



ISSUE NUMBER X, JULY 15, 1977

Among Friends of LBJ

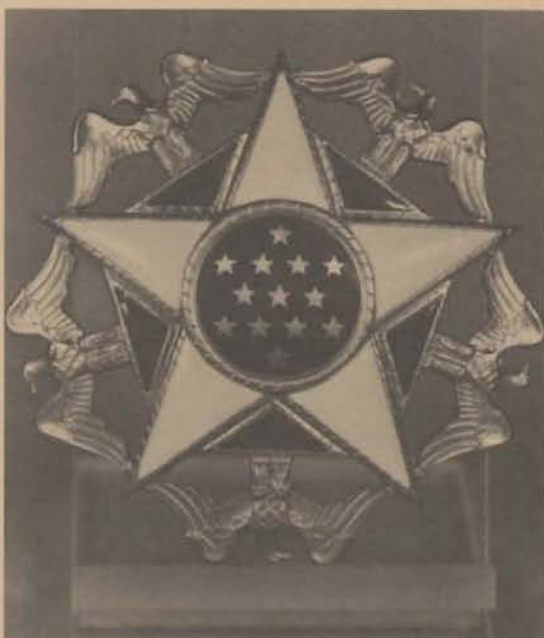
NEWSLETTER OF THE FRIENDS OF THE LBJ LIBRARY



CARTOONS & CARICATURES LBJ LIBRARY AUSTIN, TEXAS

(See page 14)

Mrs. Johnson awarded Medal of Freedom



As one of his final acts in office, Gerald Ford awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Mrs. Lyndon Johnson and 16 other Americans who have distinguished themselves in serving their country. Mrs. Johnson is the first First Lady and only the twelfth woman to receive the nation's highest civilian honor.

At the January 10 ceremonies in the White House, President Ford introduced Mrs. Johnson as "one of America's great First Ladies."

"She claimed her own place in the hearts and history of the American people," he said. "In councils of power or in the homes of the poor, she made government human with her unique compassion and grace, warmth, and wisdom. Her leadership transformed the American landscape and preserved its natural beauty as a national treasure."

The Presidential Medal of Freedom was instituted by President Kennedy, who presented the first award on July 4, 1963. The medal has since been presented to 133 Americans.

Mrs. Johnson's medal is on display at the Library.

Ford visits Library while planning his own

Former President Gerald Ford visited the LBJ Library in May to see first-hand how a Presidential Library operates. A Ford Library is planned in Michigan.

The former President toured both the museum and the stack areas, where he was shown how the LBJ papers are processed and arranged. He was then briefed on the Library's Oral History Project, in which interviews with individuals who were associated with President Johnson are taped and transcribed for researchers working with the Library's collections.

Ford met with University of Texas officials to discuss the relationship that exists when a Presidential Library is on a university campus. The Ford Library will be in two parts — the museum in Grand Rapids, and the papers at the University of Michigan, Ford's alma mater.

Ford toured the Library with Mrs. Johnson, Luci Nugent, and Library Director Harry Middleton. Afterwards he met with students and faculty of the LBJ School for a question-and-answer session.



Ford and Mrs. Johnson examine a document from the personal papers on file in the archives.



Archivist Mike Gillette explains the oral history program to the former president.

LBJ's personal archivist retires from Library

Mrs. Dorothy Territo, longtime personal archivist for Lyndon B. Johnson and Special Assistant to the Director at the Library, received the General Services Administration's Meritorious Service Award upon her retirement at the end of 1976.

Dr. James B. Rhoads, Archivist of the United States, presented the medal and certificate "with love" at a party held in Mrs. Territo's honor in December.

Mrs. Territo began working for Johnson when he was Senate Majority Leader in 1958. She instituted a program of collection and preservation of materials which, when applied to the Johnson White House, developed the most complete body of Presidential papers and memorabilia ever assembled.

"It would not be fair to say she tyrannized the White House, because she's too subtle for tyranny," Library Director Harry Middleton observed at her retirement party. "But she certainly whipped it into shape."

At the end of the Johnson Administration, Mrs. Territo joined the Library staff as the director's special assistant and liaison officer with President and

Mrs. Johnson. Her work insured the smooth transition from the White House to Austin and sped preparations for the opening of the Library. With her intimate knowledge of Johnson's career and administration, she was invaluable in the development of the Library's acquisition program, the oral history project, and the exhibits.

Mrs. Territo's unmatched confidence and administrative ability helped the Library to make itself at home within the University of Texas, the Austin community, and the federal government. Besides serving as the director's special assistant, she was Acting Assistant Director for a time. Although retired, she continues to work with the Library staff on special events.

In the last year of his life, President Johnson inscribed a photograph to Mrs. Territo: "For Dorothy Territo, who can do anything better than anybody." Director Middleton put it another way in a toast to the woman he called "the First Lady of the LBJ Library" — "To Dorothy Territo, the greatest string-saver of them all."



Mrs. Dorothy Territo

Elsbeth Rostow takes LBJ School deanship



Dean Elspeth Rostow

Mrs. Elspeth Rostow is the new Dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs. She was appointed by University of Texas President Lorene Rogers to succeed Dr. Alan Campbell, who had been chosen by President Carter to head the U.S. Civil Service Commission. Campbell had been dean 64 days when he resigned to take the federal post.

Mrs. Rostow, Professor of American Government and Dean of the University's Division of General and Comparative Studies at the time of her appointment, is the fourth dean of the school in its seven years of existence.

Campbell's departure sparked protest among some students and faculty who resented his brief term as dean. Campbell had succeeded William Cannon, whose resignation from the deanship to return to the University of Chicago in January of 1976 began a year-long search for a replacement, during which Dr. Kenneth Tolo and Dr. Jurgen Schmandt served as acting deans.

The University's student newspaper, *The Daily Texan*, called Mrs. Rostow "the perfect selection" to succeed Campbell, saying the choice was a "political and intellectual masterpiece."

President Rogers termed Mrs. Rostow "one of the most highly regarded persons on this campus" when announcing the appointment. "I am confident her strength as an administrator and the breadth of her insight into public affairs will make her a most effective dean of the LBJ School," she said.

On assuming office, Dean Rostow asserted that the LBJ School has established itself as a "national leader in public affairs education."

"The number of deans makes it seem as if there has been more discontinuity than continuity, but the School has continued on a steady path," she said.

A member of the University faculty since 1969, Dean Rostow has been Acting Director of the American Studies program (1970-71), Chairman of Comparative Studies (1972-74), Acting Dean of the Division of General and Comparative Studies (1974-75), and dean of that division until her appointment to the LBJ School post.



Dr. Alan Campbell

Next symposium to consider regional change

Over the past 40 years, the states now called the Sunbelt have been gradually narrowing the historic gap in income and economic and social structure which divided them from the rest of the nation. In recent years that trend accelerated, while problems of unemployment, industrial obsolescence, and urban finance became more acute in the Northeast and industrial Middle West. Some observers believe these trends could cause a serious political and economic confrontation between the northern and southern regions.

In fact, our regional problems are of national significance. Excessive unemployment in the North, rural poverty in the South, the water problems of the West affect us all. We must face and deal with the energy crisis on a truly national basis if we are to solve it. The pressing need is to devise national policies which will attack our several problems in a total way -- national policies which will unify rather than divide the nation.

