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# Among Friends of LBJ

A NEWSLETTER OF THE FRIENDS OF THE LBJ LIBRARY



Looking Back. . .  
Fifty Years  
of the  
New Deal Legacy

(Stories, pages 2-13)







Symposium panelists and speakers included these present and former members of Congress: from left, Sen. Jennings Randolph, Rep. Claude Pepper, Rep. Jake Pickle, former President Gerald R. Ford, former Rep. John Brademas and former Rep. James Roosevelt.

## Symposium Analyzes New Deal Legacy

For three days in March, historians, journalists, students and political veterans gathered at the LBJ Library to recall the period in American history known as the New Deal. The occasion was a symposium which coincided with the 50th anniversary of Franklin D. Roosevelt's first inauguration.

"The New Deal Fifty Years After: An Historical Assessment," held March 2, 3 and 4, was jointly sponsored by the LBJ Library, The University of Texas at Austin, the FDR Library and Virginia Commonwealth University.

An official government welcome was extended by Gerald P. Carmen, Administrator of General Services Administration. Vice President William S. Livingston welcomed on behalf of the University.

The symposium was crowded with reminiscences by New Deal alumni, scholarly reports on New Deal programs, and assessments—from both supporters and critics—of the effect and future legacy of the social reform movement launched half a century ago.

Library Director Harry Middleton called it "the most ambitious program attempted in the ten-year history of symposia at the Library."

Dean Elspeth Rostow of the LBJ School of Public Affairs, chairman of the committee which planned the symposium, said in the closing session, "when former Secretary of HEW Wilbur Cohen proposed that this symposium be held, he asked for both an evocation of what the New Deal has been and what it can be now in terms of programmatic, but also he asked for an honest assessment. In two days and a half, we have come reasonably close to fulfilling Dr. Cohen's desire."

On the following pages are highlights of the major speeches and panel discussions from "The New Deal Fifty Years After: An Historical Assessment." (In the coming months, a publication will present the proceedings in full.)

### LBJ's Vision

In remarks which opened the symposium, Library Director Harry Middleton invoked the name and spirit of LBJ:

Lyndon Johnson, marked though he was by FDR, is not the subject of this conference, but his hand is upon it, because what we are doing here is work that he shaped for this Library . . . He had a large vision for the Library, as in the years of his leadership he had had for the American society . . .

(He) established this series of national symposia. He lived to participate in the first two. As President, Johnson had been an activist and no stranger to controversy, and he made no effort to hide or moderate either of those qualities when he spoke from this stage in the final months of his life . . .

But he was also a realist, and he saw the pendulum begin to swing the other way, and he instructed us in the virtues of contention. He made it clear that he wanted us to create a place where leaders of the time, representing all points of view, would come to discuss, to debate, and to illuminate issues of concern to the American people.

In that spirit, there have been assembled here not only his supporters but also those who challenged his philosophy and opposed his programs and his actions. The result has been a decade of lively, often exciting, sometimes contentious, and I hope useful conferences, culminating in this one. That is part of his legacy.



# Academic Conference Draws Leading Scholars

An academic conference on Wednesday, March 2, opened the symposium.

Forty scholars from around the country, experts in various fields of modern American history, convened to focus on nine issues raised by the New Deal programs and policies.

Keynote speaker was Frank Freidel, Bullitt Professor of American History at the University of Washington and a major biographer of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Roosevelt "dreamed large dreams, then acted prudently," Professor Freidel said. Addressing the topic, "The New Deal: Laying the Foundations for Modern America," he said, "What seems evolutionary today seemed revolutionary then."

FDR was able to transform a nation, he said, because his knowledge was remarkably broad and he was unusually responsive to new ideas. He modernized the presidency, wrought changes in Congress and forged a new relationship between government and the economy, Freidel maintained.

Melvin I. Urofsky, professor of history at Virginia Commonwealth University, chairman of the opening session, organized the first day program, which included the following panel sessions:

**The New Deal and the Courts.** Maeva Marcus, Supreme Court of the United States; Paul L. Murphy, University of Minnesota; Henry J. Abraham, University of Virginia; William E. Leuchtenburg, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

**The New Deal and Minority Groups.** Henry L. Feingold, City University of New York; Leonard Dinnerstein, University of Arizona; Harvard Sitkoff, University of New Hampshire; Robert H. Abzug, University of Texas at Austin.

**Radical Politics in the Thirties.** David A. Shannon, University of Virginia; David H. Bennett, Syracuse University; Donald R. McCoy, University of Kansas; Barton J. Bernstein, Stanford University; William M. Stott, University of Texas at Austin.

**The New Deal and Labor.** Ray Marshall, University of Texas at Austin; David Brody, University of California at Davis; Melvin Dubofsky, State University of New York at Binghamton; Karl Klare, Northeastern University Law School.

**The Roosevelt Administration and Economic Legislation.** Emmette S. Redford, University of Texas at Austin; Ellis Wayne Hawley, University of Iowa; James E. Anderson, University of

Houston; Susan F. Feiner, Virginia Commonwealth University.

**The New Deal and the Welfare State.** Earl M. Lewis, Trinity University; James T. Patterson, Brown University; Clarke A. Chambers, University of Minnesota; Wilbur J. Cohen, University of Texas at Austin.

**Women and the New Deal.** Susan E. Kennedy, Virginia Commonwealth University; Ruth M. Milkman, Queens College, City University of New York; Winifred D. Wandersee, Hartwick College; Lewis L. Gould, University of Texas at Austin.

**New Deal Farm Policy.** Robert A. Calvert, Texas A&M University; Wayne D. Rasmussen, U.S. Department of Agriculture; Gladys L. Baker, U.S. Department of Agriculture; Edward L. Schapsmeier, Illinois State University; Frederick H. Schapsmeier, University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh; Richard Lowitt, Iowa State University.

**Roosevelt and His Advisors.** David W. Levy, University of Oklahoma; Bruce A. Murphy, The Pennsylvania State University; Jordan A. Schwarz, Northern Illinois University; Bruce Buchanan, University of Texas at Austin; Michael B. Stoff, University of Texas at Austin.



Frank Freidel: "FDR transformed a nation."

Melvin Urofsky, conference coordinator



A member of the audience questions the panel on "The New Deal and Minority Groups."



