



# Among Friends of LBJ

ISSUE NUMBER IX, SEPTEMBER 6, 1976

NEWSLETTER OF THE FRIENDS OF THE LBJ LIBRARY

## *Library Celebrates Fifth Anniversary*





**THIS ISSUE** contains a special Five Year Report on the activities and programs of the LBJ Library. Many of the accomplishments during this period were made possible through grant assistance from the Friends of the LBJ Library.

**THE COVER** of this issue features sketches by Museum Technician Pat Partridge (right). The sketches illustrate activities of the Library, and are taken from photographs that appear in this issue and the enclosed report. A graduate of Kansas City Art Institute, Ms. Partridge has been on the Library staff for seven years.



### Library five years old

## Friends Celebrate Anniversary in Washington and Austin

Members of the Friends of the LBJ Library celebrated the fifth anniversary of the Library's dedication at special parties in Washington, D.C., and Austin. The May 17 and 23 parties were the occasion for the third annual gathering of Friends hosted by the Library.

Following the Washington reception in the National Archives Building, members of the Friends joined Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson and Archivist of the United States James B. Rhoads at premieres of a multimedia presentation, *LBJ Humor*, and the new Library Orientation Film. Both features were produced by the Library staff.

In Austin, 350 Friends of the Library were welcomed by Mrs. Johnson to the anniversary celebration in the Library's Great Hall. Those attending the buffet reception were given a special preview of the Library's bicentennial exhibition, *AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL CHINA*, which opened to the public on the following day (see related story on page 3).



Above, Mrs. Johnson greets Tommy Corcoran at the Washington reception as Archivist of the United States James B. Rhoads looks on. Left, Friends in Austin examine the White House China exhibition.



## exhibition

# American Presidential China, Manuscripts of the American Revolution

The bicentennial exhibition, "AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL CHINA," was on display in the South Gallery of the Library from May 24 through Independence Day. The 115 piece collection contained selections from White House services of all Administrations and personal china used by every First Family from the Washingtons to the Fords.

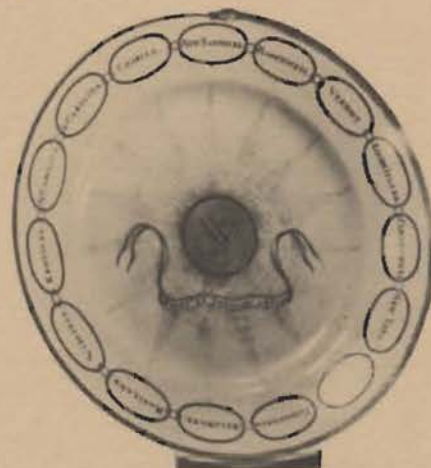
The china reflects not only the personal taste of the President or First Lady who selected it, but also the historic era from which it emerged. The Washington china is decorated with links of closed chain, each link encircling the name of one of the 15 States. Mrs. Rutherford B. Hays selected a pattern of hand-painted turkeys, bears and Indians. It reflects an era of inward looking for Americans and a departure from traditional European influences. Mrs. Lyndon Johnson returned to the Monroe interpretation of the national eagle, bordered by a garland of wildflowers.

The exhibit, which was organized by the Smithsonian Institution, was made available on loan to three other American museums — the LBJ Library being the only one in the Southwest.

Immediately following the Presidential China exhibition, the Library opened a second Smithsonian touring exhibit, *MANUSCRIPTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION*. On display in the Library's South Gallery, this exhibit contained selected historical manuscripts dating from the Stamp Act of 1765 to the election of George Washington as the first President of the United States in 1789. This period of American history is captured in the exhibit through letters written by John Hancock, George Washington, Nathaniel Green, Thomas Jefferson, the Marquis de Lafayette, and others.

Included is a written account by Benedict Arnold of his act of treason that nearly led to loss in the nation's fight for freedom. Another original letter, from Richard Henry Lee to General George Washington, was the first notification Washington received of his election as President of the United States.

On display from July 24 to August 29, the 31 original documents and letters were taken from collections of individuals and institutions belonging to the Manuscript Society.



Top, the personal china of Martha Washington, bearing her initials in the center, was included in the White House China Exhibit. Center, the exhibit drew record June crowds to the Library. Below left, visitors inspect the documents featured in the Manuscript Exhibit. Below right, the exhibit featured this letter from Benedict Arnold which is the only known written account by the General of his treasonous act.





## Symposium Announced In Washington

On September 12-16 the Library, in cooperation with the JFK Library, LBJ School of Public Affairs and the University of Texas, will host the symposium, *TOWARD NEW HUMAN RIGHTS: The Social Policies of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations*. Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson announced the upcoming event at a Washington press conference jointly held by her and six other persons identified with the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations: Senator Hubert Humphrey, Robert Kennedy Jr., Clarence Mitchell, Joseph A. Califano, Kenneth O'Donnell, and Esther Peterson. Representing the sponsoring institutions at the press conference were Dan Fenn, Director of the Kennedy Library; Harry Middleton, Director of the Johnson Library; and Kenneth Tolo, Acting Dean of the LBJ School.

The purpose of the symposium will be to assess the social programs of the 1960's, a decade of great experimentation and change in the delivery of social services. It will open on Sunday, September 12, with speeches by Vernon Jordan on "The Evolution of Social Rights," and Arthur Schlesinger on "The Evolution of Government as an Instrument for Achieving Social Rights."

On Monday through Thursday, scholars from throughout the nation will present detailed papers evaluating the successes and failures of the major social policies of the

two Administrations: manpower, poverty, health and medical care, housing and community development, education and civil rights.

Each paper will be discussed by a panel composed of men and women who have had direct experience working with the programs: Members of Congress, current and former Administration officials, Governors, Mayors, and representatives of program recipients. Participating on the panel will be both those who helped conceive and create the programs, and those who are recognized as outspoken critics.

"Lyndon would have welcomed this," Mrs. Johnson said at the press conference. "He never thought of the Great Society as laws cut in stone. Many of us look back on those years as a great laboratory in which many good minds were searching for new ways to correct old ills. Now, a decade later, whatever can be discovered about the successes — or the failures — that came out of that laboratory should, it seems to me, be a substantial contribution to the 1970s — and beyond."

The symposium will be held in the 1,000-seat Lyndon Baines Johnson Auditorium. Technical papers prepared for the conference and the edited conference proceedings will be published in a hardbound edition to be available through the School and commercial booksellers.

