INTERVIEW I

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INTERVIEWEE: EARL HOWSAM

Michael L. Gillette INTERVIEWER:

PLACE: Mr. Howsam's office, Denver, Colorado

G: Let's start with your background, Mr. Howsam. You came to Washington, I believe, in 1949. Is that correct?

H: That is correct. I started there--in fact I can remember Ed [Edwin] Johnson and I working on January 1, 1949, because he had been, well, hurled, really, into the chairmanship of Interstate and Foreign Commerce. I had been flying for Continental Airlines, and he decided he needed a bill to throw into the hopper on aviation, and we spent January 1 sitting in his office trying to put forth some semblance of a bill that he could introduce to the Senate on aviation. Of course, what was later brought in was entirely different from what we put in that first day.

G: When did you first become acquainted with Lyndon Johnson? Do you recall?

H: I think it was soon after that, after we were in the Senate with all the new senators. I was over at the Committee of Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and, as I recall, he was on that committee at that time.

G: What were your impressions of him at the time?

H: That he was a tall, outstanding Texan, and he seemed very impressive. I had heard about him before because we were interested in the campaign that was going on in Texas and his using a helicopter down there. I had known that he was using a helicopter and Ed Johnson

thought that was a good way to get around the eastern part of the state of Colorado because he had remained in Washington so long that he couldn't cover the whole state.

- G: And so Ed Johnson adopted the similar--?
- H: Right, he adopted that similar, and I was to set up a campaign route for him. Actually, it was so late in the season we didn't have time to get crowds in the different areas so we hit on the plan of stopping the helicopter at the different schools in the area. Now, these are very, very small towns out in the eastern part of the state, but the idea was just to crisscross and to say that we had been there. Ed Johnson took great pride in always going to every county in the state, and so this idea was thought up. We would go to the schools, the main school in the area, and we have a lot of small schools that people from the whole area come to, and the schools would all come out. A lot of those we didn't have a lot of the older folks, but we had the school kids out at all of these, and we formed a whole caravan of the different politicians in Colorado that would follow Ed Johnson in his helicopter. We had two cars set up with loudspeaker systems on them. The helicopter would stop. The people would come out to see it because it was rather new in this part of the country.
- G: Sure. An effective campaign device.
- H: Right. It worked very well.
- G: Well, LBJ was quite interested in natural gas, particularly the deregulation of natural gas, amending the 1938 Natural Gas Act. Do you recall his efforts in that direction?
- H: I couldn't recall exactly. I do know that there were three senators that worked really on what I would call oil legislation and natural gas legislation, and that was LBJ, Senator
 [Robert] Kerr of Oklahoma, and actually Ed Johnson of Colorado, and those three were

very effective in a lot of the work they did. I always felt that Ed Johnson was the front for the two other men. Senator Kerr was very outspoken on being an oil man stating that, "I made my money from oil, I like oil, and I'm going to vote for oil." And you know, now they talk about a conflict of interests and so forth, and I always felt that LBJ, although very interested in working for oil, didn't want to get too far in front if he were going to run for the presidency.

- G: So Ed Johnson would take the lead in that, or what--?
- H: He would frequently take the lead, and I know he would work on the floor for that and all.

 The three of them worked very well together, just as a team, on not only that legislation but a lot of other legislation that they were interested in and was of interest to the people of their states.
- G: Can you recall any examples of how they did this? Of them working together on a particular piece of legislation?
- H: I cannot recall the legislation. I can give an example, but I cannot recall the particular piece of legislation. We were going into a night session, and we didn't quite have the votes.