## Galbraith Recalls FDR's 'Revolution'

The public part of the symposium opened on March 3 with an address by Harvard University economist John Kenneth Galbraith. Excerpts from the Galbraith speech:

It was Franklin D. Roosevelt who in the United States led the great transition in modern capitalism, the transition from an economic and social system in which participants were expected to bear the cost of their own helplessness and their own misfortune earned or unearned, to a system in which a compassionate protection tempered the inherent hardships and cruelties of what is still, by some, called the free enterprise system . . .

The Roosevelt Revolution, the New Deal, to this day is both celebrated and not quite forgiven. The poor are still thought by the stern to be unduly favored, with resulting moral damage. Under free enterprise, men and women and also children are meant to suffer. That suffering, like more income to the affluent, is essential as an incentive.

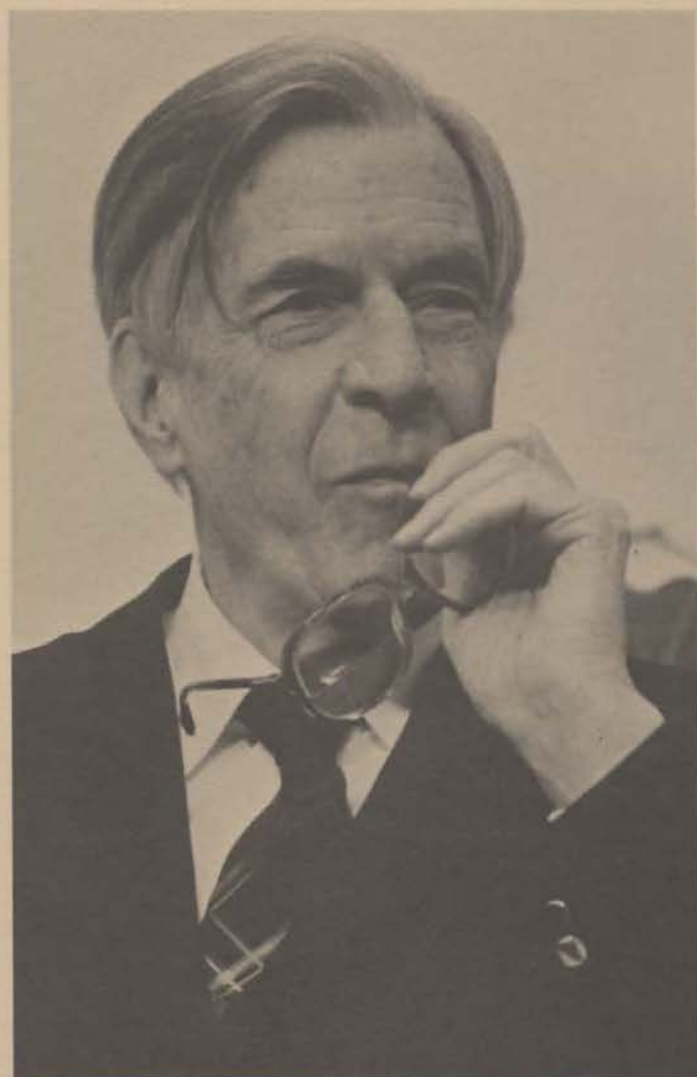
No one would be more pleased than Franklin D. Roosevelt at the success of the Roosevelt Revolution, or less surprised at the deeply theological resistance it continues to engender . . .

The Roosevelt Revolution, properly viewed, was deeply conservative. It was in the interests of the social tranquility, the sense of belonging without which capitalism would not have survived, and still will not survive. The protected values and institutions were then very much at risk . . .

Ideas were there, linked to intensely practical, powerfully relevant action . . . Whatever the reason for unemployment, the obvious answer was for the government to provide jobs through Public and Civil Works Administration . . .

Unemployment compensation, old age pensions, and public housing were also eminently relevant to the problems they addressed . . .

No one can doubt the Roosevelt virtuosity in speech, in dealing with the press, and above all on the radio, but none of this talent would have survived and served for those twelve intense years had it not been associated with concrete action and visible results . . .



John Kenneth Galbraith awaits his turn at the podium.

It is the Roosevelt legacy that we all belong, without exception, to a yet larger commonwealth. In this larger community, there is a general concern for economic well being of all people; also, for the reality of social participation and social justice.

## 'This is Where I Came In'

Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson extended a welcome to those gathered at the LBJ Auditorium for the March 3-4 segment of the New Deal symposium. Following are excerpts from her remarks:

Dear friends—this is where I came in. This is where so many of us in this room came in—the Thirties, those vigorous days of our youth . . .

For me, for all who were part of it, the Depression hit us in a very personal way. There was an experience, a vignette, a memory that we still carry with us.

I was a student on this campus when that moment occurred. A letter from my Daddy, country merchant and landowner back in Karnack, with a dollar bill in it, said, "Dear Daughter, I am sending you the last dollar from the

cash register. We don't know when the banks will open." Times were hard and you could read it in the lines of letters and faces.

In 1934 when Lyndon, who was then secretary to a Congressman, took me to Washington as a bride, there was an upbeat in the air. I could feel the yeasty sense of doing that pervaded the Capital. Like so many young couples in Washington, we were swept up in the talk and the action—government in action. We thought we could roll up our sleeves and remake America . . .

But this symposium is designed as more than a memory or a celebration. It is intended as an assessment to explore where we have been as a nation and where we are going . . .



# Fond Remembrances of 'How It All Began'

Reminiscences and a taste of what it was like to be in Washington when the New Deal started dominated the panel discussion on "How It All Began" the morning of March 3.

On hand were:

- A member of the Roosevelt White House: James Rowe, Washington attorney and advisor to many presidents, who got his start as a young assistant to FDR.

- Some who served in the government: Economist Leon Keyserling, who was involved in many legislative programs; Wilbur Cohen, who helped draft the original Social Security bill, went on to become Secretary of Health Education and Welfare under LBJ and now teaches at the LBJ School of Public Affairs, and Page Keeton, who became Dean of the U.T. Law School;

- The wife of one of those bureaucrats: Virginia Foster Durr, one of the great champions of civil rights legislation.

- A veteran of one of the New Deal's innovative programs: noted actor John Houseman, who directed a project of the WPA's Federal Theater.

- Members of the press who covered FDR and the New Deal: Esther Van Wagoner Tufty, William S. White and Ernest L. Cuneo.

The reminiscences were nostalgic, sentimental and often humorous. Most of the participants, looking back over distinguished careers, remembered that time from their youth as the dominant experience of their lives. Jim Rowe summed it up: "With the possible exception of the Founding Fathers, there never had been before, certainly has not been since, the excitement, intellectuality or the sense of accomplishment that existed in the New Deal."



