

This is an interview with Jim Chubbuck of New Orleans on January 7, 1974. The interview was conducted by Jack Bass and Walter DeVries. The interview was transcribed by Susan Hathaway.

JIM CHUBBUCK: Up until 1967 you could only serve one term. We had the one term limitation like North Carolina. Most southern states still have the one term limitation. But McKeithan was so popular. See, this was McKeithan's greatest achievement, was in getting the people to go along with succession. There had been such a history of mistrust of political leaders. You know, if you get a Governor, you get him four years, and the old theory was that you could only steal so much in four years. Even Huey Long couldn't change it, but he did elect his own successors so it didn't really make any difference to him. But McKeithan's greatest political achievement was putting that together. He got in the ballot in 1965, there was a Constitutional amendment, so it was approved two years before he even had to run.

J.B.: What caused his loss of popularity?

Chubbuck: Ed has really some of the best appraisal of McKeithan on that. He was a consistent politician all the

way.

Unidentified:

When he delivered to A he had to take away from B. Then B got mad. Just over the period of a year, everything disintegrated.

Chubbuck: See, Johnson had the ward. So he had to finance the ward as well as all of the social programs. He just caught in a crunch as well as a tremendous . . .

J.B.: What would be the analogy in Louisiana with Johnson and the ward? What was McKeithan's conflict.

Chubbuck: Life magazine ran a series. Well, really just one article and it came back about a year later that there was another article implying that the Mafia in effect had deep inroads into Louisiana government, and that McKeithan by inference was connected to it. So, it sent McKeithan into a tail spin. It was the first real criticism he had of any sort, and it was not printed by a local press. It was Life magazine.

J.B.: Did they pick it up locally?

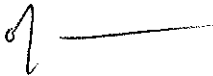
Chubbuck: Oh yeah. They went running after it like a pack of hounds. They were embarrassed that they got left out. So, that was on-going for about a year. They finally had a special legislative committee, which was originally proposed by Gus. He had hoped to be the Chairman of that committee because he was hoping for exposure himself in

state-wide office. But they wouldn't give it to him. But McKeithan was on the ropes on that thing constantly. They never did show anything about the Mafia connection, other than there were some real lax in terms of the way the government was operated, but it showed a great deal of favoritism to political friends in the revenue department. That they weren't collecting taxes on a number of favorite friends of the administration. People could understand not paying taxes a lot easier than they could the Mafia. The other thing was that he didn't have enough money to pay off on a lot of the social programs and things that he had proposed. In fact, McKeithan kept wanting to cut back taxes, and then he finally realized that he had to raise taxes so he had to go about it right at the time of the election. He called a special session to raise taxes and legislators, generally, never vote a tax increase when they have got to go into an election. So, he lost that. Even though he had won election just the year before that with 87% of the vote, 82% of the vote. So he didn't have enough money really to deliver.

J.B.: [Interruption] So Cannon's Constitutional amendment requiring a two-thirds vote of the legislature to raise taxes. Is that what prevented McKeithan from getting the tax increase?

Chubbuck: Yeah, McKeithan could get the majority, but he could not get two-thirds. He finally got it later, but it was too late then, he was on his way down. Then the other thing that finally affected McKeithan in terms of his personality was that he wanted to be Vice-President. He really felt that he had a chance to be Humphrey's selection. Every time Humphrey would come to the state, McKeithan would go all around the state with him, praising him, showing him off and Humphrey would say, "You people have one of the greatest Governors in America." It was a superb example of two old con men conning each other, you know? Humphrey had no intention of ever having McKeithan as the Vice-Presidential nominee. I am shocked that McKeithan felt that he had a real shot. McKeithan didn't know the first thing about national politics. He was just playing games. Ed had some posters. Ed was at the '68 convention. I am sure McKeithan burned all of them, but Ed still has one that says McKeithan for President. He was going to be the favorite son, you see. Then after Bobby Kennedy's assassination, as you know, everything just totally turned around and we had a whole entirely different kind of ball game. I mean, there was no way that Humphrey would lose it then. So he had more options about what he was going to do. So McKeithan came home early. He left that convention very disgusted, disgruntled,

upset because nobody was paying him any attention. He came back to Louisiana and refused . . . the press really went after him. He refused to say for whom he was going to vote. Also, I think, McKeithan had made so many enemies over that intense period of getting and putting together his succession thing that once he started losing face, things just started happening one right on top of the other.

