-Johnson campaign director, is moving up in the Justice Department. Now assistant deputy attorney general, Sanders has been nominated to be chief of Justice's civil division.

✓ James H. Moyers, brother of the White House aide, died of suicide, a Virginia medical examiner ruled. Moyers was buried in Marshall.

✓ Senators Tower and Yarborough split on three votes in recent days, Yarborough favoring, Tower opposing, the increase in minimum wages and cloture to end the filibuster against the 1966 civil rights bill. Yarborough voted no, Tower yes on Dirksen's proposed school prayer amendment.

In the House, Texas voted 14-6 for a \$3 billion foreign aid appropriations bill which the House passed. In favor were Lindley Beckworth, Jack Brooks, Earle Cabell, Henry B. Gonzalez, George Mahon, Wright Patman, J. J. Pickle, Ray Roberts, Olin E. Teague, Mrs. Lera Thomas, Clark Thompson, Richard White, Jim Wright, and John Young. Opposed were Omar Burleson, Bob Casey, Eligio de la Garza, John Dowdy, W. R. Poage, and Joe Pool.

Texans voted 13-7 against a proposed \$45 million foreign aid reduction, which was defeated by the House. Opposing the cut were Beckworth, Brooks, Cabell, Casey, de la Garza, Gonzalez, Mahon, Patman, Pickle, Mrs. Thomas, Thompson, Wright, and Young. In favor were Burleson, Dowdy, Poage, Pool, Roberts, Walter Rogers, and White. Not voting on either issue were O. C. Fisher and Graham Purcell.

✓ Consideration of Cong. Pool's bill against anti-war activities has been indefinitely removed from the House schedule.

✓ LBJ is down to 48% approval in the latest Gallup Poll, though 50% Texans approve of the President, according to a recent Belden Poll (which also showed Vice President Humphrey approved of by 48% in our state). A Louis Harris nationwide survey reports that George Romney is rapidly catching up with LBJ in preferences for the 1968 presidential race. Romney trails 51-49% with Johnson behind only in the South. Six weeks before LBJ lead Romney 56-44% in another Harris poll. Belden has found that Texans are slowing down in their acceptance of the Negro drive for equality, though 50% or more accept sharing with Negroes railroad cars, restaurant, hotels, schools, churches, and jobs. But low acceptance was expressed of public swimming pools (29%), social gatherings outside the home (37%), and social gatherings in the home (23%).

✓ The Texas State Bar Association is

Nostalgia

Last week Atty. Gen. Waggoner Carr made a flying trip from Austin to Mount Pleasant for an evening of campaigning. About 15 gathered at the airport, but only two six-seat airplanes were in sight, so someone asked John Stegall, Carr's aide, what now? Stegall said no sweat; ex-Gov. Allan Shivers had a third plane for them; they were just looking for a pilot.

In Mount Pleasant the festivities were presided over by Rep. Neal Solomon of that festive community. Doing the introductions, Solomon came to Land Cmsr. Jerry Sadler and introduced him as "Land Cmsr. Bascom Giles." The gathering was convulsed in laughter. □

embarrassed that three of its lawyer members now serving penitentiary terms are still licensed to practice in the state, the New York Times reports. They are Clem McClelland, James Bryson Martin, and Sam Hoover. . . . W. O. Shafer of Odessa, bar president, says a confidential statewide poll showed that lawyers rank next to last among professions in Texans' esteem, one notch above chiropractors.

✓ Another draft system's makeup has been questioned in Texas. Bexar County Judge Charles Grace said boards don't "truly reflect the make-up of the citizens of our county." Two Latins and one Negro are included in the 34 members who serve on the eight Bexar draft boards. Earlier the composition of Harris County draft boards was criticized on similar grounds by two Democratic nominees to the legislature.

✓ The conservative nature of the University of Texas campus Daily Texan was underscored in a recent editorial page article, headlined "Farm workers viewed as new victim-hero" and containing, for example, this paragraph: "One longs for the psychologist who will write the definitive study of the professional liberal commiserator and expose the precise nature of the guilt and inadequacy which drive him relentlessly to seek out the sufferers of the earth. Such a work would truly be a national service, and its author should get at least \$1.25 an hour to write it."

