

AMONG FRIENDS *of LBJ*

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Santa Claus at the Library (See page 2)

Library Entertains Headstarters

More than 100 pre-school-age children—legatees of one of the most successful and enduring of the Great Society programs—visited the LBJ Library for a Christmas program of presents, entertainment and refreshments. The children, participants in Head Start programs from communities around Austin, were guests at a party hosted by the Library's museum and volunteer staffs. In addition to Santa Claus, who gave each child a toy, students of the Slavin-Nadel School of ballet presented an excerpt from "The Nutcracker Suite" (right) and juggler Jack Byrd amused the children with his skill (below). Another entertainer was piano player Floyd Domingo.



Photo by Judy Wilkerson



Winona Hochstedler was one of 50 volunteers who worked with the museum staff to plan and host the party.

LBJ Library, UT Austin To Compile First Encyclopedia Of Congress

The first comprehensive Encyclopedia of the U.S. Congress ever compiled will be produced during the coming three years under a project co-sponsored by the LBJ Library and the University of Texas at Austin.

Funding in the amount of \$789,800 from the Commission on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution will support the venture that has been developed to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the establishment of Congress.

The LBJ Foundation will administer the funding for the project, which will be housed in Washington, D.C.

Intended for a general audience, the encyclopedia will be a large one-volume reference that will trace the historical development of Congress from its beginnings in 1789 to the present. Important events, legislation, and key figures in the 200-year life of Congress will be covered. More than 1,500 entries of varying length will be written primarily by some of the nation's leading histo-

rians, political scientists, and journalists in the field of congressional studies.

Impetus for compiling an encyclopedia of Congress came from the late D. B. Hardeman of Texas, who served as an aide to and biographer of Sam Rayburn, the longtime speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. In a bequest to the LBJ Library following his death in 1981, Hardeman gave his personal 9,000-volume library on Congress and provided some funds to promote the scholarly study of Congress.

The chief representatives of the two institutional sponsors who have been most involved in plans for the encyclopedia are Harry Middleton, Director of the LBJ Library, and Dr. William S. Livingston, UT Austin Vice-President and Dean of Graduate Studies.

Middleton says he is confident the proposed encyclopedia "will represent the best congressional scholarship of the last 30 years." Livingston

says he expects UT Austin "will benefit appreciably" from the project as scholars involved in it will make periodic visits to the campus to use the Hardeman collection on Congress and to consult with the University's own collection of congressional scholars.

Serving as Chairman of the encyclopedia's steering committee is Michael Gillette, Chief of the Library's Oral History and Acquisitions Programs. Among others on the steering committee are Richard A. Baker, Historian of the U.S. Senate; Raymond W. Smock, Historian of the U.S. House of Representatives; Roger Davidson, a University of Maryland political scientist who also is associated with the Library of Congress; Donald C. Bacon, Senior Editor with Nation's Business who formerly was with U.S. News & World Report; John Kornacki, Director of the Everett Dirksen Congressional Center in Pekin, Illinois; Middleton, and Dean Livingston.



New members of the Board of Directors of the LBJ Foundation elected at the Board's annual meeting, are Luci Baines Johnson (left), Lynda Robb (right), daughters of President and Mrs. Johnson, and Joe Allbritton (below), Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer of the Riggs National Bank in Washington, D.C.



Evenings at The Library



The team of Karen Kuykendall, Sterling Price-McKinney and

Raymond Daum returned to the Library to give a scintillating eve-

ning built around the music of Noel Coward and Cole Porter.

Samuel W. Lewis, President of the United States Institute of Peace, who as Ambassador to Israel in the Carter Administration was extensively involved in the Camp David negotiations, explored the challenges of the 1990s.



Oliver Shewell Franks, whose experience as a British diplomat began with World War II, gave his reflections on the history of that era to a riveted audience.



Congressman Jake Pickle was this year's Frank Erwin lecturer for the Library and the LBJ School of Public Affairs. He gave, to a black tie dinner audience, a fascinating comparison of Congress with that of a century ago. Today's Congress, he said, is "bigger and busier. It's better educated and more experienced. It is more ethical, regardless of what you read, and more open. It is more democratic and more accessible. It is too accessible, I might add, at times. It is more responsive to the needs of our people, and it is subject to greater pressure, greater security, greater demands for response, greater ethical control. At times, because of that, it's less fun, less colorful, and less personal."