J.B.: Why do you think  his second term?

Chubbuck: The succession, I think, that McKeithan put that thing is going to work to the detriment of the political system, not the individual. I think, because with the way that politics is operated, you know, with the Governor being the single almost powerful figure in the state, there is nobody even close. We don't have a strong legislature, and then it just depends on the most of the other state-wide offices, just really stay out of the way of the Governor and don't provide any competition.

J.B.: Is this a distinctive feature of Louisiana politics, the power of the Governor's office?

Chubbuck: I think it is.

J.B.: As well as the rest of the southern states?

Chubbuck: I don't think that any other southern state,

in terms of institutionally, has a Governor's office as strong as Louisiana. Wallace is very strong, but I think that it is his personality.

J.B.: What are some of the other basis of institutional strengths in Louisiana that differ from other southern states. One, you can run for a second term.

Chubbuck: Well, they didn't have that before. I think that just makes it even more powerful. Tremendous appointive power all the way down the line. I think the Governor, I don't know, it is still over a thousand, at one time he used to personally appoint two or three thousand people all over the state. He used to appoint vacancies to every single elected office in Louisiana.

J.B.: What does he appoint now?

Chubbuck: He still appoints vacancies if they have only a short period. He appoints all of the judges now. Any new judges that are created, he appoints that carte blanc. Some of the vacancies are now appointed by local governing bodies if it has more than a year to run. If there is less than a year to go, the Governor still appoints. He used to appoint the inheritance tax collector, which is a marvelous patronage tool that I doubt any state has. Although it finally supposedly went out of business on January 1 this year.

J.B.: Who else does he appoint now besides these . . .

Chubbuck: He appoints members to all of the boards and commissions in the state. Louisiana runs on boards and commissions.

Unidentified: *And he* keeps up with how many there are. But there are 375 or 411, something like that. It's hard to keep track because they increase several a year.

J.B.: Well, is it like the Board of Education?

Chubbuck: The Highway System is totally run by the Governor. The Board of Health, you know, the health and hospitals and all of that is totally run by the . . . the Governor controls it, he appoints it. All the institutions.

Unidentified: Wild life and fish, conservation, minerals, oil.

J.B.: By institutions, do you mean colleges?

Chubbuck: No, no.

Unidentified: The LSU Board he appoints.

Chubbuck: Health institutions, penal institutions, that kind of institution. You know, special institutions for . . .

J.B.: Well, does each penal institution have a separate board?

Chubbuck: No. There is one. The Department of Correction has a Board of Corrections, and the Governor

appoints every one of those members on the Board of Corrections.

J.B.: He appoints the Welfare Board?

Chubbuck: He appoints the Welfare Board.

J.B.: But you say that education is different?

Chubbuck: Education is elected.

Unidentified: The LSU Board is appointed, the Super Board is appointed.

J.B.: The what?

Chubbuck: Wait a minute. Don't jump around so much. The LSU Board, which runs the LSU system is appointed by the Governor. He has a majority of it now. The State Board of Education, which is an elected eleven member board. Elected from districts around the state runs all the other state colleges and state universities outside of LSU. They supposedly also oversee the secondary school system. But there is a State Superintendent of Education who has primary authority for that who is elected also.

J.B.: Does the elected superintendent report to that State Board of Education?

Chubbuck: He is the actual official secretary of that board and usually there is always a fight going on. But they have drawn up sort of a gentlemen's agreement for the last 30 years I guess where the state board appoints all the Presidents and has all the things dealing with the



state colleges and universities, while the Superintendent has everything to do with the high schools and the trade schools.

J.B.: Does the Governor have any appointed power within the legislature?

