



ISSUE NUMBER XIX, MARCH 15, 1980

Among Friends of LBJ

NEWSLETTER OF THE FRIENDS OF LBJ LIBRARY

Symposium at Library Peers into the Murky 1980's

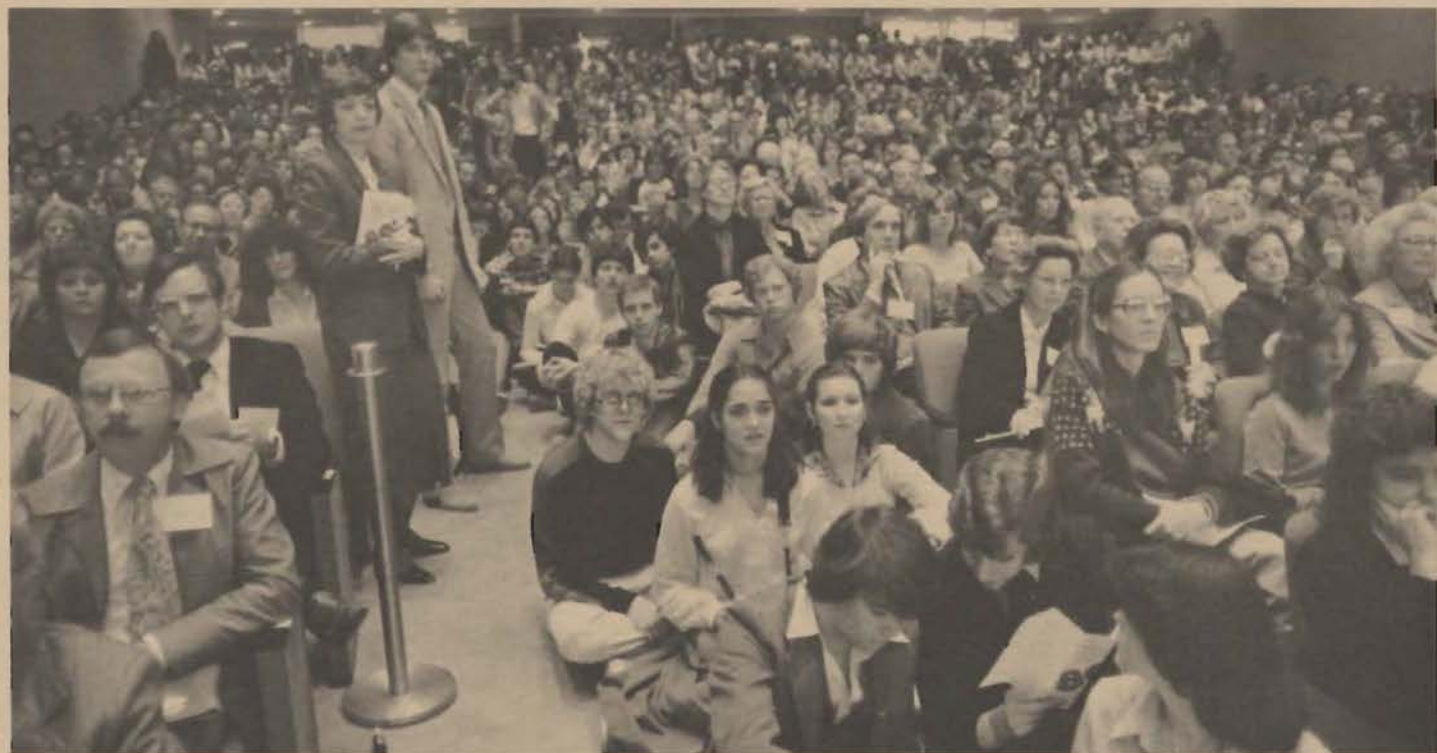
"The International Challenge of the 80's: Where Do We Go From Here?" was the subject of a symposium held at the Library January 25.

Keynoted by Walter Cronkite and participated in by a distinguished array of American leaders and opinion-makers (see program, page 2), the symposium drew a record audience of more than 2500 persons.

The symposium series, co-sponsored by the Library and the University of Texas at Austin, began in 1972. Since then there have been at least one and usually two such events a year. The conferences are funded by the Friends of the LBJ Library and its parent LBJ Foundation.



Keynoter Cronkite's remarks are excerpted on page 3



The 1,000 seat LBJ auditorium, in which the symposium was held, was filled to overflowing, with students sitting in the aisles and on the stage with the participants. Some 1500 others, who couldn't get into the auditorium, watched the proceedings over closed-circuit television in four different locations.

