

A210DN (ADVANCE)

(AGENCIES & RADIO OUT)

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1 Dec. 1963

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AGENCIES AND RADIO OUT

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ADVANCE FOR AMS OF SUNDAY, DEC. 1--NOTE DATE--FROM AP NEWSFEATURES

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APN EXTRA: TEXAS AND ITS CONSCIENCE (1,500)

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EDITOR'S NOTE: THE MAN CHARGED WITH ASSASSINATING PRESIDENT KENNEDY WAS A COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZER. HE LIVED IN DALLAS LESS THAN THREE MONTHS. YET MANY PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER IMMEDIATELY BELABORED DALLAS ITSELF--AND TEXAS AT LARGE--AS THE CAUSE OF THE PRESIDENT'S DEATH. WHY? WHAT WAS THE CLIMATE OF FEELING IN WHICH THE ASSASSIN STRUCK? HOW DID IT DEVELOP? HERE IS A CLOSE LOOK AT THOSE QUESTIONS.

BY JULES LOH

AP NEWSFEATURES WRITER

(ADVANCE) DALLAS, NOV. 30 (AP)--SOME REMIND YOU QUICKLY THAT IT COULD HAVE HAPPENED ANYWHERE--AND SO, OF COURSE IT COULD.

BUT MOST TEXANS ARE RELUCTANT TO PRESS THE POINT TOO STRONGLY OR FIND SOLACE IN EXCUSES. FOR EVEN THOUGH THE ACCUSED ASSASSIN, THROUGH AN IRONY OF HISTORY, WAS A PROFESSED MARXIST RATHER THAN A DEMENTED RIGHTIST, NEARLY ALL TEXANS STILL FEEL A DEEP AND ANGUISHED GUILT.

PIERCING THEIR CONSCIENCES IS THE NAGGING REALIZATION THAT HATE BREEDS HATE, FANATICISM FANATICISM, AND THAT IF JOHN F. KENNEDY WAS DESTINED TO BE ASSASSINATED IT WASN'T AT ALL ILLOGICAL IT SHOULD HAPPEN IN THIS STATE AND THIS CITY WHERE THOSE WHO OPENLY HATED HIS GUTS COULD WEAR A VENEER OF RESPECTABILITY, WHERE DENUNCIATION OF WASHINGTON AND ALL ITS WORKS AND POMPS HAD BECOME A PARLOR GAME AMONG THE FASHIONABLE, WHERE CRUSADES OF SUSPICION, IN THE PHRASE OF THE FALLEN PRESIDENT, SEEM SO EASILY TO SPAWN AND FESTER.

TEXANS ALSO REALIZE, HOWEVER, THAT JUST AS A MINUTE, MONEYED AND ARTICULATE HATE GROUP IS NOT REPRESENTATIVE OF DALLAS, SO ALSO DALLAS AND ITS POLITICAL CLIMATE ARE NOT REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL OF TEXAS.

TEXANS KNOW THIS. BUT REFLECTING ON THE INCREDIBLE NIGHTMARE THAT UNFOLDED NOT SOMEWHERE ELSE, BUT IN TEXAS, THE WORLD CANNOT HELP WONDERING WHAT SORT OF PLACE TEXAS IS AND WHAT SORT OF PEOPLE COME FROM ITS SOIL AND WHETHER "FRONTIER JUSTICE" REMAINS A HALLMARK EVEN IN THIS DAY AND AGE.

A211DN

THE ANSWERS AREN'T EASILY CAPSULED. BUT IT SHOULD BE NOTED AT THE START THAT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TEXANS AND OTHER AMERICANS ARE MORE OBVIOUS THAN IMPORTANT.

~~IS TEXAS THE HELD OF THE OVERDRAWN GESTURE; THE BIG BOAST AND THE OBVIOUS THAN IMPORTANT.~~

TEXAS IS THE LAND OF THE OVERDRAWN GESTURE; THE BIG BOAST AND THE BIG HOWDY AND THE BIG HAT--AND TODAY, FOR SOME, THERE IS THE UNUTTERABLE SORROW OF HAVING SAID TOO MUCH.

