

INTERVIEW WITH STUART LONG

PB: This is August 13, 1968. We are in the office of Mr. Stuart Long in the Texas Capitol. Mr. Long is one of the outstanding correspondents in the Capitol. Political correspondents. He has been for many years. In fact, he is now approaching the stage of being the Dean of Capitol correspondents. Have you reached that state yet, Mr. Long?

SL: We aren't sure whether Dick Morehead is or whether I am, because both of us have some gaps. Someday we're going to sit down and figure out dates and so on and see who has really been here longer.

PB: In any event, you started as a correspondent while you were still in school at The University of Texas. Back in 1933, was it?

SL: Yes. I think my actually my first Capitol experience was July, 1935, when I interviewed Governor Allred on the prohibition question.

PB: That was a long time ago. Mr. Long, your first memories of Mr. Johnson, as I understand from our previous conversation, are somewhat obscure. Do you recall just when it was you first got to know him?

SL: I have not been able to recollect the first time we met. This is an embarrassing situation, that I'm not historically

acute enough to be able to remember the moment we met. But it just seems like I began to know him about 1935 or thereabouts, maybe '36, when he was the State Director of the NYA.

PB: Incidentally, I neglected to make one point that I wanted to make. I identified you as a political reporter, Capitol reporter. Tell us some of the people for whom you are a correspondent here.

SL: Well, we operate what we call Long News Service which is an independent Capitol News Service. We correspond for eighteen daily newspapers in Texas. Among them the San Antonio Light, Corpus Christi Caller-Times, Beaumont Enterprise, El Paso Herald-Post, Texarkana Gazette, Victoria Advocate, Abilene Reporter-News, San Angelo Standard-Times, Wichita Falls Record-News and Times, and the Mayborn papers of Temple, Sherman and Taylor, Kilgore News-Herald, Victoria Advocate just about anywhere you are in Texas we correspond from Plainview to Texarkana and from Corpus Christi to El Paso.

PB: Additionally, you do some writing for the national publications, you have done, from time to time, I was thinking more particularly of articles that you have written for The Nation. What other ?

SL: Oh, The Nation, The Reporter, lately demised, The New York Times, The Washington Post, Newsweek, and in the

past I've done some work for Time and Life and other publications across the country.

PB: Well, that should establish your bona fides fairly well. Now, to get back to your contacts with Mr. Johnson, you were, in the 1930's you were connected with the Austin American-Statesman, I believe, at the time when he was Director of the NYA.

SL: Yes, when he was with the NYA and I was working on the American-Statesman and for you, Paul, at International News Service, when he first ran for Congress in 1937. And then I left Austin for a time and in his first few years as Congressman I was away from here in West Texas and then came back as editor of the Austin Times in 1938 for a while and went back to West Texas and then finally returned to Austin to stay, in 1941.

PB: And in what year did you go into the Marines?

SL: In late 1942, and when I was discharged in '45 I started job hunting and went to Washington to look around for employment jobs were plentiful then. My problem was deciding which one to take. It was quite a change from the prewar days when I went unemployed for quite a while at one time. And went to New York briefly and then came back through Washington and word had been left that Congressman Johnson wanted to talk to me and it

turned out he wanted me to come back to Austin and work for KTBC as an assistant to the news editor of KTBC, who was, if I recall right, Paul Bolton.

PB: That's right. At that time I had been down there, oh I guess, about a year, but we won't go into those angles. Well, after a brief period at KTBC, and in connection with our newsstaff, you moved over to KVET. Can you tell us something about KVET?

SL: KVET was a new radio station which went on the air in October, 1946, and it was called KVET because it was organized by a group of ten veterans including some people who have become very well known in Texas, better known now than they were then. The President was John Connally and among the other stockholders were, and the active workers at the station, were Bob Phinney, now Director of Internal Revenue, and J. J. "Jake" Pickle, who is now Congressman from the 10th District, and Ed Syers who was later head of the famous Syers, Pickle, and Wynn Advertising Firm, which incidentally was kind of a spin-off from KVET. It soon became apparent that KVET couldn't support as many executives as it had so they organized an advertising agency for Pickle and Syers to leave the station and go into the advertising business. And a group of us met and all of us put up a little money

to help start that agency in order to get it off the ground and get them off the KVET payroll so they could pay the rest of us. But other stockholders included Homer Thornberry, who may or may not become a member of the Supreme Court at the present reading, and Ed Clark who did become an ambassador to Australia a little bit later. At any rate, we opened this new radio station in 1946, and I was employed as a part-time news editor of that station. And it was during this period, or perhaps a little before, it could have been while I was at KTBC, Paul, that we had so much fun getting veterans housing at The University of Texas.

PB: Let me insert right here a personal word about Mr. Long for the benefit of those who may read this typescript or listen to this tape. In addition to being a top flight newspaper man, Mr. Long has always been a what I might refer to as a political activist. You were a member of the Democratic Executive Committee for a good many years, were you not?

