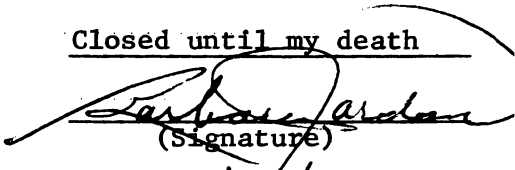


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Interview with
Senator Barbara Jordan
July 7, 1970

Place of Interview: Houston, Texas
Interviewer: Dr. Ronald E. Marcello
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Oral History Collection

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Dr. Marcello: This is Ron Marcello interviewing Senator Barbara Jordan for the North Texas State University Oral History Collection. I'm interviewing Senator Jordan in order to get her reminiscences and impressions for the regular and special sessions of the 61st Texas State Legislature. The interview is taking place at Senator Jordan's office in Houston, Texas, on July 7, 1970. Now, Senator Jordan, since this is the first time that you have participated in our Oral History project, would you be able to give us a brief biographical sketch of yourself. That is where you were born, your education, any childhood experiences which may have influenced your later life, that sort of thing.

Sen Jordan: Well, I was born in Houston, went to high school here, under-graduate school at Texas Southern University, got a bachelor's degree. I went to law school at Boston University School of Law. I was born in this area that I represent. The Fifth

Ward is what it's locally known as. And my office is here. My high school is still here, and I represent this district, which I'm especially proud to do, having been raised in this neighborhood.

Marcello: When did you first become interested in politics?

Jordan: I suppose my first interest in politics would date back to 1960 in the Kennedy-Johnson campaign when I was just out of law school and worked with the Harris County Democrats in the election of the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. I suppose that's where I first was bitten by the bug to become involved in politics in a way that was more than licking stamps and addressing envelopes.

Marcello: Okay. What was your next step from there then, from the 1960 campaign?

Jordan: Well, I ran for the House of Representatives in 1962 at the urging of the Harris County Democrats, which is the liberal Democratic organization of this county. And it was at their urging that I ran for the House in '62, and I was defeated. I got approximately 45 to 50,000 votes in that race.

Marcello: Is there anything that you'd care to say about that campaign in particular?

Jordan: Well, it was my first, and consequently we had a problem mainly of my identification. It was, as I

said, a county-wide race, and I had to travel from one end of the county to the next trying to get exposure to people, all people. It was rather difficult to run a campaign covering an area as large as this county, and with as many people as this county has. It was novel. I was not the first Black to have ever run for public office. But there had been a long drought of Black candidates running for public office, and being black and a woman posed a little bit of a handicap in trying to let people understand that I was serious about being a representative. I continued to run until I finally got elected, always trying to overcome.

Marcello: Well, let me just go back a little bit. The area in which you originally were running was a predominantly black area or was it mixed?

Jordan: Well, I said it was county-wide, so it was the whole of Harris County.

Marcello: Oh, I see. Right. What major assets did you have in that election?

Jordan: Well, I suppose a clarity in the presentation of issues is what I would say was a major asset. There is a tendency on the part of persons running for public office to generalize a lot. I used the

campaigns of '62 and '64, well, '66, also, to really discuss the issues with people. I would say that this was an asset to, first, become knowledgeable about state government, about what is involved. Before ever announcing for that candidacy in '62, I reread my old Texas government book and my old Texas history book so that I would recapture sort of the flavor of politics in Texas. I think people by and large appreciated a forthright discussion of the issues.

Marcello: Do you recall what some of the specific issues were in that campaign? Now, I realize that's going back eight years.

Jordan: Yes, it sure is. I dealt quite a bit with the sales tax. You recall, Texas had just recently adopted the sales tax, and there was some threat that this would be increased. So I discussed the sales tax, taking an opposition point of view to the sales tax in principle and certainly to any increase. I discussed welfare programs in great depth, with a view toward rehabilitation of persons who are on welfare. And you may recall that that was not a very popular stance in '62 even though now everybody is directing his time and attention

to welfare. This was one of my major issues in '62 that we did need to reform, revamp, and rework-- the welfare system. I dealt with labor issues. Minimum wage was certainly an issue at that point since we just got a minimum wage bill in Texas during the last session of the legislature. And I talked about that some. Workmen's compensation I talked about, unemployment compensation. Those were some of the basic issues, and the Texas constitution--the need for revision, reworking, or redrafting of the Texas constitution. These were some of the issues I discussed.

Marcello: What was the major source of the opposition to your candidacy?

Jordan: Well, it . . .

Marcello: Well, maybe I should be a little bit more clear on this particular point. Was there any particular group that was opposing you?

Jordan: Well, you know, we divided into the camps of liberal Democrats and conservative Democrats. I was the candidate of the liberal Democrats, and my opponent, Willis Watly, was the candidate of the conservative Democrats. Now the conservative Democrats traditionally enjoyed the support of business and

industry, and the liberal Democrats can look to minority groups and organized labor. So that's pretty much the way we squared off at that point. Now I did not carry all of the traditionally liberal groups in '62 and '64. That's quite apparent when you look at some of the other liberal candidates who were running and won, and then look at my race running and lost, and you can see a discernible drop off in terms of labor support when it got to my race. And, of course, the issue was racial. There's no doubt about that, though, but . . .

Marcello: You're referring mainly to the white blue-collar workers, I would assume.

Jordan: Primarily. Primarily. Who were supporting liberal candidates down the line, but when it got to a black candidate, somehow they couldn't quite make that transition in '62 and to a slightly lesser degree in '64.

Marcello: Is there anything else that you would care to say about your campaign of '62?

Jordan: Well, only that I knew once defeated that I would run again. I was running to win, but I knew that it would not be easy to win, and I considered whatever inroads I made in terms of getting support

from the electorate that this would be all to the good down the line. I was fairly young in '62. I feel about a hundred years older now, but I was young and ambitious and a new lawyer with a brand new license, and so I considered it as a real spring board to a future involvement in politics.

Marcello: Then I guess you'd probably say that the most valuable lesson that you gained from that first campaign was experience, perhaps, as much as anything.

Jordan: I would say so. Yes.

Marcello: Then you ran again in 1964. Is this correct?

Jordan: That's right. '64 against the same man for the same office, and this time I cut a little more deeply into the support that is traditionally conservative support, increasing my votes from 44 or 45,000 in '64 to about 65,000 in '64. In two years with a 20,000 vote jump it shows you that you're still on your way, you know.

Marcello: How do you account for this jump in votes?

Jordan: Well, I think that I stayed before the public in '62, as I said. I saw the '62 campaign as an encouraging sign. I stayed before the voters. I talked to every possible group. I went into areas which I would not ordinarily or traditionally

expect to support me. And I became convinced that people can be changed; people's minds can be changed; attitudes can be changed. And I think that the two years between '62 and '64 evidenced a change in attitude in some of the people that I talked with. So, that's what I say, between '62 and '64 that there was this change in attitude of some people who began to feel that maybe I would make a good legislator.

Marcello: Then you ran again in 1966.

