



CHAPTER  
**25**

# Politics in Modern Texas

## 1945–1995

**SECTION 1** Texas and National Politics After World War II

**SECTION 2** Texas State Politics, 1960–1995

**SECTION 3** Texas Politics and Minorities



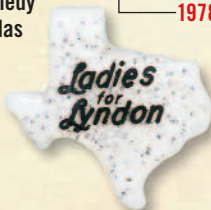
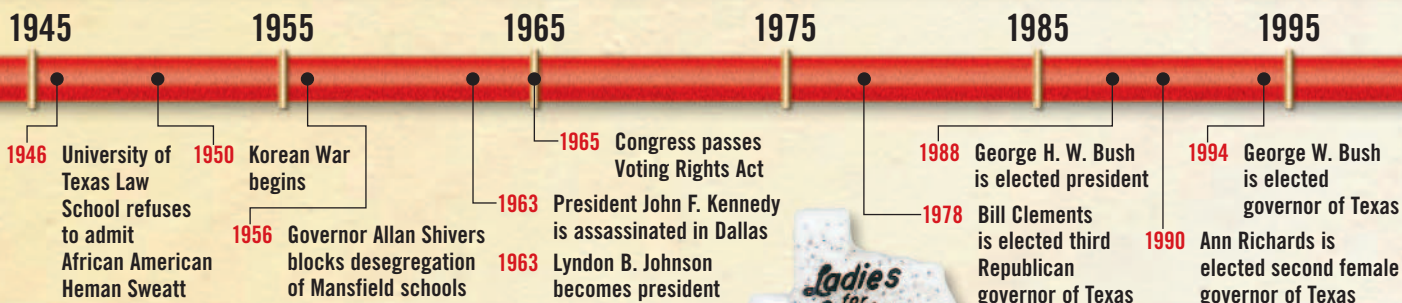
VIEW THE **Texas on Tape** CHAPTER 25 VIDEO LESSON.

*Politics ought to be the part-time profession of every citizen who would protect the rights and privileges of free people.*

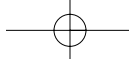
**President Dwight D. Eisenhower**



*Governor Ann Richards's inauguration, 1991*



*Lyndon Johnson campaign button*



# SKILL BUILDER

## Reading Social Studies

### Before You Read

What comes to mind when you hear the terms *politics* and *politicians*? Do you think of laws and lawmakers? Have you participated in or listened to discussions about politics? Perhaps you have read or seen news reports about politicians running for office. Why is it important to be familiar with politics in Texas? How do the actions of politicians affect state residents?

#### Think about

- political events in the news
- different political parties
- politicians in Texas today
- ways to participate in politics



*Kay Bailey Hutchison being sworn in as Treasurer*

### As You Read



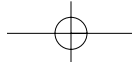
After World War II, politics in Texas changed dramatically. Before the war most Texans had supported Democratic candidates for governor. However, beginning in the 1940s, a series of events led to the growth in Texas of the Republican Party. Completing this graphic organizer for Chapter 25 will help you to understand the issues and events affecting Texas politics from the 1940s to the present.

- Copy the chart in your Texas Notebook.
- In chronological order, list the governors of Texas discussed in this chapter and the party to which each one belongs.
- Then note the issues and events surrounding each governor's term of office.

### Organizing Information

GOVERNOR	YEAR ELECTED	POLITICAL PARTY	ISSUES AND EVENTS





## SECTION



# Texas and National Politics After World War II

## Why It Matters Now

Understanding the changes that took place in Texas politics in the past can help you understand current and future political trends in the state.

### TERMS & NAMES

**conservative**, **liberal**, Taft-Hartley Act, **closed shop**, **desegregation**, *Brown v. Board of Education*, tide-lands controversy, Lyndon Johnson, Great Society, Voting Rights Act of 1964

### OBJECTIVES

1. Trace the development of the two-party system in Texas during the second half of the twentieth century.
2. Analyze the impact of the Korean and Vietnam Wars on Texas.
3. Analyze the leadership qualities of elected leaders of Texas and Texans who have been president of the United States.

### MAIN IDEA

Texas politics changed after World War II as sharp divisions developed in the Democratic Party. Issues such as civil rights, labor unions, and oil profits would split the Democrats into two wings.

## A REAL-LIFE STORY

H. W. “Herb” Odell joined the Marine Corps in 1946, when he was only 14, and served for two years. In 1950 the Korean War broke out. Like many Americans, Odell answered the call to serve his country again.

*We were outnumbered 10 to one. . . . We were losing a lot of men from frostbite. After losing wounded and dead by enemy fire it really got miserable. We were on alert 24-hours a day. No fires were allowed. Sleep? Well, you’d sleep when you could. . . . I was wounded, shot in the thigh, and suffering from frostbite to my hands and feet. . . . Maybe I was meant to go through what I went through so that I could relate to other veterans and their needs.*

H. W. “Herb” Odell

Odell worked with veterans’ organizations for 45 years, eventually becoming chair of the Texas Veterans Commission. In this section you will read about the changing political climate in which Odell and other Texans found themselves after World War II.



Franklin D. Roosevelt campaign button

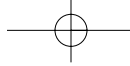
**conservative** *in favor of preserving established traditions; opposed to major change*

**liberal** *in favor of progress and reform*

## A Changing Political Climate

At the end of World War II, the political climate in Texas was changing. Since Reconstruction, Texans had almost always voted for Democratic candidates in presidential and state elections. In the 1940s, however, a group of **conservative** Texas Democrats split off from the Party, calling themselves the “Texas Regulars.”

The Texas Regulars opposed the New Deal reforms of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, claiming he was too **liberal**. They were also unhappy with the U.S. Supreme Court’s 1944 ruling that African Americans had the right to vote in all primaries. This right was especially important in states like Texas, where the Democratic primary winner usually won the election.



