

AMONG FRIENDS *of LBJ*

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Images From a Forgotten War

The Korean War

For its major exhibition of the year, the Library's museum looked back almost 40 years to the first war fought in the nuclear age, the war which began when Communist North Korea invaded South Korea in June 1950. For the three years it raged it was the source of epic struggles and daring plans, of bitter defeats and legendary bravery. But when it ended—in an armed truce—

it seemed to disappear so completely from the nation's consciousness that it is now called "the forgotten war." This exhibition, the first major display of the Korean War to be mounted in the U.S., calls it "America's First Limited War."

Along with the exhibition, the Library, with the co-sponsorship of the LBJ School of Public Affairs and the *Austin American-Statesman*, held

a symposium in which scholars and veterans of the war looked anew at some of the highlights of that conflict, and explored its effect on American institutions.

Some of the images from the exhibition are captured on this cover and on the following page. The symposium is reported on pages 4-7.



General William C. Westmoreland, who commanded the 187th Airborne Regimental Combat Team in Korea

more than a decade before he led the troops in Vietnam, keynoted both the exhibition and the symposium

with an illustrated lecture setting forth the history of the Korean War.

Images From a Forgotten War

The exhibition tells the story of the war with documents, photographs, weapons, uniforms, paintings, cartoons and memorabilia lent by a dozen institutions and individuals across the country. Also shown are some newsreels of the time. The exhibition will run until January 8, 1989.

A catalogue of the exhibition, "Korea: America's First Limited War," can be obtained from the Library's museum store for \$8.95.