Russell Long treated his audience to recollections from his almost 40 years of service as Senator from Louisiana and stories of members of his colorful family—Huey, his father, and his uncle Earl.



Elise K. Kirk, author of *Music at the White House*, conducted a tour of the rich ceremonial traditions and command performances of the Executive Mansion, with attention to the cultural interests of various Presidents and First Ladies.

Searching For LBJ In The Library's Files

The following article is an excerpt from a paper by David C. Humphrey, senior archivist in charge of the Library's Foreign Relations papers, which appeared in a recent newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.

"Unlike some of the predecessors... LBJ did not like to commit himself to writing," (historian) Robert A. Divine noted in a 1985 article on the LBJ Library. "Johnson preferred to deal with issues orally, either in face-to-face discussion or by telephone." One result, wrote Divine, is that the LBJ Library's extensive holdings, while amply documenting "the flow of information and suggestions into the Oval Office," reveal little about how Johnson responded to the influences brought to bear on him.

If Johnson is an elusive figure in most White House files, however, he is not beyond reach, especially given the kind of documentation that should become available in the time ahead. What follows is an overview of several types of documents and some specific files that may prove useful to scholars seeking to delineate Johnson's role in the foreign policy process.

Notes of LBJ's Meetings

Since Johnson was a talker rather than a writer, records of what he said in behind-the-scene discussions are potentially of great value. The LBJ Library holds notes of more than 450 meetings in which the President discussed foreign policy issues with his advisors, the National Security Council, the Cabinet, and Congressional and foreign leaders...

Meeting Notes Files: Notes for 100 of the President's foreign policy meetings from 1963 to 1968, mostly with advisors and Congressional leaders. Three-quarters of the meetings deal mainly with the Vietnam War. In addition, there are notes for 37 meetings at which LBJ discussed foreign affairs with correspondents and a 52-page transcript of his meeting with

Congressional leaders on 31 January 1968. Most of the notes are open for research in whole or in part.

Tom Johnson's Notes of Meetings: Notes taken by W. Thomas Johnson, deputy White House press secretary, at 161 of the president's meetings on foreign affairs, all but two of which took place between July 1967 and December 1968. Fifty-two sets of notes, virtually all open for research in whole or in part, record the President's meetings with House and Senate leaders, the National Security Council, the Cabinet, correspondents, and other groups.

The remaining 109 sets of notes record LBJ's meetings with his senior civilian and military foreign policy advisers, including 45 Tuesday lunch meetings.

National Security Council Meeting File: Notes for 73 of the 75 official NSC meetings during the Johnson presidency. Most of the notes have been opened for research in whole or in part.

Files of McGeorge Bundy, National Security File: Notes for 20 of Johnson's foreign policy meetings from December 1963 to January 1965, 17 of them advisory meetings. Prominent topics include Southeast Asia, Africa, Panama, Cuba, Cyprus, China, and NATO. Half the notes have been opened for research in whole or in part.

Papers of McGeorge Bundy: National security adviser McGeorge Bundy's very informal, handwritten notes of more than 50 of Johnson's advisory meetings on foreign policy from 1964 to February 1966. While sometimes sketchy and fragmentary, the notes capture more fully than formal notes the flavor of the President's comments, questions, and concerns. Notes for more than 20 meetings on Vietnam, most of them dated from November 1964 to July 1965, have been opened for research.

Valenti, Jack—Notes Taken at various Meetings During 1965 and 1966: Handwritten notes taken by Jack Valenti, special assistant to the President, at 45 of the President's foreign policy meetings between April 1964 and April 1966. Included are 23 advisory meetings on Vietnam, 12 advisory meetings during April and May 1965 on the Dominican intervention, 5 meetings on South Asia. Many of the Vietnam notes are open for research, but only fragments of the other notes have been declassified.

Country File, National Security File: Notes for many of the President's meetings with foreign heads-of-state and other foreign officials and some notes of his meetings with U.S. ambassadors. Only a small percentage is open for research.

