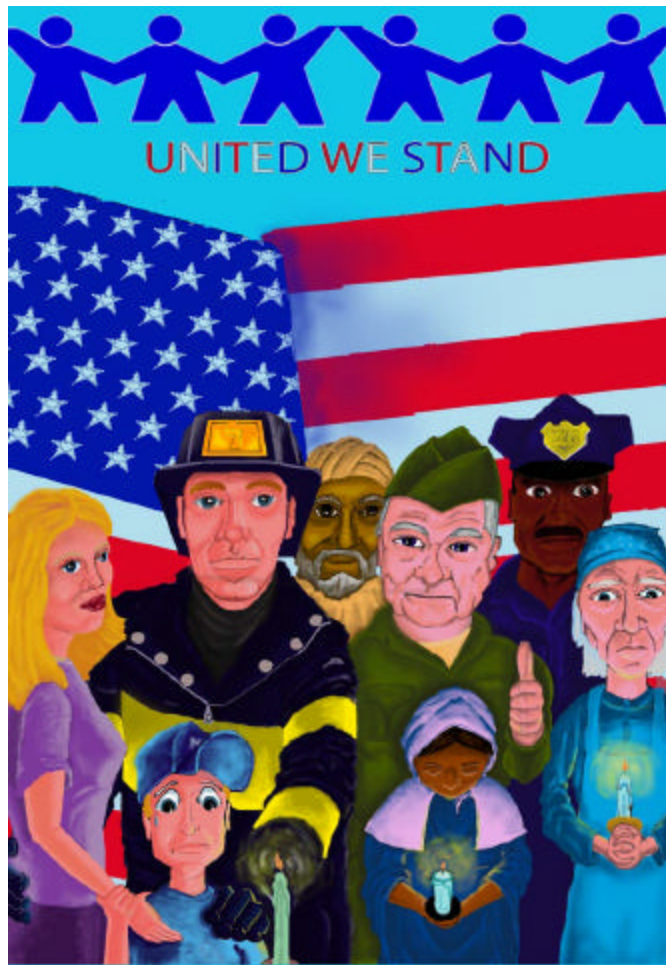


VOLUME III – NUMBER III – FALL/WINTER 2001-2002

THE DELANO



**Kappa Upsilon Chapter – Phi Alpha Theta
Roosevelt University**

THE DELANO

For information on joining Kappa Upsilon, please contact Margaret Rung, Ph.D., at mrung@roosevelt.edu, or 847-619-8563.

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**** Our new website will be online in early 2002!****
****Look for the spring newsletter for more information ****

Guidelines for Submissions of Manuscripts: All articles should be in Word format, 97 or greater, and can be submitted in different ways. Preferably, all manuscripts should be in paper and disk format to the Editor (c/o the faculty advisor), can be mailed directly to the faculty advisor, c/o Roosevelt University, Robin Campus, or articles can be submitted via email to MM6126@aol.com. Footnotes should be in consecutive order and all manuscripts, with the exception of poetry, should be double-spaced with one-inch margins, and must contain footnotes in the style outlined in the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Please include your full name, address, email (if applicable), phone number, and a brief biographical description of yourself. *The Delano* welcomes submissions from all interested parties. If you have any other journal inquiries, including permission to reprint, please contact the Editor at MM6126@aol.com.

CONTENTS VOLUME III – NUMBER III – FALL/WINTER 2001-2002

IN THIS ISSUE4

NEWS5

ARTICLES

Events of 7 December 1941 and 11 September 2001:
Comparisons and Differences6

Cantigny Park: A Review
 BY Felice Boisselier9

The Presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower
 BY Stephanie Wilson16

Lyndon Baines Johnson
 BY Beth Enright 23

INTERVIEW

Hany Hassan and George Giltzow
 BY Rose Giltzow13

POETRY

Women in Shadows
 BY Rose Giltzow11

BOOK REVIEW

Benjamin Franklin, Politician
 BY Wendy Maier22

In This Issue

The Delano welcomes several new contributors to this issue. **Felice A. Boisselier** is a senior and history major at Roosevelt University. She received her AA at Elgin Community College and transferred to Roosevelt University in the fall of 2000. Last year, she spent two months backpacking through Western Europe, and became especially interested in European history and the Holocaust. **Beth Enright** is an undergraduate student at Roosevelt University, where she is working on a degree in journalism with an emphasis on public relations. Her minor field is Political Science. After graduation, Beth plans to focus her attention on political speech writing, and enjoys examining the evolution of the United States democratic system, the presidency, and comparative politics. **Rose Giltzow**, who contributed both original poetry and two interviews, is a sophomore at Roosevelt University, has been interested in creative writing for several years, and enjoys technical forms of writing, such as research articles, interviews, and essays. **Stephanie Wilson** obtained her undergraduate degree in nursing from Illinois Wesleyan University, and is pursuing her MA in political science. She also volunteers for the hospice program at Northwestern Memorial Hospital.

In light of events that surrounded the tragedies of 11 September 2001, the shape of this issue has changed. While we have included articles about American politics, we also felt it important to include findings of a survey we conducted of members of the Roosevelt community and beyond. What we have found was interesting, insightful, and thought provoking.

NEWS

The Kappa Upsilon chapter welcomed four new members this year: Felice Boisselier, Amy Mederich, Martin Terpstra, and Heather Voight.

Treasurer and undergraduate Brian Prusko was awarded an internship in the summer of 2001 from the Walt Disney World College Program. He worked at the Wide World of Sports as a Quick Service Food and Beverage Host.

The chapter recently sponsored an outing to see the Cleopatra exhibit at the Field Museum. The chapter has planned another visit to the exhibit in the spring for those who could not make the December outing. Kappa Upsilon will also plan another outing to Ravinia in July.

Kappa Upsilon is proud to be one of the sponsors for a symposium entitled "Women and the Holocaust," which will be held at the Robin campus on Wednesday, 24 April 2002 from 8:30 a.m. until 6:30 p.m. Speakers will include women survivors, lecturers, resisters, and hidden children. The film *The Last Stop* will also be screened, and will be preceded by a lecture by *The Delano* editor and Roosevelt graduate student Wendy Maier. Ms. Maier, whose major fields include Holocaust Studies, will present her MA thesis findings on German women involved with or who worked for the Nazi secret state police, better known as the SS, or *Schutzstaffeln*. If you would like to attend, volunteer, or need more information, email WomeninHolocaust@aol.com, or contact Dr. Leon Stein at 847-619-8564.

Accordingly, the spring/summer 2002 edition of *The Delano* is now accepting submissions. This issue will focus on Women in the Holocaust, but we will review other submissions based on Holocaust research. We accept a variety of items, including poetry, historical papers, research findings, interviews, and especially invite other disciplines outside of history to submit their work on the Holocaust. You do not have to be a member of Kappa Upsilon to have your article published. **All submissions are due 1 March 2002.** Please contact the Editor at MM6126@aol.com for more information.

Events of 7 December 1941 and 11 September 2001: Comparisons and Differences

The Delano polled people from within the Roosevelt community as well as a random selection of people from around the country. Some chose to discuss both events, while others still had anger that was so fresh they could not think to compare Pearl Harbor with 11 September. These are their comments:

Jennifer W., Michigan:

I was watching the news on television when the newsmen announced that a plane had hit the World Trade Center. They had the cameras on the World Trade Center when suddenly another plane hit it. It actually happened before my eyes. I remember saying, "Oh my God!" and then my knees went weak and I sank into a chair. I was stunned. Soon after the 'impossible' happened the Pentagon was hit. Then the Towers came down and I watched all of this on television. To this day, I can't believe it happened. One minute I felt very safe on American soil, the next I didn't. I always thought that as long as I was in this country and not on foreign soil, I would be safe. I no longer felt safe anywhere after that horrible morning of 11 September 2001.

Margaret Jaffey:

As the September 11th terrorist attack was being shown on TV, and the reports were coming in that Arabs were responsible, I felt concern that Arab-Americans might be rounded up and placed into internment camps in the same way that Japanese-Americans were during World War II, following the Pearl Harbor attack. That was the strongest connection I felt at the time between the events of World War II and the September 11th attack. Later thoughts I had did reflect on the connection between the two attacks on America, but since I did not experience the attack on Pearl Harbor, it is difficult to think of it in the same way as the September 11th attack. Perhaps tragic events seem worse if one is alive when they occur, rather than as something read about in history books.

