



ISSUE NUMBER XXXX MAY 15, 1987

Among Friends of LBJ

NEWSLETTER OF THE FRIENDS OF THE LBJ LIBRARY



The World of Drew Pearson at the Library (See p. 6)

EVENINGS AT



BARRY GOLDWATER

Excerpts:

Alexander Hamilton and others warned about the government becoming an instrument of special interest. I don't think at that time the Founding Fathers really understood what special interests might amount to, but today I think I'm safe in telling you that there're over 25,000 organizations headquartered in Washington who have one single mission — to get something for the people who are paying them . . . and they have no regard as to what the success of their efforts might have on the future of our country. . .

The president, really, has only two jobs. One is foreign policy and the other is the defense of our country. The other administrative chores are taken care of, to a large extent, by agencies provided him by the Congress, whether he wanted them or not. And I might say that a lot of our trouble financially today has been caused and is caused by agencies that the people never asked for. But the Congress, feeling that an agency established to take care of this problem might get a few votes. And so we have a situation now where the president can only control 30 percent of the money that we spend.

So you send a man to be president because he's promised to cut taxes; he's promised to cut down the size of these agencies; he's promised to reduce the size of government. But he finds out that these things have to be done by the Congress, and the Congress is not about to cut any agency where it had a few votes wrapped up in it. . .

I remember when I had that cliff-hanging election back in 1964. I thought I knew a little bit about what was entailed, but as I visited with President Johnson and other presidents, I found out that I didn't know much about it, the job faced by a president in trying to fulfill all of the promises he made and would like to keep — he just can't do it without the help of the Congress.



BRIAN URQUHART, who served until last year as Undersecretary General of the U.N., discussed that organization's peacekeeping efforts in global hot spots, which he directed.

The "Evening With . . ." series has proven to be a highly popular Library activity and was undoubtedly a factor in a successful membership drive in Austin which recently brought in almost 600 new members of the "Friends of the LBJ Library." The total number of members of that organization now stands at 2,575.

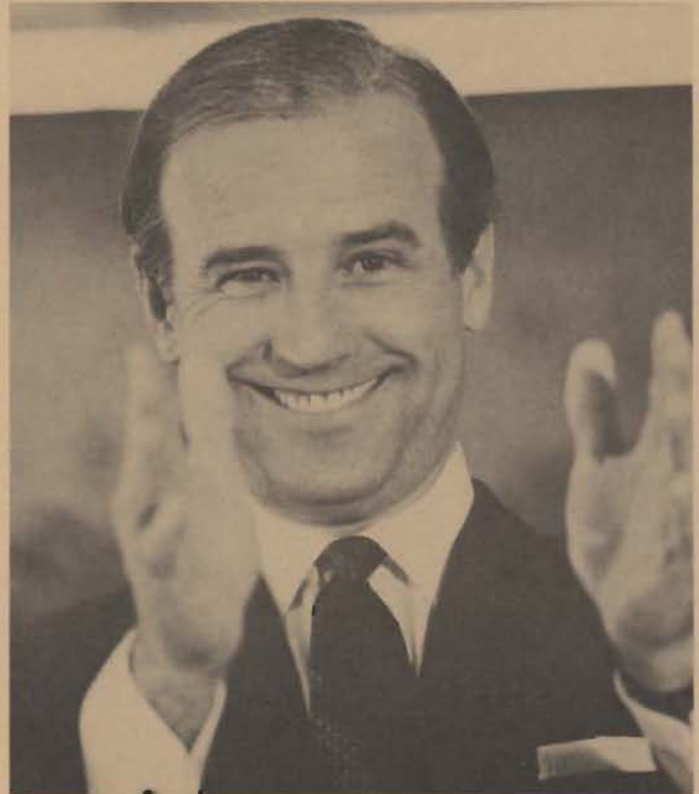
THE LIBRARY WITH . . .



ROBERT FLYNN, author and English professor at Trinity University, gave an amusing and moving address on literature of the Southwest.