That is the guiding rationale and spirit behind a symposium planned for September 24-27: "Alternatives to

Confrontation: A National Policy toward Regional Change." The conference has two purposes: to promote a sympathetic understanding of regional problems and perspectives, and to generate an informed discussion among political leaders and scholars which will contribute to the development of unifying national policies.

The LBJ Library, The University of Texas at Austin, and the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs will jointly sponsor the conference. Library Director Harry Middleton and Dean Elspeth Rostow of the LBJ School believe the symposium has the potential of being the "most timely and significant" gathering ever held at the Library.

The line-up of participants is not yet completed, but it already includes governors, U.S. senators and congressmen, cabinet officers, mayors, other officials in state and local governments, businessmen, labor leaders, and academic experts from every part of the country.

symposium agenda

Saturday, Sunday, September 24-25

Working Sessions of "Technical Experts"

Sunday Evening, September 25

Opening of Public Conference

Monday Morning, September 26

Topic: THE NORTH AND MIDDLE WEST --
PERSPECTIVES ON REGIONAL CHANGE

Concurrent Policy Sessions:

1. Changing Opportunities -- Why Businesses Move
2. The Future of State and Local Governments -- The New Uncertainties of Government Finance
3. Urban America Tomorrow -- What We Must Do Today

Monday Afternoon, September 26

Topic: THE SOUTHERN RIM AND THE WEST --
PERSPECTIVES ON REGIONAL CHANGE

Concurrent Policy Sessions:

1. The Changing Face of Rural America: How Do We Address Shifting Rural Problems
2. Sharing Federal Expenditures: The Impact on Regional Growth
3. Energy and Growth: What Lies Ahead

Tuesday Morning, September 27

First Topic: A NATIONAL POLICY TOWARD
WELFARE REFORM

Second Topic: A NATIONAL POLICY TOWARD
THE REDUCTION OF POVERTY

Tuesday Afternoon, September 27

First Topic: A NATIONAL POLICY TOWARD
FULL EMPLOYMENT

Second Topic: A NATIONAL POLICY TOWARD
ENERGY



Liz Carpenter, author, columnist, speaker, and press secretary and staff director for Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson during the White House years, has come home to Texas. She was recently named Government Woman of the Year by *Ladies Home Journal* and is a member of the President's Commission on International Women's Year. Among her varied activities, Mrs. Carpenter is doing publicity and promotional work for the Library.

Mike Naeve, Associate Director of the LBJ Foundation for the last three years, left the Library in May to become the Staff Director of the Transportation Subcommittee of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, chaired by Sen. Lloyd Bentsen. He worked in activities involving the Friends of the LBJ Library, the LBJ Foundation Awards Committee, and the various symposia. Naeve was also the editor of *Among Friends of LBJ*.



LBJ School preparing Johnson administrative history

The Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs has received a \$100,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to begin a five-year project to prepare an administrative history of the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson.

Dr. Emmette S. Redford, director of the project, said the mammoth undertaking will be the first comprehensive administrative history of a 20th century president. Eight to ten volumes will result from the effort.

The resources in the LBJ Library will be used extensively in the project.

Dr. Redford pointed out that while the enactment of legislation is indispensable, "it is now recognized that steps taken to implement legislative intent are crucial for its effectiveness." The project will study those steps.

Noting that the treatment of administrative history in this century has been "spotty and incomplete," he expressed hope that the LBJ School study will set a precedent for similar studies of other presidencies.

"The literature on presidencies of recent years is profuse," Dr. Redford said. "Yet, the contribution of presidents to administration through decisions in such things as executive personnel, administrative structure, budgetary support, personnel policies, and national-state-local cooperation has received almost no attention."

Redford said \$700,000 will be needed to complete the project. Beyond its initial grant of \$100,000, the National Endowment for the Humanities has pledged another \$129,370 in matching funds.

Scholars given foundation grants

Twenty scholars from 19 universities (including the University of Hong Kong and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem) have been selected as the 1977 recipients of financial grants-in-aid to assist their research at the Library.

Research topics are varied. They include: America-China Relations in the 1960's, the Gulf of Tonkin crisis, LBJ and Civil Rights, U.S. Policy Toward Israel, U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa, and a topic titled simply "March 1968."

The grants-in-aid, totaling \$12,460 and ranging from \$200 to \$2,000, are provided by the Lyndon Baines Johnson and Moody Foundations to support the researchers' travel and living expenses.

COMING EVENTS

July 15 - September: Exhibit of inaugural medallions and speeches (see page 6).

Mid-September: Opening of long-term exhibit of campaign memorabilia (see page 6).

September 24-27: Symposium — "Alternatives to Confrontation: A National Policy Toward Regional Change" (see page 4).

November 15-17: Symposium — "Congress and the Presidency: A Shifting Balance of Power?" The Library will host scholars and representatives of the legislative and executive branches to examine the crucial relationship between the Congress and the President.

Visitors to the Library

The bicentennial year 1976 drew more than 700,000 visitors to the Library. Distinguished visitors throughout the past ten months included former President Gerald Ford (see story, page 2); Steven Ford and Mrs. Rosalynn Carter, both of whom came during the Presidential campaign season; Mrs. Coretta King; Mexican Governor Cardenas Gonzalez; Congresswoman Lindy Boggs, and ambassadors from four foreign countries. Congresswoman William D. Ford of the House Committee on Education and Labor reviewed Library material pertaining to that Committee's handling of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.



Museum covers 5 centuries through diverse exhibits

AFRO-AMERICAN ART

From mid-November through Christmas, the Library joined forces with Huston-Tillotson College of Austin to co-sponsor an exhibit of Afro-American art, featuring 83 contemporary works of black American artists.

The title of the exhibit, "Amistad II," was taken from the name of the Spanish slave ship *La Amistad* ("Friendship"). In 1839, 53 Africans, sold as slaves in Cuba and enroute to Puerto Principe, seized the ship and attempted to navigate their return to Africa. After three months they were captured by American officials and jailed for piracy and murder. Their case was successfully defended before the U. S. Supreme Court in 1842 by former President John Quincy Adams, and they were declared free to return to Africa.

Twenty-five original letters pertaining to the seizure, trial, and release of the captives were in the exhibit.

The manuscripts were loaned by the Amistad Research Center of Dillard University in New Orleans, and the art exhibition was assembled by David Driskill, Chairman of the Art Department at Fish University in Nashville.

"AMERICA ..." (see pages 7-9)

Rare and precious letters, books, maps, and artifacts documenting the story of America from its discovery to the beginning of the 19th century constituted what Museum Curator Gary Yarrington called "the most prestigious show we've ever had at the Johnson Library."

Titled "America: From Amerigo Vespucci to the Louisiana Purchase," the February exhibit contained 150 items borrowed from the J. Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City. Included were a 1476 letter in Amerigo Vespucci's handwriting, a 1493 letter by Christopher Columbus which was the first published account of the New World, Benjamin Franklin's 1751 report of his experiments which proved lightning to be electricity, and the letter which ended the Revolutionary War — Cornwallis' surrender to Washington. The newest document was the original proclamation of the Louisiana Purchase, signed by President Jefferson and Secretary of State Madison in 1803.