Dr. James T. McHugh, Associate Professor of Political Science, Chair, Legal Studies Program:

Historical comparison is vulnerable to superficial analysis and overgeneralization, especially when it is reduced to a written 'blurb' or a 'sound bite'. A comparison of the events of December 7, 1941 and September 11, 2001 provides a good example of that problem. The specific differences between the two events are far more numerous than the vague similarities that are more immediately apparent. Nonetheless, the two events demonstrate the underlying strength of the United States and the strong sense of political legitimacy which permeates American society and which enables its citizens to provide overwhelming support for its government, especially in terms of support for the president, even when (in the latter case) the legitimacy of his election remains highly suspect.

Before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Franklin D. Roosevelt actively sought to engage the United States in a conflict against global fascism, while George W. Bush was reluctantly thrust into a role of aggressively combating global terrorism. Indeed, the events of September 11 have forced President Bush to adopt the interventionist approach to international relations of his principal competitor for the White House, Al Gore (including the concept of engaging in 'nation

building', which he had, during the elections, ridiculed). Roosevelt's strengths as a leader have been well documented by history; Bush's abilities remain to be experienced and evaluated.

Chris M., Florida:

My reaction to September 11th was this: primarily, I was shocked at the enormity and horror of it all. Once I began to think about it, I was angry. Angry that my freedom was compromised. Angry that I had to now become aware of Osama bin Laden and the Taliban. I was pretty happy never having heard of them ...or better yet, having to worry over them. It is sad that we had to go to war, kill others, involve other countries and all because of one man, so it seems, that we cannot find. It also galls me to think that our government was so complacent that September 11th ever occurred. AFTER it happened, it didn't take long to realize who was behind it. Seems to me with our intelligence, we should have had knowledge that America was a target for some sort of terrorism at the very least. Also, this 'American' who became a Taliban fighter against the Americans – he can cry and whine and give as much information as he wants but he went to Afghanistan under his own will and just because he got caught, now he wants to have pity bestowed upon him? He is a traitor, pure and simple and they should do to him what they do to ALL traitors in a time of war.

Felice Boisselier:

11 September 2001 will forever be remembered as the day America was suddenly and viciously attacked. Never before had our generation experienced such a horrific event. 7 December 1941, only a mere 60 years prior, Americans had experienced what they believed to be the worst attack on our homeland. Both events significantly affected the lives of Americans. They marked the beginning of a new era for the American people. Our way of life as we have known it will never be the same.

Darleen S., Chicago:

Yawn, stretch and get moving. It is another day. Or so I thought. As I am reading the paper while eating my breakfast, the television announces that someone has just sent a plane full of passengers into one of America's landmarks, the World Trade Center. And as I watch with an expression of horror and disbelief, another plane hits the second tower. This too was a jet airliner full of passengers. Who would do something like this? Why would anyone want to kill innocent people? What purpose would be accomplished in this destruction? Random questions raced through my mind as I continue to watch.

Both of these planes were used as a massive weapon of destruction for the twin towers. The purpose was to destroy the towers using a highly explosive chemical, the airplane fuel, and to kill the American hostages on the plane. All those people in the towers...lost. All those companies in the towers...destroyed. All those buildings, including the surrounding ones...destroyed. America the land of plenty...isolated from the rest of the world...made me aware of how fragile the country and its people really are. Susceptible to infiltration by other countries and to destruction internally by those same unknowns.

This reminded me of the Japanese suicide mission on December 7, 1941. Everyone went about their normal routine unaware that their lives were going to be destroyed or changed forever. As the fundamentalist connected with Osama bin Laden used the plane and the passengers as

weapons, so did the Japanese on that fateful day. Instead of twin towers, a mercantile establishment, it was Pearl Harbor, a huge naval station that these men destroyed using their bodies and planes. America thought they would not recover from that tragedy. Yet it did. And so will we again gain strength to recover from this. We Americans are now aware others are not in love with our ideals. We Americans are more conscience about how we help with other countries. We Americans will never let our guard down again. No longer will we be isolated in the world.

Wendy Maier:

Can there be a proper comparison between events of 7 December 1941 and 11 September 2001? There are two things that I will never forget about 11 September and its aftermath. The night of 11 September I remember sitting outside with my dogs, watching the sky, and seeing nothing in the air but stars. Not having airplanes overhead for days after was an eerie sensation. The entire world seemed to stop. The other day I will never forget was when I was walking out of the Roosevelt Robin campus one afternoon to my car. As I was about to put my key in the car door, I heard a horrible booming sound right over my head, and a woman next to me screamed. An airplane right above our heads appeared to swerve, and within seconds, two fighter jets appeared alongside it. As people milled around and we all stared at the sky, the feeling that came over me was one of fear, amazement, and incredulity at what I had just witnessed. This was a few weeks after 11 September and I was afraid that another plane had been hijacked. Later I found out that a passenger attempted to storm the cockpit, but other passengers subdued him. Still, it was unsettling to think about what I had just seen.

However, was the assault on 11 September the first actual 'attack' by a foreign nation on American soil? Can we compare that day to 7 December? Hawaii, back in 1941, was not an American state. However, when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, thousands of American servicemen and women were injured and killed. Our sovereignty was threatened, so in a sense, America *was* attacked. Everything that Americans had enjoyed since independence was won from Great Britain was in jeopardy when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. I find that perhaps in the year 2001, we had a false sense of security about how America was protected. In 1942, when Adolf Hitler sent several Nazi saboteurs to the United States to blow up American railroads and military manufacturing plants, the FBI was able to stop their planned attacks. It scares me to think that in our advanced society, with all of our military capabilities, and technological advances, no one could stop the attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center. But who do we blame? While we fought against the Japanese and Germans and won, with the attacks on 11 September, and with our ongoing war on terrorism, can we win again with so many 'unknown' enemies wishing us death, accompanied by the now very real threat of possible biological and nuclear warfare?

Cantigny Park: A Review

Felice Boisselier

Established in 1960 and located in the charming Western suburb of Wheaton, Cantigny Park is a 500-acre public park and recreation area, which was once home to the former editor and publisher of the Chicago Tribune, Robert R. McCormick. The grounds of Cantigny offer a little bit of something for everyone in the family. Activities include a walk through the beautifully manicured fifteen acres of gardens, or a visit to the Robert R. McCormick Museum, home of Colonel McCormick and built by his grandfather Joseph Medill in 1896. An escorted tour will take the visitor through the thirty-five rooms filled with many priceless antiques and artwork that McCormick collected throughout his life. For those who seek a more active outing, they should visit the Cantigny Golf Course, which offers twenty-seven holes of championship golf, and is open all year. There is even a Cantigny Youth Links, which gives children ages eight to fifteen an opportunity to practice their golf game on a nine-hole course.

The true history buffs that are interested in the rich history of the First Infantry Division (the Big Red One) of the US Army, should head over to the First Division Museum. Here one will find a comprehensive exhibit detailing the history of the First Infantry Division and its units from the Revolutionary War through the Gulf War. Colonel McCormick was commander of the First Battalion, Fifth Field Artillery, which was part of the First Division during World War I. He renamed his estate Cantigny in honor of the first American battle of the war.

Upon entering the First Division Museum, the visitor begins a tour into the Main Exhibit Hall. Complete with life-sized figures, photographs, maps and videos, the entire tour is highly interactive and educational. The visitor will first enter the recreated French village of Cantigny during World War I, complete with battle noises and a damaged French tank. Continue walking along and one enters a trench, where one is able to imagine the grueling life of a soldier in the trenches of World War I. Phones are available for visitors to pick up and listen to the communications of the soldiers during the war. Moving on, enter the 1941 barracks of a base in Massachusetts during World War II. Here, amidst news and radio reports of the raging war in Europe, a life-size figure of a platoon sergeant is shown barking orders to his men. More World War II galleries are displayed among the re-creation of a supply tent. Perhaps one of the most interesting exhibits is Omaha Beach. Here visitors board a landing craft headed for Omaha Beach in Normandy, France, and watch a brief film of footage of the actual invasion, as a soldier narrates a letter to his wife and children back home. At the end of the film, the screen rises and visitors enter Omaha Beach, recreated to represent how it looked immediately following the devastating battle on the beach. The chaos and destruction of the battle is evident as visitors walk along and listen to further individual accounts of the battle.

After leaving the World War II exhibit, visitors move on to the Cold War Gallery, and on to the conflict in Vietnam. Here one enters a jungle, and learn of the First Division's role in Vietnam from 1965-1970. The final exhibit details the First Division's experiences during Desert Storm and Shield.