IT IS THE LAND OF SELF SUFFICIENCY, OF FIERCE PRIDE, OF NOT TAKING NO SASS FROM NOBODY; THE LAND WHERE A MAN FEELS HE CAN AT LEAST ASSERT HIMSELF. IF TEXANS TODAY ARE WONT TO DISOWN JACK RUBY, THE CHICAGO-BORN NIGHT CLUB OWNER, HIS ACT OF GUNNING DOWN A MAN HE MAY HAVE BELIEVED HAD IT COMING WAS NOT UNTYPICAL OF MANY A NATIVE SON. RUBY HAD LIVED HERE AT LEAST 12 YEARS.

TEXANS, BY NATURE, SEEK THE DIRECT SOLUTION.

IF A PERSON'S HOUSE BURNS DOWN THE NEIGHBORS SIMPLY SHOW UP AND BUILD HIM ANOTHER. IF SOMEONE IS SICK THE WOMEN BRING PIES AND CAKES AND SIT AROUND; AND IF THE POOR SOUL DIES THEY'LL MAKE SURE THE FAMILY IS TAKEN CARE OF. NEVER MIND ALL THE FUSSING, THEY SAY, LET'S GET ON WITH IT.

THE EASY ANSWERS PROPOSED BY EXTREMISTS TO SOLVE THE WORLD'S BILLS FIND A GOOD MANY RECEPTIVE EARS IN TEXAS. WHEN SHAKESPEARE WROTE "HE THINKS TOO MUCH, SUCH MEN ARE DANGEROUS," HE COULD HAVE BEEN DESCRIBING THE FEELINGS OF ANY NUMBER OF TEXANS.

THE GUN SOMETIMES PROVIDES, FOR TEXANS, THE SWIFT AND SIMPLE SOLUTION.

TEXAS JURIES TEND TO BE LENIENT WHEN THEY CAN DISCOVER WHAT THEY CONSIDER A PLAUSIBLE REASON FOR PROVOCATION--ADULTERY, FOR EXAMPLE, OR EVEN STRONG SUSPICION OF IT.

ON THE OTHER HAND JURIES GENERALLY GIVE SHORT SHRIFT TO PERSONS WHO COMMIT CRIMES OF LUST OR COWARDICE. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT WHAT WOULD BE THE FATE OF THE ASSASSIN OF A PRESIDENT WERE HE TRIED IN TEXAS.

THERE IS NOTHING MALEVOLENT ABOUT TEXANS BUT, PERHAPS PARADOXICALLY, VIOLENCE IS NO STRANGER TO MOST OF THEM.

A212DN

MANY TEXANS, RECALLING THEIR EARLY YEARS IN THE SMALL TOWNS (WHICH PRODUCE MUCH OF THE POPULATION OF THE BIG CITIES) TELL HOW THEY NEVER KNEW A LOCKED DOOR, NEVER HEARD OF A THIEF OR LECHER OR ANYONE WHO WOULD FURTIVELY DO VIOLENCE. BUT AS LIKELY AS NOT THEY ALSO CAN RECALL A KILLING OR TWO IN FULL VIEW OF WITNESSES, SUCH AS THE MANNER IN WHICH

A KILLING OR TWO IN FULL VIEW OF WITNESSES, SUCH AS THE MANNER IN WHICH LEE HARVEY OSWALD WAS DISPATCHED.

THE REASON TEXANS ARE THE WAY THEY ARE IS ROOTED IN THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE STATE; AND THE SAME TRADITIONS AND PAST HELP EXPLAIN WHY TEXAS, ESPECIALLY CERTAIN PARTS OF IT, IS SUCH A FERTILE BREEDING GROUND FOR EXTREMISM.

THE INORDINATE STATE PRIDE, FIRST OF ALL, CONTRIBUTES TO A TEXAN'S MAKEUP.