Right, participating in the Washington press conference were, left to right, Robert Kennedy, Jr., Joseph A. Califano, Clarence Mitchell, Mrs. Johnson, Senator Hubert Humphrey, Kenneth O'Donnell, and Esther Peterson. The symposium will open with addresses by Vernon Jordan, far right, and Arthur Schlesinger, near right.





## CONFERENCE AGENDA

### Sunday, September 12

Opening Addresses, LBJ Auditorium  
 Vernon Jordan, Executive Director, National Urban League  
 "The Evolution of Social Rights"  
 Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Albert Schweitzer Chair in the Humanities, The Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York  
 "The Evolution of Government as an Instrument for Achieving Social Rights"

### Monday, September 13

Address, James Tobin, Chairman, Department of Economics, Yale University  
**Panel: THE RIGHT TO A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING**  
**Papers:** Overview: Robert Levine, Deputy Director, Congressional Budget Office  
 Manpower Policies: Ray Marshall, Director, Center for Human Resources, The University of Texas at Austin  
 Income Maintenance/Community Action: Kenneth Clark, President, Clark, Phipps, Clark & Harris, Inc.  
 People in Poverty: Robert Lampman, Director Poverty Institute, University of Wisconsin  
**Panel Participants:** William Cannon, Chairman — Vice President for Business and Finance, University of Chicago  
 Dr. Jack Otis, Dean, Graduate School of Social Work, The University of Texas at Austin; Joseph A. Califano Jr., former Special Assistant to President Lyndon B. Johnson; Frances Fox Piven, Professor, Department of Political Science, Boston University; John G. Veneman, Counselor to the Vice President; Lisle C. Carter, Jr., Chancellor, Atlanta University Center; Steven A. Minter, Program Officer, The Cleveland Foundation; Thomas Bradley, Mayor, Los Angeles; Maynard Jackson, Mayor, Atlanta; Esther Peterson, former Assistant Secretary, Department of Labor; Wendell Anderson, Governor, Minnesota; Earl Johnson, Jr., Professor of Law, University of Southern California Law Center  
**Rapporteur:** David Austin, Professor, Graduate School of Social Work, The University of Texas at Austin

### Tuesday, September 14

Address, Wilbur Cohen, former Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Dean, College of Education, University of Michigan  
**Panel: THE RIGHT TO HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE**  
**Papers:** Overview: Theodore Marmor, Professor, School of Social Services Administration, University of Chicago  
 Impact on Groups: Dr. Karen Davis, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution  
 Impact on Delivery Systems: David Warner, Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs  
**Panel Participants:** David Hamburg, Chairman — President, Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences  
 Dr. James G. Haughton, Health and Hospitals Governing Commission of Cook County; Dr. Ray E. Santos, Orthopaedic Surgeon, Lubbock, Texas; Dr. Kenneth H. Cooper, The Cooper Clinic, Dallas, Texas, Author, AEROBICS; Dr. Bond L. Bible, Director, Department of Rural and Community Health, American Medical Association; Martha Griffiths, former Congresswoman, Attorney, Farmington Hills, Michigan; Dr. Merlin DuVal, Vice President, Health Sciences, Arizona Medical Center, The University of Arizona; Dr. David E. Rogers, President, The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation; Patrick J. Lucey, Governor of Wisconsin  
**Rapporteur:** William Levin, President, Medical Branch Galveston, The University of Texas

### Wednesday, September 15

**Panel: THE RIGHT TO A DECENT HOME IN A DECENT COMMUNITY**

**Papers:** Concept and Programs: Victor Bach, Assistant Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs  
 Impact on Housing Policy and Programs: Charles Haar, Harvard Law School  
 Impact on Community Policy and Programs: Bernard Frieden, Professor, Department of Urban Planning and Studies, MIT; Marshall Kaplan, Principal, Marshall Kaplan, Gans and Kahn  
**Panel Participants:** Robert C. Weaver, Chairman — former Secretary, Department of Housing and Urban Development

Henry S. Reuss, U.S. Congress; Richard Hatcher, Mayor, Gary, Indiana; Warren H. Butler, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Planning and Development, HUD; Graciela Olivarez, State Planning Officer, New Mexico; David O. Meeker, Jr., Assistant Secretary for Community Development, HUD; Gordon Cavanaugh, Executive Director, Housing Assistance Council Inc., Washington, D.C.; Reynell M. Parkins, Director, Housing Research and Development Center, The University of Tennessee

**Rapporteur:** John Gallery, Associate Dean, School of Architecture, The University of Texas at Austin

**Address:** David Mathews, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare

### Thursday, September 16

**Morning Session**  
**Panel: THE RIGHT TO EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY**

**Papers:** Review of Programs: Douglass Cater, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies  
 Assessment of Impacts: Marian Wright Edelman, Director, Children's Defense Fund of the Washington Research Project, Inc.

**Panel Participants:** Harold Howe II, Chairman — former Commissioner of Education, Department of HEW, Vice President, Ford Foundation

Robert L. Bennett, former Director of Special Projects, American Indian Law Center, University of New Mexico; Albert Shanker, President, American Federation of Teachers; Julian Nava, Professor of History, San Fernando Valley State College, Member, Board of Education, Los Angeles; Edith Green, former Member of Congress, Portland, Oregon; Augustus F. Hawkins, U.S. Congress; Samuel Halperin, Director, Institute for Educational Leadership; William L. Smith, Director, Teacher Corp., U.S. Office of Education; Dr. Herbert O. Reid, Charles Hamilton Houston Distinguished Professor of Law, Howard University Law School; Joseph E. Duffey, General Secretary, American Association of University Professors

**Rapporteur:** Beryl Radin, Assistant Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs

### Thursday, September 16

**Afternoon Session**  
 Remarks by Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson

**Panel: THE RIGHT TO EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW**

**Papers:** Review of Programs: Clifford Alexander, Attorney, Verner Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson & Alexander

**Assessment of Impacts:** Burke Marshall, Assistant Dean, Law School, Yale University

**Panel Participants:** Louis Martin, Chairman — President, Sengstacke Newspapers

Roger Wilkins, Editorial Board, The New York Times; Althea T. L. Simmons, Director of Education Programs, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Sidney Hook, Senior Research Fellow, Hoover Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, New York University; Harry McPherson, Attorney, Verner, Lipfert, Bernhard, McPherson and Alexander; A. Leon Higgin botham, Jr., Judge, U.S. District Court, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Bernard R. Gifford, Deputy Chancellor, New York City, Board of Education