The exhibit was on display from February 4 through March 3, during which period it was seen by 46,809 visitors.

"REMEMBER THE LADIES" (See pages 10-13)

"In the new Code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make," wrote Abigail Adams to her husband John in 1776, "I desire you would Remember the Ladies and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors."

To commemorate the American Bicentennial, the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, Mass., organized an exhibit recapturing the memory of what life was like for women in America from 1750 to 1815. Taking its title — "Remember the Ladies" — from Abigail Adams' exhortation, the exhibit presented portraits, artifacts, engravings, printed materials, craftwork, period costumes, and furnishings documenting the wide-ranging participation

of women in early American Society.

It opened in Plymouth in June, 1976, and then went to five major institutions in the United States. The exhibit was at the LBJ Library from March 15 through April 23.

CARTOONS AND CARICATURES (See page 14)

The most recent exhibit, May 2 through July 4, consisted of 100 editorial cartoons and an assortment of sculptured caricatures of LBJ from the Library's own collections.

HISTORICAL INAUGURALS

A collection of inauguration medallions from Presidents Washington to Carter, plus some historic inaugural addresses, will be on display July 22 through late September.

The medallions, assembled from 33 private collections, have been on view at the Smithsonian Institution's National Portrait Gallery in Washington since President Carter's inauguration. The LBJ Library is the only other institution to host the exhibit.

To complement the medallions, the Library is borrowing five memorable inaugural addresses — George Washington's first (April 30, 1789), Abraham Lincoln's second (March 4, 1865), Franklin Roosevelt's first (March 4, 1933), John Kennedy's (January 20, 1961), and Jimmy Carter's (January 20, 1977) — from the National Archives, the Library of Congress, the White House, and other Presidential Libraries. Also on display will be Lyndon Johnson's inaugural address (January 20, 1965) from the Library's own collections.

In addition are letters from Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt making direct references to the medals.

CAMPAIGN MEMORABILIA

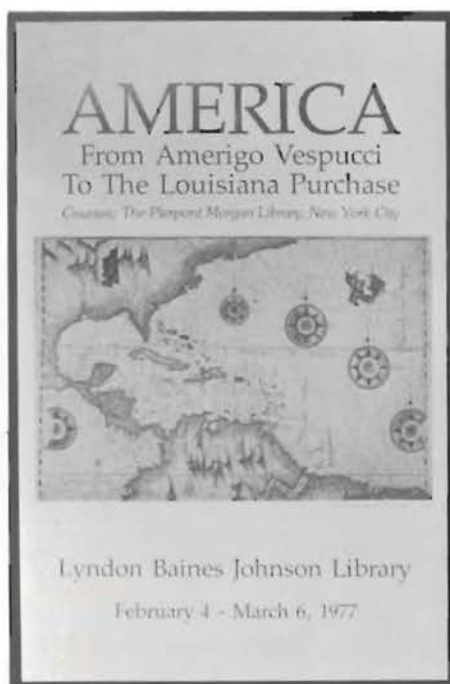
Campaign items ranging from a 1789 inaugural pin to a 1976 peanut button will be included in a semi-permanent exhibit opening in early September.

Offering a glimpse of a colorful bit of Americana — the political campaign trail — the exhibit is a revised and condensed version of an earlier display which proved to be the Library's most popular when the Library first opened.

The display is drawn from a collection of materials given to the Library by Ralph Becker of Washington, D.C. Included are mechanical toys, such as one which shows Martin Van Buren's changing expression when a tab is pulled and his champagne turns to William Henry Harrison's cider; advertising cards depicting Grover Cleveland handing out soap; bronze tokens telling Andrew Jackson's opinion of national banking; an original Union ticket pushing Lincoln and Johnson; badges from Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moose campaign; recordings of political speeches by FDR and Harry Truman, and LBJ material from 1937 through his last campaign in 1964.



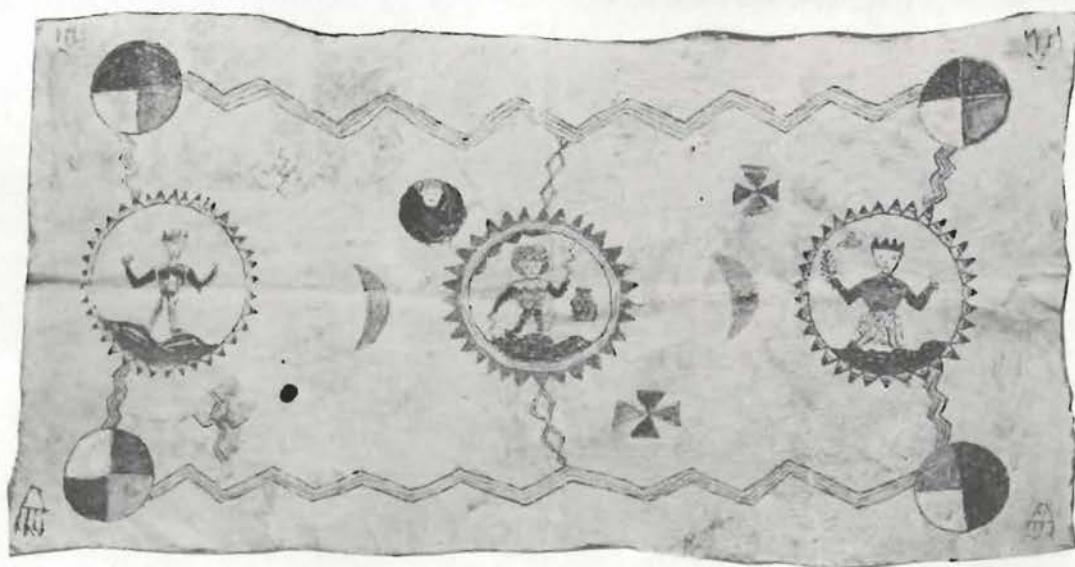
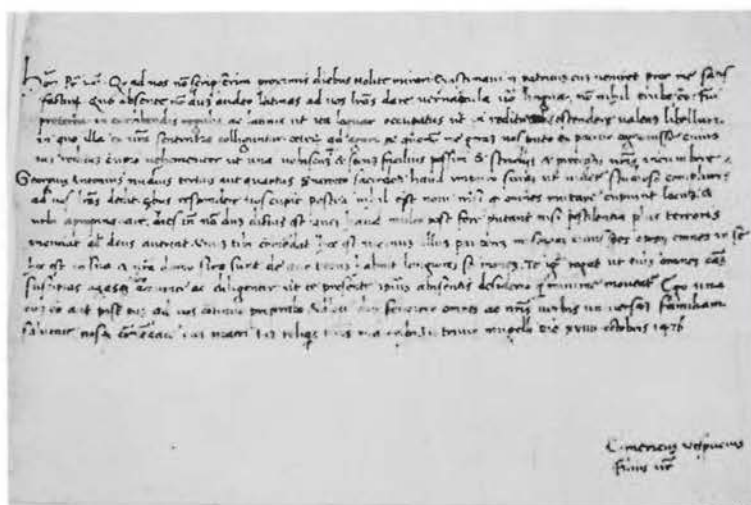
from 'Amistad II'

