

Among FRIENDS *of LBJ*

Issue Number LXXII, June, 2000



Former Presidents Ford and Carter with NBC's Tim Russert

Whither the Oval Office?

Symposium Examines the Once and Future Presidency

Story on Page Five

African-American Art Featured in New Exhibit

Lift every voice and sing. . .

**Sing a song full of the hope
that the present has brought us,
Facing the rising sun of our
new day begun**

**Let us march on till victory
is won.**

—James Weldon Johnson, 1900

The LBJ Library and Museum's major exhibit for the year featured a special exhibit of African-American art, which opened on February 19 and closed on May 29. Following are excerpts from the catalog created for that exhibit.

"This exhibition features the

work of thirty-seven talented artists with thirty-seven viewpoints on life and on being African-American. The eight "living legends" have established themselves fully in the past century, while the twenty-nine artists who are in the midst of evolving careers provide us with fresh insight and commitment. The elder artists—John Biggers, Elizabeth Atlett, Jean Lacy, Jacob Lawrence, Gordon Parks, Faith Ringgold, John Scott and Carroll Harris Simms—all underscore the isolated successes of African-American artists that characterized the twentieth century. When

these artists were in their twenties—the age of many of the artists featured in this exhibition—they were breaking ground repeatedly within the context of the art world.

"The new generation of artists keeps both new and old images within their prism of vision. Issues such as the Middle Passage, slavery and emancipation remain important topics within the African-American community and the African Diaspora, and particular aspects of black history have all been topics of visual discussion by these artists. What compels them is a necessity to



Back Row: Torkwase Dyson, Arleen Polite, Lillian Blades, David Newton, Channel Guice, Roy LaGrone, Marie Cochran, Robert Pruitt, Rejina Thomas

Middle Row: Harry Middleton, Janine Jackson, Angelbert Metoyer, Bernard Williams, Kim Mayhorn, Lynn Marshall-Linnemeier, James Ayers, Kojo Griffin, Leamon Green, Jr., Adrian Baxter, Lisa Royse

Front Row: Vicki Meek, George Smith (Father of Kaneem Smith) Jean Lacy, Mrs. Johnson, Carroll Harris Simms, Luci Johnson, Alvia J. Wardlaw

Not Pictured: Radcliffe Bailey, John T. Biggers, Elizabeth Catlett, Michael Ray Charles, Michael Cummings, Colette Gaiter, Richard Gary, Greg Henry, Jacob Lawrence, Steiphen Marc, Erick M. Murray, Gordon Parks, Faith Ringgold, John T. Scott, L. Kaneem Smith, Kathleen Varnell

join in a discussion that has been going on since the time of W. E. B. DuBois: How best to represent a black aesthetic? What *is* the black aesthetic?"

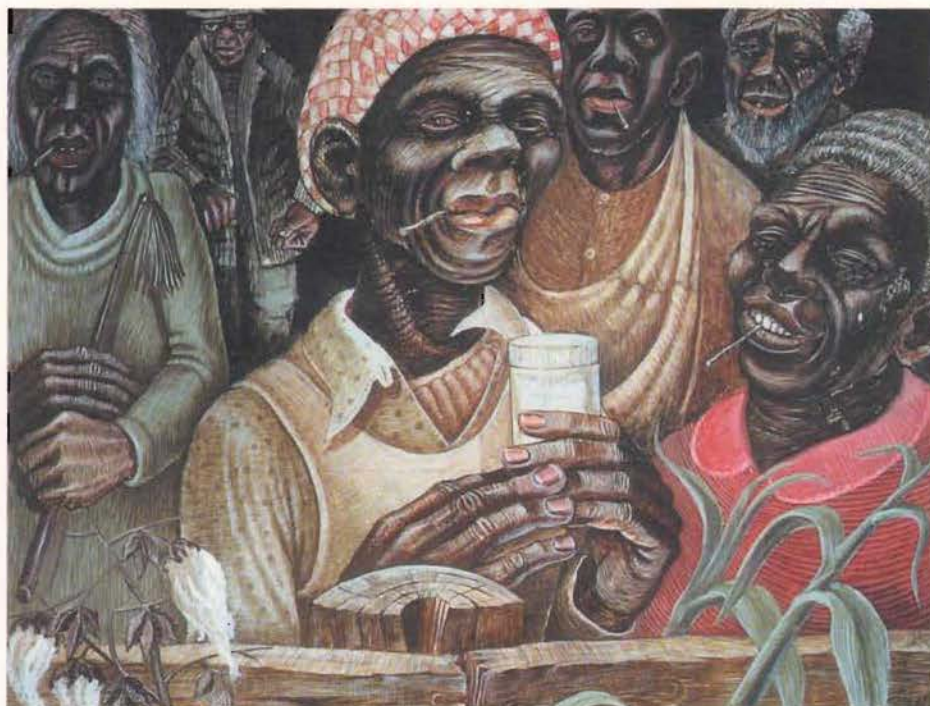
Alvia J. Wardlaw, Curator of Twentieth-Century Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, and Director, University Museum, Texas Southern University.

"The works in this exhibition, *Our New Day Begun: African-American Artists Entering the New Millennium*, reflect the range of options available to artists. Some paint what is; others help us imagine what could be. Some artists depict the horrors that blacks have suffered in this land, while others emphasize the heroism, hope and humor that also are important components of the black experience. The color line dominated American politics and society during the twentieth century, but some black artists have refused to be confined by that reality. The term "African-American" may describe an artist's heritage, but not what flows from his or her imagination."

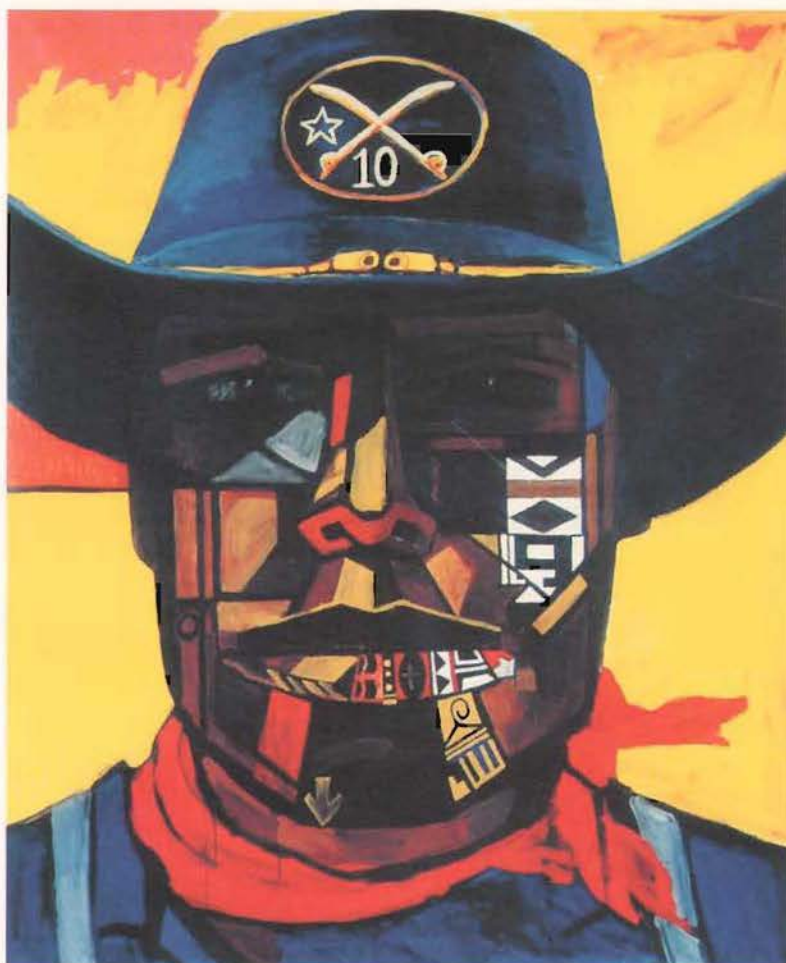
Edwin Dorn, Dean, LBJ School of Public Affairs, The University of Texas at Austin.

"It is due in large part to the changes brought about by President Johnson's vision that these artists have enjoyed the ability to fully recognize their potential. This exhibit is a celebration in honor and recognition of the legacy of President Johnson's devotion to the arts and civil rights. We pay homage to Lady Bird Johnson during this commemorative exhibition for her outstanding leadership in the areas of culture, fine arts and community beautification."

Ada Collins Anderson, Founder, Leadership Enrichment Arts Program



John T. Biggers, *Aunt Dicy and Her Snuff-Dipping Neighbors*



Bernard Williams, *Sergeant Buffalo*

Bryan Barrows Dramatizes the Legacy of MLK



To begin the Library's observation of Black History Month and the African-American art exhibit, Bryan Barrows, a teacher of communications at Prairie View A&M University, brought to the LBJ Auditorium his one-man play, "Who Was Martin Luther King?" The drama is centered around an aged African-American who is having a sit-down with his eight-year-old grandson because the child had asked, in all innocence, "Who was Martin Luther King?" The grandfather is at first scandalized by the boy's ignorance. Then on second thought he reminds himself that the young must after all be taught. And grandparents are, after all, teachers. So the lesson begins.

In the beginning, the grandfather intones, our people were known by a word which today is not admissible in polite society: "Niggers." With the advent of the NAACP, "niggers" was replaced first with the more polite "colored

people," and later by "Negroes." Today the preferred term is "black people." (Here the child objects and tells the grandfather that the preferred term today actually is "African-Americans." The old man is taken aback, but then somewhat reluctantly accepts the correction. "Well, all right. I *am* an American, and we *did* come from Africa.")

The grandfather sketches a brief history of Jim Crow segregation in education, housing, drinking fountains and rest rooms, lunch counters and theaters, and explains how Rosa Parks, on a public bus in Montgomery, Alabama successfully challenged the system when she refused to leave her seat in the white section. She was arrested. Following the leadership of a young preacher named Martin Luther King, Jr, the black community boycotted the bus company. So began King's career as leader of the civil rights movement.

From the beginning, King

endorsed Gandhi's doctrine of nonviolence, but his segregationist enemies did not so scruple. King was threatened. He was arrested and jailed. His house was dynamited. He refused to waiver, and on August 28, 1963, before a huge crowd at the Reflecting Pool in Washington, D.C., gave one of the most celebrated speeches in the history of the nation. He called for America to realize the full promise of the Founding Fathers that all citizens should be equal, and without further delay. Still he warned against violence. "We must not be guilty," he beseeched his listeners, "of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. . . . Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

"There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, 'When will you be satisfied?' We can never be satisfied, as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating, 'For Whites Only.'

"We cannot be satisfied, until justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream. . . . I have a dream I have a dream that we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children . . . will be able to join hands and sing in the words of that old Negro spiritual: 'Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we're free at last.'

"And so, Grandson" (concluded the old man), that is why we are having this talk. The dreamer is gone. But so long as we pass on the dream, it can never die.

The Modern Presidency Considered

Beginning April 12, the LBJ Library sponsored a three-day symposium to consider the modern presidency, its problems, character, and future. The articles which follow trace the course of that event.

