



Among Friends of LBJ

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NEWSLETTER OF THE FRIENDS OF LBJ LIBRARY

Leaders explore prospects of business-government partnership in Library Symposium

The major problems facing the United States are so staggering they can be solved only if government and business join in a concerted attack on them; thus, the forging of a partnership for that purpose is essential if this nation, as it has existed for 200 years, is to survive.

That is the consensus which emerged from a symposium which drew to the Library on March 1-2 a distinguished array of leaders from board room and bureaucracy, congressional committee, campus and union hall. (See box on page 2 for participants.) The two-day conference was jointly sponsored by

the Library, the LBJ School of Public Affairs and the University of Texas Graduate School of Business.

The tasks confronting the country, as Felix Rohatyn laid them out in the keynote address, and speaker after speaker confirmed, were described as "monumental":

- development of an energy program aimed at making us relatively self-sufficient. (Rohatyn called our failure to develop such a policy, after the "clear warning" of the oil embargo of 1973, a "most pathetic example of political impotence and national lack-of-will." Said Robert Anderson: "In five years we have literally gone backwards.")
- control of inflation.
- developing the ability to compete effectively in the world markets and end our trade deficits — which means, among other things, the construction of a viable transportation system and competitive steel industry. ("We've got to re-tool America," said Jack Conway.)
- holding down unemployment, and in fact creating millions of new jobs — particularly for the hard core unemployed in the ghetto (thereby defusing a "social time bomb.")

"None of these programs," Rohatyn maintained, "can even be conceived without not only business-government partnership, but business-government-labor partnership. It simply cannot be done."

Individually the problems are enormous; considered together, solution appears "almost an impossible task," in Conway's words, "in the sense that as you address any one of them and begin to succeed, you exacerbate the others." Then he touched the heart of the matter. These "extremely difficult problems," he said, "require trade-offs. They require people giving up something, settling for something less than what they think they're entitled to."

Trade-offs — simply another way of saying "the overall public interest," as Joseph Swidler put it — are enormously dif-

Continued on page 2



Rohatyn



Walker, Pickle, Ikard, Gardner, Smith, and Rostow



Spencer



Crawford



Costle

Library Symposium, *continued from page 1*

difficult to effect today because of two coinciding circumstances.

One is a slowdown in the economy.

The other is a phenomenon which concerned a number of conferees. John Gardner called it the "enormous proliferation of special interest groups." Swidler called it the "development of single issue voting." To Frank Ikard it was "the fragmentation of our society." All agreed on its significance — so significant, in fact, that Swidler predicted future historians looking back on this era will see it as one of those "dominant historical forces . . . such as the deep plow, gunpowder, armor and the development of the stirrup . . . which determine the direction of social movement." Formation of these "highly organized political forces, with strong and effective lobbies in Washington, is entirely in accord with our pluralism, and their constitutional right," Gardner acknowledged. Why, then, does it cause alarm? Because, he concluded, "when you're dealing with a cluster of problems such as energy or inflation or the cities . . . rather than a single problem, the groups are so numerous and so tenacious as to paralyze the policy-making process. You have the parts waging war against the whole. The working of the whole system may be halted if one of the parts stops functioning, which simply means that any part can hold the whole

The participants

Felix Rohatyn, Lazard Freres & Co.

George Kozmetsky, Dean, Graduate School of Business, The University of Texas at Austin

Robert O. Anderson, Chairman of the Board, Atlantic Richfield Company

W. Donham Crawford, Chairman of the Board, Gulf States Utilities Company

Douglas M. Costle, Administrator, Environmental Protection Agency; Chairman, Federal Regulatory Council

Leonard Silk, Member of Editorial Board, New York Times

William I. Spencer, President, Citibank, N.A.

Ben Love, Chairman of the Board, Texas Commerce Bancshares, Inc.

Robert Strauss, Special Representative for Trade Negotiations

Jack T. Conway, Senior Vice President, United Way of America

William K. Coors, Chairman and Executive Officer, Adolph Coors Company

John E. Swearingen, Chairman of the Board, Standard Oil Company (Indiana)

Peter Flawn, Leonidas T. Barrow Professor of Geological Sciences, The University of Texas at Austin

Donald Rice, President, RAND Corporation

Harvey Kapnick, Chairman, Arthur Andersen and Company

Ira Millstein, Weil, Gotshal and Manges

Joseph C. Swidler, Leva, Hawes, Symington, Martin and Oppenheimer

W. W. Rostow, Professor Economics and History, The University of Texas at Austin

Roger B. Smith, Executive Vice President, General Motors Corp.

John Gardner, Author; Chairman, President's Commission on White House Fellows

Frank Ikard, Sr., Danzansky, Dickey, Tydings, Quint & Gordon

J. J. Pickle, United States Representative, 10th District, Texas

Charls Walker, Charls E. Walker Associates, Inc.

system up for ransom." It represents, in William Spencer's words, "the ability of splinter groups to deter, to stop, to change the directions of vast programs that wind up costing many, many times more." So serious is the factor of increased cost in the energy field, in Donham Crawford's opinion, that "intervenor who are responsible for delaying demonstrably-needed facilities should be held financially accountable for the added costs of the delay if their case ultimately is found to lack merit."

Thus, the slowdown of the economy and the "proliferation" of special interest groups interact with destructive effect on the community as a whole. What we have been witnessing, said Robert Strauss, is "an almost classic confrontation of interest group against interest group."

"In this environment," said Swidler, "we find very little support for solutions of compromise. There are very few voices who speak for the need for tradeoffs."

Because of our fragmentation, Gardner suggested, "everybody feels like a victim. This is the era of the victim. And if you feel like a victim, it's pretty hard to engage in constructive interaction."

