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# Among Friends of LBJ

NEWSLETTER OF THE FRIENDS OF THE LBJ LIBRARY

David Prindle gives a dramatic demonstration of how non-Texans used to view Texas' abundance of oil and gas.

## Old Myths and New Taxes

# FORUM PROBES TEXAS' PAST AND PEERS INTO FUTURE

The Library's annual symposium, which was held in April, in concert with the LBJ School of Public Affairs, the University of Texas and *Texas Monthly* magazine, was somewhat different from those of the past in two ways:

—Rather than embracing a subject national in scope, it focused on the state of Texas in its sesquicentennial year.

—Its audience was composed of 200 of the state's leading communicators. Like the 22 participants who made up the three panel discussions, they were media representatives, academics, business people and political figures. The audience itself formed a fourth group dialogue for the forum's final discussions.

The purpose of the day-long session was to consider the forces that have shaped Texas' past, look at the present condition of the state, and probe for signs of how its future is to be shaped.

The news that Larry McMurtry, one of the panelists, had won the Pulitzer Prize for his work, *Lonesome Dove*, gave a special sense of excitement at the beginning of the forum, and at the end of it Bill Broyles, leading the audience discussion, found in that novel an apt and poignant symbol. "I just want to remind us," he said, "of what *Lonesome Dove* is about. It's about two old Texas Rangers on one last cattle drive, and when it's over the Texas they knew is over, and they are over. They didn't know what was going to come next, and Larry McMurtry did not tell us. And it seems to me that we are like those old Texas Rangers—that we are proud of who we are, and not sure of who we will become."

Pride of heritage was certainly there, a presence at the deliberations. "We Texans do have a sense of destiny about us," said Paul Burka. "We are a state that was once a nation, and Texans are very aware of that."

But there have been some glaring omissions in the commonly perceived heritage of Texas. "Basically," said Joe Frantz, "we're celebrating 150 years of Anglo-American domination of the area and we are ignoring the fact that we go back 458 years, to the beginning of the Spanish occupation, and that the Spanish gave us a tremendous heritage. We don't brag about it, but we should: the first state with community property laws, the first state with a homestead act, the first state to give illegitimate and adoptive children equal rights, the first state to say that water belonged to all the people and not to those who had the money. These are just a few things in our Spanish heritage that we should not ignore in the 150 years of celebration of the Texas Declaration of Independence against Mexico."

Diana Hobby spoke for another group not usually included in the traditional histories: "We are here to celebrate and to think about a state known to the world, as Alison Cook has pointed out, by the things that men do outdoors. From the Indian wars in the early days, to working cattle, to wrestling oil rigs, to football, there is a myth of the supporting women who fostered these male enterprises, diminished nowadays to the exhibition of furs and bangles in the sky boxes, and pompons and pointy bras at halftime on the field. I distrust that myth profoundly." What women did in the development of Texas, she maintained, was at least as important "as following cows' rumps to Kansas City," but their contributions were rarely recorded.

And the heritage, as it is generally understood, however interesting or even important it is to an understanding of the past, is no longer a valid symbol of the present. "We adhere to the myth of the open spaces," said San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros, "the

Panelists discussing "Change, Chaos and Culture" (whose faces are visible) include Joe Frantz, Henry Cisneros, Norman Bonner and Larry McMurtry.

Texas of cowboys and the range and the herds. Those dominate our myths of Texas, but the truth is that there isn't a more urban state in America."

The past half-century, George Christian pointed out, "has been the age of the dam builders, the highway constructors, the oil-well drillers. All of them have changed the face of this state. We've moved into plastics and chemicals. We've air-conditioned our cities and made them magnets for great growth. Our people have been restless, moving into the towns to find work. They have, by their migrations, forever altered the rural flavor of our history."

Change was accelerated considerably in the 1970s and early 80s—a time described as an "aberration" by Paul Burka and several other participants. "We rode a skyrocket here in the state of Texas," Houston attorney John Odam observed, "based upon oil prices that were fixed predominantly, not by what was happening in the State of Texas, but by what OPEC was doing outside our control. We were the beneficiaries of it." "We got rich and we forgot where we came from," said Burka. It wasn't oil alone that did it, Bernard Weinstein pointed out, "it was rising commodity prices generally. That was an inflationary decade, and the price of wheat and soybeans and pork bellies and everything else was going up. Rising commodity prices pumped a lot of income into the state, and that in turn generated a fair amount of economic growth." But it also generated ill will in the rest of the country. Texans were seen as " the blue-eyed Arabs reaping the benefits of an energy-starved nation's sufferings," as Broyles put it. And when oil prices suddenly plummeted, and Texas began realizing it had a first-rate crisis on its hands, there was a "certain patina of glee" in the way that crisis was reported in other parts of the country. " 'We had it coming' is the underlying theme. We Texans have been too cocky, too loud, too rich."

But "this particular myth"—of wealth—is "cruelly false," Broyles pointed out. "We are, in fact, a poor state. Houston has more poor people than are in the entire city of Newark, New Jersey." Texas has always been poor, Burka said. "In all our history we never once reached the national average in personal per capita income until right at the very tail end of the oil boom, at which time we promptly slipped below it again, and are now dropping like a stone."

How to reverse that fall was, naturally enough, the subject of a good deal of the forum's discussion. How will the state's future be shaped? There was general agreement that there will be no return to an oil economy. "The oil card has been played," said Weinstein. "Oil is just another commodity. It is not going to be the source of employment and income growth in our future under any conceivable scenario."

