

AMONG FRIENDS *of LBJ*

Issue Number XLII February 15, 1988



Lady Bird Johnson at 75 (see pp. 2-3)

Photo by Frank Wolfe

Jubilee Year Filled With Activity

Lady Bird Johnson's jubilee year—she was 75 on December 22—was marked by a move into a new house which she decorated, the publication of a major book about her by historian Lewis Gould (see review, next page) and plans for a heavy schedule of activities in the coming months.

The house, overlooking the city of Austin, replaces the apartment which served as her—and President Johnson's—urban residence from the late 1950's. Home, of course, is still the LBJ Ranch.

The program of activities in the time ahead includes participating—along with former First Ladies Betty Ford and Rosalynn Carter—in a symposium on "Women and the Constitution" at the Carter Library in Atlanta in February, and later that month joining an expedition to observe whales off Baja California, something she told the *Austin American Statesman*, "I've thought about all my life," and decided to "stop just thinking about it and do it."

According to *USA Today*, she

"still exudes the genteel charm and diplomacy she displayed during Lyndon Johnson's long, tumultuous public career. For many, she's the model for modern first ladies—supportive

The years are winnowing down and you know that you want to thank the Lord for every day and every year and spend them wisely . . . You know you must start doing the things that matter most to you and to those who are dear to you.

**—Interview in Austin
American Statesman**

My life is full and good.

**—Interview in Dallas
Times Herald**

of her husband, the rock of a loving family, yet involved with her own causes."

The cause which occupies much of her attention these days is the Na-

tional Wildflower Research Center, which she established five years ago with the donation of \$125,000 to get started and 60 acres of land. Financed through private contributions, the Center has stimulated research in wildflowers in a number of ways, including seminars and conferences, and serves as a national clearinghouse for information on wildflowers and native plants and shrubs.

The Center will be the beneficiary of a two-day program of activities in Washington April 28 and 29 honoring Mrs. Johnson for her dedication to promoting conservation and beautification. President and Mrs. Reagan and all living former presidents and first ladies are honorary chairmen of the celebration. Washington was chosen as the site for the tribute because of Lady Bird Johnson's efforts to improve that city when she was first lady. "If anybody remembers me at all for any of this," she told the *Austin newspaper*, "it will be there in that town."



From the beginning, Mrs. Johnson has been intimately involved in the activities of the LBJ Li-

brary. Here she holds her annual meeting at the LBJ Ranch with Li-

brary supervisors to be briefed on the status of Library projects.

Gould Book Describes 'New Role' Played By First Lady

by Nancy Smith

Lady Bird Johnson and the Environment, by Lewis Gould, published by the University of Kansas Press, should be of great interest to anyone interested in Mrs. Johnson, the environmental movement, or the importance of first ladies. This is the first book since the popular biographies of Mrs. Johnson in the 1960s and the publication of her own book, *A White House Diary*, to analyze her impact as first lady and her beautification crusade.

Dr. Gould, a University of Texas historian, began studying Mrs. Johnson and beautification in 1982 when he offered a course at the University on first ladies. He found that "while the first lady's commitment to beautification was well known during the 1960s, the range and variety of what she tried to accomplish has not at all been documented." This was the impetus for his book.

Utilizing Mrs. Johnson's Beautification Files at the Johnson Library as well as other Presidential files, numerous university collections, and interviews conducted with key participants including Mrs. Johnson, Dr. Gould had compiled a comprehensive critique of Mrs. Johnson's efforts with highway beautification, the Committee for a More Beautiful Capital, and the nationwide beautification movement.

Dr. Gould begins by focusing on the women conservationists who preceded Mrs. Johnson, stressing the importance of women as champions of the modern environmental movement. He then gives the reader an up-to-date and thorough biographical sketch of Mrs. Johnson, tracing her leadership of the beautification campaign from her early love of nature.

The book concentrates on the establishment and work of the Com-

mittee for a More Beautiful Capital and its fundraising arm, the Society for a More Beautiful National Capital, both of which were formed by 1965. The reader learns that Mrs. Johnson headed a group of people with two separate visions of beautifying the nation's capital. One group, led by Committee members Walter Washington and Polly Shackleton, wanted to attack the ugliness of the inner city by beautifying public housing projects and schools in the poorer neighborhoods, and by turning vacant lots into playgrounds. The other approach, championed by Mary Lasker and Nash Castro, favored beautifying the parts of the city seen by the greatest number of people around the grounds of government buildings and monuments.

Mrs. Johnson skillfully supported and combined these two views and the Committee undertook many projects from 1965-1969 in both areas.