**Rapporteur:** Dagmar Hamilton, Associate Professor, LBJ School of Public Affairs



## Working In A Presidential Library: One Researcher's Point Of View

*The basic business of the LBJ Library, as of all Presidential Libraries, is to make the papers in our collections available for scholarly research. It occurred to us that the Friends of the Library might like to know what this means from the vantage point of a scholar who has actually conducted research here. So we asked Philip R. Rulon, Associate Professor of History at Northern Arizona University, who has worked in the collections of the Truman and Eisenhower Libraries and (partly with the help of a grant from the Friends of The LBJ Library) in the Education papers in the LBJ Library, to set down his thoughts. We are pleased to present his response. (The Library's archives staff reviewed his paper, thought that certain points needed modification or clarification; with Dr. Rulon's concurrence, those clarifying comments are included as footnotes.)—Ed.*

*Article by Dr. Philip Reed Rulon*

The six Presidential Libraries in the United States may be misnamed. These institutions are rapidly developing into multi-purpose human resource centers that serve a variety of needs. The LBJ Library is the largest of its kind and the first to be placed physically on a university campus. The Library conducts scholarly seminars and symposia on topics of national and international interest. Its museum — the aspect with which most people are familiar — has pioneered in the use of film, closed-circuit TV, and other audio-visual devices to inform the general public of a historical figure and era. Therefore, the term "Presidential Center" is more accurate.

The most curious phenomenon in connection with such centers is that few individuals really understand the nature of the research function. This essay attempts to answer several questions: What precisely does the Library contain and how much of this material is open for investigation? How does one get permission to use documents and what type of research may be successfully pursued? Does the archival staff render assistance? Is grant money available to subsidize scholarship? And finally, just what is it like to work in one of these institutions?

Besides book and photographic collections, the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library contains some 31 million pages. The President's personal papers, stretching from boyhood to the end of his administration, are by far the most significant. The bulk of these manuscripts are included under a heading entitled White House Central Files. This material is further broken down into other classifications — documents generated by high ranking officials or organizations; and by lower echelon individuals, committees, and agencies. In the future, we can expect the staff to become more active in acquiring the personal, as opposed to the official, papers of the team of men and women who worked with Lyndon Johnson in his almost four decades of public service. The oral histories (taped interviews conducted by historians and then transcribed on paper) add much needed detail, for the telephone has eliminated much of the memo-writing done by former Presidents.

"What is open for investigation?" is a timely question. Naturally, materials which have not yet been processed are closed to researchers, though sometimes a specific document, report, or collection can be reviewed without a lengthy delay. Operational policy dictates that files may be

closed for one of three reasons: by an executive order which governs access to national security information; by statute or by the agency which originated the document; and by restrictions contained in the donor's deed of gift. But much of the time, in actual practice, decisions are made by the archivists and they, like Jared Sparks (who eliminated the profanity in the letters of George Washington), often close items simply on the basis that it might cause embarrassment to a certain individual.<sup>1</sup> Unseasoned reviewers, in addition, sometimes are overly cautious about what constitutes national security.<sup>2</sup> To serious researchers, who generally use discretion in their writing, these procedures produce obstacles and frustrations in their search for truth.

Permission to use the Presidential archives is relatively easy to obtain. For the most part, the libraries, because of staff limitations and for other reasons, dictate that only students, journalists, government officials, free lance writers, and academicians who identify in advance a topic for an article or book in written form may be issued a blue-colored admissions card — one, incidentally, which is valid for a twelve month period.<sup>3</sup> No "qualified researcher," to this writer's knowledge, has ever been refused access. On the other hand, an arrogant investigator or one who is inclined to distrust shreds of evidence may find that information is not volunteered; that researcher might have to work harder and longer to find pertinent data.

The opportunities for serious study in a presidential library are limited only by the creativity and the imagination of the individual investigator. In the past, journalists and social scientists (mostly historians and students of the American political system) have been the major group to take advantage of the immense collections. Here again the Johnson Library has evolved as a pacesetter. The decision to open papers on civil rights and education first, as well as to sponsor broad symposia, is making many scholars realize the great potential of these institutions, for Presidents are often symbols of their age and they represent to some extent the mood of the nation at a particular point in time. The mountains of documents cover practically every aspect of life in the United States and often of foreign nations as well. In my own case, the richness of the data caused me to revise significantly future literary interests.

I came to the University of Texas to ascertain



that materials were available pertaining to the exportation of the land-grant college overseas, a movement which began as a result of the Technical Cooperation Administration created by Harry Truman. For almost a decade teaching and writing had been concerned with the domestic contributions of Morrill colleges. But as Lyndon Johnson's formative years, his service with the National Youth Administration, and his time spent in Washington were examined, it became clear that the whole story of modern educational development in this country could be told by compiling a biography of the 36th President. The idea seemed to possess merit, for much of the domestic chaos in the nation since World War II has been directly related to the practice and thought of the school system.

In embarking upon this new adventure, I painfully came to realize the full extent of the material available on just the one topic that interested me. Notetaking commenced on childhood, schooling, personality development, the collegiate years, teaching in rural and urban Texas schools, the initial move to Washington, the leadership exerted as Director of the Texas National Youth Administration, and then formal and informal education-oriented activity surrounding service to the nation as Congressman, Senator, Majority Leader, Vice President and President. The number of documents related to the passage of school legislation alone during the presidential period proved staggering. Besides the personal papers, relevant data had to be extracted from Aides Files, the Bureau of the Budget, the United States Office of Education, the various Task Forces, Administrative and Oral Histories as well as Congressional records. Information on public opinion and pressure groups was only sampled because of time limitations. The bits and pieces taken from the above will result in a book entitled *From Pedagogue to President: The Educational Thought of Lyndon Baines Johnson*.

I found on my initial visit to the Johnson Library that my objectives were slightly impeded because much of the clerical and bibliographic work had to be done myself. The enormity of the holdings dictates that a highly-trained and experienced staff be retained. And fortunately one is being created. Valuable finding aides have been assembled, documents are "fetched" (no doubt a term included in the new linguistic guide to Texas speech patterns) with amazing rapidity, ignorant questions are answered promptly with a smile, important cross references are found, and books are checked out quickly in the evenings so that investigators can do background reading at nights. One serious problem, however, does exist. The opening of the library prior to reviewing the bulk of the documents, the processing of requests to declassify items, the need to provide information to governmental agencies, the time required to get ready for symposia, and the task of simply having to answer innumerable telephone calls and large amounts of correspondence, make it impossible presently to assign one archivist exclusively to one resident or visiting researcher. By contrast, the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library sent me on my last trip several single-spaced typewritten pages

of sources in advance and they were by the desk assigned on the morning of my arrival. This practice should be initiated in Austin as soon as possible. But it probably can not be done until more papers are processed and fewer people are needed for reviewing. There is also, of course, the possibility of expanding the size of the staff.