TEXAS BRAGGADOCIO MIGHT BE INSUFFERABLE TO SOME EASTERNERS, BUT THE STATE HAS A HISTORY PROUD ENOUGH FOR MANY A NATION TO STAND ON, COMPLETE WITH ITS OWN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

EVERY SCHOOLBOY CAN LIST THE NAMES AND GREAT DEEDS OF THE LUSTY, BRAWLING TEXAS FOLK HEROES--SAM HOUSTON, JAMES BOWIE, DAVEY CROCKETT, BIG FOOT WALLACE, DEAF SMITH--AND RECITE THE GLORIOUS LORE OF THE ALAMO, GOLIAD, SAN JACINTO. AND WHY NOT?

MORE IMPORTANT IN THE CHEMISTRY OF A TEXAN IS HIS FEELING OF SELF RELIANCE, THE QUALITY SO ATTRACTIVE TO THE HARD RIGHT (CAPS H, R).

UNTIL WORLD WAR II BROUGHT SCADS OF AIR BASES AND ARMY CAMPS TO TEXAS, AND WITH THEM MONEY, IT WAS CHIEFLY A RURAL STATE. EVEN TODAY THE CORE OF THINKING IN MUCH OF TEXAS IS RURAL--THAT IS, SELF RELIANT.

SUFFICIENTLY STIMULATED, AN INDEPENDENT, PROUD, SELF SUFFICIENT TEXAN CAN FIND ALL SORTS OF DARK MOTIVES BEHIND "THOSE WHO WANT TO COLLECTIVISE YOUR LIFE," AS ONE RIGHT WING PAMPHLET EXPRESSED IT.

TEXANS GENERALLY THINK OF THEIR STATE AS BEING PARTITIONED GEOGRAPHICALLY INTO THREE BROAD AREAS.

A213DN

THE EAST TEXAS AREA RETAINS MUCH OF THE OLD SOUTH (CAPS O, S) CULTURE; THE SOUTH CENTRAL AND SOUTHWESTERN AREA IS VARIOUSLY FLAVORED BY MEXICAN AND GERMAN INFLUENCES; AND IN THE WEST AND NORTHWEST SECTION, THE FORMER INDIAN COUNTRY, "FRONTIER CULTURE" HAS LEFT A SIGNIFICANT IMPRINT.

IT IS THIS LATTER AREA WHERE, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF DALLAS, RIGHT WING EXTREMISTS ARE MOST VOCAL.

IN A SENSE MANY OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS AREA ARE STILL PIONEERING; NEVER COMPLETELY SECURE FROM CROP FAILURE, DROUGHT, SAND STORMS, HAIL STORMS, TORNADOES. MOREOVER, THE ISOLATION OF THE CITIES SPRINKLED ACROSS THE INEXORABLY MONOTONOUS, DRY, FLAG, WINDY, BEIGE PRAIRIE INTENSIFIES THE FEELING OF SELF SUFFICIENCY AND THE NEED TO NOURISH IT.

BUT IT ALSO IS AN AREA OF EXTREME NEIGHBORLINESS, WARM WELCOMES, GENUINE CONCERN FOR THE WELL BEING OF A TRAVELER WHEN HE STOPS AT A FILLING STATION BEFORE PUSHING ON TO THE NEXT TOWN.

THE BLOOD REDEMPTION MILITANTS IN THE AREA ARE A SMALL MINORITY BUT, AS WITH THE STATE AS A WHOLE, THEY CAN BE INFLUENTIAL.

ON A STATEWIDE BASIS, THE MOST RECENT TEST OF ULTRACONSERVATIVE STRENGTH WAS THE 1962 GOVERNOR'S RACE. EDWIN A. WALKER, THE FORMER MAJOR GENERAL RELIEVED OF HIS COMMAND AFTER THE ARMY ACCUSED HIM OF INDOCTRINATING TROOPS WITH JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY IDEAS, RAN A POOR SIXTH IN A FIELD OF SIX.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SCORES OF SMALL ACTIVIST GROUPS, HOWEVER, IS NOT SO PUNY. OFTEN IT IS FELT DIRECTLY.