✓ A fictitious interview between Christ and Beatle John Lennon in the humor magazine at Texas Western in El Paso has caused an upheaval on the magazine staff. One student staffer has been relieved of duties, and the fate of the editor seems unpromising. In the interview the Beatles' manager suggests that Lennon and Christ change places, since no one would know the difference, and put out a Christmas album, "Mersey Meets the Messiah." Christ is also made to say: "Hell, this could be a really swinging birthday," and to express worry that "business might go to pot," in which case "Dad might turn over in his grave." □

Observations

My Opinions on the Fair

In the use of \$12.5 million of federal and other public urban renewal money to clear off 92 acres for HemisFair in San Antonio, and in insistently seeking and obtaining state and federal appropriations, the fair has become a public project. Senator Ralph Yarborough and Congressman Henry Gonzalez are therefore correct in insisting that the fair has a duty to require that those running it not profit from it as insiders and that every business everywhere have a fair chance at the profits that are to be made.

Urban renewal projects should not be corrupted in the cause of private profit. When the public power of condemnation is used and it turns out that the effect is to line some private pockets, the people rightly conclude that government has been corrupted. In San Antonio, the city is the go-between, leasing urban renewal land to HemisFair; the city had better make certain that after the fair the land is reserved for strictly public uses, or else it will stand justly accused of consenting to a corrupt use of public power.

HemisFair is being financed in very large part by public funds. The people of San Antonio laid upon themselves a \$30 million bond issue. The taxpayers of Texas have already put up \$4.5 million and are to be asked for another \$5.5 million; the Congress is about to provide \$7.5 million or

more. Compared to these public investments, the businessmen's underwriting of \$6 or \$7 million is not controlling, nor is it an investment; they are simply saying, if the fair loses money we'll make it good to this extent. Since they stand to profit enormously because of the fact of the fair, this is the least they should do and gives them no right to special privileges.

The fair has lately got caught in the whiplashings of Texas and local politics. This is the fault of the planners of the fair. If they had wanted to avoid that, they could have made the fair's planners representative of the community instead of tightly controlled by the faction, named the Good Government League, that controls city hall at present. Nor was their selection of Gov. John Connally as commissioner-general far-sighted. It seemed smart; but it violated the Texas Constitution, as Sen. Yarborough has correctly charged, and it identified the fair, state-wide, with the one-party power structure that now dominates, but may or may not continue to dominate, state politics. In these circumstances the fair's leaders blithely insulted the senior senator, Yarborough, and slighted the non-G.L. political leaders in San Antonio. If, as a result of HemisFair, San Antonio is not to become another Dallas—run by the few men who control the major businesses — HemisFair must change its ways and realistically diversify its relationships with Texas and local politics.

Meanwhile, Gonzalez should cease his irritable attacks on Yarborough for the senator's more thorough opposition to conflicts of interest to which Gonzalez made the first public objections.

The Farm Strike

Eugene Nelson, leader of the Starr County farm strike, must now see that the strikers' families do not suffer as the picketing and organizing goes forward. The national AFL-CIO has agreed to pay for some organizers there, but so far there is no "strike fund," without which strikers cannot sustain themselves and their children while they are deprived of income because of the

strike. Surely Texas liberals regard themselves as involved in the poverty of the farm workers of South Texas. If they want to make contributions to the farm strike in Starr County, which is now resuming in earnest with the return of the migrants from northern fields, they can send contributions to the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO, P. O. Box 54, Rio Grande City, Texas.

The Observer

There has been a rumor that I'm leaving the Observer. It is false; I am not. I take the continuation of a crusading, groundbreaking, and dedicated Observer to be indispensable for Texas, and a part of my, as well as others' duty here. I am very glad to have Greg Olds here with us as associate editor. He is a hard-working, idealistic, sage, and dedicated man.

I would describe the Observer's financial conditions as stable and vigorous, but not secure. With our business manager, Sarah Payne, back on the job after her operation, and with C. R. Olofson on his new assignment as associate manager in charge of increasing Observer revenues, we are launching, this fall, a many-faceted program to stop the 10% or so slow-leak that has kept worrying us since, in 1963, we converted to the biweekly format and set out to make it into the black. We are advertising in other periodicals, trying reprint promotions, soliciting more student bulk-rate subscriptions. A liberal businessman has given us a boost by buying subscriptions for a number of Texans he wanted to send the paper as a gift from him. We have been doing a little with advertising and mean to do better yet. As the fall proceeds we have other experiments planned, provided we can finance them. Anyone with ideas for promoting the Observer — or with time and strength to put in an oar, especially by getting new subscribers — should communicate with Olofson.