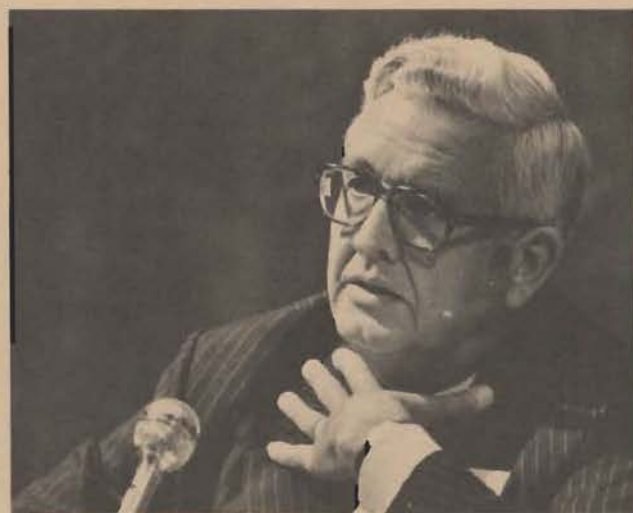
But not only our fragmentation is responsible, Walt Rostow contended — also our sluggish economy: "When the pie is expanding, everybody is full of noblesse oblige." The sense of victimization comes when "they feel that the ceiling has come down on them, and the wife has to go out and work, and they barely make it."

And that, Rostow proposed, is "the ultimate reason for getting growth going again."

How can greater cooperation between government and business stimulate growth?

"First," Ambassador Strauss proposed, "let's recognize together that improving our productivity is one fundamental if we're going to not only increase the pie . . . but also to increase our competitive position and the market power so essential for this nation." Ben Love presented the statistics underlying this necessity: "In the period from about 1962 through 1976, we had an average increase in our annual productivity of about 2.6%. Last year it was .4%."

"Many of our economists and business leaders have identified the deterioration of capital formation as a major contributor to our productivity slump," Strauss said. Again, Love had the statistics to back him up: "In terms of creating capital essential to plant investment, we are saving about 14% of our GNP. Japan is saving 32% of its GNP in the capital formation structure." "I personally believe," Strauss said, "that accelerated depreciation, investment tax credits, corporate rate cuts, for example, are far better ways, and more efficient

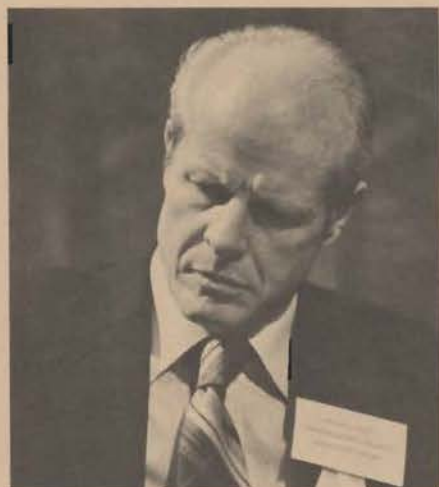


Swearingen

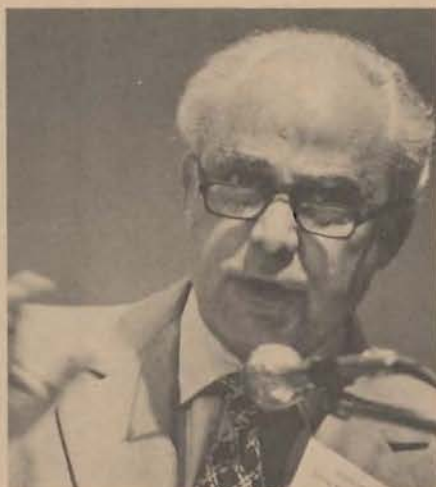


Silk

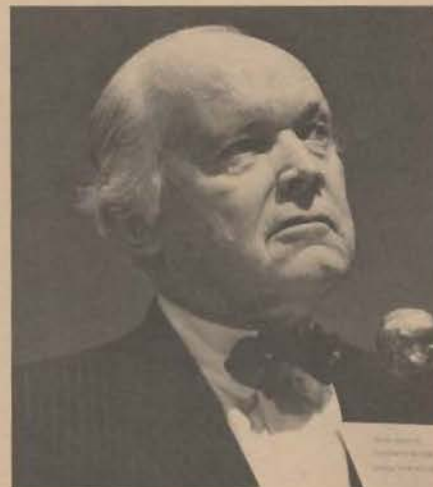
ways, of dealing with this problem than are capital gains." Congressman Pickle contended that although "we've got to stress capital formation," capital itself was not the shortage: "Basically, there is plenty of capital. What we've got is a shortage of risk taking. By risk taking, I mean the process of transforming an internal competitive threat into an external challenge for developing a successful innovation." He indicated that he was willing to see government use financial tools to "increase the level of risk taking; it might take the form of



Coors



Strauss



Anderson



Swidler, Millstein, and Kapnick

reducing a tax on capital gains from investments in new businesses; it might allow investors in new businesses to deduct those businesses' losses from personal income as we do for partnership now. We might even have a reciprocal excess profits tax."

The barrier to effective government-business cooperation, which was most roundly attacked, was what Crawford called the "growing web of confusing, frequently contradictory, and always time-consuming government regulations." Ira Millstein described the administrative and regulatory agencies as a "fourth branch of government." Harvey Kapnick charged that they have generated "a second type of law which is now over-running our country." Ben Love cited a recent study "indicating that the cost of regulation in this country for the single year 1979 will be \$135 billion. That is \$612 cost of regulation for every man, woman and child in this country."

There was recognition of both the necessity and the underlying reason for regulation. "The fact of the matter is," Douglas Costle maintained, "we can't afford not to regulate." And after all, Ikard reminded his colleagues, "regulation doesn't just walk in off the street. As business people we have to understand that regulation, as onerous as it is, has been brought about by either a real or a perceived need." Roger Smith went even further in acknowledging business' responsibility in bringing it on: "By doing what we do best — by serving and satisfying our customers — we could have avoided much of today's excessive regulation."