Roosevelt's new vice-president in 1945 was the little-known Harry S. Truman. Just 82 days into the term, on April 12, 1945, Roosevelt died, and Truman became president. Truman proved to be a challenge for Texas conservatives. He supported Roosevelt's New Deal and was very interested in civil rights. He also fought the Taft-Hartley Act, which limited the power of labor unions. It outlawed **closed shops**, or businesses that hired only union workers. Although Truman vetoed the act, it passed.

## Desegregation

Public school **desegregation** came as another challenge for Texas conservatives. In 1950 Heman Marion Sweatt, an African American from Houston, was denied admission to the University of Texas School of Law. The state offered Sweatt instead a "separate but equal" education at a new law school set up in a basement at Texas Southern University. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that this violated Sweatt's constitutional rights. Just four years later, in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the Supreme Court declared that school segregation violated the Constitution. "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," wrote Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Going against the court's decision, however, Texas governor Allan Shivers blocked the desegregation of Texas schools. In 1956 he sent Texas Rangers to schools in Mansfield, a suburb of Fort Worth, to keep African American students out. The issue would continue to divide Texans for more than a decade before Texas schools were desegregated.

## The Korean War

In 1950 the Korean War broke out. U.S. forces entered the war on the side of the South Koreans, who were fighting communist North Korea. After only five years of peace, Texans again left their homes and families to fight. Many Texas military bases reopened. More than 1,700 Texans lost their lives. Many Texans fought bravely, including Medal of Honor recipients Benito Martinez of Fort Hancock, Joseph C. Rodriguez of El Paso, George H. O'Brien, Jr., of Midland, and James L. Stone of Arlington. In 1999 a monument was dedicated to the Korean War heroes of Texas on the grounds of the state capitol.

## Dwight D. Eisenhower

In 1952 General Dwight D. Eisenhower, who had been born in Texas but raised in Kansas, was the Republican candidate for president. He was a World War II hero and popular in Texas because of his position on the tidelands issue. The Texas tidelands, located off the Gulf Coast, were believed to hold rich oil deposits. Eisenhower supported Texans' claim that their state should be able to claim profits made by oil wells in the tidelands. Democratic presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson believed the federal government should have this money.



▲ Ronnie Dugger, editor of the campus newspaper, supported Heman Sweatt (right) in his efforts to become the first African American student at the University of Texas at Austin law school. ● **What do you think it was like for Sweatt on his first day of class?**

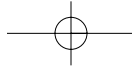
**closed shop** *a business that employs only members of a labor union*

**desegregation** *allowing students of all racial and ethnic backgrounds to attend the same schools*


*Korean War memorial at the Texas capitol*







- In the decades after World War II, many Texas politicians were active in national as well as state politics.
- Which party did most of these candidates belong to?



**HUMAN-ENVIRONMENT RELATIONSHIPS**

By the 1950s new technology made it easier to drill oil wells under water. This made the tidelands' large oil deposits very valuable. Texas and other coastal states wanted these resources for themselves, but the United States government said it owned them.

- Why do you think Texas based its claim on Spanish law?

- ▼ President Johnson was known for using the force of his six-foot presence to persuade fellow politicians.
- How did Johnson's personal manner contrast with his political ideals?



As a result, in 1952 the Texas Democratic Party divided into two wings. Governor Shivers and Texas attorney general Price Daniel organized a group they called “Democrats for Eisenhower.” Judge Ralph Yarborough of Houston headed the liberal wing, who protested the Democrats’ support of a Republican. Eisenhower won the 1952 election, but in 1957 Yarborough won a seat in the U.S. Senate.

## Kennedy and Johnson

In 1960 Senator Lyndon Baines Johnson challenged John F. Kennedy for the Democratic presidential nomination. Kennedy won the nomination and asked Johnson to run as his vice-president. Johnson drew the support of Democrats in Texas and other Southern states, helping Kennedy win by a narrow margin.

Just three years later, on November 22, 1963, President Kennedy was assassinated while riding in an open car in Dallas. Suddenly, Johnson was president. He was then elected to a new term in 1964.

## Johnson's Great Society

During this term LBJ, as he was known, introduced programs to create what he called the Great Society. These programs aimed to reduce poverty, advance education, and provide civil rights for all. To help achieve his Great Society, President Johnson pushed for passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This act made segregation illegal.

### TEXAS VOICES

Let me make one principle of this administration abundantly clear: All of these increased opportunities—in employment, in education, in housing, and in every field—must be open to Americans of every color. As far as the writ of Federal law will run, we must abolish not some, but all racial discrimination. For this is not merely an economic issue, or a social, political, or international issue. It is a moral issue, and it must be met by the passage this session of the bill now pending in the House.

Lyndon B. Johnson, State of the Union Address, 1964



Congress also passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965. This bill allowed all U.S. citizens, regardless of race, to vote. It abolished the poll tax, which had kept many African and Mexican Americans from voting.

Johnson also set up programs to provide medical care for the elderly and the poor. He set aside federal funds for improving education. Johnson saw to it that NASA's Manned Space Center was built near Houston. He also peacefully settled a boundary dispute over the boundary between Texas and Mexico. Some criticized Johnson, however, for making the government too large and powerful.

## The Vietnam War

During Johnson's presidency the United States became involved in another war in Southeast Asia, the Vietnam War. Although President Kennedy had sent soldiers to fight in Vietnam, Johnson increased U.S. involvement there. By 1968 thousands of soldiers were dying or returning wounded. Conservatives pushed for greater use of military force. Liberals wanted to withdraw entirely. Antiwar protests broke out across the nation, and divisions became bitter between liberals and conservatives. Johnson was dogged by protesters wherever he went. In March 1968 President Johnson announced he would not seek reelection.

In 1972 Republican President Richard Nixon finally withdrew the last U.S. forces from Vietnam. By that time over 3,400 Texans had given their lives. Many more returned with psychological scars, which were often deepened by the conflict at home over U.S. involvement in the war. In recent years, Texans across the state have celebrated the bravery of their soldiers in Vietnam with memorial statues.