Chubbuck: Yes. Within the legislative Budget Committee, they made some changes is that, but the Governor appoints the members of that committee. They made some changes in it during Edwards administration, and I am not sure exactly, but up until and prior to that, I know the Governor appointed every member. They listed how many there had to be from the Senate and how many had to be from the house and your certain ex officio, like senate finance and house appropriations. But other than that the Governor appointed them. The legislature, up until two years ago created innumerable interim committees. The Governor invariably appoints the members of those interim committees. The Super Dome Investigation Committee is appointed by the Governor, and Keifer was appointed by the Governor. On education also, the Super Board was mentioned. That is a new board that is supposed to oversee all higher education, since you have two different boards. They were trying to find a new board to sort of oversee them. But the Governor appoints those members. Every

state contractor is . You know, by a state agency, and you have to remember that there are many other agencies that operate in Louisiana that are not exactly state-wide agencies. You have in this state what are called Levy Boards, which are responsible for maintaining levies along various rivers in the state to protect from flooding. The Governor appoints all the members of that. Those are state agencies and they give contracts and have taxing authority. The Governor appoints every one of those guys. For ever contract let by a state agency there is usually an architect. You know, for any kind of construction there is an architect. Every architect in this state for a state contract or state agency is approved by the Governor.

J.B.: The architect is approved by the Governor?

8 Chubbuck: And it almost guarantees sufficient campaign funds for any Governor running for re-election.

W.D.: Do you think you will be moving into a two term tradition?

Chubbuck: Well, that is what I am afraid of. Ed thinks that there is a possibility that because of the way the state is changing in the sense that there is a great deal more competition between north and south Louisiana. Traditionally, the north Louisiana guy always won. Now, really, the south Louisianans have most

of the offices. We feel there are going to be a number of north Louisiana candidates for a number of these offices to get back into the swing and divide it up more. Also, Edwards only won by less than 5,000 votes. You know, he is a highly controversial figure. Edwards is capable of being on top of the heap and down on the bottom just like that because of his personality. You know, he makes flippant remarks. He is a very shrewd individual and he does know how to protect his own skin. Most of the people around the Governor want him to stay in eight years. I mean, you know, eight years, a lot of people can do very well in eight years. So because of the fact that the elections also cost so much money in Louisiana. See this is another fact of Louisiana politics that I don't think is true in any other state. I doubt any other state that has comparable size of Louisiana, put four million people in it, the Governors race would usually cost between a million and a million and a half dollars to win on.

W.D.: You are talking about the campaign expense?

Chubbuck: The campaign expense.

J.B.: Where does it come from?

Chubbuck: It comes from contractors, architects, oil interests.

W.D.: Can you say categorically that more money is

spent for state-wide campaigning in this state than any other southern state.

Chubbuck: Texas may be an exception, because it is so much bigger and there is so much more money. But in the terms of a comprable size or per capita basis, I have no doubt that nobody does.

W.D.: Why is that?

Chubbuck: Again, it is in the culture, I think, the political culture.

W.D.: Are you talking principally about Governor, or are you talking about all state-wide offices?

Chubbuck: Well, most state-wide offices, the people hang on to them year in and year out. There is another reason why there was such a big change in this last election. You kicked out a lot of figures who have been in . . . there are a lot of new figures in all the way down the line. The Lieutenant Governor is usually not a very powerful figure in this state and seldom never succeeds to the Governorship. We had a guy who was the Lieutenant Governor for 12 years. We had an Attorney General who was in for 16 years. Wade Martin, Secretary of State has been in since 1944, that is 30 years now. So you have some of these lesser state-wide offices they almost become, what's the legal term when you are in an office so long?

W.D.: Sinecure.

Chubbuck: Yeah. Like a sinecure. I mean, it just sort of belongs to them.

W.D.: But then the money is spent principally for . . .

Chubbuck: The money is spent for Governor and for the, some of the legislative races.

J.B.: Is the reason for Governor though primarily because the Governor has so much power?

Chubbuck: He is the single most powerful figure. In some states you have countervailing forces. In Mississippi the legislature as an institution is stronger than the Governor and I would say that is true in a lot of other southern states with the traditional distrust of the Governorship.

J.B.: How are the legislative leaders elected? The Speaker of the House?

Chubbuck: Well, this time around was the first time and will live in memory that the Governor did not select by fiat who the speaker was. The guy who got elected for it was a young guy that had only been in the legislature four years, which is unusual.

