Among FRIENDS *of LBJ*

December 2005

Photo by Charles Bogel

December 6, 2004: Lady Bird Johnson Welcomes an Old Friend, for an Evening with U.S. Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison in the LBJ Auditorium.

Story on page 13.

An Evening with Marvin Watson and Sherwin Markman

Marvin Watson was with LBJ longer than any other presidential assistant. LBJ said of him, "Marvin is as wise as my father, as gentle as my mother, as loyal and dedicated and as close to my side as Lady Bird." In 1973, Watson gave LBJ's eulogy in Washington.

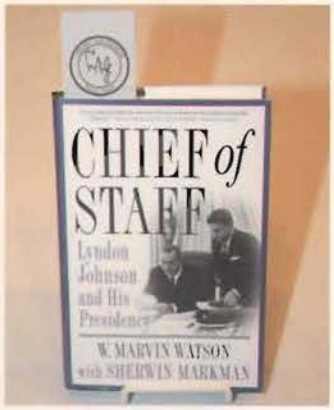
Watson has been called the mystery man of the White House. His voluminous files have remained sealed, at his request, in the LBJ Library. Only former presidential aide Sherwin Markman has had access to them.

Markman was active in Iowa Democratic politics when Adlai Stevenson was a candidate for president. He came to Washington in 1965 to work at the State Department and then as Special Assistant to LBJ.

Markman began this evening's program by explaining how Marvin Watson came to write his memoirs. Markman had been trying to persuade Watson to contribute to a collection of essays about LBJ by those who had known him closely. Watson countered that he would instead record his entire memoir of service with LBJ if Markman would do the writing. The project took nearly four years.

Markman recounted one striking story from his research. It involved LBJ and George Ball, who was the leading dove on Vietnam in the days when basic decisions were being made that led to the great escalation of the U.S. presence in that country. According to Watson, LBJ called Ball into the Oval Office and with Watson present, said, "George, you're a terrific lawyer. You're probably one of the best lawyers in this room. . . . I want you to do one job for me, and one job only, from here on out. From now on, every time we are meeting, whether it be in the Cabinet Room or with the Secretary of Defense, or with whomever, however private, I want you to pose the best possible argument that can be articulated in dissent of the war. And nobody is to know that I asked you to do that, and I will never stop you."

Although the title of the book is "Chief of Staff," no one in LBJ's White House had that formal title. But Watson had the authority to attend any meeting of LBJ's, without prior authorization. He was allowed to express an opinion on any



subject at any time. No one else had those prerogatives.

Watson recalled the partnership that LBJ and Lady Bird enjoyed, saying that LBJ "worked and schemed . . . to enjoy her smile, and her nod, which always said, when he got it, 'Go ahead. I agree.' I say that because he didn't always get it, believe me."

Watson continued, speaking directly to Lady Bird Johnson in the front row of seats: "We so dreaded every time you departed the White House. His attitude changed; he smiled seldom; he worked to,

Sherwin Markman finally persuaded Marvin Watson to record his memories of LBJ.

or past, midnight. *Then* he had dinner, and every once in a while we had dinner with him. Without your presence, he was obviously lonesome and sad. You truly were his strength. Your abilities and talents he recognized, and oh, how he respected them.

"President Johnson . . . seldom voiced approval and appreciation to a person for a job well done, not face to face. Instead he would, at an introduction or a special time, maybe even at a national press conference, tell a third person how great he really thought they were. So the deserving one heard it when all the rest of the world heard it, maybe.

"Every day to President Johnson was a day of opportunity, and you mustn't miss it, and you'd better be a part of it, if you're going to be on the team.

"Some have reviewed my book and said that I've tried to make him a Christian. No, I can assure you, he made that decision before I was ever on the payroll."

Watson had to meet with every potential presidential appointee and secure their agreement to two conditions of appointment: "One, to retire no later than age seventy, so as to make room for young people; two, never to write a book on Lyndon Baines Johnson." Watson broke that second rule for two reasons. First, his family persuaded him. Secondly, he wanted to add a corrective to some misconceptions that he sees in the popular view of the President; for example, why he did not run again in 1968. Watson assured the crowd that it was not because Johnson could not have won, and it was not because of Vietnam. It was his health.

"Lyndon Johnson was a teacher. He learned from the past, but his vision was always for the future. He thought in terms of potential, how things could be, and he knew that our potential rested with our young. He knew our technology was the most advanced in the world, but he knew that technology alone could not solve social problems. In early manhood, Lyndon B. Johnson had a burden that became a vision of hope for every man, woman, and child. This dedicated young teacher became the champion of the poor, the sick, the aged, and the disenfranchised. . . . Each of his programs was put into place to enhance the quality of life. To him, that anyone would go to bed hungry, sick, or cold, or in need of an education, was reprehensible.

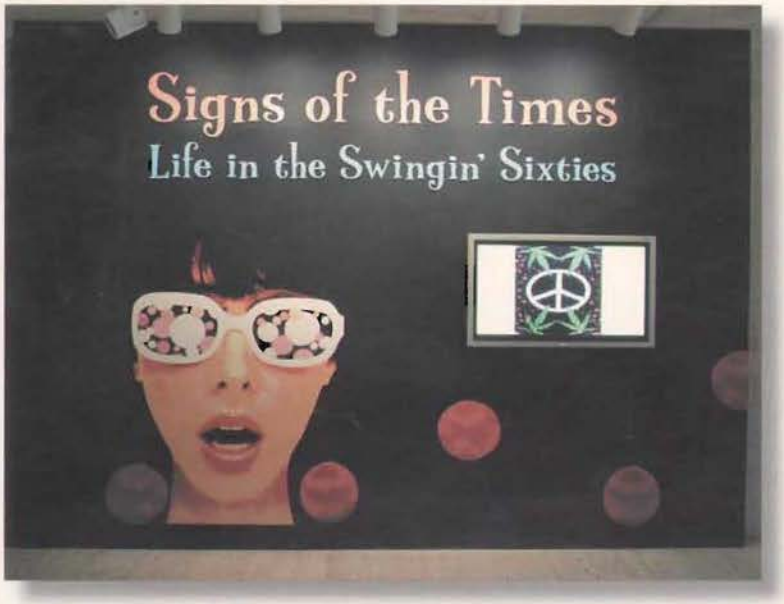
"History is cruel to many, kind to few. Lyndon Baines Johnson deserves to be among the few. We look back with thanksgiving for the vision he crafted into reality. . . ."

Photos by Charles Bogel

Marvin Watson was with LBJ longer than any other White House aide.

Signs of the Times: Life in the Swingin' Sixties

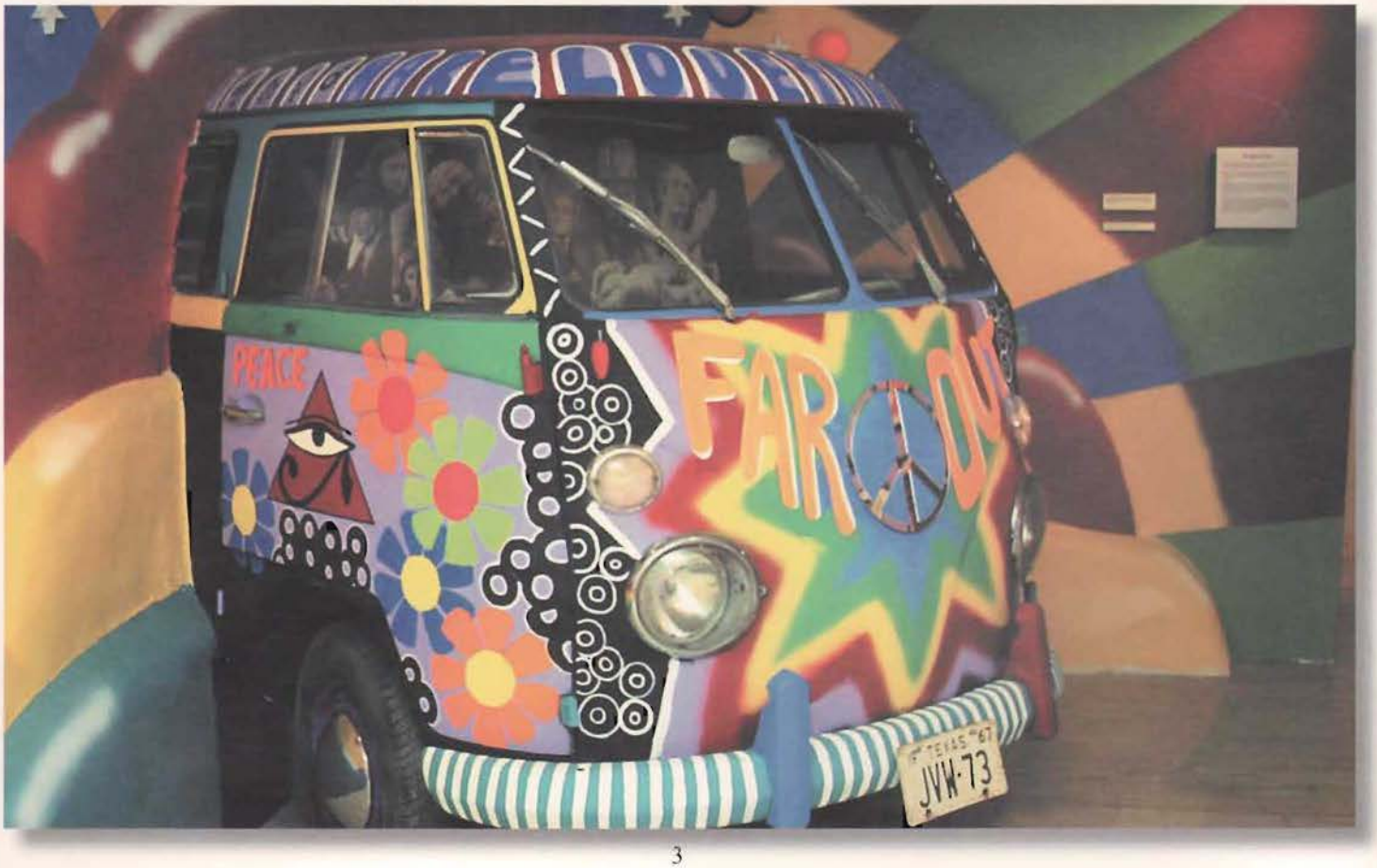
December 18, 2004 - Sept. 5, 2005 *By Robert Hicks, Communications Officer*



Photos by Charles Bogel

Sponsored by Time Warner Austin

A Volkswagen bus... the hippies' transport of choice.



In early 1964, the United States was still reeling from the sudden and tragic death of President John F. Kennedy. Then came the explosion. On February 7, the Beatles arrived in America to appear on "The Ed Sullivan Show" – an event that spearheaded a revolution in pop culture and the arts. The 1960's had arrived. And America would never be the same!

Signs of the Times: Life in the Swingin' Sixties at the LBJ Library and Museum (December 18, 2004 - Sept. 5, 2005) was an exhibition that captured all of the excitement of the 1960s in every area of American popular culture: from the "British Invasion," Motown, and psychedelic music to the fashions of go-go dancers, mods and hippies–from the cutting edge comedians and sports personalities to the campy TV shows (and commercials)–and from the "hip" books and movies of a generation to the crass consumerism that became the essence of pop art.

Highlights Included:

Interactive touch screen monitors featured television shows ranging from *I Spy* to *The Addams Family*.

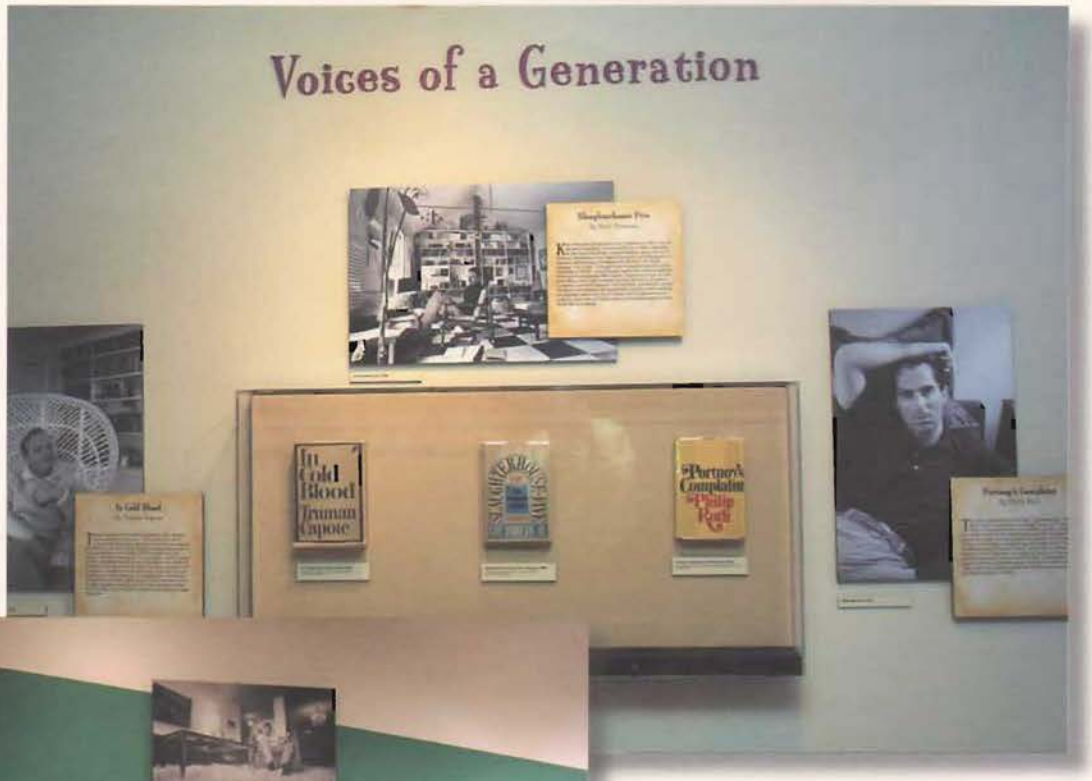
The advent of the garage band.

Photos by Charles Bogel

Sequined psychedelic "butterfly" dresses worn by the Supremes.

The invasion of British pop music, spearheaded by the Beatles.

On Tuesday, June 7, about 1,500 people brought blankets and chairs to enjoy music by the Beatles tribute band, the Eggmen, and an outdoor screening of the Beatles 1964 classic film, *A Hard Day's Night*.



Literature from Tom Wolfe, Kurt Vonnegut, Truman Capote, and Norman Mailer.

Sports Heroes of the Decade, including Denny McLain, who won thirty-one games in 1968, and Joe Namath, the quarterback of the unlikely New York Jets in their Super Bowl victory over the Baltimore Colts.

Remains Not Viewable: An Evening With John Sacret Young

By Robert Hicks, Communications Officer

Award-winning writer, director and producer John Sacret Young has a knack for putting the worlds of national and international politics and conflicts into a form that's both compelling and entertaining.

Young had just been nominated for his Sixth Writers Guild Award for this past season's finale of "The West Wing." He co-created and served as executive producer of the landmark television series "China Beach."

Now, Young has published a memoir, ***Remains Not Viewable***, which has been described as "the haunting story of a man coming to terms with himself, with his family's past, with what he knows and will never know, and his own future."

When Young's cousin was killed in Vietnam, Young learned that the remains of every Vietnam casualty fell into one of two official categories: Viewable or Non-Viewable. He also discovered that such categories applied to how his New England family faced their own history.

Novelist Elmore Leonard says, "Young writes so well his memoir works as a novel. He brings to life real people in dramatic situations, and with the added zest of suspense and a dash of Hollywood."

