

*Among* **FRIENDS**  
*of LBJ*

November 2004



**Old Friends: Lady Bird Johnson greets  
Bill Moyers at the LBJ Ranch**

*Story on page 1.*

*Photo by Charles Bogel*



# Bill Moyers Lays Wreath at LBJ Gravesite

*Excerpted remarks of Bill Moyers, August 27, 2004, at the Family Cemetery, LBJ Ranch.*

Judith and I were deeply honored to be asked by Lady Bird to be here today, to take part in and preside over these activities.

I wrote this in an essay that appeared in the *New York Times* on the day after President Johnson was buried here. It remains the heart of what I think about this man, who meant so much to me.

Lyndon Johnson struck people that way, friends, enemies, and strangers alike felt the force of his enormous, restless energy. Like the Chippewa's mighty wind, he could be awesome, capricious, and inexplicable; his absence, as Washington learned after 1968, felt as much as his presence. I was drawn to him early. To a generation of ambitious Texans, Lyndon Johnson was just as big as the state itself, and as promising. To a small-town kid with an overwrought Baptist conscience, he showed how to get things done in a hurry.

ernment did!" he told his Hill Country friends, as he patted a new REA building as if it were a new-born calf.

His critics smirked when he said that what most people want is a rug on the floor, a picture on the wall, and music in the house. Their criticism bothered him least of all. "Those sons of bitches got it all," he said. "The folks I'm talking about don't even have the simple decencies, and they outnumber the slicked-down crowd"—and here he would wrinkle his nose as if squinting through pince-nez—"ten million to one."



**Bill Moyers, at the Johnson family cemetery: "...he touched me more deeply than any man, taught me more than any man, and I loved him." In the background is Colonel John Hesterman, III, USAF, Commanding Officer, 12<sup>th</sup> Flying Training Wing, Randolph AFB. Colonel Hesterman also spoke, and assisted Mr. Moyers with laying the wreath.**

*Photo by Charles Bogel*

I was filming a public television show with Chippewa Indians, when the radio flashed the news of President Johnson's death. One Indian who knew that I had worked for Mr. Johnson pulled me aside and said, "A mighty wind has been stilled. I am sorry."

Power had a purpose for LBJ. It was the way to deliver the goods.... The folks were always the real winners. The greatest good for the greatest number, he preached, and the largesse was pouring in. Rural electrification, dams, highways, defense contracts, space contracts, aerospace plants. "This is what your gov-

So I wrote him for a summer job.

I spent my first night in Washington, from 5:00 p.m. until the following morning, completing my first assignment for Lyndon Baines Johnson, addressing a hundred thousand or more envelopes, one at a time, on an ancient machine operated



by pumping the right foot up and down like my mother's sewing machine.

I emerged the next day, squinting in the light, hobbling on my now-stunted right foot, and wondering how LBJ would reward me. I soon found out. "I'm going to promote you to an upstairs room," he said. I reported there immediately, and got to put stamps on all those letters I had just addressed. Some reward.

Years later, I told him how my illusions had suffered, those first two days in Washington. He grinned and said, "Boy, politics is stamps, spit, and shakin' hands. Besides, whom the Lord liketh, he chasteneth." Not quite a literal translation, but I got the point.

Throughout his career, Lyndon Johnson carried on that kind of love affair with the country; a one-time school teacher from Cotulla, Texas, forever trying to instruct his charges.

He taught us that the country is people—p-e-e-p-u-l, as he spelled it—with names, faces, and dreams. He came to despise some of the bureaucracy our own programs created, because they started dealing in categories, and assigning numbers to human beings whose names were Joe Henry, Fritz, or Betty Lou; people who lived down the road, across the Pedernales.

As the Manila Conference droned to a close in 1966, the President was handed a draft on the final memorandum of agreement. He was aghast at its flat, sterile, polysyllabic prose. "Come on," he whispered, pulling at my sleeve, and we left without so much as an excuse me to the dignitaries around the table. At the door he stopped long enough to whisper to the secret service agent, "Don't let a one of them out until I get back."

In the next room he handed me a pad and his own pen. "Now, I want to rewrite that preamble so it can be read in the public square in Johnson City," he said. We labored for an hour, while Marshal Ky, President Thieu, Dean Rusk, and other assorted perplexed personages waited in the next room.

The President dictated, edited, looked over my shoulder, finally picked up the pad, read silently, nodded, and stalked back toward the conference room. He stopped at the door and, winking to me, said, "I want you to leak this to Smitty"—Merriman Smith, of United Press International—"leak it to him first. It gets home first that way, and when old Judge Moursund reads this, he'll know what we're trying to do out here with his money."

He taught us ... that a nation of two hundred million will stagnate without compromise. Some people scoffed as he reached for consensus, charging him with trying to please all the people all the time. But to him politics meant inclusion. Noah wanted some of all the animals on board, he said, not just critters with four legs. If consent of a government is essential to democracy, to LBJ compromise was its lubricant.

On the day I resigned, we rode around his ranch for four hours. "You were born over there with those Choctaw Indians," he said. "Bet you don't know where the word 'Okay' comes from." I didn't. "Right from the Choctaws themselves," he said. "It meant, 'We can agree now, if you aren't so all-fired set on perfection.'"

He taught us, after years of stalemate, that the legislative process can function, that democracy can work. Why then wasn't he willing to compromise in Vietnam? The irony is, he thought he was. "Well, boys, I've gone the second, third, and fourth mile tonight," he said, after his famous Johns Hopkins speech in 1965. He had proposed a multi-billion-dollar rehabilitation program for Indochina, including North Vietnam, and he was convinced that it was a bargain Ho Chi Minh couldn't turn down.

Another time he made another offer, in secrecy, and Ho said no. "I don't understand it," LBJ said, with a note of sadness in his voice. "George Meany would have grabbed at a deal like that." Therein may be the biggest lesson Lyndon Johnson inadvertently taught us. We think of ourselves as a broad-minded, good-inten-

tioned, generous people, pursuing worthy goals in a world we assume is aching to copy us. Surely, the logic goes, all we have to do is offer them what we would want if we were in their place.

Lyndon Johnson knew better than most the fragile nature of power, its shortcomings, the counter-tides it inevitably provokes. "Hurry, boys—hurry!" he would implore his staff after the great electoral triumph of 1964. "Get that legislation up to the Hill, and get it passed! Eighteen months from now, old Landslide Lyndon will be *Lame Duck Lyndon*." He knew the limits of power.

What he had to learn the hard way, and teach us as he went along, was something about the limits of perception. What made Lyndon Johnson such a unique and authentic figure, half Texas Hill Country and half Washington, may also have been his undoing. He was so much a creature of those two places that he may have shaped the world in their image. And this image would hem him in, causing him to see others as he saw himself.