A YEAR AGO A GROUP CALLED THE DALLAS COUNTY COMMITTEE TO BRING RECOGNITION TO MERCHANTS SELLING COMMUNIST IMPORTS (CAP DCCBRMSC) SUCCEEDED IN HAVING CERTAIN GOODS REMOVED FROM SHELVES IN TWO LARGE CHAINS OF DRUG AND VARIETY STORES AFTER STAGING "CARD PARTIES" WHEREIN MEMBERS SURREPTITIOUSLY SLIPPED INTO THE MERCHANDISE A CARD SAYING THE ITEM WAS COMMUNIST MADE.

A214DN

THE CAMPAIGN WAS NATIONWIDE, BEGUN IN FLORIDA, AND FOUND QUIC ACCEPTANCE IN M

THE CAMPAIGN WAS NATIONWIDE, BEGUN IN FLORIDA, AND FOUND QUICK ACCEPTANCE IN MANY PARTS OF TEXAS AS WELL. THE GROUP ACTIVE IN TEXARKANA CALLED ITSELF THE COMMITTEE AGAINST THE SALE OF COMMUNIST SLAVE LABOR PRODUCTS IN AMERICA.

IN ANOTHER INCIDENT, THE DALLAS SUBURB OF HIGHLAND PARK WITHDREW PERMISSION TO DALLAS MUSIC SOCIETY TO PRESENT A CONCERT BY A RUSSIAN STRING QUARTET IN THE TOWN HALL. THE CITY MANAGER EXPLAINED THAT HE HAD GOTTEN A LOT OF COMPLAINTS.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY TOOK THE QUARTET ELSEWHERE TO PERFORM. "THIS IS A MUSICAL ORGANIZATION," SHE SAID, "NOT A POLITICAL GROUP."

OFTEN THE PRESSURE DOESN'T WORK.

TWO YEARS AGO THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION WENT AHEAD AND ADOPTED FOR SCHOOL USE TWO HISTORY TEXTBOOKS WHICH HAD BEEN ROUNDLY OPPOSED BY A GROUP CALLED TEXANS FOR AMERICA.

MRS. JOAN SLAY OF FORT WORTH, A LEADER OF THE GROUP, SAID ONE OF THE BOOKS "REFERS TO AMERICA AS A DEMOCRACY. THIS IS A SEED PLANTED IN THE MINDS OF CHILDREN, THAT WE HAVE A DEMOCRACY RATHER THAN A REPUBLIC."

IN DALLAS THE MILITANT ELEMENT RARELY HAS BEEN CONTENT WITH MERELY SIGNING PETITIONS OR BOYCOTTING POLISH HAM.

DALLAS IS A WHITE COLLAR, COSMOPOLITAN TOWN WHERE A SEEMINGLY ENDLESS SUPPLY OF MONEY IS AVAILABLE FOR A SEEMINGLY ENDLESS NUMBER OF CAUSES. RIGHT WING ACTIVITY RECEIVES GENEROUS PRESS COVERAGE, AND CONSEQUENTLY THE ACTIVISTS HAVE MUCH TO SAY, OR RATHER SHOUT.

THE CITY IS NOT THE STATE'S LARGEST, NOR IS IT THE CAPITAL. BUT FOR DECADES IT HAS BEEN THE ONE FROM WHICH THOUGHT EMANATES, THE CITY WHERE WEALTH CAME TO BE ADMIRERD AND THE OWNERS OF IT LISTENED TO-- MUCH MORE SO THAN IN SPRAWLING, BIG-RICH, UNCOUTH HOUSTON.

A215DN

THE MILITANT CONSERVATISM OF DALLAS, LATENT FOR DECADES, BEGAN ABOUT THREE YEARS AGO TO BUBBLE VIOLENTLY.

THE FIRST MAJOR INSTANCE WAS WHEN LYNDON B. JOHNSON, THEN U.S. SENATOR, VISITED DALLAS WITH HIS WIFE ON A CAMPAIGN TRIP IN 1960 AND MET WITH ABUSE AND JEERS FROM A GROUP EGGED ON BY PLACARD-TOTING GIRLS IN RED, WHITE AND BLUE UNIFORMS, AND BY U.S. REP. BRUCE ALGER, R-TEX.