Jordan: Yes, for the Senate.

Marcello: Right.

Jordan: And the '66 campaign, of course, was different in that I was running from a district rather than county wide as I had in the two prior campaigns. The district which I ran in in '66 for the Senate comprised an area in which I had received a majority in both of my two preceding races. And so it was sort of logical for me to run for the Senate from the eleventh district since it had been shown that I had some strength in this area.

Marcello: Would you care to describe this district? For example, what are its basic needs?

Jordan: Well, this district is one of the economically deprived areas of the county. We have heavy minority

population, heavy black population, and heavy labor union membership population, mostly steel workers. And we sometimes feel as if we are the neglected area of the city. I think we perhaps have more poor people in this quadrant of Harris County than any other. We are people over here, though, with pride in the area, and that goes for the union people who're mostly concentrated in what is known as the North 4 and blacks in what is known as the Fifth Ward. The people in this district are politically sensitive by and large. We also have some very, very conservative whites in this district. There are areas which were carried by George Wallace when he ran for the presidency. There are areas which the Constitution Party can count on in this district, but this is not the majority. I'd say that the Constitution Party or Wallace candidacy could expect to pick up between 7 to 10,000 votes.

Marcello: These'd probably be mostly white blue-collar workers once again?

Jordan: Mostly white blue-collar workers, yes.

Marcello: If you might recall from the mail that you receive from constituents, what seems to be their major gripe or their major want or need?

Jordan: I would say that people of this district wrote more about taxes than about any other issue. As I recall, during the last preceding session of the legislature we had several tax battles, and I would say that my mail was heavily on the issue of taxes with most people simply saying, "I don't want to be taxed." The people over here are the ones who seem to be caught in the middle when you come to the matter of taxation. They're the ones who pay a greater per cent of their income in sales taxes and all this. They were very, very concerned about this issue as to how it would effect them, their personal funds, and the amount of money that they would have to spend because the budgets are tight. This is not an affluent district, so the budgets are tight and the concern was about taxes. In terms of the heavy union membership population I have their concerns would run into the area of industrial safety. I received substantial mail on this point. We also have kind of a rural Bible belt orientation over here. And I can expect whenever the issues of horse racing and liquor-by-the-drink come up a heavy, heavy mail from my district on these issues, most of those who write being opposed to the legalization of liquor-by-the-drink or horse racing.

Marcello: You said . . . pardon me, you say most of those who write. How do you think this applies to the rest of your voters?

Jordan: Well, I was just about to follow through on that. When we had the straw vote to indicate who favored and who opposed this, it showed that the people who voted on the issue that this district favored liquor-by-the-drink in that straw vote. But there're a great number of churches, many Baptists in the area, and whenever this is an issue that's pending in the legislature, you can expect the Sunday morning sermons to run in that direction, and you can expect Monday morning mail on it. So I would say that I received a great deal of mail about this. That primarily is, I suppose, the area of concern with money being a primary.

Marcello: You've said nothing at all thus far about civil rights issues. To what degree are your constituents interested in civil rights?

Jordan: Well, this district breaks down to roughly 46 per cent Black. And being a Black, my Black constituents don't feel they need to write to me about civil rights. This is something that they can sort of trust me to take care of and be concerned about and

be interested in. So I don't receive much mail about civil rights issues from any part of my constituency, not because they're not concerned about it, but they know that this is one of my foremost concerns, and they sort of trust me to take care of this.

Marcello: I see. I just wanted to get it clear for our record that bread and butter issues were not the only things, however, that your constituents were concerned about, but civil rights did play a very important part in their thinking. You were successful then in 1966 for the Senate. Is that correct?

Jordan: Yes.

Marcello: Describe what it was like moving into the Senate. How were you received by the other members?

Jordan: Well, I got to the Senate expecting to be well-received. Now, my feeling is that a lot of your ability to function depends on the frame of mind you bring to a situation, mind sets, I call it. And I went to the Senate expecting to be received, expecting to receive fair and equal treatment and to be surprised if I received any less than that. There were people in the Senate who, of course, could not quite get adapted to the idea of a black woman member of that body.

Marcello: When was the last time there had been a black member of that body? Does it go back to Reconstruction?

Jordan: It goes back to Reconstruction. 1883 was the last black who served in the Senate, and some of the older senators had difficulty adapting to the idea that this had now really come to pass in the Senate. Of course, I had friends there already, people I knew, people I had worked with and worked for in other campaigns. And I could rely on them to keep me advised and informed and included in things. But some of the older senators like Senator Parkhouse of Dallas and Senator Dorsey Hardeman of San Angelo, these were the senators who were just a little reluctant, never any overt acts of discrimination on their parts. But you could just sense a--I could--a reluctance to be taken in by them. And what really happened is that there was a change in attitude in Senator Parkhouse and Senator Hardeman and others by the time we got to the end of the session. Senator Hardeman co-sponsored a resolution making me the outstanding freshman member of the Senate and I now count him as one of my good friends, you see.

Marcello: So how do you combat suspicion such as the ones those members obviously had when you first entered the Senate?

Jordan: You do your homework, number one. When you're in a legislative body as small as the Texas Senate with thirty-one members, every vote counts. And when you're one vote, then you're needed many times. And what I did was to go into the Senate not carrying a flag and saying, "We shall overcome," and deciding I was going to take that body over, but I went to the Senate, and I decided I would walk softly. I would do my homework. I would read the bills. I would be knowledgeable about the issues, and I would be able to vote intelligently. And I think that it was ultimately my desire to learn the job and do it that won these men over.

Marcello: What committees were you assigned to during that first term?

Jordan: Well, I got excellent committee assignments. I asked for all of the best committees hoping that I'd get one or two, and I got everything I asked for. So I was on the State Affairs Committee and Jurisprudence and Education, just the really major committees of the Senate. Preston Smith as

lieutenant governor appointed me as vice-chairman of the Labor and Management Relations Committee. It considered legislation vital to my district even though we didn't report out any legislation that was favorable to the district because of the make up of that committee. But my committee assignments were just all you could ask for. As a matter of fact, I decided the next term to not ask for so many major committees because you have to work awfully hard.

Marcello: Awhile ago you also mentioned that there were some senators who did, more or less, try to teach you the ropes and with whom you identified rather closely. Who were some of these individuals?

Jordan: Well, Senator Babe Schwartz of Galveston, of course, I had known for years, Chet Brooks, senator from Houston there, Chris Cole, the senator from Houston, who had been the only Harris County senator up until redistricting who was just very helpful to me before going to the Senate and even after getting there. Don Kennard of Forth Worth, and, of course, Oscar Mauzy who was a freshman just as I was in '67, but I had known Oscar for some time, and with this little cadre of people I had known before, it was

rather easy to move with the Senate.

Marcello: A couple of those people are participants in our program that you've mentioned. Senator Mauzy and Senator Schwartz both have participated quite regularly.

Jordan: Very good.

Marcello: When did you first become active in the civil rights movement, or when did you first become interested in it to any large extent?

