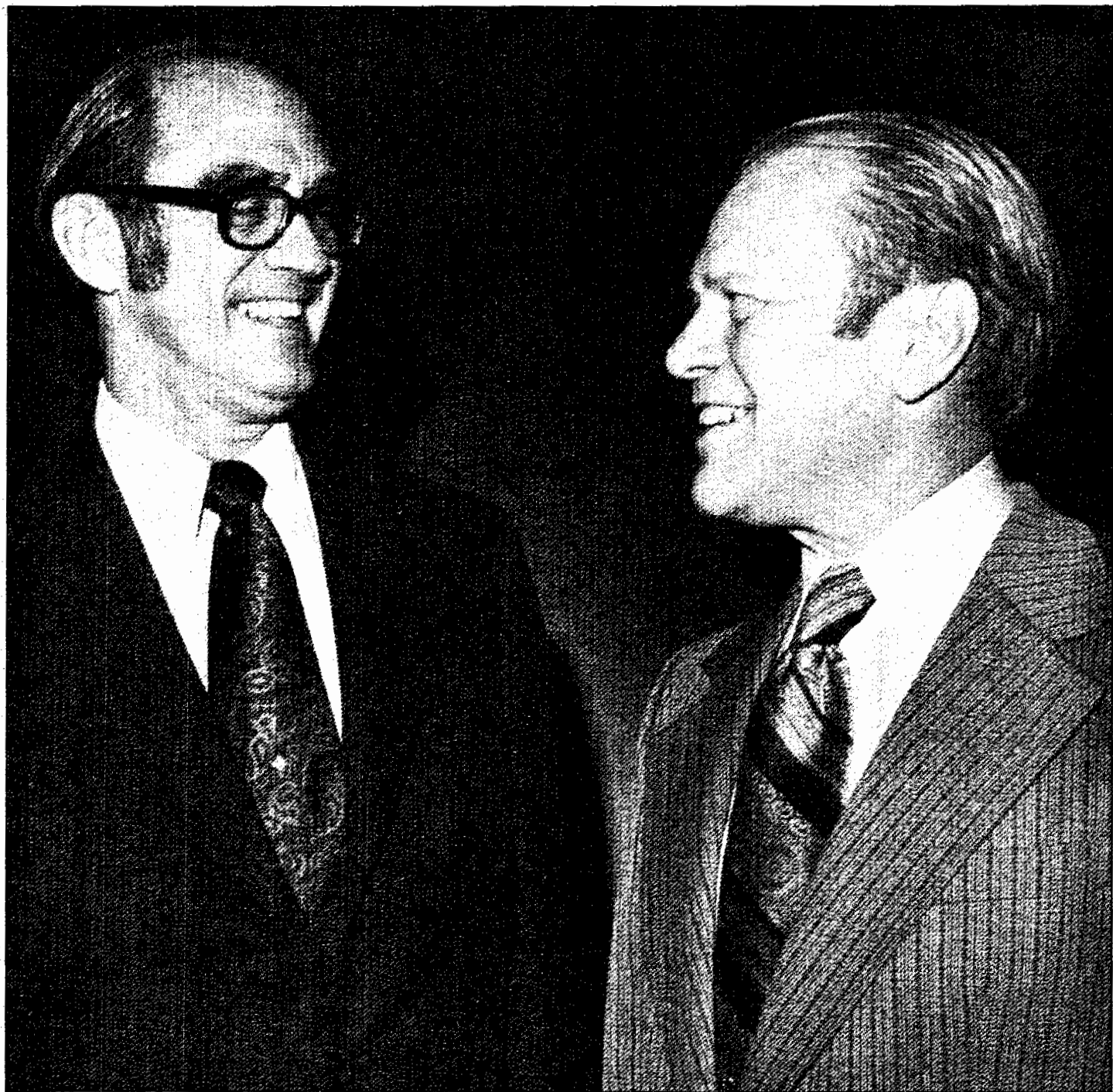


ILLINOIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

GEORGE BURDITT MEMOIR

VOLUME II



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Volume II

GEORGE BURDITT

SESSION 7, TAPE 13, SIDE 1

Q: I keep finding things that you attained leadership in that ought to be mentioned I think. For example you were a trustee of Shimer College in 1956, and by 1966 had become chairman of the board. How did you become associated with Shimer College?

A: (chuckles) You know in a strange way. I was out in La Grange visiting a client and the president of Shimer, a gentleman by the name of Joe Mullin — I think, Horace — was also in seeing Jim. This fellow was a fairly active Episcopal layman and Shimer was an Episcopal college and we got talking about educational things in general and he asked me if I'd be interested in going on the board, it was in one meeting! And I'd always had kind of a guilty conscience about not doing anything in academic circles. I'd done things in civic things and religious and other things, but never in academic circles, so I said yes I'd go on the board.

So I went on the board. It was a very interesting experience. Shimer was at that time located in Mount Carroll, Illinois. It was a little gem of a college. When I went on the board they were down to less than a hundred students and the president had called the meeting at which he was going to dismiss the faculty. But he also talked that same day, probably, or certainly that same week, to one Nelson Dezendorf, who was the general manager of the electromotive division of General Motors, who — you know, he was head of that big electromotive plant out south in Cook right near La Grange. And Dez went on the board — Dez was a very active Episcopalian — and Dez went on the board as chairman. And Dez took over the fundraising and I really kind of took over the people-raising and got a lot of new trustees, got Clint Youle and Normal Ross and . . . some very interesting and competent people to come on the board, Matt Dick, C. Mathews Dick, Dick, who was at that time vice president of A. B. Dick Company and, oh, a lot of other very interesting people. We had a pretty good board.

About that time we got an article in Time Magazine on Shimer College. I didn't have anything to do with getting the article but it was a beautiful article and the student enrollment jumped way up. And for a few years there we were in good shape in terms of — it was a very fine academic program. It was — I did that for — what? was I on the board ten years? something like that I guess.

Q: Yes. Was Mrs. Van der Vries on while you were there? She was on the board I know at one time.

A: Yes.

Q: I don't know the exact dates.

A: I think maybe Mrs. Van der Vries was one of the ones I recruited to go on the board. I'm not absolutely sure of that but I think so. She was certainly the kind of person I was looking for.

And it was a great experience for me and a fine — it was an Episcopal — well let's see, when I first went on it had had an affiliation with the University of Chicago. As a matter of fact, its official name was the Shimer College of the University of Chicago. But that affiliation was meaningless. We'd had a Baptist affiliation through the University of Chicago but that was totally meaningless. So we switched to an Episcopal affiliation when Dez went on the board and we got — well at one time we had three Episcopal bishops on the board, the Bishop of Iowa, the Bishop of . . . I think Indiana, and the Bishop in Chicago. And of course they made significant contributions in a lot of ways to the success of Shimer.

Q: Well where did it move to?

A: They're now in Lake Bluff I think. I went off the board, well, what? fifteen years ago I guess. And they moved to Lake Bluff at that time. Well they moved to Lake Bluff I guess maybe four or five years ago. It's a shame too because that was such a beautiful place but just — small colleges like that are just plain not economically feasible in this day and age. Hundreds of them have gone down the tube. It's a real sad thing but they're — you know, its one of the facts of life, they've gone the way of the mom and pop grocery store.

Q: What about the Chicago Committee on Alcoholism? I know that you were vice-president in 1966. When did you go on that?

A: Oh about a few years maybe before that. Phil Clark who was a very good friend of mine in Chicago had gone on a board for me. I don't remember what it was. I asked him to go on a board. And he called me — it was probably the board of Citizens of Greater Chicago, something like that — and he called me a couple of years later and said, "I went on one for you. Will you go on one for me?" And I said, "Sure Phil, what is it?" And he said, "The Chicago Counsel on Alcoholism." I said, "Well geez . . ." You know people kind of shy away from going on boards of alcoholism, it's just one of those things you didn't want to be associated with. And I said, "Well, Phil, you know I'm really not eligible for that," I said, "I'm a teetotaler, I don't drink anything and I really shouldn't be on that board." He said, "That doesn't matter. Half of the board is teetotalers." And I said, "I was lying. I'm not a teetotaler at all. I'm an alcoholic." He said, "That's the other half of the board." (laughter) So I went on the board. And then I missed a board meeting somewhere along the line and I was vice-president for years and I was president for a couple of years I guess.

Q: Any particular achievements with that?

A: Well just the normal handling of the organization. We had to get a new executive director while I was there. We had to get a new president of Shimer while I was president of Shimer too, and those things always add to the load of the board. The main purpose of the Chicago Council on Alcoholism was to have a program for industry to get people to recognize that alcoholism is a disease and the best way for a major company, any company, to handle alcoholism among its employees, which is inevitable, is to treat it as a disease, have a program set up to educate people on it and to treat people if they become alcoholics. If they become gone alcoholics or whether alcoholism is affecting their job, to have a program so that their wife or husband or children or whoever can work with them and set up a program to try to get them off the bottle.

Q: Yes.

A: And we had really good success in setting up programs like that with the businesses in Chicago. That was a very dedicated group of people on that board.

Q: You went around to individual businesses then?

A: Sure. That's what the main thrust of the Chicago Council was, to set up a program with Kemper Insurance Company, or whoever. Jim Kemper was one of our very active board members and had been president of the Chicago Council some time before I was. As a matter of fact Jim was, I think, national president of the alcoholics group, not Alcoholics Anonymous, but the fundraising educational arm. You know it's like the American Cancer Society or the American Heart Association or the Chicago chapter of those groups. It's a group of people who are dedicated to working on that particular disease, raising money for it, educating people on it to prevent the disease or to cure it or whatever, research and so on.

Q: Alright sir how about the — I'm not sure how to pronounce it — the King-Bruwaert House?

A: The King-Bruwaert House it's called yes. Well King-Bruwaert is a home for — was at that time a home for elderly ladies in Hinsdale, beautiful home. I was walking across the Loop one day with Phil Clark's father, who had been the CEO of one of the banks in Chicago and was one of the leading citizens of Chicago. And Mr. Clark, whose name was also Philip Clark, told me the story of King-Bruwaert House, walking across the Loop together. He lived in Hinsdale and we — I don't remember — it seems to me we sometimes played bridge together on the train. And I got to know him only through that source. And he told me the story of the King-Bruwaert House. It was set up by the will of one Susanne King, who married the Belgian counsel in Chicago, his name was Bruwaert. And she inherited some money or something, but she set up a trust to establish this home. Well actually it was a testamentary trust, it was in her will. And her will left, I don't know, a hundred thousand dollars, or some relatively modest amount of money to create a home for gentle ladies of modest means.

And she and her husband went on their diplomatic missions around the world and they were killed in an automobile accident, in Switzerland I believe. And the will then took effect, so there was this bequest which was left to three trustees in Chicago, of whom I think — I don't remember if Phil Clark was one of the original trustees. But a fellow by the name of Bill Burry was one. And I think maybe Charles Freeman was one, Charles Y. Freeman was one. They took a look at it and they were really afraid of the tax consequences because — of course Mrs. King-Bruwaert was an American citizen by birth, married to a Belgian citizen, died in Switzerland and had been in other countries, and they were scared to death that there was going to be multiple tax problems with the money in the portfolio. So the trustees sold everything they had. And it was something like a hundred thousand dollars. I don't think it was much more than that. I think that's what it was. And they sold it in September, 1929. So that when the crash came one month later they had a hundred thousand dollars in cash instead of having a portfolio of worthless stock. Bill Burry told me it was the rightest decision he had made for the wrongest reason in his whole life. But in any event from that the trustees developed a very significant portfolio.

And I thanked Mr. Clark for telling me the story and said goodbye to him as I turned to get on the elevator here in the Field Building. And he said, "Wait a minute, young man, I'm not through," which was exactly the way Mr. Clark spoke. And I said, "Excuse me, I thought you were through." And he said, "No. The three of us older gentlemen who are on the board have decided we'd like to bring three young men on — my son and Jim Douglas" — who was I believe related to one of the other trustees — "and you." And I said, "Well I'm flattered and honored. I know the other two. I know your son of course very well. And the other . . ." It was another — not Phil, it was another son of Mr. Clark's. I said, "But you know you really don't know me very well. You've seen me play bridge on

the train. That's the total extent of what you know about me." He said, "I have checked you out."

Q: Well!

A: Which I guess he had done. (chuckles) Anyway he invited me to go on the board. So I went on that board and I served on it for twenty-three years up until last year. And on Tuesday or Wednesday of this week I went — they invited me back to the annual board meeting — I went to the annual meeting this week. It was on Tuesday of this week at the Metropolitan Club and it was a pleasure to see my friends there again.

King-Bruwaert is a beautiful house. It's expanded, flourished financially, wonderful set of directors, series of directors we've had. The present director is a superb English lady. And my mother . . .

(taping stopped for telephone conversation, then resumed)

A: My mother lived at King-Bruwaert House for the last two years of her life. It's just a beautiful place, well run and it's just a gentle, gentlemanly place for ladies.

Q: We discussed a little bit yesterday Sam Witwer's go for the Senate. You were state chairman of the volunteers for Witwer in that effort. First of all, how was it that Sam Witwer decided to run for the Senate?

A: Well he was a very logical guy to be in government. He was a very knowledgeable gentleman and . . .

(taping stopped for telephone conversation, then resumed)

A: What was I saying?

Q: Sam Witwer . . .

A: Oh yes. He was a lawyer but most of all he was just knowledgeable about governmental matters. He had been an active Republican. I don't think he had ever run for anything. But the group of people I mentioned the other day — Tilly Commings and George McKibbin and Nate Jacobs and Allen Jacobs, his nephew, and people like that really wanted Sam to run. He was very popular with the League of Women Voters people. His problem was with the regular Republican organization and as a matter of fact there were a whole pile of people who ran in that primary. I don't remember who they all were. Bill Rentschler was one. Austin Wyman I think was one. I kind of get mixed up whether they ran — Joe Meek had eight or nine people running against him in 1954 in the primary, and Sam had seven or eight running against him in 1960. I had one when I ran in 1974. Lar Daly was the only one who ran against me.

Q: I see. (chuckles)

A: Which there are pros and cons of those. But Sam was not necessarily the party's choice. Elbert Smith might have run against him. Did he? Do you remember? There were some people from downstate who ran. I think . . .

Q: I don't recall. It seems to me he did.

A: He ran sometime and I think Elbert may have been one who did. There were some very capable people running like Elbert Smith. But Sam was so knowledgeable and such a bright guy that he got the — he won the primary and then went on to lose in the November election to Paul Douglas.

Q: What about the campaign itself. Now you were state chairman of the volunteers. How did you go about organizing the volunteers?

A: Well actually what happened was after the — I think it was after the primary — it occurred to me that things weren't organized maybe as well in Sam's campaign as they might be. He was well aware of it. So was everybody else who were working in it. And I wrote Sam a fairly long single-spaced multi-paged letter one time with some suggestions about how he might get the act put together a little bit. And he called me up and said, "Alright, smart aleck, you come do it." So I said, "Geez, I don't know if I can do that." And he wanted me to take time off from my firm to do it. I proposed it to them — I was then at the Chadwell firm — and they said no. But they said, "You can go over there at four o'clock every afternoon." So that's what I did. I worked at the office until four o'clock for the, you know, few months before the campaign, three or four months, and then I went over to the headquarters, at the Witwer headquarters downtown here and I work — I think I was — as a matter of fact I was thinking I was chairman of the campaign. It was more than just volunteers that I had. We had people who were working on the volunteers, but I was kind of helping with the strategy and all kinds of things like that. There was a paid staff too. Dick Lockhart primarily was the paid executive and was maybe — probably had the title campaign manager. But we all worked very closely together in a campaign against a very popular United States senator.

Q: What kind of strategies did you develop to try to push him over?

A: Oh the usual things that you do in a campaign like that, to emphasize Paul Douglas's record and Sam Witwer's record hoping that the record that Sam had developed in his civic life and business life would be enough to offset the positive effect of Paul Douglas in a lot of things because Paul Douglas was a very liberal senator, and had I think a very bad record in many respects from the point of view of a moderate voter in Illinois. It's just tough to beat a guy like Paul Douglas once he gets entrenched in the Senate.

Q: How did you go about working downstate? Did you hunt for people to . . .

A: Sure.

Q: Who were some of the people that you found down there?

A: Well there are two basic ways you do that of course. One is to work through the Republican organization. And you need to work closely with the Republican organization, both because they're already in place with people and with ideas and programs and everything else. And second, because if you don't do that, you're going to make them mad at you. So you've got to talk to the county chairmen. And I know from experience it's hard to remember the name of every county chairman. I remember one county chairman was highly critical of Sam because he met Sam at a party and Sam was going down a long line of people and the chairman was at the head of the line and then for some reason he ended down at the foot of the line too, and Sam introduced himself to him again at the end of the line, and this guy couldn't understand that. Boy, I can understand that. You just can't remember every single face. Your computer shorts out. Meeting a thousand people a day, you just don't remember, even five minutes apart. (chuckles)

The second way basically that you do it is to get a volunteer organization of Volunteers for Witwer to put up those little elephants like I showed you yesterday, "Witwer was here." And as a matter of fact I got a note from Sam yesterday. I'd sent him one of those elephants. I just saw him last week and that is how I happened to know where they were yesterday when I showed one to you. And Sam wrote back to me and thanked me for my work in the campaigns. He said that people keep sending those little elephants from the downstate area once in a while.

Q: Were there any individuals down there that volunteered to . . .

A: Oh yes yes a lot of people. I don't remember the names of all the volunteers in that — gee, that was twenty years ago and I just — but there were a great many people from the League of Women Voters who were working for this all over the state — not as league members, but who were friends of Sam's who came into the act and who helped set up volunteer organizations and organized speeches for Sam and things like that downstate. It's a big job to run a campaign for the people who are doing it, the paid staff and for Sam. He worked hard at it.

Q: What kind of fundraising did you use in the campaign?

A: I didn't have anything directly to do with the fundraising. And I don't remember — probably either Tilly Cummings or George McKibbin was chairman of the fundraising committee. We had dinners and all the usual kinds of things that you have for fundraising. It wasn't the best year for fundraising. I don't remember how much we raised but not nearly enough. You never do in a campaign — well some people can. But at least we didn't have as much as we wanted in that campaign.

Q: Did he travel much throughout the state?

A: Yes he did. Sam traveled a lot. I don't think Sam traveled as much as I did when I ran for the Senate. My recollection is he was here most of the time. But I'm sure to Sam it seemed like an enormous amount. He and I laugh about our — we call each other senator incidentally. We're the only two people who call either one of us senator. So we see each other in church or somewhere, we're always saying senator.

Q: I see.

A: He really worked at it and he did a lot of traveling. And Ethel did a lot of traveling with him.

Q: What did you do on election day? Did you have a headquarters set up?

A: Yes oh yes. We had a headquarters downtown. It was a busy place you know just like any other headquarters is on election day. The polls had us losing so we weren't anticipating on election day that it was going to be a very close election. And we of course didn't win. But it's kind of always sad when the election place like that closes down on election day, as a loser at least.

Q: One other item before we get into the law business — well it is law business. When did you get started with the Chicago Bar Association? I notice you were a member of the Board of Managers in 1956.

A: I started out as a member of the Younger Lawyers Committee it was called. And that was while I was out at Swift. So I expect that must have been probably about . . . mid-1950's or something like that. No it must have been before that. When did you say I was on the board? It must have been 1956 I was on the board.

Q: Let's see — yes it was, 1956 yes.

A: Yes yes. It was probably the early 1950's I started to work on the Young Lawyers Committee, Younger Lawyers Committee. And then it was Keith Scheay, who was the chairman of the Younger Lawyers Committee, asked me to be vice-chairman his year and I was, and then that makes you automatically chairman the next year. So I was chairman of the Younger Lawyers Committee in about 1953 or 1954 or 1955 or somewhere along in there. And then after that, after being chairman, then I became — then I went on the

Board of Managers of the bar association which is a two-year term. And it's fairly customary for the chairman of the Younger Lawyers Committee to go on the Board of Managers. It didn't always happen but it usually did. And I served a two-year term on the Board of Managers and that was — ended about the time — well I was in the legislature by then, the elected legislature in . . .

Q: In 1965?

A: Well let's see, I was . . .

Q: In 1964?

A: In 1956, yes I was on the board when? in 1956 or 1957 something like that, 1956 and . . .

Q: All I had was 1956 as the time for . . .

A: Well it's a two-year term. Yes a two-year term, it was about 1956 to 1957 or 1958 or something like that. Then I really didn't do an awful lot in the bar association, wasn't really active from then on. I did some things. I founded the Food and Drug Law Committee of the bar a few years after that. And I was chairman of the Public Relations Committee and I was on the Constitution Revision Committee and I was on the Legislative Committee, as all legislators are automatically. I served on two or three other committees. But the main work I did was as chairman of the Young Lawyers Committee, Younger Lawyers Committee was a pretty big job.

Q: What types of things do younger lawyers do in the Bar Association?

A: Well the Younger Lawyers Committee was just one of many committees of the bar. We had a number of projects which were repetitive. For example, putting out a Courts Handbook which was a how-to-do-it in court. And it was a very valuable service and it is still published by the Younger Lawyers. By now it's called the Younger Lawyers Section, YLS. We had a number of repetitive things that came up every year like that where we were keeping people posted on particular segments of the law through seminars, things like that.

And there were special projects that were given to us. For example, Judge Kerner, Otto Kerner, who was then the judge of the County Court of Cook County, there was a court called the County Court of Cook County. And Judge Kerner asked us to find pictures of and write biographies on all of the judges of the county court from the beginning of time and then we would have a ceremony in his courtroom which we called Hanging the Judges.

And we got a guy in charge of that project, found pictures of the judges, Otto had a number of them as I recall. And somebody looked up the history of this particular judge and we had it typed on the back of the picture and then whoever was in charge of that particular judge got up and made a two-minute presentation about this particular county judge. We had a courtroom full of people the day we hung the judges and hung up maybe, oh, twelve or fifteen pictures of prior county court judges. There were special projects like that that we took on at the request of a judge or the request of the Board of Managers or one thing or another.

Q: Is there any special procedure for joining the Chicago Bar Association?

A: Well you have to just apply. You have to be a member of the bar, you have to have passed the bar exam.

Q: State bar.

A: Yes. And apply and that's about it. Then you can be active on committees or not as you see fit. And at some point in our interviewing we'll be talking about my current activity in the bar association which has been very extensive. But I really had about a fifteen- or twenty-year hiatus between my activity then in the mid- and late 1950's when I was chairman of YLS, or the Younger Lawyers Committee, and was on the Board of Managers.

Q: Now let's see, Samuel Witwer was quite active there, wasn't he? with the Chicago Bar Association?

A: Yes. Sam was chairman of the Constitution Revision Committee of the bar and was Mr. Constitution Revision to the bar as he was to the rest of the state. I was on that committee and I don't remember if I ended up as secretary of that committee. I don't think I was ever chairman of the Constitution Revision but I was active in the committee, one of the committee members.

Q: How about Ed Saltiel? Wasn't he active on it also?

A: Yes. Ed was on that committee. Ed could easily have been chairman of the Constitution Revision Committee.

Q: I guess one of the major items early — well not too early, but back around the early 1960's was to get the judicial article changed, the justice of the peace was done away with and that sort of thing.

A: Right. And to require that all judges be lawyers.

Q: That sort of thing.

A: Yes.

Q: Were you involved with that?

A: Sure. Yes. Ed Saltiel was of course very active in that too and so was Sam. I wasn't one of the leaders in that campaign but I — you know, I would do things like help write speeches for people to give, analyzing the amendment and doing things like that. That's the kind of work I did on it.

Q: Now Ed Saltiel was kind of a lobbyist down at the legislature for that amendment.

A: Right.

Q: Did you get down there in conjunction with it?

A: I don't remember ever being down to lobby for it. Ed handled it and he had good connections of course having been in the senate. He might even have been a senator at that time.

Q: No he wasn't.

A: He wasn't? okay, yes. My job was more with civic groups after the legislature got it through. Then it had to be submitted to a referendum, and I was working more at the referendum stage.

Q: Did you have any qualms about what the Bar Association was pushing there?

A: No. Not at all, no, I was very much in favor of it. You know, it really doesn't make sense to have justices of the peace, or anybody sitting as a judge on someone else, who doesn't have any legal experience, formal legal training in the rules of evidence and all the other

things that are so important for a fair trial. I was very much in favor of it and have been all through the years and worked with the committee on modern courts and always for the judicial articles.

SESSION 7, TAPE 13, SIDE 2

Q: Do you recall having discussed that particular issue of doing away with the justices of the peace with anyone from downstate where they were kind of against doing away with them?

A: Yes. I'm sure that I had conversations with them and discussions and maybe even arguments because there were a lot of downstaters who felt very strongly about retaining justices of the peace, you know, for reasons some of which were very good and some of which were not very good. What it really boiled down to I think more than anything else was that they had a cousin or a friend who was a JP and they liked them and they thought that the JP was really close to the people even though he wasn't a lawyer, and "You lawyers are always trying to feather your own nests." Well that was the furthestest from the truth, because it's hard enough to get a guy to be a justice of the peace. You almost have to revise the whole structure so that you don't — you can't in a modern society have nonlawyers in judicial positions. You know in the frontier days you needed to because there weren't enough lawyers to do it, somebody had to be a JP, you had to have a system of justice and authority of the state and you had to have people who weren't lawyers because you simply couldn't find lawyers to do it. But those days are long gone.

Q: I wish they weren't.

A: Yes. (laughter)

Q: It creates real problems in small villages.

A: Oh I'm sure it is yes.

Q: Okay. Let's see, in 1954 now you made a move from your position with Swift to a law partnership.

A: Right.

Q: Why did you make such a change?

A: You may remember that at Swift I worked on that one antitrust case from 1951 to 1954 with the understanding that I'd stay with Swift as long as the case was on. And in 1954 the case terminated, the government dismissed the case. They just took a voluntary dismissal, the case was dismissed by stipulation. That same afternoon the general counsel called me into his office, this gentleman that I really had a father-son relationship with, and said, "Your commitment is now over and I want to urge you to stay with Swift." He said, "I have no doubt that if you stay with Swift you will be sitting in my chair and be general counsel at some point in time. But," he said, "knowing you and the activities you're involved in and your interests in life, I can't help but think that you might want to consider going into private practice and doing something else. And if you do that, I will be glad to give you a recommendation for anything you want to do. And," he said, "if you decide you want to do that, I would suggest that you talk to the two firms with which you've been working on the antitrust case," who were the two firms that represented Swift in the antitrust case, which were the firms of Snyder, Chadwell and Fagerburg, and Mayer, Meyer . . . Brown and Plat. I'm not sure what the name of the Mayer, Meyer firm was at that time. But that was probably what it was. I thanked him profusely because we did have a very warm relationship.

And I thought it over, talked it over with Barbara, and did a lot of thinking about it and decided maybe I would like to try private practice. And interviewed at both firms. They both offered me a job and I decided I'd go with the Chadwell firm really because it was a smaller firm. I think I was the thirteenth or fourteenth lawyer to join the Chadwell firm. It was a fairly good-sized firm in those days but it wasn't a mammoth firm. Mayer, Brown and Plat — or Mayer — oh, it was Mayer, Meyer, Austrian and Plat, I guess it was at that time — and they must have had fifty lawyers. That was a really big firm in those days. Now Chadwell has about sixty lawyers and Mayer, Brown and Plat has maybe 250 lawyers.

But anyway I interviewed at Chadwell and had the highest regard for the lawyers at the Chadwell firm. Irwin Snyder had been the general counsel, in fact if not in name, of Kraft, and was one of the best food lawyers in the United States. Dewey Fagerburg, who lived in Hinsdale, was an equally fine lawyer and handled a lot of work for Kraft and a lot of litigation, a very capable guy. And John Chadwell was one of the stars of the antitrust profession in the United States, national repute, a most capable guy. And the six or eight lawyers immediately under them, who were younger than those three, were also very competent, very bright people and so I decided I'd go with the Chadwell firm. So I went with Chadwell in 1954, of course as an associate, I didn't go in as a partner, I went in as an associate.

Q: Well now, I presume that your experience with Swift, six years of working with food materials and that sort of thing, had something to do with joining a food firm.

A: Well actually Chadwell had two specialties at that time. They did all of the outside legal work for Kraft. Kraft had no inside counsel. And Kraft's a big company. And Irwin Snyder and Dewey Fagerburg and Marshall Widel did all of the Kraft food work, food and drug work. It's really almost all food work. John Chadwell though had built up an enormous reputation as an antitrust lawyer. And the Chadwell firm was really getting at that time better known as an antitrust firm than a food firm. The only significant client in the food business was Kraft. And I went with Chadwell as an antitrust lawyer because you see I'd spent three years on an antitrust case working with John Chadwell and Dick McLaren and Ted Gronkee and the other lawyers who were working on that antitrust case.

So I went as an antitrust lawyer. And spent, oh, a year or so working on antitrust matters — a couple of years I guess — and litigation things like that, doing a little bit of work for Kraft. But Irwin Snyder who was really in the process of retiring about that time and Dewey Fagerburg and Marshall Widel were doing the food work. Well unfortunately Marshall Widel died at a very young age and Dewey Fagerburg died shortly after that — and Irwin Snyder was by that time substantially retired. So suddenly the firm was up with nobody to do the Kraft food work that really three lawyers had been spending most of their time on. So I volunteered to do it. I was the only one who had any food and drug experience at all. And Merrill Thompson who was then fresh out of law school came with me about that time to help me with it.

So starting about 1956, or somewhere along in there, I did Kraft's food work. Which was really a great opportunity. A wonderful group of people to work with, the Kraft people, I have the highest respect for them. And made some lifelong friends at Kraft, outside of business, just personal friends.

And through doing their work I met state officials. For instance this gentleman that you just heard me talk to in California, and his predecessors. As a matter of fact one of his predecessors asked me to help him write a food and drug law for California which I did, or comment on the draft and help him with it, which I did. I didn't go out there and testify but I did submit a lot of written comments and helped him with it. And I've gone to states to testify at the request of the state official because I knew all the state officials through my work with Kraft. I used to go to meetings all over the country and of course still

do. The Association of Food and Drug Officials and trade association meetings for Kraft. Margarine Association and Orange Juice Association and Institute of Shortening, inedible oils, the Mayonnaise and Salad Dressings Institute. A whole bunch of trade associations, so it was a great experience for me, one I really very much appreciated.

Q: Now this required you to start traveling then considerably with Kraft.

A: Yes.

Q: I note that you belong to the New York Bar Association and the American Bar Association. Did your interests throughout the United States have anything to do with that fact?

A: The New York State Bar Association had a food, drug and cosmetic law committee. It was the only state bar association that did have, only bar in the American Bar that did have. So I joined it for that reason, as a nonresident member. I never took the New York bar examination, I didn't have to do that, I was just a nonresident member. And every year I still go to the New York State Bar Association meetings to go to the food and drug law section meeting. And I give speeches there every few years. Last year I spoke at the New York State Bar meeting. Oh, and every few years I do.

As a matter of fact I had one very interesting experience. After one of my speeches there, the speech was published in the New York State Bar Journal, and I got a letter right after it appeared from a gentleman by the name of Orange Van Horne, which has got to be a great name. And the letter said that "My best friend when I was a boy in Cooperstown, New York, was George Burditt. Do you happen to be any relation to him?" And I called up Mr. Van Horne, who had been my dad's best friend when they were kids. As a matter of fact he saved my dad's life one day when my dad — they were in a boat that tipped over and my dad couldn't swim and Orange Van Horne save his life, and therefore I owe mine to him. And I called him and told him. And Barb and I happened to be going back to Boston shortly after that so we stopped to see Mr. Van Horne. All because I was a member of the New York State Bar Association.

Q: I'll be darned. (chuckles) How about the American Bar Association. What was the impetus there?

A: Well again primarily food and drug. There was a food, drug and cosmetic law division of the Corporation, Banking and Business Law Section of the American Bar Association. And I joined that division and was, you know, giving speeches and hearing speeches, a lot more hearing than giving in those days. And worked with that until Warren Adams who was the general counsel of CPC asked me one day if I'd be chairman of the division. And I was. I was chairman for a couple of years and then passed the mantle on to somebody else.

Incidentally no food and drug lawyer's comments would be complete without mentioning the name of Charles Wesley Dunn who was a fantastic guy. He founded the food drug cosmetic law division of the American Bar Association. He founded the New York State Bar Association food and drug law committee. He founded the Food Law Institute which is now the Food and Drug Law Institute. He founded the Food and Nutrition Institute. He was just a fantastic guy. He was general counsel of the Grocery Manufacturers of America which is the big trade association of the food manufacturers. And he was just one of these fellows who went around founding things and was an enormous leader. I only met Mr. Dunn once or twice. He died shortly after I was getting into the food and drug law practice. But he had an enormous impact on the food and drug legal world.

Q: What was the most important case you handled for Kraft back in, say, the 1950's, early 1960's?

A: The food and drug work that I was doing in those days was not trial work. There wasn't really any trial work in the food and drug business. Food and drug law consisted, in those days, of getting approval of Kraft's new labels for margarine, the Margarine Act had been amended and there were perpetual changes going on in the regulations. Trying to persuade the Iowa state legislature that margarine wasn't as bad as the dairy guys all said it was. (chuckles) There was a huge fight going on between dairy products and margarine. And I was forever trying to put out the fires on the margarine front. And at the same time not doing anything to step on the toes of the Breakstone Division of the National Dairy Products Corporation of which Kraft was also a division, which was the butter division or the Sugar Creek Creamery division. As a matter of fact I ended up doing food and drug work for those companies.

But my work was approving labels, working with state officials where a particular problem would come up in a state, working on food standards. A standard of identity is a regulation promulgated by the Food and Drug Administration telling you how you make a product and how you label it. For instance cheddar cheese, cheddar cheese standard tells you how you make cheddar cheese, what you have to do to make cheddar cheese and after you've made it, how you label it. And there are hundreds of standards for foods. I don't know, there are sixty or seventy cheese standards alone. And all of the dressings products are standardized, French dressing, salad dressing, mayonnaise. Orange juice is standardized. And there are a whole bunch of different orange juice standards. And all of those standards raise legal problems from time to time: of compliance, interpretation, questions of amendment, temporary permits to deviate from the standard, to try something new. All kinds of things like that. And Kraft has such a wide range of products that it was a full-time job for more than one guy to handle just the Kraft food problems like that. But not really trials.

Q: You mentioned margarine. I've forgotten the year that colored margarine was authorized. It was in the 1950's sometime.

A: In 1948, 1948. Or 1947 maybe. It was when I was in law school. Well in law school we had the squeeze — the little — you know, the squeezebags you know with the little button in there that you'd break. And before that you had a little packet of color, coloring material, like a little packet of sugar. And you'd just put the margarine in a bowl and let it soften up and poured the artificial color, the powder, in it and then whipped it up with a fork. That was one of my chores in law school. And it could have been 1950, I guess maybe it was in 1950 that the Margarine Act was passed. And of course that gave all kinds of terrible problems for everybody to try to work out all the labeling and everything else.

Q: So you were tied up pretty much entirely with this Kraft account then?

A: Yes, very much so. I tried a case, which was a drug case, a drug seizure, for a company in New York which was referred to me by a New York firm that I'd met through my work with Kraft. (goes to bookshelves) That case was filed in 1959, so it was really shortly after I'd taken over the Kraft work. And that was my first jury trial as a food and drug lawyer. It was a very interesting case, it was the seizure of Slim Mint Chewing Gum, which was an appetite-reducing chewing gum. And FDA said it was not appetite-reducing chewing gum.

Q: Oh?

A: And so we had a huge battle over it. We tried to settle and couldn't. Finally went to — we had a full jury trial on it and . . .

Q: Well let's see now, you were trying to permit them to continue in the same way.

A: Yes. Yes under the Food and Drug Act one of the remedies that the Food and Drug Administration has is to seize a product that they think is adulterated or misbranded. And

FDA decided the Slim Mint Chewing Gum was adulterated and misbranded so they seized it. The marshall actually comes in and puts a red tag on it and says, "Thou shalt not sell it." And your remedy then is that you're in court, there's a complaint filed in court by the Food and Drug Administration and you go in and file a claim on behalf of the product and actually you represent the product. And you come in as a claimant representing somebody who owns the product and then you take over the defense of the case. And you have a regular full-fledged jury trial, witnesses and evidence and studies and surveys and doctors and you know all kinds of things, it's a full — we had a big battle over it.

Q: How did you make out?

A: The jury found for us, found that the labeling was not false or misleading. The government appealed it to the Seventh Circuit and the then general counsel of the Food and Drug Administration, Billy Goodrich, who is one of the top food and drug lawyers of all time, came out and argued the case personally in the Seventh Circuit against me. And the Seventh Circuit affirmed the jury decision, the lower court's judgment on the jury's decision. So we won it eventually.

Q: How long did it take? Did this go over a year's time?

A: Oh yes. I don't remember the total elapsed time, Horace, but it was at least a year, probably a little more than that. Probably nearer a couple of years by the time we got through with all the studies that went on and everything. All the pleadings and all the evidence, all the exhibits and everything are all bound up in those black volumes over there. So it's four black volumes and it was — I could tell you the exact dates by looking at that but it was probably better than a year.

Q: Now during this time, say the latter half of the 1950's, early 1960's, how much time were you on the go, off to these other state legislatures and agencies and that sort of thing? Were you every other week spending two or three days off some place?

A: Not really that long usually. Most of my trips were a day here and there. Traveling some though, not an awful lot, but you know — I would have to go out to — I remember one — I can tell you one trip I made while Dewey Fagerburg was in the hospital in New York, so it must have been 1957, somewhere along there. I went to Detroit for what's called a milk marketing order hearing. The USDA has the authority to write a milk marketing order which is a means by which they hope to stabilize milk pricing to farmers so that some farmers don't get a windfall profit while others are starving. It's a method of trying to level out and keep peace in the milk community. And I spent a day there, then I went some place up in New York state to talk about some kind of a food and drug problem, I don't remember what that was. Then I went to New York just to see Dewey Fagerburg in the hospital and talk to him a little bit, he was at Sloan-Kettering at the time. Then I flew down to someplace in — I went to Georgia and then I went to Mississippi and met with Doctor Etherig, who was the Mississippi state official, and then I came home. It was a big round-trip.

I remember that one particularly because it was a little unusual for me to do that. Usually I would just — I might even take the Capital Limited to Washington as I did once in a while. But I attended a number of milk order hearings at that time, not just that one in Detroit but I went to milk order hearings in Cedar Rapids and Dubuque and Springfield, Missouri, and Chicago and New York City. And so there was some traveling in connection with those, and those were usually two or three days' hearings.

Q: How did you usually travel at that time? Did you start flying?

A: Yes, sure, usually flew, usually flew. I remember taking the Capital Limited to Washington a few times. But I usually flew.

Q: Was there a corporate aircraft that you could fly yourself by any chance.

A: No no no no. It was all commercial. I stayed in the reserve for a few months when I was in law school, but I don't remember if I told you — I hadn't flown single-engine at all as you know after I got through primary — well basic was my last time I'd been in a single-engine plane. And I was up with a guy with a six [T-6 trainer] one day and he told me to do an Immelman and I did. And of course I'm watching over my shoulder for the horizon and I saw the horizon coming and so I started to roll out. Well it turned out I was headed about forty-five degrees up on my back. And that's when I almost got into an inverted spin and I thought, "Hell, I've got to get out of this. I just don't have time for it." You know, you can't be a pilot unless you're going to fly regularly, and I just couldn't when I was in law school and I've never taken it up since.

Q: You didn't think to encourage the company to get their own aircraft so you could . . .

A: At my level at Swift I would have been fired if I'd even had the thought, let alone suggested it to anybody.

Q: I see. (chuckles)

A: As a matter of fact one of my dear friends at Swift, Harvey Hensil, who worked together with me in food and drug matters for years, when I was — after I left Swift he was doing for Swift what I did for Kraft. So we were together all over, giving speeches on the same subject, like uniformity and things like this. Harvey told me one day many years later, he said, "George, you know, you wouldn't believe the change in Swift since you've left. I don't know how I can tell you except maybe by one thing. Swift now has two jets." And that was his way of expressing to me the total difference in Swift. There were no airplanes when I was there.

Q: Do you recall your first trip to Washington?

A: Yes I do. It was when I was with Swift. And it was right after the margarine law had been passed, so it must have been 1948 or 1949. I was still out at the stockyards so it was before 1951. I took the Capital Limited down. I met with a fellow by the name of Kenneth Kirk, who was one of the enforcement officers at FDA, and I was supposed to review the Swift margarine packages, the new Swift margarine packages, with him, let him take a look at them and see if he had any suggestions or if we were in compliance and so on. And he gave me a terrible time. He really gave me fits. And I didn't find out until several years later that my then-boss out at Swift, a fellow by the name of Wes Blades who was a good friend and a very good friend of Ken Kirk's and quite a joker, had called Ken and said, "Ken, I'm sending down one of our young guys. Put him through his damned paces." (chuckles) And Ken really did. Ken told me that story later, or maybe Wes did, I don't know, they both ended up very good friends of mine.

Q: Well! (chuckles) Were you off to Washington then fairly often?

A: Oh sure, every once in a while for different things, yes. More really with Kraft than with Swift. When I was in the Swift law department I — you know, that was my first three years out of law school. I had a couple of trips. I remember I sat in as representing Swift in the trial of a food poisoning case in El Paso. I didn't try the case. I was just the young man who sat there helping shuffle the papers. And I did the same thing in a case involving the use of pesticides, Swift pesticides, in a case in Lonoke, Arkansas, which is right up near, well kind of near Stuttgart, a little north — near Little Rock, northeast of Little Rock. And I did more of the things like that when I was with Swift, not food and drug things.

Q: Oh.

A: When I was with the Chadwell firm representing Kraft I was doing a lot of miscellaneous putting out of fires and working — more the approvals of labels and things. You know, Kraft does such a conscientious and professional job, you don't have a lot of serious problems. It's mainly brush fires or an oversight on somebody's part or something like that that you can get straightened out just by doing your homework on it. But it involved some travel.

Q: With Swift you went to the processing plants and all that sort of thing. Did you do a lot of that with Kraft to learn what their techniques were or to know what they were doing?

A: Every once in a while. We had a problem at a cheese factory down in Texas one time, Bonham, Texas, and I had to go down to that. I went to the Kraft plant here in Chicago several times, a plant out on Sacramento Boulevard. I was out there several times. I went to another Kraft plant in California a few times. Usually the problems that Kraft had did not necessitate my going to a plant. I would be dealing with somebody in the general office of Kraft, which was here in Chicago of course. And I was over at the general office regularly and people at the Kraft general office were in my office regularly.

Also had some great conventions when I was representing Kraft, particularly the Margarine Association and the Orange Juice Association. And Kraft was nice enough to invite my wife and me to go as their representative to those. And they were at such exotic places as the Boca Raton Club and Nassau and Freeport and Far Horizons which is on Long Boat Key just out from Sarasota and the Del Coronado in San Diego, and — beautiful conventions every year, both the Margarine Association and the National Orange Juice Association, which is now called the National Juice Products Association, had good-thinking convention programmers. (chuckles) They really did pick nice places.

Q: What did you normally do when you went to a convention like that representing the company?

A: Different things of course depending on the particular circumstances. Frequently I'd give a talk on some particular topic. At some of the meetings, particularly the Orange Juice Association meetings, I actually voted for Kraft. I would be the only one at the orange juice meetings quite regularly and I would vote with Kraft. Also both of those products were very problem products in those years. Margarine of course was and since I was a food and drug lawyer we were — you know, we were talking about, "What are we going to do in Iowa?" "What are we going to do in some other state?" "How can we work together with other companies to get legislation changed?" and so on.

Orange juice was a troubled product because a federal standard for orange juice had been proposed. And I had sat through that entire hearing on the orange juice standard with the lawyer who ran the Orange Juice Association who was a super friend of mine, a fellow by the name of David Kerr, a lawyer in Tampa who is a lifelong friend. And the orange juice standard hearing was a big one. The hearing record is 3737 pages. It's a long record, 3737 pages. And then there were state problems on a state model code for orange juice.

You know orange juice looks like kind of a simple product, but it's not, it's very complex, and there's all different kinds of orange juice and there's a standard for each one of them. As a matter of fact one of the young food and drug lawyers in the office came into my office today and said, "I didn't realize there were so many standards, so many different orange juice standards." There must be — oh, I don't know, a dozen different standards of identity for orange juice, different kinds of orange juice.

Q: Where were these particular hearings held that you were in?

A: The standards hearings are all in Washington. The milk order hearings are wherever that particular order is. The milk order is in effect in a small geographic area. There's a Cedar Rapids, Iowa, milk order that covers the two counties around Cedar Rapids. Another one in Dubuque covers those few counties around there. Those hearings would be in those cities. But the standards hearings were all in Washington.

Q: So you spent considerable time there?

A: Sure. Well the hearings like that would last for two or three weeks. There was also a hearing on mozzarella cheese. Regularly people would file petitions for amendments to standards. Then we'd have to consider from Kraft's point of view whether they should be amended and I'd meet with the Kraft people and decide what should be done. And then it would be my job to write it up and submit it.

Q: Well let's see now, there was you and Thompson, I think you said his name was, appointed to you to help get started with Kraft.

A: Yes.

Q: As the years went by did the number of people that were involved with taking care of Kraft increase? or was it still just you and . . .

A: No. In the food and drug work, the food and drug legal work, Merrill and I pretty much did it. Of course not alone because there were a great many people at Kraft who were enormously helpful. Dr. J. B. Stine and I lived together, all over the country we lived together. We went to all of the milk order hearings together. We went to the mozzarella standard hearings together. He didn't have anything to do with orange juice. But Doc Stine and I talked at least once a day, and usually two or three times a day. And Doc Stine claims to this day that he taught me everything I know about food and drug law, and to a large extent he's correct about it. We learned it together and as a matter of fact I subsequently — after Doc retired I tried a case for General Foods in Syracuse, New York, and Doc Stine was my star witness. He came out of retirement and testified for me in that. A super bright guy.

So that while Merrill and I did the legal side of it we had a great many people — marketing people like Ken Hart, who was in charge of the orange juice and mayonnaise and all the noncheese products substantially at Kraft. And Bill Flury who was in charge of marketing of orange juice and a lot of the production people — Gib Myers was Kraft's vice-president in charge of production. And just you know so many marketing and advertising and production and quality control people that — you know, it wasn't like we were hanging out there all alone doing it ourselves. We never did. We were working very closely with those people and they were invaluable adjunct staff. And working closely with them and working on these problems whatever the product was.

Q: Well now you were handling these still for the Chadwell firm I guess.

A: Yes yes.

Q: Now how do you go about supervising someone that is in your firm that is doing something like the Kraft accounts and so on. Did you have to report daily or weekly or . . .

A: I hardly had to report at all to anybody. You see there really wasn't anybody to report to. Irwin Snyder was substantially retired. And Dewey Fagerburg and Marshall Widell had died. And there wasn't anybody around to report to. So I just kind of did it. At Kraft we had a very close personal relationship that was almost in-house counsel. They had no

other lawyer to go to about food and drug so they'd just call me or come in and see me. And together we'd work something out. If they wanted me to go to a hearing or take a trip to go see a state official or go to a convention, I didn't ask anybody at the firm about it. Maybe if it was a little unusual I might say that the Kraft guys have asked me to go to Nassau.

(taping stopped for telephone conversation, then resumed)

Q: Well I guess part of the question would be — I noticed in 1954 it was Snyder, Chadwell and Fagerburg.

A: Right.

Q: By 1960 it had become Chadwell, Keck, Kazer, Ruggles and McLaren, but no Burditt.

A: No.

Q: You were still working for the firm rather than as a part of the firm. Was that a matter of choice?

A: Oh yes. I had a wonderful relationship with everybody in that firm. It was just a super place to work. They made me a partner in 1957. In other words I was there three years when I — in 1956 or 1957, somewhere along there. And you know I was a full-fledged partner with my share of the profits like everybody else. Mr. Snyder having retired and Mr. Fagerburg having died and Mr. Chadwell being by this time one of the leading lawyers of Chicago it was perfectly logical that he would be the senior partner, be first in the firm name. Dick Keck was just a couple of years younger than he was and Dick Kazer was a couple of years younger than he was. And Rudy Ruggles was that same age. And Dick McLaren was the number two antitrust lawyer in the firm. Dick was maybe . . . oh, four or five years older than I was, something like that, subsequently became chief of the antitrust division of the Department of Justice in Washington and after that was a federal judge here in Chicago, died several years ago of a strange exotic very rare malady. Just a super guy. But I was just one of the junior partners in the firm. You know there wasn't ever any issue about my being in the firm name, it wasn't my turn to be in the firm name. I wasn't up there yet.