### Roy Benavidez

One of many brave Texans who served in Vietnam, Roy Benavidez was born in Cuero. He served in Korea and in Vietnam, where in 1966 he stepped on a land mine. His doctors said he would never walk again, but he did and went on to train and qualify for the Special Forces—the Green Berets. On May 2,

1968, Benavidez volunteered to jump from a helicopter behind enemy lines. He was shot, stabbed, and hit in the leg, thigh, back, arm, and head but continued carrying wounded men to safety. He saved the lives of eight men. For his heroism he was awarded the medal of honor. • **What do you think motivated Benavidez to keep going?**

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## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

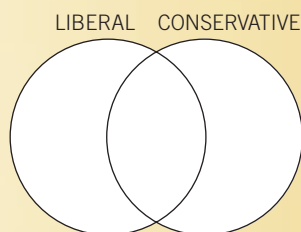
### Terms & Names

#### Identify:

- conservative
- liberal
- Taft-Hartley Act
- closed shop
- desegregation
- *Brown v. Board of Education*
- Lyndon Johnson

### Organizing Information

Use a Venn diagram like the one shown to categorize the Texas politicians and political groups you read about in this section as liberal, conservative, or moderate (between liberal and conservative).



What can you conclude about Democrats in Texas after World War II?

### Critical Thinking

1. What was the main reason for the division in the Democratic Party and the rise of the Republican Party in Texas after World War II?
2. Describe the opposing viewpoints of Texas liberals and conservatives on the issues of organized labor and school desegregation.

### Interact with History

Review your response to *Interact with History* in your Texas Notebook. Think about your own political beliefs and ideas. Are they more liberal or more conservative? Which political party currently represents your views best? Explain.

## ACTIVITY

### History

The assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas was a cause for grief for all Americans. Interview Texans who remember the assassination. Discuss how this event affected Texas and Texans.



Go to [www.celebratingtexas.com](http://www.celebratingtexas.com) to research the Activity topic.





LONE STAR

# Literature

## Remarks in Cotulla, Texas, at Welhausen Elementary School

BY LYNDON B. JOHNSON

November 7, 1966

The 1960s were a time when many people were seeking reform. Lyndon B. Johnson was one such person. As president, Johnson created the Great Society programs to help the poor, end discrimination, and promote education. In 1966 Johnson traveled to Cotulla, Texas, in La Salle County. There he spoke to students and teachers at Welhausen Elementary School on the importance of education.

I have come back to Cotulla this afternoon, not just because this school is part of my past, but because this school is a part of America's future.

Everything I want to work for, as your President, to achieve peace, to conquer poverty, to build a worthy civilization—all of these depend in a very large degree on what happens in this school and what happens in other schools throughout our land.

Thirty-eight years ago I came to Cotulla. I was still a student myself. I was working my way through the San Marcos Teachers College.

In those days, neither America nor her schools shared any abundance. We had only five teachers here in the Welhausen public school. We had no lunch facilities. We had no school buses. We had very little money for educating people of this community. We did not have money to buy our playground equipment, our volleyballs, our softball bat. I took my first month's salary and invested in those things for my children.

About the only thing we had an ample supply of was determination—determination to see it through.

I worked as a teacher for the fifth, sixth, and seventh grades.

I worked as a principal of five teachers.

I worked as a playground supervisor.

I coached the boys' baseball team.

I was a debate coach.

I was the song leader. You would not believe that, but I tried to be, anyway.

In my spare time sometimes I acted as assistant janitor.

In that year, I think I learned far more than I taught. And the greatest lesson was this one: Nothing—nothing at all—matters more than trained intelligence. It is the key not only to success in life, but it is the key to meaning in life.

And that is true for a nation, too.

Our greatest national resource probably is not even listed in your textbooks. Our greatest resource is the skill, the vision, and the wisdom of our people.

That is why last year your National Government pledged billions of new dollars to help improve your school and schools all over America.

In the last 3 years, we have inaugurated

Lyndon B. Johnson with the class he taught in Cotulla, 1928





## PRIMARY SOURCE SPEECH



*Lyndon B. Johnson  
speaking to students  
in Cotulla, 1966*

more than 40 new programs for health and education for our children in this country. . . .

But it would help little for your Nation to put education first if you don't put education first.

Often young Americans write to ask the President, "What can we do to help the country?"

Well, this is my answer: If you want to help your country, stay in school as long as you can. Work to the limit of your ability and your ambition to get all the education you can absorb—all the education you can take.

What you are doing now is the most important work that you can possibly do for your country. . . .

Thirty-eight years have passed, but I still see the faces of the children who sat in my class. I still hear their eager voices speaking Spanish as I came in. I still see their excited eyes speaking friendship.

Right here I had my first lessons in poverty. I had my first lessons in the high price we pay for poverty and prejudice right here.

Thirty-eight years later our Nation is still paying that price.

Three out of every four Mexican-American children now in a Texas school will drop out before they get to the eighth grade.

One out of every three Mexican-Americans in Texas who are older than 14 have had less than 5 years of school.

How long can we pay that kind of price? . . .

I will give you that answer this afternoon. I will give that answer to America this afternoon. I will say: We can afford to pay the price no longer. No longer can we afford second-class education for children who know that they have a right to be first-class citizens. . . .

To the people of Cotulla for the vision that you exercised many years ago . . . for the sacrifices that you made to provide good teachers, for the products that you have turned out as represented here on this platform today, we say: Thank you.

But we say to all the Nation that we have not yet done enough. The time for action is now.

### Reading

#### About the Author

**Lyndon B. Johnson** was born in 1908 near Stonewall, Texas. After attending a teachers' college, he worked as a principal and teacher in Cotulla, Texas, for one year. Johnson went on to serve as the administrator of the National Youth Administration in Texas. In 1937 Johnson became a U.S. congressperson. After serving in the navy in World War II, he was elected senator for two terms. He was elected vice-president in 1960 and became president after John F. Kennedy was assassinated. He served as president until 1969. Johnson died in 1973.

### Reading

#### the Literature

As you read, identify the author's purpose. Ask yourself: Who was the audience? Is the speech informative, persuasive, or inspirational? What is its message?