The LBJ Foundation, and its offspring, the Friends of the LBJ Library, distribute financial grants to researchers on a competitive basis. And these are not, as some might surmise, necessarily limited to politics and political history. A survey of the 1975 calendar year awards indicates research supported by the foundation ranged from Black civil rights and radicalism, Indian policy, aid to depressed areas, domestic and international education programs, library development, and the Great Depression in the Lone Star State. One can, as more items are opened, expect even more varied proposals. Moreover, at least one academician has suggested that consideration be given to making some funds available to high school, community college, college, and university instructors to mass produce key documents, construct filmstrips, and devise other audio-visual materials for classrooms and teaching laboratories. Adoption of this idea could make the LBJ Library a leader in pedagogy as well as research.

In conclusion, the opportunity to work in the LBJ Library was a profitable and memorable one. Insight into the complexities of modern government should make for a better than average understanding of the issues of the day. Higher historical vistas encountered will occupy me for some time to come. And as I sort through a pile of notes stacking almost three feet high many warm memories return of the red carpeted reading room, of chats with archivists, officials, guards, and guides, and of puffing on my pipe in the hall waiting in suspense to see what revelation the next cart of boxes might contain. These reminiscences occur as I convert my notes into the narrative of my book. The thought that so many "Friends of the LBJ Library" made my project possible is strong incentive to put the next blank page into the old battered typewriter purchased in graduate school and compose the next sentence.

#### Comments:

(1) *The conditions imposed by President Johnson, in his agreement to turn over his papers to the Government, stipulate that materials "which may in any manner be used to injure, embarrass or harass any person" be "placed under seal of restriction" and periodically reviewed to determine when that restriction can be removed. Determination of what constitutes "embarrassment" is of course, at least in part, a subjective exercise. But in all Presidential Libraries, it is the staff's responsibility to make this determination.*

(2) *In considerations of "national security" matters, the Library staff has very little responsibility for interpretation — usually none at all. State, Defense, and other departments and agencies determine when classified papers can be downgraded.*

(3) *For the record: we go by the rules laid down by National Archives; any researcher who seeks access to our records gets it.*



# Roundup At The LBJ Ranch

## *benefit for Grove*



Above, guests file through crowded lines to fill their plates with Texas-style barbecue. Right, Mrs. Johnson and Carol Channing watch the Fandangle performers.



A festive barbecue at the LBJ Ranch on May 2 rounded up more than 600 guests and \$125,000 for the LBJ Memorial Grove on the Potomac. The crowd was entertained by Texas Hill Country performers, caught artificial diamonds tossed by Carol Channing and consumed nearly 1,000 pounds of Texas barbecue.

The "Last Roundup" recreated the atmosphere of many famous barbecues held on the banks of the Pedernales River during the Johnson Administration.

"So many of our friends and supporters are here, including some of you who date back to our early married days," Mrs. Johnson said, greeting her guests.

Entertainment was provided by the Blue Belles, a country music group from Nashville, and the Fort Griffin Fandangle from the West Texas town of Albany. The Fandangle performers — with their 28 horses, six mules, stagecoach, covered wagon and a hack — staged vignettes from the Western show they offer each summer in their home community.

Among the guests were several members of the National Committee for the Grove: Mr. and Mrs. Laurance Rockefeller, Mrs. Albert Lasker, Mrs. Charles Engelhard, Mrs. Vincent Astor, Mr. Nash Castro, and Mr. Gilbert Denman. Liz Carpenter and Mrs. Marshall Steves coordinated the event.



Left, a member of the Fandangle lends a hand in preparing the barbecue feast. Above, other Fandangle performers relax under the oaks on the banks of the Pedernales.





*symposium*

## The Presidency and The Press

Lined up on one side were the Presidents' men from the last three administrations: Tom Johnson, Assistant Press Secretary to President Johnson; George Christian, Press Secretary to President Johnson; Ron Ziegler, Press Secretary to President Nixon; Herb Klein, Director of Communications for the Executive Branch of the Nixon Administration; Jerald terHorst, first Press Secretary to President Ford; and Ron Nessen, Press Secretary to President Ford.

On the other side were the men and women of the Press: Frank Cormier, Associated Press; James Deakin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch; Marianne Means, King Features and Hearst Newspapers; Dan Rather, CBS News; Hugh Sidey, Time Magazine; and Helen Thomas, UPI.

Moderating were Gerald Warren, Deputy Press Secretary to President Nixon, and Joe Laitin, Assistant Press Secretary to President Johnson. On April 23 they converged upon the Library to discuss the unique relationship between the "Presidency and the Press" in a symposium co-sponsored by the Library and the LBJ School of Public Affairs.



### William S. White Delivers Keynote Address

Expressing the hope that the symposium would result in "improved understanding and a heightened tolerance between two great institutions," Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist William S. White, now a professor of journalism, keynoted the session with a chronicle of his experiences covering the Presidency from Roosevelt to Nixon.

White labeled Franklin D. Roosevelt's meetings with the press as "too cozy and one-sided," yet with enough give-and-take to be called the first modern press conference. "Roosevelt mastered the press as has no other President I have ever known."

Harry S. Truman was "salty, feisty, and sometimes incautious" yet "impacted more solid and legitimate information with less impermissible self-serving than any of the others I have known."

Dwight D. Eisenhower "introduced live television into the scene — along with perhaps the most impenetrable syntax in all politics" and cannily made a "great show of not caring what the reporters said or

wrote." White remembered most "the amiable — and partly deliberate — confusion that permeated the Eisenhower Press Conference from first to last."

"Jack Kennedy," White reported, "had an empathy with journalism that most of the time pervaded his press conference ... Where Roosevelt, way back there, had seized radio and made it his very own, Kennedy co-opted TV and became its superstar." Without this command, "he'd have had a tougher road with the media."

LBJ, on the other hand, disliked TV and tended to freeze up on it, White recalled. "Lyndon Johnson simply was not a press conference type of politician ... One-on-one he was the most persuasive public man I ever knew ... But the magic did not work with large groups — reportorial or otherwise."

White found Richard Nixon "somewhat withdrawn, always intense, never relaxed even from his days as a young Congressman ... His policies he could save; himself he could not."



## Responsibilities of President Discussed

Focusing their attack on the responsibilities of the President and the Press Secretary who serves him, the reporters in the morning session zeroed in on the Press Secretary's changing role.

