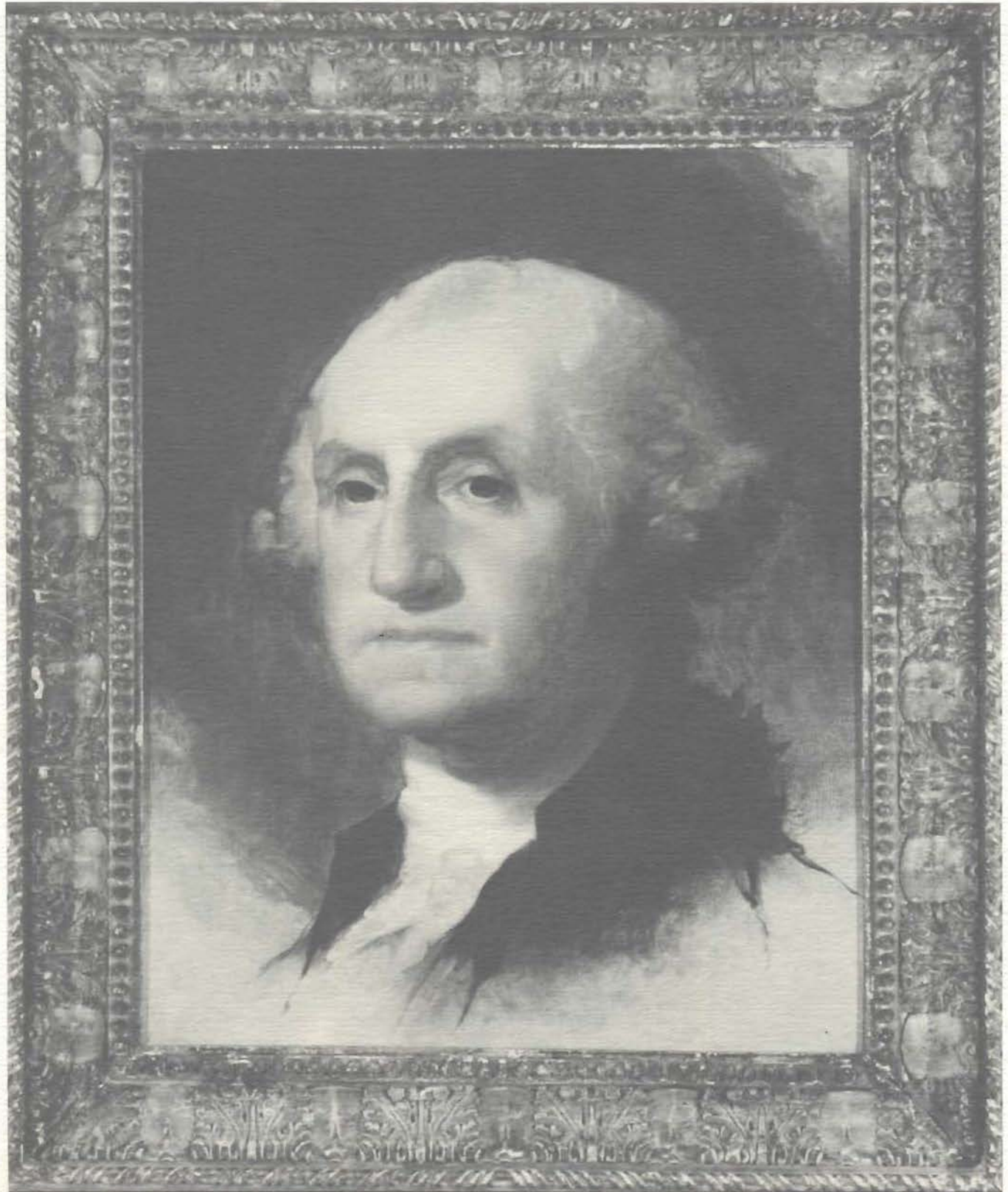


AMONG FRIENDS *of LBJ*

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A promise of integrity and firmness (see story, p. 14)

Reflections On LBJ

A Presidential Birthday Stirs Recollections In Several Places

August 27 was the anniversary of Lyndon Johnson's birth. He would have been 79. It was an occasion for reflections on the man, his times and his presidency at the LBJ Ranch, at the LBJ Library, in San Marcos and in Washington, D.C.

In its early years the Library began serving birthday cake to its visitors on August 27. One year it decided to drop the practice—but quickly resumed it when the lapse brought unfavorable attention. Now it's a tradition.



Placing the wreath sent by President Reagan on President Johnson's grave at the LBJ Ranch, Library Director Harry Middleton recalled for a group of visitors LBJ's plea early in his presidency for an effort "to perfect our unity." "The work he spoke of," Middleton said, "was not completed and is not completed to this day. But many of the divisions that plagued America a quarter of a century ago *have disappeared*—in large part because Lyndon Johnson, in the time that was given him, dedicated his Presidency to eliminating them." With Middleton and Mrs. Johnson are the two oldest Johnson grandchildren—Lucinda Robb, now a sophomore at Princeton University, and Lyn Nugent, a junior at Southwest Texas State University.