### Thinking

#### About the Literature

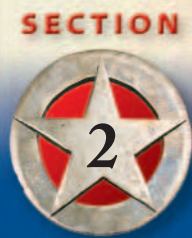
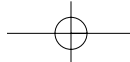
How do you think President Johnson's teaching experience affected his political career?

### Writing

#### About the Literature

Imagine that you have been asked to give a speech to the teachers and students in an elementary school in your town. Prepare and deliver a two-minute speech on the importance of education.





# Texas State Politics, 1960–1995

## Why It Matters Now

Major shifts during this period changed the directions of the Republican and Democratic Parties.

### TERMS & NAMES

John Connally, **indicted**, Phil Gramm, George Bush, House Bill 72, **teacher certification**, “no pass–no play,” **special session**, Ann Richards, George W. Bush

### OBJECTIVES

1. Trace the development of the two-party system in Texas during the second half of the twentieth century.
2. Identify the leadership qualities of past and present elected leaders of Texas.
3. Analyze the leadership qualities of Texans who have been president of the United States.

### MAIN IDEA

After 1960 Republicans began to challenge Democratic leadership in Texas. Texas elected the second Republican governor in its history as well as its second female governor. In the 1990s Republican George W. Bush won two terms as governor and went on to become president.

### WHAT Would You Do?

Write your response to *Interact with History* in your *Texas Notebook*.



## INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Imagine that you have always voted for Democratic candidates in elections. Lately, however, you find yourself disagreeing with many of the Democrats' ideas. Unfortunately, you don't agree with many of the Republicans' ideas either. What could you do to improve the situation? Would you start a new party or try to get one of the other parties to change? How would you persuade others to join you?

## John Connally

In 1962 Texans elected Democratic candidate John Connally as governor. Raised on a South Texas cotton farm, Connally had campaigned for Johnson but was more conservative than Johnson was. Despite Connally's election, Texas Republicans were beginning to gain important offices.

During Connally's six years as governor, Texas's population grew by more than a million people. Federal money for public health, education, and welfare helped pay for some services for this growing population. The state budget was stretched to pay for other needed services.

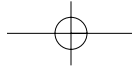
But Connally would not give up his plans for great changes. He raised taxes to increase teachers' pay and improve libraries. He approved funding for colleges and universities. He supported reform for state government. He also took steps to develop the arts and tourism in Texas.



John Connally

## The Sharpstown Scandal

In 1968 Preston Smith was elected governor of Texas and served two terms. A conservative Democrat, Smith drew most of his support from rural Texas. Smith's administration was damaged by what became known as the Sharpstown scandal. Speaker of the House Gus Mutscher and



other state officials were accused of taking bribes from the head of the Sharpstown bank in return for political favors. Several legislators were **indicted**, and some served time in jail.

As a result of the scandal, more than half of the members of the Texas legislature left office. Some lost their reelection bids, while others chose not to run for reelection at all. A number of the House members, including Democrat Frances “Sissy” Farenthold, formed a group called the Dirty Thirty. In an effort to reform the House, the Dirty Thirty helped to pass the Open Records Act. This law required officials to file reports of all donations to their political campaigns.

Because the Sharpstown scandal had hurt Governor Smith’s public image, several Democrats ran against him in 1972. Frances Farenthold challenged Uvalde rancher Dolph Briscoe and Lieutenant Governor Ben Barnes in the Democratic primary for governor. Farenthold hoped to become the first female governor since “Ma” Ferguson. Farenthold was supported by many women and liberal Democrats but was defeated by Briscoe. Farenthold challenged Briscoe again in 1974 but lost.

Texans voted to change the governor’s term of office from two years to four. The change took effect in 1975. Briscoe, a moderate politician, promised Texans “no new taxes.” Throughout his three terms as governor, Briscoe kept his promise, managing the state’s growing expenses without raising taxes.

## Republicans Gain Ground in Texas

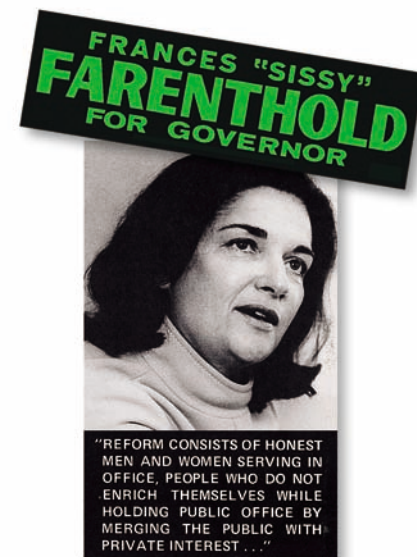
Republicans became a force in Texas in 1961 when John Tower took over the Senate seat vacated by Lyndon Johnson. Republicans gained more power in Texas in the late 1970s and early 1980s when an oil boom boosted the Texas economy. Because of the boom, thousands of job seekers from other states and Mexico moved to Texas. Many of these new Texans were Republicans. Also, by 1978 some Texas Democrats had begun switching to the Republican Party. As a result, little-known Dallas businessman Bill Clements defeated Democrat John Hill in 1978 to become the third Republican governor in Texas history.

One Texas Democrat to switch parties was Phil Gramm, who won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives as a Democrat. In 1984 he switched to the Republican Party. As a Republican, Gramm has served in the U.S. Senate for many years.