Q: You were in charge of Kraft. You've indicated a couple of other companies that became involved then. Were there any other food and drug laws that would be taken care of by someone else in the firm?

A: No. Merrill and I did all of the food and drug work and you know — I'm ten years older than Merrill, so I was really the food and drug lawyer and Merrill was working with me on it. And I was the only one, there weren't any other food and drug lawyers. As a matter of fact they didn't know anything about food and drug lawyers. I'll never forget I went to lunch at the Midday Club one day and a bunch of the older partners were sitting there. And they all knew a fellow by the name of Howard Holmes, who was president of a small company, and I walked in and I said, "Howard Holmes had a seizure this morning," you know, meaning a food and drug seizure. That was perfectly obvious what that — and everybody was so upset because he was such a super guy, a real nice guy. "Oh tell us about what happened to him, what happened?" I didn't know what they were talking about, it took me about five minutes to — before we got — I said, "Wait a minute. No I'm talking about a food and drug seizure." "Oh that — what's that?" you know. (chuckles) So they didn't know anything about food and drug law.

Q: They thought he was dying.

A: Yes. (chuckles)

Q: Well. Let's see now, how long did you stay with that firm?

A: Fifteen years. I was there until 1969, from 1954 to 1969.

Q: Why did you leave the firm then in 1969?

A: Oh, good question, Horace. I just wanted to do my own thing. I really — I had a great relationship with everybody and — I just decided I wanted to have my own firm. There was no single precipitating cause, I wasn't mad at anybody, I left under the closest of relationships and under the closest of terms with everybody. As a matter of fact we came within an ace last year of remerging with the Chadwell firm. We would have remerged but for an irreconcilable conflict. I had to be a witness for a client of ours in a case on a food and drug matter. I was not handling the case, it wasn't my case. Their general counsel was handling the case. But I was a witness for them because the matter involved food and drug. And the defendent in the case was one of Chadwell's biggest clients. And there was no way I as a . . . could be a partner in the firm, testifying. I owed it to my client to testify in that case.

Q: When you decided to separate, did you take the Kraft account with you?

A: No, no, I didn't and I was as scrupulously careful as possible not to take any clients. I didn't tell anybody I was going, any clients. I didn't do it to try to take clients and I really tried to avoid it. That's why I've got a good relationship with them. Furthermore I couldn't have taken Kraft anyway. All I did was the Kraft food and drug work. There was a lot of other Kraft work, all the real estate work, all the labor work, all of the antitrust work, all the corporate work, so there was no way I could have done it.

As a matter of fact about five years after I left I ran into the then-president of Kraft at a reception of some kind. This was right after there had been a Supreme Court case in which the president of one of the major companies had been found guilty of a criminal violation under the food and drug act for something that was totally inconsequential, but nevertheless they had a criminal prosecution. And the president of Kraft told me, "George, I can't tell you how much better I sleep at night because you're handling my food and drug work." And I said, "Bud, don't sleep tonight."

Q: Well! (chuckles)

A: He didn't even know it. Since then I do things with the Chadwell firm and I — as a matter of fact I have done a couple of things for Kraft where they needed me instead of — Merrill Thompson has been doing their work. And Merrill and I are very good friends. He still does their outside work. Although now Kraft has set up its own law department and they must have twenty lawyers in their own in-house law department, including at least two or three who are qualified in food and drug law.

Q: But then you continued to specialize in the the food and drug . . .

A: Yes. While I was at the Chadwell firm I had also done the outside food and drug for Pabst. And for miscellaneous other clients of the firm. Abbott, I had done some work for Abbott.

Q: Was that Abbott Labs?

A: Abbott Laboratories yes. Very little, Chadwell had represented Abbott Laboratories in other matters. And as luck would have it, right after I left the Chadwell firm both Abbott and Pabst had fairly major food and drug problems. The Pabst problem was one which I could handle. They called me and asked me to handle it and I did it for them and they

were happy with it, and so Pabst has been to this day a client of mine and a very good client.

Abbott had a criminal prosecution going about that time. They were defendants in a criminal prosecution brought by the Food and Drug Administration. And they hired me just to file the papers. Now you know the case was being handled by Covington and Burling, one of the finest firms in the country, in Washington. And I was just filing the papers. Covington and Burling would do the papers and send them to me and I'd just sign them and file them. And the partner at the Covington firm who was handling the case was appointed to federal court in Washington and Abbott asked me at that time if I would take over the case and handle the case for them, try the case for them.

So I had right after — just through the stroke of fortune, the Lord works in mysterious ways — I ended up with two very important matters. And that kind of started things out and I just had a — you know, it's been great ever since.

Q: Well! Let's see now, when you were working with the Chadwell firm it was here in this building I understand and so you just rented some space nearby and moved over and went to work then.

A: Yes. I was in the legislature at the time, and I didn't want to go through a legislative session when I would be gone a lot and leave at the end of the legislative session. I didn't think that would be fair to the Chadwell guys. So I left on January 1st, 1969, which was when the legislature went into session.

But they had an empty office, it was contiguous but it was behind the library and it was kind of isolated, it was separate from the main office, and they rented it to me. And my secretary came with me. And my political secretary came in when she needed to, in that office, there was room for her too. So from then until the legislature adjourned on June 30th I was in that office. But I was paying my secretary, I was paying rent to the Chadwell firm for the office and everything.

Then on the first of July Dick Caulkins, who was also a partner at Chadwell, joined me. And we couldn't get any space in this building so we moved over to the Inland Steel Building. And we did that for a while. A couple of other lawyers came in with us and Dick Wiley who had been a partner at Chadwell also came with us shortly after that.

Q: Oh?

A: And Jim Fletcher was the first one on our letterhead that — Jim was — you may know Jim. He was . . .

Q: Jim Fletcher that failed to make it for the regional superintendent of schools?

A: No, no, different Jim Fletcher. This Jim Fletcher was Jim Thompson's campaign manager. He was a partner in our firm here when he was Jim Thompson's campaign manager. When Jim won, Jim asked him to join him as chief of staff and right arm. And Jim Fletcher's office was in the office right next to the governor in Springfield. And he did that for two or three years. And then when he came back he joined Winston and Strawn. But Fletch was one of our first ones. And Les Jones, did you ever happen to run across Les Jones who worked for George Lindberg downstate?

Q: No.

A: Super guy. Les had been general counsel to the telephone company here before he retired and he was my seatmate in the legislature. A great guy.

Q: Well let's see, let's talk a little bit about the legislature now. Why did you decide to run for the legislature?

A: In 1964 the legislature failed to reapportion the districts. The procedure under the Constitution for developing new lines broke down, and the Constitution provided that under those circumstances the legislature would be elected at-large, all on one ballot. The legislature was successful in agreeing to authorize each party to nominate 118 candidates. So there were 236 names on the ballot. It was one great long orange ballot, it must have been three or four feet long, 118 Democrats on one side, 118 Republicans on the other. And of those, 177, which is . . . two-thirds of 236, would be elected, the top 177.

The Republicans put together a committee under the chairmanship of Bill Renschler, who had been one of the candidates for the senate that I mentioned a little while ago and who was a very fine dedicated guy, and some other outstanding Republican leaders — were asked to nominate a blue-ribbon ticket, to pick people from the outside who were not party people necessarily but who were leaders. And they did a very good job. They picked people — George Schisler who had been president of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago and Marge Pebworth who had been president of the Illinois League of Women Voters and several corporate presidents like Bill Blaser and Jack Knuepfer and a number of — oh, a black doctor, Paul Boswell, Clint Youle, and Earl Eisenhower, neither of whom had done very much in politics but whose names were very well known and who were both fine people.

And Bill Renschler called me one day and said, "We would like to nominate you, but I've got two instructions from the Republicans. One is that I have to get the approval of the committeeman of the district where the nominee lives. And the other one is that the nominee has to agree not to run again in the next session so he won't be running against an incumbent. And," he said, "your committeeman, Terrell Clarke, has blackballed you. He won't approve you." So I said, "I can understand why, but let me talk to him." Tec was still the committeeman.

Let's see, this was in 1964 so you know our disagreement with Tec was long over and I don't remember what my role was in the Republican party but I had been active in a lot of different civic things in the interim including, you know, precinct captain and probably area captain, whatever.

So I went to see Tec. And he said, "Well I'll let you know." So I said, "Fine." And it got down to the last day when Bill had to turn his report in, and Tec hadn't called me. Bill called me and said, "What's the story?" I said, "Bill I'm sorry, I don't know. I'm going out of town tonight. I'll stop and see Tec on my way to the airport." So I drove over to Tec's house and stopped to see him. And he told me he would take off the veto. And he did take it off. So the Renschler committee was free to nominate me. And so that's how I got on the orange ballot. That's how I got in the legislature.

Q: Were you involved in any way at all with the selection of people for the ballot?

A: No not in any way. I was one of the selectees. I don't remember if Bill Renschler even talked to me about who the candidates would be. I don't remember who was on the committee besides Bill but it was people who knew their way around obviously and they picked some fine downstaters too who were on that orange ballot with us. Do you want me to talk about the orange ballot campaign a little bit, Horace?

Q: Well in a minute. I have a couple of questions. One, now Percy was running at that time for governor, were you involved in any way at all with his campaign for governor?

A: Yes I knew Percy pretty well from other campaigns so I was really kind of the liaison between this group and Percy.

Q: Oh?

A: Both before and after the election. He was taking a big stand on things like open housing which were not quite the same as the Republicans in the house. Clint Youle and I came up to meet with him one time and try to get some kind of peace in the family.

Q: Did you talk with such people as Charles Clabaugh who was working with him at at that time?

A: Yes yes, interesting story. You know Charlie Clabaugh was one of the leading legislators that this state has ever had, terrific human being. The orange ballot election — the Republicans lost — the first 118 names were all Democrats in the total balloting. That was the Goldwater year so it wasn't a very happy year for Republicans. So 118 Democrats were elected and the top fifty-nine Republicans were elected. The Republican who got the most votes was Earl Eisenhower, purely because of the name. The Republican who got the second most votes was Charlie Clabaugh. Third was Clint Youle, you know, who had been the weatherman. He was the first weatherman on television in Chicago and a real nice guy. He's one of the guys I mentioned I got on the board of Shimer College. And Clint has been put in a number of things like that. But he'd had zero experience in politics. He didn't even know the cast of characters.

And I'd been kind of the leader of this blue-ribbon ticket of which Clint was a member, but Clint had apparently never run across Charlie Clabaugh. And the day after the election when Clint ran third, expecting to run first or second, Clint called me up and said, "Who in the hell is Charlie Clabaugh?" I said, "Clint, for God's sake, don't ever say that again. Don't ask that question." (laughter) Clint ended up serving in the legislature and doing a fine job, being a very effective legislator, did a good job. But you know, like a lot of people, it was his first shot, he didn't know who Charlie Clabaugh was.

Q: I'm trying to think. Let's see now, Eisenhower ran first on the Republican ticket and . . .

A: Adlai Stevenson ran first on the . . .

Q: He came in first on the other.

A: Yes.

Q: And let's see what was the remark that . . . "One couldn't talk and the other one couldn't think."

A: Yes. (laughter) That's right. I'd forgotten that too, Horace.

Q: That was the comment that was going around the Statehouse I guess at one point.

A: Yes. (chuckles)

Q: So I guess Mr. Eisenhower wasn't the most, the greatest . . .

A: He lives in La Grange incidentally.

Q: Oh he does?

A: And Earl and I used to ride down to Springfield together quite a lot. Earl and Larry Pusateri who was another one of the blue-ribbon candidates and ended up as president of the Illinois State Bar Association, and — oh, every once in a while Bill Walsh or somebody

like that would ride down with us. It was quite an experience, I've got to tell you it was really quite an experience.

Q: Well let's see, what about the campaign now? How did you go about getting yourself elected once you got on the ballot?

A: Well the first thing we had to do was get a campaign committee put together. And Al Hachmeister ended up as kind of the unofficial chairman of that campaign — no I guess he was the official chairman of the committee. We . . . hired an outside ad agency to try to sell the ticket. And of course the emphasis on the blue-ribbon candidates and on the fact that the Republicans had sought to get people who could be leaders in government. And it was a lot to talk about because there were some fine people on that committee, with business experience, civic experience, all kinds of — political experience. And pretty well dispersed geographically. We had pamphlets, we had brochures, we all gave speeches, we raised money. It was very much a team effort by the 118 Republicans. We called ourselves the 118 Responsibles. (chuckles) I've still got a great big file of that campaign literature.

But it was a very interesting campaign. I ended up with the job of being responsible for the count of the election in Cook County which meant that I had to get one person to carry the ballot boxes from the precinct polling place to a counting station for each precinct in Cook County which was five thousand, so I needed five thousand carriers. And then I had to get people to count the ballots at the counting station. And an overseer of the counting station, called an overseer, whose job was to be in charge for the Republicans. Each party had the same duplicate system, so we had equal numbers. So my job was to recruit and train and assign about six thousand workers to count that ballot in Cook County.

See, the ballots were all voted in the polling places but then they were carried to another counting station because it was such an enormous job, imagine counting 177 out of 236 names on a million ballots. God, it was an impossible job. All by hand, there were no machines.

So anyway that was a very interesting job and I spent most of the campaign just recruiting. I would go around and give speeches to anybody who would listen to me and I would have a sheet, "Please sign up to do one of these three jobs." To carry the ballots, to count them, or to be a supervisor or an overseer. And most of the overseers were people who were candidates like Bill Blaser and people who were on the ballot were my overseers at the counting — there were about ten counting stations in Cook County.

But you know I recruited everybody and his brother to — all my doctor friends — you know, I went and gave speeches at hospitals. I said, "You guys have a guilty conscience because you're too busy to be active in politics. And maybe you're not interested, but you know you ought to be. And you know a lot of you have told me you have guilty consciences. I've got a job for you. All you have to do is be at a counting station — be at a precinct place — your own if you want to be — at five o'clock when it closes and you have to pick up these two or three big boxes and carry them, with your Democratic counterpart, to a counting station, which will be the armory on Chicago Avenue or some high school somewhere, someplace with a great big area," they needed huge areas. "And," I said, "how long will it take you to do that. It can't take you very long, you know, an hour or a couple of hours."

And along about three o'clock in the morning that first night I started getting calls. "George, this is Doctor so-and-so. I'm sitting on the fourth step between the third and fourth floors of the armory. I'm moving up one step every ten minutes and I have four more floors to go before I receive . . ." (chuckles) Well, it was a disaster, Horace, I'll tell you. For a week — it took a week to count the ballots. We ended up in litigation with the Democrats. I was in court arguing with the Democrats and the judge was one of the most innermost members of the Democratic party. And it was a total shootout from beginning to end. I'd get a call from an overseer saying, "They're bringing ballot boxes in through the washroom window. What do I do about it?"

Q: Well!

A: Or, "There's a deputy sheriff walking around here with a gun. What do I do about him?" It was like that for a week. And I sat in the headquarters. I didn't do any work at all for a week. As a matter of fact for two nights, at least two nights, I didn't go to bed. It was an absolute bedlam. And you know, my overseers that I'd promised, you know, one day away from the office, four days later they hadn't been home you know because they — or if they'd finally get somebody you know to take over. I'll never forget there was a fellow, a friend of mine from Western Springs. His name was Bill Stigelmeier. I'd given Bill one of the bad counting stations, as overseer. He was the head guy. He wasn't a candidate, just a volunteer. And Bill called me the end of the first day and he said, "George, this is going to go a long — and it's going to be tough." And I said, "Okay, Bill, we've got to get you a deputy who can come in and take over for you so that you can get home." And he said, "I've already taken care of it. My son-in-law is here. He's here now. And I'm going home for a couple of hours but I'll be back at five o'clock this morning." It's now three or whatever. And Bill and his son-in-law ran that counting station between them and they — well they had — and they were both of them there most of the time. Neither one of them could have slept very much.

This was on Tuesday of course that we started, and along about Saturday one of the counting stations out on the southside finished. One of the suburban ones. Bill had a city one. And they finished out there. And my overseer said, "Okay, we're here and I've got four trained overseers now, me and three others. We can come in and give you a hand." So I called Stigelmeier and said, "Bill, relief is on the way. I've got two or three fellows who have been handling stations. They're overseers, they'll come in and help you." He said, "Well, George, we've got things pretty well under control here. Send them in and I'll take a look at them and if it looks like they're competent to handle my counting station I'll maybe let them have it for a few hours," you know. They were fiercely possessive of their — fantastic episode!

Q: I'll be darned.

SESSION 7, TAPE 14, SIDE 2

Q: One thing I should have asked in regard to your decision to run — I presume that you consulted with the law firm to see what they thought.

A: Yes. Sure.

Q: What did they think of it?

A: They thought it was fine. They weren't all for it but they tolerated it really. John Chadwell was 100 percent lawyer. And you know people going on the schoolboard or the PTA or doing things like that were kind of diversions that he had to put up with in life. (chuckles) I mean that was John's general approach to it. You know he didn't think it was a great benefit to the firm for me to run. And it wasn't any great benefit to the firm for me to run. So they were very courteous about it. They reduced my salary, my draw by . . . my recollection is five thousand dollars and I drew six out of the legislature. My salary my first year was six thousand dollars, and I think they cut my percentage by five thousand.

Q: So you wouldn't be double-dipping in any way.

A: Yes. And I'm very pleased that my last — I guess my second term at the Chadwell, second term when I was there, I still averaged, for the two years of the legislative term, I averaged 180 chargeable hours a month, which is pretty good. I wish any of our associates

around here averaged 180 hours a month. That was while I was working full-time, you know, doing a full-time job in the legislature. It's not a full-time job but I was doing my legislative duties. So you can do it. You work awfully hard though I'll tell you. (chuckles)

Q: During the election itself now you say you were at the headquarters. When did you realize that you were actually going to be elected in the . . .

A: Not till the vote was in, not till the week afterward. You can't run a poll on 236 candidates so nobody knew. Most of the blue-ribbon people were elected. Not all, but most of them were, the reason was the newspapers all endorsed us, all over the state pretty much. Fifty-nine Republicans had to be elected and, gosh, I'll bet there were twenty or twenty-five of the fifty-nine who were on the blue-ribbon ticket — in other words were not long-time incumbent legislators.

Q: How did you feel about being elected? Were you elated with it?

A: Oh yes sure, oh yes. I was tickled to death. I thought it was great.

Q: What about your family? Were they all for your going into this?

A: Oh Barbara was more for it — let's — Barbara's enthusiasm for my serving in the legislature reached a peak the day I was nominated for the legislature and it went steadily downhill until the day I left the legislature.

Q: I see.

A: And you know that kind of a feeling by spouses is why people don't stay. You know it's really kind of sad. Of the blue-ribbon ticket, really competent people, about half of them served one term. And then either because they had a commitment not to serve more than one term or because they didn't want to serve more than one term, they left. Of the remaining 50 percent about half served another term. And it kind of declined that way and by the time I left, after — I was there four terms — and by the time I left I was darned near the only blue-ribbon ticket member left. There might have been one or two others, but I can't remember any right off the top of my head. Which really is kind of sad.

SESSION 8, TAPE 15, SIDE 1

Q: Sir we were talking yesterday about the blue-ribbon slate for the at-large election of 1964.

A: Yes.

Q: And you mentioned a couple like Clint Youle and Doctor Boswell that were great people once they were elected on that slate. Were there others that were involved with that?

A: Oh yes there were a lot because most of the blue-ribbon slate had not been very active in politics before, at least in governmental side of it. One of the classic examples is Hope McCormick. Mrs. McCormick had been one of the leading fundraisers and behind-the-scenes Republicans for years. Her husband was Brooks McCormick of International Harvester — and Hopie — she had done a great deal for the Republican party and for government, just in her own right. And she was one of the candidates, sat right behind me that term she served and really made a significant contribution at all our party caucuses and sponsoring legislation and everything else.

Q: Didn't she run for the senate then later — that is the U. S. Senate at a later time?

A: I didn't remember that she did.

Q: It seems to me that there was a kind of a mixup. She ran for it, did not succeed and the Democratic party did something to cause her to fail.

A: I know she never got the Republican nomination for the Senate.

Q: That might have been it.

A: Whether she'd run in the primary — gee, that's terrible but I don't remember whether Hopie did or not. I didn't remember that she did.

Q: She sat right behind you then?

A: Yes. And . . . I think maybe Hope — I don't remember whether Hope served one or two terms, but she was, you know, one of the very effective nonpolitical people really who were down there in that session, 1965-66.

Q: Let's see, now after you had finished the counting which took a week or so and gave a sigh of relief, what did you do? How did you go about preparing to be a legislator?

A: Well of course by that time my partners at the Chadwell firm and my wife and family were getting used to the idea. I tried to make arrangements with my office. The main problem was how I could take time out from the office. Actually in 1965 it wasn't a great deal of a problem because during January and February we were only meeting a day or two a week. So I'd be only gone from the office a day or two a week. I've got to say that, like all legislators who had full-time jobs elsewhere, I worked particularly hard. We all had to keep the jobs going where our livelihood was. Our salary was only six thousand dollars a year, so it wasn't like it was a major income thing, or the income was inconsequential really under those circumstances.

During even March and April we were only meeting a couple of days a week. And by the time we got into May we might have been meeting three days a week. And it wasn't until, as I recall, the last couple of weeks of June, maybe the whole month of June, we were in session for five days. And I would go to the office on Saturdays when I was home, every Saturday, to get caught up on things. And when you're in Springfield you can also make phone calls and I always had my little tape recorder that you've seen me use with me even in those days.

Q: Oh even at that time?

A: Oh yes. I've used that since before I went to the legislature. So I could do a lot of dictating down there and I was in regular telephone contact with my secretary and . . .

Q: Well I was thinking in terms of, "Okay, now I'm elected and 1 January I'm going down to Springfield. What should I know before I go down there? What am I going to have to look up or review or study?"

A: Well in terms of the legislature, our first job was to decide who was going to be the Republican candidate for Speaker. We knew he would not be Speaker because the Democrats had a two to one majority, but he would be the Republican leader. There were two main candidates. (pause) Actually there were three candidates that year. Al Hachmeister, Albert W. Hachmeister, Bill Pollack . . . and I believe Ralph Smith was the third one. There was a third candidate who didn't get enough votes really to figure in what was going to happen. But Bill Pollack and Al Hachmeister both had fairly strong sources of support.

I knew Al Hachmeister very well. He was from the Forty-fourth Ward in Chicago, we had been in the Young Republicans, I had known him for some time, had a great deal of respect for him. And I kind of ended up as his unofficial campaign manager. And since I had had a lot more political experience than almost any of the others on the blue-ribbon ticket, you know, even if it was only things like chairman of the Cook County Young Republicans, at least I knew the cast of characters and partly because I'm a lawyer and I'd been interested in government, I knew maybe a little more about the legislative system than some of the others. And I knew people like Charlie Clabaugh. Because of that I tried to line up support among the blue-ribbon candidates who were a significant force out of twenty-nine. It must have been about a third of the fifty-nine Republicans were on the blue-ribbon ticket so we had a party out at our house one time and Hack came out and talked to us and we finally got together enough votes so that Al Hachmeister was elected as the minority leader.

John Parkhurst was also a very effective force at that time. Parkie was a long-time state representative from Peoria. I think maybe Parkie might have been a candidate, he might have been the third candidate. But Parkie threw his support to Hack very early in the game.

Q: I believe there were a couple of others. John Lewis was still in the picture at that time was he not, he didn't — he'd already had his . . .

A: Yes. Yes he was, yes. John was — John was Speaker . . . but I guess not then. Would John have been Speaker just before that?

Q: Yes.

A: Yes.

Q: Yes the previous session I believe John Lewis was the Speaker.

A: I remember seeing John in the chair. And John used to take over the chair every once in a while. When the Speaker wasn't there he would invite one of the other representatives to sit in for him. And I remember seeing John in the chair, not often, but I think maybe I only remember that after the next year when Jack Touhy was the Speaker.

Q: So you went prior to the caucus itself, I guess the day before the first session down there.

A: Right.

Q: You went around gathering the strength for that . . .

A: For Al Hachmeister, right, right.

Q: Was there any problem in the caucus? Did they . . .

A: Well by the time we got around to the caucus it was pretty clear that we had enough votes. And I don't remember what it did finally go to — but I think it probably did. But Hack won it rather handily. It wasn't a rout because Bill Pollack was a very effective legislator, had a lot of friends.

Q: What about your relationship with Pollack then? I understand he was quite a forceful character. Did he take any offense at the fact that you were supporting Hachmeister?

A: Never obviously. You know, we talked to him. I had known him before. He was a — been very active in the Republican organization in Chicago. I had known him when I was chairman of the Young Republicans and I'd never felt any particular animosity from him

or toward him of any kind, so. . . . It was a pretty — you know, when you've only got fifty-nine out of 177, you've kind of got to work together. You can't afford to split up too much. (chuckles)

Q: Yes sir. In that regard during that first session when you were so much in the minority did you hold frequent caucuses? Was that necessary to determine lines of action that you were going to take on things?

A: We did. We had a number of caucuses. Some of the legislators were very effective and — Carl Klein, who subsequently went to Washington as something like assistant secretary of interior, was a lawyer in Chicago, was a very effective legislator, did a lot of fine things. As a matter of fact just in the last couple of days Carl ended up in charge of keeping track of and organizing all the conference committees between the house and senate, trying to work out the differences. And the Republican house members on those committees did a — you know, he was a very well-organized guy.

Q: Well let's see now, you must have gone down the day before the session opened for the purposes of the caucus I guess that evening. Do you recall where it was held?

A: (pause) No I guess I don't.

(taping stopped for telephone conversation, then resumed)

Q: Alright sir do you recall where that caucus was held?

A: It was in one of the hotels, probably the Leland. The Leland Hotel was kind of the Republican headquarters. We stayed at the Leland. There were six of us who got a big suite together. Al Hachmeister had a room all alone down at the end of the suite and then Bill Blaser and I shared a room. And Gene Schlickman and George Schisler shared a room.

And Jack Knuepfer happened in that day and he was so utterly frustrated — I never saw a more frustrated man. Jack is the president of a company, very efficient, very competent guy, and he had driven down and he wanted to get his car washed. So he took it out looking for a carwash. And he found a gas station that had a bunch of cars lined up, and it had a sign, "Carwash." He got in the line and it took forever and he finally got up to the place and he said, "I'd like to have my car washed." And the fellow said, "We don't wash cars." He said, "Well you've got a sign up." And he said, "I know but we don't wash cars," which you know wasted fifteen or twenty minutes of his time. He went around and he finally found a regular carwash, got in the line and waited in the line as you always do at a carwash and finally got up, they took his car, hooked it up, and he got right in the middle of the carwash and the machine shut down. And all of the guys who were working there started to walk away. He said, "Wait a minute, where are you going?" They said, "It's lunch hour." And he said, "Well my car's in there." And they said, "We'll be back in a half an hour. Don't worry about it, everything will be fine." He had to wait a half an hour till these guys came back from lunch to finish his car.

He came into our room and I never saw a more frustrated man, and so we said, "Come and stay with us." There was another bed. So he came in, he had another room in there. So the six of us roomed together and we had just a great time for the whole time we were down there.

Q: And this was in the Leland?

A: It was in the Leland yes. And I'm sure we had most of our caucuses there. We'd get a meeting room and we'd all sit around in there. You don't need a big room for fifty-nine people. The Democrats needed bigger rooms for their 118.

Q: With no real reason to caucus I guess.

A: Well yes we did. We caucused on party positions as much as we could. We also had a group of relatively independent Republicans, mostly the blue-ribbon people. Bill Blaser and Jack Knuepfer and Hopie McCormick and Marge Pebworth, who was the president of the League of Women Voters, who died during that session I'm very sad to say. And there were maybe a dozen or fifteen of us who met fairly often with a group of fairly independent Democrats: Adlai Stevenson, Harold Katz . . . Tony Scariano, people like that, who were relative independents. And, except on party issues, we got a few things done surprisingly by putting these groups together.

Q: Now there was what was known as the Economy Bloc. It had Scariano, Mann, Parkhurst on the other side of the fence, a group of that nature who worked together to study issues and that sort of thing. Were you associated with that?

A: That was the same group. That's who I'm talking about. They were called the Economy Bloc but it went a lot beyond economy. You know from my own personal point of view my dear friends Harold Katz and Bob Mann can hardly be counted part of any economy bloc.

Q: Oh?

A: Those guys are fairly big spenders. You know they're, by the nature of their personal interests, they're supporting programs which cost a lot of money. And they were really not — in many ways they were not economy minded. In some ways they were, you know in cutting out the frills of government in economy, in that sense 100 percent.

Q: But they were generally independent.

A: Yes.

Q: What kind of factions developed during that first year? Was there a group in addition to this sort of bloc that we've mentioned that you belonged to or worked with?

A: Well of course the blue-ribbon people kind of tended to stick together. In the legislature you always end up with suburban people having common interests, whether they're interests involving the township collectors or things like that. And frequently the Republicans and the Democrats from the suburban area would stick together on issues like that. There were some issues where Cook County would stick together against all of downstate, or downstate against Chicago, crossing party lines. There were frequently things like that. And sometimes across party lines Chicago was sticking together against other parts of the state.

Q: So there was a noticeable downstate kind of bloc also on some issues?

A: There still is, Horace. That's inherent in the legislative system in a state like Chicago — like Illinois I mean.

Q: Yes. I was going to say — that shows which part you're from! (laughter)

A: Well you know being from the suburbs, and I think this is generally true for those of us from the suburbs, we felt a little more closely affiliated with people downstate than we did from Chicago. You know, here I lived in Western Springs and three miles west of me were representatives from Du Page County. You know I couldn't very well argue with them. We had very much the same ideological approach to things and governmental approach. So we were I think ideologically really pretty close to those people.

Q: Did your family go down with you for that opening day, that first day?

A: Barbara — I don't remember if the kids went down. I wouldn't be surprised if they did. Barbara was down periodically with me for various and sundry meetings or things that were going on down there and I would be pretty sure that Barbara went down that first session but golly, what are we talking? about eighteen years ago, and I don't really remember. She was down regularly though and was a great support for everything I did in the legislature.

Q: With waning type of interest in it though as you said?

A: Yes yes yes. Always cooperative and supportive but always increasingly wishing I would get out of there, every wife was the same way. That's why the blue-ribbon people lasted somewhere between one and four terms. Any legislative assignment like that, not just in Illinois, anywhere, is very tough on family relationships because you're gone two or three days a week. And you know anytime you go on down there there's a lot of parties and a lot of — I don't mean that people are alcoholics but you're out drinking with public interest groups. You know, it isn't the best kind of a situation for family relationships. You can't raise kids in La Grange when you're in Springfield.

Q: What do you recall about that first day? How did you go about getting a seat on the floor there?

A: We chose. My recollection is by lot. Hack had an aisle seat, of course, since he was the minority leader. And he saved the seat next to him for me. So I sat next to him. And Les Jones, who was another one of the blue-ribbon candidates and one of the finest ones we had, a former general counsel to the Illinois Bell Telephone Company, very bright guy, went to Harvard Law School and just a super guy, sat on my other side. So I was between our leader and one of the brightest guys in the legislature. Parkie who was the assistant minority leader sat right in front of Hack. And one of Parky's very close friends sat right directly in front of me so we had five of us right there together who were all closely associated with things.

Q: So you had a very close source of information in case you needed some comment on what was going on then?

A: And I did too. You know, you don't know anything that's going on at the outset. One of the best things that happened down there, Noble Lee was then a state representative and had been for some time. Noble was the dean of John Marshall Law School. And Noble for years had put on a course for first-term legislators, totally volunteer, all on his own. And he told us the full word on structure of government, committee structure, the executive department structure, everything else. Really it was a most valuable thing for first-termers. And as a matter of fact, I was very flattered a couple of terms later, when Noble retired he asked me if I would take over and teach that course, which I did for, I think, just one term. And then the Legislative Reference Bureau I believe it was took over and at least when I left the legislature the Reference Bureau was doing that as part of — they were offering that to all legislators but of course it was designed primarily for first-termers. But Noble Lee is the guy who did it, he's the one who started it.

Q: It was the Legislative Council.

A: Was it the Legislative Council? It was the Legislative Council, yes it was yes, thank you.

Q: That course, could you describe how it operated? Did it meet once a week or several nights a week?

A: It met once a week because we were only there usually one night a week. It was set up very much like a seminar would be. Noble would get up and he would frequently have

with him the head of one of the code departments, the director of transportation or whoever might be there with him, and would tell a little about his department. We might spend a whole evening talking about code departments. And we would just simply have a list of them, and Noble would have, like any good teacher would have, a handout or a table of organization of the executive department of government. We'd spend another session on simply the legislative procedures of introduction, consideration and passage of bills, with examples of everything all the way along the line. It was a great civics course, a very practical civics course telling us exactly what was going to happen to us for the next six months.

Q: Now let's see, now he came from Marshall Law School was it?

A: Yes sir. He was dean of John Marshall.

Q: John Marshall Law School. Now in 1965 when you went down there, at that time you didn't have an office space allotted for you did you?

A: We had nothing. We didn't have a telephone, we didn't have a secretary. I had a desk on the floor of the house, period. That was all there was.

Q: How did you go about organizing that desk? I understand you had a couple of file drawers in it and a desk top?

A: It was a typical little legislative desk. The legislature then had 177 members and it was a little bit crowded on the floor. You just did the best job you could and what you couldn't put in your desk, keep in your desk there, you'd take back to your hotel room. We kept the hotel room on a regular basis. We were there all of the time so we always had the same room and we could leave things there. We had a living room in the middle of our suite with a refrigerator in it so we could keep beer and cheese in there. And we had a lot of meetings in there. We'd sit in there at night and talk about what was going on and discuss issues and draft bills and things like that so it was a very convenient living setup. But boy, the facilities in the house, they were just — well they were zero.

Q: Did you have a good luck charm of any sort on your desk?

A: (chuckles) I don't remember that I did. You didn't have room for anything except the Bill Book.

Q: Let's see now, you had a Bill Book which the pages evidently kept up for you and that was the Legislative Reference Bureau that I believe supported that.

A: Right, yes sir.

Q: And what else did you have on that? Digest and Synopsis or copies . . .

A: Yes we had a weekly Digest. I kept in my drawer a separate file on each bill in which I was particularly interested. My first term that didn't amount to much of anything. That got increasingly important throughout my four terms down there. My fourth term I think I was chief sponsor of something like sixty bills. And if you're chief sponsor of sixty bills, you know, you've got the primary responsibility for them. You have to appear at at least one committee meeting in each house and usually two because sometimes it has to go through the Appropriations Committee as well as the substantive law committee, the Higher Education Committee or whatever it happened to be. So I just had a file drawer in my desk with each file by bill number. My first term that wasn't much of a problem, there was really very little for us to do that first term.

Q: Did you have to worry much about the security of information that you had in a file like that?

A: I didn't really have any confidential information. If I did have, I didn't worry about it. I just put it in the file and closed up my drawer. I don't remember if I even locked my desk. I may have but I didn't tend to have things that I didn't want other people to see you know. And there wouldn't be much snooping around anyway.

Q: Now let's see, in 1965 you still had the telephone pool sort of thing outside. You didn't have a telephone at your desk.

A: No we had nothing. Yes. As long as I was there we didn't have telephones at our desks.

Q: This meant you had a Republican switchboard as I understand it, and a Democratic switchboard.

A: That's right.

Q: And they would come and . . .

A: They would come and get us, that's right, yes.

Q: Which was a bit unhandy I guess.

A: It really was because, you know, you couldn't very well take calls and you couldn't make them except by leaving the floor of the house. It's much more convenient now. And I don't believe having a telephone there with a very soft ring as they have is going to increase the din on the floor. You could have everybody talking at once and it wouldn't be any louder than it was when I was down there.

Q: What about the secretarial pool? Did you have a technique for making sure a secretary was available when you needed her?

A: During the first term I really didn't need a secretary too much. I did some but I had my own personal political secretary, a lady who had volunteered. All through — I met her during the orange ballot campaign. Her name was Pat Olsen and Pat and her mother, Gwenn Angel, were absolutely essential to my political life. They were both just wonderful people. During the orange ballot campaign there's no conceivable way I could have done that job of recruiting and training and assigning five or six thousand people without Gwenn Angel and Pat Olsen. They were just superb. And Pat stayed on after that as my political secretary. And we had room for her in my office in Chicago.

Q: Oh I see. So she came downtown here and . . .

A: Right. Pat lived in Oak Park. And she came down, and her mother did, both just volunteers. Actually we paid Pat a little bit and her mother was a volunteer and her mother was one of the most efficient competent people I've ever known in my life, absolutely fantastic.

Q: In 1965 any payment like that had to come out of your own pocket didn't it?

A: Yes.

Q: There was no allowance at all for a legislative aide or anything of that nature.

A: No there wasn't. Some Democrats particularly were able to get . . . a secretary assigned to a commission so they could use her as a part-time personal secretary but Gwen I never paid anything to. Gwenn Angel wouldn't permit me ever to pay her a single penny for anything. Her husband was president of a company. They lived in River Forest and they were reasonably well off, very well-off, people, and just superb. Paul Angel is another

one of the gems of the world. And I don't suppose I paid Pat very much, if anything, in those days either.

In my first term there really wasn't that much to do. You know the Democrats have a two-to-one majority, you don't have much to do with Republicans and beyond that first-termers don't have very much to do. And people weren't coming to me asking me to sponsor bills because they were going to the Democrats and asking them to sponsor bills. And if they wanted a Republican sponsor, they'd go to somebody with more experience than I had.

Q: You had an office here downtown in this building I guess at that time.

A: Yes sir.

Q: You said that you had selected an office — no that was in 1969 when you were living here.

A: Right yes.

Q: So you had your regular office.

A: Right.

Q: Where did Gwen and Pat set up when they came downtown to work? Did they . . .

A: Right there in that office. You'd walk through a little narrow passageway behind the elevators in the Field Building and there were two rooms back there. And Pat and my regular secretary, my office secretary, sat in the outer office and then I had an inner office.

Q: Well now being downtown here didn't make you too accessible to your constituents I would think. First of all though, this was an at-large election so you represented the state of Illinois.

A: The whole state right, right.

Q: But did you have a sense of a district that you formulated in your mind as the people that you were most closely associated with?

A: Well of course I was pledged not to run again. So while certainly having been raised in La Grange you know obviously I was going to be as closely affiliated and associated with suburban thinking and suburban people. And technically I guess I represented everybody in the state which is really not all bad in a lot of ways. But obviously my interests and inclinations were suburban and, to isolate part of the suburban area, to La Grange and Lyons Township and Western Springs, the towns out there.

Q: What I'm thinking of — now you had an office downtown here in the Loop. Did you go to the ward headquarters or someplace periodically to be able to talk with people or to be available to people in your . . .

A: There really was almost no demand for that. I was in the Republican headquarters regularly. So was Terrill Clarke who was also in the legislature then and the committeeman. As a matter of fact at one time it's my recollection — we had an office in there that we shared or that — maybe Tec let me use his office I don't remember. But I was in the headquarters as needed.

But in suburban Cook County in those days it was quite different from Chicago or from downstate. People didn't need to talk to me about things. They'd write to me very often or call me. And I had a few meetings but I could meet them at home and did once in a

while. But there wasn't any great demand for it. There wasn't a lot of campaigning. I didn't give a whole lot of speeches. If somebody invited me to go speak to the Kiwanis Club somewhere or League of Women Voters, I did that. I think I accepted about all speaking invitations and I'll bet I didn't give more than ten or twenty speeches the whole year. It wasn't that kind of a situation. And also from, looking at it from the other side, from people in the community, they didn't have one particular representative they could go to because you know I — while I lived in La Grange, so did Terrill Clarke and so did Bill Walsh. So did Earl Eisenhower. So they might go to any one of us you know.

Q: Wasn't Art Sprague in that area?

A: Art Sprague was in the senate yes, but he was in the senate yes. And the senate was not elected — wait a minute — was the senate — no the senate wasn't elected at-large.

Q: No no there was an effort to make it that way but it didn't succeed.

A: Right.

SESSION 8, TAPE 15, SIDE 2

Q: Well this not being a representative of a specific district that first go-round makes it a little bit difficult to think in terms of a philosophy of representation. But you must have developed some form of philosophy like either you were trying to figure out what people wanted and then do that specifically or trying to figure out what ought to happen and do that specifically. What type of philosophy did you develop?

A: I suppose my philosophy was just developed from my — what? I was thirty-three I guess when I was elected to the legislature, and from thirty-three years of living in the suburban area or thirty-one years of living in the suburban area, I had really pretty much developed a suburban philosophy. I don't remember that there were any major fights. That was a totally different session of legislature, Horace, because of the makeup of the two-to-one. - You know, we only had a few rows in the back of one side of the house is what it amounted to. The Democrats had all of one side and half of our side, so . . .

Q: Well how did you go about making up your mind on an issue like — well for example Paul Randolph had been pushing for a number of years, and pushed in 1965 quite hard, for branch banking. This issue arose. How did you make up your mind whether you were going to support Paul or go . . .

A: By talking to Paul and by talking to other people on all sides. I was for branch banking. I was one of Paul's chief aides. The bill was sponsored by all of the leaders of both sides of the aisle. They were all sponsors of the bill. And when the vote was finally called on that, the day of the final vote, we had had a little meeting with Paul and the Republicans and Democrats who were for the bill. It was a small meeting and — because there weren't very many of us. And we had it all arranged as to how it was going to be done.

And Paul made the opening remarks as the chief sponsor always does. The chief sponsor you know makes the opening and closing remarks on a bill. And when the question is called then the Speaker closes debate but calls on the sponsor to make the final closing argument. And each of us had had assigned a particular topic, and I was standing waiting for my turn to give my talk on whatever little piece, segment, of the thing I had, and the debate was closed before I got to say anything. Somebody moved to close the debate. There was a little fight about whether it should be closed because a lot of people still wanted to talk. I didn't care whether I talked or not because it was a perfectly clearly dead issue. So I sat down, started to get ready for the next thing that was going to be called. And the

Speaker shut the debate down and called on Mr. Randolph and Paul turned around and said, "I yield the closing argument to Mr. Burditt." (laughter) And I didn't know he was going to do it. So I got up and pulled myself together and tried to make a closing argument for branch banking.

Q: Why did he do that? (chuckles)

A: I don't know. I don't remember. I said, "Paul, what in the hell were you doing?" you know, later on. He said, "Well I thought you could do a better job than I could." (chuckles)

Q: Generally I've found that a legislator or a person when they go down to become a legislator have special interests that they select because they can't cover everything.

A: Sure.

Q: On subjects where you weren't particularly interested perhaps or had decided you were not going to make that one of your primary things, how did you go about making up your mind on issues that came up and that sort of thing? For example on business and economic development, I'm not so sure that you were too much interested in pushing that sort of thing. And the new Department of Business and Industry was passed that year.

A: Was that John Kennedy's bill? I think maybe it was.

Q: I don't know who put the bill in.

A: Okay.

Q: Now I'm not so sure that's a good example but on things that you weren't going to take the lead on how did you go about making up your mind what your position would be?

A: Well first of all let me say, there were an enormous number of bills in the category that you're talking about, where I knew absolutely nothing about it, I was totally unhampered by any knowledge of the law or facts, I was a real novus. And there are several sources. Before the bill is called you necessarily do what you can to become informed by talking to the people who do know about it, outside the legislature the lobbyists are an enormous help in educating you. At least they raise the issues. They're usually for a bill or against it so they present one side. But frequently there are people on both sides of a bill and you can talk to them. So you do get a lot of help in oral contact, meetings, telephone calls with people who are knowledgeable in that particular subject.

Second, you can initiate contacts with people. And I would do that. You know we all did it. You know I might call Harlan Stockwell at the Civic Federation or somebody at the Taxpayers' Federation or somebody at the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry or at the League of Women Voters or whatever, Sam Witwer you know, whatever, somebody who had a particular knowledge of a subject, I would contact them. Necessarily the civic things I had done and through my work at the Bar Association I'd had contact with a lot of them, like constitutional issues and things like that. So even if I didn't have a total concept myself of what was going on, I at least had a smattering of knowledge and I frequently knew the right guy to call to find out what the straight line was.

You know you can read. There's a lot of written material that you receive from lobbyists and from public interest or private interest groups. And then, second, you have committee hearings. And if you pay attention at committee hearings, at least the committees of which you're a member, you can learn a lot about legislation, whether you're for it or against it and what the weak spots are, and how it can be improved and so on.

And then finally you learn — I didn't know this the first day I was there by a long shot, but you learn from other legislators. Sitting next to Al Hachmeister was the greatest

experience I had. Hack was the most knowledgeable guy and he could smell a bad bill that looked to me like it was just the greatest thing in the world and Hack would say, "Don't vote for this one, George, it's bad." And I'd say, "Why?" And by that time the board would start to be lighted up, you know they'd be calling for the vote, and I could look up and he'd say, "Well look at, A, B, C, D, E and F, all of whom are red, against the bill" — they'd be the good guys. "And G, H, I, J and K, all of whom are the bad guys, and they're all green." And I'd say, "What's wrong with this?" He said, "Just — I'll tell you about it some time, but just vote with us." And there's an awful lot of that, following the lead of someone in the legislature whom you respect and who that you know is knowledgeable. There's an enormous amount of that.

I don't remember how many bills we had that first term, but you got up to — it was four thousand bills or something now. You can't begin to know everything there is to know about four thousand bills. You must rely on other people. And one of the best sources is knowledgeable legislators. People who are on that committee, for instance, that considered the bill. If you weren't on that committee and didn't have the benefit of hearing all about it, you'd see what they're doing, the people on that committee that you respect.

Q: I understand that Maurice Scott was kind of the authority on taxation down there.

A: Yes.

Q: Did you find him to be a good lobbyist?

A: Yes yes, very effective, very reliable, and he was certainly one of the ones that I would look to for anything. Maurice was a counterpart of Harlan Stockwell.

Q: What made Maurice Scott such a good lobbyist? How did he go about being a lobbyist?

A: A lot of things. He did his homework. Any good lobbyist has to do his homework. He has to be very knowledgeable on his subject. The good lobbyists are all knowledgeable on their subject and Maurice Scott certainly was. In terms of tax matters Maurice was very knowledgeable. He represented one particular point of view, and you know while I guess I would have agreed with Maurice maybe on 90 percent of the things, there's no person in the world you agree with on everything. And Maurice was certainly one that we all looked to for advice on things. The second thing he did, aside from being knowledgeable, was get around and talk to us and tell us what was going on and educate us so that we could be knowledgeable and if a question came up on the floor we could get up and speak on it. And that happened a lot, particularly with Maurice.

Q: Where was he available to you? He wasn't able to go on the floor.

A: In the lobby, around the rotunda. When the legislature is in session the third floor is ringed with lobbyists. They're all standing at the rail. And a lot of times something would come up I'd want to talk to a lobbyist about, I'd simply get out of my seat and go out and look for him. He'd be out there. And Maurice was there regularly with Stock or Press Peden from the Association of Commerce and Industry or somebody from the League or the Township Officials Association. They did a good job.

Q: I've heard that a lobbyist really had to do a good job or he wasn't there very long. Did you have occasion to be burned by a lobbyist? I mean can you think of an instance where you or some other person was taken in by a . . .

A: I can't remember that we were. I never got into a situation where I — if I didn't have respect for a lobbyist, I tended to stay away from him. For instance the currency exchange lobbyists I never went near. (chuckles)

Q: Oh?

A: If I had I might have been taken in by them. So I didn't take a chance on it.

Q: Well! (chuckles) How much did you use the Legislative Council and their research capabilities?

A: A great deal. They were very helpful to us. Pete Bobbitt was the Legislative Council, is that right?

Q: No no, that would be the Reference Bureau.

A: Bill Day? Bill Day was the Legislative Council. Bill was most cooperative and most knowledgeable, helped us draft bills and do all the kinds of things we needed to do, really did a good job with it.

Q: Now that would have been the other way around. The Reference Bureau was the one that drafted bills for you.

A: Yes that's right.

Q: So it would have been Bobbitt at that time perhaps.

A: They were both — they were both very helpful in their respective areas yes, one in drafting and one in looking up — oh, what had happened in other states on subjects like this and things like that.

Q: Now let's see, in 1965 it still wasn't a requirement that the Reference Bureau review all bills before they were run through the legislature. Did you have occasion to draft your own bills, or did you always go to the Reference Bureau?