 Senator Kerr was going around getting votes; Senator L. B. Johnson was working. Ed Johnson was more or less speaking and carrying on the floor fight. My job was to keep Senator Johnson, Ed Johnson, advised as to how the progress of votes were coming. So I can remember someone--some of the lobbyists would come and say, "Senator So-and-so is starting to waiver,"--and maybe he would be in our camp--"and he needs a little work." So I would go and tell Ed Johnson that. Then I would see a page come in to this particular senator later on. That senator would leave the floor, and they would talk to him, and I

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would see him come back in, and pretty soon the man who was keeping in touch with me would say, "Okay. He's on our side again." This went on until almost midnight. The labor unions were there. I can remember they were sitting in the balcony, and I could watch. When I would tell the Senator, then I'd look up in certain areas of the balcony, and I would see that man leave, and I knew he was going to talk to the Senator that was called off the floor. They kept going on that [way] until a little bit after midnight, and then word came, "We have the votes!" So a vote was called for. It is just interesting to see how it all works out.

- G: Was there any secret to being able to determine how a senator was going to vote on an issue? For example, how would Lyndon Johnson determine how Ed Johnson was going to vote on an issue?
- H: I don't know what the secret was, but in the committees, I'm sure that they met, and I know that Lyndon Johnson used to come into Ed Johnson's office and say, "I'm having a little problem with this or with the Democratic caucus," or something of that type. And they would discuss it and more or less talk strategy and what to do and how to accomplish what they wanted to accomplish. A lot of it, as you know, is just--and I don't say it was bartering or anything, it was just trying to figure out strategy and how was the best way to approach this problem. I think the three senators were kind of working together was because we were more what I would call western states, or midwest. We had similar problems because Texas was oil and gas, and Oklahoma was oil and gas, and we also have a lot of oil and gas and natural resources in Colorado.
- G: I suppose Senator Johnson, Ed Johnson, was particularly interested in mining as well.

- H: Right. In mining and water. Water is the lifeblood of Colorado. If we don't have water, we're in trouble. Right now we're having too much after three days of rain.
- G: Well, with reference to mining, did LBJ and Senator Kerr support Ed Johnson on mining legislation?
- H: That I couldn't say, and I haven't gone over the votes on water, but I know we had water bills all the time because we have many dams out there that have been built and reclamation projects, and the Federal Bureau of Reclamation was right out here in Colorado at the Federal Center. I was interested in it because my father-in-law was an engineer on the American Canal and a lot of the dams that were built in Wyoming and different areas.
- G: There is some indication, considerable indication that the power in the Senate during the 1950s had shifted from the traditional southern senators to the western senators. You had a lot of committee chairmen and a lot of powerful senators like [Clinton] Anderson, Kerr, Lyndon Johnson, Ed Johnson, Carl Hayden.
- H: Yes. Well, out in Nevada where you had [Pat] Carran and that whole group. I think a lot of the power had come to the West, and I think that's why a lot of the western senators were working together because they had seen how the southerners had operated. That is, you know, a southerner goes to the Senate and he stays there, and they don't change all the time, they become chairmen of the committees. This was quite a boost for the West to have chairmen of committees because they are very powerful people.
- G: Let's talk some more about water legislation. All the western senators were interested in water particularly during the drought periods of the 1950s. Do you recall in particular how they worked to get federal help there?

- H: No, I don't. I know that we had the, you know, Colorado River Project and that bill there. Colorado was trying to protect its water because we produced all the water, and yet it was going down. We had had a senator a long time back, Senator [Lawrence C.] Phipps, who had worked on water, and during that time a lot of the water had been given to Mexico. So the problem that we were faced with was that we had to deliver so many--what is it?--acres of water to Mexico out there, or if we didn't deliver that much, there was a deficit, and we had to make it up in other years. So here we were delivering so much whether we had it or not, and we felt that that wasn't right for Colorado, but that had been worked out on an agreement before we ever got there.
- G: Looking at some other legislative issues in 1951, Lyndon Johnson was a major supporter of universal manpower [military?] training. Ed Johnson, on the other hand, opposed it. Do you recall their differences here?
- H: No. All I can say is that Ed Johnson, although he had served on the Armed Services
 Committee and had worked on that a great deal, really, well, was in the corner of the soldier more than of the military.
- G: Let's talk about the Leland Olds nomination. He had to be reconfirmed. He was renominated in, I guess, 1948, and the hearings were held in 1949. LBJ chaired the subcommittee that conducted those hearings. Did you sit in on any of them, do you recall?
- H: No. No, I didn't. Most of my job was more in the senator's office rather than with the committee. He had the experts of the committee working on all those programs.
- G: Well, now, Senator Ed Johnson had supported Leland Olds in 1944 and yet opposed him in 1949. Do you recall his thinking on that?