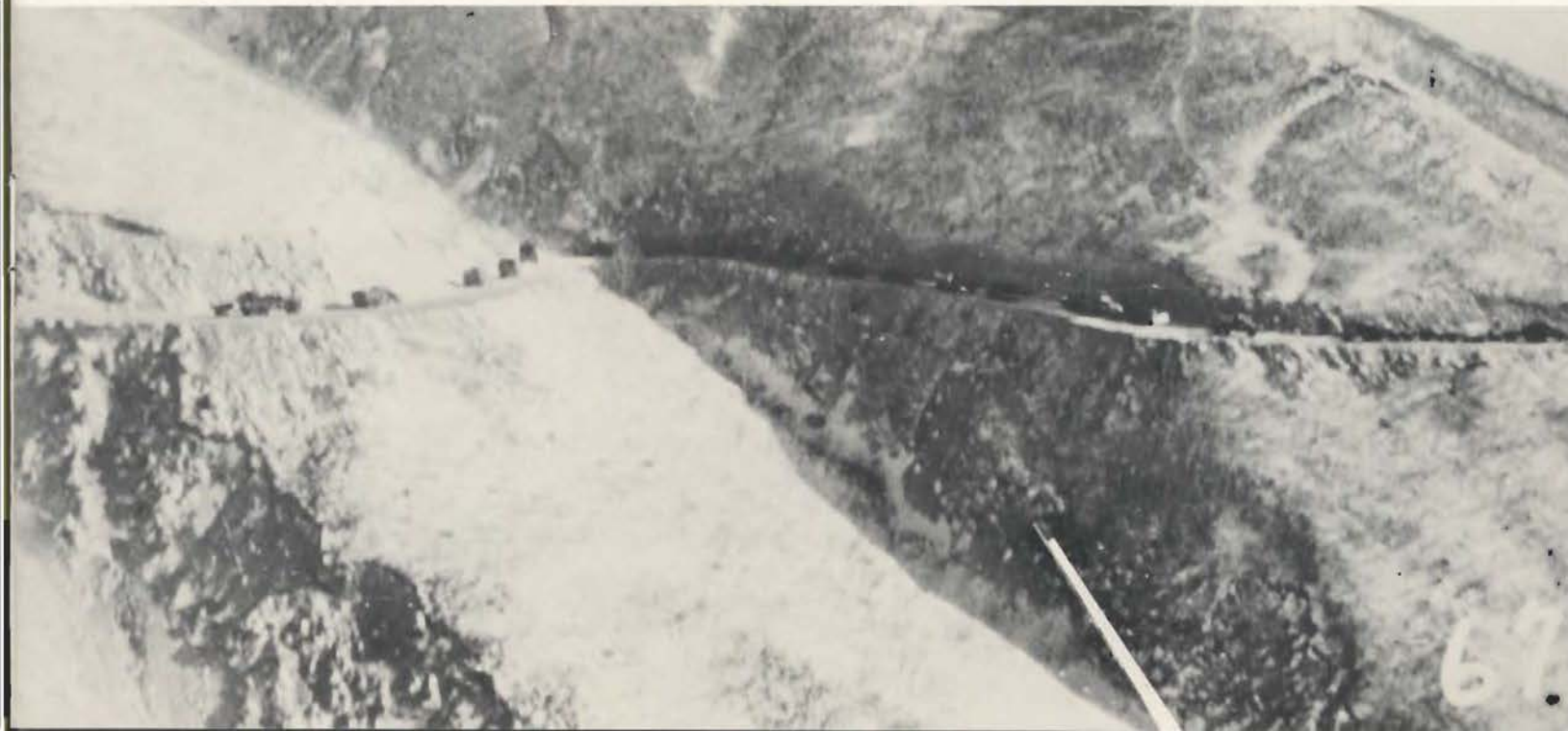
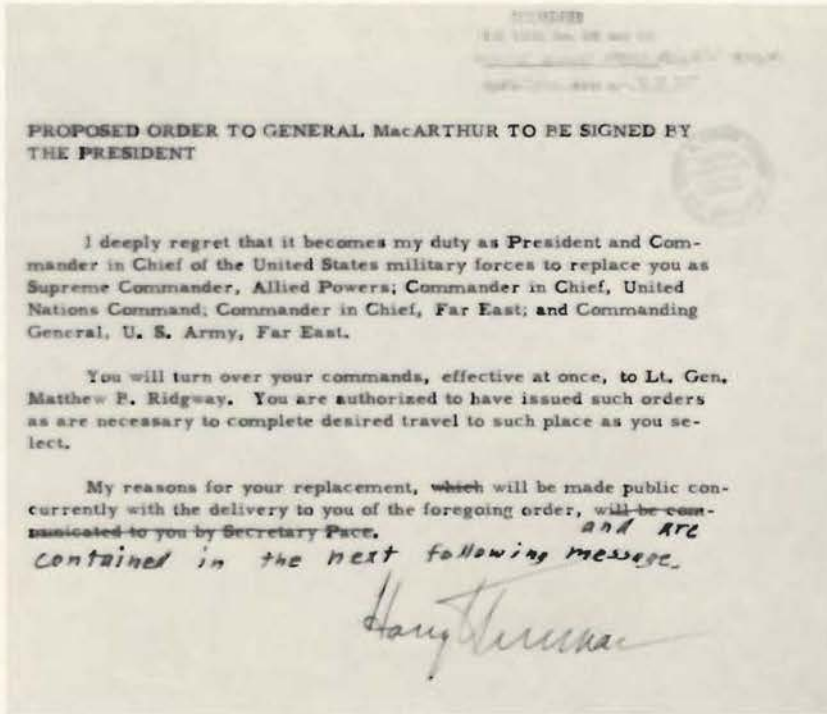


Photo by Pat Burchfield

Two young visitors study scenes from a chapter of history in which their grandfathers might have participated.

Among the documents on display is the draft of the order by which President Truman relieved General Douglas MacArthur of his commands.

Among the most stirring episodes of the war was the withdrawal of Marines and soldiers from the Chosin Reservoir to the port of Hungnam after their entrapment by Chinese troops. It was a 30-mile frozen descent, under enemy fire virtually all the way. It is captured in this photograph.