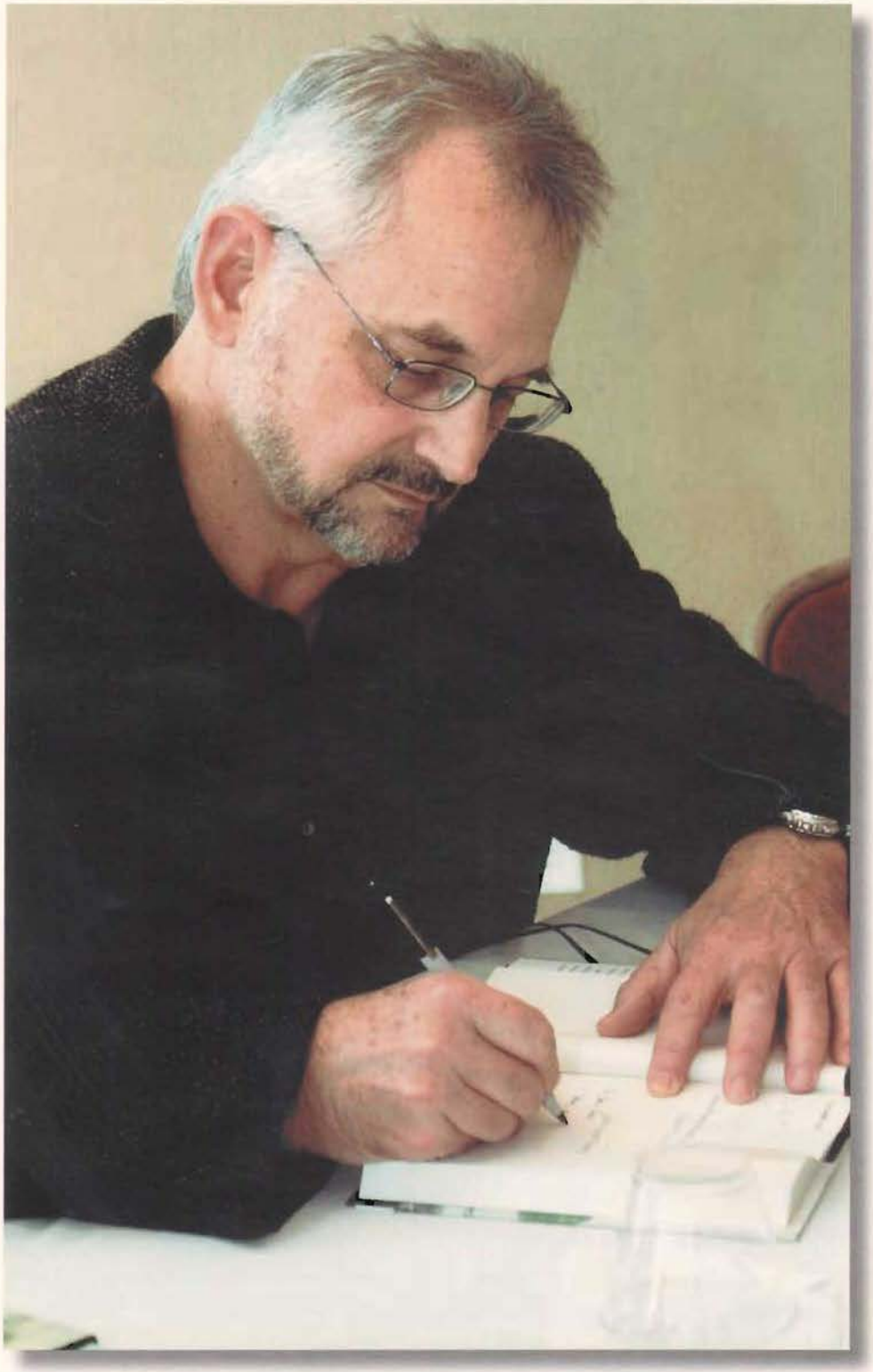
On Monday, May 2, 2005, Mr. Young discussed those topics, and aired clips from "China Beach," including interviews with actual Vietnam veterans that were woven into an unforgettable episode.

For his work on "China Beach," Young received a Golden Globe Award, a People's Choice Award, five Emmy nominations, and four other nominations from the Writers Guild of America. Young won the WGA Award for "Souvenirs" and the Peabody Award for "Vets," two episodes of "China Beach" which he directed.

Young's first novel, *The Weather Tomorrow,* was praised by *Newsweek*, *The Washington Post* , *The New Yorker*, and *The Los Angeles Times*. His novel *The Black Rainbow* was published in the fall of 2002.

The LBJ Museum Store still has a few copies of ***Remains Not Viewable*** on its shelves.

Photo by Charles Bogel



Author Young autographed his book for Friends attending his presentation.

An Evening With Max Holland

In an administration bulging at every seam with controversy, from the Vietnam War to the War on Poverty, Lyndon Johnson's time in office offers no more stormy interpretations than those examining way the new president dealt with the death of his predecessor. From his formation of the Warren Commission to the publication of its findings, nothing has generated more questions of Lyndon Johnson's administration than the way he handled the Kennedy assassination.

One major interpreter of that episode is Max Holland. Johnson biographer Robert Dallek writes of him, "*The Kennedy Assassination Tapes* fills a significant hole in our understanding of Lyndon Johnson's response to John F. Kennedy's assassination. The book is a welcome antidote to the assertions about LBJ's involvement in JFK's death. It sets a standard of scholarship that every writer on the assassination should imitate."

Mr. Holland has worked as a journalist in Washington, D.C., for more than twenty years. In 2001, he won the J. Anthony Lukas Work-in-Progress Award for a forthcoming narrative history of the Warren Commission. He is a contributing editor at *The Nation* and *The Wilson Quarterly,* and his articles have also appeared in *The Atlantic, American Heritage,* the *Washington Post,* the *Los Angeles Times,* and the *Boston Globe.* From 1998 to 2003 he was a research fellow at the University of Virginia's Miller Center of Public Affairs.

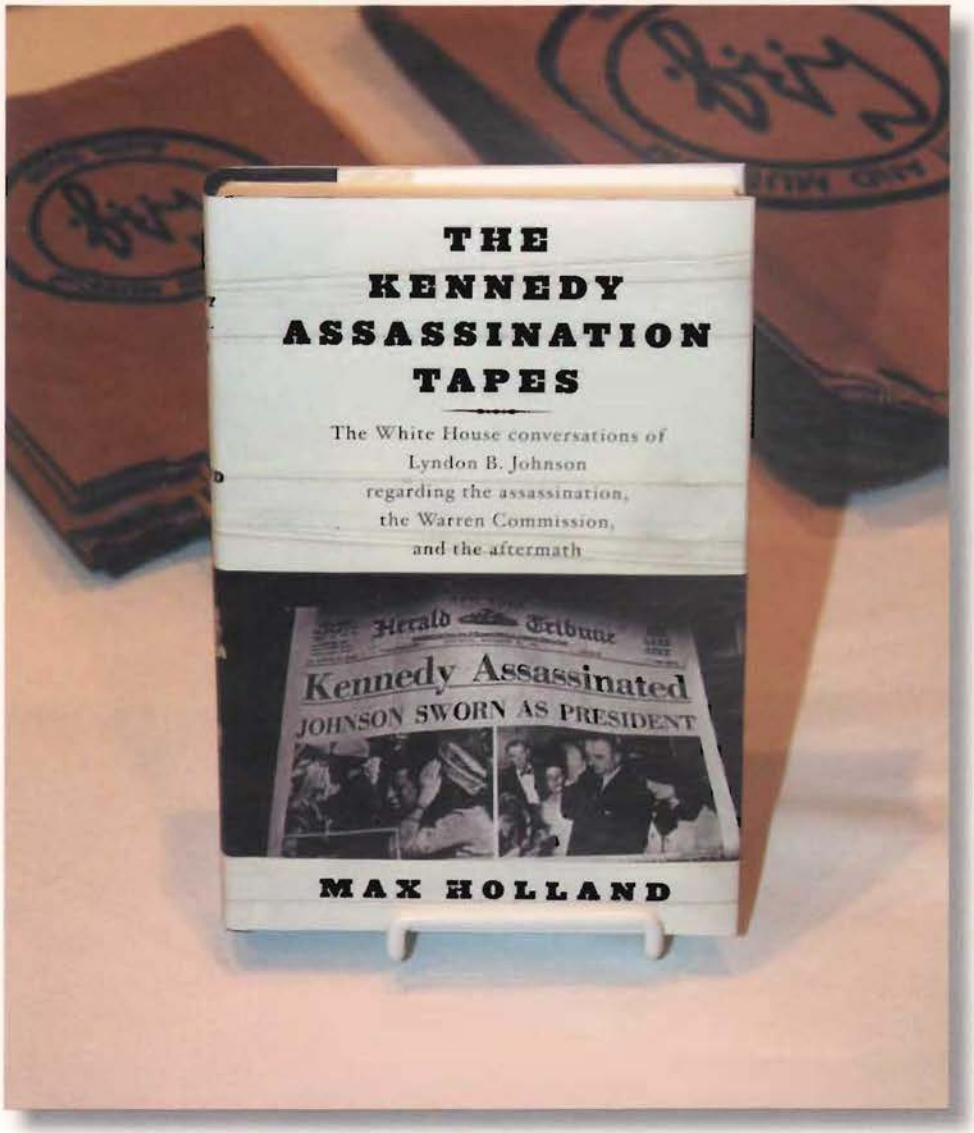
The *Los Angeles Times* review of Holland's book said, "At first blush, the Kennedy assassination tapes sounds like the title of a conspiracy theory. But this is the polar opposite: a sober and careful study, mostly of LBJ's White House conversations, about many topics related to JFK's murder." On November 1, 2004, Mr. Holland came to the LBJ Auditorium to discuss his views. His major topic within his major theme was the LBJ telephone tapes, as he said in his opening:

"I became interested in the Johnson tape recordings in about 1995, when I started work on a narrative history of the Warren Commission's investigation. And in 1997, Michael Beschloss brought out the first of a multivolume work on the tape recordings. My first reaction to it was, 'Gee, I wish I'd had that idea,' because I thought it was an excellent idea. By that time I realized that there was information on the tape recordings that you wouldn't find in the written record, or in the memoirs. The outstanding example of that is the formation of the Warren Commission itself. If you were to read Johnson's memoir, you would think that he thought the commission was a good idea from the outset, and he immediately set about appointing it.

"The tapes tell a very different story. [LBJ] resisted the idea; he was upset when people were second-guessing him only days into his presidency. He wanted to keep the investigation both in Texas and with the FBI alone. But eventually, over a matter of days and after a lunch with Richard Russell, the senator from Georgia who had been Johnson's mentor in the Senate, Johnson changed his mind.

"And that was the story that I realized was on the tape recordings. So I was very interested in them."

Holland took issue with some of Beschloss' interpretations of the tapes, however. There was a conversation in which Richard Russell told LBJ that



he had felt threatened by other members of the Warren Commission.

"...he would talk about some of the conversations I was most interested in, and he said things about them that were at odds with what I thought I already thought I understood about the Warren Commission. In particular there was a conversation from September 18, 1964, a very important day in the history of the Warren Commission. It was the day on which the commission met for the last time, to figure out the language, the final language of the Warren report. And according to Beschloss' transcript, Richard Russell, who was a member of the Warren Commission, came into that meeting insisting on two dissenting opinions from the staff's conclusions. And he tried to get them inserted, but every time he did they'd make "a little old threat"—the suggestion being...that somehow Russell was threatened by the other members of the Warren Commission in some unknown manner.

"This didn't sit well with me, because I knew Russell detested Earl Warren, didn't want to serve on the Warren Commission with Warren; during the entire time the commission was in existence it was never called the Warren Commission in Senator Russell's office. It was always called 'the President's commission,' or 'the assassination commission,' out of deference to the feelings of the Senator. And I knew that if Warren or any other member of the commission had threatened Russell, all hell would have broken loose.

"So I looked at the transcript that I had prepared in part, and I saw that instead of 'threat,' what Russell had said to Johnson was, 'Every time I wanted to make a little dissent, they'd give me a *thread* of it,' meaning they would give him some of the language that he wanted to insert in the report.

"The tapes," said Holland, "are the oral equivalent of the Zapruder film [the famous silent 8mm film of the assassination, taken by amateur photographer Abraham Zapruder. Ed note].

"Just as when we watch the Zapruder film, each time we see President Kennedy killed anew, when we hear these tapes, it's like hearing it for the first time."

Holland followed the tapes in reconstructing how the Warren Commission came into being.

"[Eugene] Rostow is one of the first people to suggest the idea of a blue-ribbon commission, a group, Rostow thought, 'a commission of seven or nine people; maybe Nixon, I don't know, to look into the whole affair of the murder of the President. Because world opinion and American opinion is just now so shaken by the behavior of the Dallas police that they're not believing anything.'

"But Johnson resisted that idea," Holland continued, "and he was upset to hear that the *Washington Post* is going to publish an editorial calling for a blue ribbon commission. He's very upset; he feels he's only been in office for three days, and already his important decisions are being second-guessed. He called J. Edgar Hoover to tell him that he wants the inquiry to be run by the FBI at the federal level, and by state attorney general Waggoner Carr at the state level. Johnson said,

"Now, if you get too many cooks messing with—involved, it'll mess it up, and I think that these two are trained organizations, and the attorney general of the state holds courts of inquiries every time a law is violated. And the FBI makes these investigations. So I wanted you to know that, and you ought to tell your press man that that's what's happening, and they can expect Waggoner Carr, the attorney general of Texas, to make an announcement this morning of a state inquiry, and that you can offer him your full cooperation, and vice versa; he'll do it with you."

It was not to be. Pressures for congressional investigation in both houses now began to build, and LBJ, said Holland, had great concern that these two committees, and others, would start trying to outdo each other for headlines, 1964 being an election year, and probably reach reports that, despite the facts, might point the finger at either the Soviet Union, where Lee Harvey Oswald had lived for two and a half years, or Communist Cuba, for Oswald had visited the Cuban consulate in Mexico City, barely six weeks before the assassination.

"The man who changes LBJ's mind, really," said Holland, "is Richard Russell." They have lunch on Wednesday, November 27, and Russell tells him he's very concerned about these congressional investigations. So the next day Johnson does a complete turnabout...and now he uses arguments exactly the reverse of what he told Hoover. He thinks it would be a bad precedent to set, if Congress has committees investigating what is essentially "a local crime."

"The next day," Holland continued, "Johnson spends almost the entire day assembling what came to be known almost immediately as the Warren Commission. Literally, those conversations take up the bulk of my book. They are fascinating. The reason that we have them in such detail is because it was Thanksgiving weekend, and many of the people Johnson had to talk to were out of town for the holiday. So we have a uniquely detailed record of how the assembled the commission."

Holland concluded with a statement of his belief that LBJ dropped out in 1968 because he felt betrayed by the liberal wing of the party, and because RFK entered the race, which he regarded as a betrayal of trust. Then Mr. Holland took questions from the audience.

Q: "Why didn't Robert Kennedy want any comment on the Warren Report?"

A: "RFK would never comment, evading questions about it, because he knew about the attempts on Castro and didn't want that made public."

Author Holland does not subscribe to any conspiracy theory of the assassination.

Photo by Charles Bogel

Q: "What questions remain unanswered about the assassination?"

A: "What did Lee Harvey Oswald do in the days leading up to the assassination? No one really knows what he did the weekend before the assassination."

In summary, Holland gave his analysis of the assassination itself:

"All of the wounds can be accounted for by two shots. There were three shots, however. The first shot was when the car was closest to the [School Book Depository], but Oswald's view was obscured by a tree, and it probably deflected the first shot. But Governor Connally heard it, and his testimony is quite accurate on this point. He heard the first shot. He's in error when he says that it hit President Kennedy. It didn't hit anybody. But he heard it, and he started to turn around.

"The second shot is the one that hit both of them....

"The third shot of course was the one that hit President Kennedy in the head. Now they never found the first shot, because by the time they realized this, it was Labor Day, 1964, just weeks before the publication of the Warren Report. And they ran out of time to look for this, or to look for evidence on the tree where it had deflected the bullet.

"But they did correctly come to the conclusion that the second shot had hit both men, and the third shot had hit President Kennedy in the head. The second shot is the so-called 'pristine bullet'—it's not really pristine—that was found on a stretcher in Parkland Hospital, which came out of Governor Connally's thigh, and the third shot was shattered because of its impact on President Kennedy's head. Fragments of it were found. Both were analyzed, both were found to be consistent with coming from Oswald's rifle.

"The Warren Commission was intent on finding out who did it. And after they decided that Lee Harvey Oswald was guilty beyond a reasonable doubt, then the politics started. Because Earl Warren worried that if Oswald was seen as a communist that the American people wouldn't be able to distinguish between a controlled communist, by a foreign government, or a self-avowed communist, like Oswald was. So in the Warren Report they sought to depict Oswald more sort of as a lone misanthrope, [a] pathological nutcase, rather than a very highly politicized person, motivated by his politics."