Horace Busby, long-time aide to and associate of Lyndon Johnson and now a consultant in Washington, D.C., reminisced about the man he knew at a breakfast meeting of Washington alumni of the LBJ School of Public Affairs. Some of his reflections:

"... The very first night I met him in Washington [in 1948], he talked about blacks—except in those days you wouldn't have said blacks. That would have been quite insulting. He was talking about the Negro. And he said, 'The Negro has fought in the war. He's been in the war plants,' meaning the defense jobs, 'and he's not going to take any more of this shit.' He said, 'We are in a race with time.' Now, this was coming from a Texas politician. I'd been in Austin. I'd been around the capitol a lot, editor of *The Daily Texan*, and to hear a man talk this way three days after I



left [there] was kind of boggling. And he said, 'We're in a race with time, and I hope we can succeed because if we don't, blood is going to run in the streets.'

. . . I came and started this relationship with him, fascinated by him because—this will surprise you—he was so totally an anti-politician. He didn't kiss babies. He wasn't nice to old ladies. He spoke what was on his mind and you were supposed to come along behind him and sweep up all the crockery. He let it all hang out in a way that I've never known any other public man to do. He was singular.

You think of Lyndon Johnson as being the ultimate establishment man in Texas and what you really can't know [is that] he was the ultimate triumph of the anti-establishment over the establishment in Texas. He took them all on and he beat them down. They began to claim him as he rose higher and higher but he—you just hoped that he would not get up some day and stand up before a group of the five hundred richest Texans and tell them what he thought of them.

I went to 25 countries with him, I think. Mostly third world. [When LBJ was Vice President] we went to Manila and he was put up in the Malaka Nang Palace. It was the start of the monsoon season. We went into his suite at the Palace. And the room was just unbelievably hot and humid. Windows down, no air. So, this Johnson mind starts working and he goes over to the window and he looks and there on the outside on the wooden sill were these telltale screwmarks, screwholes. The air conditioners had been removed to impress upon us how poor the Philippines were; they couldn't afford these things. So, he responds by

pulling a chair—he knew a little bit about a lot of things and he knew just a little bit about bugging. So he pulls this chair over to the middle of the room. High ceiling. But there was a chandelier, big chandelier came down in the middle of the room. So he takes off his shoes and gets up on the chair, stands and raises his voice, his face up directly into the chandelier. He said, "Buzz, if that outfit doesn't get this room cool by the time I get back from lunch I'm going to call Jack Kennedy and tell him to turn off all their aid." We came back in two hours and it was frigid. . . ."

John Gronouski, professor at the LBJ School of Public Affairs, spoke at the annual birthday celebration at Southwest Texas State University, LBJ's alma mater in San Marcos, Texas. He recalled how the famed "Johnson treatment" moved him from his cabinet post as Postmaster General to another job: "[President Johnson] called me into his office and told me how important Eastern Europe was, and that he was considering naming me ambassador to Poland. He said the peace of the world depended upon my accepting. I wouldn't be remembered 30 years from now for any stamp I had issued, but I *would* be remembered for helping keep the peace."



Gronouski



Thomas

Speaking at the annual birthday celebration at the LBJ Grove in Washington, organized by the Texas State Society, Helen Thomas, dean of White House correspondents, remembered how Johnson looked to the reporters covering him:

" . . . He had a love-hate relationship with the press—in the later years mostly the latter. He used to summon us and his beagles for those marathon walks around the South Lawn which we irreverently dubbed 'the Bataan Death Marches.'

. . . He was a spellbinding storyteller—mesmerizing—but he was never at home in a press conference—undoubtedly feeling there was a booby trap in every question, or more likely perhaps wondering why his good intentions should be questioned. . . .

" . . . He was tough and rude—and kind and sentimental. He was colorful, making some successors pale by comparison. . . .

" . . . He used to say, 'I'm the only President you've got.' We had to agree—sometimes reluctantly. He loved politics and he loved this country—which is a better place because of him. . . ."

Reflections of LBJ (continued)

The Observations of a Young Idealist



Reston

The last few months brought reflections on Lyndon Johnson from several different sources. James Reston, Jr., a writer like his *New York Times*-man-father, is currently doing research in the Library. Twenty-three years ago, not long out of college, he was an assistant to Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, whom he represented when President Johnson met for the first time with the Task Force on Natural Beauty on July 30, 1964. In a memo to Udall he set forth his impressions of LBJ in this first encounter. At the request of Library Director Harry Middleton, Reston ok'd publication of this excerpt, noting that "it still projects the awe of a 23-year-old. . . ."

[The President] commenced his little talk with the group. He explained that he had called these task forces composed of "the best brains in the country" to ensure that the American people would have good leadership in the coming years. He thanked the group for their public service of aiding him in that goal.

He spoke of his feeling for the beauty of the Texas Hills. "We have," he said,

"only broken rocks and scrubby trees, but it has a great beauty of its own. I break away from here as soon as I possibly can, and I leave those hills as late as I can, to come back for emergency conferences here."