Jordan: Well, I suppose from the day that I could read and write. You don't come into a society as a Black and not become immediately interested in civil rights at the first moment of awareness.

Marcello: How did you cope with the white man's world?

Jordan: Well, I tried to learn his rules, you know. "The Man," as many of our young people call him, writes the books and knows the rules and makes the decisions. And so I decided in order to cope with the world as it is and not as we would like for it to be, in order to cope with the world as it is, it was necessary to find the door for getting inside just a little bit to find out what "The Man" is doing and how he acts and how he thinks and how he reaches decisions and then to try to get a little corner at the decision-making table where you can hang on

and maybe get a word in here and there or a sentence or a dot, you know. So from the beginning I decided that I had to learn the world the way it is and how it functions and how decisions are made, how policies are formulated, and it is on this basis that I've always tried to live. And I suppose from the days that I was at Boston University Law School, which was my first predominantly white situation to be thrown into and to cope with, and from that day forward, I suppose I was in the process of learning to lose, as I still am.

Marcello: From those early days in law school did you participate actively in the civil rights movements?

Jordan: I have always been a member of civil rights organizations like the NAACP and several local organizations that we would have. And the whole school, the desegregation matter where we really had to march and picket, I was a participant in the organizations doing that. When the Supreme Court handed down its famous Brown decision in '54, I recall I was an undergraduate the year--I guess I was a sophomore about '54 in TSU--and thought, "Well, the day is here. We're finally going to have an open school system, and we're

going to learn how to function in the real world." I had no idea that it would take sixteen or seventeen years, and we would still be struggling with the very simple matter of a unitary school system. So this was, I suppose, a focal point in my civil rights activity for some time--school desegregation and how we could best cope with that. I worked with committees of the NAACP interested in opening job opportunities. Now this was in the early years before Operation Breadbasket and other later organizations. We would have a committee, and we would go to various employers and try to crack open the very closed employment situation in this city. We had minor successes, but each success was very hard won. It was hard fought and hard won, and the whole business of jobs and schools, you know, had just demanded more of my attention in the civil rights movement than any other area.

Marcello: While we're on the subject of the civil rights movement, I'm going to flash very, very quickly before you some of the names of people who have been or are now prominent in the civil rights movement, and just very briefly I want you to give me your impressions as quickly as possible of the

people that I mention. Let's start off with Martin Luther King.

Jordan: I think he was a great man, a great leader, probably the last leader, really civil rights leader, we're going to see, demanding wide-spread support. King, I think, historically will be the greatest we will have ever in the area of civil rights activity.

Marcello: What do you think were his greatest qualities?

Jordan: The ability to move people, to get through to them, to stir them. Some people call it Charisma, you know. And King had whatever it took to make people feel whole and proud, and he could move them and inspire them to move.

Marcello: I know from my own experiences, I did my graduate work at Duke University, and he spoke there--I guess this was during the late 1960's--before a massive, over-flowing audience. And you're certainly correct in his ability to move people. Malcolm X.

Jordan: Malcolm X, I think, formed a relevant role in focusing on Black pride. I think Malcolm X is perhaps one of the most misunderstood of the civil rights leaders in that many people viewed him as simply a separatist.

Marcello: If you read his autobiography, I think it clarifies quite a bit of this misconception.

Jordan: This clarifies this misconception, and I wish everybody would read it, you know. He was a good man and had a vital part to play in the whole civil rights movement.

Marcello: Roy Wilkins.

Jordan: Roy Wilkins, of course, is an old style leader, and he has had difficulty making the transition to a new dynamism which infused the civil rights movement starting in the '60's, but he is coming around. Roy Wilkins, as always, worked, as you know, within the framework of the NAACP and is the voice, let us say, of reason. When everyone else can shout about, you know, the "honkies" and the "pigs," you know, you get the calm, staid voice of Roy Wilkins saying, "Now, indignation remains a meaningful and relevant goal, and let's not lose sight of it." And I think we need that kind of voice, also.

Marcello: Ralph Abernathy.

Jordan: Ralph Abernathy, of course, is the victim of the person he succeeds. You inevitably compare Abernathy with King.

Marcello: If you hadn't said it, I was going to ask you how you would compare the two.

Jordan: And, of course, he does not compare favorably with Martin Luther King, and it's unfortunate because Abernathy does have some qualities of leadership and does a fair job in the area of his work but suffers by comparing him with the prior leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. And, well, he just . . . he never will be able to shake off the cloak of, you know, "Is this the man who succeeded Martin Luther King?" instead of just viewing him as a man in his own right.

Marcello: Adam Clayton Powell.

Jordan: Oh, a man called Adam. Adam Clayton Powell, I feel, has . . . well, of course, he's suffered a diminution of power in being stripped of his seniority in the House and censored and that sort of business, but that was a diminution of power. I think Powell at the beginning of his career was a real symbol and a good symbol.

Marcello: Goes all the way back to 1945, I guess it was, when he was first elected to the House.

Jordan: Right, when he was first elected to the House. He became a person too aspired to be liked. He was there where decisions take place. He was working with the Congress. He was being effective. He

was representing his people, and then with the passage of time he began to slip just a little bit, not so much in terms of his representation of his district. But I feel that he stayed in the Congress so long and as he grew to be a powerful man and chairman of a powerful committee, then he had a tendency to lose sight of his initial beginnings and the things he was about. When that happens . . . when the politician takes his eye off why he's where he is, he can expect to begin to slip. And I think this is what happened to Adam Clayton Powell.

Marcello: Would it be safe to say that he was more or less corrupted by power? Is that a good choice of words?

Jordan: I would say that corrupt is a little strong word to use in this regard. Let us say that he was really distracted by power. So much so that, you know, he just became engrossed and enmeshed in what it was he was doing and what his position was, his powerful position. And so that this distracted him from what he was really there for, which was the representation of the people of his district. Of course, he had a broad constituency to begin with, but after all it's that smaller

constituency that keeps you in office. So with his defeat in the Democratic primary, of course, he may revive as an independent, but the people of Harlem apparently chose to retire him because apparently they wanted an effective boy in the United States Congress.

Marcello: Muhammed Ali.

Jordan: Well, he's a great fighter, and I hate to see him get out of the ring. I think Muhammed Ali gave Black young men an image and a figure to sort of identify with which they have not had in the past. He could brag about himself, and it didn't really turn people off. It was the kind of confidence and assurance that is so lacking in Black men, particularly Black men, and I think he was just an excellent image for the old and young Black, you know, because here he was. He was a man who was highly successful in terms of what he was trained to do, and that's fight. Now, I think he got some bad advice, followed some bad advice. It has always been my judgment that if Muhammed Ali had crossed that line and been drafted that he never would have seen the jungles of Vietnam

or any other place, that he would've been able to sort of put on a few demonstration fights here and there, and by now the whole thing would've been over, and he would've been out and still boxing. But I think he was the victim of some bad advice, unless he really was a conscientious objector, and I don't know. I can't really make a judgment about that. But he was a real loss to the male image more than anything else. The Black male image, I think, really suffered with Muhammed Ali being stripped of his title and that sort of thing.