A: I only drafted one bill that first term that I didn't take through anybody. Six days before the legislature adjourned — now this is subject to somebody taking a look at newspapers to confirm it, but I think it was six days before — Chicago American came out with a front page article. Somebody had put a bug, a tape, a tape recorder, in the hotel room of the currency exchange lobbyists. A surreptitious bugging of their room. The... whoever did it transcribed part of the bug and sent the tapes to... geez, one of the newspaper reporters at Chicago American. (pause) The reporter — do you know who it was?

Q: No I don't recall the name.

A: The... it was somebody like Mike Royko but it wasn't Mike Royko. It was — it's terrible, I can't remember — but I'll remember it and I'll — we'll fill it in later on. He read it and they discussed it apparently at the Chicago American and they decided to go with it. And they published it on the front page of the American. And it was really bad. They were saying, "We need to have ten thousand dollars for the man on the second floor," who was Paul Powell. "We need to have ten thousand dollars for the Speaker and some of his friends." Perfectly clear inuendos at least of illegal bribery of state legislators. We were all obviously very offended by this because it — you know, none of us had even heard of any such thing going on down there.

So Gene Schlickman and I — Gene was a very fine state representative from Arlington Heights and now Gene was one of our six roommates — Gene and I — that's Eugene — and I stayed up that night and drafted a bill creating a commission called the Legislative Investigating Commission, or something like that, composed of six members of the house, since only house questions were raised on the tape. Three Republicans and three

Democrats. And there were only five days left in the legislative session. The bill had an appropriation with it so it had to go through both houses. We couldn't do it as a resolution.

So we of course talked to the leaders of both sides and we agreed we'd try to get it through. We had first reading on the fifth day before we adjourned. The second reading on the fourth day before we adjourned, and the third reading on the third day before we adjourned in the house. Now that only left two days. But as soon as it passed, we picked up the bill and walked it over to the senate. And they had first reading in the senate on the same day so that gave us the next to last day and the last day to get the bill through the senate. And it passed creating this commission.

Hack appointed three of us as members of the commission. Tom Railsback who went to Congress a few years later and himself, Al Hachmeister, and me. And the Democrats appointed three, Jack Cassidy of Peoria, Paul Elward from Chicago who subsequently became a judge and is now a judge, and Cecil Partee. And the six of us didn't know what we were going to do, but that began our investigation. What happened was that — Jack Mabley is who it was that got the tapes.

Q: Oh.

A: Jack Mabley. Jack got a letter in the mail saying, "Enclosed is a key to a footlocker in the Greyhound Bus Terminal. If you'll go over there, you'll find the tapes from which the written transcript we gave you was made. So he went over and opened it up not knowing whether it was going to be a bomb in there or what you know. But he opened it up and sure enough, there were the tapes. There were several reels of tapes. And he took the tapes like a hot potato and he gave them to Tony Scariano. And Tony turned them over, I think, directly to our commission. I don't remember if somebody else might have had them in the interim there. But in any event the commission ended up with all of the tapes.

The currency exchange lobbyists filed a suit against us to restrain us from listening to the tapes. And Creel Douglas, a judge in Springfield who subsequently I believe absconded to Mexico ordered us not to look at the tapes, had an injunction restraining us from listening to the tapes. Five of the six of us on the commission were lawyers, all but Hack, and we considered it as carefully as we could and decided under the doctrine of separation of powers, the legislature had authority to investigate its own corruption regardless of what the judicial branch said, so we proceeded to listen to the tapes.

The currency exchange lobbyists — and Tom Sullivan, who was subsequently the United States attorney in Chicago, represented the currency exchanges, Tom Sullivan is with Jenner and Block — filed a motion to have us held in contempt of court. We were represented by Owen Rall of the Peterson firm, who was past president of the Illinois State Bar Association and one of the leading lawyers of the state, and Owen resisted the motion to have us held in contempt of court. But Judge Douglas held us in contempt. This was before he absconded. And if I say that with some degree of prejudice, it's because I feel it. I had to tell my kids I didn't know if I'd be home for Thanksgiving dinner because you know I might be in the slammer for in contempt of court.

We then made a direct appeal to the Illinois Supreme Court because of the constitutional issues involved. The Illinois Supreme Court unanimously reversed Judge Douglas, came out our way. Tom Sullivan appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court, which also held for us.

So we were then free to listen to the tapes and we did listen to them, all six of us, every Saturday for weeks. Paul Elward and I were the only ones who knew where the tapes were kept. We had them in a safety deposit box in the Lake Forest Bank and nobody at the bank knew what was in the tape except that two legislators would show up when the bank

opened at nine o'clock on Saturday morning and pick up this lockbox full of tapes. And we would go and listen to them.

Hack got a recording specialist, a fellow who was an electronics expert, to shield out as much of the background as he possibly could because you know since this was apparently inside the dresser in the — the bug was inside the dresser and every time somebody opened that drawer and closed it with a slam, boy, I'll tell you it would blow your head off if you were listening to it. And there were a lot of extraneous noises and people would walk across the room and you couldn't hear them as well so. . . . But we listened to every minute of those tapes.

And as it turned out we inferred that whoever had done the original typing job had also listened to them because we didn't find anything on the tape that was any more incriminating than what had been published in the newspaper. There was nothing in the tapes that was indictable. Nobody came in the room and accepted a payment. There were several legislators who did come in the room who were friends of the lobbyists. They made the kind of comments that you would expect about some of the good legislators. But nothing incriminating and we could not recommend that anything be referred to a states attorney for prosecution.

So the investigation was closed later on but — that's a long answer to your question did I draft any bills myself. I did that one and we didn't really have time to take it through anybody because of the shortness of time.

Q: Well a couple of questions now in regard to the mechanics. You picked up the paper and here was this front page article. From that, when did you make the decision that there ought to be a commission to investigate it?

A: That day.

Q: Were you discussing that with someone?

A: Oh sure. Everybody on the floor of the house was discussing it. It really captured everybody's attention right now.

Q: Yes.

A: And of course it was a major event in the state because in the first place it was an illegal bugging and in the second place some things, some allegations, were made in there which people kind of suspected about the dirty legislature anyway. And those of us who thought it overstated the case or condemned the whole barrel because of a few rotten apples wanted to get at it and see what could be done about it, and who the rotten apples were.

Q: I guess what I'm getting at was why did you specifically come up with this bill? Why didn't somebody else . . .

A: Oh I don't know. We just got talking about it in our room. And we were all kind of white hats, and it kind of offended us. And I'm sure we talked to Hack about it and he said, "I don't have time to do it. Write the damned bill." That's probably what happened. So Gene and I just sat down and did it that night. We did it in the living room while we were having a beer and eating cheese I suppose.

Q: Well! (chuckles)

A: We did it in the living room I know.

Q: Where did you take it then once you drafted this out? Is there someone who drafts it up or types it up or . . .

A: I presume we took it to the Legislative Reference Bureau to have it drafted, to make sure that technically it was correct. I don't remember if they had any input into the wording or not. We had written it out so that all they had to do was type it we hoped. They might have made a few little technical changes to make sure it was proper. They probably did. But that was late in the session so you see we'd had six months of experience as legislators which is — it wasn't our first day.

Q: Well you turned around after you'd drafted it and said, "My God, we've got six days to get this through." What did you do, go to Hachmeister then and say, "Hey, how do we get this through in six days?"

A: Sure. And Hack talked to Jack Touhy about it and the leadership all agreed, "Let's try." We didn't know what kind of opposition we'd get from the floor because the currency exchange had some friends on the floor obviously, with them kicking ten thousand bucks around here and there they've got some friends. But it was the kind of bill nobody could really oppose. Anybody who spoke up against it, you know, right away people start raising eyebrows. I don't remember that there was much debate on it at all. It was just simply the mechanics of getting it through. It's the only bill I know of in all the time I was in the legislature that passed from introduction to passage in the second house in five days.

Q: And who handled it in the senate? Do you recall who it was turned over to?

A: Gee, I don't remember. It was a Republican senate. And we probably would have given it to Russ Arrington but I can't say that for sure. I don't really remember. It might have been the chairman of Judiciary or somebody like that. It was pretty much an agreed bill though. There wasn't a lot of discussion and debate about it.

Q: And it did have an appropriation with it so that you could set up the commission.

A: Yes. It did not have an appropriation to hire Owen Rall. And since he argued a case in the trial court, in the Illinois Supreme Court and in the United Supreme Court, there were significant legal fees. The arrangement, when I called Owen to ask him if he would do it, I said, "Owen, we don't have a cent in the appropriation." And by the time this happened the legislature had adjourned, and we didn't meet again for eighteen months then. I said, "When we go back in, as soon as any one of us can get a bill introduced, we will have it introduced to pay your fees. I can't guarantee it will pass but we will do that." And he took it under those terms. And we did get a bill passed and we did end up paying Owen Rall.

Q: Well! Where did the commission meet? Was it here in Chicago.

A: Yes. We met at different places. We met most often at the business establishment of the electronics expert. We'd just go into his back room, the six of us, and sit around and listen to them. And he was there adjusting the dials and trying to screen out as much of the background as possible or something. We'd say, "Play that over again, we want to hear that last sentence." We got to know who the — we could identify the voices. I didn't know any of the lobbyists. I knew who they were by sight but I didn't know their names or voices. But some of the other legislators who had been there a while did know.

Q: Were there hearings? Did you call these lobbyists before the commission to . . .

A: Yes. We had hearings. We talked to a number of people. We asked people to come in and testify about it. George Mann, head of the Better Government Association, testified. I don't remember if the currency exchange lobbyist testified but we had a full hearing just as you would in anything like that, in any kind of investigation.

Q: Well let's see now, it was . . . I'm trying to think who had the bill up. The bill was to allow the mobile currency exchanges more latitude in getting set up. And that kind of came



GEORGE AND BARBARA BURDITT IN OSTIA, THE SEAPORT OF IMPERIAL ROME, 1967.



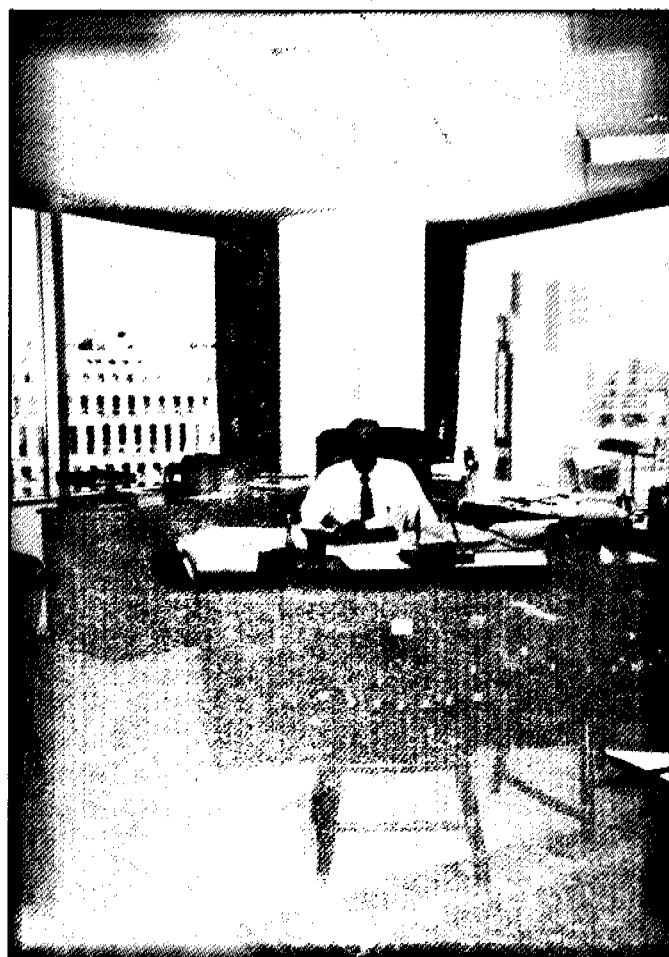
AS CHIEF MARSHALL AT THE HARVARD COMMENCEMENT, 1969.

"In 1969, that was my twenty-fifth reunion and the chief marshal comes from the twenty-fifth reunion class. And I was elected chief marshal that year which was a great experience, one of the great honors of my life."



PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON, GEORGE BUSH AND GEORGE BURDITT IN 1974.

"Then he resigned and I tried to explain the resignation and how we were going to build from then on. And things started to go better."



GEORGE BURDITT 1986.

to an end when all this commotion arose. Were you involved in any way in the currency exchange bills that were being considered? It was Arthur Gottschalk had a bill in that was being considered and then dropped when all this came up.

A: I don't remember. My recollection is that — were the currency exchanges against those bills?

Q: Yes. It was Thillens — a fellow by the name of Thillens.

A: Yes the Thillens, Mel Thillens bill, yes that's right, yes.

Q: He was on the mobile exchange side.

A: Yes right. And my recollection was that I was helping Art Gottschalk on those bills. As a matter of fact I might even have been the house sponsor in those. I don't remember, but I remember working on those bills and I remember more about it than I would remember if I hadn't been fairly active in it. So I think maybe I might even have been the house sponsor.

Q: You were.

A: Was I?

Q: Yes.

A: Okay yes.

Q: And so I had a question concerning that.

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Q: I was wondering how it came that you became sponsor of that bill? Were you interested in the currency exchange or did someone ask you to?

A: No. As I say they were Art Gottschalk's bills and Art I'm sure just asked me to do it. He was a good friend of mine, I had a great deal of confidence in him, utter respect for his integrity and everything else. And so I guess that must have been before the incident I just described. Is that right? It must have been.

Q: Yes. As a matter of fact you were handling it in committee when this came up and they just dropped it in committee because of this.

A: Well actually those bills might have been the bills that these people were dropping ten thousand bucks here and there.

Q: They didn't want Mel Thillens to be able to expand his operation.

A: Exactly. Yes and that's why they were willing to pay Paul Powell ten thousand dollars. And that's probably part of the shoe box money was that — I have no proof of that at all, but certainly the inference is very logical that if they're talking about giving ten thousand dollars to the man on the second floor to beat this bill, and I'm not sure it was only this bill — it might have been only this bill — do you remember? I just have no recollection. I know that they were trying to kill something. And it was probably the Mel Thillens bill, the mobile concern.

Q: I'm sure it was. I've read the transcript in your file as a matter of fact.

A: Yes.

Q: This brings up another subject. There were what was called fetcher bills at that time. Were they still putting in fetcher bills in 1965 while you were down there?

A: Oh sure sure there were fetcher bills long — the whole time I was there there were fetcher bills. And of course I didn't really know what a fetcher — I never heard the term fetcher bill before I went down there. And that's one of the things that Hack educated me on. And every once in a while I'd say, "Gee, this looks to me like a pretty good bill." And he'd say, "It's a fetcher." And I'd, "You're kidding me." "No," and he'd say, "Look who's for it. Look who the chief sponsor is. Look at something — look who's voting for it or whatever. Look who the sponsors are." And so I'd say, "Oh yes I see what you're talking about."

As a matter of fact when we got our committee assignments, early in the session you know, Hack asked me what committees I'd like to be on. And we all filled out a form putting what committees we'd want and one of the committees Hack put me on was Roads and Bridges. Well I didn't even know there was a Roads and Bridges Committee. I had zero interest in roads and bridges. And I said, "Hack, what in the hell are you doing putting me on Roads and Bridges? In the first place I don't know anything about it. I've got no interest in it. I thought I was your buddy." He said, "Listen, you just go into that committee. You're my eyes and ears in that committee." He said, "That's one of the dangerous committees. There will be fetcher bills, there will be all kind of bad things going on in there. You don't need to say anything, just go in there and listen. You'll get a great education and you and I can talk about what happened." So I was on Roads and Bridges my first term.

Q: Gee. (chuckles) Now you indicate that you could tell by who was voting for certain bills that they were fetcher bills. Were there certain individuals you associated with fetcher bills then?

A: Oh sure, sure. Do you want me to name names? I'll just name the name of one guy who subsequently went to jail, Babe McAvoy, who was a Republican, a ward committeeman. Babe finally got nailed for it ten years later, and went to jail.

Q: How would he go about doing it? What was the nature of a fetcher bill?

A: Oh . . . a bill to require all barbers to have the word "Haircutting" in three-foot letters on the front of his store. Now maybe that's a good idea because — that's an overstatement, I have no idea whether there was any — there never was such a bill introduced. But all the barbers in the state are going to say, "My God, that's a terrible bill. We've got to kill the bill. What do we do?" They go to their lobbyist and he tells them, "That's a fetcher bill, guys. The chief sponsor of that bill needs a new car." Now, Horace, I've got to tell you, I can't name a single incident in which I know that occurred. I know of no incident of a payoff in the legislature except I do know that Babe McAvoy and a bunch of other guys went to jail for doing things like that, a lot of them did. Guys in whom I really admit, I'm very sorry to say, I misjudged them.

Q: Let's see, dropping back, we mentioned research earlier and the way you went about getting information. How much did you use the Illinois State Library, or did you have time to get over there at all?

A: I was never in the State Library, never used it at all. You know, that's a terrible thing to admit but I just never did. Legislators are normally pretty busy people. Your time is so thoroughly occupied either with committee meetings or with sessions with people that

need to talk to you about something or hearings on the floor of the house. And when that isn't happening, you're headed home or you're on the way down. Because as soon as you hit there the people are besieging you. And of course the longer you're there, the more that occurs.

Q: Were you able to use the library of the Reference Bureau there?

A: Yes the Reference Bureau and the Council were absolutely invaluable to us.

Q: How about the law library over in the Supreme Court?

A: Never had occasion to do it. If I had to look up some law, I would do it back in Chicago in my office or the Chicago Bar library.

Q: Did you have time or occasion to go to the Illinois State Archives to research any past activity?

A: No. Never did. That kind of a job would really be done for us by the Council.

Q: Legislative Council.

A: Yes.

Q: A while ago you named some individuals that you would go to if you needed particular expertise in a particular area. Was there any type of — I keep wanting to say in your district — but out in Western Springs or La Grange or around that area, were there individuals there that you went to for information on particular subjects?

A: Sure, the township officials I would go to. They were Republicans and I knew they would have particular interest in a lot of legislation. I would frequently talk to them about things. Or I would talk to Tec Clarke who was in the house that term and Tec and I would, between us, would talk to people — in the Township Officials — or County Officials Association, things like that.

Q: How much — what would you call it? not necessarily pressure, but desire on the part of constituents or people in that area to have certain things like new bridges or canals opened or whatever that required state funds and that sort of thing? Did you get involved much with that sort of thing?

A: Virtually none from our area. There just simply wasn't the need for that in our area. If there were things like that, it would be done through the township assessor's organization or through something like that. But we weren't in the position where, like a lot of downstate legislators were, where they've got a terrible road and they've got to get something done about it and we would try to work together to get something done to get that road fund you know sacrosanct so it couldn't be picked away for other purposes, things like that. We didn't really have much pressure for isolated expenditures. I don't remember any.

Q: Did you hold regular meetings of any sort like, oh, monthly or so, did you gather people in the area out there and tell them what was going on in the . . .

A: I put out a newsletter.

Q: You did?

A: It was a very rough one and of course I couldn't mail it to the whole state so it really went just to my friends. I went to the Republican organization meetings of course regularly and reported regularly on what was going on. We always had a legislative report. I went

to the other Republican township committee meetings in our district. But not a great deal. It was quite different from the downstate legislators who were doing a great deal of campaigning and going to meetings and things like that. They had a general disinterest in the legislature in the suburban area.

Q: Oh really?

A: Far less than downstate and I venture to say less than at least in large parts of Chicago.

Q: In your newsletter now, how did you finance that? Was that out of your own pocket?

A: I just did it yes.

Q: How did you go about doing it? Where did you publish it or . . .

A: I'd probably dictate it while I was driving home some day and my secretary would type it when I got back to Chicago. The quality of the work in the secretarial pool in Springfield wasn't quite as good as the work of my secretary in Chicago, which is a masterpiece of understatement. And so my secretary would do it and I'd run it off on a duplicating machine somewhere and volunteers would address the envelopes and we'd mail it out.

Q: How much was the usual run?

A: Oh I have no idea.

Q: Five hundred?

A: Yes, not more than that. They were small.

Q: Was there much reaction to that newsletter? Did you get a lot of letters that indicated that it was being read? or contacts in any way?

A: Well I never got a deluge of mail or a bevy of phone calls. Regularly people would say, "I read your newsletter." I'd be down at the train station getting on the train and somebody would come up to me that I knew or maybe didn't know and say, "I read your newsletter today and it looks great. Thank you." Or, "How about this?" That happened some, not a great deal, but it happened.

Q: So you got enough feedback to indicate that it was worthwhile then?

A: Sure and even if you don't get feedback on something like that, I think a legislator or representative of any kind has an obligation to let the people know what's going on. It's kind of a forced feeding but you know it's maybe necessary.

Q: Did you have many occasions to pick up license plates for people, or did you do that?

A: Almost none of it, no, I didn't get asked. If anybody had asked me I would have been glad to do it. Somebody may have asked me somewhere along the line, but it was so inconsequential I don't even remember doing it.

Q: Was there much request for help, oh, to do anything in the government or to find out how to go about doing something?

A: Occasionally, but very occasionally. I'm not overstating that the lack of direct requests from people, especially during my first term, to do things for them, governmentally — license plates, get me off jury duty — almost none of that. Quite different from downstate legislators. We kind of marvelled at it. These guys from downstate would come in with

a two-foot stack of license plates to deliver to people in their district. We just didn't have anything like that. Of course remember again, I was a first-term, I'd never had a district, people weren't used to thinking of me as their representative. But even after I'd had a district of my own for the following three terms, I didn't get a lot of that.

Q: How about Terrill Clarke, did he seem to be getting it?

A: No no no, the suburban legislators didn't get it really.

Q: It was just the nature of suburbanites then not to request that kind of help.

A: I really think that's right.

Q: Which must have been somewhat helpful in your . . .

A: Oh yes it really was, sure.

Q: We mentioned letters there. How did you go about handling your mail? Did you design form letters or form cards to respond to most of it? You must have had some volume.

A: I tried to respond to every letter I got. The only exceptions — and I tried this at first but simply couldn't do it, economically it wasn't feasible to do it — I did it on everything except issues like gun control. And I'd get cards from people all over the state on gun control and subsequently on ERA [Equal Rights Amendment], abortion, issues like that. The very controversial issues where you'd get a church group setting everybody down in a room and you'd get a hundred letters from one church. I finally gave up trying to answer those. I always answered, later on, every letter from my district. My goal was to answer every letter from my district. Since I had my tape recorder and three hours each way in the car all alone, I got just an enormous amount of dictating done. I could dictate enough going down to Springfield in the three hours to keep a secretary busy down there for a week. And coming back I could dictate enough to keep my secretary up here busy for a couple of days, and regularly did.

Q: So each one of these letters had to be typed in full. You didn't have a computer capability I guess to . . .

A: No computer, no. We didn't have computers then. They've come in since that time. Maybe somebody did. But I don't think anybody did.

Q: Now for each letter you had to provide a stamp and that came out of your own pocket I guess.

A: Yes. We might have had a campaign fund. I don't remember. I might have had a campaign fund of a few hundred dollars. But it never amounted to anything.

Q: I guess you had a fifty dollar allowance or something.

A: Oh we did. That's right, we did have. I'd forgotten that. We did have fifty dollars.

Q: It lasted a day or two I guess.

A: Yes. (chuckles)

Q: Actually now you're pay was six thousand dollars for that year. A good deal of that must have gone for costs that had to come out of that six thousand since there was no per diem.

A: Yes we paid for our own hotel rooms and everything. We paid for all our own meals, except a lot of times we would go to — almost every night you're in Springfield a legislator can go to a free dinner if he wants to.

Q: Oh? You mean the lobbyists and that sort of thing?

A: Sure or — some federation or trade association or friends are in town or something like that.

Q: Did you take much advantage of that to cut costs?

A: Well I guess I took advantage of it and it certainly helped cut costs. I don't think my primary object was to avoid paying for a dinner, because the time commitment is the significant one. Because if you'd go to dinner you can't just eat and leave, you've got to stick around and hear what they want to talk to you about. So you know if I turned them down or went my first consideration was time.

Q: You drove back and forth then most of the time did you?

A: All of the time. I guess I flew once or twice but hardly ever. I might have taken the train once or twice but the trouble was the train came into Chicago and not to La Grange. So I drove. We had a carpool for a lot of the time. We drove in a carpool, especially my first term.

Q: Were you able to dictate and that sort of thing when you were in the carpool?

A: No I didn't try to dictate when I was with other people.

Q: Did you have any problem driving and dictating at the same time?

A: You get used to it, Horace. No it's very easy, even without a cruise control it's easy. It's much easier though with cruise control I've got to tell you. I drove up to the lake a couple of weeks ago. I left here at seven o'clock at night and got to Crystal Lake at one o'clock in the morning and I finished the last thing I was dictating just as I was driving into Frankfort, Michigan, which is just five and a half hours of driving.

Q: I understand that a knowledge of the rules was pretty essential if you were going to really shepherd something through. How did you go about learning the rules?

A: Noble Lee taught us the rules and we read the rules. You know, one thing, Horace, you're trying to do is try and read before you talk. And the rules aren't that extensive. You can read them. There were house rules and there were joint rules and you simply read them. You know you could read them while somebody got up and was talking about some goofy bill that you don't care about and it doesn't make any difference. A lot of reading time on the floor of the house.

Q: Did you ever have occasion to use the rules in order to move something?

A: Well you learn to follow the rules and if you follow the rules, you don't have to worry about it. The only time you need them is when somebody else is trying to avoid the rules. And sure, we had a lot of debates on issues relating to rules, on procedure. Usually one party or the other wanted to do something and if — in my first term, if the Democrats wanted to do it, they did it, period. That's all there was to it, there wasn't any use in arguing about it.

Q: I understand that they could go out and call the rules and change them.

A: Sure they had two-thirds majority, you see. They could do it and once in a while they would do it. But Republicans had a majority in the senate so, you know, that was our great bastion of safety. If something like that would happen, either Hack would go over and talk to Russ Arrington or he would send me over to talk to somebody or he'd ask Parkie to go over or Les Jones or somebody and we'd go over and say, "House Bill such and such and such and such is just passed and, you know, just be careful, it ought to be killed." And we'd tell them why and then the senate would usually clean it up so the Democrats didn't do it any more than they really felt they had to, for political reasons usually.

Q: Do you recall your first floor action? The first time you got up on the floor?

A: No I don't. It might have been to move Hachmeister's election to Speaker. It probably was.

Q: Oh I see. You were kind of already in an in-group with the leadership on arrival down there, knowing Hachmeister from before and that sort of thing. So you were kind of an inside person with the leadership as far as the Republicans were concerned.

A: I was more that term than later on.

Q: Oh? (pause) What was your relationship with the press? Did you actively hold press conferences? Or didn't you have to?

A: I didn't hold any personal press conferences. Of course we had a lot of press conferences during the orange ballot campaign and I would frequently participate in those. But I don't remember having a press conference down there. I might have had one on some particular bill or something. One year — it might even have been my first term — I sponsored a bill to require that an applicant for a license for his automobile exhibit a receipt for payment of his personal property taxes.

Q: Was that a political bill sir?

A: I just thought it was kind of fair because I was paying personal property taxes like about half of the people in the suburbs and like everybody downstate; and nobody in Chicago was paying. And you know I didn't see why, if we've got a personal property tax in this state, half of the people should pay it and the other half shouldn't pay it. We had a lot of ways of figuring how to do it, so somebody said, "Why don't you do this?" So I put in — I was the chief sponsor of that bill and I'm sure I had press conferences on that one. I got a lot of heat and a lot of support. That bill came within an ace of passing.

Q: Oh?

A: I think we had eighty-seven or eight votes on it. We needed eighty-nine to pass.

Q: Do you think it would have been enforceable if it had passed?

A: I don't know. Maybe not. But it would have gotten people's attention I'll tell you.

Q: Was the press much on your tail? Did they catch you quite often to find out what was going on?

A: I'm a junior birdman, I'm a first-termer without a district and the answer's no. They were after Hack and Parkie a great deal. And I would frequently go to press conferences with them, but I was standing in the background. I didn't participate actively in those.

Q: Did you have any problems with the press? Did they misquote you in any instances that you know of?

A: I don't remember that I ever had any problems with them. No the press was really very conscientious and a very competent group for the most part. Some of them have gotten to be very close friends of mine since then. People like Charlie Cleveland. As a matter of fact I saw Charlie this morning while I was walking to work. He has his own television program here, he's political editor on one of the channels. Charlie with the Daily News and Jack Mabley at the American and Charlie Finston was a writer then. And George Tagge from the Tribune.

Q: Did you know Bob Howard?

A: Bob Howard, yes, clearly one of the better ones. Yes Bob really did it more than Tagge. Tagge by that time was in Chicago. Bob Howard was a very competent, very fine guy.

Q: How about your relationship with the senate? Now most of the association I guess would have been between Hachmeister and Russell Arrington I presume. But were there particular senators that you worked very closely with?

A: Sure. Art Gottschalk, the one you mentioned, handled bills back and forth. It's a little hard for me to remember what happened term by term, but there were several senators that — depending on what the particular subject was — that I would take something over to and they'd handle them for me. (pause) Well I don't really remember the first term that I had too much occasion to go over there because I wasn't the chief sponsor much my first term. If you've looked — maybe — can you tell me about any other bills that I was chief sponsor of in my first term that I would . . .

Q: I did not . . .

A: Yes I don't remember either.

Q: Well there was one bill that came up, presumably partly because you were involved in food law. Harris Fawell put in a bill to transfer meat inspections from the agricultural department to public health. And there were some other things involved also, the labeling, it was to make sure it was properly labeled and that sort of thing. And that bill was turned over to you for handling in the house. And it passed that year. Do you recall anything about that? I gathered it was rather a routine sort of thing. I don't know that there was any controversy that came up on it.

A: I remember the incident. I'd totally forgotten it until you mentioned it. In many states the Department of Agriculture has jurisdiction over some kinds of products and the Department of Public Health has jurisdiction over others. Labeling matters normally are in public health, but sometimes — then you've got a problem of dual jurisdiction. If a piece of bacon is misbranded, does the state Department of Agriculture or the state Department of Public Health have jurisdiction? Sometimes both of them do. I've always been very much opposed to having two federal or state agencies have jurisdiction over the same subject matter.

You ought to give it to one agency and let them handle it. And I'm sure that was part of the thinking in that particular bill. I knew the people in the Department of Public Health very well and in the Department of Agriculture too. But on some things I thought that public health ought to handle them and agriculture shouldn't, or vice versa. Agriculture ought to get some things that public health shouldn't handle.

Incidentally, Harris Fawell was one of the best senators that was ever in the state legislature. He was a super guy, conscientious, thoughtful, knowledgeable, hardworking, really good.

Q: I understand in regard to that transfer of the meat inspection from one to the other that the meat inspectors were very much concerned with it. Do you recall anything about that?

A: I'm sure they were. I've been in a number of similar incidents at the federal level as well as in the state level. As a matter of fact I just went through one between USDA and the Food and Drug Administration in regard to the regulation of one of . . . the new technology products. And sometimes you don't care who's got jurisdiction, you just want one of them to have it and not two, particularly if it's something that requires preclearance. Then you've got to run it through two agencies and they make you get different answers. They may tell you you've got to label it differently you know. It's a terrible mess.

So, sure, the meat inspectors would be very much opposed to transferring something out of their department into another. They're going to lose their jobs unless they transfer over. And you know it's insecurity. Sure.

Q: They didn't know that at the time evidently, they were quite concerned. There was an administration bill as I understand it . . .

A: Let me say one thing about that. I don't remember the genesis of those bills but that was shortly after the horsemeat scandal in Illinois. As a matter of fact, there was another one. There was a fellow in Hinsdale who I think went to jail in the horsemeat scandal. And I think the Department of Agriculture because of that horsemeat scandal was in kind of disrepute and my guess is that at that time Hinsdale was in Harris Fawell's district and Harris may very well have been chief sponsor of a bill like that to try to clean up the situation in the state.

Q: The administration's bill was on benzoate of soda use in hamburger and preservation of meat and that sort of thing.

A: Yes, benzoates and nitrites and things like that are sometimes necessary, sometimes not. But they can be used for covering up an off-condition that you obviously don't want to do.

Q: I think this was outlawing the use of benzoate of soda.

A: It was yes. See, things like that for instance can make meat look red or can kill odor in meat. And it's the odor-producing bacteria that are the red flag to you that something's wrong with that meat. And if you kill the odor you may be consuming bad meat and not know it because the red flag is gone, nature's red flag in the form of odor is gone.

Q: Well now that type of bill like the benzoate of soda and the meat inspection and adulteration and all of that would have been right down your line so I presume that perhaps you were considered one of the experts in that field even right off the bat.

A: I was considered either one of the experts or one of the tools of industry, yes, that's right.

Q: I see, well! (chuckles)

A: Paul Elward when he was debating me on the floor of the house used to refer to me as the — you know, you always would refer to somebody as, "The Gentleman from Cook" or "The Gentleman from" — whatever his county is. Paul Elward used to refer to me as, "The Gentleman from Kraft."

Q: Oh really? (chuckles)

A: He did it long after I'd stopped representing Kraft. And it infuriated me, god!

Q: Well! What did you think of to get back at Paul Elward on that?

A: Nothing. Paul Elward was — one of the United States senators said one time that he didn't like to debate another senator because he made him so mad that he couldn't think

from A to B to C. And I tended to have that reaction with Paul Elward in my debates down on the floor. He made me so damned mad I couldn't think.

Q: Well! (chuckles) He had a good defense then.

A: He sure did. I was not unique in that feeling either.

Q: Let's see, one little thing that came up, in regard to boxing, Anthony Scariano put in a bill in 1965 to outlaw boxing or not to allow boxing in the state of Illinois. It didn't succeed. Do you remember that?

A: I don't have any recollection — now that you say it, I think I remember that Tony put the bill in, but I don't have any recollection of it other than that.

Q: Let's see you mentioned Road and Bridges that you were put on for a specific purpose there. What about the Executive Committee? You were on Executive Committee that first tour. Do you remember any activity in regard to being on that?

A: No. The Executive Committee though was a real plum. I was very pleased to be on it because the Executive Committee considered a lot of things that were policy matters, constitutional revision and things, things like that would eventually end up in Executive Committee. And I don't now remember any specific things that we considered but I had a very warm feeling about Executive because it was a great committee to be on, for learning process.

Q: Do you recall what you requested that first go-round?

A: You mean in terms of bills?

Q: No in terms of committees to serve on during that — I understand that you were allowed to submit a list.

A: I don't remember. I'm sure I asked for Executive. I probably asked for Judiciary.

Q: Which you didn't get.

A: And I was never on the Judiciary Committee, the whole time I was down there I was never on Judiciary. You know it's kind of unusual. But for some reason or another I always had some excuse not to serve on Judiciary. It worked out fine because it was one of the busiest committees in the world. (pause) Education I think I asked for too.

Q: Which you didn't get the first term, but you got Higher Education in the last.

A: Right. Yes right yes. I don't remember what my other committee assignments were that first term.

Q: Elections and Reapportionment were the others.

A: Yes well okay. Oh okay, I would logically be on both of those.

Q: On — well, Elections, was there any particular action that you recall that year that you got involved with on elections?

A: Horace, I really don't. I remember being involved in some election contests down there where there was a close election and there was a fight between two representatives. Not the first term because it was statewide. But I don't really remember. I was on committees or commissions several times that were drawing the district lines.

Q: Yes well that was the reapportionment thing.

A: That was reapportionment yes.

Q: We'll need to take a little time for that. We're getting a little short here. I was wondering, on elections, did you have any particular aims or particular things that you thought should be done in regard to elections, not necessarily that happened but that you thought ought to be done?

A: Horace, I don't really remember anything specific. I can tell you that generally I've been in favor of appointment rather than election of judges.

SESSION 8, TAPE 16, SIDE 2

A: Improving election procedures like getting voting machines instead of ballots and — paper ballots — because you know when I first got into politics we always had paper ballots everywhere, and you know the poor judges would be up literally all night counting paper ballots. Especially in some elections where there was a particularly long ballot of some kind that required a lot of extra attention. Anything that we could do to reduce vote fraud, I did a lot of things like that, worked on things like that, oh, to reduce the risk of chain ballots and things like that that . . .

Q: What's a chain ballot?

A: Some person goes in early in the morning in a Chicago precinct and votes and doesn't put the ballot in the box, walks out with the ballot in his pocket. After he gets outside, he marks the ballot the way he wants it marked and gives it with a dollar or two to the next voter who's agreed to do this. That voter goes in, gets a new ballot, deposits the already marked ballot in the ballot box and brings out another blank one and that's when he gets paid. And then he gets his dollar or two — at least in those days it was a dollar or two.

Q: And someone from a party is out there marking the ballot and handing them to the next one.

A: Sure, the Chicago Democratic precinct captain. There was a lot of that in Chicago in those days.

Q: Oh is that right?

A: That kind of thing, yes.

Q: I'll be darned.

A: That was just one example. There were other methods of vote fraud but that was a very easy and common one.

Q: What were some of the other methods?

A: Oh all kinds of things would go on inside the polling place. Precinct captains going behind the curtain with people. And vote watchers, poll watchers, who would be in there trying to do something about it and not doing so good. (points to person at door) Would you care if I got a shoeshine while we're doing this? I've got to put a tuxedo on tonight, Charles. Charles, this is Horace Waggoner.

Charles: How you feeling?

Q: How are you? How are you, Charles?

A: Charles and I've been friends for thirty years. Charles, you've got to make me real pretty tonight. Thanks for leaving the shoelaces the other day. Go right ahead, Horace.

Q: I was just wondering what other types of things besides chain voting happened?

A: Mostly — mostly things that would go on at a particular precinct polling place. In the suburban area the kind of things we were faced with, our best precincts, the best Republican precincts would have one voting machine instead of two. And inevitably when I was kind of helping — on election day I was kind of in charge of the precinct elections for years — and inevitably Precinct Twenty-one in Western Springs, one of the best Republican precincts; Twenty-six and Twenty-seven which were in Hinsdale, on the Cook County side of Hinsdale, those precincts would have either two voting machines and one would be broken, or they wouldn't have a voting machine at all. Or they'd have one machine and it would be out of operation. And when that happens, you know, you lose all the commuters. They're gone, and they don't get back out before five o'clock to vote. A lot of things like that went on.

You know, it was so frustrating year after year. Therefore one thing I tried to get my precinct captains to do always was to get in there the night before and check everything and make sure it's all — of course you can't get into the voting machine, but at least you can see you've got two machines there. You've got all the paraphernalia you need. Some of that I'm sure was inadvertent. But it happened too consistently in the big Republican precincts to be anything but intentional, period. I couldn't prove it. I don't know how they did it even.

Q: Now these were under the control of the election commissioners?

A: No the county clerk for the suburban, Board of Election Commissioners for Chicago; it's the county clerk in the suburban area. And you know you'd call up and gripe, and "Oh, we're so sorry," you know. And then, "We'll send another machine out or we'll get a repairman over there right away," and two hours later a guy shows up and you know you've lost fifty votes per precinct, or a hundred, all the men have gone to work.

Q: Now the ballots, or the results I guess, the results from in the machine or whatever, were taken to a central place. I understand that in some cases the ballots would be lost on the way, or the count.

A: We never had a case, at least in Lyons Township, of the ballots being lost in Lyons Township because there was always a Republican judge who went with the Democratic judge. They always went together. And I've got to say in fairness I don't — in the suburban area, with rare exceptions, were there any problems with Democratic judges. In La Grange and Western Springs we never had a problem with the Democratic judges. They were just as honest as the Republican judges. The fraud in the precincts was normally in city wards where, you know, where the voters didn't know what was going on a lot of times or sometimes they were participating in it, like in the chain ballot or letting somebody come behind the curtain or something. Sometimes the precinct captain simply forced their way behind the curtain with the voter and they'd pull the lever, literally pull the lever.

Q: What about the subject of the primary, when it should occur? Did that . . .

A: Every session of the legislature we had bills in to try to figure out when the primary ought to be. And there was a lot of discussion, pro and con, and we tried a lot of different things. I came to the conclusion finally it doesn't make a lot of difference. You're not going to change the percentage a lot one way or the other of the vote turnout. You're going to have 30 percent plus or minus a few in a primary. There was a big talk about having it in September after Labor Day, after everybody came back from vacations. And there's a

lot to be said for that, for one thing it shortens the period between the primary and the election quite a lot. But that's not all good. Some people think that's very bad to have a short period, you need a longer time to campaign. So for that reason generally I think that the feeling was, "Let's keep it in April." And it's been in April. Sometimes we've moved it to March. I think we might even have moved it to May one time. But we've kept shifting around depending on the particular circumstances in that year.

Q: I gathered that Elections Committee wasn't one of your primary ones during that . . .

A: There wasn't an awful lot going on there I think, Horace, that's probably the reason it was — you know, it was interesting, but again that's a committee where we were outnumbered two-to-one. All the committees were two-to-one. (shoeshine finished) Thanks, Charles. Good to see you again.

Charles: Glad I met you.

Q: Yes sir.

A: But you know there was not an awful lot going on. And what there was, all we could do was complain about it and tell the guys in the senate to watch for such-and-such bill, it was a bad one. That was our defense. We couldn't win anything in the house. (chuckles)

SESSION 9, TAPE 17, SIDE 1

Q: We were talking election legislative matters last time. I'd like to go on to reapportionment matters this go-around, particularly your service on the Reapportionment Committee. How did you come to be appointed to the Reapportionment Committee? It seems rather strange, you were brand new and it seemed like a rather important one.

A: Well I guess for several reasons, Horace. First of all, I'd been very interested in reapportionment before I was elected to the legislature. I did a lot of work as you know on the reapportionment amendment when I was president of the Jaycees and through the Citizens of Greater Chicago and civic organizations. And I don't specifically remember, but I probably asked Hack if I could go on that one. And Al Hachmeister made all the assignments of the Republicans to committees. And he probably thought I'd be a guy who could make some kind of a contribution to the committee, a natural interest in it and wanted to do it.

Q: Now he — and of course John Parkhurst was his second that year — they were both on it. But Clint Youle who was a first-timer down there was also on it. Do you have any rationale for why they would have picked Clint Youle to . . .

A: Well Clint was a very dedicated guy. He was a very intelligent human being. And you know he would do a very good job on any assignment that Hack gave him. As much as possible Hack assigned legislators to the committees they wanted. We had a form. Every year we had a form requesting committees. You'd list your choices in order. And that year since there were only fifty-nine Republicans in the house, most of us got our first choices. Probably Clint asked for Reapportionment as one of his first choices and there was a vacancy on it so he gave it to him. Hack also had, as any legislator does, his friends, people in whom he had confidence, who were personal friends, and he'd count on them and he'd give them assignments where he thought it was important to have them.

Q: Yes sir. Well let me name a couple of others that were on that Reapportionment Committee, a couple of civilians as it were, Dr. Paul P. Boswell was appointed to that.

A: Yes.

Q: What would have been his particular qualifications for that?

A: Blue ribbon. Paul Boswell and Clint and I were all on the so-called blue-ribbon ticket. Paul would bring a particular expertise as a black professional leader. He's an MD and he would really represent the black community which is very important on a Reapportionment Committee.

Q: How about Lawrence X. Pusateri?

A: Same. Larry is also a very bright guy. He was one of the blue-ribbon ticket. He was subsequently president of the Illinois Bar Association. A very sharp guy, really intelligent and would make a significant contribution. He's a past president of the Cook County Young Republicans and very knowledgeable in political matters and he's got a very quick mind.

Q: Did you have any hope on that committee of being successful in pushing the Republican view?

A: None whatsoever. Because we were outnumbered on the committee. And the committees that year were all two Democrats for every single Republican. But our pitch to the Democrats, aside from the merits of anything we were trying to say, would be, "If you guys insist on going your extreme way on an issue, obviously we have to tell our majority in the senate and they'll just kill the bill and we're going to end up in a conference committee. So why don't you try to be reasonable now and work something out now, which we can then go to our people over there and say, 'We've looked at it from the Republican point of view and it's okay.'" That thinking applied not only to reapportionment but to other committee work too.

Q: But you were not successful in getting that point of view through as I understand it.

A: No. Never. On an important political issue like reapportionment, Horace, almost never could we prevail on anything. We certainly wouldn't prevail on anything. We might get them to soften a position on something. But usually not on political issues. They'd say, "Fine. Let the senate do it. Then we'll do battle with them."

Q: Which of course they did to some extent and it went into — I keep calling it the Dunne Commission, it was actually a joint commission of Democrats and Republicans that fall.

A: Yes.

Q: Did you have anything to do with that particular commission?

A: I don't remember that I did.

Q: How did you come to have the complete files of that in your records down at the Illinois State Historical Library I wonder.

A: (laughter) I must have had something to do with it. (pause) Well I've got to tell you I didn't know it. Let me . . .

Q: This was the fall. The commission was formed, I believe, in August.

A: I wasn't on the commission was I?

Q: No no no. There's no indication of your having any connection with it whatsoever. But here's about — oh gosh, almost a cubic foot of paper from that.

A: Is that right? Well let me just think out loud. I ended up with all of the Citizens of Greater Chicago files. I had an enormous batch of things, it might have been in there. I

was the official custodian of all of the files of the Committee for Constitutional Revision — or the Reapportionment Committee. But I don't know how I would have gotten the Dunne files. Was it George Dunne?

Q: George Dunne was the leading Democrat on it. Was it Guthrey — I'm sorry, I've forgotten the name of the leading Republican that was the counterpart. I've called it the Dunne Commission in interviews with Democrats.

A: This is the commission that did the reapportionment job during — in the . . .

Q: In the fall.

A: In the fall after we adjourned. Well no I guess while we were in session.

Q: No it was after adjournment.

A: After adjournment. Oh I see, oh after we adjourned in June they went in yes. I haven't any recollection of it. Isn't that funny? I'd have to take a look at it to see.

Q: Do you remember any particular confrontations in the committee meetings, the Reapportionment Committee, with John Touhy or Elward or Choate or Carrigan or any of those?

A: Any time you're in a meeting with Paul Elward there's a confrontation.

Q: Oh?

A: I don't remember any specific confrontations on it but we did have confrontations over specific district lines, over the disparity between districts and things like that. Usually the conflict would be because one of us wanted a particular incumbent to be included in a particular district. And the Democrats did some really good gerrymandering to get some of their guys in district. There would be a great long prong of a district going up to pick up some representative's or senator's or congressman's house to bring it into a district with which he was familiar and where he had a majority.

Q: I believe I've heard those — bowling alley?

A: Exactly, yes, bowling alley districts is what they're called yes. I can't remember any specific confrontations. Usually if one side has as big a majority as that, two to one, it tends to lessen the confrontations because you'd fight your battle elsewhere. There's no sense wearing yourself out fighting a battle under circumstances like that. The majority doesn't need to and the minority isn't going to win if they do. So aside from making some big statements for the benefit of the press or something like that normally you just keep your mouth shut and go do your thing where you've got the majority, in this case in the senate.

Q: Did you have strategy sessions or brainstorming amongst yourselves?

A: Oh yes yes. We would do that. We'd talk individually to the affected legislators. We were doing the congressional reapportionment too. I remember talking to Ed Derwinski who was our congressman and a lot of other — it seems to me the Republican congressmen had a committee that was working on it. Ed was on it, maybe Bob Michel. I just don't remember — maybe John Erlenborn and they came down to Springfield and met with us. I remember seeing them down there working on this along with the other things and working with the — and of course we worked with the house members, with the Illinois house members and the Illinois senate members on the lines to be drawn for their districts. That was standard procedure. That's what it was all about.

Q: Now the senate was hit that year with the U. S. Supreme Court ruling of one man-one vote which meant that they no longer were on the basis of area as opposed to population.

A: Right.

Q: What was your feeling about that? Did you feel that it ought to be on area, as opposed to population, for the senate?

A: Well there's a lot to be said for both sides. In the United States Constitution when this country was first set up, the senate is on the basis of area. Every state has two senators and a state as populous as California or New York has just as many as a state with as few people as Nevada and Alaska. On the other hand, a state that's as big as Alaska and Texas in area has just as many as the small states like Rhode Island and Delaware. You know that was set up as a compromise because of the big states versus the little states in setting up the Constitution. And that was simply the compromise that was reached. The little states wouldn't go along with proportional representation, with the one man-one vote concept, for both houses. And they said, "Either you protect us to the extent of giving us equal representation in the senate with the big states or we won't go." And this was the compromise which was worked out at that time.

