



Among Friends of LBJ

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NEWSLETTER OF THE FRIENDS OF THE LBJ LIBRARY



See story page 6 **TR VISITS LBJ LIBRARY**

CONFERENCE FOCUSES ON NUCLEAR ARMS, FEDERAL DEFICIT, EDUCATION PRIORITIES



The citizens who joined the experts were veterans of community discussions in Alabama, Arizona, California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Texas, Washington and Washington, D.C.



Mark Shields, columnist for the *Washington Post*, set the stage for each discussion with a brief review of the issue involved. Referring to the need for public participation, he said: "Washington has . . . a bad habit of using verbal shorthand or technical jargon to keep out outsiders. That's why you'll hear phrases like, 'the OMB and the CBO clashed today over the appropriation of UMTA.' That's a way of keeping all citizens out of the discussion."



Daniel Yankelovich, president of the Public Affairs Foundation, which measured the public's attitude as it emerged from community discussions around the country, reported all three issues are desperately important . . . require some degree of citizen sacrifice . . . all have up to now been largely the property of the specialists and the policymakers. All will require an extraordinary capacity to face unpleasant realistic truths about the limitations of our resources and power . . . And all clearly require second thoughts."

March 22 was a crowded and eventful day at the LBJ Library. On the stage in the packed 1,000-seat auditorium, an array of experts and plain citizens, in three separate sessions, probed three issues of compelling concern: priorities in education, the federal deficit and nuclear arms control.

The Domestic Policy Association, an organization which communicates popular sentiment on important matters to the nation's policymakers, had been sponsoring discussion on those issues in hundreds of American communities since last fall.

It all culminated in the LBJ Library conference, where the experts and the citizens, who themselves had taken part in some of the community discussions, explored the significance of the American people's attitudes, as those community discussions had revealed them, on the three issues.

A report on the conference, which is being prepared by Barbara Jordan of the the LBJ School of Public Affairs, and Keith Melville of the Public Affairs Foundation, will be published within the next few months. On these pages are some of the highlights of the event.



David Mathews, former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, and now president of the Kettering Foundation, is the guiding force behind the Domestic Policy Association, which stimulated public discussion on the three issues across the country, leading to the LBJ Library conference. With the Library, DPA was a sponsor of the conference. Other sponsors: the LBJ School of Public Affairs and the *Austin American-Statesman*.

Moderator Cater:

"Whereas it costs approximately less than \$1,500 a year to put kids in most public schools—elementary level certainly—it costs \$20,000 a year as an average to keep him in prison, which is well above the cost of Harvard. I think that's a relevant statistic."



The first session addressed the subject, "Priorities for the Nation's Schools." Moderated by Douglass Cater, president of Washington College (far right), its participants included Citizens

Anita Fonte, Carmen Gonzales, Fredrick T. Haley, Harriet Harris, Thomas Mayes and Wanda Minor, and the experts pictured on this page.



Mark White, Governor of Texas:

"We're going to have to improve teacher compensation. That is one thing liberals, conservatives, moderates, Democrats and Republicans, I think, have all concurred on . . . Every study shows that we spend too little too late in education . . . We spend a much lower percentage of our available dollars for instruction in the first, second and third years of class than we do in the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth years . . . The recommendations we'll be making . . . is to put more money into early childhood development."



Albert Shanker, President, American Federation of Teachers:

"We really ought to concentrate much more on what happens to a child in kindergarten, first, second and third grades. If a child enters fourth grade still not knowing how to read, write and count, the chances are we're not going to be able to do very much with that child later on . . . We treat our children the way we treat our automobiles, which is very differently than the Japanese do. They try to develop a productive system so that they get it done right in the first place, whereas we have all of these recalls. And we do the same thing in our educational system."



Mary Futrell, President, National Education Association:

"I think that the citizens who have spoken, and from the reports I've read, have indicated a willingness to pay more for education if the money is earmarked for education and is not spent in other places. We're not asking for a blank check. There should be accountability. But we do believe that if we are to address the very serious problems dealing with math, science, computer technology, foreign languages, improving the basics, improving discipline, improving the quality of the teachers we receive, then we must have the dollars to do so."



Gary L. Jones, U.S. Undersecretary of Education:

" . . . The condition of American education is improving, principally because what we have seen is the greatest renewal effort in this nation's history as it relates to education . . . This does not suggest that reform can take place without dollars . . . But the first thing we have to do is get greater utilization of the dollars we have. Secondly, we need to assess whether we should reallocate dollars at the local level from one program to another; at the state level the same. And thirdly, we need to assess whether to ask for additional revenues to implement some of the reform measures and from what level."



"The Deficit and the Federal Budget" panel engaged the services of the experts seen on this page and Citizens Rita Arundell, Timothy J. Delmont, Carl Eschels, Carol Reitan, and William P. Sheehan.



Moderator Barbara Jordan, LBJ School of Public Affairs:

"I think that everybody can understand \$200 billion. There's nothing confusing about that. That's a deficit . . . the largest . . . in the history of the United States of America. What is confusing is what in the world we're going to do about it. . . . I think it is important . . . that the people be heard rather than the politicians be heard."



Ann Richards, State Treasurer of Texas:

" . . . When the federal government catches cold the states catch hell. What the [federal government] should not do is stage a raid on the sources of revenue, and state and local governments need to perform what the citizens ask of us and what the federal government has advocated . . . Nearly 40% of the money that was raised by state and local governments in the United States comes from sales, fuels and other consumption taxes. Nearly 40% of the tax increases that states passed last year came from these sources. If the national government begins to use our traditional sources of tax income, our position is only going to worsen. We say, 'stay on your own turf. We need our own tax base.'"



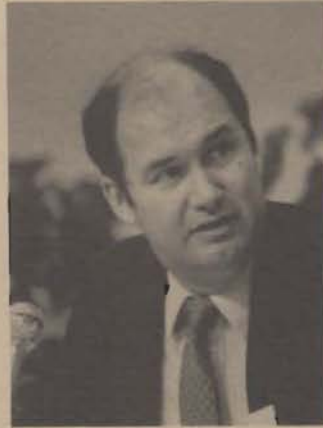
Donald W. Moran, Executive Associate Director, Budget and Legislative Office of Management and Budget:

(Responding to a query of whether elimination of waste, fraud and abuse would be sufficient to balance the budget.)
"The answer in one sense is, it depends on whose definition of 'waste, fraud and abuse' you use, because, when you get behind the rhetoric of it, one man's waste, fraud and abuse is another man's favorite program."