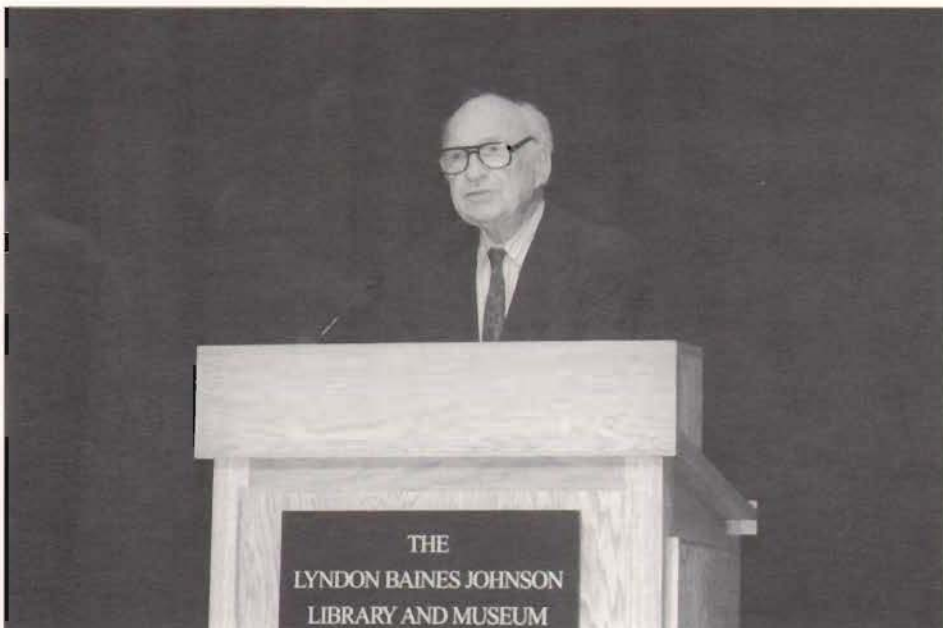
James MacGregor Burns Delivers Symposium Keynote

A crowd in the LBJ Auditorium heard Professor James MacGregor Burns, chronicler of presidents, open the proceedings. He mused, "The more I have looked at the modern presidency the more it appears to me like an old gunship, lacking both compass and rudder. . .going in circles, its cannon shooting off in all directions. . .harmless, except that some of them hold nuclear shells."

And they appear perhaps even less harmless, noted Burns, "when we recollect that recent presidents have given us Japanese-American concentration camps, Watergate, Iran-Contra, and Monicagate."

Presidents seem to come in two forms, Burns believes. Most have been "incrementalists," striving for small step-by-step reforms. A few presidents, including most of those we regard as great leaders, have instead brought large transformational changes: Washington, Lincoln, Wilson, the Roosevelts—and LBJ. The current presidential campaign features two incrementalists, one a bit to the right and the other a bit to the left.

But incrementalism will probably not characterize the presidential campaign of the year 2000, Burns warned, for each candidate will soon begin to out-promise the other in the search for



votes. The real incrementalism will begin in the White House after the election, "as the victor turns his big promises into small policy bytes." This is a serious problem, because outside the Beltway the makers of change are moving not in small bytes but with relentless speed and force. Titanic changes in communications, finance, transportation, and merchandising are afoot. Those who cause these revolutions do not run for office; they are not responsible to the electorate. Yet the crises which they generate in the private sector will often be dumped in the president's lap, as happened when FDR took office. Incremental changes from the White House will be pitifully inadequate to cope. The president may deal successfully with the immediate emergencies, but not, perhaps, with the underlying structural problems which caused them.

For example, said Burns, every president in the last thirty years has sought to solve our difficulties in the field of education, yet large problems remain. To conquer them would require long-run, concerted action beyond the

capabilities—and even the imagination—of most politicians.

Ironically, at the same time our presidents are capable of wielding excessive and alarming powers in times of crisis overseas. "Am I alarmist," asked Burns, "to expect that [in future] the president. . .will be under intense pressure to respond to new Kuwaits and Kosovos and East Timors, and perhaps to the Taiwanese, when they cry out for help?"

"We do not have a firm grip on our presidency—the office does not even have a firm grip on itself. That is why conferences such as this are so important, as we share our common wisdom about the office, and recognize, at least in my case, our ignorance."

In the long run, Burns confided, he puts his faith in the American people. He recalled spotting a week's schedule posted in front of a southern church. It read:

Monday: Alcoholics Anonymous.
Tuesday: Abused Spouses.
Wednesday: Eating Disorders.
Thursday: Say No to Drugs.
Friday: Teen Suicide Watch.
Saturday: Soup Kitchen.
Sunday Sermon: "America's Joyous Future."

The Modern Presidency: Offstage at the White House



"Cactus" Pryor; Liz Carpenter; Carl Sferrazza Anthony.

"Cactus" Pryor, well-known Austin radio humorist and personality, moderated a discussion that preceded the symposium's serious considerations with an evening of light-hearted reflection on White Houses past and present.

The evening panel featured Liz Carpenter, former press secretary to Lady Bird Johnson; Carl Sferrazza Anthony, authority on First Families; Mark Shields, moderator of CNN's "The Capital Gang" and Richard Norton Smith, Director of the Gerald R. Ford Library and Museum.

Carpenter began with a quote from Allen Drury, characterizing the arcane world of the Beltway: "Washington, that great white marble capital where good men do evil and evil men do good, in a way that only Americans can

understand, and often *they* are baffled. The For Rent sign on the White House should read, 'Available for four years only, as landlord is known to be fickle.'"

The presidency has never been an easy job. Jefferson compared it to a "splendid misery." Harry Truman called the White House the nation's most pretentious prison. As for LBJ, Ms. Carpenter recalled his musing, "If there were easy solutions for problems, they wouldn't get to the president. That's what presidents are for."

Richard Norton Smith declared that early presidents had a great advantage denied modern politicians. "They actually worried about posterity, not Dan Rather.

"Teddy Roosevelt," he went on, "in so many ways is the first

modern president. They called him a combination of Saint Paul and Saint Vitus—no exaggeration. Under the first President Roosevelt, the White House itself became a crowded stage, featuring a never-ending morality play, scripted, directed and performed by the President himself. In fact, it was claimed, only half in jest, that in reproducing TR's first message to Congress the government printing office exhausted its supply of the personal pronoun."

Mark Shields sounded a note that would recur throughout the symposium: the president is the only official who represents

all the people. "The vote for president is the most personal vote that any of us as a citizen casts."

The theme of humor, too, sounded in panel after panel. Shields recalled that President Truman was fond of saying that a sense of humor was the only way a president could keep his sanity. President Reagan often laughed at himself, and thereby made it harder for others to laugh at him. Referring to the rather short hours he spent in the office, Reagan pointed out, "Hard work never killed anybody, but I figured, why take the chance?"

When a president disappoints the American people, the panel agreed, they next elect someone who seems to offer what was lacking in his predecessor. After Watergate, therefore, the country chose Jimmy Carter. He was

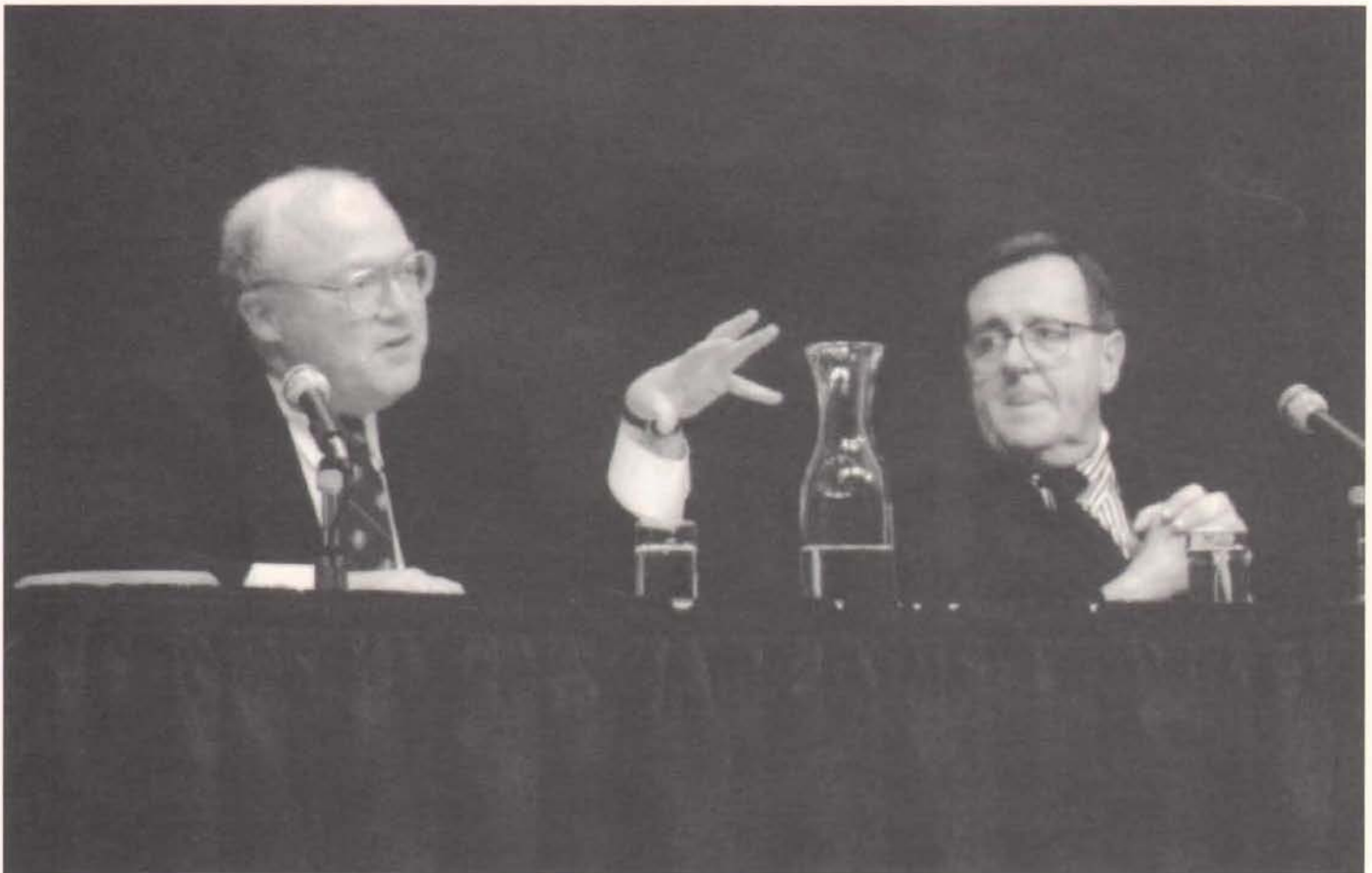
highly moral, conscientious, patriotic, hard working, and not a Washington insider. "But," Shields observed, "he seemed to change his mind a lot. So in 1980 along came Ronald Reagan, who had not changed *his* mind since 1964."

In a more serious vein, Mr. Smith noted:

"The presidency, arguably, is less important today than at any time in 70 years. Bill Clinton didn't do that. It's not his amazing shrinking presidency. If you stop and think about the great transcendent moments of presidential leadership in the 20th century that really galvanized the nation, that riveted our attention, it's the Cold War, and above all, it's race. It's Teddy Roosevelt inviting Booker T. Washington to dine at the White House. It's

Harry Truman desegregating the Armed Forces. It's Lyndon Johnson standing in front of a joint session of Congress saying, 'We shall overcome.'"

The influence of First Families matters. Carl Anthony Sferrazza injected a poignant element, recalling the trauma Wilson suffered in 1914 when his wife died on the very day war broke out in Europe. Grace Coolidge kept her husband going when he battled clinical depression after the death of his son. "All aspects of family life, all aspects of personal life, reverberate. They not only humanize these figures for us, but they also are a window into understanding the souls of the men who help lead the country we live in."



