

AU 131
OH 1974.06
TR 194

Interviewee: Jesse L. White, Jr.
Interviewer: H. T. Holmes

Title: An interview with Jesse L. White, Jr., August 7, 1973 /
interviewed by H. T. Holmes

OH 74-06

WHITE, Jesse L., jr.

research copy

RESTRICTED



NOTICE

This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17 U.S. Code).

MDAH

MISSISSIPPI
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
Division of Archives and Library
Patti Carr Black, Director

This transcription has been edited by the interviewer. Title to the material on the audio tape and in the typewritten transcription and all literary property rights belong to the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. Permission to cite, quote or reproduce this interview, in whole or in part, must be obtained in writing from the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

NOTICE

This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17 U.S. Code).

MDAH

NARRATOR: Jesse L. White, Jr.
INTERVIEWER: H. T. Holmes, Jr., Department of Archives and History
DATE: August 7, 1973
PLACE: Viking Room, Coliseum Ramada Inn, Jackson, Mississippi
SUBJECT: Mississippi Legislature

Holmes: Could you start off by giving some of your biographical background, where and when you were born, etc.

White: I was born in 1944, July 12, in Jackson. My mother was Marguerite East White, and my father was Jesse L. White. My father was from up in Webster County, where he was born and reared, and my mother grew up down in south Hinds County around Terry, Mississippi. I attended the Jackson Public Schools for most of my school career, although the first through the fifth grades I attended Forest Hill. In the sixth grade I moved to south Jackson, where I attended Sykes elementary school, Peeples junior high school, and Provine High School, graduating from Provine in 1962. I then went to the University of Mississippi for four years, 1962-1966, and graduated with a B.A. degree in political science and history in 1966. Then I went to England for two years on a Marshall Scholarship, which is a scholarship given by the British government every year to twenty-four students from the United States. I studied at the University of Sussex, where I got a Master's Degree in International Relations. The summer between my two years there, 1967, I came back and worked in William Winter's campaign for governor. After I finished at Sussex in '68, I came back and was an Instructor in Political Science at Ole Miss for two years, 1968-1970. In 1970 I went to Boston to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where I began work on my Ph.D. in Political Science, and I completed my course work, but left in December of '71 to come back to Jackson and in January of '72 I was elected Secretary of the Senate.

Holmes: I'm curious as to how you decided to run for Secretary of the Senate. Did it stem from your work with Winter's gubernatorial campaign?

White: That's right. My father, who by the way was State Insurance Commissioner for about eight years, had known Mr. Winter, who was serving as a member of the House of Representatives when Daddy was Insurance Commissioner. I had followed his career, admired his career, and as I said, worked for him in '67. I was not here in the summer of '71 when he ran for Lieutenant Governor. In a conversation after he was elected Lieutenant Governor, he asked me if I would be interested in joining his administration in the Senate. I told him that I would and he suggested that I seek the office of Secretary, which I did and was elected to.

Holmes: Did you have any opposition?

White: No, I was unopposed.

NOTICE

Holmes: Since you've only been with the Senate a year and a half, you really don't know any of the people of the past ten or fifteen years, except the ones that are there now of course, who have been in state government, but with your training in political science, I am curious as to how you view the workings of the Mississippi State Legislature and the Mississippi state government in general. So, along that line, why don't you tell me about the duties of the Secretary of the Senate.

White: The Secretary of the Senate and Clerk of the House are corresponding offices. I suppose that they are some of your oldest historical offices associated with parliamentary or legislative bodies, really dating from England. Secretaries and Clerks in different states have different responsibilities, but, generally, they're considered to be the chief administrative officer of the staff of the particular legislative body that they are associated with. This is true in Mississippi. The Secretary of the Senate is the chief administrative officer of the Senate staff. During a session we have about fifty people on our staff and during an interim we have about twenty people on our staff. The Secretary of the Senate is in charge of administering the Contingent Fund, which is money appropriated for the operation of the Senate staff and of the Senate, in addition to being administrative head of the Senate staff itself. The staff includes everything from pages to porters to stenographers to journal clerks, etc., anyone associated with the functions of the Senate. Now, I should, for accuracy's sake, mention that there is one area of the Senate staff that is not under the direct supervision of the Secretary, and that is the drafting office. Our Legislative Services Office is directed by Mr. Fortenberry, has himself and two attorneys and two or three secretaries. They are under the supervision of the Legislative Services Committee.