In 1980 Republican Ronald Reagan chose George Herbert Walker Bush as his running mate in the U.S. presidential election. Born in Massachusetts, Bush had moved to Texas after he graduated from Yale University. He then built a successful oil business in Midland. He later moved to Houston, where he was elected to Congress for two terms. He lost a race for a seat in the U.S. Senate to Democrat Lloyd Bentsen, Jr. Bush served as ambassador to the United Nations, chairman of the Republican National Committee, and chief U.S. repre-



**indicted** *charged with a crime*



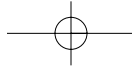
*Frances Farenthold campaign items*



### Phil Gramm

**A** former economics professor at Texas A&M University, Texan Phil Gramm was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1978. He was elected three times as a Democrat before switching political parties. In 1984 Gramm was elected to the U.S. Senate as a Republican. A strong supporter of Republican presidents such as Ronald Reagan, George Bush, and George W. Bush, Gramm has also served as chairperson of the National Republican Senatorial Committee. ● **How has Phil Gramm’s experience helped him to be an effective leader in the Senate?**





## Desegregation of Texas Schools

Although some school districts, such as San Antonio, desegregated their schools in the 1950s, many Texas schools remained segregated. In 1970 District Judge William Wayne Justice ordered the Texas Education Agency to take action to desegregate Texas public schools. The court eventually ordered the busing of minority students to schools that enrolled whites. Although this practice was hotly debated, it finally increased the number of African American students in these schools. • **Why do you think it took so long to desegregate Texas schools?**

**teacher certification** *proof that an individual has met all the state's qualifications for teaching*

**special session** *a legislative or congressional meeting that is called to accomplish a specific task*

*Political campaign buttons*



representative in China. In 1976 he became director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Bush helped Reagan win Texas and the nation in the 1980 presidential race.

Republicans also gained a number of seats in the Texas legislature. Many Texans expected Republican governor Clements to win a second term as well. However, in 1982 Clements lost to Texas attorney general Mark White. White was a Democrat who had successfully won over many minority Texans by emphasizing educational reform and economic development. As governor, White appointed a number of minorities to his staff and to important government posts.

## Education Reform

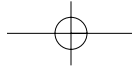
During the 1980s many people became concerned about declining literacy rates and test scores among students in Texas schools. In 1984 Governor Mark White appointed a committee to study the state's educational problems. Headed by Dallas billionaire H. Ross Perot, the committee studied Texas schools and made a number of recommendations. The result was known as House Bill 72. This bill placed strict guidelines on **teacher certification** and tied teachers' salaries to performance. It gave more money to local school districts and called for smaller classes. House Bill 72 also made attendance rules stricter, required students to be regularly tested, and raised the minimum passing grade from 65 to 70.

The most debated part of the bill was its "no pass–no play" ruling. Under this new rule, students who did not pass a required number of courses could not take part in extracurricular activities, such as sports or music. As a result, some school teams lost their star players. This upset many Texans, who held House Bill 72 against Governor White in the next election.

## The Texas Oil Crash

House Bill 72 alone reduced Governor White's reelection chances, but the oil crash of the 1980s made it almost impossible. From 1983 to 1986, the Texas oil industry was in financial trouble. The demand for oil decreased, and prices dropped sharply. Thousands of people lost their jobs, and businesses and banks collapsed. In a short time, the entire Texas economy was in a slump.

As the economy worsened, fewer taxes could be collected. This, in turn, made it difficult for the state to pay for important public services. As a result, Governor White called the legislature into **special session to cut** the state budget and raise taxes. Neither of these moves was popular with Texas voters. When White ran for reelection in 1986, he was easily defeated by the Republican candidate, Bill Clements.



- ◀ In 1990 President George Bush signed into law the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), which guaranteed civil rights to Americans with disabilities. It provided them with equal access to jobs, transportation, and public places such as stores and shopping malls. • **Why was equal access so important to disabled Americans?**

Texas's economic problems did not go away when Clements took office, however. The new governor soon knew he, too, would have to raise taxes. Texans, who had their own financial woes, were angry about the new taxes. Knowing he had lost voters' support, Clements decided not to seek reelection in 1990.

## George Bush and the Gulf War

Meanwhile, after serving two terms as vice-president, George Bush was elected president in 1988. He defeated Michael Dukakis and his running mate, Texas Lloyd Bentsen—the man who had defeated Bush several years earlier for a seat in the U.S. Senate.

During Bush's presidency war broke out in the Persian Gulf. In 1990 military forces from Iraq invaded Kuwait, a U.S. ally and an important source of oil for Western countries. In 1991 Bush sent U.S. troops to fight what became known as the Gulf War. Many Texans in the reserves and National Guard were called to fight. Many Americans watched U.S. Operation Desert Storm on CNN. The country's quick success increased Bush's popularity. However, by the time of the 1992 election economic problems weakened his support, and he was defeated by Bill Clinton.



### ANN AND TWO GEORGES

Ann Richards spent part of her career opposing the election of men named George Bush. In 1988 she spoke out against George Bush in her keynote address for the 1988 Democratic National Convention. She joked that "after listening to George Bush all these years, I figured you needed to know what a real Texas accent sounds like." She also joked about Bush's wealth and tendency to say the wrong thing. Richards was a powerful voice for the Democratic Party, but Bush won the election. In 1994 Richards lost to his son, George W. Bush, in the governor's race.

## Texas's Second Female Governor

In 1990 Democrat Ann Richards and Republican Clayton Williams faced off in a hard-fought political race. Williams, a Midland oilman, spent a lot of money on his campaign, but his opinions turned away many voters.





- ▲ In 1994 George W. Bush became Texas's fourth Republican governor.
- In what ways had the Texas Republican Party changed since Reconstruction?

Richards, on the other hand, had earned praise for a strong keynote address at the 1988 Democratic National Convention. She won the 1990 election and became Texas's second female governor.

Richards appointed a large number of women, African Americans, and Mexican Americans to office. She asked former congresswoman Barbara Jordan to serve as her ethics advisor. She worked hard to improve education. Despite her popularity, Richards failed to win a second term in 1994, losing to Republican George W. Bush, the son of the former president.

## Texas's Fourth Republican Governor

Governor Bush got along with members of both parties. He worked well with Democratic lieutenant governor Bob Bullock as well as Democratic members of the state legislature. One of Bush's main goals as governor was to raise the state's educational standards. During Bush's administration, scores on the state-required TAAS test (now TAKS) rose. Funding for advanced placement math and science was increased, and the Texas school system was one of the most improved in the nation, according to the National Education Goals Panel. He also worked to lower property taxes and reduce juvenile crime. Bush was a popular governor. With Republicans Phil Gramm and Kay Bailey Hutchison representing Texas in the U.S. Senate, Texas had finally become a two-party state.

### SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

#### Terms & Names

##### Identify:

- John Connally
- indicted
- Phil Gramm
- George Bush
- House Bill 72
- teacher certification
- "no pass-no play"
- special session
- Ann Richards
- George W. Bush

#### Organizing Information

Use a chart like the one below to show who won the Texas governor's seat in each year listed. Also note each governor's political party.

Year	Governor	Political Party
1962		
1964		
1966		
1968		
1970		
1972		
1974		
1978		
1982		
1986		
1990		
1994		

Add to your chart the Texas governors after 2000. Which political party controls this post today?

#### Critical Thinking

1. How do you think the issues of taxes and government spending relate to the development of a two-party system in Texas?
2. Since 1968, has the general trend been toward more liberal or more conservative state leaders in Texas? Explain your answer.

#### Interact with History

Review your response to *Interact with History* in your Texas Notebook. What if you were one of Texas's elected leaders? It would be your responsibility to represent all Texas voters, not just those who support your political party. How might you achieve this goal?

### ACTIVITY

#### Government

Research how Texans voted in the most recent presidential election. Create a graph to illustrate which party carried the most counties.

 Go to [www.celebratingtexas.com](http://www.celebratingtexas.com) to research the Activity topic.

## Interpreting a Political Cartoon

### LEARNING *the Skill*

A political cartoon is an interpretation of a current event through the use of an illustration. Cartoonists use humor to inform and to influence public opinion. Interpreting political cartoons from the past helps us understand opinions surrounding historical issues. Studying current political cartoons gives us an idea of the viewpoints that surround today's issues.

Cartoonists use visual devices such as caricatures, symbols, and analogies to make their points. Caricature is the exaggeration of a physical feature to create either a positive or negative impression of a person. A symbol is an image or object that stands for something else. (For example, a single, or lone, star is often used to represent Texas.) An analogy is a comparison of two unlike things that uses similarities that may exist between them. One analogy is to compare flipping TV channels to the sport of surfing.

### To interpret a political cartoon, use the following steps:

- Identify the topic of the cartoon and the characters it portrays.
- Consider what you already know about the topic.
- Study the relationships between the characters and symbols.
- Study the labels and messages. Identify any bias.
- Determine the cartoonist's point of view on the topic.

### PRACTICING *the Skill*

Study the following political cartoon featuring Ann Richards and Clayton Williams. Then answer the questions that follow.



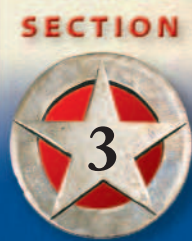
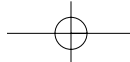
1. What topic does this cartoon address?
2. What is the relationship between the man on the left and the two politicians on the right?
3. What do the politicians' words suggest?
4. What do you think is the cartoonist's point of view on this topic? Does the cartoon contain bias? Explain.

### APPLYING *the Skill*

Look for political cartoons in your local newspaper. In which section of the paper do these cartoons appear? Why do you think that they are in this section? Select one political cartoon to study. Note how the cartoonist uses caricatures, symbols, and analogies to express his or her point of view. Identify any bias. Then, in your Texas Notebook, write a brief interpretation of the cartoon.







# Texas Politics and Minorities

## Why It Matters Now

Today, minority Texans have a strong voice in Texas politics and government.

### TERMS & NAMES

**activist**, Heman Sweatt, James Farmer, Jr., Barbara Jordan, **impeachment resolutions**, Sarah Hughes, Ann Richards, Kay Bailey Hutchison

### OBJECTIVES

1. Trace the civil rights progress of minorities in Texas in the twentieth century.
2. Trace the equal rights progress of women in Texas in the twentieth century.
3. Identify the leadership qualities of elected leaders of Texas.

### MAIN IDEA

From the 1960s to the end of the twentieth century, the growing civil rights movement had a great effect on Texas. Minorities—particularly African Americans, Hispanics, and women—finally won the right to be represented in both state and national political arenas.



U.S. representative  
Barbara Jordan

## A REAL-LIFE STORY

As the political climate in Texas began to change, doors finally began to open for Texas minorities. Houston native Barbara Jordan was one of the first to take advantage of these opportunities. After serving in the Texas Senate, Jordan won a seat in the U.S. Congress. When the House Judiciary Committee held televised hearings to decide whether to impeach President Richard M. Nixon, she inspired millions of viewers with her patriotism, intelligence, and passion for justice.

*‘We, the people.’ I felt for many years that somehow George Washington and Alexander Hamilton just left me out by mistake. But through the process of amendment, interpretation, and court decision, I have finally been included in ‘We, the people.’ My faith in the Constitution is whole, it is complete, it is total. I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator to the [misuse] and the destruction of the Constitution.*

Barbara Jordan, Nixon impeachment hearing, 1974

In this section, you will read about the political changes that finally allowed Jordan and other minorities to participate in Texas politics.

**activist** *a person who takes direct action to support a political cause*

## New Players in Public Affairs

After World War II, minority groups began to demand to be treated equally under the law. Civil rights **activists** such as Heman Sweatt and James Farmer, Jr., became pioneers in the battle to end segregation. Their actions led to new laws that outlawed discrimination in any form. African Americans, Hispanics, women, and other minorities could no longer be shut out of politics. Soon minorities held important seats in local and state government, including the Texas legislature.



Barbara Jordan with fellow senators, 1960s



Senators discussing a bill, 2001



**MINORITIES IN GOVERNMENT** When Barbara Jordan was elected in 1966, she was the only woman and the only person of color in the Texas senate. For many years only white males had served as judges, school board members, mayors, city council members, state legislators, and other political leaders. Minority groups and women had to depend on Anglo American politicians to address any issues on their behalf. The

Voting Rights Act helped give minority voters a voice. In addition, the federal courts ordered Texas to redraw its voting districts to give minorities equal representation at all levels of government. These changes allowed minorities to become much more active in state and national politics. In 2000 Anglo Americans were barely a majority in Texas. • **How do you think the percentage of women and minorities may change by 2020?**

## Barbara Jordan Leads the Way

In the 1960s African American lawyer Barbara Jordan became determined to help poor people in her home city of Houston. After two unsuccessful campaigns for office, she finally was elected to the Texas Senate in 1966. With this victory, Jordan became the first African American to serve in the state senate in almost a century.