The entire exhibit is informative and interactive, allowing for children and adults to learn more about the US Army's premier infantry division, and its impact throughout the twentieth century. Before leaving the Main Exhibit Hall, stop by and visit the temporary exhibit entitled "Ready for Duty: American Women Answer The Call." Here visitors learn of the role of American women during war, from the Civil War to the present. Pictures, uniforms and biographies tell the often-overlooked story of women and their contribution during time of war and crisis.

Cantigny Park is located at 1 South 151 Winfield Road in Wheaton. Hours vary for different months, but the museum is usually open Tuesday-Sundays from 10:00 a.m. until 4:00 or 5:00 p.m. (depending on the time of year). The garden and the parks have different hours, depending on when you would like to go. Parking fee for cars is seven dollars and this allows entry into the museum. For more information, contact Cantigny directly at 630-668-5161, or visit their website at www.cantignypark.com.

Women in Shadows

Rose Giltzow

Dark shadows lay upon the sand drifts of Afghanistan.
Secrets buried under mounds of granular dust.
Wild dogs slink back into these cool patches,
but one dog never rests, nor sleeps.
Eager officials embed their steel toe boot tips into his matted sides;
changing the course of his original direction to meet their own.
The streets of Kabul are familiar with his presence.
He pounces at women, wraps his massive jaws around their necks,
muffles their screams; screams that bounce endlessly,
off red stained city walls.
These women venture outside their homes.
They imitate mice, trying hard not to be seen, praying
to be inside the womb of a shadow.
Men rape girls;
these are daughters.
Men rape women;
these are mothers.
Forgetfulness is a plague in Kabul,
and men spin like dark tops with delirium.
They do not remember their daughters.
They do not remember their mothers.

Americans know of this dogmatic rule in Kabul,
which hunts down innocent women and leaves
its canine teeth marks in their burquas.
Will we forget our daughters?
Will we forget our mothers?
I read an article,
that made me think of the full moon.
When it rises into a violet desert sky
and overtakes the searing sun, as it imprisons
the day's suffocating heat inside its meteor body.
An elementary school in Yang-e-qal opened for girls.
A place far from the Taliban's cultivated poppy fields.
They are taught the same lessons as young Afghan boys.
These girls escaped the invisible shackles
that left blue and purple marks upon their mothers' ankles.

Interviews: Hany Hassan and George Giltzow

Rose Giltzow

From the *Koran*, (5:48): “Unto every one of you have We appointed a [different] law and way of life. And if God had so willed, He could surely have made you all one single community: but He willed it otherwise in order to test you by means of what He has vouchsafed unto you. Vie, then, with one another in doing good works! Unto God you all must return; and then He will make you truly understand all that on which you were wont to differ.”

Rose Giltzow interviewed two very different Americans for this article, with the hopes of gathering two equally different perspectives on the events of 11 September.

Hany Hassan is a supervisor engineer for FMC Corporation. He is Muslim and is originally from Cairo Egypt. He has been an American citizen for ten years.

Before the events of September 11, 2001, do you feel you were discriminated against because of your faith?

No, most of the time I do not experience any prejudice.

Do you feel the West has exploited your religion since the events of Sept. 11, 2001 to get revenge for the acts of terrorists?

Yes, CNN and FOX generalize, and they use things about my religion out of context.

Should we treat the terrorist acts as an act of war or a crime?

Due to the gravity of this attack, we should treat it as an act of war.

What percentage of Muslims do you think are fundamentalists?

That depends on how you define a fundamentalist.

What is the difference between the terrorists' extremist acts and what you consider fundamentalists?

Fundamentalists stick to the roots of their religion. They believe firmly in the teachings. A good percentage of Muslims are fundamentalists. Extremists take anything out of context and use it in a violent way; they have violent views. Extremists are rare. In Egypt not even half a percent of the Muslims are extremists.

What kind of thoughts do you have on the oppression of women in Afghanistan?

All I have known is what I have seen on TV. Ninety-five percent of the Muslim world does not know what goes on in Afghanistan. I cannot really judge, because I do not have enough information.

Do you agree with the government's decision to bomb Afghanistan?

Not in the way it has taken shape. I think the attack should be more focused on the people who attacked America.

Do you think President Bush has shown good leadership abilities in dealing with the war on terror?

Pretty much, in the beginning I didn't think so, but now he is doing a good job.

Over all, how do you view the military action against Afghanistan?

I do not like it. I do not believe it is going to deliver real results, especially in capturing Osama bin Laden.

Do you think we will be able to find Osama Bin Laden without sending in ground troops?

I do not believe the U.S. will find him alive even if they send in ground troops.

Do you think the current Anthrax threats are connected to the terrorists?

I do not believe so; I believe it is local. It is not Osama bin Laden's style, because it does not get immediate results.

Why do you think the terrorists targeted their violent acts on America?

U.S. policy in the Middle East

If you could tell Americans who are not of Muslim descent one thing about your religion what would it be and why?

The word Islam means peace, and not a lot of people know that. Not a lot of people know the actual teachings of Islam. The media tries to frame the teachings of Islam in a way that serves their own message.

George Giltzow is a graduate of the United States Naval Academy. He served in the military as a naval aviator. Mr. Giltzow is currently an airline captain with a major carrier.

Should we treat the terrorist acts as an act of war or a crime?

We should treat it as an act of war, because it was a foreign entity that killed a large number of people on our soil. I believe this is a definition of an act of war.

Do you think America made the right military action in deciding to bomb Afghanistan?

I do not look at it as if we are bombing Afghanistan. We are bombing the Taliban for harboring Osama bin Laden and his followers, and I agree with the decision to bomb the Taliban and the Al Qaeda network.

Do you think President Bush has shown good leadership abilities in dealing with the war on terror?

Yes, he has grown into the job since September 11, 2001.

Over all, how do you view the military action against Afghanistan?

It is difficult to say because it is done on a covert basis. However, it does seem like the results are being achieved. The Taliban is on the run. Their ability to wage war is essentially gone. We are working to get the Afghan people to overthrow the Taliban. I feel the U.S. has put tremendous pressure on the Taliban.

Have you looked at people who are Muslims differently since the events of September 11, 2001?

Being that terrorists were living here as normal immigrants who were Muslims, I have suspicion that other Muslim men could be here in the same capacity as part of terrorist cells to perpetuate further attacks against the U.S.

What kind of thoughts do you have on the oppression of women in Afghanistan?

By Western standards it is not acceptable.

Do you think the current threats of Anthrax are related to the terrorists?

I do not know.

If you could know one thing about the Muslim faith, what would it be and why?

I would like to know if violence is condoned or encouraged by the Koran, or have the terrorists completely distorted the teachings of Islam to achieve their goals.

The Presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower

Stephanie Wilson

Dwight D. Eisenhower has often been depicted as a man of few words and few ambitions. After his two terms in office, many believed his presidency to be ineffectual and mediocre at best.¹ His grasp of civil rights issues was also often heralded as weak and inefficient. He lacked refined oratory skills and thus effective public persuasion often eluded him. Consequently, not until recently have the virtues and accomplishments of Eisenhower's presidency been truly acknowledged.²

There are two types of leaders that some analysts refer to. The first type is defined as a 'task-oriented' leader, who defines his accomplishments through measurable, material achievements. The second type, as Eisenhower was, is the 'relationship-oriented' leader who in essence, defines his leadership achievements by consensus and harmony.³ Eisenhower as president was ideal during the 1950s, as people at this time wanted peace and harmony, which had so often eluded them in the past, especially since Eisenhower "made Americans feel happy about themselves and their country." Eisenhower would have been a disastrous president during the 1930s and early 1940s, the period when Franklin D. Roosevelt was president, because at that time a strong, influential leader was needed, specifically one that could enlist the support of the public, qualities that Roosevelt had.

Eisenhower did indeed lack skill in public persuasion and the institution of effective civil rights legislation, but his upstanding moral authority, numerous domestic and international achievements, excellent relations with Congress and his discreet, yet authoritative style balanced his two terms in office and garnered him a place in history not only as a decorated war hero, but also as a morally upstanding, centrist president.