Virginia Durr: "We had to go out and make a committee to try to get the vote for the South."



Leon Keyserling: "I've been working for the New Deal for fifty years . . . (It) provides a precise, exact example of what we should be doing now."



John Houseman: The Federal Theater Project produced an "extraordinary flowering of theatrical and artistic energy" and established subsidies for the arts "which today are part of our national life."



Esther Van Wagoner Tufty (the banter between FDR and the press was "electric and wonderful"), Wilbur Cohen (being part of the New Deal was "one of the most thrilling experiences of my life") and James Rowe.



# Speakers See Different Directions for

Different perspectives on the legacy and spirit of the New Deal were presented Friday morning March 4 by two longtime colleagues in government who served on opposite sides of the aisle, former Democratic Congressman John Brademas of Indiana and former President Gerald Ford, onetime Republican House Minority Leader.

John Brademas, now president of New York University, focused in particular on the federal government's commitment to public education, rooted in the New Deal era. Here are some excerpts:



John Brademas and former President Gerald Ford



... debate issues raised by New Deal legislation



... and offer different views on role of government.

What comes through clearly in his (FDR's) statements and speeches is his sense of the relationship between education, on the one hand, and three other elements: economic well-being, democratic values, and individual opportunity.

Roosevelt thought education vital to the revival of the economic life of the nation . . . The human as well as the physical capital of the country was to be conserved and reconstructed by the New Deal.

FDR promised no large-scale programs of federal aid to education. He spoke rather of "entering wedges" . . . the first of these wedges appeared with New Deal programs (for) public works, conservation projects, and youth training.

In December 1933, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration provided what was then called "work-aid" to students and relief funds to teachers to keep schools open which would otherwise have had to close their doors.

And thousands of young people who enrolled in the Civilian Conservation Corps received instruction in the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic and were offered vocational and academic courses at levels ranging from elementary to high school.

The National Youth Administration, which focused on vocational training and jobs, meant, for thousands of young men and women, enough money to finance their high school and college education. And within a year of the start of the NYA in 1935, some 400,000 students were working under its auspices . . .

Roosevelt supported and signed into law the G.I. Bill of Rights, under which the national government paid for the education of millions of young Americans . . . With its passage and its demonstration that financial assistance from the federal government did not bring loss of local control, the stage was set for expansion of the federal role in education.

In his ringing assertion, that, "Education is the keystone in the arch of freedom and progress," John F. Kennedy sounded a Rooseveltian theme at the same time he set the stage for the mid-sixties and the explosion of educational legislation that was to come . . .

But as you and I know, the most prodigious outpouring of such legislation was to begin following the presidential and congressional elections of 1964, under the leadership of the man in whose memorial we gather today, Lyndon Baines Johnson . . .

In all these (educational) achievements, the legacy of the New Deal has been increasingly realized, under presidents of both of our great political parties, until 1981 . . .

The legacy of the New Deal for the American future, I think, is three-fold:

One part speaks to the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of our lives; health and housing, jobs and food, education and fair treatment for all.

A second aspect of the heritage touches on the way we conduct politics in this country. The New Deal was a triumph of pragmatism over ideology, a flexibility over fanaticism. The Roosevelt era, moreover, demonstrated that in the face of terrible times, government could be an instrument of peaceful and democratic social change.

And a third contribution of the New Deal legacy is that government need not be the enemy of the people but can, indeed should, be their servant.



# New Deal Programs in Future

**Former President Gerald R. Ford gave his perspective on the legacy of the New Deal, from the viewpoint of a Republican leader of Congress and the leader of the nation for two years. Here are some excerpts:**

I recall the stock market crash in 1929 and saw firsthand the terrible impact of the Depression on my own family and the families of my schoolmates, with unemployment at 25 per cent in 1933 . . . At this stage of my life, despite my upbringing as a solid Republican, I felt that something had gone wrong in America.

It was obvious to me then, and still is, that in the late 1920s and early 1930s, certain fundamental segments of our domestic economy had serious problems that needed regulation and new approaches.

Although I never embraced all that FDR did in this particular period, I did applaud his efforts to unravel the devastations of the Smoot-Hawley tariff legislation under the leadership of Cordell Hull, his support of legislation to establish the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, his recognition that America's agriculture needed basic regulation to prevent the bankruptcy of our farmers, his support for new legislation in the area of labor management legislation, and his recommendations to regulate Wall Street with the SEC.

On review in 1983, 50 years later, my assessment is that the Roosevelt Administration moved necessarily with legislative proposals that were dramatic, and some would say radical, to meet the national crisis . . . It was the beginning of a much more activist federal government with significant increases of government regulation, both by law as well as by executive mandate.

The surge of (social) legislation in the late 1930s, which is the hallmark of the New Deal, continued to a lesser degree in the post-World War II period in the Truman and Kennedy Administrations. The trend was accelerated in 1964, '65 and '66 under President Johnson's Great Society initiatives . . .

Now, at some point following the 1968 presidential election . . . there began a shift in public sentiment away from the New Deal concept, that centralization of authority in the nation's Capital and governmental regulation of our society was the answer to our problems and a better life for all Americans.

It may have been caused by citizen disillusionment with Washington leadership in the handling of the Vietnam War. It may have resulted from legislation or executive regulation going far too far, to excess in the penetration of our daily lives.

Whatever the cause, the political pendulum began to swing back from the heyday of the New Deal and others that followed that trend.

Even a Democrat, Jimmy Carter, in 1976 successfully belabored the excesses of Washington that had had their birth in the New Deal.

In my administration, I was joined in a major deregulation effort of the CAB and the ICC by Senator Edward Kennedy. These proposals bore fruit under Carter and Reagan for the airline and the trucking industries and, to a degree, for the railroads.

Don't get me wrong. I'm not saying that the New Deal legacy across the board is being shattered today. I am saying



**Congressman Jake Pickle said in his introduction of President Ford: "Don't you all believe all that make-up stuff about tamale shucks, chewing gum, and football helmets. What you can believe that here is one of the most distinguished, courageous, and outstanding presidents who ever served us."**

that as times and circumstances change and as political sentiment ebbs and flows, what was tried and found useful in a previous era can and should be reviewed and revised in another.

Much of the basic social legislation enacted by the New Deal is still on the books. In some cases, it has been updated. Social Security is a good illustration of many legislative expansions, revisions, and now probably a compromise to save it from bankruptcy.