With all that said, however, there remain, in Costle's words, "legitimate problems and real problems." Basic to those problems, maintained Donald Rice, is the fact that "our regulatory institutions encourage conflict — between the government and business, between business and 'public interest' groups, and even between governmental institutions." "What, then," he asked, "is the answer?" He provided this as a first step: "Undertake the extremely complex and long-term job of modifying our institutions to make them more capable of handling the jobs assigned to them."

Millstein followed up with some specific proposals "to make the process work better: Number one, in looking at administrative reform, you have to start with the question: do we need it? Shouldn't we maybe remit this sector of the economy back to the market place? We did it in one place — the airlines. Now we ought to be subjecting every element of the system to that same analysis. We ought to be looking at the ICC, the SEC, other regulatory agencies, and we ought to be seeing whether or not those gate keepers ought to stay in existence or whether we ought to put them out of business and let the industry go back to competition."

"Second: look for alternatives — tax incentives, other forms which permit the individual to remain basically unregulated

by mandatory law but encouraged through incentives to achieve what it is we're trying to achieve."

"Another area: improving procedures in management. There is no IG of all these hundreds of agencies. They all do what they want. Now there ought to be somebody around in Washington whose function it is to go around these agencies and criticize the way they do their business."

Suggestions for reform came also from other members of the group. "There is a tax court to which you can take your [tax] problems and have a hearing for your case," John Swearingen pointed out. "But there is no such thing with the regulatory agencies ... If we are going to continue the regulatory process, we've got to have an appeal system that we don't have now." Leonard Silk suggested that "in the regulatory agency area, what we need is on the executive side a kind of a Bureau of Regulation parallel to the Bureau of the Budget, and on the congressional side some sort of similar apparatus to the Congressional Budget Office. It's conceivable that on the administrative side, it would be the regulatory agencies themselves that would establish a coordinating body."

Again the word "trade-off" emerges. For inasmuch, as Rice delineated it, as "many of the regulatory goals are sometimes mutually conflicting, and, in any event, cannot all be achieved at once," we have to "recognize that our resources are limited and that trade-offs must be made among equally laudable objectives." He proposed that one "major institutional change"



Conway



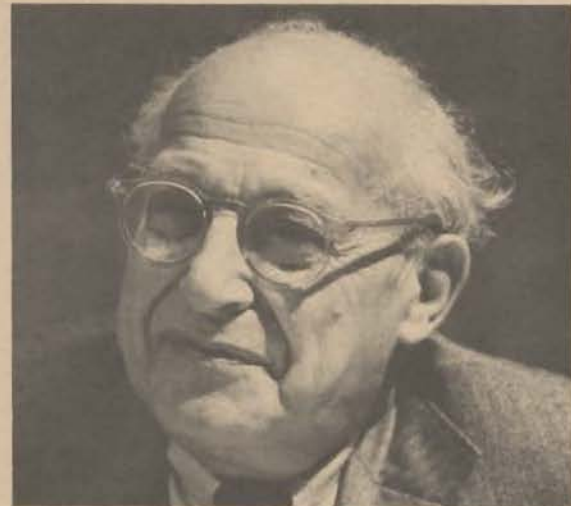
Love



Kozmetsky



Flawn



Rostow

The moderators

which should be made is giving authority to "the President or his staff . . . to make such tradeoffs as between which national goals will be achieved and at what priority . . . For example: the President [should] have the power to decide whether pollution reduction, energy efficiency, price stability, product quality, regional economic development, or international trade goals will be paramount, and, given this, how regulatory and other policies ought to be harmonized to achieve it."

Millstein agreed that top priority must be given to determining "how to achieve a balance among competing national goals," but he did not think it was at all clear who should make that determination. "I think the best minds in the country ought to go to work on this question of figuring out who is going to do the balancing and who is going to check the balancing," he said. "Both the Congress and the President have a clear role to play in the balancing process. Nobody has yet spelled out who belongs where. The great debate is forming. Everybody in the country ought to be participating in it. The question of Presidential and Congressional authority is probably one of the most interesting issues this government has ever faced."

Financial incentives to stimulate growth . . . regulatory reform . . . machinery designed "to deal with the situations in which equally worthy groups want mutually incompatible

things," as Gardner put it — will these be sufficient to forge the business-government partnership which is needed to confront the problems that threaten to strangle the nation? Probably not. Ultimately what will be required are what Rice called new "institutional structures." Charles Walker had one such in mind: "a 1980s model Reconstruction Finance Corporation," equipped to do five things "that the private enterprise system [would find] very difficult to do for itself: . . . providing for liquidity crisis . . . rebuilding our very bad-shape railroads . . . supersonic transport . . . commercializing many more processes in the energy area . . . and handling the problems of the cities." Gardner endorsed the concept: "I think the RFC idea, done correctly, would be an enabling and enhancing kind of relationship."

Felix Rohatyn reached into more recent history for his model of a public-private institution. Widely credited with saving New York City from bankruptcy, he told how government and business forces joined to form new structures to attack the city's financial crisis in 1975 — specifically, structures created to finance the city and to bring its budget into balance. "The direction and philosophy of a large unit of government was fundamentally and permanently changed as a result of the involvement — some would say intrusion — of the private sector into government," he said, and although "we have not

solved all of our problems in New York City ... in a relatively finite period of time a runaway, seemingly intractable problem of vast dimensions was brought under control." That experience, he suggested, "is applicable to a vast array of national problems ... The United States today in many ways is similar to New York City in 1975: the loss of private sector jobs, the year-after-year deficits, lowered productivity, higher and higher taxes, reliance on short-term debt to avoid facing tough issues, hidden liabilities in the form of unfunded pensions and social security."