The Conference

Background to the discussions: A thumbnail history of the Korean War (condensed from General Westmoreland's presentation)

Within six days after North Korea invaded South Korea across the dividing line of the 38th Parallel in June 1950, the United Nations had called upon its members to help the beleaguered victim; and U.S. troops—soon to be joined by the forces of other countries in a U.N. Command—were committed to the battle. Out-numbered and out-weaponed, their initial mission was

to delay the North Korean advance. For two months they staged a series of withdrawals down the Korean peninsula and finally stabilized a defense perimeter around the southern port of Pusan where a build-up of men and materiel went on. In September, with the enemy's supply line stretched thin, other American forces staged an amphibious assault on Inchon, deep in the enemy's rear. Simultaneously, the troops broke out of their perimeter in the south, and soon all the U.N. forces were crossing the 38th Parallel and pushing into the enemy's territory. In late

November, with some units within sight of the Yalu River, North Korea's border with China, Red Chinese troops entered the fight and drove the U.N. again below the 38th Parallel. In the spring of 1951 allied forces fought their way back up to the parallel, but this time they stopped. Truce talks began, and two years later—while bitter fighting continued as both sides tried to improve their defenses—an armistice was reached, with the opposing forces facing each other across a line near the 38th Parallel where it all began.

The Program

Panel Discussion: Recording History As It Happens

Participants on this panel all served as military historians with either the Eighth U.S. Army Korea or the Far East Command during the Korean War.

BEVIN ALEXANDER, Author, *Korea: The First War We Lost*, moderator

MARTIN BLUMENSON, Author of 15 books, including *The Patton Papers* and *Patton: The Man Behind the Legend*

ARTHUR STUART DALEY, Retired Associate Dean, Drake University; currently writing series of Shakespearean studies

WILLIAM D. MAGNES, President of an advertising company bearing his name, Washington, D.C.

JOHN MEWHA, United States Army, Retired; currently writing a book involving Oregon servicemen in all America's wars

JAMES F. SCHNABEL, Author, *The Korean War: Policy and Direction*, *The Joint Chiefs and National Policy—The Korean War*, *The Joint Chiefs of Staff in the Cold War, 1945–1947*

EDWARD WILLIAMSON, Retired Professor of History, Auburn University; Co-Director of the Auburn University Teacher Institute on the United States Constitution

Panel Discussion: Highlights of The Korean War

HARRY J. MIDDLETON, Director, LBJ Library, moderator

BEVIN ALEXANDER

CARL F. BERNARD, Colonel, United States Army, Retired

CLAY BLAIR, Author, *Korea: The Forgotten War*

LINDSEY P. HENDERSON, JR., Colonel, United States Army, Retired

D. CLAYTON JAMES, soon to leave Mississippi State University as the Giles Distinguished Professor of History to occupy the Biggs Chair in Military History at the Virginia Military Institute; author, *The Years of MacArthur*

WILLIAM J. JORDEN, Correspondent, Associated Press, 1948–1952; Correspondent, *New York Times*, 1952–1955; U.S. Ambassador to Panama, 1974–1978

Panel Discussion: The Meaning of Korea

ARNOLD ROSENFELD, Editor, *Austin American-Statesman*, moderator

ROBERT A. DIVINE, George W. Littlefield Professor in American History, The University of Texas at Austin

ROY K. FLINT, Brigadier General, United States Army; Dean and Professor of History, United States Military Academy, West Point

U. ALEXIS JOHNSON, Deputy Director and Director of Northeast Asian Affairs, 1949–1951; Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, 1951–1953; Former Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs

DAVID M. OSHINSKY, Professor of History, Rutgers University

ELSPETH D. ROSTOW, Stiles Professor in American Studies and Government, LBJ School, U.T.

Recording History as It Happens



The conference reunited a group of men who served as military historians during the Korean War. Some commanded historical detachments, unique organizations described by Discussion Moderator Bevin Alexander as "undoubtedly among the most remarkable ever established by the U.S. Army. They were explicitly charged with going directly to combat units and taking down the precise words of the men who actually participated in the action, and with dis-

covering, through interviews and their own research, exactly what happened, why, and what the effects were—good, bad or indifferent. They got their history first hand, very soon after engagements, sometimes during them [when] memories were often harsh but almost always dead accurate." The reports produced by the detachments "have formed the basis for much of the history of the war."