Congressman James R. Jones, Chairman, House Appropriations Committee:

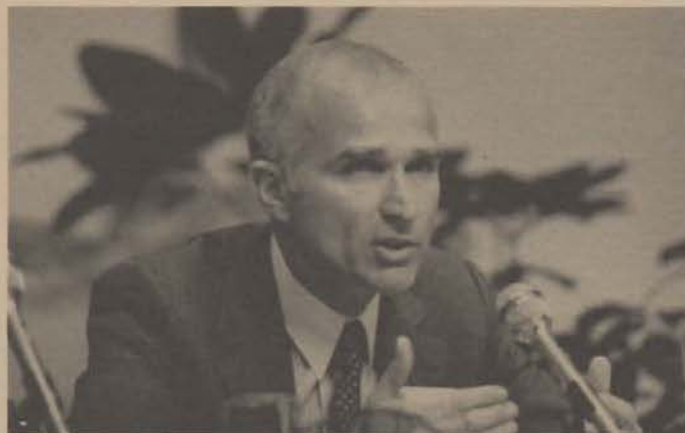
"We are a divided government . . . In this climate, we are literally incapable of setting priorities . . . But we're going to offer a freeze, a 1984 program freeze. Not that we're not going to have to increase spending on military or some social programs, but recognizing that this close to the 1984 elections, we're not capable of setting priorities, and that ought to legitimately be a function of the 1984 elections. We ought to throw that issue out to the American people, make the politicians from presidential candidates right through the system respond; and then we come back after the elections and set those priorities."



Rudolph G. Penner, Director, Congressional Budget Office:

"As I understand the public, they're telling us they don't like deficits; they certainly don't like taxes. There seems to be a general feeling the problem could be cured by cutting spending, but certainly not by cutting Social Security, which they dearly love; certainly not by cutting Medicare. Defense is more controversial, but we're not arguing about cutting it, really, but about how fast it should grow . . . The thing that we're arguing about now and is so hard to tell is whether our citizens would love those things so much if they really had to pay for them. Right now we're getting a discount on what we buy from the government."

The Final Panel: "Nuclear Arms and National Security"



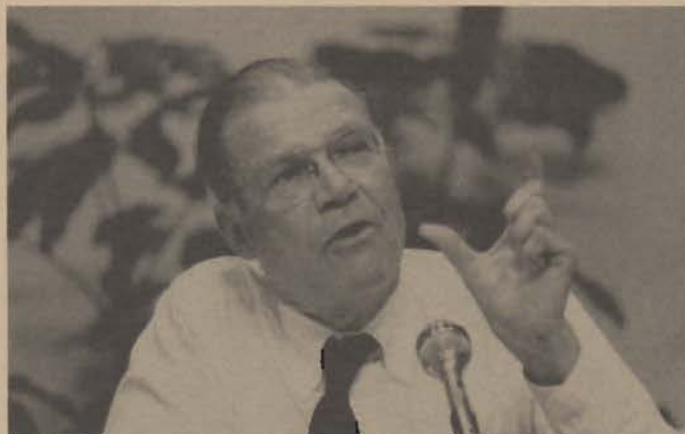
Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder and Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger produced the following exchange:

Kissinger: . . . I think it is imperative that we restore the bipartisan consensus that existed in this country up to the late 1960s. We cannot possibly survive in this world if we do not accept the good faith of our leaders, whoever they may be and if we do not assume that there is no dispute about ultimate objectives . . .

Schroeder: I would like [a bipartisan foreign policy] too, but if I don't agree with the foreign policy, I also feel that as an elected official who got elected espousing certain things, I cannot go there and be silenced.

Kissinger: I do not mean that a congressman or a senator has to approve automatically in the name of bipartisanship anything that an administration puts forward. But . . . I believe that this country is not so divided that when as Americans we look at problems we cannot agree on fundamentals.

On this issue of nuclear arms, Kissinger observed. "It is essential that nuclear war be avoided. But it is also true that if avoidance of war becomes the only objective of the policies of a democracy, it will lead to unilateral disarmament and to a policy of abdication, which leaves free people at the mercy of those who do not believe in unilateral measures."



Lawrence J. Korb, Assistant Secretary of Defense:

" . . . We've got to do two things which seem contradictory. [We] have to have a policy of deterrence. And then [we've] got to seek arms control, or, really, arms reduction. To have deterrence, you have to be able to prevent the other side—in this case, the Soviet Union—from ever thinking about using their nuclear weapons. To maintain deterrence, you have to keep modernizing . . . You have to simultaneously seek arms reduction. But in order to do that you have to convince the other side that, in fact, you will continue to do things to keep deterrence viable . . . And many times they appear to be contradictory things, but they both must be done if, in fact, we're going to achieve the objective of any national security policy, which is to prevent any type of war."

Citizen Participants:

Michael J. Berning, Simone Heise, Preston V. Lee, Jr., Millie Prince, Eugene Shirk, Ray G. Williamson.



Mrs. Schroeder's point: "One of the things we are contending with right now, those of us who care about the freeze movement, is that we don't see negotiations going on and we see both sides saying a similar thing. They're both saying, we're not the bad guys—they are. They walked out; no, they walked out. Back and forth, back and forth. And everybody, of course, wants to be the good guy. And the real question is, how do you start doing something about this? I think the people have lost faith that both governments are making a sincere effort."

Robert S. McNamara, former Secretary of Defense:

"Today there are 50,000 nuclear weapons in the world, roughly 25,000 U.S. and 25,000 Soviet Union. I don't know any arms control negotiator . . . who is so optimistic as to believe that in the next 10 years, through arms negotiations, we can cut that total by half . . . So . . . it's not enough to try to freeze them. It's not enough to try to reduce them. We must seek ways to reduce the risk they'll be used . . . We must insure that if confrontation comes, it will not lead to the use of nuclear weapons. Now, how to do that? The policy we should be following is one of moving toward stable deterrence and a change in NATO strategy to move away from the present strategy of early use of nuclear weapons to a minimum . . . no early use, and ultimately . . . no first use at all under any circumstances."