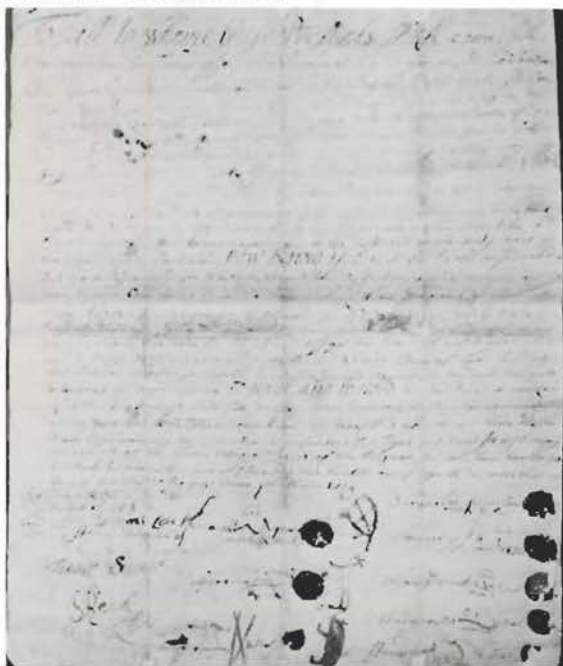


(Below left) Letter in Latin signed "Emericus Vespucius" by Amerigo Vespucci, dated October 19, 1476. This letter to his father is the only recorded letter by Vespucci in an American collection.

(Below right) The Bailly Globe, made of copper in 1530 by Robert de Bailly, based on maps drawn by explorer Giovanni da Verrazzano's brother. The details of the globe confirm Verrazzano's New World voyage of 1524. The ivory globe in the background was made in 1593 by a Calabrian artist as a gift to the Infante, later King Philip III of Spain.

(Bottom) The sacred buckskin of the Apaches. This medicine skin portrays the Apache story of the Creation.





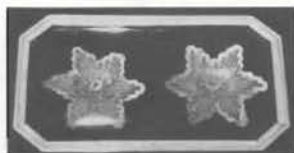
(Left) Mohawk Indian deed, signed by eight members of the Mohawk tribes with their marks and seals, dated Schenectady, New York, April 13, 1714. Deed transfers 260 acres of land to Adam Vrooman of Schenectady. The terms were "for Divers Considerations. But more especially for the Love, favour, and affection which we have and do bear towards Our loving friend and acquaintance, Adam Vrooman, Esq."

(Right) The Declaration of Independence. Sometime the night of July 4, 1776, or the next morning, this first printing of the Declaration came off the press to be dispatched throughout the colonies. Twenty-one copies of this printing have survived.



(Right) Letter of surrender to Gen. Washington from Lord Cornwallis. "I propose a Cessation of Hostilities for Twenty four hours, and that two Officers may be appointed by each side to meet at Mr. Moore's house to settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester."

(Below) Stars from George Washington's uniform.



York, Virginia 17th Octr. 1781

Sir

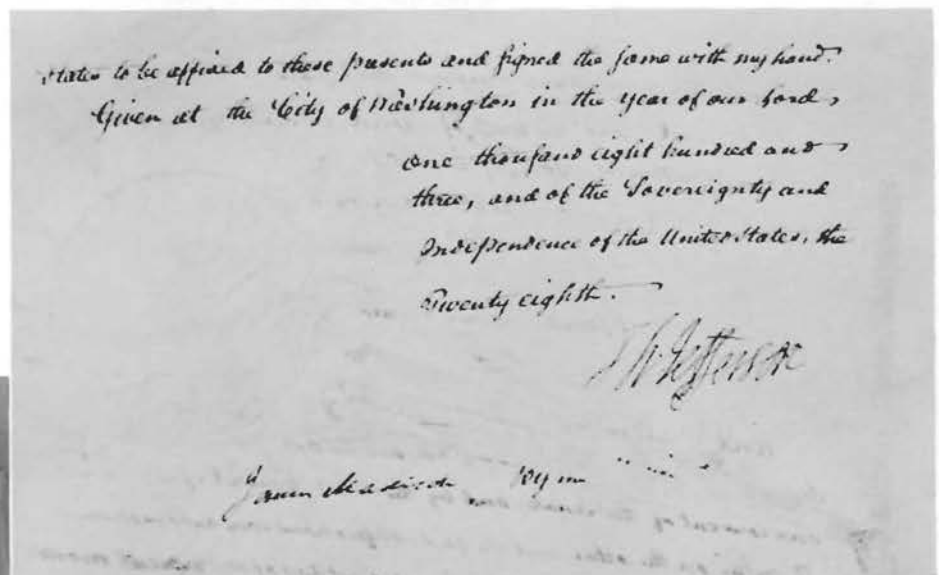
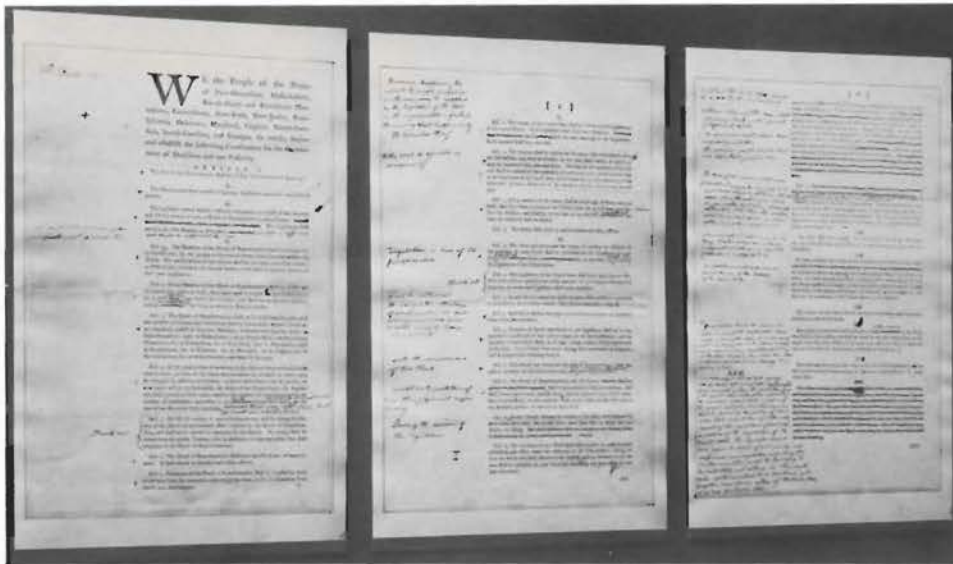
I propose a Cessation of Hostilities for Twenty four hours, and that two Officers may be appointed by each side to meet at Mr. Moore's house to settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York & Gloucester. I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient &
most humble Servant

Cornwallis

His Excellency
General Washington
Yr. Yr. Yr.



(Top left) First draft of the report of the committee of the Federal Convention on the Constitution, Philadelphia, August 6, 1787. Not more than 60 copies were printed for the use of the members. This copy was owned and annotated by Abraham Baldwin, member of the Continental Congress and later Representative and Senator from Georgia. At this stage, the now-famous preamble ("We the People of the United States...") read "We the people of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut,..."