Even so, energy will continue to be a "major sector of the Texas economy," he maintained—as will agriculture. "We want to keep them as healthy and visible as we can." Jim Hightower had some ideas about the kinds of help needed in the latter area: one is to "increase and diversify" farm production and find new markets for it. "Texas now processes only 6% of the nation's food. If we were to increase that even to 7%, that would add a billion dollars to our economy in direct sales, not counting the ripple effect." The second was adoption of a water conservation plan that would save as much as "20 percent of the water that agriculture uses." ("That's more water than would [be] saved if you outlawed indoor plumbing in the state of Texas.") Tourism, which generates some $16 million in income, and is counted variously as the state's second or third largest industry, can be expected to do even better with encouragement, several participants suggested. ("The momentum is there," said Neal Spelce.) The defense industry, although "it has probably peaked," in Weinstein's words, is still important to the state.

But all these together will not be enough. "It's going to take a lot of hard work to position ourselves to be prosperous into the 21st century," said Meg Wilson. Weinstein agreed: "The real difference between Texas' past and Texas' future is that we're going to have to work harder, and we're going to have to work smarter, and we're going to have to be truly entrepreneurial."

Texas, said Larry McMurtry, is "one of the most optimistic states in an optimistic nation, and optimistic with quite a number of good reasons." That optimism, although tempered, was much in evidence at the forum. Meg Wilson saw the current "economic dislocation" as "an incredible opportunity to be great again...through achievements that we've never been known for." She perceived the state to be "on the brink of positive changes," with "technology development...a key to many of these changes...Technology is not just something for creating new industries. It is what we apply to our old industries" as well. "It is something that will be infused into our entire society. If we

learn how to take advantage of it, we will have a strong, prosperous economy."

But the optimism *was* guarded. Texas, said McMurtry, has "to come to grips" with a "basic psychological fact: we've now reached the stage where we aren't naturally and inevitably going to progress." Progress will come, he said, only if Texans "plumb their resources more deeply and more consciously than they have."

The "resources" he was talking about are not to be found in the ground. They are, in Weinstein's term, "Texas' human capital," and if there was one dominant theme running through the conference it was agreement on this essential point. "Texas did not get where it is," said Hightower, "by waiting on Toyota to come build an auto plant to save our economy. Rather, we invested in our own people, and that's what we must do again."

And by "investment," it became clear in statement after statement, the participants were talking about investment in education. "People often ask me," said Weinstein, "what are going to be the future industries of Texas? What should be targeted? And I say, I don't know. I don't know whether the electronic widget industry is where the future of Texas lies. But I do know whatever that future is, we're more likely to achieve it if we have a functionally literate work force, if we have people who can read and write and compute and analyze. If we can take care of that human infrastructure, economic development will take care of itself."

Texas has a good track record in education, it was pointed out. "One of the most recent phenomenal things that we did in the state," Earl Lewis maintained, "was to adopt an extraordinary system of public education reform. . . . It was uncommonly fair and responsible." But there is a new dynamic in the picture now, which is described demographically: "The fastest growing new population in Texas is black and brown," declared Representative Wilhelmina Delco. Earl Lewis made it even more specific: "One estimate suggests that by as early as the year 2000, which almost seems tomorrow, more than 50 percent of the Texas young people under 15 years of age will be Hispanic and black." Even today, said Mayor Cisneros, "the majority of children in the Houston [public school] system are either Hispanic or black or Asian." "The people who will go to college and high school are already born," said Representative Delco, "so we're not making up figures. We're talking about people who are already on earth."