THE DISEASE CONTINUED TO FEED UPON ITSELF, AND WHEN U. N. AMBASSADOR ADLAI STEVENSON SPOKE HERE LAST OCTOBER HE WAS HOOTED, HECKLED, SPAT UPON AND HIT WITH A PLACARD. THE SAME GROUP PRESENT AT THE STEVENSON INCIDENT--THE NATIONAL INDIGNATION CONVENTION--HAD INDIGNANTLY CAT-CALLED AND BOOED WILDLY AT A RALLY THE NIGHT BEFORE WITH EVERY MENTION OF JOHN F. KENNEDY'S NAME.

IN THE END, FOR SOMEONE OPENLY AND LOUDLY TO WISH THE PRESIDENT DEAD WAS NOT UNUSUAL IN DALLAS. AND IT WAS QUITE RESPECTABLE.

THE REV. WILLIAM H. DICKINSON JR., PASTOR OF THE HIGHLAND PARK METHODIST CHURCH, TOLD <sup>OF</sup> A "BRIGHT, YOUNG CHURCHGOING COUPLE" WHO CHORTLED AT A DINNER PARTY TWO NIGHTS BEFORE THE ASSASSINATION THAT THEY HATED THE PRESIDENT "AND WOULDN'T CARE ONE BIT IF SOMEBODY DID TAKE A POT SHOT AT HIM."

NOW DALLASITES ARE CHOKING ON THEIR INTEMPERATE WORDS, AND THE EYES OF TEXAS ARE DOWNCAST IN SHAME. IT MAKES LITTLE DIFFERENCE TO MOST THAT THE ACCUSED ASSASSIN WAS A COMMUNIST. AS THE REV. MR. DICKINSON POINTED OUT, HATE IS AN INFECTIOUS DISEASE AND KNOWS NO POLITICAL ALLEGIANCE.

"ONE MAN MAY HAVE PULLED THE TRIGGER," SAID MRS. J. H. LOWRY OF DALEAS, "BUT ALL THOSE WHO HAD HATE IN THEIR HEARTS AND WISHED HIM DEAD SHARE THE GUILT."

THE DAY PRESIDENT KENNEDY CAME TO TOWN, HOWEVER, THERE WAS NONE OF THIS.

A216DN

DALLASITES INSTEAD WERE GIVING HIM THE SORT OF WARM, OPEN, ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME WHICH, INDEED, IS FAR MORE TYPICAL OF THE CITY AND THE STATE. IT WAS SO CORDIAL THAT A MOMENT BEFORE THE FATAL BULLET STRUCK HIM MRS. JOHN CONNALLY, WIFE OF THE TEXAS GOVERNOR, REMARKED TO HIM ABOVE THE FRIENDLY DIN:

"MR. PRESIDENT, THEY CAN'T MAKE YOU BELIEVE NOW THAT THERE ARE NOT SOME IN DALLAS WHO LOVE YOU AND APPRECIATE YOU, CAN THEY?"

THE ONLY DISCORDANT NOTE WAS A FULL PAGE AD IN A MORNING NEWSPAPER. IT WAS SIGNED BY AN INDIVIDUAL WHO CALLED HIMSELF CHAIRMAN OF "AN UNAFFILIATED AND NON-PARTISAN GROUP OF CITIZENS WHO WISH TRUTH."

THE TRUTH IT WISHED FROM THE PRESIDENT (WHOM IT NEVER REFERRED TO BY HIS TITLE) REGARDED QUESTIONS SUCH AS "WHY HAVE YOU SCRAPPED THE MONROE DOCTRINE IN FAVOR OF THE 'SPIRIT OF MOSCOW'?"

THE AD HAD A QUARTER-INCH BLACK BORDER AROUND IT.

(END ADVANCE FOR AMS OF SUNDAY, DEC. 1, MOVED NOV. 28).