Presidential leadership, according to Eisenhower, was composed of "persuasion, and conciliation, and education, and patience. It's long, slow, and tough work." The American public has extremely high expectations of our president, holding him accountable for foreign and domestic affairs, the economy, taxes, and education. Many presidents are not able to handle these pressures, often due to high public expectations, but there are those few who not only handle the pressures well, but also provide the American public with an example which each man, woman, and child can look up to with respect and admiration. Dwight D. Eisenhower was one of those few. His personal character was that of a family-oriented man who respected his wife and was devoted to religion. Each night before retiring for the evening, he could be heard reciting his nightly prayer: "Lord, I want to thank you for helping me today. You really stuck by me. I know, Lord, that I muffed a few and I am sorry about that. Both the ones we did all right and the ones we muffed I am turning them all over to you. You take over from here."⁴

Eisenhower's deep conviction and belief in God was the foundation and guiding force to not only his presidency but also his private life. Eisenhower was a family man with a devoted wife and children. There were rumors that Eisenhower did have a wartime affair, but his closest

¹ William Lammers and Michael Genovese, *The President and Domestic Policy* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2000), 159.

² Fred Greenstein, *Dwight Eisenhower and the Hidden-Hand Presidency: The Underrated President* <<http://www.tompaine.com/history/2000/08/042.html>> (17 June, 2001).

³ Fred Fiedler and Joseph Garcia, *New Approaches to Effective Leadership* (New York, 1987), 18.

⁴ Philip Roth, *Positive Thinking on Pennsylvania Avenue* (Chicago Review, v42, n3, 1996), 28.

friends and confidants dismissed these rumors as they knew Eisenhower would never engage in such a relationship.⁵ Although he had been through the ravages of war and emerged as a decorated war hero, humility did not elude him for he ultimately believed he would have to answer to the Lord at the end of each day. In part, because of his strong convictions and belief in God, Eisenhower was heralded as a father figure equal to that of George Washington.⁶ His moral character and integrity were impeccable and often seemed to garner him much honor and praise, not only as the president of the United States, but more importantly as a human being. One could always rely on his ability to provide continuous and conscientious leadership to the nation no matter how difficult and challenging the situation might be. His leadership capabilities were especially necessary domestically. The American public had been through the Great Depression, World Wars I and II and now they were looking for prosperity, stability and, most importantly, peace.

Dr. Milton Eisenhower, Eisenhower's brother, summed up the objectives of the Eisenhower administration as follows: "We should keep what we have, catch our breath for a while, and improve administration; it does not mean moving backward."⁷ Eisenhower was quite ardent in his quest for increased domestic legislation. He signed into law the Housing Act of 1954, which established 35,000 new public housing units. In addition, the Social Security Act of 1954 covered seven million new workers, consisting mostly of farmers. In 1955, Congress again decided to construct 45,000 new housing units, which were to be completed by July 1956. Eisenhower also signed into law an increase in the minimum wage, which became effective March of 1956. Eisenhower's greatest accomplishment domestically was the creation of the federal and state highway system. With the building of this system, not only were roads expanded and improved, there was the subsequent creation of many new jobs because of the construction of new restaurants, hotels, and gas stations. He is also credited with balancing the budget while consequentially reducing the tax burden of the American public.⁸ Eisenhower was able to rekindle the hopes and dreams of all Americans as well as instill in them the belief that prosperity and wealth were in essence a reality. Eisenhower proved to be extremely effective domestically, but unfortunately, he was not as effective in the fight for equal rights for all American citizens.

Eisenhower, in an era of growth and prosperity, did little to promote the rights of African-Americans and was often characterized as a segregationist.⁹ He was once quoted as saying, "No one is more anxious than I am to see Negroes receive first-class citizenship in this country, but you must be patient." His blatant disregard and dismissal of African-Americans and their right to equality was, in essence, one battle Eisenhower had no intention of waging. Eisenhower, much to his dismay, had no choice but to become involved in civil rights, as it was considered a significant issue at that time. As a product of the South, he held true to his conservative, Southern views. Eisenhower believed the abolishment of segregation should be a gradual one at best. He often proclaimed to support the idea of integration, but in reality, he was essentially biding his time. He ultimately never intended to use his office as a means to end

⁵ Chester Pach and Elmo Richardson, *The Presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower* (Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1991), 43.

⁶ Michael Beschloss, *A Tale of Two Presidents*, (The Wilson Quarterly, v24, i1, 2000), 60.

⁷ Fred King, *America's Nine Greatest Presidents*, (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1997), 10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

⁹ Stephen Ambrose, *Character Above All: Dwight D. Eisenhower Essay*
<<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/character/essays/eisenhower.html>> (June 17, 2001).

segregation. He believed the federal government should only step in when it possessed clear authority and jurisdiction in the matter.¹⁰

In May of 1954, the Supreme Court ultimately declared racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional. Eisenhower was most unhappy with the ruling. Ironically, the force behind the decision was Chief Justice Earl Warren whom Eisenhower had nominated the year before.¹¹ When asked by the press as to his reaction regarding the decision, he often declined comment. He insisted that his opinion made little difference in the matter. Unfortunately, his silence was extremely damaging not only to his administration, but also to himself. In essence, he was personally denouncing the court's decision. Eisenhower believed this decision would ultimately have catastrophic consequences socially. He insisted that perfection within a society was not possible and that to solve segregation by force was "just plain nuts."¹² Ultimately, in his efforts to buffer the effects of the ruling, Eisenhower requested that the Court execute its decision slowly and deliberately. In this aspect, he won, as the Supreme Court did not issue a timetable as to when everybody within the school system should be integrated. In the end, Eisenhower believed this would "ensure calm and public order."¹³

In 1956, Eisenhower, in an attempt to ease tensions, sent a civil rights bill to Congress, essentially affirming the rights of black voters. Democrats claimed this was done to garner the black vote as Eisenhower was gearing up to run for a second term. Eisenhower, on the other hand, blamed the Democrats for not passing the bill. He reasoned that if more power was given to the black population then they, in turn, would not elicit assistance from Washington.

During much of Eisenhower's campaign, the press was relentless. They constantly attempted to elicit a response from Eisenhower regarding his stance on civil rights. Eisenhower's response was often one of avoidance, as he claimed the issue was "charged with emotionalism."¹⁴ As Eisenhower came out of the 1956 election victorious, he, in turn, resubmitted his civil rights bill to Congress for consideration once again. The bill passed through the House without incident, but passage proved to be more difficult within the Senate. Lyndon B. Johnson led the initial fight against the bill but backed down and ultimately helped push the bill through the Senate, as he had political aspirations of his own. Unfortunately, by the time the bill was returned to Eisenhower for his approval, it was weak and ineffectual. Eisenhower received pressure from certain black leaders not to sign the bill. Other leaders, such as Martin Luther King and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, urged Eisenhower to sign the bill, as they felt it was better than nothing. In addition to receiving outside political pressure from influential black leaders, Eisenhower knew that by signing the bill into law, he would ultimately increase Republican support of his administration in the South and also improve his relationship with Southern Democrats in Congress.¹⁵ Eisenhower, in the end, signed the Civil Rights Act of 1957 into law but unfortunately, the bill was highly ineffectual resulting in only a three percent increase in black voters in the franchise rolls during the Eisenhower presidency.¹⁶

It can be rightfully said that Eisenhower was very uneasy when it came to civil rights and African-Americans in general. This in part, can be attributed to his general indifference concerning African-Americans and their every day battle with segregation. Ultimately, he was

¹⁰ Pach and Richardson, 140.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 141.

¹² *Ibid.*, 143.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 146.

¹⁵ Lammers and Genovese, 171.

¹⁶ Pach and Richardson, 157.

caught in between his duties as the president of the United States, his white, Southern contingency, and his own prejudicial beliefs. He wanted desperately to hold true to his traditional Southern upbringing but he was forced to deal with an issue that ultimately necessitated him to face his ignorance and prejudices. Eisenhower ultimately never won this battle, as he was not the type of leader who could guide the nation out of the evils of segregation.¹⁷ He believed strongly in maintaining the status quo and often derailed controversial legislation in the process.¹⁸ Eisenhower “believed that while integration was inevitable, it would take along time to achieve, and he did little to promote its progress.”¹⁹ It was true that Eisenhower had little interest in the area of civil rights but his relations with Congress were extremely productive during his years as president.