William Magnes (left) and James Schnabel (right) helped prepare the official histories of Eighth Army and the Far East Command. As a detachment commander, John Mewha (center) recorded the grim fighting that was waged for ground known as Bloody and Heartbreak

Ridges while armistice talks went on a few miles to the north, and the bitterness of men "having to go up and face battle when the possibility of a truce was around the corner" who nonetheless "followed orders and fought valiantly."



Edward Williamson identified one of the problems faced by the historian on the battlefield: "You have to get your interviews largely from the most articulate people, who are not always the most accurate. Some people, all they can say is: 'I was cold, I was wet, I was scared.'"



The detachments were small—typically one officer and two enlisted men. "When one of my two men came down with VD," Martin Blumenson recalled, "I had to report it [and] got a letter of reprimand. 'Dear Captain Blumenson,' the letter read, 'a VD rate of 50% in your command is unsatisfactory.'" (Left)

A. Stuart Daley prepared a report—which later disappeared—of one of the most bizarre episodes of the war: the riot of communist prisoners in a prison compound on Kojedo. (Right)



Highlights of the War



Seated left to right are: Alexander, Bernard, Moderator Harry Middleton, Blair, Henderson, James, and Jorden.

Clay Blair: "The decision was made in six days to contravene long-standing policy and tradition never to fight Asians on the Asian mainland, and not to fight specifically in Korea because our strategic interests were not at stake. All of this was reversed with no dissent in the highest levels of government. It's incredible that a decision of this magnitude was made with such speed and with so little meaningful discussion. I leave the question posed [for] further scholarship."

Carl Bernard: The first troops to meet the North Koreans did so at Osan, below Seoul, in the early days of the war. They were armed with anti-tank weapons known as "bazookas," which proved to be ineffective against the North Koreans' Russian-supplied tanks. Carl Bernard was a member of that group. His comment: "An enormous sin was giving us a weapon that didn't

work. If we had been able to stop those tanks up there at Osan, it would have changed that world."

Lindsey Henderson: "I've always believed that troops should not be committed until the diplomats have had their say and there is nothing else to be done except commit your troops and say: 'Do it.'"

D. Clayton James: "I am quite certain that Inchon was not as brilliant as it was thought at the time . . . I don't think that we're going to settle the myth or reality of [its] brilliance today or in our lifetime . . . From the viewpoint of the professional historian, [it's] very much up in the air."

Bevin Alexander: "[After driving the invaders out of South Korea in the fall of 1950] we decided on a new policy objective of destroying the North Korean state and reuniting it with South Korea in a single coun-

try. Communist China considered this new plan to be a major provocation [and] resorted to war to stop the U.S. . . . We decided to give up our commitment to conquer North Korea. The Chinese who stopped us, therefore, won the war because they achieved their political aim while thwarting us in our political aim, and that's what war is all about."

William Jorden: "I remember very well the attitude of most Americans who were there—that South Korea was going to be on the international dole for the next 50 years. It was torn apart, devastated, all productive capacity destroyed practically. [Instead it is] one of the most thriving vigorous economies in the entire world. [Even with] all the political problems that we know about, comparing it with what has happened in North Korea, I would say that that is the kind of victory we should not be ashamed of."

The Legacy of Korea

What effect did the Korean War have on American policy and subsequent history? These were the questions explored by the third panel. Some of the answers:



U. Alexis Johnson: In 1949 the NATO Treaty was signed, but it was purely a paper organization. It had no troops. It had no military organization. Then came the North Korean attack. It galvanized not only the U.S., but Europe. After 1950, we had the military structure of NATO.



Robert Divine: The significance of the Korean War is that it brought home to the American people and their leaders the realities of the nuclear age, possessing a weapon too awesome to use except as a last resort. In that sense, the war had a lasting impact on American strategic policy.



Roy Flint: [After Korea] the U.S. Army changed completely. Now it's a much better army . . . The Geneva Conference of 1954 was intended to solve the political issues of the conflict. [But] the main items on the agenda for that Korean conference turned out to be Vietnam, and the French solution to *that* problem. So there is from the very moment of the closing of the Korean War a connection between the experience in Korea and the experience that was ultimately to engage us in Vietnam.