- H: No, I don't. I don't know why the change was made.
- G: Did he ever talk about the Leland Olds' nomination or anything that you remember?
- H: No.
- G: How about other activities of the Commerce Committee? Ed Johnson introduced a bill that proposed that the anti-trust laws not apply to major league sports, organized sports.
- H: Right.
- G: Did you get any help from Lyndon Johnson on that?
- H: I am sure we had some on that. They were very close and worked on quite a few of the bills on that. Ed Johnson worked very hard on that because he was a long-time baseball man and interested in it, and he felt that that was the way to save baseball and that [it was important] not to have it go into anti-trust. And if you see some of the problems they're having right now--actually, sports have stayed away from this anti-trust law as much as possible, and having that particular exemption has saved it. Otherwise, they couldn't do much because it is a strange way in which they operate, and I haven't always felt that baseball was correct in the way it operated. My brother and I have quite a few discussions on that because I felt that sometimes you are treating the men just like cattle, but now the baseball players have become overbearing in their demands, "Either you do it my way," or "We're going to run the team, or you can go out of business," which maybe on May 22 we may.
- G: In the correspondence files between the two senators, there is an indication that Lyndon Johnson would go to the baseball games with Senator Ed Johnson.
- H: That's right.

- G: Do you recall any of these occasions?
- H: Yes. Well, especially--you know Harry Truman used to have a luncheon on the opening day of the baseball season, and I'm sure that Lyndon Johnson was there and Ed Johnson, and quite a few of the different senators went to the Truman's luncheon. Then, they'd go out to the baseball game, and I know that he did go--the two Johnsons went together frequently to baseball games.
- G: There's been some indication that Lyndon Johnson would go to these sort of sporting events and then just want to talk politics and was not really interested in watching the game. Do you have any insights on that?
- H: No. I would say that Lyndon Johnson most of the time was talking politics. I mean, he was just a born politician, that was his whole lifeblood and that everything had a more or less political background to it.
- G: Was he ever able, that you are aware of, to persuade Senator Ed Johnson to vote his way on a particular measure, support him on a bill or something that--?
- H: I can't say that he would change, but Ed Johnson was really open-minded most of the time, and if you could prove to him that you were right, why, he would change because I can remember on some of the bills that it would be decided that he was going to vote for the bill, and as things developed, there may be a changed vote because I can remember some of the telegrams and things we sent out that said, "Due to information that has now come to my attention, I must advise you that I will not vote for the bill. I will vote against it." And we always did that. We mailed telegrams or letters, depending upon when the change came.

- G: These were to constituents?
- H: Yes, they went to the constituents.
- G: Well, how about horse-trading? Was there a good bit of that?
- H: I would say there was.
- G: Lyndon Johnson had a reputation for knowing all the bills and projects and appointments that another senator was interested in, and if he needed that senator's vote, he would have them all just ready to be passed through the chute but not quite, and he would wait until he would secure a senator's vote on it. Did he do this with Senator Johnson?
- H: I thought that he did it with all of them.
- G: Really? Can you recall any particular examples?
- H: No, but it seemed to me that there was horse-trading all the time. We would horse-trade--I shouldn't say we, but I felt the Senator would horse-trade when it was something that didn't hurt our people one way or the other, but if it were something that Colorado needed or wanted, then it was very difficult to do that. But on something--you know there are so many bills come up that's not going to effect the state of Colorado at all, you can horse-trade on that and try to get something, too, that you want.
- G: Was most of the horse-trading brokered through the majority leader's office? I guess then it would be the minority leader, the Democratic leader. Was Lyndon Johnson the man that coordinated it, or would individual senators just horse-trade with each other independent of Johnson?