Holmes: Is that a joint committee?

White: No, that is a committee of the Senate. Now, I have authority in the sense that I administer the Contingent Fund under which they operate also. The whole Senate staff, of course, under Rule 5, I believe, of the Senate is under the Lieutenant Governor, absolutely and finally, including myself. The Rules Committee, of which he is chairman, can dismiss any employee, including myself. But in practice, I administer the staff on behalf of the Lieutenant Governor, and Mr. Fortenberry administers his staff on behalf of the Services Committee. Of course, in addition to this, I have certain statutory duties found in the laws of Mississippi. For example the preparation and the keeping of an accurate journal of the proceedings. That is my duty under the law, as well as some other documentary duties, attesting to the accuracy of records, etc.

Holmes: To ask a more personal question, how have you found it to be relatively young and coming into a rather traditionally-minded and conservative body?

NOTICE

This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17 U.S. Code).

MDAH

White: There have been problems associated with my age that really are not peculiar to the Senate. For example, I had certain problems to encounter when I taught at Ole Miss, being as young as I was. I think that any time you are in a position like that, your age has certain potential problems built into it. I found the Senators to be fair-minded in evaluating me in terms of my performance rather than my age; although, to be quite frank, I've often wished that perhaps I were a little older and that I even looked older, in dealing with the Senators. We have a very young male staff. I just turned twenty-nine, the two assistant secretaries are both younger than I am, both in the area of twenty-five; Mr. Fortenberry is twenty-five or twenty-six. There may be a tendency to think of us as the "whiz-kids" or the "boys" or whatever the case may be, but this is something that the Senators have been very fair-minded about, and I think we have proven ourselves.

Holmes: Well, to get to the heart of this particular interview, I'd like for you to talk about the power structure, which can be a touchy subject, not only in the Senate, but the Senate and the House together, and also in relationships with the governor. First, I think I would like to ask you, just how effective is...let me preface that by saying that I realize that you are laboring under the difficulty of speaking only on our present Governor...or can a governor be in getting his program(s) through the legislature?

White: I think he can be extraordinarily effective. The reason I say that is because the arena in which he is operating is a very political arena. The hundred and seventy-four legislators are like himself politicians. Therefore, they understand the same language and respect the same tupe of power that the Governor does. When a Governor is elected, let's say, at the beginning of his administration, he is dealing with fifty-two Senators and one hundred twenty-two House members. He goes in with a lot of prestige, he goes in with the euphoria of a new governor, a "New Day," the excitement of a new administration, all of the pomp and circumstance that surrounds the inauguration. Back in every county he has a contingent of loyal and dedicated colonels. So when it comes to an individual Senator or Representative deciding whether or not to vote for a Governor's program, I think they sit back and think about this. I would say there are two elements in the Governor's power to get his legislative program enacted...well, two or three, I will enumerate them as I go...one is the enormous power of public opinion that he has. He has constant access to the press because he is always newsworthy; therefore, he can mold, I think, very much the texture of public opinion. Secondly is the fact that he has an organization in every county. These are people who can contact their Representative or Senator, and usually they're influential people, because when a man runs for governor he tries to get influential people in every county to support him. And they are the same people that this Representative or Senator must answer to himself when he runs for office again. So, his network of supporters and colonels in all of the counties is important. The third thing is, obviously, his veto power. In a sense you can say that the Governor with a stroke of the pen has a two-thirds vote in either house, because it takes a two-thirds to over-ride his veto and he can veto anybody's bill anytime he wants to.

NOTICE

This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17 U.S. Code).