Library Mounts Exhibit on Theodore Roosevelt

"Theodore", a biographical exhibition based on the life of the 26th President of the United States, opened June 1 at the Library with members of the Roosevelt family and the Theodore Roosevelt Association joining Friends of the LBJ Library for the occasion.

For the exhibition, the Library developed the scenario, planned the exhibit, and borrowed the materials from the National Archives, Library of Congress, American Museum of Natural History, Harvard University, National History Museum, and other institutions across the country.

The 3000 square foot exhibition portrays the story of Theodore Roosevelt from boyhood to retirement, ranging across the experiences as a Harvard student, rough rider in the Spanish American War, rancher, New York Police Commissioner, Governor of New York, Vice President, President, and in retirement. The text comes mainly from his diaries and letters which are included in the exhibit.

To illustrate these subjects, photographs, paintings, sculptures and a variety of personal memorabilia (clothing, weapons, china, books, a saddle, natural history mounts) are used.



President Abraham Lincoln's funeral procession passes by the Roosevelt home in New York City, April, 1865. The two small figures looking out the second floor window are 6 year old Theodore and his brother Elliot, age 5.

Photo Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Harvard College Library
Courtesy of the Houghton Library



Visitors look at "Theodore" Exhibit

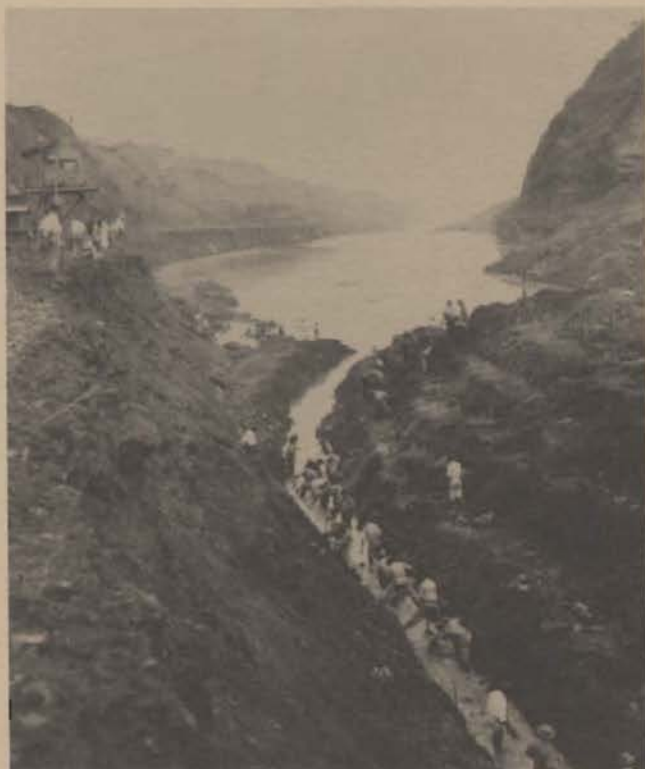


A family portrait on the lawn of the "Summer White House" (Sagamore Hill). Left to right—Quentin, the President, Theodore Jr., Archie, Alice, Kermit, Edith, Ethel.



Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President William McKinley, sprang into national attention when war broke out between Spain and the U.S. He entered the army and led a volunteer regiment known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders" in a dramatic assault on a critical height in Cuba. Above, the Colonel and his "Rough Riders" on San Juan Heights, 1888. Photo: Theodore Roosevelt Collection, Harvard College Library. Courtesy of the Houghton Library.

The most controversial foreign policy episode of Roosevelt's presidency was the acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone in 1903-1904, which led to the construction and completion of the Panama Canal in 1914. He rapidly negotiated a treaty giving the United States what it wanted in order to build the Canal and later control the Canal Zone for more than six decades. "The Canal would not have been built at all save for the action I took," Roosevelt wrote in 1913.



Left:
Excavating a ditch at the Culebra Cut in the Panama Canal zone.
Photo National Archives



TEDDY THE HUNTER

Roosevelt took seriously his reputation as a big game hunter. (Left with son Kermit in Africa.) He had a special hunting knife crafted by Tiffany's of silver and steel (center.) On one occasion, however, he refused to shoot an old bear cornered by a guide. This led to the creation of the "teddy bear" toy (original at right).



His changing image: As a Harvard student; as President; his death mask.

Rusk, Reedy, Powers Speak at Library

"An Evening With Dean Rusk" was on the Library's calendar for April 16. The former Secretary of State captivated an audience on the Library's eighth floor with his observations on the state of the world today.

A similar program was held on March 7 with George Reedy, former aide to Lyndon Johnson from his Senate days into the Presidency. Reedy focused on LBJ's role as Senate Majority Leader.

Dave Powers, assistant to President John F. Kennedy, and now curator of the Kennedy Library, was guest speaker May 16 at the annual Library meeting of the University of Texas British Studies group. His topic was JFK's visit to Ireland in 1963, but his remarks were a warm reminiscence of JFK generally.

Excerpts from all three speeches follow.



Dean Rusk: The rest of the world doesn't change very much just because we elect one man while another is President. When new Presidents come to town, they and more particularly, people around them, are inclined to think that everything is going to be different, that the first verse of the book of Genesis was dated with the election of their man as President. It takes them a while to find out that the world remains the same, filled with difficult, complex, stubborn, intractable problems, that they'll have to grapple with just as their predecessors had to grapple with them. And, so, there is an element of continuity. Then, by and large, the central major national interests of the United States do not vary very much as between parties and as between elections. It

has been my privilege and duty over the years to visit with committees and sub-committees of the Congress, literally hundreds upon thousands of times. On no single occasion, have I ever seen differences of view turn on party lines. A lot of these questions are extremely complicated and require razor edge balanced judgments on which honest men and women can disagree. But I have never seen those differences turn on party lines. Then every four years the two major parties go through considerable agony to draft something called "party platforms." And, in that "party platform" each one tries to say something (a) that sounds good, and (b) that sounds a little different than the other party, if possible. Well I've been involved in, again, hundreds of meet-