David Oshinsky: Korea taught us the need to fight for a political goal short of total victory in a very dangerous new world . . . brought us two decades of non-recognition

of Red China . . . meant the survival of Formosa [and] the build up of the arms race . . . and signaled a tremendous upsurge in domestic anti-communism—what we call McCarthyism.



Elspeth Rostow: We were turning toward the Pacific already on the eve of World War II. Korea indicated a tilt in American policy that is going to be significant from here on out . . . Korea is the benchmark in our emergence from a continental power into a perpetually globally-involved power, a benchmark in terms of our technology and how we will use it.

Moderator Arnold Rosenfeld described the experience of a 19-year old soldier's homecoming from the war: "In the distance very dimly we could see the lighted arches of the Golden Gate bridge. We passed under [it] and into the bay. Suddenly it was entirely light . . . And there was San Francisco in front of us in the sunshine . . . [We] debarked silently, no bands, no crowds. Most of us simply walked off the ship and into our lives. The war was over."

Evenings at the Library



Robert Gates, deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency (above), advised the development of "realistic criteria" in assessing the impact of reforms in the Soviet Union. **Lewis Gould**, U.T. historian (below), discussed his book, *Lady Bird Johnson and the Environment*.

Former First Lady Rosalynn Carter (right) urged a capacity crowd to "invigorate" their lives through volunteer work.



Philip Bobbitt (left) outlined the dynamics of nuclear deterrence, based on his book *Democracy and Deterrence*. **Horace Busby** (below), who had earlier in the year spoken to Friends of the Library in Austin, repeated the experience for Friends in the Washington area.





Larry O'Brien (upper left) recaptured the excitement of moving the Great Society legislation through Congress. **Forrest McDonald**, constitutional scholar (upper right), recounted his own development as an historian. Two recent authors discussed their work—**Donald Bacon** (left), who with the late D.B. Hardeman wrote a biography of Sam Rayburn titled *Rayburn: A Biography*, and **Lawrence Wright** (right), whose *In The New World* is a moving portrait of a young man's maturity in the 1960s.



The Library invited all the presidential candidates of both parties to speak. **Michael Dukakis** accepted.

He took the occasion to recall the landmark educational measures promoted by Lyndon Johnson as

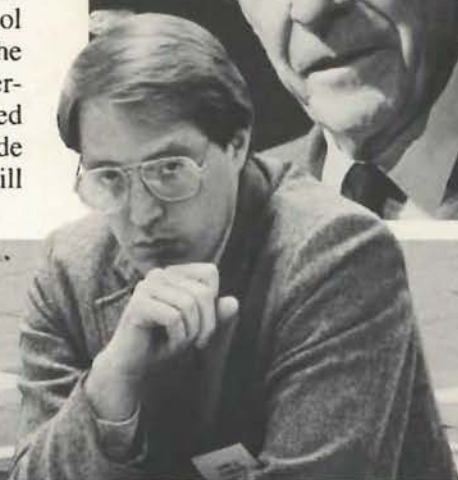
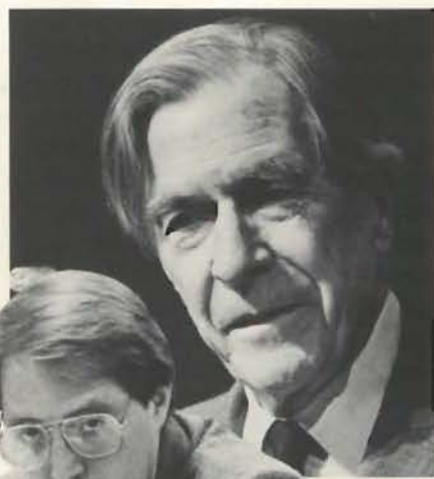
President.