It was this that made him such an American man, when the world was in reality reaching for other models. This is conjecture. What I know is that Lyndon Johnson was cut ten sizes larger than any of us. This made him coarser, more intemperate, more ambitious, more cunning, and more devious than ordinary people. But it also made him more generous, more intelligent, more progressive, and more hopeful for the country.

He was, inside, a soft man. I saw him weep as he watched television reports from Selma. "My God!" he said. "Those are *people* they're beating up. Those are *Americans*." Inside, I don't think he had what it took to prosecute a war wholeheartedly, and in the end he may yet teach us that democracy just doesn't have the heart for those dirty little wars.

Our own relationship was strained toward the close, and he died before the prodigal got home. But he touched me more deeply than any man, taught me more than any man, and I loved him.



**LBJ's birthday was also observed on the West Mall of The University of Texas campus, where Library staffers Laura Harmon and Kendra Mayer dispensed cake and ice water to students.**

*Photo by Robert Hicks*



## **Future Forum and IBM Sponsor Education Inquiry**

In February 2004 the LBJ Library Future Forum convened a panel of four experts to consider the top issues facing educators in Texas today. Dr. Pat Forgione, Superintendent of the Austin Independent School District, began by recalling that the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 started providing federal funds to school districts contingent upon their complying with the principle of desegregation. The "No Child Left Behind" policy of recent years follows in the footsteps of ESEA by insisting that there be 95 per cent participation in taking achievement tests—but Superintendent Forgione wants 100 per cent. The new policy also insists on highly qualified teachers in all schools, an extremely difficult standard to meet, since in Texas many small rural districts rely on each teacher to handle more than two academic specialties.

Ramona Treviño, formerly principal at Zilker Elementary School in Austin, is now CEO of the UT Elementary School, the first university charter school opened

in the State of Texas. She explained that this is a research-based demonstration school, using "the brainpower, the intellectual resources of this great flagship university." The idea is to identify what are the best practices in education today, using a small test group of 116 students drawn from pre-kindergarten through first grade, adding one class of forty students a year until fifth grade is reached.

The Reverend Doctor Gerald Britt of Dallas has served as pastor of the New Mount Moriah Missionary Baptist Church, as a Dallas city council appointee to the Urban Rehabilitation and Standards Board, and as vice president to the Greater Dallas Community of Churches. He was on the board of directors of Dallas' Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Rev. Britt is concerned that we are drifting away from the ideal of producing literate and culturally skilled men and women. Standards and accountability are important, he noted, but we must not for-

get that we are educating human beings, not machines. A defective toaster can be returned to WalMart, but if a child graduates from high school without being able to read, where do we take that child? The "testocracy of public education," as Britt termed it, is robbing us of truly educated children and is instead giving us children who are pretty well trained to take tests. But can they read and write and participate meaningfully in society?

Terry Wood has taught high school English and has been a counselor in the Austin School District. In her experience, the No Child Left Behind program is limited in usefulness because teachers and parents "don't really understand what's going on with it."

The panel posed this issue: Pretend that money and/or willingness to participate are not deterrents. What three things would make the biggest difference in improving our public education system?





**Teri Wood, Rev. Gerald Britt, Ramona Treviño, Dr. Pat Forgione.**

*Photo by James Watson*

Dr. Forgione: First, more time is needed to develop young teachers in working with an older mentor teachers; secondly, we must reduce the size of classes. Finally, the number of immigrants in Austin has tripled in recent years. How do we provide them with intensive English language instruction, to bring them up to speed?

Ramona Treviño feels that we have strayed away from treating parents and children as individuals. Standards are important, but teaching social skills and learning about family circumstances are vital. We must train teachers in those areas.

Rev. Britt emphasized three points. First, many parents are intimidated by schools and teachers; that must change. Schools often do not encourage parents to get involved in the education of their children, beyond bringing cookies and kool-aid to PTA meetings.

Next, we are losing too many quality teachers. A lot could be done to encourage them to stay, but nothing would beat simply paying them what they are worth. Finally, we must make sixteen years of education, not just twelve, the norm.

Terry Wood stressed the principle of flexibility. Different schools require different approaches. Texas is very diverse in the size of its schools and the makeup of student populations. Schools must have the flexibility to deal with local variations in the character of the student body they serve. "It's our way, or the highway" will not do.

What are the strengths of Texas public schools? Dr. Forgione stressed the state's general success in academic performance over the last decade. According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress, "the gold standard of educational progress," Texas African Americans are number one in the coun-

try in math. Texas Hispanics were number one in the country in math as well, and so were Texas Anglos. In all areas tested, the state averaged number six in the nation.

What weaknesses in the system must be addressed? Ms. Treviño warned that there is a real danger involved in standardized tests. They tend to make children and parents fearful that failing them means, really, failure in life. And we hear on every side that all too often, teachers teach the tests. One day, one test, one formula, is not the final answer to measuring educational success, and does not encourage real teaching and real learning.



# An Evening with Bill Moyers



**Bill Moyers addresses an overflowing LBJ Auditorium.**

*Photo by Charles Bogel*

On August 27, acclaimed journalist Bill Moyers appeared at the LBJ Auditorium to sign copies of his latest book, *Moyers on America: A Journalist and His Times*, and to share memories and commentary on the present with a packed house of Friends of the LBJ Library.

During his 30 years in television, Bill Moyers has received 30 Emmy Awards from the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences. In 1991, Moyers was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

He was Deputy Director of the Peace Corps in the Kennedy Administration, and was later special assistant and then press secretary to President Johnson. It all began, Moyers recalled, when fifty years ago almost to the day, he and his bride Judith pulled up in front of the Driskill Hotel in downtown Austin to sign up for a job with KTBC, the Johnson's radio and television station. Local entertainment icon Cactus Pryor once recalled that KTBC was then a no-frills operation, and its local news desk con-

sisted of Bill Moyers, a Polaroid camera, and a pair of roller skates.

Reading from his *Moyers on America*, Moyers selected a passage that reflects on the ambiguous role of Thomas Jefferson, the Virginia slavemaster who penned the immortal words, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal." Jefferson fathered six children by Sally Hemings, the slave half-sister of his dead wife, and set them free in his will—but put up his other slaves for sale to satisfy his creditors.

Which side of Jefferson was the real man, the slaveowner or the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence? Moyers put it this way:

"He got it right, you see, but he lived it wrong. He got it right for the same reason he lived it wrong: he was human, so addicted to intellect that it overruled his heart, so in thrall to place and privilege that he could send the noblest sentiments winging around the world but not al-

low them to lodge in his own house. So much a creature of his times was he that even when he knew the truth, he lived the lie."

From that historical critique, Moyers moved to some pungent commentary on more recent affairs. He lambasted the tendency of "Democratic politicians and public thinkers . . . to flee from the liberal tradition in American life, which is the tradition that ended slavery, is the tradition that gave the right to vote to women; it is the tradition that helped workers to organize, it is the tradition that put a base under old people with social security and medicare, and on and on and on, the greatest gains in American life have come because whatever the name was, liberals fought to enlarge the meaning of democracy.