World Crises Provide Conference Backdrop

Planning began in January 1979 for "The International Challenge of the 80's: Where Do We Go From Here?" At that time, the symposium planning committee, composed of members of the University of Texas faculty and administration and LBJ Library staff, simply saw the role of the U.S. in the world as a natural source of interest at the beginning of a new decade; the urgency which Iran and Afghanistan brought to that interest could not then be foreseen.

The symposium's discussion was lively, thoughtful and provocative. The following pages provide a representative sample of the ideas that were advanced and explored.



Excerpts from Chancellor Walker's Welcome



Looking back over the eight years since the first symposium was held here; looking back over the subjects which have been discussed: education, civil rights, the Great Society, the arts, the humanities, the Women's Movement, just to mention a few; looking back at the towering figures of our time who have come here to speak and to debate: Earl Warren, Roy Wilkins, Sam Ervin, Barbara Ward, Carl Albert, Barbara Jordan, Hubert Humphrey, William McGill, Joan Mondale, Beverly Sills, Dean Rusk, Henry Kissinger, Elliot Richardson, and, of course, our late and beloved President, Lyndon B. Johnson; looking back and realizing what a major role these symposia have played in the intellectual life of this University and this city, I sometimes wonder how we existed without them. We did exist, of course, but it wasn't nearly as full and as rich and as exciting as it is today.

The dream of President Johnson of bringing together the finest minds and the greatest leaders in our society on a regular basis to discuss the burning issues of our time, that dream has become a living reality, even though the dreamer is gone.

It has become a reality for all of us because Lady Bird Johnson would not let that dream die.

SYMPOSIUM PROGRAM

Morning Session

Presiding

Elspeth Rostow, Dean
Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs

Welcome

E. Don Walker, Chancellor
The University of Texas System

Keynote Address

"The Road to 1980. The U.S. in the 20th Century"
Walter Cronkite, CBS News Correspondent

Panel Discussion

"The U.S. as a Factor in World Politics: The American Image in the Contemporary International Mind. The Situation as the Decade Opens."

Moderator

McGeorge Bundy, Professor of History
New York University

Panelists

Marquis Childs, Journalist
Carol C. Laise, Former Ambassador to Nepal
Douglass Cater, Senior Fellow,
Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies
Norman Podhoretz, Editor, COMMENTARY
John Spanier, Professor of Political Science
University of Florida

Afternoon Session

Presiding

Harry J. Middleton, Director
Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

"The U.S. as a World Power. Opportunities and Problems for the 80s"

Opening Statement

W. Averell Harriman, Former Governor, State of New York; Former Ambassador to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Moderator

Barbara Jordan, Professor
Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs

Panelists

Norman Hackerman, President, Rice University
Fred Hechinger, President, The New York Times Company Foundation, Inc.
William J. Jordan, Scholar in Residence, LBJ Library; Former Ambassador to Panama
David Saxon, President, University of California
Nancy Teeters, Member of the Board, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System
Governor Harriman
Concluding Remarks and Summary
Douglass Cater

Cronkite Calls for U.S. to Lead "The New Revolution"

The following comments are extracted from Mr. Cronkite's address:

The 1980s have not gotten off to a very auspicious beginning.

In that time we have heard America mocked and taunted as an impotent giant, gutless and evil—the most powerful and technologically advanced nation on earth, the nation that put men on the moon and machines on Mars and sent probes far into outer space.

We also have begun the new decade showing signs of serious economic and social decline. The once mighty dollar is a pitiful tattered remnant of its former self. On the software side of American civilization, cynicism and solipsism, that fixation on the self that characterizes so many modern trends, have begun to threaten our political and social cohesion. It frequently is observed, for example, that our tightening economic situation has produced a new conservatism.

Proposition 13 and other manifestations of the tax revolt and the alacrity with which some old liberals have been learning new tricks are cited as examples. But some have another word for it. They call it a new meanness, a stinginess of spirit as well as of purse. And we do seem a little less open these days, less generous, less willing to help the needy, to right social wrongs, to get involved in other people's problems. We just may be developing what someone has called the "lifeboat ethic," a tendency to take care of ourselves and let the rest swim, or whatever. The "rest," of course, disproportionately are black, Hispanic or members of other minorities. And black leaders, in particular, have been warning us that the gains in racial unity we have achieved so painfully could dissolve in the waters around those lifeboats, the gains we have made, thanks to the man, to a great part, for whom this Center is named.