"But," he said, "I have a lot of land, and I only wish that all the people could have the chance to experience the same joys that I can. I am concerned with the erosion of natural beauty in this country. I know that this is a problem which cuts across many lines."

He mentioned that he had seen a film clip on the TODAY show which showed the violation of the land by highway bulldozers, and then he turned to [Dick] Goodwin and said, "What was that college in Pennsylvania where I gave the commencement address this Spring?" Goodwin replied, "Swarthmore." (I thought it was interesting that he had forgotten the name of this well-known and fashionable Eastern college.) He had noticed, he went on, this kind of highway damage when he had gone up there.

As he talked, he looked at each member around the table, coming last to me, his dull black eyes gripping my gaze, as if we were in a lopsided staring contest. He is a commanding figure, and I knew that he was President.

"This is the first government sponsored group," he said, "that has ever attacked this problem across the board." We were making progress, however. "This is going to be the greatest conservation Congress since Teddy Roosevelt," he said. But, he added that the Conservation Fund Bill, and the Wilderness Bill were like "pebbles in an ocean compared to the overall problem."

"I want you," he said, "to paint me a picture, like that artist did of those

hills (motioning to a painting of Texas landscape on the wall) of how we can preserve a beautiful America. I do not want you to be held back by what you think can or cannot get through Congress. I do not think that you are the best judges of that. I will take your recommendations in November. I will study them thoroughly and I will propose to Congress in January what I think is fitting."

At this point, he stood up and said, "I want to thank you once again for helping me do this job that I am trying so hard to do." He nodded and strode out of the room, Jack Valenti on his heels.

As the door closed behind him, all was silence in the room. The butterflies which reminded me of waiting for the opening kickoff in a high school football game still were gnawing at my stomach.

I was very much impressed. I had not expected to be. In fact, the night before, I had argued with my mother about the sincerity of Johnson's feeling for the land. She claimed, on the basis of the weekend that she and Dad spent at the LBJ Ranch, that this feeling was genuine—that, in fact, the President and Mrs. Johnson often rode up into the hills to watch the sun set in the distance. I had remained unconvinced.

In the end, my strongest feeling was bewilderment. I simply could not take it all in. Here was a man, and yet it was hard to think of him as such. He was power, embodied in a man—the kind of power that God could never have intended for a mortal man to wield. And yet he was talking about human things—about a ranch, and about trees and rocks. All I knew was that I stood in awe of the magnitude of responsibility that one man was forced to bear. . . .

Johnson Undergoing Historical Reassessment

Exploring the Johnson Years, published first in 1981, is a collection of essays by eminent scholars relating the files of the LBJ Library to a historical review of Johnson Administration policies and programs. So successful was it—it is widely regarded as indispensable to anyone conducting research in the Library on the topics discussed—that a second volume, *The Johnson Years, Volume Two*, plumbing seven other areas, has just been published. Robert A. Divine, prominent historian at the University of Texas, is editor of both volumes. Recently, Dr. Divine and two of his U.T. colleagues who participated in the project—spoke at the Library on their work. Excerpts from Divine's remarks follow here. (Those of his fellow historians are on succeeding pages.)

... Historians are just beginning to dig deeply into the 1960s. It takes at least two decades after an era is over for the growth of historical perspective and the opening of documentary materials, the two things that are so necessary to permit historians to fashion a balanced and comprehensive view of the past.

In the next decade we should see the emergence of a new body of Johnson literature which is likely to establish his place in history. Historians who are now at work on the Johnson years focus on two issues which relate to larger themes in 20th century American development: the Great Society and the Vietnam War.

The Great Society must be viewed as part of the larger reform impulse which began just after the turn of the century with the progressive movement under the leadership of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. Lyndon Johnson's Great Society was the cul-



Divine

mination of this 20th century reform impulse. . . .

Although the Great Society did not achieve all its broad goals, it stands today as the fullest expression of the 20th century reform movement. The mood of the 1980s . . . has been to cut back and trim areas of government activity but many of the programs begun by Lyndon Johnson in the 1960s are still growing strong and remain the center of political controversy today. . . .

Lyndon Johnson played an even larger and more controversial role on a second over-arching theme in 20th century American history—the rise to world leadership. Beginning in the 1890s, the United States moved away from its traditional isolationism by defeating Spain and acquiring possessions overseas. American entry into World War I was followed by an attempted return to isolation but after World War II the onset of the cold war prevented any such reversion. Instead, as a deadly rivalry with the Soviet Union developed, the United States began to play the role of world policeman, took the lead in

restoring western Europe with the Marshall Plan and tried with less success to halt Communist expansion in Asia. The culmination of this new globalism came in Vietnam in the 1960s. Viewing the Communist threat there was a test to the entire post-war policy of containment. LBJ escalated the conflict by involving half a million American troops and achieved, at best, only a stalemate.