Dr. Gould examines in detail the issue of highway beautification during the 1960s. Although the 1965 Highway Beautification Act and subsequent legislation passed during the Johnson Administration was much weaker than what Mrs. Johnson had originally envisioned, Dr. Gould credits Mrs. Johnson with being the prime catalyst for the movement toward highway beauty and billboard control. He attributes the passage of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 to Mrs. Johnson's direct involvement, stating that she played "a new role as First Lady by serving as a legislative aide and lobbyist."

The last part of the book discusses the nationwide beautification efforts sparked by Mrs. Johnson's campaign. Gould explains how Mrs. Johnson effectively used the press to highlight beautification by making



highly visible trips to wilderness or threatened areas. He stresses that Mrs. Johnson's concept of beautification was much deeper than the word implies and quotes from a speech she made at the Yale Political Union: "Beautification means our total concern for the physical and human quality of the world we pass on to our children."

In summation, Dr. Gould says that "the Johnson presidency laid the foundation for the environmentalism that followed, and Lady Bird Johnson was a powerful and effective champion of these values. 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 politics."

Library Files Document Mrs. Johnson's Work

Archivist Nancy Smith, reviewer of Lewis Gould's book on the preceding page, has written her own account of Lady Bird Johnson's activities as they are documented in the Library's files. Her article appeared in *Prologue*, magazine of the National Archives. Following are excerpts.

In October 1964 Mrs. Johnson set out on a campaign trip for President Johnson that became known as the Whistle Stop Campaign. This was the most public exposure Mrs. Johnson had in her political life, and at the outset, conditions did not promise a very favorable reception. She was going to ride a train from Alexandria, Virginia, to New Orleans, Louisiana, for four days stopping along the way in small towns and large cities to let the people of the South know that she and the president cared about them and felt they were an important part of the nation. Mrs. Johnson referred to it as "a journey of the heart."

Although both President and Mrs. Johnson were from the South,



Nancy Smith

the reception was expected to be hostile because they had strongly supported the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which had been passed in July 1964. In Alexandria on October 6, 1964, Mrs. Johnson explained why she wanted to make this trip.

"I want to tell you from Alexandria to New Orleans that to this president and his wife the South is a respected and valued and beloved part of the country. I know that many of you do not agree with the Civil Rights Bill or the President's support of it, but I do know the South respects candor and courage and I believe he has shown both . . . It would be a bottomless tragedy for our country to be racially divided and here I want to say emphatically, this is not a challenge only in the South. It is a national challenge—in the big cities of the North as in the South."

The LBJ Library's files on the Whistle Stop Campaign include drafts and final copies of the more than twenty-five speeches Mrs. Johnson made, plans for the trip, background on all the stops, and memorandums suggesting issues to be covered. One unsigned memo focuses on the issue of education. "She would be a natural talking about education . . . TVA was FDR's dream for the South. Education can be the new dream and the ingredients are already at hand." The Whistle Stop files document a unique political campaign, Mrs. Johnson's emergence as a public figure, the race question in 1964, and the importance of education in improving the quality of life in the South.

In 1965, to help with the balance-of-payments problem, President Johnson established a "See the U.S.A." program to encourage

Americans to travel in their own country instead of abroad. Of the areas that Mrs. Johnson chose to focus on as first lady, this was the one that President Johnson had suggested and that was to remain a great concern throughout his presidency. He encouraged her to travel within the United States and to highlight its scenic spots. Since Mrs. Johnson had always loved nature, traveling to attract press attention to the "See the U.S.A." program was a natural choice. She often promoted both the president's program and the causes of beautification and education. Files contain complete records of these trips including planning memorandums, schedules, press releases and packets, and speeches. These trips show Mrs. Johnson capable of handling a variety of situations. She took reporters on a day long raft trip down the Rio Grande; dedicated new dams, national parks and seashores; visited with the poor in Appalachia; and delivered speeches at Ivy League colleges. Here was an example of a happy partnership between first lady and the press. She publicized her husband's policy of domestic travel and her concerns for beautification and education while reporters received news stories.

Mrs. Johnson referred to her Whistle Stop Campaign as a "journey of the heart." From looking at a sampling of her activities as First Lady, I find this phrase applicable not only to her one campaign tour, but also to her White House years in general. She focused her attention on things she loved and knew and brought her special touch to the job of first lady in many ways. The papers of Mrs. Johnson at the Johnson Library . . . hold great wealth for historians who want to research and comment on her journey.

27 Scholars Get Library Grant

Twenty-seven scholars are to be the 1987-88 recipients of grants to study in the LBJ Library. The funds, totaling \$20,035 this year, are made available by the Lyndon Baines Johnson Foundation by virtue of a grant from the Moody Foundation to help students, teachers, and writers use the Library's resources by providing support for travel and living expenses.