"Increasingly under past Presidents," Dan Rather charged, "the White House Press office ... has become a propaganda pulpit in which the Press Secretary has ceased to even envision himself as an honest broker of information."

There was no dispute from the Press Secretaries' table—instead, a general acquiescence in George Christian's acknowledgement that "there has been a great tendency for Press Secretaries to be public relations men, to take on the chore of somehow improving the President's image with the public." Often in his own experience, Christian reflected, "we were too rigid in deciding what the public should know and what should be told to the Press." His conclusion was that the Press Secretary should be "a reporter for the reporters on things impossible for them to be involved in," and if he had it to do over again, "I would have put up ... a stronger fight for a different role."

There was also general agreement that the President himself should see the press more often. Helen Thomas put the reason bluntly. "We don't think," she said, "that you always adequately represent the President."

"There should be more direct contact," Tom Johnson affirmed, "between the principal policy-makers of our government and the Press ... rather than through Press spokesmen who are, by nature, generalists."



Ron Nessen: "President Ford has insisted that I attend policy making meetings ... so that I can absorb [news] myself and not have to rely on what people tell me."

How to achieve that? Hugh Sidey offered a solution. "Why," he asked, "doesn't the President ... spend 15 minutes a day with the Press?"

Sidey's proposal at least stirred no objections from the Secretaries, even when he dismissed the standard arguments about the demands on a President's time: "It is my belief," he said, "that the President is not as busy as he is often portrayed," that a lot of his time "is wasted kissing beauty contest queens [and] accepting turkeys from the turkey growers."

Differences between the two sides began to surface on the subject of secrecy.

"The one excuse for secrecy in government that I recognize," said Marianne Means, "is national security ... [But] I would like to ask what the Press Secretaries feel the legitimate bounds of national security are." Underlining the question was her conviction that national security is "a dandy excuse" which "is used too often and is too broadly applied."

"I would buy that," said Jerry terHorst. And Ron Ziegler added, "I think everyone ... realizes that it has been abused ... because too many people have the ability ... to stamp 'Top Secret' on material."



Dan Rather: "In a participatory democracy ... a high degree of communicable trust between the leadership and the led is an absolute essential."

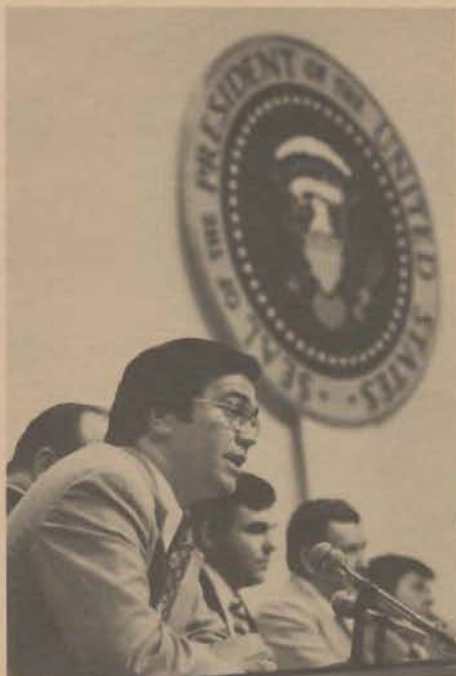
But that was as far as agreement went. "I sure would not want to be the person that determined what was national security," terHorst said. "I would hope that decision would be made first by the President and then by the Secretary of State and by the Secretary of Defense."

Ron Nessen suggested that what appears to be an abuse of national security might often be simply a matter of timing. "Many things can be told two days from now or a week from now that for what seems good reasons can't be told today," he said. Ziegler elaborated: "The Press Secretary [who has been] sitting in the policy meetings knows that he can't tell the Administration's position ... because it is still a subject of debate ..."



James Deakin: "In the White House ... all the pressures are against full dissemination ... of the matters that are vital to the American people."





Tom Johnson: "The Press Secretary and his staff should not be a filter for government. They should be designed to facilitate access of the Press and thereby the people to the truth about its government."

"I don't understand," Ms. Means said, "why the debate itself isn't news ..." Helen Thomas pressed the point: "We should be in on the dialogue when basic policies are being debated. This business of the *fait accompli* which we saw in Vietnam, all the way through, step by step, was bad."

But the Press Secretaries saw no way that a general "litmus test," as Jerry Warren put it, could be applied to national security matters. They agreed with Nessen's objection that "it's hard to ... try to draw hypothetical boundaries."

Midway through the morning session, difference escalated into contention. "Were any of you," Helen Thomas asked, "ever told by a President you served to distort the truth?"

The responses indicated that although none of the

Secretaries had intentionally lied, each had occasionally — and unwittingly — disseminated false information which came from other sources. Herb Klein's answer was typical: "I was not asked to lie. There were some of my colleagues who did lie to me."

Jim Deakin was not willing to accept this defense. "There has been a great deal of conversation today ... about lying," he said. "And all the Press Secretaries, or most of them, have done ... sort of a mea culpa. 'Yes, I lied ... I'm sorry I did it. I wish I hadn't.'" Then he went for the jugular: "The country is alienated. The country has lost faith in the political process ... And contributing to this has been all the lying ... My question is: How much responsibility, gentlemen, do you think you bear for the political alienation in this country ...?"

His question was met with candor. Tom Johnson, repeating that he had never deliberately misled, said that, nonetheless, "I think we bear an enormous responsibility." Said Ron Ziegler: "As a part of the Governmental process, I assume a great deal of responsibility. That's why I am here ... to begin the move to some solutions to some of the questions that have been raised ... I'm here because I feel a responsibility for having served and for some of the errors that I made ..."

But the Press Secretaries saw the problem as more complicated than Deakin had posed it. Said Klein: "... It would appear to a lot of people listening that you're saying, 'Okay, aren't you people over there entirely responsible for the political alienation of the country?' Everyone feels some responsibility, but there are a lot of factors in it ... And it's not just the political alienation. It's the alienation regarding families, religion; alienation toward the press." Nessen pressed the point further, with an accusation aimed at Deakin: "The kind of media-directed cuteness, half-truths, distortions, oversimplifications that you have laid on this audience is partly responsible for the kind of alienation ... you refer to."

"That dog," Dan Rather protested, "simply will not hunt — the idea that the problems are not the problems, [but] that the people who call attention to the problems are the problems ... [that] it's the press that's responsible for the alienation in the country ..."

But the issues, Nessen insisted, were "too complex" to be posed as an "either/or proposition ... Whose fault is it that the country is alienated? Is it the Press or is it the Government?" and then to be resolved simply by saying "It's the government."