Labor management legislation has gone through a series of changes from the Wagner Act to the Taft-Hartley Act, to the Landrum-Griffin Act . . .

This updating of legislation in no way degrades the legacy of the New Deal in this important area of our society. It simply illustrates in my mind that with the passage of time, we need new tools to deal with current problems . . .

FDR's greatest contribution, his legacy that will stand the test of time, was his unquestioned talent to rekindle our spirit in times of despair. With that spirit, America did meet its challenges, and today we are the beneficiaries.





Mrs. Johnson speaks from audience during panel discussion: Did the New Deal jeopardize our sense of responsibility?

## The New Deal and 'Personal Responsibility'

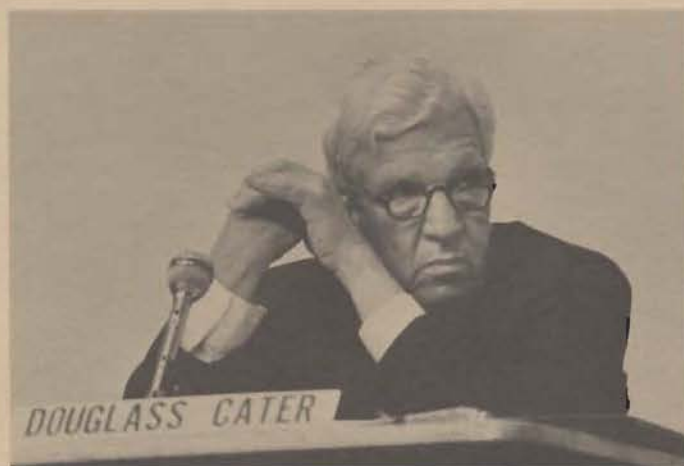
For the most part, the discussion in the panels March 3 and 4 followed the lines set forth in the Ford-Brademas talks: from the supporters, an endorsement of the spirit and the philosophy of the New Deal; from the critics, not an out-of-hand rejection of the historic New Deal, but rather a caution voiced by William Rusher: "Do not make the mistake of taking a past great experience and applying it too literally to what may not be the same problem."

The debate was lively and spirited, often eloquent, occasionally impassioned (most notably when Vernon Jordan, reacting to a reference to "abuses" in the food stamp program, responded: "Pick on someone your own size. Leave them alone. They're hungry.")

A question first arose when a woman in the audience at the Thursday afternoon panel session wondered whether one of the unintended side effects of the New Deal was unconsciously to reduce a sense of personal responsibility, because "we have paid the Good Samaritan to come along after us to take care of . . . the sick man on the road."

This prompted Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, sitting in the audience to express the hope (see picture above) that the question would be explored. "I thank Roosevelt and I thank God for those programs which put us back on our feet and put us to work," she said. "It was our salvation at the time," but did it jeopardize our sense of "personal responsibility?"

In one way or another, that question recurred. Douglass Cater, moderating the final session, noted that the theme which threaded through the deliberations was "the role of government as 'my brother's keeper'."



Douglass Cater: Am I my brother's keeper?

It was a question for which perhaps there was no final answer that would satisfy everyone. There was general agreement with President Ford's contention: "There is no question at all in my mind that our government has a firm obligation to help those who, for physical or mental or other such reasons, cannot help themselves."

Beyond that, what is government's responsibility? (At the very least, John Brademas suggested, "to guarantee a modicum of justice in the society.") The grappling with that issue, reflecting the varying perspectives of the participants, provided much of the conference's yeasty dialogue.





Rep. Jack Kemp, Vernon Jordan



William Rusher, Sen. Jennings Randolph



Clarence Mitchell, Charles McLaughlin



Esther Peterson



Rep. Claude Pepper

## The Panels

### "The Effect Of The New Deal To The Present Time"

Katie Louchheim  
Politician and Poet

Frank Freidel  
Bullitt Professor of American History  
University of Washington

William E. Leuchtenburg  
William Rand Kenan Professor  
University of North Carolina at  
Chapel Hill

Charles C. McLaughlin  
Editor in Chief  
The Frederick Law Olmsted Papers  
The American University

Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr.  
Attorney at Law  
Mitchell, Mitchell and Mitchell, P.A.

George H. Nash  
Historian, Author and Biographer of  
Herbert Hoover

Douglass Cater, President  
Washington College

### "The New Deal's Legacy For The Future"

Mr. Cater

Mr. Brademas

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.  
Attorney at Law  
Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer and Feld

Jack Kemp  
United States Representative, 31st District,  
New York

President Ford

Mary Dublin Keyserling  
President,  
Clearinghouse of Women's Issues  
Former Director,  
Women's Bureau, Department of Labor

Esther Peterson  
Former Consumer Advisor to  
Presidents Johnson and Carter

Jennings Randolph  
United States Senator, West Virginia  
William A. Rusher  
Publisher, National Review



## Son Offers Personal Recollections of FDR

James Roosevelt, son of the late President, a former Congressman and now a businessman in California, gave symposium participants a personal recollection of his father during the Thursday March 3 afternoon session. Excerpts:

I think of him in two separate eras, one prior to the time that he caught polio when he . . . did just everything that one could possibly hope and desire in an exuberant and very much alive parent . . .

Above all, I like to have people think of my father as a human being. He was not a god. He could make errors, and did make errors in many, many ways, but he did have a vision also, a vision that probably from the time he got polio grew in nature and in stature . . .

Down in Warm Springs, Georgia . . . he'd come upon a farmer on the side of the road, and he'd stop and he'd talk to him and they'd get to be friends. And he'd ask him about his crops, and he'd ask him about his cattle, ask him about the water situation, the fertility of the land, and you could really see that there was in his mind the feeling that the land must be cultivated, the land must be preserved, and he was a conservationist. And out of these contacts, not only did he develop the opportunity to talk to the ordinary person without the trappings of the Presidency alongside him, talk to these people directly person-to-person, but I thought I could see the evolution of the total picture, the total program that he had in mind.

I've always felt that when the fireside chats were reviewed that their great appeal was not because of his voice necessarily . . . (but) because somehow he got across the message that he was talking to you individually, to you as a person, not to a great mass of people . . .

The hope that I would have for all our leaders is that they have the courage to be hated as well as loved, that at the



James Roosevelt

same time that they would know and have the sureness that they were on the right track, the sureness that gives them the courage to carry out experiment for unusual situations, and come up with unusual answers.

I think of my father as a human statesman, but above all I think of him as a beloved father.