Eisenhower’s goal in dealing with Congress was to be firm yet effective while in turn, acting with quiet deliberation.²⁰ He ultimately believed that there should be a partnership between the executive and legislative branches.²¹ He had both good and bad opinions about the functioning of Congress. He often praised it for its distinct, yet separate abilities, but he also felt that members of Congress were mainly concerned about promoting their own agendas. Nevertheless, Eisenhower believed his relations with Congress were essential, not only to further the nation’s interests, but in addition, the interests of his administration.²² Eisenhower eventually created the White House Office of Congressional Liaison, which proved to be very effective.²³ Heading the office was General Wilton Persons, who eventually became an excellent mediator between the president and Congress. Person’s job was essential to Eisenhower’s administration as the GOP had only a slight control of Congress. There were also factions within Congress, specifically the old and new Republicans. The newly elected Republicans supported Eisenhower and often followed his lead, but the older, seasoned Republicans questioned Eisenhower’s ability to dismantle the old programs left by Franklin D. Roosevelt and Roosevelt’s successor, Harry S. Truman. Moreover, the new Republicans doubted whether Eisenhower could create and institute programs of his own.²⁴

Much to Eisenhower’s surprise, his working relationship with Congress was tolerable and even rewarding at times.²⁵ He realized early on that in order to pass legislation he not only needed the support of his own party but he also needed strong Democratic support. Two specific Democrats that aided Eisenhower in passing the majority of his legislation were Lyndon B. Johnson and Sam Rayburn. Eisenhower made a point of establishing good working relationships with the two, for they were top congressional leaders within the Senate and possessed much needed support in the way of passing legislation.²⁶ Much to Eisenhower’s credit, during the last six years of his presidency, he was able to achieve a “well-above-average record of legislation adopted and vetoed by three Democratically controlled Congresses.”²⁷ Eisenhower, in

¹⁷ Beschloss, 60.

¹⁸ Grolier Encyclopedia Americana, *The American Presidency: Dwight D. Eisenhower* <<http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/34peise.html>> (17 June, 2001).

¹⁹ R. Alton Lee, *Dwight D. Eisenhower: Soldier and Statesman*, (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1981), 264.

²⁰ Pach and Richardson, 49.

²¹ Lammers and Genovese, 166.

²² Pach and Richardson, 50.

²³ Lammers and Genovese, 50.

²⁴ Pach and Richardson, 50-51.

²⁵ Lammers and Genovese, 173-174.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Pach and Richardson, 52.

establishing an amicable and trusting relationship with Congress, was able to parlay this relationship into the international arena and lead the United States successfully through the tenuous beginnings of the Cold War.

Although Eisenhower had tremendous experience internationally and militarily, he could not have successfully achieved many of his goals without the assistance and guidance of his Secretary of State, Foster Dulles. As a team, Eisenhower and Dulles successfully led the United States through a tenuous time in American history. Dulles was often the aggressor, as he always felt the need to use force, but Eisenhower's calm, yet authoritative style often pulled them through their many situations and often yielded a positive and gratifying result. It has been said that while Dulles brought the United States to the edge, Eisenhower kept us from going over.²⁸

Eisenhower, in one of his major international accomplishments, attempted to improve East-West relations by holding the Geneva Summit in July of 1955. Eisenhower, admittedly, was a bit tenuous regarding the summit, but he ultimately believed it was in the best interest of the United States, for a summit had not been convened in over ten years. Dulles, on the other hand, was not as optimistic. He believed there was no quick answer to the Cold War. He felt that France and Great Britain would yield to the Soviet Union more out of fear than choice. More importantly, Dulles was afraid as to what Eisenhower might do while at the summit. Dulles repeatedly urged the president to act with restraint and not suggest or discuss any new proposals. Eisenhower, on the eve of departure, assured Congress that no agreements would be made without Congressional approval. Eisenhower did not heed Dulles' advice but instead took an active role in the conference. Eisenhower, on the other hand, did take advice from the State Department and did not "make any concessions to Communism."²⁹ Upon returning home, Eisenhower declared the summit a success, as he believed that there was "a new spirit of conciliation and cooperation."³⁰ Nothing permanent or concrete came out of the Geneva Summit, but it ultimately opened doors for future negotiations. In October of that same year, foreign ministers from each country met once again, thus furthering the notion that the doors for future negotiations had remained open.³¹ Although Eisenhower did have many excellent accomplishments internationally, the launching of Sputnik proved to be the one major disappointment of his administration. Because of his ineffectual skills at public oration and public persuasion, he was not able to calm the mounting fears of the public as to his inability to keep up with Soviet technologically.

With the launching of Sputnik in August of 1957, public support of Eisenhower seemed to erode, for he could not provide a plausible explanation as to the United States' inadequacies in relation to its lack of technological development. Many characterized this lack of progress as the "missile gap."³² Officials in Washington tried to dismiss the incident as "a neat scientific trick."³³ Unfortunately, any attempts to rationalize the United States' inadequacies were met with doubt and disdain. The American public was under the false assumption that the US was the world's technological leader. Most Americans believed that the United States' military was the strongest and most sophisticated in the world. Because of obvious weaknesses in our technological development, the American public began to panic.³⁴

²⁸ King, 32.

²⁹ Pach and Richardson, 111.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 112.

³¹ *Grolier*.

³² Greenstein.

³³ Pach and Richardson, 170.

³⁴ Beschloss, 60.

Eisenhower was well aware of the Soviet's closeness to launching the satellite, but unfortunately, he seemed quite unmoved by the situation. The press hounded him relentlessly and he could never seem to grasp the seriousness of the situation, for he often responded with quotes such as, "it is only one small ball in the air."³⁵ His failure to alleviate the fears of the American public often provided the press with opportunity to prey upon his weaknesses, specifically his inability to deliver effective and coherent speeches.³⁶

Many believe Eisenhower's inability to speak effectively, and in turn, persuade the public, was his one major weakness. Many also believed that his lack of oratory skills was, in essence, a sign that he lacked intellectual capabilities. Often clarifications would have to be issued after one of his press conferences, for the press many times could not or did not understand what he said. On the other hand, it was often said that Eisenhower was deliberately vague and indirect in order to prevent polarization of the public at large.³⁷ At times, he would use his reputation as a poor orator to his advantage and deliberately try to confuse the press. Unfortunately, the press often preyed upon his inability to deliver a clear and concise message and often claimed his lack of oratory skills was attributable to his lack of knowledge regarding his administration and its functions.³⁸ Fortunately, as was the case with Eisenhower, his intellectual abilities were more than adequate, as he was often able to reflect on the long and short term consequences of a specific action, unfortunately, his ability to express himself was often inadequate.³⁹

Eisenhower's presidency has often been characterized as the 'hidden-hand' presidency, as his style was never to be in the limelight, but rather, he preferred to run his administration in a quiet, yet authoritative manner.⁴⁰ Contrary to popular belief, his grasp and understanding of domestic and international issues was highly sophisticated. His moral authority was impeccable, as was his strength and determination. Early evaluations of Eisenhower's presidency were often derisive, as many believed he was average at best.⁴¹ Recently, Eisenhower has been credited with guiding the United States through a tenuous time in history. His middle-of-the-road style has been heralded as befitting to the time and circumstances surrounding his administration. Ultimately, Eisenhower's centrist ideology provided the United States with a strong and vital foundation upon which future presidents were able to build and eventually establish the United States as a competitive and influential nation.

³⁵ Pach and Richardson, 171.

³⁶ Greenstein.

³⁷ Beschloss, 60.

³⁸ Pach and Richardson, 41.

³⁹ Lammers and Genovese, 163.

⁴⁰ Greenstein.

⁴¹ Lammers and Genovese, 159.

Francis Jennings. *Benjamin Franklin, Politician*. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996. Pp. 240. \$27.50.

Although this book has been out for several years, *Benjamin Franklin, Politician*, remains an important contribution to the field of American history. Francis Jennings is an esteemed American historian and this book is a brilliantly researched text. *Benjamin Franklin, Politician*, offers a glimpse into the life of Benjamin Franklin during his early formative years as a printer's apprentice, leads into his period spent as a dominant political force in Philadelphia, and explains how Franklin's struggles, especially with Thomas Penn, helped form Franklin's personality as a political genius. Jennings also noted that Franklin made several glaring omissions from his own *Autobiography*, which included much of Franklin's struggles with Penn's dominance over Pennsylvania land in the 1750s. Moreover, Jennings revealed that Franklin's *Autobiography* was actually a 'cheerful', not entirely true account of Franklin's life; he stated Franklin himself chose not to reveal certain details of his life in his autobiographical account. Jennings corrected Franklin's errors by having carefully detailed Franklin's life and career. Thus, Jennings revealed that Franklin's personal struggles created the 'Benjamin Franklin' who later became America's leading diplomat and statesman. Franklin was a complex, condescending, disdainful man who was also guilty of egoism, and was callous towards his own family. The only complaint was that the book was hard to follow in some chapters. In addition, several of the chapters were too short which was perhaps not a bad thing. I found myself wanting more from Jennings at the end of each chapter. Although some readers may view this book as a politicized report on the battles with Thomas Penn than an actual biography, the text did gloss over Franklin's scientific and other civic accomplishments, which may be its only fault. Jennings did illustrate, which was interesting, how Franklin struggled with self-importance. It was these personal struggles that led to the creation of a man who fought for American independence and helped draft the Constitution. The text leaves one with the impression that Franklin's actions throughout his life were due to his egotistical genius. Jennings ended his book with a warning not to entirely trust the autobiographical accounts of political personalities such as Franklin. The passage of time, Jennings warned, combined with the very real need for some politicians to cover up their antics – such as what Franklin did with his omissions in his *Autobiography* – for the sake of posthumous righteousness, distorts history. Jennings, however, with this exceptional, important text, rectified any personal 'cover-ups' Franklin may have been guilty of.