J.B.: What is his name?

Chubbuck: Buba Henry. E. L. Buba Henry. He is considered the next strong powerful politician from north Louisiana. I think he is on your list.

J.B.: Where is he from?

Chubbuck: He is from Jonesboro. He started campaigning for the office during the gubernatorial campaign. He didn't have any opposition. He knew he was going to get back in without any problems. He started campaigning among other individuals that he felt would be back again, other legislators. He also had an arrangement with another legislator from south Louisiana. The story was that if the south Louisiana Governor won, then the south Louisiana candidate for speaker would pull out and would throw his support to the north Louisiana candidate who was Henry, and if the north Louisiana candidate won, who was Johnston, then the north Louisianans would work for the south Louisiana candidate who was a member of the house. As it turned out, that is what happened. When the south Louisiana candidate won, the guy who was going to run pulled out so Henry was the strongest figure running, and Edwards had very little choice in the matter. Oh, he could have fought and he would have won. I have no doubt in my mind that Edwards, the Governor would have won. The legislature, up until then, wouldn't even nominate anybody until the Governor goes in and says, "This is my candidate." Then, they automatically select who that is. But this is the first time that it has

happened. Whether that is going to be a trend, I don't know. The President pro tempore was the same thing. He was always selected by the Governor, and it was this time too. [Interruption] . . . decides not to run for Governor five years from now. Because he won't run against Edwards this next time. I don't think that Henry is going to run for Governor this coming time, but I think he will probably run the following time. If he doesn't run and decides that he wants to remain Speaker, then is able to keep his job, regardless of who gets elected Governor then a trend may start there.

J.B.: So you think he will remain Speaker for five more years?

Chubbuck: I think so, unless he runs against Edwards. I don't think that Edwards will change the harness. I don't know what you think Ed, but I don't think so.

J.B.: Is the Speaker a powerful position?

Chubbuck: Oh yeah. It is in the sense that he appoints all the committees.

Unidentified: But the Governor traditionally told the Speaker which committees he could appoint.

Chubbuck: There is more flexibility in the legislature. There are more so called reformers in there trying to reform the procedures, make the legislature stronger, but that is only a small number of people. The Governor always

has his committee. In this administration it is the Ways and Means, which, you know, is usually a powerful committee anyway. But a majority of the people appointed to that committee were committed to do whatever Edwards wanted. So every major administration bill goes to that committee. So it is going to come back out . . . the committee system is where things are killed or put out. Once you get on the floor you have got a different ball game. So I think the Louisiana legislature is a very weak institution. I don't think that it is going to change any time soon. They have made some changes in the number of committees. They are making the standing committees operate between sessions. That's new. They've cut down on the number of committees. Supposedly they are trying to get more money for staff and what have you. And then the Constitutional Convention is going on now. The only article that they have improved considerably, or improved to, was the Bill of Rights Article, that was improved considerably. The only other one improved was the one on the legislature. They did improve the procedural article for the legislature in the Constitution.

J.B.: In what way?

Chubbuck: In giving them a little bit more ability to operate as a unit separate from the Governor if they want to. It is still going to be up to them to do it



(Jack Bass interrupts interview. The transcriber is uncertain exactly what is going on here, but believes perhaps another person has entered the discussion.

J.B.: What percentage of the population is Cajun?

Chubbuck: About forty. I'd say that it is less than that now.

Unidentified:

Chubbuck: He is Creole rather than Cajun.

J.B.: What percentage is French?

Unidentified: Around forty some percent.

J.B.: What is a creole by definition?

Chubbuck: Creole is usually considered the people whose descendents came directly from France or Spain. You know, Cajun's came from Nova Scotia.

Unidentified: The Creoles, however, are people who are of mixed heritage.

W.D.:

Chubbuck: Of course the essential difference is culture. Just the basic cultural difference. You have language, religion and race.

Unidentified: Also ethics. Also, there is a footnote and I think an important footnote is the food. We have dramatically different food than any other southern state,

A unique cuisine.

Chubbuck: You have ethnic politics in Louisiana. I don't think you have ethnic politics in North Carolina if you take blacks out, do you? But you can take blacks out in Louisiana and you still have ethnic politics.