Richard Norton Smith with Mark Shields

The Modern Presidency: The Media



Roderick Hart: "Is the press just a referee which has no impact of its own?"

Roderick Hart, Distinguished Professor of Communications and Government at the University of Texas at Austin, chaired a panel of four veterans of the Washington press to look into the changing relationship of the presidency and the media. First to speak was George Christian, former press secretary to Lyndon Johnson.

Christian recalled that LBJ was fascinated with press people, and spent a great deal of time and effort talking to them, often one-on-one, trying to convert them into supporting some favored program. Once LBJ even invited a Soviet TASS correspondent, a known KGB agent, to spend the day at the LBJ Ranch. Who knows, laughed Christian, that may have marked the real genesis of *Perestroika*.

Christian stressed that since Watergate, the president's relationship with the press has become much more adversarial.

Lee Cullum is a *Dallas Morning News* correspondent and regular commentator on the "NewsHour with Jim Lehrer" on PBS.

She recalled what Marshall McLuhan posited years ago, that with television, the medium is the message. Much of McLuhan's thesis has been borne out since that time, not always happily. The message which television news brings into living rooms is often contrived and shaped too much by artificial technique. Citizens have caught onto this, and are becom-

ing restive and cynical. They long for substance and authenticity in their public life.

Bob Schieffer is anchor and moderator of CBS' "Face the Nation." He emphasized that the influence of the press on the presidency is vastly overrated, even by the press itself. For example, Nixon was not driven from office because of maleficent journalists, but "because his friends ratted on him. . . . It had nothing to do with analysis or commentary or editorials, just straight old-fashioned police reporting."

President Ford is another example, said Schieffer, who noted that Ford at first got a very favorable press, which later drifted off somewhat into tales of his alleged clumsiness. But stories of Ford's supposed physical ineptitude did not defeat his bid for reelection. What accomplished that was his pardon of Mr. Nixon. Similarly, what defeated President Carter in 1980 was not an unfavorable press image, but those long lines at service stations, plus the hostages in Iran. The press



Christian is certain that Jay Leno and David Letterman are potent molders of public opinion.



Lee Cullum: "Politicians today are frantic to stay on message."

may have much to answer for, Schieffer admitted, but in the end what really matters is the quality of the president's policy.

Paul Taylor, for many years a journalist for the *Washington Post*, pointed out that the relationship of the press and the presidency has evolved enormously over the last two hundred years, and much of the change has been driven by improved technology. Early newspapers were largely political organs devoted to boosting one candidate and attacking his opponent. The appearance of the first wire service in 1848 created a new tendency to seek objectivity in reporting. FDR's use of the radio in the thirties signaled another



Bob Schieffer: "I think that in the end policy always triumphs over press coverage."

revolution; up to 80 per cent of the people stopped what they were doing to hear what the President had to say. The advent of television has meant that the press is preoccupied with stagecraft, in the mirrors and smoke, the ropes and the pulleys, in the spin, in *how* it's done. The public knows this,

stressed Taylor, and has become increasingly cynical about it.

What role does the enigmatic internet play in all this? Schieffer put it this way: The world wide web is, by and large, nothing more than a sort of international, informal office water cooler where people trade stories and ideas and gossip. But the mainstream media cannot ignore it. As happened in the Monica Lewinsky scandal, news can break so quickly via such routes that traditional news organizations, in the fear of being left behind, find themselves pressed to report stories before verifying them properly.

There were 22 presidential debates this year on television, Schieffer concluded, although fewer and fewer American citizens chose to watch them. Even so, on a good night the networks and CNN may get over 30 million viewers. CNN and the traditional broadcast networks are the nearest thing we have to a public square.



Paul Taylor: "The era of broadcasting is now giving way to an era of narrow-casting."

The Modern Presidency: The President and the World



Robert Divine: "All the War Powers Act did was to give the president the authority to wage war for sixty days without congressional approval."

The Constitution clearly intended that the president play a strong role in foreign affairs. Has that blueprint been modified by recent history? How will future presidents plot the nation's international course? Robert Divine, Professor Emeritus at the University of Texas at Austin, led an early afternoon panel in grappling with those questions.

Professor Divine observed that in 1936 the Supreme Court improved the president's already strong hand with a ruling that, in foreign relations, the chief executive should "enjoy a degree of discretion and freedom from statutory restriction which would not be admissible were domestic affairs alone involved." Nearly every president since Franklin

Roosevelt has used that authority to conduct diplomacy free from congressional interference: in World War II, in the subsequent Cold War, in the Middle East and in the Balkans. Congress attempted to curb the president by passing the War Powers Act—which each succeeding president has ignored with impunity.

Professor Nigel Bowles of Oxford, a student of the American political system, agreed. But he emphasized that however potent the president may be in foreign affairs, he is part of a Madisonian system of government which is untidy, uncertain and resistant to stable, durable leadership over time. "Furthermore, the end of the Cold War and the rise of international economies have made it more difficult for the president to act unilaterally."

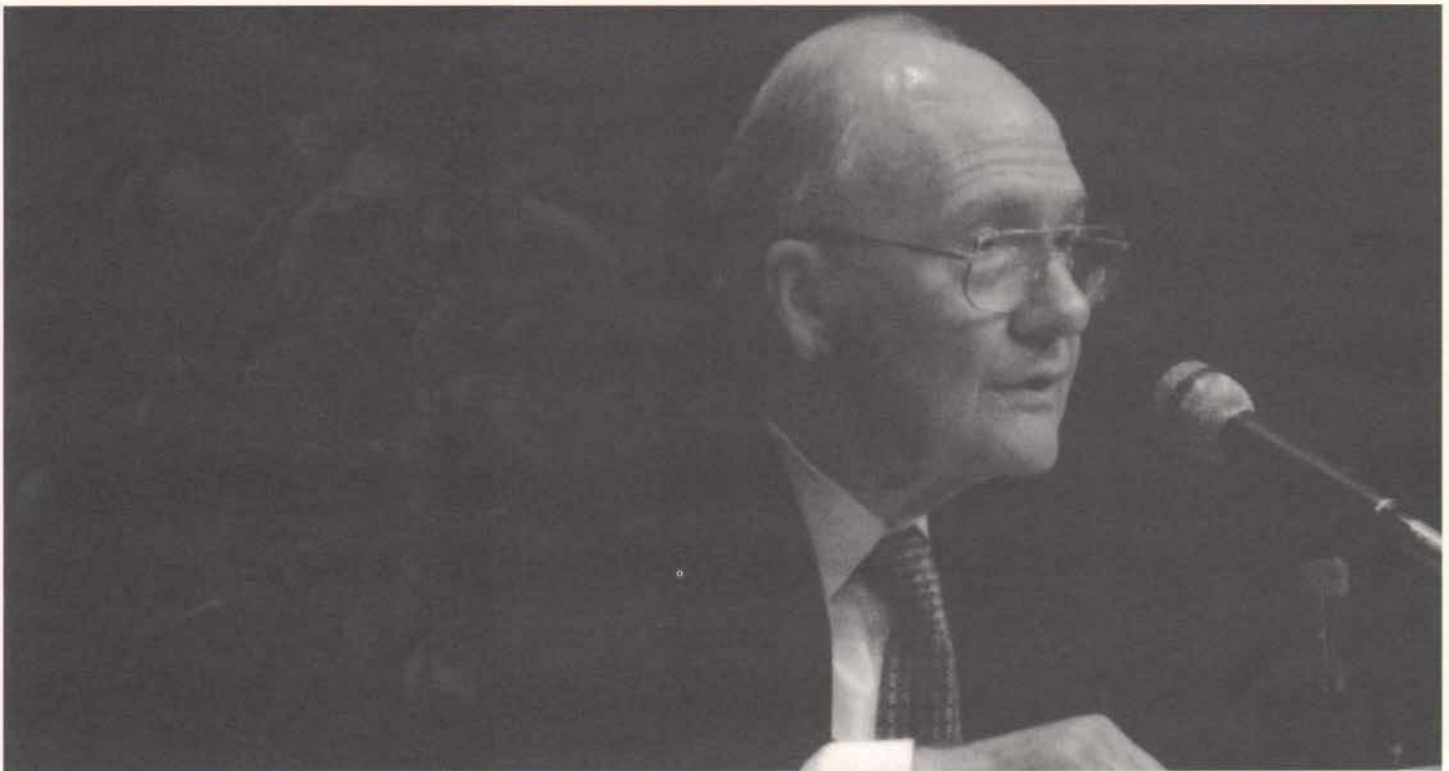
Walt Rostow, former national security adviser to LBJ, sees matters similarly. International power is much more diffuse than it was thirty years ago. "The president, for all his power, has to operate and listen very carefully. Any number of powers, big and small, can tell us to go to hell."



Nigel Bowles: "Power is scattered, and presidents who do not know that when they take office are forced to learn it later."



Walt Rostow: "The president, for all his power, has to operate and listen very carefully. . . ."



Brent Scowcroft "I often wish we were back in the time of sail, when a president could take four months to make a decision..."

Brent Scowcroft, former national security adviser to Presidents Ford and Bush, believes that the information revolution has made the president's job not easier but harder. News of important events gets transmitted almost instantly, but their context is often fuzzy. Consequently presidents feel pushed to respond to developments before they are completely understood, or run the risk of appearing irresolute. In that one respect at least, things may have been better in the days when it took months for a letter to cross the ocean. There was time for reflection before action.

Robert Strauss, former Chairman of the Democratic National Committee and Ambassador to the Soviet Union, does not envy future presidents. "Today," he declared, "a president has a helluva time just marginally influencing the course of events so that they can hopefully be constructively managed."

Dr. Divine summed up: "It almost makes one hunger for the good old days of the Cold War. We knew who the enemy was, and the problem was defined, and it was relatively simple to deal with policy issues. We've won the

Cold War. We are militarily the dominant power in the world, and yet, in many ways, in terms of influencing the world around us, we seem more powerless than ever."



Robert Strauss: "Roosevelt . . . didn't use polling to find out what his position should be . . . on a policy. . . . He had a policy."

The Modern Presidency: The President and the Domestic Agenda



Burnham; "Eisenhower attempted to act out the famous old whig theory of the presidency, "Congress does the legislating, and I just sign the bills."

What is the president's role in setting the domestic agenda? Walter Dean Burnham, professor of political science at The University of Texas at Austin, chaired a panel of two political practitioners and two academics

to consider the question. Burnham opened the discussion by noting that the idea of the president as an activist in domestic affairs is a recent development. Before the New Deal, presidents did not have well-developed leg-

islative programs.