"So the failure of Democratic politicians and public thinkers to respond to popular discontents, to the daily lives of workers, consumers, parents, and ordinary taxpayers, allowed a resurgent conservatism to convert public concern



and hostility into a crusade that masks the resurrection of Social Darwinism as a moral philosophy, multinational corporations as a governing class, and the theology of markets as a transcendental belief system."

Moyers drew an ovation with his suggested remedy:

"What will it take to get back into the fight? The first order of business is to understand the real interests and deep opinions of the American people. What are these? That a social security card is not a private portfolio statement, but a membership ticket in a society where we all contribute to a common treasury so that none need face the indignities of poverty in old age. That tax evasion is not a form of conserving investment capital, but a brazen abandonment of responsibility to the country. That income inequality is not a sign of freedom of opportunity at work, because if it persists and grows, and unless you believe that some people are naturally born to ride, and some to wear saddles, it's a sign that opportunity

is less than equal. That self-interest is a great motivator for production and progress, but is amoral unless contained within the framework of social justice. That the rich have the right to buy more cars than anyone else, more homes, more vacations, more gadgets and more gizmos, but they do not have the right to buy more democracy than anyone else."

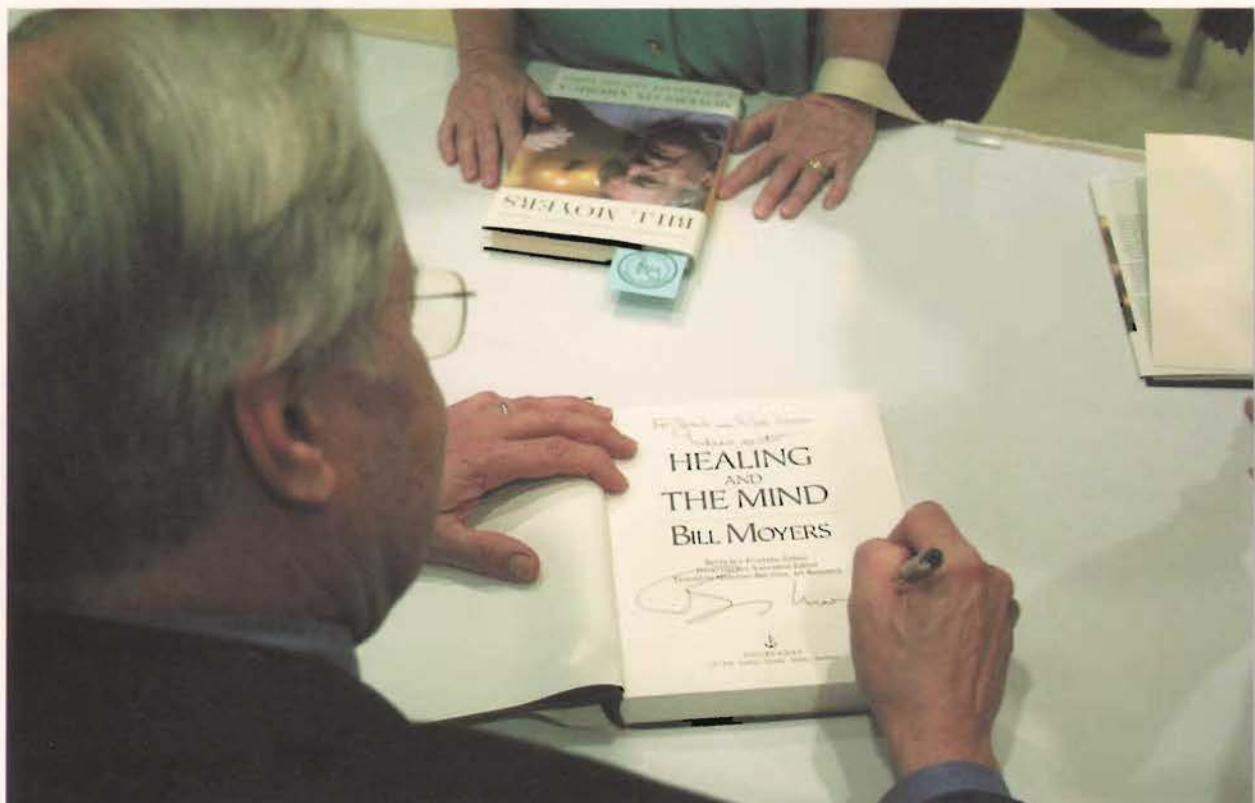
Moyers concluded with a reverie on Lyndon Johnson:

"There is no last judgment on a president, only a series of interim reports. This is mine. It is subjective; it is biased, and it is circumscribed by the reality that while Lyndon Johnson was in Washington 31 years, I worked for him fewer than four of those years. There are many people who served him longer and more wisely than I. Their portrait of him would be fuller; their judgment sounder, their memories richer. I was present for only three of his campaigns, and just over three of the five White House years. But my experiences with him were exhilarating, and excruciating

"He was thirteen of the most interesting and difficult men I ever met. [Laughter] At times proud, sensitive, impulsive, flamboyant, sentimental, bold, magnanimous, and graceful—the best dancer, it was said, in the White House since George Washington.

"At times temperamental, paranoid, ill of spirit, strangely and darkly uneasy with himself, he owned and operated a ferocious ego, and he had an animal sense for weakness in other men. He could inflict on them a thousand cuts before flying in at his own expense the best doctor to heal them, or if that failed, a notable for the last rites.

"I came to love him as the recruit loves the shrewd, tough, and vulgar commanding officer who swaggers and profanes too much in order to hide fears more threatening than the private's. He had the passion for fame that is the force of all great ambitions, but he suffered violent dissent in the ranks of his own personality. He is in death as in life, damned to everlasting scrutiny."



**Mr. Moyers autographed books before making his presentation.**

*Photo by Charles Bogel*



# Latest Release of LBJ Telephone Recordings

*By Robert Hicks, Communications Director*

The LBJ Library released the latest batch of President Johnson's telephone recordings on April 30. It includes conversations from April through July, 1966, as well as two conversations in October 1966 between President Johnson and Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas in which the assassination of President Kennedy is discussed.

Concerns about Vietnam, the U.S. economy, and the upcoming congressional elections dominate the conversations recorded in these months. Faced with an unstable South Vietnamese government and a worsening military situation, in June 1966 the President authorized bombing of North Vietnamese petroleum storage tanks near Hanoi and Haiphong.

But press leaks of his decision before the missions were launched raised concerns that American pilots would be placed at further risk.