SL: Yes, the State Committee, and I've been a Democratic Precinct Chairman since 1946. Still am, in fact.

PB: And you took part in various other political activities all down through the years in addition to your work as a correspondent. That was your avocation, almost, was it not?

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SL: Yes, politics has been my hobby and around our house we have become used to it. As you know, my wife Emma has a political career on the City Council beginning in 1948 and extending to the present time.

PB: Now, we get back to the veterans housing project.

SL: As I look back on it, it was something that couldn't be done, but a bunch of us young bucks just back from the war weren't smart enough to know it couldn't be done. Fortunately we had a young congressman who didn't know it couldn't be done either so we did it. What we had at the University of Texas in those days was an extremely conservative Board of Regents that had just fired President Homer Rainey because they suspected that he might be a liberal among other things, and we had a flood of GI's coming back that wanted to go to the University of Texas and they simply had no place to live. So all the veterans organizations set up a Veterans Housing Council with one member from each organization, and sometime I got to be chairman of it. We had people from the American Legion Post and VFW and American Veterans Committee and the DAV and AmVets and the Young Democrats and others, and we set out to convince the city of Austin and the University of Texas that they should put up some hurried-up veterans housing to take care of the students who were coming in in 1946 and 1947. Now you must realize that what we were talking about was socialized housing which in those years and especially to people like Orville Bullington of Wichita, the Chairman of

the Board of Regents, was something that you..you had a little of it out at the University then, but it was the kind of thing you didn't talk about much. So we got our committee up one day, and we went out to see the Regents. We told them that the Federal Government had all these barracks just going to waste that they would give to the University, if the University would just provide a place for them and agree to take them for nothing and rent them to these students for low rents. And the University, of course, had that big Brackenridge Tract out along Lake Austin Boulevard, several hundred acres that they weren't sure about legally. Lot of vacant land, and we just couldn't see any reason why they didn't take a bunch of these apartments and put them in. And the Regents didn't cotton to this idea much, but we started a little publicity and at the same time we went down to city hall and filled up the city council chambers with veterans that day asking them to also apply for some of this housing. I remember City Manager Guiton Morgan said, "Well, if they are so anxious to go to school well they can get them a tent and live in it." And that made a pretty good broadcast on my newscast that night, Paul, and you probably squirmed up your toes at how mean I was to the City Manager that night, but at any rate the City Council and Mayor Tom Miller decided to apply very quickly for some of this veterans housing which they put up on Barton Springs Road where the municipal auditorium is now. And for many, many years it housed a great many GI families who weren't connected particularly with the University of Texas but we continued in our tussle with the University Regents. They finally asked the staff to check into things and Reed

Granberry, I remember, was one that was representing the staff of the University and every morning our committee would call on Mr. Granberry to ask if they had agreed to apply yet, and every afternoon Congressman Johnson would phone Reed Granberry from Washington to ask when they were going to apply. Finally the day we went back to the Board of Regents we descended in force, and I will never forget the picture when Tom Sutherland who is now a professor up at the University of Texas at Arlington and for a time the secretary of the Good Neighbor Commission was the Young Democrats' representative on our committee..and we really turned loose on the Regents. Well, Mr. Bullington said, "Now, now, don't get excited son. We're going to do something."

And Tom thumped him on the chest and said, "You better."

And then they applied and Congressman Johnson turned the wheels quickly and there are 800 units of veterans housing still to this day operating because of that little effort and the effort our Congressman gave us to force the University to accept this housing for veterans.

PB: As a matter of identification, Orville Bullington who was then the Chairman of the Board of Regents was at one time a Republican candidate for governor of Texas, I believe.

SL: Yes, and isn't he the father-in-law of our present Republican senator from Texas, Senator Tower, I believe.

PB: I'm not...

SL: Senator Tower is related to Mr. Bullington by marriage. Another interesting sidebar on this whole thing is the Balcones Research Center which was a magnesium plant during World War II and is now

center for a tremendous amount of research for the University of Texas. It was a byproduct of this housing effort. It was standing idle out there, and our committee took Reed Granberry who was a professor of electrical engineering as well as being the parliamentarian of the Texas House of Representatives... we took him out there one day proposing that the University apply for that, that was at Lyndon Johnson's suggestion, and convert it into housing; and Dr. Granberry, seeing all that electrical apparatus and equipment out there, could see the laboratory prospects, and it just shook his engineering soul to think of tearing that out and putting in kitchen stoves in those laboratories. So he actually struck a deal with us and said if you boys will help us get this for the University as a research center, we'll agree to go along on applying for the 800 units of veterans housing. And the Congressman again went to bat and got the surplus property out there allocated to the University. He carried out that end of the deal.

PB: As an aftermath of the construction of the wooden ex-barracks into apartments, I think it might be interesting if you would add what has occurred on the Brackenridge Tract since that time in the way of student housing.