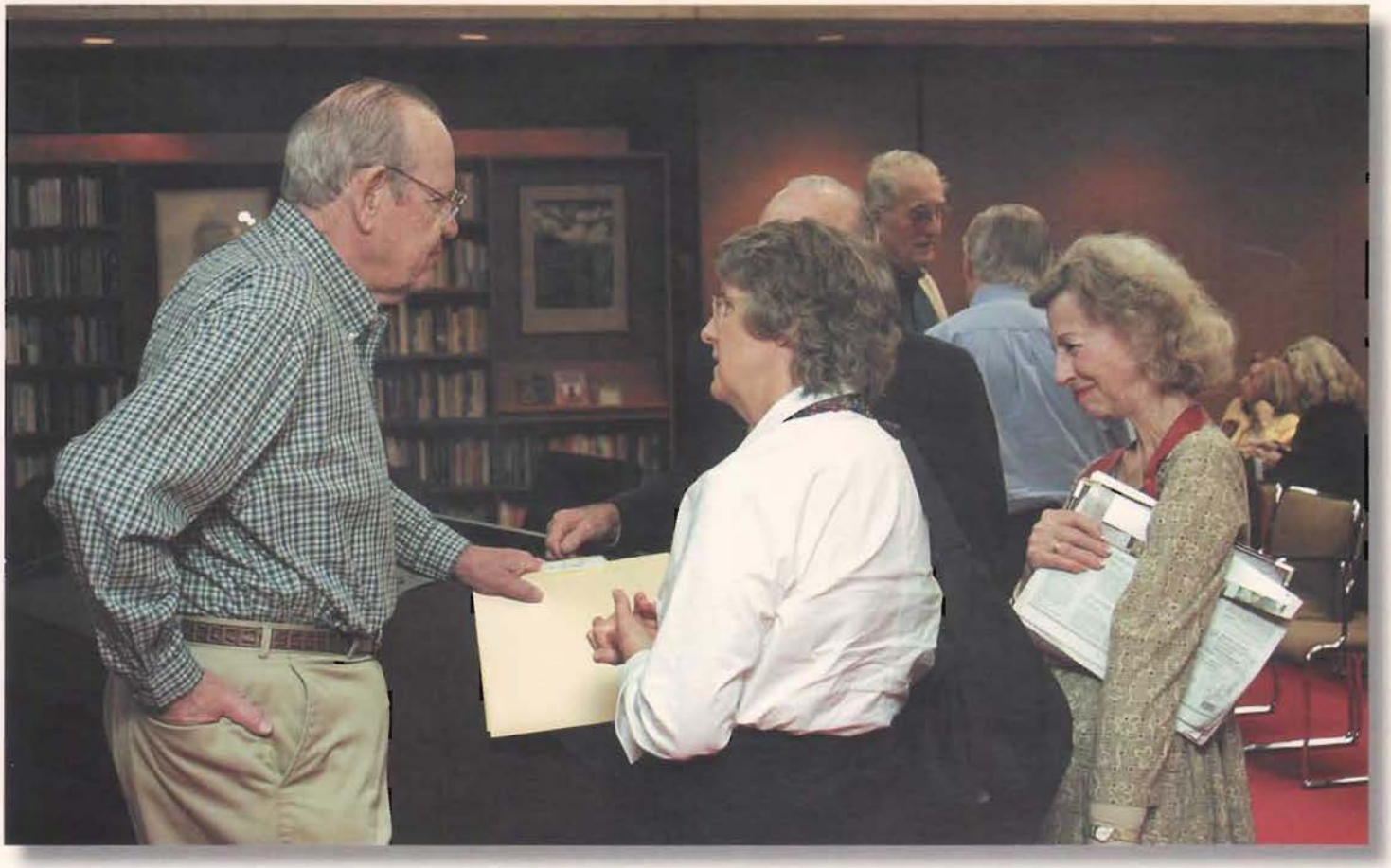
Noted Scholar R. Divine Addresses Docents

On January 12, Professor Emeritus of History Robert Divine came to the LBJ Library to speak to Library and Museum docents and volunteers on the significance of the decade of the 1960s. He began by pointing out that just two ten-year periods stood out as distinctive in the 20th century—the roaring twenties and the turbulent sixties.

On the positive side of the ledger, Dr. Divine noted the fulfillment of the Democratic reform agenda first announced by Truman with his Fair Deal in 1949. The Great Society reforms—notably, civil rights, education, and above all, Medicare and Medicaid—were the culmination of nearly two decades of legislative effort. Also, the Cuban missile crisis revealed that even though the United States was thought, after Sputnik, to be trailing the Soviet Union in the arms race, it was still the most powerful nation in the world. Other notable developments that mark the 1960s include the emerging women's rights movement and a successful space program culminating in the moon landing at the end of the decade.

But other trends justify calling this a turbulent decade. The youth protests of the baby boomers, beginning with the Free Speech demonstrations on the Berkeley campus, the emergence of Students for a Democratic Society to lead student rebellions, and other frequent campus demonstrations led to unrest and even violence with the emergence of the radical faction known as the Weathermen. Even the civil rights movement experienced turmoil, moving from the passive resistance of Martin Luther King to the more confrontational tactics of Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown, as the goal of integration gave way to the call for black power. And most disruptive of all was the growing criticism of the Vietnam War and the conviction that Lyndon Johnson had misled the nation by engaging in an unjust and unpopular conflict.

Divine concluded that the 1960s left a lasting mark on American life. One consequence was the climax of New Deal-style liberalism which gave way to a growing conservative tide that would come to fruition under Ronald Reagan in the 1980s. Another was the breakdown of the Cold War consensus, with the emergence of dissent over Vietnam which soon spread to other aspects of American foreign policy. Finally, the baby boomers who rebelled in the 1960s became transformed into an upwardly mobile and consumer-oriented generation who led the way to the triumph of high technology and the dot.com boom of the 1990s.



Professor Divine chats with docents Pat Oakes and Barbara Merello.

Photo by Charles Bogel

An Evening With Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison

Kay Bailey Hutchison grew up in Lamar, Texas. She graduated from The University of Texas and UT Law School at a time when law firms simply did not hire women graduates, so she became a television reporter before going into politics. After being elected twice to the Texas House of Representatives, she was elected Texas state treasurer in 1990 and, three years later, became the first woman to represent Texas in the U.S. Senate. In 2000 she was elected vice chairman of the Senate Republican Conference. She is the only woman among the top five leaders of the Senate Republicans.

Senator Hutchison figures prominently in military affairs in the Senate, as chair of the military construction subcommittee and a member of the defense subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee. She is the ranking Republican on the Commerce Committee subcommittee on aviation, and is chair of the surface transportation/merchant marine subcommittee, which enables her to set policies regarding port security, an issue of critical importance today.

As a member of the Veterans Affairs Committee, she has fought for recognition of the Gulf War syndrome so veterans can receive treatment. She is the author of the Homemaker IRA legislation, which is aimed at expanding retirement opportunities for stay-at-home spouses. She has been a leader in defending the National Endowment for the Arts against strong opposition, explaining that "arts help define a culture. They are as important in depicting the life and times of a nation as the written word of history. Most other civilized countries in the world subsidize arts more heavily than we do in this country. To eliminate support for fine arts and performing arts would not only stunt their growth, but curtail access to the arts as well." Senator Hutchison is often praised as is one of the few politicians today whose hallmark is civility in relation to all groups, left, right, and center.

On December 6, 2004, Senator Hutchison came to the LBJ Library and Museum to speak to a large crowd of the Friends, and to sign copies of her recent book, ***American Heroines: The Spirited Women Who Shaped Our Country***.

Senator Hutchison began by noting that America is, quite simply, the best place in the world to be a woman. "[W]omen have been a part of our country and the building of our country throughout our history.... [W]omen have broken barriers throughout our history, but we were different even from the beginning...." Hutchison recalled that Alexis de Tocqueville, the keen French observer of American society, remarked in 1835 that "'If I were asked to what the singular prosperity and growing strength of that people ought mainly to be attributed, I should reply, 'To the superiority of their women.'"

"So," Senator Hutchison continued, "I wanted to write about the... pioneer women who broke the first barriers.

Senator Hutchison: "America is the best place in the world to be a woman."

Photo by Charles Bogel

But then it struck me that contemporary women are still breaking barriers in those same fields. So I interviewed contemporary women who are breaking barriers in the same fields as the pioneers.

"I did a chapter on...Texas pioneer women because Texas, as all of you know, has the most interesting history of any of our states. It is the only state that came into our nation *as* a nation.... [W]e were not totally welcomed with open arms by the United States Congress. In fact, the treaty with Texas could not be ratified as a treaty because they couldn't get the two-thirds vote in the Senate....[I]t in fact passed the House by one vote and the Senate by one vote. So even back then there were people who questioned whether Texas should become a state, and there are still the people in Washington today, I assure you, who are asking the same question!

"I wrote about Mary Austin Holley . . . Stephen F. Austin's first cousin.

"I want to read you [an] excerpt from her book: 'It is not uncommon for ladies to mount their mustangs and hunt with their husbands, to ride long distances on horseback to attend a ball with their silk dresses in their saddlebags. Hardy, vigorous constitutions, free spirits, and spontaneous gaiety are thus induced, and continued a rich legacy to their children, who, it is to be hoped, will sufficiently value the blessing not to squander it away in their eager search for the luxuries and refinements of polite life.'

"'Women have the capacity for greatness, but they require occasions to bring it out. They require, perhaps, stronger motives than men. They have stronger barriers to break through, of indolence and habit. But when roused, they are quick to discern and unshrinking to act. Many a wife in Texas has proved herself the better half, and many a widow's heart has prompted her to noble daring.'"

This is the woman, Senator Hutchison remarked, who was getting letters from her cousin Stephen F. Austin while he was in a Mexican jail. Austin, said Hutchison, "At first... thought that we could live under Santa Anna, that Santa Anna was a great leader, and...that he was his friend." But after spending a year and a half in jail, in Mexico, he started changing his view. Hutchison marked that change of view in her book:

"Within a few sentences, in a letter to Mary, we see a new idea emerge: that Texas should become part of the United States, instead of an independent part of Mexico, whether through political means or purchase. Mexico's abrupt retreat from constitutional democratic government in 1834 had precipitated Stephen's own harsh year-long imprisonment, as well as independent movements in California and other parts of the country, including the state of Zacatecas in central Mexico. When Santa Anna, whom Stephen had once counted as a personal friend and a friend of Texas, brutally suppressed the Zacatecas uprising...Stephen...encouraged Mary to go home (to Kentucky) and write about Texas...."

Mary agreed, and pressured her cousin to offer land grants to American settlers who came to Texas. He acquiesced, and from that came the generous land-grant policy that tempted so many Americans to settle in Texas in the early years.

"[M]ost of you in this room," said Hutchison, "know that the Runaway Scrape was the exodus of women and children from Texas during the Mexican march into San Antonio, about the time of the battle of the Alamo. Ann Raney Coleman...reported in her journal:

"'The group traveled during the day, but stayed awake at night, as either the Indians or the Mexicans were on the lookout for our horses. We never slept, only at noon, when the Negroes got dinner and the horses were turned out to graze.' She would nap until the company started up again, taking her food with her and eating on horseback. Her young son rode with her. She said in her journal: 'Sometimes I found myself fast asleep on my horse, and only when I was nearly over the horse's head, I awoke to the sense of danger with my little boy in my lap.'

"As Thomas Rusk, whose own wife Mary helped ensure the calm evacuation of Nacogdoches, observed, 'The men of Texas deserved much credit, but more was due the women. Armed men, facing a foe, could not but be brave. But the women, with their little children around them, without means of defense or power to resist, faced danger and death with unflinching courage.'

"[M]y great-great-grandmother was also in the Runaway Scrape.... Her children were ages seven and below. And all four of her children died in the Runaway Scrape. She came back to Nacogdoches and had nine more children!"

Senator Hutchison's book recalled the epic battle between two factions of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas, over how the ruins at the Alamo should be preserved. Clara Driscoll led one side, and Adina De Zavala the other. The Driscoll ranks won, but the struggle brought the issue to the attention of the Texas public. Both sides deserve credit for that.

Senator Hutchison devoted one chapter to Oveta Culp Hobby, who "was married to Governor William P. Hobby, was a strong Democratic activist, and...was tapped by President Roosevelt to head the Women's Army Corps during World War II.... She was, she said, 'a one-person recruitment effort.' She went out across the country to recruit for the WACs. She had one uniform, which she pressed every night and wore the next day. And it was such a huge success that they ended up with many more women applying than they could have, and many more jobs than they could fill."

Also examined in the Senator's book are Carly Fiorina, who was the head of Hewlett-Packard, and Mickey Seibert, the first woman to have a seat on the New York Stock Exchange. Then there are Madeleine Albright, our first woman secretary

of state, and Condoleezza Rice, our next woman secretary of state. Hutchison explained, "I wanted to read one excerpt from Condoleezza Rice's interview, because I thought...particularly this crowd...would appreciate it:

"'What was the best preparation for the rough-and-tumble of your life today?" I asked.' "Being provost at Stanford" she replied. "In an academic administration where you have fourteen hundred extremely smart people who are basically independent contractors—because faculty don't believe they have any bosses—I learned when it was necessary to persuade people, when it was necessary to inform, and when it was necessary to demand."

Marguerite Higgins, who won a Pulitzer Prize for reporting on the Korean War, and Margaret Bourke-White, the great wartime photographer, are covered in the journalism section of Senator Hutchison's book. Hutchison asked TV journalist Barbara Walters how she negotiated for higher salary and working conditions. Walters replied, "Work so hard that you become valuable. It really is the only way. You can't negotiate from weakness. Hang in there until you become so important that they really need you. To negotiate by whining, or by saying, 'She has it better'—these are hard-nosed people. They don't care. You really have to say, 'This is why you need me.' And that may take time."

Also featured in the book is Ruth Simmons, the first African-American woman to head an Ivy League institution, Brown University. One of twelve children, she was born in a sharecropper's shack in Grapeland, Texas. Simmons recalled this for Hutchison's book, when asked what had been the biggest obstacle in her life:

"Complicated social structures make it difficult to move in a straight line toward success. Everyone experiences this. Two steps forward, one step back. It was like that for many reasons, some of them personal. For example, I became a mother early in my career, and I had to learn how to deal with marriage and, later, parenting, and yet continue to grow professionally, not sacrificing my career. As a young wife, I made choices to follow my husband's career. So I had a very circuitous route to success. I just wish someone had told me, when I was young, not to worry that I wasn't going to have a straight line to success. I didn't know until much later, when I talked to other women, particularly, what a route they had. And I learned that they were facing the same thing I was."

Finally, Hutchison cited her interview with Rosalyn Sussman Yalow, the first American-born woman to win the Nobel Prize (like Madame Curie, she won it for chemistry). Yalow said, "Perhaps the earliest memories I have are being a stubborn, determined child. Through the years, my mother has told me that it was fortunate that I chose to do acceptable things, for if I had chosen otherwise, no one could have deflected me from my path!"

Asked to compare women's status in Europe with America's, Hutchison replied that "[American women] have been able to contribute, not just to government, but we are now able to get into the professions, into the highest levels of business. You don't find that in Europe. You don't find women CEOs of major corporations. I think that because of our entrepreneurship and our creativity, and the women who came before, we are now at every level—except president of the United States, but at every other level of business or of professions, government—I don't think it's a factor that we are women, any more, mostly. [W]e're not...100 percent there, but we're 98 percent there. When I graduated from law school, there were thirteen women...in the class. Today, it's probably 50 to 60 percent, maybe more. The differences are just amazing. So I think that we are seeing it at all levels, and all types of life. And, also...in the military. We've made incredible strides in the military."

During questions from the audience, Liz Carpenter asked Senator Hutchison to remark on her days in the Texas legislature. Hutchison replied,

"When Sarah Weddington and I and Eddie Bernice Johnson, Senfronia Thompson, and Chris Miller were elected, we were...five women out of 150. And I was the only Republican; there were four Democrats.... In many ways it was harder to get elected than to serve, because I found that convincing people that I could do the job... was the hardest part of being a woman at the time.... You were judged by a different standard. I don't think that's the case today. I don't think people even think of me as a woman senator. They think of me as a senator from Texas."

Asked why she didn't include Eleanor Roosevelt in her book, Senator Hutchison replied:

"First Ladies, including Eleanor Roosevelt, Lady Bird Johnson, Barbara Bush, and Laura Bush—many of our great leaders who are First Ladies were not included in the book, mainly because if I had done that, I would have had to pick the first First Lady to have broken many of the barriers, and you could arguably say that Eleanor Roosevelt was, because she did change the role of First Lady. But Dolley Madison did too; Abigail Adams was an incredible woman. So I didn't put the category of First Ladies in. I think that our First Ladies have a special place in America, and I think the contribution that they make is phenomenal. I think Lady Bird's beautification of America is a lasting legacy. I see it everywhere. I think that Eleanor Roosevelt's contribution to our country and, really, toward the equality of women in every way is legendary. So I didn't put that category in, but a whole book could be written [about] great leaders like those."

Senator Hutchison concluded her address by noting the accomplishments of Mary Cassatt, the great Impressionist painter, Marian Anderson, who broke the musical color barrier in Washington society, Selena, the queen of Tejano music, and aviation pioneers Amelia Earhart, Jacqueline Cochran, and Sally Ride, the first woman astronaut.