Jerry Warren, noting in his summary that the Press stands above politicians in the polls "only by a few percentage points," agreed with Nessen: "It is not as simple as them versus us, the Government versus the Press ... There is a great deal of defensive reaction on both sides."

Sitting on the Press Secretary's panel were, left to right, Tom Johnson, George Christian, Herb Klein, Jerald terHorst and Ron Nessen. Also shown are moderators Gerald Warren and Joe Laitin.





## Panelists Examine Responsibilities of the Press

Indicating the reporters sitting across from him, Ron Nessen said: "I think the people ... at that table have among them ... as much power to influence the course of events and the views of the public as anyone else in America with the exception of perhaps a half dozen elected officials." Herb Klein sketched the situation in a lighter vein: "Franklin Roosevelt could get away with telling a reporter to go sit in the corner and put a dunce hat on. Can you imagine a President doing that today?"

In whatever terms described, the Press' growing power and its handling of the responsibilities that attend power were the subjects of the Press Secretaries' probing when they took to the offensive.

Nessen charged the press with maintaining a "double standard ... Public officials who make an error, their error is the subject of a news story. News reporters ... like doctors, bury their mistakes." Had any of the assembled press representatives, he demanded, ever admitted responsibility for an error?

"I have," Marianne Means answered. No other response was quite so specific — perhaps confirming Frank Cormier's admission that "one of the problems [is] the inability of the Press to admit its own shortcomings."

Heleen Thomas insisted that in the case of the wire services at least, reporters are monitored by a system that makes confession of error unnecessary: "We have many judges," she said, "and the judges are our clients. And if they think we're not accurate they'll soon cancel us."

But Hugh Sidey conceded the legitimacy of Nessen's charge. "Time magazine, and the other magazines," he pointed out, "have ... never allowed a correction to run in their news columns. They make corrections in their letters to the editor, which is not quite the same; it's a little sneaky, quite honestly ... I think that perhaps we should institute a policy ... in which a major error in a story would be corrected perhaps in the same space, in the same manner." The problem goes further than the news magazines, too, Sidey said. "I would judge ... that Walter Cronkite does not correct himself ... with the same intensity or the same prominence that the error is made."

Apart from the media's handling of errors, the Press Secretaries were concerned about other manifestations of what they considered irresponsibility. Turning to Dan Rather, Nessen posed an example peculiar to TV journalism, which has bothered many observers: "Let's say 20 of the President's advisors and the President himself have spent 2,000 man hours working on a project, a proposal, weighed the information, developed options, weighed those, looked at the consequences, found out how much it would cost, the political effect, [the] likelihood of Congress passing it, and so forth; and come forth with this proposal ... You take it, and it is your job to explain it to the American people. And your producer says, 'OK, Dan, let's have a minute and 15 seconds on that' ... about 120 words. Does it bother you that you ... try to translate ... 2,000 man hours of work into 120 words and do it adequately?"

"Yes," Rather responded. "It troubles me very much." He acknowledged the dilemma: "There is no answer to this."



Above, Liz Carpenter, former Press Secretary to Mrs. Johnson, opened the afternoon session with a lively speech. Now a member of the White House Press Corps, panelist Jerald terHorst, below, served briefly as President Ford's Press Secretary.



In remarks opening the afternoon session, Liz Carpenter — declining, she said, to serve as a "human alka-seltzer tablet" bringing relief after the morning's spirited confrontation — spotlighted the issue which, more than any other, seemed to be torn out of the headlines of the times: "The press seems to have developed an unhealthy new arrogance with Watergate," she said. "The press enjoyed the letting of blood and now too often seems to think that good journalism knows no secrets, respects no privacies, pardons no faults, and brooks no reticence."





As co-moderators, Jerry Warren and Joe Laitin (above left) direct the panel debate. Former Nixon Press Secretary Ron Ziegler (above right) and White House correspondent Hugh Sidey (right) assume opposing positions in the afternoon debate. Remarks from Helen Thomas (below right) amuse members of the Press panel.



Keynoter Bill White sat with the reporters for the afternoon session, but on this issue at least his heart was on the other side. He thought the press should "cease [its] insatiable curiosity about purely private affairs in public men's lives." Sidey took strong exception. In his travels around the country, he said, he had found "more than any other issue" this curiosity to be paramount in people's minds. Moreover, he had "come to the conclusion that it is important. I have come to the conclusion that there is almost no part of that man who has so much power that does not bear on the decisions he makes, and in some way influences [them]."

"I think, my friend," White replied, "what you've undertaken to describe here really makes the Press out-Orwell anything Orwell ever proposed..."

"Somehow," said George Christian, "there's got to be reason applied to what is on-limits and what is off-limits in reporting a [public] person's personal life or you're not going to have very many people in public life."

Not necessarily so, said Sidey. "The American public... probably will adjust to imperfect public servants if they have a high degree of competency [and if they] will admit some of their flaws and not present themselves as perfect, and that's been one of the worst problems."

"Would you," Moderator Joe Laitin asked, "apply the same standards" to members of the Press "who influence large numbers of people...?"

Two Press Secretaries who have since gone back into journalism — Jerry terHorst and Tom Johnson — thought that was only fair. "The day may very well come," said terHorst, "when the public has the right... to expect... not only press stories about the private lives of public officials, but [also] about [members of the Press]... if we're going to be allowed to be fair commentators on what's going on on the government side..." Said Johnson: "I believe that those of us in the media must be more willing to apply the same standards to ourselves that we have been applying to public officials and ask the same type of tough questions of our reporters, our editors, our publishers, that we've been asking of government officials..."



At the reporters' table, Sidey agreed. Even though "they don't have the power of the President," he said, "... the people who make judgments must, I suspect, be prepared... to live with their lives public to a certain extent."