Betsey Wright, deputy chair of the 1992 Clinton-Gore campaign, asserted that President Clinton was largely elected by women, and his domestic program reflects that fact. Social Security,



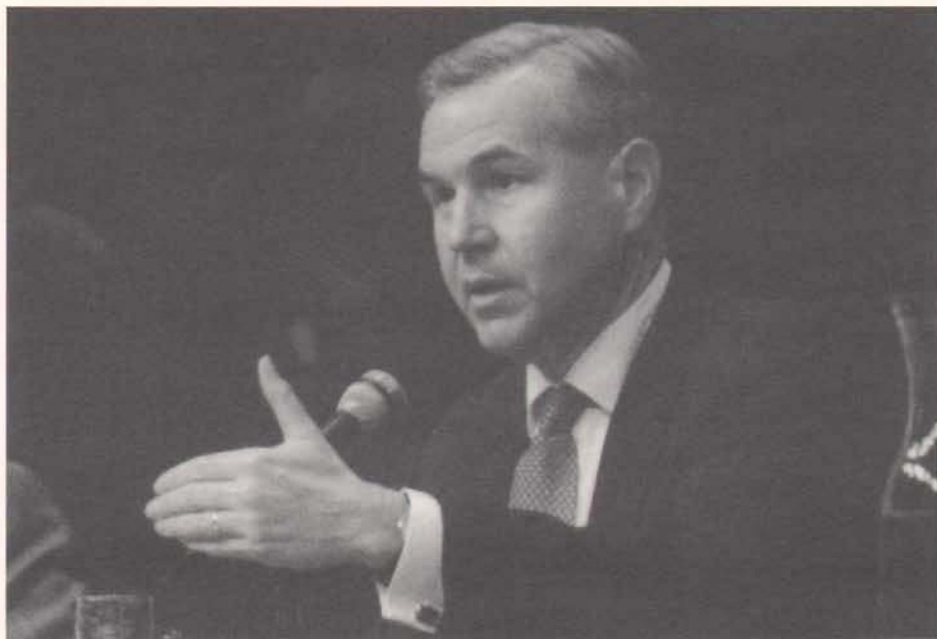
Betsey Wright: "For the near future . . . the domestic policy agendas for Democratic presidents will be built in a way to include women."



Stephen Skowronek: "[Great presidents] liberate us from . . . old agendas."

health and human services, and education are at its core. Wright believes that this situation will not change in the short run, and that women will continue to drive the Democratic domestic agenda.

Stephen Skowronek, professor of political science at Yale, pointed out that the president has a basic constitutional dilemma: He develops an agenda and yet has no dependable mechanism for realizing it. In modern times presidents have used their bully pulpit to mobilize public opinion in support of various domestic programs, and have so brought pressure to bear on Congress. This can be effective, but it makes the president very dependent on pub-



Michael Nelson: "Al Gore and George Bush are more alike than different."

lic opinion.

Recalling the recent Republican revolution in the House and the "Contract with America," Skowronek noted, "Presidential agenda-setting works intermittently, contingently, under certain circumstances, but it looks like congressional agenda-setting, especially without the involvement of the president,

doesn't work at all."

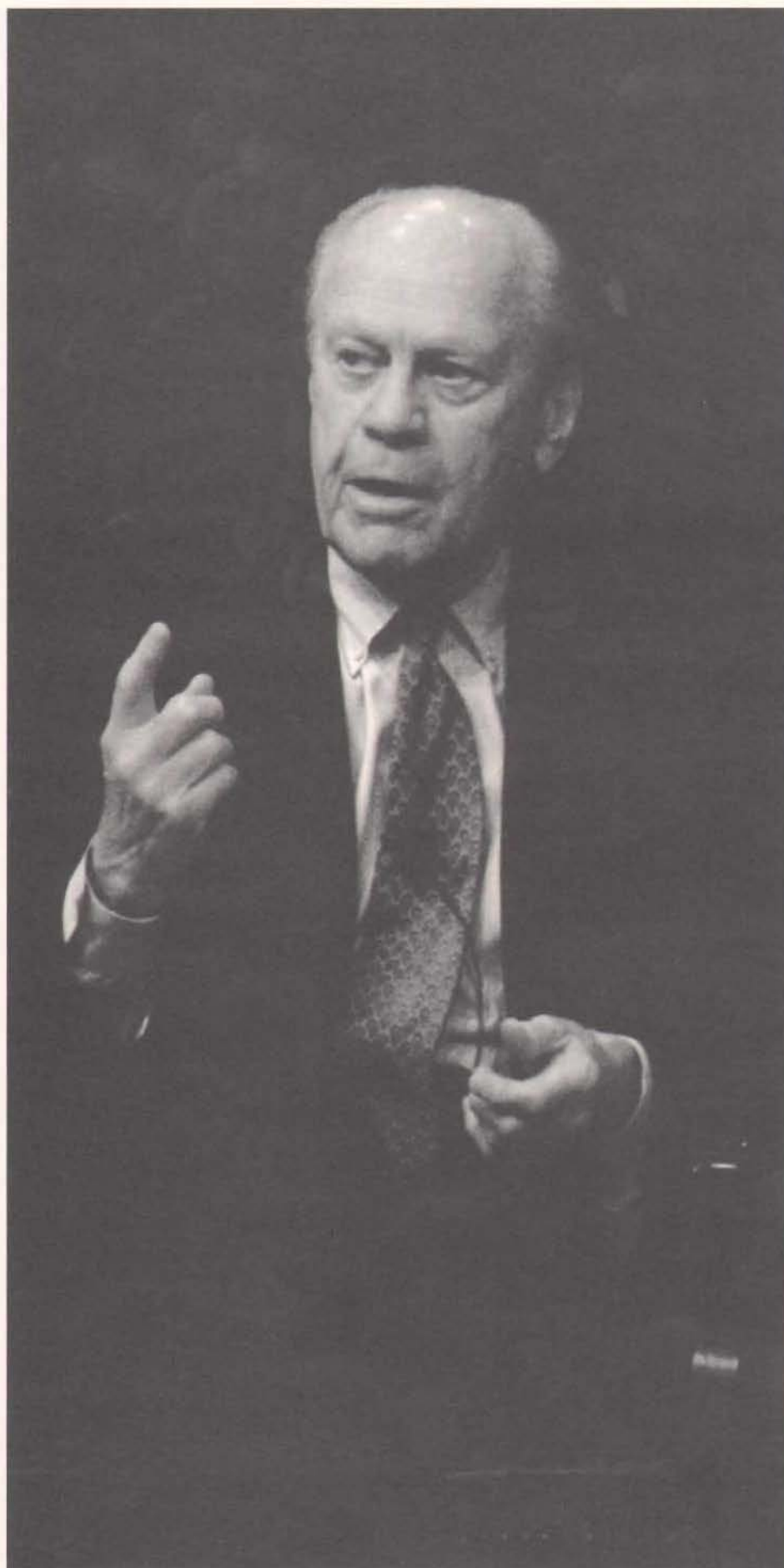
Political scientist Michael Nelson, of Rhodes College, argued that those presidential elections which have made decisive differences in the country's history shared one crucial characteristic: The winning candidate ran on a platform of change; he stood for a break with the past. And his coattails were long enough to ensure a Congress friendly to his aims.

Joseph Califano, former aide to LBJ and Secretary of HEW under President Carter, damned the way big money is inhibiting the president's ability to define his own agenda. Heavyweight campaign donors inevitably expect to have a voice in the administration. "I live in New York," said Califano, "and I think every other night we've got a traffic jam because Clinton is in town for another big dinner to raise cash. It's unbelievable. It takes at least a third of his time. Do we want the president spending a third of his time raising money?"



Joseph Califano: "You've got to be willing to risk your presidency for the things you believe in."

The Modern Presidency: A Dialogue with Two Presidents



Once political adversaries, Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter took the stage together on the evening of April 13 to give their perspectives on the presidency. Tim Russert of NBC's "Meet the Press" moderated.

Both former presidents found much to criticize in Washington today, especially the state of political discourse. Mr. Ford recalled that when he first came to the House in 1949, Speaker Sam Rayburn gathered all the freshmen representatives for a talk. One of the things he said, and which Mr. Ford never forgot was, "Learn to disagree without being disagreeable."

Mr. Carter blamed campaign financing for much of today's rancor, because the rules on the use of "soft" money encourage negative ads, which only poison the political atmosphere.

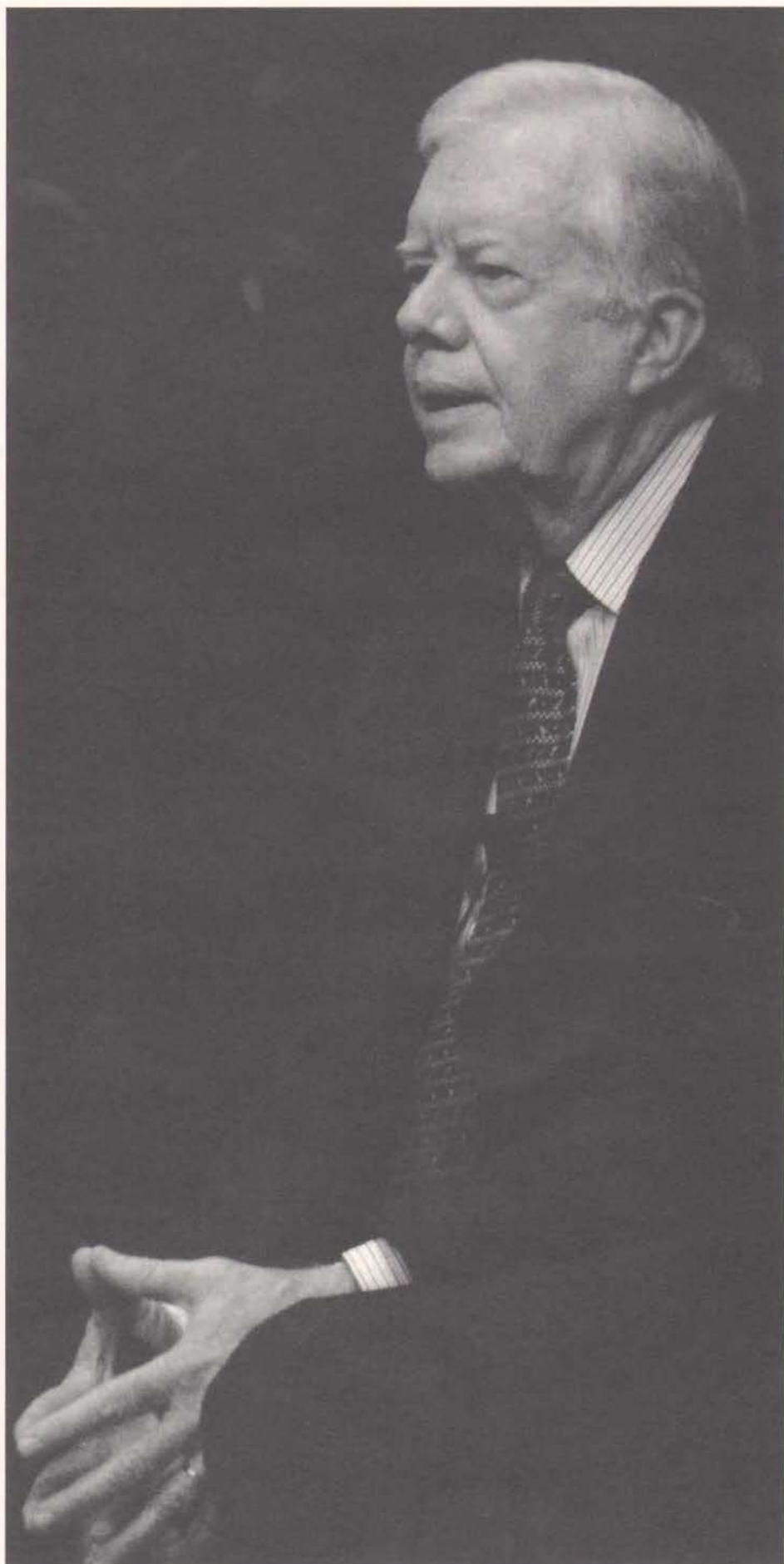
Asked to name the most serious problems facing the country today, Mr. Ford observed that with the end of the Cold War, we have cut our military establishment by about a third. But we have many of the same commitments overseas, and new ones keep arising. This is stretching the armed forces alarmingly. President Carter voiced deep concern that the growing world-wide chasm between rich and poor may lead to the most serious sorts of crises.