Marcello: You were speaking awhile ago about the lack of confidence that the Black male has traditionally possessed. What factors do you feel were responsible for this loss of confidence?

Jordan: Well, when you say loss of confidence, that means that they once had it.

Marcello: They had it at one time, right.

Jordan: And so what I'm saying is they never had it, that he did . . . was giving them confidence, that this would inspire confidence. I think what attributed to it is that white society--that's a very general term . . . white people in the main have catered to the Black woman. Now, I know we criticize all of this business about the matriarchal society

and that sort of thing, but the Black woman has been the strength of her family for years, historically, and I'm just speaking generally, and I know there are many exceptions, but historically for years. And white society has catered to and pushed the Black woman and has paid no attention in the main to the Black man. I suppose it dates back from the days of slavery to the present time, when the man was out in the field, and the woman was in the house and had the confidence of the master and the mistress and the rest of it. And she raised all of the children, hers and the others, and became the real strength when the man was good only for labor and the sweat of his brow. So you can follow this historical pattern and until right now. You can see teachers. I talked to a young man the other day who said, you know, "A Black woman in this man's class will get an A, but a Black man will get a C, and they've got equivalent intelligence," and he believed that. And I said something to him like, "We're just smarter." And he said, "Well, you know that's just not true." So there is still this feeling that it is the Black woman who can be trusted by

whites, and this has served to make the man just feel like he's less than a man, and he continues to feel this way. In many instances he continues to feel this way. That's changing. It's in the process of changing now, and all to the good that it is. But the young Black male who goes to school now, and he's growing up now, needs a strong Black male image to relate to, and this is what I'm saying that Muhammed Ali gave the Black manhood. There's some talk that youngsters in elementary schools where white principals are being put in-- and there're Black boys in there--that this is going to destroy their manliness because there are many families which are headed by mothers. Our men have had a difficult time, and they continue to have a difficult time even though they're breaking through the crust of this traditional role that they've played in society.

Marcello: While you're on the comments of the Black image, what would be your impressions of Bill Russell? I don't intend to keep dwelling upon sports figures. But do you have any comments or opinions with regard to Bill Russell?

Jordan: Well, I really don't have. I think he does play basketball.

Marcello: That's correct (chuckle).

Jordan: I do know that, and he's a good one . . . player. I do not know that I could comment one way or the other about how he has any impact on the civil rights movement or Black . . . the Black image. It is nothing new for Blacks to be outstanding in sports. We're outstanding in sports. We are entertainers and do a good job of that. There are some who will broaden the base of their activity as Cassius Clay did. I thought that he was more than just a sports figure. But Bill Russell, I don't know that I could add anything to that fact.

Marcello: Stokely Carmichael.

Jordan: Stokely Carmichael . . . I think Stokely provided an outlet for feelings which had been repressed over a period of time. Stokely was the kind of beginning of the massive expression of Black frustration. And even though we have had Black power advocates before Stokely Carmichael, I think that his activities really gave us the catalyst for unlocking repressed emotions and feelings in Black people and made it credible to say what you feel.

Marcello: In what way do you think he made it possible to release these feelings?

Jordan: Well, by doing it himself and by getting others around him to show them that he was not afraid to say what he felt and he survived. So I think that this is a way just by doing it, by being there, by expressing this attitude of self and surviving, not being shot down on the street. That this served as a, as I said, kind of a catalyst for others who had wanted to do this but were afraid.

Marcello: The Black Panthers.

Jordan: Well, the . . .

Marcello: Just take them as a group first of all.

Jordan: The Black Panthers as a group help with a definition of person, help with Black identity, help with consideration of feelings of Black awareness. I think that the Panthers are the target of somebody, and I don't pretend to say what department or group or agency, but I think they are the target of somebody because of the rhetoric they have adopted. They haven't really done anything that anybody can point to and say, you know, they blew up this or tore down this. But it's just the way they talk, the way they sound, that gets people upset. And so I think they are the target for some action to repress their activities. They have a role to play in that people need real

sounding boards, need to feel involved in an action-oriented group whether it acts or not. And I could be wrong, but I don't know anything that the Black Panthers have ever done, constructive or destructive, you see. And they, of course, make people like myself seem rather moderate in terms of what we say and do, and by comparison we're moderate.

Marcello: Eldridge Cleaver.

Jordan: Eldridge Cleaver, I think, overuses shock value as a way of reaching people. Now, if you've ever heard him, you know how he uses his four letter words, and he calls people all kinds of names, and that's really supposed to shock people, you know, into looking at themselves and looking at society and looking at the system. And I feel he overuses it. I don't know how sincere Eldridge Cleaver is in his pronouncing. Of course, we may never know. We don't know where he is at this point, but Algiers . . .

Marcello: He was in Algiers the last time I remember.

Jordan: But that's the one criticism I have. You can just overuse and overact, and I think that this is a tendency of Cleaver. I think basically he views this country as his home. I think basically he

does this. I know his book, Soul on Ice, does go into a lot of the ills that we all know about, but he writes about them and writes about them very well. And that's a contribution he makes to literature . . . to black literature. I think he is smart. And I think he could be a more valuable person if he were to change his rhetoric a bit.

Marcello: Do you ever receive many complaints in your district about your stance being too moderate?

Jordan: No. I have a feeling that the complaints . . . that there are people in my district, young people, young Blacks, who would complain about my stance being too moderate, but it does not come to me. And the fact that it doesn't come to me certainly does not mean that it does not exist. But as long as I occupy a position of strength with a majority of the electorate, it will remain kind of an undertone. If ever I am weakened in terms of my position with the majority of the electorate, those voices would become loud. And I don't expect always to be the favorite candidate of my district. Let's witness what goes on some other places. Witness Adam Clayton Powell--the law of the inside. And

once you get there . . . you know, they worked to get you there. Your constituents worked to get you there, and then after you get there, you know, you're working hand and brow with the Establishment, with the system, and you ought to be fighting it every step of the way. Well, as I indicated earlier, that is not the way I choose to work. I think to get things done I should not be ousted from the inside. And I worked to get there, to get that little corner of the table, and that's the place I'll work and hopefully get things done. And hopefully my constituents will view that and see that. If they ever get dissatisfied . . . too dissatisfied with my stance, then, of course, they have the power to retire me from political life.

Marcello: As of now, July 7, 1970, what do you feel are the top problems which have to be overcome by Black people in this country or in Texas, for that matter?

Jordan: Problems to be overcome by Black people?

Marcello: That's correct.