There's, I think, a very valid argument as to whether that concept and the rationale behind it, the reason for it, exists in the modern world in a particular state. It would be like saying every county is entitled to one vote in the Illinois senate. That would be — if that were the basis of selecting the senate, you know, there would be some reason for it. But I don't really think there is. It seems to me that both houses should be set up on a one man-one vote principle. Districts ought to be kept as nearly as possible equal in size. You ought to reapportion every ten years on the basis of the census as we're doing.

I think we have hopefully finally reached an equilibrium in that area which will have to be solved every ten years with all the political battles and everything else and all the gerrymandering and the bowling alley districts and everything else, but at least it's a system I think that gives people a chance to be represented fairly, in both houses.

Q: You don't go along with the fact that there may be economic considerations involved in having disproportionent sizes.

A: Oh sure. Of course there are. The reason the small states in 1787 wanted to have the representation was that their interests were different. And I'm sure that's true. Somebody from Calhoun County, which is kind of an isolated county in Illinois because of the geography, has a little different interest than somebody in Cook County or maybe somebody even in Rock Island County which isn't very far away from it. And yes sure there's — there's reasons for it. But it seems to me that those reasons probably should give way to a one man-one vote.

There are other concepts — because of the work I've been doing in South Africa with the United States South African Leader Exchange Program — other concepts of voting that I really think that we're going to have to take a look at, that the world is going to have to take a look at. Because the one man-one vote just simply doesn't work for some countries.

Q: Oh?

A: It wouldn't work in South Africa. There's no possible way that one man-one vote would work in South Africa today. It just wouldn't for a lot of reasons which I won't get into, at least in my opinion it wouldn't. Now you know for goodness sakes I'm just one guy. But there are other systems. Nevil Shute wrote a book one time, I don't remember the name of it. It might have been called *The Out Back*. It was something about the outback and everybody in that book had one vote simply because he was a human being, and if you had

reached a certain degree of education you had a second vote, and if you owned a certain amount of property you had a third vote. And if you had a certain full-time job or something like that you had a fourth vote. And it went on that — there were a total of six votes that you could earn by doing something in life. And then there was a seventh vote which was conferred by the Queen of England. (chuckles) That was . . . that was — you know, that would be a very complex system.

But you know I thought there was a lot to be said for that. In a modern complex society maybe someone is entitled to more vote because he has a bigger stake and the — your question, "Wouldn't he have different interests?" Yes he might. And you know I've always thought that kind of a system ought to be considered. It would be kind of hard to do it, but with computers now it wouldn't be nearly as hard as it would have been if you'd had to do the whole thing manually.

Q: You mentioned computers. Do you think it would be possible to eliminate all this problem with redistricting by saying to a computer, "Do it," and have a computer come up with the districts.

A: Well computers are used a great deal in reapportionment now in calculating the size of districts and feeding the numbers into the computers so that you can come up with your, you know, where you can draw lines so that your districts are about the same. But you're never going to eliminate in something like reapportionment the human factor. That is a deeply political subject. And there's no way you can ever just let a computer draw the lines. I don't think that's feasible in a modern democracy. The legislators just wouldn't buy it.

Q: Well — but the basic principle of it . . .

A: Oh yes, superb, it sure is. That way you wouldn't have to worry about whether someone was being unfair just for his own private and selfish purposes. But you know, Horace, even a computer — there are a lot of ways a computer could draw the lines. For instance assume a great big square area that you're going to put four districts in. You could obviously draw two lines, one vertical and one horizontal, across the middle and you've got four exactly equal districts in area. Now if the population per square mile were exactly the same throughout, you'd come out with four equal districts. But it doesn't work that way. You've got a heavier population in one of those quadrants so you don't do it that way anymore. You've got to figure out how you're going to cut it up with that quadrant. But even if you're doing it by area, you could also draw three vertical lines and end up with four equal districts or three horizontal lines and end up with four districts that are equal in area. And you can do the same thing with population. You can tell a computer to do it but a computer can draw the line in a hundred places and come up with equal districts. So it's always got the human factor in reapportionment.

Q: Let's see, that year you wound up on three commissions. I presume part of that was because there were so few Republicans available. But one of them we've already covered, the House Legislative Ethics Commission.

A: Right.

Q: I wonder if we could go a little bit more into the ethics business. In 1967, the next session you served on the Executive Committee and you were in charge of a legislative ethics subcommittee of that committee. How did you come to be appointed to that? Did someone ask you or did you ask for that or what?

A: I don't really specifically remember. It might have grown out of the ethics commission that we wrote the bill on the session before based on the currency exchange scandal. I've always been kind of interested in ethical issues and concerns. As a matter of fact I was

called Mr. Ethics for — you know, one of the papers or something dubbed me Mr. Ethics and nobody ever let me live it down. So I was naturally gravitated toward that area.

Q: Now Senator Arrington had ethics and lobbying bills in that year. Do you recall handling those when they came to the house?

A: Yes. I don't remember the specific details of it of course because you know I was handling probably fifty or sixty bills. So I don't remember the details of any one like that at least where I wasn't the chief sponsor. I suppose Russ probably asked me — did he? Was I the chief sponsor, is that — the house sponsor?

Q: I'm not sure. I don't know whether you were or not sir.

A: I might have been, could have . . .

Q: I assume they came to your subcommittee.

A: Yes.

Q: Do you remember working with Senator Arrington at that time on those subjects?

A: Yes. Russ was a real legislative leader, fantastically bright guy, dynamic, competent, able guy. Autocratic and sometimes very hard to live with, but nonetheless most competent. And he got a lot done in that legislature. He was primarily responsible for the system of legislative aides and committee work, getting better committee consideration of bills.

Q: Yes I guess staff was one of the big things that he was . . .

A: It was yes. He was the chief motivator and he was so strong and so positive about things and he got it done.

Q: Did you hold any resentment against Arrington on any particular subjects because of his pushing so hard in some instances?

A: He could have been a lot more courteous to people than he was. But I know a lot of very bright people who don't have time to be courteous. And you know you kind of live with something like that. If you respect somebody as much as I respected Russ Arrington, you — you know, you learn to live with that.

Q: Do you remember any particular subjects where you worked very closely with him, any specific subject?

A: Horace, I don't. I remember meeting with him several times. And . . .

Q: Of course he was involved considerably with the reapportionment.

A: Reapportionment was clearly one. He asked me to go on the Intergovernmental Cooperation Commission one time, he personally asked me to do that, which was a little unusual.

Q: Yes I want to talk about that one in a minute.

A: Okay. I don't remember any more specific things working with Russ. Just, you know, every once in a while he'd send something over and ask me to do it or he'd have a page come over and ask me if I'd come over to see him on the senate floor or in his office which I would do.

Q: How about here in Chicago? Did you meet with him very often or at all?

A: Certainly not very often. There isn't that much contact between the house and senate, unless you're on a particular commission with somebody. And even that, it's not very long or frequent sessions, they might have it in one day, or a few hour, sessions. But I don't remember seeing Russ in Chicago very often. We were both lawyers and I'd see him at the bar association for lunch, things like that.

Q: What were some of your particular objectives in the way of ethics legislation? What did you think ought to be legislated?

A: Well there were a lot of different areas that I was concerned with and interested in. I've always thought that disclosure is one of the main things that you can do to promote ethical conduct. If you open government files to citizens, there's going to be enough people out there looking at them so that one of two things is going to happen. Either the legislator is going to conduct in such a way that his files are clean. Or if he's such a bad guy that he's not going to conduct himself in that way, he's going to clean up his files. Which gives kind of a problem because I've had the feeling that sometimes a do-gooder kind of an ethical bill tended to get the good guys and the bad guys didn't pay any attention to it. In other words it hurt the good people by restricting things that they would normally do which would be perfectly ethical because of the wording. Or they would require them to file financial data that was really their own concern. And the guys that you want to get to file it, who you know are the bad guys, they're not going to put anything in there that can be incriminating. They're just going to bury it. So I've had the feeling a lot of times that that legislation is kind of fruitless. Nevertheless it's necessary.

Q: How about the level to which you need to carry that? For instance, down at the board of trustees at the village where I work, I have to fill one out all the time, and I just put, "none, none, none, none," and sign it you know.

A: Yes.

Q: Do you think it's gone a little far perhaps in the people that have to submit that?

A: Yes I really do. I think it's gone pretty far both in depth of governmental organization and also in depth of the questionnaire. I've got to say though, Horace, I'm torn on this issue. There are some questions that need to be asked because there are officials at all levels of government, even a municipality, where there's been problems. I was reading in the paper the other day there was one county down in Florida where the drug traffic took over. And they had the sheriff and the county board and half of the police, had everybody, on the payroll of the drug traffickers. And they were flying in little planes from Columbia and landing there and taking multimillion dollars worth of drugs out of there. And the sheriff and all the — the whole county officials were all in on the act. Now asking those guys to sign a form isn't going to help any. But it may be that if they don't sign the form, or if they sign a false form, you have another count in an indictment and maybe one that's a little easier to prove.

In terms of the depth of the questionnaire the one part that's bothered me as much as any is the financial part of it. You know I've had the feeling — when I ran for the Senate, I didn't want to disclose my income and my assets. You know, it offended me to have to do that. But I guess in this day and age it has to be done. I did it. You know, I signed it and it was as accurate as I could possibly make it you know. I did it right. And I think people try to do it right, they try to fill it out correctly. But nevertheless it's a little offensive to me to have to do that and to have somebody else do it.

Similar forms, the conflict of interest forms, have always bothered me. Yes I'm one of the guys who drafted them and asked people to sign them and I came down on the side that

we have to do this because of conflicts. Because there's been a lot of double-dipping in Illinois, i.e., someone who is on two public payrolls, both presumably full-time. And you know that isn't right. And I don't know how you can get at it except by getting people to fill out a form and sign it under oath. And if they sign it under oath, and it's wrong, then you've got them for perjury. And if they don't sign it then you can take whatever action is required under the statute that requires them to fill it out.

So I come down on the side of getting forms like that completed, protecting confidentiality as much as possible. For example, lawyers always have a problem because we shouldn't disclose who our clients are, for the clients' sake, not the lawyer's sake. And if you require that form to be filled out so that a lawyer has to say who his clients are, you can't do it. You know, then all you're going to do is rule out of the governmental business people who are very well qualified and who could do a good job in government. They just opt not to run for political office or even appointed office because of the complexity of the forms or because of the things they would have to disclose which they consider to be confidential or which it is not their privilege to disclose, it's somebody else's privilege.

SESSION 9, TAPE 17, SIDE 2

Q: You mentioned double-dipping there. It was a bit before you got into the legislature, back in 1959 I believe it was, that Adamowski brought a suit or whatever against a large number of people here in the Chicago area and a few downstate. William Grindle was one I believe down there also. Do you recall anything about that particular . . .

A: No. I knew it was going on at the time and I was following it but I wasn't actively involved in it. And it was before I was in the legislature, I really didn't pay much attention to it. Well you know, I did at the time, but I don't have any recollection of it now particularly.

Q: Now at that time it was decided that that would not be double-dipping, I guess, if they didn't collect pay for days down at the legislature or whatever. Did you feel that it should still be allowed for people to be bailiffs and on the Cook County payroll and that sort of thing at the same time they were legislators?

A: That has always offended me, not because of the monetary aspect of it but because of the political control aspect of it. A person who has a political job for which he is beholden to his ward committeeman cannot make independent decisions in Springfield. Now I know that sounds naive and I'm not accepting the realities of life, but I really believe we ought to have as independent a legislature as possible, free to make decisions based on the individual legislator's conscience, what he believes is right, based on whatever factors he wants, he or she wants, to take into consideration. That doesn't happen with a guy who is on a political payroll, because his livelihood, and maybe whether his kid stays in college or whether his wife has a new dress, depends on what somebody else tells him. And if a ward committeeman or a county chairman or somebody like that calls some legislators — and this still happens — that legislator has no choice but to do what that political boss's directions are.

Q: Did you at any time attempt to take any action to rectify that situation?

A: I complained about it a lot. I don't remember that we had any specific bills on it. We may have. It's the kind of thing that we would have been working on in ethics to try to do it. But the trouble is, there's just no feasible way you can do that really. At least there wasn't then. Maybe now there would be. There's a lot more independent legislature now than there was when I was there. I've heard people really complain in the last couple of sessions that there's no party discipline any more.

Q: What about the court case there with Klingbiel and Solfisburg? Did you get involved with that in any way, or was that handled by the courts themselves?

A: That was handled totally outside. The legislature had nothing to do with it. A very unfortunate situation because they were both supposed to be pretty good judges, but it was a very unfortunate situation.

Q: How well did you get to know Ted Isaacs or did you know him at all?

A: I didn't really know him at all. I knew who he was but I don't know that I ever shook his hand.

Q: What about the big to-do that came up after Paul Powell died and all the business came about the shoeboxes and the money that he had stashed away and all that? Did you get involved in any way with the investigation there?

A: No. But it simply confirmed what everybody knew, and nobody could prove. You remember when we had that currency exchange thing I mentioned that they said they had to have ten thousand dollars for the man on the second floor. That was Paul Powell whose office was on the second floor. And everybody knew it. But there was no way we could prove it. Paul Powell didn't come into their room and say, "Where's my ten thousand?" you know. We didn't have anything.

Q: There was a big problem — well it came out shortly after that or perhaps in connection with that — in regard to the Cahokia Downs blind trust and a great number of people were involved with that blind trust. And there was a considerable move in the legislature to outlaw blind trusts. Did you get involved in that legislation?

A: I don't remember. But probably . . . I wasn't one of the leaders of it, but I'm sure it's the kind of thing I would be for and would talk for on the floor of the house and certainly vote for.

Q: Well now when that came out, the list of names were on both sides of the fence as a matter of fact. Art Bidwill — his daughter I believe it was — had a considerable amount of the stock involved in that.

A: Yes.

Q: And William Pollack was involved, I believe his wife owned some. Were you surprised at the names that appeared on that list?

A: No.

Q: Oh you weren't?

A: No.

Q: Why would that be? Were they the type of people that you expect might have done that sort of thing?

A: Sure. Sure.

Q: I'll be darned.

A: I guess maybe I was a little surprised at Art Bidwill. But I don't know, Bill Pollack's a very nice guy, but anyhow it didn't shock me. If it had been a lot of other guys on there

I would have been shocked a lot more. On a scale of one to ten in shock, I suppose Bill Pollack would be somewhere in the middle.

Q: I see. I don't suppose there was any particular shock concerning Clyde Lee or Clyde Choate or Paul Zeigler?

A: None whatsoever.

Q: How about William Downey? Did you ever get to know William Downey at all?

A: I knew him. But really only cursorily. He was not known as one of the best guys in the Republican party. I never was really involved in that kind of politics really very much. He was known as Smokey Downey. And that's about all I can remember about him. I don't remember what he looked like even. I know he was very close to Bill Stratton and Bill Stratton, for whom I have enormous respect, I can't tell you how much respect I have for Bill Stratton, but Bill kind of relied on Smokey Downey and I don't think that was the highlight of Bill's career to rely on Smokey Downey.

Q: Do you remember what your position was regarding the blind trusts?

A: I don't remember, Horace. I can tell you I'd be sure I would be in favor of eliminating things like that.

Q: Yes.

A: I felt very sad about some of those things. I know when that came out — Art Bidwill retired from the legislature about that time. When was that? That must have been about 1971 or something like that.

Q: In 1971 yes.

A: There was an article in one of the papers with two big pictures, one of Art Bidwill and one of me, side by side. They were big pictures and the headline was — over Bidwill it said, "Out under a cloud," and over mine it said, "Out with a smile." And you know it was kind of a sad thing for Art to end his career which had been a very distinguished career under a cloud like that. Because you know I had respected him down there. He was a leader. It's sad when something like that happens.

Q: Now he was from the same district that you were, was he not?

A: Well no he was from River Forest. It was a west suburban district but it was — I'm not even sure we were contiguous. We were close but he lived in River Forest — I think he lived in River Forest. I lived in La Grange.

Q: I'm thinking of Arthur Sprague I guess.

A: Art Sprague yes yes.

Q: I call him Arthur.

A: Yes I would have been very surprised if Arthur Sprague had been in any of that, if he'd have any of that stuff.

Q: I didn't find his name.

A: Yes I'm sure you would not.

Q: Well when Walker came along, did he make your appointment to the State Board of Ethics, or how did you get on the State Board of Ethics? Now that was after your legislative career as I understand it that you joined the State Board of Ethics.

A: I don't remember even being on the State Board of Ethics.

Q: Oh you don't?

A: No.

Q: I had to notice . . .

A: Tell me a little bit about it. Maybe I was. Tell me a little . . .

Q: Well all I know, recall, about it was that the Chicago Tribune reported that State Board of Ethics had drawn up an ethics program for Walker, who was going to put it in as administration bills. And it said that you were a member of that state board.

A: Was I one of the ones? Okay. I'm sure it wasn't a long-term appointment. It might have been a one-shot deal that he appointed a bunch of people to do something like that. He did things like that. Dan was — he was regularly appointing Republicans to spots that he could count on, Republicans in whom he had confidence and Roy Sandquist was one, and people like that.

Q: So you don't recall particularly actions after the legislature in regard to ethics then?

A: No I really don't. When I got out of the legislature my recollection now eleven years later is that it was with a great big sigh of relief. It was like getting off the school board, you know, you've done a great thing, it's been wonderful service, it's been a pleasure, it's been an enormous amount of work, and you're just so damned glad it's over you don't want to keep a foot in the door. You know some people think that once you're in politics you're in it forever, you get bitten by the bug, you know you hear of this all of the time. Boy, that sure wasn't the case with me. I was so glad to get out of the legislature. I enjoyed it, but I just plain didn't want to run again.

Q: Perhaps not quite as strongly, but Paul Randolph has said much the same thing.

A: I'm sure that's so, yes.

Q: I think his statements were that once he left there he didn't think about what happened at all.

A: Yes. But you know, Paul is a classic example of a guy who's dedicated an enormous amount of his life to the Republican party. Paul, who's quite a little older than I am, is still currently the Republican ward committeeman in the Forty-second Ward. I ran into him on the street the other night. He said, "How about giving me a hand? I need some people around." I said, "I've got some great guys who've just been moved downtown, both past Republican presidents in Lyons Township." "Who are they? Where do they live?" he asked. I told him. He said, "I need them right now. Can you get me in touch with them right away?" Just a dynamic really interesting guy, he's just done a fine job.

Q: I saw him on the street at noon today.

A: Oh did you? Oh he's just — he's really something else. And he just finished a term as chairman of the board of trustees of the Fourth Presbyterian Church which is a very, you know, a very lovely church up on Michigan Avenue. He was not only chairman of the

board of trustees, he's also chairman of the ushers committee in the church and just a very active guy. That's why he looks so young.

Q: Yes. Well let's see, now the house Legislative Ethics Commission, and the two other commissions that you were on were the Food, Drug, Cosmetic and Pesticide Laws Study Commission and the Intergovernmental Cooperation Commission.

A: Right.

Q: Let's take that last one first. You say you were appointed specifically to that one?

A: Russ Arrington asked me at one time, I think, to go on that commission. He might have asked — was I vice-chairman of it, do you remember?

Q: I don't recall that, no sir.

A: Well I think he asked me to go on the commission one time which was a little unusual for a senator to ask somebody in the house to do. That was Russ though. You know, if Russ saw something he wanted to get done and he saw somebody he liked, boy, he'd go get it. And that was a very interesting commission. And it was considered to be one of the more important ones down there because it was — intergovernmental cooperation meant cooperation among the different levels of government within the state of Illinois, counties, municipalities, sanitary districts, mosquito abatement districts, school districts, whatever. For that reason it was a perpetual challenge to try to keep efficiency in government with all these overlapping, geographically overlapping and sometimes substantively overlapping, districts from spending more taxpayers' money than they needed to. And it was, I thought, a real good commission, one of the better ones.

Q: Well now the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission — that might not be the precise name but . . .

A: Nip-C, it is, yes, N-I-P-C.

Q: Now they were attempting to get cooperation between the various agencies up here in the northeastern part of Illinois, and were having quite a time as I understand getting everybody together on that. Did you have the same types of problems that that planning commission had?

A: No because the Northeastern Metropolitan Area Planning Commission — which is what it was called technically at the beginning at least, subsequently it was called Nip-C — started out by talking about such things as metropolitan government. There was talk at Nip-C about putting all of northeastern Illinois, all of Cook County and the surrounding suburbs, into one metropolitan government. And that was absolute anathema to everybody outside the city of Chicago. And for that reason a lot of people, particularly conservatives, got down on Nip-C right off the bat. And Nip-C never recovered from that, never has to this day recovered from it. People in Du Page County for instance, the Republican organization in Du Page County, you mention Nip-C, boy, that's the enemy, that's the arch-enemy because, "They want to take us over and make us part of Chicago, and there's no way they're going to do that." I think that's a little unfair because I don't think that was really a major part of Nip-C.

There were a great many activities that, when you've got a metropolitan area like ours, you've got to have cooperation among counties, among municipalities, whatever. For things like water, a lot of ways, police protection. But as soon as you start talking about doing those things on a metropolitan-area basis, you get a lot of opposition. We didn't have that on the Intergovernmental Cooperation Commission because we weren't trying to promote

metropolitan government. We were just getting the existing governments to cooperate with one another.

Q: What were some of the ways you found to do that?

A: Oh programs to point out to them the benefit of cooperation. Bills to promote whatever particular project would better be done on a metropolitan basis, things like that.

Q: Did you have any particular things in your district that generated actions in that legislation, or personal experiences with that type of problem?

A: Horace, not that I can remember. That's the kind of thing that I would try to keep the presidents of the villages in my district acquainted with what was going on. And the township officials and maybe the mosquito abatement district officials or whatever it was that might affect them. But as I've said my district didn't generate a lot of things internally for me to do the way districts do for congressmen in Washington, or downstate districts did. I was perpetually amazed at how much pressure downstate legislators were getting from people in their districts to do things. And they were equally amazed at how little pressure those of us from the suburban Cook County were getting from our people.

Q: Well it helped in one respect, I guess you didn't have to worry too much about logrolling then. No one would bother to ask you for support, knowing they couldn't trade off.

A: That's right. I only remember one instance in which I traded a vote. There was a legislator from Chicago, a black freshman legislator from Chicago who had a vote on a committee. And I had a bill in — and I don't have any idea what the bill was now. I don't have the slightest recollection. It was a bill of which I was chief sponsor. It was one I really wanted. And I talked to him about it. And he said, "Well you know I've got one on a committee that you're on." And we discussed it. And I said, "Well fine that sounds good to me." He said, "Okay," he said, "you vote for my bill; I'll vote for yours." I said fine. So his bill was called first in my committee and I was there and I voted for the bill. My bill was subsequently called in his committee and he was absent. Total extent of my logrolling.

Q: (laughter) It wasn't a very successful experience.

A: Total failure.

Q: Well. Where did this Intergovernmental Cooperation Commission normally meet? Did you travel around the state to look into these . . .

A: I don't remember that I ever did with that commission. I was never really active — I was only on that commission for a short time. The meetings I recall were in Springfield. And it seems to me we may have met in Chicago once or twice. But Bill Walsh wanted to be on that commission. I don't know, the Speaker called me in and asked if I cared if Bill Walsh took my place on the commission. And I didn't care that much about the commission. It wasn't — my heart wasn't in it any more than anybody else's and Bill's really was. So I said, "Fine, let him have it."

Q: I see. This then was entirely within the state. You had no intergovernmental cooperation between states involved with this?

A: I don't believe so. I think it was all internal within the state. That's my recollection.

Q: Well let's see, the third commission that you were put on that first year was that Food, Drug, Cosmetic and Pesticide Laws Study Commission. Now you generated this particular commission yourself, did you not?

A: No I didn't.

Q: Oh?

A: It was very interesting — this one I remember about. This one I remember in intimate detail on this one because it was kind of my field. Chip Majewski, a Democrat, sponsored the bill to create a food, drug, cosmetic and pesticide laws study commission. I didn't even know the bill was put in. It was drafted and in before I knew anything about it. And I saw it and it looked to me like it would be a great commission to be on, one on which I could maybe make some kind of a contribution since that was my field of law. So I asked Al Hachmeister if he would recommend me for it, and he did. And Governor Ogilvie . . . was it Ogilvie or Walker? I forget. I think it was — well whoever it was, the governor signed the bill but vetoed the appropriation for the bill.

Q: That was Kerner.

A: It was Kerner, it was Kerner. I guess it was Kerner yes. But he vetoed the appropriation. That took away Chet Majewski's interest in it.

Q: Oh?

A: Because if you don't have an appropriation for travel and for a secretary there's not much use in doing a commission. So I went to Chet and said, "Chet, this is my field. I think we can really do something for the state laws in the food and drug field. Let's keep it going." And he said, "Okay, I'll do it if you'll be chairman." So I said fine. And therefore I think I was the only Republican in the house who was chairman of a commission that year, and I'm sure I was the only freshman who was chairman of a commission and solely because there was no appropriation, we had nothing we could do.

We had a pretty good commission from the house and senate. Cliff Latherow, Senator Latherow, was one of the Republican senators and brought a farm knowledge and background, and just a super guy, made a real contribution to that committee. And there were a couple of other senators who did too. Adlai Stevenson was on it in the house. And I don't remember who the other house members were but it was a reasonably good smattering of Republicans and Democrats in both houses. The Democrats had a majority of course. There were three Democrats — there must have been three Democratic house members and two Republican house members. And probably vice versa in the senate. Because it was a five-five-and-five commission, five senators, five representatives, and five public members.

I talked to five of my friends in the food and drug business. And I talked to the governor about it. And he had some ideas too. And I'm not going to get all the names right because they'd change from year to year, from term to term. But that first term, at least the ones I remember over the years as making the big contributions, were Dr. J. B. Stine of Kraft who knows more about cheese production than any man in the world and a very knowledgeable food authority on microbiology and toxicology and food technology, everything in the whole food area; Harvey Hensel, who was a lawyer in the Swift law department, a food and drug lawyer who knew an enormous amount about meat law and USDA and all of the — brought the meat end and other Swift products like dairy products knowledge to the committee; George Johnson, who was president of Johnson Products Company, a cosmetics company, and had a great deal of knowledge about cosmetics; Esther Kegan who is a food and drug lawyer here in Chicago, represents a great many food and drug companies. (pause) And I may think of some others as we're talking about it. But at least those — how many have I named? five — made enormous contributions.

What we did was: I called them all and said, "We've got no appropriation. So you guys have to pay your own expenses, or your companies can pay them if you can" — George Johnson I didn't need to say this to. George is president and CEO of Johnson Products

Company. But Doc and Harvey and Esther all said fine. And so we started to have meetings of this commission. We held most of the meetings in Chicago because just about everybody was here except some of the legislators, who weren't interested in it anyway.

And we undertook a review of all of the Illinois food and drug laws. And we came up with some interesting conclusions. A lot of the laws were — went back to the nineteenth century and you know when something moves as fast as the food and drug businesses and technology and law, you don't need nineteenth century laws. So we recommended the repeal of a whole bunch of archaic laws. They were in conflict, it just didn't make sense in the modern world, they weren't giving consumers protection, they really weren't any good.

Q: Now you had no staff I guess with this. So you yourselves sat down and went through these laws to ferret out the . . .

A: Sure. We did it all. We did it. But you know if it's your field you kind of know where to look. So it's not that big a deal. And if we'd have a bill that talked about testing milk that was written in 1893, Doc Stine from Kraft and Harvey Hensel from Swift would say, "Gee, this is absolutely useless." Or if we had a bill that — oh, I forgot one of the most important members. I knew I was missing somebody. Richard Kasperson was the drug expert. He's with Abbott and knows as much about drug regulation and law as anybody in the United States and is a dear personal friend of mine. And as a matter of fact, Doc and Harvey and Dick are three of my very close friends.

And it was fun to work with them, not only because they're good friends but because they are so knowledgeable. And I don't think any of those ever missed a meeting. We worked between meetings to get things lined up and to do the kind of revision of the Illinois food laws that we needed. And when we took over — for some reason the Illinois food law was in a separate section from the Illinois drug law. Well in a modern world that isn't the way it operates. The United States . . .

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Q: So they had them separated, the food and the drug laws.

A: Yes, you know, beginning in — well in 1906 the federal act, there was a federal meat act and a pure food and drug act. That was the year of the muckrakers. And Congress passed the two separate statutes. But in 1938 it was all put together and drugs weren't regulated much at all before 1938. But the federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act was passed in 1938 and from then on food and drugs were regulated by the same agency, the United States Food and Drug Administration.

There's another organization called the Association of Food and Drug Officials of the United States, A-F-D-O-U-S, which was the professional association of the state food and drug enforcement officials. And the federal people were in that organization too. AFDOUS had drafted a model food and drug act and had recommended it for adoption by the states. And a number of states had done it. We hadn't done it in Illinois. Actually we had split in half some way. Somebody had gone to the terrible trouble of trying to divide the act in half. I don't know the history of that.

But we were successful. The commission was successful in recommending to the legislature that we adopt the model food, drug and cosmetic act. That was one of the major accomplishments, to get Illinois a modern act. As a matter of fact, the federal food and drug people, one of them, wrote a paper later on that described the Illinois food and drug laws as the best in the United States, really because of the work of this commission that Dick

and Doc and Esther and Harvey and the other — and George Johnson and the senators and representatives who occasionally came to the meeting, made a real contribution.

Q: Where did you hold these meetings, normally in your offices here?

A: Oh yes sure, at one of our offices or our house or somewhere. (chuckles) We didn't have any need for a big meeting hall. We'd just sit down like you would at any kind of a meeting where you're going to get something done.

Q: Did you run into any problems with the Open Meetings Act by meeting like that?

A: Well it was before the Open Meetings Act. It wouldn't have mattered anyway. I'm sure we put out notices for everything and anybody would have been welcome to come. We did once in a while have somebody come who was interested in the particular subject. We weren't trying to be secretive, we were just trying to get the job done.

Q: Did you have hearings where people would come?

A: Every once in a while we would need to. Most of the time — if you're talking about whether you'd need an 1893 law governing milk, you don't need to have a hearing. You might want to call some of the people in the dairy industry or the people in the state government who were administering it. And they'd say, "Geez, I didn't even know that was on the books. We've never enforced it. There's nothing in the act. We have nothing in our budget. You know, I literally didn't know it was there." That kind of an act you don't need. So all these old 1893 laws we just eliminated. They're all incorporated in the model food and drug act anyway.

Q: So really you were kind of tying it in to the current federal situation that . . .

A: And other states. Now I think all but maybe four or five states have adopted the model code.

Q: Did you work with other states like Indiana or Missouri or any of the surrounding states?

A: (pause) I testified in Minnesota. They were doing the same thing. And the Minnesota food and drug official, the state official, his name was George Steel, was an old friend of mine — and I was in the legislature, and George said, "I've got troubles with my legislature. We want the model act up here. Would you come up and testify?" So I went up and testified before their senate committee and I was the first witness and I explained it you know from a point of view not only of a legislator but also from the point of view of a food and drug lawyer who is aware of the pros and cons of having a model act in a state. In the first place it's more modern, it's uniform with other states, there's so many advantages that it far outweighs any state's rights kind of a thing that once in a while you run into.

Q: Was there ever any thought in your mind, being a pure food lawyer and in a position like that on a commission, of any conflict of interest?

A: I was obviously always aware of that possibility. I was not as aware of it as Paul Elward was. And Paul Elward used to get up on the floor of the house and address me as "The Gentleman from Kraft." You know, they'd say, "the Gentleman from the county . . ." He always called me, "The Gentleman from Kraft." Well as a matter of fact when he was doing that I didn't even represent Kraft, but nevertheless he was doing that. To the best of my knowledge there was never a single incident where anybody could say under any stretch of the imagination there was a conflict.

I was the chief sponsor of a bill one time to — I guess it was a commission bill — to eliminate bold-faced type on part of the ingredients clause on a margarine package. And of

course Kraft was in the margarine business. And I disclosed to everybody that, you know, that Kraft does have an interest in this. "Like everybody in the industry, Kraft wants this out. Illinois is the only state that has this requirement. It makes us nonuniform with everybody in the United States, nonuniform with the federal law. It may be a burden on interstate commerce and therefore unconstitutional. But there's no reason for Illinois to have this requirement if nobody else has the requirement. It just simply doesn't make sense in a modern society." So, yes, on something like that I guess I'd have a conflict.

As a matter of fact, the president of the margarine — or the executive director — I guess he's president of the National Association of Margarine Manufacturers, sent me a campaign contribution after that of twenty-five dollars, which really wouldn't be enough to sway my judgment if anything would. (chuckles) But I sent it back to him. I thought you know, "I don't want to have even a semblance of anything wrong." So I just sent it — he's a good friend of mine, but I just sent it back to him. I said, "It's not mine. It's — you know, thank you." (chuckles)

You asked about other states. Other state officials would ask me for help once in a while. The California state official did. And I helped with their bill. And I went out there, I gave a speech to the California senate one time while they were in full session. But I don't remember why I was out there. I was out lobbying for something I think. One of the senators who had a child in my daughter's class at Stanford took me onto the floor of the senate one time. They were not in session yet, and — oh no, they were in recess. They had been called to session but they were in recess. And he took me up and introduced me to the — it must have been the lieutenant governor who was running the session. And it was right at the time of reapportionment. We had just been through it here and he said, "Would you give us a little talk on reapportionment?" And I said, "Well — " I said, "No you don't want me to give — you've got a lot to do other than hear from some goofy guy from Illinois to give a speech on reapportionment." He said, "Actually you'd be doing me a great favor because if you will give a speech everybody will sit down. I don't have a quorum. And if I don't get something going pretty quick I'm going to lose more and I'm really going to be in trouble. And I've got people trying to raise a quorum. So please give a speech on reapportionment." So I did.

Q: Well! (laughter) You don't think you had any particular effect on the reapportionment in that . . .

A: None whatsoever. But I did hold his guys there. (laughter)

(taping stopped for conversation with secretary, then resumed)

Q: Let's see now. You had no appropriation that first year. Now the next session was there appropriation made for the commission? You served on it two sessions as I understand it.

A: Oh I think it was more than that. I think we kept it going all four I was down there. And we did have an appropriation. We never had a staff. I used the appropriation to pay the expenses of anybody who wanted it to go to a meeting, and turned back everything else. We hardly used anything, any part of the appropriation.

Q: You must have used a considerable amount of your own staff's work then?

A: We did one thing, Horace, that I've got to tell you about that was. . . . Yes we did. But Doc Stine would, or Harvey Hensel would, or Dick Kasperson would, or Esther Kegan would or George Johnson would or whoever else was on the commission. It wasn't any great burden. If you're efficient, as all those people are, it's not that big a deal. Besides all of us were experts in the field you know. That was our business for all of us. And you know, it would take us longer to educate a staff person to do it than to do it ourselves, a lot longer. So we just did it.

Along about that time I gave a talk at the AFDOUS meeting which happened to be in Minneapolis that year. And the subject was on automatic adoption by the states of what is done by FDA. One of the problems that states have is that they don't have a big enough appropriation in their Department of Public Health or their Department of Agriculture to have a really effective food and drug program in a lot of ways. They don't have the experts. They don't have anybody who knows about new drug applications or food additives. If somebody submitted a food additive application or a new drug application to a state, they wouldn't know what to do with it. They simply don't have the manpower to handle it and frequently they don't have the expertise to handle it, they don't have the scientists. FDA does have. So a lot of people, inside and outside of industry, were looking for ways to provide better protection for the citizens of a state by having the state do what FDA was doing. But the state people don't even have time or the facilities to know what FDA is doing. They don't read the Federal Register, they don't read all the notices that go out. They obviously never attend hearings that FDA is having on particular subjects. They just don't follow it. They can't. It's not their job to do that. Nevertheless whatever FDA is doing has at least an indirect impact on every state.

So we were looking for ways to get federal decisions implemented at the state level. And I suggested in that speech up in Minneapolis that maybe we could have an automatic adoption by the states of whatever FDA did, at least in certain defined areas. And I don't think I ever gave a speech that was as well received. When I got through with that and stepped down off the podium, I'll bet I had the state officials from twenty-five states coming around me saying, "Great idea, George. Go do it." You know. So I said, "Let me see what we can do."

So Harvey Hensel and I went to work on it. Harvey was there and heard the speech and I think probably Doc was too. And so the first draft of those automatic adoption provisions were in a yellow pad in my handwriting. And so I talked it over with the commission. Everybody said, "Yes let's put it in in Illinois." So we recommended it to the state of Illinois so that Illinois would automatically adopt whatever FDA did on — there were five specific areas, food additives, temporary food standards, temporary permits to deviate from a food standard, color additives and maybe new drugs. Those might have been the five, it was something like that. Something that the states — my goodness, it would be overwhelming if the state had to do everything FDA does when they approve something like that. So the commission approved it and we recommended it to the Illinois legislature, and the Illinois legislature adopted it.

Q: Now at that point, certainly there weren't very many legislators down there that even knew what you were talking about. How did you go about selling them on the need?

A: I talked to a few key guys. And Paul Elward would then always stand up and say, "I have some questions for The Gentleman from Kraft." And I would answer his questions if I could keep from getting mad. And those bills passed readily. I would talk to the leadership on both sides so that the leadership would know I wasn't trying to pull something for a client or something, which I clearly was not trying to do. The state officials really wanted it. I'd get letters from the state officials in Illinois or they would come and testify for me at the hearing regularly, and say this was the greatest thing since apple pie you know. They'd say, "Oh, love it." It was just such a great way for them to keep their state laws and their regulations current without having to go through the enormous, absolutely impossible, job of copying even — they don't even have time to read what FDA does, let alone implement it in any way.

Q: Now who would this be, the Department of Health and . . .

A: Well it's split in Illinois. Yes, primarily the Department of Health, the Department of Public Health. Lowell Oranger was, when I first got into food and drug law he was the state enforcement official. I think Lowell was succeeded by Roy Upham, who is just now

retiring this month. They are both dedicated food enforcement officials. And were 100 percent behind this effort, 1000 percent behind the effort, both of them. I don't remember which one was in charge at the time we first started, but Dr. Upham and Mr. Oranger both worked closely with us every step of the way in everything we were doing. I think by the time this came along Lowell had probably retired. And it was very likely Roy who was in it. I know Roy for the last many years has been a superb enforcement official. As a matter of fact, Roy ended up as president of AFDOUS. And so was Lowell Oranger back in his day, national president of the Association of Food and Drug Officials.

Once we got it through Illinois of course that made Illinois nonuniform which is contrary to the principle that I've been enunciating for so long. Harvey Hensel and I gave so many speeches on uniformity that they called us the Gold Dust Twins. We'd go to the same meetings and both give speeches on different aspects of uniformity. And because of that we thought we ought to propose automatic adoption to the Association of Food and Drug Officials. And we did propose it to them. And they incorporated it into the model food and drug act so that the automatic adoption provisions are now in the model act.

And then of course the model act was recommended for adoption by all the states. And I have never counted to see how many states have those automatic adoption provisions in them, but a lot of them do. It's in the model code now, most states have adopted it.

So that's one significant contribution that that Food, Drug, Cosmetic and Pesticide Law Study Commission did.

Q: Now this started with a speech given in Minnesota. What caused you to make that speech? What was the background there?

A: Well in the first place I was invited to give the speech by the Association of Food and Drug Officials.

Q: On that subject?

A: Well I don't remember. I probably — probably on uniformity, it was probably on the subject of uniformity. And one of the problems of uniformity is that FDA keeps jumping ahead of all the states so you can't stay uniform. And it's just as important to have uniformity between the federal government and the states as it is uniformity among the states. So this helped on the former part of that, uniformity between the federal government on the one hand, which has got to be the leader in this because of the scientific expertise involved in it, and the states on the other hand. I'm sure I talked to Harvey and Doc and Dick about the speech before I gave it. But I don't remember that there was anybody came to me — I don't think anybody came and said, "Write a speech on automatic adoption."

(taping stopped for conversation with secretary, then resumed)

Q: Did the commission have any connection with the USDA in any way in proposing things to the USDA?

A: Not to USDA. We did some work with the Illinois State Department of Agriculture. In most states food law enforcement is divided between the Department of Public Health or the Department of Health or Department of Consumer Affairs, and a Department of Agriculture. Or like in New York it's Department of Agriculture and Markets. One of the problems that state officials are faced with is two different guys administering the same law or two different departments administering different parts of the same law. And we worked with the Illinois Department of Agriculture, particularly the milk control division, at least as much as with the Department — well not quite as much as with the Department of Public Health, but also a great deal with them.

Q: I believe — I've forgotten what it was called — a Pure Milk Act — at least a modification of that was one of the major proposed pieces of legislation.

A: Right.

Q: What was that about? What were you attempting to do there?

A: Well probably more than any other subject, milk supply and all kinds of things having to do with milk were governed by those antiquated statutes which were really no consumer protection at all. They were superceded by the model act which we had adopted in Illinois, which was — the protection came from the other act. And if there was a thing called the Pure Milk Act, we probably — it was one of the ones that was repealed, was it? Do you happen to know? I don't remember that name. It's not a common — it's not something that's a . . .

Q: I notice that in two or three sessions there was action concerning that particular act, or concerning milk I should say. I'm not sure of the . . .

A: Yes. Oh there must have been twenty little pieces of statute that the legislature repealed in those years, that were archaic, useless — the darned things just hanging around — that had no meaning and they were in conflict with one another and milk was the main thing. And because of that we were working with the Department of Agriculture.

Q: What about drugs now? We've been talking mostly in terms of food. What about drugs? I noticed an item on LSD [lyseraic acid diethylamide] for example. There was some consideration concerning LSD.

A: Well when I use the word drugs as I've been using in our conversation here I'm talking about pharmaceuticals, prescription drugs or over-the-counter drugs, not about LSD and narcotics.

Q: I see.

A: Those are usually called controlled substances. And now they're subject to entirely different regulations. They're not regulated by FDA. They're regulated by the drug enforcement agency, DEA, Drug Enforcement Administration. So when I'm talking about food and drug, I'm really talking almost exclusively about prescription drugs, over-the-counter drugs, medicinal, medicine, not narcotics.

Q: Well this particular action on your part then concerning the control of LSD didn't come as a result of the commission necessarily?

A: I don't remember that we even considered narcotics. We may have. Somebody may have referred bills to the commission to study.

Q: I see.

A: And since the word drug was in the title of the commission, we would very likely have gotten some things on narcotics just referred to us for comment or review or whatever.

Q: I see. How about cosmetics? Do you recall any particular . . .

A: No. Very little. The state regulation of pharmaceuticals and the state regulation of cosmetics are minimal. Both pharmaceuticals and cosmetics are regulated by the Federal Food and Drug Administration. Technically sure the state has jurisdiction but it requires so much expertise to regulate drugs and cosmetics, drugs particularly, cosmetics don't really

need much regulation. History has been that cosmetics — occasionally there'll be a cosmetics problem, but very rarely. So cosmetics are far less regulated even on the federal level, just infinitely less than drugs or food.

Q: I guess you must have been at law school about the time that John Fribley with a couple of other people put in to do away with home permanents because they were dangerous.

A: (chuckles) I don't remember that.

Q: I think every woman in the state of Illinois jumped on him on that.

A: I'll bet. (chuckles) That sounds like — that's a fetcher bill.

Q: Well let's see the other term that's in that title is pesticide. How much did you get involved with the legislation concerning pesticides?

A: Well there wasn't a lot of regulation on pesticides either at the state level. That also is a federal thing. As a matter of fact, that's what I've been spending most of my time on the last few days. I was at a program called First Camera which is NBC's attempt to counter Sixty Minutes and Twenty-Twenty. They had a program last Sunday night in which they were talking about a pesticide called ethylene dibromide and two of my clients got mentioned as having products which contained ethylene dibromide. Ethylene dibromide is a fumigant used in grain elevators. You don't spray it on the crops. You just use it for spot fumigation in grain elevators to kill insects. And it's been used rather extensively in the citrus industry. And First Camera really sailed into ethylene dibromide. And in the course of it they mentioned the fact that products of two of my clients contained it. Didn't say how much, didn't say anything about it, just said it was significant amounts. Well it's no more significant amount than the man in the moon. But they said it you know, it was just one of these sensationalist things.

Q: So that . . .

A: That's — we didn't get into things like that in the commission really. Mainly we were trying to update and modernize the food law, drugs to a less extent, cosmetics to a less extent than that, and pesticides we probably mentioned but insignificantly.

Q: Well by the early 1970's pesticides had become — DDT [dichloro-diphenyl-trichloro-ethane] for example — did you get involved with that?

A: Not at the state level. That's really nearly all federal legislation. Once in a while a state legislator would put a bill in on something like that. And then we would take a look at it and see how it fit into the Illinois law and it might not be necessary at all. And I'd go talk to them and show it to them, why it wasn't needed or why it was needed and here's how it could be changed to make it a better bill, or whatever you know, and usually we'd come out with something pretty good.

The only one that I really blew, somebody put a bill in one time to prohibit the use of artificial color in hot dogs. So that hot dogs instead of being red would be the gray color of sausage. And I just didn't think red hot dogs were misleading to anybody. And I didn't want to deprive my kids or anybody else's kids of red hot dogs, or myself, or anybody else. And I voted against that bill.

Q: Did you say that on the floor?

A: I did. And I was the only one who voted against the bill. That's the only bill I can remember where I was the only red light. And nobody paid any attention to me and they

put the bill through and it lasted exactly one year until it was repealed. Or one term. It was repealed the next session. It was the dumbest bill in the world, but you know . . .

Q: Did you have anything to do with the repealing of it?

A: (pause) Horace, I don't remember. I don't think I did. I don't think anybody talked to me. I just don't remember. It might even have been after I left the legislature. It might have been my last term. I just don't remember. (chuckles) I do remember I was the only red light in that bill though.

Q: Let's see now the question of fluoridation of water came up. I don't know that that would be considered by this commission. But do you recall that question?

A: I do yes. I do remember it. I don't remember that we considered it in the commission either. That was a very emotional bill. The primary objectors were people who objected — the proponents of the bill would limit or prohibit fluoridation — were people who said it was forced medication. And people like Christian Scientists who don't believe in medication were very opposed to anything which would require fluoridation.

I also ran into that in Western Springs in terms of the plan commission because we were — there was a proposal to fluoridate the water in Western Springs which was vigorously and emotionally opposed and I don't know if it would have passed if there was going to be a referendum. I don't remember if there was a referendum. Maybe we had a referendum and it didn't pass and then Western Springs brought in a new well — they just needed more water — they brought in a new well and there was more natural fluoride in the new well than there would have been added to the old well. So there was not much you could do about that one.

SESSION 9, TAPE 18, SIDE 2

Q: Do you recall any other particular activities on the part of that commission, the Food, Drug, Cosmetics and Pesticide . . .

A: I don't really, Horace. That was an active commission though. It was one of the most active commissions down there. We had a lot of meetings and did a lot of work.

Q: Now you've indicated in regard to that that there were these specialists, but I believe your phrase was that the legislators on the commission didn't do very much. Were there a number that were assigned to that commission?

A: Yes there were five senators and five representatives.

Q: And these . . .

A: Cliff Latherow came to the meetings very regularly. We had a number of meetings where there was just the five public members and me. There would just be the six of us. But Cliff of all the senators and representatives he was the best in attendance. Adlai came, it seems to me, once or twice right at the beginning. I think he was only there one term while I was there, maybe two. I think just one. And once in a while others would show up. Some didn't show up at all. But some did. And you know they would participate and they'd — once they were comfortable with the expertise of the public members, you know, there's not a lot for them to do. They can come to get educated, but they're not going to learn a lot. In the first place it wasn't their primary interest in life to learn about food, drug, cosmetic and pesticide laws. And they would come really to, as Cliff did, to make a contribution. And he did make a contribution from the point of view of the farm community. Cliff's a farmer himself and he was really the guy in the senate on that

commission. He carried all our bills over there. We'd get a bill through the house, then I'd give it to Cliff and he'd take it through the senate.

Q: Now Kerner, why did he veto it that first go-round?

A: Well all he vetoed was the appropriation, purely dollars. They were trying to cut as much money out of the budget as possible. And one place there was always fat on the budget was on the commission bills. There's a lot of commission bills that, you know, a legislator's got a pet project and he's got a friend he wants to be secretary of the commission and so they get a bill passed, and he's got a job for a friend of his, and maybe an appropriation so he can travel around the state a little bit. Sometimes with a friend of his.

Q: I see. (chuckles) Do you feel that Kerner perhaps had a sense that you might go on with it?