MOAH

So, this is something that I think the members of the legislature have to keep in mind. Given those factors, as well as some others that operate - for example, his personality, his ability to persuade, his "back-slapping" ability, the whole range of his personal qualities on top of those I mentioned - give him a lot of power, especially in the first term of any administration. I would also mention another factor: The Governor has a lot of appointments. If a Senator wants a constituent of his appointed, he's got to go to the Governor and request it; and this is a bargaining point that the Governor has. So, when a Senator or Representative is trying to decide whether or not to support the Governor's program, particularly in the first year of a term, the Governor's got a lot of power, and generally a Governor is successful in getting his program through. Now, I think the answer would have to change when you start going into the second and especially the third and fourth years of a Governor's term. First of all, the Governor has cashed in his appointments. The second point is, I think, absolutely critical, and that is the Governor cannot succeed himself. The Senators and Representatives who can succeed themselves know that they are not going to have to face this man again as Governor, and that the people back home are already starting to think about who they are going to support for the next Governor. His clout declines because of this with his former supporters back in the counties. The legislators know they aren't going to have to go past the Governor again for appointments, so, he becomes a kind of "lame-duck" Governor in the third and fourth, and sometimes even in the second years of his administration. I think these are the general parameters, the general framework, of the system that any governor has to work within. Now, the degree to which he can take those factors and manipulate them in his favor depends on the personality of the Governor, on his personal abilities, to take - if you want to compare it to a card game - the chips on his side of the table and to play them to his maximum advantage. Some Governors are better at it than others. It depends on their ability to cajole, to work with, to be clever, to be strategically smart in their relations vis-a-vis the legislature.

Holmes: Speaking in reference to our present governor, though not singling him out, it's been the case with him as it has been in the past with other Governors that when he has not gotten exactly what he wanted from the legislature, he has taken his case directly to the people through means of the press, which you mentioned. My question is this: Given that the Representatives and Senators are supposedly the "grass-roots" representatives of the people, do you feel that the Governor accomplishes anything in the long run by bypassing, or attempting to bypass, the legislature in going directly to the people?

White: Well, he has to make a very difficult calculation. I think he has to take the specific issue and say, "How important is this issue to me? If the Legislature is not going to give me this particular bill, is it important enough for me to take it to the people. By doing so, I have the prospects of getting the piece of legislation passed, on the plus side. On the negative side I run the risk of making angry the leaders of the Legislature, who opposed my having this in the first place. They will resent my going over their heads, and this may affect some other issues

NOTICE

This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17 U.S. Code).

MDAH

I'm interested in on down the road." So, I think he has to look at each issue and see how important it is to him, if it's worth making a public issue over. Now, I think once he's made that decision, then he is capable of turning an issue around, if he is smart in the way that he uses the media and public opinion on a particular issue.

Holmes: I would imagine, too, that the personality of the Governor would play into that also, in his basic attitude toward the legislature. Now, the next question I want to ask you deals, in part with before both our times really, in fact in the thirties and forties, in a time when perhaps the chairman of the House Ways and Means, Appropriations and the Senate Finance Committees...those traditionally powerful committees... had, traditionally, a lot of power. The Clerk of the House pointed out that that was, perhaps due to the fact that that was before computer print-outs, etc., and it was up to the committee chairmen to keep "tabs" on everything that was going on, and that most of the knowledge was not generally available to the regular members. Today, that does not seem to be the case, what with computers and extra staff members, and also, the interim between the annual sessions. So my question is this: Today where does the potential for power lie? Does it still lie with the committee chairmen, or has it been lessened for them and spread among all them members?

White: Well, it's difficult for me to make a comparison over time, like you say, that really pre-dates both of us. Even though we were around, we certainly weren't connected with the legislature. I would say that the potential for real power in Mississippi has been and still is with the two presiding officers, the Speaker of the House and the Lieutenant-Governor. I think it is generally conceded that Mr. Sillers, during his Speakership, was the most powerful man in the State, when it came to affecting public policy. It's because the Speaker can succeed himself, whereas the Governor cannot, and he has absolute power of committee appointments. The Lieutenant-Governor can succeed himself also, even though it hasn't been traditional that he do so. But he can, and he has absolute power of committee appointments. So, if a chairman owes his chairmanship to the presiding officer, he's going to be loyal to him. I think when you get down to the chairmanships, the situation hasn't changed too much. I think the state appropriation process and finance process is so complex that there are a limited number of people in the state who understand them. The chairmen of the Appropriations Committee in the Senate and House, the Finance Committee in the Senate, the Ways and Means Committee in the House are people who do understand them, who've "been around the track" for a long time, and who comprehend these complex issues. I think they still have an enormous amount of power. The legislature really hasn't begun using computers yet, so that, in a sense, is a moot argument. There are more people now, about three or four from each chamber, who serve on the Budget Commission who run across these types of issues on a regular basis, but still, that's a very small number of people. So, I would say that the power of a committee chairman has not been diminished. The only way that it might have been diminished

NOTICE

This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17 U.S. Code).