One Passage:

The cottonfield is one of the great classrooms of life. Put a young man in a cottonfield, place a sack on his back or a hoe in his hand and right away his thoughts will turn to truth and beauty. A far-off look will come into his eye. Put a young man in a cottonfield and he will take up prayer. "Lord, if you will just get me out of this, I will never again as long as I live look at the women's underwear in the Sears' catalogue."



SENATOR JOSEPH BIDEN OF DELAWARE:

Excerpts:

In the next few years we will do one of two things: We'll either deploy a new, so-called strategic defense system — Star Wars — or we will achieve the most far-reaching arms-control agreement in history. It will be one or the other, I guarantee you. Either man the scientist or man the statesman will prevail. . .

In the next few years we will fundamentally restructure our system of education. We will either continue to drift toward a dual system — one for the richest and brightest students, and another for everyone else — or we will radically refashion our education. . .

WILLIAM SEALE gave Mrs. Johnson a special copy of his recently published book, *The President's House*, when he visited the Library to discuss that fascinating history of the White House.

VISITORS TO THE LIBRARY



These young visitors listening to the sound in one of the exhibits were among the 150,000 who toured the Library in the spring. They included some of the prominent figures on this page.

"FIVE FUNNY WOMEN," who jointly gave this year's Liz Carpenter Distinguished Lecture at the University of Texas posed for a group photo at the Library. They are: writer Nora Ephron, actress Carol Channing, writer Shana Alexander, writer Florence King, columnist Liz Smith and actress Fannie Flagg.