- H: I think a lot of it came through Lyndon Johnson's office because he controlled a lot of things that went on there, and, as you say, he knew how everyone was going to--or what their problems were.
- G: Okay. Well, now, if Lyndon Johnson were summing up Ed Johnson's problems and interests and needs, what would they be? What would he say about them?
- H: I don't quite--
- G: Well, what I'm asking is what were Senator Ed Johnson's primary interests?
- H: Oh, gold, silver and the mining, water. Water was the most important part here. Protecting the interests--well, [Wayne] Aspinall, as you know, did a great deal for water conservation here in the state. He was back there at the same time. Really, protecting the interests of the state of Colorado because we are a small state, and we're not very powerful as far as having numbers that we can control delegates to a convention or anything like that, so we do not have a whole lot of trading. But we got the Air Force Academy because we felt that this would be something that could come here. We were to get the Bureau of Standards out here, and that is something that could go to Boulder with a high altitude. Part of that is here.
- G: What happened on that, do you know? You said that the whole bureau was--
- H: The whole bureau was to move out here. [Edward U.] Condon was in favor of it, and I won't say there was an agreement with Condon, but Condon knew that we wanted it. Our committee was an important committee to keep him in there, and when it came about, they were moving things out here, and all of a sudden, why, they said, "Why is all of that moving to that small state out there?" So they just stopped it and decided--of course, there

was something else going on, too, there. They were moving a lot of the things out of Washington, trying to get them decentralized so that not everything was there, and we are a good place to put things because we're up in the Rocky Mountains. It's just like down in Colorado Springs where there are whole mountains dug out, so they can have NORAD [North American Air Defense] down there, and these things--well, we have Rocky Flats [a nuclear weapons facility] out here, which some of the people of the state are not very happy about because of the nuclear power that's coming on there, but those were the things we were working on: agricultural state, tourist state.

- G: Were there any appointments that Ed Johnson was particularly interested in?
- H: I couldn't say yes on that from this standpoint. Being head of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, he was in control of, or the committee was in control of commerce, railroads, TV, radio, shipping, maritime. We had a tremendous amount of power. He was also on the Senate Finance Committee, and he and Senator [Eugene] Millikin were on the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, so there were so many interests coming up there and so many appointments that had to go through the committee that Johnson was head of. And, of course, Lyndon Johnson was in that, too. Lyndon--I know Lyndon Johnson was very interested in the TV part of it.
- G: Anything in particular on the FCC [Federal Communications Commission] and the television industry?
- H: We personally, as you know, had quite a fight over a certain actress that the Senator felt hadn't lived up to the Swedish people.
- G: Ingrid Bergman.

H: Right. I have never seen so much mail in all my life, and he carried on quite a campaign against . . . It was amazing how that operated because those of us in the office did not know about the speech he was writing. It was given out, and Nancy and I were both in there, in the Senator's office, and things were coming up, but we would see one small section, just a few pages, and that was given back to that person, so he didn't know the whole overall thing. All of a sudden I remember when he came in and said, "I want this speech prepared." He usually let me know a little bit in advance when we were going to have it all typed and mimeographed and ready for the press, and we had a very short time, and we were working quite mad on that. He went on the Senate floor, and it caused a lot of trouble with the broadcasting companies.

That reminds me. We did have a fight going on with the motion picture people. That was that he threatened anti-trust laws against them to shake the whole industry up, and we also had ABC, NBC, and all those people down at that time because of what he was not planning to do but what could be done by throwing in a bill on anti-trusts. That bill was never thrown in as I recall.

- G: Did Lyndon Johnson have anything to do with it, in dissuading Ed Johnson, or was there a moderating influence on him?
- H: Not on this. I don't think anyone could get him off of that particular phase because he--
- G: Well, he was also responsible for the censorship measures, too, wasn't he?
- H: Yes, on there, and so he was meeting with the motion picture people, and he brought out a change in the whole motion picture industry because they promised that they would look in and that they would police themselves if Congress wouldn't step in and do it.