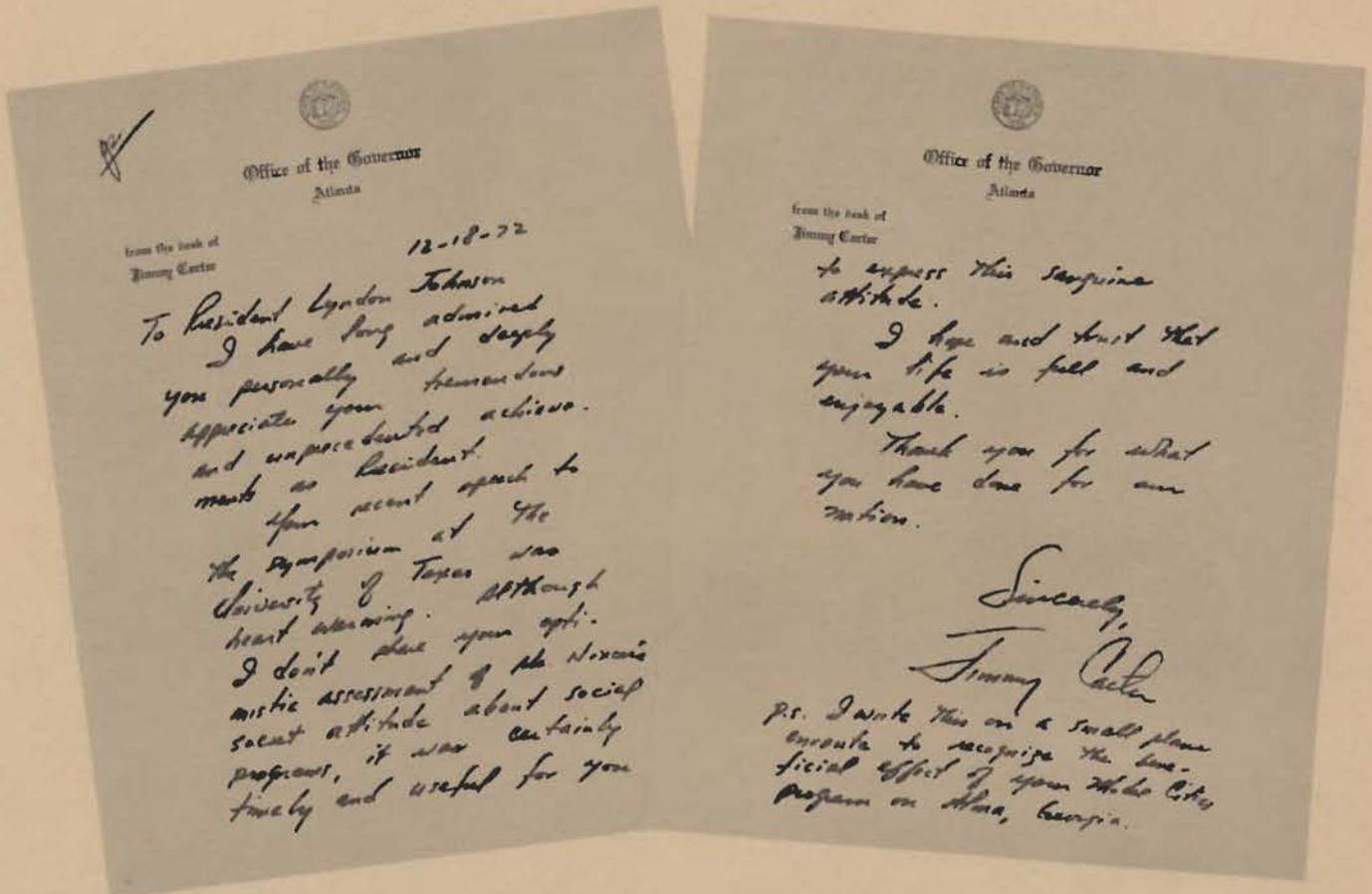
But Jim Deakin dissented. Public servants, he said, are "people who present themselves to the American people to be chosen as leaders. And in so doing... they put themselves in quite a separate category, not only from the news media but from everybody else. And their actions and their policies and their behavior in general become... subject to a somewhat different standard."

It was an issue that would not be easily or soon resolved — nor would it disappear. There was a general agreement with Sidey's observation that in this journalistic area, at least, "it's a new world."



# LBJ And The '76 Candidates

correspondence with Carter



"I have never met a Democratic President," Jimmy Carter said in accepting his nomination July 15.

Carter and Lyndon Johnson did, however, correspond in LBJ's retirement years. Carter's last letter to Johnson came after the former President's address to the Civil Rights symposium at the Library on December 11, 1972.

Governor Carter's comment about LBJ's "optimistic assessment of Mr. Nixon's secret attitude about social programs" was presumably stimulated by these Johnsonian remarks on that occasion:

"...I've heard how we're going to wipe out our poverty program, how we're going to destroy our educational program, how we're going to cripple our medical program, and dilute our enforcement, and a lot of our Civil Rights programs. I hope that's not true. I don't believe it is true. But if it is true, the horsepower is in this room to bring it to the attention of the American people... And to bring it to the attention of the President..."