SL: Yes, they have just in recent years squared away the legal title on it and have built a big complex of housing for married students and faculty members of permanent housing out there, but Austin has never been able to catch up with its housing shortage and as a result the old barracks moved in the Deep Eddy Apartments

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and Brackenridge Apartments to everybody's surprise have lasted now more than 20 years they were put in in '46 22 years and they are still going strong, still full, and still putting kids through the University of Texas.

PB: Stuart, I would judge from what you've said that Mr. Johnson's activities in connection with the student housing pretty fairly sold you on Johnson as a member of the Congress.

SL: Yes, that's right. And in 1948, I'll never forget the one night, some of us became very convinced that former Governor Coke Stevenson shouldn't become the United States Senator from Texas when W. Lee O'Daniel quit in 1948. I remember one night a group of us got out to Johnson's house on Dillman Street and I remember John Connally was there and Jake Pickle and oh, I don't know all the rest, I think Merrill Connally may have been there and some others, six or eight of us, and we talked to Congressman Johnson about running. And he just didn't believe he could win. And there had just been a poll that showed that he had 17 per cent and Coke Stevenson had 50 per cent. And he just told us that night he didn't believe he could win and that he wasn't going to run. And then he went on and went to

bed and and Paul, you may have been there that night and we got to talking somebody had to run, and we thought of this great idea of John Connally running and after all, Tom Connally was a Senator then, the other senator, and here's John Connally with all his brothers and his daddy who looked like old man Texas himself. And we worked out a campaign plan where we were going to buy all these surplus command cars and put PA systems on and put a Connally boy in each one of them and stump the whole state. And we just got all fired up on this idea and the next day we had somebody to tell Lyndon about it and I'll swear he announced that afternoon for the Senate. I've often thought about that maybe he was needling us to see how really serious we were about winning that Senate race or maybe when he found out how serious we were he thought maybe he could win but at any rate he recognized our enthusiasm for the race for the United States Senate and he called a press conference down at the Driskill Hotel and became a candidate for the Senate. And, of course, all of us were working full time but we found several hours a day some of the boys went into the campaign full time. I didn't, but that reminds me of another thing that illustrates a point it seems to me about Lyndon. Somebody

asked me to get up a radio script to put together a bunch of veterans for Johnson. Joe Phipps who was working at KTBC and I got together a bunch of veterans and taped these little statements and then I wrote a script and Joe Phipps did the introduction, you know Joe Phipps could make a crowd of 200 sound like a massive throng--greatest introducer in Texas political history--and so we put that program on and Lyndon heard it. We had, oh, some great guys on there. We had Warren Woodward of Coleman who's been heard of since; we had Clyde Fillmore of Wichita Falls who is District Attorney up there; and then we had Jim Sewell of Blooming Grove who is District Judge at Corsicana. As a matter of fact, we kind of picked some political comers for that without knowing it. We had Perry Pickett who is now District Judge at Midland. We had Merrill Connally on that program and Richard Reno of Dallas but at any rate, Congressman Johnson heard that broadcast and he came by one night and he said, "Stu, that's the greatest radio broadcast ever done." He said, "I've just told them to run it twice more on the Texas State Network and now between now and the election which is two weeks off, I want eight more of those speeches. That was a masterpiece, the finest script ever written, and I want eight more in the next

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ten days." I think I produced one more, maybe two, because it would have taken three weeks to do the one.

PB: You had a considerable role in the subsequent fight over the county in the election in the state convention, is that right?

SL: Yes, Paul, as I told you, I got interested in party politics. I didn't know a thing about it before the war and not much but during the war I got worried because it began to look like they were about to fix things where I couldn't vote for Roosevelt in 1944 by an absentee ballot and I found out that it was possible to jigger the party machinery to where even if I voted for Roosevelt those presidential electors could vote for somebody else. When I came home I ran for precinct chairman out in Tarrytown in 1946 and got elected, and got interested in party politics and on the side of what we called the Loyal Democrats which just believed in supporting the party nominee and we had these Texas Regulars and Dixiecrats that didn't believe in it and wanted to use the Democratic Party to help the Republicans, was what it amounted to. Later they won out in '52, you know, and the Democratic Party endorsed the Republican Party. At any rate, because I got active in this as precinct chairman, we got to organizing precinct conventions

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and did that in '46 and in '48 again. I was working at KVET then and I remember one day Jake Pickle came by and I was on the phone telling people they ought to go to the precinct convention and Jake said don't waste your time on that, get busy on Lyndon's campaign. But I worked in Lyndon's campaign as well as on this precinct work and sure enough, my bunch won the county convention that year in Travis County and nobody paid much attention to it. Sure enough, it turned out in August after the runoff primary that the State Convention and those county conventions looked pretty important to Jake Pickle and, of course, to Lyndon Johnson, and all of his forces, so Pickle came around and said what about this Travis County delegation. You remember the AFL had endorsed Coke Stevenson and I said, well, Jake, Harry Ackerman, who is secretary of the State AFL, is pretty well in charge of that delegation. You know he was for Stevenson. Of course, I had talked to Harry and Harry said, well, we agreed to help Coke win the election, but we told him we wouldn't help him steal it. And we are going to vote to certify Johnson because he is the one who has won the race. So we never did tell Pickle and John Connally about this. I thought I just saved it up for a surprise. I think Pickle was a delegate. We'd made him