- G: Lyndon Johnson, of course, had his own television interests having a station. In the time you were working on the Commerce Committee and looking over the shoulder of the FCC, did LBJ ever have interests of his own that he pursued?
- H: I really couldn't answer that. I would rather not answer that.
- G: Well, let me rephrase it then. If he did, were the other members of the committee likely to go along and defer to a fellow senator here?
- H: He was influential enough that they would go along on what he wanted because he was well-liked, and he was thought highly of by the other members, and I feel that it's a closed corporation, so to speak. It's the greatest country club in the world, and if you belong to it, others will help you.
- G: Of course, he also had allies on the commission.
- H: Yes, right. Well, that's very easy to do, you know, when you were sitting up there, you have some power of appointments to see who's appointed.
- G: Anything on the expansion of channels, broadcasting channels, or the UHF and VHF?
- H: No, I couldn't--I mean, although I remember going to many, many programs where they showed the different systems of dots or lines and how it was a big fight between CBS and [inaudible] who was going to get that final award. Of course, that was coming down from the commission, and there was a lot of politics going on because it meant a lot.
- G: Assuming you were a historian trying to unravel the decisions that were made, how would you go about doing it? Which office would you find the records in?
- H: I think a lot would be down at the FCC.
- G: Really?

- H: And also there would be a lot in the office of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.
- G: The committee's records would reflect some of this?
- H: You're right. Some of the things that are going on because there was a lot--you know, they were having hearings at that time on it. I can remember where one man was just trying to make a fool of the committee. He brought in a huge, oversized TV set with wheels and flashing lights, and that's almost like a disco set, and then blew up. The committee wasn't very happy about that, but he was trying to show them that this was on color TV.
- G: Is that right?
- H: And he had one of those color wheels whirling around, and the whole thing--and, of course, it was supposed to explode, which it did there and he was reprimanded. I can't even remember his name right now, but I remember it caused a little flurry in that--
- G: Was LBJ involved in that at all, do you remember?
- H: He was on the committee at that time.
- G: Well, now, Lyndon Johnson may not have wanted to represent his own interests directly.
 Did he ever get Senator Ed Johnson to promote something that he was interested in with the FCC?
- H: This I can't say. That would have to be disclosed possibly in letters that were written to the FCC.
- G: You mentioned earlier Senator Ed Johnson's speeches, that you wouldn't always know what he was going to say in advance or have time to--I guess one celebrated occasion was the announcement of the hydrogen bomb project. Do you recall the circumstances of that?

- H: No, I don't.
- G: President Truman was not pleased.
- H: You're right. Well, and you know, Ed Johnson got in--wasn't that the one where he got into a problem with one of the commentators, Eric Sevareid? Because he was being interviewed by Eric Sevareid, and Ed Johnson had made a statement, which we proved had been in newspapers and magazines and was really public knowledge. And, as I recall that, the reason that Eric Sevareid took off after Ed Johnson was that he was the first one on the committee who had given credence to the statement. It had been written about. They had talked about it and all this, and he had just said, "We had that power." It was something of that sort, and he didn't divulge anything, and I know it was very controversial and put us through many hours of anxiety, clipping and getting all of the [evidence] showing that this had been written about, was known, had been on broadcasts and everything, and yet the reason given by the press at that time was that he was the first one of that authority to make that statement.
- G: Did Lyndon Johnson ever try to persuade Ed Johnson to support the Truman Administration more on foreign policy or international affairs?
- H: No, this I couldn't say. I am sure they must have had words, you know, conversations on it because, when Truman was elected, I remember the Senator said, "Well, we'll have someone in the White House who we can go talk to," and I know that Ed Johnson felt that Truman was the type of person that he would have access to.
- G: Anything on the fair trade bill?
- H: No. We were involved in a sugar bill, getting sugar legislation through at that time.