LBJ and Latin America: Latest *FRUS* Volume Opens New Documents

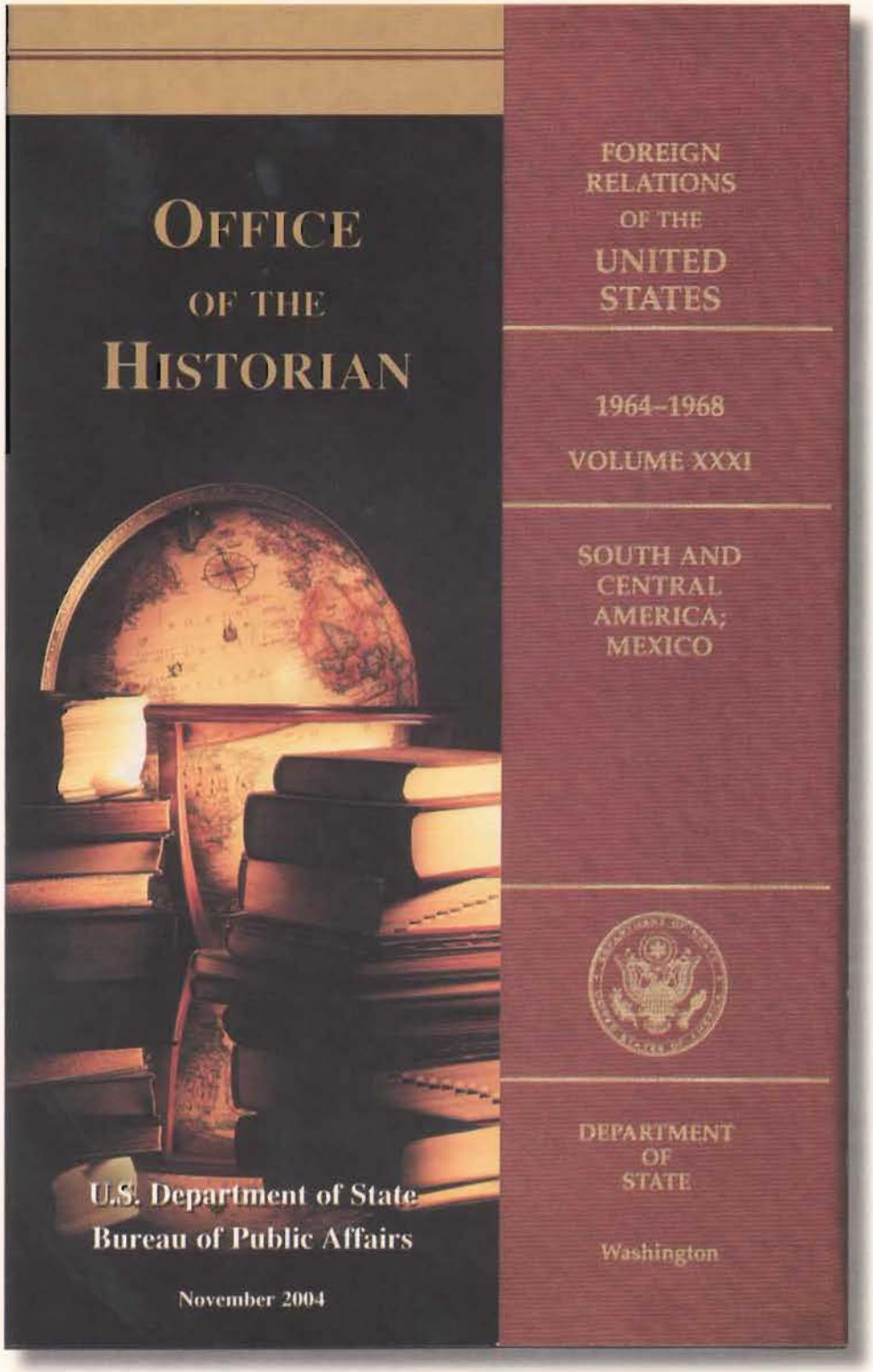
From the Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State:

"*Foreign Relations of the United States* is a resource unmatched by any other publication available today.

"Begun in 1861, and published every year since then, this series presents the official documentary record of the major foreign policy initiatives of the United States of America. Today, the series can be found in libraries and classrooms around the world—and on the Internet.

"An invaluable resource for government leaders, academics, and teachers, the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series includes important documents from the Department of State, the White House, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Defense, and other agencies."

On April 15, 2005, five panels of experts gathered at the LBJ Library to discuss the latest issue of the *FRUS*, which deals with the LBJ Administration and its relations with Latin America. Among the comments they made were a number that pointed out the invaluable contribution made by access to the LBJ taped telephone conversations, a kind of resource not much available to other *FRUS* volumes. Distinguished historian H. W. Brands remarked, "What would happen if this volume had been published, say, ten years ago, before the tapes of the conversations had been made public? I suspect we would have seen very little of Lyndon Johnson in there...." Erin Mahan of the Department of State said, "...the LBJ telephone transcripts are a gem as a source. You really hear, or read, the President's direct hand in foreign policy.... LBJ almost comes across as a Latin American desk officer."



An Evening with General Anthony Zinni

General Zinni packed the auditorium.

During his distinguished thirty-five year military career, General Anthony Zinni served in seventy different countries, in assignments that ranged from preparing contingency plans for hypothetical wars, to actually fighting wars (he did two tours in Vietnam as a young marine officer), and playing the role that has become such a vital part of America's military effort today: peacekeeper. General Zinni's career culminated with his assignment as commander of one of the unified U.S. commands, the Central Command. It encompasses twenty-seven different countries, including much of Africa, most of the Middle East, Iraq, and Afghanistan. In fact, the Central Region is larger than the Continental United States.

On April 6, 2005, General Zinni came to the LBJ Auditorium to speak of his experience and to comment on U.S. policy in the Central Region today. Introducing General Zinni was another distinguished former general, Howard Prince. Today Dr. Prince is the director of the Center for Ethical Leadership in the LBJ School. Before he joined the LBJ faculty, Dr. Prince served as the founding dean of the Jepson School of Leadership Studies at the University of Richmond, where he established the first degree-granting undergraduate school of leadership in the world. Dr. Prince noted that General Zinni is an example of "the thoroughly modern military maverick," a man who acts "outside the box," known for his outspoken dissent concerning the conflict in Iraqi.

"My topic today is the Middle East," General Zinni began, "but I'd like to broaden it a little bit and really talk about the Islamic world. [which]...stretches from North Africa to the Philippines, from the southern parts of Russia to Central Africa. It's over a billion people. I've spent the last fifteen years of my life ...out there talking to them, observing things, watching the tremendous transformation that they're trying to get through.

"They have...been both blessed and cursed with a...geography that really runs the world. They are the energy source of the world. When I commanded U.S. Central Command, I had responsibility for a part of the world that had 70 per cent of the world's oil, 50 per cent of the world's liquefied natural gas. [E]very trade route went through this part of the world. What I'd like to do tonight is give you my observations as to what's happening, maybe a little bit as to what might happen..... [T]his is a view from an observer...who has

talked to kings [and]...shopkeepers, from the Bedouins to the businessmen...and has tried to come to an understanding of who they are, and where they're going, and... in some ways the struggles they have to go through. I don't mean to make excuses for people in this part of the world, because in many cases some of these problems have been brought on by they themselves.... We can all play a role, but in the end, they have to acknowledge that...they're going to have to lead themselves through it."

It is impossible to generalize about the Middle East, Zinni warned. The peoples there, whether Arab, Moslem, Turks, Orthodox, Kurds, Sunnis or Shiites, do not fit into neat boxes. When CIA Director George Tenet asked Zinni how he would add up those disparate peoples, the general replied with what could have been a paraphrase of the American writer William Faulkner, who said of American southerners, "The past is not dead. In fact, it's not even past." General Zinni agrees. "You have to understand Islam...what it is to be an Arab...the Bedouin culture, the colonial history.... Their history," said Zinni "... is burned into their souls...."

They are making progress, Zinni emphasized. "If you look closely, you can see it.... We talk about the elections in Afghanistan and Iraq, and in some cases even take credit for [them], and I have a problem with that, because it's important to make sure this change is their change." He pointed to the small municipal elections in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia—in *Saudi Arabia*, where Zinni thought he would never see elections. His Saudi friends now talk about the *next* elections, and the "role of women in bringing change and improvement."

Zinni thinks that in the end, there will be the kinds of change that signify success. All sorts of democracy, of social change, of market economies, are in the works. "It may not be exactly...Jeffersonian democracy," Zinni thinks. "It may not exactly reflect us. They will bring forward their kinds of traditions, their mark, their style, their cultural requirements, blended into this. And this ten years, that I predict will be the hard years, are where they're going to have to shape that, and decide how they bring all that into the 21st century."

A key to the future, Zinni believes, is the creation of an Islamic dialogue. Islam has been stolen from the people, he said, "in many cases, by the likes of Osama bin Laden, who allows himself to issue *fatwas*, or edicts, that have gone unchallenged. I've had this argument with many friends in this region that this Islamic dialogue, this challenge to that aberrant form of Islam that he preaches, is destroying one of the great Abrahamic religions, and it needs to be regained and retaken by the moderates, and those that understand what the mainstream Islamic beliefs are. . . . I saw it begin to happen after the Beslan attacks on the schoolchildren, and after the beheadings, where finally they had had enough.... But... the focus on the next generation is the key ...to get this done."

At the epicenter of all Middle Eastern political troubles, Zinni insisted, is the Arab-Israeli conflict. "Whether it should be or it shouldn't be," he said, "it is the number-one issue throughout this part of the world." President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan, for example, believes this is so, Zinni iterated; "his top priority, by his own words, was to encourage the President to stay involved in the Middle East peace process, to commit to it and try to resolve it. Now why [does] the President of Pakistan, with all...the priorities he must have in discussing his relationship with the United States, place the issue of this Middle East conflict as number one? Because he knows, from North Africa to the Philippines, from southern Russia to Central Africa, this is the number-one issue. Psychologically, it is burned into their souls. And if there is one thing that can...allow these people to focus on their real problems, it is the ability to move this peace process forward, and to focus on it, and to—I pray—get it resolved in some fashion. Nothing else would be a catalyst for positive change more than accomplishing that."

Next Zinni came to the cancer of terrorism, which we consistently find difficulty even in defining. "It came from almost nowhere," he said, "and surprised us..." as to how fast it grew into a global threat. "[W]e don't fully understand it. We call it 'the global war on terrorism.' Terrorism is a *tactic*! We declared war on a *tactic*. Can you imagine FDR saying, 'We were attacked at Pearl Harbor yesterday. I'm declaring war on *kamikazes*?' You don't understand the problem if you don't understand who you're fighting." In our history, Zinni explained, "we have fought nation-states that have challenged us, [and] alliances of nation-states.... And here we identify the war as a war against a tactic.

"But what is it? Who is the enemy? What is it that makes Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda and all these other groups function, retain their strength in the face of...most of the world engaging them? It is because they know how to capitalize on anger. They know that there is anger generated from political disenfranchisement, from economic and social conditions that lead them to believe that they're oppressed. And young men, and in some cases young women, want to find a way to express that anger. That anger is so deeply seated, they'll do anything, even to blow themselves up. Osama needs that anger. He needs it fanned. He uses religion, his aberrant form of Islam, as the rationale. If you have that anger, and I can encourage you to use it, I can point you in the right direction to the enemy and give you the tools. But the tools I give you are so horrific—to kill innocents, to destroy yourself—that I need to give

you a justification, a rationale. And he has gone unchallenged in what he has professed on Islam. That brings us back to the need for the Islamic dialogue. If we don't understand that we've got to capture that generation, it can't be the lost generation, that anger has to be resolved. In some cases, we can help and contribute. In some cases, and in most cases, they themselves, the leadership in this part of the world, has to go through the political, economic, social transformation and reform to make it happen.

"And if it doesn't happen, we're going to lose that generation, [although] I don't believe Osama bin Laden, or al-Qaeda, is going to win anything. Think about this. Osama bin Laden comes back to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and says, 'I won! Young men and women of Saudi Arabia, follow me to the 7th century!' I don't think so. He offers a bankrupt system. But what he does offer is an expression and a venting of their anger....That's got to be resolved...that [is] the key to success.

"Another issue in this part of the world is their relationship with the West, and particularly with the United States. They resent the lack of consultations. They're trying to understand what the future relationship will be. Up until now, they've had their security handled by somebody else—the United States, Great Britain. Since the end of the First World War, somebody else put together their security coalitions, their arrangements, their doctrine for security....

"We have adjusted and tuned the doctrine based on threats, based on needs, and based on our interests. But oftentimes this process moved too fast. It...allowed them to believe somebody else was in charge. What I hear from my friends in the region now is...'Where are we going from here?... Will there be an alliance? Will we look into a NATO in our future?'

Two countries, said Zinni, have made commitments to the West, unpopular with their own people in the streets. On one side there is Pakistan and Libya. Muammar Gadhafi has come clean, owned up to Pan Am 103, paid compensation, and opened up his weapons-of-mass-destruction program. And Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan has made an unpopular decision to support the war on terrorism. "Pakistani soldiers are dying in the hills in the Northwest Territories, fighting terrorism. That wasn't necessarily well-received. But there are two leaders who decided they're going to stay connected to the West. On the other side are two nations who've decided to defy the West and the international community: Syria and Iran. And the question will be, 'Who makes out on this deal? Who ends up better off?'"

The whole area, Zinni believes, has got to deal with all sorts of border disputes, ethnic disputes, issues of water, of their own demographics, a population that's exploding, that they can no longer handle. Water supplies are being depleted. In places where the aquifers will dry up in five years or so, there could be a humanitarian catastrophe. There are vulnerable states out there that are on the edge, that, as we learned in Afghanistan, if you let them slip away, become sanctuaries, pits, for extremists—not just the terrorists, but organized crime, drug trafficking. "If you look at Afghanistan today," Zinni insisted, "the poppy crop in Afghanistan has never been larger. It's back. And the warlords are back. There's going to be a battle between Karzai and those who want change and reform, and those that want to walk back to the old systems of corruption. So it's going to be a tough ten years....But I'm an optimist about this part of the world. We have seen in Iraq—and I certainly disagreed with the way we handled Iraq—but Iraq has an opportunity now. If this Assembly can pull itself together . . . can create a constitution to give a fair shake to all of its ethnic and religious groups, it could serve as a model of change. There's a lot of water over that dam and a lot of damage done. But the possibility and potential is there. The extremists, despite their best efforts to generate a civil war, have not been successful, because the Shia and others have not fallen into that trap. But what comes out next is going to be critical.

"There is this tremendous resilience of the people. I walk the streets of Ramallah, and Jeddah, and Amman, Jordan, and elsewhere, and I see long-suffering people, with a history of turmoil, a past history of greatness, a history of need in some cases, a history of foreign oppression, of trying to adjust to the changes that whacked them across the face in the Information Age, and globalization, and cultural changes, and liberalism that hits them. But they are resilient, and they are tough, and they will get through this.

"I want to finish with a story," Zinni concluded, "because I think it tells you how smart they are, how resilient they are, and how they're able to adjust. I was in Jordan, as the commander of U.S. Central Command, visiting a mine-clearing operation....I was taken by a Jordanian general out to the Jordan River, where the Jordanian Army were clearing mines that had been laid during the 1948 [and] 1967 wars and God knows when. And they walked me out, to follow behind this little soldier probing with a bayonet. I actually thought, since I was a four-star general, this wasn't a real minefield, but a demonstration. Then I looked down next to me and saw these little prongs, the three prongs of mines, all around my left and right sides. And, not being a little guy, I was trying to squeeze my chubby body in a lot closer as I followed him down that lane, as he was probing, and hoping he wasn't getting too nervous [with] this American general behind him."

"When this was over, and I had seen enough, and very carefully and gingerly backed out of the minefield, my escort, General Ghazi [?], said, 'You know where we are, General Zinni?' And I said, 'No, where are we?' He pointed to the Jordan River; it's about from here to the end of the stage, that's how wide it was—he said, 'This was the place where Jesus was baptized.' And I looked across the Jordan. On the other side, on the Israeli side, I saw a platform, and sort of an amphitheater. So it was obvious something went on here, and tourists had come. I said, 'Very impressive.' He said, 'Wash your hands in the Jordan.' I said, 'Well'—I looked down in the Jordan; and the Jordan didn't look too clean. (Laughter) And he said, 'Wash your hands! You are a Christian! This is the prophet Jesus! You have to wash your hands.' So I... washed my hands. He said, 'Now, we go to lunch!' (Laughter)

"About three months later, I was back in Jordan...visiting a military exercise further north, up closer to Lake Tiberias, on the Jordan River. And Ghazi was again my escort. And Ghazi was showing me around, as we were watching the exercise, and Ghazi says, 'General Zinni, you know where we are?' I said, "No, Ghazi, where are we?' He said, 'We are at Jesus' baptismal site!' (Laughter) I said, 'Wait a minute, Ghazi. I was here three months ago, we were down south, you told me it was Jesus' baptismal site.' 'Oh,' he said, 'we moved it!' (Laughter) He said, 'It's much better for the tourists up here!' And with that kind of thinking, you know they're going to succeed!'" (Laughter and applause)

Photos by Charles Bogel

An Evening with Nick Kotz

Judgment Days: Lyndon Baines Johnson, Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Laws that Changed America

Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Nick Kotz has drawn on a wealth of newly available sources—from President Johnson's telephone conversations to FBI wiretap logs—to provide the first definitive account of the relationship between the two men who moved the country toward the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. On April 28, 2005 Mr. Kotz came to the LBJ Auditorium to discuss his latest work before a large audience of Friends of the LBJ Library. The event was the capstone of the fourth Heman Sweatt Symposium, which marks the first move to integrate the University of Texas law school.