Jordan: I would say that there needs to be an enhancement of the self-concept of Black. Now, we can talk about many problems in isolation. We can talk about the problems of jobs and of housing and of school integration and desegregation, a pervading

racism which is in Texas and which is in the country, white racism, black racism. We can throw out terms like polarization and divisiveness. And when you really get down to it, until a man feels a man himself, until he feels that he can be a powerful individual with the power to make decisions for himself, then he will continue to curse and to object and to disrupt. Now, how does one improve his own self-concept is the very real question here. And there are some people who for whom education provides the answer. If they can get the book knowledge, if they can get the degree or degrees, this will improve it. If they can live in a better house and a better neighborhood, this sometimes has something to do with it. But I contend that there is a feeling on the part of the majority of Blacks that they are just really not quite first-class citizens, not quite, almost, and will stand from the house top and tell you that, "I am, I'm as knowledgeable, I am a man like any other man." But as far as really feeling that way, really feeling that way, that's another matter. And if we ever can get through the things which imprison our own minds in terms of the way we view ourselves, if we

break through that, then I think we may be open to participate in the whole society, in the dominant society, in the white society, you know. It depends on what kind of life you want. I think when a Black runs for cover . . . for cover, black power, "I want my own school system, my own school district," you know, "My own this," I think that's running for cover. I think it's an indication of one's inability to function outside of his blackness, and that's the way he views himself. It's comfortable to be in an all Black school with an all Black studies program because there, as in no other place I am an expert, and I'm an expert on blackness. Now, I think that needs quite a bit of revision, but problems . . . the number one problem. It's hard to say that it's number one, but I'd say it's near the top of my list as . . .

Marcello: Or at least the number one attitude that has to be overcome.

Jordan: Yes, I would say that.

Marcello: Are you optimistic for the future? Do you think it will be overcome?

Jordan: Oh, I'm very optimistic. I'm probably one of the last Black optimists left in this country, but I'm still optimistic. I think the future does hold

some promise, and it all depends on how this country can make its commitment . . . this is general, but how this country can make its commitment to taking in all of its people and all of its pieces, you know. I can decide when it . . . that's why I said it's not only a Black problem. It's also a white problem because the reason why Blacks feel this way is because the whole attitude has generated this feeling. And so if white people make this commitment to an open society and black people make that same commitment, then there will be some coming together at some point, some reconciliation at some point. Right now I don't see it. It's not going to happen tomorrow. But if the country lasts, if we can survive, literally survive as a country, I think the future does hold some promise of reconciliation.

Marcello: How do you change white attitudes?

Jordan: It's a long and slow process. If it could be done quickly, I would hope that in the past 300 years we would have done it, but we haven't. We have changed some attitudes. There needs to be an increase in the frequency of contact between blacks and whites before whites begin to shift attitudes.

Contact, not sitting at the board of directors meeting because you're a token representative with a group of whites, but informal, one-to-one kind of contact increased. Now, that's a value that comes out of school integration. That's what happens when you bring young people of different backgrounds and get them in touch with each other, and they find out that everybody laughs and cries, you know, and walks and talks. White attitudes, there're some that will not change, you know. There're some that will not. But I think in the main if we can somehow increase the points of informal contact between blacks and whites, that this will have a discernible effect on the attitude of both because there is still the mutual suspicion, distrust, dislike, hatred, the rest of it, but, you know, there's just no love lost.

Marcello: You mentioned awhile ago the subject of token representation. What is your feeling toward token representation?

Jordan: Well, I, of course, feel that we ought at some time to get to the point where people are treated because of who they are, because they're people, and because they bring whatever capacity . . .

Marcello: Their ability, right?

Jordan: . . . right, to a situation at least was brought. I have been a token representative in many gatherings and in many instances, and I don't necessarily resent this. But I want to know that that is what's going on. Don't lie to me and say, "We want you to come to this because we want you to enter into some intellectual discussion with somebody who's going to be there." If you want a black representative, just come out and level with them and say, "Well, you know, we've got to really put on a show here now, and will you come and be my Negro for a night?" You know, sometimes, as I said to a reporter who asked me did it . . . how did I feel about . . . the same question you asked, token representation. I said, "Well, sometimes I need a white token," and sometimes I do. And if we're honest and open with each other and know that that's what's taking place, all right, we'll let it take place. But I fully resent, fully resent an employer, business, industries, groups, church groups, and the like deciding, "We're just going to have a token here," and then fooling themselves.

Marcello: "See how liberal we are."

Jordan: Yes. Just fooling themselves into believing that, "We really have done something," when they really haven't, you know.

Marcello: Senator Jordan, during the regular session of the 61st Legislature one of the first controversies which arose was that concerning the one-year versus the two-year budget. Which did you favor, and what were your reasons for favoring it?

Jordan: I favored the one-year budget, and I still do. I think it's the logical way to do business. Why should the state's business be any different from any other business? We operate our businesses year to year, and we can project income and expenditures for a year. And we draw up our personal budgets . . . the budget of my law office is drawn on that basis. And why should I be able to operate a multi-billion dollar business with two-year projections? I think that it is unrealistic to do that. As fast as people are shifting, incomes shift, we can't . . . we can't say what the growth of the economy will be although lack of growth of economy will be for two years. I think it's an unrealistic kind of projection. For that reason I favored a one-year budget to operate on the basis of what we have and what we could realistically

expect within the year. And when it comes to the second year, then let's appropriate for that year. Then we know where we are. I think it's poor business to try to operate two years in advance.

Marcello: Do you think there was any political motivation at work in this particular controversy, especially between Lieutenant Governor Barnes and Governor Smith?

Jordan: Well, certainly it became a real power struggle as to who would prevail, the governor or the lieutenant governor. And as history now has recorded, the governor ultimately prevailed. What you've got to remember is that Preston Smith has nineteen years of state government behind him now-- House, Senate, lieutenant governor, and now governor. And he's from West Texas. He is an old style conservative. He believes in literal interpretation of the constitution of the state and the constitution of the nation. And I think you could expect that a man 56, 57 years old with that many years in Texas politics would be very reluctant to make change, major change.

Ben Barnes, on the other hand, is another generation, you know--31, 32, however old he is

now, a man on the move with his eye someplace, I don't know just how far, and wanting to innovate and be resourceful and wanting to be, I think, the most powerful figure in state government. Engaged in this kind of life and death struggle which, I think, is quite real and is still real.

Marcello: How do you foresee Ben Barnes' political future?

Jordan: Well, of course, Ben has the danger of burning himself out. When you start so young so fast, there is that danger that you can move too fast and really wear yourself out and wear the people out. There is a danger in Barnes doing that. He's constantly on the move now, constantly making speeches all over. It seems as if he always has an eye on the next political campaign. And it's difficult to stop and say, "Well, what is this man substantively?" This, I think, is a question that would have to be answered if Ben ever got into a serious campaign, and he hasn't had one yet.

Marcello: Would you try to answer that question now for us?

Jordan: I don't know. I don't know. That's exactly what I'm saying. I don't know where Ben Barnes is philosophically. I don't know what makes his guts comfortable, you know. He's moving all the time, as I've stated, so I can't answer that question,

and I don't know who can answer that question. Maybe there are some people who engage in long and quiet conversation with him who can discern what it is that he is about. I have talked to him frequently, but I never get to where he is. I don't feel that I've ever got to where he really is.