For both men, the future financing of Medicare and Social Security is extremely worrisome, and they blame Washington for not having the courage to squarely face up to this national quandary.

What was the impact on the presidency of the impeachment episodes involving Presidents Nixon and Clinton? Mr. Carter said, "I think that the country is so strong and the Founding Fathers were so wise in devising the presidency that we can overcome these things without any lasting effect."

President Ford concurred, adding that he had pardoned Nixon because he was convinced that it was absolutely imperative for the country to get that mess behind it. "I still think it was the right thing to do," he declared, and was vigorously applauded. Did the pardon hurt him in the election? "Yes," responded Mr. Ford, "no question." (Shortly after, Mr. Carter observed, to the delight of the audience, "I don't think the pardon hurt him nearly as much as my comment to *Playboy* magazine hurt me.")

President Carter had the last word: "If you ask an historian, of all the former presidents that have served in this country in the last 200 years, who are the two that have become the closest personal friends, it would be the two on this stage tonight."



The Modern Presidency: What Does the Future Hold?

What lies ahead for the Oval Office? Elspeth Rostow, former Dean of the LBJ School of Public Affairs and Professor Emerita in American Studies and Government at The University of Texas at Austin, moderated the final panel of the symposium.

University of Texas political scientist Bruce Buchanan disagreed with the notion that the presidency is in permanent decline. "The presidency does go on the shelf from time to time. It is brought to heel from time to time, and it does appear diminished occasionally, no doubt about that, but the odds are that the presidency will continue to be as strong as it needs to be whenever it really matters. The Constitution



Elspeth Rostow: Guardedly optimistic.

permits that. The American people expect it and will support it."

Only the president, stated Buchanan, can provide the sort of symbolic inspiration that Franklin Roosevelt did when he took office in 1933. The president has the unique resources, the unequalled platform and the executive authority that positions him alone to build a consensus on big national questions. The president is in a unique position to broker between warring interests within government. Finally, no one is better situated to deal with national crises,



Bruce Buchanan: "Wherever the presidency is headed, it's not headed into anything like permanent decline."

whether they be floods, depressions, or civil war.

University of Wisconsin Professor Emeritus Charles Jones predicted that a "campaigning style" of governing, plus split party control between the White House and Congress, will characterize politics in the future. The campaigning style of government means using all the new and captivating forms of modern communication to sell policy positions to

the public. President Clinton did not invent this technique, but he has used it well, and it is here to stay.

The rise of two genuinely national parties will ensure what was already a strong trend: split party control. Presidents will have to work with the opposition to get what they want. In the past we got accustomed to seeing Republican presidents compromise with Democrats to pass a program; lately



Charles O. Jones, on the future of the presidency: "I'm always optimistic. But there's helluva lot of evidence that I'm wrong."



Stephen Hess: "The evening news can no longer be a network's loss leader, like coffee in a supermarket."

we have seen it work the other way. It is a pattern not likely to change for a good while. The presidency will base itself on left- or right-centrist majorities, across party lines.

Stephen Hess, who has worked with Presidents Eisenhower, Ford, and Carter, disagreed with those who downplay the impact of the media on the presidency. The rise of television news as entertainment has spelled the end of the era when the evening news was a matter of prestige and not a producer of revenue. No longer can a television executive say to a famous anchorman, as CBS' Bill Paley did to Charles Collingwood, "You cover the news. Jack Benny makes the money." Now the news is expected to pay. The rise of hour-long news shows and CNN has created a great demand for quickly-done stories, and for news opinionators who comment upon them ad infinitum. The overall effect has not been positive in terms of quality news programming.

In his second appearance during the symposium, Joseph Califano foretold increasing difficulty in mustering majorities and

public support for presidential agendas. He faults the media for this, its shallow coverage and lack of focus, but also the Congress, which is more and more beholden to large contributors and less and less dependent on presidential good will.

Califano bemoaned the growing tendency in the White House to trivialize, to try to focus on far too

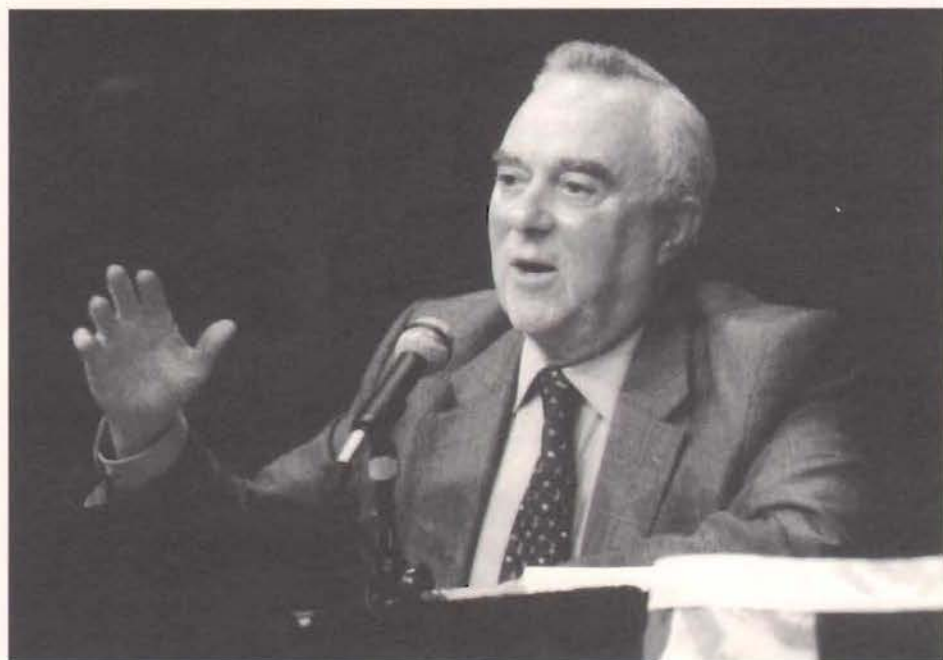
many minor programs, the sort which were once left to agencies and departments. The size of the White House staff has multiplied many times, each time increasing the number of aides who clamor for the president's attention.

Modern science is raising moral questions of great divisiveness which are going to demand the president's attention: abortion, transplants, genetic engineering, euthanasia. Those issues will be further complicated because most of them involve the elderly, who vote with more regularity than any other part of the population.

Because the courts have become intimately involved with so many issues, the president's judicial appointments will increasingly become a matter of politics more than one of simple justice.

Califano warned that the disparity between rich and poor is getting worse, and it is potentially explosive.

In summary, said Professor Rostow, "If there is any consensus, it is that the presidency is headed into rough seas, as it often is, but in a very sturdy vessel."



Joseph Califano: "The President's attention is too divided"

The Modern Presidency: A Final Word

At the end of the symposium, Tim Russert pulled the common threads together. His remarks are summarized here.

Presidents can mobilize this country, he noted. There are far too many examples of that to doubt it, from civil rights to campaigns against smoking; from reducing by half fatalities from drinking and driving, to Medicare and Medicaid.

Today we are in a period without war, with unparalleled prosperity and surpluses roaring through Washington, but we all know there is something amiss, particularly with our children and the aging.

Nothing is more important than for a president to step forward and say to the American people, "These are crucial issues, and this is what I believe must be done. Democrats, Republicans, liberals and conservatives, let us feel free to argue on the margins, but we all agree that solutions must be found."

The president who accepts that challenge will find a refreshing amount of support from the American people. Certainly, there will be 30-second hostile commercials attacking him, and there will be the ubiquitous special interest groups who will assail any president, Democrat or Republican, for challenging the sacred cows of our society.

But the president is the only person who can ride over all that, command the attention of the nation, and cobble together the required bipartisan spirit.

Social Security and Medicare must be reformed and preserved. Those 55 and over need not worry; their investment is protected. Beyond them, the generations are at risk, and their stake in the future must be secured.

There is a profound disquiet

much on the minds of us all: the fate of our young. Six-year-old children, three of them, were just taken into custody because they were plotting to kill another six-year-old.

There is a simple statistic: If you are 18 years old without a high school education, without a skill and without a job, and you have a baby, the chances are 80 percent that the baby will grow up in poverty. If you are 18 years old with a high school education, a skill, a job and a spouse, and you have a baby, the chances are 8 percent. The data is incontrovertible.

What if a president said to the nation, "We will keep our end of the deal. If you wish to learn a skill, there will be skills available to learn. If you stay in school, the schools will be worth staying in. If you look for a job, there will be a job available."

Nothing will affect our health policy, our criminal justice system, our labor pool, our economy, our spirituality more than a president mobilizing the nation and dealing with these central issues: How do we take care of our children and our elderly? Who are we as a culture and a society?

And what of the media, which drew much comment during the panels, and of which Russert is a prominent member? "We play a central role in this," he averred. "When I took over 'Meet the Press,' I asked David Brinkley, 'How do you distill everything you learn in the course of a week and put it into a single TV show on Sunday morning?' 'You don't,' replied Brinkley, who explained, 'Television has a very hard time with complication and nuance. It prefers black and white conflict as opposed to explanation. If Moses descended from Mount Sinai in the year 2000, television news would



Tim Russert quoted Justice Felix Frankfurter: "Wisdom too often never comes, so one ought not to reject it merely because it comes late."

report, "Moses came down from the mountaintop today with Ten Commandments. Here is Sam Donaldson with the three most important."

When all is said and done, Russert observed, "We cover what the players are doing. If they are involved in scandal, we cover it. If they are bickering with each other, we cover that. It is one of our shortcomings; we don't know how to set the agenda. But if a president sets it for us, we will find a way to cover it, maybe even intelligently."

Reno Brings Words Of Encouragement

On February 7, Attorney General Janet Reno delivered an address in the LBJ Auditorium. This is what Andrea Ball of the *Austin American-Statesman* reported:

(Copyright Austin American-Statesman, 2000)

America needs a comprehensive effort, not a piecemeal approach, to solve its violence, drug and crime problems, Attorney General Janet Reno said Monday night in Austin.

"It requires a sustained effort from people who care, and it's hard to do," Reno said. . . .

About 800 students and LBJ Library supporters flocked to the 6 p.m. speech, which focused on communities, problem-solving and public service. In a 30-minute address punctuated by frequent bursts of applause, Reno urged cooperation among families, churches, business, government and neighborhoods to solve problems.