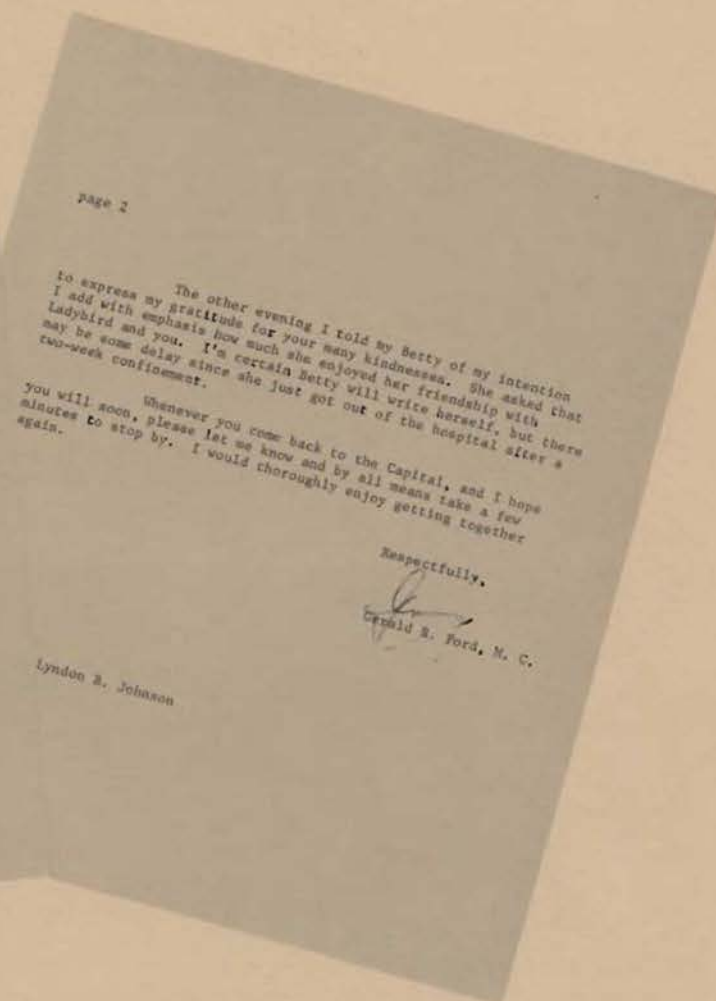
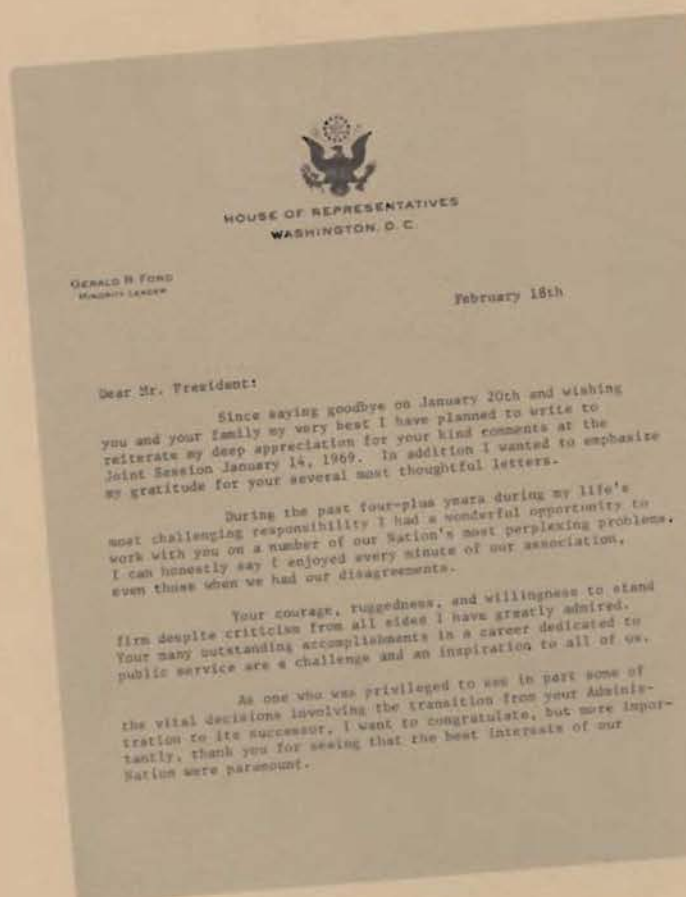
"... There's not a thing in the world wrong — as a matter of fact, there's everything right — about a group saying, 'Mr. President, we would like you to set aside an hour to let us talk.' And you don't need to start off by saying he's terrible, because he doesn't think he's terrible. None of us did, although we might have been. Start talking about how you believe that he wants to do what's right and how you believe *this* is right..."

"Let's watch what's been done and see that it's preserved, but let's say we have just begun, and let's go on."

"While I can't provide much go-go at this period of my life, I can provide a lot of hope and dreams and encouragement, and I'll sell a few calves now and then and contribute..."



## and Ford



Because they served together in Congress for many years, Lyndon Johnson and Gerald Ford had a long and more personal relationship. Ford was elected to the House of Representatives in 1948, the same year LBJ moved to the Senate. After Johnson became President, and Ford was selected by his party as the House Minority Leader, the two men frequently conferred on legislation and matters of national security.

In his farewell address to the Congress, President Johnson reflected on his years in the Capital City and on the men he had known and with whom he had worked. In referring to his association with the members of the rival political party, he remarked:

"I have always received the most generous cooperation from the leaders of the Republican Party in the Congress of the United States, Senator Dirksen and Congressman Gerald Ford, the Minority Leader.

"No President should ask for more, although I did on occasion, but few Presidents have ever been blessed with so much."

Shortly following his farewell address and return to Texas, President Johnson received the above letter from then Minority Leader Ford.



## Coming Events

**TOWARD NEW HUMAN RIGHTS: The Social Policies of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations** (September 12-16). This 4-day symposium will be the most ambitious yet in the Library's annual series. Recognized experts and public figures will participate in a comprehensive examination of the social programs that emerged during the decade of the 1960s. Each day of the conference will be devoted to an assessment of different programmatic areas: September 13, Poverty and Manpower; September 14, Health Care; September 15, Housing and Community Development; September 16, Civil Rights and Education (see related story on pages 4-5).

## Library Hosts Public Documents Commission

The Public Documents Commission, established to resolve the question of who owns the papers of future Presidents — and the papers of other Federal officials as well — met at the Library June 21-22. It was the group's third meeting, and its first outside Washington.

The Commission's creation, with its mandate to take a new look at the long-standing assumption that a President himself owns all the papers accrued during his time in office, came in the wake of Watergate. After the resignation of President Nixon, Congress passed legislation directing the Government to maintain control over all Nixon materials, to assure that any documents involved in court cases arising out of Watergate would be available. The same legislation established the Commission and gave it the responsibility of recommending whether in the future the public or the individual will own not only Presidential papers, but also those of Members of Congress and of the Federal Judiciary — and how the distinction between public and private documents is to be made.

Chaired by former Attorney General Herbert Brownell, the Commission is composed of 17 members drawn from the White House, the Congress, the Judiciary, the Departments of Justice and Defense, the Library of Congress, the American Historical Association, the Society of American Archivists, the Organization of American Historians, and the public. The Commission's recommendations will be submitted to Congress in March, 1977.

The Commission decided to meet at the LBJ Library, according to member James B. Rhoads, Archivist of the United States, because "as the newest of the Presidential Libraries, it could provide an effective workshop to demonstrate not only what Presidential papers consist of, but also how they are processed by professional Government archivists."



John Fawcett, formerly Chief of the Audiovisual Archives, has been promoted to Chief Archivist of the LBJ Library. Fawcett succeeds Charles Corkran, who was named Assistant Director on April 12.

## Visitors To The Library



On April 22 First Lady Betty Ford was escorted on a personal tour of the Library by Mrs. Johnson (photo above). Other prominent visitors have included Joan Fontaine; His Excellency Goafar Muhammad Nimeiri, President of the Sudan; Daniel Boorstin, Librarian of Congress; Edward Levi, U.S. Attorney General; Jack Hood Vaughn, former Director of the Peace Corps; Karl Merrill, GSA Administrator for Region 7; members of the International Council on Modern Art; and a delegation of citizens from Plains, Georgia.

In recent months, Library attendance figures have soared to record levels. This summer 60,000 more visitors toured the Library than did during the same months last year. The summer figures represent an all-time high for any similar period since the Library's opening, with almost 100,000 visitors in the month of July alone.

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