- G: Do you recall the efforts there to get votes on that?
- H: No. We worked on that for a long time. We worked on that and on an aviation bill, it seemed like for a long time. For Colorado the sugar bill was very important. And, of course, Colorado being a small state, we needed help from everyone. That was that basing point bill [?] on the charges on sugar and prices, and freight. We had a special individual who worked on that, and that was his job, working on that bill. The same way with aviation. We had an expert on aviation who worked on the aviation field. Had been a professor at the University of Chicago.
- G: Did LBJ help out on this legislation at all that you know?
- H: This I don't know.
- G: How about the tidelands legislation? This was something that Lyndon Johnson was very interested in.
- H: I couldn't say.
- G: Well, I notice that Senator Ed Johnson didn't vote for the tidelands. Do you recall that?
- H: No.

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- G: Giving the states the jurisdiction, and then, you know--
- H: Right. I don't know. If he didn't, it probably was because our people were opposed to it. I mean, the people in Colorado were working on their own oil problems.
- G: Anything on the Allen Astin nomination to be director of the Bureau of Standards? That was more or less a party thing.
- H: Right. No, not that I know of.

- G: How about the Albert Beeson nomination? Do you remember that, close votes?
 Reciprocal trade amendments? Nothing there? Anything on the oil depletion allowance?
- H: No. I'm sure we were interested in that though.
- G: In 1953, Ed Johnson was appointed to the Democratic Policy Committee by, I guess, Lyndon Johnson, or was it the Steering Committee that made that appointment? I've forgotten.
- H: I don't know which one made that.
- G: Do you recall why he was put on that committee?
- H: No, I don't. I would say he was respected. His opinion was respected by the members of that.
- G: Did he want to go on the committee?
- H: That I don't know. He always had the idea, though, that you had to be at a point of control if you were going to get your ideas across.
- G: Did he ever talk to you about how the Policy Committee worked?
- H: No, sir.
- G: Did you have the impression that it was the powers of the Senate getting together and deciding what the position would be on legislation?
- H: Yes, sir.
- G: Did you feel that LBJ may have dominated or that it was all pretty much give-and-take?
- H: Most of those committees are run by the chairman, and it's more or less his wishes although a lot of it comes down from the president. I've always felt sorry for the majority leader because he is going to have to back things whether he wants to or not. I mean, if he's in a

position, that's it, his job. So it's very hard to do that. I saw Scott Lucas push through legislation which later was going to defeat him because the people of Illinois did not want it, but his position in the Senate required that he do that. You know, he was defeated.

McCormick papers took after him, and he knew at the time because Scott Lucas came in the office and said, "I've got to push this for the President, and I know that it's going to hurt me."

- G: Which bill was it?
- H: I don't really recall which bill, but it was one that really hurt him out there in that area because we were trying to help him all we could on it, and it was really causing him trouble with his constituents. And yet the President wanted it, and that was his job. And I think you'll find that with a lot of the whips and so forth in that [inaudible].
- G: Senator Ed Johnson was appointed to the select committee on the [Joseph] McCarthy censure, the [Arthur] Watkins Committee. Do you recall the circumstances of that, why LBJ named him, if he had to persuade him to go on the committee or Ed Johnson was glad to do so?
- H: I don't know. I don't think he was glad to do so, but I felt that he felt it was his job. He had been asked and that he would serve on that because that was a very difficult committee to be on, to censure a man. No, a United States senator [Lester Hunt] had committed suicide over that whole thing that was from Wyoming, and I can remember the shock of everyone in the Senate and the personnel there when we arrived one morning, and they said that a senator shot himself, and it was felt at that time it was over McCarthy. So it had such an