Cabinet Papers: Notes (and one transcript) for 27 Cabinet meetings at which foreign policy issues were discussed, mainly the Vietnam War and the Middle East. All but 2 of the meetings took place during 1967 and 1968. Most of the notes are open for research.

President's Appointment File: Notes for more than a dozen foreign policy meetings held by the President with advisors, Congressional leaders, and foreign leaders, including several discussions of the Vietnam War (mostly open for research)... Among the unusual items available for research in this file are LBJ's own handwritten notes made during his meetings with Chairman Aleksei Kosygin of the Soviet Union at Glassboro, New Jersey, on 23 and 25 June 1967.

Records of What LBJ Read and How He Reacted

The White House files of the Johnson presidency virtually overflow with many thousands of memos and other messages prepared by White House staff and agency officials. But which did the President read? A file called "Night Reading" will help answer this question. (It) includes lists of the memos, reports, and other

materials assembled for Johnson's evening reading sessions—often 40 to 60 or more items per evening... LBJ customarily worked on night reading more than 20 evenings (and the following mornings) each month. A secretary usually annotated each evening's list, indicating which items LBJ read and, in some cases, his reactions to them.

Items listed in Night Reading were grouped according to the White House aide who provided them, making it easy to identify those furnished by LBJ's national security advisers, McGeorge Bundy and Walt W. Rostow. Their Memos to the President offer a more comprehensive view of their written advice to Johnson. McGeorge Bundy's file is far from complete but still very enlightening. While not all-inclusive, Walt Rostow's file was maintained much more systematically. Copies of his memos to LBJ and their attachments comprise more than 25,000 pages.

A third way to get a handle on what the President read and, in this case, to gauge his reactions, is by examining those memos and other materials on which Johnson penned notes. While LBJ rarely wrote memos himself, he sometimes made notations on other peoples'—often routine jottings such as "Yes," "OK," "Put on my desk," "Call me," "See me," "File," or a check mark by one of several options provided by an aide at the bottom of his memo. Longer or more unusual notes can be found in foreign policy files, but not with any frequency—about 300 memos out of the 400,000 pages in the Country File have them. "Too long—not sharp—Very dull—& uninteresting," commented LBJ on summary answers to seven questions that might be raised about progress in the Vietnam War, forwarded by Walt Rostow in late 1967. In 1964 McGeorge Bundy urged LBJ to approve a draft message aimed at "straightening out Ayub Khan" of Pakistan, but Johnson opposed the move, noting that "If I know Ayub it will only incense him."

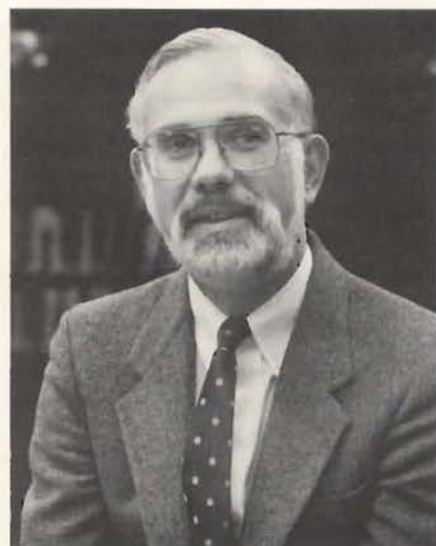
More than 15,000 pages of

memos, notes, doodles, and other documents with LBJ's handwriting were placed in a special Handwriting File during the Johnson Presidency... Once processed it should provide interesting glimpses of LBJ's leadership in foreign affairs. For example, at 4:10 p.m. on 27 July 1965, Bill Moyers, who was briefing reporters on the week-long deliberations over whether to commit major ground forces to Vietnam, sent urgent word to LBJ that the networks wanted him to answer questions before their cameras. Should he do it? "Yes by all means," responded Johnson; "answer fully (and) frankly—then stress the following words(:) thorough, cautious, deliberative, long range thinking(,) search for program that will bring peace."