The important and urgent message in this, warned Cisneros, is

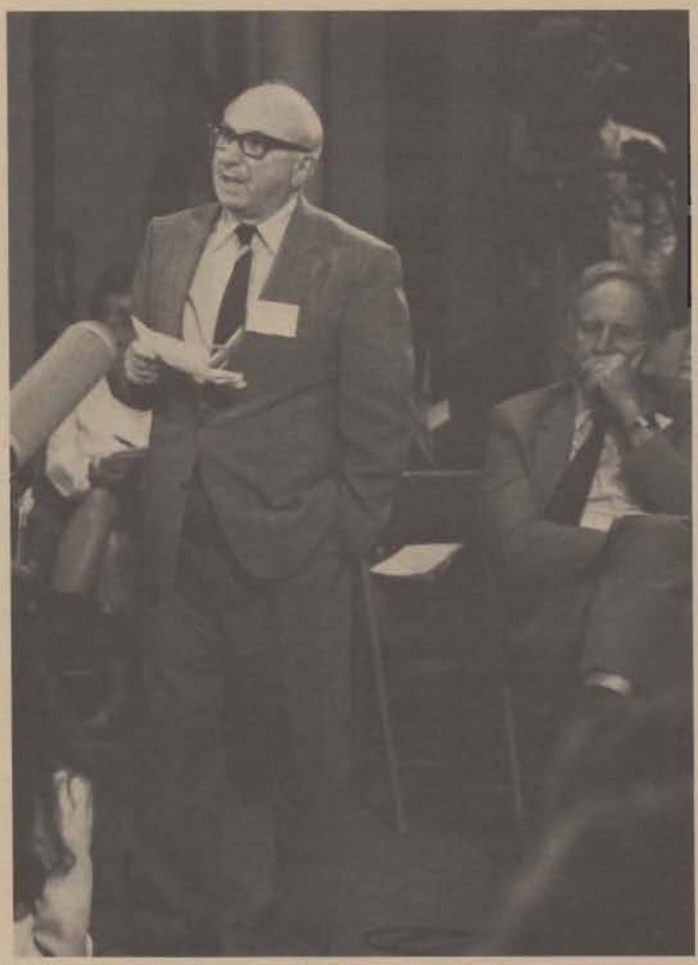
Bill Broyles

Wilhelmina Delco

## The Panelists

T. Louis Austin, Jr., president and chief executive officer, Brown and Root, Inc.
Scott Bennett, management consultant and columnist for the *Dallas Morning News*.
Norman Bonner, Austin attorney.
William Broyles, Jr., writer, former editor of *Newsweek*.
Paul Burka, senior editor of *Texas Monthly*.
George Christian, political consultant.
Henry Cisneros, mayor of San Antonio.
Alison Cook, senior editor of *Texas Monthly*.
John Henry Faulk, humorist, author, editor on American culture and heritage.
Joe B. Frantz, professor of history at Corpus Christi State University.
Jim Hightower, commissioner of agriculture.
Diana Hobby, associate editor of studies in English Literature at Rice University.
Molly Ivins, political columnist for the *Dallas Times Herald*.
Cyndi Krier, Texas state senator from Bexar County.
Earl Lewis, department chairman and professor at Trinity University.
Larry McMurtry, novelist.
Dave McNeely, political editor of the *Austin American-Statesman*.
Bill Messer, Texas state representative.
David Prindle, professor of political science at the University of Texas at Austin.
Annette Strauss, mayor pro tem of the Dallas City Council.
Bernard Weinstein, center director and professor at Southern Methodist University.
Meg Wilson, coordinator in the Governor's Office of Economic Development.

Ronnie Dugger, writer and founder of *Texas Observer*, made a point from the audience in the final discussion that for Texans "the most significant effect of present events upon us is the disappearance of our separateness, the end of our insularity. There is much that is serious, valuable, and worthwhile, but there can also be something almost quaint about our meeting here like this talking about Texas in transition," he said, "when the overriding question for any of us, Texans or Polynesians, is whether there will be anything to transition to." He expressed the hope that "while preserving and celebrating our uniqueness as a state and working together on our present chances and problems, we stop thinking of ourselves as if our Texas borders in any way protected us from television, refugees, hungry and unemployed Mexican workers, revolutions, tourists, terrorists, domestic monopolies, the international oil cartel, wars in Lebanon or Angola or Nicaragua, or missiles in Russia. Texans, we are Americans. Americans, we are human beings. That is the real transition that is happening, and should be." The *New Yorker* Magazine, which gave generous attention to the forum, cited Dugger's comments as evidence that "Texas, 150 years after establishing its independence, has joined the real world."



Wilbur Cohen, professor at the LBJ School and former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, predicted that "Texas could be the greatest health industry center in the United States."

"that we begin to think in terms of inclusiveness." "Clearly," said Norman Bonner, "the challenge to the state is to find a way to draw upon all the resources of all its people." The alternative would be to court disaster in at least two threatening ways. One, Bonner maintained, would be denial to the state of needed productivity: "It is critical for the state to embrace all segments of the population, recognize that every segment of the population has individuals with remarkable skills and talents that all of the state needs." Cisneros pointed out the other danger: Education "is not something we ought to do for somebody else, for people who are brown or black, but it's something we ought to do for Texas, because those people are going to be producing legislators who are mad, angry; they're going to be producing people who feel cheated because the system never worked for them."

Does the state's record in civil rights to this point offer much in the way of hope? "Jim Crow died hard in this state," George Christian reminded the audience. Molly Ivins added that the Legislature "wanted no change at all" in race relations "for a very long and dreary period of this state's history." Nonetheless, said Christian, "the racial barriers have come down in most respects. Our children today can barely conceive of the way it was in this state just a few years ago. Today we have major differences among ourselves in this state, but all of those differences together, collectively, can't compare to the malignancy of racial segregation."

The record is not so encouraging when it comes to extending higher education to minorities, however. Oscar J. Martinez, Professor of History at the University of Texas at El Paso, related how he went to California—"which is way ahead of us"—to get his education after high school " because there really wasn't any interest" on the part of Texas universities in recruiting Hispanic students "and giving them opportunities." Cisneros agreed that "California has done a better job on that score than we have." And, discouragingly, he saw no evidence that the situation would soon change: "I don't think we're prepared to invest in our people yet. We haven't really crossed over the threshold of some very critical decisions about whether or not we really value all our people in Texas."

The confluence of growing demand with shrinking financial resources lay at the root of that discouragement. An obvious remedy seemed to be on everybody's mind. "We really need to overhaul our tax system," said Weinstein. David Prindle stated it even more bluntly: "Texas," he said, "is the only large industrial state without an income tax."

Whether there will be such a tax—or any new tax—whether, indeed, there will be a commitment to a massive investment in the state's human resources, including the full education of all its people, are ultimately matters to be resolved by political leadership.

Texas politics, George Christian recounted, "has been basically conservative with a few odd liberals thrown in here and there."

That conservative business establishment, as Bill Messer put it, has traditionally worked "hand in hand with the business establishment, not necessarily big business, but one in which the small town department store owner felt a commonality of interest with the richest oil man in Dallas or the biggest banker in Houston. . . And it wasn't that bad. It wasn't a boss system, it was unobtrusive, it was basically scandal-free, and it did what Texans wanted done." "The quality of leadership in the business and political communities was very high," Scott Bennett maintained.

Now, said Messer, the "political system is changing because Texas is changing." "The signal change that has occurred in the years I've been watching Texas politics," Molly Ivins said, "is the rise of the Republican party." Cyndi Krier, a newly-elected Republican, was a personal documentation that that change is for

real. She saw the growth of the Republican party as proof "that the battle for Texas' political independence, at least, has been won." Ms. Ivins saw it somewhat differently: "I, like all right-thinking people in this state, had for years thought how wonderful it would be to have a second political party," but "whoever would have imagined that some people would have started a political party *to the right* of Texas Democrats?"

And, indeed, Messer confirmed, "today we've got a legislature that is still representative of Texas in the population in spite of these changes. In fact, we're still doing business pretty much the way they did in years gone by. We still organize along ideological lines as opposed to party lines. For all its diversity, for all of the Asians and Hispanics and blacks and Republicans and women, Texas is still a very homogenous state. They still have the same expectations from government and they agree on 95 percent of what the state ought to be doing."