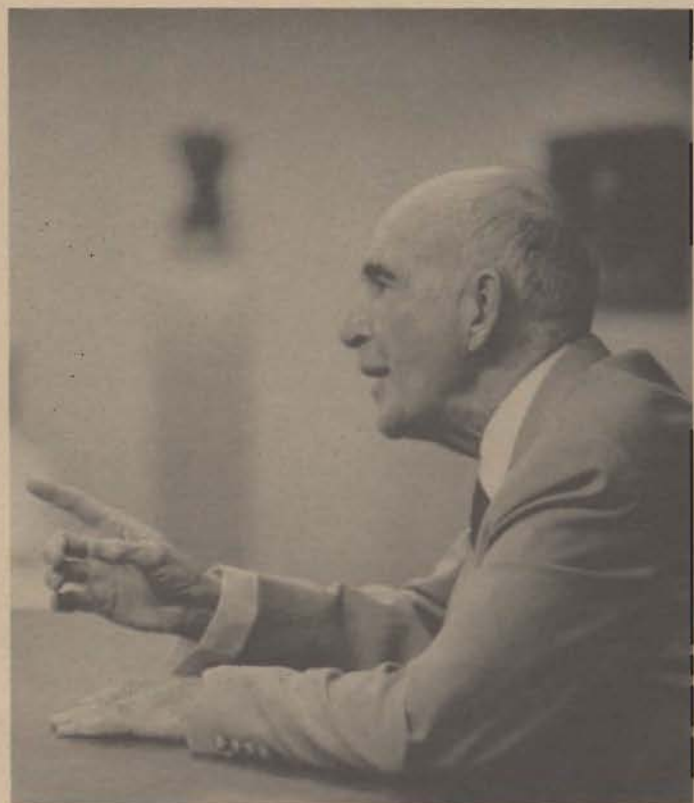
ings in the government, most of them in Democratic administrations, but some of them in Republican administrations, where decisions have to be made, and on no single occasion have I ever heard anyone say "well, gee, let's get out the party platform and see what it had to say about this." Campaign speeches and party platforms simply cannot with their generalizations grapple with the real problems in the real world, each one of which has locked up in it dozens and dozens of secondary and tertiary problems. Now that I have permanently escaped the 'world of decision' and re-entered the luxurious world of opinion, I am more and more impressed with the vast difference between these two worlds. I personally think that the intellectual processes are different in the world of opinion over against the world of decision and that if these two worlds understood each other better, they might be able to communicate with each other more effectively.

George Reedy: "[In] the Senate, if you want to do anything, you've got to persuade at least fifty other men—very strong minded—to go along with you . . . It requires a highly skilled form of leadership, because there are times when there are no clear-cut cohesive majorities, when there is not a genuine consensus . . . Lyndon Johnson . . . unified the Democratic party . . . [He] took over [the Democratic leadership] during a period when the Senate and the House of Representatives were both completely bogged down on a number of issues . . . civil rights . . . education . . . social security . . . It was one of the great periods of paralysis . . .

"It really was a time for action, and that was the sort of thing at which Lyndon Johnson was at his best . . . He realized that on most of the leading issues about which people had become so helpless, everything had been said that could possibly be said . . . The problem was not further debate, the problem was to

bring it to a head, to get a vote. There was another factor, and it was a very interesting one. It was that Eisenhower, who was the President, was a man that in a peculiar sort of way was on the wrong ticket. After all, his entire career had been managed under Democratic presidents, and [although] he was much more conservative than most Democrats . . . the foreign policy of the nation was one that he had made . . . When it came to playing things carefully, Lyndon Johnson was a genius, and he pitted the Republican Party against Eisenhower . . . It worked beautifully . . ."

Dave Powers: ". . . The old Boston Irish believe the first time they visit a church they can make three wishes. And at the start of the 1960 campaign we're walking down the center aisle of the Holy Family Church in Anchorage, Alaska, and I reminded Jack Kennedy about the three wishes. And as he genuflected and looked toward the altar I heard him whisper, 'New York, Pennsylvania and Texas.' . . . Four of the happiest days of his life were spent in Ireland. When we drove down O'Connor Street in Dublin, 600,000 people turned out to see their cousin from America. And it was unlike any other motorcade we had ever been in, and President Kennedy was always comparing. And we're sitting at Phoenix Park, the Ambassador's home, watching ourselves on TV, and President Kennedy said, 'Dave, how does this motorcade here today compare with some of our others?' And I said, 'Mr. President, it's a combination of St. Patrick's day in south Boston and Bunker Hill Day in Charlestown.' And he sort of agreed and he said, 'I would love to be running over here.' And I said, 'I'll mention that to [Prime Minister] de Valera tomorrow.' . . .



ENVIRONMENT, NATURAL AND MAN-

"At the first planning conference [for the symposium], the view was expressed and it became instantly unanimous: this one's for Lady Bird."

—From opening remarks by
Harry Middleton

Architects, planners, conservationists, and government officials past and present gathered at the Library for two days on April 12-13, for a symposium titled "The Land, the City and the Human Spirit."

Its purpose was to look back to the White House Conference on Natural Beauty held almost 20 years ago, assess what has happened to the American landscape and cityscape since then, and consider actions that might be taken in the future.

One writer covering the event—David Dillon, Architecture critic of the Dallas News—reported in part:

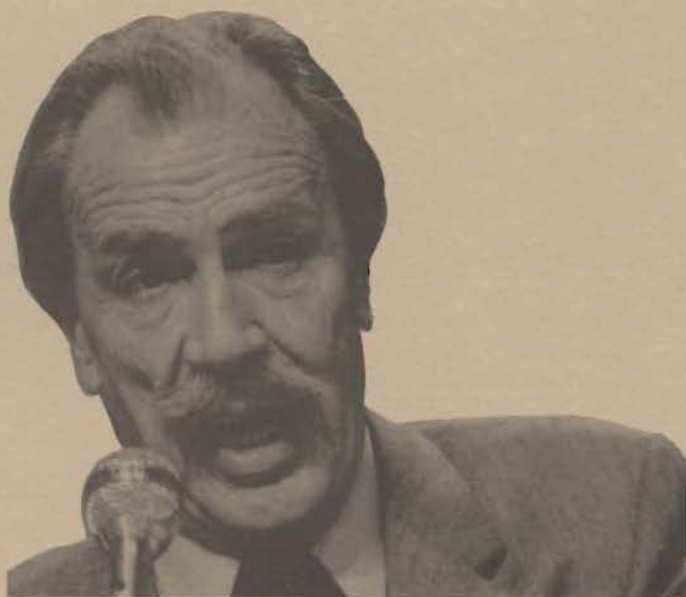
"The symposium . . . provided plenty of theater . . . [Most significant . . . was an underlying sense of seriousness and high purpose that permeated the conference. Architects and planners were using words such as 'beauty' and 'the human spirit' without apology, as though they used them all the time. Maybe it was the presence of Lady Bird Johnson and the memory of an earlier, now somewhat battered vision of American promise. Or maybe it was, as Walter McQuade [of Fortune] noted, the expression of a renewed concern for preserving the lyricism of the American continent.