Rohatyn's experience with public-private institutions to address pressing modern problems did not end with New York City. More recently, he has been involved in the development of a seven-state regional development bank to help handle the energy problems of the Northeastern U.S., and this idea, too, he believes to be exportable: "The concept of regional development banks combining private management with public funding and accountability seems to be applicable in other areas ... Western water problems, southern rural industrialization problems, northeast and Midwest energy problems can be attacked more vigorously and effectively in this fashion."

Can it be done? The stakes are high enough. Robert Anderson put the issue bluntly: "It is survival." There appears to be a proper appreciation of urgency; Spencer expressed the belief that "enough people will sense that we're sliding" to "alert all of us, prompt us into some action, so that we can get something done." And there is ample precedent: "During World War II," John Swearingen reminded the symposium, "the priorities of the nation were well established and accepted by everyone. The business-government partnership was what enabled us to win the war ... It can be done again." Moreover, there is change stirring. "A new generation of business people is coming into the leadership of American companies and corporations," said Roger Smith. "The new business leaders are different from all who have gone before. Their careers were molded in new shapes by the rush of history and events after the war. As their careers were changed, so were their minds. They experienced an evolution of attitudes about business and its place in the world. The new way of thinking ... has brought business leaders closer in their thinking to the leaders of government — and, hopefully leaders of government to business."

But what about the public? Institutional changes of such magnitude, trade-offs of such consequence, could never be achieved without the public's acquiescence if not actual cooperation. And it happens, as Costle said, that "we live in an era of extraordinary skepticism," when the public "is very distrustful of the big institutions in their lives."

A good part of the mistrust of business, William Coors pointed out, comes from a misunderstanding of the nation's economic system. He cited recent surveys which showed a widespread belief that corporate profits average 33% — seven times the actual percentage — and college students put the figure even higher, at 45%. "That means," said Coors, "that dissatisfaction with our system is based on fallacious knowledge of the system." To "correct this misconception," he suggested a "mandate in our school systems that our young people get a firm grounding in how our system works."

For the moment, however, the skepticism remains, and as Spencer said, "This inability of any of us in business or government to be credible is probably our greatest problem."

The answer, Conway proposed, is to "set forth some clear objectives that have to be achieved in the common interest." There was general agreement with this. Said Strauss: "It's essential that we move toward a national consensus on some key issues." The objectives set forth, Conway insisted, will be "fully supported in a political context by the citizenry only when there are national goals that are clearly formulated and held out for the people to inspect and understand and commit themselves to." "You've got to be prepared to be open," said Silk. "You've got to let the public know what you are doing. It



Rice

will trust you if it can see you and hear you, and if what you say makes sense."

And perhaps, ultimately, there is something in the national character that responds appropriately to crisis. "I just believe in the people of this country," Strauss said, and he reminded that "Bismarck once commented that God holds His hand quite particularly over fools and drunkards and the United States of America."

Peter Flawn recalled the words spoken in 1828 by Simon Bolivar, the liberator of South America: *In these days when everyone speaks to his rights and no one speaks to his duties, the linkages of society are loosened ... And if the memory of our heroic days had not stopped the Republic at the very edge of the precipice, it would have surely perished.* "Now," said Flawn, "150 years later, we, too, hear more of rights and less of duty, but I think that we, too, have a memory of heroic days."

Perhaps the symposium itself, in its own way, helped. "There is a theme running through all of this," George Kozmetsky said, "and it is the theme of trust." Ben Love summed it up this way: "I'm encouraged to believe from what I've heard here that there is a recognition that we have this as a job, we have this as an assignment."

Divine to edit volume on Johnson administration

The Library is sponsoring a volume of essays on sources for the study of the Johnson Administration, to be edited by Dr. Robert A. Divine of The University of Texas at Austin. The essays, covering both domestic and foreign policy during the Johnson Presidency, will examine the existing literature on each topic and the nature of the materials open for research at the Library, and will offer suggestions for future scholarly exploration. The contributors and their topics are the following: T. Harry Williams (Louisiana State University), Lyndon Johnson's Political Career; George Herring (University of Kentucky), the Vietnam War; Walter LaFeber (Cornell University), Latin American Policy; Steven Lawson (University of South Florida), Civil Rights; Mark Gelfand (Boston College), The War on Poverty; Hugh Davis Graham (University of Maryland, Baltimore County), Youth and Violence; Lawrence Berman (University of California, Davis), Political Trends of the 1960's; and James Cochrane (University of South Carolina), Economic Policy.

Former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford speaks at Library

Clark Clifford, U.S. Secretary of Defense during the critical last year of the Johnson Administration, spoke at the Library March 30 as part of the Distinguished Lecturer Series sponsored by the Library and the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs.

Reviewing the nation's foreign policy since the end of World War II to an overflow crowd, Mr. Clifford said America's "very existence" should be at stake before this country ever gets involved in another war — but he maintained that a threat to the country's oil supplies falls in that category.

Clifford, whose public career began as an aide to President Truman and who has served as an advisor to Presidents Kennedy and Carter in addition to his cabinet post under President Johnson, said the period from 1945-1950, during which he had a strong hand in shaping U.S. defense and foreign policy, was "one of the proudest in American history" because great strides were made toward the protection of freedom and the prevention of war, via the Truman Doctrine, the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Marshall Plan.

The United States got involved in Vietnam, he said he now believes, out of feeling that it should not make the mistake it had made to some extent in both world wars — of waiting too late to move, allowing suffering that could have been prevented.

He named four points of U.S. foreign policy that he thinks are essential in preserving world peace: maintaining the nuclear balance of power with Russia, maintaining the strength of NATO, preserving the Monroe Doctrine principles of keeping the Western Hemisphere secure, and keeping a close watch on America's interests in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

The country runs on petroleum, half of which comes from the Persian Gulf, Clifford said. "We cannot stand by and see our supply of petroleum interfered with by any power. I think that message has been clearly sent."