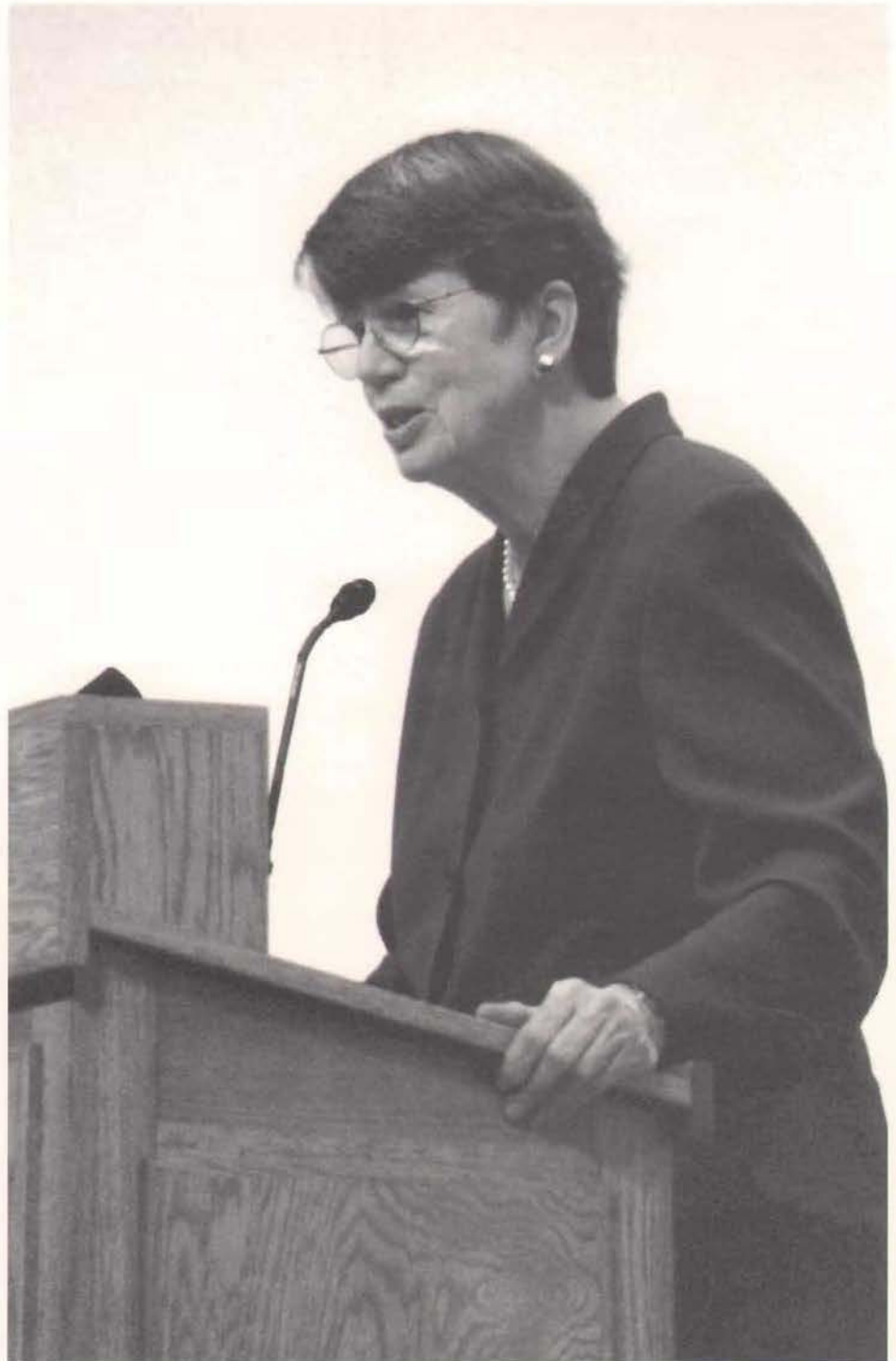
Reno applauded such efforts throughout the country.

"You are not taking this marvelous democracy for granted," she said. "You are making a difference, and for that, I salute you."

Although Reno was met with a generally receptive crowd, the attorney general had her critics. A handful of protesters questioned her about the 1993 Waco siege that left four federal agents and 76 Branch Davidians dead.

Reno refused to answer those questions, saying the matter is still under investigation.

"I will continue to provide every bit of information I can in every appropriate forum I can," she said.



Ambassador Grunwald Finds Light In Growing Darkness



Henry Grunwald came to the United States in the early 1940s, a refugee from Nazi-held Austria. Right out of the pages of Horatio Alger, Grunwald began as a copy boy, rose to be editor in chief at Time, Inc., and during the Reagan Administration returned to Austria as U.S. ambassador.

Now he is losing his sight. Reading, says Grunwald, has become for him the "visual equivalent of struggling for breath." On March 30 in the LBJ Auditorium, he addressed a crowd which included Lady Bird Johnson, who shares his affliction.

Grunwald's odyssey began some years ago when he was pouring himself a glass of water, and missed the glass. Alarmed, he had a checkup. The diagnosis was an unfamiliar and unpleasant-sounding malady called "macular degeneration." There is, said the doctor, in most cases no effective permanent treatment whatsoever.

The disease involves the degeneration of the macula, that part of the eye which perceives such details as small print. Total blindness does not usually result but can happen.

Resigned to the inevitable, Grunwald resolved to "store up" those sights which he especially

loves, against the day when he no longer could see them: the faces of his family; scenes from favorite operas, certain landscapes. But he discovered that it doesn't work that way. "You can't choose what sights you remember. Some will impose themselves, even against your will, and some will disappear."

His journalistic instincts prompted him to try to find out as much as he could about his problem, so he researched the history of eye diseases and their treatment. Particularly interesting were some accounts from antiquity. Ancient Egyptian surgeons sometimes attempted eye surgery, a dangerous business for both doctor and patient. The patient easily could get worse instead of better, and a botched operation might result in the surgeon having his hands chopped off. In ancient India an unsuccessful eye surgeon would lose not his hands, but his nose. Grunwald has yet to discover why.

World War II saw one of the first major advances in eye surgery, when it was discovered that some pilots with bits of plastic imbedded in their eyes as a result of their windshields being shattered, actually had improved vision. Such rare cases put research onto new tracks.

The evolution of the eye was another fascinating topic. How did such an organ come to be in the first place? Even Darwin, the great evolutionist himself, admitted that thinking about the eye gave him cold shivers, so incredible and unlikely a development it was.

The eye has played a symbolic role in many religions and mythologies. Some ancients thought the soul resided in the eye. The Greek god Chronos had four eyes, two in each direction. Athena's glance was so withering that great heroes quailed before her. Egyptians painted eyes on sarcophagi so the departed could see their way into the afterlife. St. Lucy, whose eyes were put out during the persecution of Christians under Diocletian, miraculously regained her sight and became the

patron saint of the blind.

Grunwald can still see, but only vaguely, a tremendous handicap for an accomplished writer and editor. Today he must read by listening. His ability to enjoy art is severely curtailed. Of course he cannot drive an auto.

A few maxims have helped Grunwald cope with his situation and retain his dignity. First, he has found it absolutely vital to keep a sense of humor. One day in Paris he was waiting for his wife while she looked at clothes in an exclusive shop. All unknowing, he wandered into the fitting room, where out of the corner of his eye he dimly glimpsed a woman in a state of undress, being fitted for a gown. He beat a hasty retreat. His wife soon joined him and sweetly asked if he knew who the woman had been. He did not. "It was your great love, Catherine Deneuve," the film actress. The experience, said Grunwald, gave him new insights into the term "sensory deprivation."

Secondly, he has fought a tendency toward depression, and a retreat into defensive passivity. Some sufferers fall into that trap. "They are afraid of going out, because they won't recognize friends at cocktail parties. . . . They are afraid of eating out. . . . because . . . they eat very messily. . . . It happens to me all the time. One simply has to overcome that and not be embarrassed.

"And one must not be hesitant to ask for assistance. After I first developed this disease, I might stand for ten minutes looking at a monitor at an airport, knowing perfectly well that no matter how hard I might strain, I couldn't read the numbers. It took me quite a while to conquer my reluctance to ask a fellow traveler for help."

"Finally it is imperative always to remember that there are many, many people who are worse off than yourself."

Those wishing to obtain an audio tape of Ambassador Grunwald's book, *Twilight: Losing Sight, Gaining Insight* should contact the Lighthouse for the Blind in New York City, at 1-800-829-0500, and listen to the menu. Or try their email, info@lighthouse.org.

Environmentalist Noonan Honored



Lady Bird Johnson and Patrick Noonan enjoy a moment before the luncheon in his honor.

According to the news release quoted below, it is the largest public-private, multi-state partnership venture in U.S. history. The objective was 300,000 acres of wood- and wetlands in New York, Vermont and New Hampshire. The price tag was \$76 million.

"Conservation Fund Chairman Patrick F. Noonan said that the most sensitive lands, wetlands and river systems would be protected for future generations. The working woodlands will be dedicated to long-term growth and protected by legal agreements that ensure continued use for forestry. A replanting program will see to it that the forests are not depleted." One-third of the land will be dedicated to new parks and wildlife refuges, and two-thirds will be "working landscapes," where controlled logging will prevail. Thus the rural communities who depend on the timber industry can maintain their social fabric.

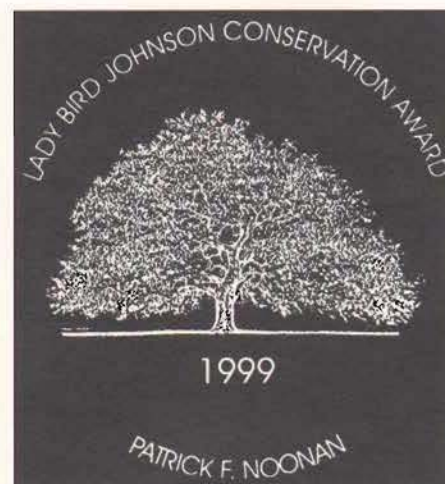
On March 20, at a luncheon in his honor at the LBJ Library and with Mrs. Johnson in the

audience, Mr. Noonan accepted the Lady Bird Johnson Conservation Award for his work on this venture. It was the third such award; the first recipient was Senator John Chaffee of Rhode Island; the second was Laurance Rockefeller.

In his acceptance remarks, Mr. Noonan noted that a similar transaction last year covered eighty thousand acres in the Chesapeake Bay area.

"We are on the verge of a sea change for conservation and forestry in America," said Noonan. "Our goal is to retain the forests so that they remain open for their traditional uses for outdoor recreation, for wildlife habitat and, ultimately, for the production of high quality timber." "The old environmentalism of confrontation," he reported, "is evolving into a new environmentalism of cooperation and collaboration." Last year, 4 per cent of all charitable giving in the U.S. went to environmental causes. And the CEO of duPont recently noted

that his title also stood for "chief environmental officer." The free enterprise system, concluded Noonan, will become the most important engine driving the environmental movement.



The photoengraving films for The Lady Bird Johnson Conservation Award Medallion. Cast in sterling silver, it is three inches in diameter and weighs nearly nine ounces. The image of Mrs. Johnson is the work of Erick M. Murray, who coincidentally is one of the artists featured in the African-American exhibit on pages 2-4 The tree is a replica of Austin's famous Treaty Oak. Photoengraving by Capitol Engraving; casting and finish by Midas Manufacturing, both of Austin, Texas.

High Tech Revolution



By **Claudia Anderson**,
above; **Fletcher Burton, Walt
Roberts, and James Watson**

The digital revolution is blossoming in full force at the LBJ Library and Museum. Nearly twenty years ago it first crept in on little cat feet, as it were, when the first relatively primitive computers arrived in the oral history office. They hardly attracted notice. But the small-footed feline has today morphed into a tiger, and the Library and Museum staff is deciding how best to saddle the beast.

About five years ago the Library's Archives began to participate in the Internet through the Library's "Gopher" connection, an early generation of Internet technology named for the industrious mascot of the University of Minnesota where Gopher was born. The Archives staff posted a small amount of material to the Gopher site, and Internet visitors immediately clamored for more. The staff has been trying ever since to stay ahead of the demand. "If you build it, they will come," ran the line from the movie *Field of Dreams*. They are indeed coming; in February the web page

recorded nearly forty thousand visits.