The failure to win in Vietnam led to disillusionment at home and yet another attempt in the 1970s to retreat from world leadership. Today we're still debating the nature and extent of America's commitment to a global policy. In a very real sense, Johnson's legacy in foreign policy has been to bring into question an issue many thought had long ago been settled.

I believe that Lyndon Johnson's relationship to these two dominant themes of the 20th century, reform at home and leadership abroad, insures his place in history. He'll be seen by future generations as a major figure, a president whose impact transcended his own time.

Reflections on LBJ (continued)

The Partnership Between President Johnson And



Clarence Lasby's contribution to *The Johnson Years, Volume Two* is an exploration of the War on Disease, which was fought with both hope and frustration in the 1960s. Here are some of the things he said the night he and his colleagues spoke at the Library.

... Let me begin by saying that Lyndon Johnson was the greatest "health" president the United States ever had or is ever likely to have. This is true in terms of commitment and accomplishment. It's as simple as that. He presented some 40 health bills to Congress, more than all previous presidents put together—and all of them passed. . . . His most [noted] single accomplishment [was] Medicare, a measure that virtually all historians consider to be monumental, even historic.

[But] I'm going to focus on the

[less well-known] war on disease. Obviously, Lyndon Johnson did not initiate that war. It was born out of the victories of World War II, the victories especially over infectious diseases, technological triumphs such as the atomic bomb, the sense that Americans could do anything. . . .

On the very day that we dropped the bomb on Nagasaki, Senator Brian MacMahon wrote to President Truman that we must now turn our efforts to discover the causes and cures of the deadly diseases of mankind. President Truman was not really interested—but there was one magnificent lady who *was* interested: Mary Woodward Lasker. She had developed her own company, had married the advertising executive Albert Lasker. Together they had to some extent [brought] life to the National Cancer Institute.

After the war Mary Lasker decided it was time for the nation to attack that greatest of all diseases. So she went to work and, almost single-handedly, she was able to get through a recalcitrant Congress the National Heart Act of 1948, which established the National Heart Institute, and thereafter she brought together an amazing health lobby, a combination of politicians [and] physicians, and this lobby went to work on Congress. It was filled with excitement. . . . There was optimism but not very much success.

Mary Lasker and her health lobby continued their war on disease through [the 1950s]. . . . [After Lyndon Johnson became president] she was after him; she found a willing compatriot. . . . Indeed, he immediately assumed the role of Commander-in-Chief. . . .

Philosophically President Johnson believed that it was the responsibility of the government to fight the dreaded diseases of mankind. He also believed that Americans could do it in his own lifetime. He had seen his people find a cure for the scourges of infectious disease, of pneumonia, of tuberculosis, and so on—why not heart disease and cancer? Mrs. Lasker shrewdly decided to add stroke to the issue and she induced President Johnson to appoint a high-level presidential commission called "Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke."

So Lyndon Johnson became the leader of the War on Disease. [There was] immense excitement when the President called together the scientists in the Rose Garden in 1964 [and] challenged them to give their talent, their energies, their imaginations—to stay awake at night and roll over and go get a glass of water and come back and think

Mary Lasker In The War On Disease

some more about how to defeat those diseases. . . .

The Heart, Cancer, Stroke Committee met all through the summer and fall of 1964. It had one innovative thrust—a proposal to establish a network of medical complexes that would bring together academic research and medical patient care. All over the country, in 41 different sites, the government would build these hospitals and staff them. . . .

President Johnson was euphoric. He [envisioned] a bunch of Mayo Clinics from one end of the country to the other, where the average American could go and get excellent care. But Lyndon Johnson, even in his best year of 1965, was not able to translate this dream into reality. When his Regional Medical Program bill was put into Congress the American Medical Association called it far more dangerous even than the dreaded Medicare bill for two reasons: the federal government would be building hospitals and paying for patient care.

Lyndon Johnson stood strong. He [said] that the AMA had tried to stall every medical bill ever put into Congress and he wouldn't put up with it. But in the final analysis he had to compromise and what finally came out was a diminished bill with diminished possibilities. Instead of an elaborate complex of hospitals, there would be only some cooperative regional arrangements.

Then within two months, Vietnam intervened. President Johnson decided that he was going to have to cut back even on that small budget. There was no choice. . . . The regional medical program limped along into the 1970s but it stressed education and not miracles.

Lyndon Johnson brought another initiative in this war on dis-

ease—and that was an intense battle he had with the biomedical scientists. And here again Mary Lasker was the spark plug. Mrs. Lasker had almost always been able to get through Congress increased money for the biomedical scientists to do fundamental research. But by the early 1960s she had become disappointed. She wanted some breakthroughs that would save the lives of Americans *now*. She was unable to get the National Institute of Health to go along. [It] believed that research funds should go for fundamental basic research [and not] on task forces and coronary drug projects and so on. But Mary Lasker wrote a letter to the President and said, "Mr. President, it's time for you to tell these doctors that you want plans that will zero in on these diseases. . . ."