Former President Jimmy Carter has said that Kotz' book, ***Judgment Days***, is "an important examination of a critical moment in American history, a battle for our nation's soul."

Kotz has won both the Pulitzer Prize and the National Magazine Award, as well as the Sigma Delta Chi Award for Washington correspondents, the Raymond Clapper Memorial Award, and the first Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Award. ***Judgment Days*** is his fifth book examining American history and public policy.

Kotz began by observing that the civil rights struggle of the sixties "could have been a horrible, bloody disaster, and instead ended in triumph with passage of the Voting Rights Act.... All too often, recent public figures have interpreted the history of what was achieved in the mid-1960s in

Author Kotz greets two Friends at the book signing.

Photo by Charles Bogel

a way that is convenient to their purposes...."

"[T]he popular concept of what happened," said Kotz, "goes something like this: 'Civil rights—that was a good thing. The Great Society—that was a total disaster. Thank God it's over with. Let's get government off people's backs—that's what the Great Society was about. Oh, and let's reduce taxes.'

"In late January," Kotz went on, "forty-three...black members of the House of Representatives went to see President Bush....

"They wanted to talk about the renewal of the Voting Rights Act, and whether he would favor strengthening it. According to them, President Bush professed ignorance about the Voting Rights Act, and said, 'Well, we'll deal with that when we get to it.'

"The black congressmen were stunned." said Kotz. "They remembered when the South had been not only segregationist; but a scene of terror," Kotz reminded the audience.

"Anybody who protested risked being beaten, being fired from their job, having their home firebombed, having their church burned.... Two thousand black churches burned in the South, in a couple of years.... That is the fervor [with] which the diehard South...resisted change. That was the scene at the time of Birmingham....

"The country was outraged," Kotz recalled. "Within a matter of days, there were demonstrations all over the United States. This wasn't Martin Luther King, or a couple of leaders," said Kotz. "This was masses of people with hope that this country could change, asserting their rights.

"The Kennedy Administration for three years had not tackled civil rights.... They had been reluctant to do so, principally because...the chairmen of the key committees of Congress...were from the South. And Kennedy figured that if he went hard and fast on civil rights, these men wouldn't do anything else that he wanted to do."

Kennedy's murder left LBJ and King to lead the civil rights forces. The new president went to the country, said Kotz.

"[H]is message was pretty simple: we will continue. We will put new effort into the legislation that John F. Kennedy had proposed. Johnson's message was a moral one as well. He loved that quote from Isaiah.... 'Come, let us reason together.' When you listen to hundreds of Johnson's telephone conversations, you really get the essence that, yes, there was horse trading; yes, there was browbeating; there was cajoling. But most often Johnson was calling on people to do as Lincoln said, 'to assert the better angels of our nature.'"

At the time that President Kennedy was killed, Kotz recollected, King was a deeply discouraged man. In his first telephone conversation with LBJ after the assassination, he discovered new life, Kotz said:

"[W]hat transpired between these two men, in the position of greatest potential influence to deal with the civil rights crisis, is simply a remarkable story. If I've added something new to this history, it is to look at Johnson and King both together and separately, to watch them day by day as we went through this remarkable revolutionary period of change, to see how the pressures of various kinds impacted upon them, to see how they dealt with each other. These two men, on the surface, appear to be unlikely partners. They did have something in common which was critically important: Both men loved the South, despite all of its imperfections.... Both understood the culture of the South, the religion of the South, the food. And most important of all, Lyndon Johnson and Martin Luther King recognized that racism was a yoke around the neck of the South, and that it would never prosper so long as race dominated everything."

Dr. King, Kotz recounted, thought "that he was going to have to persuade Lyndon Johnson that he had to move on civil rights, and they couldn't weaken the bill."

Instead, he was greeted by a president who began by saying, "We're not going to change one word in that bill...." [I]nstead of King having to persuade Johnson, he was listening to Johnson say, "You've got to go lobby Senator Dirksen"—the minority leader. "You've got to lobby this senator, [and] that senator, if we're going to break the filibuster."

In combination, Kotz said, the two men produced "the greatest victory for human freedom and human rights in this country since the Emancipation Proclamation."

And the collaboration of LBJ and King went beyond that, Kotz declared. "It led to the revision of the country's racist immigration laws; it helped bring into reality many of the Great Society measures that remain on the books today: Medicare, for example, and a higher education act that would absolutely transform American higher education, offering poor kids the chance for a college education that they never had before."

Johnson called King on January 15, 1965, said Kotz. It was King's thirty-sixth birthday. Their conversation covered all the things the President wanted to do. Once again, Kotz pointed out, the President was lobbying King, telling him the things that they could achieve together.

Kotz went on to sketch the events that followed, each pounding on the last to build an enormous tension in the country.

"King went back to Selma and began escalating the demonstrations.... March 7, 1965 was so-called Bloody Sunday, in which sheriff's deputies, state troopers, vigilantes and Klansmen on horseback, wielding truncheons wrapped with barbed wire, ran down peaceful demonstrators who were trying to walk across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in a protest march for voting rights. That scene, shown on television, created a national uproar. What had happened in Birmingham happened again in Selma. The nation was horrified."

President Johnson was immediately under pressure to send federal troops to Alabama, said Kotz. He worried about the political price for doing so. And Martin Luther King was under enormous pressure to stage another demonstration two days later, on Tuesday, two days after Bloody Sunday. In his turn, Kotz said, King didn't want to do it. He would be violating a federal court order. He knew that this time there wouldn't just be hundreds of people sent to the hospital; there might be hundreds of people killed. He was in a tough spot, and he didn't know how to get out of it. So he contacted the President. Finally, at the last moment, President Johnson called Lawton Collins, a former governor of Florida who recently had joined the government. He said, "I need you to get on a plane and fly down to Selma. I've got an idea. Let's see whether we can make it work."

Collins, Kotz related, arrived in Florida at five-thirty a.m., on the President's jet, landing at an air force base. He began persuading King to lead the marchers to the middle of the Edmund Pettus Bridge, pause, kneel, pray, rise, sing their anthem, "We shall overcome," and turn around and march back to the church. Collins told King, "We have talked to Governor Wallace, and the head of the state troopers, and we *think* that they won't do anything." Finally King told Collins, "Well, I'll try."

It worked, Kotz said. One crisis is avoided.

But for LBJ the atmosphere remained ominous, Kotz related:

"There are demonstrations in virtually every city in the United States, demanding that troops come in. What's the President going to do? Even some of the advisers are saying, 'We've got to send the troops in.' The President says, 'If we send the troops in there, we are going back to Reconstruction... if we try to force this down their throats with bayonets. But if we wait, if we're patient, the white people of the South know that there is no way they're going to have this situation continue. I think maybe Governor Wallace might help us. His ox is in the ditch.' He loved that expression... Whenever he needed some help from somebody who was in the opposition, he looked to see whether their ox was in a ditch." (Laughter from the audience)

And sure enough, Kotz said, Wallace gave the President an opening. He announced to the press that he was going to Washington to consult with LBJ about the crisis.

"Wallace arrived on Saturday," Kotz recalled. "This was six days after Bloody Sunday. And for three and a half hours, the President and this feisty little governor from Alabama talked.... Wallace comes in to the Oval Office; Lyndon Johnson, who is six foot four inches tall, puts Wallace on a couch—Wallace is five-six—with very soft, deep pillows. (Laughter from the audience) And the President pulls up a chair, and he is towering over and looking down at Wallace, doing what Hubert Humphrey used to describe as the 'nostril inspection.'" (Laughter from the audience)

"Wallace...was full of fight, talking about the communists this, and the communists that, and he said, 'No one has been hurt down there! We've treated these people very fairly.' Lyndon Johnson

pulls out a photograph showing a trooper battering a person. 'Take a look at this, Governor,' he says. 'You don't think this is beating someone?' Finally he said, 'Governor Wallace, why don't you and I just go out in front of these three hundred reporters, and you tell them that starting Monday morning, every courthouse in Alabama is going to be open all day long to register anybody who wants to vote?' 'Oh, Mr. President, I can't do that! The local voting registrars are in charge of that voting!' And Johnson . . . said to Wallace, according to the other five people that were in the room, 'Don't you shit *me*, George Wallace!'" (Laughter from the audience)

"Finally," Kotz recalled, "and in keeping with the best traditions of the Johnson Treatment," Johnson said, 'George, you and I need to think about nineteen-*eighty*-eight. We'll be dead and gone then, George. The question is, how do we want to be remembered? Do you want to be remembered with a big granite monument on which is written, 'George Wallace: He *built*,' or, George, do you want to be remembered with a scrawny little stick plunged into the red soil that says, 'George Wallace—He *hated*?'

"Wallace didn't become an integrationist," Kotz said, "but he went back, he postured for another couple of days, and then he sent the President another telegram. He wrote, 'Mr. President, our highway patrolmen are overtaxed....We don't have the people or the money to protect these marchers.' And he invited the President to do it. That's what Lyndon Johnson was waiting for. That's how he got...George Wallace's ox out of the ditch, and how he and King together had peacefully gotten through this crisis.

"On the fifteenth of March, eight days after Bloody Sunday, the President went before the Congress and the American people," said Kotz, to speak of "this problem of racism." The President said:

'It's not a southern problem; it's not a northern problem. It's an American problem. It's difficult for people to change their ways. We have to overcome all kinds of difficulties, not just with voting.' And then that big guy stared out at the audience and the television cameras, and he said, 'And-we-*shall*-overcome.' With that phrase, Johnson adopted as his own the anthem of the civil rights movement."

"The next week," Kotz said, "Martin Luther King led a peaceful march fifty-four miles from Selma to Montgomery. King stood in front of the state capitol and, in a speech as stirring as the President's, in which he gave credit to the President and white Americans for making it possible, he said, 'Today will go down as a shining moment in the conscience of man.'"

"It *was* a shining moment. These two great leaders, using every conceivable skill at their command, despite their fears—and their fears were not imaginary—together the two men seized their opportunity. They knew what to do with it. We are a much better country because of it."

During the question-and-answer period after his talk, one questioner in the audience asked Kotz about the role of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in the civil rights struggle. Kotz responded:

"Thank you for asking me that. How could I forget about J. Edgar Hoover? (Laughter from the audience) If President Johnson and Martin Luther King are the principal two characters in my story, J. Edgar Hoover is the third. From 1963 through Martin Luther King's death in 1968, Hoover tried in every conceivable way to destroy King, pure and simple....The FBI was devoted to trying to break King politically.

"To President Johnson's great credit, throughout the first four years of his presidency, the President ignored this stuff.

"But the story," Kotz concluded, "does not end happily."

"At the end," Kotz said, "both King and Johnson are overwhelmed by events: a war that no one can figure out how to stop, riots in the streets, a Congress that suddenly won't go the next step to deal with the social needs of the country. At the end, President Johnson and Reverend King clashed terribly. Dr. King went to the Riverside Church in New York and denounced the President's policy on Vietnam, and the President began listening to and acting on Hoover's reports. It broke President Johnson's heart. Here was the leader of the people who he had done so much for—it was a terrible blow to Johnson to have a leader of King's prominence oppose the war."

"But they'd had their shining moment."

An Evening With Jack Valenti

January 25, 2005

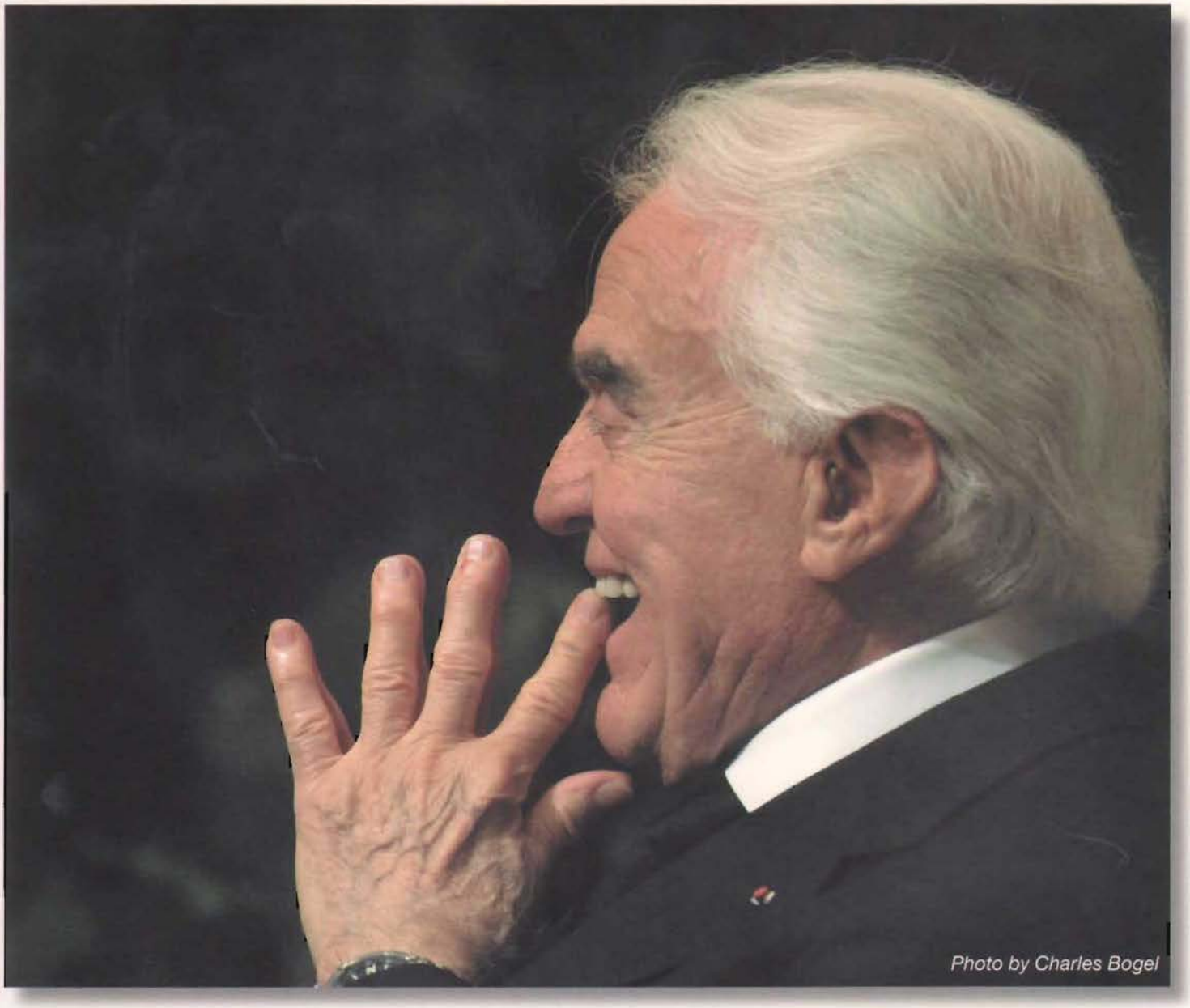


Photo by Charles Bogel

In introducing recently retired chairman and CEO of the Motion Picture Association of America, Jack Valenti, Library Director Betty Sue Flowers said that his life was itself a movie—or perhaps a series of them. In the first he is a teenager in Houston, Texas, graduating from high school at age fifteen. In the second film, Valenti is the kid pilot of a B-25 attack bomber in the Army Air Corps, with the Twelfth Air Force in Italy. "You couldn't show all [his] fifty-one missions, of course," Flowers said, "but you would [feature] some of the adventures for which he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and a number of other medals and citations."

In the third movie, Valenti cofounds an advertising agency and, one fateful day in November of 1963, is put in charge of the press for President Kennedy's visit to Texas. He rides in the motorcade six cars back of the President. If you look at the poignant picture of President Johnson's swearing-in on ***Air Force One***, in the background you will see Jack Valenti's face.

"At this point," said Dr. Flowers, "you'd have to start a fourth movie, [starring] Valenti as a newly hired special assistant to the President.... Three years later you'd have to start a new movie, because then Valenti resigns his White House post to become the head of the Motion Picture Association. He

"[Dirksen] and Johnson would make a deal, without a note, no memo, no lawyers. Johnson would say, 'I need three votes on my civil rights bill, Everett, and you can get them for me.' And Dirksen would [say] 'Mr. President, I have some possible nominees to the FCC, the FTC, the FDIC'—(Laughter)—and the President would say, 'Jack, take those to J. Edgar Hoover and see if they pass muster.' And when Dirksen left that room, Johnson was going to get his Republican votes, and Dirksen was going to get his nominees. Not what you teach in Civics 101. But the country and the Congress functioned."

Asked by a member of the audience to comment on the Bush Administration, Valenti said, "I cannot but believe that in his second term, he has no more political ambitions to fulfill, except to leave a legacy.