"In any event, for two days in April it was possible to believe that the spirit that animated the National Beautification conference in 1965, and that led to so much landmark environmental legislation, was alive again."

On these pages are some highlights of the conference.



Here Mrs. Johnson welcomes the assembly



Ian McHarg, Landscape Architect

It is said that there are 34 physiographic regions in the United States, and for every one of these there should be a national environmental lab. And these labs should be composed of the scientists who best understand the aspects of that particular environment. These people would be charged with developing all the data and, above all, the implications of human contemplated action. I mean, where best to build, where best to farm, where best to lumber, et cetera. As a result of this, then, all the information which reposes in the minds of scientists are representative of the biophysical realities of this country would, in fact, be available on the computer to everybody, and terminals would be located in public libraries, and everybody would be able to ask what the consequences are of any contemplated action in terms of the biophysical realities.

MADE, SUBJECT OF CONFERENCE



Henry Diamond, Lawyer

Conservation and the conservation spirit must be an essential spirit in the years ahead. The inexorable arithmetic of the federal deficits will dominate domestic policymaking. Defense, debt interest, and entitlements will leave little for discretionary spending. Those programs which can do more with less; those that can return the greatest cost benefit ratio will be the ones that serve the public best.



Walter McQuade, Fortune Magazine

Not since Teddy Roosevelt's time has there been so strong a current of concern among the people to preserve the lyricism of the continent and its seas. This current has been submerged in recent years. It does need a catalyst, a political leader to push it. Lady Bird Johnson was a very good one. I am glad to learn how much of the program has survived, even if submerged.

Denise Scott Brown, Architect, vs Charles Haar, Lawyer, Harvard University



Denise Scott Brown

Where there are design review boards, what is accepted is the going and the slight old fashioned and the mediocre. Where you have design review, you have the avoidance of risk. You will get nothing bad, but you will get little that's new. I believe that Frank Lloyd Wright would not have had a single building built nor Le Corbusier if there had been design review and fine art boards in cities where they would have had to present their work . . . These are the aesthetic aspects of design review. The legal and moral ones are even more complex partly because—and I'm not even talking about freedom of expression which is an issue. Our experience of much design review is that it is venally corrupt.



Charles Haar

Architecture is not a canvas, brilliant as it is, by Da Vinci. It's not a Caravaggio. It's not something which is to express your manifestation and interpretation. It is something that has to fit in with the needs of the city, with the population, with the poor, with the minority groups, with the needs of people for sunlight, for open space . . . We're trying to get from the architects, city planners, urban designers, some sort of consensus, some sort of action which will bring the kind of city that people can live in harmoniously, be a just city as well as a beautiful city . . . I think it's very useful that we have the two professions crossing like ignorant armies on a darkening plane at night. We can begin to talk. We can begin to try to understand what it is the architects need and want. I think, too, that the architects should have the time and patience to look at a few selected opinions—because the law is where human beings are.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCE (continued)



Ed Koch, Mayor, New York City

What destroyed the cities—and we are now recovering from it—is what happened when they started the Highway Trust Fund which was to take these billions of dollars under the rubric of national defense—that these highways were somehow or another going to be related to our military defense system, which is a lot of baloney, certainly not every one of them. They encouraged people to leave the cities, and then they gave very cheap mortgages best illustrated by Levittown. I think that name is known around the country, nice houses out in the suburbs, even beyond, and encouraging people to leave the cities because of the cheap mortgages. And the highways that would allow you to come back if your job was in the city—but it deprived us of our tax base. And then you had the infusion of an enormous number of dollars into the Sun Belt by the federal government, creating whole new cities. And I'm not criticizing it. It's too late. But what we saw was whole new cities created with billions of dollars poured into new infrastructure when the infrastructure already existed in the older cities of America and the dollars weren't there to rehabilitate and to repair and restore. It was an enormous waste of assets. But that has now changed and people are coming back to the city.



Laurance Rockefeller

The subject of this symposium brings back memories of the common environmental goals shared by President Johnson and Lady Bird. Graciously we have here on this occasion a perfect mosaic of ingredients for another productive and successful conference, the setting, subject matter, and the presence of so many persons sharing the same ideals and convictions. This symposium joins us together in a renewed effort to find better methods of enhancing the human spirit and its need for natural and man-made beauty.



Tom Wolfe, Author

Since so much of what we object to today has come from above, I think it's a very hopeful sign to realize that it can also be changed from above. It can be changed above all by assemblies of people such as have been gathered here over these two days. This is exactly what kind of crucible from within which great changes in aesthetic and morality of aesthetics take place. So I would just conclude by saying that if this be popularism, let us make the most of it.



Edmund N. Bacon, City Planner

The truth of the matter is that the failure of American cities is an intellectual failure. It is the failure of the professionals, the planners, the intellectuals and the architects to provide the mayors and the political leaders with the vision, the information and the awareness that is necessary to bring decaying American cities to life . . . We've got to train people that do not think in terms of fragments but see the whole thing. Universities, architecture, city planning never even talk to each other. And all the while, in the center is the poor old city trying to be revived . . . I think the great frontier of architecture is going to be the rediscovery of the village.



Bernardo Fort-Brescia, Architect

Under [the post modernist] movement, architects look generally to the pre-industrial past for their sources and inspiration. [I] see the post-modernist trend as a rather pessimistic movement . . . Granted that modern architecture, after its exuberant beginning, had become rather bland and boring and that there was need for rejuvenation. But we cannot forget that the modern movement was started as a reaction to a very unacceptable social and economic and physical conditions. Modernism was seeking solutions and came together with a technological, social and economic revolution at the beginning of this century. It came to solve the problems of light and air and function and economy, to give us a healthier environment and to free us from ornate and ostentatious styles which were only possible to build with underpaid labor if not slavery and generally for the church and for the privileged classes.