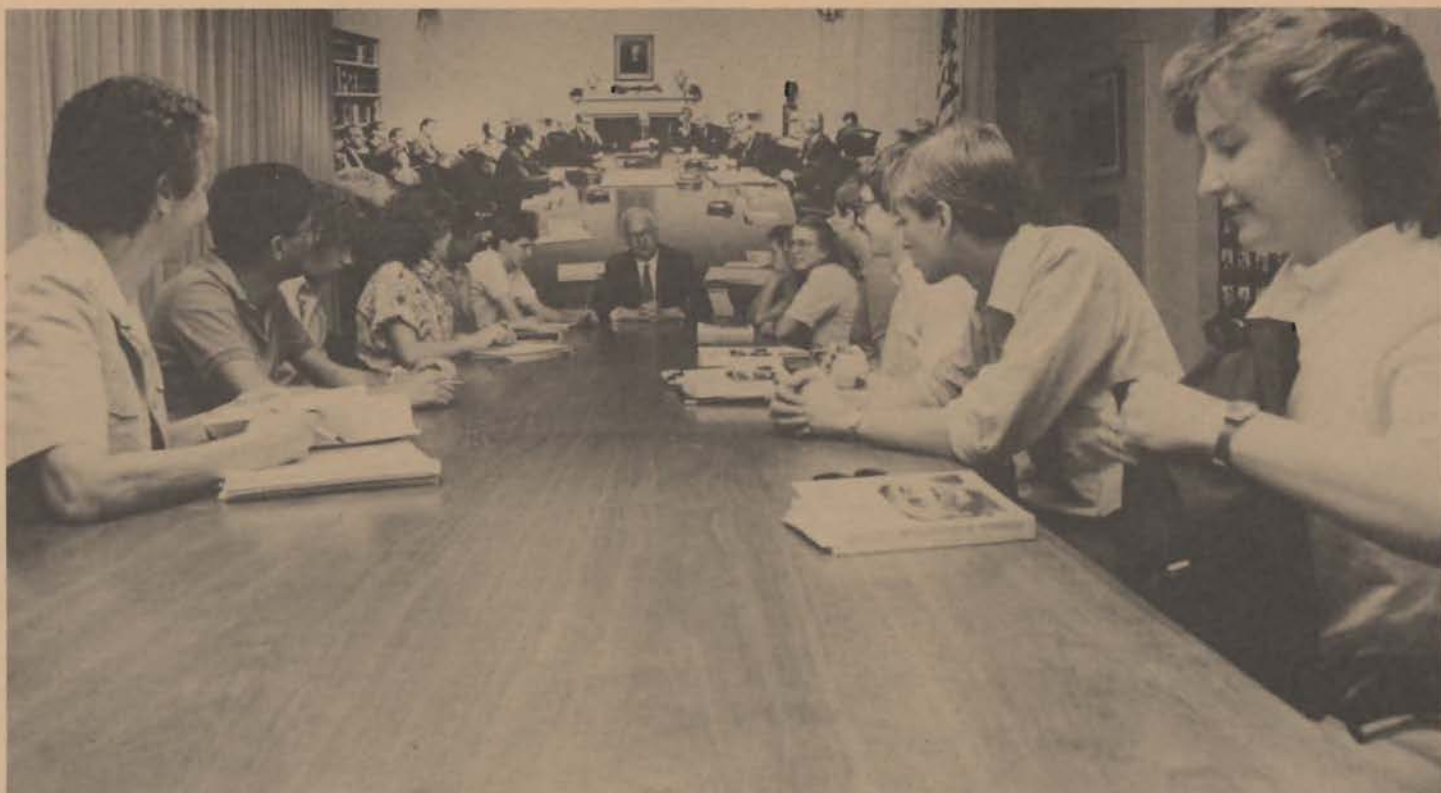


Katherine Graham, publisher of the *Washington Post*, was here for the opening of the exhibit on Drew Pearson. (See page 6.) Charles Corkran, Library assistant director, showed her through the stacks.



J. Jackson Walter, President of the National Trust for Historic Preservation (right) toured the Library with Curator Gary Yarrington.





NEW INTEREST IN LBJ SURGES

University of Texas history professor Lewis Gould uses the Henry H. Fowler Cabinet Room in the Library (above) to conduct a graduate seminar on the Presidency of Lyndon Johnson, a reflection perhaps of what is generally perceived to be a new surge of interest in LBJ. A recent article in the *American Historical Review* noted that "half the historical profession is at work on a biography of Lyndon B. Johnson." Speaking to the Library docents recently, another U.T. historian – Robert Divine – reinforced the thesis of renewed interest. "Johnson," he

said, "is now being perceived as one of the most important men to occupy the White House in the 20th century." The Library has seen a decided increase in the researchers using its collections. Two recent television productions – NBC's "LBJ: The Early Years," with Randy Quaid and Patti Lupone as Lyndon and Lady Bird Johnson, and PBS's one-man show "Lyndon," starring Laurence Luckinbill, suggest that the interest in LBJ is not restricted to historians but is felt in the public at large.



Library supervisors met early in the new year with Mrs. Johnson at the LBJ Ranch to discuss the status of Library projects. Shown are Barbara Jensen, administrative officer; Larry Reed, LBJ Foundation assistant director; Tina Houston, supervisory archivist; and Walt Roberts, museum store manager.