The rising costs of the Vietnam War, along with increased spending on domestic programs, were contributing to a rising federal deficit and fears of inflation. The President consulted members of Congress, business and labor leaders, and his economic advisers about means to control an overheating economy and avoid an unpopular tax increase in an election year. Riots in Chicago, Cleveland, and other cities, and rising antiwar sentiment raised apprehensions about the fall congressional elections.

There are approximately 23 hours of recorded conversations from this period: 5 hours for April 1966, 5 hours for May, 7

hours for June, and 5 hours for July. The two conversations with Abe Fortas last less than one hour. Detailed information about individual conversations are available in the Library's Reading Room and at its web site.

The Library is pleased to announce that for the first time the recordings will be available for purchase on compact discs. Researchers may listen to the recordings in the Reading Room or purchase copies of individual discs at a cost of \$8.00 per disc, plus shipping. The cost of the entire set of 23 discs so far available is \$184.00, plus shipping and Texas sales tax where applicable.



*Photo by Kevin Smith, LBJ Library Photo Archives*



## Johnson Library Co-sponsors SHAFR Conference

The Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations meets annually. This year, the society gathered on The University of Texas campus. The event was jointly hosted by the LBJ Library, UT's College of Liberal Arts and History Department, and the LBJ School of Public Affairs. Approximately three hundred people attended forty-seven panels to hear and discuss papers prepared by nearly a hundred scholars on a wide variety of foreign affairs topics, ranging from the Monroe Doctrine to the present administration's war on terrorism.

Professor Mark Lawrence of The University of Texas Department of History was the point man in charge of local arrangements. Veterans of earlier SHAFR conferences were full of compliments on Lawrence's handling of the

welter of details involved in that chore. They reported that this was perhaps the most enjoyable SHAFR conference they had attended.

Professor Frank Gavin of the LBJ School of Public Affairs chaired a panel on U.S. relations with Europe during the Cold War. LBJ Library Senior Archivist Regina Greenwell contributed to a panel on secret presidential tapes collections, and Archivist John Wilson participated in a session on research opportunities at presidential libraries.



**Walter LaFeber led a special panel, "Teaching Diplomatic History," that paid tribute to UT Professor Emeritus Robert Divine, pictured above. During his distinguished career, Dr. Divine supervised the Ph.D dissertations of a number of those attending the conference, including the three panelists who spoke in his honor: H. W. Brands, John Lewis Gaddis, and Randall Woods.**

*Photo by Charles Bogel*

**Many of the scholars at the SHAFR conference took the opportunity to do research at the Johnson Library. Every desk in the Reading Room was claimed, and the archivists' break area on the seventh floor had to be pressed into service to accommodate the overflow. Here Archivist Laura Harmon, standing at the right, serves documents to researcher Jeffrey Bass.**



*Photo by Charles Bogel*



# A Tribute at the LBJ Grove, Washington, D.C.: August 21, 2004

*Excerpted from remarks by Tyler Abell, former Chief of Protocol and Assistant Postmaster General.*



## **Tyler Abell, former Chief of Protocol and Assistant Postmaster General, at the granite monolith in the LBJ Grove.**

*Photos courtesy of Marco Santiago, Texas State Society in Washington, D.C.*

Forty years ago this month, Democrats were holding their national convention in Atlantic City and President Johnson's birthday was celebrated with an enormous cake, a party on the Boardwalk and fireworks over the Atlantic Ocean. It was a great occasion, a happy time, and led to one of the greatest presidential landslide elections of all time. Johnson took more than 61% of the popular vote and carried all but 6 states. Virginia and Florida haven't voted for a Democratic President since.

The Viet Nam war played an increasingly strong role in the Johnson presidency after the election. Johnson's popularity sank and sank. As recently as 1991 a Johnson biographer wrote that President Johnson's public reputation

continued to sink after he left office, and that nothing was going to change that.

The biographer had not counted on the now famous Johnson tapes, nor on Harry Middleton, director of the LBJ Library, or a libel suit between General William Westmoreland and CBS Television.

As he was leaving office, President Johnson personally gave boxes of Dictaphone tapes of his telephone conversations to long-term staffer Mildred Stegall, with instructions that they not be made public until 50 years after his death.

Years later, the libel suit between General Westmoreland and CBS resulted in a subpoena of all communication between President Johnson and General Westmoreland.

Suddenly, Harry had to find a Dicta-

phone machine capable of playing the now technologically ancient dictabelts.

With some effort, a Dictaphone was found, transcripts were made, and Harry then suggested to Mrs. Johnson that the time had come to release all the tapes, not just those that involved Westmoreland, even though the requisite 50 years had not elapsed.

Mrs. Johnson agreed, and we all now know the result. A nation has literally changed its opinion of Lyndon Johnson. Once characterized as a liar and war-monger, seen through the tapes he is recognized as thoughtful, feeling, and caring; a man who put every minute of his life into trying to make his country a better place for all, and still had time to place a personal phone call for a pair of pants he wanted "with just a little more room," or to talk a New York beautician into coming to Washington to give new hair-dos to his wife, daughters, and secretaries, all at a price he could afford.

To interject a personal note of my own:

One day in mid-1964, when I was assistant postmaster general, I received a request to meet Senator Russell Long of Louisiana in his office to discuss a new post office for Shreveport.

Shreveport was the largest city in Congressman Joe D. Waggoner's district, and Congressman Waggoner was conservative, even for Louisiana. He was far to the right of Senator Long, and so far to the right of Congressman Hale Boggs of New Orleans, who was then whip of the House, that when Hale spoke of "Joe Nazi," we knew who he meant.

When I arrived in Senator Long's suite in the Senate Office Building, I was welcomed by the Senator and a smiling Congressman Waggoner.

Senator Long pleaded for a new post office in Shreveport, and I realized that I was caught in a serious conflict between Hale Boggs and Joe Waggoner. Despite the heavy artillery that was now allied with Congressman Waggoner, I decided that I had better side with Hale Boggs,



who didn't want the federal government to spend ten cents in Shreveport.

When I told Senator Long we weren't going to be able to do anything in Shreveport, he said he would have to call the President.

A couple of days later, my wife Bess, who was then White House social secretary, brought home instructions from President Johnson.

"The President asked me to tell you that Russell Long is the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and you have to get along with him."

When I got the message from Bess, I changed course and took some steps to get plans for a post office—but slowly.

Months went by, the election passed, more Democrats moved into Congress, and one day I heard from Senator Long.

"The President told me I can't have that Shreveport post office. He said, 'Russell, you should be ashamed of yourself. There weren't 15 per cent of those people in that district voted for you. If your daddy knew you were even thinking about giving them a post office, he'd turn you upside down and spank your bottom.'"

When LBJ's team members get together, the stories out of the past are told with fondness, and are repeated so often they get numbered for ready reference.