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a delegate, but I don't believe Connally was that year. At any rate, Tom Miller and Maury Maverick called a meeting in Austin of the Loyal Democrats along in July to try to organize the State Convention to make sure that the State Democratic Executive Committee was made up of Democrats instead of Dixiecrats. And when the count of the certification of the results of the Senate Race, as certified by the County Chairman for the 254 counties, became an issue we knew we'd come before the State Convention. Well, we kind of swung this organization and combined this Loyal organization with the Johnson organization. We kind of did this informally, we never did announce we were doing that but there were those that accused us of making a deal because the so-called Liberals came out in control of the State Democratic Executive Committee out of the same convention that Johnson got the certification as a senate nominee. But at any rate we worked pretty hard on that, lined up delegations to question Vann Kennedy who was the Secretary of the State Committee and had his office in the Capitol Press Room where you and I both had worked

PB: Where we are at this moment.

SL: Where we are at this moment. It then had a partition. Kennedy had at night added up those votes but wouldn't

tell anybody what they showed until he made his report to the State Democratic Executive Committee at Fort Worth in the Blackstone Hotel the day before the State Convention opened. An effort was made in that committee, as you recall, to overturn the election results and throw out one county's returns in order to swing it to Coke Stevenson. And one of the funniest things happened, it was really tragic, but the Austin Member of the State Democratic Executive Committee was Jerome Sneed, very prominent attorney, and a Johnson supporter, of course, and it was a very hot, argumentative sort of a situation and Mr. Sneed had a heart attack in the lobby of the hotel there in Fort Worth. And there are those who swear this to be true: that another quick-thinking Johnson representative, Everett Looney, scrawled out a proxy on the back of an envelope and got Jerome Sneed to sign it before he called an ambulance for him. But I don't know if that's really true. At any rate, as he lay on the floor of the lobby, Mr. Sneed gave Everett Looney a proxy and as it turned out, this was important because in the State Executive Committee meeting the motion to substitute a report which would have recommended Stevenson for nomination failed by one vote. And, of course, the deciding vote was cast at the end of the roll call by Charlie

And so, the test vote in the Convention came on refusing to seat these delegations which had violated Party law which said you can't participate in the Democratic Convention unless you sign an agreement to support the nominees. That Party law had been adopted in 1944 and was still in effect, and remained in effect until it was repealed in 1952 by the convention which was dominated by those who felt otherwise. And so on the roll call vote, Bob Calvert ruled as chairman that it was pretty good American jurisprudence that a fellow being tried for something couldn't serve on his own jury. And so he held that the contested delegations, neither one of them, could vote on the question of who was to be seated. Of course, there were two delegations from Dallas, two from Fort Worth, and two from Houston. And roll call was held and the vote was to put the three Loyalist delegations from those three big counties in the convention instead of the three Texas Regulars delegations. And, of course, it just happened that the three Loyalists delegations were also Johnson delegations. And so the others marched out and took the furniture with them.

PB: Just what do you mean by that?

SL: The Fort Worth delegation which had arranged for the convention had borrowed furniture for the stage--adding

machines, tables, chairs, desks, typewriters, and when they were evicted, they sent people in to pick them up. I remember Sam Rayburn sitting there in front of a table and they came and carried the table away and when he got up to protest they carried his chair away. At any rate, the convention went on and was well organized from the point of view of the committee which was to canvass election returns. Normally, it is one that you put some dignitary on and is a very, very perfunctory committee, but it was so well organized that--it had one member from each of the 31 senatorial districts--and there were 27 of the 31 who were pledged to certify the votes as certified by the county chairmen and the State Executive Committee. I remember, Reese Lockett, Mayor of Brenham, walked in the room and before the chairman could even call them to order, he jumped up on the table and said, "I move we certify Lyndon Johnson." And that's what happened, of course.

Did you ever hear the story about the meeting in Sam Rayburn's back yard?

PB: No.