(Top right) Bust of Benjamin Franklin by Jean Antoine Houdon, 1779.

(Above and left) The Louisiana Purchase. This document is the original proclamation of the United States' purchase of nearly one million square miles of land at about four cents an acre, more than doubling the nation's size. Signed by President Thomas Jefferson and Secretary of State James Madison, October, 1803.



Remember the Ladies

1750 Women in America

The Library hosted a day-long salute to the exhibition on March 17, "Remember the Ladies" and Mrs. Johnson. Charlotte Anthony, granddaughter of women from the Revolutionary period (right).

(Below left) Mrs. Johnson examines a mannequin's clothing which dress was a modern reproduction from original patterns.

(Below center) This British political cartoon satirizes the October 1789 leading women of North Carolina gathered to draw up a resolution for the American cause.

(Below right) John S. Copley: *Mary MacIntosh and Elizabeth* upper-class children were dressed like miniature adults as soon as they could. Their rich silk and satin gowns equaled those of their mothers in elegance.



Plate V

the Ladies

rica 1815

8, featuring remarks by the creators of
niece of Susan B. Anthony, performed

visitors were encouraged to feel. The

ber 25, 1774, occasion when 51 of the
to boycott East India Tea in support of

oyall, 1758. In Revolutionary America,
they had passed infancy, and some girls'



Exhibit: "Remember the Ladies"

(Left) Abigail (Mrs. John) Adams, as painted by Gilbert Stuart in 1815.



(Below left) Obstetric case with tools, and illustration of an "easy chair ... useful for lying-in women and sick persons" from a 1793 treatise on the care of pregnant women. The medical treatment of pregnant women was almost exclusively in the hands of midwives. "She should be young, and vigorous, learned in her art, able to take all-night vigils, strong of arms and hands ..." an early 18th-century manual for childbirth said of the ideal midwife. "She must have slender hands, long fingers, tender feelings, sympathy, be hopeful, and above all, silent."

(Below) Charles Wilson Peale: *Rachel Weeping*, 1772. For 18th-century Americans, the primary threat to life and health was infectious disease. Peale's portrait shows his wife weeping over the body of their infant daughter, who died during a 1772 smallpox epidemic in Annapolis.

(Bottom) The three mannequins in this display show various types of dresses worn by 18th century women. The homespun maternity dress in the center has an expandable waist and bodice.





Mercy Otis Warren (above, in a 1763 painting by John S. Copley) was the most prominent female intellectual in Revolutionary America. Known as a satirist, playwright, poet and historian, Mrs. Warren was most famous for her three-volume "History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution" published in 1805. Like most women of her class, she was trained in fine needlework. The top of this card table (above left) is an outstanding example of her embroidery.



(Left) The Chatelaine, a status symbol, was a feminine ornament worn as a costume accessory. This particular one was made for holding fine sewing tools and was an appropriate gift to give an accomplished needlewoman.

(Below left) In October 1765, George Washington ordered from his London merchant the following: "Canvas for 1 doz. Chair bottoms . . . Dark shades of yellow worsted for working cross stitch. . . ." Martha Washington made a set of seat cushions, of which this is one example.



(Below) 18th-century wig curler with clay curling pins. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, the tortuous demands of prevailing hair styles often made women turn to wigs or false curls for society dress.

Exhibit: Cartoons and Caricatures



This full-color drawing by Blaine, editorial cartoonist for the *Hamilton Spectator* of Ontario, Canada, commemorated the opening of the LBJ Library. With Blaine's permission, the Library used it as the poster for the Cartoons and Caricatures exhibit (see cover).



(Above right) Watercolor portrait given to the President in 1964 as a Christmas gift from the Taipei Art Gallery of Taiwan.

(Left) Ceramic statuette of LBJ as a judge; donated by Mr. and Mrs. R. E. Chambers of Wichita Falls, Texas.

(Below left) Ceramic "Lady Bird;" by Mrs. Margaret Koehnlein of Waukesha, Wisconsin.

(Below right) LBJ in his best bill-signing form; carved from wood by Mr. Gene Zesch of Mason, Texas.



Toward New Human Rights

a symposium assessing the New Frontier and Great Society

To what extent have the "new human rights" proposed in the New Frontier and Great Society been achieved? Scholars and public figures met at the Library for five days last fall to evaluate the successes and failures of the domestic programs of the 1960s. "Toward New Human Rights: The Social Policies of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations" was jointly sponsored by the LBJ Library, the LBJ School of Public Affairs, the John F. Kennedy Library, and the University of Texas.

Five different "rights" were considered: a decent standard of living, health and medical care, a decent home in a decent community, equal educational opportunity and equality under the law. Each session included presentations of papers, sometimes an address, and a panel discussion, followed by a brief summation by a rapporteur.

Vernon Jordan, director of the National Urban League, and historian Arthur Schlesinger opened the conference with keynote addresses Sunday evening, September 12.

The increasingly popular idea that the social experiments of the 60s were unwise and improper "is mean-spirited and wrong," Jordan said (see photo). "It elevates the right to oppress . . . above the right to equality."

Schlesinger, speaking on the federal government's role in attaining social rights, derided the notion that "had it not been for the political leaders stirring them up, the poor would have been happy in their misery and the blacks in their subjugation. What an absurd conception of the social process!"



As is the way with ideas, this one had several fathers. The three most closely identified with it were Wilbur Cohen, Bob Hardesty, and Jack Otis, Dean of the University of Texas' Graduate School of Social Work. Each proposal carried the same reasoning:

The social programs enacted in the 1960's stirred hope; but now there was a feeling of disenchantment, a concern that too much had been tried, a growing sense that all of that furor of the 60's could be seen as a misplaced belief that government could do it all. Why not now, ten years after the high-water mark of the Great Society, assemble experts to look at those programs and ask them which ones worked, which ones failed, and why?

Some persons closely identified with those years endorsed the effort — Hubert Humphrey, Edward Kennedy, Joe Califano, Harry McPherson, Kenneth O'Donnell, Esther Peterson, Clarence Mitchell.

Others demurred. Horace Busby warned that the idea was premature. John Gardner was worried that the thrust of the conference was misdirected. "The Great Society wasn't a success or failure, and most of its programs cannot be characterized in those terms," he wrote. Instead, he said, it was "a time when people had the courage to try a lot of new things and directions in the social area It was a time of learning and exploring and, above all, trying A hundred years from now, social historians seeking the origins of one or another social advance will discover how seminal the 1960's really were." He also expressed concern that a symposium would not be able to capture "the spirit of the time. It was compassionate, innovative, unafraid; and that had a powerful effect on all of us."

Nonetheless, we decided to proceed and make this our major symposium for 1976, for several reasons. First of all, a new administration would be taking office in January, and the deliberations just might be helpful to that administration. Sen. Kennedy supported this hope. "The goals of the Kennedy-Johnson Adminis-

tration," he wrote, "still deserve the attention of our nation's leaders, and I am hopeful that your symposium will once again focus on these important matters."

And then there was Lyndon Johnson himself, and his identification with both the spirit of the 60's that was under challenge and, at the same time, the value of challenging it. As much as anyone, he epitomizes the concept of governmental action. In the first symposium held at the Library — on Education, in January 1972 — he said: "This country has the money to do anything it has the guts to do, and the vision to do, and the will to do." But he also believed that you learn about the future from the past. "Lyndon would have welcomed this," Mrs. Johnson said when the symposium was announced.