Wendy Maier
Chicago, Illinois

Lyndon Baines Johnson

Beth Enright

“The next man to stand here will look out on a scene different from our own, because ours is a time of change - rapid and fantastic change bearing the secrets of nature, multiplying the nations, placing in uncertain hands new weapons of mastery and destruction, shaking old values, uprooting old ways.”⁴² The thirty-sixth President of the United States spoke these extraordinary words during his inauguration on Wednesday, 20 January 1965. In this one short statement, it is easy to see that Lyndon Baines Johnson was a man who was determined to create a better nation for all Americans.

With an extraordinary vision based on equal justice for all, the ability to persuade even his staunch critics, the unique way in which he dealt with Congress and his ability to handle a crisis that had plagued the country since the Founding Fathers, Johnson could have left office a hero. Instead, due to a conflict abroad, Johnson left office a broken, unrecognized and unappreciated figure in American history, “a story of great achievement and terrible failures, of lasting gains and unforgettable losses ... his presidency faithfully reflects the country's greatness and limitations.”⁴³ Johnson foresaw great accomplishments for a country that was filled with hate, anger, poverty and uneducated people. He envisioned a country that would become what it was truly meant to be, a country in which every man, woman and child, no matter what race or socioeconomic level could accomplish the American dream. He had a great vision just as other great presidents such as Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin D. Roosevelt had before him. With his vision of a ‘Great Society’, he had the opportunity to be remembered as one of the greatest presidents of all time. This was not to be.

In 1960, John F. Kennedy was elected the Democratic nominee for President. Johnson, although opposed by the party because of his reputation as a “crass wheeler dealer in the backrooms of politics, who would sacrifice ideals for a deal,” was asked by Kennedy to run as Vice President because of his legislative genius and vigorous leadership in the Senate.⁴⁴ Johnson agreed to fall into the shadows of Kennedy. Many said, however, that if it were not for Johnson, Kennedy would not have carried key states such as Texas, Louisiana and the Carolinas. Without these states and Johnson, Kennedy would not have been President.

Johnson reluctantly played a secondary role to Kennedy until November 22, 1963 at 2:39 p.m. when he took the oath of office on Air Force One while the remains of Kennedy’s body lay waiting to return to Washington. Johnson's tactful persuasive style was about to be tested. He now had the burden of mending the country after the assassination of a very popular, well-loved President.⁴⁵ Not liked or trusted by liberals or their constituents, seen by the public as a hard core, rigid politician who lacked the ability to communicate, Johnson needed to overcome his

⁴² Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum. “Lyndon Baines Johnson: Inaugural Address.” <<http://www.bertleby.com>> (14 June 2001).

⁴³ Lewis Gould. “The Revised LBJ.” *The Wilson Quarterly* 24 (Spring 2000): 80-3.

⁴⁴ See John A. Andrew, *Lyndon Johnson and the Great Society* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee Inc., 1998), 5 and Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, *Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power* (New York: The New American Library Inc., 1966), 335.

⁴⁵ Evans, 335.

reputation as an overbearing, egotist.⁴⁶ With only 5% of the country saying that they felt that they knew Johnson, 67% saying that they knew nothing at all about him and 70% having doubts about how the country would 'carry on' without Kennedy, Johnson knew that he must create not a storm, but take over the White House creating as few ripples as possible: "I had to convince everyone, everywhere that the country would go forward...Any hesitation or wavering, any false step, any sign of self-doubt could have been disastrous...The times cried for leadership."⁴⁷

Johnson was determined to convince the people of his worthiness, readiness and ability to take over by inspiring the country after America's beloved leader had been murdered. His public appearances, and his use of language and management of the press promoted feelings of continuity and unity within the country.⁴⁸ After Kennedy's death, Johnson soothed the country with words that conveyed sincerity and wisdom.⁴⁹ He declared 23 November a national day of mourning. Johnson reminded the country that although Kennedy was dead, America should remember him as a source of national strength, "as he did not shrink from his responsibilities, but welcomed them, so he would not have us shrink from carrying on his work beyond this hour of national tragedy."⁵⁰ Johnson was able to rally support by persuading the country that he too shared the feelings and goals of Kennedy and that he had full intentions of working to continue Kennedy's vision.

Johnson remained humble in the light of the national tragedy. In his address to Congress on 27 November, he wore a dark suit and tie and asked for the help of all Americans. He asked for help with "the awesome burden of the president which I cannot bear...alone."⁵¹ He urged the country "to do away with the uncertainty and doubts and show that from the brutal loss of our leader, we will derive not weakness, but strength that we can and will act now," and reminded the country of Kennedy's words, "Today, in this moment of new resolve, let us continue."⁵² During this twenty-five minute speech, Johnson had received thirty-four bursts of prolonged applause. This reaction reflected not only the feelings of Congress, but also the new national response to Johnson, as he had not only persuaded Congress to join him in achieving his vision of a better America, but had persuaded the public that he was a man that could and would succeed as their leader.⁵³

Aside from gaining public support, Johnson knew that in order to keep that support he had to keep the Kennedy men in the White House. Loosing them could destroy the renewed confidence that the public had in Johnson.⁵⁴ Besides the fear of losing public support, he desired to make full use of the talented people that Kennedy had surrounded himself with. Johnson decided, in order to persuade the Kennedy team to stay, he needed to play the role of meek politician in desperate need of educated aides. In his first meeting with the Kennedy aides he said to Ted Soreman, "I want you to draw the threads together on the domestic program. But don't expect me to absorb things as fast as you're used to."⁵⁵ At this moment, Johnson displayed not

⁴⁶ Robert Dallak, *Flawed Giant - Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1964-1973* (New York: Oxford Press, 1998), 54.

⁴⁷ Andrews, 6. Dallak, pp. 54-56.

⁴⁸ Dallak 54

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Evans, 338.

⁵⁵ Dallak, 54

only incompetence, but also false modesty. It was one of the many persuasive tactics that he used in order to gain support. In reality, Johnson was an intellectual equal. His underlying message was this: "I won't let me ego, my need for control and domination keep me from listening to and relying on others to do my job."⁵⁶ His smooth persuasive style seemed to work. A majority of the Kennedy cabinet and advisors stayed, including Robert Kennedy, Johnson's fiercest opponent. By the first year of his presidency, Johnson had the press, Congress and the American people on his side. A Gallup poll showed a 79% approval rating, with only a 3% disapproval rating. In December of 1964, Johnson was even named one of the ten most admired men in the World. With his high approval rating, Johnson could begin to achieve his vision.