MDAH

is that the issues have been made more public, and, therefore, they are somewhat restrained by public knowledge, the media, and public opinion.

Holmes: It appears then that there is still the traditional select group of men that hold power in both chambers.

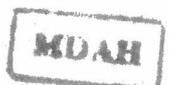
White: I think that's true. Now, that's not to say that the size of this group has not expanded. I think it probably has. That's also not to say that it doesn't change from time to time; you know, it's not a fixed little group. But in general, all you have to do is look at the structure and you see that the chairmen of committees, and there are five to seven major committees in each house that get most of the legislation, who deal with most of the important areas - these men have a lot of power over the course of public policy. I just don't think anyone could deny that. Now, they obviously have to get a majority of their committee to vote with them and a majority on the floor. This is not to deny the power of any individual member, it is simply to attest to the power of these committee chairmen.

Holmes: To hearken back to your statement about Mr. Sillers being recognized as a very powerful man, in a comparison of the Speaker's office and the Lieutenant-Governor's office in the respective houses and on the level of state government how do you look at the two offices?

White: In terms of power potential I think they are very similar. The basic power arises from the ability given to both presiding officers under the rules to appoint all committees, to appoint committee chairmen, to have absolute power of recognition, to decide points of order, and to refer bills. In other words, the Speaker or the Lieutenant-Governor can send a bill to any committee he wants to and, of course, can affect the outcome of the bill by this referral. Now, the ability to appoint committees is restricted a little bit in the Senate. We have a Rules Committee and the Legislative Services Committee, which don't handle that much substantive legislation but deal with the administrative aspects of the Senate; and these two committees are elected by caucus of the Senators according to the Congressional district. Those two committees...three committees out of thirty-one committees in the Senate the Lieutenant-Governor does not appoint. The Services Committee is elected; the Rules Committee is elected, but the Lieutenant-Governor presides over it as chairman and determines the agenda; and the Senate Contingent Expense Committee, which has the potential for supervising the expenditure of the Contingent Expense Fund, is an ex-officio committee of the President Pro-Tem and the chairmen of the Finance and Appropriations Committees. Now, there is a difference in the way the power potential is on paper and the way it functions, a vast difference. I don't think the Lieutenant-Governors of Mississippi have ever amassed the power that Speaker Sillers did. The reason is that the Lieutenant-Governors have not tended to succeed themselves. Therefore they're in for one term; and your long-term Senators generally know that. Just like with the Governor, they'll only have to deal with the Lieutenant-Governor for one term, whereas, your long-term chairmen in the House know quite the opposite. They'll probably have to deal with the Speaker again. So, for the four years they will be very loyal to and very responsive to the incumbent Speaker. The obvious exception is Carroll Gartin, who was Lieutenant-Governor for

NOTICE

This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17 U.S. Code).



three terms. If a man ran for Lieutenant-Governor and were intent on keeping the office, then his power could exceed that of the Speaker's. He has the same appointive powers as the Speaker, plus he has the ceremonial trappings of power that the Governor has, plus he's elected state-wide, and this gives him a big clout where the Speaker's simply elected like other House members. So, I think on paper, the Lieutenant-Governor and the Speaker are both enormously powerful, maybe even with a long-term Lieutenant-Governor emerging as more powerful. The way it's operated in fact is that the Speakers tend to be more powerful. Of course, power is an elusive term. I'm using it in the general sense of being able to determine the outcome of events.

(End of Side One)

Holmes: During the months that I worked for the House, I was aware of ideas that the Representatives had about the Senate, and I'm sure the Senate has definite ideas about the House. What I am trying to get at is, to use the over-worked term, "lines of communication" between the House and the Senate. How are they, what lines actually exist, is there much cooperation or is there a lot of antagonism?