"Was he a great president, or was he not? As Lord Macaulay once wrote, it doesn't matter how many tongues wagged about a president when he was in power, but whether or not, twenty-five to thirty years after he died, it mattered greatly that he lived and served. And I think, frankly, every president feels that. I never discussed this with President Johnson. But I know it had to be on his mind. And I'm hopeful that, each morning as President Bush is waking up, he realizes that he has to find some way, some way, to achieve peace."

About the state of the movie industry today, Valenti said:

"I inaugurated a rating system, a voluntary film-rating system, thirty-six years ago...I tried to do two things.... First, free the screen so any filmmaker could make any film that they wanted to, and nobody would intervene. But freedom without responsibility is anarchy. So the price you pay for that total freedom is [that] some of your movies may be restricted from viewing by children. In addition to which, we're going to give advance cautionary warnings to parents, so they will understand what's in a movie, to find out more about a movie, to read reviews, talk to their neighbors, read ***Parents*** magazine as well as look at the movie ratings. Then make up your mind.

"When you've got an R-rated film, we say, '[T]his is hard language, there could be tough violence, there could be scatological language in here. For God's sakes, don't take a young child to an R-rated movie—unless you've thought it through....'

"There are wonderful movies out there; ***Shrek***, ***Finding Nemo***, ***Shrek 2***.... ***The Incredibles***—an incredible movie.... I have tried to do the best that can be done. I do not believe it is within the purview of the government of the United States to tell a parent what they can see or what they can't see....[T]he First Amendment stands guardian over that, and everybody in the Congress knows it. A lot of congressmen and senators get up to do a little saber-rattling and get some press back home, but they know that they're dissembling, that the government does not have the power, so long as the First Amendment is alive and well....

"At least in the movie ratings system, we try to give you advance cautionary warnings. Somebody ought to put, on every computer, 'Warning! File-swapping sites are not good for the mental health of your children.' But they are there. I urge all of you with children or grandchildren to examine that. Find out about it. Do something about it.

"Meanwhile, there's no way that you can stop anybody from making a movie. Last year we produced, in this country, about seven hundred and fifty movies. Some of them were so bad we had to subpoena people to get them into the theater. (Laughter) But a lot of them were pretty good. And the ones that were nominated—***Finding Neverland***, with Johnny Depp, the story of Sir James Barrie [who created Peter Pan]—[a] tender, warm, wonderful movie. And I must tell you, I really loved ***Million Dollar Baby***—that last scene in it just wrings your heart dry. Great movies."

Asked about the Washington scene today, Valenti answered:

"What do I see in Washington today? I see incivility, in large dregs. I see hostility that I have never witnessed before....

"But I have an optimistic view. I believe that nothing lasts.... [T]here are cycles—not only economic cycles, [but] emotional cycles, and political cycles....[A]fter a while, the general public is going to go sick of this kind of swarming discontent that's going on in Washington now, the hostility...that's infecting the discourse. And they're going to say, 'Enough.' And then... we will be back in a civil discourse again."

also becomes a writer, publishing other books in addition to ***A Very Human President***, including the one we're celebrating here tonight, ***Speak Up With Confidence***."

Dr. Flowers said Valenti deserves "an Oscar for the Best Way with Adjectives." In ***A Very Human President***, she continued, Valenti described President Johnson by turns as awesome, terrorizing, tender, energetic, ruthless, loving, engulfing, patient, impatient, caring, insightful, devoted, petty, clairvoyant, compassionate, bullying, sensitive, tough, charming, earthy, courageous, devious, full of humor, brilliantly intelligent, brutal, wise, suspicious, disciplined, crafty, and generous. "He was all of these," said Valenti, "and more. He had one goal: to be the greatest president, doing the greatest good, in the history of the nation. He had one tragedy: a war whose commitments he could not break, and whose tenacity he did not perceive."

Valenti noted that LBJ gave him the chance "to spend my entire working life... in two of life's classic fascinations: politics in the White House, and movies.... I have known the great, and the near-great, and those who thought they were great. God, were there a lot of those!" (Laughter from the audience)

Ultimately, Valenti said, both Washington and Hollywood are measured by how they handle what William Faulkner used to call "the old verities," the values that we live by, whether we express them in the language of movies or of politics.

Hollywood sometimes plays to our deepest sense of values, Valenti thinks. "***Saving Private Ryan***," he said, "is the exemplar of the old verities.

"When my son was fifteen years old, I deliberately took him to Omaha Beach, in the Normandy country of France, about twenty-five kilometers west of Deauville.... We drove down there and we stood on the bluff above this beach, and we gazed down on this sandy strip of land, still absorbing the blood that flowed so wantonly on June 6, 1944.... And I say to kids, 'When you see this picture...did you notice these young guys piling out of these landing crafts, heading toward that beach, in a roiling sea, in rough waves...every other one is being hit, one with a bullet in his head...dropping off, his blood tormenting the water. But not one soldier turned back!'.... Nine thousand young men lost their lives.

"Today," said Valenti, "a slow undoing is taking place, among the richest and most powerful among us.

"One of the things that I have written about...is the breakage of civic trust by the powerful, rich, business executives who cheat and lie and steal from their employees and their stockholders. And why do they do it? Because it's easy to do. They have the power to do it, and they do it! It's a coarse, defiant incursion on this moral compact. Now, most Americans really don't resent somebody having a lot more than they, because they believe, and rightly so, [that if] they play by the rules, get educated, work hard, they can leap higher tomorrow than the level they find themselves in today. That, as we say in the greatest cliché, is what America is all about. But when the brute fact occurs that these people have gotten rich and more powerful by trickery and treachery, it has a corrosive effect on how people feel about this country.

"And yet," Valenti said, "because of the heroism portrayed in ***Saving Private Ryan***, [M]y son now, at...thirty-seven years old, has never had to go to war.

"We have a volunteer army now.... In Vietnam, as James Fallows said about his Harvard class of six or eight hundred, only two ever went to Vietnam. Vietnam was fought by people who couldn't get deferments, who didn't have wealthy enough parents—although the Chuck Robbs of the world...volunteered and went into combat. But mostly it was fought by people who didn't have the clout...to defer that battle."

Of his decision to retire as head of the Motion Picture Association, Valenti echoed advice LBJ gave him decades ago: "When you're making a speech, leave at the height of the party."

Valenti reminisced about LBJ's famous partnership with Minority Leader Everett Dirksen.

"In the Congress, Senator Dirksen would rise on the floor at three o'clock and compare Caligula favorably with Lyndon Johnson. (Laughter) And at six o'clock, they would be having a drink, and the President would say, 'Ev, I wouldn't treat a cut dog the way you treated me!' Now, don't ask me what a 'cut dog' is, or I'll tell you." (Laughter)

Austin Celebrates Black History Month at the LBJ Library and Museum

By Robert Hicks, Communications Director

A guest appearance by Mary Wilson, an original member of the Supremes, added some star power to the annual Black History Month celebration in the LBJ Library and Museum's 10th Floor Atrium on February 4th. This year's event, hosted by the Austin Convention and Visitors Bureau and the George Washington Carver Museum & Cultural Center, honored 16 African-American families from Austin.

Mayor Will Wynn declared Wilson an "honorary Austinite" and commemorated the occasion as "Mary Wilson Week." Following the ceremony, Wilson viewed three of her vintage costumes, then on display at the museum as part of the *Signs of the Times: Life in the Swingin' Sixties* exhibit.

Among those honored were the families of Mahala Murchison, the first recorded black resident of Austin; Arthur DeWitty, an Austin civil rights activist and the first African-American to serve as delegate to county and state Democratic conventions, and Henry Green Madison, Austin's first black city council member.

Other highlights included the unveiling of banners featuring the families' names that hung on Congress Avenue leading up to the State Capitol.

In front of a display of gowns worn by the Supremes, Mary Wilson autographs a program for a fan.

Photo by Gary Phelps

The Huston-Tillotson College Choir, directed by Dr. Gloria Quinlan

Photo by Charles Bogel

General William C. Westmoreland

Vietnam: A Retrospective

In March 1991, the LBJ Library sponsored the first of what became its series of symposia on the U.S. experience in Vietnam. One of the participants was General William Westmoreland, who commanded American forces in Vietnam during 1964-1968.

Gen. Westmoreland and the President sometimes disagreed on strategy. Perhaps most important were their differences over cutting the Ho Chi Minh Trails, the source of Hanoi's infiltration into the South, and on the frequent bombing halts that LBJ used as part of a campaign of peace feelers aimed at North Vietnam. Near the end of the 1991 symposium, General Westmoreland entered the following reminiscence into the transcript.

"The battlefield was defined by political authority; it was confined to the territory of South Vietnam....

"I think the big mistake...is that we had too many bombing pauses.... I wrote a memorandum to the President strongly recommending that instead of gradual escalation we sustain a very high level of bombing.... [And] the geographic restraints on the ground war were very real....

"Yet if you'll look at the situation as it's turned out, we basically attained our strategic objectives. We stopped the flow of communism. ASEAN, a real political prize, is strongly in favor of the West. The flight of the boat people has discredited the Vietnamese communist system. The Vietnamese have been fighting the Chinese along their border, and one of our strategic objectives was to create a buffer between China and ASEAN. Ironically, the Vietnamese have fulfilled that strategic objective. I wrote a piece in the ***New York Times*** ...where I conclude that by strength, awkwardness, and good luck, most of our strategic objectives have been reached. I also say that we have to give President Johnson credit for *not* allowing the war to expand geographically. I understood his viewpoint and in the talks I had with him, he was quite fearful that this was going to escalate into a world war. One of his main strategic objectives was to confine the war. He did not want it to spread.

"Having said that, that's not the way I felt at the time. I felt that our hands were tied. After the Tet Offensive of 1968 I hoped that we would be given more troops and authority to take a more aggressive approach to the war. That was not done. But I must say that as things have turned out, the communists haven't won anything important. The proof of the pudding is in the eating and there it is. You may disagree with me on this but you cannot argue with the facts."

General Westmoreland in the Cabinet Room, October 14, 1968

Photo by Yoichi Okamoto

Scholar/Journalist Wins D. B. Hardeman Prize

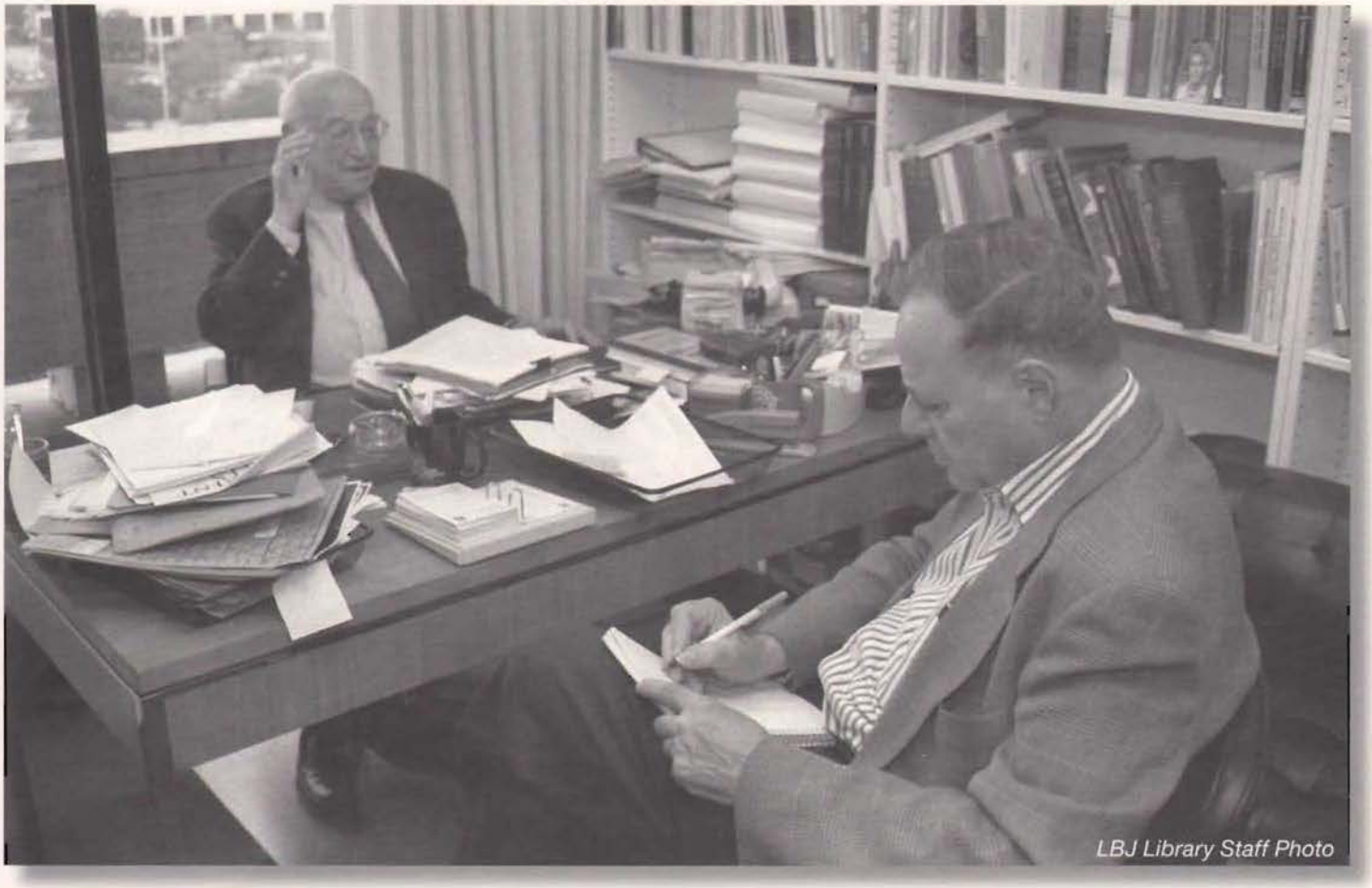
The D.B. Hardeman Prize for the best book on Congress published in the calendar year 2003 is awarded to Don Oberdorfer, for his biography: ***Senator Mansfield: The Extraordinary Life of a Great American Statesman and Diplomat*** (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2003). The report from the committee that chose Oberdorfer's book had this to say:

"This model biography tells the story of Mike Mansfield's rugged early life, his military experience, his rise to power in the United States Congress and his subsequent service as Ambassador to Japan. The tale spans virtually the entire twentieth century.

"Oberdorfer's deep reporting knowledge of Capitol Hill, Washington politics, and American foreign policy made him exactly the right author to tackle the taciturn and intensely private former Senate majority leader. Mansfield obviously agreed. Setting aside his standard response to how he wished to be remembered—'When I'm gone, I want to be forgotten.'—the humble Montanan granted Oberdorfer thirty-two richly candid interviews during the final forty-two months of his long life. The result is a warm and reflective survey of a truly extraordinary American life. One member of the Hardeman judging panel confided after reading this biography, 'Mansfield remained foremost in my thoughts for weeks. The Senate leader whom I had long watched from a distance suddenly became a close and commanding presence.'

"Don Oberdorfer has contributed mightily to the understanding of the workings of the U. S. Congress, as Mansfield and the Senate grappled with the issues of the Vietnam War and the presidencies of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon. Few men or women have been at the heart of so much of the political history and foreign policy of the United States during the twentieth century as Mike Mansfield, as this sterling biography attests."

The D. B. Hardeman Committee that awarded the prize was composed of Richard Baker, Historian of the U. S. Senate; Don Bacon, former correspondent, ***U. S. News and World Report***; Raymond Smock, former Historian of the U. S. House of Representatives and Director of the Robert C. Byrd Center for Legislative Studies at Shepherd University, Shepherdstown, WV; and three members of the Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin, Sean Theriault, Andrew Karch, and John Sides. Noted historian and author H. W. Brands recently joined the committee.



Prize-winner Oberdorfer, on the right, here interviews Walt Rostow in Rostow's LBJ Library office, in January, 1999.

Both Inside . . .

After giving good service for 34 years, all three elevators in the LBJ Library Building were overhauled. The two passenger elevators were closed until early April; then the staff elevator in its turn closed until late June. The total cost of the job was about $480,000. All parts of the elevator systems were replaced.

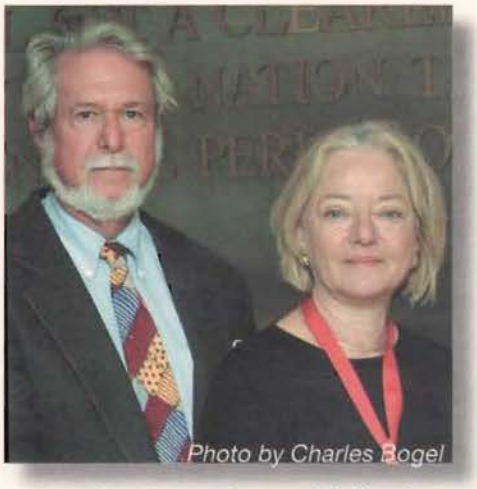
Photo by Charles Bogel

. . . And Out

That fearless character near the top of the flagpole, with a can of paint, does this sort of thing for a living. He is Steve Gooding, of Converse-Judson, Texas.