Did the symposium succeed in its stated purpose? And, what good did it do? Different answers to both questions doubtless could be provided by observers and participants alike. But perhaps there would be agreement at least with one judgment made by Mrs. Johnson at the end of the conference: "I find satisfaction," she said, "that in that long balance sheet of trial and success and error, of programs that worked and those that did not, there does emerge a portrait of men and women, so many of them, who cared, who tried out of a sense of concern, whose efforts were based on a belief in justice I am deeply satisfied that the striking of that balance sheet, the search for answers, is taking place here. This is part of the work that Lyndon saw for this Library and this School of Public Affairs."

A book, published by the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, came out of the conference. It is now to be used as a textbook for at least four universities. (Those who wish to obtain a copy will find an order blank inserted in this newsletter.) And the following pages give a suggestion and a flavor of the symposium's discussions.

—Harry Middleton

the right to a decent standard of living

The first session of the symposium dealt with the War on Poverty and its effect on insuring "the right to a decent standard of living." The following points are paraphrased from rapporteur David Austin's summation of the day's discussions.

The papers and the panel discussion addressed two major issues concerning the anti-poverty and manpower programs.

(1) *Their underlying strategy*

The social initiatives of the New Frontier-Great Society spanned two broad concerns — the problem of poverty itself, that is, the lack of an adequate income on the part of millions of Americans, and the problem of the barriers to opportunity resulting from racial discrimination, inadequate education, language differences and geographic location.

The strategy for dealing with these inter-related issues was to combine stimulation of the general economy with the establishment of a series of selective, targeted programs directed as structural aspects of the poverty/racial discrimination/unemployment problem. This was not a fully developed plan carefully worked out in detail before Federal action began. The various anti-poverty/manpower programs, in fact, emerged only as many persons, including presidential advisors and the two presidents themselves, became aware that macro-economic interventions were not sufficient. Nonetheless, the establishment of this dual strategy was itself a major innovation in federal policy. For the first time, the principle was established that problems of chronic poverty, racial discrimination and persistent unemployment were a responsibility of the Federal Government. During the 1960s poverty and the rights of the poor became an official subject of Federal concern.

But the strategies of both macro intervention and selective programs were limited. They did not deal directly with the problems of those outside the labor force. They did not give serious attention to the development of a basic universal program of income maintenance for the persons who could not work.

(2) *Their effectiveness*

There was general agreement that the anti-poverty/manpower programs did have a profound and permanent impact on the position of poor and minority citizens.

Some individual programs appear to have had a substantial degree of success. Particularly the Legal Services Program, and some of the manpower-training programs, have had demonstrably effective results.

But the effectiveness of the war on poverty, the panel concluded, cannot be determined by the success or failure

Monday, September 13

Address: James Tobin, Chairman, Department of Economics, Yale University

Papers: **Overview:** Robert Levine, Deputy Director, Congressional Budget Office

Manpower Policies: Ray Marshall, Director, Center for Human Resources, The University of Texas at Austin

Income Maintenance/Community Action: Kenneth Clark, President, Clark, Pippas, Clark & Harris, Inc.

People In Poverty: Robert Lampman, Director, Poverty Institute, University of Wisconsin

Panelists: William Cannon, Chairman — Vice President for Business and Finance, University of Chicago

Dr. Jack Otis, Dean, Graduate School of Social Work, The University of Texas at Austin; Frances Fox Piven, Professor, Department of Political Science, Boston University; Lisle C. Carter, Jr., Chancellor, Atlanta University Center; Steven A. Minter, Program Officer, The Cleveland Foundation; Thomas Bradley, Mayor, Los Angeles; Maynard Jackson, Mayor, Atlanta; Esther Peterson, former Assistant Secretary, Department of Labor; Wendell Anderson, Governor, Minnesota; Earl Johnson, Jr., Professor of Law, University of Southern California Law Center

Rapporteur: David Austin, Professor, Graduate School of Social Work, The University of Texas at Austin

of individual programs, but by the total impact of the overall effort.

Measured in this way, the most positive effects of the anti-poverty programs were political rather than economic.

Although there were economic gains for many poor — particularly black poor — they were gains which proved to be difficult to sustain when recession later struck.

The most clear cut and dramatic impact, however, was in the political arena. The end result of both the Community Action Programs which were a part of the War on Poverty, and the protest movements which challenged the efforts of existing political structures to control those programs was the large scale movement of poor and minority voters into the political mainstream by the end of the 1960s.



Panelists Wendell Anderson, Tom Bradley, Lisle Carter, and Maynard Jackson (left to right).

the right to health and medical care

From the papers presented by Wilbur Cohen, Theodore Marmor, Karen Davis and David Warner, this assessment emerged:

"The available evidence shows that the total impact of the programs (of the 1960s) has been substantial" — particularly in improved health care for the poor and a decline in infant and maternal mortality rates (Davis). Moreover, by now "virtually every community in the U.S. is adequately served with community hospital facilities," and "the increase in medical professionals has been commensurate, although there is still a 'much-deplored lack of physicians in rural areas' (Warner).

Medicare's great achievement was that it "sharply reduced the fear of pauperization from health expenses among almost all of the aged." Medicaid "substantially expanded" the access of poor people to medical care (Marmor).

And both made the "very important contribution" of virtually dismantling racial segregation in hospitals, physicians' offices, nursing homes and clinics" (Cohen).

But the defects and deficiencies are also obvious. "Eight to ten million people below the poverty level do not receive Medicaid benefits because it is tied to the welfare system," and "eligibility is largely restricted to the aged, blind, disabled, and one-parent families" (Karen Davis). And although one of Medicaid's purposes was to provide medical care to poor people "in the mainstream of

American medicine," it has not succeeded in doing so. "The poor receive their care in different settings and from different sorts of physicians than the rest of the population" (Marmor).

The most widely recognized problem of both programs is their accelerating costs, particularly for Medicaid. Although both have "helped to worsen the inflation problem in medicine," attention has focused on Medicaid, whose "total expenditures have far exceeded official estimates" (Marmor).

The seeds of the inflation lay in the legislation's original compromise — "the Medicare Act prohibited federal interference with medical practice, guaranteed enrollees freedom of choice of medical provider, and the Administration agreed to compensate physicians on the basis of customary fees. For hospitals and ... nursing homes the arrangements were equally attractive" (Warner).

Why? Because of the "ideological intensity of the opposition to controls and cost restraint" which had to be accommodated. "The sponsors of Medicare had to concede ... that there would be no real controls over hospitals or physicians. There was no voice in the Congress for effecting constraint on physicians' incomes, hospital costs, nursing home charges or profits These demands for change came only after the program was enacted and implemented" (Cohen).

Wilbur Cohen first entered the struggle for a national health insurance when he helped draft the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill of 1943, a comprehensive social insurance proposal covering old age, disability, death, and health care. That bill succumbed seven years later to the massive opposition of the AMA, despite the support of President Truman.