**LBJ's son in law, former senator Charles Robb, laid the wreath at the monolith.**



# Institute on Congress and American History

Leading Congressional experts, public officials, and forty-six Texas teachers gathered at the LBJ Library in June to enrich classroom instruction on the pivotal role of Congress in American history. The central theme of representation was reflected in the group of participating secondary teachers who came from each of the state's thirty-two Congressional districts. Many had been nominated by their U.S. Representative. The five-day institute was sponsored by the Library, Humanities Texas (formerly the Texas Council for the Humanities), the National Archives and Records Administration, and the College of Liberal Arts and the

Center for American History of The University of Texas at Austin. Major funding came from the We the People grant program of the National Endowment for the Humanities whose chairman, Dr. Bruce Cole, participated in the opening session along with the keynote speaker, United States Senator John Cornyn.

Supplementing the professional expertise and documentary holdings of the LBJ Library were representatives and resources from other congressional repositories and centers. Frank H. Mackaman, director of the Dirksen Congressional Center, joined LBJ Education Specialist

Marsha Sharp and author Nick Kotz in conducting a workshop on the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Also participating were representatives of the Howard H. Baker Jr. Center for Public Policy, the Robert C. Byrd Center for Legislative Studies, UT's Center for American History, NARA's Center for Legislative Archives, the U.S. Senate Historical Office, and the Office of the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives. C-SPAN aired several days of the institute during the August recess.

The following excerpts highlight some of the institute's speakers and perspectives:

## Introductory Remarks



*Photo by Charles Bogel*

**Hon. John Cornyn, U.S. Senator.** "Each of us can do our part to help our children and fellow citizens understand the basic values upon which this country was founded: individual liberty, representative government, and the rule of law. In other words, we must continually renew our commitment to teaching history and civics in our schools, so that our children can grow up knowing what it means to be an American. Our goal should also be to light a fire, and perhaps fan the flame, of a lifetime love of learning that will equip all of our children with the tools they need to continue learning as they get older, and to be good citizens, and most importantly, to hold government accountable. Anything less would render Lincoln's vision of government of the people, by the people, and for the people a dead letter."



*Photo courtesy National Endowment for the Humanities*

**Bruce Cole, Chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities:** "Today, it is especially urgent that we study American institutions, culture, and history because defending our democracy demands more than successful military campaigns. It also requires an understanding of the ideals, ideas, and institutions that have shaped our country. This is not a new concept. America's founders recognized the importance of an informed and educated citizenry as necessary for the survival of our participatory democracy.... One of the common threads of great civilizations is the cultivation of memory.... We are in danger of forgetting this lesson. For years, even decades, polls, tests, and studies have shown that Americans do not know their history and cannot remember even the most significant events of the twentieth century. Of course, Americans are a forward-looking people. We are more concerned with what happens tomorrow than what happened yesterday. But we are in danger of having our view of the future obscured by our ignorance of the past. We cannot see clearly ahead if we are blind to history."



## *Origins of Congress*



*Photo by Martha Grove*

Joseph Cooper, Johns Hopkins University. "The role and the powers of Congress are the product of a complex mix of considerations. The Framers' goals weren't compatible, and they therefore balanced them off each other. Effectiveness was clearly compromised in favor of safeguarding liberty and justice. The rule by the people was compromised or restrained in terms of encouraging deliberation or reason. They gave great power to the Congress, but on the other hand, they imposed severe limits on Congress as well. Nonetheless, in my view, the concerns of the Framers in 1789 were well-founded and they remain well-founded today. The balances they struck, interestingly enough, are not really very rigid; they're very plastic. The basic framework of government endures over 200 years, and so do the prime institutions and the values that they were designed to preserve. And I think this constitutes a priceless heritage for us, for us all. And it's a heritage every generation must strive to preserve."

## *Institutional Differences Between the House and the Senate*



*Photo by Michael Gillette*

Thomas Duncan, Deputy Parliamentarian of the U.S. House of Representatives. "The House is a much more efficient legislative body in terms of being able to get something done. And that can be a virtue or a curse depending on your point of view.... There is a very different nature between the House and the Senate, and I believe the Framers intended it that way and wanted the body closest to the people to be subject to a second look by a more reflective body that gets a longer-term perspective."



*Photo by Michael Gillette*

Emily J. Reynolds, Secretary of the U.S. Senate. "Our founding fathers had a vision for the institutional differences between the two

houses. It was Madison who strongly believed in institutional competition as a safeguard against tyranny.... Many of the institutional differences between the Senate and the House stem from the tremendous difference between our Rules Committees. Our Senate Rules Committee is primarily administrative in nature and is nowhere comparable in terms of that scheduling of legislation which is really done through the work of both the Majority and the Minority Leader. The Majority Leader, however, doesn't have that same omnipotent power of the Speaker of the House.... The Majority Leader by default is engaged in much more compromise and consensus-building in order to forge alliances in the Senate and actually move legislation forward.... As great as these institutional differences are between us ... when it matters for the country, we come together in extraordinary ways."

## *Representation*



*Photo by Martha Grove*

William S. Livingston, The University of Texas at Austin. "What lies at the heart of our inquiry is actually a theory of



representation. Democracy always has to assume a theory of representation, and Congress is our quintessential representative body.”



*Photo by Martha Grove*

Susan Webb Hammond, American University. “Is the senator or representative a delegate, which means he or she votes pretty much the way constituents want, or is he or she a trustee? Does he or she vote in what is the best interest of the nation, even if it may be different from constituent votes? There’s also a third element here: the politico, which means sometimes one is a delegate and sometimes one is a trustee.”



*Photo by Martha Grove*

Richard A. Baker, Historian of the U.S. Senate. “There is, surprisingly, a large and deep vein of opinion in this country which says that the

Seventeenth Amendment in 1913 [providing for the popular election of senators] was fatal to this very delicately crafted balance that the Framers of the Constitution created, and that states nowadays ... have diminished enormously as part of this federal scheme....”



*Photo by Martha Grove*

Raymond W. Smock, Robert C. Byrd Center for Legislative Studies. “My former boss, Speaker Tip O’Neill, used to tell us, “If it’s efficient government you want, get yourself a dictatorship.”

### *Congress and the President*



*Photo by Martha Grove*

J. Russell George, Corporation for National and Community Service. “Oversight takes completely different forms. The hearing is just the ultimate form of oversight—

when you have the bright lights, the television cameras, maybe fifty members of Congress staring you down if you’re the witness. Oversight can also take the form of a telephone call that a staffer places to an agency representative and says, ‘Hey, the *New York Times* just reported this—is it true?’”



*Photo by Michael Gillette*

Richard Hunt, National Archives and Records Administration, with a teacher workshop. “It is important to emphasize that the first impeachment of a president [Andrew Johnson] occurred in a bitter struggle between Congress and the President over post-war planning to establish legitimate governments, to remake societies at the conclusion of a devastating war.... The House impeachment and the Senate trial worked as a substitute for a more dangerous clash that was aiming to come between the President and the Congress.”