Those receiving grants-in-aid and the titles of their proposed projects are: Emmanuel N. Amadi, "Official Humanitarianism and the Politics of Conquest: U.S. Policy & the Nigerian Civil War 1967-70"; Nancy Brendlinger, "Presidential Influence on the American Space Program"; Bob Buzzanco, "U.S. Military Leaders' Criticism of the Vietnam War"; George Castile, "LBJ, The O.E.O. and the Native Americans"; John Duffield, "The U.S. and the Evolution of NATO's Conventional Force Posture"; John Dumbrell, "Congress, The Vietnam War and the Anti-War Movement"; Adam Fairclough, "The Civil Rights Movement in Louisiana"; Rena Fonseca, "Promise Unfulfilled: U.S. Indian Relations in the 1960s"; Christopher Gacek, "Contending Approaches to the Use of Force"; John M. Glen, "An Education in Disillusionment: Appalachia & the War on Poverty"; Ning Gu, "China Policy in Johnson Administration"; Lawrence Jacobs, "Institutional Change in the U.S. and Britain: National Health Service Act of 1946 and the Medicare Act of 1965"; Padmanabh Kamath, "Executive Privilege Versus Democratic Accountability: The Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs 1961-1969"; Sean Kelly, "Mobutu, the U.S., and Zaire"; Tetsumaro Hayashi, "Stein-



The gown Lynda Bird Johnson wore in her White House wedding to Charles S. Robb went on temporary exhibition in the Library

on the 20th anniversary of that event, December 9, 1967. It will be on display until June of this year.

beck as Lyndon Johnson's Military Advisor"; Robert Hilderbrand, "The Johnson Administration and the Vietnam War"; Steven Livingston, "The Making of U.S. Foreign Economic Policy Towards the Third World"; Ray Monroe, "LBJ and the Illegal Alien as a Precursor To Amnesty"; Paul T. Murray, "Presidential Response to Racial Violence"; Ilan Semo, "The Crisis of 1968 in Mexico"; Gilad Troy, "See How They Run: The Changing Presidential Campaign"; Theodore M. Vestal, "The International Education Act of 1966: LBJ's Initiative

to Make U.S. Education Less Provincial"; Margaret Weir, "The Politics of Unemployment in the United States"; James Wirtz, "Explaining an Instance of Intra-war Intelligence Failure"; Thomas Zeiler, "LBJ and the Grand Design: America, Europe, and Foreign Trade Policy, 1963-1968"; Sergiu Verona, "Soviet Arms Control Policy under Khrushchev—Comparative Analysis with Gorbachev's Arms Control Policy"; Davis S. Birdsell, "Rhetorical Dimensions of the Alliance for Progress".

Evenings at the Library

While she was deciding whether to make a run for the Democratic presidential nomination, Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder spoke at the Library. Among her observations: Lyndon Johnson . . . understood that this should not be a class society, that everybody should have an opportunity and that's why very exciting programs like Headstart got off the ground. You know what we're doing now with Headstart? It absolutely breaks my heart. The concept of Headstart was to give children [who needed it] two years. The new regulations say: no child goes more than one year . . . You know what's going to happen and I know what's going to happen. They're going to start saying, "Well, it's not working as well as it used to, the kids aren't doing as well as they used to" . . . And so a couple of years from now, someone will say, "Well, let's de-fund the whole program."



Horace Busby, described by the *Christian Science Monitor* as a sage observer to whom "people often turn . . . when they are puzzled by the cross currents of American politics," spoke to two different audiences at the Library.

The first night, he delivered the annual Frank C. Erwin Jr. lec-



Patricia Schroeder

ture. The next evening he met with the Friends of the LBJ Library. In the course of his discussion of political trends, he made this heartening observation of the system which produces those trends:

. . . Over our system's second century, the century which is ending now, political change has been pretty much a constant. It has yielded gains which I think we shouldn't forget: the city and state machines, which were once so venal and corrupt and intimidating to democracy, have fallen. The bosses are deposed. American elections are no longer conducted under the influence of secret societies, hate groups or night riders . . . Men and women of all religions and races and all ethnic origins can vote now without fear, as they could not do a century ago. I mention this because in my view of him, nothing more influenced Lyndon Johnson's political life and thinking than his own father's fight against the Ku Klux Klan, and these things have meaning in Central Texas, with its many ethnic cultures, that they might not have some other place.