William Ruskelshaus, Environmental Protection Agency

Acid rain provides graphic evidence of what happens to a society in trying to avoid potential problems until they become full-blown crises. I find it incredible, to say the least, that no one, including myself, 15 years ago had the foresight to imagine the dangers lurking to downwind America. Rationally, which is to say ideally, the scientific community working in harness with the government and industry would have earmarked time, talent and money for research. Armed with the resulting knowledge, we might have tested our theories and perfected some solutions. Instead, the whole issue was shunted aside until public pressure built up to do something, anything, and to do it as soon as humanly possible . . . Adding irony if not insult to injury, we have a political process that, by and large, failed to spot the trouble of acid rain at a distance yet now insists loudly on a solution at the point of an electoral sword. The most important and disturbing question raised by such neglect goes to the heart of popular government. I wonder how we as a society can find timely alternatives to doomsday without eroding the fundamental liberties and freedom of choice that supply dynamic blood to the democratic brain.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCE (continued)



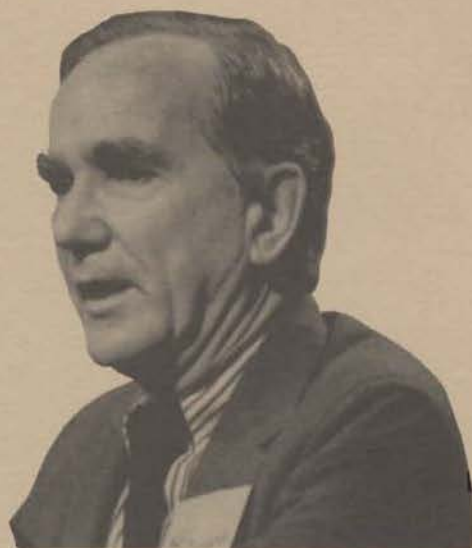
Robert Timme, Architect

I think that the models of history are there for us to study, to imitate, and occasionally if we have run out of ideas, to copy. The models are better than any thing we can think of ourselves. We are suffering from a terrible thing which is called "The Fountainhead complex" or the "Ayn Rand complex," which every architect feels he has to make his own architecture up every Monday morning when he gets to the office. It has turned our cities into architectural zoos.



William K. Reilly, the Conservation Foundation

I believe one of the promising signs in this country is an emergence or a greater awareness and sensitivity on the part of developers—a greater sophistication—much of this in response to having had to learn how to deal with environmental impact assessment and court suits by the local chapter of the Sierra Club; and so forth, but one that in so many places does show promise and has taken root . . . I think there is a new consciousness of place in this country. It's partly a creation in response to the environmental movement. It's partly a new concern with historic preservation . . . America uniquely identifies itself, I think. Its ethos and its sense of what it is are not without any particular history of a people or religious history or even literature, but I think, very popularly, the identification is with the land, the environment, and the landscape itself, and that is a very basic and very powerful reality on which to build, and it is to me a sign of hope and promise.



Wolf Von Eckardt, Design Critic

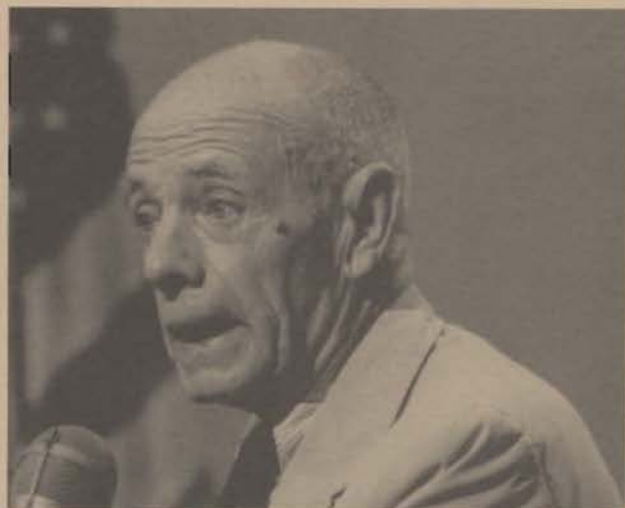
Most of the good things came through citizens' action. The federal government didn't kill the highway program; the people did. The few skyscrapers and glass boxes that were stopped were not stopped by the AIA or by the GSE. They were stopped by the people, the people need more information . . . There is a need for a central place, a place that would be kind of an institute and case study, to place and process information and get it out in the field . . . We have something going here. We have a revitalization, if you will, of the spirit that Mrs. Johnson started in the sixties . . . It's coming up again.



Charles Moore, Architect

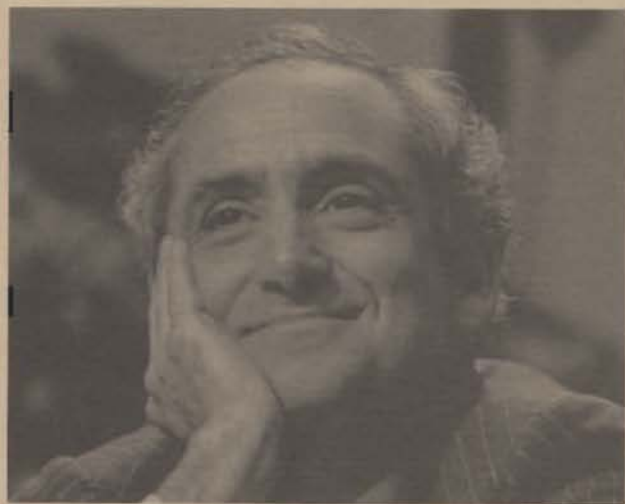
Our problem I think, we have as we try to make the future, we have quite vivid images of the city of our dreams, and they are at some odds with the comfort and convenience that we expect. We have the image of the village, and we include in that image the attention of the human hand, the scale of the human body. But we have cars and air conditioning machines. The cars wipe out that human scale and the machines to make us cool wipe out our connection with the out of doors and with the world around.