And on June 15th of 1966, President Johnson got up before a vast gathering of people assembled for the launching of Medicare and showed that he was going to be no timid Commander-in-Chief in this war against disease. He said that he wanted some results *now*. And then he used words that were to send shock waves across the United States: "Research is fine but results are better."

[He] did get some results. Immediately the NIH decided that it would establish task forces to study the various kinds of cancer and it also decided to establish a coronary drug program to test various drugs to see what they would do against cholesterol.

Lyndon Johnson never gave up on his war against disease. He was a true believer. He won no final victories and he came to know full well the meaning of unfulfilled expectations. But he did leave a legacy. He



Lasker

raised the war on disease to presidential status. Thereafter only at some risk could presidents ignore it; and President Nixon declared with great fanfare a war on cancer. . . .

When he received the coveted Lasker Award, LBJ listened to these words: "We know that children not yet born will one day venerate the name of Lyndon Johnson for leading this God-inspired crusade against needless disability and death." That isn't likely to happen. History doesn't work that way and the children born since 1966 will mostly forget Lyndon Johnson. Some of them probably will never hear of him. But if I may end with a personal comment: Every day I take a drug called cholestyramine which was the first drug proclaimed by the coronary drug project to lower cholesterol and lengthen life. It's a distasteful drug, but occasionally as I take it, I say to myself, "God bless Lyndon Johnson."

Reflections on Lady Bird

A First Lady 'Pays Her Rent' With Environmental Work

The Johnson Years, Volume Two probes not only the programs of President Johnson, but those in which Mrs. Johnson was involved as well. Historian Lewis Gould, who has turned scholarly attention on contributions made by First Ladies in the White House, reviewed Lady Bird Johnson's efforts in the field of beautification, and covered some of that area in his address at the Library. Excerpts:

... Lady Bird Johnson's environmental concerns generally focused on two major subjects. In Washington, D.C. she sought to improve the appearance and quality of life in the nation's capital. Her most visible activity was her collaboration with Mary Lasker and Nash Castro of the National Park Service in placing, in Lasker's words, "masses of flowers where the masses pass." The Society for a More Beautiful National Capital was the private vehicle for this effort, and the achievements of the First Lady in transforming the look of highways, parks, and monuments in Washington are well documented. But that was far from all she did. Mrs. Johnson was very much involved in the negotiations that



led to the creation of the Joseph Hirshhorn Museum and she played a significant part with Nathaniel Owings, the famous architect, in the effort to improve Pennsylvania Avenue.

Simultaneously, in a recognition that beautification had to relate to all segments of society, Lady Bird Johnson drew upon the talents of Walter Washington, a black leader in Washington, and Polly Shackleton, a local Democratic politician, to devise programs that reached out to the black youth of the city. . . . The degree of Mrs. Johnson's involvement in the social aspects of her beautification work is only now being understood. . . .

Highway beautification was the other great cause of her years in the White House, and the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 is the most significant legislative achievement she realized. The issue remains controversial and assessments of the effectiveness of the law vary. From my perspective what is vital is a recognition that Mrs. Johnson was far more deeply involved in the implementation and enforcement of the law than was even perceived at the time. She attended legislative conferences, called key House members, and pressed executive agencies to push strong enforcement standards. The bill could not have been passed at any other time, and would not have become law without her support. Her identification with this legislation has given the billboard control issue a visibility and notoriety that has kept it in the public spotlight among environmental concerns. During her White House years and since, she has made Americans conscious of the appearance of their roadsides and spoken out for a standard of regulation that enhances



Dr. Gould

natural beauty.

I have come to believe, as I examined Mrs. Johnson's work in other aspects of the environment, that her significance transcended even the positive contributions that she made in Washington as a city, and in Congress with highway beautification. Let me share with you some of the concluding passages of my book which will be published next February.

"Having a First Lady who said that the Grand Canyon should be preserved and redwoods not cut down, that parks should be saved and freeways built with urban residents in mind, meant that environmental issues received a statement of legitimacy and value from the White House and the presidency. The gen-

eration of Americans who joined Lady Bird Johnson in beautifying the United States in the 1960s was absorbing lessons about the worth of wild places, the need for a balance between humanity and nature, and the power of government to protect natural beauty that shaped attitudes and policies in the decades that followed. The result was an instilling of conservation and ecological ideas in the national mind with a skill and adroitness that put Lady Bird Johnson in the front rank among modern First Ladies and women in American history.

"When she established the National Research Center in 1982, Mrs. Johnson told reporters that it was her way of 'paying rent for the space I have taken up in this highly interesting world.' Her modesty was characteristic, but her achievement as First Lady was large. She had taken the amorphous and ill-defined possibilities of the institution and stretched them into a significant campaign for an important national priority. The little girl who paddled alone on Caddo Lake had come far from the flowers and fields of East Texas, but she had never lost the sense of kinship with the land and its natural beauty that she had felt in her youth. When her opportunity came to be an advocate for the preservation and perpetuation of the nation's environment, she seized it with dedication, commitment, and lasting results. She fulfilled her obligation, as she put it, 'to keep the beauty of the landscape as we remember it in our youth . . . and to leave this splendor for our grandchildren.'