Marcello: Well, actually keeping on the subject of taxes, what was your original opinion of Governor Smith's revenue proposal? Do you think that his proposals, for example, were evenly divided between consumers and business as you would like to have seen them?

Jordan: Well, no, they were not balanced between consumers and business. I think the governor presented some proposals initially which were unrealistic. For instance, a tax on traffic fines which just really defied the imagination that this would be a source of revenue for the state. I could applaud his efforts to do everything possible to avoid an increase in the sales tax and a state income tax, which every leading politician in Texas wants to avoid. But I do not feel that the governor presented us with a balanced tax program, and I don't think one as long as we tax the way we do

in Texas with the scatter gun approach, I don't think it's going to be possible for us to balance consumer and business taxes. Well . . .

Marcello: What do you mean when . . . pardon me, what do you mean when you refer to the scatter gun approach?

Jordan: We pick up pennies here and there, a few pennies from cigarettes, a few pennies from liquor, a few pennies from gasoline, just wherever you can find, you know, just a penny here and a penny there and put it all together. Well, it's the force that's been used in taxation in Texas from time immemorial. The only single revenue rate and measure we have is the sales tax, and you know that was late in coming in the Daniels administration. So we continue to look at all of the little places that we can go to pick up nickels and dimes instead of having a basic gross tax that would be fair and equitable. And I can anticipate your next question as to what would be a basic gross tax.

Marcello: That's correct.

Jordan: Now, let's face it. The state income tax is a tax which grows with the economy. It can be scaled with exemptions and income, just much like the federal income tax. With the exemptions and deductions and based on income it would have certainly

a progressive rate. We are one of the last states to escape having a state income tax, but I think we're going to run out of pennies. We're going to run out of pennies in this state and that we're going to ultimately go to a personal and corporate income tax as a primary source of revenue.

Marcello: I notice you also included a corporate income tax as well.

Jordan: Yes. I sponsored in the special session a corporate . . . what we call a corporate profits tax and got ten votes in the Senate on that amendment which I trotted out there for. And that was more than we'd ever had and more votes than had ever been cast in the Senate on a corporate profits tax, a corporate income tax. We play on words. Everybody wants to avoid the word "income" so we called it a corporate profits tax. And I think it's a very fair measure. I think we'll be introducing that again. Over forty states have it. And the argument opposing the corporate profits tax was that you would run industry out of Texas if we got one. And the question that I returned to the opposition was . . .

Marcello: Where are they going to go?

Jordan: . . . where will they go? You know, where. If 42, 43 states and there's others . . . where are

they going to go? Maybe they'll move out to the Pacific or something or to another country, but . . . so I think we will come to a corporate income tax first. I think we're going to go that route. And once the corporations get stuck with an income tax, you can anticipate that the personal income tax will follow.

Marcello: Looking back over the social legislation that was passed during the regular session of the 61st Legislature, were you satisfied with what was done? Now, of course, I guess you'll say you were never satisfied with what was done, but do you think it was the best that could be gotten from that session? I'm referring now, for example, to increases in the welfare benefits, increases in the amount of money provided for workmen's compensation, this sort of thing.

Jordan: Well, during the regular session, the Senate removed the constitutional ceiling on welfare altogether. Then it went to the House, and the House wrote the ceiling back in--\$80 million. And we were made to understand that the only way a constitutional amendment would be submitted at all to the people related to welfare was that the Senate go along with the ceiling of \$80 million. This made me

unhappy. The House, I think, was highly unenlightened in doing this, so, consequently, I was not satisfied with that. Witness the crisis we had in welfare shortly after adjournment, and we're not out of the woods on that yet. We're going to have to confront that the first or second day of the session.

Marcello: I assume this whole welfare bit would be something which is very close to you in your district. Is this a safe assumption?

Jordan: Well, it certainly is a safe assumption. And I have a lot of people who are on welfare, and they're not freeloaders. They're people who can't work because they're too old or they're too young or they're too incapacitated to work so this is a vital issue in my district. And I'll be up there working to try to remove the ceiling again, hoping that we will be able to appropriate a reasonable amount of money to take care of people who are incapable of taking care of themselves. So that was a real disappointment that we couldn't get that ceiling removed from welfare. Even the governor recommended that the ceiling be removed from welfare. The lieutenant governor was for it. And when you've got that, but still there are people like the chairman

of the House Appropriations Committee, Mr. Heatly, and others who just could not see that. And so it didn't happen. It didn't happen.

And workmen's comp . . . I sponsored the workmen's compensation reform act, and some of my friends didn't like it because it didn't go far enough. It was a compromise measure. I wasn't happy with it, but I was pleased that we did increase benefits by the amount that we did. It's now \$49 . . . \$49 a week. The first time in twelve years that there has been an increase in workmen's compensation benefits, so I was pleased with that. I'll be back next session trying to raise it. But you have to start, and it was an easy job to get that through with everybody compromising on that figure. And, of course, that's the way you do. You compromise.

Minimum wage, a real plus for the last session that we got those words on the book, an embarrassingly low figure, in my judgment, for working people, starting at \$1.25 an hour. But it was still a major victory to get the two words "minimum wage" as a part of statutory law in Texas. Enforcement is weak. It needs a lot of work, and we're going to work on it, but now we have something to work on.

Before we had nothing, and now we have something, so I was pleased with that.

We passed a bill that created a Governor's Committee on Human Relations. That's a first in the state. Fifty members. We didn't give them enough money to do anything. We didn't really give them any powers. We gave them enough money to meet a few times during the year. But with all that again, Governor's Committee on Human Relations authorized by statute, chairman, secretary of the state of Texas. Fifty people coming together to sit down and talk about problems of human relations in Texas, and they will make recommendations, and some of their proposed recommendations have already generated opposition like withholding funds from school districts which have not desegregated, withholding state funds, now. You just can't imagine a body in the state of Texas making this kind of a recommendation. Maybe that's as far as it'll go, but it was done. And we created that, and I was glad to be a part of creating that committee. I had my misgivings about it. Now, next session we ought to try to make that permanent. It's a temporary committee. It expires at the end of '71 . . . well,

maybe before that . . . the end of this year. But the life of this committee is temporary, and I think it ought to be made a permanent part of the structure of state government and so be it. That was a bright spot.

Marcello: Another one of the questions which came up during the legislative session and one which is especially close to me is the whole problem of student unrest on the state's campuses. To what do you attribute the student unrest, or do you have any views about it?