Previous speakers in the Distinguished Lecturer Series have been Henry Kissinger and Dean Rusk, former Secretaries of State; Harold Wilson, former British Prime Minister; W. Averell Harriman, former Ambassador to Russia and Great Britain; Elliot Richardson, former U.S. Attorney General; and Sam Ervin, former U.S. Senator.

Mr. Clifford, who has long been one of Washington's leading corporation lawyers, is now senior partner with the firm of Clifford, Warnke, Glass, McIlwain and Finney.

Clifford



On a personal note, Mr. Clifford said, "I can't come to Texas without thinking of President Johnson. I had the privilege of being his friend and working with him for thirty years. I had the deepest respect for him and the sincerest love for him as a man. I saw him in troubled times; I saw him in good times, and my respect for him deepened through the years. I saw him be criticized unfairly, and I saw him take it manfully and go on. You know, I get a great surge of comfort and gratification from the attitude of the people today toward President Truman. I don't know if there ever was a president who was criticized more bitterly than he when he was in office. Now that's all changed. People say he was one of our most illustrious presidents. That does something warm and generous and rewarding to me inside. That day will come for President Johnson. It is coming now. As more and more problems develop, and as people long for the strong hand at the helm, you hear more and more commendatory comments about President Johnson."



Overflow crowd hears address

Library establishes center for study of Congress of Hardeman Book Collection

By Michael L. Gillette

D. B. Hardeman, a former aide to Speaker Sam Rayburn in the 1950s, has given his 9,000 volume book collection to the LBJ Library. Considered one of the most extensive private collections on the history of the U.S. Congress and American politics, it contains many rare and unique volumes. The gift will enable the Library to develop a center for the study of Congress, a program designed to encourage scholarly research on the Congress and ultimately to prepare a multi-volume history of that institution. The books will supplement the Library's manuscripts relating to the legislative branch, which already include the Congressional papers of Lyndon B. Johnson, J. J. Pickle, and Wright Patman, the Senate and Vice Presidential papers of LBJ, and the White House files relating to legislation during the Johnson Presidency.

Hardeman, age 64, donated the books in memory of Michael W. Mitchell, a son of former Democratic National Committee chairman, Stephen A. Mitchell. Michael, a close friend of Hardeman, was a promising young geologist who died in a mining accident in New Mexico in 1959.

Although Hardeman accumulated the books over a twenty-year period, he has been a bibliophile throughout his life. As a teenager growing up in South Texas, he participated in cattle drives requiring several days' provisions. While his fellow cowboys packed their saddlebags with whiskey and tobacco to supplement their food, Hardeman loaded his with books.

Only after working for Sam Rayburn in Washington did Hardeman become a serious collector. Then, what had begun as a modest affinity for reading and books escalated into a twenty-year passion and a collection of 9,000 volumes. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, many rare volumes that have since disappeared from the shelves and soared in price were still available at out-of-print bookstores. Although he had a limited budget, Hardeman took advantage of this opportunity by setting aside for books the money he earned from lectures and conferences. Whenever he traveled to another city to speak, he inquired about out-of-print bookstores in the vicinity. He also planned his vacation trips around expeditions to rare bookstores and auctions. "I pretty well scoured the country looking for books," he recalls. He spent many hours in Goodspeed's Book Store in Boston, William H. Allen and Son and Leary's in Philadelphia, and Loudermilk's in Washington.



Hardeman

Hardeman regards Amalya Reifsneider's Park-Reifsneider bookstore in Washington as his single most important source for books. His dedication to collecting often provided him entrance to the bookseller's private stock, whether housed in a backroom or an old barn. Friends on Capitol Hill who worked in the doorkeeper's office alerted him when collectable volumes were being discarded.

What are Hardeman's most prized books in the collection? Among his favorites are a leather-bound set of *Niles' Weekly Register*, an autographed copy of Edmund G. Ross' account of Andrew Johnson's impeachment, and a copy of Champ Clark's *My Quarter Century of American Politics*. The early writings on Congress include Thomas Lloyd's *Debates in Congress*, *Abridgements of the Debates of Congress from 1789 to 1856* by Senator Thomas Hart Benton, Mary P. Follett's *The Speaker of the House of Representatives*, and Lauros G. McConachie's *Congressional Committees*. There is a copy of Clara Kerr's *Origins of the U.S. Senate* that once was a part of Woodrow Wilson's library. There is also a handwritten account book kept by Pennsylvania boss Matthew S. Quay as a young man. The collection includes one of 500 boxed sets of the complete *Diary of James K. Polk*, a letter by John Randolph of Roanoke, and the galley proofs of the only lecture that Hugo Black gave while a member of the Supreme Court. Perhaps Hardeman's most prized volume is one of 100 copies of the

The first activity of the Library's new Center for the Study of Congress will be a competition, in Hardeman's name, to encourage scholarly research on Congress.

Entries for the D. B. Hardeman Prize for the best book on the U.S. Congress in the 20th century will be judged by three University of Texas at Austin faculty members — Barbara Jordan of the LBJ School of Public Affairs; Dr. Lewis L. Gould, professor of history, and Dr. Lawrence C. Dodd, associate professor of government.

Among the types of works eligible for the \$1,500 Hardeman Prize are histories, biographies, political science monographs and comparative studies.

Although the prize will be awarded on a biennial basis, it will be given initially to the best entry published between January 1, 1976, and December 31, 1978. The winner will be announced at an event at the Library in January 1980.

The prize is funded by a grant from the LBJ Foundation.

with donation

Warren Commission Report, signed by all its members. It was given to him by the late Hale Boggs.