"She has as well amply paid her rent for the space she has occupied in the world and enriched the history of the United States with her presence."

An Evening With Betty Ford. . . .

Friends of the LBJ Library in May had An Evening With Former First Lady Betty Ford, whose recent book, *Betty: A Glad Awakening*, describes her recovery from dependence on alcohol and drugs. In a moving presentation, she covered a number of topics, many of them related to her recovery.

On the effect of recovery:

One of the richest things for me is to know that each morning I can get up and know that today I have to live in the now . . . in a sobriety that allows me a balance in my life, which gives me a great deal of serenity [and] the opportunity to make choices on what I think is best. It allows me to have my emotions, to naturally use those emotions . . . much more so than when I was under the effect of drugs and alcohol. . . .

How President Ford feels about her recovery:

He has found out that perhaps I'm not as placid as I used to be and not as easily pacified . . . I have my own individual self-esteem which I am very grateful for. And he appreciates that. He said I might be a little more difficult to live with, but it's much more fun.

Why she is speaking out:

When I finally found my own health and my own sobriety, I realized how many people there were out there that were like me who didn't understand alcoholism, and were really asking for help. I realized there was a great need to speak out. I saw the stigma associated with it and particularly with women. It's a double stigma as far as women are concerned, and I thought if I, by talking publicly about my own recovery and my family, could be



Mrs. Ford with Dr. Lewis Gould, who served as moderator.

very open about it, that if I could erase some of that stigma associated with alcoholism, that that would be helpful.

Why women are particularly stigmatized:

We have just found in the last ten years that there is a very different physical makeup between men's water and fat percentages and women's. Since the male body is made up of more water in percentage to fat than the female, and alcohol is more water soluble, it affects women more quickly. [In] women, the disease telescopes; it happens more rapidly because of that physical makeup. [And] women come to treatment with much lower self-esteem because of a double standard. A man may be having an alcohol or drug problem, but that is somewhat acceptable. . . . Women, their self-esteem having hit the bottom of the pit, have much more anger, much more anxiety, much more shame and guilt. One of the most important

things is to raise a woman's feeling that she isn't a bad person and she didn't do this with intent. And that's where the disease factor comes in . . . [to] make her accept that [it's a] disease and realize that it happened because of that makeup.

How an alcoholic should be handled:

For someone who has an alcoholic in the family and is concerned about that person, one of the first things to learn is not to be an enabler. In other words, not cover up, not make the excuses, not make the telephone calls as to why so-and-so won't be in to school or in to work because of a cold or a toothache or some other reason, but let the honest truth come out. . . .

In one part of her discussion, Mrs. Ford went back to the time her husband, Gerald Ford, was President and talked about the accomplishments and achievements which she was particularly

. . . . *And With Liz*

pleased had been made during his administration:

I like to think that there was progress made as far as women's rights are concerned. Much to our disappointment, we did not accomplish getting the Equal Rights Amendment as part of our Constitution. But there is no question that we made great strides in advancement [of the cause]. . . . I also think there was a great awakening to the fact that cancer [is] something other than a word whispered behind closed doors. And that came about due to my mastectomy. It was not my husband or me that caused that to become newsworthy; it was due to the circumstances: my husband had been sworn into office, and we as a family felt that we had to be very forthright and up front and honest about everything, [so] we agreed to be open about my mastectomy, and it saved a lot of lives. . . . And I think that [my husband] was a great sobering and balancing factor in the presidency at that time.

***Getting Better All The Time* is Liz Carpenter's account of some of the experiences she has had and "wisdoms" she has learned in the course of a life that seemed always to be lived "where things were happening."** She recounted some of these to a large and appreciative audience at the Library. She also gave this account of the whirlwind tour she had just completed across the country promoting her book:

Do you know that in every major market of 21 cities between Boston and San Francisco there are five talk shows, and that you or anyone who lives and breathes can have four minutes to one hour on the air, if you're willing to appear between a talking dog, Paul Harvey, and a



Liz

jitter-bugging disc jockey, age 29, who keeps bringing in the traffic helicopter with the latest on foul-ups and wrecks on the expressway? That is, this can happen if Ollie North hasn't postponed you until the next day. . . .

One day in New York, [columnist and TV interviewer] Liz Smith and I were all coiffed, wrinkles and chins tucked away, and disguised by truly professional hands. Microphones were hidden somewhere too intimate to mention, the clock was ticking within seconds of a TV show called "Live at Five," with an estimated audience of 25 million viewers. Suddenly the lights went off. Ollie North was still on, saluting the flag or singing the Marine hymn, I can't remember which, and we were off, cancelled, killed, all dressed up and no place to go.

Next day it was the "Today Show." Jane Pauley had talked the producers into six golden minutes, to cover my 65 years of living. That seemed fair enough. Well, we made it to four! When the producer started waving his arms, lights turned to Bryant Gumbel who said, "We switch now to Washington where Dan Rather has an exclusive inter-

view as Ollie North enters the Senate Caucus Room."