When Cohen and Martha Griffiths met at the symposium, the two long-time advocates of a national health plan emerged as opponents. The former Congresswoman, in pointing out the "incredible inequities" in the way Medicare and Medicaid benefits are paid for, saw the current Kennedy-Griffiths bill — virtually the old Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill — as the solution. She had co-sponsored the bill with Sen. Edward Kennedy.

Wilbur Cohen



"It would be absolutely catastrophic to adopt the Kennedy-Griffiths bill all at once," Cohen said, believing physicians did not support the proposed method of distribution of funds. "You can't run a national health plan without the doctors," he declared.

Cohen and Theodore Marmor favored a gradual introduction of health insurance, starting with pediatricians and family doctors. "A Kennedy-Griffiths for children could get support," Marmor said.

Starting with children "doesn't solve any problems," argued Karen Davis. "It doesn't solve the problem of cost control ... of access, of low income adults." She urged money be spent on "low access areas" rather than on "rich kids who are healthy."



Martha Griffiths

Tuesday, September 14

Address: Wilbur Cohen, former Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Dean, College of Education, University of Michigan

Papers: **Overview:** Theodore Marmor, Professor, School of Social Services Administration, University of Chicago

Impact on Groups: Dr. Karen Davis, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

Impact on Delivery Systems: David Warner, Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs

Panelists: David Hamburg, Chairman — President, Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences

Dr. James G. Haughton, Health and Hospitals Governing Commission of Cook County; Dr. Ray

E. Santos, Orthopaedic Surgeon, Lubbock, Texas; Dr. Kenneth H. Cooper, The Cooper Clinic, Dallas, Texas, Author, AEROBICS; Dr. Bond L. Bible, Director, Department of Rural and Community Health, American Medical Association; Martha Griffiths, former Congresswoman, Attorney, Farmington Hills, Michigan; Dr. Merlin DuVal, Vice President, Health Sciences, Arizona Medical Center, The University of Arizona; Dr. David E. Rogers, President, The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation; Patrick J. Lucey, Governor of Wisconsin; John F. Finklea, Director, National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health.

Rapporteur: William Levin, President, Medical Branch Galveston, The University of Texas

the right to a decent home in a decent community

During the 1960s, said Mayor Richard Hatcher, "there was a feeling in the country and particularly in the cities that someone really wanted to solve the problems." That feeling was manifest in the housing programs which, according to Charles Haar, "set forth in small scope the broadest hopes of the Johnson Presidency ... the underlying assumptions of that Administration and its achievement as well as its frustrations and mistakes."

And if any one of those programs "represented or epitomized the Great Society (and its New Frontier inheritance)," the paper presented by Bernard Frieden and Marshall Kaplan maintained, "it was Model Cities." It caught the spirit of the times by demonstrating what Victor Bach called a "new Federal awareness of the complexities of urban change," and by departing dramatically from housing policies of the past to, in Rapporteur John Gallery's words, "refocus housing program on the poor."

Not surprisingly, then, much of the panel's deliberations centered on the Model Cities experience.

The program was intended to revitalize entire poor communities in specific cities by not only providing suitable shelter but also improving the quality of life through various social services — education, health, job training, public safety, recreation. It "dealt head-on," said the Frieden-Kaplan paper, "with the problem of how to move Federal funds into the poorest urban neighborhoods."

Kaplan cited a dramatic example of success: "There were more jobs created out of Model Cities than most federal programs, and 80% of the jobs went to neighborhood residents who were participating in the program."

By requiring that the citizens directly affected should have a formal role in the process of planning and development, the program had another effect, less tangible but no less real: an increase in the political strength of poor and minority communities. Speaking from his own experience in Gary, Hatcher said: "Many people who had very little to say about government and about policy making in that government did begin to have some impact and play some roles." "The principal legacy of the Model Cities program," said Gordon Cavanaugh, "is that the poor are a little stronger, considerably more self-aware, somewhat more self-sufficient. Their vision of their own potential has been enlarged."

As a result of this new political awareness in the inner cities, according to the Frieden-Kaplan paper, "numerous residents were encouraged to run for political office, and many won. The growing ranks of elected black and Spanish-speaking officials throughout the nation contain many who entered politics through Model Cities positions and Model Cities training."

But despite these successes, Kaplan maintained, Model Cities "underperformed severely." Why? Three reasons were suggested: (1) according to the Frieden-Kaplan paper "the program was over-committed and underfunded" — originally intended for 66 "demonstration cities," it was extended to 150 with no increase in funds; (2) other

Government departments did not support the program sufficiently; and (3) the program was shackled with burdensome planning guidelines.

Model Cities had a relatively short life. The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 replaced it with a different strategy toward community development — block grants allocated with few restrictions on how or where the funds are spent within certain broad guidelines. Expenditures began to shift away from services into public works, and, without the heavy federal supervision that characterized Model Cities, away from poor neighborhoods to other parts of the city, said the Frieden-Kaplan report.

"In looking at what's happened in ... the successor program," Frieden said, "Model Cities looks better all the time."



Richard Hatcher, Robert C. Weaver and Floyd H. Hyde (l-r).

Wednesday, September 15

Papers: Concept and Programs: Victor Bach, Assistant Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs

Impact on Housing Policy and Programs: Charles Haar, Harvard Law School

Impact on Community Policy and Programs: Bernard Frieden, Professor, Department of Urban Planning and Studies, MIT; Marshall Kaplan, Principal, Marshall Kaplan, Gans and Kahn

Panelists: Robert C. Weaver, Chairman — former Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development

Henry S. Reuss, U.S. Congress; Richard Hatcher, Mayor, Gary, Indiana; Graciela Olivarez, State Planning Officer, New Mexico; David O. Meeker, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Community Development, HUD; Gordon Cavanaugh, Executive Director, Housing Assistance Council Inc., Washington, D.C.; Reynell M. Parkins, Director, Housing Research and Development Center, The University of Tennessee

Rapporteur: John Gallery, Associate Dean, School of Architecture, The University of Texas at Austin

Address: David Mathews, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare

the right to equal educational opportunity

"In the 1960s," said chairman Harold Howe, "many of us ... had dreams about the potentialities of education for bringing relatively quick solutions to major social problems. I, and others, have learned something about the reality of those dreams and have come to realize that the American belief that any problem can be solved and solved quickly is a belief more applicable to problems that are solved by technology than ... to problems of society."

One of those dreams was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), widely heralded as a historic breakthrough.

The ESEA was, Marian Wright Edelman noted in her paper, "but one of more than three dozen Great Society programs designed to help poor children who traditionally have been neglected by America's social institutions and denied equal opportunity by school systems," but it was "perhaps the most significant." Title I of the ESEA provided funds "designed to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children," but left it largely up to the local

school districts to determine how those funds would be spent.

Ms. Edelman's paper asked: Is Title I helping poor children? Her answer, in part, was that despite "significant improvement in the schooling of poor children in some places," and the benefits it has brought to education in general, it has not helped as much as intended because it has been "poorly enforced." There has also been misunderstanding about its purposes, she said. "Title I was meant to help uncouple one link in the cycle of poverty: the link that permitted public schools to serve differently, or not serve at all, the children of the poor." Accomplishing that objective "will take a long time."