A few years later, Jordan set her sights on the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1973 she became the first African American woman from the South ever to serve in the U.S. Congress. A gifted speaker and respected leader, Jordan gained recognition around the country by serving on the committee that brought **impeachment resolutions** against President Nixon. She also was asked to give the keynote speech, or main address, at the 1976 Democratic National Convention. In so doing, she became the first woman ever to give this important address.

By the end of the twentieth century, Barbara Jordan's pioneering efforts had inspired many other minorities to seek national office. In Texas alone, two African American women followed in her footsteps. Eddie Bernice Johnson of Dallas and Sheila Jackson Lee of Houston both won seats in the U.S. House of Representatives.

## Women in the Political Arena

Other Texas women also made great strides in politics. They served as school board members, mayors, state legislators, and judges. Sarah Hughes served in the Texas legislature and as a district judge even before the law allowed women to serve on juries. Later, she became the first woman to be appointed as federal judge in Texas.

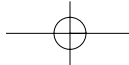
**impeachment resolutions** a vote taken to decide whether to hold a trial to remove a government official from office



### To Mathematics

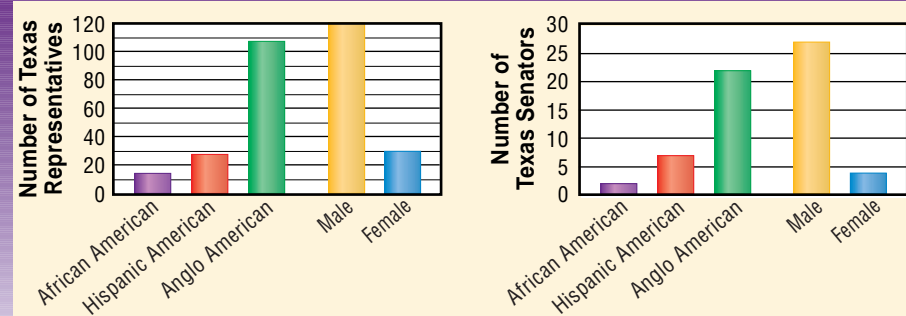
In 1887 Hispanics accounted for only 4 percent of the state's population. However, as jobs became available in Texas, Mexican and Latin American immigrants began moving north. Less than 100 years later, Hispanics made up about one-fifth of the state's population. According to the 2000 census, there were 6,669,666 Hispanics living in Texas. • **If the total population of Texas in 2000 was 20,851,820, what percent of the population was Hispanic?**





▲ In the 1970s candidates for office included African Americans Barbara Jordan, Mickey Leland, Craig Washington, and Andrew Jefferson; Mexican American Robert Barnstone; and female candidates Jordan and Frances Farenthold. ● What changes allowed more minority and female candidates to be elected than ever before in Texas?

### TEXAS LEGISLATORS BY ETHNICITY AND GENDER, 2001



▲ By 2001 many women and minorities had been elected to the Texas legislature. ● Which groups have the fewest representatives? Which have the most?

By the 1980s women were finally being elected to key statewide offices. In 1982 Ann Richards was elected state treasurer, becoming the first woman in 50 years to win a statewide office. She delivered the keynote address at the 1988 Democratic National Convention. In 1990 she became Texas's second female governor.

In 1993 Kay Bailey Hutchison joined the U.S. Senate, becoming the first Texas woman to serve in that body. Before reaching this post, Hutchison had served in the Texas legislature and as state treasurer. Like Barbara Jordan, Ann Richards, and other leaders, Kay Bailey Hutchison serves as a role model not just for Texas women but for women across the United States.

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

### Terms & Names

#### Identify:

- activist
- Heman Sweatt
- James Farmer, Jr.
- impeachment resolutions
- Sarah Hughes
- Ann Richards
- Barbara Jordan
- Kay Bailey Hutchison

### Organizing Information

Use a chart like the one shown to list Texas minority leaders who became pioneers in state and national government. Write the names of these pioneers in each row.

TEXAS MINORITIES IN OFFICE	
Governor's Office	
Texas Senate	
State Treasury	
Texas Courts	
U.S. House of Representatives	
U.S. Senate	

### Critical Thinking

1. Since the 1960s, more people from minority groups have begun participating in government. How do you think this has affected Texas and federal laws?
2. How has the role of Texas women in the government changed over time? Provide examples.
3. What leadership qualities do you think elected officials in Texas should have?

Which do they demonstrate? Be specific.

### A Real-Life Story

Review *A Real-Life Story* on page 530. Why do you think Jordan felt she had been left out of the U.S. Constitution? What do you think changed her mind and made her feel included? Write your answers in your Texas Notebook.

## ACTIVITY

### Citizenship

African Americans, Hispanics, and women are not the only Texas minorities in politics. Research the life of a Texas leader from another minority group. Give a two-minute presentation on the person.



Go to [www.celebratingtexas.com](http://www.celebratingtexas.com) to research the Activity topic.



## Henry B. González



**A**s the first Mexican Texan elected to the United States Congress, “Henry B.” González served the government for more than 30 years. During his career he fought for equality in health care and housing. Although his strong personality made him enemies, González sought justice for all people.

His given name was Enrique Barbosa González. He was born in San Antonio on May 3, 1916, to immigrant parents from Durango, Mexico. He spoke no English when he entered first grade. González graduated from Jefferson High School in 1935 and from St. Mary’s University School of Law in 1943. After graduation González went to work as a probation officer. He soon became the chief probation officer of Bexar County Juvenile Court. In 1950 González became the deputy director of the San Antonio Housing Authority, which earned praise for finding housing for hundreds of families.