J. B. Jackson, Lecturer and Author vs Robert Stern, Professor, Columbia University



J. B. Jackson

I certainly recognize the beauty and importance of New York and of Washington and of Philadelphia and of Chicago. I find myself, however, thinking nevertheless of Lubbock, of Wichita, of Amarillo, of Albuquerque . . . One has to start somewhere by saying, "This is a tolerable city." It is not a city that is going to produce works of art. It's not going to produce geniuses. It's not going to be a work of art itself, but it is a decent place to live. And I think we have to put up with that. That's our ambition at the moment rather than perhaps a rebirth of Athens.



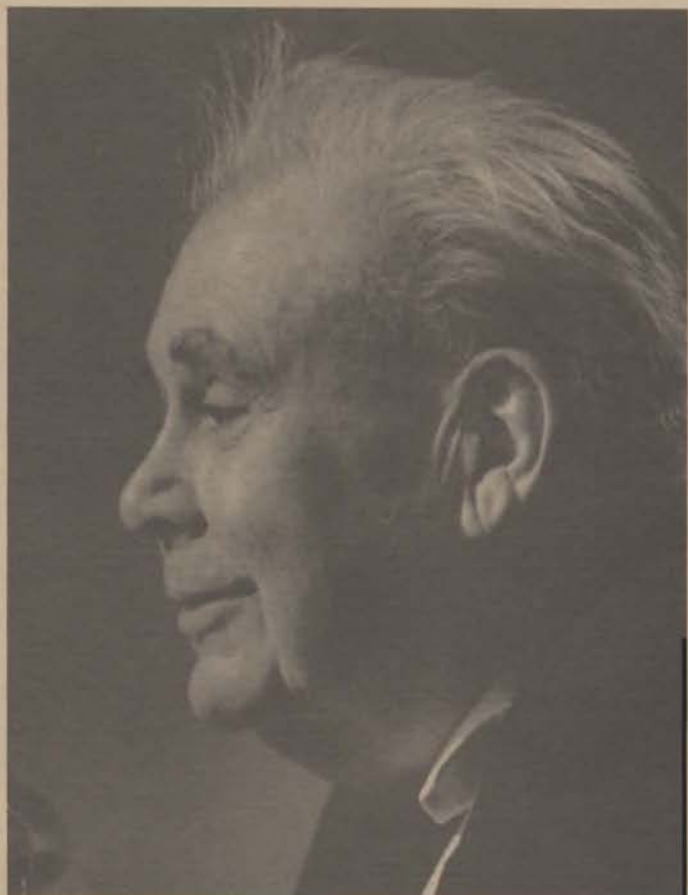
Robert Stern

I don't believe the people who founded Albuquerque or any of those places had so little aspiration when they made a city. I think that every city represents a coming together of people. And you can travel all over the American South, in many places in the west, there's a courthouse square. There's a little building that represents the statehouse, which in turn represents the national capitol. There is a little hotel that may be only six stories tall, but it had a little porch in front. It had a bar that was just like the Astor House in Manhattan or the Palmer House in Chicago only smaller. If you take the position, you take—and I'm afraid too many people have taken that position in the last 20 or 30 years—you get nowhere.



Nash Castro, National Wildflower Research Center

I am happy to report to you that the National Wildflower Research Center is a going concern . . . We have come to a time in our culture where sheer economics are putting conventional and formalized landscaping beyond our financial reach. The cost of designing, developing, and maintaining large-scale landscapes has surged dramatically to the point where public agencies are shying away from them.



Nathaniel Owings, Architect*

I want to remind you it's great leaders from the beginning of time that built Chartres, that built our Central Parks, that did all the great things, and there are a good many people in this room up here. Maybe our candles are burning low or maybe we're half-time isotopes that will go on forever. But in the back of this room there's got to be another group [of students] to get out there and do the things we did. We didn't have anything but a lot of guts, and we were dumb enough not to ask what happens next.

*Mr. Owings died June 13.

ENVIRONMENTAL CONFERENCE (continued)



James C. Bowling, Philip Morris, Inc.

The cities of America, each represent a tremendous accumulation of national assets. The lives and fortunes of millions are centered on cities. But in one way or another, nearly all cities are or have been in serious trouble. If our cities are to be deserted by the strongest element of our society, by business, then what's to become of them? What would be the true cost to society, economically and politically, if they were to waste away? Wouldn't that cost, foreseeable only in that all of us including business would have to pay for it? Wouldn't that be far more than what is required to keep our cities alive and vigorous?



Stewart Udall, former Interior Secretary

We're on the path now to become the first large and powerful nation that becomes an oil have-not nation . . . we can do it—it will take some technology and it will take some adjusting. (But) this adaptation can give us a great goal to redo our cities and our transportation systems and make them work better. I wonder what would happen if we in this country took a single bold step that all the countries in Western Europe, most of which have very little petroleum, have taken long ago. The price of gasoline in all the countries in Western Europe and in Japan is over twice what it is in our country, largely because there is a national tax that doubles the price, or more. And if you had such a tax in this country, a dollar tax let's say, that would raise \$100 billion. Now, you could put part of it on the national debt. (And) what if we took half of that money and said, "Let's start this adaptation now of changing to this new world that we're going to have to live in without petroleum. Let's redo the cities of America. Let's redo our transportation systems and adapt them to these new realities that we're encountering."



The White House Conference on Natural Beauty, which was launched by President and Mrs. Johnson in 1965, brought together environmental leaders and initiated a nationwide awareness of our surroundings. It was much on the minds of those attending the symposium in April.

Great Society at 20

DID IT WORK OR FAIL?

Symposium Planned for 1985

The Great Society might be said to have observed its 20th anniversary recently. Although it is difficult to pinpoint the actual birth date, May 22, 1964, is as good a day as any to use. It was then that President Lyndon Johnson, speaking at the commencement exercises at the University of Michigan, used the phrase publicly. "In your time," he told the graduates, "we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society but upward to the Great Society." Other excerpts:

—"The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning."

—"The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents . . . where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community."