- emotional appeal to the people in Congress, and I don't feel that he really wanted to be on the committee, but he took the assignment as his duty.
- G: But you don't remember the particular arguments that Lyndon Johnson used in that?
- H: No. No. I wasn't in on any of that.
- G: Sometime before the committee selection, Ed Johnson had given a telephone interview to Robert Lucas, I think with the *Denver Post*, and it said something to the effect that "All Democrats, and all but a half dozen Republicans, loathe McCarthy." Was this a factor at all before his selection? I wonder if this was discussed and if they decided that this would mar his objectivity or make him appear to be biased on the question?
- H: I don't know when that interview took place, whether it was before or after-
- G: I think it was before. I think it was about six months before, or something like that.
- H: And I know he had no use for Senator McCarthy because he felt he was an opportunist, and a lot of the Democrats on the Hill felt that was being used to put McCarthy in as president of the United States, and they didn't feel that way, so I would say that he didn't like McCarthy.
- G: Did the two of them ever have any run-ins?
- H: Not that I know of.
- G: Let's see. Arthur Watkins in his memoirs wrote that "It was Lyndon Johnson who urged senators to delete the charge that McCarthy had abused General [Ralph W.] Zwicker" from the censure resolution and that there were "at least fifteen Democrats who would vote against the resolution if the Zwicker charge were included." Do you recall this discussion?
- H: No, sir, I don't.

- G: Was there an attempt, do you think, on Lyndon Johnson's behalf to get the Democrats united on the question of the McCarthy censure?
- H: I couldn't say that there was. I know that this was very disconcerting to many of the Democrats there, what was going on. I don't think they really needed to be united too much.
- G: But it was unanimous, I think.
- H: Yes.
- G: Anything else on the McCarthy censure?
- H: No, sir.
- G: What did you see as the cause of McCarthy's demise?
- H: What I saw from it was the making of statements that couldn't be backed up, like I forget whom--there was a speech made in Salt Lake City, I think, before the Wool Growers'

 Society, that McCarthy came out first with his accusation of how many communists there were in the government. I forget the number, but it was a rather large number, and as you recall, as days went on, argument went on, and there were less of this, less numbers, less here, and then he finally brought it down to just a few pieces. I thought the hearings that were held in the Senate Office Building were like a three-ring circus. I mean, we all wanted to watch what was going one. It was on there, and the way he abused some of the people, and I think [Roy] Cohn helped him come down, the attorney he had, because of his attacks on the military, attacks on all government people. I think that can hurt.

(Interruption)

- G: We went down a checklist of items including the Atomic Energy Act and several other things. Let me ask you about the Air Force Academy. Did Lyndon Johnson help at all in securing the Air Force Academy for Colorado?
- H: This I couldn't say, but we were soliciting all the help possible because we knew it was great and would be great for Colorado. We knew the problems that could develop from the standpoint of other [states] if it got out in the open; by that, I mean, if they knew it was going to come to the state. That's why we were trying to keep it more or less a vote of the military and those people who were going to use it, because we felt that every state would want the academy so we would have a problem. So I feel with Senator Johnson and Senator Millikin, I'm sure they must have contacted many different senators.
- G: Yes. Of course, LBJ was on the Armed Services Committee.
- H: Right, and they had worked together on it.
- G: Anything else on Lyndon Johnson that we haven't talked about?
- H: I can't think of anything else.
- G: Why he was effective as majority leader?
- H: I think he knew politics very well, and he knew how to approach people and how to talk to them and how to get his point across, and I'm sure there must have been a lot of trading here and there to get this done. "If you want this, well, we'll work with you on that." Because that has been kind of the history, I think, you'll find of the Senate. The southerners used to all get together and work on a bill and--
- G: He was able to get a few stray Republican votes, I notice, particularly Molly [George]

 Malone and William Langer, westerners. Do you recall how he was able to do that?

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- H: No, I don't. You see, I think a lot of the westerners considered LBJ a westerner, more than a southerner or an easterner, something like that.
- G: And you mentioned water and minerals.
- H: Yes, they were all interested in water and minerals, the [inaudible].
- G: Were there any other differences between the southerners and the westerners that would characterize one as opposed to another?
- H: No, I can't think of any.
- G: Well, I surely do thank you for--

End of Tape 1 of 1 and Interview I

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