A: No I'm sure not. He was looking at it purely from a dollars and cents point of view. He had no idea — I know I didn't have any idea. I don't know when I first heard about the bill. I guess I must have seen it one day when we got called and there was a Food, Drug, Cosmetic and Pesticide Laws Study Commission. I'd never heard of the darned thing you know. But I read it and it was a well-done bill. Chet Majewski did a good job in getting it drafted up. It gave us all the powers we needed to really I think make an effective contribution. Well FDA said we had the best laws in the country so . . .

Q: What about support under Ogilvie? Did he give you support then right along after . . .

A: I guess. It was really kind of irrelevant. We didn't really care what people did. We were going to do our thing. And we were going to do it ourselves whether we had an appropriation or not and whether anybody supported us or not. We knew what had to be done so we just went ahead and did it. If you're working with people like Dick Kasperon who was so knowledgeable on drugs, you don't need help from anybody else. Dick can do it, or on any food product, Harvey Hensel and Esther Kegan too and certainly Doc Stine. And Esther's a good drug lawyer too. She has a lot of drug clients. She's in private practice here in Chicago, a very knowledgeable lady, a lawyer. So we had all the expertise we needed, we just were going to do our thing. I suppose even if we hadn't had the commission, we probably would have done it ourselves and put the bills in independently. But it gave us a good base from which to operate.

Q: Well now you've said you responded to Paul Elward except when he made you mad. Were there times that you recall when you didn't respond?

A: No. (laughter) I'd swallow my tongue and try to answer him you know, try to do it courteously. But every once in a while when he'd get through, almost inevitably somebody on our side of the aisle would come over and say, "Why don't you tell the son of a bitch off?" you know.

Q: Did he have a base from which he spoke?

A: No. No. None whatsoever. Except he did his homework, yes. I've got to say of all the legislators, Paul Elward, bill after bill after bill, would be thoroughly educated. He really did a good job. He did a fine job for the Democratic party, no question about that.

Q: What would he do, hunt for holes in it or things that . . .

A: Sure, sure, yes, as he should. Any bill, particularly where you've got a bunch of people who are in the industry who are drafting it, you know, that kind of a bill requires careful analysis by people who don't bring biases of any kind to the field. You know, I didn't think we were doing anything that was detrimental to anybody. But you know, like the five public

members, I was prejudiced, and you know we could miss something. Or if we weren't high-minded people, we could be trying to slip something in there surreptitiously. None of the public members would ever have done anything like that, none of them, and I certainly wouldn't. But you know we could. Inadvertently something could be in there that we needed to have questioned.

And every once in a while Paul would come up with some kind of an argument, some kind of a goofy argument, that a bill wasn't — I could see from the board it wasn't going to pass, I'd just take it out, take it off the record, take it and postpone consideration on it. And then I'd go talk to Paul about it and say, "Paul, if you really feel strongly about it, I'll kill the bill. But I'm telling you you're wrong. And here's why we need it." And off the record and independently maybe he'd say, "Okay, I'm just having fun with you, we'll do it." Or he'll say, "I really have a serious concern about this bill because of such and such." Or, "Here's a letter I got from somebody." That would once in a while happen. But, I don't know, 95 percent of the bills that the commission put in we got through. We might have missed one or two, but I don't remember any we did.

Q: Well let's see, John Touhy was the leader then. Do you suppose that he had told Paul Elward to keep an eye on this commission?

A: I doubt it. I doubt it. Maybe. There were Democrats on the commission. You know, they had guys who could have come to the meetings and watch us in action and participate. And they did once in a while. The legislators would come once in a while.

Q: The public members, were they generally of the Republican persuasion? Was this Elward's thinking?

A: Well let's see, I don't know if I can answer that. Harvey Hensel who died a few years ago was a Republican. Doc Stine was from Texas and he was a lifelong Democrat, and he said if the Democrats ever nominated anybody for president he could vote for, he'd vote for him. Dick Kasperon is a Libertarian. Esther Kegan — I don't know — I expect Esther's probably a Democrat. I don't really know. George Johnson is a Democrat. So what have I said? I guess one Republican, three Democrats and a Libertarian. (chuckles) So . . . so the answer's no. It clearly wasn't political. They weren't political at all. And those aren't political issues anyway that we were talking about there.

One thing I forgot to say, there are constitutional questions about a state legislature adopting automatically what some other legislative body, i.e., the Congress of the United States, or the Federal Food and Drug Administration administrative agency does. Can you automatically adopt that without any state review? Now that's a constitutional question. We tried to cover that in the act by providing a thirty-day period during which anybody in Illinois could object to it. And if anybody did object to it, it would automatically stay it and you could have a hearing and go through the whole rigamarole in Illinois if you wanted — if somebody wanted to do that.

Bill Scott was the attorney general and I talked to him about it and requested a formal attorney general's opinion. And I sent him a letter in which I outlined what I thought the law was. And he assigned it to one of the assistant attorney generals, and they wrote an official attorney general's opinion that it was constitutional. They didn't follow my letter. They came up with their own reasoning. I didn't care the rationale, all I wanted was an attorney general's opinion that it was constitutional which was very helpful in persuading AFDOUS to adopt it, the Association of Food and Drug Officials.

Q: Were either of the department heads at the commission meetings very often?

A: Yes fairly often. We would invite them, we would talk to them informally between times and ask for their comments on things. Regularly we were talking to them. Not the department heads but the division heads who were the food and milk and meat control officials, the ones who were knowledgeable in it.

Q: Did it occur to the commission at any time that perhaps the departments should be built up to have expertise available.

A: Sure. Yes. But that is so expensive to do that that it's almost impossible to have something like that done.

(taping stopped for conversation with secretary, then resumed)

Q: Then in lieu of that was the commission continued? Is it still in effect? I didn't think to check that.

A: I doubt it. I haven't heard about it. My guess is that we'd really pretty well done our job then by the end. And you know you could have a commission like that go on ad nauseum. My recollection is we kind of recommended that it be terminated. It might even have been before I got out of the legislature although I think we had it all four terms I was there. I'm just not real sure. Some of those bills it took a while to get them through. The main work was really my first and second terms though.

Q: Other than Paul Elward, were there other stumbling blocks?

A: I don't remember anybody ever being concerned about anything. And there were no substantive objections made to anything that I can recall. This really isn't a controversial area. You know it's consumer protection. The federal Food and Drug Act was one of the first consumer protection bills. Each one that's passed by Congress gets a little more protectionist. And really what we were doing was kind of lining up the state with the federal act. Much more than anything else, the automatic adoption provisions did that. And we were taking out of the law a lot of archaic things that might have been great consumer protection in the 1890's but weren't worth a damn in the 1970's, or 1960's. And as a result we were really just modernizing the Illinois law. You know, like the bold-faced type on margarine labeling, who cares about something like that? it's just — you don't need something . . .

Q: I think there was also something about the shape of the package involved at that time.

A: Yes there still is in the federal law. Little patties have to be either triangular or say oleomargarine on it, or margarine. Yes, they can't sell it in more than one size, it has to be one-pound packages or quarter, half or one-pound sizes, something like that. Those provisions — some of those are still in. They're a little archaic but you know it doesn't do any harm. Maybe butter's sold in one-pound packages, and margarine ought to be too. You don't want to sell a fourteen-ounce package of margarine in competition with sixteen ounces of butter, that kind of thing.

Q: Did you ever have a feeling that perhaps there was too much help to the consumer?

A: Oh sure I guess. The problem in that area — and this is not really part of my legislative experience — well yes, in general, yes. Leaving aside food and drug consumer protection, you simply can't protect consumers against everything in the world. It's too expensive, it's useless, there's so many counterveiling detriments to some of those consumer bills that you just — I don't — yes, there's too much consumer protection in a number of areas.

That's one side of the coin and I certainly don't mean to sound like I'm anticonsumerist. I'm not. I sponsored a lot of consumer protection bills, like the food and drug bills. I was the chief sponsor of the Environmental Protection Act which is a subject we might want to talk about sometime. But when you're sitting down there in Springfield, you have a feeling sometimes that some legislators spend their whole days trying to dream up some kind of goofy bill that sounds like they've got to do something to protect consumers in an area where consumers either don't need to be protected, don't want to be protected or it's asinine to pass

the bill because it would be so expensive or impossible to enforce. A lot of cons with some of the extremist consumerist bills.

Q: It seems that the mid-1960's or late 1960's, perhaps because of the national psyche at that time, there were an awful lot of consumer fraud bills put in.

A: Yes there really was yes. And you know some of them were good and some were bad. Some of them you just simply don't need. You could get into fetcher bills in that area pretty easy too. You're going to regulate somebody to protect consumers against beauty culturalists or whoever. And you know I think it's just wrong to go that far. You can't legislate everything. It isn't feasible and it shouldn't be done.

Q: Now Paul Elward kind of watching, every time your name came up presumably on that type bill, he jumped. Were there any individuals that, when their name came up on a bill, pertaining to consumer fraud or something, that you kind of looked askance at?

A: Oh I can't remember that I did particularly. You know you can tell by looking at the sponsors what kind of a bill it is and there's some legislators who tend to sponsor bills like that that I would want to take a real close look at, not for any venal reasons, just because I disagree with them philosophically on the need for bills like that. Bills in, oh, weights and measures areas. I remember John Matijevich, who was a state representative from Lake County, Democrat, I think John was the chief of police in Lake Bluff or something, a very dedicated legislator. But John put in what I thought were some extremist consumer bills that I just didn't think were right. I don't remember what they were now, but I remember several times — he's — John's the only one I can remember, but there were others too that I just didn't especially like.

Q: Cecil Partee was kind of a leader in certain of those consumer protection bills.

A: Yes but I don't remember that Cec had any crazy ones. He might have, but it's — you know, he's — in the first place Cec was over in the senate I think. When did he go over to the senate, about, maybe about 1970?

Q: In 1965 or 1967.

A: Oh — yes, probably 1967. Yes I think we were in the house together just maybe one term and then he went over to the senate. So I wasn't really directly in conflict with him on those bills. You know I might have handled them in the house for him, a lot of them you know.

SESSION 10, TAPE 19, SIDE 1

Q: Then the general subject will be education, elementary and secondary. I got the impression that you were not a leader in regard to elementary and secondary education. Generally when that happened, an individual was found that was a leader and you took leads from him. Was there any particular individual that you did that sort of thing on this subject?

A: Charlie Clabaugh. Knew everything there was to know about education as far as I was concerned. A guy of the highest integrity. I had known Charlie for many years before we were in the legislature and he and I got to be very close friends in the legislature. He was clearly my mentor and leader on educational matters, a very bright, competent, honest, dedicated legislator.

Q: He was a primary individual in the School Problems Commission. So then you probably followed what they came up with, or pretty close to it.

A: Sure, right, yes. And necessarily because there is so much to do in the legislature, you can't become an expert in everything. You tend to accept what a legislator whom you respect has done, without spending the time to second guess it or try to review it or — if he says it's right you accept that. At least I did. And I think most legislators are in the same boat.

Q: So that would hold true on the school formula, the funding of the school?

A: Sure. We would obviously discuss it. And on a particular issue that was crucially important, you know, we might have a Republican caucus or a session with Charlie where he would just lecture to us and give us the background of it. Or he would do it individually. And he was very patient with all of us younger legislators and would be very helpful in explaining issues to us.

Q: Frances Dawson served on the Education Committee for a number of years.

A: Right. Yes and Frances was almost equal to Charlie and in some ways — she was a perfect lady — and in some ways she was even — if we couldn't get to Charlie we would certainly talk to Frances. I had just as much respect for Frances Dawson as I did for Charlie.

Q: She may have had a little better grasp of the Chicago and surrounding situation than Charles Clabaugh.

A: Very possible. Frances was from Evanston and had been very active. Had been in the legislature for a long time and a very competent fine person.

Q: How about the other side of the aisle? Wiktorski, for example, or Wendt? Do you recall discussing with them any of these issues?

A: (pause) Well I really don't. I don't — Kenny Wendt, is that who it was?

Q: Yes.

A: I knew Kenny well. But really on issues like that, unless you were deeply involved in it personally where you were doing the negotiating with the other side of the aisle, you really pretty much relied on your own people to do that and followed their lead. On some issues once in a while you'd follow the lead of somebody on the other side. But when you've got leaders like Frances Dawson and Charlie Clabaugh — and I'm sure there were others who were younger and newer legislators who were on that committee that we would tend to follow too — you don't really need to look to the other side. I don't mean to say it's unimportant. As a matter of fact, if they have a majority, it's darned important what they're thinking. Under any circumstances it's important to hear them out and see what they're saying because they can be right you know. But really I followed Charlie and Frances Dawson.

Q: In 1965 a task force was formed by Kerner to study the situation, and they determined what ought to be done with regard to education. Do you remember anything in particular about that? There were sixty-five members on it.

A: Oh boy. (chuckles) I don't remember.

Q: They came up with such things as the fact that consolidation hadn't been completed sufficiently as yet, still too much impact on property tax and that sort of thing.

A: Yes.

Q: Did you have any particular input from your constituency concerning the cost of education to individuals through the property tax?

A: No. Really not very much, Horace. As I said you know several times, the level of impact of groups and individuals in the suburban area is substantially less than downstate and probably even less than parts of Chicago. I would talk periodically with educators. The superintendent of the school district, and occasionally others who would have been teachers or principals when I was in school who were still around. Doctor Schilling, Paul Schilling, was the superintendent of District 105 I believe it is. I don't — is it — I think it's 105, which has a lot of the school districts in the region. And I knew Paul from some other things we'd been doing. And Paul would keep me posted on things. It's a little easier to write to somebody you know than to a legislator you don't know, and since Paul knew me, I would hear from him once in a while. And I would hear from others in . . . Maurice Clark was the superintendent of schools in Western Springs, and I used to hear from Maurice regularly. He was a friend. Our kids had all gone through the school system, and he knew our family, so I'd hear from Maurice once in a while about something.

Q: I don't suppose the consolidation problem really struck in suburbia or in Chicago, it was more downstate.

A: It was really more of a downstate problem. It seems to me that we had some consolidation problem somewhere in my district but it wasn't a major event. It I'm sure was for the people in that consolidated area, the area that was being consolidated. I don't remember that it was an enormous problem anywhere, certainly not for me as a legislator.

Q: There was a problem which came up in some places, I believe Bloomington and Peoria, some that were operating school systems under some charter from the state. And in their consolidation or incorporation of areas surrounding them there was some problem arose. Do you recall anything concerning that?

A: Horace, I don't. I don't think that was a problem in suburban Cook County or specifically in my district.

Q: There was a move started, and this task force proposed that it be brought to fruition, to do away with county superintendents and institute the regional — they said, superintendents at that time, it became just regions — service centers I think later when they did come in. Do you recall anything about that controversy? Downstate there was a lot of . . .

A: Yes in downstate that would be a big one. But you know we had one county superintendent of schools in Cook County and you know he had half the state in population. So no I don't think — I don't remember any — I don't see that it would be relevant to Cook County unless — you're not going to — unless Cook County were broken up into regions. Were they thinking about doing that?

Q: Not that I know of.

A: Yes I don't think they were. I think all they were doing was talking about the greater efficiencies which could be effectuated by combining a whole bunch of little school districts into one big school district and having one superintendent for several counties rather than a separate one in each county.

Q: That's right.

A: And see, that wasn't our — I was in Cook County so . . .

Q: What about the question of an elected Chicago board? This was brought up apparently by the Republicans as one of the — what would you call it? Doing away with the mayor's ability to control by appointment and that sort of thing.

A: Yes.

Q: A political bill in other words.

A: It was a political bill. We realized it didn't have much chance of passage but it really wasn't a bad idea. And people are now thinking about it again. You know there's still talk about — the superintendent ought to be separated from the political system, from the appointed political system, and therefore the people should have a direct role in selecting a superintendent. Not a bad idea.

Q: Did you support that at that time?

A: I presume I did. I don't really remember, Horace.

Q: What about the establishment of a state board of education, finally one came about that had the appointing and the electing of the superintendent of public instruction involved in a constitutional change.

A: Yes. I don't remember if we had a Republican position on it or not. I think I was probably for it, but I just don't remember.

Q: In regard to the financing and other things that Kerner task force came up with, they recommended that an income tax be imposed and used for schools' purposes. Do you remember anything about that? Actually it would be weighing, I guess, the sales tax and other sources of revenue as against an income tax for that purpose.

A: Well that whole income tax issue was coming to a head in the Kerner and Shapiro administrations and it finally passed in the Ogilvie administration. In general the out-party, the Republicans when Kerner and Shapiro were governors and the Democrats when Ogilvie was governor, opposed the income tax. That's not universally true obviously because there were some Republicans who were for it when Kerner was governor and some Democrats who were for it when Ogilvie was governor.

My recollection is that I voted against the income tax in the early years on the theory that if you give the government more money, they're going to spend more money, you're just better off not to do it. I was a conservative in fiscal affairs and I thought you just shouldn't give the government any more sources of revenue than you absolutely have to do.

Later on I just decided that we had to have it as a practical matter. There were enough things that just simply had to be done that it was government's obligation to do. We had to get the money from somewhere and if it didn't come from income tax, it would be coming from other sources which would be manifestly unfair and really detrimental to the state. And probably the taxes would get so high they would be regressive, you would collect less money by a higher tax because businesses would close or people would move out of the state or whatever.

Q: In 1965 also, starting with your first year down there, the state library system was instituted by which they set up the regions throughout. Were you involved in any way with the establishment of that system?

A: I don't remember that I was. In 1965 the Democrats had a two-to-one majority, and we Republicans really weren't involved in an awful lot of anything. They didn't need to consult us. Sometimes out of courtesy they would. Sometimes we agreed, sometimes we didn't. We could kick and scream but if the Democrats wanted it in 1965 and 1966 it was passed the house. They even had enough in the house to override a veto.

Q: Oh? Did they have occasion to do that with Kerner? Or do you recall anything?

A: I don't remember that they ever did.

Q: One bill that did fail that year was Armstrong — now, I think Armstrong — I believe his name was Charles, if I remember correctly — I believe he died before that time and Wiktorski put this bill in as kind of a memorial to him. It was a bill to have the state give each school fifty dollars per underprivileged child. Do you recall that particular bill?

A: Oh kind of vaguely. I remember there was something like that.

Q: Charles Clabaugh was not entirely against it but he was wondering how you would administer such a thing?

A: Yes, the problem: how do you administer it and how do you raise the money for it, you know, how do you define what an underprivileged child is? There are terrible problems involved with a bill like that. Off the top of my head I'd say right now I would be opposed to something like that. You see, that's the problem with bills like that, Horace. They make you sound like you're a scrooge if you're opposed to them. But when you try to analyze the darned thing, first of all to see how much it's going to cost, and measure the cost against the benefit, it just doesn't wash.

Q: Do you recall any particular bills where you really felt that the people back home were going to lambast you because you were taking a position like that, a stand?

A: Not in that term. That term was really different from anything else that occurred in legislative history. You know, I don't know that ever in the United States has an entire legislature been elected at-large. I didn't have a district that term. Theoretically at least I represented everybody in the state.

Q: Didn't you have a feeling of constituents though? Wasn't there a feeling that you were going to have to run one day?

A: No because I was pledged not to run again.

Q: Oh that's right. Yes.

A: But I still had normal ties. I had lived my whole life in La Grange and Western Springs. So of course I had ties to people and if Maury Clark or Paul Schilling had a problem, they would call me — or one of the other legislators who lived in the area.

Q: What about Esther Saperstein's bill, that actually was a Kerner bill and she was handling it for the administration, over a couple of sessions she attempted to get a bill through which would increase the school age from sixteen to seventeen and then again to eighteen at one time, it was a two-year bill. Do you recall anything about that? Do you recall your position in that regard?

A: I don't, Horace.

Q: Eugenia Chapman put in a bill for — and it passed — to provide state aid to schools so that they could have adult education sessions. Do you recall anything about that?

A: No.

Q: We're getting into too much detail here

A: Well you know actually we're thinking back eighteen years to a time when the Democrats ran the legislature. They had 118 votes, we had fifty-nine. I don't remember how many bills there were that year, probably a couple of thousand. And unless you were on the committee

you'd never hear about the bill because unless you were on the committee you wouldn't consider them until they came to the floor. And then you know you're considering maybe several hundred bills in a day or two, or certainly in a week. And you just don't — I have no recollection at all of that one.

Q: One that had considerable amount of controversy over it was to make mandatory the education of mentally retarded children in the public schools. Do you recall anything about that situation?

A: The handling of mentally retarded children was a major issue under consideration by the legislature all the time I was there, different kinds of bills. And those are really heart-rending bills to have to vote on because you know obviously you've got to do everything you can to educate and to help mentally retarded or disadvantaged people, mentally or physically or economically. But there comes a point when government can't do that. As a matter of fact it wasn't very many generations ago when government didn't do that at all. If you had an elder parent, they stayed with you. They didn't go anywhere else. Or if you had a retarded child, a mentally retarded child stayed with you. And you know I've got to say there's, I think, something to be said for that, for the loving care that an elderly parent or a retarded child can get at home. It's probably at least equal to what you'd get in a state institution.

Q: I wonder if there's any possible way you could go back to that sort of system?

A: I don't know, Horace. I suppose there isn't. But there's a lot to be said for it as far as I'm concerned.

Q: In 1967, it seemed to be a lesser year for the lower level education bills, but one of them was to make kindergarten mandatory. Did you have any position on that that you recall?

A: I don't remember. I went to kindergarten. My general philosophy is don't make any more things mandatory than you have to. Leave it up to the local schools. If the people in that district who are paying for it through their real estate taxes want to have mandatory kindergarten, let them have mandatory kindergarten. But if they don't have, I'm not sure a legislator sitting on the floor in Springfield knows more about how things are in Olney than the people in Olney. I really don't think they do. So my general feeling right now is, if I were voting on a bill like that, I'd vote against it. But I hasten to say that every once in a while when my reaction would be something like that, Charlie Clabaugh would come over to me and say, "What in the world are you doing? Let me tell you about this." And I'd say, "Oh Charlie, I hadn't thought about that." Or Frances Dawson or on some other subject, somebody else that I respected. And you know I wasn't above reaching up and switching my toggle switch from red to green if I were wrong.

Q: Let's see — and you had the right to do that up until the clerk closed it off?

A: Right, until — until the Speaker closed it off by saying, "The clerk will take the roll." When the Speaker says, "The clerk will take the roll," about half the guys in the house have their finger on that toggle switch waiting for the very last second so . . .

Q: Oh? (chuckles) Finding out which way it's going to go.

A: Yes, right. Or not wanting to subject themselves to heat from people who are voting the other way from what they intend to do.

Q: Let's see, a general subject that came up over a number of years was whether the state should give aid to parochial and private schools. Did you take a position on that?

A: I did in the higher education area. I was the chief sponsor of the bill to provide state aid to private colleges.

Q: Yes sir. But at the lower level, for Catholic schools and Lutheran schools?

A: I don't remember how I voted on that. That was a big issue. To be consistent I would have to vote for that bill if I were going to be for public aid for private colleges.

Q: Do you recall the silent prayer bill that went in?

A: Yes.

Q: To allow silent prayer. Was there any repercussion on that?

A: No that's the kind that you get a few letters on, you know probably more on a bill like that than I would on some others. And on the elementary education bills I would hear from elementary school teachers or school kids once in a while, or PTA [Parent Teacher Association] associations or my friends, Maury Clark or Paul Schilling or their counterparts in other parts of the general west suburban area.

Q: There was a move to change — actually they did change in 1969 — the basis for payment to schools from average daily attendance to average daily enrollment. Do you recall that controversy or was that a big enough issue for you to get involved with?

A: Well yes. Yes I remember it. And I don't mean to imply that these other issues weren't big enough for me to get involved in.

Q: No I shouldn't have said it that way.

A: Well yes they were major issues, Horace. It's just that I had to allocate my time. And I necessarily had certain responsibilities particularly by 1969 which was my third session. I was chairman of the Higher Education Committee that year, and I had some other major legislation that I was responsible for at the governor's request or somebody else's. Like the Campbell Report bills, the bills on the medical education in Illinois, which was a major report named after Dr. James Campbell who was president of Presbyterian St. Luke's, vice-president of St. Luke's, who just died last week.

Q: What about Telcser's bill to allow bilingual education in schools? Do you recall any thoughts one way or the other?

A: Yes. I really wrestled with that one. I had a lot of respect for Art Telcser as a legislator. He also had a lot of Hispanics in his district. And I'm sure he believed that bilingual education was going to be beneficial to the kids who were brought up in Spanish-speaking households and who really needed to be taught in Spanish in school. Maybe idealistically and maybe erroneously I've always thought of America as a great melting pot and I thought that if you're going to have bilingual things, you're going contrary to a melting pot theory, and you're tending to foster and promote and perpetuate a fairly basic dividing line between segments of the community. And I thought, you know, the Hispanic people came to this country and they ought to learn to speak English if they're going to do that. But I know that's a pretty parochial point of view.

And I regret that I don't speak more than just English. At one time I spoke a little bit more than that. When I was in South Africa a few years ago on this project that I'm doing down there I was talking to a black man and a white man. We were at a reception and they were talking to each other in some very strange language when I came up to them. They switched to English right away out of courtesy to me. And I said, "How many languages do you two speak?" And they each spoke seven languages. Therefore it makes me feel a little parochial to say everybody who comes to the United States has to speak English only. But nevertheless I guess I kind of feel that way. (chuckles)

Q: There was a — I guess you'd call it a problem, at least an issue that kept coming up regarding the teachers' pension fund, whether it was . . .

A: Properly funded?

Q: Yes. Whether there was enough money in it or not.

A: Yes.

Q: What was your position on that?

A: I was in favor of funding it. I don't like this idea of living off of things in the future because somebody's going to have to pay that some day. And I think things ought to be funded. If you've got a pension fund, you ought to fund it. If you don't have enough money to fund it that year you try to set up some kind of a system so you'll get it funded.

Q: And you took that position when it came up?

A: Horace, I don't remember. My general position was certainly that. There may have been particular bills — the teachers pension though wasn't the only one incidentally that had that problem. And there might have been something in a particular bill that was sufficient to make me vote against it or for it or something that my vote would not be consistent with the general principle that pension funds and funds like that ought to be funded.

Q: Were there any particular issues that came up in education that I haven't touched on that you recall becoming really involved in?

A: Not in elementary and secondary that I can think of. You know I wasn't on the Education Committee and I really wasn't pushed to get into educational matters normally. Primary and secondary.

Q: Yes sir. How about the high school of your children? Betsy would have started — what? About 1970?

A: No. She graduated from college in 1969 so — see Betsy was born in 1947, so she would have been fifteen in 1962. So she got out of high school I guess it would be in 1965.

Q: In 1965.

A: Yes.

Q: Where did she go to high school?

A: I'd never allow anybody in my family who doesn't go to Lyons Township High School in La Grange, Horace.

Q: Is that right?

A: Barbara and I went there, all four of our kids went there, and three of our children-in-law went there.

Q: Do you recall any particular incidents in regard to Betsy's high school education? Was she a good student?

A: Betsy was a real good student. She was very serious, she always did her homework. She was just a super daughter. She was the oldest and she kind of mother-henned. She was the oldest by about — almost five years older than Bud, four and a half years older than

Bud, something like that. So she was a big help to Barbara with the kids by the time she got to high school. And usually kind of instinctively. Not always, but you know, she was a good kid.

Q: What kind of rules did you lay down for homework? Did you have to lay down the law?

A: I didn't really. The kids did pretty well in their homework except Bud.

Q: Oh? Why was that, just because he was a boy you think?

A: Well boys are different in that — well I don't know, some boys are different in that regard. Bud just — Bud was never — he never liked to do homework. He just wouldn't do it. And we'd say, "Bud, did you get your homework done?" "Oh yes." And then he hadn't done it at all.

Q: Was he active in sports in high school or anything?

A: Not particularly. Bud is a numbers guy. And he was very active in compiling records and he's an enormous baseball fan. He knows more baseball trivia probably than anybody I know. And a lot of trivia in other sports too. Therefore I hope he will enjoy the game we're giving him for Christmas, which is this new game Trivial Pursuit. Have you seen it?

Q: No I haven't.

A: I haven't either. But it's a trivia game and they've got special decks of cards with six thousand trivia questions on sports or something like that.

Q: Did he manage then in the sports field in high school?

A: No he didn't. I don't remember that he participated in it. You know he played baseball with the guys and basketball with the boys and he played on a church basketball league and did things like that. He wasn't really big enough to play, to go out for the basketball teams. He was almost tall enough but he was real thin. And unless you've got the real incentive to, when you're that age and that height and weight, there's no use doing it.

Q: What were his major interests in high school?

A: The Cubs. And he had some very good friends. Bud has made a lot of friends in his life. He's the kind of guy that just — people just instinctively like Bud. He's been best man for, I don't know, three or four or five guys in their weddings, which is really kind of unusual for one guy to do that. He's just got a lot of friends. He's a neat guy, he's just a fun guy to be with.

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A: Bud was enormously precocious when he was a little kid. When he was four he could read just about anything you'd put in front of him. I remember two incidents. One was John McNaughton, who was subsequently appointed secretary of the navy, just before he was killed in an airplane crash, was in our living room one time, and he had Bud standing on his head reading Time magazine upside down at the age of four. And the second event was his nursery school teacher — now this was the year before kindergarten — told us one day that it was very disconcerting, she'd hold up a picture to the kids you know and let all the kids look at the picture, moving it around so they could all see the picture, and Bud would read the caption of the picture to her. She'd ask what was in it, he'd read the caption to her.

Q: Well! Did his reading habits stay on then? Did he read a lot in high school?

A: He read some but not any more than most. Bud was never acclimated to academics. When he was in high school he got an 800 on his math SAT's. A perfect score on the math SAT's. There aren't very many of those. And about the same week we got a note from his calculus teacher saying if he didn't drop calculus she was going to have to flunk him.

Q: Oh really?

A: Yes. So you know. . . . he just — if he had applied himself he would have been a super student because he was so bright. But he just wouldn't do the homework. We tried a lot of things incidentally. We sent him to a private school, we sent him to Avery Coonley for several years just before he went to high school. When he finished high school he still wasn't motivated at all. So we sent him to Peddie. Avery Coonley is in Downers Grove. We sent him to Peddie in Heightstown in New Jersey for a year. Total disaster for him. And then he went to college at Westmont which we can talk about in due course.

Q: What about Deborah? Did she follow suit then or was she a Betsy-type?

A: No. Debby and Betsy were very similar in their educational ability. They both had three years of college, Betsy at Stanford and Debby three years at Southern Methodist and got married after three years. And both took one year at the University of Illinois Circle Campus. They both I believe had straight A's at University of Illinois. And Debby was after Betsy and they'd changed the policy in the interim so Debby graduated summa cum laude from the University of Illinois, and Betsy who had the same grades didn't do anything because she was only there one year, and at that time they didn't give them summas.

Q: What about Barbara?

A: Barbie was the same. Barbie was just the sweetest little girl. She really was a — but as far as academics were concerned, they were all bright kids. All four of them were bright kids. We had never had any troubles with any of them in school except Bud once in a while because he wouldn't do his homework, that kind of thing. But they were regularly on the — it wasn't called the dean's list but whatever it was called — they were . . . at least B students and half A's and half B's. They were bright kids, all of them.

Q: Were there any of them interested in acting or drama or that sort of thing?

A: They did a lot of different extracurricular things all the way along. Betsy was the secretary of the Corral Board. The Corral is the student organization in La Grange at the high school.

Q: For singing you mean?

A: No it was for extra — for social center. The kids would go there every Friday night and they would walk around the corral floor clockwise for some reason by the hour, just this parade of kids walking around. And dancing in the middle. And the Corral was kind of — was the center of social activities at the high school.

Q: Was this like a western corral you mean?

A: That's where they got the name yes but it was a building. They finally got a special building, built a special building, had a bond drive and a great place for the kids to congregate.

Q: Like a youth center sort of thing?

A: Yes exactly what it was yes.

Q: And she was involved with that more than the others was she?

A: Yes by the time the others came around, the Corral had kind of run its course a little bit, not quite — not totally but — as a matter of fact it's still in existence although it's not doing anything I think right at the moment.

Q: Did you have occasion to get involved in any way with the government of the high school?

A: I was on the adult board of the Corral board. And Barbara and I were both — of course we regularly went to PTA meetings. Barbara did I guess more than I did. But I went when I could, when I was in town. I don't remember that I ever got involved particularly in the administration. See for eight of those years I was in the legislature and trying to earn a living besides. So I was awful busy.

Q: We mentioned that I believe before about the PTA and your involvement in that sort of thing.

A: Yes. But Barbara just did a super job with the kids. She really — she gets 100 percent of the credit for raising our kids. You know I was just not there as I wish I had been. She just did a super job of it.

Q: Well let's see now, your second session down there you joined the Higher Education Committee. That would be 1967.

A: Right.

Q: And became vice-chairman at that time.

A: Right.

Q: Why were you picked to be vice-chairman that year? You were rather junior at that time weren't you?

A: Well . . . I — you know I was in my second term. And yes, sure, I was junior. But there were other second-termers who were vice-chairmen of committees, there might even have been some who were chairmen. I don't remember but I wasn't the only second-termer to be vice-chairman of a committee. I was particularly interested in higher education. I either was then or had been chairman on the board of Shimer College in Mount Carroll, Illinois, up in Carroll County. I think it was probably that same time and you know my interest was in higher education. My kids all ended up going to four different — well three different private colleges. And Barbara went to De Paul and Michigan and I went to Harvard. So our interests were very much in the field of higher education.

Q: You asked for that assignment then?

A: Oh yes sure. That was my first choice.

Q: Was it unusual to get your first choice?

A: No most people got their first choice. Yes most people got their first choice. I don't suppose everybody did. But you know it's — in the first place you're only talking — as you know — the chairman and vice-chairman of committees come from the party that has the majority. And the Republicans had a majority so that means there was only those — you only look at the Republicans for chairmen and vice-chairmen of committees. And when you

figure how many committees there are and how many Republicans there are and you eliminate the first-termers because they're really not eligible to be chairmen or vice-chairmen. Maybe some of the first-termers didn't get their first choice. But Higher Education was a relatively new committee, there wasn't an enormous demand, and . . .

Q: Who was chairman that year, do you recall? (pause) I should have looked that up. I forgot to do that I'm afraid. Do you recall any of the others that were on it that first year that . . .

A: I can tell you Don Henss was the vice-chairman the next year when I was chairman.

Q: I see.

A: That's terrible.

Q: What types of things came up that the Higher Education Committee considered that first session that you were on?

A: Well there were so many bills in the legislature having to do with education that the Education Committee was way overloaded. And I'm sure Charlie Clabaugh was one of the prime movers of segregating out higher education so that the higher education could look at all of the bills having to do with colleges, all the appropriations for the four-year colleges, for the University of Illinois, SIU [Southern Illinois University], Northern, Eastern, everything else. Second, in those days the junior college movement was just getting underway in Illinois, and we had all of the junior college legislation to consider. And third we had some major issues like public aid for private colleges. And the Scholarship Commission had bills in and there were just a multitude of bills that had only to do with higher education. And it just made sense to segregate out higher education from regular education. Either that or create two divisions of the Education Committee as we did with Judiciary, there was Judiciary I and Judiciary II. My first term I think was just one Judiciary Committee, and they were way overloaded. Those poor guys met every night till midnight for weeks you know.

Q: When did this committee meet, the Higher Education Committee? Was it afternoon or evening session?

A: Well whatever was needed. Customarily the meetings would be either morning or afternoon depending on when we were not in session. The committee hearings were totally dependent on when the house was in session because the rules prohibited a committee from meeting while the house was in session. So we would have regular meeting dates and the Higher Education Committee would meet for example every Wednesday immediately on adjournment of the house, or every Wednesday at two. And if we needed a night session, we'd keep going right through. But availability of rooms was a problem in those days.

Q: Did you have a particular area that you went to normally?

A: Yes we had an assigned committee room.

Q: Let's see, in 1965 now the year before you went on this committee the public college act — if that's the correct name for it was passed, the act for public colleges at any rate. Now this was your first term. How did you get your decision made as to whether you were going to support that or not?

A: What was the Public College Act?

Q: Establishing the . . .

A: The Junior College Act?

Q: The junior colleges.

A: Okay yes yes yes yes. Well that's the kind of thing that we would have talked about with Charlie Clabaugh and other people who were educated in the field. And I liked very much the concept of junior colleges. I think it gives a lot of people an opportunity for a piece of higher education they couldn't possibly get anywhere else. It lets those who have that piece and find they like it and want to go on, and who can find the economic means to go on, gives them an opportunity to do it by transferring to a four-year college. It opened up all kinds of opportunities for adult education. Look at the mass of adult education in this state in the — places like College of Du Page and there's many others. I think it's a real major step in our educational system.

Q: One of the problems that arose from that was getting the districts formed. Initially there were areas in the state that were not in a district for a junior college.

A: Right.

Q: Did that problem come up in the committee?

A: Sure. Yes we were regularly hearing issues like that.

Q: Do you recall the discussions that went on regarding that, the pros and cons?

A: Sure. I can't tell you a particular county that wanted to be in or out, but I remember a lot of times people wanted to get in or didn't want to get in. And they'd come and talk to us about it and tell us their reasons.

Q: Did you have a feeling that they ought to be in? or should it cover the whole state?

A: My general feeling was that it ought to be up to the local people what they want to do, but I had a hard time understanding why they wouldn't want to be in. Because I think it's so important to have that kind of a facility available.

Q: Now did you have a particular junior college in your area that you were supporting?

A: We had a junior college at Lyons Township High School. There was a Lyons Township Junior College when I was in high school. As a matter of fact my senior year I took a course in the junior college. I was allowed to take a French course. My third year of French was college French. So I experienced it when I was in high school.

Q: Did it continue then as a junior college?

A: Yes, well — it was eventually put into the College of Du Page district I believe.

Q: I see.

A: Although it's not in Du Page County.

Q: So they have a junior college then?

A: Oh yes oh yes sure.

Q: What about from 1966 on? You must have had quite a time with the student unrest that was beginning to stir along in there. Southern Illinois University I think in 1968 — and the University of Illinois along through there — had some destruction by the students.

A: Well yes everybody did. Northwestern students one time blockaded Lake Shore Drive.

Q: Oh?

A: The Sheridan Road, blockaded Sheridan Road. And I went up there to talk to them one day. We had some friends who were up there and I just went up and spent a few hours with the students at Northwestern. I didn't — I don't remember if I knew any — no I don't think I did because I walked over with a young man, a student, who was a friend of some friends of ours. And he kind of briefed me as we were walking over. He told me for instance what the word rap meant. I'd never heard that word before. (chuckles)

Q: Rap?

A: Meaning just to talk yes.

Q: I see. Well you walked onto campus, then what did you do? introduce yourself to . . .

A: They knew I was coming by prearrangement.

Q: Oh?

A: I think it was probably the year I was vice-chairman of the Higher Education Committee or one of those two years. I don't remember. I might have been chairman. It was middle to late 1960's, it was late 1960's, at the peak of the unrest. Well they had a barricade across Sheridan Road. It was blocked off. You couldn't — for weeks — well I don't know — it seemed to me like it was weeks Sheridan Road was blockaded.

Q: Did this have to do with the Kuntzler incident? Was that — I believe he spoke at Northwestern and there was a considerable to-do about . . .

A: Horace, I don't remember. It was about that same time. I don't remember what the connection was between Kuntzler and the blockade. It could have been, it probably was. You know.

Q: What were your feelings as you walked onto campus there? Were the students hostile to you?

A: No everybody was courteous. You know, what the hell, they were students who felt they had something they wanted to say and communicate and nobody was listening to them. And they were going to get people's attention. And they did. They wanted to talk to people like me. And I was in the legislature and I wanted to hear what they had to say. And it wasn't an unfriendly shootout. There wasn't a lot of shouting and everything. You know, there wasn't any risk or danger. People kept telling me I'm getting into something — but it wasn't any.

Q: Where did you meet the students? Out on the campus or was there a call for them to . . .

A: No a couple of kids, a couple of students picked me up south of the barricade. I parked over there somewhere. And then we walked, we walked up around the barricade. And I met some of the student leaders and they took me into a room. They had a room set aside. They had made arrangements to get a room. And I just went in there and I found out what I did was rap with them. And that's all that happened.

Q: How large a group was it?

A: Oh I suppose in the session there was probably something along — my recollection was maybe fifty.

Q: That many?

A: Something — forty, fifty, something, maybe sixty, about that magnitude. It was — you know they wanted to communicate and here was their chance. And they put up some signs that I was going to be up there and you know nobody ever heard of me but you know they knew that I was in the legislature and I lived in La Grange and I was interested in higher education and I wanted to talk to them.

Q: Do you recall some of the things they said? What were some of the issues?

A: Horace, I don't have the slightest idea what the substantive issues were that we were talking about. They wanted to be heard and they wanted student representation on boards, in decisions on curriculum and things like that you know.

Q: One of the things that came up right along in there was the question of whether I guess — what would you call it? student rights or civil rights or letting people go on like Kuntzler for example.

A: Yes.

Q: After he was at Northwestern he wanted to go down to Illinois and they wouldn't let him go down because the Clabaugh Act was still in force. So Scariano and perhaps two or three others decided that they wanted to get that repealed. Do you recall the actions surrounding the repeal of the Clabaugh — well it wasn't repealed, the federal Supreme Court or someone said it was unconstitutional.

A: Said it was unconstitutional yes.

Q: Do you recall any of the . . .

A: Oh I know it was a big shootout in the legislature. Generally liberals against conservatives is what it amounted to. Charlie was an arch-conservative. And Tony Scariano and Bob Mann and the other guys were — a lot of guys who were my very good friends on the Democratic side were violently against it. I guess the issue was mooted by that Supreme Court decision, wasn't it?

Q: Yes.

A: Or did we ever get to vote on it? I don't remember that we ever had . . .

Q: I don't think so sir.

A: Yes.

Q: It died.

A: Yes.

Q: What about Webber Borchers's infiltration activity? Do you recall that? where he infiltrated a student or an individual of some sort over at the University of Illinois?

A: Well I guess Webber Borchers wasn't my favorite legislator.

Q: Oh?

A: I didn't particularly approve of some of the methods he used and you know if Webber sponsored — Webber was a Republican of course — but if Webber sponsored something, I wanted to look at it really closely to see if it held together.

Q: Oh. Yes I understand he was pretty outspoken on things that he felt . . .

A: Well he saw a Communist under every rock you know. I suspect because I went to Harvard that he thought I was a Communist you know. I always had that feeling, I don't know if it's true. (chuckles) But let me say Webber Borchers did a lot for kids.

Q: Oh?

A: I don't — he was a scoutmaster or something like that and he's gotten awards and he just did a lot for young kids, he really did.

Q: Yes he apparently had no ulterior motive in all of this.

A: No he didn't, a very sincere guy. But he would — oh he'd do things like take a busload of kids up to a Bears game or a Cubs game and things like that. And all on his own.

Q: Yes he was quite wealthy as I understand.

A: He was a very highly motivated and well-motivated guy. I didn't agree with him a lot of the time but I never faulted his motives in any way.

Q: What about the situation down in Southern Illinois University — evidently the legislature or some members of the legislature were a bit unhappy in the way Delyte Morris handled the situation down there, expelling students and that sort of thing. Do you recall any particular . . .

A: It never bothered me. He had to run his place and he thought that was the best way to do it and you know — Delyte Morris was a strong individual.

Q: I presume you got to know him pretty well from your position with the committee.

A: Yes he and John Rendleman who I think maybe — did he succeed Delyte? Wasn't John subsequently the chancellor down there? John was the legislative guy for Delyte and Delyte came up and testified and worked with us in the Higher Education Committee and you know . . .

Q: Rendleman was at Edwardsville, the Edwardsville campus.

A: Oh the Edwardsville campus, oh, that's right yes. But at the time when I was in there he was the legislative representative for SIU and then later on he became chancellor or whatever the title is at Edwardsville.

Q: There was a bit of a to-do over the manner in which Delyte Morris's home was remodeled down there, some million dollars were spent. Do you recall that?

A: Yes I sure do. Yes.

Q: What were your feelings then? Do you think that was overblown or was it . . .

A: No I thought they spent far too much money remodeling the house and it was a state expenditure that could easily have not been made, or made through the contribution of alumni of the University of Southern Illinois as it would be in a private college.

Q: I understand someone from Chicago here gave a million dollars to him to clear up the thing so that . . .

A: Oh is that right? I didn't remember that. Was that Clem Stone?

Q: Yes it was as a matter of fact.

A: Yes.

Q: What type of legislation did you feel was necessary as a result of this student unrest? How deeply need the legislature get involved in order to better the situation?

A: Well you know I was chairman of the board of Shimer through a lot of this period. And we had the same problem out there. The president got shut into the dormitory one day. The students decided they wanted to have the fellow who was the head of the Nazi party in the United States come out there one day, which I was very much opposed to letting them do, but the president wanted to do it and he did it and it was handled beautifully. And he laid down a lot of rules, he said no guns, no armbands, no uniforms, things like that. And this guy was just cut to ribbons by the kids orally when he gave his talk. Usually if you expose extremists to intelligent people, the extremist loses badly, and his whole extremism is exposed to the world to see.

And I kind of had that feeling in regard to the campuses around the state, and around the country, where there's equal unrest. We didn't have it any worse here than anybody else did. It was just an age we had to live through. You know in some ways it's a more stimulating academic atmosphere than what we had in the 1970's which was, you know nobody was doing anything. I don't mean that — I'd prefer the 1970's over the 1960's though.

Q: Yes sir. The national guard was called out a couple of times in regard to that. I think the University of Illinois at least once. Did you have any feeling about the national guard being called out?

A: I'm a law and order guy, Horace, and generally I was in favor of doing whatever had to be done to maintain law and order and protect private property. But obviously there can be excesses like there was at Kent State in Ohio. There was — a couple of students were killed there by the national guard, they fired on the students.

Q: Well to that question, do you recall any particular things that you thought needed to be done by the legislature in response to this situation? Was there anything you were pushing for or thought of to occur?

A: (pause) Horace, I can't think of any specific measures that I was personally deeply involved in. I'm sure there were things in the legislature that were designed to cope with the situation, to give the authorities at the colleges more power to cope with them or to encourage them to cope with them. But that's easy to say, but it is tough to do. When you've got the Harvard student body taking over University Hall, which happened — the administrative office at Harvard — that's a hard thing to handle.

Q: What did you think about the need for the senior universities, that is Governor's State University and Sangamon State University? Did you feel that that was a legitimate need?

A: Yes I did.

SESSION 10, TAPE 20, SIDE 1

Q: Why couldn't that sort of education be handled by the existing . . .

A: Well it could be if you made the other institutions bigger. But it seems to me that small colleges have something to offer that big colleges don't have. And when you get such an enormous college it tends to be more impersonal. And therefore while it may be more efficient to add students to a large college than to build a whole new campus, I think the added

educational benefit, the added academic benefit, outweighs the difference in efficiency and expenditure money. And it may not be any more expensive to go with a new public college like Sangamon State.

Q: Do you recall any discussion over whether the administration should be separate for Sangamon State or should it be placed under SIU or University of Illinois? did you have any feelings on that?

A: Sure there was a big hassle about who would get jurisdiction. I don't remember what side I came down on or how the issue was even decided. Was it finally put under the University of Illinois trustees?

Q: No it's under the Board of Regents.

A: Under the Board of Regents of SIU? The Board of Regents has SIU and — oh SIU is separate isn't it?

Q: Yes SIU which includes Edwardsville of course and then the Board of Regents has Normal — what do they call it? Illinois State University, Sangamon State University and one other — Northern?

A: Eastern or Northern or Western, one of those three yes.

Q: There are several of those. There's University of Illinois, there's Southern Illinois University, the Public College and the Board of Regents. Why did they need so many? Did you have a feeling ever of confusion as to all these different governing bodies? Did you have any feeling of that?

A: Well no not really. You know, if you're going to have a college in Springfield, it seems to me there's some reason for having people in the Springfield area administer that college. I didn't feel that we had to put all colleges and have a unified system where everybody, all colleges in Illinois are under one system. There's some advantages in having local people do it.

One reason for having a college in Springfield is that students can commute. A lot of the college expenses is living expense. And if students can live at home a lot of kids can go to college that couldn't otherwise go to college. That's a big advantage. We sure as hell don't want to get our educational system in this country in such a situation that only rich kids can go to school. That would be a total disaster.

Q: I guess that's one of the advantages of the junior colleges.

A: It is sure. And schools like University of Illinois Circle Campus and all the junior colleges in Illinois. And Illinois State. That's the one here.

Q: Illinois State University is in Normal.

A: No no that's — that's not the one I'm talking about then.

Q: Where here in Chicago — do you mean Chicago State?