White: Well, that's a complex question. I think the reason it's complex is because the answer depends very much on particular circumstances. If you, for example, have a Governor that's very effective and knows how to play politics at its best, he might be very astute at playing one house against the other. If you have a Governor who is disliked by a majority of members of both houses, then you find that both houses of the legislature consider that they have a common enemy, and tend to unite on things. In general, I think there is a good deal of cooperation and communication between the houses. There has to be. There are several forms in which it takes. For example, practically all of your interim study committees are joint committees, on which there are both House and Senate members. Now, why is this? Each House could obviously set up its own study committee, but I think the fact that they set up joint committees is an admission of the fact that they must get along. Of course, practically no major legislation is passed in the same form by both houses, and it must be hammered out in conference. So, the way the conference committees function is essential to the relations between the two houses. The relation of the Lieutenant-Governor to the Speaker, whether or not they get along, whether or not they have been on opposite sides of the fence in the past and have political memories and scars will have an effect. If the two presiding officers get along, then the relations are naturally going to go smoother. If the long-standing chairmen of both houses tend to get along, matters tend to go smoother. For example, you find the chairmen of the two money committees in the House and the two money committees in the Senate on the Budget Commission year-round. So, they have a continual dialogue and a continual opportunity to work together. There are, of course, all the traditional jibes at each other, the little comments and jokes that are made in fun by one house about the

NOTICE

This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17 U.S. Code).

MDAH

other. The House members accuse the Senators of viewing themselves as being too grandiose, perhaps feeling that they should don the Roman tunic; the Senators joking about the House members and their informality and seeming disorganization on the floor. But I think this is mostly in fun. Of course, you do have to remember that a given Senator and a given Representative represent different districts. Representatives generally represent only one county, a Senator will very likely represent two or three and in some cases five counties. So, what he is pushing for is going to be different even from what the Representative from his area wants because of what their constituents want. This is why you have two houses, otherwise there would be no need for two houses. Relations are delicate, I'm not saying they aren't delicate; but I think for the most part, the two houses get along very well. Speaking in terms of this administration, there is great communication between the leadership in the House and the leadership in the Senate.

- Holmes: I would like to point out, for the historical record, an observation of mine: Representatives, perhaps, resent the fact that Senators are called "Senator Jones" or "Senator So-and-So," but Representatives are merely called "Mister," and human feelings being what they are, this is cause for resentment. I would also like to point out that during the last session I witnessed what I considered an unusual incident. The Lieutenant-Governor and the Speaker of the House were having an important conference midway in the Capitol - in fact, it was in front of the Governor's door - about some important legislation, but the Governor was not included. This seemed to point out the continuing power of the Legislature, whereas the Governor is merely asked to approve the Legislature's action.
- White: I think that depends both on the issue being discussed and on the Governor who happens to be holding office at the time.
- Holmes: My next question is this, and again we are bounded by the historical limitations of the present term: In your own experience, how does the Governor work with the Senate, in particular, and also with the Lieutenant-Governor?
- White: Do you mean the present Governor?
- Holmes: Well, if you care to answer like that. I would prefer that you do, but you don't have to.
- White: I think my earlier response to the question of the Governor's relationship with the Legislature generally would apply here as well. It's been interesting for me to note that the Governor really prefers to fight a lot of his legislative battles in the Senate, because it's a smaller group. He has only to keep up his relationships with fifty-two members; he has to consider winning only twenty-seven votes as opposed to sixty-two in the House. Of course, this makes it a much more manageable problem. I think the Governor devotes a good deal of his time to his relationships with the Senate. Now, you've got to remember that the Governor has some very important appointments to the Building Commission - that's the notable example. There are many other

NOTICE

This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17 U.S. Code).

MOAH

commissions with appointments that he can make. Obviously, the members of the Senate that he appoints to these groups will be those who are close to him for a variety of reasons. He will rely on these people to help fight some of the battles for him on legislation in the Senate. His relations with the Senate, I would say, have been good on some issues and bad on others. His relations with the Lieutenant-Governor have been what we might call distant but correct, to use diplomatic terminology. The Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor have not been close. Of course, I consider this to be the Governor's prerogative. He has not called on the Lieutenant-Governor for assistance and advice on legislative matters, but I think his relations have been correct in the sense of protocol, etc.

Holmes: Since I've exhausted my list of written questions and shall soon run out of tape, let me ask you what your plans for the future are. Do you ever anticipate running for public office?