In 1995 the Archives began crafting a formal LBJ Library site on the World Wide Web (see below). Among the most popular offerings are over a hundred transcripts of oral history interviews, selected from our collection of nearly two thousand. They include conversations with Dean Rusk, William Colby, Thurgood Marshall, and Hubert Humphrey. Also available are fifty significant entries from the President's Daily Diary, including the week following the Kennedy assassination; LBJ's visits to Vietnam, and the Diary for March 31, 1968, the day when President Johnson

announced he would not seek another term. One of the Library's highest priorities and most talked-about current projects is the processing and release of President Johnson's telephone conversations. Descriptions of these tapes are available on the web site, and a "search engine" permits researchers to hunt for subjects which interest them. The Archives considered making actual sound recordings of the conversations available through the web site, but decided instead simply to create a "hot link" from our site to the C-SPAN web site, where sound recordings of over eight hundred segments and full telephone conversations are already available.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
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Lyndon Baines Johnson
 Library and Museum
 2313 Red River St.
 Austin, TX 78705

Reading Room Hours:
 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.
 Weekdays, closed on
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Museum Hours: 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.
 Every day but Christmas

Admission is Free

The LBJ Library and Museum homepage

High Tech Revolution (*continued*)



James Watson

The Audio-Visual staff intends to place a large number of photos on the web site. An Austin firm, Applied Science Fiction, is working with staffers Phil Scott and James Watson to develop technology able not only to create digital images by scanning photos, but to restore damaged color and eliminate scratches and other flaws. Plans are afoot to link images from the photo archives to corresponding pages of President Johnson's Daily Diary. Someday a visitor to the site will not only learn from the Diary what meetings the President had on a particular day, but with a few mouse clicks can call up the photos—if any exist—of that meeting. A generous grant from the LBJ Foundation has put the Library on the track to someday realizing a complete virtual LBJ Library and Museum on the world wide web.

The new power to create digital images means that we can copy photos from our collection and send them through the internet far faster and less expensively than before. It also means that photo wizards James Watson, Charles Bogel and Margaret Harman will bid goodbye to the now old-fashioned "wet" photo lab—although special requests for the old process will be filled by

outside contractors.

The Museum Store is also going high tech, via "e-commerce." Anyone with access to the Internet can go shopping for Library mementos by going on-line to www.lbjstore.com. There is a "shopping cart"

which lets customers compile a list of purchases, and a secure line accepts credit cards.

Store manager Walt Roberts says there is yet a distance to go before the whole inventory can be viewed via computer, but early Internet sales figures are encouraging.



Walt Roberts



Fletcher Burton

Author of *God's Favorite*, Lawrence Wright Examines the Craft of Writing

Novels are not a doomed art form, author Lawrence Wright assured a February 29 crowd in the LBJ Auditorium. "Maybe someday Microsoft will figure out a way for us to directly experience other people's lives, and if that day comes, art may die. But I don't think so. We will still long for the dramatic unity that art provides. . . . We will still crave the sound of the writer's voice. . . that commands our attention, the voice that silences the other voices in our heads. . . . One of the principal pleasures of art, high and low, is that it allows us to open our psychological gates . . . so that we are ready to receive a new experience."

Creating a novel is much like dressing up for a masked ball, said Wright. One starts by trying on new identities, much as Wright did for a recent Mardi Gras party (he went as a nun). "Fiction writers and schizophrenics have one thing in common," he believes; both respond to phantom voices in their heads. Writers can assign names to the voices and summon them at will; perhaps that is the only thing that separates the creative mind from insanity. "It's the difference between holding a fire hose and standing in front of one."

The most important voices are those which inspire the general outline of the writer's story. But there must also be character ideas, thematic ideas, language ideas. If they do not mesh well, the book doesn't work, and the author has failed.

Which brought Wright to his book about General Manuel Antonio Noriega of Panama. Wright places "Tony," as he calls him, somewhere between Idi

Amin and Saddam Hussein, demonologically speaking. Noriega ruled Panama for seven years, until December 20, 1989 when an exasperated President Bush ordered a gigantic kidnapping exercise known as Operation Just Cause. For four days the kidnappers could not find their quarry. He turned up in the residence of the Papal Nuncio, the official representative of the Vatican. At first the Americans tried to hound Noriega out of his sanctuary by bombarding him with high-volume blasts of pop music, including Nancy Sinatra singing "These Boots Were Made for Walkin,'" on continuous repeat, a choice Wright finds particularly fiendish.

First Wright had thought to create a two-man play based on a conversation between the Papal Nuncio and his uninvited guest, the gangster General. The priest's aim is to talk Noriega out of the residence and hence out of the Church's hair. The ultimate goal of the dictator, on the other hand ("a drug-dealing, philandering, pock-marked, woman-fearing, enemy-slaying, voodoo-mongering, soul-searching, Buddhist bisexual vegetarian Central American") is simply to find salvation.

So, listening to his voices, Wright went to work on the two-man play. The trouble was, in Wright's head the General wouldn't talk, while the Nuncio refused to shut up. It was only later, when the play evolved into a novel, that "Tony" Noriega sprang to life.

"The key here," believes Wright, "is sympathy," a word based on a Greek root meaning "to feel the same." To write convincingly about Noriega, Wright



had to identify with him. This is a dangerous psychological game, for "The artist puts his soul at risk when he spends too much time in the devil's costume."

Wright refused to view his subject simply as a wicked aberration among humans. Instead he used Noriega's character as a vehicle to work on dilemmas common to all humanity, good and evil. What "voices" did Noriega hear? How did they differ from everyone else's?

At the end Wright could not escape the question which has deviled writers since the invention of language, from the Sumerians to Steinbeck: Why does evil exist, and so often seem to prosper?

Veteran Chicago Pol Rostenkowski Expounds on LBJ

His House colleague Jake Pickle summarized the career of former Congressman Dan Rostenkowski for a capacity crowd at the LBJ Library on January 11.

The man from Chicago could be tough, mused Pickle. When Congressman Kent Hance of Texas refused to support him on a tax measure, the next morning the Texan found that his committee room chair no longer had wheels. He could not maneuver at the committee table, and he also sat several inches lower than everyone else—powerful symbolic messages, both.

Rostenkowski observed that relatively few legislators make a real difference, which only points up how extraordinary Lyndon Johnson actually was. “He was the most effective political leader of our generation. . . . In the areas of race and poverty, he put the government firmly on the side of change, and kindled debates that still continue.”

“But for me, a Chicagoan . . . LBJ was definitely an acquired taste. . . . For those of us who relied on ward organization to get out the vote, Texas politics, with its helicopters and hoopla, seemed like another world entirely.” In 1960, Mayor Daley of Chicago and freshman Congressman Rostenkowski worked for Kennedy and against Johnson. They favored Stu Symington for vice president, and were shocked when JFK instead chose LBJ. But as loyal Democrats they swallowed their disappointment and went to work for the ticket.

The trauma generated by the Kennedy assassination smoothed the way for passage of Johnson’s

programs, Rostenkowski admitted. Still, “Johnson himself gets most of the credit. He was a legislative virtuoso who played Congress like a violin.” LBJ has been called a bully. But he much preferred persuasion over pressure, and he was particularly adept with flattery. “Politicians tend to be impatient, and Johnson tended to be *very* impatient. That’s one reason he got things done. But there was a price.” His advocacy of civil rights cost the Democratic Party the South, as LBJ knew that it would. “It is hard to think of a president since, who has expended so much political capital on an issue simply because he believed it was right.”

Daley and Rostenkowski were powerfully attracted to LBJ’s War on Poverty—with the exception of Community Action, which created new local political organizations that could challenge the power of the city structure. The Mayor thought that was crazy, and said so. But he never wavered in his loyalty to the chief Democrat in Washington. Late in Johnson’s administration, when so many of the crowds he spoke to contained vocal critics of his Vietnam policy, LBJ could always count on a friendly welcome in Chicago.

Rostenkowski maintains that LBJ’s Vietnam policy was driven by two convictions: first, Johnson believed he was honoring an obligation made by

two preceding presidents; second, he was convinced that his domestic program could not survive a serious defeat in Southeast Asia. His foreign policy apparatus, inherited from Kennedy, was not about to advise him otherwise. “Perhaps there were others who could have played this bad hand better, but I don’t know who they are. . . . There were no attractive options.”

On the domestic front, “President Johnson presided over the opening rounds of a debate that continues today. What services should government properly provide to the people? And should the government be perceived by them as friend or foe, master or servant?”

Rostenkowski lamented the poisonous atmosphere of recrimination and personal attacks which “have become the currency of Washington discourse today.” He concluded by calling on the nation’s leaders to heed the words of Sam Rayburn: “What goes around, comes around.”



From the Mailbag

February 29, 2000

Administrator
Lyndon B. Johnson Library

Dear Sir or Madame:

On Friday, February 25, 2000 I visited the Lyndon B. Johnson Library. As I walked into the lobby area I was welcomed by a woman named Barbara. I don't say, "greeted," because it was more than that. I felt truly welcomed. It was as if we were friends, who had not yet met.

As I visited the exhibits I found myself pulled back into history, only some of which I remember. I was born in 1961. I do remember much of the war and the body counts each evening on the NBC Nightly News. I recall saying to my parent when the war ended, "Won't it be weird to watch the news with no body count?" I recall the Newark riots and the rumors which spread

through our own small neighborhood. I recall the President's refusal to accept another term and how shocked my father was at the announcement.

I got up for a drink of water one night as a child. I recall my dad sitting up in the middle of the night watching the California primary returns and then leaping from his chair and shouting to my mother, "Rose, Rose, get up! Jesus, they just shot Bobby!" My mother took us to our small train station in Levittown, Pennsylvania to watch as the funeral train pulled past. I remember the cook with his white apron and hat standing in an open door of one of the cars waving to us.

There were literally hundreds of people standing along the tracks. Then came the last car with its slightly green tinted windows and the casket draped with our flag. It was evening time, and

the sun was going down. We drove back home in silence.

Those were turbulent times. The library clearly sets forth the strength of Mr. Johnson and the bravery with which he faced those times. Beyond that, the warmth and pride of your staff was unmistakable. The oval office replica was outstanding. My young niece and nephew were with me. It is good to know that the importance of those times and the men who led our nation will be passed on to the Nintendo generation.

You do a great service and honor to our country and the memory of Mr. Johnson.

Very truly yours,

Andrew K. Worek
Harvey, Pennington, Cabot,
Griffith & Renneisen, Ltd.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

SWTSU Scholarship Honors Library Docent Ione Young



Ione Young, one of the LBJ Library and Museum's first class

of volunteers (1980), was recognized last April in a ceremony at Southwest Texas State University, her alma mater—and coincidentally, LBJ's. Dr. John Hill, chair of the SWTSU English Department, observed that Dr. Young had taught there for nearly twenty years, and was noted for her courses in 19th Century English literature. She also taught technical writing, directed more than fifteen MA theses, and chaired the Freshman English Committee. Her best-known publication, *A Concordance to the Poetry of Byron* (1965) is still a standard work in the field. Four of Dr.

Young's students are now English faculty members at SWT: Edgar Laird, Jack Gravitt, Elvin Holt, and Patsy Reynolds Pohl.

The Ione Dodson Young Scholarship is the first SWTSU English Department award of its kind: It is not a memorial, as is usual in such cases, but an endowment honoring a living person. The project was organized by Professors Pohl and Holt, and by Dr. Luan Branson, a former colleague.

As of this writing, Dr. Young has amassed over 3,600 hours of volunteer work at the LBJ Library, a record.

FDR-LBJ Connection Was Crucial, Says Ambassador Vanden Heuvel



William vanden Heuvel, former UN ambassador in Geneva, is convinced that Franklin Roosevelt and Lyndon Johnson are the major architects of today's America.