Jordan: Well, I think the students have a valid complaint when they state to administrators that they want to have a share in the governing of the school. I think we have to understand that students now are not like students were when I was in school a thousand years ago. Students are different. We would go along with the authoritative figure in handing down the rules and regulations. Well, this is the, you know, the Age of Aquarius, the age of enlightenment and everything else. And you're just not going to be able to spoon feed them. You're not going to be able to stand up and shout, "I represent the law, and I represent the order, and everybody sit down." It is not going to happen that way, so student

unrest is with us. And the governor recommended a student non-voting member of the University of Texas Board of Regents, and Frank Irwin, chairman of the University of Texas Board of Regents, just absolutely went into apoplexy about that kind of a recommendation. A student sitting on the Board of Regents and can't vote! Well, I think we're going to have to come to that. I'd be willing to give him a vote there on the Board of Regents. Let them sit there and see how difficult it is to budget and to manage. That's why I'm so in favor of eighteen year olds voting. I'd like for them to serve in the Senate. I'd like for them to sit on the Senate Appropriations Committee and watch us look for the nickels and dimes to fund education and mental health and Medicaid and welfare. Let them be a part of this. And I think the students would see that it's just not all fun and the operations of a university if we'd let them get a look on the inside. Now, of course, we reacted, the state legislature did, by passing the campus disruption bill, which I voted against because I felt it was unconstitutional, and I still feel it's unconstitutional, even though I think some court has said that it is. I think

that it's the kind of response that you could anticipate from the Texas Legislature, but it is not in my judgment an appropriate response to student unrest. Certainly students go to college to be educated, and they should not infringe on the rights of anybody else who receives his training and instruction. But students also have civil rights, you know, and I think that their civil rights have to be honored.

Marcello: Other than some of the things that you're already mentioned, are there any other personal bills that you've introduced and were successful in having passed in the legislature that you would like to talk about?

Jordan: Well, of course, workmen's comp was one of my major ones. I had other measures which some got some place and some didn't--measures related to the rehabilitation of people who are physically disabled in some manner. I had a sheltered workshops bill with the state funding homes and agencies to provide a supportive environment for people who are handicapped to be able to function. The sheltered workshops bill, I think, is in the line of priority items with the bills that I passed which I'm

particularly pleased about. And then I've got a lot of little bills like the creation of a mass transportation authority of Texas, a Mass Transportation Commission. I was the sponsor of that bill in the Senate, and it got through. And that's a move in the right direction.

Marcello: That doesn't really seem like a little bill. I would think that's something all Texas cities need, or are going to need sooner or later.

Jordan: Yes, they are. They are going to need that. And we created it, and it took the governor a long time to appoint the members. But now he has, and now we've got a state commission authorized by statute looking into problems of mass transportation. I'm pleased with that bill. And I had some other health measures related to venereal diseases and reporting these venereal diseases, which I think maybe at least more people can get treatment for venereal diseases more easily than they could prior to the passage of this measure. Those are just a few.

Marcello: Let's move on very quickly to the special session of the Legislature. Whom do you think must bear most of the responsibility for having to meet in a special session?

Jordan: Oh, I think without a doubt the governor. It's the governor's responsibility. It is the governor's responsibility. Now, I told you that Ben Barnes wanted a one-year bill and wanted to prevail. The Speaker of the House, Gus Mutscher, was a little shaky on it, and the governor never came out and just stated flatly, unequivocally, "If you pass a one-year bill, I'll veto it." Why couldn't he say that? My thinking is if the governor had just said flatly, "I will not accept the one-year bill. We must have a two-year bill. That is the only bill I'll sign," we would have passed a two-year appropriations bill in the regular session, and there would have been no necessity for a special session. I'm one of the . . . I started to say one of the few liberals who like the governor, but I do like the governor and have talked to him often, and he just would give no indication to anybody, friend or foe, what he was going to do.

Marcello: Is this just Preston Smith . . . is this just Preston Smith's way of operating?

Jordan: Well, I think part of it is. He surrounds himself with advisors, and apparently this is what they decided to do. I don't see how it was in the governor's

best interest to do that or how it was in the best interest of this state to do that. We could've saved at least the half million dollars or more that the special session cost, and also we could have saved a little bit of my sanity by (chuckle) not having the special session.

Marcello: Well, of course, the whole problem of revenue was still of paramount importance during the special session. And one of the first controversies which arose during that special session was the inclusion of beer and alcoholic beverages under the sales tax. What exactly was your position on that particular issue?

Jordan: Well, I would blow hot and cold on that issue. I have a lot of . . . like I said, I have a lot of Baptists, and I have a lot of working people, and working people drink beer and didn't want to see that increased. And whereas I would have gone with it in a package, as a single item I voted against the inclusion of beer and whiskey under the sales tax. I think I did.

Marcello: What do you know about the activities of Homer Leonard? Did you ever have any personal contact with him in any way?

Jordan: Some. Some. Homer Leonard is, you know, an effective lobbyist and has some very close ties with a number of people in the Legislature. And I had conversations with Homer Leonard about whether beer would be included under the sales tax. I think we talked about maybe whiskey could be taken out and put under it and let beer be kept free or something like that. But he was working, constantly working, during the session. It's his job.

Marcello: I assume that from everything that I've read that there are close ties between Gus Mutscher, Homer Leonard, and the beer industry.

Jordan: I can only assume that. I read newspapers, and they say that there is close ties. I don't know.

Marcello: Well, you said that you had voted against the inclusion of beer under the sales tax. In this particular stand you were differing with some of your liberal friends then, I assume. Oscar Mauzy, for example, I believe was in favor of the inclusion of beer under the sales tax.

Jordan: Well, Oscar Mauzy also voted for the tax package on final passage, and I didn't. I've differed from many of my liberal friends on that because I just still feel that we could have come up with something better.

Marcello: Well, was this essentially a liberal-conservative issue?

Jordan: I don't think it was. It was . . .

Marcello: Well, obviously it wasn't from the split in the vote.

Jordan: No. Not from the split in the voting. If there is any liberal-conservative issue, I think the tax bill probably ultimately divides liberal or conservative definition, and that's why people like Mauzy ultimately voted for it. And Senator Chet Brooks, who's a good liberal, I think voted for it. And there were just a few of us holdouts who ultimately did not vote for the tax bill.

Marcello: About the same time that you were having problems concerning the inclusion of beer and liquor under the sales tax, the whole problem also cropped up of including food under the sales tax. This, of course, stirred up a real political hornet's nest in the Legislature. What was your particular stand on this issue?

Jordan: Well, I was just vehemently opposed to the inclusion of food under the sales tax, and I don't think we will see that seriously considered anymore in the Texas Legislature. I think that the people . . . of course, the people who voted for the tax on food

apparently survived to re-election. They did get re-elected. So maybe it's not an issue that would cause people to survive or fail on, but . . .

Marcello: I had one senator . . . excuse me, I had one senator tell me that . . . who had voted for the sales tax on food that you are very seldom penalized for voting in favor of a measure that doesn't pass. I don't know whether there's any truth to this or not.

Jordan: I think there's probably some truth in it. If the tax on food had passed, I think there would have been an insurrection on the part of the populous. I really feel that the people who gathered in Austin after the Senate's passage of that tax on food indicates that the public was certainly interested in this and the telegrams coming in. The public just couldn't believe it. And this liberal-conservative . . . no one wanted a tax on food except those people who worked that little package house some place in some room of the capitol.