If we have seemed to be coming unglued here at home, loosening our social and political ties and turning away from one another, we also have been turning away from the rest of the world insofar as it would let us. And both at home and abroad our self-confidence seems at a dangerously low ebb.

We are part of the world and the world increasingly is part of us. This is a fact of modern life that we seem to have a hard time grasping, even at this late date. For years the American people have refused to believe the energy crisis was real. We have been the world's great petroleum hog. Our consumption has been an international scandal, serving as an upward pressure on price.

There are other overarching concerns which face the nations of the world and which mock the idea of self-sufficiency, a solution to which really means whether we live or die, not just as a civilization, but as people. I call them the Four Horsemen of the modern Apocalypse: Population, Hunger, Pollution and Nuclear Proliferation. They are the dominant threats of our time and I believe they will continue to be critical global issues well into the 21st Century. . . . We need to reestablish our credentials for leadership among the developing nations, and we can only do that by taking the lead in a serious effort rationally and fairly to reorganize the global economy. We need the Third World; we can't live without it. We need its people as allies; we need its raw materials and we need its cooperation in tackling those global problems which threaten rich and poor alike.

That does not mean that we should be apologetic about our own success or timid in our leadership, or suicidal in our generosity. Our first duty to ourselves and to humanity's future will be to preserve those beachheads of liberty which we and our friends already hold. To that end we must strive to make America as self-sufficient and self-reliant as is humanly possible. We need badly to strengthen the foundations of our own economy. We need to modernize much of our industrial plant, and we probably will have to spend more on capital goods and less on social programs to do so. We must reduce our dependence on foreign oil and other resources insofar as that is possible.

But we also must make our peace with the fact that full independence no longer is possible in this world, that we will grow increasingly dependent on other peoples, other places, and they on us. And that is the idea which I think must order this country's agenda for the Eighties. Our own values and traditions urge upon us a special mission in this world to help and to lead. The new revolution should be our revolution. Our interests demand it.

In the course of the 20th Century, America has grown up, or we hope it has. We have turned in some spectacular performances economically, militarily, in science and technology. We have added enormously to man's store of knowledge and to his reach. We have begun the exploration of space, which may prove to be the great agenda for the 21st Century.

We also have learned the lesson, paid the price for arrogance and the careless exercise of power, and we have learned as well the futility of cringing from its responsibilities. We have sinned and we have come of age. We have learned that we are neither omnipotent nor omniscient. But it is possible that we still may nurture the last best hope of mankind.



Robert Hardesty, UT System Vice President, introduced Cronkite as "America's Window on the World."

The Morning Session



Norman Podhoretz

... I don't think it can be stressed too strongly that the difference between the way the United States responded to a challenge from the resurgent Muslim revolution of the Middle East and the way the Soviet Union responded to a similar challenge—I think the contrast between those two responses must have made an enormously powerful impression on everyone in that region up to, and including and perhaps especially, Indira Ghandi. We were aggressed against—an act of what I think is legitimate to be called war was committed against us in Iran, and we responded with rhetoric and appeals to the U.N., which Senator Moynihan, then Ambassador Moynihan, rightly called the “theater of the absurd,” and then the world court.

The Soviet Union was challenged by a Muslim insurgency in Afghanistan, a challenge to a puppet regime that it had itself installed through a coup, and it responded with 100,000 troops. Now the difference between those two responses is not lost on anyone and certainly not on an Islamic culture, which has a very different attitude toward force; I mean its religious attitude toward force is very different from the one that's characteristic of the Christian West. There's enormous respect for force in the Muslim world. Force is considered to be both necessary, virtuous, desirable, and the sign of what we would call grace in our culture.



Moderator
McGeorge Bundy

... There have been very important changes (in the concept of power). If the CIA were still at its best, it could not run the crowds in Teheran today as it did to some degree 25 years ago. The tides of sentiment had changed too much for that, and there is no way of creating a mystical secret capability by legislating it.

The situation in the Third World is such that we do need many different kinds of ways of trying to have influence, and we have to expect a much more assertive response and concern for their own influence from these same countries.

Therefore, we do have to think about what India thinks and think very hard about it as we try to consider what it makes sense to do in Pakistan. We have to think about what Saudi Arabia wants and not what we think they should want, with respect to the deployment of American military forces into the Middle East.

We do not have and never did have the kind of strength that would allow our conventional force to surround the borders of the Soviet Union. We do not have and never did have commitments to Afghanistan or a sense that our power held the balance in Afghanistan. Afghanistan has never been within any American perimeter.

The lesson which Soviet action teaches us is a brutal contempt for world opinion and a part of the current effort is to teach them that that kind of brutal contempt has costs . . .