And with this, the discussion came full circle. Will the people of Texas—that homogenous group changed in such a dramatic way demographically from the Texas of half a century ago—send a signal to the legislative body that represents them that they want to make that massive investment in the development of human resources that the participants in the forum universally recognized as essential for a new day of greatness and abundance? And will they say that they are willing to pay for it even with new taxes? And if they do, will the legislature listen?

The returns are mixed. George Christian, speaking out of a long experience as an observer of politics in high and low places, stated it flatly: "More than likely," Texas "will remain the only industrial state without an income tax."

But Dave McNeely, conversant with the issues—and the players—as only a working reporter can be, described the consequences of that stance in colorful terms: "We've been floating on a lot of oil, and we've got a familiar refrain: 'No new taxes, no new taxes, no income tax.' It reminds me of a group of chickens who think they can walk on water. They've got used to saying, 'No webbed feet, no webbed feet, we don't need webbed feet.' Now with oil prices going down and the oil coating getting thinner and thinner, we are either going to have some webbed feet or some wet chickens."

Molly Ivins

Dave McNeely

Diana Hobby

**The forum's final word was reserved for John Henry Faulk, who departed from his familiar folklore humor to offer a serious benediction: "I have very deep feelings about open dialogue. And today we have heard it in its very best form, and quite appropriately enough, right here where it should be heard: serious and thoughtful and penetrating argument." He concluded: "Old Mr. Tom Paine said that every once in a while it's well for us to advert to our first principles. And I thought that it would be proper to remind you all that what we've done today is to advert to our first principles."**

# AN HISTORIAN'S VIEW OF THE LIBRARY

**Dr. Robert A. Divine, the George W. Littlefield Professor in American History at the University of Texas at Austin, has edited two collections of essays based on materials in the LBJ Library. He is a member of a faculty advisory committee which provides counsel and support to the Library staff. This is an excerpt from an article he wrote which was published in *Discovery*, a U.T. magazine depicting the University's research, scholarly and creative activities.**

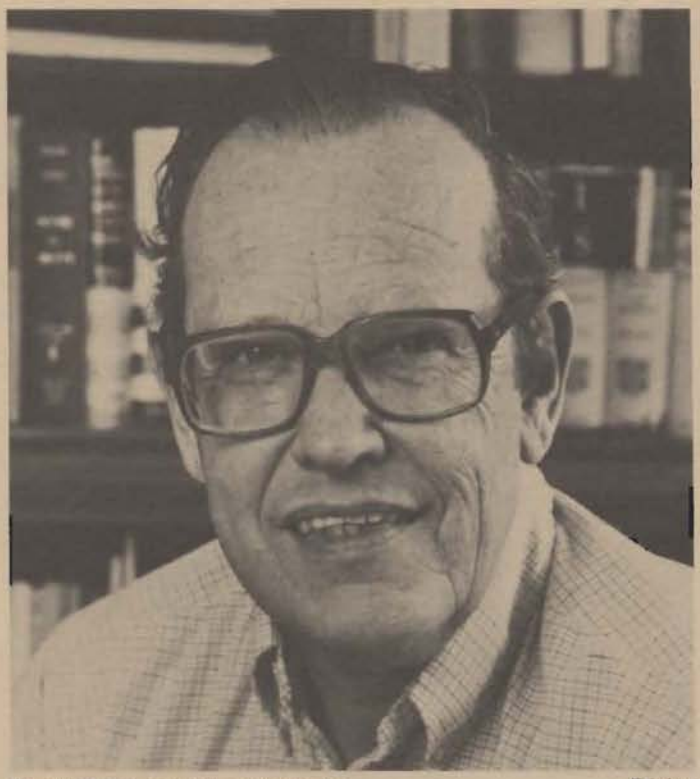


Photo U.T. News and Information Service — Divine

The most important body of papers in the Library is the White House Central Files for the years from 1963 to 1969. These records are divided into sixty subjects, including such topics as education, legislation, finance, and human rights. Within each subject area, there are executive, confidential, and general files. The general files consist primarily of correspondence with the outside public, while the richer executive and confidential files give more insight into the views and opinions of those making policy within the government on domestic issues. For foreign policy, the researcher must consult the separate National Security File, which consists of the working papers of Lyndon Johnson and his two national security advisers, McGeorge Bundy and Walt Rostow, on all aspects of international and military affairs. Many are still classified, but there are significant amounts of open material in such important categories as country files and National Security Council histories.

Some of the most useful historical records in the Johnson Library can be found in the office files of White House aides. These records reflect the advice and suggestions gathered by presidential assistants such as George Reedy, Bill Moyers, and Horace Busby, as well as their own recommendations on policy issues. Given the complexity of modern government and the limitations on the president's time, much of the shaping and refining of national policy is done by the White House staff; on almost any issue of the 1960s, from civil rights to the war on poverty, the papers of the president's aides are invaluable.

There are other valuable collections for historical research in the Johnson Library. The president relied heavily on special task forces to study national issues; these studies and recommendations are open to scholars, along with a very helpful eighteen-page guide to their contents. Another useful source is the collection of administrative histories prepared by the various federal agencies during the last year of the Johnson administration. It is possible to trace Lyndon Johnson's day-by-day activities during his presidency in the daily diary sheets and the meetings each day, often with relevant correspondence and memoranda. For Lyndon Johnson's earlier career, there are separate collections for his service in the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate, as well as a statements file beginning in 1927 for LBJ's speeches and remarks and a correspondence file that contains Johnson's letters to and from political associates and nationally prominent individuals.