Johnson was a Roosevelt-era New Dealer, whose idea of the presidency was to pick up where Franklin Delano Roosevelt had left off by expanding prosperity, opening doors of opportunity for the poor and honoring the country's rhetoric about equal treatment for all under the law.⁵⁷ When Johnson returned to the White House after Kennedy's assassination, he sat in his pajamas on his bed surrounded three of his aides. He asked not for advice, but only for ears to listen. For the next four to five hours, Johnson revealed his plan for the country: "I'm going to pass Kennedy's civil right's bill. Goddamn, it's been hung up in the Senate too long. I'm not going to change one word. I'm going to pass it. Then I'm going to pass Harry Truman's health insurance bill." He then stated: "I'm going to make it plain that everybody in this country is going to be able to vote. I'm going to have an education bill that's going to let kids in this country get all the education they can take, and the federal government is going to help them."⁵⁸ After being President for only ten hours, Johnson continued to sketch out for those three men his vision of a Great Society. Johnson began work on the Great Society immediately. He set up fourteen task forces to identify and describe national problems and propose solutions.⁵⁹ Johnson also enlisted scholars and experts to develop policy alternatives, and encouraged them to "question what we are doing and suggest better ways to do it."⁶⁰

Johnson began with the civil rights bill. Johnson was a man dedicated to equal justice for all not equal justice only for the white upper class, as had been the case for generations. The Civil Rights Act is where Johnson placed his greatest emphasis during the first months of his Presidency. Speaking to Congress he stated, "No memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the earliest possible passage of the Civil Rights Bill. We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked for one hundred years or more. It is time to write the next chapter and to write it in the book of laws."⁶¹ Johnson would write this chapter himself; what Kennedy had failed to do before him, Johnson promised to black leaders and the rest of country that he would let nothing stand in the way of civil rights. In a conference with black leaders, Johnson passionately said, "This bill is going to be enacted if it takes all summer. This bill is going to be enacted because justice and morality demand it."⁶² There was no holding back for Johnson. He took every measure possible to ensure that the bill would pass. In the Senate, Johnson was able to exchange favors for votes, as he insisted that no one would stand in his way, not even the South. He knew that the civil

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, and Evans, 341

⁵⁸ Lee H. Hamilton, "Achilles in the White House: A Discussion with Harry McPherson and Jack Valenti." *The Wilson Quarterly* 24 (Spring 2000): 84-96.

⁵⁹ Dallak, 189

⁶⁰ Andrews, 16.

⁶¹ Dallak, 60

⁶² *Ibid.*, 112.

rights battle might cause the Democrats to lose the south to the Republicans, but he cared very little about this inevitable consequence. In a conversation with Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, regarding the Civil Right Bill, he said, “Dick you got to get out of my way. I’m going to run you over. I don’t intend to cavil or compensate.” Russell replied, “ You may do that, but by God it's going to cost you the South and cost you the election.” Johnson retorted, “If that 's the price I've got to pay, then I'll gladly pay it. If I don't achieve anything else while I'm President, I intend to wipe the word out of the English Language and make it impossible for people to shout 'Niggah, Niggah, Niggah.’”⁶³ Johnson was willing to put his future on the line to see equal justice prevail in the country to which he was so dedicated. Finally, in June 1964, after an 83-day filibuster by Southern opponents, the Civil Rights Act was passed. On July 2, 1964, Johnson signed into law the most comprehensive, far-reaching legislation in American history. The 1964 Civil Rights Act was only the beginning of the Great Society that Johnson envisioned.⁶⁴

In May 1964 at the University of Michigan commencement address he empowered students by encouraging them to seek justice for all by proclaiming, “In your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and powerful society, but upward to the Great Society. The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and injustice to which we are totally committed in our time.”⁶⁵ In late June 1964, while speaking to an audience in Detroit, Johnson declared, “We stand on the edge of the greatest era in the life of any nation. For the first time in world history, we have the abundance and the ability to free every man from hopeless want...the nation...has man's first chance to create a Great Society.”⁶⁶ In an address at Howard University, Johnson bellowed, “it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through these gates.”⁶⁷ Johnson implementation of his agenda was very calculated. Johnson knew that in order to make the dream that he spoke of all around the country a reality, he must not only rely on the arm twisting persuasive tactics that he used during the Civil Right debate, but on a unique and carefully planned and executed relationship with Congress.

Johnson had a very important advantage, experience. He had been dealing with Congress for three decades. He exercised effective control of the Senate, by his actions and hard work, more than any other majority leader in history. Johnson was able to take his knowledge and create a philosophy for dealing with Congress: “If it's really going to work, the relationship between the President and Congress has to be almost incestuous.” Johnson related further that every president has “got to know them [Congress] better that they know themselves. And then, on the basis of that knowledge, he's got to build a system that stretches from the cradles to the grave, from the moment a bill is introduced to the moment it is officially enrolled as the law of the land.”⁶⁸ Johnson utilized this philosophy to the fullest. The key to building the Great Society was managing and controlling the Eighty-ninth Congress. He began to sell his vision of the ‘Great Society’ in the summer of 1964 before any of the proposals went to Capitol Hill. In August he held a ‘Salute to Congress’ in order to show that they were recognized for their hard work and dedication to their country. He implemented an open door policy to any Congressman or Senator who had issues to discuss, or suggestions: “He stroked, cuddled and made Congress

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Britannica.com. “Johnson, Lyndon B.” <<http://www.britannica.com>> (6 June 2001).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Andrews, pp. 13-14.

⁶⁷ Gould, 2.

⁶⁸ Dallak, pp. 63-64.

fell it was the center of the Universe.”⁶⁹ He held Congress in the highest regard and insisted that his staff and cabinet do the same. To his staff Johnson said, “The most important people you will talk to are Senators and Congressman. Treat them as if they were the President. Answer their calls immediately. Give them respect, they deserve it. Get to know them personally, especially the new members of Congress. A personal relationship between senior members of the administration and new members of Congress will return handsome dividends.”⁷⁰ Anyone who did not act on his advice would be fired immediately from the White House; Johnson knew, and he had to ensure that his staff knew as well, that the key to success was as one Senate aide said, “a perfectly beautiful, symbiotic relationship with Congress.”⁷¹

Aside from a ‘fluffy’ relationship with Congress, Johnson also knew that Congress must always feel as if they were directly involved in creating legislation. In an interview with Doris Kearns, Johnson stated his objective, which was to “crack the wall of separation enough to give Congress a feeling of participation in creating my bills without exposing my plans...to advance Congressional opposition before they even see the light of day.”⁷² Johnson was determined to avoid a major clash with Congress that may lead to the failure of the Great Society. In his state of the Union detailing his agenda, he avoided any details that may have stirred opposition. He knew that he could not talk about miracles that might seem impossible to Congress, and was determined to persuade the government, legislative and executive branches, to work together to achieve a Great Society. He stressed no priority among the programs; he wanted all of them. And with his extraordinary ability to handle Congress, he got a great deal of what he wanted. In the first session of the Eighty-ninth Congress, 84 of the 87 proposed bills and programs passed. By the time Congress adjourned its second session on 22 October 1966, 97 of the 113 proposed major measures had passed.⁷³ Johnson was able to get a record 181 unprecedented proposals passed. It was the most impressive body of social legislation since the New Deal.

Johnson identified with the suffering of the disadvantaged, and fought a war on poverty, which proved to be his cornerstone for his version of the ‘Great Society’ He described himself as the struggling underdog, poor boy from Texas, emerging from the shadows to win approval, and dreamed of a nation where all the underdogs could emerge from the shadows and fulfill the American Dream. To accomplish this, Johnson created the Office of Economic Opportunity in order to fight poverty through community action. Programs such as Job Corps, work training, work-study, adult education, neighborhood Youth Corps, VISTA and AFDC all became part of the Economic Opportunity Bill of 1964.⁷⁴

By February of 1965, his efforts began to prove successful. Forty-four states had local poverty programs. Another six states would join by June. Fifty-three Job Corps centers received six thousand applicants per day. Twenty-five thousand welfare families were receiving job training. Thirty-five thousand adults were being taught to read. Ninety thousand adults were enrolled in basic education programs and four million needy people were receiving AFDC.⁷⁵ By the end of his term, over eight million new jobs had been created and five million Americans had been trained for work. Millions had been lifted out of poverty. From 1963 to 1970 the poverty

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 191.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-193

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Joseph A. Califano, *The Triumph & Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991),

⁷⁴ Andrews, 65.