## Democratic Presidents 'Lived in FDR's Shadow'

Professor and author William Leuchtenburg of the University of North Carolina opened the Thursday afternoon session by tracing the effect, as he saw it, of FDR on the Democratic Presidents who succeeded him. Some of his observations:

Critics regarded the Fair Deal as little more than warmed over New Deal, and one observer characterized Truman's tenure after 1945 as Roosevelt's fifth term . . .

As President, Kennedy adopted policies that drew upon the New Deal and showed an abiding interest in the style and performance of Franklin Roosevelt . . . Still, for all his indebtedness to particular ideas of the earlier period, Kennedy did not think that the Roosevelt legacy was really pertinent to his own times . . .

Roosevelt once was heard to remark (of Lyndon Johnson): "That's the kind of man I could have been if I

hadn't had a Harvard education." . . .

When, in November 1963, Johnson succeeded to the presidency, he declared openly that Franklin Roosevelt was his model . . . He relied upon counselors from New Deal days, like Jim Rowe, and drew upon experiments of the FDR era. The NYA served as the basis of the Job Corps . . .

Johnson's difficulties came, of course, in foreign affairs, where at least as much as in domestic policy Franklin Roosevelt served as his model. Johnson was certain that in acting as he did in Vietnam he was doing only what Roosevelt would have done . . .

It seems clear that no one will any longer live in FDR's shadow, as each in their fashion, Harry Truman, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson did, but it will be a considerable time still before it vanishes forever.



## Final Words: Preserving Integrity of New Deal

The final comments of the symposium came from Governor Charles Robb of Virginia, as he made the concluding remarks at noon Friday, March 4, coinciding with the 50th anniversary of Roosevelt's inauguration. Here are some excerpts:

The New Deal altered and expanded the activities and the obligations of the federal government, as they affect American life, and revised and enlarged the expectations the American people have of their national government.

It is my personal feeling that we must maintain the historic commitments that were begun fifty years ago to an active, inclusive government, sensitive to its greatest mandate in serving all of the American people.

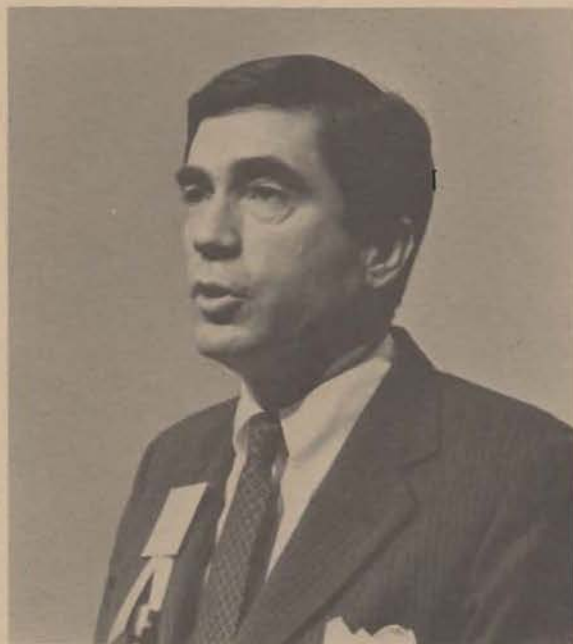
The central issue facing us now . . . is how we make the changes that must be undertaken and make them in a fashion that will preserve the integrity of the vital programs begun in the New Deal . . .

In my judgment, if we hope to preserve the social and economic gains America has made over the past 40 years and keep the great commitments made by at least five administrations during those decades, we're going to have to take action—tough, painful, action—to bring our spending in balance with our means.

In short, unless we direct the national dialogue to the question of giving up something, we may run the risk of losing everything . . .

The New Deal, it seems to me, ultimately was critical to the preservation of the stable, social and economic center of American life.

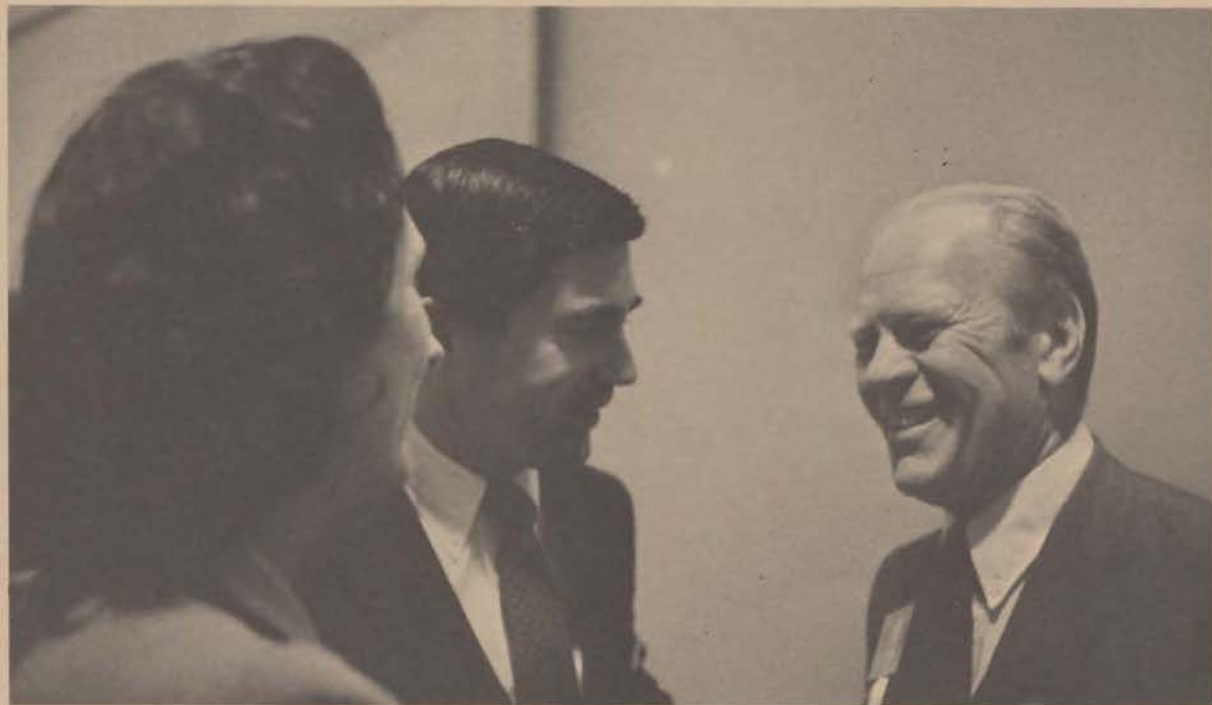
In that respect, the New Deal defied temporary ideological labels. Those who developed it, like FDR, looked upon government as an ally, a willing partner and protective supporter of American society and institutions, the forerunner,



Charles Robb: "We must maintain historic commitments."

if you will, of the current public/private partnership that is the goal of so many of us in public life today.