J.B.: You mean Anglo-Saxons and French.

Chubbuck: And blacks and Italians. In New Orleans you have a strong Italian community, also in some of the small towns.

Unidentified: New Orleans politics is much different than Shreveport white politics or Lafayette white politics.

W.D.: But Jimmy if you took race out of it, would this state look a lot different than a lot of other southern states?

Chubbuck: Oh yeah, oh yeah.

W.D.: Putting the race in makes it that one common denominator.

Chubbuck: I think race is the biggest common denominator in terms of politics, you know, because of the Civil War and being a southern state and having a large number of blacks. That keeps it a southern state. But if you took race out, the rest of the things, if you took race . . . from Alexandria south, you'd get a totally different kind of politics.

J.B.: In terms of economics . . .

Chubbuck: Economics is another. This is a mineral rich state. It's a mineral state.

J.B.: Except for Texas, Louisiana is the only other mineral rich state in the South.

Chubbuck: That's right.

J.B.: So in terms of importance, is there a difference between oil, gas and sulphur politically?

Chubbuck: Yeah, the regulation of it.

J.B.: Who regulates it?

Chubbuck: The state regulates a great portion of it, and one other way that it is regulated is by local government if they have industries within that local government. Like

Perez's great powers came from the tremendous wealth of parish. He regulated the sulphur industry and the oil industry within, at least for those who were actually drilling and operating in the parish, but there is a state tax, severance tax, where we get most of our money, our state tax money. Most of our money comes from oil and gas, you know, the severance on oil and gas.

Unidentified: Not most of our money, about half, it is the largest single source.

J.B.: How about sales tax?

Chubbuck: Sales tax would be second biggest.

J.B.: Is it 4%?

Chubbuck: We just increased our severance tax. The Governor just increased our taxes by three hundred million dollars, but supposedly we aren't supposed to pay a nickel because it is on the Orleans Gas Industry and 80% of our gas is shipped out of state, you see.

J.B.: Alright. The Governor just reduced the sales tax, is that correct?

Chubbuck: He just reduced it off of food and drugs, the state tax. But the sales tax is the largest single source of money for local governments.

J.B.: How much was it on food and drugs?

Chubbuck: It was five.

J.B.: How much was the state tax?

Chubbuck: 2%, 3%, state tax. See, he didn't remove it. He just removed it off an item. In New Orleans you have 2% sales tax, 2% or 3%, . . . So the local taxes is on top of it. In some places you will have \$.06, some places \$.04, and some places \$.05.

J.B.: So everybody has one for the parish and one for the school board. Is there an income tax?

Chubbuck: Yeah, but it is really insignificant in terms of total money because the rates are so low.

J.B.: Is there a corporate income tax?

Chubbuck: Yeah, but the rate is very low.

J.B.: Corporate and personal have very low rates?

Chubbuck: Yeah.

J.B.: The tax structure is also a very unique structure of Louisiana in terms of southern politics. It is the only southern state that derives its tax revenue from minerals?

Chubbuck: Texas has a high property tax. See, Texas doesn't tax oil and Louisiana does. You see Edwards . . . there was a very low severance tax considering the amount of production that goes into it, considering the fact also that that is your biggest source of income.

J.B.: Did Edwards run into a big fight on that?

Chubbuck: No, not at all because he tied it to the energy crisis.

J.B.: But the oil people didn't fight it?

Chubbuck: No because they didn't know what to do. He out maneuvered them.

J.B.: Was Edwards opposed in the election by the oil people?

Chubbuck: No. They divided it between . . .

Unidentified: Edwards is an oil lawyer.

J.B.: Why do you think that Edwards did this?