In the panel discussion, Samuel Halperin saw the profusion of programs as another reason for the ESEA's drawbacks. LBJ, he said, believed that there were "historic opportunities to pass major legislation" and that "you'd better use those opportunities, force through your breakthrough, and then let another generation ... tidy up." Johnson was able to act on this belief and get an unusually large amount of major legislation through Congress — but at a cost. "There was too much legislation," Halperin said, "for even the major programs ... to do anywhere near as much as they might have."

Throughout the discussion, rapporteur Beryl Radin remarked in her summary, there was "a sensitivity to the marked difference in mood of the U. S. in the 1960s and today," characterized by Chairman Howe's opening remarks. But although the discussion centered heavily on the need to reexamine "some of the methods used to carry out [educational] programs," she noted, there was no sense that "federal programs and policies to meet the continued problems of unequal educational opportunity" should be abandoned.

Ms. Edelman voiced the pervading sentiment in her discussion of ESEA. "I am sure that [President Johnson] had few illusions about what ESEA alone could achieve, but he knew it was a beginning — a national commitment to the idea that poor children were entitled to the same education as middle-class children."

Douglass Cater's assignment was to report the political struggle which finally produced the education legislation of the 1960s. Because he was directly involved in that struggle, his report had about it much of what he termed "a personal reminiscence."

He recounted his first visit with Lyndon Johnson as President. Cater was then an editor for *Reporter* magazine. It was two days after Johnson sent his anti-poverty message to Congress. Although it did not, as Cater acknowledged, bear directly on the subject, but rather served as "background against which to consider the birthing of programs for educational equality," it told something of LBJ's own motivation, an elusive element not always caught in the deliberations:

"I queried him about ... this major new endeavor. Wasn't it true that the poor didn't vote? How could he build a viable program against poverty in a capitol where constituency pressures count so heavily? Johnson heard me out, then leaned back and stretched himself. 'I don't know whether I can get Congress to pass a single law or appropriate a single dollar,' he said with fierce intensity. 'But I know one thing: before I'm through, no community in America will be able to ignore the poverty in its midst.'"

Thursday, September 16: Morning Session

Papers: Review of Programs: Douglass Cater, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies

Assessment of Impacts: Marian Wright Edelman, Director, Children's Defense Fund of the Washington Research Project, Inc.

Panelists: Harold Howe II, Chairman — former Commissioner of Education, Department of HEW, Vice President, Ford Foundation; Robert L. Bennett, former Director of Special Projects, American Indian Law Center, University of New Mexico; Albert Shanker, President, American Federation of Teachers; Julian Nava, Professor of History, San Fernando Valley State College, Member, Board of Education, Los Angeles; Edith Green, former Member of Congress, Portland, Oregon; Augustus F. Hawkins, U.S. Congress; Samuel Halperin, Director, Institute for Educational Leadership; William L. Smith, Director, Teacher Corp., U.S. Office of Education; Dr. Herbert O. Reid, Charles Hamilton Houston Distinguished Professor of Law, Howard University Law School; Joseph E. Duffey, General Secretary, American Association of University Professors

Rapporteur: Beryl Radin, Assistant Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs

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the right to equality under the law

Thursday, September 16; Afternoon Session

Papers: Review of Programs: Clifford Alexander, Attorney, Verner Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Alexander

Assessment of Impacts: Burke Marshall, Assistant Dean, Law School, Yale University

Panelists: Louis Martin, Chairman — President, Sengstacke Newspapers

Roger Wilkins, Editorial Board, The New York Times; Althea T.L. Simmons, Director of Education Programs, National Associa-

tion for the Advancement of Colored People; Sidney Hook, Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, New York University; Harry McPherson, Attorney, Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard, McPherson and Alexander; A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr., Judge, U.S. District Court, Philadelphia; Bernhard R. Gifford, Deputy Chancellor, New York City Board of Education

Rapporteur: Dagmar Hamilton, Associate Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs

More than from any other session, the judgment from this one was clear: the Civil Rights programs of the 1960s improved our society. Both Clifford Alexander and Burke Marshall made that central point. Said Alexander: "Programs [were put] in place to protect against discrimination in virtually every aspect of life — education, employment, housing, the administration of justice, access to places of public accommodation, and appropriate participation in the benefits of federally assisted programs." According to Marshall, those programs "comprise the most extraordinary effort at legislative control of racial discrimination in any society, at any time."

And, Marshall said, "by common experience," we know their effect: "The Voting Rights Act of 1965 has had a massive, direct impact and has largely succeeded in eliminating open discrimination in registration and voting. . . . Title II of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was complied with in a massive way. . . . While racial discrimination is no doubt still practiced in isolated instances, no serious enforcement problem exists. . . . The elimination of open violations of the 14th Amendment, by the maintenance of dual school systems, segregated parks, or all-white jury systems is proceeding to the extent that litigation is over pace and method, but not over the need for action."

But if the programs themselves were successful, their enforcement was seen to be something less. "In the areas of voting and access to public accommodations," Alexander said, "program enforcement followed legislative enactment. But in other areas, and particularly in equal employment opportunity, enforcement has ranged from uneven to nonexistent."

The reason, Marshall contended, is partly defective legislative machinery for enforcement, which "can be corrected by Congress if the will to do so exists." But also, because the programs weave through so many areas, there is a need for broad supervision and control. "The civil rights legislation creates government-wide responsibilities and obligations, requiring government-wide attention, and requires some presidential management."

The panelists agreed with these conclusions. There was general agreement, too, with the proposition that true equal opportunity will not come until the nation has finally provided solutions to what Marshall called "the great shared problems of the society — equality of educational

achievement . . . decent housing in decent neighborhoods . . . and abundant job opportunities and incentives."

But before those problems are solved, what should the nation be doing to remove the barriers to equal opportunity which confront the victims of long injustices?

That question invoked impassioned disagreement. Some panelists saw a clear, immediate need for what Roger Wilkins called "affirmative action" and what Alexander discussed in terms of quotas and numerical goals for minorities.

But there are victims of affirmative action, too; Marshall described the ones most often hit: the "white male who . . . would have been admitted to a law school or appointed to its faculty, or promoted to a supervisory position, or not laid off, but for his race or his sex." Marshall considered this "justified . . . because it is an unavoidable cost of eliminating great injustice in the past;" moreover, it is a cost "borne at least by persons who are members of the class that still have the most other choices open to them."

But others were troubled. In the 60s, said Harry McPherson, "the fight was clear." But now "it's not easy any longer. It's not easy at all to live with [these] transitional social costs . . . Maybe they have to be paid. But it's an excruciating price — not for "those of us who have not really paid the price," but for "the guy who was born poor himself and had to work his way up."

To Sidney Hook, the concept "violates the letter and the spirit" of the Civil Rights Act. "When you discriminate in favor of somebody," he maintained, "you are discriminating against [another] individual. If you are opposed to discrimination, you cannot be in favor of discrimination. To discriminate against qualified individuals in favor of someone who is unqualified or less qualified, but who is a member of a group which has been unfairly treated in the past, is to perpetuate the principle of injustice."



The notion of "compensatory justice" is a legacy of President Johnson, pointed out Bernard Gifford and others advocating affirmative action. LBJ said as early as 1965 that "it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates." Johnson at the 1972 Civil Rights symposium (above) declared that "we must overcome unequal history before we overcome unequal opportunity."