Johnson in 1968

Fulbright says he's tried to convince Johnson not to escalate the war, that China will come in, but that he's failed and the war will be escalated after November. The debate has died out because Johnson is the dictator in foreign policy. If he escalates this war any more, and if we live so long, the liberals will oppose him in 1968 and he will be defeated, as he should be. R. D.

MEETINGS

THE THURSDAY CLUB of Dallas meets each Thursday noon for lunch (cafeteria style) at the Downtown YMCA, 605 No. Ervay St., Dallas. Good discussion. You're welcome. Informal, no dues.

ITEMS for this feature cost, for the first entry, 7c a word, and for each subsequent entry, 5c a word. We must receive them one week before the date of the issue in which they are to be published.

The **TRAVIS COUNTY LIBERAL DEMOCRATS** meet at Spanish Village at 8 p.m. on the first Thursday. You're invited.

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A Modest Proposal

Denton

What will be needed to reform Texas government? The mind boggles at the very idea. Perhaps a 2,000-gallon drum of naphalm in the Capitol Building in Austin and a 20-megaton bomb at the intersection of Commerce and Akard in Dallas going off together would be an acceptable start.

But, friend Dugger, if you're really serious about this business of formulating some sort of program that us wild-eyed folk can rally around—here goes.

I think it's a fairly accepted fact in Austin that every elected official of our state government sells out in some form or another. Let's face it, with what we pay most state officials, especially legislators, and the cost of campaigning, you've got to get money from someone.

I know this may be regrettable, but it's true and we might as well work from there.

So ole Honest Joe Blow is selling out—perhaps to those nice guys over at the Texas AFL-CIO or maybe to those evil oil pipeline companies. But if the voters knew who is selling out to whom—where Joe gets the money to live—they could at least

see what those special interests were getting for their money.

Take the case of a leading public figure who has been hopping all over the Lone Star State, not to mention other climes. Now I don't know where he is getting his money. I know the taxpayers are slipping him \$4,800 a year plus other considerations. But my friendly travel agent tells me, round-trip, Houston to, say, a certain South American city, economy-class, is \$476, and I know of few family men making \$4,800 a year who can make that trip.

Of course, like most other legislators, the present subject may be holding down a full-time job somewhere. I haven't heard of it, but then Denton is not the best listening point in the state. But obviously as much as he gets around, he must be getting some contributions from somebody. That's not necessarily bad—if we know where they are coming from.

I feel the solution is fairly simple.

Every year, every public official in Texas from justice of the peace on up should be required to make his income tax statement public. If he felt this was an undue

invasion of privacy, well he could just not run for public office.

With that statement would come a supporting document, if needed, to make it clear just who paid him money for what. Non-taxable income such as campaign contributions, the fair market value of such things as the use of airplanes, cars, and hotel rooms should also be included.

Most important, suitable penalties for false reporting or non-reporting, such as an automatic suspension from office, should be included.

In short, a man who believes it's perfectly all right to accept a legal fee from some person would be perfectly free to do so. Then it would be up to the voters to look at his voting record and decide for themselves if that fee influenced the man's voting.

So there you are—a potential plank in the liberal manifesto. Or should we stick with Guy Fawkes?

Jim Barlow, P.O. Box 939, Denton, Tex.

Guest Editorial

An editorial from the Arkansas Gazette of Sept. 16:

John Connally is the best governor Texas has had since Price Daniel, the last one. Who else would have been considerate enough to go all the way to New Braunfels to tell the Rio Grande Valley *huelguistas* that he would not be in Austin when they got there?

The new federal minimum wage bill finally reported out of conference committee and sent to the president for the first time includes some categories of agricultural workers. However, not all of the protesting Texas field workers will be covered . . . and the "floor" to be established next February for those who are covered will be only \$1 an hour, where the Valley marchers were asking a state-determined minimum of \$1.25. The new federal law establishes a new minimum of \$1.40 an hour, starting on February 1, for manufacturing workers and others who were already covered under existing law . . .