Exhibits

THE WORLD OF DREW PEARSON

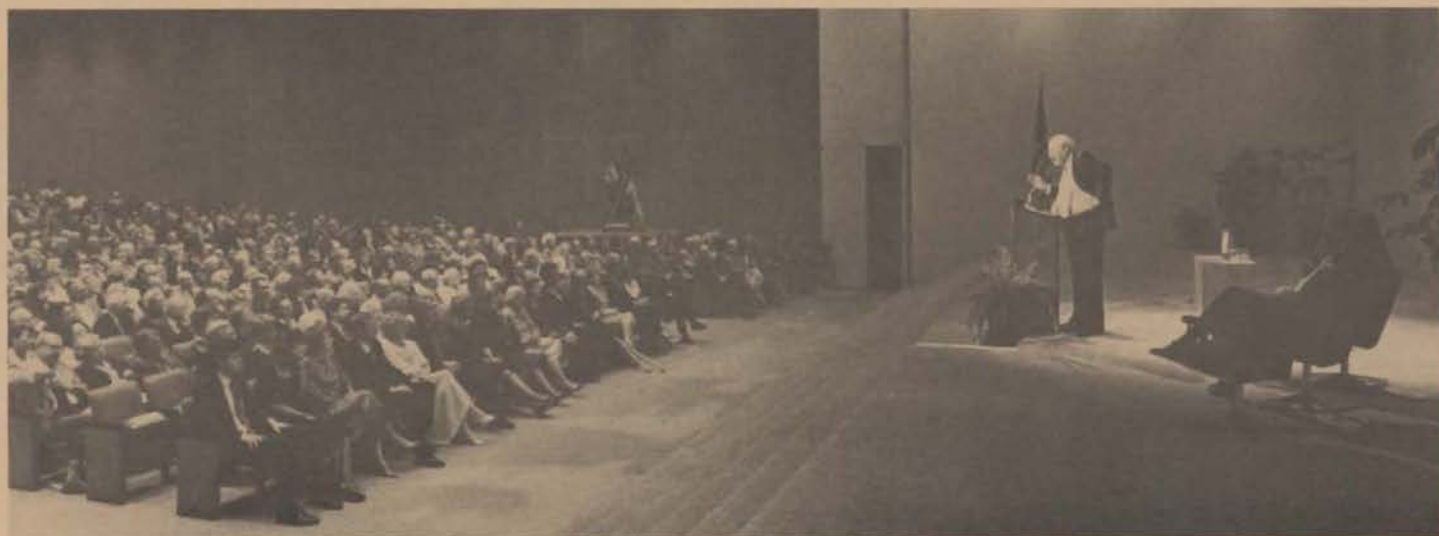


The Library's current major exhibit, "Washington Merry-Go-Round: The World of Drew Pearson," is built around the papers of that famed and controversial journalist, which are part of the Library's collections. The exhibit, which will run through September, documents Pearson's involvement with some of the major figures of his time, such as General Douglas MacArthur and President Harry Truman (left) and Senator Joseph McCarthy (lower left).

Jack Anderson, who worked with Pearson and inherited his column after Pearson's death, spoke to an auditorium filled with Friends of the LBJ Library at the exhibit opening (below).

Mrs. Drew Pearson, touring the exhibit with Anderson (below right), introduced the speaker of whom she said, "Drew would be mighty proud of him; he is a real watchdog."

The conté crayon and wash drawing of Pearson reproduced on the cover is by sculptor Robert Berks, who created several like it for the exhibition.



"Eleanor Roosevelt: First Person Singular"

This exhibit on the former first lady was adapted from an exhibition originally organized by the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History. Containing more than 100 photographs, objects and documents, it traces her early married years at Hyde Park; her private times at Val-Kill, her cottage on the Hyde Park estate; her public years in the White House and her service with the United Nations after President Franklin Roosevelt's death.



Three phases of Eleanor's life: as a young woman in 1903 (top right); hosting a meeting of New York Democrats in 1924 (above), and at a press conference as first lady (bottom right).



The exhibit, mounted in the lobby of the Library, was very popular with visitors.



SYMPOSIUM CONSIDERS THE PAST

"The American Constitution: Restrospect and Prospect" was the title and subject of this year's symposium, held in February.

Like all such conferences co-sponsored with the University of Texas, it was the product of a planning committee composed of members of the Library staff, the University faculty and the Austin community. More than most, however, this one carried the imprint of one member of that committee: Dr. William Livingston, who first proposed it and then shepherded it through from plan to execution. Dr. Livingston is editing the book based on the symposium

which will be published in the fall. Following are his reflections on the conference.

As I reflect on the symposium and as I read through the transcription, I find a recurring and persistent theme. It has to do with the intentions of the framers of the Constitution.

In his opening keynote address, the Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds set the tone for the symposium. He said the original Constitution, as propounded by the framers, was proper and adequate. He regretted the changes and distortions that have occurred since then and he blamed the



Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds, in his keynote address, said of the symposium: "One cannot overstate [its] importance." He struck sparks with his contention that "we have strayed too far from the Founders' original Constitution and, in process, damaged seriously, perhaps fatally, our most basic governmental and institutional relationship."