Chubbuck: Money. Under the situation he had he was not going to have enough money to really do a lot of capital expenditure programs. Traditionally a Governor spends a lot of money for capital expenditures, building

roads and buildings. Edwards has promised to build, really to pave over south Louisiana in effect, to build a lot of roads in south Louisiana and he needed more money for that. He didn't have enough money for that. So he had to have a way in which to do it. The Energy Crisis just happened to come along at a very appropriate time for him. So he was able to tie . . . raising the severance, saying, "We are eventually going to run out of our oil and gas, they are steeling it from us and taking it up to keep those yankees warm. So alright, if they are going to steel our gas, let them pay for it." So everybody said, "Hooray." The oil industry didn't know quite what to do because to be against it means that we are not good citizens. We need to do something about keeping the income for our people down here. Secondly, he had a bill in there to create a super energy agency that was gutted before it was over. In fact it was so strong, it could even contracts, which most of us felt would go to court and be thrown out, but New Orleans was frightened to death of it. So I think they spent most of their time in trying to find a way to gut that bill and they finally got an agreement with Edwards once they got past the tax . . . in fact, they passed the expenditure of that tax money, before they passed the tax to be sure they could get it

through and nobody could oppose it then.

J.B.: Was that other bill in your opinion a cover for his tax programs?

Chubbuck: Yes, I am convinced of that.

J.B.: . . . To divert attention from the oil companies?

Chubbuck: They still passed it, but with greatly reduced power. I think it was just a cover for it. The main thing that he can do now is build pipe lines. You know, pipe lines within the state. You see, where Louisiana got screwed on this, on the allocation of gas, was . . . you see, United Gas is our biggest supplier, and they co-mingle intra with Inter-State Gas and they couldn't tell at all what to do so the Federal Power Commission came in and took over the whole thing. And United Gas preferred to be regulated by the Federal Agency rather than the state agency because Louisiana has a fairly active, politically active regulatory agency because it has been a spring board for a number of

J.B.: Well, another distinctive feature of Louisiana politics is the level of public service. It is generally higher than other southern states.

W.D.: Expenditures.

J.B.: Expenditures for public service.

Chubbuck: Yeah. Well, Louisiana spends a lot of money.

J.B.: Yeah, but in per capita expenditures for welfare it is way up.

Unidentified: I don't know how that could be, and you could find out all of those figures from Pharr. If we are forty-seventh or thirty something in another category, I don't see how we could be.

W.D.: in his Chapter that for expenditures, for Health, Education and welfare is much higher than the national level.

Chubbuck: It is for education and it is for . . . I think it is.

J.B.: And for welfare among southern states is what I am saying . . .

Chubbuck: Well, Louisiana is a rich state in terms of resources. It just squanders so much of the money. It also has far more . . .

J.B.: How does it squander the money?

Chubbuck: He wastes money. It cost more money to build a mile of highway in this state than any other state, and they can't tell me it is just because of the swamps down here. It is because of the whole arrangement of so many middle men that get into the contracts.

J.B.: Was that tied in with just campaign financing?

Chubbuck: It is tied in with the legal that goes



on.

Unidentified: In the last ten years we have built highways twice. The one out in front of the Capital and in front of the Highway Department we have built twice. All the bridges on the expressway we built twice. All of the bridges on the interstate between Lafayette and Uston, we've built twice.

J.B.: What do you mean, you've built them twice?

Chubbuck: Because they just fell apart, so we had to build them all over again.

Unidentified: The road between Clyde Springs and Apolusa has been built over a period of fifteen years. It took about fifteen years to build about a twenty mile stretch.

Chubbuck: And now they are re-doing it. They are on their third time of fixing over one of the bridge parts.

J.B.: What is Russell Long's influence on Louisiana politics?

Chubbuck: Oh, it is really more of a sugar daddy. In Washington he is the big influence that they go to to try to get federal money or to keep things from happening in terms . . . but as far as influencing the politics of the state in the sense of elections, I'd say that it is very minimal. He has only tried twice that I know of and

he got burned both times. He tried in 1952 to elect Hale Boggs Governor, and if that had happened, the state politics would have changed at a much earlier period than it finally did because Hale Boggs was a precursor to Morrison and Edwards in terms of the South Louisiana Catholic politician. But they lost out then. So then Russell Long stayed out of it for about another ten years and he got involved and tried to elect Gillis Long in 1963, and he lost that one. Because McKeithan thought he was going to get all the support of Russell Long and all of the Longs. The Longs split that year just like they did in 1952 in the time that he backed Hale Boggs. That is the only time that I know that he split, I mean, that he has gotten involved during those two splits. I think he could raise a tremendous amount of money for whoever he wanted to in any office in Louisiana, but I am not sure that he has other than for those two terms he got involved.