LBJ's "Daily Diary"

This richly detailed, 13,000-page daily log of the President's meetings, phone calls, and other activities occasionally sparkles with unusual information about LBJ—his offhand comments, his conversations, his moods, his late night calls to the Situation Room. For instance, the Daily Diary records Walt Rostow's comments on Johnson's meetings with several heads of state during his visit to Germany for Konrad Adenauer's funeral. (One) brief excerpt: "The President thought (Chancellor Kurt) Kiesinger was sort of a dandy before he met him, but Kiesinger himself changed that impression..." Another of LBJ's discussions with foreign leaders—during his luncheon with Chairman Kosygin and top Russian and U.S. officials at Glassboro in 1967—was recorded in the Daily Diary by a White House secretary who took notes while eavesdropping from just outside the door and, after the door was closed, from a back stairway.

The Daily Diary permits scholars to reconstruct crucial days in LBJ's Presidency, such as the first day of the Six Day War, which is detailed in 18 pages starting with Walt Rostow's 4:30 a.m. phone call from the Situation Room and ending with Johnson's phone conversation with Abe Fortas



Humphrey

prior to retiring at 11:15 p.m. Or one can analyze Johnson's contacts over a period of time. Did he, for instance become more isolated as his administration progressed?

Recollections About LBJ

Since 1968 the Oral History Project (has) recorded and transcribed interviews with more than 800 friends and associates of LBJ and members of his administration. Interviewers usually question subjects not only about their own activities but also about their perceptions of Johnson. The result is a variety of perspectives on the chief executive—those of White House special assistants like Harry McPherson and John Roche, national security staff members like Michael Forrestal and James Thomson, top State, Defense, and CIA officials like Dean Rusk and Richard Helms and special advisers like Maxwell Taylor and John McCloy.

While interviews with several key figures—McGeorge Bundy, Robert McNamara, Walt Rostow, Robert Komer—are not yet open for research, students of U.S. foreign policy will find those interviews already available to be a revealing source of information on Johnson's style of leadership. "He placed a great emphasis upon performance rather than words," recalled Secretary of State Dean Rusk in his 232-page interview. "I remember during

Searching for LBJ continued

the first week of his Presidency he called me on the phone one day and asked me what was being done under the Alliance for Progress. I gave him a rather general summary in State Department language, and he said very impatiently, 'I don't mean all that. I mean what are we doing—what are we actually doing? Send me a list of the actual actions the Latin Americans themselves are taking.' ” A turning point in Undersecretary of State George Ball's relationship with LBJ was Ball's decision, without consulting Johnson, to recognize the new Brazilian government following the 1964 coup. "The President was furious with me . . .," Ball related in his 97-page interview. "Why hadn't I let him know . . .? I said, 'It was three o'clock in the morning, Mr. President.' He said, 'Don't ever do that again. I don't care what hour in the morning it is, I want to know. I'm not saying that what you did wasn't right, but after this I want to know.' Thereafter I never hesitated," concluded Ball.

LBJ on Film and Videotape

While LBJ is often difficult to find in the library's textual holdings, he is hard to miss in the audiovisual records. Most of the 500,000 still photographs taken by White House photographers feature the President, as do all the films of the President's activities produced each month from June 1966 through January 1969 by the White House Naval Photographic Unit. Historians of U.S. foreign relations may find of particular interest the many still photographs of meetings—NSC meetings in the Cabinet Room, Tuesday lunches in the family dining room, conferences with ambassadors in the Oval Office, emergency meetings on the Six Day War in the Situation Room. The Library's videotape collection includes Johnson's televised speeches and press conferences, network morning and evening news broadcasts from April 1968 through January 1969, and a fascinating, half-hour, off-the-record tape of Johnson rehearsing his 31 March 1968 speech.

Recordings and Transcripts of LBJ's Meetings

On some 30 occasions during the Johnson Presidency, sizable groups of Senators and Congressmen gathered at the White House for off-the-record briefings by the President and his senior advisers which were recorded on audio tape. The Library has opened 430 pages of transcripts of those portions of the briefings that dealt with the Vietnam War. While Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara handled the lion's share of the briefings on Vietnam, Johnson participated in virtually every session. His comments take up more than 130 pages of the transcripts and provide a good sense of his off-the-record style with groups of Senators and Congressmen.