In 1953 González was elected to the San Antonio City Council. In 1956 he was elected to the Texas Senate. There González set the record for the longest filibuster in state history. Along with Senator Abraham Kazan he held the senate floor, talking for 36 hours and 2 minutes in order to keep a segregation law

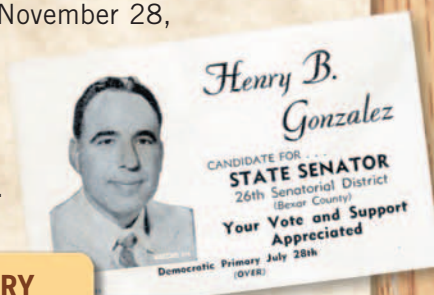
from passing. After an unsuccessful attempt to run for governor in 1958, González was reelected to the Texas Senate in 1960.

In 1961 González became the first Mexican Texan elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. When he took the oath of office, González held in his hand a bill to abolish the poll tax. This proposal became part of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

González served 18 consecutive terms in Congress. In Congress he served on many important committees including Finance and Urban Affairs. In 1977 he became the chair of the House committee to investigate the assassinations of John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr.

From 1989 to 1995, González served as chair of the House Banking Committee, where he worked to establish community development programs. His fight against wrongdoings in the savings and loan industry helped earn him the John F. Kennedy Profile in Courage Award in 1994.

Due to heart problems, González left office in 1998 and died on November 28, 2000. González touched the lives of many through his commitment to equality for all citizens.



### LINKING TO HISTORY

Although Henry B. González spent much of his political career in Washington, D.C., he always kept Texas in mind when writing legislation. Research and list the contributions González made to life in Texas as a U.S. representative.

### LINKING TO TODAY

Research Hispanic leaders in Texas politics today. Use the information you located to write a summary of the accomplishments of one of these leaders.



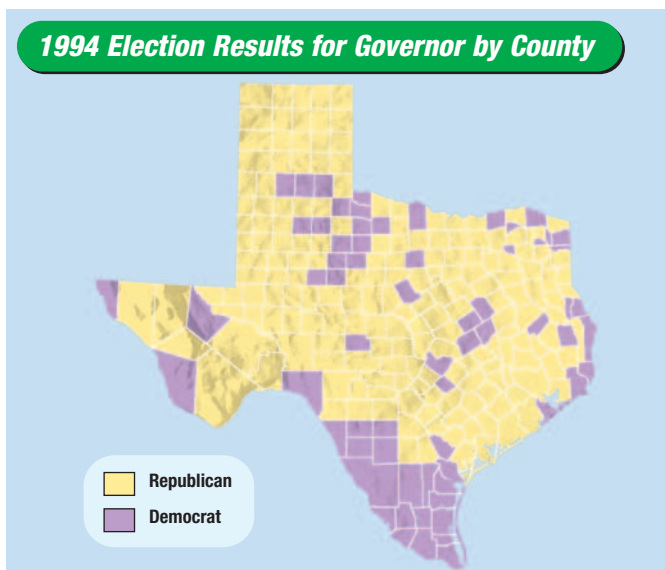




## MAP & GEOGRAPHY SKILLS

### Applying Skills

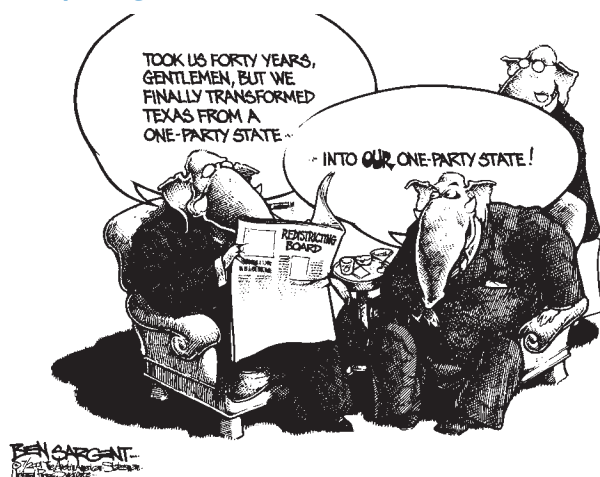
#### 1994 Election Results for Governor by County



1. Which parts of the state showed the most support for the Democratic candidate?
2. Historically, poverty levels in southwestern Texas have been relatively high. How do you think this relates to voting patterns in the 1990s?

## SOCIAL STUDIES SKILLBUILDER

### Interpreting a Political Cartoon



1. In political cartoons Republicans are often shown as elephants and Democrats as donkeys, their parties' emblems. What topic does this cartoon address?
2. What do the elephants mean by saying Texas is now "our one-party state"?
3. What do you think is the cartoonist's point of view on this topic?



## CHAPTER PROJECT

**Texas Political Campaigns** Choose a candidate in a Texas state political campaign discussed in this chapter. Research the issues and positions your candidate supported as well as the arguments of that person's opponent. Using poster board, craft materials, or desktop publishing software, create a campaign poster for your candidate. When you have finished, show your poster to a partner, who will question you about anything unclear. Make any necessary additions or corrections. Finally, display all the campaign posters in your classroom. Group the posters according to political party and whether the candidates are liberal, moderate, or conservative.



Go to [www.celebratingtexas.com](http://www.celebratingtexas.com) to research this topic.



## SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & SOCIETY ACTIVITY

### Texas Politicians

Texans play a major role in local, national, and state politics. In small groups, create a database of 25 appointed and elected state and national politicians from Texas for the twentieth century. In the first field, name each person. In the next two fields, list the positions served and dates of service. Fill remaining fields with contributions and leadership qualities. Combine group databases and edit duplicate entries. What leadership qualities do many of these Texans share?



## CITIZENSHIP ACTIVITY

### Citizenship

Claudia "Lady Bird" Johnson led a movement to preserve native wildflowers and trees. Find out more about the National Wildflower Research Center, located in Austin. What role did Johnson play in preserving the bluebonnet, our state flower? Write your answer in your Texas Notebook.