Finally it is my own feeling that the experiment of the New Deal worked because America is essentially an experiment, an experiment in the continuing search for equipoise between those things in American life which are organic and ever changing and those things in our nation's experience which are immutable and unchanging.



Former President Ford greets Lynda and Charles Robb on the final day of the New Deal symposium.





Balladeer Joe Glazer performs songs of the workingman with scenes of the Depression behind him.



Writer Studs Terkel recalls "Hard Times."

## 'The Flavor and

As Master of Ceremonies John Houseman said, "Out of the bleak experience of Depression and despair came a New Deal for America. And it made its mark on the way we lived and loved and looked at ourselves, on what we sang and what we read, on how we laughed."

On the evening of March 3, the New Deal symposium participants took a break from historical assessment and discussion to hear the songs, the literature, the humor of the Thirties, shaped in large part by the experiences of the Depression and the hope engendered by the New Deal.

The program, entitled "The Flavor and the Fervor," was a special event for members of the Friends of the LBJ Library.

With a backdrop of scenes of bread lines and bank closings, Houseman took the audience back fifty years to a place "of silence and pain." But the mood quickly shifted to the smiling face of FDR and the song, "Happy Days Are Here Again."

Writer Shana Alexander recounted how her father, songwriter Milton Ager, "picked up the tempo" of a haunting ballad and created "Happy Days Are Here Again," a song that lifted the nation's spirits.





Kathleen Sisk as "Annie," center, leads singers in finale of the song, "Tomorrow," the theme of the Broadway musical.

## the Fervor' of the Thirties

"When the Democrats met in Chicago to nominate Franklin Roosevelt, a wonderful old song plugger Tubby Garen had the score in his pocket and muscled his way into the convention headquarters and believe it or not, talked his way into the room with the candidate. Knowing the way to his heart was through the Navy, for Franklin Roosevelt was a strong Navy man, Tubby said, 'Governor, I've got a song here you're gonna love. It sounds just like "Anchors Aweigh." ' And he took out a harmonica and played it on the spot.

"Roosevelt loved it. They gave the score to the band, and from that day forward the man and the music were forever tied together."

Balladeer Joe Glazer presented more music of the times, including, "Brother Can You Spare A Dime," and the lesser known "NRA Blues," "Don't Take Away My PWA," "Leaning On A Shovel," "Old Age Pension Check," and "Franklin D. Roosevelt's Back Again."

Houseman told how he and actor Orson Welles directed the Negro Theater Project of the Federal Theater in those lean days. Their production of the "Voodoo Macbeth," he

said, kept actors and stage technicians working and community spirits alive.

Studs Terkel read passages from his oral history, "Hard Times," and John Henry Faulk told stories reflecting the humor of the Thirties.

Lady Bird Johnson paid tribute to Eleanor Roosevelt, saying, "Few people have marked the world and our conscience as Eleanor Roosevelt" . . . She "taught us that sometimes silence is the greatest sin."

Liz Carpenter reminded the audience of another great lady of the New Deal, Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor under Roosevelt. "The reforms she launched changed the lives of working Americans."

Passages from John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, the classic work of the Depression, were read by Barbara Jordan.

Closing the program were two numbers from "Annie" including the rousing "Tomorrow," rendered by Kathleen Sisk of the national touring company of "Annie" and a number of Austin performers.

"The Flavor and the Fervor" was directed by Wally Pryor.



## Exhibit Spotlights Roosevelt's Use of Media

In conjunction with the 50th anniversary of Franklin Roosevelt's inauguration, the LBJ Library displayed three exhibits on FDR and the 1930s from January through April.

The exhibits proved popular, drawing a number of visitors attending the 3-day symposium on the New Deal (see stories, pages 2-13).

The main exhibit, "FDR: The Intimate Presidency" documented Roosevelt's masterful skills as a communicator and his broad use of the media. Photographs and artifacts evoked the early days of radio and FDR's use of the fireside chats.

The exhibit also included a number of documentary photographs of the Depression, examples of WPA art, and photographs from the WPA writers and theater projects.

The exhibit was lent by the Smithsonian Institution traveling Exhibition Service. Also included was a 20-minute segment of old Pathe News reels from the National Archives and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.

"To Growl Warnings," a collection of editorial cartoons spanning the Roosevelt years, was also on display.

A photographic exhibit, "Working in the 1930s," documented small businesses in the Corpus Christi area during the Depression decade.

Photographs, art work and artifacts from the Federal Arts Projects of the WPA were popular exhibit items.



Museum Curator Gary Yarrington, left, Pat Burchfield and Philip Von Kohl carefully unload the skeleton of a 20,000-year-old sabre tooth cat, on loan from the Texas Memorial Museum.



Visitor stops to read introductory panel to "FDR: The Intimate Presidency."



## UT's 'Treasures' To be on Display

"Treasures of the University's First Hundred Years," an exhibit commemorating the University of Texas Centennial, will open June 4 at the Library. More than 100 objects from five major UT collections will be displayed.

Items include the manuscript of the inaugural address of Sam Houston, first president of the Republic of Texas, on loan from the Barker Texas History Center, and the original plaster made in 1871 of French sculptor Auguste Rodin's "Man with a Broken Nose," from the Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery. From the Humanities Research Center will be the manuscript and first edition of D. H. Lawrence's *Women in Love* and other items. Items from the Texas Memorial Museum and the Benson Latin American Collection are also among the "treasures."

"Treasures of the University's First Hundred Years" will be open through November 27.



## Museum Attendance Continues to Rise

The number of visitors to the Library continues to increase dramatically since the renovation of the museum last June.

Visitors in March of this year, for example, numbered 46,264, nearly 20,000 more than attendance last March. This continued the upswing begun last June, with the opening of the new permanent exhibits. According to museum curator Gary Yarrington, attendance each month since June has been up considerably compared with the previous year.

"I think the rise in attendance is directly related to our new exhibits and the publicity surrounding the renovation," Mr. Yarrington said.

"The month of March represented a dramatic upsurge from last March, nearly a 45 per cent increase, and we hope that the trend continues," he said.