A: Chicago State, Chicago State yes.

Q: Let's see, in 1969 you put in a bill to establish the Illinois Educational Facilities Authority which would issue bonds I believe to make loans to private facilities. What was the idea behind that? What was the genesis of the bill?

A: (searches for and finds report in drawer) In March, 1969, a group called the Commission to Study Nonpublic Higher Education reported to the governor. It was a commission that was appointed — well maybe by Ogilvie, the report was to Ogilvie in March 1969. But I have a hunch maybe Governor Kerner appointed that commission. It was an outstanding commission. It was a five-member commission with an executive — well plus a chairman — no, five members including the chairman. It was called the McConnell Commission after the chairman who was from Berkeley. And the other members were Merrimon Cuninggim, who was president of the Danforth Foundation in St. Louis. And the chancellor of the State University in New York and the president of Chatham College and the chancellor of Brandeis. Really top guys. And they gave an extensive report, a copy of which as you see I'm holding in my hand because I keep it in that drawer because it was a very important report on the state's role in private higher education. I think that the Illinois Higher Education Facilities Bill was one of the recommendations of that commission.

Q: I see.

A: (looks in report) I won't take time to look it through now but I can look through . . .

Q: Now as I recall that bill didn't pass that first year in 1969. I believe it passed in 1970 or perhaps 1971, I'm not sure.

A: It was a very controversial bill. I had two very controversial bills that came out of that, I think both came out of that report. One was the Illinois Higher Educational Facilities Authority Act and the other one was the bill to provide direct public aid to private colleges. And they were both hotly contested bills.

The Illinois Higher Education Facilities Authority I am pleased to state is still alive and thriving and doing a super job of lending money, selling bonds and lending money, which private colleges simply could not do themselves because they don't have the credit to do it. And there are a lot of educational facilities around this state at private colleges financed by the I-E — let's see, Illinois Higher — I-H-E-F-A, yes. I was very pleased to work on that one.

One of my very dear friends became chairman of the authority, Dr. Haldon Leedy, who had been president of Armour Research Institute which is part of IIT [Illinois Institute of Technology]. And it was just an outstanding group of people. Dwight Faucet — and I don't remember who all else was on it. But it was a really top group of people and they did an excellent job of financing things that private colleges simply couldn't have done.

Q: Now you say this was a controversial bill in getting it through. What kind of game plan did you lay out to get it through? Or what kind of maneuvering did you have to do in order to get it passed?

A: Just talked about the merits. I had enormous help from a gentleman who was then the president of Shimer and who was also the chairman, or president I guess, of the Federation of Independent Colleges and Universities. As a matter of fact he was killed in an automobile accident coming down to Springfield to testify on one of my bills. He was just a superb gentleman. He was the managing editor or something of the Daily News, of the Field Enterprises I think.

And just by merits. And the private universities — I'll tell you, Horace, the private university presidents really pitched in. They all talked to their local legislators about it. They came down and testified. And one of my prized possessions, which I saw the other day, was a file of letters that I received from college presidents all over the state, from little colleges, you know that some of which may not be in existence anymore, thanking me as chairman of the Higher Education Committee for being the chief sponsor of that bill and getting those two bills passed.

The Catholic schools, Loyola and De Paul, were just superb. They were down regularly testifying. I'd tell them who I was having trouble with and they would take them aside. If I had trouble with a Catholic legislator particularly I'd sic the president of De Paul or the president of Loyola on him. And that's how I got it through just by selling not only on the merits, because we had a good product to sell, but by being able to know who was opposing it or who was undecided, and getting enormous help from people.

Q: In getting that help, did you seek it? I mean did you have to call them up and say, "Hey, look we're going to have a hearing."

A: Well they were living with me. You know they were there when the hearing was set. They were helping me get the hearing set. They were telling me who they could get to line up. And Scharvey Umbeck, was that his name? the president of Knox, Sharvie was his first name. And all over just very helpful.

About that same time the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions which was a University of Chicago project — geez, what was the name of the guy who was the president of the University of Chicago? a very controversial and a very competent guy, moved to Santa Barbara. Robert Maynard Hutchins. Yes. Hutchins after he retired set up the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and they — they had a big program on this general area of where private colleges were going.

And they selected about, oh, I don't know, twenty or thirty or forty colleges around the country, and invited the president and the chairman of the board of trustees to come out. And Shimer was one of the colleges that was invited to go. And Joe Mullens who was the president of Shimer went out and as chairman of the board I went out. And we went out with the president and chairman of the board of De Paul. And I spent two days catching hell from every speaker alternating on me whether I was a legislator or a chairman of a board. They really took the boards apart for not raising enough money, and legislators apart for doing — and I just sat there for two days realizing what a terrible job I was doing in life. (chuckles) But it was through experiences like that that I learned the arguments for private education. And this report, which is outstanding . . .

Q: Do you recall any particular legislators that you were having problems with, convincing or getting on your side?

A: I guess I had more trouble with the legislators from cities where the major public colleges were located.

Q: Like Carbondale and . . .

A: Yes. I don't remember that Clyde was any particular help to me on those bills.

Q: Clyde Choate you mean?

A: Yes. But we finally got the — well there was the Commission on Higher Education in Illinois. And I — of which Ben Heineman was the then-chairman. Ben Heineman was the head of the Northwestern Railroad. I had cleared this bill with Ogilvie and with everybody and specifically with Ben Heineman who said he didn't have any objection to it. We got the bill through. This is the public aid to private colleges. There was only \$6 million so it wasn't like it was going to bankrupt the state. And no one institution therefore was going to get very much money because there were a lot of private colleges and universities.

It took a lot of work. I spent a lot of time on that bill, with hearings in both houses and at least two committees, both the Education Committees and the Higher Education in the house and Education in the senate and both Appropriations Committees plus all kinds of subcommittees and conferences with individual legislators and meeting with people, you

know, a lot of time. And after it was all done, Ben Heineman I found out later wrote a great long letter to Dick Ogilvie asking him to veto the bill, which Ogilvie did.

Well I'll tell you I was furious. Because at least Heineman could have had the courtesy to tell me he was going to oppose the thing instead of — because I tried to communicate with him all through, and I was led to believe he was not opposed to it. And I thought that was the worst kind of bad faith for a guy to do that. But in any event he did it. And so Ogilvie vetoed the bill at his suggestion. We got it through again the next time and it was signed.

Q: Now there was actually two bills I believe that were connected with scholarships. I believe they were your bills. One was for public schools and one was for private schools where a certain amount — I think it finally came out \$100 per scholarship — was given to the schools. Do you recall that?

A: That was the yardstick for measuring how much public aid a private college received. And I don't remember the exact formula but it was a formula based on the number of students, or the number of scholarship students or something like that, and they got \$100 for each such student.

Q: Well it was \$100 for — as it finally was passed, I believe it was \$100 for underclass and \$200 for upperclass.

A: Yes. That's what it was yes. And one reason for that, Horace, was the differential in the tuitions, the differential in costs of going to a private college and a public college which was really significant. There are tables in the report of the commission which show the enormous disparity in the cost. And the increasing disparity in the cost of attending a public college and a private college. (looks in report) For example the — in 1958 — well wait a minute — I'm not — I don't want to take your time while I look through here but there's a table in here that shows how much it costs to go to private college and how much it costs to go to public colleges. And boy, I'll tell you it was significantly different and as a result the general feeling was — and the reason it was passed was that private colleges needed support because in the first place they're helping the state by relieving the taxpayer of the enormous underwriting that a taxpayer does of every student who goes to a public college.

Q: Yes I've heard it said that we'd really be in trouble if the private schools closed up.

A: Yes. And if the public schools had to take everybody it would just be an enormous differential. I don't find that table right now but it's a — the problem was that it was increasing every year. So it wasn't just a matter of looking at one point in time and seeing the differential. Since it was increasing the private colleges were having a harder time attracting students and everything else.

Q: Well now do you recall any other major issues that came up while you were on the Education Committee? You were on in 1967 and 1969.

A: On Higher Education.

Q: Higher Education yes.

A: Yes I was — let's see, I was vice-chairman in the 1967-1968 session and chairman in the 1969 and 1970 session. And I guess then in the 1971 and 1972 session I was assistant majority leader, but I was kind of assigned — I kind of — higher education was my baby so I used to go to those meetings then too. (pause) I think we've pretty well covered them, Horace.

Q: There was — in 1970 Ogilvie — I forget, it was something like — well I've forgotten the amount now, forty million or something that he cut out of the Higher Education budget and then he increased the tuition and I understand that you and Everett Peters went to discuss this, not necessarily with Ogilvie but with his people, and got them to back off somewhat on that. Do you recall that situation?

A: I sure don't. Where did you see that? That's very interesting.

Q: It was a newspaper report.

A: Oh is that right? Well Senator Peters was — of course he was from Champaign wasn't he?

Q: Well near there.

A: Yes and he was therefore very interested in the University of Illinois. I guess he was chairman of the senate Education Committee wasn't he?

Q: I don't know.

A: I think he probably was. And I was chairman of the Higher Education Committee. It would be logical if the two of us would go and talk to the governor about it.

Q: But you don't recall any of that discussion.

A: No. That's interesting. I don't remember the event even. You know, the life of a legislator — I hope it's coming through in this — the life of a legislator is total bedlam. From the time you get up in the morning you're trying to figure which of four breakfasts you're going to go to, and you maybe make two or three of them. And by that time you've got twenty phone calls and you've got a stack of people waiting to see you. You've got committee hearings and you may have two or three committee hearings going on at the same time. The phone's ringing. Then all of a sudden you've got to be in session on the floor of the house and you've got a stack of mail to do and people are calling — the Speaker's calling bills in which you're interested and you've got to get ready to give a speech and the — every day is like that.

Q: How do you keep from getting ulcers?

A: Oh it's fun. (chuckles)

Q: It must not be fun for everyone.

A: Well maybe not. It was for me. I thoroughly enjoyed it. It was an enormous experience. I like to do a lot of different things, and boy, I sure had an opportunity when I was in the legislature. Because I was the chief sponsor of something like sixty bills my last term. And you know when you're handling that many bills you don't — you have sixty files you have to keep. You don't have anybody keep them for you. You keep your own files. At least in those days we did. And I had to keep track of when the committee hearings were and most of those bills had at least four committee hearings because there would be a substantive law committee like the Education Committee or whatever, plus the Appropriation Committee if you had an appropriation on the bill, and most of the bills did, in both houses. And then you had to educate somebody in the senate to take over the bills for you and he'd say, "Incidentally while I'm doing this one for you, will you do one for me?" (chuckles) So then you'd have to add a couple — and it turns out he had a whole package of bills, not just one.

Q: Did you ever get anything lost? Did all of a sudden you realize that, "My gosh, I should have done that three days ago and it's too late now and so I'll just forget that one."

A: I don't remember that happening. It might have. You know there is so much going on — but I — I really don't think I did. In the first place I had an enormous advantage my second term over everybody in the legislature because I had an aide. Nobody had aides in those days. You were on your own. And my oldest daughter, Betsy, took a term off from Stanford. She had taken extra courses and everything so she was one term ahead of where she needed to be in terms of credits. So she took a term off and she drove down to Springfield with me every week. And she was my aide. We lived together in the motel down there. She had a seat. We got her a chair and she sat in the aisle right next to me and she kept me organized and she helped with everything and that was really about the beginning of legislative aides. Now it's common practice, and more and more children of legislators are coming down to do it. But I think Betsy was darned near the bellringer of that whole thing. She was the one who I think — well certainly one of the first ones. That was in the 1967 session.

Q: Where did that idea come from? Did she want to do that or did you think — who asked who about it?

A: I don't remember how it started. You know, it was just in a conversation at home one night, she was talking about it probably and I probably said, "How about coming down to the legislature?" and she said, "I'd love it."

And we just had a super time together. As a matter of fact almost the first trip down there, it might have been our first trip down, I was educating her on the legislative process because, you know, like any college girl she'd never had any exposure to the legislature. And I was talking to her about how you get bills passed and the committee structure and the code departments and the government and all, the whole — the three branches — you know, giving her a civics course. And I got talking so much I ran out of gas on the way down.

Q: Oh? (laughter)

A: I think it was the only time I ever ran out of gas in my whole life. We had to go into a farmhouse and get a farmer to go out and get us some gas out of his tank.

Q: Well how did you organize that, getting her started? What types of things did you have her do to begin?

A: Organize my files, keep all my files straight, keep the schedule on when my committee hearings were, and helped her set up the scheduling system, and the calendar and she — you know, she'd open my mail for me. Just was really great and it was an enormous experience for a father, you know, to . . .

Q: I'll bet.

A: It really was, Horace, it was just great. We ate all our meals together and — except when Betsy would get drafted to go and cook for three or four guys who were living together. Bill Sommerschild was one and maybe . . . Buck Buckley might have been one. I don't remember. There were three or four guys who lived together and every once in a while they'd say, "Betsy, how about going out to dinner tonight." She'd say sure. And that would consist of her going over to their apartment and cooking dinner for them and doing all the dishes when they went in to watch television. (laughter)

Q: Well did you have her doing such things as researching bills then, by the time she got her feet on the ground?

A: Well within limits because you see we had a staff for that. We had the Legislative Council and the Legislative Reference Bureau both as very valuable aids and arms to do different things. But they did research work. Betsy I don't remember doing a lot of research

work. She might have helped me on some of the higher education bills, things like that though.

Q: And did she seem as though she continued to like being down there or was she getting tired of it by the time session was over?

A: Well see she couldn't stay the whole session. She took one term off, which was the fall term so she was only there from say January through March or something like that, or the middle of February maybe even. She was only there two or three months, so she wasn't there at the end of the session.

Q: Do you feel that in any way she's one of these days going to run for the senate or something?

A: I don't think so. She's got four kids of her own and she's got a real handful with those.

Q: Mrs. Saperstein was raising two when she was in.

A: Well every child that you have as you know the work goes up in geometric progression, not just simple arithmetic progression. (chuckles)

Q: Well let's see, let me mention a couple of other situations that were coming up there along about 1969. Gale Williams, as I understand it, put in an impaction bill where the — like Southern Illinois University was next to Carbondale and he wanted so much of the budget I believe of the university was to go to the city for impaction. Do you recall that effort to get that through? It didn't go through.

A: I remember it only vaguely. Gale wasn't there an awful long time as I recall. And my reaction right now is that I would view that as a local interest bill which would be an improper restriction on the government, on the local people. They ought to be able to do what they needed to do without having to spend at a particular place that some guys in Springfield thought they ought to spend it.

Q: What about the move to make Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville an autonomous campus and also here at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle? They both came up about that time, the idea of making them autonomous. Do you recall any of that?

A: I really don't, Horace. I don't remember what the big scrap was on that.

Q: Well it didn't go through of course. They're still there.

A: Yes. We probably killed them in committee and if we did I was probably opposed to it, because we had a majority on the committee and if the Republicans would oppose it, it wouldn't get out of committee.

Q: Yes I don't think it got very far at all.

A: Yes.

Q: What about the situation after the age changed for voting? Do you recall any particular — for example Charles Clabaugh was putting in some bills that stated they had to vote at home or whatever, you know, rather than voting in the community. Do you remember any of that?

A: I do yes and I was in favor of having them vote at home. If students don't vote at home, students can run a city, they can take over because there's so darned many of them, particularly at a huge campus like Illinois or SIU. And they can have an enormous impact on

a town like Charleston. And necessarily students aren't the taxpayers. And I didn't think that makes good sense. I think the taxpayer ought to kind of run government. And the students just simply weren't the taxpayers and their interests were different from the taxpayers' and I kind of like to see the people who are going to benefit from something pay for part of it, maybe all of it.

Q: I'm trying to think of the fellow's name from Chester that won down there at Carbondale? Well . . .

A: The legislator from Chester?

Q: Right, yes sir.

A: I can picture him.

Q: I can't think of his name now. Mikva went to Northwestern University and moved to that district so that he could capitalize on the student vote as I understand it. Do you recall anything about that?

A: Well Mikva moved — Mikva had been a congressman from the University of Chicago district, and that district should have a black legislator, it's overwhelmingly a black district. Ab couldn't win in that district and he knew it, he wouldn't win the primary. So he moved to the north side. I'm sure the fact that it was in the Northwestern district was a factor in his decision, but that was only one. There were a lot of other factors too. And that turned out to be an enormously close election. As a matter of fact he and Sam Young ran against each other two or three times and Sam won once and then Ab won and then — I'm not sure if Sam didn't win again. I don't remember.

SESSION 11, TAPE 21, SIDE 1

Q: I wanted to ask how it came about that you put in a bill for a liaison commission on higher education.

A: (pause) Tell me more about it.

Q: You became chairman of it. It was, let's see, 1969 — it would have been 1971 I guess. The purpose as I understand it was to advise the state Board of Higher Education on higher education matters. But it was your bill that was put in successfully, went through and you became chairman of the commission.

A: Horace, I don't remember the details of it. We were having some communications problems as you always do in legislative matters. And I don't really remember what the specific purpose of it was. One problem of communication was the thing I talked to you about when Ben Heineman asked the governor to veto that bill. I thought that was a total failure of communication, not on my part because I was trying to communicate desperately with him specifically, and he just didn't communicate with me at all.

As you know, there's always a feeling in the legislature that those academics in the colleges are spending too much money. And I'm sure that's what we wanted, to try to bridge that gap of communication.

Q: That would have been with the universities themselves, the leadership and administration?

A: Sure yes right. I'd have to look at the bill and see what else — I don't remember much more about it than that.

Q: All I jotted down was the purpose of it which was to advise the state board.

A: I'd totally forgotten about it till you mentioned it right now.

Q: I was wondering, on that level it seems to me John Gilbert was pretty much interested also. Were you associated with him in that endeavor?

A: Yes very closely. At that time John was chairman of the senate Committee on Education and was — I think that's right — in any event he lived in Carbondale and was very active with SIU and was very knowledgeable in higher education matters. And I think by then he was chairman of the Education Committee of the senate. Is that right?

Q: Yes sir.

A: We worked closely together. He would handle the bills for me in the senate and I would handle them for him in the house. So we were working very closely on all higher education matters.

Q: I was wondering in working with John Gilbert was he very difficult at times? I understand he had a pretty good temper when people rubbed him wrong.

A: I hope I never rubbed him wrong. At least he never got mad at me. We always had a very fine working relationship and I found him very easy to work with, very knowledgeable, very competent senator.

Q: Let's see now you had individual scholarships which you yourself could issue, to whoever you wanted to as a matter of fact. How did you go about deciding who was going to get those scholarships?

A: The word went out — I had a newsletter I'd put out periodically, I'd mention it. And I would find young men and women who were highly qualified who wanted to go to one of the state schools. And people knew about the scholarships and they would apply to me and I just did the best job I could to pick somebody who was meritorious and give them the scholarship. And I was really pleased. Some of the people who got them were just top young men and women.

Q: You had what? two scholarships?

A: Two a year. Yes one to the University of Illinois and one to the other colleges as I recall. Is that right?

Q: Yes I believe by that time yes. You say some top ones. Are there those that you're still in contact with that you helped in that way?

A: Horace, I can't remember off the top of my head but I'm sure there are. I remember I had nothing but the warmest feeling about the people who had those scholarships. I didn't get any political pressure on it. It was done purely on the basis of merit and boy, I had no trouble getting meritorious people for them. They were really good. It was just a fine program.

Q: And you did use your scholarships then?

A: I think I probably used all of them. I may have missed one year because I offered it to somebody who couldn't do it and by the time they turned it down it was too late. But I think I used it every year, both of them every year.

Q: A number of southern Illinois legislators could use more so they came to Chicago where they found that a lot of them were not using their scholarships or not distributing them.

A: I may have given one away some time. They did that with me yes. They'd tell me who they would like to have it given to. That may have happened. I don't remember. I know what you're saying is the fact. It did happen. And I don't remember whether I did or not. I may have.

Q: Let's see, we've touched on your children's college several times here. But I wonder if we could review just to get it all in one place here.

A: Sure.

Q: Now Betsy decided to go to what school?

A: Betsy went to Stanford. She had three years at Stanford and then she got married, married a young man from La Grange, Dave Blessing. And then she transferred — they moved here. Dave was going to medical school at Northwestern and Betsy therefore finished up at the University of Illinois Circle Campus.

Q: Why did she decide on Stanford as opposed to her mother's school or something?

A: We made the circle of colleges with her like we did with all our kids and she loved California and she loved the Stanford campus which is beautiful. And Stanford is one of the best universities in the United States. It's in the, you know, first handful of universities. Her grades qualified her to get in so she wanted to go there. There wasn't any family tie to it or anything.

Q: Did she have any particular objective?

A: No it wasn't because she wanted to be a physicist or something. It was just you know . . .

Q: And then what degree did she finish up with here at the Circle?

A: Bachelor of arts.

Q: I see.

A: She got straight A's here but she's the one who didn't get the summa.

Q: I see. You mentioned that. (chuckles)

A: Yes.

Q: Okay. And then . . .

A: Number two is George M. the Third, Bud. Bud took a year after high school at Pettie in Heightstown, New Jersey. Then he went to a small college in Santa Barbara called Westmont. Westmont is a Christian college on the same order as Wheaton. It has a very close relationship with Wheaton, many of the professors at Westmont came from Wheaton. Wheaton says that Westmont is the Wheaton of the west, and Wheaton that Westmont is the Wheaton of the east. They're very closely related.

We picked Westmont because Bud, we thought, needed tender loving care and would do better in a small college where he could have some more personal attention than in a big college where he could more easily disappear into the masses. The son of a very good friend of ours, Tom Dawson, had gone to Westmont and he and Bud were there about the same time. I think Tom was maybe a year ahead of Bud or something like that, or maybe a year behind. But they were both thinking about it and Bud had all four years at Westmont. It

took him a little more than four years to get through because he took a whole year off to work in my Senate campaign.

Q: Oh is that right?

A: And he took off periodically at other times for various and sundry reasons, sometimes at the request of Westmont. But he made it, all four years, and got his degree there, bachelor of arts.

Debby, number three, went to SMU for the first three years because she liked SMU and partly because Gwen Dawson had gone to SMU, another one of the Dawson kids. And Debby took a year off to work in my Senate campaign, during the course of which she met my press aide, one Thomas Carter Norton, and she and Tom were married on November 30, after the election of the first week in November. So she had a year to go — so Debby also finished up at Circle Campus, and got substantially straight A's and got a summa. And then after she did that she decided she wanted to go to law school. So Debby went to Northwestern Law School and got out of law school in 19 . . .

Q: I would say 1979.

A: . . . 1980, yes 1980. And our youngest daughter is Barbie. Barbie had all four years at Southern Methodist.

Q: Oh.

A: Betsy took one of her terms at Stanford at the Stanford campus in Beutelsbach in Germany. And . . .

(taping stopped for conversation with daughter, then resumed)

A: I said Betsy went to Beutelsbach for a couple of terms. And then Barbie wanted to go to a school in Europe. She wanted to go someplace in Germany or Austria and SMU didn't have a campus there so she looked around and found that Northern Illinois had a campus in . . . Austria, in Salzburg. And she applied for that and was admitted to that program. So she took a couple of terms at Salzburg.

Debby took a trip over there, over to Europe, one summer with her cousin but didn't go to college over there. And Bud took a trip down to South America one time with a church group but he didn't go to college anywhere except at Westmont.

Q: What did they study when they went to Europe? languages?

A: Partly sure. They both got fairly fluent in German. But they were also taking regular college courses. This is a typical junior year abroad you know. A lot of colleges have campuses in foreign countries and this was just — it was a great experience for both of them. Betsy lived on the Stanford campus. Stanford actually owned the campus in Beutelsbach. But they had three-day weekends every week and the kids just traveled all over you know. She saw all of Europe.

And Barbie lived with an Austrian family in Salzburg which was a tremendous experience for her. As a matter of fact the father of the family spoke virtually no English and the mother didn't really speak much English either. They had three daughters who were about Barbie's age, maybe a couple of them were a little older, and they all spoke English because they'd had it in school. So they got to be very close friends.

We went over to see Barbie toward the end and we met her and we traveled around. We went to Salzburg and we spent an evening with the family she lived with, drinking schnapps

and beer and trying to communicate in a language that neither Barbara nor I understood and they didn't understand ours. We had just a great evening with them. It was really fun.

Q: Alright sir. In regard to public aid, one of the biggest things that was coming up was the amount of the people that were on it, and the tremendous cost that was going sky-high. In 1965 the question came up as to whether birth control information should be given to these people. There seemed to be quite a considerable amount of controversy over that. Do you recall the situation there?

A: Yes I did. And I was very much in favor of giving birth control information.

Q: Do you recall any floor fights or anything of that nature?

A: Oh there was, you know there were the usual comments you get, racist comments and things like that. But that is not, as far as I'm concerned, that is not in any way a race issue. It's a health issue as much as anything else and a humanity issue.

Q: It happened before you were there, but Webber Borchers proposed at one time that there be a sterilization program for those that were on welfare.

A: I said once before that Webber wasn't my favorite legislator.

Q: So you wouldn't have gone along with that particular . . .

A: I think that was while I was there. I think I was there before Webber was.

Q: Oh is that right?

A: I think that was while I was there.

Q: The question of abortions, did you get involved with that, or take a strong position?

A: You couldn't be in the legislature without getting involved in abortions. I never took an active role on one side or the other. I voted to legalize abortions. But that was — you know I never was an active participant.

Q: Leland Rayson kind of took a lead in that sort of thing. Do you recall his . . .

A: Yes Lee was a very active leader in that whole issue. He was the Democratic representative from the same district that I was in. He was a very courageous guy because that's a — whichever side you're on, if you take the leadership role on that, you're going to alienate a substantial number of single-issue voters. And I'm sure that Lee did, but I thought — you know I admired him for his stand as I did anybody who was taking a strong stand on an issue as controversial as that.

Q: He seemed to take a lot of strong stands.

A: Yes he did yes. (chuckles)

Q: It was said that the situation in Illinois in regard to the amounts that could be given for public aid was drawing people to Illinois. Do you feel that that was a true statement, that they were coming to Chicago because they could get better welfare treatment?

A: Horace, I think that's a factor. You know the word goes out in a state, in a southern state for example, and I don't know the numbers at all, but for example, if Mississippi payments are much lower than ours, obviously that tends to cut in the direction of people moving

from Mississippi to Illinois. Furthermore Mississippi wanted to get those people off of their rolls under any circumstances and you know therefore that cuts in the direction of Mississippi state or county officials, or just citizens, pointing out to people who were on welfare that they could do a lot better in Illinois. Or in any other state, obviously Illinois wasn't singled out.

Q: Did you take a position on the residency? Back in 1967 they were trying to increase it by a year. Of course . . .

A: I don't remember. But I think I did and I think I was for it.

Q: The federal government of course took that over and did away with that.

A: Yes yes.

Q: What about the subject of placing liens on recipients' property so that the state could recoup some of the costs they had?

A: Well you know, Horace, in general I think our welfare system has gotten substantially out of control. I keep thinking of what happened to Rome. The Roman empire let its welfare get totally beyond control. And the result was toward the fall of the Roman empire they didn't have the kind of dedication to government or anything else. Everybody was on the dole. And the circus kept getting bigger and bigger every year and every Roman empororer had to bring in more games and more charity to Roman citizens. Maybe that's an overstatement but anybody who isn't familiar with history is doomed to repeat it and it seems to me that if you are familiar with history you ought to try to learn a little something about it. And I've got to say that I think that a total welfare state is not productive and it's doomed to failure.

Q: Did you have any ideas at that time as to how to control this rapid expansion in welfare?

A: Just all of the usual methods of doing it. And anything new that people came up with, if it was a reasonable means of controlling it fiscally, I thought we should do it. Obviously you want to promote jobs but we're now in the position where we've got maybe three generations of people who never worked. They just lived on the public dole for three generations, and you give incentives to have more children, you know, at some point the economy can't handle that. And there's going to have to be some significant changes made in it.

Q: Did you take an active part in any way in opposing . . .

A: I wasn't on the committees that were considering that, that I recall, and I didn't sponsor any bills that I remember in that regard. I think people ought to carry their fair share of government in general and you know when people would come up with proposals I'd be glad to help them but I wasn't an innovator and a strong promoter in that area. I had strong feelings about it though I'll tell you.

Q: How did you and Corneal Davis get along on this issue? He was pretty much for making sure people got what they wanted at least.

A: Yes. Yes I just disagreed with the — there have to be some restraints put on it. Corneal was a great orator and I'm sure he was a fine minister and a great Christian gentleman but you know I just didn't agree with the things that Corneal was saying about just giving everybody the total world. That isn't life and it isn't the way government can operate for very long.

Q: Yes sir. How about the situation concerning abused children? This came up a couple of times in the mid-1960's and then again in the early 1970's. There were a couple of cases — one case here in Chicago where a boy was killed after his return.

A: Yes. Those are very sad situations, Horace, abused children and abused wives and things like that, that need a lot of attention from our society. Society needs to get at the cause of the problem as well as the results of it, the causes — the abuser, and whether it's alcoholism or psychiatric disturbances or whatever it is, we need to work on things like that.

Abused children though are probably the classic example of a subject that is itself subject to abuse because there's no way a legislature in Springfield or anywhere else can pass legislation to take care of every abused child or every psychiatric person in the world, in the United States, or Illinois. We just simply can't do it. We've got to try to set up systems to take care of it but realize that every bill that's introduced by every do-gooder legislator isn't necessarily — weighing all of the consequences of it for the taxpayer and for the community and for the citizens, as well as for the person intended to be protected, not every bill like that is good and ought to be passed. There just comes a limit. There's a time when you've got to call a halt to things like that.

Q: What about migrant workers? I understand there were some near your area down there, or your district. Did you get involved in any way with looking into that situation?

A: I didn't even know there were migrant workers in my district. You know my district is not a farm district in the first place and it certainly isn't a district where there were enormous areas of poverty. But sure enough, there was one migrant worker camp way down in the south end of the district in a very isolated area that I didn't know anything about. And I guess I got a little criticism because I didn't know about it. As a matter of fact thinking back on it I'm not sure it was quite in my district. I think it might have been right across the road from my district. But you know I didn't really care — if something was wrong, whether it was in my district or not, if something needed correction or if there was something we could do something about, I was perfectly willing to do it whether it was in my district or not. I don't remember just what the outcome of that event was. I remember the specific incident.

Q: Well Leland Rayson — it was, I guess, a little closer.

A: Yes Lee lived in Tinley Park which was way out in the south end of our district.

Q: He got involved with it. I don't recall the corrective action, but he did put in . . .

A: Yes he put in some legislation.

Q: I believe for health care and that sort of thing.

A: Yes.

Q: Do you recall Roland Tipsword's bill to provide insurance for black lung persons?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you get involved in any way in getting that through?

A: Was it black lung or white lung?

Q: Black lung, coal mines.

A: Yes okay because there was — about the same time there were some incidents of white lung disease from aluminum — was it aluminum mines? and I was thinking that was Roland's bill. But if you've recently looked at it and — it was black lung, yes and he's from Jacksonville?

Q: No no no, from Taylorville.

A: Taylorville — I knew it was a "ville" yes. Yes Taylorville. I don't remember how I voted on it. You know obviously that's a societal problem that seemed to me we ought to do something about and I don't remember how I voted on the bill but I was certainly sympathetic to the object he was trying to achieve.

Q: Yes sir.

A: He was one of the better legislators I thought.

Q: He was not a very good interviewee because he quit and went to be a judge and we're still in the middle of it.

A: Oh did he? Oh is that right?

Q: Yes. There was something that came up in the early 1970's — Mrs. Saperstein was kind of a leader in this — was nursing homes. There was considerable problem with under-standard nursing homes or establishing standards.

A: Yes.

Q: Did you get involved in that in any way?

A: I don't remember that I was directly involved in Esther's bill. She was in the senate I think by then. I was a trustee for twenty-three years of a home for the elderly called King-Bruwaert House in Hinsdale and that was a class house. It was really just a beautiful home and well run and had none of the problems that Esther's bills were designed to correct. I don't remember that I really got involved in it at all particularly. I just wanted to make sure that a bill like that didn't hurt the good people. A lot of times legislation like that that looks — when you read it on the face of it, it looks like it's a great piece of legislation, but the fact is it results in detriment to the people who are doing right and doing the good things, and the bad guys don't pay any attention to it anyway, until somebody comes along and finally puts them out of business. So you've got to be careful, you know, in your attempt to solve a problem, that you don't create worse problems for people who aren't part of the original problem. That happens all the time.

Q: Well let's see, Governor Ogilvie in 1971 cut back by several million dollars the amount that was being devoted to day care centers. And Mrs. Saperstein got in a big campaign to get that back. Do you recall that?

A: I remember the episode but I don't remember the details of it at all.

Q: In 1972 it was discovered that one of the doctors in one of the mental institutions in the state was not qualified at all.

A: He was a foreign doctor as I recall, wasn't he.

Q: That's correct. And there was a big question as to whether they should hire foreign doctors after that or if they shouldn't tighten that up. Do you recall anything about that?

A: Yes I remember the incident. You know, as long as we need doctors and the doctors are well qualified I think it's pretty parochial to say simply because he came from another country you shouldn't hire them. America's the great melting pot, I'm glad we didn't take that position in 1620 or nobody ever would have been hired in this country. And I don't really see much difference now, if you have qualified young people that come over to this country to get their medical education, why they shouldn't be hired in this country.

Q: In regard to automobiles, the annual inspection of automobiles, as with the annual inspection of trucks, was put in several times and always failed. Were you involved.

A: I don't remember that I did, Horace.

Q: How about little things like reflectorized license plates and that sort of thing that the secretary of state was proposing?

A: I always tried to be very careful when a bill came in from Paul Powell's office that it wasn't a money bill. Paul Powell probably wasn't the best public servant the state ever had and a bill that would require reflectorized license plates could be a gold mine for a disreputable politician. You know, on the face of it, "Gee, isn't that a good idea to have reflectorized license plates? You'll save lives, you'll save accidents and everything else." But after you've been in the legislature a little while you learn that some of the bills that look on the face of them like they'll save lives will also line pockets of unscrupulous state officials or legislators.

Q: Like requiring mudguards I guess.

A: Made to specifications which only a company that Paul Powell had a piece of could meet. Yes exactly.

Q: Up here in Chicago . . .

A: I might say Paul Powell and others.

Q: Yes sir. Here in Chicago there was a move to put in a nine-member commission to run the Cook County Hospital and I guess it finally came about. Do you feel that there was any political aspect of that bill?

A: I'm sure there was. Cook County has had a terrible problem. It's an enormous hospital, and it's just a heck of a job to run a hospital that big. The doctors got organized, and the doctors were unhappy and I'm sure they had some grievances and I'm sure the administration could have been improved, as it can be. In almost everything in life, somebody can do a better job. It's easier to say you can do a better job than it is to do the better job. And I never got particularly involved in that problem. I don't remember just what — I don't remember whether the Campbell Commission, Campbell Report, had any impact on that or not. It probably did, but I don't remember what it was. I think it had to do primarily with medical education not with the administration of Cook County.

Q: There was a — actually it came in two moves, one somewhat later perhaps, but the direction was for public aid to be removed first from the city and combined with the county. And part of that was because of patronage jobs in Chicago. Then the control of public aid in Cook County was taken over by the state which . . .

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A: Public aid, and other things too but public aid particularly, can be a real political football. There's all kinds of patronage and all kinds of vote-gaining potential in public aid. And I'm not at all surprised that George Dunne was unhappy about that. He voiced that as a matter of fact regularly and vociferously and articulately. The fact is, the Democrats didn't want to lose it in Cook County, and George was chairman of the Democratic party in Cook County and chairman of the county board of commissioners. But Ogilvie was a Republican governor. There are a lot of people downstate, Republican and Democrat, who would rather have the state do something than have Chicago dominate

it. And the political power, the pendulum swung that year enough so that it was taken over by the state.

Q: Do you feel that that's a particularly bad thing?

A: No. There's no question but what it was abused in Cook County in my mind. It may be abused downstate too but the abuses don't develop right away. (chuckles) It sometimes takes a little while to get the abuse system set up so if you change it back and forth every three or four years, that would probably be the best way.

Q: Let's see, you were chairman in 1973 of the Lyons Township Mental Health Board. I presume that you'd been connected with that for other years than just 1973.

A: That was a new board.

Q: Oh it was?

A: Yes there was a house bill, or senate bill, 708, that was passed probably the year before, or maybe the 1971 session, sometime about that time, to allow the creation of township mental health boards. And there were a bunch of people set one up in Lyons Township and they asked me to be chairman of it. I was out of the legislature by then so I felt I could do it.

Q: What was the purpose of the board?

A: To coordinate the mental health activities of the township.

Q: Did this include mental health clinics and that sort of thing that . . .

A: Consulting yes. And working with clinics that were already set up, referrals to clinics that were already capable of handling people. That wasn't just unique to Lyons Township, it was a statewide thing. There were a lot of 708 boards all over the state. I went to a statewide meeting of 708 boards one time down in Peoria. There were hundreds of people there who were on 708 boards.

Q: It was township affairs throughout the state then I guess, some of these township officials.

A: Yes. It might have been downstate counties. Well it could have been counties downstate but it was townships in Cook County.

Q: Was this connected in any way with the Ogilvie program that he drew up expanding clinics and day care centers and alcohol treatment units and that sort of thing?

A: Horace, I don't remember if it was connected with it. I don't remember being very active in the bill when it was in the legislature. Probably my people talked to me about it from my district. We had a pretty good board in Lyons Township. We had a doctor and several other people who were very knowledgeable in the field on it.

Q: Did you have any particular attainments for the board?

A: Mainly we were just getting organized, getting budgets set up, things like that. I'd been on the board of two other organizations, the Mental Health Association and another similar organization, in Lyons Township and they were very active in getting it put together, a bunch of dedicated people, as there are all over the city, and county and state, in that field. And we had a lot of them in Lyons Township and we got a very good group put together. I don't remember particular achievements. I ran for the Senate the next year and that divorced me from the rest of the world, all other activities.

Q: I'd like to ask a bit about budget and appropriations and revenue and that sort of thing. The Budgetary Commission when Ogilvie got going went by the board when he developed the Bureau of the Budget. Did you feel any loss with the disappearance of the Budgetary Commission?

A: I didn't personally. I hadn't had anything to do with it. I was never on the Appropriations Committee so I really never got deeply involved in the appropriations process, or review of appropriations. The appropriations I was interested in were the ones that had to do with the substantive bills which were going through the committees I was on or the bills of which I was chief sponsor like the higher education bills, the bill to provide public aid to private colleges for instances. I always had a great deal of respect for the people that worked in that Bureau of the Budget, John McCarter, who is now the chief executive officer of a . . . company in DeKalb, DeKalb Pfeiser Genetics or something like that it's called, was a very bright competent official, shown by his present position as CEO of an important company. And there were others in that Bureau of the Budget who just, I thought, brought a businesslike professional approach to the establishment of a budget which is sorely needed in government.

Q: Did you feel you had any less information after the Budgetary Commission left?

A: No because I didn't work enough with the Budgetary Commission to rely on their information. I don't mean to talk down the Budgetary Commission. I just didn't know it.

Q: How did you go about keeping track of whether the budget was going to be balanced or not? Did you leave this up to the Bureau of the Budget or the governor or . . .

A: Horace, you almost have to. You get a book that's two inches thick that's the budget and you may get it a week before you have to vote on it or a couple of weeks maybe. And there's just no conceivable way you can ferret out, as an individual legislator not on the commissions that are studying it, any particular problems. You have to rely on other people to do that. And it's really — at least when I was in the legislature it wasn't done very well.

Q: Were there individuals that you relied on, that you sought information from?

A: I'm sure there were. I don't remember who — of course Al Hachmeister was the guy I relied on very much for everything in the legislature as I said before. And there were a number of very competent legislators that, like that, who were knowledgeable. We mentioned several of them yesterday, Frances Dawson and Charlie Clabaugh on budgetary matters having to do with education I would rely on.

Q: How about John Parkhurst? He was attempting to turn things around in the Appropriation Committee?

A: I was going to mention Parky. He was a name that was right on the tip of my tongue. Parky was the assistant minority leader my first term and I learned to have great respect for him. I knew him before we went into the legislature. We had done some things together in the Young Republicans and Parky and his wife Harriet were both very competent people. Harriet was very active in the Republican organization and I think maybe the League of Women Voters in Peoria and Parky was a guy I would rely on heavily on things like that. He was chairman of Appropriations I guess for a couple of terms wasn't he?

Q: Yes sir. They — I'm — can't think of the name of it — there was a commission established to replace the Budgetary Commission, the Commission on Finance and . . . well the name escapes me now.

A: I don't remember either.

Q: But it never seemed to get off the ground. There was an attempt to institute that again but they didn't.

A: Russ Arrington was very active in that in the senate side and I don't remember just what Russ did. Was he chairman of the Budgetary Commission? I don't remember.

Q: I don't believe so. I don't think Arrington ever was. Peters was for years and years except . . . let's see, perhaps your first session down there was his second session and he was not on because he had crossed Daley in some way or other.

A: Oh is that right?

Q: And they replaced him with Murphy. I've forgotten the details of it. Do you recall anything about that?

A: Oh is that right? No no.

Q: Some behind-the-scenes sort of thing went on there and he was out for two sessions.

A: Which Murphy? It couldn't have been Bill Murphy who was a Republican.

Q: It was a Murphy. I don't know which one. One of the leaders though.

A: In the senate?

Q: No in the house.

A: Was Everett Peters in the house with me?

Q: No no.

A: Oh he was in the senate yes.

Q: No but on the Budgetary Commission side . . .

A: Yes yes yes.

Q: But he was replaced there for a couple of sessions.

A: Well it's conceivable that Bill Murphy might have been chairman of the commission, if the Republicans had a majority, there would have been a Republican chairman on the Budgetary Commission. And since we had — it could have been Bill Murphy I don't remember.

Q: Well it was Bill Murphy they got involved with anyway however it worked out.

Let's see, in regard to the sales tax, now in 1967 Kerner wanted to get it increased so that he could again have the increase for schools at that time. He wanted to go to a full five cents with it. Do you recall the situation there? Your opinion of whether the sales tax should be raised?

A: I don't remember. All I know is that at some point a tax like that is regressive. You get the tax up so high so that you're going to take in less total money than you do if the tax is a little lower and you can have more sales. The longer I was in the legislature the more conservative I became on taxation. And the more I realized that you have to have different bases of taxation. You shouldn't put the whole load on any particular segment of the society. And the sales tax has got one very difficult problem, that is that the poorer you are the more percentage of your income goes to pay taxes. I don't think that's

right. One way you get around that is to exempt food and drugs. A lot of states do that. We don't and I — you know, as soon as you start making exemptions then you're opening loopholes and I'm not sure that's such a good idea either. Those are hard questions.

Q: Was that your position that they should be removed from food and drugs . . .

A: No I think I was for not making any exceptions. But I'm acknowledging that there's sure another side to that one.

Q: There had been a continual broadening of the sales tax to include more areas, and in 1967 the mood was to go to tax businesses and occupations. Do you recall anything about your . . .

A: Well actually it was an Illinois Retailers Occupation Tax, that was the name of it. It was a tax on the retailer. And the retailer simply passed it on to somebody who bought something from him.

Q: Well this was to different types of businesses other than those you were talking of.

A: The service tax yes. I just don't remember what I did on that, Horace.

Q: The Democrats were always trying to get an increase in the corporate taxation, taxation on corporations. Were you active in defeating their moves in any way?

A: I believe I voted against it. That's a classic example of the kind of tax I'm talking about, that you raise the tax on the face of it you're going to get more money, but the fact is you don't get more money because you're discouraging whoever would normally pay the tax from doing business in Illinois. If you get the corporate tax up too high you're just encouraging people to move across the border or move their plant from Illinois down to Tennessee. And that happens regularly. And therefore there's a real incentive for states not to get corporate taxes too high.

Q: In about 1967 or — I think it was 1967 it was raised 300 percent. Do you recall anything about that?

A: I don't remember it specifically but I can be sure that that's the kind of thing I would not have been real happy about.

Q: What about raising money for state use by means of the lottery? Were your for a lottery . . .

A: I was against the lottery always. I voted against it consistently, and legalized gambling, I just voted against them. I think those things open the door to nefarious elements coming in and taking over and the risk is not worth the added money you get for the revenue. Furthermore that's a classic example of a tax on the guy who can least afford it because it tends to be people who participate in the lottery are poor people, or people on the lower end of the economic scale, I don't mean to classify them necessarily as poor.

Q: What about bingo?

A: Same way, same thing.

Q: Wasn't there a Bingo Murphy?

A: Bingo Bill Murphy. That's who it was, that's the one we're talking about yes.

Q: There were some moves to increase the tax on the parimutuel betting on horse racing. I presume you went along with that also.

A: I would be, sure I did yes.

Q: There was — this was one of the things that John Parkhurst got through — an increase in the inheritance tax, a widening I guess, it was a tax on insurance that hadn't been taxed before or something. And the bill went through and then I believe it was a special session that was called to do away with it after the insurance companies had hit everybody who had voted for it. Do you recall anything about that?

A: I don't remember any great pressure on it but again that's the kind of a tax where you're going to encourage people to set up a residence somewhere else, to become residents of Florida before they die, or some other state, so that they don't have — or Wisconsin — so that they don't have to pay a huge inheritance tax in Illinois. You've got to be careful of taxes like that because you're going to collect less money. And it's really unfair to go too high on things like that.

Q: Yes we've mentioned another aspect of the — I don't know that it would affect in your district particularly, but it would affect the edges of the state, on sales tax when you raise it people would go to the adjoining state.

A: When you raise it, sure. And when you drive across the state line there'd be all kinds of signs advertising on the other side, "The gasoline tax is less here than it is in Illinois," or the cigarette tax or whatever.

Q: What about reinstituting the state property tax? Do you recall any movements at all in that direction?

A: Horace, I don't. You know the real estate taxes are so darned high and it seems to me that real estate is bearing at least its fair share of the load in Illinois.

Q: In 1971 you with Clarke put in a bill to put a tax on cable TV and I believe to exclude newspapers and such as that from having cable TV interests. Do you recall that bill?

A: It was Senator Clarke's bill I believe.

Q: His name was first on it.

A: Yes I don't remember — what was that, 1971?

Q: In 1971 yes sir.

A: Well see that was my last term and Tec was then in the senate. He'd moved from the house over to the senate. And I don't really remember what the genesis of that bill was. I think it was his bill and he asked me to handle it for him in the house probably.

Q: I see.

A: Is that right, or was it a house bill?

Q: I don't recall the number, I don't know where it started.

A: If both our names were on it we would have been in the same house. We would have been in the house together. But I thought he was in the senate my last term. I'm sure he was in the senate my last term.

Q: I don't know. Perhaps this was kind of a nickname as the two people who were handling it.

A: Oh it could have been yes. They sometimes do that, like the Kefauver-Harris amendments to the Federal Food Drug and Cosmetic Act. It was Senator Kefauver and Representative Harris. That happens I guess.

Q: Yes sir. But you don't remember any details on that one?

A: I don't.

Q: Did you ever have occasion to discuss or to gather information on taxation from Maurice Scott?

A: Yes I did. I knew Maury Scott before I went in the legislature through a lot of things I'd been doing in civic affairs here and I always had a great deal of respect for him. The Taxpayers Federation and the Civic Federation kind of split the taxing investigation. The Civic Federation did for Cook County what Maurice Scott and the Taxpayers Federation did for the rest of the state. And he came up with some very helpful information, analyzing budgets, analyzing taxes, doing things like that which I paid a lot of attention to, and so did a great many other legislators. Harlan Stockwell and Maurice Scott were two of the finest lobbyists down there I thought. They were looking out for not only business interests but just plain old taxpayer.

Q: Did you meet with them very often here in Chicago or was it mostly contact down there?

A: Nearly all down there, Horace. You know when I was up here I was trying to practice law and do what else I could to keep other things to a minimum. But I'm sure I did. I don't remember having — I don't remember ever meeting with Maurice Scott or Stock up here but I may have.

Q: How about Joe Meek? Did you ever go to his — what was it? Furniture Mart annual affair that he . . .

A: Regularly yes. Joe was a very dear friend of mine. As a matter of fact we probated his estate. He lived in Western Springs not too far from me. And Joe ran for the United States Senate in 1954 and I was his Young Republican chairman. He was a very good friend of mine from then, even before then I guess a little bit, until he died a few years ago. And interestingly Barbara asked me last night how Margaret Meek was, just last night. Joe was a super guy. Those events that he had in the Merchandise Mart were a fantastic revelation as to how bright his mind was. He would go around that room and stop at every table and talk about every single person at every table, every legislator, all 177 house members and all fifty-nine senators, and he could name all of them, knew them by name and face.