John Spanier

... The fact is there is a domino effect in this world. It is the perception in the Soviet Union, in Peking, in Djakarta, in Jerusalem, in Cairo—the perception of the United States as a hesitant country; fearful country; fearful of the consequence of acting; unsure about itself anymore; uncertain about using power; unable to use its power because like Gulliver, it is handicapped and bound, or Prometheus-bound, rather than unbound . . .

And it isn't just the Soviets, I would say, that have read the lessons of the last ten years. It is the OPEC countries. Here are countries that are driving up the inflation into double digits, creating a recession in this country.

How much longer? How many more OPEC meetings every quarter is the United States simply going to respond passively, not use its great bargaining power—I didn't say military power but great bargaining capacity—and put up with this?

It seems to me everybody in the world thinks they can kick this country. We might want to help the Pakistanis, but the Pakistanis can say it's almost an insult to offer them only 400 million dollars; it's peanuts.

It isn't just the Ayatollah who insults us. It is almost everybody. Why? Because they don't have any fear of the United States. They don't have much respect anymore for the United States would be my answer . . .



Carol Laise

... There is a sharp increase in Asian concern, almost overriding all else, about America's ability to manage those domestic matters which impinge most heavily on the world economy and stability.

They are: our seeming inability to curb inflation and preserve the value of the dollar, our failure to adopt an energy policy that reduces our appetite for oil and the institutional paralysis in decision-making, due to the Executive-Legislative tug-of-war that is responsible for this state of affairs.

What all this suggests to me as we enter the Eighties and as we address ourselves to the kind of challenges raised most recently by developments in Iran and Afghanistan, is that we must get our own house in order first, as well as improve our knowledge and understanding of, and steadiness, and I underscore steadiness, in dealing with the interacting forces at work in a pluralistic world of competing nationalisms if we are to influence events in ways favorable to the United States' interest. Mark you, we can no longer control them, but then neither can the Soviet Union.

The Soviets have destroyed their image as a natural ally of the nonaligned and revolutionary regimes while we have laid a lot of groundwork for cooperative endeavors in dealing with regional problems and tensions and the Soviet exploitation thereof.



Marquis Childs

... I think it (the draft) is inevitable. If we are going to raise the armed forces to, say, roughly three million, you are going to have to take in a far larger number of individuals who have a higher education, because they will be manning and managing the highly technical new equipment that is going to come into being with the greatly enlarged expenditure for defense. But it is not going to be easy. Already the speculation is that it will take months, if not longer, to initiate the first step of registration. ... So, in this first step I think we shall have a real test of whether or not we can meet the challenge that we face today, which I think we cannot meet with a volunteer army.



Douglass Cater

... The central question that I would raise in the perspective from London and from Europe is: can we govern ourselves in a way that holds steadfast to a course that makes sense in world affairs? If we can't, is it a failure of will, of flawed leadership or the institutions by which we govern ourselves? ...

The Presidency has become, in the period since World War II, a no-win occupation. Five out of the six before Carter were mangled by their attempt at the uses of power ...

I believe that we are trending toward the era of the professional candidate and of a democracy that requires at least 18 months out of every 48 to choose its leader, and that this profoundly affects the way this contemporary, international mind looks on America and its purposes.

That leads to my concern which is the trend toward a democracy by plebiscite—the daily measure of the President's performance, of issue analysis (through) electronic media, in which we try to turn ourselves into a sort of Greek marketplace of democracy and render instant judgments.

And technology is going to be able to further that cause in the Eighties. We could sit in our home and render by electronic means, instant plebiscites. And I would submit to you that in that direction was anarchy ...

So I do think we need to look more at our institutions than at our leaders in their particular failures to meet our capacities.

From Douglass Cater's summary and concluding remarks:

By way of summary, this conference, unlike all Gaul, was divided into two parts. There were the pessimists and there were the optimists and they roughly divided at the lunch break ...