In addition to documents, there are two additional types of material of great value in the Johnson Library. The first is the oral history collection, consisting of the transcripts of interviews conducted by historians and archivists with more than 800 people associated with the Johnson administration of Johnson's political career. Most of these interviews are open to qualified researchers and many contain insights into aspects of the Johnson presidency that are not covered by the written records. The other resource is the extensive audio-visual archive, consisting of sound tapes of many of Johnson's speeches, videotapes from the late 1960s covering both the president and national news broadcasts, and still photographs covering Johnson's entire life as well as motion pictures for the White House years.

The importance of the papers and records in the Johnson Library lies in the insight it gives scholars into the key issues of the 1960s. The Library archives are most helpful on Great Society domestic questions, and there are extensive records on federal aid to education, on civil rights, on health policy such as Medicare, and on the war on poverty. The researcher can trace the various alternatives that were explored, the conflicts within the various alternatives that were explored, the conflicts within the administration, and the tactics used to gain congressional approval for these presidential initiatives.

On foreign policy, however, the Library is much less helpful since so many key documents are still closed. In some areas, notably the escalation of the American military effort in Vietnam in 1965 and policy toward Latin America, important files were opened in the 1970s, but on other topics, such as arms control and relations with the Soviet Union, the vital papers remain classified.

Generally the Library's holdings are most illuminating on the factors influencing policy and least helpful on the actual decision-making process itself. Both the White House Central Files and the papers of the aides reveal the flow of information and suggestions into the Oval Office. What is missing is how and why Lyndon Johnson reached his final policy positions. Unlike some of his predecessors, notably Dwight Eisenhower, LBJ did not like to commit himself in writing. There are no long letters to friends in which he reveals his personal views or explains why he acted as he did on key issues. Johnson preferred to deal with issues orally, either in face-to-face discussion or by telephone. White House logs itemize the phone calls on a daily basis, but there is no record of what was said. A few tapes were made in the Oval Office, but

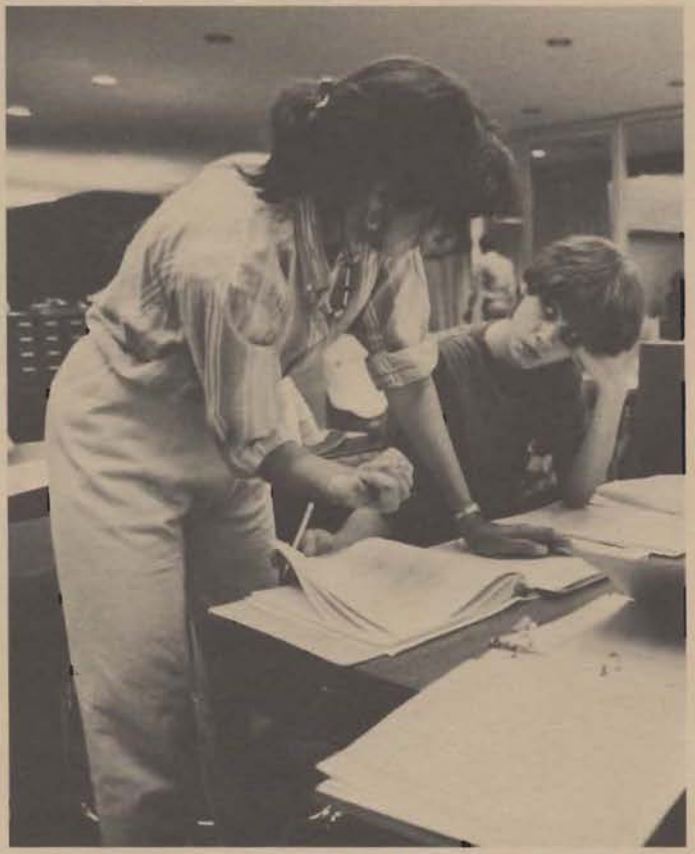
these will remain closed until well into the next century. The only record of Johnson's personal views consists of the occasional handwritten scrawl at the bottom of memos, usually terse comments such as "see me about this" or "no, no, no!" or, all too often, a simple check mark affirming one of several options outlined by an aide. The documents enable the historian to discover the influences brought to bear on the president, but they offer little insight on how he responded to them.

Despite these limitations, scholars have been able to use the Johnson Library to illuminate important aspects of the administration's record. In an effort to make historians and political scientists more aware of the Library's resources, I edited a collection of essays in 1981 entitled *Exploring the Johnson Years*. Seven scholars wrote on topics ranging from the Vietnam War to the civil rights struggle to show how the files at the LBJ Library could be used to gain additional insight into the history of the 1960s. The favorable response to this book encouraged me to edit a second volume to cover many of the topics left out of the original, such as Lady Bird Johnson and beautification, the environment, the student antiwar protest, national health policy, and the politics of space. Eight authors, including my University of Texas colleagues Lewis Gould and Clarence Lasby as well as scholars such as Herbert Parmet and Burton Kaufman, have completed essays for a book to be published in 1986. It is our hope that this volume, like its predecessor, will make researchers more aware of the richness of the Library's holdings and bring them to Austin to probe more deeply into the relatively neglected history of the 1960s.

In little more than a decade, the Lyndon B. Johnson Library has proved to be a major asset for The University of Texas. Scholars from across the country, and indeed from around the world, have come to explore its files. In 1984 two well known historians, Robert Dallek of UCLA and Paul Vonkin of Vanderbilt, began research at the Library on forthcoming biographies of Lyndon Johnson. Graduate students in history and political science from universities throughout the United States have used the Library to complete their dissertations. Those of us teaching courses in recent American history have regularly sent our graduate students and even enterprising undergraduate majors to the Library to gain experience in archival research. A prize-winning history honors senior thesis was based on research done at the Johnson Library; one of my graduate students is presently writing a promising dissertation on Lyndon Johnson's Middle Eastern policy. For the past five years UT government professors Larry Dodd, Bruce Buchanan, Terry Sullivan, and Benjamin Page have sent their students to work in the rich political documentation of the Johnson administration.