Q: I understand that he would go throughout the state with meetings like that, Decatur and Peoria and . . .

A: He did sure.

Q: So he must have known doggone near every businessman there was in the state of Illinois.

A: Yes. It's a shame he wasn't elected to the United States Senate. I think he would have been a great senator really.

Q: What about the municipal tax business. Mayor Daley was after an extra half-cent through almost all of the 1960's. He finally got a quarter of it before the income tax came along. Did you get involved in that?

A: Well in general. You know I was a Republican suburban legislator and our mission in life wasn't to help Mayor Daley get more money for the city of Chicago. Now that I live in Chicago, I've had to modify my views a little bit on that issue.

Q: Well! (chuckles)

A: But in general I didn't actively participate one way or the other. But I certainly wouldn't be looking to raise taxes in Chicago.

Q: Did you ever get any pressure from anyone? I understand that he came down and spoke on the floor for it occasionally.

A: I don't remember. He probably did and I don't — you know, I — you asked about pressure in taxes. I can tell you one that I did get pressure on. I always thought the personal property tax in Illinois was grossly unfair because it's paid by just about everybody downstate. It was paid by about half of the people in suburban Cook County including myself. And it was paid by virtually nobody in Chicago. And if you're going to have a statewide personal property tax, it ought to be enforced under reasonable equitable conditions throughout the state. That's what equal protection of laws means to me, and due process, which are two fairly fundamental constitutional principles. So I put in a bill one time to require anyone who applies for a license for his automobile to show to the issuing agency a receipt for his personal property tax so you couldn't get a license for your car until you paid your personal property tax. Well talk about a storm, I'll tell you, that was really it. I endeared myself to a great many downstate legislators and put myself on the total hit list of a good many Chicago legislators who were deluged with comments from Chicago citizens, from their constituents. We didn't quite get it through. But we came within an ace of getting that bill through. I think maybe that was my first term down there.

Q: Second sir, 1967.

A: Was it the second? Okay.

Q: In 1967.

A: Was it? Okay.

Q: I was wondering, did you use any particular maneuvering to attempt to get it through?

A: No just on the merits. You know I didn't try to trade votes or anything like that. I traded votes one time in my legislative career. I think I told you about that several weeks ago. No just on the merits you know. If you've got a tax, then you ought to do it, you ought to enforce it equitably throughout the state. You know, if you've got a principle that's as sound as that one is, you may have political considerations that cut the other direction, but the principle is sound. So you know you argue the principle.

Q: And you almost won in your argument then.

A: We darned near got it through. I don't remember how many votes it had. We needed eighty-nine to pass it and I think we got eighty-seven or something like that, or eighty-six. It was right on the verge.

Q: There are occasions when people are voting against like that, when you're waiting for them to go to the restroom or something, to bring it on the floor. Did you ever have any occasion to do that with a bill?

A: No because it's useless to do it, Horace. In the first place you can't get a bill through that quick. You know, maybe you can, but I didn't — what the heck, I would not appreciate it if somebody did that to me and I just didn't want to do it to anybody else. You know, you argue your thing on the merits, if you lose, you lose, but at least you give it your full shot. And that's what I tried to do. And you know if a Democrat were against my bill and I called it while he was off the floor, I'd have an enemy for life on that. Which I —

you know, that's not the purpose, that isn't the way you play the game I don't think. And anyway somebody could go get him. There was nothing to be gained by it. It's just kid stuff.

Q: And on that bill, that had been put in earlier in 1959 by Bottino I believe.

A: Bottino yes.

Q: Were you aware of that bill or did you use that in any way in putting it in again?

A: I don't remember. See that was what? eight years before. I'm sure I knew about it. I'd forgotten about it until you told me. Bottino was not in the legislature when I was I don't think. I think he left long before that.

Q: What was your feeling when you looked at the votes and you were two short?

A: Well I was disappointed. But you know I wasn't under any illusions that that bill was going to breeze through. I knew it wouldn't get a single vote in Chicago. And I knew that the Chicago people who were against the bill had some friends downstate who owed them a vote or two and that was when they would call back a favor. So I didn't think it was going to pass but it came closer than I thought it would.

Q: Did you try collaring anyone in the cloakroom and that sort of thing?

A: Oh yes sure. Oh yes we buttonholed everybody we could on it. We had a team of guys on it. I wasn't alone on that bill you can bet, I had a lot of help. We had our lists made up of who was for it and who was against it and who was on our team that could go button-hole guys who were in the middle and, you know, you don't go into those things blind without doing a little homework on them, if you've got any hope of passage.

Q: What did you do then? Did you form a group or find those that were interested and then go sit down someplace and say . . .

A: Sure. Or do it in the hall or do it after the session's over or at breakfast or whenever. You know, the legislature is a totally busy place. You go over while you're in session on the floor and talk to somebody. If there's a guy from Carbondale who's a little reluctant you get somebody else from his district to go over there or you call John Gilbert and say, "John, I need a little help on this bill that I know you want and how about talking to so-and-so," or whoever. That's the way it happens. And on a bill like that you could get total cooperation from people. People were really dedicated to it. I had letters from all over the state and from legislators who told me they thought that was the most important bill that session.

Q: Oh is that right?

A: Oh yes. That was one that really caught people's attention.

Q: Did you try it again next year?

A: (pause) Horace, I don't think I put it in again. It wasn't going to pass and you know I didn't want to spend the time on something that's a useless gesture. I'd done the thing in calling it to people's attention, the inequity in the personal property tax, which was one purpose of it. You know, you're imposing on a lot of people when you put a bill in like that because you're taking a lot of their time and their effort and their energy and the cause is not going to win. There are crusades that you do that with, but I don't think I did it again.

Q: On the personal property tax, there were several things that were attempted with it. I believe one excluded household goods and one automobile or something I believe.

A: I'm sure there were all kinds of things like that yes.

Q: Did you have any other association with the personal property tax attempts to . . .

A: I don't remember that I did, you know not directly where I was actively involved in it like I was with that one bill, that was one I really worked on.

Q: What about afterward? Let's see, I guess it would have been your last session there. Charles Clabaugh put in a bill to have \$70 million distributed amongst municipalities to replace that personal property tax that was no longer coming in after the Constitution. He failed as a matter of fact in that — well I believe it was vetoed.

A: Horace, I don't remember what I did on it. I remember the episode but I don't remember what I did. Normally on things I would go along with Charlie because I had so much respect for him. But I'm not sure I voted for that one. Do you happen to know?

Q: What's that?

A: How I voted?

Q: No I don't.

A: I only voted on about 15,000 bills while I was in the legislature. I thought you would have checked up on them.

Q: Well I've checked a few of them. (chuckles) Let's see, with the municipal taxation, one problem — and this came up primarily I guess in regard to the CTA which was getting into trouble there in 1969 and 1970 — in 1970 it was proposed that a permissive parking lot tax be permitted in the city of Chicago. Do you remember anything about that, your position on that?

A: I don't but I can tell you as a suburban legislator I was probably opposed to things like that. As a resident of Chicago now it occurs it would be perfectly reasonable to have a tax like that and I should have been for it.

Q: Yes sir. (chuckles) What about in 1972 when it was proposed that Chicago institute an income tax, a city income tax.

A: I don't remember. I'm sure I was opposed to it though because it was — you know, again that would be tax on people who lived in the suburbs, my constituents, who were working in Chicago. But I'd say exactly the same thing about that. We've got to do something to get the suburban community to participate . . .

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Q: But at that time you hadn't considered anything about a city income tax.

A: I think I was probably opposed to it, Horace, because it would have been a tax on income earned in the city which was — you know there's some bad things about that. That will encourage people to move out of the city, move a plant out of the city because that gives them a 1 percent advantage over everybody else in terms of employees.

Q: Well in regard to the state income tax, one question that I find most people apparently have forgotten about, but Clyde Choate in January of 1969 put in a Democratic bill for an income tax. It had a quite a differential in it, two and five I think it was.

A: Right.

Q: Do you remember anything about Clyde Choate's attempt?

A: I remember he did it. I think that was the first of the income tax bills that was seriously considered. And Clyde was a very articulate supporter of it. I'm sure I was against it. I just voted against income taxes in general until finally I became convinced I think about my last term that we just had to have an income tax.

Q: Well it would seem that that would have been a time when, regardless of how it had to be amended, that the Republican party would have gotten behind Clyde Choate and supported his bill to have a Democratic bill be the income tax bill.

A: Pretty hard to get Republicans to unite behind Clyde Choate.

Q: Oh. (chuckles) Even with an opportunity like that? I guess it was an opportunity. It seems so to me.

A: Well there's a lot to be said for that you know. And he takes the blame for the bad part of it. But then, it's a Republican majority and the Republican majority who passed it would have gotten the blame for passing it. Did we have a Republican governor that year? Was . . .

Q: Yes sir, Ogilvie.

A: Yes and if Dick wanted to tax, he would have to do it himself. It had to be his bill I think.

Q: Well there was another bill that came in shortly after Choate's that was an administrative bill, 4 percent flat.

A: Yes.

Q: All through the 1960's there was the business of whether you should authorize flat or whether it should be graduated. Did you have a position on that? if you had to have an income tax, which it ought to be?

A: I'm sure I was for a flat income tax as you know, that's probably selfish motives, but the risk of a graduated income tax, you get great disparities and my gosh, we were up what? 70 percent in federal — the top bracket in federal income tax? It's 50 now on earned income but when you get taxes that high, it's just an enormous disincentive. That's not right to tax up people that much.

Q: Do you recall the bill that went to referendum which would — let's see, it authorized an income tax up to 3 percent, flat rate, would outlaw or make . . .

A: It would have prohibited, yes.

Q: Yes prohibited the graduated. And there was one other provision, I've forgotten.

A: Did it have a cap on it or had some kind of a ratio or something?

Q: Well it was . . .

A: But it had some kind of a . . .

Q: Well I've forgotten what — there was another aspect. But it went to referendum in 1966 and it failed in referendum.

A: Yes.

Q: You evidently didn't support it then in 1965 when . . .

A: I don't think I did.

Q: There was another attempt in the following year then, 1967, and it failed then to get out of the legislature.

A: Yes. Well see the Democrats had control in 1965. Republicans had a majority in the 1967 session. That would be the reason for it I suppose.

Q: What about 1969 itself? The business of getting the bill through? Did you get much pressure from the administration to support the Ogilvie bill?

A: Sure. I was on the fence. I had been so consistently against income tax that I — but I was in the process of being convinced that it was right. And a lot of people were in my boat with it, in the same position I was, they'd voted against it, they didn't agree with it but we saw the state simply had to have a different source of revenue.

Pressure, I don't know. Dick Ogilvie called me down to his office one time and we talked about it. I suppose just being asked to come in and talk to the governor is pressure. But you know like a lot of legislators pressure like that didn't amount to much to me. I suppose the worst that could happen was I would lose the governor's support if I ran for the legislature which was totally irrelevant to me. And whether the governor was for me or not wouldn't make any difference of whether I'd be elected or not. You know if he beat me on it and I thought I was right, so be it. You know, I was fortunately never in the position where I was dependent on the legislature for a livelihood. I never was going to be putting myself in that position and never did. I voted for it finally because I thought we had to have one in the state, pure and simple.

Q: Do you recall any of the fighting between the Democrats and Republicans? McGloon was very active at that time in supporting the Democratic position.

A: Art was a very competent legislator too and he's a fine judge. He's a very good guy. I don't remember that — he was in the senate I guess by then. You know, I don't remember what went on in the house, Horace, so I won't in the senate on a lot of these things.

Q: Well I was wondering, it seems that Mayor Daley and Governor Ogilvie got together and agreed.

A: Yes.

Q: And said okay we'll go with this.

A: Right.

Q: And it was a flat rate at that time.

A: Right.

Q: And when it came out that way all of downstate evidently revolted.

A: Oh is that right? I didn't remember the . . .

Q: And they had to remodel it then of course.

A: Yes.

Q: It kind of came down to the wire. It was passed on the 30th of June. Do you remember any of the shenanigans that went on in the last day or so there?

A: Oh there are always shenanigans. Usually things like that the shenanigans went on in conference committee on June 30th. And most of us who weren't — if you weren't on the conference committee or if you were on — you might be on one or two conference committees. But the rest of the time, June 30th is probably the most boring day in the legislature because you sit there for, well, twenty-four hours really in your seat with nothing going on until a conference committee report comes in and the Speaker calls the house to order and you vote on one conference committee and then you recess for another couple of hours, but you can't go away because there'll be another call, so — it's a deadly day.

Q: I see. And did they still stop the clock when you were there?

A: Oh sure. Physically stopped the clock at two minutes till midnight.

Q: Did you ever see any fights over stopping the clock?

A: No. Not while I was there. Yes, you just knew it was going to happen and . . .

Q: I've forgotten who it was got bloodied . . .

A: Oh is that right? I don't think that was while I was there.

Q: No. Perhaps it was earlier, I don't recall. Well it was passed then of course in 1969 and put in force. Do you remember the genesis of the Homestead Act, the over sixty-five \$1500 exclusion, and that sort of thing?

A: I don't. I knew about it but I don't remember what the genesis of it was.

Q: Did you have any other, that we haven't covered, particular taxation issues that you thought were important?

A: I can't think of any, Horace. I think you've done a good job.

Q: Do you think that the income tax in the end then is better than at least a high sales tax then?

A: Well you know it's inevitable. That's the problem with it. It's inevitable. You can't raise that much taxes from property. And therefore you've got to have an income — the income tax is a reasonably fair way to go about it. And graduated within limits is probably the fairest way to go.

Q: There were a number that said that they would go along with the income tax if the property tax and the sales tax were reduced somewhat.

A: Sure.

Q: Were you somewhat disappointed when that didn't occur?

A: Sure. I just don't like the idea of giving government as much money as government wants because then you get people spending money which is not their money. You always

spend more money if it's not yours. You don't get the kind of fiscal responsibility, you don't get the kind of belt-tightening. You get government services that maybe don't need to be government services at all, certainly don't need to be government services at that level. You get great edifices like Delyte Morris's house. You know you get things like that. When you get a lot of money that's what happens. The money's there and you want to spend it before the fiscal year ends, it's not your money so you just do it so you get the same amount of money next year.

Q: Did you make any efforts after it was passed at that level to reduce it in any way?

A: No I don't remember that I did.

Q: In regard to transportation, along about 1969 there was an Ogilvie program in which a \$2 billion bond issue was authorized by the legislature, and then it was declared unconstitutional by the courts. Do you recall that particular situation?

A: No was it a bond issue for transportation purposes?

Q: For transportation purposes.

A: It had a piece in it for downstate highways and — I don't remember the details of it but there were a number of proposals like that. Downstate roads, Horace, are in abominable shape in this state. A lot of them are just terrible. And downstate legislators were necessarily and appropriately very protective of any of the interests of their districts in trying to get roads improved down there. And likewise Cook County legislators were equally protective of a public transportation system for Cook County. Northern Illinois has a remarkable transportation system. I travel a lot around this country and I don't know of another city that has a transportation system that comes close to ours either in terms of highways, in a lot of the states, and in our public transportation system in the region, the Chicago region. And it costs money to do that.

Q: The money of course became quite a problem particularly in 1969 for the CTA. They had to borrow money from the MFT [Motor Fuel Tax] fund as a matter of fact. What was your opinion of whether they should be taking money from the MFT fund?

A: Well I hated to see it but public transportation needs support and in a sense the more money that you can put into public transportation, the less burden you have to put on roads. If you can get more people riding the CTA, the less people that are on the roads. But there are limits to that because you've got to have money for roads too.

Q: Well there were several attempts to get a taxation in the Chicago area, MFT-type of taxation, it would be devoted directly to it.

A: Sure.

Q: And it was usually defeated.

A: Earmarking is pretty hard to do because when you earmark taxes for a specific purpose you create a fund and you end up with a fund which is going to get spent because you've got to spend it so she can get the money in again next year. And you sometimes end up with more money than you really need for that earmarked purpose. I think it's much better to put things into the general fund and let the people who are responsible for it, the executive branch of government and the legislative branch, solve the problems that year with that amount of money, wherever it's needed.

Q: Did you have any particular solutions for the CTA?

A: Boy, no, I wish I did. I don't have now or then.

Q: Paul Randolph did an awful lot of studying of that sort of thing. What was it? Northeast Metropolitan . . .

A: Northeastern Metropolitan Area Planning Commission, the Randolph Commission it was called.

Q: Yes sir. Did you get involved in that in any way with him? Did he bring you in on it?

A: Yes. Paul is a very good friend of mine and one of the finest legislators we've ever had in this state. He was just a dedicated guy. He still is incidentally. He just finished a couple of terms as chairman of the board of trustees of Fourth Presbyterian Church and I was, at his request, elected to the board of trustees. And he was chief usher in that church. He's still the ward committeeman in the Forty-second Ward — Forty-third Ward. He's just announced he's not going to run again. He's been state central committeeman. And you know Paul is along in years and he's just a dedicated citizen of this city. I worked with him on a lot of things like that throughout the whole time.

Q: Did he bring you in on any of that planning commission business, rapid transit committees or any of that sort of thing?

A: I don't remember that I was actively participating in it. You know, Horace, I was awful busy throughout those times. As I am now, I was in a lot of different civic things. I was, you know, chairman of the board of Shimer, that took a lot of time. I was chairman of the Plan Commission in Western Springs and chairman of the United Fund Drive in Western Springs and doing things like that in La Grange and in the city. I had a full platter.

Q: What was your feeling as . . .

A: And four kids that Barbara raised.

Q: I see. (chuckles) What was your feeling as the RTA [Regional Transportation Authority] idea developed? Did you feel that that might . . .

A: It's a good concept because you can't isolate Chicago. The transportation problem is not a Chicago problem. It's at least a regional problem and maybe in a lot of ways a statewide problem because the economy of the state depends a great deal on the transportation system in northeastern Illinois.

Q: Let's see, Bill Grindle was in charge of the Illinois Highway Study Commission in 1965 I guess. And then he left and Bob Blair took over. Did you have any association with that commission in any way?

A: Not that I remember.

Q: What did you think of Bob Blair as a legislator?

A: (pause) I was never aware that Bob made any enormous contribution. But you've got to realize I'm prejudiced in anything I say about Bob because I ran against him for Speaker and he beat me and I'm always prejudiced against anybody who beats me at anything.

Q: I see. (chuckles) Yes sir.

A: Bob was the chief architect of a reapportionment plan one year when he was Speaker that I think was enormously detrimental to the Republican party. For example, every major

township — every major township — in Cook County was divided into a number of different legislative districts. Most of the big ones — I think this is true — the biggest ones all pieces of them were in four different legislative districts. And they were all in three I think. That's not right. It meant that the township, which is the basic unit of strength in the Republican party in the suburban area, was totally dissipated. I think that was just wrong. I was very much opposed to that and I lost. And that's one of the reasons the Democrats have a majority in the house and they will have the majority for a heck of a long time in the house.

Q: We'll want to come back to Bob Blair again later in the speakership. I'll want to talk about Speakers as a unit. What about some little things, like in 1965 when you got down there you found that you were going to have to vote for billboards or you weren't going to get the federal money for the highways. Do you recall that situation?

A: Yes I didn't like that at all. I thought it was a limitation on free enterprise and I guess you know I'm an environmentalist to an extent but you don't have any choice on those. If you wanted federal money you had to prohibit billboards. It wasn't our decision. That decision had been made before we had anything to say about it.

Q: John Gilbert finally got it amended so that it delayed putting it in effect. Did you have anything to do with that?

A: Yes. I'm sure I was helping John every way I could on it.

Q: In 1967 the Illinois Tollway Commission was put into effect. Were you involved in any way with the . . .

A: Sure. I don't remember — not actively participating but obviously that's a concept that was sweeping the country at that time and an important one.

Q: But you weren't instrumental in bringing it about in Illinois.

A: No.

Q: In 1970 the question of truck limits, weight limits, came up again. Were you involved in any way in that, for or against?

A: I was against increasing the truck limits. I thought trucks are one of the main contributors to the highway tax you know, they pay enormous taxes, but they also contribute enormous damage to roads and the heavier the truck, the more the damage. And I think we've reached a pretty good level and as a matter of fact at one stage there were some guys in my office when I was assistant majority leader. I didn't know who they were but it turned out to be they were the truck lobby and they were using my office and I wasn't overly enthusiastic about that.

Q: Did you have any problems with staying out of the business of the cement truck situation or the raising the weight on cement trucks?

A: No I just voted against it, that's all.

Q: There were a number that voted for it I guess that wound up behind bars as I understand it.

A: Yes yes.

Q: Let's see, I'd like to talk about pollution, environment and conservation in general today, or start off with that. In 1967 there was a big fight between two pure water bills, one was put in by Klein and the other by Redmond, that is the Republicans and the Democrats. Were you involved at all with the to-do there over which of those bills was going to go through?

A: Sure. Klein was one of the orange-ballot guys. He was by that time known as Clean-Water Klein and he subsequently became something like assistant secretary of the interior and worked with the gentleman from Alaska who was the secretary of interior. And of course I was for Carl's bill, because he was our guy, and did everything we could to get them through.

Q: Was your name on the bill then?

A: I can't tell you but it probably — it likely would have been.

Q: It seemed to have turned into a particularly severe political fight at that time between the two bills. I believe one was for \$750 million and one was for \$1 billion I believe. The Klein bill I think was \$1 billion. Do you recall anything about the in-fighting that occurred there in getting the . . .

A: I don't remember. I'm sure it probably would have been — on something like that it would have been pretty much on party lines. We would have gone for Carl's bill and the Democrats would have gone for Bill Redmond's bill. I don't really remember the details of the fight though.

Q: You don't recall any strategy sessions or anything to attempt to . . .

A: No but I'm sure we had them because it was a very important issue. The environment was becoming much more important in the late 1960's and I know I remember working on the bill, but I don't remember specific meetings and things like that.

Q: Yes sir.

A: Horace, excuse me.

(taping stopped for telephone call, then resumed)

Q: Okay. In 1969 there was a considerable move regarding DDT. Didn't your commission have something to do with that, the pesticides part of the commission?

A: The name of the commission was the Food, Drug, Cosmetic and Pesticide Laws Study Commission. Our primary emphasis though was on the food laws. I don't remember that the commission actually considered DDT. We may have but I don't remember whether we did or not.

Q: There was kind of a consortium sort of thing. All the states around the Great Lakes, or Lake Michigan in our case, were concerned with DDT entering that lake.

A: Yes.

Q: Do you recall anything about that?

A: Sure. There were problems. That was one of several problems of lake pollution. Lead was another problem in the lake and there was another one of the minerals that tended to get into the lake and would concentrate in fish. And as a matter of fact — was it lead? I don't remember — one of the metals resulted in the whole commercial fish industry being

under suspicion in the Great Lakes. But that really was a little beyond the scope of that commission. The commission was really looking at, not specific problems like that, but rather the overall concept of how foods, drugs, cosmetics and pesticides ought to be regulated.

Q: Rather than the . . .

A: Than a specific one yes.

Q: In 1969 the attorney general was attempting to get expanded powers concerning this sort of thing, DDT and other pollution matters.

A: Yes.

Q: Do you recall working with him on any conservation thing?

A: Yes Bill Scott was very active in antipollution matters, and filed a number of suits involving pollution matters against industries in Illinois including some clients of mine. I never worked particularly with Bill on those but Bill Scott and Governor Ogilvie were kind of vying for public attention at those times to see which one of them could do a better job in protecting the environment all through those years.

Q: Did you find any problem in having to defend your clients against . . .

A: I never got into it really with any of them. I didn't handle any cases for them in those matters, but I know they were — at least one client had a lawsuit that Bill Scott brought against them. They were really quite incensed by it. They thought it was grossly unfair and — I don't remember that I ever talked to Bill about it though. And I didn't handle the case for the client.

Q: Was that because it may have been a conflict of interest sort of thing, do you think? or was that . . .

A: Well my private practice is really food and drug law and not environmental law. And I don't remember who handled it for them. They might even have handled it in-house. But I didn't get involved in it. No they didn't ask me to do it and I turned it down because of a conflict.

Q: Let's see, in 1970 I understand that you handled the bill that set up the Environment Protection Agency.

A: Right yes. That was the Environmental Control Act. And that was the governor's comprehensive answer to the environmental problem. Governor Ogilvie's staff drafted it. Dave Curry who was a professor at the University of Chicago Law School was the chief draftsman of the bill. And quite late in the session Governor Ogilvie called me and asked me if I'd be the chief sponsor of the bill. So I said I'd be glad to and looked at it.

And in concept it was an excellent bill. It set up three separate agencies: an Environmental Protection Agency, which was in essence the investigators and the prosecutors; the Pollution Control Board, which was the judicial branch of it — it was an administrative tribunal but it still handled the judicial part of it — and the fact that those two were separate was very important to me because I'd had a lot of experience in administrative agencies where both the prosecutor and the judge are in the same agency. As a matter of fact I had one case with FDA where they shared the same office. The lawyer that I was opposing and the judge who was deciding between us shared an office. And in those days administrative law was developing and I thought it was very important to have the prosecuting function totally separate from the judicial function. And that bill did it. It set up two separate agencies to

handle the investigating and prosecuting and on the other hand the judicial decision-making authority.

The third agency was the scientific arm of the triad that was set up by the bill which was supposed to do the scientific work, the scientific investigating, answering the scientific questions involved in pollution matters.

Q: Did you get involved with the drawing up of the bill?

A: Yes yes as a matter of fact I spent a lot of time with Joe Karaganis who was an assistant attorney general. Joe was the one assigned to Bill Scott. I first talked to Bill — Bill Scott called me about it, and Bill was concerned that the enforcement function was not given to the attorney general. Ogilvie and Scott by that time had had a rift and they weren't working very closely together. And Bill of course thought, maybe being a little paranoid, that the governor was taking everything away from him in terms of enforcement and the governor, whether for that reason or for another reason, was trying to give the enforcement to other people. And I spent a lot of hours with Joe Karaganis working on Bill Scott's specific objections to the bill. Joe and I worked most of one night as a matter of fact because the bill was given to me very late in the session, and we didn't have a lot of time to get the thing in shape to pass. And so I worked very closely with the attorney general's office on it.

Q: Did Governor Ogilvie give a reason why he wanted you to handle it? Was there any . . .

A: No. He and I had been friends for a long time and I guess he knew that I worked in that general area of things affecting food and drugs and pesticides and of course that's the kind of thing we were talking about here in large measure. And so he just asked me to do it. And I was very pleased to do it because that was a very important bill. I thought it would end up as the Environmental Protection Act of 1970. And it was one of the early bills, one of the very first state bills that was passed, a comprehensive bill to protect the environment.

Q: Did you have any problems getting it passed?

A: Yes. Very interesting. Probably the most interesting episode of my whole legislative career. We put the bill in of course as a house bill. And the Democrats were very leery of it because they didn't want Ogilvie to get the credit for having an environmental control act passed while he was governor. On the other hand, they couldn't very well oppose something like that. Industry on the other hand was leery of having a bill like this because they didn't know what affect it would have on them. The industry people were at the outset opposed to it.

The Democratic leadership was opposed I think for political reasons exclusively and the Democrats said, "We're not going to pass the bill." So I met with the Democratic leadership and I told them that I would put on the bill any reasonable amendment that they suggested because we had to get it out of the house, we had very little time. I don't remember the date of introduction but my guess is probably sometime in May, very late. So I met with them and they had a whole bunch of amendments. They had something like eighty amendments, an enormous number of amendments. I think that bill had more amendments than any bill ever introduced in the history of the house. Most of them we accepted. They were not unreasonable. Some were — you know didn't make any difference at all. Some were important. Some were political. Some were this, that and the other thing, taking care of particular interests or whatever the Democrats had in mind. And those that I thought were acceptable we put on the bill, we let them pass. The ones that were not we fought. And we finally — after a lot of debating time, both in committee and on the floor — most of

the amendments were put on on the floor as I recall — we got the bill out of the house. But it was a big fight to get it out of the house.

Q: Now when you say we, who worked with you most closely?

A: Well Carl Klein was an example. Al Hachmeister. The Republican leadership was super on that bill. Let's see, was Hack still our leader then? I'm not sure that he was — I guess he was still there then. The Republican leadership was a great help but necessarily when you're the chief sponsor of a bill, you've got the load on it. That's one reason I don't remember the details of Carl Klein's bill. Carl had the load on that one, he carried it. And that's — by the structure of the legislature, that's the way it works. And I had the load on the Environmental Protection Act. It was primarily my baby and I had to make the decisions and all the Republicans and many of the Democrats were helping me on it.

But some of them had special interests. For instance the cattlemen had a problem because of the runoff from cattle yards, and we had to make sure that we didn't put every cattleman in Illinois out of business, but still protect the environment while doing that. So a lot of compromises had to be reached in the process of getting the bill through the house. But it finally passed and with all the amendments it was still a good bill.

The basic structure of the bill was untouched with the three separate agencies that were created. We got a reasonable appropriation for everybody, for each one of the three agencies, and got it out of the house in relatively short order considering the lateness of the introduction of the bill. Then it went over to the senate and had another huge fight in the senate. The industry lobbyists who were very much opposed to it, and there were a lot of different industries that were opposed to it, got it referred to a subcommittee. They spoke to the leadership in the senate and it was referred to the Judiciary Committee and Judiciary referred it to a subcommittee. And that late in the session, under normal circumstances, a bill goes to a subcommittee and that's the death knell of the bill.

And I'll never forget I was down in the cafeteria one time right after it got referred to the subcommittee. And the business lobbyists, many of whom were very close personal friends of mine, were sitting at a table and they kind of chuckled and said, "Well George, we fixed your bill. We got it sent to a subcommittee." And you know normally I'm a pretty good-natured guy. And I leaned over them, I was standing up . . .

(interviewing stopped for telephone conversation, then resumed)

A: I was standing over them and I said, "Listen, you sons of bitches, that bill is going to pass in this session of this legislature, and it's that bill that's going to pass. If you've got some reasonable amendments, you give them to me, and we'll put them on if they're reasonable. If they aren't we won't but I've got to tell you the Republican governor wants that bill, and that bill is going to pass." And I turned around and walked out. And these guys were all kind of dumbstruck that kindly old George would let them have it like that. But I did and I meant it.

And I went to the chairman of the subcommittee who was Senator Groen, Ebbie Groen, Egbert, known as Ebbie Groen, from Pekin. And I'm sure the governor called him. I don't remember that but I'm sure the governor called him too. And I said, "Eb, at least give me a hearing on it." So he said, "Okay we'll have a hearing." And he set the hearing for eight o'clock at night on the senate floor. And we had about three days' notice.

Well we went to work on it. I'll tell you we called everybody to come down and testify and that night at eight o'clock the senate chamber was full of witnesses. There were as I recall ninety organizations or people who had signed up to testify on the bill.

Q: All for the bill?

A: All for the bill. Nobody against it. Nobody dared raise a finger against environmental control, environmental protection. Everybody was for it. But still it's in a subcommittee, and the subcommittee, absent that kind of a hearing, why, enormous pressure, was going to kill the bill or just let it set.

We had editorials in every major newspaper. We had the seventh grade glee club from the grammar school up in the balcony singing environmental songs and kids read poems they'd written. You can't believe what went on. The first three or four people who testified were doctors who, by design, came in their white coats to testify about the effect of environment on aging people, and water pollution on kids. Heartfelt story that doctors gave.

And then we started going down the agencies and Ralph Nadar's group was there. I'm not always on the same side as Ralph Nadar but the Nadar people were there and the League of Women Voters and you can't believe the civic and charitable organizations around the state, and the medical associations came down and testified.

I remember Senator Groen and his wife and I were sitting up where the president pro tem of the senate sits up at the podium there. And I remember at midnight Senator Groen still had standing in front of him about a dozen people who were waiting to step up to the microphone to be heard. And he was pleading with them, he said, "Please just step up and give us your name and your organization and tell us you agree with everything everybody else has said, but it's midnight, guys." And he and his wife and I hadn't had dinner yet. And we finally adjourned sometime after midnight, I don't know, probably about one o'clock or something by the time we got through.

But with that enormous outpouring and editorial support from papers, newspapers, television and radio stations all over the state, the senate subcommittee really didn't have much choice but to vote it out do-pass. And of course the word got around on that. People kept dropping in and said, "My God, what is going on here?" They'd never seen anything like this, that much support for a bill. And therefore the Judiciary Committee passed it and it went before the senate and the senate passed it. So we got the bill.

Q: Now to get that number of people there to testify did you ask them to come and . . .

A: Oh yes. Well yes. But I didn't begin to ask everybody to come. Of course I talked to people but my job was really more the general to get people to call others who were interested. And the governor's office was a big help on that. You know somebody might say, "Go call the Illinois State Medical Society and see what they think about it," and they'd have two or three doctors come in. And the principals of schools, we talked to the education people. You know with a bill like that at a time like that, it's not hard to drum up support. Enormous support. I couldn't believe it. I had no idea we'd have ninety people testifying at that darned thing. It would be interesting to see how clear my recollection is, to see how accurate it is.

Q: Yes sir. Well then the bill was passed then and I understand that it's been said in many cases that Ogilvie was defeated at the next election primarily because that bill was passed. Do you feel that was true?

A: No. Clearly not. He got far more support from that bill than opposition. His defeat in my opinion was due to the income tax which he pushed that time. And whichever it was, I've got to say we needed both an income tax and we perfectly clearly needed an environmental protection act. So you know Dick had to do some things like that — any governor does I guess — which are not very popular with people. And he had some very strong opposition from some people in the industry and from cattlemen, people like that, some of the farm community. But by the time we got the bill through, we had taken care of most of their objections.

There were some things in the original draft which I didn't think were very good. For example the original draft that I saw provided for private actions, that is, an action by an individual citizen charging a violation of that act. Some statutes authorized that, that a private citizen who was aggrieved by a violation of the act can file suit against the person who was alleged to have aggrieved him by the violation of the act. Most statutes are not like that. The federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act, for instance, if you violate that one, you've got to deal with FDA but you don't have to deal with a private citizen on it. Private actions like that, I think, are very bad because in the first place they open the door to every crazy in the world to come in and file suit, a strike suit or a suit that's totally baseless and would overburden the state or the agency in defending actions like that. So I told the governor early on that if they wanted me to sponsor that bill I wasn't going to sponsor a bill that had class actions, that had private individual or class actions in it. So we took that provision out. That I think was one of the provisions which was a bad one.

And there were others that ended up being taken out which I think, by the time we got through with it, it was a bill which was quite exemplary, a really good bill. And we had occasional amendments to it, but over the years it's withstood the test of time.

Q: Were you satisfied with the implementation of the act once it had been passed?

A: Oh I guess so, Horace, but that's kind of a hard question. Any act like that, when you get administrators handling it, there are going to be examples of overreaching or application which you don't think of at the time you're getting a bill through the legislature, a particular situation that nobody thought of. But when you get something like that, you're bound to have dissatisfaction with the implementation. And there's been some dissatisfaction with the implementation of that act. Some people who have been prosecuted by the EPA didn't like the way they handled it. Some people have been very dissatisfied with the Pollution Control Board's decisions, the fine's too large, not acting fairly against everybody who's in the same category, that kind of thing. I'm sure there have been some very legitimate complaints about it, but by and large it's really worked pretty well. If you look now at the condition of the water and air in Illinois compared to what they were in 1969, lot of difference. We're in just an enormously better shape now than we were then and obviously much better shape than we would be if we hadn't had that bill.

Q: In 1967 — dropping back a little bit from that — you put in a bill to do away with bounties on crows, foxes and groundhogs. Do you recall that particular bill?

A: (chuckles) Sure, I do, yes. One of my partners was an animal lover and he wanted me to put in that bill and another bill on endangered species. And so I put both of those bills in, really for him.

Q: I understand on the repealing the bounty bill that John Lewis raised the dickens. The papers said that he got quite emotional on the floor.

A: (chuckles) I expect he probably did. John could get emotional about something like that. I don't know — I don't remember — did that bill pass? The endangered species bill passed. I don't remember if the bounty bill did. Did it?

Q: I'm not sure. I don't know.

A: I don't know whether it did either.

Q: Now the endangered species bill came up a little bit later. That was in 1971 when that was passed. Did he have any particular species in mind that you discussed in the bill?

A: I'm sure we did in the bill because they were listed in the bill. I don't remember what they were now but . . .

Q: Eagles I believe were one of them.

A: Yes that would certainly be one because there's a lot of eagle-nesting along the Mississippi River. And cranes, whooping cranes, and maybe other kinds of cranes. I'm sure there were other species like that. You know, maybe we in Illinois can do a little bit to help endangered species like those two specifically and I'm sure there are others, several others, listed in the bill.

Q: Were there any John Lewis's that came up against that bill?

A: I don't remember that there were. There may very well have been but my partner Jim Phelps was the guy who was the chief advocate of that. And he was kind enough to cover me on an awful lot of my office work while I was down in Springfield, so I thought the least I could do would be reciprocate to put a good bill in for him.

Q: Yes sir. (pause) I'd like to ask a bit about civil rights. Back in 1967 there was a big question as to whether the Weston nuclear plant, the land for it, would be purchased by the state or the federal government would help. The federal government said they wouldn't help unless civil rights legislation was passed. And finally it was decided to not pass the legislation and go ahead and put out thirty million to buy the land. Do you recall that Weston nuclear plant?

A: Yes I remember the episode but that's the total extent of it. I didn't remember that it was tied to civil rights. But those were big civil rights days. Bussing was an issue that we were facing almost every session of the legislature. There were a lot of civil rights issues. Real estate issues and things like that that every session we had to consider when I was in the legislature.

Q: Like open housing for example.

A: Yes.

Q: Do you recall being talked to by Cecil Partee on open housing. He kind of headed that up.

A: I'm sure I talked to Cec about it. My first session I remember the Republicans were split on it, as everybody was. The Democrats were too. And Senator Percy was taking what for that time was a very liberal viewpoint, more liberal than most of us in the legislature were willing to take. And Clint Youle, who was another legislator who had been the weatherman in Chicago and was a very good friend of mine — the television weatherman, the first one — Clint and I were delegated by the Republicans to talk to Chuck about it a little bit and ask him to at least take into account that we had a little band of fifty-nine in Springfield who would like not to be pillaried by what he was doing. Clint and I tried to talk to him about it.

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Q: In what way pillaried?

A: Well we were getting an awful lot of criticism from people who were pretty dedicated Republicans and we wanted to make sure that what we did was consistent with the thinking of our constituents insofar as possible on an issue like that because of course you've got people on both sides. And we had in mind that we only had fifty-nine legislators out of 177 that year. And we were hoping to get more seats than that in the next session. We wanted to do what we could to build a strong Republican base. And I think that our thinking was that there were a lot more Republicans who were not as anxious to have open housing as

some of the more liberal Democrats. I don't remember specifically on it, but I'm sure I voted against some of those early bills of Cecil's.

Q: He had quite a number of them.

A: Yes.

Q: Let's see now, the FEPC [Fair Employment Practices Commission] had been passed with Percy's help as a matter of fact.

A: Yes.

Q: It stood at twenty-four at that time of employees — hiring twenty-four and above came under the FEPC. Corneal Davis' main effort at that time was to attempt to reduce that number. Do you recall your going along with him. Or didn't you go along with him?

A: Horace, I don't remember. My guess is that probably because it was a Democratic-sponsored bill and partly because I want to do everything I can to protect small business which I think is very important, the fabric of American society, I probably would be against lowering something like that. I'd expect I probably voted against it. I don't know. That's my thinking now. Maybe I've gotten to be a stodgy old conservative, but I'd probably oppose something like that.

Q: What did you think of Corneal Davis as a legislator?

A: A very interesting guy. He was a very dedicated sincere gentleman. A great orator. He and C. L. McCormick were the two that everybody stopped to listen to when they got up and talked. They could orate from their respective sides of the aisle.

Q: I hadn't heard that of C. L. McCormick before.

A: Oh yes. C. L. was — he was something else, oh yes, probably the number one orator on our side. He would get up and he would just rave and rant and raise holy hell, got everybody's attention.

Q: Kind of a Reed Cutler or Paul Powell of your . . .

A: Well they were both before me but from what I've heard about them sure.

Q: In the middle 1960's women began to become important issues. Do you recall your position on any of those . . .

A: Oh yes very clearly. When I went into the house I think there were, oh, maybe three women on our side of the aisle. Frances Dawson had been a staunch legislator for many years. And Bernice Van der Vries had been. And there was another lady by the name of Lillian . . .

Q: Piotrowski?

A: No. Karmazyn, who was a Republican and there were a couple of Democratic legislators — several Democratic women too. Jeanne Chapman, Eugenia Chapman was one. And as a matter of fact my freshman year on the orange ballot there were quite a number of women. That was the door opener. The 1964 election opened the door. Hope McCormick, Mary Meany, Marjorie Pebworth, all of whom made a very significant contribution to the Republican side and the Democrats had some very competent women too.

Then in the second session, when we went back to districts, there weren't very many women. I think it was my second session beginning in 1966 I think we only had three ladies

on our side. But then it started to open up from then on. Giddy was there probably my third session. And a number of women kept coming in more and more all the time and I think making a significant contribution.

I was for ERA [Equal Rights Amendment] from the beginning. I was the first male sponsor on the first ERA bill that was put in the house. And you know, I really thought we ought to pass ERA. I thought it was, in a sense, it was a symbol more than anything substantive. I didn't think it would make a whole heck of a lot of difference to anybody. But it was one of those things, if you'd pass it it would be on the books and that would be the end of it. But meanwhile we spent countless days debating the darned thing. But my position was clear on it.

Q: Let's see, your last session was 1972. I guess the real big demonstrations for ERA had not started at that time.

A: That's right. We were lobbied heavily in writing and personally by people coming down, busloads of pro and con ERA people coming down. But the big serious demonstrations — some of them got kind of violent — that came forth, those were later on after I left.

Q: No one was chaining themselves . . .

A: No no no. (chuckles)

Q: There was a bill in 1967 that Paul Randolph got together with Frances Dawson I guess to put in. There was a problem, I think it was a 1904 law or something which said that women couldn't work more than eight hours a day. So the bill they put in was to allow executive type of women to work more than that. Did you get involved with that?

A: I don't remember that. I'm sure I would have voted for it because my secretary worked more than eight hours every day. (chuckles) And I expect I probably had to be for it.

Q: Now Giddy Dyer and Eugenia Chapman kind of worked together on women's rights.

(taping stopped for telephone conversation, then resumed)

Q: For example in 1971 they were proposing a women's activity office under the governor. Do you recall anything about that proposal?

A: No I don't. There were a lot of bills though in like that, getting women into different activities and getting them to participate more in government, to open doors, to open avenues through which they could participate more in government. And that I'm sure was one of them. And in industry too.

Q: Did you feel that Giddy Dyer for example was kind of pressing too hard for that sort of thing?

A: No not at all no. Giddy was always a perfect lady about it. She was an advocate. She felt very strongly about it as did Eugenia Chapman. They worked very closely together, one Republican and one Democrat. And they worked on us. As a matter of fact, Giddy was my seatmate. I sat on the aisle and Giddy sat next to me for two terms. So you can believe that I got the full brunt if I voted wrong from Giddy. So — and I agreed with her on just about everything she was doing so we didn't have many problems with it.

Q: That full brunt, do you recall any particular instances of receiving the full brunt?

A: No but I got threatened. You know I'd kid her every once in a while. For instance somebody gave me a poster, an anti-ERA poster. It was a big poster. It must have been,

oh, six feet by four feet or five feet, a big thing. And it was a picture of four urinals, four standup urinals, and the left one there was a man and the second one there was a woman, and then there was a blank one, and then there was another man. They were all standing at the urinals. I was assistant minority leader that year, so I put it up in my office. I could do it because I was for ERA. If I'd been against ERA there's no way I could have put that up there. In a sense that kind of expressed my feelings about ERA. I thought it was, you know, something we ought to have, but it sure wasn't worth all the time we were spending on it.

Q: Well. And it still didn't get through. I guess Esther Saperstein was leading the battle in the senate at that time.

A: Yes.

Q: Did you talk to her about ERA at any time?

A: Oh I'm sure I did from time to time although Esther was a Democrat and we weren't handling bills for each other so I wouldn't have much occasion to talk to her really.

Q: In 1969 there was considerable unrest down in Cairo. Corneal Davis got involved with that. Did you in any way get involved with this?

A: No I didn't. I remember the riots down there but I didn't get involved in it at all.

Q: They had to send I believe the national guard down and tell them to . . .

A: Yes. It was a very serious situation.

Q: The vigilantes were working or something.

A: Yes.

Q: In 1967 there was a bill put in to ban residential picketing. Did you ever have anybody bother you at all during any of your legislative career?

A: Never in any way no. That's kind of classic suburbs. I don't think my neighbors knew I was in the legislature. They just — maybe they did but . . . the year I ran for the Senate somebody had a block party two blocks over and we had a beautiful dog, a collie, which was one of the nicest dogs in the world. We went to the party, we fitted it into the campaign schedule. And it was an evening block party, a neighborhood party. And I was talking to one of the fellows I hadn't met before and he asked me where we lived and I told him about it and he asked my name again and I told him. Here I'm running for the United States Senate, I thought everybody in the state knew who I was and this guy two blocks away didn't have any idea and he asked me where I lived and I told him and I told him, you know, the house I lived in and he said, "Oh I know you. Tammy's your dog." So . . .

Q: (chuckles) He knew your dog.

A: Brought me down to the ground you know. (chuckles)

Q: Well let's see we mentioned Marjorie Pebworth there. She proposed a constitutional study commission to really I guess look at issues that might be considered in a constitutional convention. Did you get involved at all with that Constitutional Study Commission?

A: I wasn't on it but Marjorie Pebworth was one of the most thoughtful legislators ever to hit the state legislature. She had been president of the state League of Women Voters and was just an outstanding person, very thoughtful, very knowledgeable leader. And

Marge died in that first session. She didn't survive it. I always wondered if whether the enormous frustrations for an idealist like Marjorie was, whether that might have hastened her death. She was just such a super person that you know the total frustration of some of the things going on in Springfield, especially when you've got fifty-nine out of 177 on your side of the aisle. It could have had an effect on her life. She was a great person though.

Q: At the same time that she was chairman of the Constitutional Study Commission she was secretary of the Commission on the Organization of the General Assembly, the Katz Commission, the common name.

A: Yes.

Q: Isn't that unusual to serve on two commissions in one term?

A: Oh no I don't think so, Horace. It depends a little bit on the circumstances and the interests of the particular individual. But I was on two or three commissions almost every session. I was chairman of the Food, Drug, Cosmetic and Pesticide Law Study Commission all of the time I was down there. I was on the Intergovernmental Cooperation Commission for a term or two. And it seems to me I was on another commission or two. And no that's not unusual.

Q: And of course those two things were somewhat related and there was constitutional change required.

A: Sure yes and they were subjects in which Marjorie was interested and in which she was very knowledgeable and could make an enormous contribution to both of them.

Q: Now of course for a long time there had been a move to attempt to get a constitutional convention. Did you feel that there was a need for such a convention?

A: Oh yes there clearly was. Do you remember all the talk we had one of the times we were together about the reapportionment amendment and a new judicial article and all of the things that I'd been working on in my civic career in the Jaycees and in other civic organizations — clearly need a new constitution. We were working on — the Constitution by then was 100 years old, and a lot of changes had occurred. In 1870 when that Constitution was passed, the one under which we were operating, Illinois was an agricultural community. The whole state was agricultural. Chicago was just a new town that really hadn't — I guess by 1870 I'm not even sure it was the largest city in the state. I'm not sure that Galena wasn't bigger than Chicago in 1870. At some point it was. And the circumstances were so different in terms of the industry, the business climate, the work that people were doing, the technology, the judicial system needed overhaul, the legislative districts were — just everything really needed another totally new look.

Q: Did you have any desire to serve on the Constitutional Convention?

A: No I had a very active desire not to. The legislature was in session at the same time. And if I hadn't been in legislature I would have loved to have served in Con Con. But you know I was trying to keep a law practice going and raise — or help in some minor way to raise four kids. And there was just no way I had time to do it.

Q: There were a few I believe legislators . . .

A: There were a few. There were two or three. Paul Elward I think maybe was one. Do you remember?

Q: It seems to me that's correct.

A: There were a couple. There were two or three. Not — there weren't very many though. And you know a lot of times just in conflict — we were meeting at exactly the same hour and day, and you couldn't possibly do both.

Q: Did you have any occasion to testify before any of the committees?