J.B.: Has he just shown no inclination to control state politics?

Chubbuck: None whatsoever. I think he originally hoped to. He got elected in 1948 in that close special election against Kenan. Then when he ran for re-election, in fact, he has only had one election that is when he won the first special election. He has just had minor opponents

since then. I think he had wanted to be a big power in the state politics at that time, you know, the first four years that he was in, and the reason he got involved in '52. However, he broke with Uncle Earl. Uncle Earl went with Carla Spade and Russell Long went with Hale Boggs. If they had gotten together with Hale Boggs, Hale Boggs probably could have made that run-off against Kenan. Now who would have won that, I don't know because Kenan got tremendous vote in New Orleans. But after that time, Russell stayed out of it. He just didn't pay much attention to it. Then the word was that he was going to come back to Louisiana in 1963 and run for Governor. You see, there had been a feeling that Russell Long had always wanted to be Governor to come back and end his political career because his father had been Governor. There really were strong stories going around and also there seemed to have been, go back and read some of the clippings then, there seems to have been some basis to the story. He said he really was seriously considering it. But late in that spring, Senator Kerr of Oklahoma died. Remember Senator Kerr, the most powerful man in the Senate at that time after Lyndon Johnson left, and Kerr was the Chairman of the Finance Committee, and about the same age as Russell Long. Russell figured that he would live longer than he did and figured that he would always be number two and never get the power.

But once he died Russell Long moved up to be Chairman of the Finance Committee and decided not to run for Governor. But Gillis Long had gotten elected to the Congress the fall prior to that and I think because of all the maneuverings that had gone on, I think that Russell then felt that because he was moving into become Chairman and now was a time to really make a move in terms of state politics. He went all out for Gillis. Gillis could not have run for Governor in 1963 if Russell had not gone all out to raise the money. Of course I think near the end, Russell actually got on the stump and campaigned at the end which was a dreadful mistake. I think that also helped create the problem for Gillis when he couldn't win.

J.B.: Why did that hurt him?

Chubbuck: Because of the stories that were going around by the opponents particularly, they were saying that Gillis Long was going to be Russell Long's puppet. When Russell Long came down and started to go on the campaign with Gillis, all he had to do was to go out there and see that Russell Long was top billing and the candidate for Governor came in and made his speech afterwards. I mean it seemed to imply, really, I don't think that would have happened, but the implication clearly was to the voters. So I think that it really hurt Gillis. But Gillis could not have raised the money to finance that campaign without Russell Long, he just

could not have. He finally made peace with McKeithan. See, McKeithan expected to get the endorsement and then I know for a fact that he didn't get involved this last time around. So he has just let it go. He has never really participated in it.

J.B.: Russell's opposition to Nixon's Family Assistance Program, was that considered a surprise at all here in view of Huey Long's Share of the Wealth Program?

Chubbuck: No, not if you go back and read . . . you see, Russell Long has been a bug on the welfare program, you know, going back some years. Remember when he made the statement about the . . . The government was paying money for the . . . and all of this. He has really had some hard things to say about the welfare program over a long period of time. I don't know fully all why. I really don't understand that, you know. [Interruption]

J.B.: You say that Russell Long is a very conservative individual. How is this manifested?

Chubbuck: I think in terms of the economic conservatism. He is very closely related to the oil interests, and I think he would be one of the strongest supporters that the oil industry has.

Unidentified:

Chubbuck: Russell Long is one of the richest men in the Senate. He probably is the richest man in the Senate. He

is assumed to be worth at least a hundred million dollars in this state.

J.B.: How did he get the money?

Chubbuck: From his father.

Unidentified: The state land oil leases.

Chubbuck: State oil leases to a firm that was set up in the mid-thirties for the win or lose oil companies, and never lost. It had very lucrative gas and oil discoveries on the land. It was a corporation that was set up by some friends of Huey Long. Huey Long was a silent partner in it and after his death his holdings went to his two sons, his daughter and wife. Texaco Oil Company until they got some leases on some win or lose. It is just a tremendous oil thing. They have sold a great number of those over the years, but he has state holdings and he is a very wealthy man.