Today any scholar working in the history of the 1960s would consider his research incomplete without a trip to the Johnson Library. As historians and political scientists seek to gain a fuller understanding of critical national developments such as enactment and implementation of the Great Society and the unfolding Vietnam tragedy, the LBJ Library plays an indispensable role. In its files one can trace the passages of historic civil rights legislation, explore the origins of the environmental concerns that peaked in the 1970s, and uncover the growing budgetary impact of the Vietnam war on the Great Society programs. Allen Matusow's illuminating study of American liberalism in the 1960s, *The Unraveling of America*, shows how important the Johnson Library's holdings can be in the search for a fuller understanding of the recent American past. As the 1960s fade more and more from human memory, the voluminous records housed in the LBJ Library will assume even greater value as scholars attempt to arrive at a balanced assessment of this turbulent decade.

Library Archivist Nancy Smith examines Mrs. Johnson's beautification files.



Researchers inspect papers at Johnson Library.

Evenings at the Library

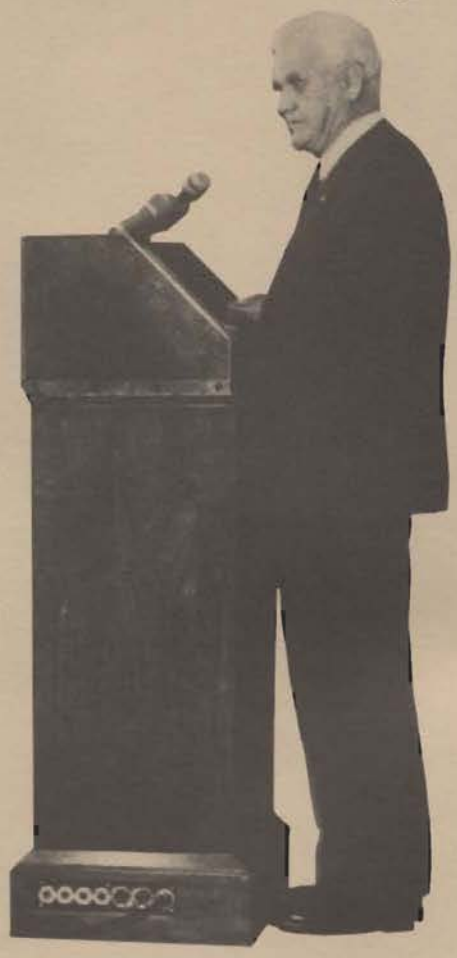
# SPEAKERS BRING VARIETY OF PROGRAMS

**Leaders from different fields, with different messages, have spoken at the Library recently, in a popular program which has become known as "An Evening With. . ."**

**Here are some of the moments from those special evenings.**

**Benjamin Netanyahu, Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations, dramatically presented the menace of international terrorism.**

Terrorism should be viewed not as isolated instances but as a form of state warfare, directed principally against the democracies of the west. Unchallenged, it will continue to escalate. [But] economic and political and military pressures against the states that support terrorism will bring terrorism to its knees. It will stop terrorism in its tracks, but it requires one ingredient—courage. Because terrorism is the phenomenon which tries to evoke one feeling—fear—and it is therefore understandable that the one virtue most necessary to defeat terrorism is the antithesis of fear: courage.



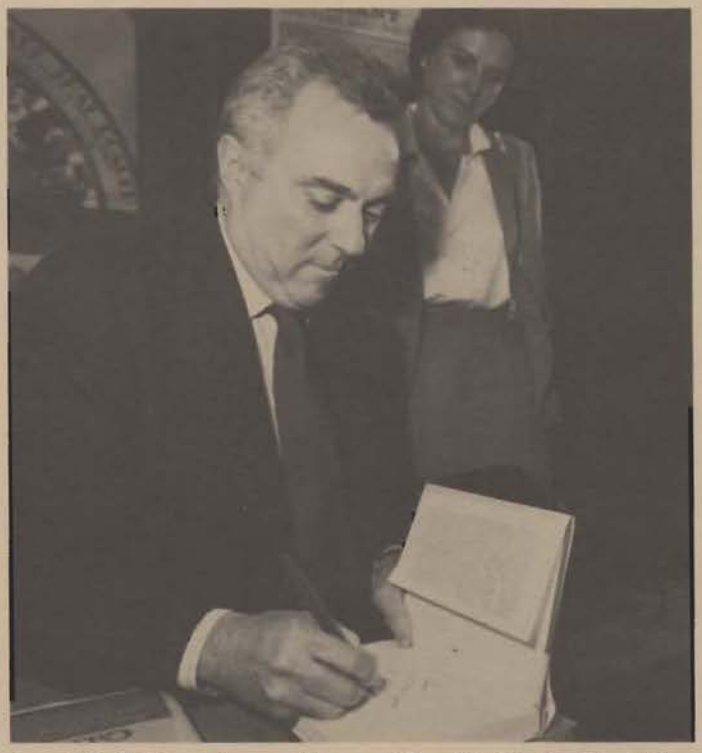
**General William Westmoreland, who commanded forces in Vietnam in the 1960s, drew lessons from that war.**

Now what can we learn from the Vietnam experience? I believe our political leaders must be more cautious in making commitments in foreign countries. I believe and hope that the determination of our strategy in Washington will be more thorough in its research, and in the process the military will have a stronger voice. The fact that the military has not had a stronger voice is the fault of the military because the military has not been unified in what should be done. Almost every proposal that has gone to the White House has been split—it has not been a unified opinion by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. . .

It seems to me that our laws should permit passage of a measure short of a declaration of war that would restrain efforts to undermine our constitutional determination and national objectives and to weaken our resolve—something between a declaration of war and a declaration of a national emergency. I am no constitutional lawyer, but there must be something that can be done that will give the military more of a break by having some restraint on these terribly divisive influences associated with the passions of the people.