By the time I got to Cleveland, I had been shaken. From here on it was just me and the electronic eye people, most of them summer replacements. Some of them had heard of Lyndon Johnson and occasionally they knew he had been President, but who was I? Well, I'm an aging, sexy, white-haired reporter who went to Washington when Roosevelt was President, I told them. Roosevelt? This struck a chord. Did Teddy Roosevelt womanize like Gary Hart? Had I covered San Juan Hill? Or had it been a secret plan of the CIA?

By Portland, I had really fallen into a pattern of madness. On the first three shows I decided I would struggle to sound lucid and keep talking in case I ran into something to say. But by early afternoon my blood sugar was low and things became fuzzier and fuzzier. I popped cough drops in for revival and by 4 o'clock I really became violent. I'm told it's called "aggressive senility." I attacked President Reagan, Ollie North, Mrs. Ollie North and anyone who walked through the studio—anchors, soundmen, and especially those talking dogs.

New Economics Interview Series

By Gina Gianzero

A new series of interviews on economic issues during the 1960s, which is being launched by the Library's Oral History program, will add new insights to the controversial guns-and-butter question—the Johnson Administration's efforts to extend the nation's prosperity and pay for Great Society programs while financing a war. Other topics relating to the monetary and fiscal policy of that critical time will be explored, as well. Subjects to be pursued include inflation, international economic relationships, cooperation between government and the financial community, the 1964 tax cut, the investment tax credit, the gold cover, the coinage system, the interest equalization tax, the tax adjustment and surcharge acts, the balance of payments problems, the discount rate controversies, and President Johnson's economic acumen.

Approximately 50 interviews are planned with former members of the Council of Economic Advisers,

the Department of Treasury, the Bureau of the Budget, the Federal Reserve System and relevant congressional committees.

Following are excerpts from some of the interviews conducted thus far.

Former Undersecretary of the Treasury, Joseph Barr, on the difficulties of passing economics legislation:

... In the House when we were there, if you could get it by Wilbur Mills and Johnny Byrnes and a few of the leaders of Ways and Means, you had a bill, because then they would go to the Rules Committee and they'd get a closed rule and the members could only maybe have one amendment. They could either have that one amendment or vote it up or down. And that was it. ... In the Senate everybody was his own boss and, my Lord, it was the awfulest thing. You got to the floor of the Senate and every law firm in town would rush through their

files and drag out every specious argument that they had ever heard of. [They would] rush up and get some senator to introduce the legislation and you just fought off one cruddy amendment after another. They called them Christmas tree bills. ...

Former Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, Wilbur Mills, regarding the 1964 tax cut:

... Johnson called me at home sometime around or after Christmas. He said, 'I've got the budget down to 106½ billion. That ought to satisfy you, wouldn't it?' I said, 'No sir, it won't. You won't get your tax bill through the Senate. It's got to be 98.' He called me back two or three days later; he said, 'I've got it down to 101½. That's got to satisfy you.' I said, 'No, Mr. President. That won't satisfy us, either. The Senate won't pass your bill. You know Harry Byrd's not going to cut.' He called me then just before he submitted it; he said, 'I've outdone you.' 'What do you mean, Mr. President?' He said: '97.9.' The bill sailed on through then. ...

Former Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Fowler, about President Johnson's management of economic affairs:

... President Johnson's managerial style was that of a hands-on manager. He was very interested and very concerned with all of the areas of Treasury responsibility in domestic economic policy: fiscal affairs; the monetary interest rates; the budgetary situation; the balance of payments; the various nuts and bolts of the legislative program, and of the entire financial system. We finally achieved in 1968 something approaching a surplus in the budget, a



Barr with President Johnson in 1966.

Focuses On 1960s Issues



Mills

balance or a surplus in the budget in fiscal '69. He was also vitally concerned with our international financial relationships. He felt a real measure of responsibility as president of the United States to provide leadership and assistance in dealing with the problems that we faced along with our allies and the other governments that were organized along the democratic pattern. . . . So, he was an internationalist—not just concerned with his own region or even the domestic economy at home.

Former Chairman of the Federal Reserve, William McChesney Martin, on raising the discount rate in anticipation of higher military expenditures:

. . . I had a very warm friendship with Dick Russell, who was a senator from Georgia. He had good friends in the Pentagon. . . . Dick Russell would call me and tell me what the expenditures were at the time, and I'd say, 'Well, that isn't what I'm getting from the Treasury.' . . . So, I began to make notes on that. . . . I had better information than Fowler or Barr had about the expenditures that were being passed out. And that's of key importance. So, I was well ahead of them when it came to thinking about inflation. . . .



Fowler



Martin

Bicentennial Exhibit Features Washington

Observing the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution, the Library mounted a small but elegant exhibit focusing on George Washington, the first President to be elected under the provisions of the framework for the new American nation.

Shown in the exhibition, which will run until November 8, is a portrait of Washington by Thomas Sully, which was given to the Library in 1964 by the late George and Alice Brown (reprinted on the cover).