But as these cancers on the body politic have been eradicated, Americans have also kept it free of alien influences. American labor

unions, to their great credit, have stood resolutely against the incursions and influence of communism since World War II. At the same time, American business has played a part much larger than it receives credit for in standing in the doorway and saying that George Orwell's Big Brother . . . shall not enter.

In these hundred years the franchise, the right to vote, has been extended far beyond where it was in the 1880s. Women have become people; blacks have become people, minorities of all sorts have become people. It's a very wonderful accomplishment, and quite apart from the narrow measure of voter turnout, we have attained a degree of popular participation in the political process that is simply unmatched anywhere else on earth. Our gains have been wrought not by government and certainly not by political parties. The gains have been wrought by the people themselves. We have offered the world . . . a convincing demonstration, a marvelous demonstration that people can govern themselves, and the consequences reach far beyond our own shore. Except for the American example there'd be, almost certainly, none of the gains for democracy we have seen just in recent years in the Philippines or in

Korea, none of the gains that have occurred in other nations of this hemisphere. We should not forget that the cause of self-government has never before made, in any way that you could measure, advances so great in scale as to compare with those of the 1980s. The tides of human affairs, no matter what you hear, no matter what some people choose to say, have never run more strongly with what we believe. That's, I think, a perspective that is heartening.

Dan Fenn, who was director of the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston until his recent retirement, served as personnel director in the White House during the Kennedy Administration. Speaking at the LBJ Library recently, he reflected on the implications of the recent growth in the size of the White House staff.

With a large and involved White House staff and a Chief of Staff, I wonder and I worry whether we are losing both the checks and balances and that symbolic focal point of trust or enmity in a system—the President as a symbol of national leadership, of authority, of control, of somebody who is in charge . . . President Kennedy's highest poll ratings were right after the Bay of Pigs . . . Why? Well, you remember that he said, "I'm Commander in Chief, I'm the one responsible here." The American people liked that . . . When the President says, "It is my responsibility, I'm in charge," it makes us feel good. I worry whether the change in the White House staff is threatening that [by confusing] the symbolic focal point . . . When I think about Irangate and [its] implications . . .

my memory goes back to a little personal anecdote. In 1962 my brother and his wife, my sister and her husband and my wife and I had dinner together at a Chinese restaurant, and—older brother, White House, big deal—"I'll pay for it," I said, and I whipped out my American Express card and the waiter shook his head and said, "No, we don't accept credit cards." Well, we had \$8.36 among all of us, so I said, "Will you take a check?" And the manager came up and asked, "What identification do you have?" And I pulled out my White House pass out of my pocket and his eyes grew as big as soup bowls . . . and he said, "If we can't trust you, who can we trust?" Looking back over all that has been happening, I don't think it is quite so funny anymore. I hope that the day



will come once again when the people of this land and the people around the world can echo the thought that was going through that restaurant manager's mind: "If we can't trust you, who can we trust?"



Raymond Daum (at podium), curator of the motion picture collection at the University of Texas' Humanities Research Center, assisted by pianist-composer Sterling Price-Hayden and singer

Karen Kuykendall, provided Friends of the LBJ Library with a memorable evening of music in a review of the American musical theater which they called "Broadway On and Off the Wall."

Symposia Held In Washington



James Schlesinger, counselor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and former Secretary of Energy and Secretary of Defense, was keynote speaker at the Brookings conference. Here he is flanked by LBJ School Dean Max Sherman, LBJ Library Director Harry Middleton and senior staff member Nanette Blandin of Brookings.

The LBJ Library and the LBJ School of Public Affairs departed from the usual procedure of holding symposia in Austin when they carried the flag to two different cities recently.

In cooperation with the Brookings Institution and the American Enterprise Institute, they sponsored a conference on "Oil and America's Energy Security," which was held at Brookings in Washington, D.C.

Together with the *Dallas Morning News* and *Texas Monthly* magazine, they probed the subject, "Toward 1990: The Future of Texas," in a symposium in Dallas.

The proceedings of both conferences will soon be published.



Charles DiBona, President of the American Petroleum Institute, and Hendrik S. Houthakker, Economics professor from Harvard University, discussed long-term energy trends.

Mack Wallace, former Chairman of the Railroad Commission of Texas, on the panel considering public policy choices, was a lonely voice supporting oil import fees.



And in Dallas



"Educational Issues" was only one of four panel discussions in the "Future of Texas" symposium in Dallas, but the proposition that Texas' future depends on expanded educational opportunities for all its citizens per-

meated the entire conference. Participants in the deliberations were Larry E. Temple, Chairman of the Select Committee on Higher Education; Norman Hackerman, former president of Rice University, and Pat



Holley, teacher in Quitman, Texas (left) and Wilhelmina Delco, chairman of the Higher Education Committee of the Texas House of Representatives, where she is serving her seventh term (above).