White: This is something I have thought about. I've been interested in politics all my life. I've certainly considered that at the appropriate time and place that could very well occur. I left M.I.T. in the middle of my doctoral program, but I hope to complete that program out of residence, although there are a lot of "ifs" between now and the completion of it. But my first and main love is the teaching profession, and I hope to get my doctoral degree and teach at a university, hopefully in Mississippi. Should the occasion arise for elected office, I would certainly consider it very seriously.

Holmes: I am intrigued by your statement earlier that you were attracted to the man and decided to work for him. What was it in Mr. Winter's career that attracted you and made you decide to work for him?

White: I suppose it was a combination of things. When I was growing up in high school and college, he was to many of us the youthful, refreshing change from the stifling politics of the past. By that I mean, he was a new face, he spoke very intelligently of the issues facing Mississippi and he had acted with political courage in the past. For example, he recommended the abolition of his own office of State Tax Collector, something you rarely see public officials do, especially such a lucrative job, as it was reported to be and I'm sure it was. So we saw, I think, a new voice, a youthful voice, a courageous voice. When I reflect on the campaign of 1967, it had almost the flavor of a crusade, really. There were a lot of young people who gave their time, who gave their energy, their talents on a total basis. I myself came back from what would have been a very pleasant summer of traveling in Europe between my two years of study just to work for Mr. Winter. I felt that committed to him. In my own case, I had attended Ole Miss beginning in 1962 which was the Meredith crisis, and had seen the folly and potential disaster that rabid politics had brought on our state; and I found in Mr. Winter an intelligent, calm reasoned approach to a lot of political problems that were extremely difficult and that were going to take us through some enormously complex and trying times. I felt that he had the calmness, intelligence and foresight to lead us through

NOTICE

This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17 U.S. Code).



those times in a manner that would not only be not detrimental to the state but would, in fact, end up advancing the state greatly.

Holmes: Now, we talked about one youth hero, which I think you're right in saying that Mr. Winter had a large young following in the gubernatorial campaign. You are in a very important position in state government now. Not only are you Secretary of the Senate but you are personal assistant to the Lieutenant-Governor. I would like, if you would, to expound briefly on your ideas of where Mississippi is going, and perhaps more important, where it should go if you don't agree with where it's going.

White: My area of academic interest is in the field of political development, and I'm very interested in politics from the developmental perspective. That is, how political societies and political cultures change from what they are into something else, how they have evolved in the past, what this change means, and what sorts of options and alternatives are available to the political groups in terms of the change. Of course, the political group that I am most interested in is within the State of Mississippi, the political group Mississippi if you want to look at it that way. I think that we have had within us for a long time a lot of evil and a lot of greatness. I think the evil, if you want to call it that, has been highlighted for a long time, and I think the goodness has been overlooked. I'm not saying this is bad, because by highlighting the evil we have overcome a lot of it. People who have both good and bad, and have both of them pointed out to them, tend to dwell on the good, pat themselves on the back and forget about the bad. We have not had that luxury in Mississippi and I think it's probably well that we haven't. We had a lot of evil to overcome in the past, and I think we have done it. I think the rest of the country, having both evil and good equally pointed out, have tended to dwell on their good points, tended to preach to the South, and have forgotten about their own bad points. Now, the chickens are coming home to roost, to use an overworked phrase. I think the good that people had forgotten about is now being discovered in the South - the fact that we have not been ruined by the blight of urban and industrial culture. Which is to say, we have a Quality of Life based on human relations, one-to-one, face-to-face encounters between human beings. We perceive and understand each other as human beings, not as a part of some mass urban industrial economic system. I spent a good deal of time in big cities, Boston, London, and some others, and have seen the evils of urban-industrial culture, something I hope we can avoid. I hope we can avoid the pollution, I hope we can avoid the mass impersonality that often accompanies big cities. We in Mississippi have our environment, we have our air, our water, our open spaces; most of all we have a Quality of Human Relations that's based on a kind of one-to-one type of encounter, which we still believe in. We believe in both the intensity of human interaction and the graciousness that should accompany it. So, what I'm saying is, "We in the South, as have all other people in the last hundred years, are going to be sorely tempted by the Seductress of Progress, Profit and Industry. This is something, I think, we should not blindly yield to. We have obviously got to have economic progress, we have obviously got to have good paying jobs; but I think it should not

NOTICE

This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17 U.S. Code).