Economists Look at the 90's

"The Economy of the 90's: New Voices and Proposals" was the subject of a symposium which brought together a distinguished assembly of economists, journalists and scholars from other fields. Keynote speaker was noted economist John Kenneth Galbraith (right), who titled his lecture: "The Financial Market: From Presumed Acuity to Acknowledged Insanity." On the subject of taxes, he said they "are going to have to be raised" in order to "close the budget deficit, resist inflation and allow interest rates to remain lower"—

which in turn "will encourage capital investment and improvement of capital plant and avoid upward pressure on the dollar."

The conference, co-sponsored by the Library and the LBJ School, was planned by another Galbraith economist—James K. Galbraith, associate professor at the LBJ School (right),—and a colleague at the school, Norman Glickman. Conference participants (below) pursued policy ideas for dealing with a wide range of economic issues that will face the U.S. in the decade ahead.



The Program

Panel Discussion: POLICY FOR THE NEW WORLD ECONOMY

WALT W. ROSTOW, Professor Emeritus, Economics and History, The University of Texas at Austin, chair

ANDREW BARTELS, Special Assistant to the Chief Executive Officer, American Express

WILLIAM A. DARTY, JR., Professor of Economics, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

JAMES K. GALBRAITH, Associate Professor, LBJ School, U.T.

RICHARD MEDLEY, Publisher, *The International Economy*

Panel Discussion: LABOR MARKETS AND EMPLOYMENT POLICY

RAY MARSHALL, Professor of Economics and Public Affairs, LBJ School, chair

BENNETT HARRISON, Professor of Political Economy and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

HEIDI I. HARTMANN, Director, Institute for Women's Policy Research, Washington, D.C., and Director of Women's Studies and Professor of Sociology, Rutgers University

ROBERT KUTTNER, Economics, Editor, *The New Republic*

JAMES REBITZER, Assistant Professor of Economics, U.T.

JULIET SCHOR, Assistant Professor of Economics, Harvard University

NORMAN J. GLICKMAN, Mike Hogg Professor of Urban Policy, LBJ School

Address by JIM HIGHTOWER, Texas Agricultural Commissioner

Panel Discussion: NEW PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INITIATIVES

BARBARA JORDAN, Lyndon B. Johnson Centennial Chair in National Policy, LBJ School, chair

ERNESTO CORTES, Director, Industrial Areas Foundation, Austin, Texas

JEFF FAUX, President, Economic Policy Institute, Washington, D.C.

JOSHUA GOTBAUM, Vice President, Lazard Freres and Co., New York

MARK GREEN, Director, The Democracy Project, New York

ROBERT GREENSTEIN, Director, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Washington, D.C.

DEREK SHEARER, Associate Professor of Urban Studies and Director, Public Policy Program, Occidental College

Roundtable: THE PRESS, THE ECONOMY AND THE ELECTION

DAVE McNEELY, Columnist, *Austin American-Statesman*, chair

THOMAS FERGUSON, Professor of Government, U.T.

WILLIAM GREIDER, Editor, *Rolling Stone*

JOHN JUDIS, Political Correspondent, *In These Times*

ANATOLE KALETSKY, New York Bureau Chief, *Financial Times of London*

Chairmen of the Sessions



WALT W. ROSTOW



RAY MARSHALL



BARBARA JORDAN



DAVE McNEELY

Lady Bird Time in Washington



There was a special grace to spring this year because of Washington, D. C.'s tribute to Lady Bird Johnson. It is familiar information to readers of this newsletter, of course, that she received the Congressional Gold Medal from President Reagan (above), and testimonials from both houses of Congress, for her efforts to beautify the nation and particularly the capitol city.

She greeted most of official Washington, such as Supreme Court Justice and Mrs. Thurgood Marshall (right), and friends from her years in the nation's spotlight, at a number of events honoring her, including a dinner in Statuary Hall on Capitol Hill, which Nash Castro M.C.'d (below right). Some of those events were fundraisers, bringing in \$1 million for the National Wildflower Research Center, which she founded in Austin.

In his remarks, the President said, "I would bet that not one American in ten could tell you who Claudia Alta Johnson is, but the whole nation came to love, admire and respect Lady Bird Johnson . . ."