## Congress and the Press



Photo by Martha Grove

Donald A. Ritchie, U.S. Senate Historical Office. “We are struggling on Capitol Hill with a phenomenon that has grown in the twentieth century, and that’s the modern presidency. You have a powerful president emerging in Franklin Roosevelt with a powerful medium in which he can address the nation—radio—that enables him to talk over the heads of Congress and over the heads of the Washington press corps. For the first 150 years of our nation’s history, Congress sat at the center of attention for the national press. Since 1932, the White House has occupied that position, and with television, it’s much harder to tell the story of 535 people instead of one.... And yet the irony is that Congress remains the most open branch. It may be very prestigious to be a White House reporter, but you’re also under very tight controls in the White House.”



Photo by Martha Grove

Kathy Kiely, *USA Today*, with Dave McNeely of the *Austin American Statesman*. “In our culture, we focus more on celebrity news than we ever did before.... It’s much easier to make a celebrity of the president and a president’s spouse and a president’s children. They’re much easier to identify with and recognize and understand than the 535 members of Congress. So Capitol Hill can be a frustrating beat in terms of placing your stories, but it’s still the most fun beat in Washington because it’s a place of great drama, great characters, and lots of news.”



Photo by Martha Grove

Dan Balz, *Washington Post*. “We tend to cover much more now the politics of issues rather than the issues themselves. One of the things that has always been enjoyable about the congressional coverage is

the combination of substance and politics that makes it interesting. As a congressional reporter, you get to do some of both. But I think now we do much more of the politics of stories rather than the substance of stories.”

## Congress in Literature



Photo by Charles Bogel

Betty Sue Flowers, Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum. “As has been pointed out by the contemporary novelist Ward Just, most of the books written about Congress in America are not the greatest works of literature, and they don’t celebrate Congress.... I think the medium for capturing Congress is film, not novels.... Allen Drury captures what I think is the heart of the reality of Congress, which is not the philosophy of right and wrong, which is not even the money, but relationships.... It’s the relationships that make ‘Advise and Consent’ a very fine movie and that say something about the Senate that none of the novels can say—because novels are written as hero myths. They’re based on characters. And if you have an institution that’s based on relationships and how relationships



work, the best way to present it, I think, is through the dynamic of human beings on film.”

### *Congress in Art*



Photo by Eric Lupfer

James R. Ketchum, Curator Emeritus, U.S. Senate. “Just as the Capitol provides an imposing setting for our legislative process, so too has it been a magnificent canvas on which the American story is illustrated. Perhaps the best analogy is of a giant album filled with images of paint, plaster, and marble—images depicting the persons, places, and events that circumscribed our nation’s history.... The men and women who have created these works and those who follow in their footsteps preserve for all the extraordinary faces of America, those individuals who have strived from our earliest days to embrace the ideals upon which we were founded.”

### *Campaigns and Elections*



Photo by Martha Grove

Walter Dean Burnham, The University of Texas at Austin. “Over the past 150 years there have been about nine out of seventy-five Congressional elections, or more or less about one-tenth of the time, where the voters seem to break the trend and just go out and punish the hell out of one of the two parties—usually the incumbent presidential party—and produce a great surprise, disrupting one equilibrium and creating another that lasts for a period of time. These special cases happen somewhere on an average between sixteen and twenty years apart: 1854, 1874, 1894, 1910, 1930, 1938, 1958, 1974, 1994. Such events as we’ve seen show that no equilibrium, no matter how entrenched, is written in stone when people change their minds or when there is a circumstance in which the incumbent party has managed to make itself exceptionally unpopular.”

### *McCarthyism*



Photo by Martha Grove

David M. Oshinsky, The University of Texas at Austin. “McCarthyism has to be kept in its larger cultural context. This is also the exact time of *Brown v. Board of Education*. This was the time of Jonas Salk and the polio vaccine. This was an era in which there was much to feel good about in the United States, and Eisenhower reflected this with a tremendous kind of optimism with the fighting of the Korean War really stopping. So I think you can’t look at McCarthyism and say that everybody was hiding under the bed, that everybody was afraid to do or say exactly what he or she felt. There was definitely some of that, and McCarthyism was the most insidious aspect, but it was also part of a much larger and very optimistic culture in the United States.”



## 1986 Tax Reform Act



Photo by Martha Grove

Lawrence O'Brien III, OBC Group. "We were in numerous meetings with President Reagan. In good times and bad, when it was going well and when it wasn't, he'd come in, give a little pep talk, tell a funny story. He would say, 'Keep up the good work. I'm with you. You guys are doing great. Just give me the lowest rates you can.' He didn't want to hear any details about how you get there, who's getting hammered, who's going to lose a tax benefit to create some of the revenue you need to lower these tax rates—didn't want to hear about any of it. He left it to the Treasury Department, which was led at that time by Texas's own Jim Baker. He did a fabulous job, an absolutely masterful political job in steering that legislation through Congress."

## Civil Rights Act of 1964



Photo by Charles Bogel

Joe Atkins: "My birth certificate reads: 'Joe Louis Atkins, "colored," born March 6, 1936, Marion County, Texas....' "When I was growing up in the 1940s and 50s, most African American children got their education after the 'crops were laid by.' The schools were segregated. Texas laws prohibited black students and white students from attending the same public school or university. The public schools I attended had desks, books, and other supplies that were handed down from white schools. There were the colored water fountains, the white-only waiting rooms, the colored section of the buses and streetcars. Blacks were not hired as firefighters, police officers, or clerks in government offices. Until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Blacks were effectively kept from the ballot box by means of the poll tax."



Photo by Charles Bogel

Lee White: "In the summer of 1963, President Kennedy was really energized. I had a meeting with Ralph Dungan and Bobby Kennedy who had met with a group of people who had connections with southern establishments. These were chains like theaters and bowling alleys and five-and-tens. And Bobby Kennedy was pushing these people, and he said, 'You have to do something. You can make a difference.' And one fellow stood up and said, 'Mr. Attorney General, I don't think you get it. We're trying to make a living. We're not there to establish mores and tell people what to do. I'll tell you what. You get a piece of legislation telling us what to do and every one of us will do it.' And Bobby said, 'You know, that guy's got a point.'"





*Photo by Charles Bogel.*

Nick Kotz: "After the dogs of Birmingham, [President] Kennedy made the first speech where he talked of civil rights not as a legal issue but as a moral issue. It was around June 11th of 1963. Interestingly enough, one of the factors that motivated Kennedy to say those words was the advice he was getting from Vice President Johnson. Johnson's advice to Kennedy was, 'We've got to approach this in an entirely different way. You need to go to the South, and I will go with you to tell the people of the South to their faces that this is a moral issue and it must be faced by the country. They won't like you any better than they like you now, but they will respect you for doing that.' [Now] fast forward to Johnson becoming president. In addition to an incredible job reassuring the country that we weren't going to fall apart, he carried the theme that civil rights was a moral issue from day to day, month to month, for a period of seven months, leaving no doubt on anyone's mind where he stood on it and that he wouldn't compromise."