Surrounded by students, docent JoAnn Jentz gives an orientation briefing to make the young people's tour more meaningful. In the first quarter of 1983, the docents have greeted 92,787 visitors to the Library and given tours or orientation talks to 96 school groups and 63 other groups.

Anyone interested in working as a volunteer docent should contact Annette Sadler, 482-5137, extension 58.



Naval officers from several countries, assigned to NATO, visit the Oval Office on the eighth floor of the Library, accompanied by Curator Gary Yarrington, far right.



Sol Linowitz talks with a docent as he tours the museum's International Affairs section. Mr. Linowitz, President Carter's Middle East negotiator and ambassador to the Organization of American States under President Johnson, was in Austin to speak at the LBJ School of Public Affairs on the situation in the Middle East.



# The Library's Holdings on Women

Library archivist Nancy Smith recently spoke to history professors from throughout the Southwest at a conference at Texas Woman's University in Denton on "Teaching Women's History." She outlined the extensive materials at the LBJ Library on individual women who influenced the 36th President as well as papers documenting President Johnson's efforts on behalf of the advancement of women.

Following are some excerpts from her talk:

## Rebekah Johnson

His mother, Rebekah Baines Johnson, had always encouraged him and helped him to pursue his educational and political ambitions. She was an extremely interesting person in her own right and the Library has her personal papers and correspondence . . . The original handwritten letters in both these files help one to understand the responsibilities and duties that Lyndon Johnson assumed, and also provide insight into life in the 1930-1950s for women in a small Texas town.

## Lady Bird Johnson

The Library contains Mrs. Johnson's pre-presidential, presidential and post-presidential papers. The largest of these collections is known as the Social Files. These files were generated during the White House years and contain material on the activities of Mrs. Johnson, her daughters and the social activities of the Presidency. It will be an exciting file for scholars to begin researching when it becomes available. The Library hopes to begin processing this collection within the next two years.

When complete, researchers will find the wealth of this collection staggering, for it will document Mrs. Johnson's choice to be a very active First Lady. Included are materials concerning Mrs. Johnson's activities in her three main areas of concern: conservation, education and children.

## Barbara Ward

Barbara Ward, also known as Lady Jackson, was a British economist who wrote *The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations*, a book that influenced President Johnson. Her fascinating letters advising President Johnson on the Vietnam War, relations between the USSR and the U.S., trade matters, the war on poverty, the India and Pakistan border crisis over the Kashmir, and her speeches submitted for presidential use, are available in her White House Central File Name File.

## Mary Lasker

Mary Lasker had a great influence on health legislation and was also very important in Mrs. Johnson's beautification efforts. Included in the material the Library has on Mary Lasker are her proposals for the 1967 State of the Union Message, memoranda in both President's and Mrs. Johnson's files showing her active lobbying for the 1965 Highway Beautification Act, and memoranda to the President targeting health problems.

## Liz Carpenter

The Library has both her personal and official papers. Most of her files as Press Secretary to Mrs. Johnson are part of the Social Files. Contained in these files are drafts of speeches for Mrs. Johnson, material on trips taken, and her



Archivist Nancy Smith

office correspondence. Her personal files contain a variety of pre-presidential and post-presidential material. Both of these files shed light on her active role in advising not only Mrs. Johnson, but also the President.

## LBJ's Efforts for Women

At the Cabinet meeting of January 17, 1964, the President remarked that: "One of the most significant findings which came out of the Status of Women Study is the need to use the brain power of American women at the highest policy level. I want every manager in government to take notice of this untapped resource . . . I think we should all remember that the day is over when the top jobs are reserved for men. That was yesterday . . ."

President Johnson's strong commitment to civil rights helped to give women a legal basis for equal opportunity in employment. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 included a clause which prohibited job discrimination on the basis of sex. The Library has files on both the legislative history of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

President Johnson also supported the Equal Rights Amendment. In a letter dated October 26, 1967, he stated to Emma Guffey Miller: "Thank you for letting us know your current efforts in behalf of the Equal Rights for Women Amendment. As you know, I have consistently supported your efforts in this connection while in the Senate. You may be assured that my position is unchanged."

## Summary

I would like to leave you with a challenge to put our wealth of material to use. Many of the women that I have discussed have not had books or even articles written on them . . . Also, the advancements made by women in the 1960s have just begun to be explored. I hope some of you and your classes will try to add to this story—of women and their place in America during the 1960s.



## LBJ Bibliography To Be Published in Spring 1984

"Lyndon B. Johnson: A Bibliography," will be published by the University of Texas Press in the spring of 1984, according to Tina Lawson, supervisory archivist at the LBJ Library.

An invaluable aide to researchers, the bibliography will document books, dissertations, papers, theses, and articles written about President Johnson and his administration.

The Library staff compiled the 3,000 entries of the bibliography, including a section on Mrs. Johnson and the Johnson family.

"Lyndon B. Johnson: A Bibliography" was made possible by a grant from Joe M. Green, Jr., president of the Rockwell Fund of Houston.

## Archivist Humphrey Receives Award

Library archivist David Humphrey received the H. Bailey Carroll Award in March for the best article appearing in the 1982-83 Southwestern Historical Quarterly, published by the Texas State Historical Association.

The \$500 award was one of three presented at the TSHA annual meeting in Houston March 3-5. Humphrey was also named to a three-year term on the committee which selects the annual winner of the Carroll Award.



Archives workers push carts containing the papers of Henry H. Fowler down the long underground corridor between the LBJ School of Public Affairs and the LBJ Library. The huge collection of 234,000 papers had to be carted in after the truck transporting them broke down in the Library parking lot. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury under President Johnson and a board member of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Foundation, deeded his papers to the Library in 1969 with the stipulation that they remain in Washington, D.C., for a period of time. The papers arrived at the Library April 6.



This Jeff MacNelly cartoon, published in the Richmond News Leader at the time of President Johnson's funeral, is one of the Library's 3,740 original cartoons recently catalogued, cleaned and preserved by volunteer docents. Each cartoon now has a card with a full description, name of cartoonist and publication, for use by the Library's researchers. Char Diercks, museum aide, coordinated the two and a half year project.





Military historian Martin Blumenson speaks at a faculty seminar on British studies held at the Library April 29. Professor Blumenson's topic was "General Mark Clark and the British in the Italian Campaign of World War II." Respondents were Dr. Frank Vandiver, historian and president of the Texas A&M University and T. R. Fehrenbach, author of several books on World War II and Korea.