MDAH

be done at the expense of the cultural richness of our area." What I'm saying is, "I think we must not yield totally to the God of Profit and the God of Economic Growth. We need to be sure that we have good paying jobs for our citizens. I frankly am not interested in Mississippians making as much per capita income as the people of New York City, or even of the National Average. What I want is a good per capita income, but I don't think we ought to become obsessed with statistics, trying to measure up to everybody else. We need a good living for our people, but we need to maintain the Quality of Life that we have. I think this is going to mean a type of industrial, economic and political development that will...let me say this, rather than a steel mill locating in Jackson I would much rather see specialized electronic firms, firms that require skilled labor but are non-polluting, located at places like Terry or Rolling Fork, the small communities of the state that can be refurbished. The economies can be revitalized in small, high-skill, non-polluting industries. I hope that we will not become an urban mass around Jackson and the Coast and Memphis, but that we will maintain the rural fabric of our life, and the face-to-face nature of our personal encounters. I think it is possible to do so in the framework of political and economic development. I think what we are called on to do, a very awesome responsibility, is to define and forge a new model of development that no other state or no other society has encountered. This is going to be very difficult, and is going to need to rely on enlightened political leadership, because the waters between the shoals of economic and political development are stormy and deep.

(End of Tape)

NOTICE

This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17 U.S. Code).

MDAH

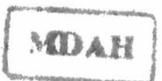
INDEX

By Catherine Mills

- Appointments (political, and committee), 4, 6
- Appropriations Committee, 5
- Building Commission, 8
- Clerk of the House, 2, 5
- Committees of the Senate, See Mississippi State Government: Senate
- Contingent Fund, administered by Secretary of Senate, 2
- Economic Growth of Mississippi, 10-12
- Fortenberry, Rick, 2, 3
- Gartin, Carroll (Lieutenant Governor), 6-7
- Governor of Mississippi, office of, See Mississippi State Government: Governor
- House of Representatives, See Mississippi State Government: House of
Representatives
- "Lame-Duck" Governor, See Mississippi State Government: Governor
- Legislative Services Office, 2, 6
- Legislature (Mississippi), See Mississippi State Government: Senate and
House of Representatives
- Lieutenant Governor, office of, See Mississippi State Government: Lieutenant
Governor
- Meredith "crisis," 9
- Mississippi State Government, White's opinion of administration, 2; power
structure of, 3, 5-6;

NOTICE

This material may be
protected by copyright
law (Title 17 U.S. Code).



---Governor, office of: appointments, 4, 8; "by-passing" legislature, 4-5; effectiveness through legislature, 3-4; influence of, 3; "lame duck" office, 4; personal abilities of, 4-5; relation to legislature, 3, 4, 5, 8-9; relation to lieutenant governor, 9; veto power, 3;

---House of Representatives: relation to Senate, 7-8; Speaker of the House, power of, 5, 6-7; relation to Lieutenant Governor, 7; See self-succession;

---Lieutenant Governor, office of, 2; relation to Governor, 9; relation to Speaker, 7; power of, 5, 6-7; See Self-succession;

---Senate: Committees, appointment of, 6; cooperation, 7; powers of, 5-6; relation to Governor, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9; relation to House, 7-8; Secretary of the Senate: duties of, 2; history of office, 2

Power Structure of Mississippi Government, See Mississippi State Government

Public Opinion: how affected, 3, 4, 6

Rules Committee, 2, 6

Secretary of the Senate, office of, See Mississippi State Government: Senate
Senate Contingent Expense Committee, 6

Sillers, Walter, power of as a Speaker, 5, 6

Speaker of the House, office of, See Mississippi State Government

Veto power, of the Governor, See Mississippi State Government: Governor

Ways and Means Committee, 6

White, Jesse L., youth, education, Winter's campaign, elected Secretary of
the Senate, 1; at University of Mississippi, 1, 3, 9; as Secretary

NOTICE

of the Senate, 10; running for public office, 9; relationship with Senate, 3; relationship with Winter, 2; personal comments on Mississippi's future, 10-11

White, Jesse L., Sr., as State Insurance Commissioner, 1

Winter, William, campaign for governor (1967), 1, 9-10; relationship with White, 1; White's opinion of as a politician, 9-10