Born in Goliad, Texas, on August 15, 1914, D. Barnard Hardeman was named after his great grandfather, Dr. Joseph Barnard, a physician who lived through the Goliad massacre. While a student at the University of Texas in the mid-1930s, Hardeman worked as sports editor of the *Daily Texan*, and after several hard-fought campaigns he was elected editor.

His dual interests in journalism and politics continued throughout the 1940s and 1950s. After managing Homer Rainey's gubernatorial race in 1946, Hardeman himself ran for office. He was twice elected to the Texas Legislature from Denison, and was twice defeated. As a stalwart of the progressive "Gashouse Gang," he allied himself with Maury Maverick, Charlie Hughes, Joe Kilgore, and Dolph Briscoe. Through his work with the Democratic Party and the Adlai Stevenson presidential campaign of 1952, Hardeman became acquainted with Sam Rayburn. In 1956 he began researching a biography of Rayburn, who hired him as a staff member on July 1, 1957. In addition to his legislative tasks, Hardeman continued working on the book in his spare time, with the Speaker's authorization. After two decades and with the help of co-author Donald C. Bacon, Hardeman has now substantially completed the manuscript. It promises to be a significant publication, since Rayburn spent many hours with Hardeman narrating events from his past. Hardeman also talked at length with then-Senator Lyndon Johnson, Marvin Jones, Wright Patman, and others about Rayburn.

After Rayburn's death in 1961, Hardeman joined the office of Majority Whip Hale Boggs. While working in the Whip's office, Hardeman took an active interest in the Congressional Fellows Program, an internship that enables young scholars to work in the offices of congressmen and learn the legislative process. Hardeman spent many hours familiarizing them with Congress and its institutions while regaling them with anecdotes. He even convened a counterpart of Rayburn's "Board of Education," a retreat where a few select members assembled nightly to mix wisdom and whiskey. Hardeman anointed his own hideaway the "Board of Ignorance." In recognition of his contributions to the program, he was named the first honorary Congressional Fellow.

Nor has Hardeman's involvement with youth been confined to Congressional Fellows. For five years he taught a special summer course on the Congress in Washington for UCLA students. He also taught at Trinity College there for eight years. He has been a frequent participant in Brookings Institution conferences and an occasional lecturer for Eisenhower Fellows.

Hardeman is currently living in San Antonio, where he is a professor of political science at the University of Texas at San Antonio. He was a participant in the LBJ Library's symposium, *The Presidency and the Congress: A Shifting Balance of Power?* in November of 1977.

NEH grant to Friends supports Library activities

The Friends of the LBJ Library has been awarded a \$250,000 challenge grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The grant, given in two annual increments, will be used to further the educational and other programs through which the LBJ Library extends its services to the public.

Research grants awarded to scholars

Eighteen scholars have been selected for 1979 to receive grants-in-aid of research from the LBJ Foundation and the Friends of the LBJ Library. The grant funds totaling \$11,934 are made available annually through a program established with assistance from the Moody Foundation for the purpose of providing support for travel and living expenses to scholars who could not otherwise afford to visit the Library and use its extensive research facilities.

Those receiving grants-in-aid and the titles of their proposed projects are: Nigel P. Bowles, "The White House Staff Under President Lyndon B. Johnson with Particular Reference to the Office of Congressional Relations"; Dr. Michael W. Clough, "United States Involvement in Africa: 1960-78"; Dr. Beverly B. Cook, "Presidential Appointment of Women to Executive and Judicial Office"; Dr. Stanford P. Dyer, "Lyndon B. Johnson and the Politics of Civil Rights"; Dr. James M. Erdmann, "The Dragon Rouge Expedition to the Congo, 1964"; Dr. Harvey Glickman, "A Foreign Policy for Africa: Defining Goals and Interests"; Dr. Kenneth M. Jones, "Lyndon Johnson and Federal Science Policy"; Arlene Lazarowitz, "Factionalism and Liberal Dissent in the Democratic Party, 1950-1959"; Dr. Ruth Leacock, "U.S.-Brazilian Relations, 1961-1969"; Dr. Walter J. McCoy, "Lyndon Johnson: A Special Force in the Appointment of Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court"; Dr. Stephen B. Oates, "Full-Scale Biography of Martin Luther King Jr."; Dr. James T. Patterson, "Poverty and Welfare in the U.S., 1930-75"; Dr. Stephen E. Pelz, "America Goes to War: Korea and Vietnam 1945-1965"; Dr. Janet L. Schmelzer, "Congressman Wright Patman"; Dr. Kim P. Seabaly, "The International Education Program of the L. B. Johnson Administration, 1963-68"; Dr. William C. Spragens, "The Myth of the Johnson 'Credibility Gap' (Part Two)"; Dr. William J. Teague, "Into the Political Cauldron, 1830-1960: Thirteen Decades of Senate Majority Leadership"; and Dr. William M. Wolff Jr., "Peak Business Associations in National Politics: The Business Council and the Committee for Economic Development."

A University of Texas committee advises on the grants program. Its members are Dr. Eldon Sutton, Professor William Livingston and Professor Joe B. Frantz.

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Editor: Lawrence D. Reed

Research Assistance: Charles Corkran, Gary Yarrington, David Humphrey, Marlene White, Joan Sands

Photography: Frank Wolfe, Paul Chevalier

Staff Assistance: Yolanda Boozer, Lou Anne Missildine

The winter of LBJ

By Warren Woodward

The following is excerpted from an article which appeared in the Dallas Morning News, January 21, 1979, marking the sixth anniversary of President Johnson's death on January 22, 1973.

I loved him. From the day I met Lyndon Johnson, when he was rebuilding his congressional staff in Austin back in 1948, until his death 25 years later, I knew I had met one of the most dramatic figures in American political history.

In our last years together I watched a remarkable transition as he moved from a powerful, public, political position — to his most engaging, mellow and reflective self.