Also displayed is a letter written by Washington 29 days before he took the oath of office. The letter was lent by the Massachusetts Historical Society especially for the exhibition.



TO THE ACTING SECRETARY AT WAR

Mount Vernon, April 1, 1789.

My dear Sir:

The Mail of the 30th. brought me your favor of the 23d. By which, and the regular information you have had the goodness to transmit of the state of things in New York, I feel myself very much obliged, and thank you accordingly.

I feel for those Members of the new Congress, who, hitherto, have given an unavailing attendance at the theatre of business. For myself, the delay may be compared to a reprieve; for in confidence I assure you, with the world it would obtain little credit, that my movements to the chair of Government will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the place of his execution: so unwilling am I, in the evening of a life nearly consumed in public cares, to quit a peaceful abode for an Ocean of difficulties, without that competency of political skill, abilities and inclination which is necessary to manage the helm. I am sensible, that I am embarking the voice of my Countrymen and a good name of my own, on this voyage, but what returns will be made for them, Heaven alone can foretell. Integrity and firmness is all I can promise; these, be the voyage long or short, never shall forsake me although I may be deserted by all men. For of the consolations which are to be derived from these (under any circumstances) the world cannot deprive me. With best wishes for Mrs. Knox, and sincere friendship for yourself etc.

Text of the Washington letter on display.



A miniature portrait of Washington, which was obtained for the Library's permanent collection in 1984, is exhibited for the first time. Watercolor on ivory, it was painted in 1796 by an unknown

French painter and owned for a while by Washington, who gave it to his close friend Abiel Foster, a member of the first House of Representatives.

Tributes Paid To Wilbur Cohen

A memorial service was held in the Library for Wilbur Cohen, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the latter part of the Johnson Administration, after his death in May. Here are excerpts from some of the tributes made to him:

Lady Bird Johnson: "I think of Wilbur as having a long love affair with government—with making it work, making it human, never losing sight of the goal, and being very personal about it all the way."

John Gronouski, Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs: "His thousands of students, colleagues, co-workers will, I am sure, in the years ahead accomplish that piece of unfinished business, universal health

insurance, that he fought so long for. And we can think of that, when it comes, as a legacy of Wilbur."

Congressman Jake Pickle: "He was the role model of a public servant: professional, spirited, brilliant; never once lost his composure. He never gave up. And I don't believe there's a man of our times that has contributed more to the well-being, the health, of the American people."

William Cunningham, President, U.T. Austin: "We are proud of the intellectual leadership that he brought to our faculty. We are proud of the excitement that he brought to our students."

Robert Hardesty, President, Southwest Texas State University:

"Coleridge's Ancient Mariner held its audience with his eye; Wilbur held his with the power of his intellect and his enthusiasm."

Sidney Weintraub, holder of the Dean Rusk Chair at the LBJ School: "He was a man without malice, even with the people whom he was philosophically and deeply very much against. I never heard him say a word of hate or dislike."

Shelly Levitt, student: "Professor Cohen never considered himself as a giant, as visionary, as a legend. But those of us who knew him realized how great he really was, and I know that my memories of him will always influence my actions. . . ."



The late Wilbur Cohen: "He held his audience with his enthusiasm."

LBJ School Adds Distinguished Names to Faculty

Robert Strauss, veteran servant of both the public and his political party, will hold the Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr. Chair in Government/Business Relations at the LBJ School of Public Affairs this semester.

Along with three other prominent leaders, he will team-teach a course on economic policy and government regulation. The other instructors are Bob Inman, former deputy chief of the CIA and now chairman of Westmark Systems, Inc.; Charls Walker, former U.S. deputy secretary of the Treasury; and Howard Beasley, chairman of Lone Star Technologies.

Strauss was chairman of the national Democratic Party from 1973 to 1976. Subsequently, he served in the Carter Administration as special trade representative and as the president's representative to the Middle East peace negotiations. He is a member of the Board of Directors of

the LBJ Foundation.

Also appointed to the LBJ School faculty was Brian Urquhart, who recently, as undersecretary of the United Nations, directed the UN's peacekeeping efforts. Mr. Urquhart, who spoke at the Library last winter, will hold the Distinguished Visiting Tom Slick Professorship of World Peace at the School this year.

Directors of the LBJ Foundation greet new member William Cunningham, president of the University of Texas at Austin, at the annual Board meeting in June. Pictured are Directors Larry Temple, Perry Bass, George Christian, Arthur Krim, Henry Fowler, Clark Clifford, Lady Bird Johnson, Lew Wasserman and special guest Luci Johnson Turpin. Not pictured but present at the meeting: Chairman Tom Johnson, Max Sherman and



Strauss

Harry Middleton. Not present at the meeting: Mary Lasker and Robert Strauss. This year's meeting was held in the LBJ School's new library, one of the most extensive public affairs libraries in the nation, which is named for its donors—Edie and Lew Wasserman. President Cunningham, as ex-officio member representing the University of Texas, replaces former Chancellor E. Don Walker.



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