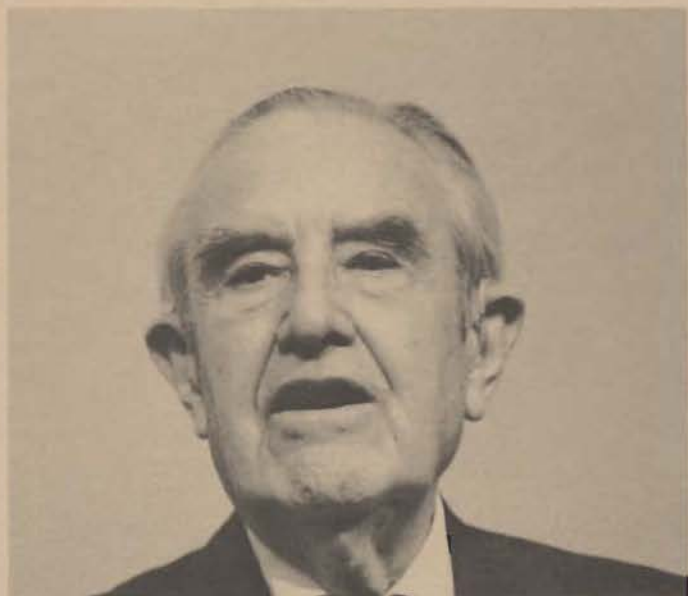
Pessimism has had a long history in the United States. John Adams at the time of the birthing of the nation said that the principles of political knowledge had not advanced one whit for the last two or three thousand years.

George Washington, on July 5, 1787, wrote to Alexander Hamilton from Philadelphia and said he despaired of a successful outcome of the great experiment and he wished at times that he had not put his hand to it.

So we were born with a certain degree of pessimism and, yet, optimism in the end must inevitably win. I come down with the afternoon panel, if that was the contest.

I think that the American system is much like that of the bumblebee. The aerodynamics engineer tells us that the bumblebee cannot fly. His wings are not big enough or heavy enough to carry the body. And, yet, by the prodigious flapping of the wings, the bumblebee does fly, and we must not forget that for more than 200 years, this nation has flown and I don't see any diminution of the flapping of wings.

Afternoon Session



Averell Harriman

Following are excerpts from Averell Harriman's address, which launched the afternoon session.

Now this move into Afghanistan, in my opinion, was a dangerous move. It was dangerous because (the Russians) never before had used their troops outside of their own areas, within the Warsaw Pact or against China. Even Tito told me in 1951 that Stalin would never send the Red Army to Yugoslavia.

But here they've invaded a country which was not one of their satellites. They did go in, I believe, for the limited objective of shoring up a communist government, which they were partly instrumental in installing in 1978 and it was in trouble.

But when they decided to go in for that objective, it was breaking a precedent. Having once broken a precedent, it is easier to do it again.

Now they seem to have been taken by surprise, surprise at the immediate and vigorous reaction of the United States, supported by the overwhelming majority of the United Nations. I think they thought they could get in there without too much notice, particularly in an election year. They pay attention to public opinion. They don't follow it, but they pay attention to it . . .

There's been a lot of talk about SALT but nobody has faced the reality of what would happen if we didn't have SALT. We would not have the information that we need because they could conceal it. We would be forced to spend money in a blind nuclear arms race, which would take away talent and money for more important things . . .

Now there may come a moment in the future when we have a chance to come back to and attempt to relieve tensions with the Soviet Union, and when we do, we ought to seize it. And if we do, we can change the leadership in the Soviet Union. They are not of one fixed mind. It is not a set program, as so many people think. They have moved far from Stalin, but not far enough, and they can be moved further.

We ought to attempt to cooperate with them where we can, compete where it's necessary and not be afraid to compete but to make a sober effort every time to avoid confrontation, which can lead to disaster in the world.



David Saxon

The greatest threat to the security of the United States, the greatest threat to its position in the world, the greatest threat to our individual well being is our dependence on Middle Eastern oil. All the other things that we're concerned about flow from that.

If you believe that, there are things that must be done, starting now. We must, whether people are comfortable with it or not, begin to use nuclear energy. We must do that because the risks of not doing it are very much greater.

We must, in my view, whether we like it or not immediately conclude with the Russians the SALT Treaty, . . . not because we trust the Russians. On the contrary, because we don't trust the Russians, and we don't trust others.

But I believe that we will, in fact, address those problems. I think we have the will to do it. I think we have the intelligence to do it, and I think our record demonstrates that in the past we have responded to challenges.



Nancy Teeters

The most pressing economic problem, not only of today but of the coming decade, is to develop alternate sources of energy.

Developing alternate sources of energy is no longer the moral equivalent of war. If we fail to do it, it may actually be the cause of war.

Until we do have these alternate sources of energy, we will not have control over inflation.

[Without] alternate sources of energy we will not have an increase in the total real goods and services produced not only in the United States but around the world.

We need additional growth in our own country to absorb the four or five years yet remaining until the birth rate declines . . . The rate of growth in real income is the source from which we reduce poverty in this country. As we have seen the number of people in poverty go down, it has been as people have moved into regular full-time jobs.