Clark Clifford



George Brown

## Clark Clifford to Join Foundation Board

Clark Clifford, who served as Secretary of Defense during the critical last year of the Johnson Administration, will join the Lyndon Baines Johnson Foundation board of directors. He will assume the post at the next Foundation board meeting, June 4, 1983.

Mr. Clifford replaces board member George R. Brown, who died January 22, 1983. Mr. Brown, a longtime friend and supporter of President Johnson, had been on the board since the Library's inception in 1971.

Mr. Clifford's public career began as an aide to President Truman. He also served as an advisor to Presidents Kennedy and Carter in addition to his cabinet post under President Johnson. He was a speaker on foreign policy in March 1979 in the Distinguished Lecture Series of the Library and the LBJ School of Public Affairs.



Luci Johnson shows off a special album made up of photos and letters from family and friends. The album was presented by Governor Mark White, left, at a special "We Love Luci" event in April. At right is Carolyn Curtis, who helped organize the event celebrating the establishment of the Luci B. Johnson Centennial Professorship at UT's School of Nursing. The Professorship was endowed by donations from Luci's friends and co-workers.



## News from the LBJ School

# Max Sherman Named New Dean

A former state senator and university president, Max Sherman, has been named Dean of the Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs. Mr. Sherman, currently Special Counsel to Governor Mark White, will succeed Dean Elspeth Rostow on July 1, 1983.

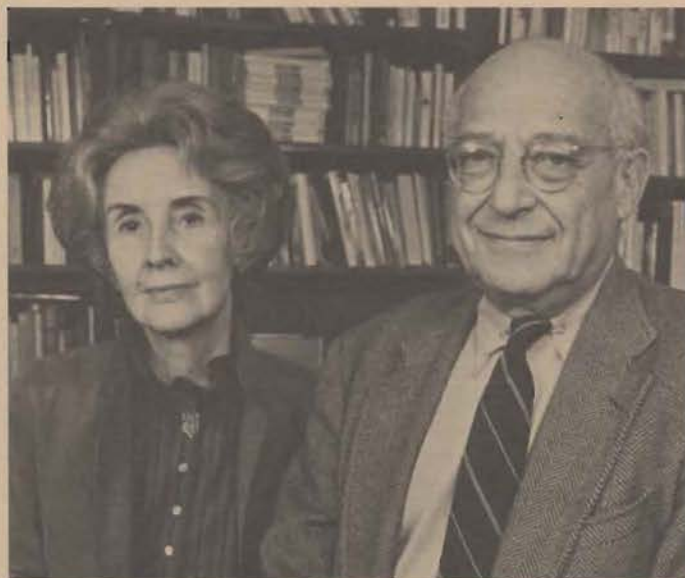


Max Sherman

A 1957 graduate of Baylor University with a B.A. in history, Mr. Sherman graduated with honors from the University of Texas Law School in 1960 and joined the Amarillo law firm of Gibson, Ochsner and Adkins.

As state senator from 1973-1977, he served as chairman of the Natural Resources Committee and as a member of the Jurisprudence Committee and Finance Committee. He was also president pro tempore of the senate in 1974. *Texas Monthly* magazine cited Mr. Sherman as one of the 10 best legislators in the 1973, 1975 and 1977 sessions. He resigned from the senate in 1977, to become President of West Texas State University.

Mr. Sherman, born in Viola, Arkansas, on January 19, 1935, lives in Amarillo with his wife, Gene Alice Wienbroer.



Elspeth and Walt Rostow

## Rostows Plan Tour

Outgoing Lyndon Baines Johnson School Dean Elspeth Rostow and her husband, UT Professor Walt Rostow, will go on leave for a year beginning in July, filling lectureships that will take them to Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Europe.

A major reason for the Rostows' travel is their joint appointment as Distinguished Fulbright Lecturers to India, where they will spend 22 days in October. The appointment was made by the Indian Fulbright Commission.

The Rostows will also visit Hawaii, Tahiti, New Zealand, Australia, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, China, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Japan, South Korea, Egypt, Israel, France and Italy.

From January to June 1984, the Rostows will be based at Oxford University in England. They plan to return to UT after their tour.



E. Don Walker, Mr. and Mrs. Lew Wasserman and Mrs. Lyndon Johnson greet guests at a February dinner held in the LBJ Library in Mr. and Mrs. Wasserman's honor. The Wassermans were honored for their \$500,000 donation to create a new library in the LBJ School of Public Affairs.





The original color negative of this photograph of the signing of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill will be preserved for posterity.

## New Technique Saves Historic Photos

The reds in the First Lady's inaugural coat, her yellow evening gown, the red, white and blue of the flag in the Oval Office—all the brilliant colors in the photographs of presidential panoply and historic occasions can eventually fade away.

But an innovative preservation project by the National Archives and the LBJ Library may keep those colors bright for generations.

More than 24,000 original negatives of the Library's massive color photo collection were recently copied and returned to the Library by the Eastman Kodak Company. This enables the audio-visual department to make prints from the copy negatives and store the originals in sub-zero temperature to prolong their life by hundreds of years. If stored at room temperature, the dyes in color negatives eventually fade.

"The only way to preserve color negatives is to freeze them," Phil Scott, photo archivist, pointed out. "But then they are not available for use. We knew we had to have copies made, but what was the best method?"

The new copying method used by Kodak is innovative because of its cost-cutting feature. Instead of copying negatives by making a print, then a new negative, this process eliminates the need to make a print. A new negative is made directly onto slide (or reversal) film. The cost is about 70 cents a frame, compared to about \$10 a frame by the old method. The cost of the old method made copying too expensive for all but a handful of negatives.

Scott proposed the new method to the National Archives and the Archives contracted with Kodak for the job.

The 24,000 negatives make up only a small part of the Library's 200,000 color collection—photos which are used by scholars, editors, filmmakers and television producers. Scott is hopeful that another 30,000 can be copied next year, and eventually the entire collection.

"Dealing with and preserving a vast collection of color negatives is a new challenge to archivists," Scott noted. "If this method is successful, I'm glad the LBJ Library could make a contribution to archival science."

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Editor: Janelle D. Scott

Editorial Assistance: Rosemary Merriam

Research Assistance: Charles Corkran, Gary Yarrington, Tina Lawson, Annette Sadler

Photography: Frank Wolfe, Paul Chevalier, Larry Murphy, UT News and Information

Staff Assistance: Yolanda Boozer