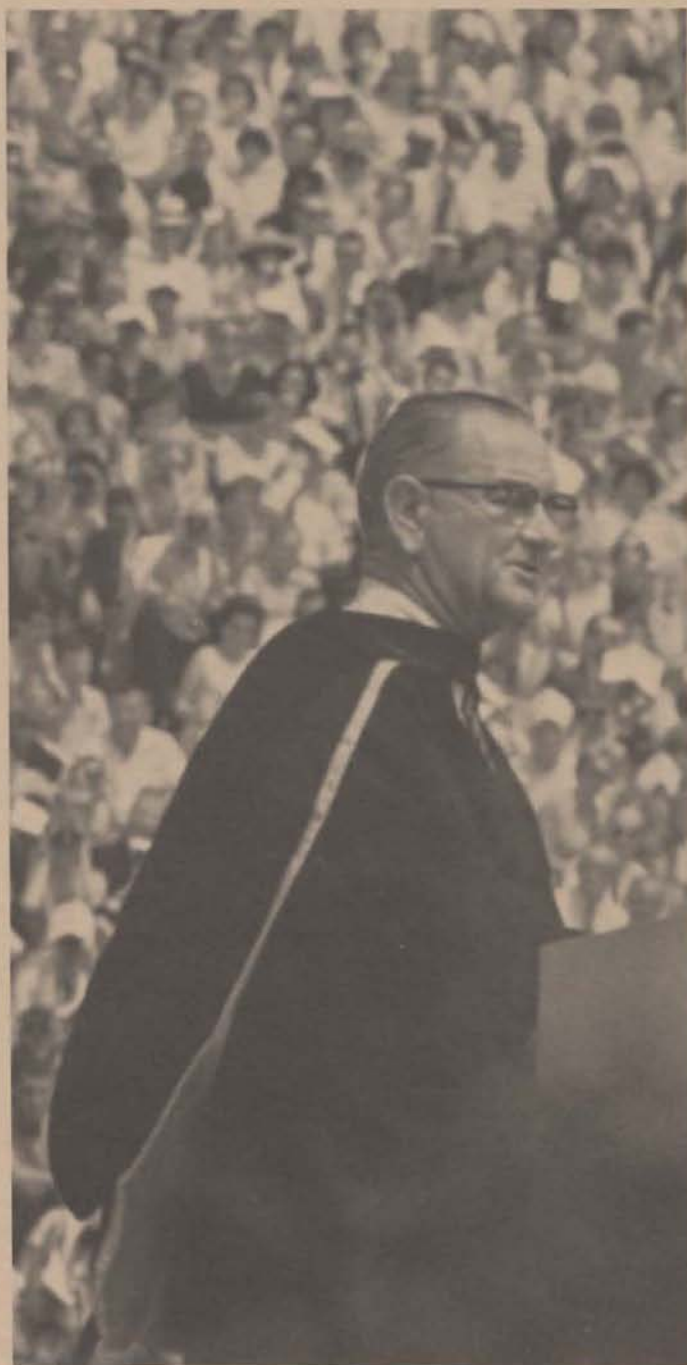
The months that followed yielded a rich harvest of social reform legislation. Columnist Tom Wicker wrote in the New York Times: "They are rolling the bills out of Congress these days the way Detroit turns super-sleek, souped-up autos off the assembly line." Douglass Cater, participating in a symposium at the Library recently (see page 3) recalled the time as "a halcyon period, in which merely to think of a law was to get it passed. What a day that was."

In the years that have passed, the Great Society has come in for some rough judgments. A story in the newspaper, USA Today, on the 20th anniversary of LBJ's University of Michigan speech, stated: "It's become a political cliché in the 1980s that Johnson's ambitious program 'for abundance and liberty for all' failed under the weight of crushing costs and taxpayer resistance." A column in the "Outlook" section of the Washington Post at the same time posed the question: "Was the Federal Government's War on Poverty in the 60s and 70s a failure?" and answered: "Many Americans think so." It cited a recent national poll which indicated that 62% of the public believed that "the anti-poverty programs of the 60s either had little impact on the poor or made things worse for them." Most prominent of the skeptics, of course, is President Reagan, who recently said: "In the early '60s, we had fewer people living below the poverty line than we had in the later 1960s after the great war on poverty got underway. And there has been from that moment on a steady increase in the level of poverty . . ."

But those same newspaper stories suggested that despite public disenchantment, the evidence points in the opposite direction. "The Great Society," said USA Today, "is more alive than you might guess . . . Most of the Great Society's initiatives—in health care, in education, in housing and in civil rights—survive in some form today." And the Washington Post story states: "Statistical data clearly shows that a much smaller percentage of Americans live below the poverty level today than when the effort to attack the problem got underway in earnest. There has not been a steady increase in the level of poverty . . . Indeed, the opposite is true."

The poverty programs were "costly," the Post article confirms, but they "have had a major impact on alleviating the poverty that existed in the early 1960s." It cites a study recently made by the Congressional Research Service which estimates that were it not for the programs, "one quarter of the entire population of the United States would have fallen below the official poverty line in 1982."

The debate is not likely to end soon. Some of it will swirl across the stage of the LBJ auditorium next spring (date as yet undetermined), when the Library, the LBJ School of Public Affairs and the University of Texas will jointly sponsor a symposium which will look back 20 years at the Great Society. The symposium is being coordinated by Barbara Jordan, holder of the LBJ Chair at the LBJ School, with the help of a planning committee.





John Kyle, Director of the University of Texas Press, presents the first copy of "Lyndon B. Johnson: A Bibliography" to Mrs. John-

son. With them are Bennie and Joe M. Green, Jr., President of the Rockwell Fund, Inc., which funded the project.

Johnson Bibliography is Published

After years in planning and preparation, "Lyndon B. Johnson: A Bibliography", was recently published by the University of Texas Press. It was funded by grants from Rockwell Fund, Inc., of Houston, Texas.

In an introduction to the bibliography, Robert Divine, professor of history at U.T., writes: "A powerful case can be made for the assertion that Lyndon Johnson's public career mirrors the major political and international developments of the twentieth century." Yet until now there has been no bibliographical guide to the Johnson literature. This volume represents the first com-

plete reference to the books, scholarly and popular articles, scholarly papers, and dissertations on the 36th President of the United States. In addition, there is a separate section on Lady Bird Johnson and the Johnson family.

The bibliography was compiled by the staff of the LBJ Library and is organized chronologically, with a detailed table of contents for ease of reference. There are some 4,000 separate entries.

A reviewer of library literature, Judith Rigler, called it "a must for the serious student of the L.B.J. era."

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Editor: Lawrence D. Reed

Staff Assistance: Yolanda Boozer

Research Assistance: Marlene White

Photography: Frank Wolfe, Paul Chevalier