You can expand this to a world view—that we need the energy resources in order to promote world growth and to have a world growth that will provide adequate levels of living to all people in the world wherever they live.



Fred Hechinger

I think we can become again what we once were: the "can do" society that can compete. We did it when we created the Land Grant Colleges, when that was the need to compete in the area of the Industrial and Agricultural Revolution.

We did it in the building of the atomic bomb. We did it when President Roosevelt called for the building in one year of 60,000 planes, and we did it again when President Kennedy set the timetable for our landing on the moon. I believe we can compete again.

Schools and universities must again be mobilized to provide that cutting edge in our competition. The impediment of linguistic and intellectual isolation must be removed.

I believe that it is absolutely essential that through our schools and our colleges we will again create an understanding of and a devotion to the Bill of Rights and the society of open opportunities and unlimited aspirations for all.

In the Eighties, I believe, we must remember America's real strength. Why do the Russians defect to the United States and not the other way around? Why have millions of immigrants come to this country? Why have people all over the world looked to America as the land of promise?

Now I think we must once again believe that the true reasons, the true reasons why people look to the United States are still valid, that the dream is still a legitimate goal, that ideals are the strongest force in our own arsenal and that the promise to keep the flame bright lights up the hope of men and women everywhere. I believe we must once again make the world understand and believe that we are the keepers of that flame.



Norman Hackerman

In order to approach our problems on a high intellectual plane, and with great sophistication, it seems to me that we may have to give up some of our individual freedoms.

If we are involved with the world, then our freedom is diminished. If our freedom is diminished, then indeed the form of democracy with which we started out and with which we continue to have as an objective, probably has to be altered.



William Jorden with Ambassador Harriman

Ambassador Jorden

In Panama we carried out a wise, thoughtful policy that serves the United States well, and I think the American people over time are going to understand that because we got those treaties, the Panama Canal is open today. If we hadn't had the treaties, it would not be open today, and we would probably have 50,000 men down there trying to reopen it, to say nothing of the fact that those treaties dealt the most serious blow to the communists in Panama and surrounding countries of anything that's been done for the last thirty years. Now they're scratching around for another issue.

In the Middle East, we're trying to evolve our policy. We're trying to do something about it, but why are so many of our friends standing by and looking at us, and either criticizing what we do or applauding what we do, depending on the point of view? But why are so few of them at this moment standing by our side and doing things together?

God knows that petroleum resources in the Middle East are critically important to us. They're vastly more important to Japan, vastly more important to Western Europe, and we should be working together and that doesn't happen overnight.



**Moderator
Barbara Jordan**

I don't know whether we gave you a map for the future. One thing that we did make clear is that the future is inevitable, that this is still a great country with a great future, that we are not the sole leader, but we are an important leader.

Our scientists among us would like for us to think more, and in the future we are going to have to bring some intellectual dimension to our consideration of problems. People who are ignorant must be made brighter.

We have a lot of faith in our ability and our capacity to impact on the future in a good and a positive way, and we believe firmly that peace is an inevitability if we get people of conscience and good will working together and moving in a constructive direction.



Mrs. Johnson and Eagle Scout Marsh Weiershausen of Fredericksburg, Texas, cut ribbon to open exhibit.

Norman Rockwell Paintings Trace Boy Scout Movement

An exhibit observing the 70th anniversary of the Boy Scout movement and depicting its relationship with every American President during that time opened at the Library in February.

Titled, "Boy Scouts of America: From the Brush of Norman Rockwell," the exhibit features 15 of the original works which the famed painter undertook during his association with scouting publications, beginning as a staff artist in 1923. Also on view in the exhibit are a variety of scouting historical memorabilia, such as scouting's prestigious Silver Buffalo Award, presented to President Johnson in 1964; the illustrated diary of Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the British Boy Scouts; a collection of old and new scouting manuals; rare issues of *Boy's Life*, Senator Hubert Humphrey's scout uniform, and other scouting treasures.

For anyone who was a Cub Scout or Boy Scout or even had the slightest contact with the Scouting movement, the LBJ Library exhibit will bring back some nostalgic memories. And even for those who never had to learn the 12 points of the Scout Law or how to tie a square knot, this exhibit will be an introduction to an organization embedded in the American psyche, just as the work of Norman Rockwell is present in the psyche.

... From the Daily Texan



Brian Plankenhorn, a boy scout from Lubbock, gets his leg cast signed by Mrs. Johnson at the exhibit opening. Congressman Jake Pickle stands behind Mrs. Johnson.