Columnist Liz Smith, whose observations are printed in the *New York Daily News* and some 50 other papers around the country, gave an entertaining and delightful evening.

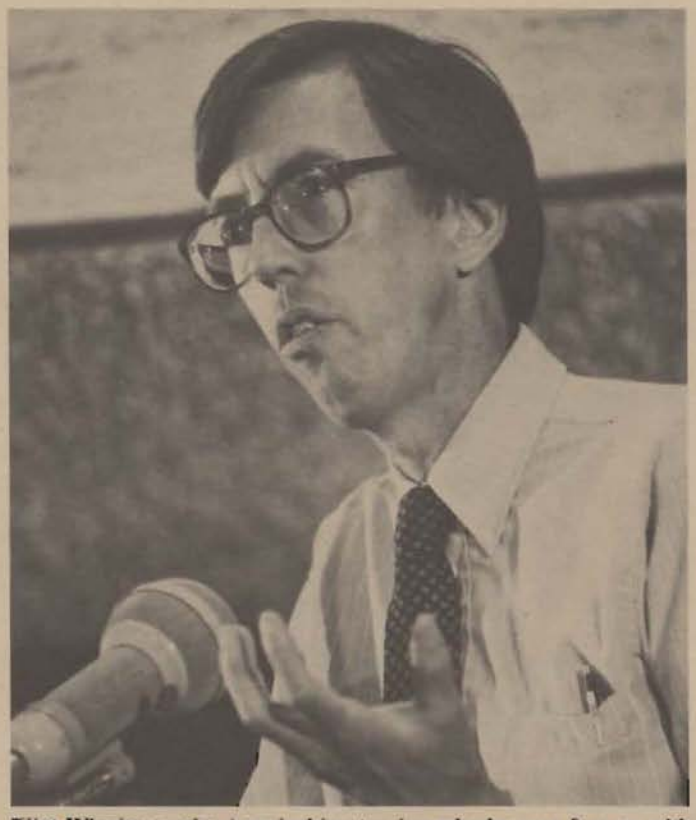
For lack of a better description—and at my own insistence that we should undignify what some of us laughingly call the world's second oldest profession—I am a gossip columnist. And we should have a little fun with it because gossip has always been with us and always will be with us. It has been with us since people first began to grunt and make signs—because you can bet that in the beginning was the unconfirmed rumor, the hint of scandalous doings in the ruins of Pompeii.



Joseph A. Califano, Jr., one-time special assistant to President Johnson and later Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the Carter Administration, presented his passionate concern for the nation's growing crisis in health care.

A revolution in the American way of health is underway and it is likely to be as far-reaching as any economic and social upheaval we have known. At stake is who gets how much money out of one of America's top three industries, who suffers how much pain, how long, who gets the next available liver, kidney or heart—in short, who lives, who dies, and who decides. The revolutionary forces at work are profound. Science is serving up incredible biomedical breakthroughs that hold the promise of remarkable cures and the threat of unacceptable costs. The greying of America presents a burgeoning elderly population who consume the most expensive high-tech medicine and who already strain our capacity to provide adequate medical and nursing care. In law and religion our judges and moral theologians are confounded by the pandora's box of medical discovery that insists they re-examine questions as fundamental as when life begins and ends. And fed up with waste and inefficiency, the biggest buyers of health care—government, corporations and unions—are changing the way doctors and hospitals and other providers are used and paid and are reshaping financial incentives that encourage patients to seek unnecessary care.

Liz Smith



Eliot Wigginton, the Appalachian teacher who became famous with his "Foxfire" projects, spoke poignantly of the special badge of teaching.

In every high school in this country there are teachers who have given their lives to that profession and never get thanked, and are rarely focused on by the media. But those teachers meet each other, draw strength from each other, buttress each other, and the ripples of that energy go out into the field. And then at that point, as a teacher you sit up straight in the face of criticism and you say, "Yes, I am an English teacher, I am a professional, and I am proud of that profession. I am proud because I have the power to change lives, and sometimes when I'm lucky, I even do."

William P. Bundy, until recently Editor of *Foreign Affairs*, following service in the State and Defense Departments during the Johnson years, came to the Library on his return from the Philippines, where he observed the election there as a member of the U.S. team.

It is a sad thing in many ways to reflect on Ferdinand Marcos' career. He seemed when he was elected in 1965, and when Hubert Humphrey and Jack Valenti went to represent President Johnson at his inauguration in January of 1966, to have enormous promise. He had every talent you could possibly want politically. This was the smartest man of his generation. A top-notch legal mind, superb speaker, quick wit, shrewd judgment of people, a penny poker player, courageous and a fierce competitor and fighter. And yet in the end he brought his country to the absolute brink of ruin. Mr. Marcos did do good things, a lot of good things, in his first few years: fertilizer, roads—farm to country roads—a degree of land reform. But even then you could see his tendency to excess, his tendency to overreach...

[When President Johnson] went out to Australia on the occasion of the tragic death of Harold Holt, Mr. Marcos tagged along and even then we were picking up rumors that he had people with him whose main interest it was to look at the 'down-under' slice of what was already reported to be a fortune well up in the high millions. In any case, he saw the President late at night. He trotted out a shopping list of pretty suspect projects. The President turned him down and after he had left, he turned to me and in that rather gravelly voice he had in reserve, he said, "If you ever bring that so-and-so within 50 miles of me again, I'll have your head!" Now, I don't suggest that was his definitive judgment but I think he saw through this grasping quality and felt that this was a man who was a lightweight and an opportunist...

Barbara Jordan, professor in the LBJ School of Public Affairs, talked movingly about the significance of the LBJ Library and the heritage of Lyndon Johnson to black citizens.