SI: That followed that convention. Well, you've got me rambling on, but it was the funniest meeting you ever saw. President Truman came into the state on a campaign

tour, it must have been October, early October, I guess; soon after the State Convention. And at the same convention a new State Democratic Executive Committee had been elected, and of which I was one of the members from the 14th Senatorial District. And this committee was predominantly pro-Johnson but the chairman, John C. Calhoun, of Corsicana, who was chosen by Governor Jester, was not a Johnson man and he was a supporter of Coke Stevenson for Senator. When the legal proceedings were brought by the Stevenson people some of us on the State Committee felt that the State Democratic Party should be represented in the U.S. Supreme Court proceedings in order to defend our decision that he was our Party nominee, and so we decided that we were going to have a meeting of the State Democratic Executive Committee in Bonham the night President Truman spoke there. And Mr. Calhoun, the chairman, refused to call a meeting, so some of us sent out word and phoned everybody to come on up to Bonham to the rally. That was the time that Sam Rayburn gave the most expansive invitation in history. The President spoke at the football field at Bonham. The county's population was 23,000 then and there were 40,000 people there. The football field was full of people, I don't mean the stands, but the field. People

standing up. And it was not a good speech because President Truman had to use a script, he was on national network and he was just like you and me, he can't do as good with a script as he can just talking. And anyway, when he got through, Mr. Rayburn got up and said, "Now the President and Mrs. Truman and Margaret are coming out to the house for supper and you all come out and have supper with us." And I'll swear, I believe all 40,000 came; I believe they had to kill every chicken in North Texas because when I left there at 2:30 a.m., there was still a line of cars three miles long to Bonham waiting to get there and they were still serving fried chicken at 2:30 in the morning. But I got off about that expansive invitation. We all gathered out at Sam Rayburn's back yard and while President Truman was greeting people inside we were going to have a meeting of the State Committee. And we had a long-winded resolution written that wound up appointing Jimmy Allred as the attorney for the State Democratic Executive Committee to represent us in these election proceedings.

PB: Jimmy was not, did not have any office at that time?

SL: No. He'd been a Federal Judge and later became one again, but at that moment he was a practicing attorney who had lost his big client, you remember, because he supported

Homer Rainey for Governor in 1944, and Superior Oil Company fired him, and he was in private practice-- didn't have his big client anyway. At any rate, we had this resolution written that some lawyer had written and we had somebody get up and read it in the back yard and Mr. Calhoun was in the middle of saying, "Now, we are not having a meeting; we're not having a meeting." And the resolution was read and we were all in a big circle out in the back yard there and it was read and Mr. Calhoun said there's nothing we can do about it. This is not a meeting of the State Committee and the Committee began to close in on Mr. Calhoun who was outnumbered 62 members and there were not over ten that were on Calhoun's side--and they weren't there we hadn't told them about the meeting. The Committee began to close in on him and finally we were fixing to elect us another Chairman, that was what we were about to do--and finally he said, Now look, look, look, and he lived up to the John C. Calhoun name as a great compromiser. He said, Would you all agree not to have the meeting if I would hereby appoint Governor Allred to be our attorney to represent us in this litigation? And we had I believe John Connally had a proxy and was kind of our spokesman on that, and he said, Mr. Calhoun, if you'll

announce it in the presence of all these people we'll agree we didn't have a meeting. And so he appointed Governor Allred to represent the party and the meeting adjourned the meeting-that-wasn't adjourned, in Sam Rayburn's back yard.

PB: Let's go back just a moment just a minute now. While ago when you were talking about the State Convention, you said that you had made a delegate count and found that you had that the Johnson people had a majority of 12 if nothing went wrong. Did this majority of 12 include

SL: Well, that was if the Houston, Fort Worth, and Dallas delegations were seated with the Texas Regulars, the anti-Stevenson people. We had a majority outside of them, but it was very close.

PB: That's what I wanted to bring out.

SL: It would have been extremely close if a half a dozen delegates hadn't been in the hall at the time of the roll call; we could have lost, and that's why Johnny Crooker said, "We got to throw us out."

Well, Paul, you know one of my real interests in Texas has been in the water problem and since 1953 I've published the weekly "Texas Water Report," which records each week everything that's happening in the field of

water conservation, soil conservation, water pollution control, and the like. And one thing that a great many Texans don't realize--and I'm sure no non-Texans realize--is the tremendous role that Congressman, Senator, Vice-President, and President Johnson had in bringing Texas alive to its need for massive water development. We've had our federal agencies fooling around with water matters and had our State Board of Water Engineers granting water rights, but nobody was really digging at the problem of meeting the massive future water needs of Texas until Lyndon Johnson took it up. Now, in 1944, Judge J. E. Sturrock organized the Texas Water Conservation Association and began to drum up public interest in this and Harry Burleigh of the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation began his studies on Texas water needs and ways in which to meet them, and I'm not sure of the genesis of exactly how this got to Congressman and then Senator Johnson--there are some who say that Harry Burleigh sold Walter Prescott Webb and Walter Prescott Webb sold Lyndon Johnson on this. And this could very well be the genesis of the chain of communications that led to this. But be that as it may, when the new Senator Johnson got to Washington in 1949, he discovered that the rest of the state had not developed its water resources like his 10th