Photo by Ed Malcik
Daily Texan

Library To Display Magna Carta



One of the world's most famous documents—the Magna Carta, sealed in 1215 by King John—will be displayed in the Library for one week, March 29-April 5.

The ancient charter, considered the basis of freedom of English-speaking peoples, normally resides in Lincoln Cathedral at Lincolnshire, England.

The 700-year old document which was signed at Runnymede established the limits of the king's power. Twenty original copies were made after the initial agreement. Of these, only four—including the one to be displayed in the Library—are in existence today. They are rarely on exhibit.

[illegible]

The best 218 art works from among almost 1,300 submitted for the Central Texas Regional Scholastic Art Exhibit were on display during February in the Library. The exhibit, featuring works by talented junior and senior high school students in the Central and North-Central region of Texas, was part of the national Scholastic Art Awards program which has been sponsored for more than a half century by Scholastic Magazine.

Research in the LBJ

An extensive Administrative History of the Johnson Administration has been underway at the LBJ School of Public Affairs, under the direction of Dr. Emmette Redford. One of those working on the project is Associate Professor Dagmar Hamilton, who reported on her research in the current issue of "Discovery," a University of Texas journal. Following are excerpts from Dr. Hamilton's article:

My research analysis concerns President Johnson's cabinet appointments, how he made them, why he chose them, and what difference (if any) his selection made. The study is being done in conjunction with Professor Richard L. Schott of the LBJ School of Public Affairs, who is concerned about other facets of the Johnson appointments process at high levels of government.

The initial research was done by LBJ School graduate students supervised by Professor Schott and myself. The students did background research on individual cabinet members—using books, newspapers, archival materials, and in some instances interviewing the cabinet members in person about the circumstances surrounding their own appointments. It was a good interdisciplinary approach such as the School of Public Affairs strives for: a bit of history, a bit of political science, a bit of public administration, mixed in with a bit of journalism and a bit of psychology.

Exploring the possibilities of the seemingly endless documents in the Johnson Presidential Library was a real challenge. Since presidents—and particularly President Johnson—leave few tracks when considering candidates for a major appointive position, the attempt to learn why Johnson appointed a particular person at any given time reminded me of a complicated jigsaw puzzle. Scraps of information from an appointment book, guarded phrases in brief memos to aides, and records of telephone calls became precious clues in the search for information. The oral histories of cabinet members on file in the LBJ Library were helpful, although occasionally one-sided. When supplemented by oral histories of other people (such as presidential staff assistants) or by personal interviews, they were quite useful, and we were able to come up with fresh new material as we put it all together for the first time in a documented study.

It is to be hoped that the end result of our investigation into the cabinet appointments—particularly when joined with other pieces of research on the Johnson presidency—will add a dimension to Johnson as an administrator and enable us to judge the administrative talents of other presidents with better perspective.



Photographs provided by *Discovery Magazine*

Library: Two Views

In the same issue of "Discovery" is an article, excerpted here, by Director Harry Middleton on research possibilities in the LBJ Library.

The LBJ Library has in its collections some 31 million papers: 21 million are the papers of Lyndon Johnson; of these, two-thirds are from his presidency, the documents, correspondence, memoranda, all the myriad paperwork which accumulated in the White House in the course of his administration. Following the practice of all his predecessors, Johnson took with him into retirement the entire White House files, and they became the nucleus of the Library's collections. The other one-third of the LBJ papers are those he collected in the other stages of his life: early youth, in the Congress, in the Senate, as Vice President, and in retirement.

Of the remaining 10 million papers: 4 million are the personal papers of 160 persons who were associated with Johnson in the course of his public life—White House aides, Congressional colleagues, journalists who reported on his times. The remaining 6 million are composed of the records of government agencies and advisory boards.

Finally, an estimated 35,000 pages represent the Library's Oral History program. They are transcripts of interviews with more than 800 men and women who supplement and flesh out the stories imbedded in the written record with their recollections of how programs were developed and legislation passed, of the play of personalities on the moving history of the times.

The volume of Johnson papers, of course, is fixed and finite. But the other parts of the collections will continue to grow through the years. We are still acquiring the papers of persons connected in some way with LBJ, and we are still conducting interviews for the Oral History program.

Basically, the mission of the Library archivists is to open the papers, a process that involves arrangement and review of each document. Why review? When President Johnson turned over his papers to the Library, he signed a deed of gift stipulating that all his papers, except for those classified for security purposes, should be made available for study unless they contained materials which might embarrass or harass living persons. To this point, about 80 percent of the Johnson materials, mainly the nonclassified presidential papers and those of the early Congressional years, have been reviewed. Less than 1 percent of the papers reviewed so far have been closed; and material that is closed is periodically reviewed and opened when the conditions for closing it are removed—which usually, but not always, means the death of the person or persons involved.