*Photo by Charles Bogel.*

John Brademas: "The problem we faced in the House of Representatives was that the Democrats were split between North and South and there was therefore no chance of making progress on this legislation unless there was a bipartisan effort.... The problem was Judge Smith, Chairman of the House Rules Committee and a white supremacist, who bitterly opposed this legislation and would not permit a rule on it.... About seventeen of us in the Democratic Study Group were each assigned six or eight of our fellow Democrats to serve as whips, to make phone calls, to get members to the floor whenever a vote might be coming up, particularly a teller vote or a standing vote, because otherwise members could get away with not being recorded.... We finally got a vote of 290 to 130 in the House of Representatives—a bipartisan vote with 152 Democrats and 138 Republicans."



*Photo by Charles Bogel.*

Stephen Horn: "When the legislation began in the early 1960s, it was not at all certain that the process or the outcome would be bipartisan. Majority Whip Hubert Humphrey, one of the giants of the Senate, convened his leadership team in March of 1963, and they agreed that they would not allow any Republicans to cosponsor their civil rights bill. Only Democrats were to receive credit.... But the legislative genius whose name is on this great library realized that the only way to pass the bill was to get an overwhelming number of Republicans on board to reach the two-thirds level to defeat the filibuster by the southern Democrats, and Lyndon Johnson also knew the key to that was making Everett McKinley Dirksen full partner in that effort.... The margin of victory and the notion of an idea whose time has come made it easy to look back and assume that it was an inevitable process, but it was not inevitable. It was a product of the specific decisions of individuals to work in a bipartisan manner."





*Photo by Charles Bogel*

Corinne C. Boggs: “[The Civil Rights Act of 1964] really gives you a sense of what we have to do in our country, how it has evolved, how the people in each generation have had to stand up to it, and particularly ... of the real need of teachers who are immersed in the history of this country to lead the new generation of Americans.... What teachers can really do is infuse their students with a love of history, an interest in public affairs—hopefully by taking an active part in public affairs themselves.”



**Secondary school teachers attending the conference posed for this photo with former congressman Stephen Horn, on the left.**

*Photo by Michael Gillette*



## Former Israeli Prime Minister Visits

The LBJ Library supported the UT Distinguished Speakers Committee in providing the arrangements and hosting former Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak in his appearance in the LBJ Auditorium in April. Mr. Barak held a press conference in the Library's 8th Floor Atrium before his talk. He said that although he was a bitter political rival of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, he is in basic agreement with Sharon's policy of disengagement from the current Palestine leadership. Only the emergence of a Palestinian leader of the caliber of Anwar Sadat of Egypt or King Hussein of Jordan holds any real hope of fundamental improvement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Barak said.



**Ehud Barak: So long as Arafat is Arafat, there will be no peace.**

*Photo by Charles Bogel*

## Former UN Weapons Inspector Blix: U.S. Began a 'War Chosen'

Close on the heels of former Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak, one-time UN weapons inspector Hans Blix came to the LBJ Auditorium on April 29. In hosting the event, the LBJ Library joined with the UT College of Liberal Arts, the LBJ School of Public Affairs, the College of Communications, the Department of Germanic Studies, the School of Law, Ambassador and Mrs. Lyndon L. Olson, Jr., Ambassador Stan McLelland, Melanie and Ben Barnes, Bill and Carrin Patman, Austin-Peel & Son, Inc., and Vinson & Elkins L.L.P.

Blix did not deviate from his earlier position: the U.S. invasion of Iraq was not necessary to make the world safer. He believes that the primary American goals were to create a democracy in Iraq and remove a threat to Israel. "The administration wanted to go to war for a variety of reasons, but the concerns were not real or realistic," he was quoted as saying. "Was it a war of necessity? In my view, no. I think the conclusion is that it was a war chosen."



**The war in Iraq marks a change in U.S. policy from containment to preemptive war, said Blix, shown signing copies of his book**

*Photo by Charles Bogel*



# The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam

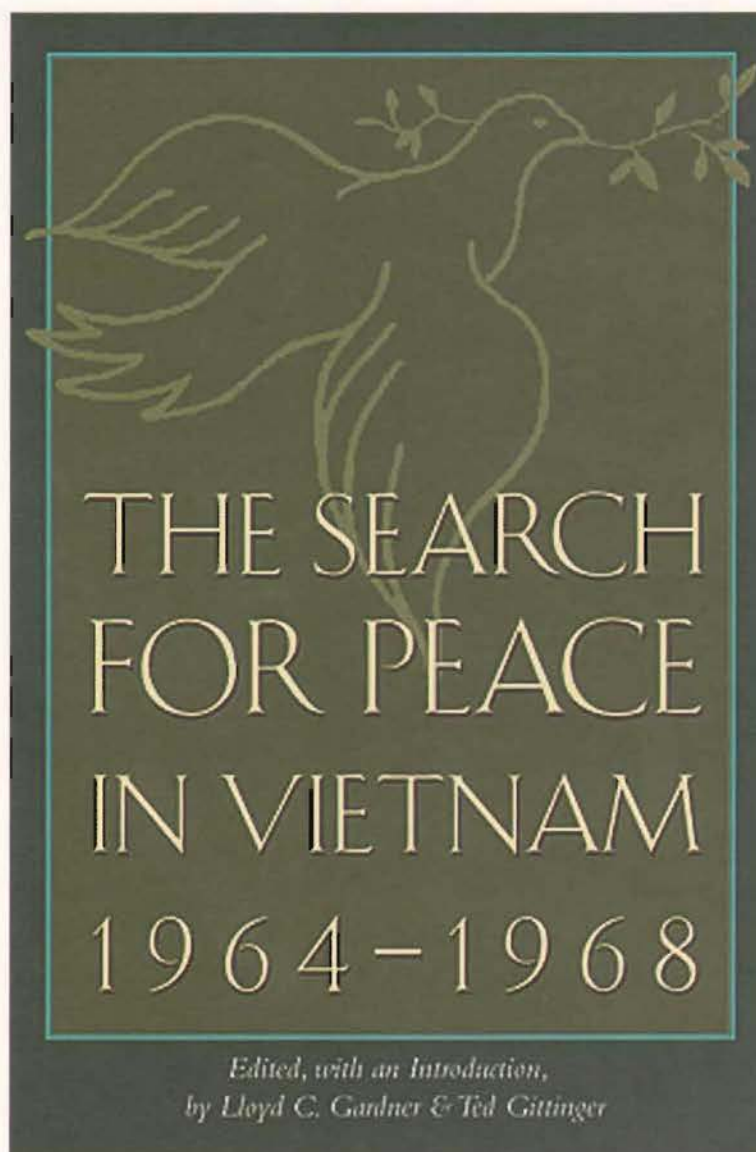
The public record of the Vietnam War may well run to millions of pages. An important yet relatively unexplored aspect of that conflict, however, concerns not the war itself but the search for a peaceful settlement. In April, 2001, 23 international scholars gathered at the LBJ Library to consider what historians have learned about this little-known and fascinating phase of U.S. history. An article about that conference appeared in the October, 2001 Friends newsletter.