District had. Where his neighbor, Senator Kerr from Oklahoma, had dozens of water projects authorized and ready to go, there was not a single Texas project authorized by Congress for him to get under way as a Senator. And so he called in the federal agencies and said, I want a mock-up plan for water development in Texas; I want you, the Corps of Engineers of the Army, and the Bureau of Reclamation of the Department of Interior, and the Geological Survey, to put together a mock-up of a State water plan for Texas. And I want it in a hurry. Well, they produced this plan which was just the framework of a state water plan very quickly, within about a year and a half. They also speeded up, because planning money was provided for the Bureau and the Corps of Engineers--speeded up their development of specific projects which would be needed in Texas and which were already needed, in fact, in Texas. And then he recognized the need for a sure-enough state water plan. And when his fellow Senator, Price Daniel, was elected Governor in '56, Johnson talked to him and said, Now, this states rights business is fine, but we can't wait forever and the state hasn't done anything, and so when you get down there as Governor, why don't you get busy and get some state water planning started? I think

I'm probably quoting him correctly on this, "because if you don't, I'm going to. I'm going to get a Federal plan started for Texas." So Governor Daniel recommended it to the Legislature in '57 and the Legislature failed to enact the State water planning act that he had recommended. And so the Legislature that was the year they had quite a fight, if I remember, they stayed in Session til, oh, July perhaps, maybe a Special Session; at any rate, the day after they went home without acting, Senator Johnson introduced a bill in Congress to create the U.S. Study Commission--Texas. For Texas, there's really a hyphen in there. And it was passed and funded with 2.5 million dollars to set up this planning group made up of the heads of the Federal agencies in Texas plus representatives of a great many of each of the river basins, the intrastate river basins; there was no one to represent the Rio Grande and the Red and the Sabine in this, because they are interstate or international streams. At any rate, with this amount of money, they went to work immediately and set up a staff in Houston and developed the Study Commission's recommendations for water projects in Texas--tying together all the ideas anybody had up to that time. Well, when he got this passed, Governor Daniel was calling a Special Session

that fall to pass all the bills to prohibit integration in the schools, you remember, and he was irked by Lyndon's move in the Federal direction, so with this threat of Federal control of our water he was able to get the Legislature for Special Session to pass the planning act for the Texas Water Commission to begin making a plan. He didn't get very much money for it, but at least he got the mandate from the Legislature to have a Texas Water Plan. They put one together, a very quickie plan, and actually beat the U.S. Study Commission through with it and got out a sort of a plan, you might say, and then in October of 1961, the U.S. Study Commission completed its work and was discharged. It amassed a great deal of information, and this was picked up and carried on in the planning by the Texas Water Commission which was later reorganized into the Texas Water Development Board. It came out with a preliminary version in 1966 and will in the fall of 1968 come out with the Texas Water Program which will show how the needs for Texas water can be met to the year 2020. And it is to be a massive plan, costing in the neighborhood of \$8 or \$10 billion, including the movement of water from the Mississippi River to the Lubbock area for replacement of ground water out there. But I think you must say as a footnote to history that

PB: Another identification note: Walter Prescott Webb was one of Texas' outstanding historians and also a, would you say a fanatic on the subject of water.

SL: Yes, on several occasions he served as a special consultant to Vice President, Senator and President Johnson on various matters.

PB: Mr. Long, from what you have told me up to this point, it seems that you and Mr. Johnson have usually been on the same side of the political fence. Do you mean to say that you have not disagreed with him down through the years?

SL: Oh, there have been elections in which he was the lesser of two evils, as far as I was concerned. There have been elections where I was enthusiastic for him. But oh, of course, he is an exasperating man which anybody knows. Oh, I remember one time I had worked on a TIME magazine cover story about him, and in the interest of factuality I had punctured some of the myths that had built up around him and was really surprised when the story came out. I thought it was a very fair story for TIME about him and I ran into him the week after it came out and he knew I'd been working on it and I said, "Well, I was tickled with the TIMES story." Of course, you worked for TIME, Paul, and you know sometimes it doesn't resemble what you send them when it comes out, or very seldom does it resemble what a stringer sends them. But, at any rate, I thought it was a fair story and -- but it had

mentioned gold cuff links and he was made about it and said it was a terrible story and accused me of contributing to its terribleness, and we were calling each other dirty names before we got through and I walked out mad as hornet. Oh, you can call him a lot of things, but you can't call him a real loveable character...least not all the time. But, I was looking through my files here, where he writes, "I hope you'll add my name to the list of those whom you consult when you seek to set forth my position, and particularly my activities. It is hoped that when you speak about my plans and activities you'll let me in on them." That's after I had written the column in which I predicted he would support the Democratic nominee for Governor, I believe it was in that case - John Connally.

For some reason he felt that I had done him wrong when I said that I thought he would support John Connally for Governor against the Republican. At any rate, I wrote him a letter and said, "If I've misrepresented you, I'm sorry, I just thought for sure you'd support the Democratic nominee." But, oh, we differ a great deal. I'm more liberal than he was as a Senator, but I agree with him 100 percent on his policies as President. I think he's come over to my way of thinking. So we get along a lot better now that he's President than we did when he was Senator.