Classified papers—they total about 1 million—are another matter. This is the one body of records over which the Library does not have complete control. Generally speaking, this material has to be declassified before it can be made available, and the declassification has to be accomplished either by the agency or department of the government which originally classified the document—or, when the classification was done at the White House, by the department or agency which has primary interest in the subject. About 7 percent of the classified documents in the Johnson Library have gone through this process. A reasonable guess is that because of the slowness with which the government

moves in these matters it may be as much as 30 years from now that the bulk of those million papers bearing the stamp "Secret" or higher will be downgraded and available.

In much less than that time—within 5 years—it is our hope and goal to have all the other papers now in the collections at least reviewed, if not totally opened. Because we plan to continue to acquire papers, the overall review process will be open-ended. In terms of priorities, the presidential papers got first attention, then LBJ's congressional papers. Next in line are his papers from the Senate and vice presidency. After that, we will concentrate on the papers of our other donors.

So far, research in the Library has produced or contributed to 50 books, 47 doctoral dissertations, 21 masters' theses, 19 course papers, 18 articles, and several other projects, covering some 55 subjects. And all that, predictably, is only a beginning. The project will increase as more of the collections are opened. The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library which has been operating for 40 years is still a major center of historical research.

Books about Lyndon Johnson himself are the most obvious, and most dramatic, products to emerge in the next few years. We can count at least three major biographies on Johnson now in progress, because those three biographers have been spending time with us. It is likely that the theme of power will surface in the biographies, and, of course, politics. For as much as any figure of this century, Johnson was identified with the American political system. It seems likely that writers will be pursuing those themes well into the twenty-first century.

And beyond Johnson himself is his mark on his times—his role as Majority Leader in the Senate, his concept of and attempt to create a Great Society. The social programs of his presidency have come in for some rough reassessment in recent years. But reassessment is a process that does not end, and the interpretations of the 1980s and beyond may look quite different from those of the early 1970s. John Gardner has said, "A hundred years from now, social historians seeking the origins of one or another social advance will discover how seminal the 1960s really were."

And, of course, Vietnam. Already the literature on that painful and bitter war is voluminous. Whatever historians write about it in the future, the story cannot be complete until those 1 million classified papers in the LBJ Library are available. And so thoroughly did Vietnam overshadow the other aspects of foreign policy in the Johnson years, in the minds of scholars at least, that all those other elements lie virtually untouched, ready to be explored.

Some of the figures associated with LBJ will undoubtedly get treatments of their own, and their biographers will find rich lodestones in the LBJ Library collections. Among those is Lady Bird Johnson. Her touch on the times was gentle and beneficent, but her eye was keen and her judgments shrewd. She meticulously kept a diary throughout her White House years, and she used only one-seventh of it for her own book. The rest of it will eventually be available at the Library, with its special insights into 5 of the most promising, turbulent, and traumatic years in the nation's history.

Visitors to the Library



Mrs. Johnson conducts Alfonso Martinez Dominguez, Governor of Nuevo Leon, Mexico through the Library's exhibit of the 1920's.

Also touring the 20's exhibit was Don Baylor (right), California Angel player from Austin, who was the American League's Most Valuable Player in 1979. Mr. Baylor found particular interest in Babe Ruth's bat.



Adm. Rowland G. Freeman III, Administrator of General Services Administration, spoke to Library staff during visit in December.

Liz Returns to Washington

After three years away from Washington—during which time she served as consultant to the LBJ Library—Liz Carpenter returned to the Capital City in January to become Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs in the new Department of Education. Her return did not go unheralded. Editorialized the Washington Star: "Hold everything, you people who go around bad-mouthing the Education Department. The new Federal agency can't be all bad—it's brought Liz Carpenter back to town." Whatever happens now, the editorial continued, "there's a public dividend. Having Liz Carpenter here is just about guaranteed to make Washington fun again after a pretty lugubrious few years."

AMONG FRIENDS OF LBJ is a publication of the Friends of the LBJ Library

Editor: Lawrence D. Reed

Research Assistance: Charles Corkran, Gary Yarrington, Marlene White, Kathy Scafe, Walt Roberts

Photography: Frank Wolfe, Paul Chevalier;

Staff Assistance: Yolanda Boozer, Lou Anne Missildine