The LBJ Library also holds audio tapes and transcripts of a number of meetings on national security issues—mainly the Vietnam War—held during 1968 in the Cabinet Room, where Johnson frequently met with advisers and other officials. Meetings were secretly recorded on a selective basis, at the President's discretion . . . At Johnson's instructions, the audio tapes and transcripts were turned over to the LBJ Library upon his death in 1973 and closed for 50 years.

Records of LBJ's Telephone Conversations

During Johnson's first 25 months in office, through the end of 1965, he talked on the telephone some 15,000 times, almost 1800 of them with McGeorge Bundy, Dean Rusk, or Robert McNamara. Days with 30, 40 even 50 telephone conversations were not uncommon. And when the President talked on the phone, he frequently did the major share of the talking. Records of Johnson's telephone conversations document him in action—questioning, probing, testing ideas, informing, instructing. The papers of George Ball, not yet available for research, include typed notes for 44 of Ball's telephone conversations with the President from January 1965 through June 1966. Far

more extensive are the dictabelt recordings and transcripts of the President's telephone conversations that, at Johnson's instructions, were turned over to the library upon his death in 1973 and closed for 50 years.

Only a small portion of Johnson's phone conversations was recorded; but a small portion of many thousands of phone calls represents a rich historical resource. While on many a day few or no calls were recorded, on some days the number might reach 10 or more. On 1 May 1965, for instance, during the Dominican intervention, ten of LBJ's 59 phone conversations were taped: 5 with McGeorge Bundy, 4 with Robert McNamara, and 1 with the Situation Room.

On 4 August 1964, the day of retaliatory air strikes against North Vietnam following the Gulf of Tonkin attacks and a day probably exceeded by few others in the number of LBJ's phone conversations, 36 of the President's 100 calls were taped.

Summary

Historians searching for LBJ in the holdings of the Johnson Library should eventually find a rich record of his leadership in foreign affairs. Even now a variety of sources can be brought to bear on the issue, and additional important material will become available in the next several years.

25 Scholars Get Library Grants

Twenty-five scholars are to be the 1989-90 recipients of grants to study in the LBJ Library. The funds, totaling \$22,398 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: Manuela Aguilar, "Diplomacy & Culture: American-West German Relations in the 1960s"; Joachim Arenth, "U.S.—West European Relations, 1960-1976"; Nigel Bowles, "The Politics of Economic Policy"; Kitty Calavita, "Administrative Discretion: An Analysis of the Immigration & Naturalization Service"; Karl Campbell, "Senator Sam Ervin and the Road to Watergate"; Carl Cavalli, "Presidential Legislative Behaviors"; Noel A. Cazenave,

"Preparing for Battle: Social Science Experts & Their Conceptualization of Community Involvement in the U.S. 'War on Poverty' and its Precursors"; David Chappell, "Inside Agitators: White Southerners in the Civil Rights Movement, 1950-1970"; Gareth Davies, "Having the Power, We Have the Duty: Great Society Liberalism and the Individualist Tradition"; William J. Duiker, "The Limits of Containment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Conflict in Vietnam"; Howard E. Frost, "Soviet Military Doctrine & Strategy Shifts"; Sheldon Goldman, "Judicial Selection of Lower Federal Court Judges"; Jeffrey Helsin, "The Effects of Domestic Priorities on the American Military Escalation in Vietnam"; Samuel Kernell, "James Rowe and the Democratic Party"; Nelson Lichtenstein, "Walter Reuther, the UAW and the Politics of Labor-Liberalism in the 1960s"; Kay Mills, "This Little Light of Mine:

The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer"; Frank Ninkovich, "Civilization & Power: A History of the Domino Theory"; Steve Potts, "Creating a Paradise: Lyndon Johnson, the New Deal, and Federal Irrigation & Flood Control Projects"; Thomas Schwartz, "American Relations with Federal Republic of Germany, 1949-1969"; Robert Shogan, "The Keys to Presidential Leadership"; Bruce Smith-Peters, "America Fighting Americans: The Vietnam War at Home"; James Stever, "Presidential Management of Intergovernmental Relations"; Stephen Streeter, "U.S.-Guatemalan Relations, 1954-1969"; Qiang Zhai, "The Sino-Soviet Alliance and the Western 'Wedge' Strategy Toward It, 1950-1968"; and Thomas Zoumaras, "C. Douglas Dillon: The Philanthropic Cold Warrior."