I think that this Library provides for us a resource which we ought to use. We ought to get the mothers and the fathers and their children walking throughout this building, telling them about Lyndon Johnson. He's the man we want them to know about. They won't remember him, they will be too young, the kids will. But tell them about it, and tell them that there was a time, that there was a person in the White House who believed that black people had as much right to achieve and soar and progress as any people everywhere and so that's all I have to say —Lyndon Johnson was Mr. Civil Rights. No other President can be as great as he was on the issue because the things have been done which have to be done legislatively. There are no more bills to pass, no more resolutions to submit. What we need is someone with compassion and the will to do what needs to be done to bring to implementation and full fruition that which we already have on the statutes. And that is what future Presidents will have to build on. They will be building on the shoulders of Lyndon Johnson.

John Henry Faulk and Cactus Pryor presented a sampling from their two-character, two-act play, "Dobie." The "action" is dialogue—stimulating, forceful, poignant, between Texas' famed folklorist, J. Frank Dobie, played by Pryor, and his one-time student Faulk, who has gone on to acquire a reputation in folklore himself.

Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury in the Johnson administration and a founding member of the Board of directors of the LBJ Foundation, stands in front of a giant photograph of the Johnson cabinet, which covers one wall of a conference room on the Library's eighth floor. The room, dedicated as the "Henry H. Fowler Cabinet Room," in April, houses displays of photographs, documents and memorabilia of the cabinet.

Docents recognized for five years of service to the Library posed with Mrs. Johnson at a luncheon in their honor in April. They are Louise Samuelson, Helen Keel, Mildred Englert, Nora Willis, Mary Beth Page, JoAnn Jentz, Betty Ripperger, Jerry English and Catherine McKie. Congressman Jake Pickle reminisced about his experiences with President Johnson at the luncheon which was attended by 100 volunteers. In May, 40 of the volunteers toured the National Wildflower Research Center.

## HARDEMAN PRIZE AWARDED TO OSHINSKY

David M. Oshinsky, professor of history at Rutgers University, is this year's winner of the D. B. Hardeman Prize, which is awarded by the LBJ Library for the best book on the U.S. Congress published within a two-year period. Professor Oshinsky's prize-winning book was *A Conspiracy So Immense: The World of Joe McCarthy.*

The $1500 prize, named for the late aide to Sam Rayburn and Hale Boggs, is funded from a bequest made to the Library by Mr. Hardeman, who himself was recognized as an authority on the Congress.

Previous winners of the prize are Richard Fenno, Allen Schick and James L. Sundquist.

Three members of the University of Texas faculty—Professor Barbara Jordan of the LBJ School, Dr. Lewis L. Gould of the department of history and Dr. Terry O. Sullivan of the government department—made up the committee which selected the winning entry.

Mr. Oshinsky will speak at the Library on his work in September.

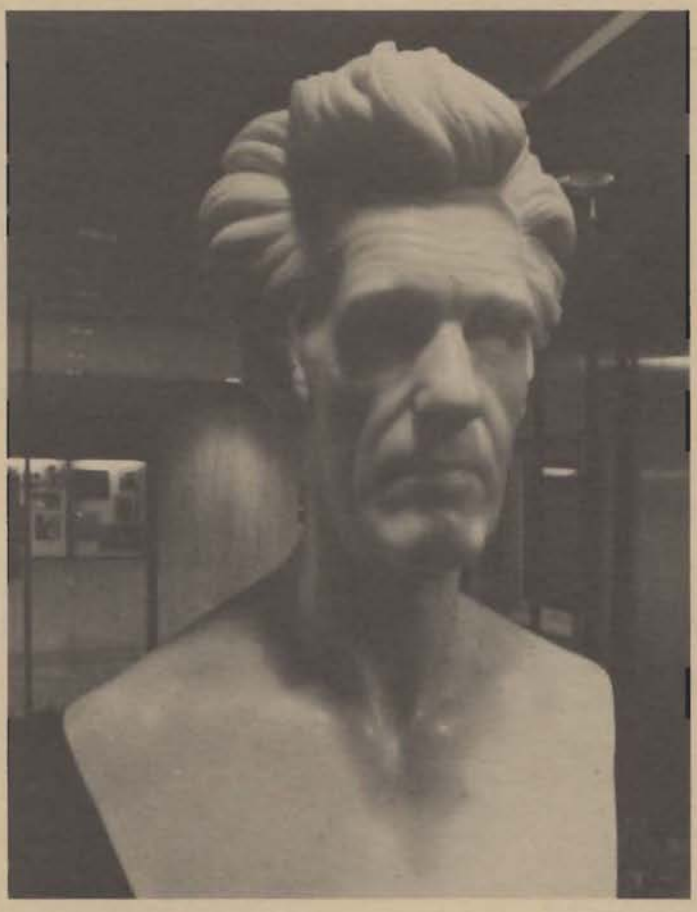
The Prince of Wales has a private moment with Mrs. Johnson in the Library during a visit to Austin to help launch Texas' Sesquicentennial Celebration.

"Texas and the American Presidency: 1836–1845," a small exhibition commemorating the state's sesquicentennial, features original portraits of the four United States Presidents who had a hand in Texas' passage to statehood: Andrew Jackson (below; sculpture by Clark Mills), Martin Van Buren, John Tyler and James K. Polk (above). Also displayed: the Joint Resolution of the 29th Congress, signed by Polk, for Texas' admission into the Union. Contributors to the exhibition are the New York Historical Society, Corcoran Gallery of Art, the Thomas Gilcrease Museum, and National Archives.

## Current Exhibit

**"Robert Capa: A Retrospective, 1932–1954"...**

presents the work of one of America's greatest photographers. The exhibit involves 160 images, half of which have never before been shown. There are scenes from both peace and war, including the first Indochina war, where Capa was killed in 1954. The traveling exhibit will be at the Library until August 10.



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