While the House and Senate conferees were still wrangling at Washington, Generalissimo Franco's Cabinet at Madrid issued a decree establishing the same legal minimum of \$1.40, starting now.

We have been unable to determine whether farm workers are included under the Spanish law, but if they are, Governor Connally's message to the Valley *Latinos* could have been an even simpler one: "You should of stood in Spain." □

September 30, 1966

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'Good News from Texas'

This item appeared in The New York Times Book Review Sept. 11, in the column "In and Out of Books" by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt, under the title, "Good News from Texas":

The second biggest state, known for wide spaces, high piles of money, flying bullets and men of few words, has been of late stacking a literary deck. For openers: from Scribners in September, *This Stubborn Soil* by William A. Owens, a memoir about a boy growing up on the frontier to become a teacher. (The protagonist is now on the English faculty at Columbia.) From Dial in October, *The Last Picture Show* a third novel by Larry McMurtry, the earlier two having been *Horseman, Pass By* and *Leaving Cheyenne*. And from N.A.L./World, *The Texas Country Editor: H. M. Baggarly Takes a Grass-Roots Look at the National Scene*. Mr. Baggarly's editorials appeared in the *Tulia Herald*, *Tulia* being a small town not far from Amarillo.

What at least Owens and McMurtry have in common, besides being Texans, is publication in the *Texas Observer*, a weekly newspaper published in Austin and advertising itself as "A Journal of Free Voices; A Window to the South." Clustered on the masthead of the *Observer* is a clutch of writers who should be heard from. Among them are Larry L. King, whose first novel *The One-Eyed Man* (N.A.L.) was published last year, and who is at work on a second; Ronnie Dugger, the editor and guiding spirit of the *Observer* since the mid-fifties, and the author of a book about Claude Eatherly, the Hiroshima pilot, to be pub-

lished in England by Victor Gollancz but thus far without a publisher here; Elroy Bode, perhaps the *Observer's* most prolific writer, much pursued by book editors but yet to produce a book; Bill Brammer, author of *The Gay Place*; and Willie Morris, now a *New York* magazine editor. Actually, Morris comes from Yazoo City, Miss., but he went to the University of Texas in Austin "to get liberated." The memoir he is writing, a piece of which appears in the current issue of *Commentary*, sounds the keynote of the whole *Observer* group—liberal, intelligent, personal, and slow to anger. The winner of a Houghton Mifflin Fellowship Award, Morris's memoir will appear next year. □

We might add to this item from *New York* that Larry Goodwyn, another of our contributing editors, is at work on two books, one on the history of the Southwest, another about the South of the present seen against Goodwyn's interpretations of the historical South. Robert Sherrill, a contributing editor of the *Observer* and the *Nation's* Washington man, has completed his book on Southern politicians. Elroy Bode's sketches are receiving serious consideration for publication as a book, despite a commercial prejudice among the trade publishers against sketches as a form for writing. A book based on the *Observer's* special editions on three men, Roy Bedichek, Walter Prescott Webb, and J. Frank Dobie, has been signed up for publication and will appear next year.—Ed.

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Dialogue

A Vote for Tower

Waggoner Carr's hand may be the hand of Esaw, but the voice is the voice of Jacob. I am voting for a checks and balances system upon which this country has grown to the greatest in the world. I am voting for John Tower.

Charles Tesar, Jr., 3822 N. Terry, Fort Worth, Texas.

Tactical Error by Carr

I would like to applaud your very fine backing-away endorsement of John Tower [Obs., Sept. 16]. The public good — and clearly the liberal cause — will certainly "be less damaged by Tower."

It would seem to me that Carr's very recent decision to tell the voters he is a moderate and that Tower is a Goldwaterite is a tactical error. The large negative vote reaped by Goldwater in Texas was partly for a native son and partly because of Goldwater's pronounced desire to unleash nuclear war. That native, home-grown (or rather half-grown) son is not in the race this year; and aside from the fact that Johnson has long since outdone Goldwater in Vietnam, those voters who voted *against* Goldwater are on the whole more alert than Carr realizes. Moreover, the "moderate" label on Carr is likely to fool more conservatives than liberals and consequently may erode his conservative base.

For the sake of a responsible, two-party

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political system in Texas, Waggoner Carr probably could not have chosen a better time to unilaterally decide that he is a moderate.