Committee members who determine grants-in-aid, appointed by U. T. President William Cunningham at the Library's request, are Dick Schott, LBJ School of

Public Affairs, Lewis Gould, History Department, and Bruce Buchanan, Government Department (2nd, 3rd and 5th from left). They discuss their deliberations

with Library and LBJ Foundation staff members Tina Houston, Larry Reed, Harry Middleton, David Humphrey and Charles Corkran.

"Biographies In Bronze" Is Special Exhibition

Combining works of art with documents of history, the Library's special exhibition—"Biographies in Bronze"—brought together almost 40 sculptured portraits by Robert Berks with letters, manuscripts and other works created by the subjects of the portraits. The bronze pieces, representing Berks' output over a long career, included leaders in the

worlds of politics (Presidents Johnson, Kennedy and Truman); religion (Pope Paul VI, Martin Luther King, Jr.); industry (Charles Zraket); science (Albert Einstein, Mathilde Krim); letters (Ernest Hemingway, Alistair Cooke); and entertainment (Leonard Bernstein, Johnny Carson, Frank Sinatra.)



Portrait of Ernest Hemingway, accompanied by a handwritten page of the manuscript of *Death in the Afternoon*, lent by Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, UT Austin.



Model of the Mary McLeod Bethune Monument, Lincoln Park, Washington, D.C.

President's 81st Birth Date Observed



LBJ's birthday was commemorated at the family cemetery, where the President is buried, with remarks by Elspeth Rostow (above left) and at the LBJ Grove in Washington, D.C. where his daughter Luci, and grandson Lyn Nugent, laid a wreath at the Johnson monument (left). Lyn, who shared speaking honors with Robert Hardesty, said, "I wasn't born when many of the greatest achievements of Lyndon Johnson's administration took place, but I have grown up in a world made better by them."



At the Library, following a custom that has now become tradition, cake and punch were served to all visitors.

LBJ Inaugural Anniversary To Be Commemorated

Commemorating the 25th anniversary of President Johnson's inauguration in 1965 will be two "Great Society Roundups"—one in Washington, D.C. on April 6, the other in Texas the following month.

The Washington event will bring together in a social gathering at the Mayflower Hotel the alumni of the Johnson administration—presidential appointees and members of the White House staff from special assistants to telephone operators.

A similar reunion at the LBJ Library on May 4—this one a black tie dinner on the patio—will be for members of the Friends of the LBJ Library.

Both events will feature a program which will include actor Laurence Luckinbill delivering excerpts from

some of President Johnson's speeches, and the preview of a new film, "LBJ: A Remembrance," by Charles Guggenheim Productions. The Library program will also include comments on "The Humor of LBJ" by Cactus Pryor.

The event at the Library will, in addition, serve as the occasion for a symposium: "LBJ: The Difference He Made." The symposium, which will review the Great Society programs and their relevance to American society a generation later, will bring together some of the leaders of the administration as well as scholars of the period. Included will be Bill Moyers, Jack Valenti, Sargent Shriver, Douglass Cater, Joseph Califano, Lawrence Levinson, Larry O'Brien, John Gardner, John Brade-

mas, former Speaker Carl Albert, Senator Pat Moynihan, Charles Murray, Jonathan Kozol, James Galbraith, Vernon Jordan and Barbara Jordan.

A few weeks later, on June 1—also at the LBJ Library—another conference will address the topic, "Vietnam: The Forks in the Road."

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Coinciding with the commemorative events will be the publication of a book, *LBJ: The White House Years*, by Harry Abrams, Inc., of New York. The book is based on some 340 photographs taken by Yoichi Okamoto and his team during the Johnson years. The text is by Harry Middleton, Director of the Library.



John Gardner



James K. Galbraith



Bill Moyers



Vernon Jordan



Barbara Jordan



Larry O'Brien

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Editor: Lawrence D. Reed

Research Assistance: Charles Corkran, Gary Yarrington

Photography: Frank Wolfe, Jeff McGuire

Staff Assistance: Yolanda Boozer

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