From the familiarity of his home in the hills of Texas, Lyndon Johnson spent his last time thinking about the future. He did not dwell on the past. He looked ahead. He felt certain that history would look on all his public life and flesh out his portrait with humanizing touches. His civil rights advocacy, he hoped, would not be obscured by bomb blasts and body counts.

Lyndon Johnson never had enough time. It was precisely this realization — that time for him was limited — which caused him to speak to his fellow countrymen so urgently in his last days. He had something to say to us before he died.

His craggy face was kind and mellow in those last days. His hair was long; it swept back and curled on the ends like that of an elder statesman in the Andy Jackson vein. The lines in his face were deep, but, in all, Lyndon Johnson appeared less strained than in those horrendous days at the end of his term. Outside the gaze of the public eye, he aged gracefully.

But he aged quickly, too. I had gone with him to Tennessee back in the spring of 1972 for the funeral of Buford Ellington.

After the funeral, he traveled to Charlottesville, Va., for a few days of rest with his eldest daughter, Lynda, her children and law student husband Chuck Robb. There he suffered a heart attack that would lead to his death nine months later.

He recovered to become active again and made it back to Texas, but there were few moments in the ensuing months when he was free of angina pains. Sensing that his time was growing near, LBJ set about to say to the American people those things about which he felt most deeply. There were three memorable speeches to be made in those final months. Many believed the first was one of his most eloquent. On September 16, 1972, he spoke on the occasion of the anniversary of Scott and White Clinic in Temple.

His thoughts were motivated by a concern for our country and its cause. He sensed a melancholy mood throughout the land, a feeling that "our nation's span as mankind's 'last best hope' will be done," that America had come to its own September. LBJ felt differently.

"If I believe anything of this land — because if I know anything of its people and their character — I believe and I know that we have not come to and are not approaching America's September. On the contrary, it is my conviction — a conviction which deepens every day — that this land and its people are quickening with the new life and new potential of what will become the springtime of a new America."

There was earnestness in his voice, a deep sense of sincerity as he spoke to the doctors, nurses and friends gathered in the hospital's auditorium. Cool, clear September winds were blowing outside. Here is part of what he said:

"I have devoted my time on this earth to working toward the day when there would be no second-class citizenship in America, no second-quality opportunity, no second-hand justice at home, no second-place status in the world for our ideals

and beliefs. I do not intend now that second-rate visions shall set our course toward settling for a second-rate America.

"We are not living in times of collapse. The old is not coming down. Rather, the troubling and torment of these days stems from the new trying to rise into place.

"We are not caretakers of the past. We are contractors charged with construction of tomorrow. The foundations are already in place, solid and secure. We have beneath us the sturdy footing of the Bill of Rights — and it does not need us to be tinkering or tampering with it.

"The essentials of a new America — a better America — are all on hand and within our reach. It is our destiny — and, I believe, our duty — to take up our appointed positions and commence the labors that will change what needs changed among us."

He continued to recover, and for a while stayed at Brooke AFB in San Antonio. It was a warm fall down there, and he had a lifelong obsession with being cool. I always thought that when he died, the first person he'd want to meet in heaven would be the inventor of air conditioning. So I sent him a pair of short-sleeved, short-legged pajamas. He loved them and weathered the San Antonio heat. Eventually, he made it back to his home.

Lyndon Johnson's thinking during the quarter-century that I knew him did not harden or become cynical. He saw America as a synonym for "hope." He had faith in this land — after all, this was the same America that allowed him to rise from childhood on a farm in Central Texas to become a teacher, a congressman, a senator and eventually President.

Even when he was president, however, if someone would ask him what he considered his vocation, he would respond "teacher." He was a teacher once more that fall of his life.

On December 8, 1972, he was scheduled to speak at the Dallas Press Club "Katie Awards" banquet. A week or so before the speaking engagement, I had seen him at a football game at the Cotton Bowl, my first encounter with him since that September speech. His gait was slower, more deliberate.

The banquet was in progress when I met him at the door of the Statler Hilton. I could tell he was feeling the heart pain intensely. He took my arm, and we walked slowly through the lobby of the hotel. Even moderated by illness, LBJ was a more dynamic figure than many another man. Mrs. Johnson whispered to me that we must walk slowly.

The applause greeting his appearance in the ballroom was prolonged and warm. Mrs. Johnson accompanied him to the speaker's dais, which was located away from the head of the table. He was always at his best when she was near.

His mood that night was sentimental. Ray Price and Charlie Pride were in the audience. In another day, he might have kidded or teased them; instead, he simply stated, "I'd like to say that Charlie Pride and Ray Price probably have given as much pleasure to the world with their talent and generosity as any two men in the city."

This is not to say he did not have humor about him. The laugh lines around his eyes were well worn. He flexed them when recalling for the crowd a game played by the White House press called "thin books," where titles and authors were matched up to assure that the books would be very thin. " 'Funny Stories That Made Me Laugh,' by Tom Landry," was

one that he mentioned: "Constructive Contributions of The Radical Left," by Joe Dealey and Jim Chambers," was another. His favorite, he said self-effacingly was "Poems in Praise of The Press," by Lyndon B. Johnson."

He laughed amid the laughter, then declared, "those days are behind us. Amnesty has been declared..." He talked that night about what he had seen from his "vantage point." He focused on new opportunities he felt were opening.

"Amid the tumult and trauma of the times through which we have passed, the direction of the nations has continued upward. The force of education and enlightenment has continued to be a force for sanity, rationality, peace in the purposes of people everywhere. We see the fruits ripening today..."

"While there is still war in the world, still terror, still want and misery and injustice, there is, nonetheless, a quickening of the pulse of peace. We are, I believe and pray, nearing the end to the fighting in Southeast Asia. Slowly but nonetheless steadily, nations are moving toward agreement limiting destructive arms. The areas of negotiation with the Soviet Union are being widened. We are entering a time of diplomatic dialogue with the People's Republic of China."