PB: Stuart, I understand that...back in 1951 I believe that you told me that you predicted that he might be President.

SE: Well, Llewelyn White, Johnny White, who was then the national editor of the REPORTER magazine, asked me to sit down and write everything I knew, or thought I knew, about LBJ. And I wrote him a dissertation of eleven pages telling just what I thought of Johnson and about his political future. It was a very frank discussion of what I thought about him. He said he was going to interview Johnson to write an article and he wanted to know all the background he could. At that time, of course, '51, he was in his first term in the United States Senate, and one paragraph in that kind of strikes me. It says: "Lyndon intends to be President some day. He may make it if his health holds out. You can get an even bet, however, from Texas politicians speculating on the scramble which will result when Tom Connally dies, Tom Connally being the then senior U. S. Senator, that Tom will outlive Lyndon. He may. Lyndon hopes for the Vice Presidential nomination

in '52. It is surprising to find that he was being talked about for vice president as far back as 1951. He is going to have to, between now and then, do something to smooth out his anti-labor and civil rights record. He had a chance in the filibuster over cloture to do the latter. NAACP lobbyists were quoted as saying that he had promised to keep quiet, but he joined the filibuster with a speech which he thinks set him a notch to the left of the Dixiecrats." Then I go on into other aspects of the then young junior Senator from Texas and say that he may very well want to hang back on his national aspirations until 1956 to avoid getting into a fight over Truman's renomination if one develops. And, of course, as history records, he did become a favorite-son candidate in 1956 and was talked about a bit for vice president then. It was 1960, of course, before he did turn up as a serious candidate for president and turned out to be vice president.

PB: Well, in that connection, you spoke of the 1956 favorite son nomination, I'm sure that you are probably as well acquainted as any man in Texas with the background of that fight which developed in 1956 into a regular campaign for control of the party machinery in Texas between what you might call the Loyalists and the conservatives, I guess they were called Dixiecrats

SL: No, the Shivercrats.

PB: Shivercrats!

SL: Shivercrats! But, of course, as you know, in 1952 Governor Allan Shivers had taken the Democratic Party machinery over into the Republican Party and Shivers was actually the nominee of both parties for governor in 1952. Then in 1956 the loyal Democrats were making one more effort to get the party machinery away from Governor Shivers and they found an ally and made an alliance with Senator Johnson who agreed to run as a favorite son and for chairman of the delegation against Governor Shivers in the precinct, county, and state conventions

PB: I've always heard there, and perhaps you can straighten me out on it, that Sam Rayburn was very much behind President, Mr. Johnson in that particular fight. Do you know?

SL: Well, as you know, Sam Rayburn was an unforgiving cuss, and he thought Governor Shivers promised him in 1952 that if he would let him in the national convention, he would support the nominees, and it turned out that he didn't support the nominees and so Rayburn was very bitter about that and did all he could to get the party machinery away from Shivers. I think there isn't much doubt but

that he did encourage Lyndon Johnson to become a candidate and to pit his strength against Shivers, and with Johnson bringing his, what you might call moderate support, in with labor and the liberals and Latin Americans and Negroes, they were able to pretty well snow under Shivers in the 1956 Convention, and, of course, then they fell apart.

PB: At the Convention itself!

SL: At the Convention itself! And it became a real donnybrook, but at that time there was reestablished in Texas, and it holds to this day the principle that a party machinery should support the party nominees from the courthouse to the White House. And it has prevailed ever since. That was the big victory for party loyalists like Sam Rayburn and like me. And like a great many other people who had fought through those years.

PB: Did you have any active part in that '56 campaign?

SL: I put together the coalition of the liberals and the Johnson people in Travis County and then realized it couldn't stay together so I went to the convention as a newsman instead of a delegate, because it was completely impossible for that group of people with the choice or chairman and the decisions made by some of the leadership I knew it couldn't be tolerated and as a result the

famous EK13 tickets appeared and the entire 250 members of the delegation got in the hall and never did get to a vote as I recall. They quarrelled so long.

PB: Well, now I'm not familiar with what you are talking about there. EK13, what's that?

SL: Well, what had happened was that, as I recall, there were about 78 votes allocated to the Travis County Delegation and in an effort to make everybody happy, we had elected about 250 delegates. And these 78 tickets were divided up very fairly between the two factions--talking about the Johnson people and the liberals and the loyalists. But outside, unable to get in, were a great many people who were delegates but simply didn't have tickets to get in the hall. Well, somebody fearing that this was about to happen, took one of the Travis County tickets and had some more printed by offset and it was EK 13. And, well, it turned out that those tickets didn't really have to be used by the Travis County delegates because Smoot Schmidt, former sheriff from Dallas County, was one of the delegates who was outside and the convention was being held in Dallas and among the guards, security guards at the Convention, there were a great many Dallas deputy sheriffs. And Smoot Schmidt prevailed on one of them to open a door and the other 180 delegates of both

factions incidentally got in through the open door and the EK 13 tickets were given to delegates from other counties who were also outside. At any rate, the whole 250 got there and there were many attempts to have roll calls and nobody could ever agree on how they came out and I'm not sure that delegation ever voted.