⁷⁵ Dallak, pp. 225-226.

line dropped from 22.2% to 12.6 % and has hovered at 13% ever since. If Johnson had made no strides in the ‘War on Poverty’, twenty-four million people, possibly more, would be living in poverty today.⁷⁶

Johnson had no intention on stopping at poverty. His vision and accomplishments reached far beyond. Johnson believed that there could be no Great Society, no improved quality of life, without greater access for all Americans to health care. He successfully enacted healthcare for the elderly and the poor in the form of Medicare – serving more than two hundred million people – and Medicaid. But Johnson knew that quality health care had to extend beyond coverage. He received legislative approval for heart, cancer and stroke centers and provided these centers with funds that they needed to obtain medical excellence, and ensured that a center was placed in every section of the country.⁷⁷

Johnson continued to reach further towards education, and stated that “the number one business on this nation's agenda, ‘the guardian genius of our democracy’.”⁷⁸ Johnson was determined to broaden educational opportunities. He persuaded Congress to put through the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This was the first time that federal money was given to local schools. With this program, Johnson created Head Start and Upward Bound, bilingual education and special education programs. He ensured that everyone have the means to a higher education by creating scholarships, federal grants and work study programs. Today, 60% of full time undergraduates receive money that allows them to attend university.⁷⁹

Johnson went a lot further than many presidents before him. He implemented immigration reform, and added the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities to his list of accomplishments. He signed into law environmental protections for air and water and the Highway Beautification Act. Johnson worked toward, and achieved, mine safety for workers, model cities, rent supplements and urban mass-transit systems. He received the support he needed for rehabilitation programs for drug addicts, support for the training of health professional, vocational rehabilitation and the teacher corps. Johnson brought reform to the courts with legislation concerning bail and civil procedures. He assured consumer protection for auto, highway and tire safety, and truth-in-packaging, protection for children from unsafe toys and hazardous substances.⁸⁰ Johnson was even able to acquire support for a second piece of hotly contested Civil Rights legislation, and attempted to guarantee the right to vote to all, literate or illiterate, black or white, poor or rich. Johnson's vision of justice for all also extended to the elderly and their end of life care: “I want nursing homes that will be livable, happy places for people to serve out their old age, places where there will be a little joy for the elderly, but most of all places that take care of their special needs. Flat floors and grade so that wheelchairs can easily be used and special handles on bath tubs and showers so that old people can use them safely and with a little dignity.”⁸¹ Johnson's achievements also flowed over into women's issues that few before him ever wanted to discuss. In 1965, he succeeded in persuading Congress to allow contraceptive devices and information to be available to married women who asked for them. In 1966, he persuaded Congress to increase the funds for family planning and birth control

⁷⁶ Califano, pp. 1 and 333.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁷⁸ Dallak 198.

⁷⁹ Califano, 1.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 178-179.

education for the poor. Birth control devices and information was now to be given to anyone who requested them.⁸²

Towards the end of his presidency, he encouraged Congress, with success, to enact noise pollution laws. He created networks of scenic rivers and trails, established the Redwood National Park, the North Cascades National Park and many new wilderness areas.⁸³ Johnson envisioned a Great Society. He stressed that it was not his program, “it was the fulfillment of the American dream, of the promise of the American life.”⁸⁴ What was it that destroyed a man who had done so much for the people to whom he was intensely dedicated? Why did Lyndon Baines Johnson leave a legacy of a broken man? Why, to this day, is he still so unappreciated? Why is he still unrecognized for his amazing achievements? One word is the answer to all of these questions: Vietnam.

Unfortunately, from his predecessors, Johnson inherited a Vietnam policy that required greater commitment of U.S. money and personnel than he desired to give. Johnson felt that he could not waiver from the present policy, as he “associated himself in international affairs with the broad Cold War consensus on containing Communism, and the present policy was designed to help win the war against communism.”⁸⁵ Aside from the fact that Johnson would not waiver against the Kennedy policy in fear of loosing the war against Communism, Johnson subscribed to the doctrine of credibility: “A greater power must be consistent in it’s direction, even when it discovers it is wrong, in order to husband it’s credibility and maintain trust in the nation.”⁸⁶ For these reasons, Johnson saw no way he could withdraw from Vietnam. In March of 1964, Johnson's Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, after his visit to Saigon, reported grave news to the President that lead to thoughts of escalation: “The country (Vietnam) is the first domino whose fall would bring all of Southeast Asia under communist sway and endanger Australia, New Zealand, Taiwan, Korea and Japan.”⁸⁷ Adding to this revelation, Johnson believed in the lesson of World War II. If the U.S. did not stop every aggression overseas, the aggressor would keep going until attacking the U.S.⁸⁸

A third, and most devastating component that led to escalation, was the Gulf of Tonkin attacks. The attacks suggested, to Johnson, contempt for U.S. power. Johnson thought he must move to defend national honor. Congress granted the President the power to “take all necessary measures and all necessary steps to defend U.S. forces in Southeast Asian and to stop aggression.”⁸⁹ Johnson took this grant, and with the advice of his advisors and Joint Chiefs of Staff, escalated the war abroad.⁹⁰ On June 7, 1965, General William Westmoreland, commander of the American military in Vietnam, asked for a dramatic buildup of forces. He needed 150,000 immediately and perhaps, more later. Johnson honored the request on the advice of his Joint Chiefs of Staff. At the same time, he lifted the restraints that he had placed on combat throughout the South Vietnam countryside .By the end of 1967, 485,000 American troops were in South Vietnam. Sixteen thousand were dead and 100,000 were wounded. Johnson could not deliver

⁸² *Ibid.*, 154.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 330.

⁸⁴ Dallak, 194.

⁸⁵ Hunt, pp. 75-79.

⁸⁶ Fromkin, 5.

⁸⁷ Hunt, 82.

⁸⁸ David Fromkin. “Lyndon Johnson and Foreign Policy: What the New Documents Show” *Foreign Affairs* 74 (Jan/Feb 1995): 161-70.

⁸⁹ Michael H. Hunt, *Lyndon Johnson's War* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1996), 84.

⁹⁰ Califano, 31.

victory or negotiations for peace no matter how many troops he sent or bombs he dropped. By the end of 1968, 535,000 American troops were fighting in South Vietnam.⁹¹ The war took a political and personal toll. When Johnson decided to join the fight in South Vietnam, it was with reluctance. Johnson wanted his ‘fellas’ in Vietnam to “get out in those jungles and whip the hell out of some communists” so that he could focus on domestic programs. He feared domestic reproductions; his fears proved valid.⁹²

By the end of 1967, with nearly 500 casualties a week, there seemed to be no end in sight.⁹³ The cost of the war by 1967 was twenty-five billion dollars. Much of this money had been taken from the Great Society programs, as the budget for the Great Society was cut to finance the war. Johnson was unable to fund the war in Vietnam, and could not afford to continue – and win – the war against poverty.⁹⁴ Johnson proposed, and Congress passed tax cuts that he hoped would increase federal revenues and fund the Great Society. The war took that as well and more.⁹⁵ Johnson referred to Vietnam as “that bitch of a war on the other side of the world. She has driven away the woman I really love - the Great Society and with her my hopes to feed the hungry and shelter the homeless and my dreams to provide education and medical care to the browns and the blacks and the lame and the poor.”⁹⁶ Due to the war, Johnson’s popularity declined to 40% in 1967. No longer did the country, or would it ever, look at Lyndon Johnson’s incredible accomplishments, but rather, it would look at the disaster of Vietnam and the ‘failure’ of the War on Poverty.⁹⁷

Johnson decided not to seek reelection in 1968. At his last State of the Union address he said, with intense emotions, “Now, it is time to leave. I hope it may be said, a hundred years from now, that by working together we helped to make our country more just for all it’s people...That is I what hope. But I believe that it least it will be said that we tried.”⁹⁸ Johnson may have been pleasantly surprised to here what many of his colleges and even critics had to say. Longtime critic Kenneth Galbraith declared, “Next to FDR, and in some respects more so, Lyndon Johnson was the most effective advocate of humane social change in the U.S. this century.”⁹⁹ George McGovern, former South Dakota Senator and once fervent Johnson opponent, suggested that, “apart from Woodrow Wilson and the two Roosevelts, Johnson was the greatest President since Abe Lincoln.”¹⁰⁰

Lyndon Johnson was a president who cared deeply for the country and the people that he was elected to serve. His vision went far beyond the visions of so many Presidents before him and so many after. He had the ability to deal with Congress like no other President, and due to this, was able to get more legislation passed than any President in history. But because of the ‘bitch of a war’, the people never recognized Johnson’s greatness that he so desperately wanted to help. His name is written down in history not attached to his great successes, but only to the great devastation that Vietnam left on the country. To this day, the name Lyndon Baines Johnson, to some means failure. But one must look beyond the war and discover that where

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 250, and 335.

⁹² Hunt, 79.

⁹³ Britannica.com. “Johnson, Lyndon B.” <<http://www.britannica.com>> (6 June 2001).

⁹⁴ Lerner, 1.

⁹⁵ Andrews, 14.

⁹⁶ Hunt, 72.

⁹⁷ Gould, 1.

⁹⁸ Califano, 334.

⁹⁹ Gould, 1.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

Johnson failed, there are hundreds of accomplishments that compensate for his 'failures'. While the lives that were lost in Vietnam can never be replaced, focus must now be placed on the millions of living whose lives were forever changed by the extraordinary vision of the thirty-sixth President of the United States.