"We in the United States," he said, "have rare gifts to bring to the eternal pursuit of peace. Who leads our land, who controls the political vantage point are — or ought to be — only details. So long as the will of the people is served, the end will be the same. But we must remember that the achievement of peace will not be automatic. It will continue to require care, intelligence and stubborn vigilance."

This was a December night on which he was speaking. Winter had arrived. Richard Nixon had been re-elected just one month earlier. Watergate was just surfacing. The war in Vietnam dragged on. There were many opportunities for LBJ, if he wanted, to reflect on his successor's administration; instead, he knew the role of an ex-president, an elder guiding statesman, and he fit the role with the utmost grace.

"In our recent elections," he told the press club, "I supported my party. But that support does not preclude me — and it does not preclude any partisan — from supporting the nation's leadership as that leadership works for a better world. This is a deep and an abiding conviction on my part."

Just days after the press club speech, President Johnson made his most eloquent plea for equal opportunity and justice for all Americans. The occasion was the opening to scholars and the public of the LBJ papers and documents on civil rights at the LBJ Library in Austin on December 12, 1972.

A mood of doubt, impatience and concern permeated the halls of the library. There was worry, lest the progress in the Johnson years toward equal justice for all was being slowed or even lost in the tumult of other world events.

Chief Justice Earl Warren made a stirring keynote address. Senator Humphrey spoke of the "Unfinished agenda." Roy Wilkins reviewed the record of the 1960s. And then President Johnson made his final remarks to the people of America.

His manner was determined, though his big frame seemed very fragile. He began, "I don't speak very often or very long. My doctor admonished me not to speak at all this morning, but I'm going to because I have some things I want to say to you. I have a touch of sentimentality about me, which has cost me a great deal in my forty years in public life."

He talked of the recent advances made by blacks, browns, women, Indians. Yet he cautioned, "The progress has been much too small; we haven't done nearly enough. I'm kind of ashamed of myself that I had six years and couldn't do more than I did. I'm sure you all feel the same way about it."

"So let no one delude himself that his work is done. By unconcern, by neglect, by complacent beliefs that our labors in the fields of human rights are completed, we of today can seed our future with storms that would rage over the lives of our children and our children's children. Yesterday it was commonly said that the black problem is an urban problem, a problem of the inner city. But as I see it, the black problem today,



Woodward with President Johnson at the White House, 1968

as it was yesterday and yesteryear, is not a problem of regions or states or cities or neighborhoods. It is a problem, a concern and responsibility of this whole nation. Moreover, and we cannot obscure this blunt fact, the black problem remains what it has always been, the simple problem of being black in a white society. That is the problem which our efforts have not yet addressed.

"To be black, I believe, to one who is black or brown, is to be proud, is to be worthy, is to be honorable. But to be black in a white society is not to stand on level and equal ground. While the races may stand side by side, whites stand on history's mountain, and blacks stand in history's hollow. We must overcome unequal history before we overcome unequal opportunity. That is not... an easy goal for us to achieve."

"For myself, I believe it's time for all of us in government and out to face up to the challenge. We must review and re-evaluate what we've done and what we're doing. In specific areas we must set new goals, new objectives, and new standards. Not merely what we can do to try to keep things quiet, but what we must do to make things better."

"Our objective must be to assure that all Americans play by the same rules. And that all Americans play against the same odds. Who among us would claim that that's true today? I feel this is the first work of any society which aspires to greatness. So let's be on with it."

"... We know how much still remains to be done. And if our efforts continue and if our will is strong and if our hearts are right and if courage remains our constant companion, then, my fellow Americans, I am confident we shall overcome."

That was it, his last official word to us as a people.

Near Christmas, 1972, a group of South Austin children were killed in a bus wreck in New Mexico while on a church-sponsored outing. LBJ insisted he attend the funeral services. His basic concern, from the beginning, was for people. He felt the people of South Austin had been friends to him throughout the years, and he wanted to comfort them in their anguish.

Then, I recall, on a Sunday in January, I was returning from a business trip to Acapulco. We were flying from the south over Central Texas, and as we passed over the LBJ Ranch in the rolling brown hills, the captain invited me to call President Johnson on the ship's radio.

It was a beautiful clear cold January day. A voice on the ranch radio told me that LBJ was riding in his Lincoln in the north pasture and could not be reached. The voice said I should call the President the next day. But the next day was January 22, 1973, and I'd missed him.

I miss him still.

French exhibit looks at young America



Viewing the exhibit is French Ambassador to the United Nations Jacques Leprette and Mrs. Leprette, who were in Austin in April as part of a program to acquaint communities in the U.S. with the role of the United Nations.

Currently on exhibit in the Library — until June 3 — is the exhibition *FRANCE VIEWS AMERICA: 1765-1815*.

The exhibit concentrates on the years before and after the signing of the Franco-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce (February 6, 1778) which provided military and monetary assistance to young America.

Through 250 items the attitudes, emotions and contrasts of French public opinion are reviewed.

Broadsides, prints, maps, letters from Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson; music, Indian trade jewelry, textiles, and a variety of artifacts explore the French perception of America and its inhabitants.

The exhibit was organized by the Eluetherian Mills Historical Library of Wilmington, Delaware, with a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Lenders to the exhibition are: New York Historical Society, Museum of our National Heritage, Louisiana State Museum, Henry Ford Museum, Princeton Library, Clements Library, American Philosophical Society, Library Company of Philadelphia and the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

The exhibit opened March 30.



Scenes from the exhibit

Among the Library's distinguished visitors was Dr. Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid, Egypt's ambassador to the United Nations, here meeting with Mrs. Johnson. Ambassador Meguid was in Austin lecturing and meeting with groups of University of Texas students and faculty members. His visit was sponsored by the LBJ School of Public Affairs and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies.