Marcello: What can you tell me about the organized opposition that developed against the inclusion of food under the sales tax? I'm referring now . . . I guess it was Oscar Mauzy, was it not, who was leading the anti-food tax people in the Senate?

Jordan: Yes.

Marcello: What can you tell me about the activities of that particular group?

Jordan: Well, it was the thinking of that group to filibuster the measure, to hold the floor until the Sunday papers could come out that would indicate to the state what the Senate had done.

Marcello: In other words, they were banking upon massive public opinion . . .

Jordan: Right.

Marcello: . . . in opposition to the measure.

Jordan: In opposition to the food tax. And so the forces led by Oscar, who did an excellent job in leading us on that.

Marcello: Were you in on his scheme to avoid a quorum by flying to Nuevo Laredo? Sometime during the session apparently he was going to try to avoid a quorum by chartering a couple of planes to fly certain legislators across the border. I just wondered if you were any part of that.

Jordan: I recall some conversation about that, but I was in favor of . . . I would have left if that had become necessary (chuckle). It was alright with me. Filibusters are just very tiring exercises, and it took Mauzy and others a lot of talk to

persuade me that this was the thing that we ought to do. I was against it, but I wondered why we had to kill ourselves with all day and all night and all day and other sources. But they did convince me that this was the right track to take.

Marcello: Apparently Gus Mutscher helped quite a bit also by adjourning the House for the weekend.

Jordan: Yes, he did.

Marcello: I mean inadvertently.

Jordan: Inadvertently. He did so because the House members could go home and really kind of feel it, you know.

Marcello: And apparently they did, too.

Jordan: (Chuckle) They sure did.

Marcello: In fact, I guess when it finally did come up for . . . well, did they ever reach a vote in the House?

Jordan: It never reached a vote in the House, just not ever, no.

Marcello: Apparently Mutscher had miscalculated because I think it's true he had assured Barnes, for example, that he could muster the necessary support for it in the House.

Jordan: I would not doubt for one minute that Mutscher assured Barnes that he could get support for that bill in the House, and I think Barnes and Mutscher miscalculated on what the public reaction would be to that tax on food.

Marcello: Why do you think Barnes supported such a measure?
Did he really think it could pass, or was he getting desperate by that time for any sort of a tax bill?

Jordan: Well, I think that's true. And I think that Barnes and Mutscher and Preston Smith all had agreed that if they could get that bill through there and the governor had agreed to sign it, I believe. Of course, there have been some denials here and there about the roles various people played. And, of course, since the lieutenant governor doesn't have to vote, he could very well say that. But I'm without a doubt they were interested in passing that bill. Without a doubt Barnes was interested in it. They kept old Red Berry, who is now deceased. Brought him in on a cot or a stretcher or something one night and then had to take him back to San Antonio. And perhaps one of the people who was his staunch opponent, opponent to pair, with Berry which would just discount his vote, and all of that maneuvering indicates they really thought that this would go.

Marcello: Well, finally the impasse was broken with the acceptance of Ralph Hall's compromise package. What did you think of that compromise package?

Jordan: Well, nobody understood it, and now since the comptroller tells us that that destination tax is raising about half what he estimated it would raise. When we were meeting, nobody really understood what it would do. It's what happens, though, when you're there, and you're tired, and you want some kind of a bill. And this is what it amounted to. So anything that sounds new and different and that there was no really strong opposition to it. It passed, and consequently we're going probably to have some kind of a deficit as the result of miscalculation on what that would bring in.

Marcello: I just have a few general questions to ask you then, Senator Jordan, and we can finish up this session. Now, there was a lot of bickering obviously in the special session to the Legislature. How do you think all of that bickering has affected the status of the Legislature among the people?

Jordan: Well, I don't think the people ever held us in very high esteem before the bickering or after. The average public citizen just views the Legislature as a group of folks up there who meet occasionally and really don't do anything to help them. I think the public in the main has a rather negative

attitude about the Legislature, and certainly those special sessions did not serve to enhance our image. I don't think we are highly regarded by the public. This is bad. I think we have some good people, some good men. But when we conduct business the way we did it in two special sessions, this certainly does not inspire public confidence or esteem.

Marcello: Do you think this public displeasure was evidenced in their rejection of the referendums calling for increased legislative salaries and annual sessions of the legislature?

Jordan: Certainly. The public does not trust the legislator. It does not want to pay them adequate salaries, which I think would enhance the quality of the legislative representation. I think the public certainly reflects its displeasure when it votes against annual sessions and against legislative pay raises that . . . you know, there's a joke that we always hear, "The public is better off when the legislature is not in session." And this is an attitude.

Marcello: How would you assess Preston Smith's first term as governor?

Jordan: I think Governor Smith did a fair job. He, I think, does not get credit for much of what he has done. He does have some programs like new towns and a planning office with some emphasis on federal funds for planning, local planning efforts. His goals for Texas indicate there's some highly enlightened views on education and rehabilitation of prisoners and other citizens.

The problem with the governor has primarily been one of communication . . . communicating what he does and what he has done for people. He is not highly regarded by minority groups. He does not get credit for what he has done in terms of appointments of black people to various positions in the state.

I think he's a populist. I think he has experienced a real change in attitude since his early years in the House and in the Senate when he was voting for segregation measures and that sort of thing. But who didn't in the '50's who held positions in public trust and responsibility in high office vote for that? I think he changed that attitude, but he still doesn't come through. It's that old word of getting through to people,

of moving them, and inspiring people. The governor does not do this. He's not this kind of person. He doesn't have this kind of personality.

Marcello: One last question. What changes do you foresee in the legislature when the one man one vote rule is fully implemented?

Jordan: Well, I would suppose that with the increase that would bring in urban representation that there would be more emphasis on solving the problems of our cities. I think that there will be serious attempts to approach with a view to solution problems of pollution, of transportation, of housing, matters which certainly are concerned with urban areas, with which rural areas would not be terribly concerned. The whole matter of public school financing, I think, would be altered. It is unfair to the large school districts now. The formula, Minimum School Foundation, applies. That formula is unfair. We might just experience a change in that. We're not going to see really dramatic changes, substantive, philosophical, dramatic changes because to see that you would have to assume that all these people from urban areas would be liberal, you know, and that everybody else would be conservative. And we

can't make that kind of assumption. As a matter of fact, the opposite is probably true. So just the fact that urban representation will be increased will not mean that we would then just shift into a progressive and forward looking state. I think we would still have really conservative orientation.

Marcello: Why do you see that happening in Texas, or why do you see this conservative orientation in Texas?

Jordan: Oh, I suppose because traditionally and historically this is the way that we've been, that we have not had a viable liberal force in Texas. The one force that we had, Ralph Yarborough, is now out of Texas politics, so all the people who hold public office in Texas like governor, lieutenant governor, speaker of the House, attorney general, are all conservative men, and they reflect the attitudes of the business community which is traditionally conservative. And the liberals are in a state of disarray with no leadership and no voice now saying, "Come let us gather together, friends, and try to be the loyal opposition in Texas." And without that I think there will continue to be a conservative domination of Texas politics.