Mrs. Johnson's response to the week's event: "There are no words deep enough, right enough or full enough to express my feelings from a lifetime I have so fully enjoyed."



Hardeman Prize Awarded to Paul Light



Paul Light, winner of the Library's D. B. Hardeman Prize this year, discussed his prize-winning book—"Artful Work: The Politics of Social Security"—at the Library.

The \$1500 prize, named for the late aide to Sam Rayburn and Hale Boggs, is funded from a bequest made to the Library by Mr. Hardeman, who himself was recognized as an authority on the Congress. The award is given for the best book on the U.S. Congress published within a two-year period.

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

Three members of the University of Texas faculty—Professor Barbara Jordan of the LBJ School, Dr. Lewis Gould of the Department of History and Dr. Terry Sullivan of the Government Department—make up the committee which selects the winning entries.



The Library was the scene of a week-long conference between leading citizens of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. It was the 16th in a series known as the Dartmouth Conferences, held every two years and alternating between the two countries. Begun in 1960 at the suggestion of President Eisenhower, they have served as a significant unofficial channel in which the Russians and Americans search for ways to minimize their differences. This year's meeting seemed to have par-

ticular relevance because of the reforms taking place in the Soviet Union. At right: Georgy Arbatov, head of the Russian delegation, and David Mathews, president of the Kettering Foundation, sponsor of the conference. Most of the meetings were closed, but in an open session at the end of the conference, Arbatov observed that although the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. "opted to be enemies" for 40 years, "facts and figures show how much it has cost to be enemies. I can't imagine our



having the same relationship in the next 40 years."



Jack Valenti is greeted as a new member by the Board of Directors of the LBJ Foundation. Welcoming him (clockwise from Valenti) are Directors George Christian, Robert Strauss, Larry Temple, Clark Clifford, Perry Bass, William Cunningham (obscured), Max Sherman, Foundation Executive Assistant Yolanda Boozer, Foundation Assistant Director Larry Reed, President Tom Johnson (partially obscured) and Secretary-Treasurer John Barr. Present but not pictured: Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, Henry Fowler, Arthur Krim, Lew Wasserman and Harry Middleton. Not present: Mrs. Mary Lasker.

Library Archivist Robert Tissing, addressed the 7th Annual Texas Library History Colloquium Meeting at the Library focusing on the topic, "Federal Legislation and Texas Libraries: The Enduring Legacy of the Yarborough Years." It paid special tribute to former Senator Ralph Yarborough, seated with his wife at the far right.

Tissing also presented a paper on "First-Hand Recollections of the Afrika Korps in Texas" at the Texas Historical Commission's Annual Preservation Conference.



The Library and Museum's volunteer program completed the eighth year in which volunteers work as docents, and in all other areas of the building. At their annual luncheon, 14 volunteers were rec-

ognized for their five-year service. They are: Gloria Evans, Martha Nelle Bain, Joan Anderson, Julia Mellenbruch, Sharon Cooper, Judy Roësset, Marjorie Clark, Kathryn Wilson, Nita Lee, Susan

Christenson, Beth Cotner (standing). Seated with Mrs. Johnson are Velma Lee Guinn, Kay Vacha, Mrs. Johnson, and Max Noe.

Visitors to the Library



Mrs. Johnson welcomes Australian Prime Minister and Mrs. Bob Hawke, who were in Austin for the creation of a Center for Australian Studies at the University of Texas.



Library Director Harry Middleton greets British Ambassador Sir Anthony Acland and Lady Acland.



Former Senator and Secretary of State Edmund Muskie (center), takes advantage of a visit to look over papers in the Library's collections with archivist David Humphrey (right).

Those who remember the toddler who dominated the last year of the Johnson White House, with the approval of his doting Presidential grandfather, will no doubt feel the brush of time's wing with the realization that Patrick Lyndon Nugent recently reached his 21st birthday. Lyn, a senior at Southwest Texas State University where he majors in Spanish and is an ROTC airborne cadet, was photographed enroute to summer infantry training.



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