Don W. Allford, 1505 Cloverleaf, Austin, Texas.

Tower Didn't Study Economics

The Observer of Sept. 16 incorrectly stated that Sen. Tower studied economics in college. Sen. Tower studied political science at the London School of Economics and Political Science. A look at Sen. Tower's voting record makes it evident that he did not study economics.

Donald Smith, 1216 W. 22nd St., Austin, Texas.

Write-in, or Scratch

Robert N. Hoffman, in the issue of June 10, suggests a write-in campaign for governor. I say let's elect a Republican governor (in spite of the Republicans who aren't very much interested) and be on our way to the two-party system which our state needs so desperately. I feel pretty sure that the G.O.P. candidate is as good as we have. Personally, I plan to read and compare some platforms; if the G.O.P. isn't offering something better than we have—I'll scratch 'em all.—Varina W. Luckenbach, Box 237, Odom, Tex.

In Defense of the Marines

In regard to Alfred Schild's "Reflections on Texas and the Marines" [Obs. Aug. 19], I can surely sympathize with him in the loss of his friend, Robert Boyer, at the hands of a maniacal killer, Charles Whitman.

A distraught person will lash out. Therefore I accept Mr. Schild's proposal to unilaterally abolish the United States Marine Corps as wild flailing in the darkness of his grief.

Mr. Schild's implication that the Marine Corps trains young heroes "to be brave and thoughtless and cruel" goes full circle on the ring of extremism and meets face to face with the equally unacceptable views of Klansmen, Birchers and the like.

It should be significant that Oswald was dishonorably discharged from the United States Marine Corps and Whitman was court-martialed and demoted for, among other things, having an illegal pistol. If these two had excelled while serving in the Marine Corps, then he might have a point.

I wonder what makes Mr. Schild such an authority on the Marine Corps.

Mrs. A. H. Allen, 1105 N. 4th Street, Temple, Texas 76501.

A Human Cause

I was watching as large clusters of people gathered in the heat of the South Texas sun and waited patiently for the farm worker marchers to reach the city limits.

As they slowly advanced I could see young and old faces, faces that because of too much work and too little pay never had a chance to flirt with youth. Beads of sweat ran down these weathered faces — faces that said: "We are the owners of the earth and the caretakers of the farmlands of the world."

The heat of the scorching sun jerked me back from my idealism to reality and the disgusting fact that these simple human beings had to go to such a great degree of discomfort to demonstrate their need for a *minimum* wage of \$1.25. These people are human beings — not animals — and they should have some leisure time for themselves and, more important, an adequate education for their children. A minimum wage, right now, would help them begin to attain these things.

I ask this question of the farm owners: Where does materialism end and where does humanism begin? The answer is obvious: Materialism should end before it begins to infringe on personal human rights. Farm owners, you who have violated these basic human rights of your workers for so many years, examine your conscience and yield to your hearts.

But I also ask a question of South Texas politicians: Is it ethical to prostitute this human cause for higher wages by trying to make it into a racial question? I am not saying that there isn't any racial discrimination in South Texas, but this march has to be looked upon as a broader human question, rather than exclusively involving one ethnic group.

In spite of these problems, I have no doubt that these marchers will achieve their goal simply because basic human questions are always answered.

George Truan, 303 E. Alice, Kingsville, Tex.

Teach Them in English

Concerning the article by Carlos R. Guerra [Obs. Sept. 2], I urge the Spanish-speaking parents to abandon the attitude that it amounts to unfair discrimination when schools insist that the children speak English in the school room and on the school grounds. . . . This is not a question of which language shall have "top-dog" status. It is a question of whether the child shall be able to learn fast enough to keep up on age and grade level with his contemporaries. . . .

Classroom time prohibits the teaching of lessons (and class discussion) in two languages. . . . All texts are in English. . . . An educated person must have command of at least one language; in schools our medium of communication is English. . . .

I am beginning my fifth year teaching in a mixed language classroom. Apparently the mind of a child can memorize and absorb only so much in a given time. If the major part of this ability is invested in developing an away-from-home vocabulary (in a foreign language), then it must follow that the child's new learning into interpretation, deduction, and analysis seems to be hindered.

Mrs. Rozelle Dohoney, 1607 E. 16th St., Big Spring, Texas 79720.