J.B.: Do you attribute his conservatism then to his wealth?

Chubbuck: I think it is partly that. Partly that just his natural political inclinations over the years. His voting record, I would never say that he has had a very liberal voting record at all.

J.B.: Would it be reasonable to assume that the only reason that he got elected to the U. S. Senate was because

he was Huey Long's son?

Chubbuck: That and the other reason was that even if with that he wouldn't have won unless his uncle had been Governor then. [Interruption] Earl Long was the other in terms . . . Earl Long and McKeithan came out of the Longs. Earl was Governor from '48 to '52, you know, the start of the period and then right in the middle from '56 to '60. Earl was an activist Governor. He spent a lot of money to do a lot of things and cause a lot of trouble and constantly on the move, something going, something happening. He believed in spending money. Some of them called him buckineering liberalism. He was a real liberal spender in the sense of government programs. He wasn't that interested in how neet things were organized as he was in the fact that you spend the money to get things done. I think Earl overall was a far better Governor than the critics gave him because he was a free spender and they said that he wasted the state's money. But if he hadn't spent the money all the things wouldn't have been done. He consolidated . . . he created the trade school system, which is fully yet to do what it is supposed to, but at least gave another route. He was the one who brought in the free lunch program so more poor people could afford to send their kids to school. [Interruption]

He tried to raise taxes. He did finally in '48, but he tried again in '56 on the severance tax and he wasn't able to do it. In terms of social programs, he increased considerably the amount of money that was spent on social programs, welfare, hospital, education.

W.D.: In that 25 years he stands out as . . .

Chubbuck: He is the only liberal Governor if you look at state government in terms of expenditure of state money and what did the government spend the money for. I think you can clearly say that he was more liberal in his sense of how he spent the money. He also was far more attuned to making politics all inclusive, you know, blacks, whites, Cajuns, red-necks. It didn't matter to him, he just wanted them all in as long as they would vote for him. So there was absolutely no racism whatsoever in his kind of politics. As long as they voted for him he was all for them.

J.B.: His coalition is basically a coalition of the poor, is that right?

Chubbuck: His coalition essentially was labor, it was a coalition of white labor and blacks. The lower middle class, the red-necks. He never did well in the cities, other than in the labor of black precincts. You know, white labor in terms of unions, they are much stronger now than they were then. But his coalition essentially was



the lower middle class whites and blacks. But the blacks weren't that big then. They weren't that big a factor. He spent money on education. He left them alone. In terms of running LSU, you know, so many Governors have mingled in LSU's affairs. LSU was still the big thing. Earl left them alone. Essentially they had fairly good administrators and left them alone and let them run the show.

W.D.:How would you describe the other Governors during that period?

Chubbuck: Kenan, I think, was a classic of the anti-Longs. Classic good government conservative. The government is essentially a caretaker function not to get in the way of free enterprise and that the people should take care of themselves, mostly that the local Governors should run their own show. That you shouldn't have too many taxes. He tried to eliminate a lot of the patronage that had been true of a Long kind of Governor, or any kind of free spending free wheeling Governor where you have a lot of patronage. Earl Long eliminates Civil Service and Kenan put Civil Service back in. Earl had raised the taxes, so they wanted to make it more difficult to raise taxes so they put the two-thirds rule in. They wanted to eliminate the Governor's toll control of the highways and welfare and all the agencies, so they created under Kenan, they created Constitutionally

some special blue ribbon boards. You had some of the blue ribbon citizens running the Governor, the Governor couldn't do it. [Interruption]

J.B.: You say that never worked?

Chubbuck: It never worked because in the first place the presumption was that the Governor would appoint them for overlapping terms [Interruption]

Begin Side Two, Tape One

In the second place, the day Earl Long took office as Governor, he fired everyone on those boards. They said he couldn't do it, that it was unconstitutional, but nobody ever took him to court because he got the legislature to address them . You see the legislature can address out of office. This is the most powerful tool that they have. The legislature can address any official out of office in Louisiana except the Governor. They have to impeach him. But it has never been used except to out the blue ribbon board so what Earl