A: No. I went over there to watch them once or twice. But I never testified. Sam Witwer who was the president of the Constitutional Convention was a very close friend of mine. As you know he became known as Mr. Con Con. I forget — there was — he was given some kind of a sobriquet. And Sam had run for the United States Senate in 1960. And I'd been his general chairman. And he and I were just very close friends. And he was the chairman of the Constitutional Convention. And he was also chairman of the Chicago Bar Association's Committee on Constitutional Revision when I was fresh out of law school and was on that committee. So I'd known him for many years and had the utmost respect for him.

Q: Did he have any concern over the legislation that was being drawn up to set up the workings of the Constitutional Convention?

A: I don't think he did because — well it depends on the timing of it, Horace. Once he knew he was going to be the chairman of Con Con, or president I guess, whichever it was, of course he was deeply involved in everything. But at the outset you know he didn't know whether he was going to be in it or not. But the Constitutional Revision Committee of the Bar Association was one of the chief proponents of the Constitutional Convention as the League of Women Voters was and so Sam was involved in that. I'm sure he was down testifying before the Judiciary Committee and maybe before the house as a whole. I don't remember about that.

Q: Well what I was wondering was whether he made any input to you as to what would be desirable in the way of setting up the Constitutional Convention once it had been decided to have one.

A: I'm sure I talked to Sam about it because we were such good friends. But I wasn't his guy on the floor of the house, or he wasn't in that position nor were we at that stage of the game.

Q: Do you recall — I believe some of the questions were how would you go about electing delegates and that sort of thing.

A: Yes.

Q: Do you recall any of that?

A: Yes I remember there was a big hassle about how we would elect them, because we wanted to make sure that the election process didn't end up in one party dominating Con Con. And as a matter of fact, we wanted to keep politics out of Con Con as much as we possibly could by having an open system under which people could file without party labels and without a ward committeeman being able to pick guys and things like that.

Q: Yes. Did it work?

A: I think it did. Con Con really I think made a significant contribution. Well it passed, you know the new Constitution passed, and it wouldn't have if it hadn't been a pretty good job because the problem with the Constitution like that is there's a few people who opposed the judicial article changes, there's a few people who opposed the legislative article changes there's a few others who may have opposed the administrative executive branch

or some other provisions. And the trouble is, those guys are locked in and you tend to cumulate the opposition so that you get 5 percent against each of ten sections of the Constitution and you've got 50 percent of the people against you and you lose. So it's a very difficult job to come up with a Constitution that's so good that you can get enough people to accept it that it passes.

Q: Did you get involved in any way with the — what would you call it? the ploy of having the four issues considered separately from the approval of the Constitution?

A: What I just said goes to that point obviously. And I was very much in favor of separating it because I'd been in situations where you accumulate the opposition and it's darned near impossible to get something passed under those circumstances.

Q: Do you recall talking with anyone about that possibility?

A: I don't remember specific things but I will guarantee that's one that occurred in my life at some stage, that we talked about separating it out, and how you separate it out and what articles, what would be included in each of the separate vote. Ow!

Q: A cramp in your leg, sir?

A: Yes that's alright.

(taping stopped to relieve cramp, then resumed)

Q: Well were there any of the issues that you thought ought to have been changed in the Constitution that were not that you were disappointed in?

A: Oh boy, Horace, I don't remember. I was really pretty well satisfied with it. If I'd had my druthers, I would have rather seen an appointed judiciary. I've never thought we end up with the best judiciary when they're elected through a political system. Necessarily you get some people in the court who are political hacks, they have a committeeman who's beholden to them and after election they're beholden to him. And you don't get the best legal minds on to the court in an elected system. I just feel that very strongly. Greylord is an example of what happens. It's a grossly exaggerated problem I think but nevertheless it's an example of what can happen. Of course it can happen in an appointed system too, but the risk of a Greylord is much greater in an elected system than in an appointed system, and furthermore the abilities of appointed judges I think in the federal system are just better than they are in the state system. In the federal system they're appointed, in the state they're not. I just think it's a better way to do it.

This business — the argument that you've got to have judges who are close to the people, well hell you don't need to have judges close to the people. You need to have judges who can decide a legal issue, one way or the other. And the fact that they're close to the people may be detrimental because they may decide things because they're close to somebody rather than on the legal issues, not on the merits. They'll decide it because of personal reasons instead of deciding issues on the merits. I just don't think that's right. Sure, that's why you elect legislators and that's why you maybe elect the executive branch of government. But the whole concept of the tri-partite structure in a democracy such as ours is that you've got one branch which is I think sacrosanct from any political pressures. That's the judicial branch. And electing the judges just defeats that whole purpose.

Q: Now you say Greylord. What's the significance of that term?

A: Greylord is a current investigation which is going on right now of the judiciary in Cook County, of some judges in Cook County who were allegedly accepting bribes.

Q: Oh I see.

A: And there have been several indictments, there's going to be a lot more, of judges and lawyers who were in cahoots to, oh, get findings of not guilty and things like this, oh, all kinds of things in the judicial system. There's been an enormous federal grand jury investigation.

Q: One of the major things that came in the new Constitution was expansion of the home rule for municipalities. What was your thinking in regard to the necessity for that?

A: Well I was for home rule. As a matter of fact, do you remember? we talked about the Citizens of Greater Chicago which was the result of the creation of the Big Nineteen. One of the nine points that was originally established for the Citizens of Greater Chicago was home rule for the city of Chicago. A legislature which at that time was meeting for six months every other year, and not full-time during that six months, even with special sessions during the other six months or during the following year, can't begin to provide all of the things that a city the size of Chicago needs to have. And it just makes sense to have a city, within limits, be able to govern itself. So I always thought home rule was very important, and we needed to have a home rule provision in the Constitution.

Q: Do you think there's been any abuse of the home rule?

A: Sure. Any time you turn any power over to a political group you're going to have some kinds of abuses. But you know usually you can control it or you can contain the abuses in some way. Or prosecute if there are legal abuses. So you know I personally felt that the attempt to impose a tax on the service industries in Chicago two years ago would have been an abuse. But it was defeated. The Chicago Bar Association put together a committee and Dick Phelan, who is now the second vice-president of the Chicago Bar and is about to become president in another two years or a year and a half, argued the case for the Chicago Bar, took it all the way to the Illinois Supreme Court. And the Illinois State Bar Association participated in that one. And Henry Pitts argued it for the Illinois State Bar Association and the Chicago Bar represented the dentists and the architects and some other service organization and it was defeated.

Now you know that's the way — you have an independent judiciary at the Supreme Court level deciding something like that regardless of politics. And of course the Supreme Court judges are elected too. So I've got to say I'd rather see the Supreme Court appointed than elected. But at least you have the security of a judicial system that protects you against abuses by the other two branches.

Q: Alright sir let's see in 1965 John Touhy was the Speaker of the house. What did you think of John Touhy as a Speaker?

A: Very fair. He was a very fair gentleman. He ran the house with dignity and he did as fair a job as any one of the Speakers I served under.

Q: What about Ralph Smith in 1967? I understand there was quite a to-do over whether Ralph Smith was going to be the Speaker.

A: There was.

Q: Was there a pretty good fight there?

A: Yes oh sure. I was deeply involved in it. And I guess I must say I didn't think Ralph was going to be the best Speaker that we could have picked. And I don't think he was the best Speaker we could have picked. But . . .

Q: I understand you were behind Parkhurst in that case.

A: Right yes yes. Parky was a very competent guy and he'd been our minority leader — no, assistant minority leader my first term. I'd known Parky since long before we were in the legislature together. And he was I thought a very competent guy and I was sorry to see that he didn't get it.

Q: What does it take to become Speaker of the house?

A: Oh you go around and talk to everybody.

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A: You've got a very defined electorate. You know precisely who the voters are and you know what they want and what they don't want. And you just go around and try to get their votes together. And that's what we did for Parky.

Q: Do you remember any of the details of how you went about that? Did you collar them in their rooms or where?

A: Sure. Any place you could. And we'd divide up the list you know. "Who knows C. L. McCormick best? How are we going to talk to C.L." And somebody would do it. And somebody would say, "Well no you can't get X, whoever it may be, because he's — Ralph has promised him chairman of Judiciary. So we can't get him." "Well can't we make him chairman of Judiciary too and get him back?" "Well we can't because we've already promised that to Y." (chuckles) It's just a straight trading off and hopefully to a degree based on merit. And you do the best job you can to get a team lined up that will get you elected with a majority of your side of the aisle. And then once a majority on your side at a caucus agrees on you, there's a unit rule and everybody agrees to vote for you on the floor. And if you have a majority you get your Speaker elected.

There was one exception to that. And that was when three Republicans didn't show up in one of the elections. There were eighty-nine Republicans and eighty-eight Democrats in the session. I think it was the session before I went down there.

Q: It would be 1961 session.

A: Was it — is that what it was? Yes okay it's the 1961 session.

Q: Paul Powell?

A: Yes Powell was elected with — even though there were only sixty-eight Democrats and sixty-nine Republicans. And that makes a significant difference because the Speaker appoints all the committees. He tells you what committee you're going to be on. He appoints all the chairmen of the committees. They affix the majority of membership on the committees. It was really a terrible loss just because three guys were told, "Don't show." And they had enough ties in the Democratic party so they didn't show.

Q: Well I guess Percy got back at them with the Percy Purge in 1964 though.

A: Yes sure, yes sure yes. (chuckles)

Q: Well let's see, John Lewis was another one in 1967 that was attempting to get the speakership, back in his case.

A: Yes.

Q: Did he have a chance here of getting it?

A: Sure, yes sure, everybody had a chance that year. I think it was pretty close. I don't really know how Ralph succeeded. Ralph was a great wheeler-dealer. He was a very effective politician. Well witness the fact that he went from there and got appointed to the United States Senate. He was a very bright guy. He just outmaneuvered everybody else.

Q: But you say he was not as good a Speaker as John Touhy? Would that . . .

A: Oh it's kind of hard to tell which one was the better Speaker. Of course Ralph was a Republican and therefore I had more frequent relationship, contact, with him than I did with Jack Touhy. But I wouldn't knock Jack as a Speaker. Jack was a very fair Speaker. Ralph was too. Ralph was a little different kind of a Speaker, tended to be a little more autocratic, but a very effective guy.

Q: Was his effectiveness made by not recognizing Democrats or that sort of thing?

A: Normally not. Speakers are really pretty good about that. If you're standing up and you want to be recognized, you get recognized. If you don't, they can give you such fits that — and out of fairness, they're elected representatives, whichever side of the aisle they're on, they ought to be recognized. I don't remember very often, if ever — yes, there have been instances where somebody we thought wasn't being recognized because he was on the wrong side of the aisle, but those are few and far between. That was usually a matter of bill, rather than a matter of politics.

Q: Let's see, Jack Walker came in in 1969. Why didn't Parkhurst make it in 1969?

A: Was Parky there in 1969? I'm not sure that he ran again.

Q: Come to think of it, I guess not.

A: I think maybe he didn't run again, Horace. I'm not sure.

Q: Do you recall the situation there? I believe — didn't Ralph Smith leave for the Senate?

A: Yes Ralph left for the senate. And Jack had been the majority leader so it was just kind of a normal elevation for him to go up to Speaker. Jack was not the most effective Speaker the state of Illinois has ever had. A very nice guy, but he really hadn't been trained to be a Speaker and he didn't take to it like — Jack and Ralph I think both did it more easily than Jack did. They both knew the rules a lot better than Jack did. Jack had one great advantage. His parliamentarian was Jim Fletcher. And Fletch was very knowledgeable and in many ways made Jack's speakership a lot better than it would have been otherwise, Jack Walker's.

Q: How about Bob Blair? Now you were running against Bob Blair. How come you didn't become Speaker that year?

A: He got more votes than I did, it was very simple.

Q: (chuckles) Yes sir.

A: That was a very interesting thing. I'm very pleased to say that just about every single guy that I really wanted to vote for me, that I expected to vote for me, did. There were a couple of exceptions to that. Terrel Clarke was in the senate by then, but Terrel had a couple of friends in the house and Terrel had never helped me much in anything in politics

and he had a couple of guys who were very close to him that I really wanted on my side, and they wouldn't vote for me. Bill Walsh was one and there were one or two others. But aside from that really I had — all the guys that I had the total respect for were on our side. Ogilvie wanted Blair and I had zero Ogilvie votes.

Q: Oh?

A: As a result of that, Ogilvie, the night before the thing we counted up and Blair had five more votes than I did. And there's nothing you can do about that. We had talked to everybody until blue in the face you know, everybody knew how everybody else was going to vote. And so there wasn't any sense in putting it to a vote when we went there the next morning. As a matter of fact there was one guy — one of my very closest supporters, a dear friend, didn't even show at the caucus. He said, "I'm not going." He said, "I'm going out and get drunk. I'm not going to that damned caucus," he felt so bad about it. So he didn't show. But you know Ogilvie had the choice on that one and he made it.

Q: Now did it really boil down between you and Blair? There were others who ran, like Richard Walsh and Don Moore, C. L. McCormick and I can't remember who else.

A: No nobody else was in it. Bob and I were the only two out at the end. I don't know if the other guys would have had any votes at all. I don't think they did. I think they all gave their votes to one or the other of us.

Q: So it was quite clearly between the two of you.

A: Yes it was, it was clearly between the two of us at the last day. And we both had lists. And we compared lists. And you know I had the same list that he did. And there was no duplications and we each knew how everybody was going to vote. When you've got a small electorate like that — I don't remember what we had that year, probably ninety-three or four votes or something like that — you know if you've got that many people, a small group like that you can, you know how everybody's going to vote.

Q: Well now did it occur to you that maybe you ought to pull something like Paul Powell did and get some of the Democrats committed so that that might bring you in.

A: No it didn't occur to me. I wouldn't have done it under any circumstances. I wouldn't want to be Speaker under those circumstances. And I couldn't have done it anyway I'm sure. You know the Democrats wouldn't have done that under those circumstances. I think the Democrats probably would have rather had Blair than me anyway.

Q: Oh they would?

A: I expect — well some would — I expect some — well you know . . .

Q: I understand he did give certain things to — for example a redistricting plan that came up.

A: Bob Blair in my opinion was the biggest disaster that ever hit the Republican party. I don't really speak ill of people very much, but his reapportionment was a total sell out of the Republican party. For instance, every major township in Cook County was divided into at least four different representative districts. I was in Lyons Township and we had little pieces of Lyons Township in each of four districts. And you know of course that just fractionalizes the power of the committeeman and of the township, the Republican vote of the township. It was a straight Democratic map. And I can't believe that Blair did it but it was his map. And I raised hell along with a lot of other people, but Blair had enough votes on our side of the aisle to go with — all the Democrats wanted it. It was a perfect map for the Democrats. And it went through. There was nothing we could do about

it. But Blair gets full responsibility for that. And as a result the Democrats have had control of the house ever since.

Q: Why did he do that? Do you have any ideas?

A: I have no idea. I have no idea why he did it. I have no idea whatsoever why he did it. But it was a total disservice. And he was not elected after that. As a matter of fact he ran again after several years of being out. He ran again last time and ran I guess at least third in the district from which he was originally elected. He was just a total disaster. And I'm sorry to say that because Bob and I were good friends. As a matter of fact we both worked at Swift when we first got out of law school. So I knew him at Swift before he went in the legislature. But he was just a total disaster.

Q: There were some other controversial areas like wanting to put in bulletproof glass and remodeling the chambers and that sort of thing. Were you for that?

A: I was not for any of it. None of it would have occurred if I'd been Speaker.

Q: Let's see now, as a result of your support, I guess, for the speakership then you became the majority leader.

A: I was assistant majority leader.

Q: Assistant.

A: Well yes, it was really kind of a deep cleavage among the house members on that. A five-vote majority, that's pretty slim. And a lot of my guys felt very strongly about Bob. Well the one guy who wouldn't even go to the caucus. And Bob wanted, to his credit, wanted to repair things, and asked if I would be assistant majority leader. Henry Hyde was the majority leader. Henry would have been the majority leader for either of us, whichever one of us got elected. But the governor asked him to vote for Blair. And incidentally one of my very close friends called me, who was committed to me, called me and said, "George, I've got to tell you, I got a call this morning and I've got to vote for Blair." And that's what happened. At one point I had enough votes but the governor called them off. So there was nothing I could do about it.

Bob wanted to repair the breach within the party and get as much support as he could. Henry asked me to do it and a lot of my guys I talked to said, "What the heck, you might as well do it." You know, so I did it. And I was very glad to do it. It was a privilege to be in the leadership. I was never one of Blair's closest advisors quite obviously under the circumstances. (chuckles) But I sat in on all the leadership meetings and did what I could to help with the program.

Q: How did you get along with Henry Hyde?

A: Fine. A great guy, super guy, very competent legislator, very bright, great sense of humor, good talker, just a — I really miss seeing Henry. I see him once in a while when I'm in Washington or riding with him on the plane one way or the other. I've just got an enormous amount of respect for him, very competent guy.

Q: Let's see, I should have asked, when it became apparent that Ogilvie was backing Blair, did you make any attempt to contact Ogilvie to find out why at least? or to attempt to change the situation?

A: Looking back on it I should have but I did not. I never talked to him about it. I'm kind of a purist on something like that and I thought the legislative branch ought to organize

itself without interference from the executive branch. I should have gone and talked to him about it, and I should have talked to him right at the outset. And I didn't.

Q: It might have changed the course of history if you had.

A: (chuckles) It might have changed the course of my history, but that's the total extent of it, Horace.

Q: Yes sir. Did you feel any real disappointment when you didn't make Speaker?

A: Oh sure yes.

Q: Did that affect in any way your thoughts of staying on? Did you feel you had accomplished what you could in the way of leadership attainment?

A: I'm sure it did. If I'd been Speaker my life would have been a lot different from then on. I either would have moved into a higher office or run for a higher office or stayed in the legislature and stayed on as a Speaker or majority leader. As it was I'd been there eight years. I think I was the last survivor of the blue ribbon ticket. I don't think there were any of the blue ribbon ticket members left. There were several others who had been elected that year for the first time, but they weren't on the blue ribbon ticket. There may have been one or two still in the senate. But you know I'd kind of done my thing. Eight years is a pretty long life for a legislator except those who are professional legislators staying on forever.

And I've always viewed myself really as a lawyer first and as a politician second. It was kind of like, you know, like serving on the school board or being a Boy Scout leader or whatever. It was — I had a rare opportunity to serve in the legislature because of the orange ballot and I'd done it for eight years which was far more than I'd originally thought I could because I was pledged to run just for one term. And would only have run one term except that they asked me to run again, the committeeman to whom I'd given the pledge. So yes sure I was very disappointed and if I'd been elected I'm sure the course of my life would have been a lot different.

Q: Did the fact of your business have much to do with the decision? that is, the law business, did it need you to come back?

A: Oh sure. Very much so. My first term in the legislature we met for the first six months of the odd-numbered year. And we only met a day or two in January, a day a week in January, maybe a couple of days in February and March and maybe three days in April and maybe three or four in May and we finally got up to five days for June or maybe the last half of June. And then we adjourned for eighteen months and we didn't go down to Springfield again, no special sessions, nothing, for eighteen months. And incidentally we were paid \$6,000 for that.

But each term it got far busier so that my last term we started out at three days in January and since I was in leadership we were meeting an extra — we used to go down a day early to do some planning and organizing and, my gosh, I was down there just about full-time from April on. And that's pretty hard to do if you're going to have an active law practice. And you know I worked my tail off, driving back and forth and dictating in the car going down and on the way back and on the phone down there every chance I got and you know I didn't want to do that.

Q: Now of course you were called on to do this annually now with annual sessions.

A: Sure. Yes we'd meet for the first six months and then we'd have a special session in the fall. And then we'd start over again the next January. So it was annual sessions. And

the second session might not have been quite as full as the odd-numbered year session, but there's still a lot to do in commission meetings and committee meetings and leadership meetings and everything else. It was just more time than I really wanted to commit to it. I wanted to be a lawyer and I just couldn't do it.

Q: Now the shift to annual sessions is indicative of the growth in state government. Do you feel that that growth in state government is really necessary?

A: No I'm not sure which is the chicken and which is the egg in that one. And incidentally over the course of history there's been a different thinking on that one. At some periods of time people have very great confidence in the executive branch and not very much in the legislative branch and the legislature meets every other year. As a matter of fact, there's one legislature that, for a while, was meeting only once every three years. But then people get distrustful of the executive or something happens and the legislature decides they've got to meet every year. So then Constitutions are amended and whatever else happens so that the legislature meets every year. And that's where we are right at this stage in history. I don't know if we're ever going to have the pendulum swinging back the other way so that people say, "Look, let's . . ." you know what Lincoln said about no man's life, liberty or property are safe while the legislature's in session. Maybe that thinking is going to come back in and we may get back and have biennial sessions again. That's possible.

Q: Well there was a cutback on the number of people involved.

A: Yes that's a trend in that direction. Incidentally, that was a provision of Con Con that I now think was a mistake. I wouldn't have annual sessions, special sessions but I don't think you need annual sessions. I know all the arguments, I've made them all because I was on the side of having annual sessions. But looking back on it I'm not sure you need annual sessions.

Q: And one of the problems with annual sessions it tends to create big government, is that . . .

A: Very much so, yes. It also tends to get people away from their constituents. Well Howard Baker gave a great speech the other day in which he was saying the whole concept has changed. It used to be that senators or congressmen lived at home and they'd come down here once in a while, or come down here regularly but they lived at home. Now it's the other way around. Everybody lives in Washington and to go home is really a terrible drain on energy and kind of a nuisance to have to go back and see your constituents and the result is that Washington kind of has developed a personality of its own that is somewhat separate from the constituents.

Q: And you feel that has happened or is happening here in the state?

A: Yes sure to a degree, nothing like it has in the federal level of course because legislators don't live in Springfield, you can commute to Springfield. But you're still down there a heck of a lot of the year now. The fellows, the people, men and women, who are in the legislature now spend an enormous amount of time on it. It's very hard for me to see how you could possibly maintain any kind of a successful law practice and still be in the legislature. It would be very difficult to do. And the salary isn't enough to attract people to a full-time occupation down there. It's way better than it was when we were there. You know the facilities are way better than they were. But still I think it leaves something to be desired.

Q: Well now the annual sessions you've indicated might not be so good at the moment. Are there other things about the legislature that exist now that you think ought to be changed again? Do we need another COOGA?

A: Oh maybe. Horace, let me say first I'm probably not qualified to answer that question because I haven't been as close to it. I was in favor of single-member districts to the great

dismay of a lot of my friends I'll tell you. Every Republican in the city was on the other side and every Democrat in the suburb was on the other side. But I think in general single-member districts are going to be better. You don't end up with a very close split between the parties with the real power of the legislature being given to a small group of legislators whose motives are subject to some degree of question. The West Side Bloc — when I was there at least the West Side Bloc had power far beyond its numerical strength because they had a solid bloc of about ten or fifteen votes and a few more they could count on if they needed to, and that was enough to, on any crucial issue, to swing either way on a party issue. It happened. Not as likely to happen if you have single-member districts. You've got a little better party control I think on single-member districts.

No I think it would be exciting to be in the legislature again. The ladies who are down there now make a lot of difference in that legislature. They're independent. They think a little differently from the guys who are the old guard politicians and I think it would be at least as interesting as when I was there I expect. It was fascinating when I was there. I loved every minute of it.

Q: Have you ever given any thought to going back to the legislature?

A: No way, Horace. When I made the decision not to run again in 1971 that was an absolute unequivocal decision. I dismissed the possibility of ever running for political office again. I never had any intention of running again. And not out of any bitterness or anything, I'd just done my thing, I'd been on the school board or whatever and it was a fascinating experience. I felt I'd made some minor contribution, through the Environmental Protection Act and through the public aid for private colleges and through some goofy little things like the Endangered Species Bill and the Food, Drug and Cosmetic and Pesticide Law Study Commission. You know I'd done that, and it was time for somebody else to do it.

Q: In 1973 after you had left the legislature — well in 1973 you were still in it but . . .

A: No in 1972 I was out, I ended in 1972, I was out.

Q: Well in January of 1973 would have been the final termination of your . . .

A: Yes. December 31, 1972, yes I was out. And psychologically I had been out since 1971 so . . . (chuckles)

Q: Yes sir. Now in that spring and summer apparently Governor Walker asked you to serve on first the Board of Ethics and then on the Illinois Liquor Control Commission. Where did you get to know Governor Walker?

A: (pause) Horace, I don't remember where we first met. It was probably in bar association activities or something like that. Or maybe in — it could have been in politics but probably not because Dan was a Democrat and I was a Republican. It might have been in civic affairs but more likely in bar association things of one kind or another.

Q: Do you recall when he approached you on the Governor's Board of Ethics?

A: I don't remember the ethics — I remember being on it but I don't remember when he approached me about it. He had — that was . . .

Q: There were two others, Mikva and Kinneman.

A: Right. Who was the other one?

Q: John Kinneman.

A: Oh yes. I'd forgotten about John. Yes. The Board of Ethics wasn't that active. We did some work on conflicts and some things like that. Actually the work on that was so minimal I'd forgotten that I was on it with Ab. We had a few meetings but not a great many. We did some work. We had a good staff, had a fine staff. Ab — what was it? one of Ab's associates who ran with it and did a really good job with it.

Q: How about the Illinois Liquor Control Commission? Do you have any indication of why he selected you?

A: Yes. He selected me because in the first place it was a three-member commission and Dan was in deep trouble because of a particular incident with a guy who was looking for a liquor license and he had a real problem with — this fellow had some bad antecedents and highly questionable record and there had been questions about political contributions and one thing and another and Dan was getting a lot of heat, and it kind of centered on the Liquor Control Commission. And Roy Sandquist was also on the commission who was a Republican. And I think Mike Berz was the Democratic member.

I was sitting in my office one Sunday — like I didn't have enough to do I was in my office on a Sunday — and Dan called me at the office and said, "Would you be on the Liquor Control Commission?" Well you know I didn't — I — well in the first place I didn't know anything about it. And I had no real interest in serving on the Liquor Control Commission but he talked to me about it and I said, "Sure, hell, you're the governor." I really feel kind of an obligation. If the governor asks you to do something like that, whatever party, you probably ought to do it. And he pointed out that we had a Republican majority. And I knew Roy Sandquist very well and had total confidence in his integrity and everything else.

I talked to Roy about it and so I told the governor I'd do it if I didn't have a conflict. But I said I own a few shares — a hundred shares I think — of Pabst stock. And Pabst was also a client of mine. And I represented several other companies in the food business who had a fast-food chain subsidiary, somebody like Burger King or something like that. And some of those chains had liquor licenses. Oh, I — there were two or three other remotely possible conflict situations.

So I told Dan about them and he said, "Well the only one that bothers me is owning the liquor, the Pabst stock. Let me talk to my counsel about it." So he talked to Bill Goldberg who was his counsel. And Bill called me at the office, or Dan did, one of them called me back, and said, "You've got to sell your Pabst stock, but other than that you don't have to give up any clients." Because I made it absolutely clear there's no way I was going to give up any clients to take that job. So they said fine. He appointed me.

And of course it was subject to senate confirmation. So I said I've got to get clearance from the attorney general on the conflict issue. So I wrote to Bill Scott and spelled out I think five different potential conflicts I had.

But then I took over as acting chairman and conducted a number of meetings and sessions and got to know the people on the Liquor Control Commission. And I got up for confirmation before the senate. And I went down there for the senate confirmation hearing and I said to the senate that I would very much appreciate it if they wouldn't confirm me because if they did confirm me and the attorney general told me I had a conflict I would resign and it would be a waste of their effort and mine and everybody else's. And I would also appreciate it if they wouldn't not confirm me because that would be embarrassing to me. So I said, "I would request that you just postpone consideration until I get the opinion from the attorney general. If he tells me I have a conflict, you won't ever have to vote on whether I could be confirmed. And if he tells me I don't have a conflict, then I would appreciate your support and I'll be glad to answer any questions." And somebody moved it and that was the end of it. So they didn't vote on it which was exactly what I was hoping they would

do. And shortly after that Bill Scott gave me a letter saying that I had a conflict in all five areas and there was no way I could serve. So that got me off the hook on that one.

Q: I'll be darned.

A: And you know it was kind of interesting because I was acting chairman. I had some expenses, not a lot, but you know I went down to Springfield several times and I had, you know, miscellaneous expenses that you always get in with things like that. I thought rather than raise any questions I'd just pay them myself. So I paid all my own expenses and didn't put any vouchers in for them. I just felt better doing it that way.

Q: So your stint as liquor control commissioner was rather short then?

A: It sure was yes. I was acting chairman for, I don't know, a few months, Horace, three or four or six months maybe, something like that.

Q: When did it become apparent that you were going to run for the U. S. Senate?

A: (chuckle) Oh gee. I would guess it was probably in November or December of 1973. I was sitting at my desk and . . . somebody called me, Bob Michel maybe?

Q: From Peoria.

A: Yes. It might have been. Somebody called me and said, "The Republicans have a committee interviewing candidates for the Senate. And the committee consists of the governor and the senator . . .

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A: It was the state chairman and chairwoman and the chairman of the County Chairmen's Organization and the Cook County chairman and the governor and the senator and the chairman of the United Republican Fund, maybe ten or twelve people, the Republican Women's chairman, maybe ten or a dozen or fifteen people. And he asked if I would come over and be interviewed. And then the chairman of the congressional committee was on it too, which was probably Bob Michel.

So I didn't even know they had a committee. I was totally divorced from politics. I wasn't reading about politics, I wasn't thinking about politics, I didn't even know they had a committee. And so I — I said, "Well geez, what's it all about?" He said, "Well we're interviewing. We want to select a candidate that has the support of the party leadership. And we'd like to have you come over and be interviewed." So you know I was of course flattered and honored and everything else and, you know, I felt a little obligation I guess to the party. So I went over and was interviewed.

Q: Over where?

A: Well probably the Hilton Hotel, someplace like that.

Q: Here in Chicago?

A: It was in Chicago yes. And they said, "The gentleman who was here before you said he had two requests." And we went through all of the usuall interview stuff. But they said, "He had two requests. One was, if he's not elected he wants a commitment that we'll support him again for the same office next time or for governor. And second, that if he runs and isn't elected, we'll get him a federal job. And," they said, "do you have any conditions like that?" And I said, "Yes I have the same two conditions, but opposite answers

on both of them. If I don't get elected you won't ask me to run again and you won't give me a federal job. You'll leave me alone." (chuckles) And they called me back a couple of hours later and said, "You're it."

Well of course I knew everybody on the committee so it wasn't like I was going in for a cold interview. Obviously they'd been doing some homework and they'd checked out a lot of people. And I don't know how many they'd interviewed. Blair was the other one incidentally who was interviewed. And they said, "You're it." So I said, "Well geez, guys I don't know whether I'm it or not. I've got to do some thinking and talking." So I talked with my wife about it and I'd of course cleared it with her beforehand. We'd talked about it. She said it was fine as far as she was concerned. So we called my four kids that night and two of them were in college and they both said they would take a year off and come home and campaign for me. Our oldest daughter was married and in Portland but she was all for it. And our youngest daughter was still in high school and she was all for it. So I got a unanimous vote from my family. And then I came down and talked to my partners the next day and my partners voted three to three. (chuckles) So I cast the deciding vote and decided to run.

Q: Well!

A: But that all transpired in December of 1973.

Q: Let's see now, in the primary, did you have opposition in the primary?

A: As a matter of fact I put a condition on it, that if I had any serious opposition in the primary I would support the opposition. If it was somebody who was competent, I would support him. So I didn't have any, except Lar Daly ran. Lar Daly is, you know, the perennial runner who was . . .

Q: And he didn't come any place close to you?

A: Oh no. No, he ran every election ever and he paraded around in a red, white and blue striped suit, you know, he was a far-out gentleman.

Q: Yes sir. Well then you didn't have any particular problem with the primary. You had to campaign during the year. How did your campaigning for that differ from campaigning for example in 1964 which also was statewide?

A: Well the 1964 campaigning was nothing compared to the 1974 campaign. In 1964 you know my job was really organizing and trying to promote the whole ticket and a few speeches and a few radio appearances and things like that but nothing of any significance. It was primarily organizing for a media presentation. Everybody would handle his own area. With the fellows from my area who were nominated, we'd go around and cover the bases in our local areas. I don't remember ever campaigning downstate. I may have been downstate once but I don't even remember it. But the 1974 campaign was a total occupation. It was from six a.m. till midnight, seven days a week, for the better part of a year. It was a total commitment, not only on my part but my wife's part and three of my kids until Barbie went to college in September. Bud and Debbie were back and worked full-time in the campaign. An awful lot of our friends got deeply involved in it. We had the headquarters in La Grange and it was really an enormous effort by a lot of dedicated dear friends and new friends too of course who came in.

Q: Who managed your campaign?

A: The Republican senatorial campaign committee got me a campaign manager by the name of Jack Orr who was a professional campaign manager.

Q: Did you have any problems with him?

A: Sure sure. You know he was a professional campaign manager and I was a strict amateur politician, and necessarily you're going to have some conflicts in that kind of a situation. It was the Watergate year of course. And everything we did had to be geared to Watergate. I couldn't talk about anything but Watergate. Every place I went I got Watergate questions. "Do you think Nixon should resign?" and "Why aren't you defending Nixon more strongly because he shouldn't resign?" and "I'm never going to vote for you unless Nixon resigns." That was the first part of the campaign. Then he resigned and I tried to explain the resignation and how we were going to build from then on. And things started to go better. And then Ford pardoned him. And then we had to start from ground zero again and during all this time the Watergate hearings were going on. So it was a total disaster in terms of trying to talk about the issues. Adlai and I had six television debates. We tried to talk about the issues but nobody would listen to anything.

I've got to say it was a fascinating year, Horace. It was absolutely clearly the most interesting year of my life. Every place we went it was speeches and meeting new friends and old friends and people I'd known in the legislature and I had Democratic legislators at county fairs downstate who would give me the whole play you know. Just really a lot of help from a lot of people.

Q: Democratic you say?

A: Oh yes sure they — yes, you know, if you go to a county fair and the county — a Democratic legislator — there was one fellow who was a Democratic legislator who was the master of ceremonies at the county fairgrounds. They were having the races that day and so I went in to see him and I sat down with him. And he and I talked on the loudspeaker to everybody. He introduced me and told me to go out there where everybody could see me and wave you know. We went to tractor pulls and you know everything you can imagine downstate. It was just a fascinating year, it really was.

Q: How did you finance the campaign?

A: Well through contributions. We couldn't raise any money at all. We raised just under \$500,000 for a senatorial campaign which is zilch. You know you've got to raise several million dollars if you're going to have the slightest chance of success. The result was we had no money for television at all. And there's no way you can win a campaign like that without television money. Stan Enlund was my finance chairman, and did a wonderful job as he always does on everything. We had a dinner which was kind of sparsely attended. (chuckles) Because people just weren't thinking Republican Senate in those days. There was just no way. Furthermore running against Adlai Stevenson, you've got to hand it to him. He draws a lot of votes. He came very close to beating an incumbent governor in the last election, within an eyelash of it.

Q: Did you have a feeling at any time along there that you were going to be successful?

A: Never, never. From the very beginning we knew it was an uphill battle. And of course my name recognition started out at 1 percent or something, and Adlai's starting out at 90. So I had to close that gap which is hard to do without having some kind of television money or money to advertise in some ways. I was in every county, campaigning in several counties many more than one time of course. My scheduler was from Peoria and every time he had a blank in the schedule he sent me back to Peoria. My god, I must have been in Peoria a hundred times.

We had five young men who each took a piece of the campaign. They'd take a day and they would advance that day for a particular area and travel with me on that day. And it was

— I think it was very well organized and it was — you know as far as seeing people and meeting, having events and doing things like that, there was never any problem.

It was enormously active but the shortage of money caused by Watergate primarily because people weren't contributing to the Republican party, especially to the head of the ticket, and the fact that I was a relative unknown then, I just couldn't raise anything. But there were you know a lot of generous contributions. You raise \$500,000, you've got a lot of people who were very very generous. But now for gosh sake, Chuck Percy will have a dinner and raise a million dollars in one dinner you know. It's a lot different. Incidentally Percy was an enormous help in that campaign.

Q: Oh?

A: He and Lorraine both really helped. Chuck took me all over, took me to events and spent days out here with me. And Bob Michel spent a couple of days with me in Peoria. And congressmen went around with me everywhere. So I couldn't have had better cooperation. It was just total cooperation.

Q: But you think it just wasn't the Republican year?

A: Oh yes. In 1974 for goodness sakes, you know, that was a disaster year for Republicans.

Q: Yes sir.

A: Well you know I don't want to sound like I was the shining star and I should have won it. "But for all of these things I would have won," I don't know if I would have won or not. But you asked if I ever thought I was going to win, and the answer is no. From the outset I was never under any delusions, unless there was a significant turnaround in Washington I really didn't have much chance.

Q: Well now didn't you also run in the spring of 1974 for Lyons Township Committeeman?

A: (chuckles) Oh yes. I did yes. That was . . . yes I was committed to run for Lyons Township committeeman before they asked me to run for the Senate. As a matter of fact could I have been elected to committeeman in 1972?

Q: I had the note as having you run in 1974.

A: I guess it was 1974. I guess it was 1974, yes, it was 1974. Lyons Township had gone Democratic in the last election and primarily through the inactivity of the Republican organization. They simply were poorly organized and hadn't done anything, and all of the people who had gotten together to elect Terrel Clarke as committeeman had fallen out of it and there was nothing going on. It was just a total organizational disaster. And a lot of people talked to me about that. It was local. It didn't involve any traveling and things like that. And it was kind of my baby anyway. So I said what the heck, I'd run for committeeman. So I — yes I did.

And then we had to decide whether I'd run for both offices. And by that time I didn't think I was going to get elected to the Senate, and I thought I would be elected committeeman and therefore I thought I ought to stick in there where I could do a job after the election. So I did but I paid no attention to it. My friends did the whole thing locally. I couldn't, I was tooting around the other 101 counties.

Q: Well the situation in the township — was that a result of Terrel Clarke's inaction?

A: Yes. Well I think it is. Other people would differ with me on that. But my answer to that's yes.

Q: Did it change around much then once you became the committeeman?

A: We carried the township by a substantial majority in the next election and really got a good group of people in. We got the whole township slate elected, the whole slate, threw out all the Democrats who were in office. We had precinct captains in every precinct. We got the headquarters really activated, got the Young Republican and the Teenage Republicans going again, got it really — I think it — you know, obviously I'm giving you the prejudiced story, Horace. But I can only point to the fact that we won every office in the township by a good margin. And it's stayed Republican ever since.

Q: I was going to ask, it has . . .

A: Sure yes yes.

Q: Let's see in 1980 and 1981 you served as president of the Chicago Bar Association. Was that just the time for you to be the president or what occurred that you became president?

A: Well kind of the same thing happened as in the Senate. I was again sitting in my desk one day and a past president of the bar association called me and said, "Would you appear before the nominating committee of the Chicago Bar Association?" I didn't know the committee was meeting. I hadn't done any active bar work. I had been on the Board of Managers maybe twenty years before that. I had done a little bar work. I got the food and drug committee started and I'd been chairman of a committee occasionally but I really hadn't done much work. And hadn't, you know, hadn't been going to the annual meetings or things like that that you would normally do. And so I said, "Sure I'll come over and be interviewed." And I went over and I got nominated again. And that's a three-year term. You're nominated for second vice-president for a year and then first vice-president and then president.

Q: I see.

A: I was nominated and there wasn't any contest. And so I was elected second vice-president in 19 — that must have been in 1978.

Q: In 1978.

A: In 1978 yes.

Q: I guess Anthony Scariano is in South Africa now. Is it connected with your organization that . . .

A: No I didn't know he was over there. What's he doing, do you know?

Q: I don't know. I failed to ask him what he was doing, but he's gone this week to South Africa.

A: Oh I'd be interested to know. As a matter of fact I had lunch today with the new South African counsel general for Chicago.

Q: Well let's see now you are chairman of, what is it, American Council of the United States and South Africa Leader Exchange Program.

A: Yes it's called the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program. And there are American members and South African members, equal numbers. And I'm chairman of the American group of USSALEP this year and have been for a couple of years I guess.

Q: When did you get involved with this group?

A: In 1971. I was sitting at my desk on the floor of the legislature and a page came up to me and said, "Professor Munger is calling you." and Ned Munger had been one of my best friends when I was a little kid. His name was Edwin but I always called him Ned and he always called me Bunks which is my nickname. And I went out to the phone — I hadn't talked to him for twenty years or twenty-five years. So I answered the phone. He said, "Hi Bunks, how would you like to go to South Africa?" I said, "Ned, I'd love to go to South Africa. But, you know, tell me what you've been doing for the last twenty-five years." And after some preliminary chitchat, he told me about USSALEP, this group of which he was a board member.

There's about a dozen people on the board, something like that, American board. And he said he was at a meeting with them in New York and they were — this group was sponsoring a multiracial symposium in Johannesburg, the first multiracial symposium in South Africa which — you know you don't have things like that in South Africa. You didn't in those days. But this group had gotten special permission.

And he said, "We don't have any federal money on either side. And we can't take a congressman or anybody like that but we want somebody who's had some experience in government and," he said, "I was in a meeting in Washington with this ten other board members and we were looking for somebody who knew something about government and I said, 'I've got an old friend who is in the Illinois legislature whose name is George Burditt and maybe we could ask him,' and," he said, "two of the other ten people said 'Do you mean Bunks Burditt?'" One of the guys was from New York and one was from Washington. Of course his jaw dropped and he said, "I call him Bunks. How in the world do you guys know his name is Bunks?" And they were two of my college classmates.

Q: Oh really?

A: So anyway they got me into it and I went on the trip to South Africa in 1971 and then after — I was a guest on that trip — and then shortly after that they asked me to join the board on the American side and I've been on the board ever since and I've been chairman for the last couple of years.

Q: What's the objective of the organization?

A: Leadership exchange. We sponsor people coming over to this country from South Africa to learn and meet people here, academics, lawyers, judges, the black librarian from Sowhetto or the black businessman of the year or an Indian doctor or a newspaper editor from Capetown or people like that who are thought leaders or leaders in their communities. And all races. And vice versa, send groups from here, individuals or collective — individuals or two or three or four people going over from here. There was a team of college presidents who went over last year from here, the year before last, from here. I headed up a legal team that went over in 1980. Judge Leighton who is a black federal judge here in Chicago and Frank Wheat who's a former commissioner of the Securities Exchange Commission, a lawyer in Los Angeles.

And Ray Waldman, a lawyer in Washington who's an expert on the containment of security agencies. That's one of the things that they asked me to do when — they invited me to do this — when the South African people asked me to come over with this group, they said, "We want to talk about containment of security agencies. You've done a good job in the United States with containing the FBI and the CIA and we need some experience on that one. So," they said, "will you — would you come over and talk to us about this?" And I found a guy, Ray Waldman, in Washington knew about it.

And so the four of us went over there under USSALEP's sponsorship. We had fifteen meetings in six days with government commissioners and with a black law society in Johannesburg and with Bar Association of the Transvaal and you know it was just really a fantastic

series of meetings. I spent an hour with the minister of justice and police, who's the one who taps you on the shoulder and says, "Come with me." It was a fascinating experience.

Q: Did you run into any of the racial problems that apparently are . . .

A: Well the USSALEP group, Horace, is really geared to that. That's the purpose of the group, one of the purposes, is to promote communication not only between the United States and South Africa and people in each country with the other country, but also to promote discussion among South Africans of different races. There are four quite distinct groups in South Africa under their system of apartheid that they have now. There are whites, 60 percent of whom are Afrikaaners, Dutch descendants and French descendants, Huguenot descendants, and 40 percent English descendants. Then there are blacks who constitute about 70 percent of the population who are in nine tribes or so, the three biggest being the Xhosa and the Zulus and the Tswana and then there's about, oh, maybe two million coloreds who are mixed races, primarily more coloreds in the Capetown area, in the Cape Province, than anywhere else and about a million or so Indians who live all over the country but primarily in Natal and Durban and over on the coast that's right across from India, the southeast coast of South Africa.

And they have a hard time communicating with one another. They can't live in the same areas. They can't practice in the same law firms. The blacks are totally left out of the system and as a matter of fact in 1971 nobody was elected to office except whites, even the Indians and coloreds weren't elected to office. They couldn't own land, it's a totally white-dominated economy and political system.

And part of our job I think was to open the doors so that we could have a party, a reception where a black leader could meet a white leader, a black labor leader could meet a white labor leader. Or a black church leader could meet a white union organizer or a white lawyer or whatever you know. It's been an enormously interesting experience for me and I really think it's done some good, certainly in communications. The South African members of this board are an outstanding group of people. All races represented on it. And you know there's some times when you think you're swimming upstream on it, but in general it's been just an enormous experience for me.

Q: Does the South African government back it?

A: No, it has no financial or other backing from either the federal government here or the government of South Africa. We've been pristine pure on that. We won't take contributions from either side because we want it to be totally unfettered and un beholden to anybody. It's run by people like Ned Munger who's a professor at Cal Tech and Willard Wirtz who's a former secretary of labor and Alan Pifer who just retired as president of the Carnegie Foundation, Carnegie Corporation. There are a number of very significant black and white leaders from this country. Just from Chicago — there were about four or five Chicagoans who have been on it. Jim Hoge just went off, who was the publisher of the Sun-Times. Hodding Carter who was very active in the Carter administration in Washington, who is now a television personality, was on the board for years. There are a number of very active black leaders. Sam Nabrit was one of the real leaders in the civil rights movement in this country and a college president. There's three or four college presidents and businessmen, a very interesting group.

Q: Alright sir. Let's see I have one final question I'd like to ask: do you ever give advice to individuals who might be concerned with going to the legislature, particularly young people that might be talked into that sort of thing?

A: Sure. Regularly.

Q: What type of advice do you give?

A: A 100 percent encouragement to do it. I've never had anybody ask me that I discouraged from doing it. You know I'm not saying that everybody ought to serve in the legislature. But I've been lucky enough that the people who've asked me have been in my opinion competent to do it. They've had the integrity to do it and they've had the stamina to do it and the interest. And if you don't have that combination there's no sense going to Springfield. You've got to have all of those things. You've got to have a reasonable degree of intelligence and you've got to have a lot of integrity and you've got to have a world of stamina. I really have encouraged a lot of people to do it from Lyons Township and every once in a while here in Chicago I'll talk to people who are doing it. And I think it's an enormous public service. If democracy is going to work, good people have to help make it work because it doesn't work in a vacuum. It works because people make it work. And you've got to encourage young people particularly to do it, men and women.

Q: What kind of guidance do you give them in the way of preparation if they're wishing to go down there?

A: Well really whatever they want to know about it, I can relate to them as much as I can from what it was like ten years ago. Frequently I'll put them in touch with other people who are more current on it, who are currently in the legislature, and picking people for whom I have respect on either side of the aisle and send them around to talk to the political leaders, try to get them jobs, get them lined up with people who can help them get votes. And I do the same thing with people running for Congress.

As a matter of fact, Thursday of this week I'm going to a reception for a young man who's running for Congress on the Republican ticket in our area that I have not met whose name is Jim Bevel and I'm looking forward to meeting him because I understand he's a young black man who was very close to Martin Luther King, Jr., was one of his chief aides. And when Mr. King was assassinated he just kind of dropped out as I understand it and he's now decided he didn't want to live that way. He's coming back in and running for Congress on the Republican ticket.

Q: From here in Chicago?

A: Yes. He's running in the district that Cardiss Collins now represents.

Q: Oh.

A: And I understand she's got a pretty tough primary, may not win in the primary.

Q: Yes sir. Alright sir. Is there anything else you'd like to add to this, that you think we may have not touched on?

A: Horace, no, my goodness, you've been so totally thorough. You know in recent years I've been just as active I guess as ever, maybe in some ways more so. The year I was president of the bar association I was chairman of six extracurricular things. And if you're chairman it's a lot different from just being on the board. I was president of the Metropolitan Bar Leaders Caucus which is the organization of all of the major bars, the big metropolitan bars in the United States, you know, San Francisco and Atlanta and Los Angeles and Philadelphia and Boston and New York and everything, and that took a little time. And the same year I was president of the Law Club of Chicago, which is kind of a social organization, because it just happened — I shouldn't have been president of that at the same time but the president died and there was an opening and so the nominating committee asked me to fill in the next year. Judge Tone moved up to be president but then I took over when Judge Tone finished.

Q: Did you ever say no to any of these?

A: Yes. Horace, you may not believe it but I do. And I've learned to say no much more regularly in the last couple of years than I have before. I said no to a couple this week. I

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