Photo by Charles Bogel

Docents of Note



Arthur Danart began his involvement with international affairs as a Peace Corps volunteer in Colombia, South America, during 1963-1965. He was in a small village in the Andes on the day that President Kennedy was assassinated. He still recalls that one villager came to him to pay his respects and sympathy, and to tell him that he shouldn't worry, because Johnson was a Catholic and everything would be okay.

After the Peace Corps, Art joined the Johnson Administration in the Office of Education, as the first civil rights investigator. He did the first investigation of an alleged violation of the 1964 Civil Rights act under Title VI, pertaining to school desegregation.

A year later Art moved to the private sector, but continued to work on such LBJ initiatives as the Job Corps, VISTA, and Model Cities.

In 1978 Art joined the Foreign Service, with the Agency for International Development. His first four years were in the Office of Population. In 1978 he went to Peru as a health/population/nutrition officer. His second overseas tour was as a regional health/population officer covering twelve countries in East and South Africa.

In December, 1992 Art was appointed Director of the AID program for Mexico, and served in that capacity until 1998, when he retired to Austin. During retirement he has taken several temporary appointments in Africa, primarily working on HIV/AIDS prevention and awareness programs. He recently completed an assignment in Malawi, evaluating a highly successful social marketing program that is making an impact on reducing the spread of AIDS and other communicable diseases.

Today Art and his wife Karen are LBJ docents, greeting visitors at the front desk. Over the December holidays they spent several weeks with their son, who lives in Australia.

From the Mailbag

January 20, 2005

Marsha Sharp, Education Specialist
Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum
Dear Ms. Sharp:

My name is Jessica Chong and I am a junior at New Utrecht High School in Brooklyn, New York. I'm writing to you to let you know about a project we were doing in class about the different states in the U.S. On Wednesday, January 12th, 2005, a group talked about Texas and Texan food. One member of the group mentioned President Johnson's fabulous recipe for chili.

After the presentation, my teacher, Ms. Rossel, asked us, "Who would like to make President Johnson's chili following the recipe that was discussed in class on our handouts?" I decided to try to make the recipe and I talked with my teacher about it.

Finally, I bought all the ingredients and following the recipe, I made the dish. The next day, I brought the chili into class. Everyone was so surprised because no one had thought of making the dish, just me. The teacher, my family and my classmates tasted it and they all liked it. They said, "It is very good."

I know that President Johnson is dead, but I am thankful that he left his delicious chili recipe for us. I am certain that if he was still alive, he would be very happy to know we made his favorite dish and it was great. For me, it was delicious.

Sincerely,

/s/ Jessica Chong

Ave Atque Vale

("Hail and Farewell," Catullus)

LBJ Foundation Undergoes Sea Change

As of September 1, the beginning of a new fiscal year, the LBJ Foundation staff has undergone a significant changeover.

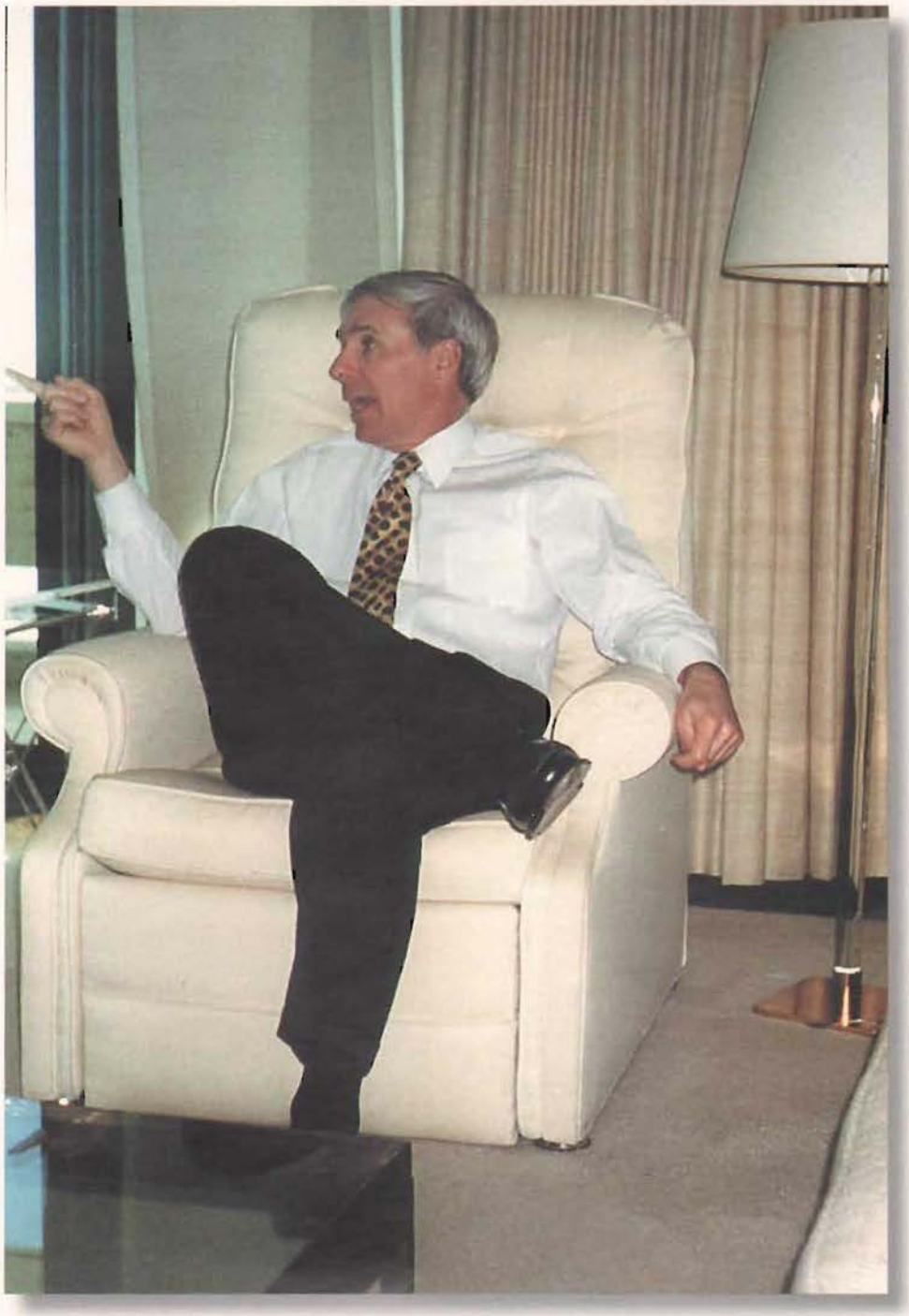
What Harry Middleton calls his "final annual retirement" took place on the changeover date. When he left the Library and Museum directorship in January 2002 after thirty years, Middleton agreed to remain for three additional years in his post as Executive Director of the Foundation. Those three years are now ended, and in Middleton's words, "There ain't no retirements left." [Perhaps. But... Middleton plans to continue teaching an upper-division course at UT on the Johnson presidency. And, one suspects, he will also continue his close personal interest in the content of this newsletter. Ed. Note.]

Another part of the change is the retirement of Larry Reed. "When Larry Reed departs as Assistant Executive Director, he will take with him a record of 27 years of service. He is the one who has actually run the Foundation office," says Harry Middleton. "Rarely out in front, Reed has operated behind the scenes, paying the Library's bills, supervising the operation of the Friends of the LBJ Library, arranging transportation for speakers and program participants, and any number of other activities."

"I want you to know," Foundation President Larry Temple wrote to Reed, "that the Board admires and respects the important role you have played in the Foundation's development and growth. We well know that you are the one who has kept the inner workings of the Foundation operating."

Larry plans to make his home in Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

More changes: Shelia Foley has been Larry's right hand for five years, helping him keep the Foundation payroll functional. She is moving to Houston with her husband in order to be closer to family. Her replacement is Kay Byrd, an experienced accountant, who took over earlier this summer. Marie Fury, A key part of the Museum Store operation, who also has been with the Foundation for five years, is leaving for Philadelphia at the end of August. Almost without a ripple, the vacancy John Barr left when he passed



Larry Reed in the Library's Presidential Suite.

away several years ago has been filled by Jo Ann Midwikis. As Secretary/ Treasurer, Jo Ann is overseeing the Foundation's financial operations.

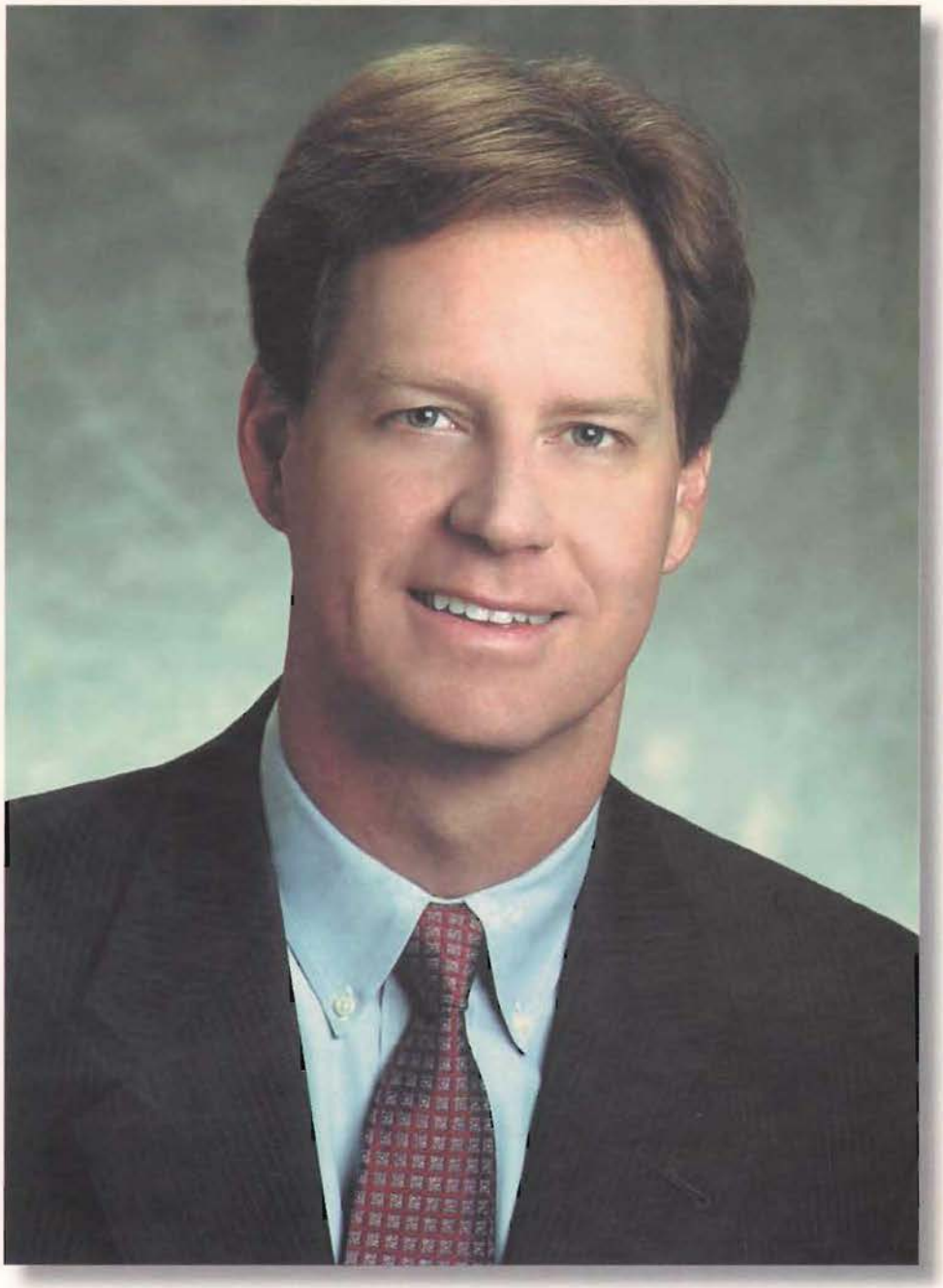
The Foundation's communications officer—only the second to hold the job—for the last five years has been Robert Hicks. Robert is also leaving at the end of August, having accepted a position as Head of Public Relations at the Bob Bullock Texas State History Museum.

Finally, the Lyndon B. Johnson Foundation has named Joe Youngblood as its new executive director, effective September 1. Youngblood has served as Assistant Dean for Development and External Affairs at the LBJ School of Public Affairs at The University of Texas at Austin since 1999, and as Director of the LBJ Foundation's Institute for the 21st Century since 2003.

Youngblood replaces Harry Middleton, executive director of the foundation since 1973. In his new capacity, Youngblood will lead the foundation's diverse activities and programs, including collaborative efforts of the LBJ Library and Museum and the LBJ School of Public Affairs. He will also direct the foundation's fundraising activities as well as provide guidance in the development of strategic plans by the LBJ Library and LBJ School for the use of financial support provided by the LBJ Foundation.

In making the announcement, LBJ Foundation President Larry Temple said: "The LBJ Foundation was created by President Johnson in 1970 after his retirement. The Foundation's mission is to provide support for the LBJ Library and the LBJ School of Public Affairs. With his extensive and successful background both in public affairs and in development, Joe Youngblood is ideally suited for this position. We look forward to the energetic and talented leadership he will give as Executive Director of our Foundation."

"The LBJ School and the LBJ Presidential Library have played a major role in public affairs over the last 30 years," said Youngblood. "I am honored and excited by the opportunity to help support the School and Library in their efforts to develop ideas for addressing critical local, national and international issues that we will face in the 21st century."



Joe Youngblood, Executive Director, LBJ Foundation

Déjà Vu: LBJ and Hurricane Betsy, September, 1965

The introductory paragraphs below were written by Archivist Sarah Cunningham. Ed note.

After the Labor Day weekend when we all heard about the effects of Hurricane Katrina, I remembered a similar event that occurred when LBJ was President. The recording stuck in my mind because of the wind on the microphone. When I first digitized the speech two years ago, I spent some time trying to make the recording sound better for the reference copy. Now I realize the sound of the wind on the recordings shows that LBJ really did hop on a plane to view the damage caused by Hurricane Betsy "in two hours" while the wind was still a problem. [Brigadier General (ret'd) James Cross, then the pilot of LBJ's aircraft, recalled that the President made the trip close on the heels of the storm, while there were still winds in the area. A side trip to Baton Rouge had to be canceled because the weather there was still bad. Ed. Note]

Anticipating public interest in LBJ's remarks after a hurricane in New Orleans, from 1965, I pulled out a copy of the speech and listened to it. Feeling that others should listen as well, I had Kyla Wilson listen to it. We both then looked at the pictures from that date (Sept 10, 1965).

The digitization of the speech was performed through the systematic preservation of the Presidential Speech Collection which has now been completed. It is not in the ***Public Papers.***

A recent article in the New Yorker (October 3, 2005), "High Water: How Presidents React to Disaster," by David Remnick, recaptures the drama of those days, and provides a commentary on the more recent White House reactions to Hurricanes Katrina and Rita.

For recordings of the trip to New Orleans on September 10, 1965, go to our web site, (www.lbjlib.utexas.edu).

A view of New Orleans from *Air Force One*, September 10, 1965

From the foreground: Sec. Orville Freeman, Cong. Hale Boggs, LBJ and Sen. Russell Long view the devastation from the President's aircraft.

From the ramp of *Air Force One*, LBJ addresses members of the press and the crowd at New Orleans Municipal Airport.

Here is an excerpt from the presidential diary from the day of that visit.

THE WHITE HOUSE
PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON
DAILY DIARY

Date September 10, 1965

The President began his day at (Place) WHITE HOUSE -- NEW ORLEANS, LA. Day FRIDAY

Entry No.	Time In	Time Out	Telephone (or t) Lo	Telephone (or t) LD	Activity (include visited by)	Expenditure Code
					The members of the Presidential party had seen from the air a previews of the city -- water over 3/4 of the city up to the eaves of the homes, etc.... and estensive damage to the harbors, etc. At this point, the party would move in to the city to see for first hand just how much damage had actually occured.	
	5:40				The motorcade departed the airport -- and the President and party motored into the City proper.	
	6:20				At this point, the motorcade stopped, though the President did not get out of the car .. Two schools were located on both sides of the street -- that were being used as refugee centers	
	6:25				The motorcade stopped again on a bridge and this time did depart from the limousine. The press scouried around the President and members of his party as they looked over both sides of the bridge below at the water that had engulfed the neighborhoods. People were walking along the bridge where they had disembarked from the boats that had brought them to dry land. Many of the people were carrying the barest of their possessions, and many of them had been sitting on top of their houses waiting for rescue squads to retrieve the families and carry them to dry land -- and to food and wate	
					The President stopped and talked w/ some of them -- among them a gentleman by the name of William Marshall -- a 74 year old Negro man. The President asked him how he was and they chatted for w hile -- the man leaving the President saying -- "God bless you, Mr. President -- God ever bless you."	
					The motorcade soon departed and returned into the city...enroute ~~it~~ stopping at Washington High School on St. Claude's Avenue. The President again left his car and walked into the building that was being used as a refugee center. Most of the people inside and outside of the building were Negro. At first, they did not belive that it was actually the President. He walked up steps leading in to the school and the only light was that of a few flashlights lighting the way for him.	