Speaking to a crowd in the LBJ Auditorium on March 14, vanden Heuvel asserted that the FDR-LBJ relationship was one of the most important in the history of American politics. Not only did FDR's New Deal set the country on a new path, it was the springboard which catapulted LBJ into public life, and inspired in him the ideals which he nurtured into law years later in his own cherished vision of a Great Society.

The story began when Roosevelt appointed LBJ to head the National Youth Administration in Texas, a program aimed at helping young people stay in school and get job training. The NYA gave Johnson a vision of how the government could actively help people who needed it, and the lesson stayed with him to the end of his days.

LBJ became an enthusiastic Roosevelt booster. When FDR announced his controversial plan

to "pack" the conservative Supreme Court, Johnson ran for Congress on a platform of unconditional support for the President. "The people in my district are as strong as horseradish for him," he told an interviewer. Johnson won the election, and FDR arranged to meet his new protégé. Later he said, "I have met the most remarkable young man. . . . [T]his boy could well be the first southern president since the Civil War."

FDR did not succeed in packing the Court, but the conservative old justices dropped their opposition to his liberal New Deal measures. There would be no hostile Supreme Court precedent, nearly thirty years later, to prevent LBJ from building upon the foundation Roosevelt had laid.

This is not to say that LBJ did not steer his own course. The story of Maury Maverick of Bexar County was a constant reminder to him of essential priorities. That fiery San Antonian, an advocate of every progressive cause, was elected to Congress in 1934, with LBJ's help. There Maverick, true to his evocative name, organized a caucus of rebel House liberals. The conservative political Texas establishment thereupon targeted Maverick for defeat, and despite FDR's personal support, he lost his seat in 1938. Afterward, whenever FDR's staff pushed LBJ to a point where he thought his political base was being endangered, he would say, "Don't forget our friend Maury. . . . There's nothing more useless than a dead liberal."

Congressman Johnson used his favored status with FDR to great advantage. "He got more projects, and more money for his

district than anybody else," said FDR assistant Thomas ("Tommy the Cork") Corcoran. LBJ brought dams to Central Texas, and the Rural Electrification Administration. Johnson recalled: "In the countryside where I was born, and where I live, I have seen the night illuminated, and the kitchen warmed, and the home heated, where once the cheerless night and the ceaseless cold held sway. And all this happened because electricity came to our area along the humming wires of the REA." Decades later in 1961, speaking to a UN official, LBJ reflected: "You know, Mr. Executive Secretary, I am a river man. All my life I have been interested in rivers and their development."

In 1944, Franklin Roosevelt gave a speech outlining his dream for an economic bill of rights for all Americans. The same dream drove LBJ to work for the day when that every citizen would share fully in the life of the country.

"The last act of LBJ's presidency was to sign a proclamation establishing the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Park, a final gesture of respect and devotion to the man who had so deeply influenced his life."

Annual Volunteer Luncheon



Former directors of the volunteer program pose with Mrs. Johnson.

Standing: Cathy Crowley; Kiran Dix. Seated: Annette Sadler, Mrs. Johnson, Judy Davidson-Englert

*By Judy Davidson-Englert,
Volunteer Coordinator*

This year marked the twentieth anniversary of the volunteer program at the LBJ Library and Museum. There was no such program for our first eight years of operation, and no one is quite sure how we managed without it. Part-time students originally filled the role of docents, but due to exam and vacation times, drop-outs and graduations, that system proved unreliable. In 1980 the first volunteer docent class began training.

Kathy Scafe-Crowley organized the first program under the direction of LBJ Foundation Assistant Director Larry Reed, with the blessing of Director Harry Middleton, Museum Curator Gary Yarrington, and Lady Bird Johnson. In September, 1980 the first volunteer class began to greet guests and give tours.

Volunteers have worked in the archives, in the museum collection, with oral histories, and in the audio-visual archives collections of tapes and film. But most volunteers meet the visitors who

comes through our doors, greeting them, guiding tours, answering questions, and giving directions. They are a close-knit group who enjoy each other's company and find the work rewarding. Their annual Christmas party is a highlight of our year. Norma Brandt, one of our twenty-year veterans, recently said, "It really doesn't take much to be an LBJ volunteer; just the wit of Liz Carpenter, the knowledge of Harry Middleton and the charm of Lady Bird Johnson."

D. B. Hardeman Prize Winner Ponders Role of Wilbur Mills

Each year the LBJ Foundation awards the D. B. Hardeman Prize, named after the long-time assistant to Speaker Sam Rayburn, to the author of the best book written on a congressional topic. The 1999 prize went to Dr. Julian Zelizer, of the University at Albany, State University of New York. In January Dr. Zelizer came to Austin to address the audience at a luncheon in his honor.

"Most Americans remember [Wilbur Mills] as the politician who went skinny dipping with a stripper in Washington, D.C.," Zelizer observed. But that incident, which destroyed the career of one of the most powerful men in Congress, tells little of the unmatched influence and impact which Mills, the Democrat from Kensett, Arkansas, exerted on

America's tax policy as it was hammered out in the House Ways and Means Committee which he dominated for sixteen years, from 1958 to 1974.

Zelizer's study, *Taxing America: Wilbur D. Mills, Congress, and the State, 1945-1975*, examines the workings of Congress in an era when seniority meant everything; when party discipline could be stringent, and when "committee chairmen such as Mills were a formidable presence at all stages of policymaking process." The redoubtable Mills—a sophisticated graduate of Harvard Law School, who remained a good old boy to his constituents—"was one of several key fiscal conservatives in Congress who entered into a fragile alliance with the welfare state." The major issues which are central

to today's politics—medicare, social security, income taxation—all have histories growing out of this period.

Professor David Prindle of UT Austin, who chairs the prize selection committee, writes that "Dr. Zelizer has combined the disciplines of history, political science, and economics into a powerful single book." Zelizer has recently accepted an appointment to the Harvard Business School.

Other members of the selection committee are: Don Bacon, coeditor of the *Encyclopedia of the United States Congress*; Dr. Richard Baker, Historian of the United States Senate; Dr. Raymond Smock, former Historian of the United States House of Representatives; and Dr. Brian Roberts, University of Texas Associate Dean of Liberal Arts.



A Footnote to History:

Bess Abell Recalls November 22, 1963

Last fall, one-time LBJ aide Horace Busby (see In Memoriam, back cover) asked Bess Abell, social secretary in the Johnson White House, about her recollections of a tragic day in history. Her response is reproduced here:

October 12, 1999

Dear Buzz:

This is to answer your question.

November 22, 1963 – what a day of crowded memories.

I had gone to Texas with Mrs. Johnson . . . to prepare for President and Mrs. Kennedy's visit to the LBJ Ranch. The Kennedys were to be overnight guests at the Ranch, and a big barbecue in the live oak grove by the river bank was planned for the 23rd. It was a big deal.

The Johnsons wanted to make the visit as pleasant for the President and Mrs. Kennedy as they could and had brought Helen and Gene Williams from The Elms [the Johnsons' Washington home] to supplement the Ranch staff. I had many phone conversations with J.B. West; he was the White House Chief Usher and the expert on all presidential likes and dislikes. Two vivid "likes": J.B. said Mrs. Kennedy drank "champagne on the rocks." Such a glamorous drink seemed her style. And, according to J.B., the President liked nothing better than cream soups. The cook at the Ranch concocted several delicious ones which attracted many tasters. Cream of corn totaled the most votes.

The Vice President and Mrs. Johnson's last words to me when leaving the Ranch to welcome the Kennedys, were to be sure they brought the President in the FRONT door, not the usual entrance: through the carport, past

the laundry and ice machine into the kitchen.

The Ranch was a beehive of activity. Drones of Secret Service seemed to be everywhere. (In those days the Secret Service detail for the Vice President was virtually non-existent, so this was a new scene for the Ranch.) The Signal Corps were running phone wires hither and yon, across roofs, climbing in and out of windows, switching Stonewall lines to WHCA [White House Communications Agency] lines.

Two bad memories in the midst of this – for a time we lost *all* phone links – had neither Stonewall nor Signal Corps operators. The other: I was horrified to find a phone guy poised to drill into the middle of a newly, and beautifully, papered wall. He compromised, running the wire across the roof and through the window, behind the bed, to a phone on the bedside table for Mrs. Kennedy.

In the room across the hall, the bed was being changed to accommodate President Kennedy's special mattress [JFK had back problems dating from his service in World War II]. I don't remember if it arrived.

The Johnsons had planned an old fashioned Texas barbecue for the 23rd of November. The weather, even so late in the season, was lovely.

Cactus Pryor, who had arranged for real down-home Texas entertainment, and I were in the live oak grove on the banks of the Pedernales, going over what would be where and happen when. Helen Williams came running toward us saying, "The President's been shot." Like lightning, we ran for the "nerve center," the kitchen.

The TV was (and I believe still is) located on the top of a bank of refrigerators. By the time

we arrived, the kitchen was filled with stunned men and women: members of the Signal Corps, the Secret Service, the Johnsons' personal staff – all glued to the tube. For a portion of this time we lost all phone contact, and the only contact came from the networks.

The kitchen counters were a sea of pecan pies, homemade bread, and cream soups – all in readiness for a never-to-be presidential visit. No one was hungry.

I tried to get through to Walter [Walter Jenkins, LBJ's chief of staff] for advice on what to do – that was hopeless. I talked with Tyler [Tyler Abell, her spouse], who, as usual, bucked me up and said, "someone has to take charge – and that's you."

I called Mr. Kellam [Jessie Kellam, manager of the Johnsons' radio station] to send the KTBC plane to pick up Gene and Helen Williams, the Johnsons' clothes, and me – take us to Dallas. I'd made reservations for the three of us to fly from Dallas to Dulles. Mr. Kellam said he couldn't do it without the OK of the Vice President. With Tyler's admonition stiffening my backbone somehow I got Mr. Kellam to send the plane.

In the Dallas Love Field Airport, who should I run into but Drew [Drew Pearson, Abell's father in law]. I now can't remember where he was headed – it wasn't home.

When we landed at Dulles, a White House car and driver were there to meet us. Who called them? Who knows?

The driver went first to The Elms, unloaded Helen and Gene and the Johnsons' luggage – it must have been 2 or 3 in the morning – and then drove me the few blocks to our house on 49th Street.

And life changed.

On June 7, eight hundred Friends heard NBC anchorman Brian Williams deliver the fifth annual Harry Middleton Lecture in the LBJ Auditorium. A report on his appearance could not be prepared in time for this publication of *Among Friends of LBJ*, but it will be featured in the next issue.



NBC's Brian Williams Speaks at Library

From the Photo Archives: November 17, 1934

The Johnsons on honeymoon, at the Floating Gardens of Xochimilco, Mexico. Note the Adolphe Menjou look-alike, seated behind Mr. Johnson.



In Memoriam

Robert Komer, NSC staff; he headed the pacification program in South Vietnam.

Horace Busby, Jr., first joined the LBJ staff in 1946; he wrote the final paragraph of the March 31, 1968 speech, in which the President announced he would not run again.

Henry "Joe" Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury 1965-1968



Coming Events, Summer, 2000:

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| July | Special exhibit at the LBJ Museum: " Time and the Presidency," featuring covers, interviews, essays from Time magazine on presidents from Franklin Roosevelt to William Clinton |
| August 27 | LBJ birthday commemoration; wreath-laying and free Ranch tours. LBJ Ranch |

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