The final results of the symposium were submitted to Texas A&M Press, which is publishing them. The book is scheduled for release in January, 2005.

*From the Introduction, by Dr. Lloyd Gardner:*

"The Vietnam War was unusual, perhaps unique, in having so many 'peace offers' put forward even as the struggle intensified and American involvement deepened in the Johnson years. Washington's Cold War allies offered their services as interlocutors to get talks started, but so did the Soviet Union's satellites in Eastern Europe. France's Charles de Gaulle, acting from his own agenda, called for the 'neutralization' of Vietnam in 1964, not simply as a peace program, but as part of a general re-alignment in both Asia and Europe that would replace the postwar bi-polar structure with a

multi-centered organization of world affairs. All these crosscurrents make the study of the Vietnam War's peace initiatives essential to those who wish to understand how the conflict was a part of the Cold War, yet called into question basic assumptions about such givens as the Sino-Soviet bloc, and ultimately, as H.W. Brands points out, provided a powerful impetus to détente."





# From the Mailbag

August 27, 2004

LBJ Museum

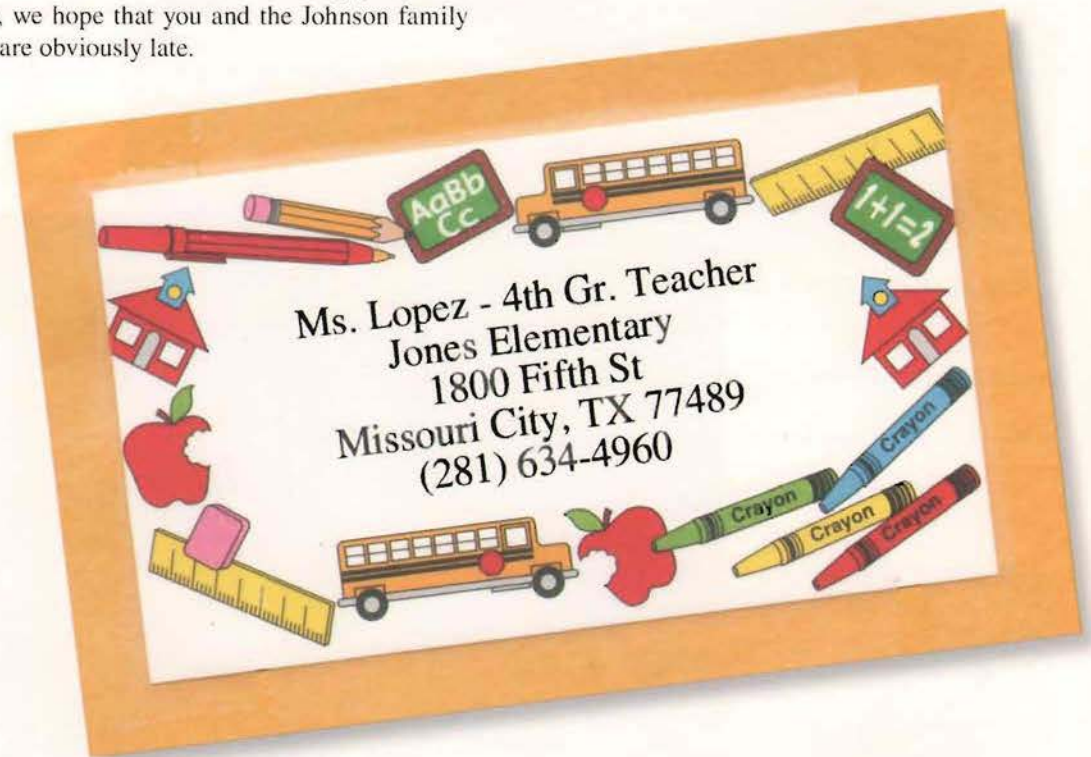
Austin, Texas 78705

Dear LBJ Museum:

I am a 4th grade teacher. This year we began our social studies class with lessons about our beloved former President, LBJ and First Lady, Lady Bird. The students were fascinated by these two Texas heroes. They have made birthday cards and written poems or letters. We are sending them in the hopes that they may be forwarded to the Johnson family, if possible. We visited your web site and loved the pictures and the invitation to Johnson's birthday party. Too bad we are too far away. Anyway, we hope that you and the Johnson family enjoy these cards, even though we are obviously late.

Sincerely

Diane Lopez, 4th grade teacher



[Ed. Note: Shirley James, Lady Bird Johnson's assistant, read the poems to her. We wish we could reproduce all of them. Owing to space constraints, only two of them are reprinted here.]

Happy Birthday, LBJ!  
I love you and I'm glad  
That you were our president.  
We know that if you were alive  
You would be 97 years old!  
If I could,  
I'd help you blow out your candles  
And make a wish.  
I still love you.

LBJ liked to play  
Golf and poker, hee, hee, hee  
Some called him light bulb  
Because he didn't like to waste electricity





**September 24, 1964. Forty years ago in the Cabinet Room, President Johnson accepts the report of the Warren Commission on the assassination of President Kennedy. From the left: John J. McCloy; J. Lee Rankin (general counsel); Senator Richard Russell; Congressman Gerald Ford; Chief Justice Earl Warren; President Johnson; Allen Dulles; Senator John Sherman Cooper; Congressman Hale Boggs.**



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### Coming Events:

- November 1 "An Evening with Max Holland," LBJ Auditorium, 6:00 p.m. Reception to follow in the Great Hall. A Friends event.
- December 6 "An Evening with Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison," LBJ Auditorium, 6:00 p.m. Reception to follow in the Great Hall. A Friends event.

### In Memoriam



#### Laurance Rockefeller

May 26, 1910–July 11, 2004

Mr. Rockefeller was one of Lady Bird Johnson's closest collaborators on environmental programs and issues. Here he is pictured with Mrs. Johnson at the LBJ Ranch House, in 1997.

*Photo by Charles Bogel*

*Among Friends of LBJ* is a publication of the Friends of the LBJ Library.

Editor: Ted Gittinger

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Technical Assistance: Kendra Mayer

Photography: Charles Bogel; James Watson; Robert Hicks; Michael Gillette; Martha Grove; Marco Santiago; Eric Lupfer; National Endowment for the Humanities; LBJ Library Photo Archives

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