THE WHITE HOUSE
PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON
DAILY DIARY

Date September 10, 1965

The President began his day at (Place) WHITE HOUSE -- NEW ORLEANS, LA. Day FRIDAY

Entry No.	Time In	Time Out	Telephone (or t) Lo	Telephone (or t) LD	Activity (include visited by)	Expenditure Code
					The President would stop and talk w/ a few of them in the school...It was a mass of human suffering . They were crowded into the school w/ their families gathered around them. Calls of "water - water - water" were resounded over and over again in terribly emotional wails from voices of all ages.	
					The President left the building and in front of it, called for Hon. Buford Ellington to come to him and asked him to send water to them immediately. He also suggested to the Mayor Victor Schiro that the soft drink companies in New Orleans make available the bottled soft drinks (since the water had to be boiled - and no electricity was available -- contamination could set in.) The Mayor agreed to check into the possibilites of this.	
					The people allabout were bedraggled and homeless...thirsty and hungry. It was a most pitiful sight of human and material destruction.	
	6:29				Departed New Orleans city and returned to the airport travelling through downtown - Canal Street - where the store windows were broken and heavy signs supported by steel were bent as if they were rubber.	
					The President returned to the Mouisiana Airport - New Orleans, La. and after talking w/ the Press and bidding Mayor Schiro boarded his aircraft. The President told the Press that it was inadvisable to travel to Baton Rouge and view the damage there because of weather conditions....and this he reported to the Press. ...at the same time telling them that he intended to cut "all red tape and place New Orleans on top priority in getting aid to them."	
C	7:43			t	Governor John McKeithen - aboard AF-1 - Baton Rouge, La. -- telling him that he could not come to Baton Rouge and see the damage there. He also told him what plans and measures he intended to accomplish . Sen. Russell Long and Cong. Jim Morrisson of Baton Rouge district also talked w/ the Governor.	
C	7:56			t	Mayor Woodrow Dumas of Baton Rouge, La. -- told him he was sorry that he could not come -- Sen. Long and Cong. Morrisson also talked on this call.	

SEE TRAVEL RECORD FOR TRAVEL ACTIVITY

Page No.

Marines Revisit Khe Sanh

By LTCOL C.S. Gaede USMCR (Ret.)

The Marines of 3rd Platoon, Hotel Company, 2nd Battalion, 3rd Marine Regiment held a reunion commemorating the 38th year since their service in the Republic of Vietnam on 29 September to 2 October 2005 in Austin, Texas. In March 1968, the Battalion participated in Operation Pegasus, which re-opened National Route 9 to Khe Sanh and officially ended the siege of Khe Sanh.

On September 30, 2005 some of the 3rd Platoon Marines and their wives viewed the sand table model of Khe Sanh that President Lyndon B. Johnson used in his Situation Room. In 1968 the Marines knew only the trail they were on, the next hill ahead, and the ground around their fighting hole. That the President of the United States would have a model of the terrain where they were living and fighting or that he would be spending time pondering it would not have occurred to them. We are grateful to the LBJ Museum staff who made it possible.

Front row: Robert Guzman, San Antonio, TX; Stephen A. White, Las Vegas, NV

2nd row: John B. McDonald, , Laramie, WY; Roy Moon (Corpsman, USN), Fort Gay, WV; Abraham Piedra, Alamogordo, NM

3rd row: Robert W. Griffin, Baytown, TX; Patrick J. Hodgkins, Markesan, WI; Donald J. Myers, Spring Hill, FL; Solomon Johnson, Hesperia, CA

Back row: Charles S. Gaede, Austin, TX; Joe Richardson, Belleville, IL

Presidential Libraries Celebrate 50th Anniversary of the Presidential Libraries Act

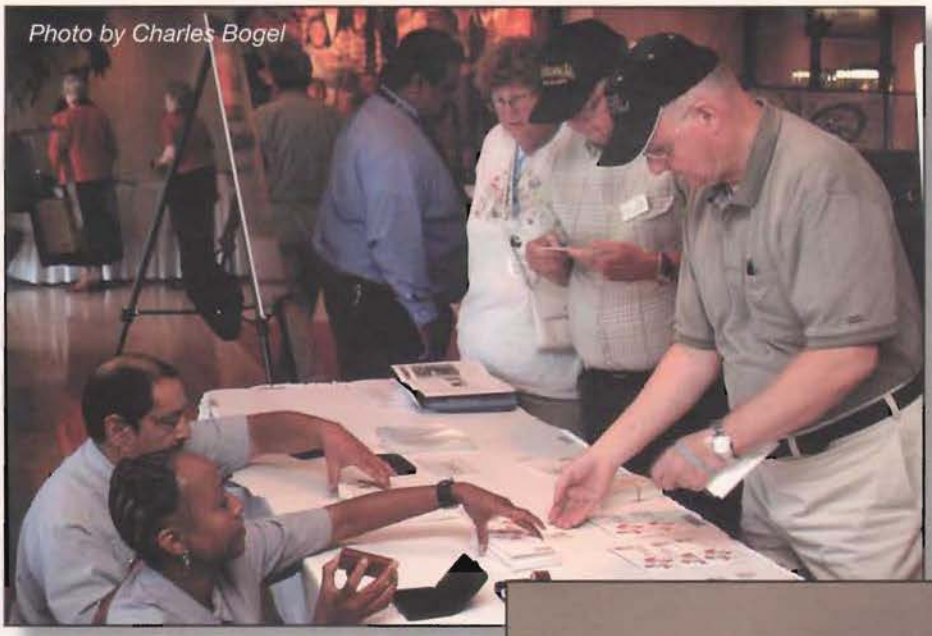
On August 4, 2005, the United States Postal Service released a new postage stamp commemorating Presidential Libraries and the 50th anniversary of the Presidential Libraries Act of 1955.

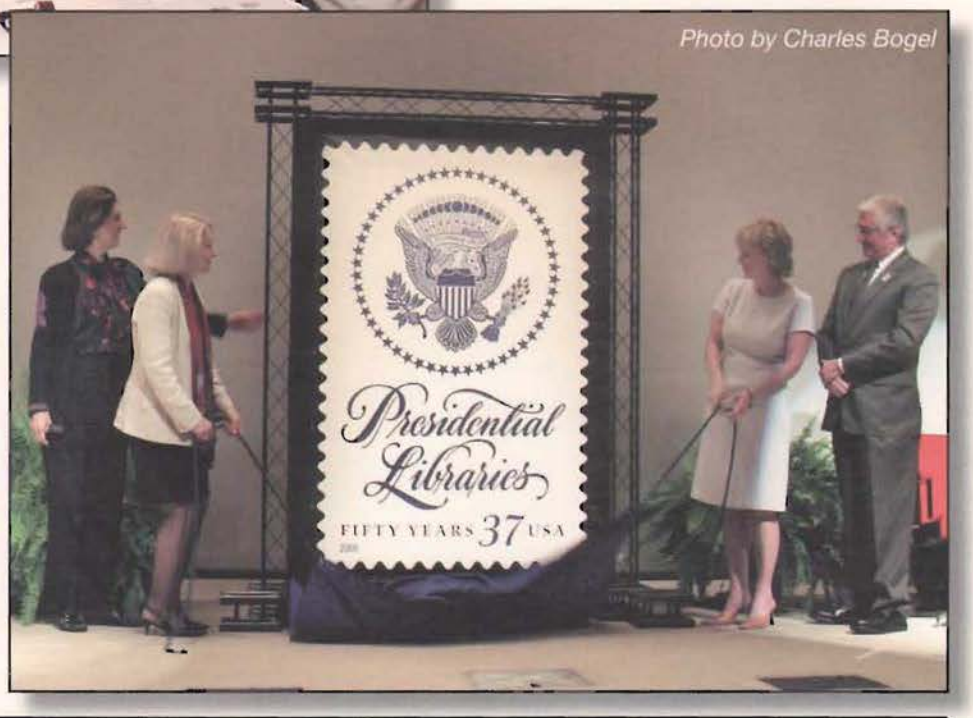
Signed into law by President Eisenhower on August 12, 1955, the Presidential Libraries Act provides for the transfer of Presidential papers and artifacts to the Federal Government. The law also provides for the construction of "presidential libraries" at no expense to the Government and for the transfer of these facilities to the Government along with the President's personal property.

First-Day-of-Issue dedication ceremonies were held simultaneously at the National Archives' eleven Presidential Libraries and the Richard Nixon Library and Birthplace, scheduled to be the National Archives twelfth Presidential Library next year.

In an official greeting, President George W. Bush offered congratulations on the commemorative stamp stating,

"Our Presidential Libraries house important cultural materials and historical documents that reflect America's rich heritage and are important resources for preserving the records of the leaders who have helped shape our country."





Above: Outside the Museum Store, collectors lined up to buy first-day cancellations of the new stamp.

Right: In the LBJ Auditorium, LBJ Library and Museum Director Betty Sue Flowers, with Lynda Robb on the left, unveil the artist's poster of the Presidential Libraries stamp. On the right are Neal Spelce, Master of Ceremonies, and Susan Plonkey, United States Postal Service.

An Apology to the Swedish Excellence Endowment

In a previous number of this newsletter, we carried an article on the visit and lecture of Dr. Hans Blix, former UN Weapons Inspector, and Chairman of the International Commission on Weapons of Mass Destruction. We neglected to mention that the event was generously sponsored in part by the Swedish Studies Excellence Endowment, which was the largest contributor to the event. We regret the omission.

A Visit by the Archivist

On August 3, Archivist of the United States Allen Weinstein, center, visited the LBJ Library. Here Archivist Aide Will Clements demonstrates a new camera stand that allows researchers to take photographs of documents, put them into computer memory, and record them on a CD. The old, time consuming, and expensive Xeroxing process no longer eats up valuable research time and researchers' wallets. Watching, from the left, are Archivist Allen Fisher, Assistant Archivist of the U.S. for Presidential Libraries Sharon Fawcett, Dr. Weinstein's spouse Adrienne Domingues, and LBJ Library Director Betty Sue Flowers.

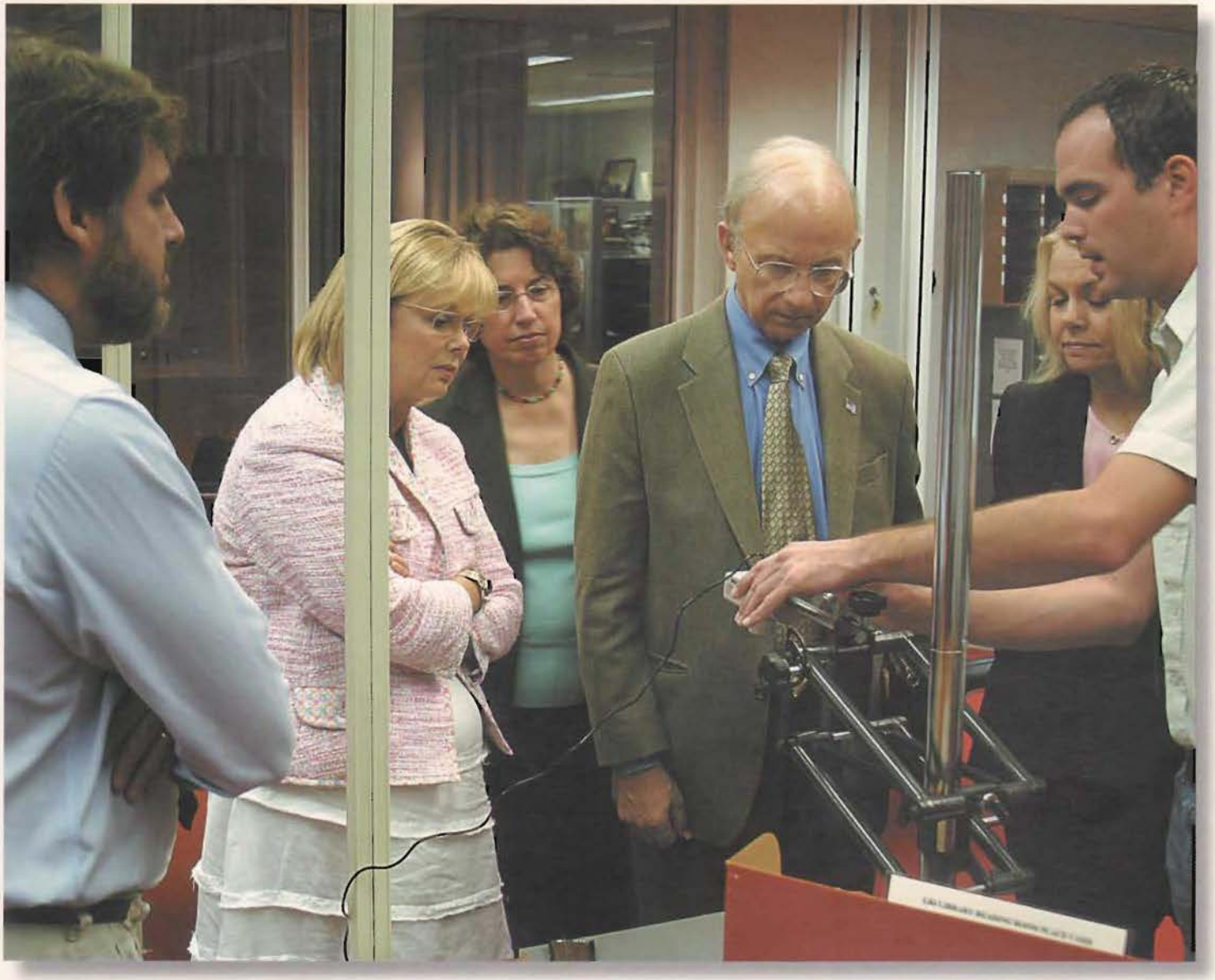


Photo by Charles Bogel

Lyndon B. Johnson's 97th Birthday Observed

Last August, at both at the LBJ Ranch and the LBJ Grove in Washington, wreaths and tributes paid honor to to the former President's memory to mark his natal day.

At the family cemetery at the LBJ Ranch, in a live oak grove on the banks of the Pedernales River, Jack Blanton gave the remarks. He became the latest in a long line of distinguished speakers who have led the observance, which traditionally takes place on LBJ's birthday, August 27.

Mr. Blanton recalled LBJ's contributions to American history in a number of areas. Of Johnson's signal accomplishments in civil rights, Blanton noted that many before him had paid lip service to the idea. "But it was not until a man with a sledgehammer and the knowledge of how to use it came to occupy the office of president and, along with able help from his staff, some key members of Congress, and a few influential Americans joining the cause, was our country consequentially changed."

The ceremony at the LBJ Grove in Washington included remarks by Ms. Elizabeth Hutchinson, widow of Everett Hutchinson, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission and Under Secretary of Transportation. Ms. Hutchinson recalled the contribution of President Johnson's First Lady to his career:

"As we gaze now at this magnificent granite memorial to our President, I would like to pay tribute to the . . . person who supported him throughout his career, and who helped him attain his lofty goals and ambitions: Claudia Alta Taylor 'Lady Bird' Johnson. She was his rock."

An interservice color guard represented the armed forces at the LBJ Grove. Despite the rainy weather, about fifty people attended, including former Senator Charles Robb and his daughter Lucinda, with her husband Lars Florio.

Jack Blanton, at the podium on the far left, speaks to visitors at the Johnson family cemetery. Just behind him, in uniform, is Air Force Colonel Richard M. Clark, of Randolph Air Force Base. At the right, in the turquoise suit, is Lady Bird Johnson. Sitting beside her are Ms. Ginger Blanton, Lynda Robb, Ian Turpin, and Luci Baines Johnson.

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- ❑ **Enclosed is my check.**

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In Memoriam

William C. Westmoreland
Chief of Staff, U.S. Army

Sol M. Linowitz
Ambassador,
Organization of American States

Dorothy Territo
President Johnson's
First Archivist

Among Friends of LBJ is a publication of the Friends of the LBJ Library.
Editor: Ted Gittinger
Writers: Robert Hicks; Betty Sue Flowers;
Sarah Cunningham; C.S. Gaede
Research: Judy Allen
Technical Assistance: Kendra Mayer; Elaine Mingus
Photography: Charles Bogel; Michael MacDonald;
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The LBJ Library is one of eleven presidential libraries administered by the National Archives and Records Administration.