PB: Yes, they voted. Because I was a member of it. I got voted down every time.

SL: But at any rate, it was as you remember, the big issue in the convention came on it turned out on who was to be national committeewoman. It was between Mrs. Frankie Randolph and Mrs. Lloyd Bentsen, Junior, who, incidentally, in 1968, is national committeewoman from Texas. At any rate, the liberals prevailed finally. Senator Johnson, Speaker Rayburn, and Governor Daniel finally gave up to avoid what looked like it was going to be a rout or a riot and accepted Mrs. Randolph as national committeewoman and she served four years and was replaced.

PB: Stuart, you've been active in political fashion with Mr. Johnson for a good many years. Could you give me your opinion of the man as a man and as a public servant?

SL: Well, of course, nobody can know what's in anybody else's mind, in fact, nobody can know what's in his own mind.

But, I think, Number 1, he is a President who is the best trained President for the job we've ever had. The most accomplished man at politics we've ever had. You take 1968's congressional session; everybody's been talking about this year that Lyndon hasn't been too successful and yet there's been a tremendous roll of important legislation come through there, under the handicaps of the money problems and many other problems, the Viet Nam problem, but a great deal more progress on the problems of this nation have been made by the Congress in 1968--while everybody else was looking the other way, he was getting the program through Congress, the housing act, flood insurance, think of that, we've got flood we've also got this new riot and civil commotion reinsurance, the tremendous new housing programs, open housing, civil rights, big water pollution control appropriations, incredibly big in view of the squeeze on money. He's continued to make progress very quietly and without much fanfare while everybody was going around hollering that he just haven't accomplished anything. As I say, there's never been a more accomplished man in politics which is the art of government. And he knows how to inspire people to do things and, of course, my greatest regret is that he has run aground on this international situation, but

I've been grateful many, many times that he was there because a less accomplished man would have had us in a lot worse fix in Viet Nam than we are in right now. I'm incredibly concerned that at what we do to our Presidents. I had one brief observation of that in the White House at the kind of working hours we expect when I saw him get off work for supper at 10:15 and then have to go back to work at 12 midnight one night and I think the American people are going to have to rethink the presidency in some fashion to get some of these incredible burdens off of him, because it's more than one man ought to have to take for us. I think his ability and the fact that he there's one thing you must recognize in Johnson's character and his family's character is that the job is the big thing, not only for President Johnson but also for Mrs. Johnson and the daughters in that they have all made his career their career and they all work at it. I don't know whether people really recognize this but his mother, to a large extent his whole family, his sisters, to some extent his brother, his wife, his children, have all been completely wrapped up in his career--his job, in helping him do it. And no man could accomplish as much as he has without this complete family concentration on his job--whatever it might have been. So it's

been a team effort. The accomplishments of Mrs. Johnson are going to be great in history because she's made us look at this country of ours and convinced us we shouldn't let it get messed up and scraggly and neglected and marred by noise and smoke and pollution and sign boards. It seems to me that this that he's not just a man, he's a family. This is the feeling I've had a long time, that I don't know if anybody else has ever thought of this, maybe they have, but it occurs to me that that's the most remarkable thing--that he's been able to be an inspiration to everybody around him. I can think of dozens of people--Willie Day Taylor and Walter Jenkins and many others who've spent their whole lives working for him Jesse Kellam and Paul Bolton and many others that he's inspired to give huge chunks of their life to the programs that he wants done. Take Abe Fortas--there's a man with the greatest law practice in the world, ready to quit it and go through what he's having to go through--that's cause Lyndon Johnson talked him into it. Most persuasive man in the world. I'll bet if he could talk to Ho he could talk him into settling this Viet Nam thing, if he could ever get to him. But at any rate, these are random reflections on your question of what I think about him. I think he's Lyndon Johnson

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is not a giant brain, he's not a well educated man in the scholarly sense, but he's smart enough to find people who are well educated on what he wants and get the facts from them and base his decision on what the experts tell him plus his real native feel for the folks, which tempers the experts. Experts ought to be on tap and not on top. And so that's what the way he strikes me as of September 13, 1968. I might be mad at him next and I'd have harsher things to say, but this week that's the way I feel.

PB: Thank you, Stuart Long, you've been very helpful, and let me ask you one other question. Do you think that he'll ever be happy settled down as a professor of political philosophy at The University of Texas?

SL: Well, we were talking the other day; you know the remark Jack Valenti made that when the President retired and moves to Austin that Austin will never be the same. Well, we were just wondering the other day whether he would be running for the City Council or for County Judge after about a year of the academic life.

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By Stuart Long

to the

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