Harold Hyman:

Englishmen have done many damaging things when writing about American culture and institutions. I think Gladstone's remark about the 1787 constitution as being "that most magnificent product of the mind of man ever struck off at a given moment" is among the most important. For the Constitution was not struck off at a given moment. If it is not a living, organic, dynamic, evolutionary, adaptable document, then Calhoun was right. But Calhoun's state sovereignty died at Appomattox, as I understand it.



Barbara Jordan:

I do not believe that we can discern the original intent of those who drafted the document in 1787. I believe that such an exercise would be useless and futile because circumstances change; and because circumstances change, this immutable constitution bends out of shape and extends itself to change with changed conditions . . . I believe the 1787 document has served us well and believe that it will continue to serve us well, even though 100 years from now we may come up with the 35th amendment to the document in order to render it acceptable to the circumstances of [that] day and age.



Catherine Hancock:

I think it's fair to say that some constitutional lawyers express doubts about the ability of anyone who is not a judge to interpret the Constitution. Yet, we know that other governmental actors in cities, state government, and in Congress surely outnumber judges and must also outspend them; and they touch the lives of many people through the decisions that do require constitutional interpretation. So, why this hubris on the part of constitutional lawyers, this obsession with judges as creatures of superior capacity and habit?



Anthony Lewis:

We have the kind of country and national economy we do today — instead of one with 50 state economies separated by tariffs and regulations different in every state — because in a case called *Gibbons v. Ogden*, Chief Justice Marshall just rewrote the Constitution and the commerce clause, which is framed in affirmative terms. It says Congress has power to regulate commerce among the states and with foreign nations and among the Indian tribes. It said nothing about the states not being able to — no negative in it. Chief Justice Marshall and the Supreme Court in that early case read into the Constitution as bold an act as you can imagine.

If Marshall had not read into the Constitution a negative on state restraints on interstate commerce, we wouldn't be a country today.

AND FUTURE OF U.S. CONSTITUTION

judiciary for abandoning or corrupting the original Constitution. He called for a "restoration."

Nearly everybody from then on used Reynolds as a point of departure, a stalking horse, or a hobby horse. Some said there is no way to tell what the framers really meant. Some said it didn't matter because constitutions change inevitably and inexorably. Some said the framers deliberately made the document vague so it could change with the times. Some said it wasn't only the judges who had changed it, but other agencies and institutions as well — indeed all of us. Professor Hyman said the Constitution had been amended fundamentally at Ap-

pomattox. Several spoke of a "living constitution" constantly growing, changing, adapting. And finally, some said that the framers and their intentions are part of an historical myth that is part of the American constitutional culture.

The discussions were lively and pointed, and the exchanges, though direct and unremitting, were mannerly and good humored. It was an exhilarating symposium and it should be an interesting book.

THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

Welcome:

William H. Cunningham
President
The University of Texas at Austin

Keynote Address:

The Bicentennial: A Constitutional Restoration

William Bradford Reynolds
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
United States Department of Justice

Panel:

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CULTURE OF AMERICA

Moderator:

Sanford V. Levinson
Charles Tilford McCormick
Professor of Law
The University of Texas at Austin

Panelists:

Harold M. Hyman
William P. Hobby Professor of History
Rice University
Anthony Lewis
Columnist, *The New York Times*
David G. T. Williams
President, Wolfson College
University of Cambridge

Panel:

THE CONSTITUTION OUTSIDE THE COURTROOM

Moderator:

Dagmar S. Hamilton
Associate Dean
Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs
The University of Texas at Austin

Panelists:

Philip C. Bobbitt
Professor, School of Law
The University of Texas at Austin
and Anderson Senior Research Fellow
Nuffield College, Oxford University

Richard W. Bolling
Former United States Representative
Fifth District, Missouri
Lecturer and Author

Thomas E. Cronin
McHugh Professor of American Institutions and Leadership
The Colorado College

Catherine Hancock
Associate Professor of Law
Tulane University

Panel:

THE IDEALS AND PURPOSES OF 1787 AMID THE REALITIES OF 1987

Moderator:

Jerre S. Williams
Judge, United States Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit

Panelists:

Wilbourn E. Benton
Professor of Political Science
Texas A&M University
Barbara C. Jordan
Lyndon B. Johnson Centennial Chair in National Policy
Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs
The University of Texas at Austin

Nelson W. Polsby

Professor, John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University

Herbert J. Spiro

Professor of Politics,
John F. Kennedy Institute for North American Studies
Free University of Berlin

Address:

The Rt. Hon. Lord St Brides,
GCMG, PC

Panel:

THE FUTURE OF THE CONSTITUTION

Moderator:

Charles Alan Wright
William B. Bates Chair for the Administration of Justice
School of Law
The University of Texas at Austin

Panelists:

Richard W. Bolling
Don K. Price
Weatherhead Professor of Public Management Emeritus
Harvard University
Arnold Rosenfeld
Editor, *Austin American-Statesman*
The Rt. Hon. Lord St Brides
James L. Sundquist
Senior Fellow
The Brookings Institution

Concluding Remarks:

Elsbeth D. Rostow
Professor, Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs and Stiles Professor in American Studies and Government
The University of Texas at Austin



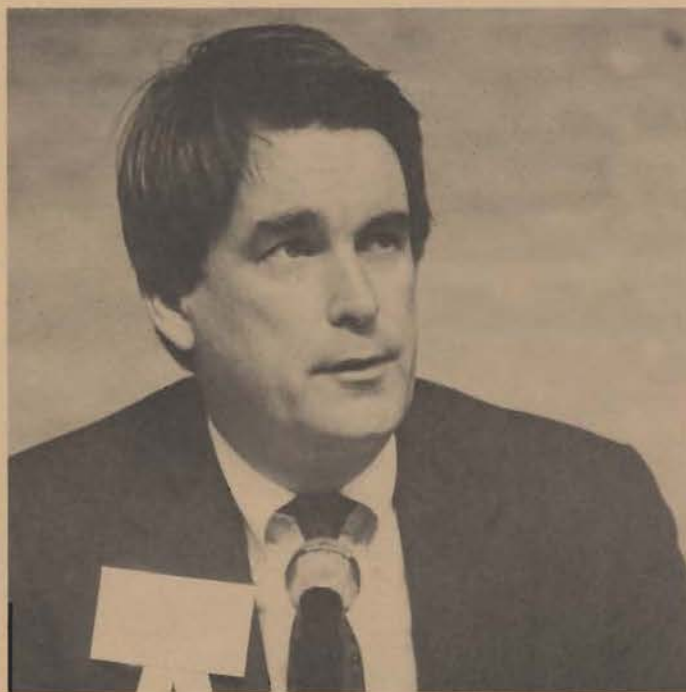
Arnold Rosenfeld:

In some way nuclear arms and arms control should be built into our Constitution and perhaps more than a moral statement of concern . . . It strikes me that it is not beyond us to question the potential uses of the products of science and their consequences and to say there are some things we will not permit as a conscionable folk; otherwise, I say leave the Constitution pretty much alone.



Richard Bolling:

The flaws lie not in the document and its potential — the flaws lie in us and our elective processes. We are going to have to go beyond conversation about the Constitution to get solutions. We are going to have to do something about money and politics. We're going to have to do something about elections generally.



Tom Cronin:

The reality is, the gaps [in the Constitution] are filled by politics, by the political interpretation by the three branches clashing, recognizing the delicate balance but recognizing also that there is a role for all three branches and a claim for all three branches to get involved in the fray and politically to make their point and to argue their point in the court, particularly public opinion.



Charles Alan Wright

Comments By Some Of The Other Participants

Wilbourn E. Benton:

The Constitution, once adopted, succeeded beyond the hopes of its most ardent advocates; and I hope I'm not overdoing it when I say I think in a broad spectrum we are still part of the Constitutional Convention, and I think it sort of keeps us in that sort of frontier spirit in a way.