George Christian, political consultant (left), chaired the panel which looked at what lies on the "Political Horizon." "Texas," Christian said, "is not a two-party state. It's a no-party state."

Other members of the Political Horizon panel were Paul Burka, executive editor of *Texas Monthly* magazine, and Jack M. Rains, Secretary of State of Texas (right).



Ann Richards, State Treasurer of Texas (right), led the discussion on "Economic Assessments." Kathy Whitmire, mayor of Houston, was a participant on that panel.

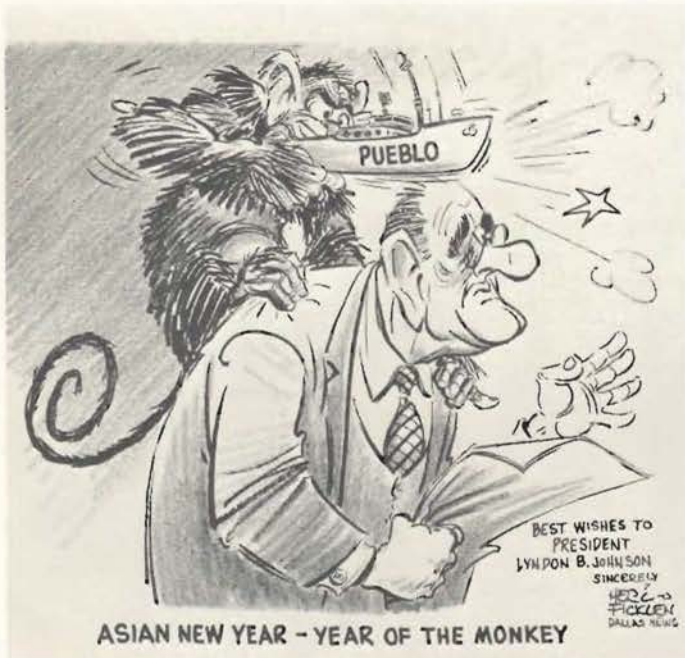


Cartoon Exhibit Traces LBJ Years

The current major temporary exhibition at the Library is a display titled, "LBJ: Political Cartoons: The Public Years," composed of 135 original drawings by 61 artists, selected from the Library's permanent collection of 3,800. The exhibit also includes occasional news stories and photographs which explain the reason for the cartoon. (The famous *Life* magazine photo of President Johnson lifting his pet beagle by the ears, for instance, inspired a spate of illustrations showing a triumphant LBJ lifting a Republican elephant that way, and a beleaguered president getting the same treatment from his critics). On these pages are shown some of the cartoons in the exhibition.

(Note: A catalogue of the exhibition, reproducing the cartoons displayed, is available at the Library's museum store. Cost is \$7.95).







John T. Fawcett (left), who was a junior archivist at the LBJ Library when it was dedicated in 1971, has been appointed Assistant Archivist for Presidential Libraries by the National Archives and Records Administration. Most recently, Fawcett has served as Assistant Director, and then acting Director of the Herbert Hoover Library and Museum in West Branch, Iowa.

He was named to his new position by Don W. Wilson (right), recently appointed Archivist of the United States by President Reagan. Wilson formerly was Director of the Gerald R. Ford Library and Museum in Ann Arbor and Grand Rapids, Michigan.



Second Bibliography Due Soon

When *Lyndon B. Johnson: A Bibliography* was published in 1984, it was the first comprehensive guide to books, articles, papers and dissertations on the 36th president. But it would only be the beginning; new works were continually being published. So a compilation of entries for volume two began before the first volume was off the presses.

Now *Lyndon B. Johnson: A Bibliography Volume Two* is sched-

uled for publication in June by the University of Texas Press. Compiled by historian Craig Roell, with the help of members of the Library staff, it has more than 5,000 citations.

Like Volume Two, this publication was funded by grants from Joe and Bennie Green and Rockwell Fund, Inc. of Houston.

And, yes, work is proceeding on Volume Three.

Another Library publication of a different sort, which got some unexpected attention recently, is the catalogue of the Library's museum store. One of the 14,000 copies mailed out last year caught the eye of the New York Times, which carried a story about it. The 30 page catalogue is available on request from Walt Roberts, museum store manager.

Editor: Lawrence D. Reed

Research Assistance: Charles Corkran, Gary Yarrington

Photography: Frank Wolfe, Paul Chevalier

Staff Assistance: Yolanda Boozer, Lou Anne Missildine

The LBJ Library is one of eight presidential libraries administered by the National Archives and Records Administration.