Philip Bobbitt:

If you believe in a policy and want its success with all your heart, it is perfectly natural that you should want to suppress the debate that would likely prove fatal to that policy. But that is not the system, the constitutional system, that we have. The Constitution outside the courtroom must have fresh fair. If it cannot stand it, then so be it; for it is certain that without such exposure, the Constitution will suffocate.

Herbert J. Spiro:

The great strength of our Constitution is its vagueness, the elegance of the preamble and its consistent procedural interest, that is something that at the very basic level can be understood by almost anybody and you drink it with your mother's milk.

James L. Sundquist:

The first subject we ought to concern ourselves about when we appraise the adequacy of the Constitution is the phenomenon of divided government, whereby one party controls one branch of the government, and the other party controls all or half of the other branch. This is something new in American life.

David Williams:

I believe very strongly that one of the great strengths of the American Constitution has been [its] initial basis of compromise and barter. The Supreme Court's best role is one of maintaining that sense of compromise and barter, even at the present time.

Nelson Polsby:

Resistance to civil rights was in many respects the great cost that the American people paid for states' rights. . .

The fact that we have state governments and state politics, state parties, at our disposal, may be a way of reaching people, recruiting people, improving the civic responsibilities and consciousness of people that can constitute a resource, but only, of course, if we are convinced that states' rights no longer means a means of resisting civil rights.

Don K. Price:

The main problems of constitutional government [have been distorted] by focusing almost entirely on the written Constitution and the influence of legalism on the development of our government . . . The Constitution deals properly with the broad way in which government is organized and functions and this is something which depends on a great many political judgments and political attitudes and institutional habits, far more than on the terms of the written Constitution, which judges then can interpret.

The Rt. Hon. Lord St Brides:

Your Founding Fathers were quite ready to create a head of state in whom would be invested the executive powers of the young republic. But they were also and overwhelmingly concerned to deny him arbitrary power. And the famous checks and balances contained in your Constitution and the carefully defined division of responsibility between the three branches of government, were shrewdly and indeed brilliantly designed to produce what Aristotle calls a *syntonos harmonia*; that's to say, a harmony of opposing tensions from which just and durable policy decisions would emerge. It's not only the oldest Constitution in the world, but it's also, I would say, the most sophisticated, for that reason.

Jerre Williams:

In my mind one of the most remarkable political events in world history occurred in this country just a little over 10 years ago. For the first time in our history, a president of the United States resigned. The person who became president had never been elected by the American people either to the office of vice-president or president. Was there marching in the streets? Was there discussion about which side will the Army take? Was there domestic uproar about the fact that we were having someone become president who had never been elected president? No.

What happened was, we all watched the president resign on T.V. and watched the new president take the oath of office and went on about our business, went back to work. Why? Because the Constitution said that was what was supposed to be done.

Elspeth Rostow:

The questions that we've raised strike me as precisely the proper ones to be raised in a university, because the answer to them and the answer to the way in which we use this basic document will dictate either the fact that we are going to have a celebration similar to this, say 50 or 100 years ahead, or that we will allow our many and significant differences to allow us to pull up the roots of the Constitution, go back to a constitutional convention, which I doubt that we need, or possible load the current document with some more versions of the 18th Amendment.



Humorist Art Buchwald, speaking at a dinner for the participants in the symposium on the Constitution, offered a refreshing antidote to the seriousness of the conference. He said: "President Johnson was very good in supplying me with humor and he put bread on my family's table."



The volunteer program at the Library and Museum has completed its seventh year and remains its best success story. Volunteers work as docents, giving tours to visitors, and in all other areas of the Library.

At their annual luncheon, sixteen volunteers were recognized for their service with memberships in the "Friends of the LBJ

Library." Pictured with Mrs. Johnson, in clockwise order from the back row, are: Connie Schultz, Sue Balden, Nita Snyder, Linda Creamer, Dottie Blank, Sarah Phillips, Lila Anne Parker, Irene Borawski, Barbara Jackson, Mary Townsend, Milly Han, Bobbie Krus, John Koeniger, Mrs. Johnson, Barbara Wagner, Betty Creamer, and Denise Morrison.

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